

# A Grammar of Central Alaskan Yupik (CAY)

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# A Grammar of Central Alaskan Yupik (CAY)

by

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The fundamental laws which governed the growth of culture and civilization seem to manifest themselves conspicuously, and the chaos of beliefs and customs appear to fall into beautiful order. But investigation goes on incessantly. New facts are disclosed, and shake the foundation of theories that seemed firmly established. The beautiful, simple order is broken, and the student stands aghast before the multitude and complexity of facts that belie the symmetry of the edifice that he had laboriously erected...

The phenomena, as long as imperfectly known, lend themselves to grand and simple theories that explain all being. But when painstaking and laborious inquiry discloses the complexity of phenomena, new foundations must be laid, and the new edifice is erected more slowly. Its outlines are not less grand, although less simple. They do not disclose themselves at once, but appear gradually, as the laborious constructions continue.

Franz Boas  
Introduction,  
*Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*,  
Vol. 1, 1900, 3-4



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## Foreword

This is a grammatical description of Central Alaskan Yupik (CAY hereafter), an Eskimo Language spoken traditionally in small villages in Southwest Alaska, but now also in major Alaskan cities outside the traditional Yupik-speaking areas, by those people who have moved to or, in an increasing number of cases, been born in the urban areas among dominantly English speakers. Yupik, pronounced as [yúppik], is the self-designation of the people, meaning a ‘real person’ (*yu-p’ik* person-genuine).

Of CAY dialects, of which there are at least five (as given in § 1.2), General Central Yupik (GCAY), as it is called, is the target of this documentation, which is basically a largely revised and expanded version, with extensive remodeling, of the same author’s “Sketch of Central Alaskan Yupik, an Eskimoan Language” (Miyaoka 1996) in the Smithsonian’s *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 17, Languages*. More or less heavier emphasis is laid upon the Kuskokwim, Coast area, and Nelson Island dialects, followed by the Lower Yukon (see below for the dialects).

This, however, comes with an important caveat. Like any living language, CAY should never be considered as a single stable or monolithic entity. It is very often the case that each village or small local area is perceived (and clearly pointed out) as having its own dialectal characteristics by which it is easily discerned from another. It is full of generational and idiolectal variations and vacillations within itself, in addition to dialectal differences, particularly in matters lexical. This may particularly be the case with a language such as CAY, which has not only a very wide area of distribution and is experiencing very rapid acculturation and decline under the strong pressures of the predominant language (English) and culture (American), but which has been further influenced by different degrees of outside influences, depending upon family and individual history, intermarriage and school education, etc. See § 1.3 for post-contact and current status.

i) It cannot be over-stressed that the Yupik people tend to be reluctant to generalize things in their environment (social, natural and supernatural), to say nothing of their language. Crude generalizations in matters linguistic may be easily doubted and flatly rejected, as is the case with their non-linguistic culture. Their traditional teaching of children in general is based on concrete illustrations and telling stories rather than abstract explanations, very much unlike teaching in American schools. Morrow and Mather (1994: 40), long-time non-Native and Native collaborators in matters anthropological, speak of the ten-

dency of the people to ‘avoid generalized analyses of meaning and motivation’ and to ‘see the academic predilection for critical analysis as leading people from meaning toward discord and confusion’.

This applies all the more so to the language in such matters as acceptability of lexical items of wide range and some grammatical usages (due to their rapid decline among non-conservative speakers). Most conspicuous to the speakers, however, is nothing but lexicon instead of grammatical patterns. A remarkable fact is that Yupik people are very sensitive to lexical differences in actual speech of other persons even among one’s own family, so it is frequently observed that people argue against one another either for fun or seriously. They may also be very much aware of some phonological differences of their (sub)dialects (but hardly of grammar). Not surprisingly, Yupik speakers often let slip that there seems to be neither such a thing as a coherent language (as CAY), a typical dialect (as GCAY or even Kuskokwim), nor a ‘representative’ speaker (either of the language or a dialect).

ii) Fully aware that neat and easy generalizations about a language are doomed to fail, this writer has taken care, within practical (individual or social) limitations, to avoid hasty generalizations by constantly cross-checking any piece of information obtained with as many speakers as possible. Accordingly, everywhere in this description, utmost cautions are taken to avoid hard and fast generalizations or inflexible conclusions in all instances, which some readers might prefer to have. Every speaker, however, may readily find many examples (words or sentences) cited in this grammar that he or she openly claims are not ‘my language’ or just say ‘no’. It would not be surprising to find many Yupik illustrations acceptable only to a portion of CAY speakers and subject to disagreements (responding ‘no’) from other speakers, since acceptability in general varies, empirically speaking, to a considerable extent according to speakers, not only between regions, but even within families – moreover, meaning of ‘no’ by speakers needs to be correctly judged with the utmost care, since it may not necessarily be grammatical or idiolectal/dialectal, but may be pragmatic/contextual, a mere personal preference, etc. Modest experience with the language will lead one to conclude that it would be practically impossible indeed to find a ‘representative’ speaker of CAY or a single speaker who will accept (nearly) all the Yupik examples in this documentation without reservations. Asterisked Yupik illustrations (with beginning \*), either words or sentences, mean that, although given for the purpose of discussion or comparison, they *are ungrammatical or unacceptable*. Ones with ? are *questionable or hardly acceptable*.

Added to differences between old or ‘conservative’ and younger or innovative speakers, the most difficult areas to handle with this widely fluctuating and

rapidly changing language may include numeral expressions and some transitive constructions, in particular, aside from vocabulary.

iii) CAY is a very rich and expressive language with fine grades of semantic and functional distinction made within words. Although I have striven to examine the subject as assiduously and comprehensively as my abilities and opportunities allow, this grammar is necessarily far from an exhaustive or a definitive treatment. Yupik examples, which are chosen to be as illustrative as possible of the point under discussion, are reduced to the minimum for this book under space limitation. Accordingly, the grammatical description presented here may hardly be anything but *an* abstraction (which the people dislike). Even aside from the speakers' different responses, which are to be duly expected, this is inevitably another grammar which "leaks" (Sapir 1921: 39). There is of course a multitude of points that will need correction, revision, and deeper understanding. As such, even after many years of studying CAY, this book admittedly remains a merely preliminary stage for a fuller grammatical documentation and explanation. It must be so, given that 'a hundred linguists working a hundred years could not get to the bottom of (fully document and explain) a single language' (Krauss 2007: 16).

iv) Obviously this is an old-fashioned grammar that is not 'fortified' by recent theoretical formulations. However, it is not a beginners' school grammar either and demands a certain extent of linguistic background. It is intended to be something that will be of interest not only to non-speakers (either linguists or not) who are interested in the current language, its depth and subtleties, but also be of some help to the present and future speakers who will appreciate the beauty, richness, intricacy, and orderliness of the language. Despite some possible prejudices among speakers against an academic grammar, this will, I hope, be something to help understand the language and serve to 'explain' part of the fluent speaker's inner (unconscious) knowledge of it. In addition, proper awareness of phonological rules (§ 7) will help to avoid easy etymologizing or metanalysis of words (morphemes), which the simple phonological system (with only four vowels) of the language may tempt ones to do. (A "deep root" may be not more than a conjecture.) The last thing I want is to produce more material only for theoretical 'tinkerings' or dilettantish hasty hypotheses.

Based upon my comprehension that the genuine object of linguistics is a "word" (§ 2), this is a morphology-based description, which does not mean that syntactic phenomena are slighted. In this language particularly, to my perception, morphology and syntax are too interwoven to validate separate treatments (cf. Part 1 Preliminaries). The foregoing documentation consists of a fundamental grammar as its main part, accompanied by a suffix list and references, together with (recorded) sources for the language. However, it remains nothing

but an ever on-going work subject to constant correction and revision. Any comment and suggestion, factual and interpretational, would be fully appreciated.

Three different writing systems co-exist in this publication: phonological and phonemic representation (both in academic symbols) as well as the currently adopted “practical orthography” (as explained in § 3). What may seem redundant, especially in early chapters, will, I hope, serve to help propagate the orthography currently enjoying a greater acceptance and usage in traditional Yupik-speaking areas and beyond.

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Two-letter abbreviations of speakers' names (first and last) are given as the sources of information.

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July 15, 2012

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The Grammar consists of fifty-four chapters (§ 1 through § 54) in ten parts.

Footnotes and examples are respectively referred to as, e.g. “fn. 4” and (24), within one and the same chapter, while ones in a different chapter (e.g. § 10) are referred to as, §-10-fn.4 and § 10(24).

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## Abbreviations and conventions

Different kinds of abbreviations (one-, two-, three- or two-letter) are used for mnemonic help, some with differentiating subscripts. In addition two letter abbreviations are for first and last names of consultants (see *Acknowledgements* in *Foreword*) and four-letter ones for *References/sources* (pp.1576–1604).

A	agent
A <sub>IMP</sub>	impersonal agent (primary or extended)
A', A", ...	agent of upper-clause complex transitives
(A, P, T,..)	demoted A, P, T, ...
C	consonant
E	extended argument
E <sub>APL</sub>	applicative
E <sub>ADV</sub>	adversative
F	fricative
G	genitive
N	(1) noun/nominal (stem, inflection); (2) nasal
P	patient
(P1, P2, ...)	phonological rules
R	ditransitive recipient
S	intransitive subject
Sa	agentive/active intransitive subject
T	ditransitive theme
V	(1) verb (stem, inflection); (2) vowel
<u>V</u>	full vowel (vowel other than /i/)
du.	dual
pl.	plural
sg.	singular
vd.	voiced
vl.	voiceless
EC	epenthetic consonant
EV	epenthetic vowel
EX	root expander
NP	noun phrase
PI	expletive (prop)   <i>pi</i> -  verb
SF	suffix

Two-letter combinations below of N, V (including VPc) are used for (derivational) suffix classes (§ 4.2.5.1, etc.):

NN	nominal elaboration (suffix)
NNh/VVh	(dis)honorific
NNl	locational
NV	verbalization
NVrv	relational verbs
NVN	renominalization
VN	nominalization (suffix)
VNm	nominalizers
VNrl	relativizers
VNV	reverbalization
VV	verb elaboration
VVa	adverbial
VVc	comparison
VVe	evidentiality
VVm	modality
VVn	negation
VVt	time/aspect
VPc	verb particlizer
VVsm	simplex verbs
VVcm	complex transitives

Three-letter abbreviations are used in glosses:

ABL	ablative case
ABM	ablative-modalis case
ABS	absolutive case
ADV	adversative (maleficiary)
ALL	allative case
ANP	anaphoric
APL	applicative
APP	appositional mood
APS	antipassive
ASP	aspect
ATN	attention calling
AUG	augmentative
BEN	benefactive (beneficiary)
CAU	causal; causative
CHR	cohortative
CMP	comparative

CNA	conative
CNJ	conjecture
CNN	connective mood
CNNbc	causal ( <i>because</i> ) connective mood
CNNbf	precessive ( <i>before</i> ) connective mood
CNNid	indirective connective mood
CNNif	conditional ( <i>if</i> ) connective mood
CNNqs	quasi-connective moods
CNNst	stative connective mood
CNNth	concessive ( <i>although</i> ) connective mood
CNNwl	durative ( <i>while</i> ) connective mood
CNNwn	contemporative ( <i>when</i> ) connective mood
CNNwv	constantive ( <i>whenever</i> ) connective mood
CNS	constancy
CNT	continuous
CNV	converb
CRF	coreferential marker
CSQ	consequential ('so that')
CST	constant
CTR	contrafactuality ('but')
CUS	customary
DEMad	adverbial demonstrative
DEMnm	nominal demonstrative
DES	desiderative
DIM	diminutive
DIS	distal non-extended (demonstrative)
DUR	durative
EMP	emphatic
ENC	enclitic
END	endearment
EQL	equalis case
EVD	evidential
EXC	exclamative
EXT	extended (demonstrative)
FOC	focus
FRQ	frequentative
FUT	future
GEN	general
HAB	habitual
HNR	(dis)honorific
IGN	ignorative
IMD	immediate

IMN	imminent (future)
IMP	impersonal
INC	inchoative / inceptive
IND	indicative mood
INF	inferential
INJ	interjective
INS	instrumental
INT	interrogative mood
ITM	intermittent
ITR	iterative
ITS	intensifier
LCV	locative verb
LNK	linker
LOC	locative case
MOD	modal
MOM	momentary
NEC	necessitative
NEG	negative
NEX	nonextended (demonstrative)
NVN	nominal cyclical expansion
OBL	oblique
OPT	optative mood
PAS	passive
PCL	particle / particlizer
PEJ	pejorative
PPS	pseudo-passive
PRC	precedence
PRF	perfective
PRG	progressive
PRH	prohibitional
PRL	perlative case
PRO	pro-(verb, noun)
PRP	prop stem ( <i> pi- </i> )
PRV	privative
PRX	proximal nonextended (demonstrative)
PST	past
PSV	passive
PTP	participial (mood / relative clause)
PUR	purposive
QST	question
RDP	reduplication
REA	reactive (responding) = <i>wa</i>

REC	reciprocal
REF	reflexive
REG	regularity
REL	relative case
RPR	reportative/reported
RPT	repetitive
RQT	rhetorical question
SFL	sentence filler (expletive)
SFN	softener
SPL	spotlighting
STT	stative
SUP	superlative
TAM	tense-aspect-mood
TKN	teknonym
TND	tendency
VNV	verbal cyclical expansion
VOC	vocative

Dialect/language abbreviations (cf. § 1.2) are given in [ ] in connection with native forms and their English translations: So two-letters (seven of them below) are clearly distinct from first-second name abbreviations of consultants (Acknowledgements in Foreword) which are given at the end of an example/illustration as a whole.

K	Kuskokwim
Y	Yukon
BB	Bristol Bay
CK	Coastal Kuskokwim
LI	Lake Iliamna
NI	Nelson Island
NS	Norton Sound
PE	Proto-Eskimo
HBC	Hooper-Bay and Chevak ( <i>Cuk</i> dialect)
NUN	Nunivak Island ( <i>Cup'ig</i> dialect)
CAY	Central Alaskan Yupik (language)
CSY	Central Siberian Yupik (language)
GCA Y	General Central Alaskan

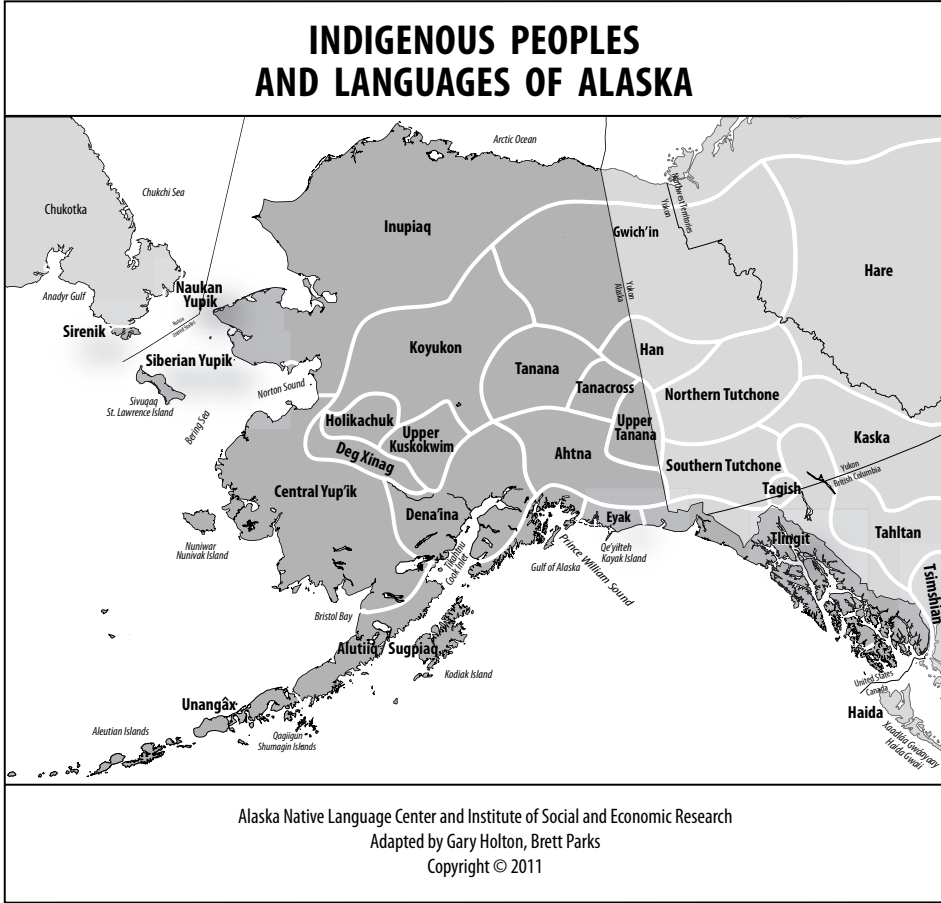
	phonological (underlying) representation
//	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
	foot division inside phonemic representation

[	start of an inflection inside phonological representation
+	retaining suffix (in phonological representation)
-	(1) deleting suffix (in phonological representation) (2) suffix boundary (in phonemic representation); (3) enclitic boundary (in orthography) (4) agent coreference (e.g. A-A', REL-REL)
±	retaining or deleting suffix (as in dialect variations)
=	(1) enclitic boundary (in bound phrases) / (2) 'equal to'
≠	non-enclitic boundary (in bound phrases)
≐	approximately equivalent or quasi-equivalent
#	word boundary
→	transcategorical derivation: N→N        nominal modification V→V        verb modification N→V        verbalization V→N        nominalization N→V→N    renominalization V→N→V    reverbalization N→V→N→V   cyclical verbalization V→N→V→N   cyclical nominalization
>	argument hierarchy "higher than" (for case assignment)
>, <	"becomes", "is derived from" (for phonological derivation)
⊂	reflexivization (P⊂A)
∞	reciprocal (P∞A)
∞	medialization (P∞A, E∞A)
~	variants (positional, idiolectal, dialectal/areal)
/	alternatives
∅	zero
. [dot]	(1) syllable division (2) to separate two or more English words as a gloss for one Yupik morpheme (3) repetition in a gloss
()	(1) deletable segment(s), final truncation, or segment which may not occur (2) reference to example number
?	an utterance that is odd or limited in acceptability
??	an utterance that is extremely limited in acceptability
*	(1) [put before] an utterance that is either structurally or semantically unacceptable (2) [put after] a velar which behaves phonologically different from one without the asterisk
↯	permutable (in ordering)



* $\cup$	non-permutable
§	chapter/section
1, 2, 3, 3R (sg., du., pl.)	first, second, third, reflexive-third (singular, dual, plural) person (suffixes) – combined as in:
3sg.	third-person singular subject (for intransitive verbs)
3sg.sg.	third-person singular possessor and singular possessum (for possessed nominals)
3sg.3sg.	third-person singular subject and third-person singular object (for transitive verbs)
s.o.; s.t.	someone; something
p.n.; pl.n.	person name; place name
Fa; Mo; Br; Da; Si; So; Ch; Hu; Wi; Gr; el; yo	father; mother; brother; daughter; sister; son; child; husband; wife; grand(parent); elder; younger.

# Maps



Map 1: Indigenous peoples and languages of Alaska



Map 2: Central Yup'ik Area



# Part 1

## Preliminaries

The first chapter which deals with non-grammatical information about Central Alaskan Yupik as well as Eskimo languages, its present status, previous studies and sources for this description, and its geographical placement among neighboring languages in the North is followed by four chapters which give the structural preliminaries and/or outlines for the more important characteristics of CAY. I begin with the “word”, as it would, in my perception, constitute *the* starting point for linguistic study, define the language’s basic units (§ 2), survey information about how the expression plane is constituted, i.e. phonology (§ 3), and about how the content plane is constituted, i.e. morphology (§ 4) and syntax (§ 5). Distinction of these last two chapters is rather arbitrary, as may necessarily be the case with such a polysynthetic language as Eskimo: A part of one chapter may well be given in the other and there may be some overlap in the two.

A chapter here is not necessarily always preliminary, however, and may include accounts of some details of a rather specific topic that is not covered in any other of the later chapters.

Finally some information is provided on the sociolinguistic aspects of the language (§ 6) that may be relevant to the grammar.



# Chapter 1

## Introductory

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3. Postcontact status and current status.....	7
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### 1. Profiles of Eskimo languages

Central Alaskan Yupik<sup>1</sup> (CAY) is a Yupik or “Western” Eskimo language. What exactly Yupik consists of, however, remains an open issue. According to Woodbury (1984) there are five Yupik languages, which – along with the Inuit-İñupiaq or “Eastern” Eskimo language forming a single dialect continuum from northern Alaska through Arctic Canada to Greenland – constitute the Eskimo branch of the Eskimo-Aleut family. The five Yupik languages are CAY, Alutiq (Sugpiaq / Pacific Yupik: Alaska Peninsula, Chugach, and Kodiak Islands), Central Siberian Yupik (CSY: St. Lawrence Island in Alaska and Chukotka in northeast Asia), Naukanski, and the now extinct Sirenik(ski) (both in Chukotka) – see also Hammerich (1958). Given the remarkable divergences (both archaic and innovative) of Sirenik from the others, a more plausible classification may divide the group into Inuit-İñupiaq and Yupik, the latter consisting of Sirenik and non-Sirenik Yupik (comprising four languages other than Sirenik); or even into three branches, Inuit-İñupiaq, Yupik, and Sirenik – cf. Menovshchikov (1959: 310–313, 1964) for Sirenik as well as Krauss (1973, 1979) and Fortescue et al. (1994: x).

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1. The term Yupik / Yup’ik (the former being common in English writings, while the latter in Native contexts) is from the derived noun *yup’ik* /yùppik/ (from [yuy-piy] ‘person-genuine’; § 20.1.1). The stem clearly corresponds to *Cuk*, *Cup’ik*, *Sugpiaq* in Western Eskimo languages (just below) but is also reflected by *Inuit*, *Inuktitut*, *İñupiaq* of Eastern Eskimo. The Eastern form *inuk* is probably residuous in GCAY *inuguaq* ‘small doll (i.e. imitation of person)’ and the person name *Inuk* known at least from Nelson Island [ELLA 20].

The term ‘Eskimo’ may be used by Yupik people themselves, often as a matter of common usage, but sometimes with a hint of amusement, but not abhorred or tabooed as strongly as among Canadian Inuit.

The distribution and prehistory of the Eskimo language family and each language involved, as well as the family classification, are supplied by Woodbury (1984).

The Aleut language is the only language related to Eskimo among all the languages in the world. In his most detailed comparative work, the late Knud Bergsland wrote, ‘At first glance the relationship of Aleut and Eskimo may seem very distant, and the time of the ‘split’ has been estimated to several millennia. The closer one looks into the linguistic facts, however, the closer the relationship appears, ...’ (1989: 72–73). His noted Aleut grammar (1997a) gives a brief but most reliable comparison with Eskimo sentence structures (pp. 341–356), with more information of Eskimo-Aleut historical linguistics available in Bergsland (1951, 1958, 1964, 1986, 1989). See § 1.5 for relationships of Eskimo-Aleut with other language families in the north.

The most detailed up-to-date information on the current status of Eskimo languages in Alaska is in Krauss (2007).

## 2. CAY – Speakers and dialects

i) As of this writing (2010), CAY is the most vigorous of the nineteen remaining Native Alaskan languages since the year 2008 saw the extinction of Eyak with the passing of its last native speaker. Though seriously endangered, CAY has by far the largest number of speakers in Alaska and the most likely to have any hope of survival beyond the twenty-first century, perhaps not only in Alaska but also all the indigenous languages of the United States.

CAY is spoken along the coast of southwestern Alaska and its major river systems, including the area south of Golovin and Elim (Norton Sound), along the Yukon (up to Holy Cross) and the Kuskokwim (up to Sleetmute), on Nelson Island and Nunivak Island, down the coast to Bristol Bay, and along the northern coast of the Alaska Peninsula. The distribution is depicted in the map *Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska* (Krauss 1982) and *Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Alaska* (Krauss, Holton, Kerr, and West 2011). See the two maps in pp. l-li.

The language has been regarded as having six main dialects, mutually understandable, with measurably divergent phonological and lexical variations:

### 1. Norton Sound (NS – north of Kotlik at the mouth of the Yukon)<sup>2</sup>

2. The earliest historical record of CAY is the Norton Sound dialect recorded in Shaktoolik, probably in 1778 (ANLA 1778–2006; CY778, K1778). Twenty-eight Yupik words contained in the record of Captain Cook’s North Pacific expedition (King 1784: 554–555) can be identified with the dialect both from the linguistic and circumstantial evidence – 15 body parts, 3 nature, 3 man-made objects, 2



2. Hooper Bay and Chevak (HBC – *Cup'ik* dialect)
3. Nunivak (NUN – *Cup'ig* dialect)
4. General Central Alaskan Yupik (GCAY – Yukon [Y], Nelson Island [NI], Coast area [KC], Kuskokwim [K], Bristol Bay [BB], Nushagak River [NR], and Lake Iliamna [LI], once know as the *Yuk* dialect)
5. Egegik (see Fortescue et al. 1994, Jacobson 1998).

The fairly isolated nature of Egegik among CAY dialects (with some similarity to Alutiiq) has been pointed out by Jacobson (1998: 198).

There is evidence for at least one extinct dialect that shows some resemblance to that of Nunivak meagerly documented from the Aglegmiut who were in the service of the Russians. This is suggested by a short vocabulary preserved at the Bureau of American Ethnology with the misleading place name of ‘Mt. St. Elias’, though we have little concrete knowledge of its exact location (Miyaoaka 1974a).

See Jacobson (1998) for detailed information on Yupik dialectology, based chiefly on basic lexicon of CAY. The only grammatical description available of a dialect other than GCAY (4 above) is on the Chevak (2) due to the very valuable contribution by Woodbury (1981, 1987b, etc.), apart from scanty information from Norton Sound (1; Unaaliq) collected by Swadesh (1952a, b). Grammatically, CAY dialects seem to be basically coherent and have little difference, while we come across considerable disagreements in matters lexical among speakers.

The subject of this grammatical description is GCAY. My major Yupik consultants since 1967 listed with acknowledgements in Foreword (pp. xii–xiii) have mainly come from the Kuskokwim River Delta area (including the Coast), Nelson Island, and Lower Yukon, though some later moved to the cities.

ii) CAY suffered from an accelerated decline in vitality under ever-increasing pressure from English, especially since the advent of bilingual education in 1970 and the introduction of television to rural Alaska in the 1980s. Nonetheless, it is still spoken by about 10,000 people (42 per cent of 21,000 Yupiks according to Krauss 2007: 414). The language has a fair amount of dialect differences, pervading the traditional Yupik-speaking area of southwest

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yes/no, 5 numerals. This dialect also received the first scientific treatment by Swadesh’s Kleinschmidt Centennial articles ‘Unaaliq and Proto Eskimo’ (1951–1952; cf. § 1.4-ii) in IJAL which are based on information from a St. Michael Islander. Despite this historical attention, the Norton Sound dialect is now one of the CAY dialects for which we have the least extensive linguistic information, including dialect position and situation (cf. Jacobson 1980; Miyaoaka 1982, 1984a). See § 12.3.1 for the term *Qimiut* as the designation for the people of the area, which represents one of the phonological dialect features.

Alaska. In addition, several thousand Yupik speakers are now urban dwellers (mainly in Anchorage). Although there were some monolinguals among the oldest people a generation or two ago, no monolingual elders are now known to remain. However, there are some preschool children, particularly (or perhaps only) in outlying villages, who are first raised solely in the traditional language. Recent and reliable information on this is provided in Krauss (1997: 6; 2007).

Bethel is the hub of the entire GCAY area (and CAY area for that matter) and it has seen a drastic change in its linguistic situation over the past fifty years. Probably more than half of its roughly 6,000 inhabitants are now non-Yupik newcomers (not only American but Asian and European as well). Even among Yupik families, many are regarded and known as ‘semi-speakers’, and an ever-diminishing number of children can speak Yupik. At the opposite extreme, in the remotest villages from the Yupik hub, say, in Nelson Island and the Coast area, with a population generally of less than 500 (with perhaps only 5% non-Yupiks), the language is still very strong. A 45-year old Nelson Islander fluent in Yupik, whom I met a little more than forty years ago when he was still a small boy, recently appeared before me and impressed me with an important piece of native-intuitive information that contributed an important insight into the language that I had failed to get from elsewhere in that time.

Be it at Bethel or elsewhere, the percentage of native speakers among the Yupik population is increasingly small under the pressure of globalization, just as anywhere else in the world. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is assumed that, of the whole Yupik population of approximately 25,000, roughly 4,000 (or more) have migrated to Alaskan cities, especially Anchorage. Indeed, the Yupik people generally seem to retain remarkably strong ties with villages even after their move to cities. It remains a question whether these ties may be of some help in slowing the otherwise rapid replacement of the language by English and the total loss of the full ‘conservative’ version of the language, given that the long-time urban residents, as a matter of fact, tend to show measurable (but steady) decline in native linguistic competence.

Under the increasing pressure of English, not only the number of the language’s speakers but also the domains of its use have been on the decrease. Today, most of the people indeed speak both Yupik and English to varying degrees of competence, but the younger generation consists increasingly of semi-speakers who have rarely acquired the language without much attrition; the exceptions are those living in villages who have acquired it in an unreduced form directly from members of their (grand)parents’ generation, for instance, who speak the full, ‘conservative’ version of the language. Although there is no overall survey of this matter, my general impression is that the conservative speakers of the language, if any, without heavy English influence, may only be found among speakers in their (sixties-)seventies or older. This, of course, depends upon how we define ‘conservative’.

In the case of CAY, it is also particularly striking that, the linguistic attrition varies widely from one speaker to another, depending upon their age, the village in which they were raised, their residences in later life, family situations (common language, spouse, etc.), school education, post-school occupation (place and length), and so on. This is all the more noteworthy as this has greatly increased the width not only of lexical but grammatical variation and fluctuation, very often causing difficulty in generalizations in linguistic documentation (as mentioned in Foreword-i).

Accordingly, despite the hope for its survival as a language beyond the twenty-first century mentioned above, the version of CAY that will be spoken, say, in two generations from now may be a more or less heterogeneous language that will be quite beyond comprehension of many old and conservative speakers of today (see § 1.3-iii below for more details).

### **3. Postcontact status and current status**

i) Since the earliest days of contact with the Western world, all native Alaskan languages, of which CAY now has the largest number of speakers, have undergone a steady decline in terms of their viability and numbers of speakers. However, the pressure against the native language was relatively not so strong in some regions, say, the Kuskokwim, within air access available as late as 1940's and the influence of Moravian missionaries since 1885 (see, e.g. Henkelman and Vitt 1985: 38–46, etc. on the native language situation).

The assimilation policy of the American educational system was most influential in this decline by openly suppressing the use of any language other than English in the classroom (Miyaoka 1980). The older Native people still retain vivid but gloomy memories of those old days when they had to go without lunch, had their mouths taped shut, or received even more severe corporal punishments, just because they uttered a single native word in school. Some parents, perhaps fearing reprisals from teachers or feeling that knowledge of Yupik would somehow interfere with their children's ability to absorb English, which they saw as essential to the future success of the younger generation, ceased to speak their own language even at home. Until the late 1960s it was actually illegal to teach in any language other than English.

It was not, however, only the language that was discouraged or prohibited in school. The native-cultural background of the children as well was totally neglected or denied in the school curriculum. Approved curricula usually included the same standard subjects taught in public schools of the continental United States, and used the same white American-type teaching materials. As such, they were not culturally oriented toward the children of rural Alaska. Even though the number of village schools for native children gradually increased,

high school students had to attend boarding schools in Southwestern Alaska, etc. far away from their homes together with children from different native linguistic communities, and all of this during the most important years of their formative period. The estrangement from the native environment into which these children were born went far in breaking down their cultural, linguistic, and family ties. To be successful in this educational system inevitably implied alienation from one's own family and native heritage. The expansion of the U.S. policy of English-only schools steadily served to oppress the native cultures, thereby diminishing the viability of the native language, although the explicit linguistic assimilation may not have been as successful with regard to discouraging Yupik retention as was the case with most of the other native languages in the United States.

ii) The rapid decline of the language came ironically (though reasonably) after the introduction of bilingual education in 1970 in particular (Miyaoka 1980), aside from the rapid adoption of the 'American way of life' (below). The U.S. assimilation policy continued until at least 1970 when bilingual education started in the CAY area for the first time in the schools of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (parallel to some other native areas in the lower 48 states, such as among the Navaho in the American Southwest). Public schools of the State of Alaska also joined the effort to expand bilingual education statewide. The expansion of bilingual education has indeed served to reinforce native linguistic awareness and ethnic identity. But these new policies, especially those of the BIA, soon turned out to be basically assimilationistic in nature in that the essential purpose of bilingual education was to facilitate a swift shift from native languages to English (as openly expressed by BIA officials; Miyaoka 1980) instead of healthy bilingualism for the years to come.

The people gradually began to realize, however, that bilingual education as such constituted a kind of Trojan Horse that would not help retain their language, but instead more endanger it by facilitating the shift to English. Accordingly, there have been attempts at providing a bilingual education geared toward retaining both languages in more native-oriented schools (e.g. efforts along the line of immersion programs). At the time of this writing it may be difficult to predict the outcome of this process, though many tend toward pessimism with regard to the retention of GCAY. See Krauss (1973, 1979, 1994, 1997) in particular for the tremendous changes in the language situation and the fundamental issues involved.

iii) The increasing influence of English on CAY in recent years, especially after the introduction of television and the heavy influx of non-native populations into southwestern Alaska particularly since the 1980s, has been more easily noticed among the younger generation. Many of them have various degrees of passive competence only. Lexically, the language they speak is now more or

less Anglicized. This is not simply a matter of the amount of English words and (Yupikalized) loanwords. Categories concerning traditional subsistence life and Yupik-like grammatical features that are alien to English and American culture have tended to be most susceptible to erosion. The most serious losses are notable in the use and the system of the rich demonstratives (as directly connected with their traditional subsistence life; § 12) and in indirect expressions (§ 6.1).

Many young speakers have difficulty in acquiring the creative morphology that is characteristic of the language. Their speech is apt to be morphologically less synthetic than the traditional speech retained among older people (§ 4.1.3.1-v) as an obvious consequence of the influence of analytic English. The syntax has necessarily followed suit. As a result, the speech of younger people is gradually becoming something more or less difficult to understand or even alien to their own elders, who in turn often criticize it for being “babylike.” In turn, the more conservative language of the older set, with all of its intricacy and richness, has become difficult to understand for younger people. This has also led to new cultural misunderstandings between the generations, adding to long-standing cultural gaps between the Yupik and outsiders. This linguistic change among the younger generations seems to feed back into that of the older generation, who are apt to adjust to the former (instead of the other way round) and to avoid their traditional way of speaking as a whole.

While the older generation used to see English as a language forced upon them from the outside, younger people generally have come to accept it more or less willingly and positively. This change of psychological attitude toward their traditional language and the expanding role of English can be expected to be a crucial and negative factor for language retention and revitalization. Since 1970, with the advent of bilingual education and literacy in Yupik (cf. practical orthography, § 3.6), a growing portion of native speakers has re-embraced their own language. These speakers are eagerly attempting to revitalize and enrich the language through its wide and creative use in many domains of life. But it should be added that, among a significant portion of the Yupik people, the future and ongoing loss of the language is not the overarching issue that it is among some other native groups in the lower 48 states and other parts of the world.

The general tendency in a growing number of native communities is that children no longer learn Yupik as their mother tongue. As a result, the language is certainly threatened as the intergenerational transmission in the home wanes. Even though one may believe, as stated above, that the language will survive this twenty-first century, one would reasonably wonder whether it can be a language intelligible to today’s elder speakers as a basic medium of communication. One cannot foresee the future, but it is often difficult to be optimistic and, for me, it seems reasonable to say that the traditional CAY has already fallen into the category of “definitely endangered” languages (Brenzinger 2007). Barring urgent efforts to reverse the present decline, both from outside and in-

side, as well as drastic attitude changes among Yupik and an invigorated determination for preserving their own language, a gloomy prognosis may not be unrealistic.

One of the most recent and vivid report through a native speaker's eyes on language situation and revitalization efforts of CAY is available in Mather (2004).

#### 4. Previous studies and sources for this description

i) Missionaries of different Christian denominations began working in various dialect areas of GCAY in the nineteenth century. While the Russian Orthodox began their evangelization efforts in the Bristol Bay and the Yukon area in the early 1840's (with a mission established at Nushagak and Ikogmiut [Russian Mission]), the Moravians arrived the Kuskokwim in 1885, and Roman Catholic Jesuits worked mainly in the Yukon area beginning 1886, with each denomination devising its own writing system for the native language. The latter two were more active than the Russian in producing their ecclesiastical literature (the Bible, liturgy, hymns, etc.) in their writing systems and in accumulating lexical and grammatical materials.

In the late nineteenth century, Helper Neck, a native of the Kuskokwim area (from Akiachak *Akiacuar*), evidently inspired by the Moravian missionaries' literacy work as a "stimulus diffusion" (Kroeber 1940), developed his own writing system starting from a pictographic stage, and developed it into a syllabic system. Partial knowledge of it may be still minimally retained by some elders, but its practical command is totally lost. This "Alaska Writing" was described by Schmitt (1951) from Neck's manuscripts and by Hammerich (1977) using a manuscript from a Nunivak native, both illustrating numerous features of the history of the development of the art of writing.

With the assistance from Helper Neck and other Helpers, the Moravian work on Yupik language progressed fairly well, mainly in the Kuskokwim area, and the whole New Testament *Kanerearakgtar* [*Qaner-yara-qegtaar* 'good word'] was completed in 1954 by Rev. Ferdinand Drebert (cf. Drebert ca. 1944), being accepted enthusiastically among the natives (Henkelmann and Vitt 1985: 218–221, 366–373, etc.) and being still used in the church with a lingering attachment to it among the older generation. Parts of the Bible, including the Old Testament, and hymns have now been transliterated into the practical orthography (below).

Short grammars were written by the Moravians Schultze (1889, 1894) and Hinz (1944), and by the Jesuits Barnum (1901; cf. JCIR) and Martin J. Lonneux (undated manuscript). The Moravians' linguistic works were influenced by the West Greenlandic and Labrador grammars and dictionaries that had reached a

high standard (starting from Kleinschmidt 1851 under the historical setting since Hans and Paul Egede through 1720's – see Bergsland and Rischel 1986).

ii) Academic attention was first directed to CAY by Morris Swadesh, who published a number of articles, both descriptive and comparative, based on the Unaaliq [NS] material that he collected from a speaker over the course of a few days (Swadesh 1951, 1952a, b, c, d; cf. fn. 2). Gordon Marsh, who had worked on Aleut (Marsh & Swadesh 1951), was the first linguist at the University of Alaska and left some lexicon from Sleetmute, Upper Kuskokwim (late 1950's).

The professional period of inquiry gathered momentum in the 1960s. A serious scientific study of CAY began in 1961 at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, by Michael E. Krauss especially with his then two students, the late Irene Reed (cf. the written source IRES) and Martha Teeluk (originally from Kotlik). A fruit of the intensive research of the period includes the college level classroom grammar by Reed et al. (1977), the very modest version (ca. 150 pages) of which was completed in early 1969 by Miyaoka and his collaborator, the late Paschal Afcan (born at Akulurak, Yukon delta) as instructional material at the University.

The Yupik dictionary with ca. 8,000 entries compiled by Jacobson (1984a) with the full collaboration of many speakers and a few linguists has benefited all concerned, both native and non-native, and its enlarged new version, to be published in the very near future, reportedly contains 10,114 entries (Michael Krauss, p.c. – without access to this writer). The 1984 Dictionary has been most helpful as the substantially only lexical source for my grammatical documentation, with supplementary help from the Moravians Hinz (1944) and Drebert (ca. 1944).

Recently Jacobson also published an important pedagogical grammar (1995) by richly enlarging Reed et al. (1977) with exercises, short vocabulary, and information on CAY dialectology, etc. Another publication of his (1998), a dialect atlas of more than 200 pages, will remain a uniquely valuable contribution to Yupik dialectology, all the more so given the rapidly diminishing dialect differences and the passing of knowledgeable old speakers of the language.

An in-depth description of a single CAY dialect, i.e. of Hooper-Bay / Chevak (or Cup'ik), has been accomplished by Woodbury (1981) in addition to sophisticated works on syntax (1985b, 1985c), rhetorical structure and prosody (1985a, 1987b, 1989), etc. Mithun has made enlightening contributions in various grammatical topics of GCAY, such as suffixal morphology (1998, etc.) and polysynthesis (2009, etc.), prosody and discourse (1996), valency change (2000), and so on. Krauss (1973, 1979, 1985) describes details of linguistic work on CAY done in 1970s and the early 1980s, in addition to the most fundamental work of v) mentioned below as his another important contribution. Miyaoka's work on Yupik is given in the References.

iii) The linguistic work at the University of Alaska under the leadership of Michael Krauss constituted a true beginning toward the recognition of the language in Alaska, and ultimately, in a way, of American Indian languages all across the United States.

Arduous research conducted at the UAF Department of Linguistics resulted in a primary version of the “Practical Orthography” (§ 3.6). Its creation was the initial task toward the preparation of a bilingual education program (started in 1970). See Afcan ([1970] 1976), who read ‘on behalf of all the Yuk Eskimos’ an account of the excited acceptance of the new writing system and the significance it was projected to have on the future of the language. The orthography was largely disseminated through a significant quantity of Yupik material and books published by the University’s Eskimo Language Workshop. It was revised around 1973 into “New Orthography” (also called “Revised Orthography”) and has been the basis for the Yupik bilingual programs started in 1980 – although the old version is still used by some people, native and non-native, who learned the practical orthography in its earlier form.

Several factors were carefully discussed in the first stage of determining the (old) practical orthography. One of the most important was whether it could provide an easy transition to and from the English (Roman) alphabet. Another prime determinant was attaining maximum similarity with previously existing Eskimo writing systems, not only within but also beyond GCAY. Similar external forms among many Eskimo languages, we agreed, could not only facilitate the reading of the other languages, but would be important in helping people become aware of how much their languages resemble each other, even if mutually comprehensible only to a marginal extent. This in turn might contribute toward strengthening ethnic identity. It must, however, be noted that some disagreement in the choice of letters between the GCAY orthography and the closely neighboring Inupiaq system of northern Alaska (see e.g. MacLean 1986) had to remain. The adoption even of the famous syllabary as among the Canadian Inuit, was also taken into some consideration (since the language has much fewer syllables than languages such as English), though this was not pursued, in large part because it would constitute a vast departure from the English alphabet.

The practical orthography is enjoying a wider acceptance, if gradually, among the native (and non-native) people and institutions concerned, but it must be remarked that sufficiently correct users of it seem to be still rather limited in number. See § 3.6 for the advantages and disadvantages of the current practical orthography.

Woodbury (1997) devised a Cupik version of the orthography that better reflects the slightly different phonological system of the dialect (Chevak), which is fragmentarily illustrated (§ 2.3.2, § 3.2.3, § 3.2.5.1, etc.)



iv) Apart from the missionary documents in the earlier writing systems, the current expansion of bilingual education and resurging interest in the language among the people concerned has produced an unprecedented amount of written materials (primarily schoolbooks for the elementary grades, but gradually beyond that level as well). Since the mid-1980s an increasing amount of oral narratives – folkloristic and historical (ethnographical) – particularly by elders, has been transcribed and published in the practical orthography (with or without English translations). In addition, a few original writings entirely in Yupik have begun to appear, e.g. CAUY [see *References/sources*, pp. 1577–1601], based on extensive field research and interviews pertaining to pre-Christian Yupik ceremonies (Elsie Mather 1985), and ELNG, still the only full-length work of creative writing (novel) composed in Yupik (Anna Jacobson 1990). The textual corpora for CAY may now encompass 10,000 printed or electronically entered pages (Michael Krauss, p.c.). Another remarkable feat achieved by native speakers is the first Yupik dictionary of Cup'ig dialect (Amos and Amos 2003; 535 pages).

These recently published materials have been put to limited use for the purpose of this grammatical documentation. However, the primary source for the information in this volume was directly supplied by Yupik speakers themselves, who directly communicated their understanding, usages and insights to the author.

v) Michael Krauss has made tremendous effort since early 1960's to assemble a (near-)exhaustive collection of the linguistic material – original and photocopied manuscripts and typescript documents comprised of academic research papers; fieldnotes, particularly pertaining to Central Alaskan Yup'ik place names, phonology, and verb forms; wordlists; ethnographic, religious, and traditional texts; and educational materials – or any of twenty Alaska Native Languages for that matter –, cataloguing with meticulous notes. The collection forms an invaluable asset to the knowledge of Central Alaskan Yupik and the people concerned, with the *Guide to the Central Alaskan Yup'ik Language Collection* (1778–2006) through Alaska Native Language Archive, University of Alaska Fairbanks. His map *Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska* (Krauss 1982) is widely distributed for academic and practical use.

## 5. CAY's geographical placement among neighboring languages

i) Eskimo-Aleut is located in the North Pacific Rim, an arch extending from Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Archipelago on one end to California (at approximately the same latitude), which looms linguistically as a somewhat delimited region in that, flanked by widely distributed language families in

northeastern Asia and in northwest North America, it is generally characterized by isolates (such as Ainu, Nivk [Gilyak], and Yukaghir) and small families containing only a few branches or sister languages (such as Chukchi-Kamchatkan and Eskimo-Aleut) apart from a few representatives of Tungusic languages (Miyaoka et al. 2007). This narrow belt of isolates and small families extends across the Bering Strait and down along the northwest coast of North America, with language distribution becoming more dense and typological diversity increasing well into California, where it reaches its peak. Though containing two languages, Chukchi and Alaskan Yupik Eskimo, with a substantial number of about 10,000 speakers, they are all severely endangered or even moribund.

On the eastern side of the Bering Strait, the American continent north of Mexico contains around sixty indigenous language families of which about sixty percent are concentrated in the small region of northwestern North America.<sup>3</sup> The full number includes approximately 150 genetic units (Campbell 1997: 107–55, cf. also Mithun 1999: 326–586 and Miyaoka 1992: 1048–1066).<sup>4</sup>

Certainly, the North Pacific Rim, as such, is a region neither so wide nor so high in the number of languages for the Pacific as a whole, compared with some other regions in the world. But it is a corridor teeming with languages of diverse and often obscure lineage, with over forty genetic units of such obscurity as to have led Boas (1911: 58) to the idea of ‘uncertainty of definition of linguistic families’ as he became absorbed in the Northwest Coast Indian languages and the Jesup North Pacific expedition (1897–1902; Boas 1905 [1902]), which covered indigenous groups from the Columbia River to the Amur River. Krauss (1996b) gives detailed information about the linguistic diversity and the current status of the whole area. See also Miyaoka (2009).

Geographically, a wide distribution of a single language or a single linguistic family over an extended area may, more often than not, reflect a relatively recent and large-scale expansion in which one culture may have swept away smaller aboriginal languages or families. But it also is plausible that the linguistic diversity of the North Pacific Rim reflects an older stage in which diverse

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3. In terms of Cultural Areas (A. L. Kroeber), the North American region comprises the Arctic and Subarctic, the Northwest Coast, a portion of the Plateau, and California. The only other region in North America that comes somewhat close in linguistic diversity is, though beyond of the scope of this book, in the Southeast part of the continent, centered on the Gulf of Mexico. Outside these two regions one finds a relatively small number of widely distributed language families (Algonquian, Siouan, Iroquoian, etc.).

4. The fact that the “geographical centre of gravity” (see fn. 8) of the indigenous languages lies in the Northwest could arguably be seen as linguistic support for the coastal theory of migration to North America (as first suggested in the early 1960s by C. J. Heusser et al. and recently supported by Canadian archaeologists) rather than the conventionally held “ice-free corridor” theory – cf. Miyaoka 1992.

small languages of different lineages jostled with adjacent languages without either being fully absorbed or typologically leveled by encroaching newcomer languages. Such small languages may certainly have interacted in various directions and to varying extents for a long time, ultimately resulting in drastic typological changes and a genealogical trail too complex or opaque to trace with certainty. The genealogical diversity and obscurity is naturally paired with the typological diversity as found in the North Pacific Rim. Typologically diverse as this is, it is true that the area also is dominated by highly synthetic or polysynthetic languages, which by itself is a remarkable contrast from Southeast Asia.

In talking about linguistic differentiation in America, Sapir ([1916] 1957: 455, fn. 48]) does not consider it at all inconceivable that Eskimo-Aleut may ultimately be shown to be the latest linguistic arrival in North America after with the widely expanded Na-dene (now not including Haida unlike Sapir's).

ii) To Morris Swadesh who was interested in the prehistory and typology of languages across the Bering Strait (Swadesh 1962), Eskimo-Aleut was, at one point, reminiscent of the all-suffixing synthetic structure of four geographically contiguous languages of the Northwest Coast, namely Kwakiutl and Nootka (Wakashan family), and Quileute and Chemakum (Chemakuan family) (Swadesh 1948: 106).<sup>5</sup> He further wrote a paper "Linguistic Relations across Bering Strait" (1962), dealing with Eskimo-Aleut and Chukchi-Kamchadal as part of a network to 'include' the mentioned American languages on one hand and Ural-Altaiian, Ainu, Gilyak, Sumerian etc. in the Eurasia on the other, on the assumption 'it may be easier to connect Eskimo with Chukchi, then Chukchi with Uralic, and finally Eskimo with Uralic.'

More recently Fortescue (1988b, 1998b, 1994a) listed shared typological traits by surveying various attempts to genetically connect Eskimo-Aleut with various Old World language groups and talked about language relations across Bering Strait (1998), though Campbell (1997: 188) concluded that these shared traits are indicative of general typological tendencies, found not infrequently elsewhere in the world, and thus quite possibly shared only accidentally and not adducing strong evidence of a possible genetic relationship. To the knowledge of the North Pacific Rim, Fortescue (2011) has furthermore contributed a very important investigation which plots the orientational system (cf. § 12) of all the languages involved.

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5. He in fact suggested the possibility that the all-suffixing language area developed in an epoch when Wakash-Chemakuans were in geographic contact with Eskimo-Aleuts, before the wedging-in appearance of Eyak-Tlingits and Haidas in their present location, eventually becoming more eager to find evidence for an interhemispheric relationship.

The ‘Eskimo-Uralic Hypothesis’, a part of Swadesh’ “network”, was proposed by Rasmus Rask, C. C. Uhlenbeck (cf. Hein van der Voort 2008), Aurélien Sauvageot (1953), etc. since the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Together with this hypothesis, the relationship of Eskimo-Aleut and Chukchi-Kamchadal was under careful and critical review by Bergsland (1959, 1979). He also paid a careful attention to the Amerinidan neighbors, including Eyak, Tligit, Athabaskans of interior Alaska and western Canada and the Algonquian of eastern Canada, finding in Eskimo and Aleut practically ‘no immediate linguistic traces of the contacts’ (1979: 13–14). The genetic relationship of Eskimo-Aleut and Chukchi-Kamchadal was also rejected by Menovshchikov (1974), though not denying old contacts with each other and with the Eurasian languages to the west.

Krauss in his survey of Na-Dene and Eskimo-Aleut (1979: 805) believes one must conclude that Proto-Athabaskan and Proto-Eskimo were not in contact, although they were both in Alaska at one time, the former in eastern Alaska, interior, perhaps extended into Canada already and the latter in western Coastal Alaska (“Beringia”).

As shown in later chapters, CAY (like other Eskimo languages, for that matter) is an “agglutinative” language with the use of suffixation almost to the exclusion of other morphological processes (§ 4.1.1). It has basically no consonant clusters at the beginning or end of a word and only two consonants medially (contrasted with, say, Bella Coola at one end and Itel’men or Nivkh [Gilyak] at the other), and has no pre- or postpositions apart from postpositional location nouns (like ‘interior’, ‘area below’; § 11.2).

On the other hand, the features reminiscent of the so-called “Altaic”-like languages to the west might conceivably deserve a more thorough inquiry, which might turn out to show nothing but another spurious typological resemblance but still a possibility of Eskimo-Aleut being geographically cut off from the “Altaic continuum” in Eurasia by the wedged-in Chukchi-Kamchatkan languages in a remote past.

Thus, we have no genealogical evidence yet for connecting Eskimo-Aleut with any other language (family) in the north, apart from one indubitable trait of aboriginal contact between Chukchi and Siberian Yupik, which left a conspicuous number of loan particles and conjunctions from the former to the latter (but hardly to Alaskan Eskimo or Aleut) – Comrie 1981: 251–252, de Reuse 1994: 330–455.<sup>7</sup>

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6. Far beyond this, “Can Eskimo be related to Indo-European?” was a question raised by Hammerich (1951).

7. According to Menovshchikov (1964: 26), it is possible that some essential and structural differences from all the other Eskimo languages may suggest that Sirenik people, isolated from other Eskimos for a long period of time, had contacts with some other linguistic families.

All this above may lead us to assume that that Eskimo-Aleut underwent an isolated development in the vicinity of its own *Urheimat* – presumed to be located somewhere in western coastal Alaska,<sup>8</sup> generally where CAY has been historically located, in general – for a considerably long period of time before its rather late expansion eastward (into Eastern Eskimo). During this period there was little, if any, significant contact with other genealogically separate languages, possibly resulting in a rather isolated type of language (family) of its own.

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8. Given as the “geographical centre of gravity” (Sapir 1916) of Eskimo-Aleut languages, in refutation of the ethnological theory of their origin among the Caribou Eskimo (an Eastern Eskimo group west of Hudson Bay), a previous hypothesis revised by archeologists around the 1960s (cf. Miyaoka 1984: 113–117).

## Chapter 2

### A word in Yupik

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#### 1. A word as a “form”

The “word” weighs heavily in the grammar of CAY (and other Eskimo languages, for that matter), perhaps much more than those of a majority of the world’s languages, though the word would be a fundamental and inevitable entity in any human language, either an isolating language as Classical Chinese or a “polysynthetic” one like Eskimo. This would be a necessary consequence of converting thought or feeling into speech sounds in a human language, with all its pre-linguistic, i.e. physiological and psychological, limitations and constraints.

I fully agree with the standpoint expressed by the late Rokuro Kono 河野六郎 (1912–1998)<sup>1</sup> in prefacing the six-volume *Sanseidoo Encyclopaedia of Linguistics* 三省堂言語学大辞典, in that ‘the genuine object of linguistics is a word’ (Kamei et al. [eds.] 1988–1896, 1: ii; [translation mine]). At the same time, I must confess my great indebtedness to Edward Sapir who laconically described a word as ‘merely a form’ (1921: 33), and beneath whose passages, one may

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1. R. Kono is regarded by the late Professor Chino Eiichi (1832–2002) in one of his numerous enlightening books of general linguistics (2002: 175–229) as one of ‘ten linguists who established the modern linguistics’ (incl. B. de Courtney, F. de Saussure, V. Mathesius, S. Karchevski, A. Martinet, I. Meshchaninov, E. Sapir, R. Jakobson, and A. Meillet) particularly in view of his deep insights in linguistics and established grammarology 文字論 (not 文字学), cf. lexigraphism 表語性 of writing (§ 2.5-ii)

infallibly detect the echo of the words of Benedetto Croce (1866–1952), who claimed that linguistics is ‘nothing other than the Aesthetic’ (*estetica* as investigation of a fundamental capacity of human beings) and that ‘aesthetic activity is ... a matter of giving form, and nothing other than a matter of giving form’ ([1902] 1992: 156, 17).

i) Polysynthesis has been a highly important feature in the typological characterization of Eskimo,<sup>2</sup> although linguists have not necessarily reached a consensus on precisely what type of language it refers to (see e.g. Fortescue 1994b, Baker 1996, Evans and Sasse 2002, Matissen 2004, Mahieu and Tersis eds. 2009, etc.).<sup>3</sup>

Fully aware of the messiness of the problem, which may derive from the actual arbitrariness in what one deems to be a word, for one thing, and also from its long-standing confusion of polysynthesis with the concept of “incorpora-

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2. The term polysynthesis was applied to Greenlandic Eskimo at least as early as the Danish Eskimologist William Thalbitzer (1911: 1057).

3. The term itself was first used most probably by the French philosopher and linguist, and president of the American Philosophical Society, Peter S. DuPonceau (1760–1844) in an account of linguistic typology in his correspondence (July 31 and August 30, 1816) with the Moravian minister John Gottlieb E. Heckewelder (1743–1823; [1819] 1876: 390–392, 416) about the Delaware Algonquian grammar written by the latter’s predecessor David Zeisberger (1721–1808) – see Miyaoka (2002: 55). DuPonceau, who built on the emphasis laid on linguistic study by Thomas Jefferson, his predecessor at the Society, while influenced by Wilhelm von Humboldt (cf. fn. 4), was well-versed in American Indian languages and well-read in the linguistics of the time, as was Heckewelder. DuPonceau’s first use of the philological term polysynthetic as early as 1816 precedes the first *OED* citation of the term from 1821 Southey. His definition “...des langues qui comprennent le plus grand nombre d’idées dans le plus petit nombre de mots possible” (DuPonceau [1835] 1938a: 89) reminds substantially of the same as Greenberg’s quantitative index of morphemes per word (Greenberg [1954] 1960). Thalbitzer, once writing on Eskimo as a linguistic type (1930: 898), “summed up the words of two parallel texts, one hundred Greenland words were, on an average, translated by six hundred sixty-six English words, this being the shortest translation possible, if every significant element of the Greenland words were to be accounted for”.

DuPonceau’s set of five linguistic types (exposed in the same letter of July 31, 1816, and found in the first edition of *Encyclopaedia Americana*, vol. 10, 1832: 82) – i.e. asyntactic, analytic[al], synthetic[al], mixed, and syntactic or polysynthetic – which may have attracted more attention in North America than in Europe, is elaborate enough and at least comparable to the notable classifications by famous European erudites of the day – cf. Miyaoka (1992b: 1026–1028). Incidentally, there is another important reason why DuPonceau is mentioned here, as it concerns the very nature of ‘words’ – see § 2.5-ii (lexigraphism).

tion”,<sup>4</sup> the term polysynthesis is employed here as a purely morphological process notably in the Sapir-Greenberg-Mithun tradition, referring to the high degree of synthesis of a word (morphemes per word), irrespective of the morphological processes employed in each language and not counting clitics. Noun incorporation, the use of which I refrain in my work (§ 4.1.1-i), is employed in recent Eskimo linguistics, e.g. by Sadock (1980, 2003) for Greenlandic, roughly covering verbalizing (denominal) derivations (§ 4.2.5.1-i, § 37, § 38). See, however, nominal “stranding” (§ 4.2.5.5.2-i, § 25.2.2-i) and “discharging” 放出 (Kono 1989: 1582, 1996: 1298) which is basically a process contrary to noun incorporation in its wide sense.

In § 2.4, minimum illustrations are provided to give some preparatory idea of GCAY words and other larger units employed, i.e. two kinds of bound phrases (§ 3.1).

ii) Modern linguistics owes the concept of “double articulation” to André Martinet (1949), a feature which, no one would disagree, is the very source for the economy and productivity of a human language, and without which a language would be ‘a tool unusable for its purpose’ (Hjelmslev [1943] 1953: 29).<sup>5</sup> The term “articulation” itself, however, is bivalent – both ‘dividing’ and ‘jointing together’ (*Oxford English Dictionary; OED*). While Martinet’s double articulation (into morphemes [monèmes] and into phonemes – 二重分節)<sup>6</sup> is based on the first sense, the term is used in the second sense of “bilateral articulation” (二面結節; § 2.2, Miyaoka 2002) as a speech process of linearization. Cf. Sapir’s use in “...unifying accent. But stress has done more than *articulate* or unify

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4. As is well known, Wilhelm von Humboldt (cf. fn. 3), using information about North American languages received from DuPonceau, proposed the concept of incorporation (*Einverleibung*) in Classical Nahuatl (Uto-Aztec, Middle America) in 1836 (Humboldt 1971, 1994). Heymann Steinthal at least, who looked upon himself as the successor to Humboldt, referred the Eskimo (and Mexican) languages to the Humboldt’s *Einverleibung* type (1893: 135–154 [and 112–134]). Its unfortunate and notorious confusion with polysynthesis continued throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, and it was left to Sapir to make a sharp distinction between polysynthesis and noun incorporation as a kind of N+V stem compounding (1911a but, notably, not 1911b) – see Mithun (1984) on incorporation and § 41.2-i for its lack in Eskimo. Furthermore, the confusion seems now to be compounded by a basically different school of linguistics.

5. Martinet, while repeatedly discussing the disparity between a *monème* as the minimal sign and a ‘*mot*’ (placed in quotes) in defining double articulation (1960: 112–113, 1965), has not assigned a place to the latter but apparently ‘discarded’ it instead (1960: 102–109; Matthews 2001: 88).

6. Japanese terms in *kanji* 漢字 are added when they may suggest helpful hints about the basic concepts concerned.



sequences that in their own right imply a syntactic relation” (1921; 118). Although the direction may sound opposite (top down vs. bottom up), the two “articulations” would *not* simply be the opposite sides of the same coin.<sup>7</sup> It is not a ‘coin’-like bilateralism.

iii) A “form” 形 – or “articulus” 節 in bilateral articulation as understood here – is a realization or embodiment of one or more “pre-formal” but categorized abstract units (cf. *-emes* from Martinet’s “first” and “second articulation”, i.e. morphemes and phonemes) according to predetermined “grooves” (Sapir 1921: *passim*) or collective “patterns” 型 unique to the language concerned.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. Bilateral articulation

That a linguistic sign has two terms, sign-content and sign-expression, implies that there are two articulations that are necessarily paired with each other, namely, morpho-syntactic articulation on the content plane and the phonological articulation on the expression plane.<sup>9</sup> Each articulation should be a bottom-up dynamic process, implying that a phrase, clause, and sentence formation is also a matter of articulation, just like word formation.

### 2.1. Words and syllables as minimal forms

Words here are taken as a phenomenon on the content plane, while syllables belong to the expression plane. One may take a word to be the minimal “form” (or minimal unit that can be uttered in isolation) of morpho-syntactic articulation, following patterns on the content plane unique to the language, but *not* in terms of the (grammatical and semantic) content packed therein.

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7. It might be the case that viewing human speech as merely the other side (i.e. spreading out) of the principle of double articulation has possibly lead to obscuring the concept of a word.
  8. The Chinese 「形」 ‘form’ can also be verbal ‘to realize, represent’ and the Japanese *kata-chi* (form / 形) is a derivative of *kata* (pattern / 型) with the obsolete suffix, cf. also its derived *su-gata* (figure / 姿).
  9. The ‘plane’ here has bilateral implications as postulated by Hjelmslev ([1943] 1953), to whom ‘l’unité minimale essentielle est la syllabe’ and the corresponding ‘syllabes de contenu’ on the content plane are minimal ‘syntagmes’ which often practically coincide with words (Hjelmslev 1966: 145–146) – a logical consequence from the glossematic isomorphism of expression and content. Morphological articulation is nothing but ‘syn-tax’ in its literal sense.

While words are minimal formal units on the content plane by definition, morphemes (as their building blocks such as root, stem, affix, etc.) constitute “pre-formal” (i.e. abstract) functional units. In parallel, it is the syllable (音節 ‘sound-joint’) that is the minimal “form” on the expression plane (that can be uttered in isolation) that also follows phonological patterns unique to the language, while phonemes are pre-formal functional units.

Linguistic units employed in this CAY grammar are schematically given as follows:

*Table 1:* Bilateral articulation

	<i>pre-formal form (articulus)</i>	
<i>content plane</i> (morphosyntactic)	morpheme	word < (enclitic < non-enclitic) bound phrase [articulus] < phrase < clause < sentence [articuli] ...
<i>expression plane</i> (phonological)	phoneme	syllable < foot < larger phonological units

In this bilateral articulation as a “form-giving” process, with a word and a syllable as the minimal realized form (articulus) on each plane, both articulations proceed simultaneously bottom-up by joining together respective entities (morphemes and phonemes). On the content plane, this proceeds according to the informational structure that the speaker is following as well as the “grooves” or collective patterns unique to the language. Morphemes and phonemes are hierarchically brought together on each plane – the former into words, phrases, clauses, sentences, etc., and the latter into syllables and feet as they become simultaneously overlaid by a number of phonological features such as length, stress, pitch (intonation) (and their associated harmony, rhyming, sandhi, aspiration, nasalization, glottalization, etc.) but, most importantly, (potential) pauses that demarcate a one-dimensional form (§ 2.2.2).

A single morpheme can be articulated into a word (i.e. can be realized as a single form or articulus), while two or more morphemes can also form a single word. Thus a word may be either monomorphemic as in example (1a) or multimorphemic as in (1b, c) given in § 2.4-i, even if a multimorphemic word may not necessarily be fully disjointable into as many morphemes due to the amalgamation that may naturally arise within a “form”. Example (2) is also a single word.

Similarly, syllables may be mono- or multi-phonemic. In CAY, a word may consist phonologically of a single syllable (in the shape of [C]V[C]) or a long stretch of syllables and morphologically of a single morpheme or a long stretch of morphemes.

It is *not until* “formed” that a word or a syllable can be uttered in isolation.

Phonological articulation ‘backs’ morphological articulation and lends it its well-formedness and its intuitive acceptance as a word (below). The simultaneous phonological articulation fortifies the formhood of the morphosyntactic

articulation, even though the articulations on the two planes may not necessarily proceed in perfect correspondence with each other (hence “mismatches”; § 2.2.3). It may be the case that the way in which the formhood of morphological articulation (of words in particular) can be fortified by its simultaneous phonological articulation could be conceived more easily in polysynthetic languages, particularly of the “non-templatic” type, with a dynamic morphology (§ 4.1.3).

The parallelism between the two planes itself implies that words, as distinct from morphemes which are pre-formal, could not be taken as something intermediate in level or size between morphemes and so-called phrases (a higher unit comprising two or more words), or as a higher unit beyond that of a (phoneme and) syllable.

See § 2.3 for bound phrases, enclitic and non-enclitic, as contrasted with words.

## 2.2. A glimpse into the “form”

i) A linguistic articulation as a form is intrinsically linear by nature (Saussure’s Principle One for the nature of the linguistic sign),<sup>10</sup> that is, a one-dimensional expanse. But, in this respect, one may ask what it is that gives form to an expanse. If it is two-dimensional ‘sides’ that lend form to a tri-dimensional expanse of a ‘solid’ and if it is one-dimensional ‘lines’ that lend form to a two-dimensional expanse of a ‘side’, then two a-dimensional ‘points’ (a beginning and an end) are what lend form to a one-dimensional, i.e. linear, expanse. Forms such as lines should have no internal divides. If human speech is based upon the linear production of sounds, these ‘points’ would be nothing but (potential) pauses<sup>11</sup> (physiologically either with or without breathing) at the beginning and the end of each form; cf. Anderson’s “potential pause locations” (1985: 151). Fundamentally, therefore, a word as a form will not have an internal pause without leaving behind a formally incomplete fragment. As a “formally satisfying unit” (Hattori 1950), it would not be until it is ‘formed’ that a word attains psychological reality – see also § 2.5-i.

In this connection it might also be of some help to be reminded of the simple fact that an isosceles triangle as a form, for instance, is taken as such only if it has certain features (three lines or boundaries with two of equal length), however large the expanse or space (i.e. content) enclosed by the lines may be. This

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10. Given the intrinsic linearity of human speech, constituent order in articulation is destined to take on different functions, either on the word-, phrase-, sentence-level, or further, depending upon languages (§ 4.2.5.2, § 5.4, etc.).

11. See Chao (1968: 153–154) for Chinese, etc.

could suggest that grammatical and semantic content is secondary to words as a linguistic “form”.

Besides the psychological reality, an important corollary of morphological articulation or the formhood may be that only when it is articulated or formed can a word undergo change or dilution/bleaching in content as a whole, a phenomenon that may be found in any human language. Expletives<sup>12</sup> (or meaningless particles far beyond more or less opaque lexicalizations or grammaticalizations) could be expected to serve in languages merely as empty fillers of syntactic or phonological slots. Expletivity would be a sheer necessity for the mere formhood of “words” as such.

In this vein, some rare morphological processes in languages, apparently anomalous or idiosyncratic, could be understood *only if* words are viewed as nothing but a form (Miyaoka 2002: 143–147) – § 2.3.3.

ii) As a matter of fact, it tends to be commonly accepted that a word is a static, fixed, or ready-made entity established prior to each speaker and stored as a single ‘concept’. In languages like Eskimo, however, words may also be a dynamic, flexible, and continuous form-giving process by which each speaker is capable of producing a new word, even with a sentence-like content, a-matter-of-course or far from being nonce or ad-hoc, although within certain limits (as illustrated in § 4.2.5.4.1 in particular), and strictly following collectively shared predetermined morphological and phonological patterns unique to the language concerned (cf. § 2.5-i).

As such, a CAY word has the potential to be full of content and functionally equivalent to complex sentences in many other languages, packed with a variety of concrete, abstract, and grammatical concepts (as if to the bursting point). At the other extreme, in the same language, it may also be an expletive devoid of content that merely fills out a sentence – e.g. cushion-like “sentence fillers” (§ 53.6), which may have an important pragmatic effect. There should be nothing surprising about this, given that a word as a mere form is, as Sapir (1921: 33) exquisitely defined it, “... a definitely molded entity that *takes in as much or as little of the conceptual material* of the whole thought as the genius of the language cares to allow” [emphasis mine]. If it were the case, this may lead to the conclusion that, as far as a word is concerned, its syntactic or semantic rele-

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12. Expletives are words that are ‘empty’ in content but simply ‘fill’ a phonological and/or syntactical slot (cf. Latin *explere* ‘to fill out’) and are not necessarily limited to isolating languages characterized by high monosyllabicity (below). Whereas a word can be empty content-wise, a morpheme on the content plane, by definition, must be ‘full’ (not meaningless). One may be reminded that Louis Hjelmslev felicitously coined the glossematic terms “plereme” (with the same root ‘to fill’) corresponding to morphemes and “ceneme” (‘empty’) to phonemes (then perhaps implying the “meaningless morpheme” as an oxymoron).

vance is secondary, and therefore attempts to define or analyze a word primarily from a syntactic and/or a semantic standpoint could ultimately lead to the denial of the concept of a word, or at least, for instance, to unrestrained use of the term “compound” in linguistics descriptions for surprisingly varied entities across languages. CAY incidentally has no compounds per se, as will be shown below (§ 2.4, etc.).

### 2.3. “Mismatches”

Returning to the subject of bilateral articulation, it does not necessarily proceed in perfect correspondence on two planes (expression and content), even though the two terms of any linguistic sign, which presuppose each other, are symmetrically paired. It would not be surprising that each plane has its own motives in the form-giving process. Terms within one plane bear multifarious ‘se tenir’ relations among themselves, independent of any within the other plane (cf. Hjelmslev [1943] 1953 and Saussurian ‘valeurs’). These plane-internal mutual relations of the terms, together with the pre-linguistic limiting conditions and constraints (§ 2.1), are responsible for the abundance of apparent mismatches between the two units on different planes, which understandably induce us to make a distinction between a “morphological / grammatical word” and a “phonological word”.

Given the nature of bilateral articulation as part and parcel of human speech controlled by the brain and speech organs, however, asymmetries or mismatches between the two types of “articuli” on the two planes would be a natural consequence of it. Nor would it be surprising that word boundaries do not necessarily match syntactic boundaries as in possibly controversial CAY “locative verbs” (12), which, *despite* having two inflections (nominal and verbal) involved, are regarded as single words, here suggested “phrasal compounds” (§ 2.4-vi; § 4.3-v).

Since a “word” here is taken to belong to the content plane in contrast with a “syllable” on the expression plane, this grammatical description does not commit to two kinds of “words” (grammatical/morphological and phonological) but sticks to only one kind of “word” by treating it as immediately contrasting with what we call a “bound phrase” (拘束句; with two types, i.e. clitic and non-clitic – § 2.3), which in turn contrasts with (free or syntactic) “phrase”. This hopefully may help dissolve some of the “mismatches” and may suggest the possibility that part of what are commonly treated as “compounds” may well be reconsidered in view of “bound phrases”.

In addition to mismatches, a word as a mere form is not so directly constrained by function as are syntax (in view of linguistic communication). Less functional constraints will allow for more freedom of form, given what the

American anthropologist A. A. Goldenwiser called “principle of limited possibilities” (1913). This could possibly be the very basis for how a word can vary surprisingly in size and in function as well as in content, probably contributing to tremendous intra- and cross-linguistic diversity, and it would be easy to see that the formhood itself of a word is at least partly responsible for the much greater diversity of linguistic morphology, or even that linguistic morphology is destined to be much more diverse and complex, than syntax – hence, by the same token, linguistic diversity than non-linguistic culture (in view of environmental adaptation). See Miyaoka (2007: 150–158).

To add, articulation as a form-giving process is not only a matter of speech but is a matter of writing by recourse to visual forms as well (§ 2.5-ii), not surprising given that writing is a more or less exact transfer of speech.

### 3. Words, bound phrases, and phrases

i) A word may be a “free/independent word” 自立語 if it occurs as a single form or articulus to be uttered in isolation without any other word being inserted, while a language may have a “clitic” 倚語, which is typically articulated in phonetic dependence (i.e. clining) upon another word (host).<sup>13</sup>

A CAY free word is either mono- or multi-morphemic and may be subject to a great extent and variety of suffixation, which is by far the predominant morphological process in the language (§ 4.1.1). The language has no stem compounding per se (despite the oft-expressed generalization that the process is a universal feature of language),<sup>14</sup> though it has two specific types of what we call “phrasal compounds” – e.g. (12) below.

ii) On the other hand, CAY has a limited number of monosyllabic words, which are predominantly enclitics 前倚語 marked by = (equal sign) at the beginning, as in (3), apart from one exceptional proclitic 後倚語 or procliticized, as in (15). A CAY enclitic is monosyllabic and monomorphemic. Though dependent, it is still a word by itself with some independence and is utterly distinct either from a suffix (derivational or inflectional) or a free word. The concept of a clitic, so called in descriptions of many languages of the world, is known to be a knotty problem in that the demarcation between an affix and a clitic may not be as rigid, possibly being more or less gradual (cf. Nevis 2000: 392, Dixon and

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13. Shiro Hattori once proposed three basic principles for rigidly distinguishing a bound (dependent) word from a free (independent) word (Hattori 1955: esp. 470–479), while also distinguishing between a “free form” 自由形式 and a “bound form” 付屬形式 – note that his ‘form’ is totally distinct from mine, however (§ 2.1).

14. E.g. Asher (1994: 5.2553–2554), despite Sapir (1921: 68) and § 4.3 also.

Aikhenvald 2002: 25–27, Terasaki 2004: 43). But, as stated above, this is hardly the case with CAY where the demarcation is generally clear (with a few caveats), and suffixal morphemes are never cliticized (or realized as enclitics) while enclitics never become suffixes. A CAY enclitic may be followed by one or more enclitics, still forming a single articulus (as much as four enclitics in succession attested). CAY enclitics (of which there are only about a dozen; § 54) are inflectionless, as is typically the case across languages of the world (though there are languages which have inflectable clitics – cf. Nevis 2000: 394).

iii) Other morphosyntactic units or “articuli” immediately beyond the word (either free or clitic) also seem to remain a matter of controversy. Descriptions of many languages, well-known or exotic, seem to show that the categories “word” and “phrase” may not be strictly binary, but to suggest (at least) another level of articulation – variously interpreted and named – which is intermediate in formal cohesiveness between words and phrases, each possibly with its defining features.

There are some phonological features beside the form-defining (potential) pause and insertability (§ 2.2.4) which distinguish a word from one or more higher levels of articulations. In CAY there are a number of phonological adjustments, both segmental and prosodic, which may conspire to clearly distinguish a free word from the two kinds of “bound phrase” – enclitic and non-enclitic (§ 2.3.1) – and a free word from a (free or syntactic) phrase (§ 2.2.1). A bound phrase, consisting of two (or more) words, forms a single articulus, just like a word, that has no internal (potential) pause, as amply illustrated in the phonology chapters (§ 7 through § 9).

Important references on the word in Eskimo languages would be Sadock (1980, etc.), de Reuse (1994), and Woodbury (2002) among others.

### 3.1. Clitic vs. non-clitic bound phrase

As stated, an enclitic is a (dependent) word by itself, though with some independence (unlike a suffix), and requires a host (free word) to attach to so as to form an “enclitic bound phrase”. On the other hand, two (or more) free words, i.e. a free phrase, which can be either separated by a pause or by another word, or can be interchanged in position (permutation), may nevertheless be articulated as a single articulus, thereby forming a “non-enclitic bound phrase”, with the boundness or fixedness varying (either strongly or weakly bound – § 2.3.2). This means that a word (except for a clitic) may be uttered either in isolation or articulated in phonetic dependence upon another (preceding or following) word. In actual utterances, two (or more) such free words with some syntactical rela-

tion in particular are more likely to be articulated as a non-enclitic bound phrase.

In this grammar, CAY enclitic bound phrases are indicated by the internal boundary = as in (4), (5), while non-enclitic bound phrases are indicated by the internal boundary ≠ (unequal sign) as in (6), (7), (8) only if needed for the sake of description, though in practical orthography the former is represented by the hyphen, and the latter by a space – § 3.6. A (free) phrase is usually indicated only by a space, but may be indicated by internal boundary # for the sake of comparison.

### 3.2. Strongly vs. weakly bound

As stated, a bound phrase is a single form or articulus (just like a word) in which two or more words are phonologically bound together with no internal pause. It is nothing but a “word-like phrase” (Sapir 1921: 145, fn. 19). Some bound phrases, however, are “strongly bound”, while others are “weakly bound”. Between their two extremes there may be a very wide variety, both inter- and cross-linguistically, in terms of fixity, productivity, types, and functions, and the demarcation may be more difficult to make in some languages than in others. More strongly or cohesively bound phrases may tend to become fixed over time and to become “compounds,” with more or less lexicalization or grammaticalization, possibly obtaining different phonological features, while more weakly bound phrases may be closer to free or syntactic phrases, hence possibly a gradual transition between the two extremes. CAY shows no compounds (above) that are so “strongly bound”, except for one type of fixed phrase (as distinct from phrasal compounds mentioned above), that is, “juxtaposed phrases” for numerals (e.g. [7]; § 14.3.3, § 16.3), which may perhaps be a relatively recent innovation.

CAY, though with no compounds per se, manifests high productivity at the word level only by means of suffixation, while some other languages may instead do so at the bound phrase level, a highly remarkable case of which may be the very productive “verbal complexes” 用言複合体 in Japanese which serve as predicates (Kono 1955, 1989, etc., Miyaoka 2002).<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, especially in such languages as Chinese, with a configurational structure and a limited productivity at the word level, the locus

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15. The productivity of its verbal complexes largely owe to a small number of inflectable enclitics (§ 2.3-i) or to many kinds of cliticised formal verbs which are capable of recursive transcategorial conversions. Incidentally, Japanese grammars have conflated most verbal suffixes, the inflectable enclitics, and even cliticised formal verbs into “auxiliaries verbs” 助動詞, a loan concept from Western grammars (Miyaoka 2002: 81, 102–118).



of lexical creativity tends to be at the bound phrase level, which produces new lexical units (except for borrowings) in an innovative and extensive way, which would possibly be the case with a considerable portion of so-called compounds in the language.<sup>16</sup>

If articulation on the content plane is, as presumed above, a single continuous process in which both the so-called morphology and syntax are intrinsically one and the same, with the main difference being a matter of a single form vs. two or more forms (*articulus* vs. *articuli*), one might be inclined to think of the possibility that the two are not autonomous.

### 3.3. Detached or hetero-articulations

Two or more free words may form a syntactic phrase (or a clause), leading to the issue of constituent (or word) order. Even though grammatically or semantically related words in languages tend to occur adjacent to each other, we very often come across instances in which a single phrase of two (or more) words is split by another syntactically remote word, that is to say, “de-articulated”. In CAY where word order is largely free, nominal phrases (e.g. appositive; § 16.1), which are typically articulated as bound phrases, as well as relative or nominal clauses (§ 17, § 18) are easily split by another syntactically remote word, as in (13), (14), § 20(115), and even word order crossing of two nominal phrases may occur (§ 27 [115]). Splitting or de-articulation may occur also with (clitic- or non-clitic) bound phrases.<sup>17</sup>

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16. Chinese was a polysynthetic language for Vladimir Skalička (1909–1991) who talked of polysynthesis in reference to compounding (incl. noun incorporation; fn. 4) – 1951 *Typ polysynthetický / Typ češtiny*, Slovanské nakladatelství, Praha (according to Chino Eiichi). Its so-called compounds, however, may perhaps be considered as more or less weakly bound phrases that are easily transferable to phrases. The more remarkable case of this may be represented by the “ionization” (so called since the 1930s) in which “compounds” (bisyllabic and most frequently verb + object nominal combinations) in the language are frequently subject to this form of disjunction or detachment, causing the two words to fill the predicate and the nominal argument slots of a clause. Cf. Chao 1968: 159–160, 426–434, etc., e.g. 地震 (earth-quake) vs. 地了一次震 (earth-ASP one-time quake) ‘there was an earthquake one time’, although the degrees of separation and insertability do possibly vary. By contrast, the Japanese 地震 [jisin] is a fixed compound and can never separate. A more striking instance than this is one provided by Chao (1968, 433), 幽默 *yōumò* ‘humour(ous)’, a phonetic transliteration (!), which may occur in 他很幽默 (he very *humor*) ‘he is very humorous’ vs. 我幽默他一默 (I *hu-* him one-*mor*) ‘I made a joke with (humored) him’.

17. Though a typologically rare feature, Cysouw (2005) offers an extensive survey of “pre-posed” enclitics in the ‘wrong place’, an example of which is also attested in

All these aberrant detached or hetero-articulations could hardly be understood unless the word is ‘merely a form’ that is not directly or strongly constrained by content (grammatical and semantic). Even though cases such as preposed enclitics may seem unstable, reversal to a functionally explainable order for them, would not be so easily predicted (if not impossible; cf. Haspelmath 1996: 55). Morphology should be seen to have its own motives largely independent of the content or the function. If the function is a controlling factor, pre-posing itself would hardly be expected to have come about in the beginning.

#### 4. Illustrations from CAY

The different morphological units in CAY discussed above are briefly illustrated with orthographical and phonological representations (with rhythmical accent ´ [vowel lengthening], regressive accent ` [consonant gemination], and foot division | marked; § 3):

i) *Words*:

- (1) a. *angyaq* /áŋ|yaq/ ‘the/a boat’  
boat.ABS.sg.  
b. *angya-t* /áŋ|yat/ ‘(the) boats’  
boat-ABS.pl.  
c. *angyà-cuár-mi* /áŋ|yàc|cuáŷ|mi/ ‘in the small boat’.  
boat-small-LOC.sg.
- (2) a. *angyar-pa-li-yu-kapigte-llru-unga*  
/áŋ|yàx|palí·|yuká·|pixtít|xúú(·)|ŋa/  
boat-AUG-make-DES-ITS-PST-IND.1sg.  
‘I wished very much to build a big boat’

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Coast Tsimshian (Canadian Northwest Coast, southeast of Alaska) which marks the grammatical relation of a word not on its head or dependent word, but on a syntactically remote or less related word that it happens to precede (Sasama 2001). In this Tsimshianic language, the function of arguments is marked by an enclitic attached to the preceding word instead of being articulated as a part of the nominal itself or its head:

*jakwa=ł káp=ta qá:q=a hó:n* ‘A raven is eating fish.’  
TA 3A eat CN raven CN fish

where the preposed enclitic (known as ‘connective’) =*ta* is triggered by the A argument (‘raven’) and =*a* by the O argument (‘fish’) (Sasama 2001: 99, e.g. 267).

- b. *angyar-pa-li-yu-kapigte-l-qa*  
 /án|yàx|palí·|yuká·|píxtít|qa/  
 boat-AUG-make-DES-ITS-VNm/VNrI-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 i. ‘my strong wish to build a big boat’ – nominalization  
 ii. ‘the one that I wished very much to build a big boat for’ – relative clause.

ii) *Enclitics*:

- (3) =*llu* ‘and’, =*tuq* ‘I hope’, =*wa* reactive – as in (4) and (5) below.

iii) *Clitic bound phrase*:

- (4) *angyaq=llu* /án|yaq|tu/ ‘and the boat’.  
 boat.ABS.sg.=and
- (5) *tai-li=tuq* /tái|lituq/ ‘I hope he will come’.  
 come-OPT.3sg.=hope

iv) *Non-clitic bound phrases*:

- (6) *angyaq ≠ qaa* /án|yàq|qaa/ ‘the boat (, is it)?’  
 boat.ABS.sg.≠QST  
 – The interrogative particle *qaa*, however, may stand as a free word, meaning ‘is that right?’

The following two are not compounds, although two stems are involved:

- (7) *qulà ≠ àtaúciq* /qulà|àt|taú|ciq/  
 ten≠one.ABS.sg.  
 ‘eleven’ – juxtaposed phrase or numeral (§ 16.3),  
 – strongly bound but not a word, compound or a phrasal compound (below), thus *\*qula+atauciq* /qùl|laá|taú|ciq/.
- (8) *Nuna-m ≠ Iqu-a* /nunàm|(m)|ìq|qua/  
 land-REL.sg.≠end-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘Sheldon Point (Nunam Iqua)’ – place name (§ 11.6.3)  
 – not a compound like *\*Nunam+iqua* /nuná·|mìq|qua/. It is neither a phrase, thus no permutation like *\*Iqua Nunam* or splitting like *\*Nunam ≠ qaa Iqua* (for ‘Sheldon Point?’ – by a question particle).

v) (*Free phrases vs. bound phrases*): A nominal phrase (appositive, coordinate, attributive, adjunctive) except for a juxtaposed one (7) may either be a free phrase or a bound phrase, that is, a “biarticulus” or “multiarticulus”) or a “monoarticulus”. It is typically articulated as the latter, i.e. a bound phrase like (9b)

- (9) a. *May'a-m arna-an* /Mây|yam áÿ|naan/  
 p.n.-REL.sg. woman-REL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘of May’aq’s woman’ – attributive phrase  
 b. *May'a-m ≠ arna-an* /Mây|yàm|(m)áÿ|naan/  
 p.n.-REL.sg. woman-REL.3sg.sg. – same

Compare these with (11).

A nominal phrase as such, except for a juxtaposed one (7), is amenable to permutation and insertion of another word (10):

- (10) a. *arna-an* (≠) *May'a-m* ‘(of) May’aq’s woman’  
 woman-REL.3sg.sg. p.n.-REL.sg.  
 b. *May'a-m ≠ qaa arna-an* ‘of May’aq’s woman, is it?’  
 p.n.-REL.sg.≠QST woman-REL.3sg.sg.  
 c. *arna-an ≠ qaa May'a-m*  
 woman-REL.3sg.sg.≠QST p.n.-REL.sg.

By contrast the following example (11) is segmentally identical with the preceding ‘(of) May’aq’s woman’, but is morphologically different.

vi) *Phrasal compounds*: The following two kinds of word belong here – female teknonymies (based on her/his eldest child) and locative verbs (‘to be at/in [someone’s] – ’). No permutation or insertion is possible.

- (11) *May'amarnaan* /mây|yamáÿ|naan/  
 p.n.ABS/REL  
 ‘a female name (lit. May’aq’s mother)’  
 – note the difference in prosody from the bound phrase (9b). See § 4.3.6-ii and § 11.6.2 for the difference from male teknonymies.
- (12) *angya-an-(e)t-uq* /áŋ|yaá(·)|n(i)tuq/ ‘she is in his boat’  
 boat-LOC.3sg.-be.at-IND.3sg.  
 – the locative verb is uniquely characterized by the two inflections (§ 4.3.6), which is a contraction of *-an* < *-ani* LOC.3sg.sg., *et-* ‘be’, *-tuq* IND.3sg. from *angya-ani et'-uq* as retained in the Cug dialect (Nunivak Island), cf. see § 4.3-v, and § 27.8.

vii) *Detached phrases*: In the following examples the appositive phrase [yuina-a-t pingayu-n] ‘sixty’ is split by the intervening *neqe-t* ‘fish’ (head of the phrasal numeral):

- (13)      *yuina-a-t*            *neqe-t*            *pingayu-n*            ‘sixty fish’  
             20-EV-ABS.pl.      fish-ABS.pl.      three.ABS.pl.

On the other hand, in the following example again, the appositive phrase [unacungaq arnaq] ‘this (endeared) woman’ is split by *wani*, but this is the case where an adverbial adjunct, a sentence filler (§ 53.6) in particular, very commonly lands in the so-called “Wickernagel’s position”:

- (14)      *U-na-cungaq<sub>s</sub>*      ≠      *wani*      *arnaq<sub>s</sub>*            *kit-u-u-ga?*  
             this-EX-ATD.ABS.sg.      SFL      woman.ABS.sg.      who-EX-be-INT.3sg.  
             ‘Who is this (endeared) woman here?’ = § 12(99)

viii) *Proclitic (procliticized particle)*: exceptional as mentioned in § 2.3-ii.

- (15)      *am=neri*            /ám=niyi/  
             hurry=eat-OPT.2sg.  
             – truncation of particle *ampi!* (§ 53.1-i) occurs as a proclitic before the optative verb *ner-i*.
- (16)      *ta=pik-na*            /ta=pík|na/      ‘that one up above there (anaphoric)’  
             ANP=up-EX.ABS.sg.  
             – proclitic only in the Norton Sound (§ 12.2.3.6-ii), while the other CAY dialects have *ta-* as the obsolete prefix only in the two demonstratives *ta-una* and *ta-mana* ‘that one’.

## 5. Implications of formhood

One of the most important implications of formhood of a word should be the much greater linguistic diversity itself, morphological than syntactic (and than non-linguistic or cultural), in view of indirect function as mentioned in § 2.2.3. Two others may be added:

i) *The collective “form feeling”*: It was an impressive experience for me to observe how consistently and productively Yupik speakers follow the morphological and phonological patterns of articulation (like word formation and syllable-based accentuation) unanimously while, in several summers during the 1970s and 1980s, I offered classes of Yupik practical orthography and introductory grammar at Bethel in the training program for Native bilingual teachers (generally 30 or so people). In order to explain the morphological and phono-

logical patterns of the language, I often attempted carefully to elicit the reactions of the Yupik speakers by presenting them (orally or in writing) with many constructed but correctly patterned words, which included very long and elaborate words of my own coinage that they had presumably never used or heard before, but sometimes by interspersing some intentionally misconstrued or mispronounced words or phrases. Strikingly, their reactions were perfectly unanimous, with the entire group of speakers responding either affirmatively or negatively, except for a few cases in which a dialect difference turned out later to be involved (especially in prosody if not lexical). They seemed to have been very keen on “forms”, either words or syllables (two minimal forms in bilateral articulations) in striking contrast with pre-formal units, morphemes or phonemes, the analysis of which was usually found not easy for them to grasp. To me this was a tense and rigorous fieldwork in a way but taught something very real about the speakers’ collective and intuitive “form-feeling” for words (Sapir 1921: *passim*). Incidentally, I have encountered no Yupik speaker, either in the groups or elsewhere, who wrote (11) or (12) as two separate words.

ii) *Lexigraphism fundamental to writings*: However vague it may be for a linguistic group, the collective form-feeling for words and syllables can reasonably be seen as the very basis for the two kinds of writing systems – syllabic 音節文字 and lexigraphic or logographi 表語文字 (‘word-representation’) – that correspond with the two minimal forms, given that they are intuitively “most salient of all the linguistic categories” (cf. Taylor 1995: 176).

It was the Americanist DuPonceau (fn. 3) again, originating the term polysynthesis, that first noted the “lexigraphic” or “logographic” nature (instead of ‘ideographic’ 表意) of Chinese characters (1838b: xxii-xxiv, etc. and 110), a century earlier than Y. Chao (1940).<sup>18</sup> We are aware that DuPonceau’s understanding itself was based on the then current recognition among the missionary linguists that Chinese characters are “words” – Joshua Marshman (1814) in particular who wrote the first Protestant grammar of Chinese. Notably, however, it is again R. Kono ([1977] 1994), mentioned in § 2.1, who bequeathed to us the insight that the fundamental function of *any* kind of writing, including alphabets or syllabics, is word representation or lexigraphism 表語性.<sup>19</sup>

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18. Despite Chao (1940), the use of 「表意」 (ideographic or meaning-representation) seems to have continued in China probably until the 1990s when the term 「表詞」 (word-representation) began to be used (Hirofumi Hori, *p.c.*).

19. In this connection, it may be of interest that the running and cursive Japanese *hiragana* syllabic writing (as opposed to the square *katakana* forms and distinct from the Chinese calligraphic logography) makes full use of the characteristic of brush calligraphy in that its unbroken or successional style 連綿体 of writing has the function of representing the basic form, i.e. a word or an enclitic phrase, as a whole in one succession (Miyaoaka 2002: 33).

# Chapter 3

## Phonological preliminaries

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## 1. Representations

“Phonemes”, the minimal abstract units of speech realization on the expression plane, can be either vowels or consonants (in parallel with “morphemes” with regard to content). The cover symbols V and C are used for vowels (three “full vowels”  $\underline{V}$  /a, i, u/ and the “fourth vowel” or schwa /i/ – § 7) and consonants (§ 8). The two form the nucleus and the satellite of a syllable, respectively. Phonemes are articulated and combined into a “syllable”. A syllable is the minimal “form” of articulation on the expression plane (in parallel with a word at the corresponding plane of content). See § 2.2.

Two levels of representation are distinguished on the expression plane, the “phonological” (underlying or morphonemic) and the “phonemic” (surface), which are respectively enclosed between vertical bars | | and between slashes // . The latter is clearly characterized by surface contrast and is derived from the former by generally regular applications of phonological adjustments (P1) through (P24) in § 7, together with adjustments specific or idiosyncratic to certain morphemes. The phonological representation is used to establish “underlying” forms and to explain phonological or morphophonemic derivations. Syllables are moraic at the phonological level, for example, |atata| ‘later’ with 3 morae vs. |ataata| ‘uncle (paternal)’ with 4 morae (which are phonemically /a.tá|ta/ vs. /át|tá|ta/ both with foot division (|) inside – see below for their representations).

Although phonological representations employ a few diacritics and conventions (cf. *Abbreviations and conventions*, pp. xlii–xlix) to explain adjustments specific to certain morphemes, both the phonemic and the phonological representations employ the same inventory of vowels in Table 2 and consonants in Table 3, except for the parenthesized seven consonants which are marginal, i.e. four labiovelar (labialized or ‘round lips’) fricatives and three voiceless nasals. They do not occur at the deepest underlying level but are the results of intermediate phonological derivations: cf. segmental adjustments (P12, 13) in § 7. For the symbols, the Americanist notation rather than IPA has been adopted.

A moraic syllable at the phonological level has the shape of (C)V(C) – i.e. V, CV, VC, CVC – a list that confirms that the language has consonant clusters only word-medially and (at most) two consonants across a word boundary. About a dozen of noun stems with initial sC- (C = /p, t, k, n/), which are mostly Russian loanwords (§ 3.3.5.2), constitute one exception. As the minimum articulation at the expression plane, a syllable is a prosodic unit which may be subject to “accentuation” – assignment of accents (§ 8). The term “accent,” notoriously ambiguous, is employed here to refer to prominence assigned in the syllable sequence, realized as phonetic stress, tone, and length combined.

Two kinds of accent are to be distinguished in view of the accent assignment and the phonetic realization – “acute” (´) and “grave” (`) (e.g. /á, à/). The dis-



inction of acute vs. grave, which does not represent a high vs. a low pitch as used in descriptions of tone languages, is conventionally employed here to indicate the difference in the direction of accentuation, that is, assigned progressively (rightward from word-initial) and regressively (leftward). Conditioned by the kind of syllable sequences, the accentuation basically proceeds on a “iambus” basis (weak followed by strong) within a phonological unit, three kinds of which are typically paired either with a word, an enclitic and a non-enclitic (bound) phrase – § 2.3.1.

As the phonetic realization of accentuation, a full vowel (V) may be “lengthened” and any consonant may be “geminated”. In phonemic representations a lengthened vowel and a geminated consonant are indicated respectively by a postposed raised dot (such as /a˙/) and by doubling the consonant (such as /kk/). A lengthened vowel can be predicted from the phonological representation (immediately below), but, as a result of post-accentual syllable contraction (§ 8.5), it may show surface contrast with a short (unlengthened) vowel, although this is lexically limited in occurrence and carries a very low functional load. Examples are provided with full phonological, phonemic (§ 3.1 through § 3.3), orthographical (§ 3.6), and phonetic representations (§ 3.2.4, § 3.3.6).

	<i>phonological</i>	<i>phonemic</i>	<i>orthographical</i>	<i>phonetic</i>
(1) a.	uʔiʔ[+tuʔ+Ø  beach-IND-3sg. 'it (boat) beached'	/uʔi˙xtuq/	<i>ugirtuq</i>	[uʔé˙xtuq]
b.	uʔiʔaʔ[+tuʔ+Ø  beach-suddenly-IND-3sg. 'it beached suddenly' – with (P18v) /ʔa/ deletion after accentuation (vowel lengthening).	/uʔi˙ːxtuq/	<i>ugi'irtuq</i>	[uʔé˙ːxtuq]

From the underlying representation in | | on the leftmost, the phonemic representation in / / is derived by a number of phonological rules – segmental adjustments (7), prosody (8), and postprosodic adjustments (9). Inside phonemic representation, a syllable division (§ 8-ii) may be indicated by a period (.) and foot division (§ 8-iii) by a bar (|) inside a representation if needed. Phonetic realizations are supplied on the right in the phonetic notation enclosed in brackets [ ].

The gloss beneath the morphemic analysis of the phonological representation is interlinearly given as a key with English gloss and/or *Abbreviations and conventions* (pp. xlii–xlix). This, admittedly, cannot cover the semantic or functional range of morphemes adequately enough.

In this grammar, Yupik forms are generally cited in the (revised) “practical orthography” (§ 1.4-iii), occasionally with the supplementary use of the phonological and the phonemic representations in order to adequately depict the mor-

phemic analysis (with the underlying constituents) and the phonological derivations involved. Orthographic rules are given in (§ 3.6).

Consonant gemination is not always predictable since some morphemes (stems and suffixes) have an inherent accent (“lexical accent”), resulting in gemination. It is indicated by a grave accent in the underlying representations. This kind of inherent accent is more common in personal names and loanwords than in ordinary native stock – see more in § 3.3.4.2, § 11.6.1, etc.:

- |     |    |         |            |          |                      |
|-----|----|---------|------------|----------|----------------------|
| (2) | a. | àka     | /àkka/     | ak'a     | ‘already’            |
|     | b. | nùkaq   | /nùkkaq/   | Nuk'aq   | ‘Nuk'aq’ (name)      |
|     | c. | sàpakiq | /sàppakiq/ | sap'akiq | ‘manufactured boot’. |

## 2. Vowels

CAY has four vowels, as shown in Table 2 below. Three of them – /a/, /i/ [i-e], and /u/ [u-o] – are called full vowels for which the cover symbol V (underlined V) is used. The fourth vowel /i/ (i.e. barred /i/), which is phonetically a non-low central vowel [i̯] (high) or [ə] (mid), called a schwa, is written with *e* in the practical orthography (§ 3.6.1). Phonotactically, any vowels occur in word-initial, -medial, and -final positions, while the schwa cannot occur word-finally at the phonemic level.

Table 2: Vowels

	<i>front</i>	<i>central</i>	<i>back</i>	
<i>high</i>	i	i̯	u	accent: acute (´), grave (`) on V
<i>low</i>		a		lengthening: raised dot (˙) after V

Any vowel can be accented. A full vowel can be combined with another full vowel (including an identical one; i.e. doubled) or can be lengthened (if accented). Lengthening is indicated by a raised dot (˙) after the vowel. By contrast, the schwa can neither be combined with any other vowel nor be lengthened, while it frequently occurs as an epenthetic vowel (EV) to break up an unallowable consonant cluster (just below – cf. P7 in § 7.7).

The cluster restriction dictates that, on the phonemic level, no more than two vowel sequences (not including the schwa) may occur within a word (cf. § 7.3 and § 7.10). However, within a bound phrase (§ 2.3) having an internal enclitic or non-enclitic boundary, it is possible for three or four vowels to occur in succession (occasionally accompanied by intervening glottalization), since two word-initial or -final vowels may follow or precede the word-final or -initial vowel(s) of the following or preceding word (cf. see § 7.3 and § 7.4).

Various phonemic contrasts are illustrated below with minimal pairs. However, minimal pairs at the phonological level may not be exactly minimal but near-minimal at the phonemic level because of the intermediate segmental, prosodic, and postprosodic adjustments from the phonological representations (§ 3.1). Lengthening and gemination are indicated in the illustrations but accentuation is not (unless needed).

## 2.1. Three full vowels and schwa

Six possible contrasts of the four vowels including schwa are illustrated in minimal forms – (3) /a/ vs. /i/, (4) /i/ vs. /ī/, (5) /u/ vs. /ī/, (6) /a/ vs. /u/, (7) /u/ vs. /i/, (8) /i/ vs. /a/, together with (9) three full vowel contrasts:

- |     |    |                     |                  |  |
|-----|----|---------------------|------------------|--|
| (3) | a. | /aki(q)/            | <i>aki(q)</i>    | ‘other side, equivalent, money’                      |
|     |    | /ikiq/              | <i>ekiq</i>      | ‘wound’  |
|     | b. | /napa/              | <i>napa</i>      | ‘tree’   |
|     |    | /nīpa/              | <i>nepa</i>      | ‘noise’  |
|     | c. | /patuk/             | <i>patuk</i>     | ‘two lids’   |
|     |    | /pītuk/             | <i>petuk</i>     | ‘dog leash’.   |
| (4) | a. | /piŋuq/             | <i>pinguq</i>    | ‘he gets something’                                  |
|     |    | /pīŋuq/             | <i>penguq</i>    | ‘hill’   |
|     | b. | /iɸuk/              | <i>iquk</i>      | ‘end piece’  |
|     |    | /īɸuk/             | <i>equk</i>      | ‘something carried on one’s shoulder’                |
|     | c. | /ilaˈtin/           | <i>ilaten</i>    | ‘your (sg.) relatives’                               |
|     |    | /īlaˈtin/          | <i>elaten</i>    | ‘area outside your (sg.) house’.                     |
| (5) | a. | /uɸniq/ ~ /uɸŋiq/   | <i>urrneq</i>    | ‘oil rendering’                                      |
|     |    | /īɸniq/ ~ /īɸŋiq/ | <i>errneq</i>    | ‘dawning’ – see (P13ii) for optional nasal devoicing |
|     | b. | /akiˈtukaˈqa/       | <i>akitukaqa</i> | ‘I think it is expensive’                            |
|     |    | /akiˈtikaˈqa/       | <i>akitekaqa</i> | ‘it is my pillow’.                                   |
| (6) | a. | /aŋak/              | <i>angak</i>     | ‘mother’s brother’                                   |
|     |    | /uŋak/              | <i>ungak</i>     | ‘beard’  |
|     | b. | /iqaˈciquq/         | <i>iqaciquq</i>  | ‘it will be dirty’                                   |
|     |    | /iquˈciquq/         | <i>iquciquq</i>  | ‘it will keel over’                                  |
|     | c. | /ila/               | <i>ila</i>       | ‘part (of)’  |
|     |    | /ilu/               | <i>ilu</i>       | ‘intestinal tract / interior (of)’                   |
|     | d. | /mannia/            | <i>mania</i>     | ‘she put it (on stove) / she shows it (to s.o.)’     |
|     |    | /manniu/            | <i>maniu</i>     | ‘(you [sg.]) put it (on stove) / show it (to s.o.)!’ |

- (7) a. /uka·ni/      *ukani*      ‘coming this way / in the future’  
       /ika·ni/      *ikani*      ‘across there’  
 b. /unu·ku/      *unuku*      ‘tonight’  
       /ini·ki/      *iniki*      ‘hang them (to s.t.)!’  
 c. /kalu·kaq/     *kalukaq*    ‘feast, party’  
       /kali·kaq/     *kalikaq*    ‘paper’  
 d. /pilu·ku/      *piluku*      ‘doing it’  
       /pilu·ki/      *piluki*      ‘doing them’.
- (8) a. /iÿÿua/        *irua*        ‘his leg’  
       /aÿÿua/        *arua*        ‘it rotted’  
 b. /imna/         *imna*        ‘the aforementioned’  
       /amna/         *amna*        ‘the one over there’  
 c. /piÿÿui/        *pillrui*     ‘he did them’  
       /piÿÿua/        *pillrua*     ‘he did it’.
- (9) a. /ili·ŋuq/        *ilinguq*     ‘he gets a partner/helper’  
       /ali·ŋuq/        *alinguq*     ‘he is afraid’  
       /uli·ŋuq/        *ulinguq*     ‘he gets a blanket’  
 b. /ata·ki/         *ataki*        ‘let me see’  
       /ata·ka/         *ataka*        ‘my father’  
       /ata·ku/         *ataku*        ‘this evening’.

## 2.2. Single vs. double vowels

This includes only the three full vowels, as the schwa never occurs doubled.

- (10) a. /ata/            *ata*            ‘let me see’  
       /aáata/          *ata*            ‘father’  
       cf. /áttaa/        *ataa*          ‘he puts it on’  
 b. /atqa/            *atqa*          ‘my name’  
       /atqaa/           *atqaa*        ‘it is his name’  
 c. /kitukcaÿluku/   *kitukcarluku* ‘fixing it (just doing, not so intently)’  
       /kitukcaaÿluku/ *kitukcarluku* ‘slowly fixing it (very neatly, carefully, lovingly with lots of care)’ – reduced intensity by vowel doubling (§ 4.3-vi.b.3.2).
- (11) a. /niÿli/            *nerli*          ‘may she eat?’  
       /niÿlii/          *nerlii*        ‘may I eat?’

- |    |                      |                 |                             |
|----|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| b. | /pituq/ <sup>1</sup> | <i>pituq</i>    | ‘he catches (game)’         |
|    | /piituq/             | <i>piituq</i>   | ‘he has nothing’            |
| c. | /iḻniuuq/            | <i>irniuuq</i>  | ‘she gave birth’            |
|    | /iiḻniuuq/           | <i>iirniuuq</i> | ‘he said he (himself) hid’. |
- (12)
- |    |               |                    |  |
|----|---------------|--------------------|--|
| a. | /uniq/        | <i>uneq</i>        | ‘armpit’                                       |
|    | /uuniq/       | <i>uuneq</i>       | ‘burn on flesh’                                |
| b. | /yuk/         | <i>yuk</i>         | ‘person’                                       |
|    | /yuuk/        | <i>yuuk</i>        | ‘two persons’                                  |
| c. | /älluúyaaq/   | <i>aluuuyaaq</i>   | ‘oval shaped bowl’                             |
|    | /aáluúyaaq/   | <i>aaluuuyaaq</i>  | ‘swing’  |
| d. | /iḻpiḻú tin/  | <i>elpenguten</i>  | ‘you (sg.) are attaining an awareness/feeling’ |
|    | /iḻpiḻuuutin/ | <i>elpenguuten</i> | ‘it is you (sg.)’.                             |

*dialect differences:* A double vowel is contracted to a single vowel in the Hooper Bay and Chevak dialect before a consonant cluster, at least in:

- |      |            |             |                                    |
|------|------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
|      | [HBC]      | [elsewhere] |                                    |
| (13) | /cisquq/ ~ | /ciisquq/   | <i>ci(i)squq</i> ‘knee’.           |
| (14) | /unḻa/ ~   | /uunḻa/     | <i>u(u)nra</i> ‘burn on his flesh’ |
|      | /unḻa/     | /unḻa/      | <i>unra</i> ‘his armpit’           |
- note that in HBC the initial contrast is lost while it is retained before a single consonant /uniq/ ‘armpit’ vs. /uuniq/ ‘to burn on flesh’.

### 2.3. Vowel clusters

Since the schwa cannot form clusters with other vowels, only three combinations in both orders are possible: /ai/-/ia/ (15), /au/-/ua/ (16), and /iu/-/ui/ (17).

- |      |    |         |               |                               |
|------|----|---------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| (15) | a. | /paiḻa/ | <i>painga</i> | ‘its mouth’                   |
|      |    | /piat/  | <i>piat</i>   | ‘they do it’                  |
|      | b. | /aḻyai/ | <i>angyai</i> | ‘his boats’                   |
|      |    | /akkia/ | <i>akia</i>   | ‘its cost; he paid her back’. |
- 
- |      |    |           |               |                           |
|------|----|-----------|---------------|---------------------------|
| (16) | a. | /naukan/  | <i>naukan</i> | ‘when it grows’           |
|      |    | /nua kan/ | <i>nuakan</i> | ‘it is your (sg.) saliva’ |
|      | b. | /iḻa tau/ | <i>egatau</i> | ‘(who) cooked for him?’   |
|      |    | /iḻa tua/ | <i>egatua</i> | ‘she cooks it (usually)’. |

---

1. There are also many speakers who use geminated /pittuq/ instead.

- |         |           |               |                             |
|---------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| (17) a. | /kiukan/  | <i>kiukan</i> | ‘when he answers’           |
|         | /kuikan/  | <i>kuikan</i> | ‘it is your (sg.) river’    |
| b.      | /kiuyiu/  | <i>kiugiu</i> | ‘answer him!’               |
|         | /iya tui/ | <i>egatui</i> | ‘she (usually) cooks them’. |

See § 3.2.4-ix for the phonetic differences between “closing” vs. “opening” clusters.

Three or four vowels in succession may only occur inside a bound phrase, whether enclitic (§ 54) or non-enclitic (§ 53). Note the foot (and syllable) division at the boundary (cf. also § 7.4), and see § 8.4.1-iv for the glottal stop in the non-enclitic bound phrase.

- |      |                 |   |                          |                       |                            |
|------|-----------------|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (18) | tua=i           | > | /tua i/                  | <i>tua=i</i>          | ‘there!’ (=i EXC; § 54)    |
|      | cama=i          | > | /cama i/                 | <i>cama=i</i>         | ‘hello (greeting)’         |
|      | ii=i            | > | /ii(·) i/                | <i>ii=i</i>           | ‘yes!’                     |
| (19) | paiyaa ≠ ataka  | > | /pái yaà(·) (?)atá ka/   | <i>paigaa ≠ ataka</i> | ‘he stayed with my father’ |
|      | paiyaa ≠ aataka | > | /pái yaà(·) ʔaá(·) taka/ | <i>paigaaàataka</i>   | ‘he stayed with my father’ |
- with the stem |a(a)ta-| (§ 4.3.4) for the second word.

Glottal stops seem to be more common within the four vowel succession (b) than with three vowel succession (a).

*dialect variation with clusters and doubles:* There are some (mostly noun) stems that replace a vowel cluster with a double vowel, depending upon dialects:

- |      |                                   |                                |
|------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (20) | /ciuvak/ ~ /ciivak/               | <i>ciuvak ~ ciivak</i>         |
|      | ‘house fly’                       |                                |
|      | /aitaÿ-mi/ ~ /aataÿ-mi/ [NUN]     | <i>aitarmi ~ aatarmi</i>       |
|      | ‘with his mouth open’ (root)’     |                                |
|      | /aiṣaq/ ~ /aaxaq/ ~ /aaxiq/ [HBC] | <i>airraq ~ aarraq ~ aareq</i> |
|      | ‘string story, cat’s cradle’.     |                                |

This variation also often occurs for Russian loanwords (together with single vs. double vowel fluctuations):

- |      |                          |                                  |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (21) | /caini(i)k/ ~ /caani(i)/ | ‘kettle’ – with initial /s/ also |
|      | /painkaq/ ~ /paanka(a)q/ | ‘can’                            |

- /kaupa(a)q/ ~ /kaapa(a)q/ ‘beaded hair net of married Russian Orthodox woman’  
 /kalmínaq/ ~ /kalmiínaq/ ~ /kalmaanaq/ ~ [HBC] /kalmaaniq/ ‘pocket’.

*dialect differences between clusters and intervocalic consonant retention* – Intervocalic deletion of /v/ yields vowel clusters and double vowels in dialects other than Hooper Bay / Chevak (and Norton Sound) where the fricative is retained, as well as Siberian Yupik and Eastern Eskimo. See Fortescue et al. (1994: 90, 243, 244) for the comparative data.

- |      |            |           |           |                                     |
|------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------------------|
|      |            | [HBC]     | [NS]      |                                     |
| (22) | /nuuk/ ~   | /nuvuk/   | /nuvuk/   | ‘point, projection’                 |
|      | /nuak/ ~   | /nuvak/   | /nuvak/   | ‘saliva’                            |
|      | /ciuḃaa/ ~ | /civuḃaa/ | /sivuḃaa/ | ‘she wrings it (pliable wet item)’. |

*initial /yua-/ vs. [HBC] /iva-/* – the former is considered innovative. See again Fortescue et al. (1994: 147–148).

- |      |                        |     |          |               |                           |
|------|------------------------|-----|----------|---------------|---------------------------|
| (23) | /yualuq/ <i>yualuq</i> | vs. | /ivaluq/ | <i>ivaluq</i> | ‘sinew’                   |
|      | /yuaḃun/ <i>yuarun</i> |     | /ivaḃun/ | <i>ivarun</i> | ‘song’                    |
|      | /yuaḃaa/ <i>yaraa</i>  |     | /ivaḃaa/ | <i>ivaraa</i> | ‘she is looking for him’. |

#### 2.4. Phonetic specifications

The phonetic realizations of phonemes are specified in contextual terms:

i) The low vowel /a/ is fronted to [æ] (with less pharyngeal tension than, say, in English *cat*) after /i/, but to the low back [a], next to back velars or in lengthened form; otherwise it is low central:

- |      |  |           |                |
|------|--|-----------|----------------|
| (24) | /azímḃia/  | [azímḃiæ] | <i>asemḃia</i> |
|      | ‘she says he broke it (s.t. as long as a stick)’       |           |                |
|      | – cf. (P13.ii) for phonological forms and derivations. |           |                |

- |      |                                     |                |                    |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| (25) | /ilá·katáḃtut/                      | [ilá·katáḃtut] | <i>elakatartut</i> |
|      | ‘they are about to dig’ – cf. (P3). |                |                    |

ii) The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are front and high back respectively, but more or less lowered, i.e. [e] ~ [i], and [o] ~ [u] respectively, next to back velars and (less markedly) to lowered vowels:

- (26) a. /amik/ [amik] *amik* ‘door’  
           /amiq/ [ameq] *amiq* ‘skin’  
       b. /ukuk/ [ukuk] *ukuk* ‘these(du.)’  
           /uquq/ [oqoq] *uquq* ‘oil’.
- (27) /càlliuq/ [čàllioq] ~ [čàll i oq] *caliuq* ‘he is working’.
- (28) /yuá·ÿun/ [yuá·ÿon] ~ [yuá·ÿon] *yuarun* ‘song’.

iii) The front /i/ is markedly low, i.e. [ɛ], between a back velar and /a/:

- (29) /mittìłxìa/ [mittìłxɛæ] *mit'ellria* ‘one that is landing’.

iv) The vowels /u/ and /i/ may be voiced with velar friction between /q/ (~ /k/) and another vowel in a limited variety of nouns, as below – see § 7.10 (P10i):

- (30) /uyá·qua/ [uyá·qo<sup>x</sup>a] *uyaqurra*  
       [uyá·qoa] ~ [uyáq<sup>x</sup>wa]<sup>2</sup> *uyaqua* ‘his neck’  
       – with underlying |*uyaquy*[+ŋa| (neck-ABS.3sg.sg.).

- (31) /átkua/ [át<sup>x</sup>ku<sup>x</sup>a] *atkugga*  
       [átkua] *atkua*  
       [át<sup>x</sup>ku<sup>x</sup>wa] *atkuwa* ‘his parka’  
       – with underlying |*atiku<sup>y</sup>*[+ŋa| (parka-ABS.3sg.sg.).

v) The high central /i/ becomes [ə] next to back velar and devoiced, i.e., [i̥] or [ə̥], unless next to a voiced sound.

- (32) /uniq/ [unəq] *uneq* ‘armpit’.

- (33) /ciła/ ~ /iła/ [ciła] *cella* ~  
                           [iła] *ella* ‘world’  
       – cf. (P13iv) for the devoiced vowel.

vi) Word-initial /i/ may be preceded by a glottal stop, especially when followed by a geminated stop, while it is usually not pronounced or is barely heard when followed by CV (i.e. a single consonant plus a single vowel):

---

2. The current practical orthography (§ 9.6) has no established way of representing the sound in the third variant.



(34) /iɣquq/ [ʔɣquq] *eq'uq* 'it is shrinking'.

(35) /ina/ (from |ini|) [i<sup>(i)</sup>na] *ena ~ na* 'house'  
– cf. (P17iii) for word-final /a/.

vii) A vowel preceding a back velar may be accompanied by slight pharyngeal tension:

(36) /amiq/ [ame<sup>ʕ</sup>q] *amiq* 'skin'.

viii) A single vowel and a lengthened vowel contrast phonemically in closed syllables as the result of syllable deletion, as is the case in (1a) vs. (b) which are repeated below:

(37) /uɣiɣtuq/ [uɣéɣtoq] *ugirtuq* 'it (boat) beached'  
/uɣi'ɣtuq/ [uɣé'ɣtoq] *ugi'irtuq* 'it (boat) beached suddenly /  
accidentally'  
– cf. (P18v) /ɣa/ deletion after accentuation.

ix) A single vowel cluster and a double vowel may be realized phonetically as a single syllable, as is also the case with a lengthened vowel.

(38) /amí·ɣaa/ [a.mé·.ɣa'] *amiraa* 'his fish-skin foot gear'  
– underlying |amiɣay[+ɣa| (boot-ABS.3sg.sg.)  
/àmmií·ɣaa/ [àm.mé·.ɣa'] *amiiraa* 'she is skinning it'  
– underlying |amiiɣ[+ɣaa| (skin-IND.3sg.3sg.).

(39) /isɣatká·=lu/ [is.ɣat.ká·=lu] *issratka=llu*  
'also my grass bag, backpack'  
/isɣatkaá·=lu/ [is.ɣat.ká·=lu] *issratkaa=llu*  
'it is also her / his grass bag, backpack'.

However, they differ phonetically in that, while /V́·/ (/mí·/ and /ká·/ as above) and /V<sub>1</sub>V́<sub>1</sub>/ (/mii·/ and /kaá·/) are identical in quantity ([mé·] and [ká·]), lengthening is blocked for the second vowel of the two successive identical vowels in the latter due to the two-mora limitation (P20iii). They can, however, differ in tone, that is, the former (/V́·/) has a level tone, while the latter (/V<sub>1</sub>V́<sub>1</sub>/) has a rising (or falling) tone, especially in a prime-accented syllable (i.e. word-final accented syllable – § 8.1, § 8.3).

The (·) in a vowel cluster /V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>(·)/ means that V<sub>2</sub> may be either short or long. It tends to be short (delengthened) in “closing” diphthongs but to remain long otherwise, i.e. “opening” (e.g. /ái·/ vs. /iá·/) – cf. § 3.2.3 also.

- (40) /tauna/            [táuna]            *tauna*            ‘that (one)’  
           /tuani/            [toá’ni]            *tuani*            ‘over there, near you’.

x) Vowels across clitic and non-clitic word boundaries, that is, vowels with an intervening word boundary whether enclitic = or non-enclitic ≠ inside a bound phrase belong to two syllables: Note the difference in vowel quality as well as the syllable division in the following pair.

- (41) /calí=am/        [ca.lí|am]        *cali=am*’ ‘and also, and again’  
           – with /=am/ as truncation of /ampi/ ‘hurry up!’  
       cf. /cálliam/        [càl|liæm]        *caliam*        ‘of the work’ – see (P18ii.a).

xi) The hiatus may be emphasized by a glottal stop especially if a double vowel or a vowel cluster is adjacent to the boundary – cf. (P18iv.a).

- (42) /qàyyaá ≠ aátama/    [qày.yaáʔaá.ta.ma]    *qayaa aatama*  
           ‘my father’s kayak’.

### 3. Consonants

Consonants can be characterized in terms of place of articulation (§ 3.3.1) and manner of articulation (§ 3.3.2) as well as voice (§ 3.3.3), as shown in Table 3 below, where the seven parenthesized consonants – four labiovelar fricatives and three voiceless nasals – occur only at the phonemic level but not in the phonological.

Any consonant can occur as single or double (geminated) (§ 3.3.4) except for the three voiceless nasals, which are only found single.

Gemination is represented by the grave accent ( ` ) on the preceding vowel or by doubling the consonant.

Table 3: Consonants

		<i>labial</i>	<i>apical</i> <i>dental</i>	<i>alveopalatal</i>	<i>velar</i> <i>front</i>	<i>back</i>	<i>labiovelar</i> <i>front</i> <i>back</i>	
<i>stop</i>		p	t	c	k	q		
<i>fricative</i>	<i>Vl</i>	f	ɬ	s	x	ɣ	(x <sup>w</sup> )	(ɣ <sup>w</sup> )
	<i>Vd</i>	v	ɮ	z	ɣ	ɣ̣	(ɣ <sup>w</sup> )	(ɣ̣ <sup>w</sup> )
<i>approximant</i>		w		y				
<i>nasal</i>	<i>Vl</i>	ᵿ	(ᵿ)		(ᵿ)			
	<i>Vd</i>	m	n		ŋ			

See Table 5 (§ 3.6) for the corresponding practical orthography.

Any single or double consonant can occur word-medially (except for double voiced nasals), but only a single consonant can occur word-initially (except for sC- [C = p, t, k, n – § 3.1] in loanwords; § 3.3.5.2) and word-finally.

As consonants have a greater inventory than vowels, the phonotactics have a considerable number of restrictions and will be given in § 3.3.5 after all single consonants have been surveyed contrastively.

No voiceless and voiced back labiovelar fricatives in HBC – see fn. 12.

### 3.1. Place-of-articulation contrasts

Different positions – labial, dental, alveopalatal, front velar, back velar, front labiovelar, and back labiovelar – are illustrated for each manner of articulation:

#### i) Stops:

- |                  |                                     |   |   |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>initial:</i>  |                                     |   |   |
| (43) a.          | /paiɣuq/<br>/taiɣuq/                | <i>paiguq</i><br><i>taiguq</i>                  | ‘he is staying behind’<br>‘he is coming’                |
| b.               | /tuluk/<br>/culuk/                  | <i>tuluk</i><br><i>culuk</i>                    | ‘two ivories’<br>‘feather quill’                        |
| c.               | /cuyak/<br>/kuyak/                  | <i>cuyak</i><br><i>kuyak</i>                    | ‘two leaves’<br>‘lower part of seal’                    |
| d.               | /pama:ni/<br>/cama:ni/<br>/qama:ni/ | <i>pamani</i><br><i>camani</i><br><i>qamani</i> | ‘back there’<br>‘down there’<br>‘in there’.             |
| <i>medial:</i>   |                                     |   |   |
| (44) a.          | /ipik/<br>/itik/                    | <i>ipek</i><br><i>itek</i>                      | ‘diamond (suit in playing cards)’<br>‘foot measurement’ |
| b.               | /ataka/<br>/acaka/                  | <i>ataka</i><br><i>acaka</i>                    | ‘my father’<br>‘my father’s sister’.                    |
| <i>clusters:</i> |                                     |   |   |
| (45) a.          | /iɫtan/<br>/iɫcan/                  | <i>eltan</i><br><i>elcan</i>                    | ‘you (sg.) are deflating it’<br>‘as it is deflated’     |
| b.               | /atliq/<br>/acliq/                  | <i>atliq</i><br><i>acliq</i> [Y]                | ‘saucer’<br>‘saucer’                                    |
| c.               | /niqcan/<br>/niqkan/                | <i>neqcan</i><br><i>neqkan</i>                  | ‘your (sg.) bait’<br>‘your (sg.) food’                  |
| d.               | /akɣa/<br>/atɣa/                    | <i>akra</i><br><i>atra</i>                      | ‘its (spear) barb’<br>‘his name’                        |

- e. /caliskɨnuq/    *caliskenguq*    ‘he works (for someone)’  
 /calisqɨnuq/    *calisqenguq*    ‘he is beginning to ask himself to work’.

*final:*

- (46) a. /ukuk/            *ukuk*            ‘these (du.)’  
           /uquq/            *uquq*            ‘oil’  
 b. /kalikaq/          *kalikaq*          ‘paper’  
           /qalikaq/          *qalikaq*          ‘roof; outer covering (as on a house)’  
 c. /cuyak/            *cuyak*            ‘leaves (du.)’  
           /cuyaq/            *cuyaq*            ‘leaf (sg.)’  
           /cuyat/            *cuyat*            ‘leaves (pl.)’.

ii) *Voiceless fricative* – very rare except for initial /s/ and truncated finals (§ 9.6):

*clusters:*

- (47) a. /iqfai/            *iqvai*            ‘her picked berries’  
           /iqsai/            *iqsai*            ‘his fish hooks and lines’  
 b. /pixtaa/            *pegtaa*            ‘he releases it’  
           /pixtaa/            *pertaa*            ‘he bends it’  
 c. /patxan/            *patgan*            ‘you(sg.) patted him’  
           /patxan/            *patran*            ‘of its bone marrow’  
 d. /niʃɦta/            *nerelta*            ‘let us eat!’  
           /niʃɦsta/            *neresta*            ‘louse, eater’  
 e. /taklaxtuq/        *taklartuq*        ‘he is lying on his back’  
           /taksaxtuq/        *taksartuq*        ‘it would be long’  
           /takxaxtuq/        *takrartuq*        ‘it is a little too long’.

iii) *Voiced fricative:*

*medial:*

- (48) a. /iilia/            *iilia*            ‘he is making an eye for it’  
           /iiʃia/            *iiria*            ‘he is hiding (s.t.) of / from her’  
 b. /tuvun/            *tuvun*            ‘object stuck in throat’  
           /tulun/            *tulun*            ‘your (sg.) ivory’  
 cf. /tuyun/            *tuyun*            ‘your (sg.) mail order’  
 c. /aʃ<sup>w</sup>na/            *augna*            ‘one going away’

vs. voiceless labiovelar:

/atax<sup>w</sup>auʃuq/    *atawauguq*    ‘it’s a blessing’

– written as *awna* vs. *atawwauguq* in HBC, cf. fn. 12.

- clusters:*
- (49) a. /qulni/      *qulni*      ‘area above him’  
           /quzni/      *qusni*      ‘his (own) cough’  
       b. /iʏniq/      *egneq*      ‘juice’  
           /iʏniq/      *ering*      ‘day’  
       c. /manavni/      *manavni*      ‘on your (sg.) fish hooks’  
           /manaʏni/      *managni*      ‘his own two fish hooks’  
           /manaʏni/      *manarni*      ‘you (sg.) say you are hooking!’

A few voiced fricative clusters show metathesis:

- (50) a. /ivʏaʏluni/ivgarluni ~ /iʏvaʏluni/      *igvarluni*  
           ‘(he) coming into view’ – cf. Cupʔig /iʏwaʏ-/  
       b. /ivʏaʏluni/ ivrarluni ~ /iʏvaʏluni/      *irvarluni*  
           ‘(he) wading’ – [ivʏ-].

iv) *Nasal*: Voiceless nasals, which occur only medially, are exemplified in § 3.3.3-ii.

- initial:*
- (51) a. /malliak/      *maliak*      ‘their(du.) companion’  
           /nalliak/      *naliak*      ‘which one of them(du.)’  
       b. /nim ɲilli/      *nem ngelii*      ‘around the house’  
           – from phonological [ini-m] (house-REL.sg.) and [iɲili-a] (border.ABS.3sg.sg.).

- medial:*
- (52) a. /unaˑtin/      *unaten*      ‘your (sg.) hand’  
           /uɲaˑtin/      *ungaten*      ‘your (sg.) beard’.

- clusters and geminates:*
- (53) a. /imkut/      *imkut*      ‘those aforementioned’  
           /iɲkut/      *ingkut*      ‘ones over there’  
       b. /qamɲuq/      *qamnguq*      ‘he begins to give up’  
           /qanɲuq/      *qannguq*      ‘he begins to talk’  
       c. /atmi/      *atˑmi*      ‘of his own name’  
           /atni/      *atˑni*      ‘his own name’  
       d. /ammai/      *amai*      ‘his backpacked items’  
           /annai/      *anai*      ‘his feces’  
           /aɲɲai/      *angai*      ‘his mother’s brothers’.

## 3.2. Manner-of-articulation contrasts

Different manners – stop, fricative, approximant (in terms of stricture – as defined by Catford 1977), and nasal – are illustrated for each place of articulation:

- labial:*
- (54) a. /apuːʔai/      *apurai*      ‘he encountered them’  
       /avuːʔai/      *avurai*      ‘he is gathering them’  
   b. /apauʔluq/      *apaʔurluq*      ‘grandfather (endearing)’  
       /amauʔluq/      *amaʔurluq*      ‘poor guy carried on back’  
       – § 3.6.2 for the apostrophe as used in the orthography.
- dental:*
- (55) a. /ata/      *ata*      ‘let me see’  
       /aʔa/      *alla*      ‘something different’  
   b. /aata/      *aata*      ‘father’  
       /aana/      *aana*      ‘mother’  
   c. /uluxtuq/      *ulugtuq*      ‘it is wrinkled, is being rubbed clean’  
       /unuxtuq/      *unugtuq*      ‘night fell’.
- alveopalatal:*
- (56) a. /piksun/      *peksun*      ‘your (sg.) egg’  
       /pikyun/      *pekyun*      ‘Monday’  
   b. /picuxtuq/      *picugtuq*      ~ /piccuxtuq/ *picʔugtuq*  
       ‘he wants to catch (game)’  
       /piyuxtuq/      *piyugtuq*      ‘he wants to’.
- front velar:*
- (57) a. /aki/      *aki*      ‘other side, money’  
       /aʔi/      *agi*      ‘(you [sg.]) go over!’  
   b. /kimka/      *kemka*      ‘my flesh’  
       /kimya/      *kemga*      ‘his flesh’  
   c. /alikɲia/      *alikhnia*      ‘he says (s.o.) is afraid of her’  
       /alihɲia/      *alinhnia*      ‘he says she is afraid’.
- back velar:*
- (58) a. /atqa/      *atqa*      ‘my name’  
       /atɣa/      *atra*      ‘his name’  
   b. /uqut/      *uqut*      ‘oil’ (pl.)  
       /uʔut/      *urut*      ‘tundra moss’  
   c. /nimqa/      *nemqa*      ‘my bandage’  
       /nimya/      *nemra*      ‘his bandage’.



– see also e.g. (92).

- b. /cazit/ *casit* ~ /cayit/ *cayit* ‘what are you (sg.) doing?’ (INT.2sg.)  
 /tuzik/ *tuseq* ~ /tuyiq/ *tuyeq* ‘shoulder’  
 /iziq/ *esiq* ~ /iyiq/ *eyiq* ‘yolk of egg’ [latter may be heard also in K.BB].

iii) Word-initial /y/ is replaced with /c/ in some words in HBC:

- (63) /yaquq/ *yaquq* ~ /caquq/ *caquq* ‘wing’  
 /yuppik/ *Yup’ik* ~ /cuppik/ *Cup’ik* ‘Eskimo’  
 – [NUN] /cuppix/ *Cup’ig*  
 cf. /suxtuuq/ *sugtuuq* ~ /cuxtuuq/ *cugtuuq* [NI.HBC.NUN]  
 ‘he is tall’

iv) Word-initial /c/ is replaced with /s/ in many areas:

- (64) /cuḡaq/ *curaq* ~ /suḡaq/ *suraq* ‘blueberry’  
 /cituk/ *cetuk* ~ /situk/ *setuk* ‘nail’  
 /cuxtuuq/ *cegtuuq* ~ /suxtuuq/ *sugtuuq* ‘he is tall’.

This is often the case with Russian loanwords:

- (65) /culu’naq/ *culunaq* ~ /sulu’naq/ *sulunaq* ‘salted fish/meat’  
 /caaxalaq/ *caarralaq* ~ /saaxalaq/ *saarralaq* ‘sugar’  
 /caayuq/ *caayuq* ~ /saayuq/ *saayuq* ‘tea’.

### 3.3. Voiceless vs. voiced

i) *Fricatives*: The greater functional load of voice is carried by the contrast in laterals (fricatives) (66) and in velars, front (68) and back (67).

- (66) a. /taliq/ *talliq* ‘arm’  
 /taliq/ *taliq* ‘group dance’  
 b. /iluliquq/ *ilulliquq* ‘he feels sad’  
 /iluliquq/ *iluliquq* ‘he has a stomach ache’  
 c. /quzlian/ *qus’llian* ‘because he might have a cold’, cf. (77a) below  
 /quzlian/ *quslian* ‘because he has a lot of phlegm’  
 d. /atlix̄tuq/ *atlix̄tuq* ‘she is using a saucer’  
 /atlix̄tuq/ *at’lirtuq* ‘he has many names’  
 e. /qamfailyan/ *qamvvailgan* ~ /qamvailyan/ *qamvailgan*  
 ‘before the fire is extinguished’.



- (67) a. /nutxa/        *nutga*            ‘his gun’  
           /nutʃa/        *nut'ga*            ‘shoot repeatedly!’  
       b. /kivxauyʉq/    *kev'ggaugʉq*      ‘it is easy to lift’  
           /kivʉauyʉq/    *kevgaugʉq*        ‘he is a helper’  
       c. /pimixni/        *pimeggni*            ‘in their own thing’  
           /pimiʉni/        *pimegni*            ‘in their (du.) own thing’  
       d. /ixnia/ ~ /ixnʉia/ *eggnia*            ‘she said she threw it’  
           /iʉnia/        *egnia*            ‘she said it is rendering oil (or other liquid)’ – cf. (126) and (127).
- (68) a. /ixniq/        *errneq*            ‘dawning’  
           /iʉniq/        *erneq*            ‘day’  
       b. /aknʉixnaxquq/ *akngirrnarquq*    ‘it is hurting, painful’  
           /aknʉiʉnaxquq/ *akngirnarquq*    ‘it causes one to get hurt, it can hurt’.

Contrast in /f/ vs. /v/ and /s/ vs. /z/ are rare and minimal pairs have not been available (apart from dialect variations in consonant clusters – see § 3.3.5.1, etc.):

- (69)        /afú'tuk/        *avvutuk*            ‘they(du.) separate’  
               /cavú'tít/        *cavutet*            ‘oars’
- (70)        /asá'li/        *assali*            ‘make pancake!’  
               /cazit/        *casit*            ‘what are you doing?’

ii) *Nasals*: Voiced / voiceless distinction is attested only by some speakers.

- (71) a. /azimnʉia/    *asemn̄ia*  
           ‘he says (s.o./he himself) broke it (s.t. long) in half’  
           /azimnia/    *asemnia*        ‘he says it broke in half’  
       b. /niqpi/        *neqni*  
           ‘[he is eating *ner-ai* IND.3sg.3pl.] his own fish/food (plural)’  
           /niqni/        *neq'ni*  
           ‘[he is eating *ner-aa* IND.3sg.3sg.] his own fish/food (singular)’,<sup>3</sup> cf. § 8(24) for different derivations  
       c. /eɬnaxquq/    *ellnarquq*        ‘it (content) must be spilled out’  
           /eɬnaxquq/    *ell'narquq*        ‘it (air) must be squeezed out’  
           – this last pair seems restricted to some Yukon speakers (= *eletnarquq*).

---

3. The contrast is made differently by some speakers – *neqni* ‘his own food’ vs. *neq'ni* ‘his own fish, in / among the fish’.

- (72) /pistiṃa (atx̄it)/pisteṃa (atrit) ‘my servants ([their] names)’  
 /pistima (atxa)/pistema (atra) ‘my servant’s ([his] name)’  
 – distinction limited to some speakers.
- (73) a. /nutḡama/ nutngama ‘of my pulse’  
 /nutḡama/ nut’ngama ‘because I got a gun / began shooting’  
 b. /pistiṃḡua (kina)/ pisteṃḡua (kina) ‘[who] is the servant?’  
 /pistiṃḡua/ pistengua ‘I acquired a servant’.

### 3.3.1. *Phonological alternations*

Fricative and nasal devoicing are regular mostly by (P13), although there is a certain type of morpheme-specific blocking, and postprosodic fricative devoicing specific to certain morphemes occurring in the Kuskokwim and Nunivak dialects, as given in (P21).

### 3.3.2. *Dialectal variations*

A voice contrast of fricatives in clusters may occur as dialect differences in some stems and suffixes, with fricatives devoiced due to an adjacent voiceless C, which is prevalent generally in the Kuskokwim / Bristol Bay area:

The voiceless vs. voiced fricative contrast often occurs before a voiceless C (stop or fricative), which is generally voiceless in the Kuskokwim / Bristol Bay area, while voiced elsewhere – see also § 3.3.5.1. The voiceless fricative in the former area is due to postprosodic devoicing (P21):

- [Kuskokwim / Bristol Bay]
- (74) /paṭtuuk/ paltuuk ~ /paṭtuuk/ pal’tuuk [other]  
 ‘coat (zippered or buttoned)’ – Russian *pal’tó*  
 /aṭqaq/ alqaq [Y also] ~ /aṭqaq/ al’qaq [HBC] ‘elder sister’.
- (75) a. /kiḡxu/ kellgu ~ /kiḡyu/ kell’gu [Y.HBC]  
 ‘invite him!’ – from |kiḡy+yu|; but also *kel’ggu* /kiḡxu/  
 b. /takiḡxia/ takellria ~ /takiḡya/ takelria ‘long one’  
 – with VNrl |-ḡiaḡ-|, not necessarily dialectal, however.
- (76) a. /niḡkina/ nerkina ~ /niḡkina/ ner’kina [Y.HBC]  
 ‘(you [sg.]) eat (soon, in future)’  
 b. /ixtuuq/ igtuuq ~ /ixtuuq/ ig’tuuq [Y.HBC]  
 ‘he knows how to swallow’

- c. /kufciquq/ *kuvciquq* ~ /kuvciquq/ *kuv'ciquq* [Y.HBC]  
 'it will spill' – |*kuvi-*| 'to spill'.
- (77) a. /quslian/ *qusslian* ~ /quzlian/ *qus'llian* [other]  
 'because he might have a cold' – |*qusi-*| 'to have a cold'  
 b. /niḵlɪnniuq/ *nerrliniuq* ~ /niḵlɪnniuq/ *ner'lliniuq* [other]  
 'I see he ate' – |*niḵi-*| 'to eat'  
 c. /kɪfxauyuq/ *kevgauguq* ~ /kɪvxauyuq/ *kev'ggauguq* [other]  
 'it is easy to lift' – |*kivi-*| 'to lift'.

All this is distinct from the voiceless vs. voiced lateral contrast after a voiceless C, as in the following pair, which represents a dialectal contrast due to the difference specific to the VV suffix ('always') – the deleting type vs. retaining type of [K.BB] |*-laḵ-*| ~ [Y] |*+laḵ-*|. See phonological rules (P8ii, P13i) in § 7.

- (78) /taqlaxtuq/ *taqlartuq* [Y] ~ /taqlaxtuq/ *taq'lartuq* [K.BB]  
 'he finishes' – |*taqi-*| 'to finish'.

### 3.4. Single vs. geminate

Any consonant can occur as a geminate, but only medially. See § 3.6.2 for apophyses in practical orthography and further examples and see (93) for more examples.

- (79) a. /una/                    *una*                    'this one'  
           /ùnna/                *un'a*                    'one down there'  
   – |*un-na*| (down.DEM-EX.ABS.sg.)
- b. /uḵut/                    *urut*                    'tundra moss'  
           /ùḵḵut/                *ur'ut*                    'they became watery, melted'
- c. /kixan/                    *keggan*                'trunk of body'  
           /kìxxan/                *kegg'an*                'you (sg.) are biting it'.

The gemination of (b) /ùḵḵut/ and (c) /kìxxan/ are phonologically determined from the |(C)VC-| stems (P8i, P11).

There are, however, a fair number of morphemes that have underlying gemination (marked by a regressive accent or an apostrophe):

- (80) a. |àka|                    /àkka/                *ak'a*                    'already, a long time ago'  
           |qàḡa|                    /qàḡḡa/                *qang'a*                'no!'  
           |waḷu|                    /x<sup>w</sup>aḷḷu/                *wall'u*                'or, otherwise' – probably  
   from |*wa*| (< |*u-a-*|) and |=*lu*|
- b. |itù-| as in                /itùḷxuuq/            *et'ullruuq*            'it was deep'.

3.4.1. *Names*

A majority of disyllabic CAY person names have gemination in the first syllable with pattern of /((C)VCCVC/ and in the second syllable for trisyllabic ones with the pattern of /((C)VCVCCVVC(...)/. Compare i) below with common nouns:

i) *Disyllabic stems*:

- (81) /àmmaq/ *Am'aq* vs. /amaq/ *amaq* 'something carried on one's back'  
 /nùkkaq/ *Nuk'aq* vs. /nukaq/ *nukaq* 'second-year beaver'  
 /sàkkaq/ *Sak'aq*  
 /màyyaq/ *May'aq*

ii) *Trisyllabic stems*:

- (82) /akàxxaq/ *Akagg'aq*, /ciqìlhaq/ *Ciqill'aq*,  
 /tanùkkaq/ *Tanuk'aq* /naÿùlhaq/ *Narull'aq*  
 /nuqàqqaq/ *Nuqaq'aq*, /quliccaq/ *Qulic'aq*  
 /paniŋŋaq/ *Paning'aq*, /qalùttaq/ *Qalut'aq*  
 /paŋàlhaq/ *Pangall'aq* < *Pangalgalria*  
 'fast runner' (a former warrior's name).

3.4.2. *Loanwords*

Many loanwords – from Russian (83), English (84), and Inupiaq (85) – have underlying (lexical) gemination. The inherent accent may or may not reflect a kind of accent in the source language. Note the syllable patterns that are the same as (81) and (82) above (with a couple of exceptions).

- (83) a. /kàssaq/ *kass'aq* 'white person'  
 /càssaq/ *cass'aq* 'clock'  
 /sùnnaq/ *sun'aq* 'ship, barge'  
 /sàppakiq/ *sap'akiq* 'shoe, manufactured boot'  
 /sùxxaliq/ *sugg'aliq* 'pilot bread'  
 b. /malissaat/ *maliss'aat* 'prayers'  
 /pilittaaq/ [Y] *pelit'aaq* 'stove'  
 cf. /pilá'tuuk/ *pelatuuk* 'scarf'  
 /mulùkkuuq/ *muluk'uuq* 'milk'  
 /kulùkkuunaq/ *kuluk'uunaq* 'bell'  
 /malàxxaayaq/ *malagg'aayaq* 'fur hat with ear-flaps'

/mulùttuuk/ *mulut'uuk* ~ /mulùttuutaq/ *mulut'uutaq* 'hammer'  
 cf. /mulú'tuuk/ *mulutuuk* 'they (du.) take a long time  
 arriving, don't come early'.

(84) /silippùssaaq/ *selip'ussaaq* [BB] 'slipper'  
 /alàppaaq/ *alap'aq* [BB] 'shoepac; rubber boot' (*rubber*)  
 /izìppa(a)q/ *esip'a(a)q* ~ /izìppaaq/ *esepaaq* 'zipper'.

(85) /alàppaa/ *alap'aa* [Y.NS] 'my, how cold!' – Iñupiaq *alappa*  
 /alàkkaa/ *alak'aa* 'is that so?' – Iñupiaq *alakka*  
 cf. /alá'kaa/ *alakaa* 'he comes upon it'.

See also (21), (83) and § 3.3.5.2 for Russian loanwords.

### 3.4.3. Intensification

i) There are a number of intensifying suffixes – e.g. VVa |-qapiyc-| 'very much' (§ 41.3.1) and VVa |+pay-| 'intensely' (§ 41.3.2) – that may replace a rhythmical accent with a regressive one, thus causing gemination on the second syllable:

(86) /pinìqqapíxtuq/ *piniq'apigtuq* 'he is very strong'  
 cf. ≙ /piní'qapíxtuq/ *piniqapigtuq* – both from |piniỵ-qapiỵ+tuq|.

(87) /ucìppaxtuq/ *ucip'agtuq* 'it is loaded down, has a great load'  
 – from |uciỵ+pay+tuq|  
 cf. \*/ucí'paxtuq/.

ii) By contrast, there is at least one suffix – VVt |-láy-| 'suddenly' (§ 42.2-ii) as contrasted with VVa |-láy-| 'imitatively' (§ 41.1) – that regresses a rhythmical accent to the preceding syllable, thus causing gemination on the first syllable:

(88) a. /àttuláy'luni/ *at'ullagluni* '(he) suddenly singing' – from |atuý-láy+luni|  
 b. /atú'láy'luni/ *atullagluni* '(he) singing imitatively'  
 – from |atuý-láy+luni|.

### 3.5. Phonotactics

At the phonemic level, all single and geminated consonants occur word-medially, while there are restrictions in the word-initial and -final positions.

Consonant clusters (no more than two consonants) also occur word-medially only, except for a limited class of word-initial clusters in many (Russian) loanwords with /sC-/ – see (94) below..

See § 7.3 for vowel clusters (again of no more than two vowels) that may occur in any position.

### 3.5.1. *Word-medial*

As for consonant clusters, five major classes of consonants – stops, voiced and voiceless fricatives, and voiced and voiceless nasals – occur as the second element of consonant clusters, except for a voiced fricative before a voiceless nasal, and a voiceless nasal does not occur as the first element:

Table 4: Medial consonant clusters

	second C	stop	voiced fricative	voiceless fricative	voiced nasal	voiceless nasal
first C						
stop		○	○	○	○	○
vd. fricative		○	○	○	○	×
vl. fricative		○	○	○	○	○
vd. nasal		○	○	○	○	○
vl. nasal		×	×	×	×	×

The two shaded portions indicate that, in the Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay dialects, the voiced vs. voiceless contrast is lost before a voiceless (stop or fricative), with the voiced fricative being replaced by the corresponding voiceless fricative:

- [K.BB]
- (89) a. /niḡqataḡtuq/ *ner'qatartuq* ~ /niḡqataḡtuq/ *nerqatartuq*  
 'she is about to eat'  
 b. /niḡcetaaq/ *ner'cetaaq* ~ /niḡcetaaq/ *nercetaaq*  
 'poison bait'.
- (90) a. /navxu/ *nav'ggū* ~ /nafxu/ *navvgu*  
 '(you[sg.]) break it!'  
 b. /qulsuḡtuq/ *qul'ssurtuq* ~ /qulsuḡtuq/ *qullsurtuq*  
 'it costs ten dollars'.

The following example shows that the Kuskokwim / Bristol Bay dialects lost the cluster (b) voiced+voiceless or (d) voiceless+voiced by assimilating into the (c) voiceless+voiceless:

- (91) a. /lʏ/ *kelgun* ‘invitation’  
 b. /lʁ/ *kel’ggʉ* / /ʁʁ/ *kellgu* [K.BB] ‘invite him!’ (INT.2sg.3sg.)  
 c. /ʁʁ/ *allganeq* ‘tear’  
 d. /ʁʁ/ *all’giuq* / /ʁʁ/ *allgiuq* [K.BB] ‘he tore (s.t.)’ (APS.INT.3sg.)

Eighteen word-medial *stop+stop* clusters of all twenty possible (excluding geminates) are attested, except for /ct/ and /tc/.

The very limited other types of clusters involve the labialized fricatives /x<sup>w</sup>, ʁ<sup>w</sup>, x<sup>w</sup>, ʁ<sup>w</sup>/ and the approximant /y/ (but not /w/).

The four labialized fricatives are attested with a limited number of stems and suffixes, as illustrated in § 3.3.6-vii through -ix and § 3.6.1-iv.

The approximant may follow a stop, a voiced or voiceless fricative, or a voiced nasal, while it does not follow other consonants except that, around Hooper Bay-Chevak, /y/ replaces the /z/ of the other areas: see also § 3.3.2.2-i, ii.

- [HBC]  
 (92) a. /qazyiq/ *qasgiq* ~ /qayyiq/ *qaygiq* ‘community house, men’s house’  
           /azmuq/ *asmuq* ~ /aymuq/ *aymuq* ‘it (e.g. stick) breaks’  
 b. /iŋzuuq/ *ingsuuq* ~ /iŋyuuq/ *ingyuuq* ‘(you[sg.]) over there!’

Word-medial geminated consonants contrast phonemically with single ones. Like consonant clusters, geminates are bisegmental as is made clear by the presence of a syllable boundary (indicated by a period below) within the period of articulation maintained – cf. Catford (1977: 210). Geminates, however, are phonotactically not equivalent to clusters, only the latter of which may follow a vowel cluster or a double vowel.

- (93) a. /taquq/ [ta.qoq] *taquq* ‘braid’ vs.  
           /tàququq/ [tàq.qoq] *taq’uq* ‘he finishes’  
 b. /ulúŋnia/ [u.lòŋ.niæ] *ulurnia* ‘he says he / she looked away’ vs.  
           /ùlluŋnia/ [ùl.lòŋ.niæ] *ul’urnia* ‘he says it (e.g. water) is slowly rising’.

See (79) for more pairs with or without gemination, and § 8(38) for geminated consonants as contrasted with like-consonant clusters in the Hooper Bay and Chevak dialect.

Metathesis is attested in some word-medial clusters in most of which voiced fricatives are involved. See e.g. (50).

3.5.2. *Word-initial*

Single consonants occur in the word-initial position that include any stops, the approximant /y/, and voiced nasals except for /ŋ/,<sup>4</sup> as illustrated above. Of the fricatives, only two, /s/ and /l/, occur rather frequently, but conspicuously, in loanwords.

While no consonant clusters occur word-initially in native stems, Russian loanwords admit word-initial consonant clusters of /sC-/ (C = p, t, k):

- (94) /stuuluq/ 'table'  
 /spi(i)ckaq/ 'match'  
 /skuuluq/ ~ /skuulaq/ [Y.HBC] 'school'.

In some areas, however, the CAY pattern avoids the word-initial cluster by adding a schwa (e /i/) either at the beginning or as an insertion within the cluster:

- (95) /istuuluq/ *estuuluq* ~ /situuluq/ *setuuluq* 'table'  
 /ispickaq/ *espickaq* ~ /sipickaq/ *sepickaq* 'match'  
 /iskuuluq/ *eskuuluq* ~ /sikuuluq/ *sekuluq* 'school'.

The schwa added forms (with *esC-*) are reportedly felt to be older by some speakers.

*word-initial /c/* : Some words have it replaced with /s/ in many areas:

- (96) /cuŋaq/ *curaq* ~ /suŋaq/ *suraq* 'blueberry'  
 /cayak/ *cayak* ~ /sayak/ *sayak* 'red salmon'  
 /cituk/ ~ /cituk/ *cituk* / *cetuk* ~ /situk/ *setuk* 'nail'  
 – see (P13.iv) for /i/ > /i/ between /c/ and an apical.

A majority of stems with initial /s/ are from Russian words beginning with *s-*, *z-*, *sh(y)-*, *zh-*, *ch-*, or *ts-*. Some of the rest are of Eskimo origin (with *s-* or *sh-*). A few are from other native languages of the region like Aleut or are of undetermined origin. Many (or most) instances of initial /s/ – whether loan or native – are conspicuous in varying with /c/. A few typical (Russian) examples are illustrated:

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4. The initial /ŋ/ occurs in one stem /ŋiŋaŋ-/ (~ NS /niŋaŋ-/) 'to stretch a skin to dry' YED (265). There are a number of stems that people tend to write with an initial *ng*, but most of them actually have an underlying initial sequence /iŋiC-/ (where C is mostly /l/). This is because the second schwa is always accented, rendering the first schwa inaudible (§ 3.2.4-vi).



- (97) /sappakiq/ *sap'akiq* ~ /cappakiq/ *cap'akiq*  
 'shoe, manufactured boot' (Russian *sapogi*)  
 /sa(a)ska(a)q/ *sa(a)ska(a)q* ~ /ca(a)skaq/ *ca(a)skaq*  
 'cup' (Russian *cháshka*).

*word-initial /l/*: Stems with initial /l/ include a number of loanwords from Russian beginning with *l-*, *r-*, *dr-* or *n-* (and a few from English or of undetermined origin) but also ones that are apparently native in origin, including some that are onomatopoeic. Also conspicuous is that many cases of an initial /l/ – whether loanwords or native – vary with /n/. See § 3.6.2-ii for initial apostrophe (*l'*).

- (98) /luuskaa/ *'luuskaa* 'spoon' (*lózshka*)  
 /laafkaa/ *'laavkaa* 'store, frame building' (*lávka*)  
 /lavisqaq/ *'lavisqaq* ~ /navisqaq/ *navisqaq* 'attic, loft' (*navés*)  
 /lumaːʒaq/ *'lumarraq* ~ /numaːʒaq/ *numarraq* 'shirt, cloth' (*rubákha*)  
 – Some use *'lumarraq* with a voiceless /l/ as if it were *lumarraq*.

- (99) /lavvuq/ *'lav'uq* ~ /l̥laːvuq/ *elavuq*  
 'he/it lies flat on ground (hiding)'  
 cf. /lavuːmauq/ *'lavumauq*  
 'he/it is lying (hiding)' – with /lavi-/.<sup>5</sup>  
 /layiq/ *'lagiq* 'goose'  
 /livvaaxtuq/ *'levaartuq* 'it (outboard motor) is buzzing'  
 – onomatopoeic.

- (100) /liqliq/ *'leqleq* ~ /niqniq/ *neq'neq*  
 'white-fronted goose' – possibly onomatopoeic  
 /lól̥l̥ʒaaq/ *'lerleraaq* 'Chinese'.

*word-initial /x<sup>w</sup>/*: The word-initial /x<sup>w</sup>/ found in several stems (but /w/ in some Yukon areas) is presumably derived from the demonstrative root /u-/ 'this, here':

- (101) /x<sup>w</sup>ani/ *wani* < |u-a-ni| 'here'  
 cf. /waːni/ *uani* ~ *ûgaa-ni* < |uʒ-a-ni| 'over there, toward the exit',  
 with no /x<sup>w</sup>/ version = (102a)  
 /x<sup>w</sup>iin̥a/ *wiinga* 'I, me'  
 /x<sup>w</sup>aʎu/ *wall'u* 'or' (perhaps with a conjunctive enclitic /=lu/ 'and').

5. Most of those stems with initial /l/ tend to be written *e* with initial *l* (with an apostrophe or not) like *lav'uq*, *lagiq* and *levaartuq*. Likewise *leg'utii* ~ *legutii* for (106).

*word-initial /w/*: This occurs very rarely:

- (102) a. /wa'ni/ *uani* ~ *uḡaa-ni* < |*uɣ-a-ni*| 'over there, toward the exit'  
 – has no /x<sup>w</sup>/ version unlike (101) /x<sup>w</sup>ani/ *wani*  
 b. /wazik/ *uḡasik* 'tundra hare'  
 /wàqaáxtuq/ *uḡaqaartuq* 'he is retching'.

*a few exceptions with initial fricatives and nasal /ŋ/*: They include onomatopoeia, loanwords, and a few apparently native words. Some initial consonants are restricted to certain dialects.

- (103) /viɣu'tii/ 'verutii 'the foreign object in his eye' – with /viɣ-/  
 /viuq/ 'viuq 'gray-cheeked thrush' YED (409) – imitative.  
 (104) /filak/ (~ /pilak/) *vvelak* (~ *pelak*) 'flag' (English or Russian *flag*).  
 (105) /xuun/ *gguun* 'through here' – with initial truncation of the  
 adverbial demonstrative *uuggun* (PRL; |*wa-*|  
 'here', cf. § 12.3.1).

In a limited number of words, word-initial /i/ shows fluctuation before some fricatives and nasal /ŋ/: iC<sub>1</sub>(i)C<sub>2</sub>.

- (106) /liɣu'tii/ ~ /ilíɣyùttii/ 'legutii ~ elegutii 'his lamp'.  
 (107) /viɣun/ ~ /viɣyùn/ ~ /ivɣun/ 'verun ~ everun ~ evrun  
 'foreign object in one's eye'.  
 (108) /ɣilixtuq/ ~ /iɣi'lixtuq/ ~ /iɣlixtuq/ 'gilertuq ~ egilertuq ~ [Y] eglertuq  
 'he/it is moving, traveling'  
 (109) /ŋillaxtuq/ ~ /iŋlaxtuq/ (*e*)ngelartuq ~ englartuq 'he laughs'.<sup>6</sup>

6. The initial /ŋ/ occurs in one stem /ŋilaɣ-/ in NS (for /niɣaɣ-/ elsewhere) 'to stretch a skin to dry by a wooden mold or by tying onto a flat piece'. There are a number of stems that people tend to write with initial *ng*, but most of them actually have the underlying initial /iŋiC-/ (where C is mostly /l/). This is because the second schwa is always accented, rendering the first schwa inaudible (§ 3.2.4-vi).

3.5.3. *Word-final*

Except in cases of truncation (§ 3.3.5.4), there occur in word-final position only the stops /t/, /k/, /q/, the voiceless fricative /x/, and the nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ that are or belong to inflections, though /ŋ/ is of limited occurrence (below). Final /x/ (absolute singular) occurs as a result of /ya/ deletion (P18v), which is common with a number of nominal elaborating suffixes – e.g.:

|*-cua(ya)ŷ\**| ‘small’, |*-kiytaa(ya)ŷ\**| ‘beautiful (physical and mental)’,  
|*-hi(ya)ŷ\**| ‘darn, no good, funny’:

- (110) /túxkaʁ/      *tu’gkar*      (~ /tùxkaʁaq/ *tugkaraq*) ‘ivory’  
– note the retained accent after /ya/ deletion.
- (111) /i(ŋ)niccuax/      *enecuar*      (~ /iniccuaʁaq/ *enecuarraq*) ‘small house’  
– from |*ini-cua(ya)ŷ\**[+Ø]| ‘house-small’, with (P18v).
- (112) /qimúxtikíxtaax/      *qimugtekegtaar* ‘beautiful dog’  
– from |*qimuyt-kiytaa(ya)ŷ\**[+Ø]| ‘dog-beautiful’.
- (113) /atliʁ/      *atler*      ‘funny name’  
– from |*atŷ-hi(ya)ŷ\**[+Ø]| ‘name-funny’.

*Final /ŋ/*: This occurs in HBC only at the end of doubled vowels in vocatives (§ 31.1-ii) and in the ablative-modal suffix (§ 25):

- (114) a. /aataaŋ/ *aataang* (~ /aataa/ *aata*)      ‘father!’  
– from |*aata*| ‘father’, with final vowel doubled  
/aatammaaŋ/      *aatamaang*      ‘my father!’  
– from |*aata-ma*| ‘of my father’ (REL.1sg.sg.) – see § 31.2-ii for the relative case.
- b. /miŷmiŋ/      *mermeng*      ‘(with) water’

3.5.4. *Final truncation*

Any consonant can occur word-finally, when the following sequence is truncated in vocative forms (§ 31.3). Truncation is indicated by a final apostrophe (§ 3.6.2-v):

- (115) /aat/      *aat’*      ‘father!’ – cf. /aata/.  
/icix<sup>w</sup>/ *icix’* ~ /icux/ *icug’* ‘you know, remember’  
– cf. /ici·x<sup>w</sup>a/ *icywa*

/kaix/	<i>kaig'</i>	'hungry!' – cf. /kaix-paa/ <i>kaigpaa</i> (with EXC; § 52.3)
/us/	<i>us'</i>	'you (sg.), here!' – vocative /uzuuq/ <i>usuuq</i> of  u-  'this' (DEM)
/aɣnauc/	<i>Arnauc'</i>	'little woman' (person name) – from <i>arnaucuaq</i> .

Personal names are very often truncated in vocatives:

(116)	/apac/	<i>Apac'</i>	'Apacaaq!'
	/ayap/	<i>Ayap'</i>	'Ayaprun!'
	/caiq/	<i>Caing'</i>	'Caingilnguq!'
	/kay/	<i>Kay'</i>	'Kayungiar!'
	/miis/	<i>Miis'</i>	'Miisaaq!'

When a voiced fricative comes at the word-final position because of truncation, it is devoiced.

(117)	/aŋaɭ/	<i>Angal'</i>	'Angalgaq!' – cf. vocative /aŋalyaaq/ with final vowel doubled
	/aŋif/	<i>Angiv'</i>	'Angivran!'
	/aɣnaɣ/	<i>Arnar'</i>	'Arnariaq!'
	/cikix/	<i>Cikig'</i>	'Cikigaq!'
	/panix/	<i>Panig'</i>	'Paniguaq!'

However, /ɣ/ becomes the corresponding stop /q/:

(118)	/anuq/	<i>Anuq'</i> ~ /anuːɣaɭ/	<i>Anurall'</i> 'Anuralria!' < /anuɣalyia/.
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The phonemic status of the consonants is illustrated below with minimal (or near-minimal) pairs that contrast in terms of position, manner, and voice:

### 3.6. Phonetic specifications

i) *Stops*: They are lenis with an unaspirated quality. There is no voicing contrast among the stops. Thus the /p/ of *pin* 'your (sg.) thing' is more like the *p* of English *spin* than that of *pin*.

The velar stops (front) /k/ and (back) /q/ (and their corresponding fricatives for that matter) are functionally distinct:

- (119) /áŋyak/ *angyak* ‘two boats’ vs.  
 /áŋyaq/ *angyaq* ‘boat’.

*Affricate* /c/ is [č] but [c] (= [ts̺]) before /i/:

- (120) /ciun/ *ciun* [čiun] ‘ear’ vs.  
 /cıtuk/ *cetuk* [cıtuk] ‘fingernail’.

ii) *Glottal stop*: This may occur optionally as mentioned above – e.g. (19), (42) within non-enclitic phrases and (34) word-initially.

iii) *Fricatives*: They have voicing contrast, though rather rare. The labial /v/ and /f/ are like English (as *vast* and *fast*):

- (121) a. /qamvailyan/ *qamvailgan* ‘before the fire goes out’ vs.  
 /qamfailyan/ *qamvvailgan* ‘before it is extinguished’  
 b. /cavúːtít/ *cavutet* [čavúːtít] ‘oars’ vs.  
 /afúːtuk/ *avvutuk* [afúːtuk] ‘they (du.) separate’  
 c. /aqvici/ *aqˈvici* [àqfíci] ‘run!’  
 /aqfaciki/ *aqvaciki* [àqfaciˈki] ‘fetch them!’

iv) *Lateral /l/*: Though classified as a fricative, this is an approximant as it has no turbulence. The tongue blade is more evenly elevated than English *l* (pronounced with a “sagging” tongue). The corresponding voiceless /l̥/ is a fricative with some turbulent flow:

- (122) a. /taliq/ *taliq* [talɛq] ‘group dance’ vs.  
 /taliq/ *talliq* [talɛq] ‘arm’  
 b. /cállıuq/ *calıuq* [čállıoq] ‘he is working’ vs.  
 /càĥıuq/ *callıuq* [čàĥıoq] ‘he may be doing something’.

- (123) /níqlinýáymik/ *neqˈlinrarmek* [néqlinýáymik]  
 ‘part or product of fish’ vs.  
 /níqlinxáymik/ *neqlinrrarmek* [néqlinxáymik]  
 ‘from fish cut up just now’.

v) *Fricatives /z/ and /s/*: They may be contextually subject to slight labialization:

- (124) /pizit/ *pisit* [pizit] ‘you (sg.) do?’ (INT.2sg.) vs.  
 /ciısiq/ *ciıssiq* [čiıseq] ‘insect’.

- (125) /iŋzuuq/ *ingsuuq* [iŋz<sup>w</sup>ɔɔq] ‘you, over there!’  
 /iŋsuun/ *tengssuun* [iŋs<sup>w</sup>uun] ‘airplane’.

vi) *Front velar* /ɣ/ and *back velar* /ɣ̃/: They are voiced fricatives with respectively corresponding voiceless /x/ and /x̃/ as illustrated:

- (126) /iɣniq/ *egneq* [iɣnəq] ‘juice’ vs.  
 /iɣ̃niq/ *erneq* [iɣ̃nəq] ‘day’ – cf. (68).

- (127) a. /ix̃niq/ *eggneq* [ix̃nəq] vs.  
 /ixniq/ *egg’neq*<sup>7</sup> [ixnəq] ‘throwing away’  
 b. /ix̃niq/ *errneq* [ix̃nəq] vs.  
 /ixniq/ *err’neq* [ixnəq] ‘dawning’.

After the voiceless velars as in (127), speakers may have the nasal voiceless or voiced, a distinction that could be represented by the use of an apostrophe in the orthography. The device is, however, usually not employed.

vii) The *front labiovelar fricative* /ɣ<sup>w</sup>/ and its corresponding /x<sup>w</sup>/ are /ɣ/ and /x/ with lip rounding:

- (128) a. /áɣ<sup>w</sup>na/ *aŭgna* ~ *augna* [áɣ<sup>w</sup>na] ‘one over there’ – cf. (P12) vs.  
 /áx<sup>w</sup>kut/ *augkut* ~ *augkut* [áx<sup>w</sup>kut] ‘ones over there’  
 b. /qáɣ<sup>w</sup>yaq/ *qaugyaq* [qáɣ<sup>w</sup>yaq] ‘sand’.

The ligature may not be used by many writers.

viii) The *back labiovelar fricatives* /ɣ̃<sup>w</sup>/ and /x̃<sup>w</sup>/ are marginal sounds. The former is specific to the attitudinal NNh suffix |-ɣ̃uɣ̃luɣ̃-| (§ 43.1):

- (129) /píɣ̃<sup>w</sup>lua/ *piŭrua* [péɣ̃<sup>w</sup>lɔa]  
 ‘his poor thing; you (sg.) poor dear, go ahead!’

See the following for the voiceless counterpart.

ix) The *voiceless labiovelar* /x̃<sup>w</sup>/, represented by ligatured *ŭr* after a stop, is a marginal phoneme like the preceding voiced /ɣ̃<sup>w</sup>/ . It occurs in derivatives with VN |-quɣ̃-| ‘(body or plant) part’ (§ 19.2) inflected for the third-person singular possessor:

7. This orthographical distinction is possible to make, but the second variant is usually written without the apostrophe.

- (130) /uyáqɣ<sup>w</sup>a/ *uyaqúrra* [uyáqɣ<sup>w</sup>a] ‘his neck’ = (158)  
 – as a very rare variant of:  
 /uyá·qɣa/ *uyaqurra* [uyá·qɣ<sup>x</sup>a] ~ /uyá·qua/ *uyaqua* [uyá·qɣa]  
 – the latter of which may sound childish to some speakers.

The corresponding front labiovelar /x<sup>w</sup>/ is attested in an optional pronunciation by some speakers of the word *atku-a* (parka-ABS.3sg.sg.) from the stem [atkuɣ-], again with the third-person singular possessor:

- (131) /átkuxa/ *atkugga* [átku<sup>x</sup>a] ~ /átkua/ *atkua* [átkua] ‘his parka’.<sup>8</sup>

xi) Besides the four labiovelar fricatives, there are other *labialized consonants* that occur, though very marginal but still used like (b) by some [according to SS, SK], as a result of vowel cluster (/au/, /iu/) contraction by (P18viii). Note the minimal pair of (a) /ɬ/ vs. (b) /ɬ<sup>w</sup>/, the latter of which, being a variant of (c), has no established orthography:

- (132) a. /naɬúx|tùx|tua/ *nallurrlugtua* ‘I don’t know much’ vs.  
 b. /naɬ<sup>w</sup>úx|tùx|tua/ ‘I am sort of ill’  
 c. /naú|tuúx|tùx|tua/ *naulluurrlugtua* ‘I am sort of ill’ – with the bar  
 (|) indicating foot division.

xii) The *semivowels* /w/ and /y/ are momentary consonants that correspond with approximants at the tongue positions of /u/ and /i/:

- (133) /awá·ni/ *avani* [awá·ni] ‘over there’ – (P16).

- (134) /qayá·ni/ *qayani* [qayá·ni] ‘in the kayaks’.

xiii) The *nasals* have voicing contrast: /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ are voiced, while /m̥/, /n̥/, and /ŋ̥/ are their voiceless counterparts. Unpredictably voiceless nasals are represented by the bar on top like *m̄*, *n̄*, and *n̄g* in the practical orthography:

- (135) /azímnia/ *asemnia* [azímniæ] ‘he says it cracked in half’ vs.  
 /azím̄nia/ *asem̄nia* [azím̄niæ] ‘he says (he) cracked it in half’.

- (136) /piá·ni/ *piani* [piá·ni] ‘up there’ vs.  
 /pia·ŋaku/ *piañaku* [piá·ŋaku] ‘having it back there’.

8. Note also a front labiovelar stop, which very marginally occurs at least in the person name /aki<sup>w</sup>kaq/ (written by some people as *Akiuk’aq*) ~ /aki<sup>w</sup>k/ *Akiuk’* < *Akiugalria*.

- (137) /pakma/ *pak'ma* [pákma] 'pile of things heavily loaded (on boat, sled)' vs.  
 /pakma/ *pakma* [pákma] 'up there!'
- (138) /qupniq/ *qup'neq* [qúpneq] 'splitting' (nominalization) vs.  
 /qupniq/ *qupneq* [qúpneq] 'crack' (deverbal noun of result).

xiv) Nasal neutralization (say in English *bank* [bæŋk]) does not occur in CAY (more like Russian *bánk* 'bank' with dental [n]):

- (139) /ányanka/ *angyanka* [ányanka] 'my boats'.

#### 4. Phonological units

As stated concerning bound phrases (§ 2.3.1), a phonological unit as an articulus at the expression plane (as contrasted with content plane) is characterized by flanking pauses and constitutes a domain for phonological processes (§ 7 through § 9). Three kinds of units serve to fortify three different morphological units – 1) words, 2) enclitic bound-word phrases, and 3) non-enclitic bound phrases. A word behaves differently from an enclitic phrase, which in turn behaves differently from a non-enclitic (which includes two or more words). An enclitic phrase is internally marked by the equal (=), that is, the left boundary of an enclitic is marked by the equal sign. A non-enclitic phrase is internally marked by a non-equal sign (≠), while the external boundaries (with pauses) of either articuli may be indicated by a space or the number sign (#). Distinct from a suffix boundary (- or +) inside a word, each of these (=, ≠, and #) is called a “major boundary” as below.

It is a very common phenomenon in actual speech that two or more adjacent words, which can be uttered as separate articuli to form a (free) phrase, are uttered together with no intervening silence to form a non-enclitic bound phrase such as the following.

Enclitic phrases are first illustrated:

- (140) /ała'=xuq/ *alla=gguq* 'they say (it is) different'  
 different.ABS.sg.=RPR  
 – with the lengthened vowel as compared with (142) *alla ≠ yuk*.
- (141) /nuná:ka=lu'=xuq/ *nunaka=llu=gguq* 'also my land, they say'.  
 |*nuna-ka=lu=yuŷ*|  
 land-ABS.1sg.sg.=and=RPR



Two (or more) words that are syntactically connected, such as an appositive phrase (§ 16.1) and an attributive phrase (a possessor with the possessed noun – § 16.4) tend to form a non-enclitic bound phrase.

- (142) /ała(y)≠yuk/<sup>9</sup> *alla ≠ yuk* ‘a (very) different person’  
 ‘different.ABS.sg. ≠ person.ABS.sg.’  
 cf. /ała yuk/ *alla yuk*.

- (143) /nuná·kà(t)≠támá·na/ *nunaka ≠ tamana*  
 |*nuna-ka ≠ tama-na*|  
 land-ABS.1sg.sg.≠that-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘that (extended) land of mine’  
 cf. /nuná·ka tamá·na/ *nunaka tamana*  
 – compare also with:  
 /nuná·kàt≠tamá·kut/ *nunakat ≠ tamakut*  
 |*nuna-ka-t ≠ tama-ku-t*|  
 land-FUT-ABS.pl.≠that-EX-ABS.pl.  
 ‘those future (extended) lands’

Note the non-enclitic pre-boundary gemination (P18iv.a) on /y/ and /t/ above (albeit feeble in general), while it does not occur on /x/ or /t/ next to the enclitic boundary in (140) and (141).

No gemination in the following but still the pre-boundary regressive accent on /yam/:

- (144) /ányàm≠qaa illuá·ni/ *angyam ≠ qaa iluani* ‘inside the boat?’  
 |*anyaỵ+m qaa ilu-a-ni*|  
 boat-REL.sg. QST interior-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 – note that the rhetorical question particle *qaa* splits the attributive phrase.

Compare with the following two:

- (145) a. /ányàm≠(m)illuá·ni/ *angyam ≠ iluani* ‘inside the boat’  
 |*anyaỵ-m ≠ ilu-ɲani*|  
 boat-REL.sg.≠interior-LOC.3sg.  
 b. /ányàmtua/ *angyamtua* ‘I am in the boat’ (locative verb; § 27.8)  
 |*anyaỵ+m-(i)t-ua*| – with regressive accent (P18ii.a)  
 boat-REL.sg.-be.at-IND.1sg.

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9. Note in passing the word *allayuk* /ała yuk/ ‘a very strange thing’, which is commonly pronounced by children as /ałayyuk/ (to be written *allay’uk*), possibly yielding a homophony with the non-enclitic bound phrase as pronounced with marked gemination in certain areas.



- (149) a. /qayáx|pàŷ|mini/ *qayarpagmini* ‘in his own big kayak’ – cf. 8(17)  
 b. /qayáx|paŷmí|=mi/ *qayarpagmi=mi* ‘how about in the big kayak?’  
 c. /qayáx|pàŷ|mini|≠u|taí|nilú|ni/ *qayarpagmini ≠ uitalliniluni*  
 ‘(I found) he is in his (own) big boat’.

Note the difference in the last accented syllable of the following pair (both single words):

- (150) /áŋ|yàx|palí|yùŷ|ŋayúŷ|nàx|qua/ *angyarpaliyugngayugnarqua*  
 ‘I seem able to make a big boat’  
 /áŋ|yàx|palí|yùŷ|ŋayúŷ|naŷquq/ *angyarpaliyugngayugnarquq*  
 ‘he seems able to make a big boat’ cf. § 8(15).

In the following, two phonological units (both non-clitic bound phrases) occur in a stretch with a pause (#) in between:

- (151) /imú|mi(q)|≠qáz|ŷìŋ|qítú|xatni qáz|ŷimi|≠u|taú|ŷatú|xúú|ŋa/  
*imumi ≠ qasgingqetullratni # qasgimi ≠ uitauratullruunga*  
 ‘in the old days when they had men’s houses, I used to stay in one (men’s house)’.

The degree of the pitch fall is assumedly correlated with the syntactic constituency of the words involved and pragmatic factors.

A difference in intonation contour may indicate whether the speaker has more to say (continuations, additions, supplements, or afterthoughts) and may characterize different phonological phrasings, that is, phonological articulations (often according to affective values and illocutionary factors). See Woodbury (1987b: 185, 189) for intonational complexities with numerous modifications of canonical contour and for sophisticated and insightful treatments of CAY tonology in general. There remains much work to be done on CAY prosody especially concerning the complex interaction among duration, stress, pitch, intonation, and pausing, which yield different phonological articulations largely triggered by expressive and pragmatic factors.

## 6. Practical orthography

The orthography employed in the following is a (new) practical orthography (§ 1.4-iii). As stated, its older version was basically completed by 1969 after intensive research on the phonology of the language at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Alaska Fairbanks, and was used until around 1972, especially in productions at the newly established Eskimo Language Workshop,

when it was revised into the new version. The old version is still used by those who learned it at the first period, native and non-native, with resultant confusion still encountered among the users (see fn. 10).

The research at the initial stage was accompanied by some discussion about such a basic problem as what kind of writing systems to adopt, eventually settling upon the Roman alphabet (instead of Cyrillic and syllabic ones as Canadian Inuits) as it is (the most) familiar to the native people concerned.

Adopted for the bilingual education program inaugurated in 1970, the practical orthography has since been used not only in native writings of various sorts but also for pedagogical, religious, and official / public materials in the area, enjoying an increasing acceptance from the Yupik people of the area, as literacy in it has spread with reading materials in different genres steadily proliferating (cf. *Sources*, pp. 1600–1601), though this is most true among the generations that went to school after 1970. The Alaska government has had a Yup'ik language assistance for public service (e.g. elections) since 2008.

Due to the differences in the English and CAY phonological systems, the uses of the alphabet are necessarily different to some extent, and attempts were made to be consistent as much as possible.

The orthography is fundamentally based on the level in which the prosody/accenuation rule (§ 8; P18) is to apply. As such it does not indicate vowel lengthening and consonant gemination of the predictable type. It is a systematic or phonological writing system rather than phonemic, but as a practical orthography it admits some compromise with a few inconsistencies. Certainly it has advantages over the earlier systems devised by the missionaries – Russian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Moravian (§ 1.4-i).

The use of some letters differs from that of the symbols for academic (phonological or phonemic) representations, hence the rules provided in § 3.6.1.

The vowel and consonant letters (with digraphs) employed in the new version of the practical orthography<sup>10</sup> are given below in parallel with Table 2 (§ 3.2) and Table 3 (§ 3.3):

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10. As stated in § 1.4-iii the original “practical orthography” established in the late 1960s was revised into the new orthography around 1973. See e.g. KPLT (1973 vs. 1972). The resultant confusion unfortunately still prevails among the users, native or non-native. The most common types of confusion with the old and of difficulty with new system concern 1) use of *e* next to a voiced fricative, e.g. *\*arenaq* for *arnaq* /ɣn/ ‘woman’, 2) writing of voiceless fricatives e.g. *\*nerelruuq* for *nerellruuq* /ʌx/ ‘he ate’, *\*tangerrtuq* for *tangertuq* /xt/ ‘he saw’, 3) use of apostrophe, e.g. *\*ner'luni* for *nerluni* /ɣl/ ‘he eating’, 4) single vs. double vowel in relation with consonant doubling, e.g. *\*ataata* for *ataata* /atá'ta/ ‘later’, *\*attaata* for *ataata* /áttaá(·)ta/ ‘(paternal) uncle’. This last difficulty may perhaps suggest that the orthography based on the systematic or phonological level may be somewhat too deep. See also § 3.6.4 with fn. 14 and 15 about word-initial *e*.

Table 5: Practical orthography

vowels	high	i	e	u	§ 3.2.1, § 3.6.1-vii				
	low		a						
consonants	stops	p	t	c	k	q	§ 3.3.1-i		
	voiceless fricatives	v	ll	ss	gg	rr	w	urr	§ 3.6.1.-iii,iv
	voiced fricatives	v	l	s	g	r	ug	ur	§ 3.3.1-iii, § 3.6.1-i, iv
	(voiceless next to a voiceless consonant)								§ 3.3.1-ii; § 3.6.1-ii
	approximants	w	y						§ 3.6.1-iv
	voiceless nasals	m̄	n̄	nḡ					§ 3.6.1.-v
	voiced nasals	m	n	ng					§ 3.6.1-iv,
	(voiceless after stop consonant)								§ 3.6.1-vi

There are (apparent) inconsistencies that are involved in *v* as compared with *w*, though not in the HBC dialect – see § 3.6.1-iv.

The punctuation chiefly follows the general English system of the present day. Capital letters at the beginning of a sentence and proper names, question marks, exclamation marks, and periods/full stops are in general use. The apostrophe and the hyphen are assigned various functions (§ 3.6) and can be an additional source of confusion at times.<sup>11</sup>

In the orthographical rules below, there are a few cases in which alternative methods of writing (§ 3.6.4) are possible, that do not lead to misinterpretations as long as consistency is maintained, but there are also some cases for which unorthodox uses are not recommended.

### 6.1. Use of alphabets

Differences between phonemic representations and orthographical writings are illustrated below. Voiceless fricatives and nasals are represented contextually in two different ways ii) ~ iii) and v) ~ vi).

i) The orthographically single fricatives *v*, *l*, *s*, *g*, and *r* represent voiced /v/, /l/, /z/, /ɣ/, /ʒ/, but only between voiced sounds – cf. ii) below:

- |       |                  |         |                             |
|-------|------------------|---------|-----------------------------|
| (152) | <i>avek</i>      | /avik/  | ‘half’                      |
|       | <i>ivsuk</i>     | /ivzʊk/ | ‘drizzle’                   |
|       | <i>casit</i>     | /cazit/ | ‘what are you (sg.) doing?’ |
|       | <i>agi</i>       | /aɣi/   | ‘(you [sg.]) go over!’      |
|       | <i>taliq</i> [Y] | /taliq/ | ‘group dance’               |

11. Commas, exclamations, double quotations are now very much employed in native writings, but colons, semicolons, and dashes are still very rarely (if ever).

cf. <i>talliq</i>	/taliq/	‘arm’ – see iii) below
<i>curaq</i>	/cuʔaq/	‘blueberry’
cf. <i>carraq</i>	/caʔaq/	‘a little bit’.

ii) The single fricatives *v*, *l*, *s*, *g*, and *r* represent voiceless /f/, /ʃ/, /s/, /x/, and /x/ next to a stop, after a double fricative, or next to a word boundary (i.e., at the beginning or end of a word) – cf. i) above:

(153)	<i>nutegyugtut</i>	/nutʔyʔyuxtut/	‘they want to shoot’
	<i>qemaggvik</i>	/qimáxfik/	‘bag, tote (packing variety of hunting items, tools, etc.)’
	<i>kuicuar</i>	/kuícuax/	‘small river, rivulet’
	<i>arvinlegen</i>	/áʔvinliyin/ ~ <i>arvinelgen</i>	/áʔvinílyin/ ‘six’
	<i>nerellruuq</i>	/niʔíʔxuuq/	‘he ate (something)’
cf.	<i>ner'llinia</i>	/níʔlɪnnia/	‘(so I see) he has eaten it’ – see § 3.6.2-ii for the apostrophe.

iii) The orthographically double fricatives, i.e., *vv*, *ll*, *ss*, *gg*, and *rr*, are voiceless (cf. the English *easy* [z] vs. *essay* [s]):

(154)	<i>avvutuk</i>	/afú·tuk/	‘they(du.) got divorced’
	<i>tussilluni</i>	/tusí·ʔuni/	‘he limping’
	<i>amarru</i>	/amá·xu/	‘you (sg.) backpack it!’
	<i>ayaggluku</i>	/ayáxʔuku/	‘shoving it away’ – voiceless /ʃ/ because of the preceding double fricative <i>gg</i> .

iv) Orthographic *w* represents /x<sup>w</sup>/, but only in specific words, while *v* represents both /v/ and /w/, though this is not the case with HBC:<sup>12</sup>

(155)	<i>w</i>	/x <sup>w</sup> /	<i>wani</i> ‘here’, <i>wiinga</i> ‘I, me’; <i>atawauguq</i> ‘it’s a blessing’, <i>akwaugaq</i> ‘yesterday’, <i>iciwa</i> ‘you know’, <i>nauwa</i> ‘where’, and the enclitic = <i>wa</i> as in <i>aanaka=wa</i> /áanaká·x <sup>w</sup> a/ (~ <i>aanaka≠wa</i> /áanakà(x)x <sup>w</sup> a/) ‘well, my mother’ (a response), etc.
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12. Cup’ik has no back labiovelar fricatives (like GCAY /x<sup>w</sup>/) fricatives, so its writing system (Woodbury 1997) uses *w* for the voiced approximant /w/ and *ww* for its voiceless counterpart, yielding a more systematic pattern, hence *wani*, *pawani* vs. *atawwauguq*, and no need for back labiovelar (like GCAY *urr ur*). For HBC, where the voiced /z/ in the other dialects is replaced by /y/ (§ 3.3.2.2-ii), it is to be noted that the voiceless /s/ is intact, hence the use of *s* and *ss* as in *aqsiumga* ‘I am full’ and *issran* ‘woven basket’.

<i>v</i>	/w/	<i>cavik</i> , <i>cavi-a</i> ‘(his) metal’, <i>calivik</i> ‘place to work’, <i>pavani</i> ‘back there’ (cf. <i>paugna</i> ), etc. – note the <i>v</i> between two single full vowels
	/v/	<i>avek</i> , <i>avg-a</i> ‘(its) half’, <i>cav-un</i> ‘oar’, <i>cav-luni</i> ‘rowing’ (stem   <i>cavi-</i>   ‘to row’), <i>kaviaq</i> ‘fox’, etc.

All this lack of consistency may certainly be taken as a shortcoming of the practical orthography, although the sounds concerned occur in a very limited number of morphemes:

Ligatured  $\widehat{ug}$  represents / $\gamma^w$ / and non-word-initial / $x^w$ / as well as word-initial /w/ (which is very sporadic):

(156)	$\widehat{augkut}$ ~ <i>awkut</i>	/áx <sup>w</sup> ku/	‘those ones over there’
	<i>augna</i>	/á $\gamma^w$ na/	‘that one over there, going away’
	<i>augani</i> ~ <i>avani</i>	/awá <sup>w</sup> ni/	‘over there’
cf.	<i>augani</i>	/au $\gamma$ ani/	‘in his blood’
	<i>taugaam</i>	/tà $\gamma^w$ $\gamma^w$ aam/	‘but’
	$\widehat{aug}$ ’ <i>arru</i>	/à $\gamma^w$ $\gamma^w$ a $\chi$ u/	‘(you [sg.]) remove it!’
	$\widehat{ugasqinarquq}$ [K]	/wásqiná $\chi$ quq/	‘it is slippery’
	~ <i>qurrasqi(t)narquq</i> [HBC]	/qu $\chi$ ásqi(t)ná $\chi$ quq/	

Ligatured  $\widehat{ur}$  represents a back labiovelar / $\gamma^w$ /, which is a marginal phoneme specific to the attitudinal suffix NN (‘poor, sorry’) only:

(157)	$\widehat{piurlua}$	/pí $\gamma^w$ lua/	‘his poor belonging; you (sg.) poor dear, go ahead!’
cf.	<i>piurlua</i>	/piú $\gamma$ lua/	‘I keeping on’.

Ligatured  $\widehat{ur}$  after a stop represents the voiceless back labiovelar / $\chi^w$ /, which is marginal like the voiced / $\gamma^w$ /:

(158)	$\widehat{uyaqura}$	/uyá $\chi^w$ a/ (rare) ~ <i>uyaqurra</i>	/uyá <sup>w</sup> qu $\chi^w$ a/ ~ <i>uyaqua</i>	/uyá <sup>w</sup> qua/	‘his neck’; cf. (130). – the last may sound a baby talk.
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v) Barred nasals  $\bar{m}$ ,  $\bar{n}$ , and  $\bar{n}\bar{g}$  are voiceless / $m̥$ /, / $n̥$ /, and / $\etḁ$ /:

(159)	<i>maa<math>\bar{n}</math>ani</i> (rare)	/maá $\eta$ ani/	‘he being here’ –   <i>maanc-</i>   ‘to be here’; for <i>maanlluni</i>
cf.	<i>manani</i>	/maná <sup>w</sup> ni/	‘his own fishing lure’
	<i>asem<math>\bar{n}</math>ia</i>	/azím $\eta$ ia/	‘he said (someone / he himself) broke it’
cf.	<i>asemn<math>\bar{n}</math>ia</i>	/azím $\eta$ ia/	‘he said it broke’.

vi) Nasals in the orthography are also voiceless after a stop and optionally so after a double fricative, while otherwise voiced:

- (160) *ukna* /úkna/ ‘that one coming’  
*errneq* /íḫṇiq/ ~ /íḫniq/ ‘dawn’  
 cf. *erneq* /íyṇiq/ ‘day’ – cf. § 18.3.1.

vii) Orthographic *e* and *ng* correspond to phonemic /i/ and /ŋ/ respectively:

- (161) *tengmiaq* /tíŋmiaq/ ‘goose, bird’.

## 6.2. Use of apostrophes

The orthography employs an apostrophe in the following five cases:

i) to indicate, in the environment of C\_V, the gemination of (phonemically) unpredictable types by placing it after the consonant – cf. (P1), (P18vi), etc. See (P1, P18vii) and § 3.3.4, etc. for more examples:

- (162) *ak’a* /ákka/ ‘already’  
*mill’uni* /miłłuni/ ‘it (bird, airplane) landing’  
*may’uqertuq* /màyyuqíḫtuq/ ‘he is going up suddenly’  
 cf. *mayuqertuq* /mayú’qíḫtuq/ ‘he is going up a while, went up quickly’.

Frequently in personal names and loanwords: more examples in § 3.3.4.1 and § 3.3.4.2

- (163) *May’aq* /màyyaq/  
*Narull’aq* /naḃùłłaq/.
- (164) a. *kass’aq* /kàssaq/ ‘white person, priest’  
*sap’akiq* /sàppakiq/ ‘manufactured boot’  
 b. *malagg’aayaq* /malàxxaáyaq/ ‘fur hat’  
*pelit’aaq* [Y] /pìlitaáq/ ‘stove’  
 – would represent \*/maláxaáyaq/ and \*/pìlì’taáq/, if without the apostrophe.

ii) to show, in the environment of C\_C, #\_ , or \_#, that a fricative or a nasal is *not devoiced* in spite of its environment, i.e. next to a voiceless or a word boundary:



- (165) a. *at'lirtuq* /átlixtuq/ 'he has many names'  
*atlirtuq* /átlixtuq/ 'he is using a saucer'  
 b. *kuv'ciquq* [Y] /kúvciquq/ 'it will spill'  
*kuvciquq* [K] /kúfciquq/ 'it will spill'.

Clusters of a voiced nasal preceded by a voiceless are rare:

- (166) a. *neq'ni* /níqni/ 'his own fish/food'  
*neqni* /níqñi/ 'in the fish'  
 b. *angyall'ni* /aŋyałni/ 'his former boat'.  
 (167) *'lagiq* /layiq/ 'goose'  
*'lerleraaq* /liŷliŷyaaq/ 'Chinese'  
*'verun* /viŷun/ 'foreign object in an eye'.

iii) to indicate deviation from the general accentuation pattern in the environments of V\_V and V\_C concerning (P18v) postprosodic syllable contraction in § 8, as well as in the phonologically idiosyncratic suffixes NNh *|-yũyluŷ-|* (§ 20.3), CNNth *|-ŋyãŷ-|* (§ 50.5), and in some loanwords:

- (168) a. *ugi'irtuq* /uyíːxtuq/ 'it (boat) beached suddenly' = § 8(75b)  
*ugirtuq* /uyíxtuq/ 'it (boat) beaches' (1a)  
 b. *qulngunrita'ar* /qúlŋùnŷitaːx/ 'nine' = § 8 (77)  
 (169) a. *angertu'rtuq* /aŋíxtúxtuq/ 'he keeps saying yes' = § 8(73)  
*angerturtuq* /aŋíxtuxtúxtuq/ 'he is chewing gum'  
 b. *angya'rpak* /áŋyáxpak/ 'big boat' (emphasis on bigness)  
*angyarpak* /áŋyaxpak/ 'big boat'.  
 (170) a. *ama'urluq* /amaúŷluq/ 'poor guy carried on back'  
*amaurluq* /àmmaúŷluq/ 'great grandmother'  
*aamaúrluq* /aámáŷ<sup>w</sup>luq/ '(poor) breast'  
 b. *angya'úrluq* /áŋyáŷ<sup>w</sup>luq/ '(poor) boat'  
*qaya'urluq* /qayáːuŷluq/ '(poor) kayak' = § 20(217)  
 c. *enekeúrlu'rqqa* /nikkiŷ<sup>w</sup>luŷqa/ '(poor me,) it is my house';  
*|ini-yũyluŷ-ki[+yaaq]|*,  
 cf. § 46.1-iv for /ŷa/ deletion.

(171) *tangenge'rmegtegg*<sup>13</sup> /taŋiŋŋiŋmíxtixu/ 'even if they see him'.

- (172) a. *kela'askaq* [Y.BB] /kilá'skaq/ 'paint'  
*navi'iskaaq* /naví'skaaq/ 'attic, loft'  
*pula'avkaaq* /pulá'fkaaq/ ~ *kula'avkaaq* /kulá'fkaaq/  
 'safety pin' (cf. Russian *bulávka*)  
 b. *qaku'urtaq* /qakú'xtaq/ 'hawk owl, goshawk'.

iv) to distinguish the consonant sequence /ny/ (*n'g*) from the velar nasal /ŋ/ (*ng*). Compare the pairs:

- (173) a. *un'gani* /únyani/ 'down there, down river, toward the exit'  
*ungani* /uŋá'ni/ 'his (own) beard'  
 b. *tan'gercetuaq* /tánɣáɣcituq/ 'it is dark'  
*tangercetuaq* /taŋíɣcituq/ 'he lets himself be seen'  
*tan'gerpak* /tánɣixpak/ 'crowberry'  
*tangerpak* [Y] /taŋíɣpak/ 'big seal blubber'  
 c. *min'guuq* /minyuuq/ 'it is the wake (something moving through water)'  
*minguun* /miŋŋuun/ 'paint, color, ointment'.

Compare /nx/ (*n'gg*) and /ŋɣ/ (*ng'g*) also:

- (174) a. *can'ggaq* /canxaq/ 'small grass'  
*min'ggaq* /minxaq/ 'small wake'  
 b. *peng'gartuaq* /piŋɣaɣtuq/ 'he is worried'  
 – No cluster /ŋx/ is attested but, if it were to arise, it would have to be written as *ng'gg*.

v) to indicate *word-final truncation* (§ 3.3.5.4):

- (175) *am'* /am/ 'hurry up!' – for *ampi*[i]  
*May'* /may/ 'Mayaq!' – for *May'aaq* /màyyaaq/  
*call'* /cał/ 'more, next' – for *cali* /cali/

A final voiceless fricative for truncated words is written either as a single or double letter by the people:

- (176) *qail(l)'* /qaił/ 'how?' – for *qailun* /qáilun/  
*us(s)'* /us/ 'you (sg.), here!'

13. The accents (with gemination) on the second and fourth syllables (*e*) are predictable, respectively, by syncope blocking (§ 8.2.3.1-i) and (P18ii.b), hence no apostrophe, unlike the third one specific to CNNth marker.

		– vocative form of  u-  ‘this’ (DEM) – for /ùzzuuq/ <i>usuuq</i>
<i>Angal(l)ʼ</i>	/aŋaʎ/	‘Angalgaaq!’ – /aŋáʎyaaq/ (with final vowel doubled; § 9.7, § 31.1, § 31.3)
<i>icug(g)ʼ</i>	/icux/	‘you know, remember’
~ <i>iciwʼ</i>	/icix <sup>w</sup> / (cf. <i>iciwa</i> /iciːx <sup>w</sup> a/)	
<i>kaig(g)ʼ</i>	/kaix/	‘how hungry?’ – for /kaíxpaa/ <i>kaigpaa</i> .

- (177) *Tua=i=llʼ ca-u-cii-nak(u)                      elliin                      ta-u-m*  
 and                      what-be-not.know-APP.3sg. 3sg.REL                      that-EX-REL.sg.  
*arna-m.*  
 woman-REL.sg.  
 ‘And that woman didn’t know what it was.’  
 – *tua=i=llʼ* < *tua=i=llu*, *cauciinakʼ* < *cauciinaku*.

### 6.3. Use of hyphens

A hyphen is employed in the following two cases, but the equal sign = is used in this grammar, in which a hyphen marks morpheme boundaries.

i) to mark an enclitic (§ 54):

	<i>orthography</i> / <i>this grammar phonemic</i>	<i>gloss</i>
(178) a.	<i>aana-mi</i> / <i>aana=mi</i> /aá(·)na=mi/	Mo.ABS.sg.=ENC ‘how about mother?’
	cf. <i>aanami</i> / <i>aana-mi</i> (homonymous)	Mo-REL.3Rsg.sg. ‘of his own mother’
b.	<i>tuntu-tuq</i> / <i>tuntu=tuq</i> /túntu=tuq/	caribou.ABS.sg.=ENC ‘hopefully a caribou’
	cf. <i>tuntutuq</i> / <i>tuntu-t-uq</i> (homonymous)	caribou-catch-IND.3sg. ‘he catches a caribou’
c.	<i>una-llu-gguq</i> / <i>u-na=llu=gguq</i> / unáː=lu=xuq/	this-EX.ABS.sg.=ENC=ENC ‘this one also, they say’.

A hyphen (but equal sign in this grammar) is also used in (179) interjective demonstrative particles (cf. § 12.3.2.2) and (180) lexicalized particles (though analyzable):

- (179) a. *ama-i* / *am-a=i*                      /amáː=i/                      there-EX=INJ  
 ‘over there’

- |          |                              |                        |                      |
|----------|------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
|          | cf. <i>amai / ama-i</i>      | /àmmai/                | backpack-ABS.3sg.pl. |
|          |                              | ‘his backpacks’        |                      |
| b.       | <i>ala-i / ala=i</i>         | /alá=i/                | EXC                  |
|          |                              | ‘oh, my!’              |                      |
|          | cf. <i>ilai / ila-i</i>      | /illai/                | part-ABS.3sg.pl.     |
|          |                              | ‘his relatives’.       |                      |
| (180) a. | <i>tua-i / tua=i</i>         | /tuá=i/                | (particle)           |
|          |                              | ‘then, there’          |                      |
| b.       | <i>ta-ima / ta=ima</i>       | /ta=i ma/              | (particle)           |
|          |                              | ‘there (not in sight)’ |                      |
|          | cf. <i>tauna / tau-na</i>    | /táuna/                | that-EX.ABS.sg.      |
|          |                              | ‘that one’             |                      |
| b.       | <i>aa-ang / aa=ang</i>       | /áa=aŋ/                | (particle)           |
|          |                              | ‘yes’                  |                      |
|          | <i>ii-i / ii=i</i>           | /ii=i/                 | (particle)           |
|          |                              | ‘yes’                  |                      |
| c.       | <i>maa-irpak / maa=irpak</i> | /máa=irpak/            | (particle)           |
|          |                              | ‘nowadays’.            |                      |

In the practical orthography the question marker  $|qaa|$  is generally written with a hyphen, as it has commonly been considered an enclitic. It in fact behaves like an enclitic in being dependently attached to its head word at the beginning of a sentence. Prosodically speaking, however, it is more of a non-enclitic particle than an enclitic. Its prosody or accentuation pattern does not show an enclitic bound phrase but a non-enclitic bound phrase and can occur independently by itself (‘is it so/right?’) – cf. § 43 and § 53.3. In this grammar the unequal sign ( $\neq$ ), instead of the equal sign, is employed to indicate the dependently used particle:

- (181) *Aana-qaa / Aana≠qaa* /aána(q) ≠ qaa/ ‘(is it, do you mean) mother?’  
 cf. *aana-mi / aana=mi* /aána=mi/ ‘how about mother?’ =  
 (178) above  
 – Note the regressive accent with gemination on /q/ by (P18iv.a – but not P18ii) before  $\neq qaa$  but its absence before  $=mi$  in the compared.

ii) to distinguish a non-native stem. There are a considerable number of words incorporated into (and established as part of) Yupik lexical stock from Russian and some neighboring native languages such as Inupiaq, Aleut, and the Athabaskan languages. English has also contributed loanwords, but far fewer than Russian.

Although bilingual Yupik speakers are beginning to mix their speech with an increasing number of English words, most of them have not been incorporated as Yupik stems but clearly remain and are perceived as non-native elements. Such un-incorporated non-native words, whether nouns or verbs, have to be separated by the linker  $|+(\underline{V}\sim\underline{VV})\check{y}-|$  (LNK – § 52.5.2) from its following native suffix, derivational or inflectional, and a hyphen has to be inserted between the non-native stem and the linker.

- (182) a. *libràry-q* ~ *library-mi* ‘library’ (ABS.sg. ~ LOC.sg.)  
*nícknàme -aq* ~ *nícknàme -ami* ‘nickname’ (ABS.sg. ~ LOC.sg.)  
*éngland-áaq* ~ *éngland -aámi* ‘England’ (ABS.sg. ~ LOC.sg.)  
 b. *busy-rtuq* /bizíxtuq/ ‘he is busy’ (IND.3sg.).

#### 6.4. Different manners of writing

CAY writing is not necessarily uniform in its use. Yupik speakers often write in ways somewhat different from the basic orthographical rules, with regard to a few specific types and words. The variations pose no problem as long as consistency is maintained and confusion does not arise. Major cases of variation that have been observed are mentioned here.

A word-initial *e* is, more often than not, dropped in writing as the vowel is rarely if ever uttered when it is followed by a single (non-geminated) consonant. Most common stems are illustrated:

- (183) a. *emeq* ~ *meq* /<sup>(i)</sup>míq/ ‘water’  
*emelleq* ~ *mell’eq* /<sup>(i)</sup>míllíq/ ‘drinking’  
*emera* ~ *mer’a* /<sup>(i)</sup>mìyǵa/ ‘drink!’, cf. § 8.2.3.1-ii  
 b. *ena* ~ *na* /<sup>(i)</sup>na/ ‘house’  
*eneka* ~ *nek’a* /<sup>(i)</sup>níkka/ ‘my house’  
 cf. *enii* /<sup>(i)</sup>innii/ ‘his house’  
 c. *engelartuq* ~ *ngel’artuq* /<sup>(i)</sup>ŋíllaxtuq/ ‘he is laughing’.

As mentioned in § 3.2.4-vi, word-initial shwa /i/ is hardly audible when followed by CV (a single consonant plus a single vowel), so that many people are inclined to write it without the *e*.<sup>14</sup>

- (184) a. *elituq* /<sup>(i)</sup>li·tuq/ ‘he is learning’  
*elisyu* /<sup>(i)</sup>lisyu/ ‘(you [sg.]) learn it!’

---

14. To write the above as (a) *meqa* ‘my water’, (b) *neka* ‘my house’ and *nii* ‘her/his house’, and (c) *ngelartuq* is not recommended because they do not reflect the gemination and lack consistency.

b. <i>elagaa</i>	/ <sup>(i)</sup> la·ɣaa/	‘he is digging it’
<i>elii</i>	/illi/	‘(you [sg.]) dig it!’ <sup>15</sup>
c. <i>elliraat</i>	/ <sup>(i)</sup> li·ɣaat/	‘orphans’.

A word-initial voiced /l/ is written with or without the apostrophe, which causes no confusion as no words begin with a voiceless /l/:

(185) *‘lagiq ~ lagiq* /laɣiq/ ‘goose’.

A few specific words vary in actual writing, which is largely a matter of preference if not due to differences in actual pronunciation:

(186) *ta-ima ~ tayima / ta=ima* /taí·ma/ ‘somewhere (else)’  
– *taima* is reasonably uncommendable (cf. *taiguq* /táiɣuq/ ‘he has come’).

(187) *tua-i-llu ~ tua-i-ll’ / tua=i=llu* /tua·i=ɫ(u)/ ‘(and) then’  
*tua-llu ~ tuallu / tuall(u)* /tua·ɫ(u)/ ‘ready!, what’s up?’

See Miyaoka and Mather (1979) for more details on the orthography and examples.

---

15. Oft-used spelling such as (a) *lituq* and (b) *lagaa*, which cannot reflect the lengthened vowel, and (a) *liituq* and *lisgu* and (b) *laagaa* and *lii*, which lack consistency, are not recommended either, as this would result in inconsistencies (*lii* does not reflect the gemination either). We are aware that this is one of the difficulties people have in learning the practical orthography. To write a single (or a double) vowel as in *elituq* and *elisgu* (/iɫic-/) is confusing, as is the case with the double vowel of *niituq* ‘he is listening’ and *niisgu* ‘(you [sg.]) listen to it!’ (/niic-/).

# Chapter 4

## Morphological preliminaries

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This chapter is twofold in that it is meant to cover both basic morphological matters (including basic morphophonology, with minimum illustrations but full references to later chapters) and some topics at length (with full illustrations) that will not be treated in later chapters.

## 1. General characteristics

Words, as the minimal content “forms”, are articulated upon or constructed of the morphemes (§ 2.2.1), and the way they are constructed is the main concern of morphology – in contrast with syntax which deals with larger units constructed of two or more words. Bound phrases (§ 2.3) belong to the interface between morphology and syntax, thereby leaving their demarcation more ambiguous.

As a polysynthetic language (§ 2.1-i), CAY achieves through its morphology what many other languages do through syntactic operations on phrases and clauses. Grammatical relations (e.g. case, person), verbal categories (e.g. tense-aspect, modality, negation), valency modifications, (clausal) “transcategorical” operations (nominalization and verbalization) as well as many semantic modifications (nominal and verbal) are taken care of by suffixes – derivational as well as inflectional. CAY’s causative verbs, for instance, are only morphological and never “analytical” (Comrie 1985b: 331–332) – see § 34.5 and § 39.1. The language has no causative verb stem meaning ‘to cause, make’. Hence the remarkable importance of CAY’s “internal syntax” (Swadesh 1939), which has a greater functional load than with many other languages and much overlapping between morphology and syntax.

As such, CAY has a remarkably productive morphology, which constitutes the most complex part of its grammar. It has a strong tendency to elaborately pack a large amount of content (grammatical and semantic) into a single word – mostly a verb but also a nominal – as the minimal form of articulation (i.e. “articulus”; § 2.1) at the content level.

CAY may chiefly be characterized, in view of its morphology, as a language that is:

- i) almost exclusively suffixal in terms of the morphological process of word construction; § 4.1.1 (predominant suffixation)
- ii) highly agglutinative in view of its mechanical cohesiveness and one-to-one correspondence; § 4.1.2 (agglutination)
- iii) polysynthetic in terms of its dynamic or “non-templatic” morphological productivity, which by necessity involves a rich internal syntax that packs rich content into a single word; § 4.1.3 (non-templatic polysynthesis)
- iv) notable for morphological ergativity, albeit with splits; § 4.1.4.1
- v) notable for double-marking; § 4.1.4.2

Other minor characteristics will be mentioned in relevant chapters.



## 1.1. Predominant suffixation

CAY is endowed with a great quantity and variety of highly productive suffixes that provide supple means for the complex inflection and derivation of both verbs and nominals other than non-inflecting words (§ 52 through § 54).

A CAY inflecting word – verb or nominal – is made up of a single stem that can optionally be followed by a potentially long series of derivational suffixes (or “postbases” called by some Eskimo linguists), which are in turn obligatorily followed by final inflection (or “ending” by some), as schematized:

- (1) STEM<sup>1</sup> + DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX<sup>0~</sup> + INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX<sup>1-3</sup>  
(i.e. INFLECTION<sup>1</sup>)

where the superscript <sup>1</sup> for the word-initial stem implies a single stem, namely, that there is no stem compounding (below) nor prefixation (with the caveat in § 4.3-i), the <sup>0~</sup> for derivational suffixes means a zero or (theoretically) an indefinitely large number of them, that is, they are optional, and the <sup>1-3</sup> for inflectional suffixes consist of one, two, or three (depending upon the kinds of words; superscript for inflection). These are frequently fused and are called an inflection, being generally given as a single unit without analysis in representations. While derivational suffixes are optional, a stem and an inflection (with superscript <sup>1</sup>) are obligatory.

A stem, followed by derivational suffixes (§ 4.2.5), is called an “expanded stem”.

Even though the following example has suffixes which are concrete in content, it is a single and completed word, i.e. a (derived or denominal) verb as a minimum form or articulus:

- (2) *qayar-pa-ngqer-tuq* ‘he has a big kayak’  
kayak-big-have-IND.3sg.

which consists of one stem *qayar-* and one inflection *-tuq*, with two derivational suffixes *-pa-ngqer-* intervening. The *qayar-pa-* as well as *qayar-pa-ngqer-* are expanded stems. But deprived of the stem and/or the inflection, the remaining portion can never be a word, so that there cannot be any such “forms” in CAY as *\*pa-ngqer-tuq* (devoid of a stem) and *\*qayar-pa-ngqer* (devoid of an inflection).

More complex examples are shown by the following (a) nominal (nominalization; § 18) and (b) verb (complex verb; § 40):

- (3) a. *qayar-pa-li-yara-qa*  
kayak-big-make-VNm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
‘the way I make a big kayak’

- b. *qayar-pa-li-qa-a-sqe-ssaaqe-llru-aqa*.  
 kayak-big-make-POL-EV-A'.ask-but-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I asked him to make a big kayak (but actually he has not made it yet)'  
 – both of which will be shown with more detailed analysis respectively in (1) and (10).

Derivation and inflection cover a wide range of grammatical and semantic/pragmatic functions. In CAY the distinction between inflection and derivation is clear-cut (though with very slight blurring) – the final *-qa* in (a) and *-aqa* in (b) are inflections.

Inflection, as an obligatory constituent for inflecting words, is paradigmatic, while the derivation of optional constituents is syntagmatic. The inflection completes a word morphologically, i.e. as a minimal form or articulus. The derivation that optionally occurs between a stem and an inflection is both lexical and grammatical, though the demarcation is not so clear. This takes the place of many syntactic, i.e. word-external, operations made in other languages, including relative clauses and nominalizations (§ 17 and § 18), etc.

i) *Morphological homogeneity*: Most of the important grammatical strategies in CAY (or any Eskimo language for that matter) rely very much upon the morphological process of suffixation to the almost complete exclusion of other processes, a remarkable contrast with many languages in the world that use two or more mixtures of morphological processes side by side. Other processes than suffixation are very much limited, only including, to a very small extent, reduplication, suppletion, and a few other anomalies, some of which may be arguable (§ 4.3).

Stem compounding (either N+V, V+N, N+N, or V+V) is entirely alien to the language, apart from a few kinds of “phrasal compounds” (§ 4.3-v) which are single words. As a corollary, the language is completely free of incorporation as a morphological process (as a kind of N+V or V+N type compounding) of the Sapir-Mithun tradition (§ 2.1-i), which is an important process in many so-called polysynthetic languages (including Ainu and Chukchi-Koryak languages in northeastern Asia and numerous Native American languages). Suffixation is thus fully or resourcefully exploited by the language, producing incomparably intricate words rich in functional diversity.

ii) *Pure and simple suffixes*: Many derivational suffixes appear to be lexical with a concreteness of content that would characterize stems or roots in many other languages. They are highly productive in creating new lexical items.

However, CAY suffixes are clearly distinct from the so-called “lexical” or “nominal” suffixes of the controversial “Mosan” languages (Sapir 1929) – Salish, Wakashan, and Chimakuan – in the Northwest Coast, which are commonly counted as polysynthetic. They too may express content such as ‘he is hunting

rabbits' in a single word with the same constituent order of stem-derivation-inflection. But the fundamental difference between GCAY and those languages may be illustrated with a regular process of forming words schematically, to follow Matthews (1997: 173), along the lines of:

GCAY:	rabbit-hunt-IND.3sg.	vs.
Mosan:	hunt-rabbit-PRG.3sg.	

with the nominal element 'rabbit' (underlined) is the stem in GCAY but is the derivational suffix in Mosan where it is literally a "nominal suffix". The verb 'to hunt' is a derivational suffix in the former, but is a stem in the latter. Despite the difference, the words in either languages are far from a fixed or ready-made unit established prior to a speaker and stored as a single concept (§ 2.2).

While most derivational suffixes are highly lexical or concrete in terms of content, some of the stem-elaborating suffixes (§ 4.2.5.1) may merely add an "associative" elaboration or slight modification on the content of the stem, and what is added may not be clearly differentiated and thus hard to conceptualize. Rather than distinctly modifying or subcategorizing what is denoted by the stem, those suffixes may have a general, diffuse or elusive meaning or may be just an expression of a speaker's some psychological or mental attitude toward it or an emotional reaction – cf. Mithun (1998).

iii) CAY suffixes, either derivational or inflectional, are pure and simple (or canonical) suffixes in the sense that they are etymologically unrelated to any stems in the language with which they may seem logically connected and that none of them are all grammaticalizations of free (independent) or bound words.<sup>1</sup> The language has no explicit evidence either of enclitics having come from free words or of suffixes from enclitics. None of the person suffixes for nominals (marking possessors), for instance, are either enclitics or reduced forms of (synchronic) free pronouns, as is also the case with verbal persons (for subject and object), though, historically, some of Eskimo inflectional suffixes seem to have

---

1. However, there may be cases of disagreement among Eskimologists. While some suggest a rapprochement of, for example, the stem |*atuŷ-*| 'something useful; to use, wear, sing' with the NV suffix |*+tuŷ-*| 'to eat, wear', others seem not to connect (e.g. Mithun 2009: 13 vs. Fortescue et al. 1994: 53, 429). See (15) and (91). Very intriguing it seems, others may not be prepared to commit themselves to either, given our substantial lack of knowledge about Eskimo(-Aleut) historical morphology (e.g. basic root/stem construction) and the relatively simple syllable structure of (C)V(C) with relatively small inventories of vowels and consonants. An uncontested exception would be the suffix NV |*-klaay-*| 'clock' (in referring to hours) which is borrowed from the English *clock* as a suffix, but not as a stem (illustrated in § 11.3.6).

cognates in Aleut as Bergsland has argued (1951, etc.). That is, CAY is a language for which suffixes, clitics, and free-standing words are clearly distinct (even though free words may very often be articulated as part of bound phrases; § 2.3).

There are a fair number of suffixes, however, which are composed of two or more suffixes to be more or less fixed markers for grammatical categories – see 4.1.3.1-ii for “composite suffixes”.

iv) Although the predominant morphological process is suffixation, there are a few morphological anomalies (prefixation, root increment, suppletion, reduplication, and phrasal compounds) specific to certain morphemes (§ 4.3-i through v) as well as “symbolistic” (Sapir 1921: 133–134, etc.) processes which have grammatical significance, i.e. prosodic (disturbances of the regular pattern; consonant gemination, vowel doubling) and phonemic (phonetic symbolism by vowel height). Woodbury (1981b) supplies a fair amount of information of symbolic processes from the Chevak dialect (HBC).

## 1.2. Agglutination

CAY is an agglutinative language in that:

i) Morphemes within a word have a mechanical cohesiveness, with more or less transparent or clear-cut boundaries (segmentability) – as in (4a) below. To a very limited extent, however, segmental adjustments at morpheme boundaries may have blurred morpheme division due to a certain amount of fusion (§ 7). This is more often the case within inflections (consisting of not more than three word-final morphemes – out of case, number, person, and mood), thus no morpheme-for-morpheme division generally given in interlinear glosses for inflections. Different degrees of cohesiveness may be shown by example (4), starting from a) clear-cut segmentability to b) partial fusion (between possessor and possessum numbers) and c) complete fusion (of three morphemes):

- |     |    |                      |                 |  |
|-----|----|----------------------|-----------------|--|
| (4) | a. | <i>angya-ge-m-ni</i> | du.-1sg.-LOC    | ‘in my two boats’ –   <i>anyay-</i>   ‘boat’ |
|     | b. | <i>angya-a-ni</i>    | 3sg.sg.-LOC     | ‘in his boat’                                |
|     |    | <i>angya-m-ni</i>    | 1sg.sg./pl.-LOC | ‘in my boat/boats’                           |
|     | c. | <i>angya-a</i>       | ABS.3sg.sg.     | ‘his boat’.                                  |

ii) There exists a high degree of one-to-one correspondence between expression and content since morphemes are generally isomorphic or monofunctional

(with a few exceptions) – as plural marker  $|+t-|$  (with no variants) in both nominals and verbs.<sup>2</sup>

Suppletive variants, both in derivational and inflectional suffixes, constitute just a handful of exceptions (§ 4.3-iii).

iii) Except for a very limited amount of peculiarity specific to certain suffixes as well as some inflectional fusion, the CAY phonology or the segmental adjustments as given in § 7 is fairly regular, even though deeply layered (ordered) in many instances.

### 1.3. Non-templatic polysynthesis

As stated, CAY, like other Eskimo languages, has a remarkably high degree of synthesis owing to the availability, and recursive occurrence, of a great number of highly productive derivational suffixes (including transcategorial ones). These occur in sequence with semantic compatibility, with possible different suffix orderings as a reflection of different scopes. The flow of a word is thus characterized by a ‘method of pruning afterthoughts’ (Sapir 1921: 135, fn. 10). The remarkably high degree of polysynthesis, as will be amply illustrated (§ 4.2.5.3 and § 4.2.5.4), is obviously attained by the “non-templatic” nature of its derivational suffixation (Mithun 1999: 43).

In this respect, CAY polysynthesis is remarkably contrasted with many other polysynthetic languages of the North Pacific Rim. The language, for instance, flatly precludes a slot-and-filler template analysis as first employed by Sapir and Hoijer (1967) for Athabaskan verbs, in which a good number of rigid pre-root slots (or morphological “positions”) and a few post-root ones are paradigmatically filled. In contrast, CAY suffixation is semantically conditioned in general, with a suffix having its immediately preceding morpheme (or sequence) as its scope, and it is semantic compatibility rather than “position” class that is the guiding structural principle, with the result that different suffix orders are possible. Even in Eskimo languages, however, it is necessary to

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2. This is in stark contrast to plurality in some Northwest Coast languages south of Alaskan Yupik, for instance, in Sliammon (Salish), where it is covered morphologically by three different suffixes, ablaut, and two types of reduplication, while the other nine types of reduplication are employed for other grammatical functions (such as aspect and forming diminutives) (Watanabe 2003). In Coast Tsimshian (Tsimshianic), it is usually characterized by reduplication, prefixation (two prefixes), suppletion, suffixation (three suffixes), their combinations (prefix + reduplication, reduplication + suffix, prefix + suffix, and suppletion + reduplication), and, sporadically, by unchanged plurals and a few other unclassifiable processes (Sasama 2001).

acknowledge the tendency toward some extent of templatic ordering among certain verb-elaborating derivational suffixes (VV; § 4.2.5.1), most notably, in suffix compositions (§ 4.1.3.1-ii) which are “semi-lexicalized” (Fortescue 1980, and its discussions in Woodbury 1981: 318–331 for the Chevak dialect of CAY), and in derivational vs. inflectional ordering in itself. See § 4.2.5.2 and § 4.2.5.3.

CAY does not have noun incorporation either (as stated; § 2.1-i), which is an important morphological device for many polysynthetic languages in the North Pacific Rim, such as Chukchi-Koryak (T. Kurebito 2001a, M. Kurebito 2001). Furthermore, CAY not only lacks the “nominal suffixes” as noted just above in Mosan languages, but also such “instrumental” or “locational” affixes (prefixes) widely employed in North American languages, though these are often taken as one necessary characteristic of polysynthesis (Mattissen 2003, writing on Nivkh in Sakhalin). CAY instrumental or locational suffixes are of a totally different kind.

In § 4.2.5.1, derivational suffixes are classified, but a few features responsible for polysynthesis are mentioned beforehand:

### *1.3.1. Derivational suffixes in advance*

i) CAY derivational suffixes, standing between a stem and an inflection, are recursive and a word may repeatedly switch back and forth between nominals and verbs by means of transcategorial, i.e. nominalizing and verbalizing, suffixes as illustrated in § 4.2.5.1. Because of the transcategorial conversions in particular (fully illustrated in § 4.2.5.4.1, § 20.4, § 37.5.3.2, etc.), it is hard to define an upper limit in polysynthesis of CAY words.

ii) In addition to an abundance of primary suffixes, there are many secondary or “composite” suffixes consisting of two (or more) suffixes, which, more or less fixed and lexicalized/grammaticalized. Many of them are (very) productive and responsible for transcategorial conversions as illustrated in § 4.2.5.3. Some composite suffixes, however, can be deceptive unless precise analysis based on proper phonological adjustments is applied. In addition to being a primary suffix, the causative suffix *-cir-* (§ 39.1.3), for instance, may reflect different morphological sources; see i), iii), iv) under the verbalizing *|-liŷ-* (§ 38.3).

Many composite suffixes show what may be called “cyclical expansion” (though not necessarily a felicitous term) by a pair of suffixes, that is,  $N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N$  (starting from a nominal and back to a nominal) and  $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$  (starting from a verb and back to a verb). And such cyclical derivation may also be recursive, with one followed by another, as  $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N \dots$ , as exemplified in (44) by a nominal clause with successive derivations.

This kind of recursive cyclical expansion may involve a nominalization (a nominal or a relative clause), which can further be subject to verbalization, with each process recursive, as will be illustrated in § 17 and § 18. Verbalization of nominalized clauses is referred to as “reverbalization” and nominalization of verbalized clauses as “renominalization”.

The recursive transcategorical conversion is a productive process retained more or less by CAY speakers (to different extents). Through cyclical expansion, the process is a resourceful device for a language endowed only with suffixation, though it is one of the features of the language that is markedly on the wane among younger speakers. It is not merely a synchronic process, however. Cyclical expansion itself has been an important diachronic process as well, one that is deep-rooted in the language’s history. As a matter of fact, a fair number of basic and productive grammatical markers – such as (clausal) negation, past tense, complex verb, comparative clause, and valency modification (increase and rearrangement) – are fixed cyclical expansions of VN+NV type. See § 4.2.5.3 below for illustrations.

iii) The non-templatic polysynthetic morphology is also explored by “multi-valent verbs” (VVsm; § 39) and in the multi-layered morphological embedding of a clause into an upper clause by means of “complex transitive” suffixes (VVcm; § 40)<sup>3</sup> – as illustrated by ‘he *thinks* that she came here’, ‘he *asked* someone to let her come here’, in which ‘he’ is the transitive subject and ‘she/her’ is the transitive object. A complex verb is in contrast to a “simplex” verb, while the latter may or may not be extended by VVcm suffixe(s) or not.

An upper clause (complex verb) may be further expanded by its own elaborating suffixes including nominalization and its reverbalization, the result of the former being a “concatenated relative clause” like ‘the one who *I thought* is a man’ (Otto Jespersen – cf. § 4.2.5.4.1, § 17.7, § 40.4.1). The language can also have a “concatenated comparative clause” like ‘he is smaller than *I thought* you are’ (§ 45.1.3), a “concatenated interrogative clause” like ‘who *do you think* has arrived?’ (§ 48.2.1), and a “concatenated adverbial clause” like ‘he made it as *I assumed* he would’ (§ 40.4.2).

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3. Complex transitives correspond with the “compound-verbal” class used by Reed et al. (1977: 232–237), Woodbury (1985), and Jacobson (1994: 322–324; 1995) for CAY and the “double transitives” referred to by Fortescue (1984: 84–85) for Greenlandic. They may not only be double, but actually be triple (or more) in CAY, hence the term “complex” is preferred here to “compound” or “double”. They are, incidentally, neither “serial verbs” nor “compound verbs” (as stem compounding) in other languages nor “complex transitives” in English (Quirk et al. 1985).

iv) Accordingly, the dynamic polysynthesis of CAY is colored by an exuberant internal syntax in which morphology may merge into the (external) syntax and is characterized by its great width of morphosyntactic function in addition to semantic richness. While at one extreme a CAY word may contain no more than a single morpheme (as is generally the case with typical isolating languages), at the other it may be the functional equivalent of a complicated sentence, embodying not only a good number of concepts of a more or less concrete order, but also various grammatical functions, thereby yielding a very ‘heavy’ word that in most languages would be rendered by a long succession of independent words.

In sum, the richness of the CAY internal syntax most strongly reflects:

- a. recursive suffixations
- b. transcategorial conversions
- c. cumulative multi-layered complex verbs.

v) Finally it is to be noted, as a matter of fact, that fluent speakers, typically elders, are generally quite capable of using a variety of internally complicated long words besides derivational elaborations, and this is done for stylistic or aesthetic effects as well as for additions of grammatical/semantic and modal/attitudinal subtleties. The capability to use many suffixes is likely to be taken as a source of eloquence or verbal artistry (as manifested in speeches and in reciting narratives and tales) for which a Yupik person is traditionally respected. Speakers who are talented at polysynthetic word formation may sometimes have fun competing with each other in creating very long words that are grammatically acceptable though rarely if ever used.

Younger speakers in general, on the other hand, have much less of this polysynthetic capability. This is not surprising given the rapidly increasing influence of English with its analytical morphology and its consequently weakened command of the traditionally rich and productive suffixes. The speakers make particularly limited use of modal and attitudinal suffixes (§ 43), thereby rendering their speech short and straightforward, without cushions, and sounding childish to elder speakers.

### *1.3.2. Postinflectional derivation*

Despite the very general pattern of inflecting word constitution as shown by (1), CAY has a certain amount of divergences. “Postinflectional” derivation, following de Reuse (1994: 170–230) describing CSY with theoretical implications, is to be observed in some types of CAY words (though much less common than CSY): They are a number of composite suffixes which contain an inflectional element as in (a-c) below, but there are also a number of suffixes which may



stand after particles as in (d-f). The stems may be subject to inflection as well as further derivation, except for (f) which are derived particles:

- (5) a. NN |+miu-| (§ 20.1)  
 ‘dweller of’ – probably from locative |+mi| with uncertain |-u-|
- b. NV |+m(i)t-|~|+[person]n(i)t-| (§ 4.3.5, § 27.8)  
 ‘to be at/in’ – “locative verbs” as phrasal compounds from locative element with obsolete existential stem |it-|
- c. NV |+viȳc-| (§ 38.5)  
 ‘to go toward’ – adverbial demonstrative allative |+vit|  
 |+xuiȳ-| (§ 38.5)  
 ‘to go through, by way of’ – adverbial demonstrative perlocative  
 |+xun|
- d. VV |-qapic-|, |-qapia(ȳa)ȳ-| (§ 41.3.1)  
 ‘just, intently’, after some ignoratives and particles  
 |+<sub>1</sub>pay-| (§ 41.3.2)  
 ‘to say loudly’, after particles as in § 41(111)
- e. NV |+ŋu-| (§ 37.1)  
 ‘to be’ (relational verb) – e.g. *tua=i-ŋu-nrit-uq*, § 42(78) *uumi-u-*
- f. NN |-ku| (§ 11.3.3)  
 ‘coming, later’, after some time words – e.g. *uumi-ku*, *yaalia-ku*
- g. PV |+(V+VV)ȳ-| (§ 52.5)  
 ‘to say’ – linking suffix (LNK).

#### 1.4. Ergativity and case-marking

A predicate verb (§ 5.1.1) in CAY marks only one or two core arguments (subject and object), hence an intransitive or transitive verb, whether externally expressed by NPs or not: An NP or noun phrase as an argument may be a single nominal, a nominal phrase – including appositive, coordinate, juxtaposed, adjunctive as well as attributive or genitive (§ 16) – or a nominalization, that is: a nominal or relative clause (§ 17, § 18). In CAY the basic grammatical relations in phrase and clause level are marked both in the head and its dependent with its own inflection, hence the “double-marking” system (below). Cases for nominals are one of the inflectional, i.e. obligatory, categories to be marked (§ 4.2.4).

Eskimo languages are well known for being ergative languages in terms of morphology. This ergativity, however, manifests itself in a few other aspects.

*1.4.1. Morphological ergativity*

In CAY the absolutive case (ABS) is marked (or “flagged”) on a core argument NP in S and P function and the relative (REL, as commonly used in Eskimo linguistics) on an NP in A function, following the ergative alignment pattern (S=P≠A). The relative case is bifunctional and strong affinity of A function with G (genitive) at the clause and (attributive) phrase level is observed (§ 16.4, § 24, § 30.1.3).

i) Morphological distinction in unpossessed nominals between the absolutive and the relative, however, is made only with singular ones (like ABS |+Ø| vs. REL |+m|) but does not with dual and plural ones (like ABS/REL.du. |+y| and ABS/REL.pl. |+t|); see Table 20.

ii) Free personal pronouns (§ 13.1), which are not obligatory in general (but are more or less emphatic if they occur), make a distinction between the absolutive and the relative only in the third person, but not in a non-third person, i.e. first, second, reflexive third, which have a “common case”. A third person pronoun is always used for humans, as, e.g., in Ainu (Bugaeva 2004: 24–25), while a nominal demonstrative is employed for both humans and non-humans (§ 12.2.1).

iii) The CAY ergative pattern, moreover, comes with a caveat, though not documented in other Eskimo languages, that, while the absolutive-ergative pattern is rigorously followed by NPs that refer to an (inflectionally coded) third person argument, an NP (either a common or proper name, a nominal phrase, or a relativization) referring to the first or the second person is not marked with the absolutive or the relative case,<sup>4</sup> but is instead marked neutrally with the locative case (§ 27.4 and Miyaoka 1985b, 1994a), despite the number agreement with the verb or the head NP, hence a “split” (§ 4.1.4.4) between a non-third person and a third person referent.

This can be schematically illustrated as ‘(I) *a woman*<sub>LOC</sub>, do not understand<sub>1SG</sub>’; ‘you do not understand (me)<sub>2SG-1SG</sub>, *a woman*<sub>LOC</sub>’; ‘(you) *a woman*<sub>LOC</sub>, do not understand me<sub>2SG-1SG</sub>’; ‘(my) *gun*<sub>1SG-SG</sub> (*offfor*) *a woman*<sub>LOC</sub>’ (see § 27.4, § 30.5), showing that the NP referring to the first or the second person occurs neutrally in the locative case, typically (but not obligatorily) accompanied by a free personal pronoun in the “common case” (above).

---

4. I have encountered, however, a few exceptional speakers in this respect, using the absolutive or the relative.

These (ii and iii) are two kinds of NPs that are relevant to “animacy hierarchy” by showing lack of morphological distinction between the absolutive and the relative case.<sup>5</sup>

iv) Verb inflections (for subject and object) employ both possessed nominal person makers (absolutive and relative; § 20 and § 21) and verbal person markers (§ 32) in different combinations depending upon the moods. See also § 4.2.4-i and § 46.1 for partial identity of verbal and nominal inflections.

The inflections of each mood show that the verbal person markers (listed in Table 30) occur in the ergative pattern, e.g. first person singular  $|+ya|$  for S and P arguments, as in *pi-u-nga* (do-IND-1sg.) ‘I am doing’ and *pi-a-v-nga* (do-IND-2sg.-1sg.) ‘you (sg.) are doing to me’, where *-v-* for A argument reflects the nominal person marker in the relative case (cf. REL.2sg.sg.  $|+vit/+pit|$ ).

v) By contrast, an NP in S or A function agrees in number with the subject of the predicate but one in P, T or R with the object (§ 16, § 51, etc.), and the reflexive third person (distinct from the third – see § 22.2, § 32.2) refers to the subject, i.e. S or A argument of a main clause (§ 50-ii, § 51.1.4.2). Thus, syntactically, CAY follows the nominative-accusative pattern.

vi) Lexical ergativity (Comrie 1978: 392) has to be mentioned in reference to bivalent or monotransitive verb stems, a little more than a half of which are “agentive”, with the rest being “patientive”.<sup>6</sup> The former are intrinsically agentive (A=S; e.g. ‘he ate it’ vs. ‘he ate [something]’), while the latter are patientive (P=A; e.g. ‘he broke it’ vs. ‘it broke / was broken’) and require suffixal anti-passivization (traditionally called “half-transitive” in Eskimo linguistics, though sometimes viewed as accusative; Kalmár 1979: 54) to be an agentive intransitive; e.g. he broke-APS ‘he broke [something]’) – see § 4.2.1-ii below and § 34.2. The latter “patientives” are ergative verbs.

This fundamental bipartite feature of CAY bivalent stems permeates a number of important morphological and syntactical phenomena of the language (e.g. topicalization, nominalization, relativization, nominal derivations, etc.).

- 
5. There is another kind of noun, that is, a teknonymy (which is morphologically a phrasal compound from an original ‘X’s woman’), which has no distinction between the absolutive and the relative case (both ending in *-an*), as opposed to a male teknonymy (bound phrase from ‘X’s father’) with reduced distinction between the absolutive *-(i)i* and the relative *-(i)in* (the former may occur for S/P functions) – § 2.4-v, vi, § 4.3-v, § 11.6.2.
  6. T. Nagai (2006: 256) compared the number of 100 verb stems (agentive and patientive bivalent as well as monovalent) in CAY, North Alaskan Iñupiaq (Upper Kobuk), Japanese and English, giving the ratio of agentive vs. patientive in that language order: 56/35, 58/42, 63/26, 81/16.

*1.4.2. Double marking*

At the clause level, an absolutive-case NP agrees with the intransitive subject or the transitive object, and a relative-case NP with the transitive subject, as inflectionally marked. At the phrase level, a relative-case NP is the dependent of an attributive (genitive) phrase (§ 16.4), agreeing with the third-person possessor of its head NP (possessum). Thus, both the head and the dependent show “double marking” at both the clause and the phrase level.

Correlated with this double-marking of the basic grammatical relationships, the constituent order (word order) in clauses and nominal phrases does not play a central role in the syntax of CAY but is generally very flexible (§ 5.4), and “detached articulation” (§ 2.3.3) may be far from a rarity.

The double marking also permits a very high frequency of sentences consisting of only a single (predicate) verb, as a head, with the core argument coded only in its inflection, thereby yielding practically no ambiguity. By the same token, attributive constructions may often consist only of the head for the possessum, with no external NP in G function but with the person (possessor) marked in the head NP.

CAY belongs to the type of languages where a heavier grammatical weight is placed on VP than NP(s), though both are intimately correlated.

*1.4.3. Case marking*

“Primary” (i.e. non-extended) verb stems have primary arguments, that is, S for monovalent (intransitive), P and A for bivalent (monotransitive), and T, R, and A for ditransitive (§ 4.2.1, § 4.2.3.1). S includes impersonal subject ( $S_{IMP}$ ). “Extended” (i.e. non-primary or secondary) stems have valency modification, i.e. increase (and rearrangement) or decrease, as derivational process. Increase includes causative A (only on monovalent stems or roots, § 4.2.2-iv), applicative and adversative E (standing for extension of “experiencer” E;  $E_{APL}$  and  $E_{ADV}$ , § 39.4, § 39.4), impersonal agent ( $A_{IMP}$ ), and complex transitive agent A', A", ... Decrease includes antipassive and pseudo-passive. See § 30.1.2 for the list of primary and extended arguments.

All these arguments are candidates for core arguments. These, with various combinations occurring in a single verb, are subject to case-marking, if externally expressed by a free NP (except  $S_{IMP}$  and  $A_{IMP}$  which can never be explicit, thus irrelevant to case marking, though they are coded as intransitive or transitive subject in verb inflection). A single verb is actually attested to have up to six or seven arguments involved (though theoretically with no upper limit). Every one of the arguments may be promoted to the absolutive-case status and all, except for P argument, may occur in the relative-case status. Corresponding-

ly, all of them can also be subject to “argument reduction” (by way of demotion, deletion, and coreference; § 30.3). Given all this, no static case alignment pattern may be feasible in CAY, but a dynamic process of case assignment should be considered that rigidly follows “argument hierarchy” in § 30.2 (where the whole pattern of case assignment is summarized).

The language has no active-inactive [active-stative] split (Sapir 1917, Klimov 1974) in its case marking, that is: there is no split intransitivity,<sup>7</sup> although the active verbs are only relevant to one kind of relativizer (§ 17.5.1) and imperatives in the optative mood (§ 49). S<sub>A</sub> argument only pertains to the agentive/active relativizer |+st-| ‘one who’ (§ 17.5).

An adjunct NP is assigned one of the five oblique cases – ablative-modalis, allative, locative, perlativ, or equalis – aside from a vocative form (§ 31). Details of the seven cases and their assignments are provided in § 23 through § 29.

Chapter 30 of case assignments is at the midpoint of the whole description where many things from the previous nominal chapters (e.g. nominal derivation and inflection) get explained and looks ahead to issues that will be handled in the following verb chapters (e.g. verb valency and inflection), as their integrative treatment.

## 2. Word and its constructions

As stated in connection with non-templatic polysynthesis (§ 4.1.3), a CAY word as defined in § 2 can easily be seen as an functional equivalent of a sentence with a complex syntactic structure at one extreme, while at the other extreme it may be coterminous with a single morpheme (as is in typical isolating languages). CAY words as such are structurally diverse, functionally versatile, and deviate considerably from the common view of words that is based on well-known European languages.

Accordingly, a CAY word may be a very long sequence of syllables. However long it may be, a CAY word is a form that is characteristically patterned by certain morphological features and underscored by phonological ones that include (basically iambic) accentuation, a (potential) intonation contour, and, most fundamentally, potential pausing. These two “conspire” to unify a word as a form (§ 2.2.2).

Yupik words are in fact not merely ‘static’ constructs but may approach the ‘dynamism’ of a sentence in a microcosm, as speakers creatively articulate a word, to a considerable extent, on each occasion or on the spur of the moment. A word can be made up, though necessarily within certain limitations, by using

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7. Thus, the language contrasts with the active-inactive languages as represented by Haida, one of the languages geographically nearest to CAY (Hori 2000, 2003; Enrico 2003: 93).

many productive suffixes with much the same ease as a sentence is articulated with nearly as many words in other languages. Yupik speakers are indeed excellent ‘daily neologists’ in some way.

## 2.1. Three word classes – nominals, verbs, non-inflecting words

CAY words can reasonably be separated into three classes primarily in terms of their construction, that is, inflection or its lack: “nominals”, “verbs”, and “non-inflecting words” (further divided into “particles” and “enclitics”, § 53, § 54). The term nominal is used to subsume “nouns”, “demonstratives”, “personal pronouns”, “numerals”, and (part of) “ignoratives” (§ 11 through § 15), though the last (Wierzbicka 1980) may not be now felicitous.

Inflecting and non-inflecting words are distinguished according to whether a word is completed by its inflection at the end or not. Inflecting word, nominals and verb, are distinguished by different type of inflection.

Of the three classes, the verb is naturally of central importance. It is a “verbum”, i.e. the word of words in CAY grammar as well. A predicate verb is the obligatory element of a clause, while a nominal (whether in the core or an oblique or a peripheral function) and a particle are optional. Internally, nominals may be less elaborate than verbs.

CAY has no word classes like articles, adpositionals (prepositions, postpositions), articles, conjunctions, cf. iii) below.

i) *Nominals* – are characterized by the inflectional categories of number (singular, dual, plural; § 21), person (possessor – first, second, third, reflexive third; § 22), and case (absolute, relative; ablative-modalis, allative, locative, perlative, equalis; § 23 through § 29). Single nominals may be subclassified into:

- a. nouns – common, appositive, location, time, kinship, color, proper, and onomatopoeia; § 11
- b. demonstratives – nominal and adverbial; § 12
- c. personal pronouns; § 13
- d. numerals/quantifiers (including verbal ones); § 14
- e. some ignoratives (others being particles or verbs); § 15.

Nominal phrases, relativizations (relative clauses) and nominalizations (nominal clauses), which may take the place of single nominals in a syntactic slot, are discussed in § 16 through § 18.

A CAY participle, as a “participium”, participates in the character of nominals and verbs. Characterized by the same markers (intransitive and transitive), a nominal participle is nothing but one kind of relativization (§ 17.2), and a verbal participle is a verb in the participial mood (§ 4.2.4-i, § 47).

ii) *Verbs* – are characterized by the inflectional categories of person (subject and object; § 32) and mood (§ 46 through § 51). There are three kinds of primary stems in terms of valency, primary in the sense of being without valency modification:

- |    |                            |            |   |
|----|----------------------------|------------|---|
| a. | intransitive <sup>8</sup>  | monovalent | with S (§ 33); ‘to die’, ‘to be small’        |
| b. | monotransitive             | bivalent   | with P and A (§ 34)                           |
|    | agentive type              |            | ‘to eat’ [S=A]                                |
|    | patientive type            |            | ‘to break’ [S=P]                              |
|    | impersonal patientive type |            | ‘to freeze’ [S=P, with A <sub>IMP</sub> ‘it’] |
| c. | ditransitive               | trivalent  | with T [theme], R [recipient], and A (§ 35)   |
|    | secundative type           |            | ‘to give someone (something)’                 |
|    | indirective type           |            | ‘to give something (to someone)’.             |

These different types of verb stems are minimally illustrated in § 5(3) and (4).

Impersonal A (A<sub>IMP</sub>) is coded in transitive inflection (as the third person singular subject), forming a “transimpersonal” construction (Haas 1940; Malchukov 2008), but it cannot be externally expressed by a free NP (§ 34.3).

Primary stems may be subject to valency modification by means of valency-modifying suffixes (VVsm and VVcm; § 4.2.5.1, § 39, § 40), thereby increasing, decreasing, or rearranging one argument.

When stems (primary or modified) are inflected, they can be either of the following (§ 32.1.2):

- |    |                    |                                |
|----|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | intransitive verbs | with subject marked            |
| b. | transitive verbs   | with subject and object marked |

Transitive verbs may be detransitivized into antipassive, medio-passive, reflexive or reciprocal, e.g. § 5(4), depending upon how the argument reduction is made – see § 5.1.1.1-i and § 34.1 through § 34.4 for details.<sup>9</sup>

CAY is considered not to have the so-called “copula”. Copula-like or equational verbs (like *A is [his]B*) in CAY, which are not necessarily intransitive but may indeed be transitive, are referred to as “relational verbs”<sup>10</sup> – see § 5.1.1.3-i and § 37. A parallel distinction between intransitive and transitive is also made for “comparative verbs” (like *A is bigger than [his] B*) – § 5.1.1.3-ii, § 45.1, § 45.2. Besides intransitive vs. transitive, CAY relational and comparative verbs manifest contrast between stative and inchoative (§ 37.3, § 37.4).

iii) *Non-inflecting words* – consist of multisyllabic particles and monosyllabic enclitics, prosodically distinguished from each other (though some dialects

8. Intransitives include predicative “adjectives”.

9. CAY antipassivizers, it will be found, are originally a function of “adversative” (and “benefactive”) suffixes as a kind of applicative verbs. – § 39.5.2.

10. Distinct from what has been called “relational” verb construction in the Algonquian literature since Bloomfield (1928), cf. also Junker (2003).

have one exception in this distinction) (§ 52 through § 54). They are devoid of inflection by definition and of productive derivation, though some show traces of obsolete derivation and inflection. While these words may be semantically/functionally vague, many of them serve as ‘lubricants’ in utterances and have no formal cues to classify them. A tentative grouping may, however, include:

- a. interjective/exclamative
- b. sentence word
- c. sentence-adverbial (modal, expressive)
- d. adverbial
- e. conjunctive (coordinating)
- f. discursive
- d. sentence fillers (expletive).

While particles are a semi-closed class, enclitics are a small closed class (with a membership of about a dozen). Enclitics are words that always ‘lean’ phonologically upon the preceding host word, forming an enclitic bound phrase together with it. They are clearly distinct from suffixes, which can only be (articulated as) a part of a word. An enclitic as a word can attach to any kind of word (verb, nominal, non-inflecting), while suffixes attach only to a specific type of (expanded) stem, forming nothing but a part of a word.

Most CAY enclitics are attached to a clause-initial word, i.e. as a second-position enclitic (Wackernagel’s Law) – cf. § 54. An enclitic may be followed by another, though three (or four) enclitics in succession would seem to be the limit.

No enclitics are known to have derived from free words. Personal pronouns, which may form bound phrases with another word, are not enclitics, however.

Particles have no inflection and are not stems but complete words by themselves. Nevertheless, as mention in § 4.1.3.2, some suffixes can be added, as if postinflectionally, to some kinds of particles.

iv) *Three word classes, each with wide functional coverage* – As the demarcation between enclitics and suffixes (whether derivational or inflectional) is rigid, so is that between nominals, verbs, and non-inflecting words. There are a few kinds of verbs, namely “connective” mood verbs (§ 50), however, which may be considered a transitional stage from nominals in view of case marking, although some speakers prefer corresponding nominal phrases to the connective mood verbs used by some speakers.

As a consequence of the (only) three word classes, each covers a wider functional range than, say, each of the traditionally held “eight parts of speech”. CAY has no morphologically distinct word classes such as ‘adjectives’ or ‘adverbs’ per se, although appositive nouns (§ 11.1) are adjectival in function and many particles are adverbial. (Another choice for “appositive nouns” would be ‘adjectives’, but the term “appositive”, which is used for phrases as well [§ 4.1.4, § 16.1], is preferred to.) A considerable portion of (monovalent) verb



stems would function as ‘predicative adjectives’ in other languages. One cannot identify adjectives in CAY by such a property as being a parameter of comparison.<sup>11</sup>

Adjective-like and adverb-like functions are also served by a large number of productive suffixes besides three particular word class types. The function of ‘attributive adjectives’ is served by nominal-elaborating suffixes (NN type; § 20.1) as well, of which the language has a rather large stock, attributive nominals in G function within attributive nominal phrases (§ 16.4), and relative clauses (§ 17). On the other hand, the function of the so-called ‘adverbs’ is served by many verb-elaborating suffixes (VVa; § 41), various particles (§ 53.4), and connective mood verbs (§ 50).

“Adpositional” function (prepositions or postpositions) is largely performed by person-inflected location noun (§ 11.2.2), with the dependent noun designating the relative position (spatial and temporal).

There are, moreover, a number of non-inflecting words of conjunctive nature (§ 53.5), which are, however, generally coordinating conjunctions. CAY seems to have poor development of subordinating conjunctions, which is clearly correlated with the fact that the clausal dependency is largely handled by an abundance of subordinate clauses (with connective-mood verbs) and “cosubordinate clauses” (terminology used by Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; with “appositional” mood verbs; § 51-i) and by two kinds of “converbs” (§ 47.6).

In CAY, which has no ‘articles’ as a separate class, the rich system of nominal demonstratives (§ 12.2) functions like definite articles, and the definite-indefinite distinction of P/T/R argument is negatively implied by the assigned case marking of the absolutive case vs. oblique (“demoted”) cases (i.e. ablative-modalis or allative – § 25.2.1, § 26.2).

## 2.2. Constituents of inflecting words – stem, derivation, and inflection

As stated, inflecting words, either verbs or nominals, morphologically consist of two obligatory constituents, a “stem” (called a “base” by some Eskimologists), which always comes word-initially, and an “inflection”, which stands finally to morphologically complete an inflecting word as a form, signaling its end.

It is the inflection that determines the word class, but *not* a word-initial stem (or root). A stem can be indefinite or ambivalent (nominal and verbal) and can change the class repeatedly by transcategorial suffixes within a word (§ 4.2.5.1). A stem may have a sequence of recursive transcategorial suffixes, finally becoming either a noun or a verb depending upon the functional kinds of the suf-

---

11. The index of comparison  $|-n\dot{y}u-$  can also occur with a denominal relational verb (e.g. ‘to be an old woman’) or with the verb ‘to choose, prefer’ – cf. § 45.1.4.

fixes involved. A good number of apparently ambivalent stems in CAY (listed in § 10.4) may not be a problem to be dealt with using the so-called zero-derived transcategorial conversions.

i) *Stem and inflection* – Only one stem occurs in each word (as stated). The single-stem principle is very strict in CAY word formation, implying the complete avoidance of stem compounding apart from a few cases of phrasal compounds (single words, as stated) as morphological anomalies (§ 2.3, § 4.3.6) and of noun incorporation as a means of compounding noun and verb stems.

Inflection, which consists of one, two, or three inflectional suffixes that are often fused, encodes the obligatory categories of:

- a. mood and person (subject and object) for verbs – § 32
- b. case, number, and person (possessor) for nominals – § 21 through § 29.

ii) *Derivation* – Between the stem and the inflection there may optionally occur another constituent, i.e. one or more “derivational suffixes”. The order of the three constituents cannot be permuted.

Thus the structure of inflecting words – nominals (N) and verbs (V) – is represented by example (1) above and exemplified by (2) and (3), etc.

In CAY, tense-aspect is optionally provided by verbal derivation (verb-elaborating VVt suffixes; § 42) or lexically by some particles. Modality and evidentiality are likewise provided optionally by verb elaborating suffixes (modal VVm; § 43) or by some particles but also partly an inflectional category (for illocutionary force; declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives, and optatives, see § 46 through § 49). Polarity or verbal negation (VVn) is expressed by negative suffixes (§ 44).

iii) *Two kinds of suffixes* – derivational and inflectional, the former of which forms a semi-closed class and the latter a closed class, are morphologically distinct. While derivational suffixes are a lexical means of creating new words, they also have extensive syntactic relevance. The notion that derivational suffixes are unproductive while inflectional ones are productive is totally alien to CAY. Concerning the distinction between the two, Mithun (1983: 238) once suggested that expressions which speakers of the language may have thought to be more important at one stage have been morphologized into (derivational) suffixes while the most important ones that they determined to be obligatory have been morphologized into inflections.

iv) *Roots* – A good number of stems cannot be followed directly by inflections unless immediately expanded by one of a limited number of (derivational) suffixes. They are referred to as “roots” (§ 10.5) and the expanding suffixes as “root expanders” (EX), some of which are specific to roots while others are not. A root followed by a root expander functions as a stem (“root-derived stem”;

§ 36), which then can be followed by inflections with or without intervening derivational suffix(es).

It is to be noted that many roots are more or less indeterminate as to being either nominal or verbal – see § 10.5. Verbal roots have no valency, i.e. “a-valent”. All demonstratives (§ 12) and some ignoratives (§ 15.2) begin with roots. Demonstrative roots are expanded into nominal, adverbial, and verbal demonstrative stems by their particular expanders (§ 12.2, § 12.3, § 12.4).

### 2.2.1. Morpheme shapes and suffix types

Stems and suffixes end either in a vowel (V, /i/, VV), an apical stop (/t, c/), or a velar (/ɣ, ʝ, x, ɣ/), while demonstrative roots end in /m, n, ŋ, k, ɣ, w, t/ as well as /u/ – see § 3.2 for vowel inventory and § 3.3 for consonant.

Stem-final segments as well as suffix-initial and -final segments trigger different segmental adjustments (§ 7).

#### i) Morpheme-initial/final segments

i.a) *velars*: Some suffix-initial velars /k/, /ɣ/, /ʝ/, /ŋ/ and some morpheme-final /ʝ/, which behave differently from others, are called “strong”. The suffix-initial “strong velars” are marked with an asterisk (\*) after the velar in phonological representations, e.g. NNh |-k\*ayaʝ-| ‘darn, mean’, VVm |+<sub>1</sub>ŋ\*at-| ‘maybe’ – see iii.a) below for the plus + (retaining) and the minus – (deleting) and iii-b for subscript <sub>1</sub>.

The morpheme-final distinction between “strong” and “weak” /ʝ/ occurs only in nominal stems or suffixes and only after single full vowels, while all the other final /ʝ/ are strong. So the asterisk marking is only made for a strong /ʝ/ following a single full vowel (V), e.g. |tanyuxaʝ\*-| ‘boy’, participial |+<sub>1</sub>ŋuʝ\*-| (vs. |qayaʝ-| ‘kayak’). The other morpheme-final strong /ʝ/ is not so marked.

The morpheme-final distinction of the back velar /ʝ/ fluctuates somewhat, as some speakers use a strong (or weak) velar in place of the more general weak (or strong) one – e.g. *ciir-e-t* ~ *cii-t* ‘sheefish (inconnu)’, the latter of which, reflecting a weak velar, may sound like baby talk.

All the nominal-final front velar /ɣ/ are strong, hence no asterisk marking for them.

i.b) *apicals*: The final /t/ occurs only in a number of adjectival verb stems (e.g. |mikit-| ~ |miki-| ‘to be small’, |asiit-| ‘to be bad’) and privative and negative suffixes (e.g. NV |+ŋit-| ‘to have no’ and VVn |-nyit-| ‘not’), while the final /c/ occurs only in verbal stems and suffixes (e.g. |kic-| ‘to sink’, |+kic-| ‘to give s.o.’). The apical /t/ and /c/ are fricativized into /l/ and /z/ respectively before certain suffixes marked by subscript <sub>1</sub> (like |-<sub>1</sub>ki-|; P5i.a).

ii) *Morpheme boundaries* – When cited in isolation, stems and derivational suffixes end with a hyphen, and suffixes begin with a “plus” (+) or “minus” (-) sign depending upon their phonological behavior – e.g. (6), (7), (8) below. Either sign can serve as a morpheme boundary in underlying representations – with a sign at the end of a stem, both at the beginning and end of derivational suffixes, and at the beginning of inflectional suffixes. The subscripts <sub>N</sub> and <sub>V</sub> may be used to indicate the nominal or verbal stems – thence their combinations for suffixes, i.e. nominal-elaborating <sub>NN</sub>, verb-elaborating <sub>VV</sub>, verbalizing <sub>NV</sub>, nominalizing <sub>VN</sub> as in (7):

Stems marked with final hyphen (-):

- (6)  $|utaqa-|_V$  ‘to wait’,  $|atu\dot{y}-|_V$  ‘to use’ – verb  
 $|cila-| \sim |(c)i\dot{t}a-|_N$  ‘weather’ (see below) – nominal  
 $|qaya\dot{y}-|_{NV}$  ‘kayak / to use a kayak’ – ambivalent; see also (14) below and § 10.4.

Suffixes start with initial + or – below:

- derivational suffixes*: see § 4.2.5.1 for the subclasses and notations:  
 (7)  $-li-|_{NV}$  ‘to make (for someone)’ – denominalizing  
 $+li-|_{VN}$  ‘one who/that (is/does)’ – deverbalizing  
 $+pay-|_{NN}$  ‘big’ – nominal-elaborating  
 $-l\dot{y}u-|_{VV}$  ‘to be tired of -ing’ – verb-elaborating.

- inflections end with no boundary*: given in the respective table  
 (8)  $-ka|_N$  ABS.1sg.sg. (‘my’) – nominal  
 $+y|tu\dot{y}| < |+y|tu\dot{y}(+\emptyset)|_V$  IND.3sg. (‘he/it’) – verbal.

iii) *Phonological adjustments* – Suffixation of a derivational suffix or of an inflection to its immediately preceding morpheme requires a variety of adjustments in the phonological segments at the morpheme boundary that are brought into contact in the articulation process – phonological rules (P1) through (P17) in § 7. They are mostly regular and predictable as such, hence the general characteristic of agglutination above. However, there are adjustments idiosyncratic to certain morphemes, and some adjustments are deep-layered and not directly or completely predictable from the phonological shape of the elements involved. Thus at least a few types of suffixes are distinguished according to the pattern of phonological adjustments that they induce.<sup>12</sup> Some conventions (as

12. Reed et al. (1977) and Jakobson (1984, 1995) distinguish a good number of “suffix types” indicated by different symbols, most of which Miyaoka and Afcan (1969) were initially responsible for. But, except for the retaining (+) and the deleting (-),

marked by plus or minus +/-, subscript<sub>1</sub>, asterisk \*) are employed to show these somewhat specific adjustments.

iii.a) The most important distinction is that between “retaining” and “deleting” suffixes. The suffix-initial plus and minus mean that any preceding stem- or suffix-final velar is either retained (+) or deleted (-): While the final velar fricative, if any, is retained before, e.g. |+*put*| ABS.1pl.sg. (more exactly |+<sub>1</sub>*put*|), it is deleted before, e.g. |-*put*| ABS.1pl.pl., as exemplified in final velar deletion (P9). See (P2) and (P8ii) which are also sensitive to this type of distinction.

iii.b) One type of suffix has the “subscript” <sub>1</sub> (one) after the boundary, as in the foregoing |+<sub>1</sub>*put*| or the desiderative suffix |+<sub>1</sub>*cuy-*| (§ 43), which means that a preceding stem-final apical, if any, is adjusted in some way or another, undergoing deletion, fusion, or fricativization, as exemplified in the Final Apical Adjustments (P5i.a,b), with or without a specific arrangement in addition. The subscript is given in phonological representations only in those contexts that are relevant, that is, only when the preceding (derived) stem has a final apical stop. A number of suffixes, without the subscript, show the same adjustments (P5i.c).

iii.c) Several suffixes have the initial velar marked with an asterisk as a “strong velar”, including the intensifier VVa |-*k\*ac(a)(y)ay-*| (§ 41.3.5), modal VVm |+<sub>1</sub>*ŋ\*at-*| (§ 43), and the verbal person marker |+<sub>Y</sub>*\*u-*| ‘3sg.’ (Table 30; § 32.2.1), and they behave in several respects differently from non-asterisked or “weak” velars: see (P3i, P3ii.a), (P6), and (P11) for details. The morpheme-final distinction between strong and weak /*ɣ*/ is relevant to (P4i).

In addition to these conventions, some suffix-initial (or medial) segments /l, (u)c, s(t), (y)/ require specific phonological adjustments, as listed just before § 7.1 (a through d).

iv) Inflectional suffixes behave somewhat differently from derivational suffixes in their phonological adjustments. In the underlying phonological representations, a square bracket ([]) is employed to signal the start of the inflection:

- (9) |*qayay+pay-li*[+*ɣuy*] /*qayaxpalliuq*/ *qayarpaliuq*  
 kayak-big-make-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is making a big kayak’.

– where the stem-final /*ɣ*/ is retained before the plus-signed NN suffix |+<sub>1</sub>*pay-*| ‘big’ whose final /*ɣ*/ is deleted before the minus-signed NV suffix |-*li-*| ‘to

---

iii.a) above, they are found basically predictable, among them, ‘half-retaining’ ÷, ~ ‘final *e* deleting’ ~, ‘assimilative’ (underlined *k*, *q*, etc.), ‘intervocalic voiced velar continuant dropping’: It will be seen that they are dissolved in this description by combined applications of phonological rules in § 7.

make'. The inflection-initial /y/ is deleted by the very general rule of Intervocalic Velar Deletion (P10). The stem-final /y/ becomes /x/ by the Devoicing Rule (P13), and the word-final /y/ becomes /q/ by (P13) and Word-Final Adjustment (P17i). Prosodic rules (§ 8) assign Rhythmical Accent (P18i) on /á/ and Regressive Accent (P18ii) on /à/ (realizing in the gemination of /l/) to provide the final surface, i.e. phonemic, form.

Full inflectional paradigms, for either nominals or verbs, are not exemplified as long as they are predictable from the Tables concerned by general rules, while the sporadic particularities or complications are explained in the text or footnotes.

### 2.2.2. Morpheme sequence illustrated

Suffix types (§ 4.2.2.1) and classification of derivational suffixes (§ 4.2.5) imply that a stem or an expanded stem selects the type of a following suffix. By definition a verb stem (V) or a verbal suffix (NV or VV) can only be followed by VN or VV and a nominal stem (N) or a nominal suffix (VN or NN) can only be followed by NV or NN.

Accordingly the rightmost suffix of the category-converting type (if ever), rather than the stem, is the categorial head of the word. Thus what determines the class, whether nominal or verb, of the whole word is the function of the rightmost suffix of the category-converting type (NV or VN), or, if there is no such suffix, the stem itself.

A verb stem (with no suffix of the category-converting type), or an expanded stem in which the rightmost suffix of the category-converting type is verbal, combines with a verb inflection to indicate inflectional categories such as mood and person (subject and object), thus constituting the following example repeated from (3b):

- (10) |qayay<sub>N</sub>+pay<sub>NN</sub>-li<sub>NV</sub>-qay<sub>VV</sub>+sqi<sub>VV</sub>+caaqi<sub>VV</sub>-tyu<sub>VV</sub>[+yaqa]<sub>V</sub> >  
 kayak-big-make-ITS-A'.ask-but-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 /qayáxpali' qaásqíssaáqihxúa' qa/ qayarpaliqaasqessaaqellruaqa  
 'I asked him to make a big kayak (but actually he has not made it yet)'.

In this word, which is a "directive" complex transitive with upper A'.ask (§ 40.2.2), the noun stem |qayay<sub>N</sub>-| is expanded by six derivational suffixes (with two-letter subscript; <sub>NN</sub>, <sub>NV</sub>, <sub>VV</sub>) of different functional classes. The completely expanded stem is verbal (since the rightmost transcategorial suffix NV |-li-| is verbal and thus followed by the verbal inflection |+yaqa| (from two morphemes |+yay<sub>N</sub>-| and |-ka|: see Table 46; § 46.1). Note that the two class symbols

(N or V) should be identical across morpheme boundaries (+ or -), i.e.  $N \pm N$  or  $V \pm V$ .

Likewise, a nominal stem (with no expansion by category-converting type) and expanded stems, in which the rightmost transcategorial suffix (like  $VN_{nm}$   $|+ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$  below) is nominal, combine with nominal inflections (like  $|-ka|$ : see Table 21; § 23) to index inflectional categories such as case, number, and person (possessor), as in the following repeated from (3a):

- (11)  $|qayay\dot{N}+pa\dot{Y}_{NN}-li_{NV}+ca\dot{y}a\dot{Y}_{VN}[-ka]_N >$   
 kayak-AUG-make- $VN_{nm}$ .way.of-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 /qayáxpaliːyaʔáːqa/ *qayarpaliyaraqqa*  
 ‘the way I make a big kayak’.

which is a nominal clause with three suffixes (NN, NV, VN), thus completed by the nominal inflection.

## 2.3. Stems

### 2.3.1. Classification

The stem carries the ‘basic meaning’ of the word (except for two bivalent stems that are the most neutral or sometimes even “empty” in meaning –  $|pi-|$  ‘to do; thing’ and  $|ca-|$  ‘[to do] what/something’; § 10.3). Apart from particles (without inflection), stems (but not roots) are classed as either nominal or verbal:

- (12) *Nominal*: end in a vowel, a velar  $/\dot{y}/$  or  $/y/$ , or an apical  $/t/$  – e.g.:
- $|nuna-|$  ‘land’,  $|niqi|$  ‘fish’,  $|ciu-|$  ‘front part’
  - $|qayay\dot{-}|$  ‘kayak’,  $|kuiy\dot{-}|$  ‘river’
  - $|ciut-|$  ‘ear’.
- (13) *Verbal*: end in a vowel, a velar  $/\dot{y}/$  or  $/y/$ , or an apical  $/t/$  and  $/c/$  – e.g.:
- $|tai-|$  ‘to come over’,  $|uita-|$  ‘to stay’,  $|aqumi-|$  ‘to sit’
  - $|atu\dot{y}\dot{-}|$  ‘to use’,  $|kaiy\dot{-}|$  ‘to be hungry’
  - $|asiit-|$  ‘to be bad’;  $|tikic-|$  ‘to arrive’,  $|tany\dot{y}\dot{-}cic-|$  ‘to be dark’.

Final  $/t/$  in (c), preceded by  $/i/$  (except for one suffix  $|-at-|$ ), is restricted to negative  $VV_n$  suffixes (§ 44), and a fair number of stems with final  $/(ci)c/$  occur in ‘adjectival’ stems. The group (c) has the peculiarity of selecting the negative apposition marker (characterized by  $|-_1na-|$ ; § 51.1.3-i).

However, a good number of stems that are part of the basic lexicon are ambivalent, possibly functioning either as nominal or verbal:

- (14) *Ambivalent*: |*atkuy*-|<sub>N/V</sub> ‘parka; to put on a parka’, |*qany̆*-|<sub>N/V</sub> ‘mouth; to speak’; more in § 10.4.

Some stems may be very broad in their semantic content (besides the more or less expletive stems |*pi*-| and |*ca*-| below), while others are very specific. For example, the gloss of the nominal |*cila*-|~|(c)*ila*-| ‘weather’ in (6) can also be ‘outdoors, universe, weather, awareness, etc.’ (see § 12-fn. 5 for more). The verbal stem |*atuy̆*-| in (15) cannot only be ‘to use’ but may also mean ‘to sing, wear/don, go through, follow, experience, etc.’ as illustrated:

- (15) a. [*Tumyaraq*                      *ma-n’a*]<sub>P</sub>                      *atu-llru-a*.  
 trail.ABS.sg.                      this-EX.ABS.sg.                      use-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He *followed* this trail here.’
- b. [*quinag-na-mek*                      *assiil-ngur-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>                      *atur-pailegma*  
 ugly-cause-ABM.sg.                      bad-VNrl-ABM.sg.                      use-CNNbf.1sg.  
 ‘before I *experienced* ugly/bad/disgusting things (e.g. attained carnal knowledge)’ [AKKL 228]
- c. *Kuingir-ngail-ucirka-qa*<sub>P</sub>                      *atu-nrit-aqa*.  
 smoke-will.not-VNnm.FUT-ABS.1sg.sg.                      use-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am not *following* my promise / instruction not to smoke.’  
 – VVn |<sub>+1</sub>*η*\**ait*-| ‘will not’
- d. *Iga-neq*<sub>P</sub>                      *atur-aa*.  
 write-VNnm.ABS.sg.                      use-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He always writes / has become a writer (lit. uses writing).’

The distinction between nominal and verb stems is blurred in particular for:

- i. some time words (§ 11.3)
- ii. some quantifiers (§ 14.10) – verbal only in the stative-connective mood (§ 50.10)
- iii. emotional roots that seem generally verbal but somewhat nominal in derivation (§ 36.1)
- iv. a limited number of (derived) verb stems that can be directly followed by the relative-case marker |*+m*| as if they were nominal (§ 24.3).

Nominal stems are subclassified in terms of morphological and syntactical properties:

- i. nouns (§ 11)
- ii. demonstratives (§ 12)
- iii. personal pronouns (§ 13)
- iv. numerals (§ 14)
- v. ignoratives (§ 15)



Verb stems are subclassified primarily according to their valency, i.e. the number and the kind of the nominal argument(s) inherently involved in each stem:

- i. monovalent (intransitive) stems (§ 33)
- ii. bivalent (monotransitive) (§ 34)
- iii. trivalent (ditransitive) stems (§ 35)
- iv. root-derived stems (§ 36).

As stated, stems and expanded roots (just below) can be directly followed by an inflection to make up a morphologically complete word, but stems easily may be subject to expansion by one or more derivational suffixes. Suffixes responsible for “expanded stems” are of various types:

- i. stem-elaborating type (NN in § 20 and VV in § 41 through § 45)
- ii. valency-modifying type (VVsm and VVcm in § 39 and § 40)
- iii. transcategorial type (VNrl, VNnm, VN in § 17 through § 19 as well as NVrv and NV in § 37 and § 38).

Roots, of which there are a considerable number (§ 10.5), including demonstrative roots (§ 12), have to be expanded by one of the root expanders (EX) in order to function as stems and take an inflection, as illustrated:

- (16) a. |*kamy-uy*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘knee-high boot’, |*qiy-tu*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to be high’  
 b. |*u-ku-t*|<sub>N</sub> ‘these ones’ (-*t* ABS/REL.pl.).

Many of the expanders are non-productive suffixes specific to roots, but some general and productive suffixes are also employed for root expansion.

### 2.3.2. Shape of stems

Phonologically the shortest stem is monosyllabic, having the shape (C)V(C)-. Monosyllabic stems of open syllable CV- are limited to those given in (17).

#### i) Monosyllabic:

*CV*:- includes only three stems (a) and two roots (b), e.g.:

- (17) a. |*pi*-|<sub>NV</sub> ‘thing; to do’, |*ca*-|<sub>NV</sub> ‘(to do) what/something’, |*na*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘where’  
 b. |*ki*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘who’, |*u*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘this (one)’; which require an expander.

*(C)VC*:- stems (a) and roots (b)

- (18) a. |*yuy*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘person’, |*ac*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to don’, |*mic*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to land’, |*kic*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to sink, fall into water’, |*tuc*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to step on, come across, arrive, occur’, |*pi*(+)*c*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to hunt’.

- b. |*uk*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘one approaching’, |*man*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘that one’, |*mil*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘throwing’.  
– see (P1; § 7.1) for the (C)VC stem strengthening (through gemination).

There are a number of stems that have final consonant clusters – CVCC or CVCCC – though three-consonant clusters are not permissible (and are broken by /i/ insertion; P7) at the phonemic level:

(C)VCC-:

- (19) |*akm*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘one across’(root), |*atȳ*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘name’, |*taŋx*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to see’, |*niȳȳ*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘north, northerly wind’, |*tikȳ*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘index finger’, |*nutȳ*-|<sub>N/V</sub> ‘(to shoot) a gun’, |*kamȳ*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘(skin) boot’ (root).

(C)VCCC-:

- (20) |*azvȳ*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘walrus’, |*tiȳly*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to steal’.

ii) Bisyllabic – which is the canonical form of stems:

(C)VVC(C)-:

- (21) a. |*ui*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘husband’, |*ciu*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘front’, |*kiu*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to answer’, |*naa*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to become complete (in number)’  
b. |*auȳ*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘blood’, |*cii*(ȳ)-|<sub>N</sub> ‘sheefish’.

(C)VVCC-:

- (22) |*kaaly*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to rummage through’, |*paanyȳ*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to paddle (double-bladed)’.

(C)VVCV(C)-:

- (23) a. |*aȳu*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to ripen’, |*miki*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to be small’, |*ini*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘house’, |*ciku*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘ice’  
b. |*acay*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘paternal aunt’, |*nacay*-|<sub>N/V</sub> ‘(to put on) a hat’, |*tikic*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to arrive’.

(C)VVCVCC-:

- (24) |*inaȳc*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to lie down’, |*naquȳc*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to put a belt on’.

(C)VCCV(C)-:

- (25) a. |*kumla*-| ‘coldness’  
b. |*całmay*-|<sub>N/V</sub> ‘(to) patch on clothing’, |*alȳay*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to write’.

iii) Trisyllabic or longer stems, of which there are a fair number:

- (C)VCVCV(C)-:
- (26) a. |*aqumi*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to sit’; |*atata*| ‘later’ (particle)  
 b. |*ikayuŷ*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to help’, |*piŋayut*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘three’.
- (C)VVCV(C)-:
- (27) a. |*aata*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘father’  
 b. |*iitay*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘tall cotton grass’, |*quumiy*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to hold, grasp’.
- (C)VCVCV(C)-:
- (28) a. |*aqumi*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to sit’,  
 b. |*ikayuŷ*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to help’, |*piŋayut*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘three’.
- (C)VCVVCV-:
- (29) |*iluhay*\*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘female cross-cousin of a female’.
- (C)VCVCV(C)-:
- (30) |*nutayay*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘new one’.
- (C)VCVVCV-:
- (31) |*ataata*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘paternal uncle’.
- CVVCCVC-:
- (32) |*ciisquy*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘knee’, |*caaxluŷ*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘dust’.
- CVVCVVC-:
- (33) |*nutayay*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘new (thing)’, |*caŷumiy*|<sub>N</sub> ‘left hand’, |*kamayuy*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to think’.
- (C)VVCVCCV(C)-:
- (34) |*quuyuyni*-| ‘to smile’.

Most of longer (above quadrisyllabic) lexicalized stems may turn out to be historically polymorphemic, i.e. secondarily derived stems:

- (35) |*quzŋiyŋalhuŷ*\*-|<sub>N</sub> ‘goat’ – from |*quzŋiy*+*ŋat*+*ŋuŷ*\*-| (reindeer-seem.like-VNrl)  
 |*nahuŷayuc*-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to forget’ – from |*nalu*+*caŷ*[u?]+(u)c-| (not.to.know-VVsm[?]-E<sub>APL</sub>)

Particles (listed in § 53) are basically excluded from above, a few of which may be quadri- or penta-syllabic, e.g. *naamikika* ‘I don’t know’.

2.3.3. *Lexical stock in trade: native and loan*

The number of primary (non-derived and unanalyzable) stems in the CAY stock is presumably relatively small (perhaps not much exceeding 2,000 in the final analysis) and suffixes are even more limited in number than stems (perhaps not much exceeding 500), while for the analysis the new edition of Central Yup'ik Dictionary with 10,114 entries (see § 1.4-ii) is long awaited for. This relatively limited native stock is fully utilized to create descriptive words for newly necessitated or introduced concepts, i.e. non-native ones, given the high derivational capability of the language. CAY is more apt to draw out of native lexical stock or to extend the meaning of native words than to borrow words.<sup>13</sup>

By contrast, CAY suffixes seem to be all native with at least one exception (see fn. 1).

Nevertheless, after European contact there has been a considerable influx of non-native elements (almost exclusively as noun stems), especially of Russian words, and, more recently, English words occur ever-increasingly in daily speech.

i) *Russian loans* – now generally incorporated into the native lexical stock: CAY has nearly 200 Russian loans attested (Krauss 1996a) – see the list in Jacobson (1984: 681–687), despite the relatively short rule of Alaska by the Russians (1840s through 1867 in the CAY area). They were introduced through the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian-American Company in particular, which were in fact the Yupik people's first Western contact. Jacobson (1984: 678–680) provides a good survey of Russian loans at some length. See also Hammerich (1954) for the pioneer work on this topic.

Semantically the loan words include imported food items, domesticated animals, material culture (incl. clothing, household, transportation), religion, etc. The Russian term for 'Cossacks' was established as the Yupik term *kass'aq* for 'white person (now including Americans), priest'. See (37) and (38) for borrowed nouns.

Borrowed verbs are very few, though some are attested:

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13. Parenthetically speaking, although simplistic rapprochement is far from being my taste, this lexical tendency of the language, together with its one-sidedness of morphological process (§ 4.1.1), i.e. suffixation, cannot but bring to mind the unique and well-developed material culture that the Eskimo people built up through their resourceful and ingenious use of the very limited material available (snow, animal fur and bone, fish skin, stone, drift wood, etc.) in the most forbidding natural environment on earth.

- (36) |*asali-*| ‘to make pancakes, fry’ (< *zharit* ‘to fry’)  
 – cf. *assali-aq* ‘pancake’ whose *-aq* is distinct from the linker for loanwords in ii) below but the passive relativizer |*-yay-*| (§ 17.4.2)  
 |*payayi-*| ‘to weld, solder’ (< *payát* ‘to solder’).

ii) *Morphological adjustments of loanwords*: Loanwords as foreign elements, particularly ones from English, cannot generally take Yupik derivation and/or inflections directly. Aside from the segmental adjustment and/or replacements in accordance with the different systems (as in any other language), the most conspicuous adjustment is the addition of the “linker” or linking suffix (LNK) |*+(V/VV)y-*| (V = mainly /a/ but also /i/ or /u/) to make Yupik suffixes attachable (§ 52.5-ii). The linker is marked by a hyphen placed after the loanword in the practical orthography:

- (37) *kelip-aq* ‘bread’ (< *khleb*), *c/sass'-aq* ‘clock’ (< *chasy*), *Alussistu-aq* ‘Christmas’ (< *rozhdstvó*), *kuun-iq* ‘horse’ (< *kon*) – the vowel *i* perhaps due to palatalized *n*  
*(e)stuul-uq* ‘table’ (< *stol*) – the vowel *u* (phonetically [o]) as copied vowel.

No linker is added if the Russian originals already have Yupik-like finals:

- (38) *cainik* ‘kettle’ (< *cháynik*) – as opposed to *c/saay-uq* ‘tea’ (< *chay*) with linker *-uq*.

See § 3.3.5.2 for plenty of cases with adjustments of word-initial consonant clusters, together with vowel cluster fluctuations and gemination addition (closely connected with Russian *udal'ene*), etc.

iii) *English loans*: This second wave of loanwords, again including more nouns than verbs, are being increasingly interspersed into Yupik these days when there are actually no Yupik monolinguals remaining. They have not yet been incorporated as inflectable stems, but remain a kind of particle. They are therefore generally used with the linker |*+(V/VV)y-*| for expansion with derivation and inflection, just like when CAY interactive particles are placed within inflected verbs of ‘to say’ (e.g. he said ‘let me see’); cf. § 52.5. As the linker-final consonant is weak, it may be deleted by (P4i) as *nampa-* in (40).

- (39) a. |*sain-aŷ-*| ‘to sign’: *sain-a-llru-uq* ‘he signed’  
 – written as *sain-allruuq*  
 |*kaal-aŷ-*| ‘to call’: *call-a-llru-uq* /káːlaʃxuʊq/ ‘he called’  
 cf. *calla-llru-uq* /caʃaʃxuʊq/ ‘it opened’  
 – with |*caʃa-*| ‘to be open’

- b. |selippussaay-| [BB]: **selip'u-ssaaq** 'slipper'  
 – with unidentified linker (?).
- (40) *Qayagau-qi-a* [u-ku-ni] **nampa-ni**  
 call-FUT-OPT.2sg. this-EX-LOC.pl. number-LOC.pl.  
 'You (sg.) call (phone) this number.'

While loanwords from Russian have now been totally incorporated into Yupik and inflect as part of the native lexical stock (a) below, this is not yet the case for English loans, which thus generally take a linker (b), unless (c) the English word has already been adjusted to Yupik phonologically:

- (41) a. *muluk'uu-mek* (ABM.sg.) 'milk'  
 b. **milk-aa-mek** (with LNK -a-)  
 c. **mileg-mek**.

#### 2.4. Inflectional suffixes (inflections)

Together with stems, inflections are obligatory elements in inflecting words (except for the optional category of person [possessor] for nominals).<sup>14</sup> An inflection consists of no less than three inflectional suffixes encoding such grammatical categories as number, person (possessor), and case for nominals, and person (subject and object) and mood for verbs, which are often phonologically fused. Tense-aspect and modality are not inflectional categories of the language but are derivational and not obligatory – cf. § 42, § 43. Gender and nominal classification play little role in CAY, and its grammar focuses little on sex distinctions. Glosses for the third person are thus given for convenience as 'it, its' (for non-humans) or 'he, his, him' (for humans), unless it is pragmatically adequate to use 'she, her'.

i) CAY distinguishes three numbers, i.e. singular (sg.), dual (du.), and plural (pl.), and four persons, i.e. first (1), second (2), third (3), and reflexive-third (3R), each in all of the three numbers. Use of duality is rapidly declining among young speakers, which is one of the most obvious and remarkable decays in the inflectional system of the language.

The reflexive-third person, which occurs with possessed nominals and with participial, connective, and appositional mood verbs (below), is triggered by the third person subject (S/A) as the syntactic pivot of the main clause.

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14. Even though person (possessor) is not necessarily an obligatory category for nominals, it is fused with number and case and has to be considered as part of inflection.

As stated (§ 4.1.4), CAY nominals distinguish two syntactic cases – absolutive (ABS) and relative (REL; covering ergative and genitive) – and five oblique cases for “demoted” and peripheral arguments, three of which – ablative-modalis (ABM; ‘with’), allative (ALL; ‘to’), locative (‘at/in’) – are for marking demoted core arguments, while the other two – perlative (PRL; ‘through’) and equalis (EQL; ‘as/like’) – are used only for peripherals (adverbials). ABS may have a peripheral (temporal) function as well. In addition, some kinds of nominals have vocative (VOC) forms.

For verbs, the language has six moods – four “independent moods”: indicative (IND), participial (PTP), interrogative (INT), and optative (OPT); one “subordinate mood”, i.e. the connective (CNN)<sup>15</sup>; and one “cosubordinate mood” (terminology by Van Valin and LaPolla 1997), i.e. the appositional (APP).<sup>16</sup>

The interrogative mood is closely connected with an “ignorative” word (§ 4.2.1, § 15) (but not with interrogative question particle  $|\neq\text{qaal}$ ; § 5.3.1, § 53.2)

Connective-mood clauses, responsible for subordinate clauses (§ 50.2 through § 50.11), modify the main clause adverbially in ten different ways, mostly for temporal and logical settings.

The appositional mood is responsible for cosubordinate clauses, but may also function as a main clause predicate, like any of the four independent moods.

Unlike English participles, the participial is a main clause predicate, typically co-occurring with a modal particle or enclitic, but, true to the original nomenclature, the same marker functions as a relativizer (VNrl; § 17.2) as well.

Verbs index the person(s) for their core argument(s) – subject and object, while the appositional verb has the morphological idiosyncrasy of being mono-personal (§ 51-ii.c).

The inflections are listed in Tables 20 through 23 (for nominals) and Tables 46 through 50 (for verbs).

The formal identity of verbal and nominal inflections, namely, third person object transitives in the indicative/participial mood (Table 46) and possessed nouns in the absolutive case (Table 21) led Thalbitzer (1911: 1057-1059) to think that Eskimo verbs have a nominal nature – see § 46(1), (2), for instance.

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15. Variouslly called in Eskimology: subjunctive-conjunctive (Kleinschmidt 1851), relative (Schultz-Lorentzen 1945; Bergsland 1955), oblique (Woodbury 1981), causative/conditional (Fortescue 1984), besides *connective* (Reed et al.1977; Jacobson 1995; Miyaoka 1996).

16. This is given various terms in Eskimology: infinitive (Kleinschmidt 1851; Woodbury 1977b), subordinative (Reed et al. 1977; Jacobson 1995; Miyaoka 1996; Mithun 2008), contemporative (Bergsland 1955; Fortescue 1984), and *appositional* (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927, 1945; Woodbury 1981, 1983; Miyaoka in this description).

ii) The three (nominal) and the two (verb) grammatical categories as above are encoded in inflection. Not all kinds of nominals, however, are fully inflected. Some nominals never inflect for person, and adverbial demonstratives (§ 12.3.1) inflect only for case, but not for number and person.

As stated, most of the morphemes that constitute an inflection are more or less transparently segmentable, while some are phonologically fused together (polysemous). Either segmentable or not, an inflection is generally given as a single unit in underlying representations with the left boundary indicated by square bracket [(as in *|qayaỵ[-put]* ‘our boats’; kayak-ABS.1pl.pl.), but without indicating the internal morpheme boundary (+ or -), except for the sections where this information is necessary for correct phonological derivation. The singular marker *|[+Ø]* (ABS/REL.sg.) is not indicated in phonological representations (except in rare cases where its indication is useful or necessary).

## 2.5. Derivational suffixes

CAY derivational suffixes generally elaborate the lexical meaning or change the grammatical function of the preceding stem, composing together with it a secondarily derived stem. Owing to their multifarious functions, morphological derivation may be richly varied and highly elaborate. As such, CAY derivational suffixes, when recursively occurring within a word, may turn out to weave a wide variety of figures of speech as well as grammatical complication.

Derivational suffixes are typically mono- or bi-syllabic. Tri-syllabic (or more) suffixes are rare, apart from composite ones (§ 4.2.5.3).

A great majority of derivational suffixes – both grammatical and lexical – are sensitive to the inflecting word classes (either nominals or verbs), so they can be classified primarily in line with the syntactic category (nominal, verbal) of the (expanded) stem to which they are suffixed and of the resulting expanded stem, as in the following:

- (42) a. transcategorial – (43a)  
 b. stem-elaborating – (43b)  
 c. root-expanding – (43c), below.

Except for (c), derivational suffixes of one and the same category may occur successively or recursively.

The transcategorial (a) includes a few particlizers that convert a verb into a non-inflecting exclamative particle (§ 52.4), and there is one linker (‘to utter’, linking suffix) which is relevant to non-inflecting words or to non-native (English) words (§ 52.5).



## 2.5.1. Classification: transcategorial vs. stem-elaborating

Derivational suffixes have the three major types above, each of which may be subgrouped, with the chapter numbers followed by the (sub)groups of suffixes and abbreviations:

- (43) a. *transcategorial*:
- |        |                         |                         |        |
|--------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------|
| 1. VN  | nominalizing (V→N)      |                         |        |
|        | lexical derivation:     | VN                      | § 19   |
|        | clausal conversion:     | VNnm (nominal clauses)  | § 18   |
|        |                         | VNrl (relative clauses) | § 17   |
| 2. NV  | verbalizing (N→V)       |                         |        |
|        | lexical derivation:     | NV                      | § 38   |
|        | clausal conversion:     | NVrv (relational verbs) | § 37   |
| 3. VPc | verb particlizer (V→Pc) | VPc (exclamative)       | § 52.4 |
- b. *stem-elaborating* – semantic/grammatical modification:
- |       |                            |      |                |
|-------|----------------------------|------|----------------|
| 1. NN | nominal-elaborating (N→N)  |      |                |
|       | adjectival                 | NN   | § 20.1, § 20.2 |
|       | (dis)honorific/attitudinal | NNh  | § 20.3         |
|       | locational                 | NNl  | § 11.2.3       |
| 2. VV | verb-elaborating (V→V)     |      |                |
|       | valency-modification       |      |                |
|       | simplex verbs              | VVsm | § 39           |
|       | complex verbs              | VVcm | § 40           |
|       | non-valency modification   |      |                |
|       | adverbial                  | VVa  | § 41           |
|       | tense-aspect               | VVt  | § 42           |
|       | modality                   | VVm  | § 43           |
|       | negation                   | VVn  | § 44           |
|       | comparison                 | VVc  | § 45           |
- c. *root-expanding* (EX), which yield:
- |  |                                  |              |
|--|----------------------------------|--------------|
|  | nominal or mono-/bi-valent stems | § 10.5, § 36 |
|  | demonstrative stems              | § 12         |

Apart from (c), VN (a-1) and NN (b-1) are “nominal suffixes” (cf. § 4.1.1-ii) in that their derived stems are nominal, while NV (a-2) and VV(b-2) are “verbal suffixes” in that their derived stems are verbal.

Elaboration by means of the elaborating-type suffixes – NN (b-1) and a part of VV (b-2) – are semantic and lexical, while elaboration by means of most VV suffixes are grammatical. The semantic elaborations on a preceding (expanded) stem of a word may indeed be nothing but subtle associative elaborations (e.g. § 20.2). Some suffixes are much more than merely (or strictly) nominal or ver-

bal elaborations but are expressive, (dis)honorifics (§ 20.3, § 43.1) and intensifying or emphatic adverbials (§ 41.3) in particular.

Many suffixes, however, are ambivalent, belonging to two (or more) classes, e.g. NN/VVa |+*ɲuaɣ̃*-| ‘imitation of; to pretend to’, VVt/VN |-*niɣaɣ̃*-| ‘to have just -ed; one which has just -ed’, or NNh/VVh |-*cunɲaɣ̃\**-| ‘cute, dear’. Some of them are listed in each section, while others are listed only once in the section where the more productive (or primary) type belongs.

*Illustrations:* Transcategorical derivations (lexical) and conversions (clausal) of (a-1, a-2) are illustrated by the following, starting with the verb stem ‘to learn’:

(44)	<i>elic-</i> (  <i>ilic</i> -  <sub>v</sub> )	‘to learn’
	<i>elit-naur-aa</i>	‘he is <i>teaching</i> her’ (VVm-IND.3sg.3sg.)
	<i>elit-naur-vik</i>	‘school, place for teaching’; relative- zation (VNrl.ABS.sg.)
	<i>elit-naur-vi-li-uq</i>	‘he is building a school’; (re-)verbaliza- tion (NV-IND.3sg.)
	<i>elit-naur-vi-li-sta</i>	‘school builder’; relativization/(re-)no- minalization (VNrl.ABS.sg.)
	<i>elit-naur-vi-li-ste-ngu-uq</i>	‘he is a school builder’; (re-)verbalization (NVrv-IND.3sg.)
	<i>elit-naur-vi-li-ste-ngu-ciq</i>	‘being a school builder’; (re-)nomina- lization (VNm.ABS.sg.)
	<i>elit-naur-vi-li-ste-ngu-ci-a</i>	‘that/if he is a school builder’; (re-)nomi- nalization (VNm.ABS.3sg.sg.)

This amount of derivation and conversion may not be particularly complex. Characteristically in CAY, however, it is not only the case that deverbal nouns (such as ‘school’ and ‘school-builder’) can be verbalized (as in ‘to build a school’ or ‘to be a school-builder’), but that a nominalization – a nominal clause and a relative clause – can be further “reverbalized” (e.g. ‘I do not know that/if he is a school-builder’, etc.) and this, in turn, can even be “renominalized” (e.g. ‘my not knowing that/if he is a school-builder’, etc.). This could certainly be seen as a hallmark of Eskimo-type (non-templatic type) polysynthesis, and as the source of the rich and subtle expressiveness in CAY. Undoubtedly it is due to the productive, cumulative, and recursive (though rather restricted) uses of these multifarious suffixes that CAY has attained its perhaps unsurpassed degree of polysynthesis among the languages of the world. More examples are given particularly in § 17 and § 18 as well as in § 4.2.5.4.1 below.

Transcategorical expansion is very productive, like syntactic expansion, but not only synchronically. Diachronically, it also has been responsible for a fair

number of (fixed) grammatical markers (including verbal tense-aspect, negation markers, indices of comparison, etc.) – see also “cyclical expansion” in § 4.2.5.3 below as well as § 20.4 (nominal) and § 37.5.3.2 (verbal).

*Productive vs. obsolete suffixes:* The majority of derivational suffixes (listed in this grammar; see *Suffix list*, pp. 1565–1575) are productive enough in derivation to combine with most (or virtually any) semantically compatible stems. Their productivity varies, however. At the other end of the scale there are suffixes which, having restrictions on their productivity, can combine only with a limited number of stems (even if they are semantically compatible with other stems), with some of them being almost obsolete (or even fossilized with stems). As such, some derived words have acquired, to varying degrees, an established special meaning, being semantically ‘frozen’ or lexicalized, while others are responsible for words that are made up anew on each occasion (like phrases or sentences in more analytical languages).

Derived (expanded) stems that are lexicalized or (more or less) grammaticalized may not be perceived as secondary derivatives, particularly when phonological syncopation is involved, like weather impersonal monovalent stems (§ 33.3) and two pseudo-passive markers (§ 34.1.2.2).

Some suffixes are closely related to a particular semantic category, for instance, VN  $|-_1qu\dot{y}-|$  (§ 19.2), which, though now obsolete, has left the noteworthy abundance of body-part and part-to-whole relation terms.

The unlimitedness of suffix accumulation is, however, merely theoretical. In the case of Central Siberian Yupik (CSY), de Reuse (1994) remarked that, in natural speech, the number of suffixes that occur in a word rarely exceeds half a dozen. Though no statistical data is available for CAY in any category of utterance, this tendency may not be remarkably different between the two languages.

It seems at least the case, nevertheless, that elder speakers in general tend to have greater competence of producing highly synthetic words than do younger speakers. It is to be mentioned that, in actual utterances, polysynthetic words may carry modesty with the utterance on the part of the speaker. See § 41.3.1-v.

The more common and relatively productive suffixes of each type of derivational suffix are given in the relevant sections, but the list is far from exhaustive – see Jacobson (1984a, i.e. YED) for fuller coverage.

Some examples of each type are given here to provide some idea with minimal illustration – see each referred chapter for glossed analyses:

i) *Nominalizing suffixes* – nominalize a preceding verb stem.

*relative clauses* (§ 17):

- (45) (yuarun) atu-**qi**-i ‘(the song) the one he is singing’  
– final *-i* marks ABS.3sg.sg.

(*angun*) *aya-lleq* ‘(the man) the one who left’ [past]  
 – the suffix *-lleq* is multifunctional, serving also as nominalizer in (46) below but with person inflection.

*nominal clauses* (§ 18):

- (46) a. *aya-llr-a* ‘that he left, her/his leaving (as experienced)’  
 – final *-a* marks ABS.3sg.sg.  
*aya-uci-a* ‘that/whether he leaves (not yet experienced, uncertain)’  
*ayag-yara-a* ‘his (usual way) of leaving’  
 – contrast with the following which has never person inflection:  
 b. *aya-neq* ‘leaving (in general)’, with *|-ny-*; cf. (49) *ayag-neq*.

The above are from the monovalent *|ayay-|* ‘to go, leave’, while a nominalization of an agentive bivalent *|niyi-|* ‘to eat’ may be ambivalent if possessed:

- (47) *ner’-lleq* ‘eating’  
*(neqe-m) nere-llr-a* i. ‘eating of (fish), (fish) eating’  
 ii. ‘(fish’s) eating something’  
 – the relative-case *neqe-m* in G function reflects a) P or b) S(=A) argument, with its head marked by final *-a* REL.3sg.sg.

*lexicalized*:

- (48) *el-uciq* ‘shape’ – obsolete *|ic-|* ‘to be’  
*ca-yaraq* ‘custom’ – *|ca-|* ‘to do’.

*deverbal nouns* (VN; § 19):

- (49) *ayag-neq* ‘beginning, start’, with *|+<sub>1</sub>ny-*; cf. (46b) *aya-neq* ‘leaving’  
*cav-un* ‘oar’ – *|cavi-* | ‘to row’.

ii) *Nominal-elaborating suffixes* (NN; § 20) – added to a nominal stem to form an expanded nominal stem (not converting the word class). Viewed semantically, they mainly perform ‘adjectival’ modifications (§ 20.1):

- (50) *angyar-pak* ‘big kayak’ – *|+<sub>1</sub>pay-* | ‘big’  
*angyar-kaq* ‘future kayak, material for a kayak’ – *|+kay-* |.

iii) *Verbalizing suffixes* (NV) – turn a preceding nominal stem into a verb, thereby deriving a denominal verb stem. This includes relational verbs (NVRv, § 37; ‘to be/become [someone’s] N-’), and non-relational ones (§ 38) like existential/privative (e.g. ‘to have [no] N, there be [no] N’), action verb (e.g. ‘to make/build for, eat, use N’), etc.

Denominal verb derivation may share certain characteristics with noun incorporation (e.g. some extent of lexicalization, nominal elements as non-core arguments, etc.), though CAY denominal verbs are not viewed as incorporation in this grammar.

The denominal verbs derived with NV suffixes are monovalent (with S argument – [51]) or bivalent (with P and A arguments – [52]), the more common of which include:

- (51) a. ‘to be/become – ’ (stative/inchoative relational verb)  
 b. ‘to be at’ (locative verb), ‘to be far in direction’, ‘to go to’  
 ‘to have’, ‘to have plenty of’, ‘to catch a lot of’; ‘to lack/have no’, ‘to deprive of, to de-’, ‘to make’, ‘to supply (with)’, ‘to have a good’, ‘to be a bad/unpleasant’, ‘to eat’, ‘to hunt’, ‘to go and get’, ‘to be affected/hurt in [body part]’, etc.
- (52) a. ‘to be/become someone’s – / to (now) have – as’ (stative and inchoative relational verbs), cf. (51a) above  
 b. ‘to make/build for’, ‘to supply – with’.

The (a) and (b) group are described in separate chapters § 37 and § 38. The former, i.e. relational verbs (a), are very productive in many ways, both synchronically and diachronically, and will turn out to be the warp and weft of the grammatical texture unique to CAY. Later chapters will clarify how important a part relational verbs play in CAY grammar.

iv) *Verb-elaborating suffixes* (VV; § 39, § 40; § 41 through § 45) – modify a preceding verb stem to form a verbally expanded stem, without converting the word class. They are functionally most versatile and make up two groups in terms of valency modification.

One group is responsible for valency modification – increase, decrease, and rearrangement of arguments – within simplex verbs (VVsm; § 39 – e.g. causative, applicative, adversative, etc.) and for producing “complex transitive” (VVcm; § 40 – directive, speculative, causative, ignorative, etc.), which embeds a simplex verb into a (possibly recursive) upper-layered clause with its own agent argument (A') added.

The other group involves no valency modification, but only concerns verbal categories (VV; TAM, polarity, evidentiality, etc.), ‘adverbial’ modifiers (of manner, degree, location, time, etc.), and same-subject secondary verbs (e.g. ‘to wish to, pretend to, be tired of –ing’, etc.).

Besides these major types, there are a few specific types of suffixes:

v) *(Dis)honorific suffixes* – include a fair number of NNh/VVh suffixes that express an attitude/evaluation (e.g. affectionate, pejorative) of the speaker to-

wards the person(s) or thing(s) concerned as the subject argument (S/A). One and the same suffix works either NN or VV, but is conveniently illustrated in § 20.2 as NNh. Some suffixes of this type in particular have the peculiarity that they are typically nomadic, “floating” among nominals or verbs, and others may stand after particles or (inflected) personal pronouns and particles, reminding us of postinflectional derivation (§ 4.1.3.2).<sup>17</sup>

vi) *Particle related suffixes* – there are a small number of suffixes – cf. § 5.1.3.2 – that may:

- (53) a. be added to particles – relational verb NVrv |+*ŋu*-| ‘to be N’, linker EX |+(V/VV)*ŷ*-| ‘to utter/say’, VVa |+*pay*-| ‘to say loudly’, possibly after particles as in § 41.3.2(111)  
 b. be added to ignorative words and particles – intensifying VVa |*-qapic*-| ~ |*-qapia(ŷa)ŷ*-| (§ 41.3.1)  
 c. particlize verb stems – exclamative VPc |+*pa*a| (§ 52.4.1)

### 2.5.2. *Suffix order*

The considerable flexibility of word order within a sentence contrasts with the relatively rigid suffix order within a word, which is, in general, determined semantically, grammatically, and/or pragmatically. A suffix may have semantic and/or syntactic scope over the immediately preceding suffix or an expanded stem as a whole. Due to semantic or grammatical constraints, two suffixes may occur in opposite positions, generally with some difference.

Various contrastive orders may be illustrated with two or three VV suffixes, each with different scopes, one of which is the reportative complex transitive VVcm |+*ni*-| ‘A’ to say’ (§ 40.2.4):

- (54) a. *pissur-ci-q-ni-a* ‘she said he would go hunting’  
 hunt-FUT-A’.say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 b. *pissur-ni-ci-q-aa* ‘she will say he has gone hunting’  
 hunt-A’.say-FUT-IND.3sg.3sg.

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17. The floating of attitudinal or evaluative suffixes is attested among some neighboring languages, like Koryak’s “argument-modifying” type of diminutive/augmentative suffixes, which contrastively show the ergative pattern of S/P (M. Kurebito 2000). She remarks, in regard to the argument being referenced, that the Aleut suffixes (based on Bergsland 1997) ‘behave neutrally in both between those of Koryak/Chukchi and of Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo’ (154).

- (55) a. *pissu-nqigg-ni-llru-a* ‘she (had) said he went hunting again’  
 go.hunt-again-A'.say-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 –VVt |-nqiyɔ-| ‘again’ (§ 42.2.4)
- b. *pissu-nqigte-llru-ni-a* ‘she says he went hunting again’  
 go.hunt-again-PST-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.
- c. *pissu-llru-ni-nqigt-aa* ‘she again says that he went hunting’  
 go.hunt-PST-A'.say-again-IND.3sg.3sg.
- d. *pissu-llru-nqigg-ni-a* = b. or c.  
 go.hunt-PST-again-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.
- e. *pissur-ni-nqigte-llru-a* ‘she (had) again said that he went hunting’  
 go.hunt-A'.say-again-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.
- f. \*/? *pissur-ni-llru-nqigt-aa*  
 go.hunt-A'.say-PST-again-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 – although *pissur-ni-nqigt-aa* without the past marker seems fully acceptable.

Polarity may have alternative scopes for complex transitives. The following from (a) above are ambivalent:

- (56) *pissu-nqigg-ni-llru-nrit-aa*  
 go.hunt-again-A'.say-PST-NEG-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 i. ‘she said he did not go hunting again’  
 ii. ‘she did not say he went hunting again’.

A long sequence of suffixes may cause some confusion for some speakers. In the following two words with reverse-ordered suffixes, the second may be taken as having the meaning of the first (though not vice versa):

- (57) a. *pissur-ciqe-nqigg-ni-a* ‘she says that he will go hunting *again*’  
 hunt-FUT-again-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.
- b. *pissur-ciq-ni-nqigt-aa* ‘she *again* says that he will go hunting’  
 hunt-FUT-A'.say-again-IND.3sg.3sg.

On the other hand, in such cases, the following analytic or periphrastic expression with the prop-verb |*pi*-| (or explicit |*qany*-| ‘to say’) would unmistakably be understood as equivalent to (b) above (cf. § 51.3.2):

- (58) *pissur-ciqe-ni-luku* *pi-nqigt-uq*  
 hunt-FUT-A'.say-APP.3sg. do-again-IND.3sg.  
 ‘she *again* says that he will go hunting’.

The non-determinability of the upper (even if merely potential) limit of the number of derivational suffixes within a word and the permutability as shown above would imply that morphological constructions in CAY cannot be described in terms of fixed slots mentioned above (§ 4.1.3).

CAY, which is basically characterized by non-templatic polysynthesis as mentioned (§ 4.1.3), has nevertheless some tendency toward an extent of templatic ordering. A number of VV suffixes show limited ordering, as is particularly the case with VVe *|-tini-|* ‘evidently, now I see’ which typically occurs immediately before the inflection, that is, hardly before any other derivational suffix like § 43(82) through (86) and many examples, though this still is not without exceptions like § 43 (87) through (90). See also composite suffixes in next section.

### 2.5.3. *Composite suffixes and cyclical expansion*

Suffixes occurring in CAY words do not necessarily all share the same degree of morphological coherency and transparency. Two (or three) suffixes are mutually more bound (or fixed) together than others. Suffix composition is both a diachronic and a synchronic fact. The former is shown first, and the latter next.

i) *More bound composite suffixes* – have yielded a good number of very productive grammatical markers, especially of VV type:

(59)	VVt	<i> -ṭỵu- </i> (/ <i> -ḷq̣i- </i> )	past tense marker; § 42.1
	VVc	<i> -nỵu- </i> / <i> -nq̣i- </i>	comparative index; § 45.1
	VVn	<i> -nỵit- </i>	negative marker (most general); § 44
	VVcm	<i> +(u)ciit- </i>	‘A’ not to know’ (ignorative complex transitive); § 40.2.5
	VVn	<i> +(s)ciiyat- </i>	‘cannot’; § 44
	VVsm	<i> +(s)ciỵ- </i> / <i> +(s)ciuỵ- </i>	pseudo-passive (active); § 34.1.2.2-i
	VVsm	<i> +ỵau- </i> / <i> +ỵaq̣i- </i>	pseudo-passive (stative); § 17.4.2, § 34.1.2.2-ii
	VVsm	<i> +(u)tiki- </i>	valency rearrangement (with T promoted); § 39.7.1
	VVsm	<i> +<sub>1</sub>viki- </i>	valency rearrangement (with R promoted); § 39.7.2.

The composite nature of these is more apparent for some of them than others, which may generally be perceived as monomorphemic. Adequate recognition of bimorphemic composition, however, of the pseudo-passive VVsm *|-sci(u)ỵ-|* ‘to be -ed (to the detriment of) by’, for instance, will help adequately



understand the seemingly enigmatic idiosyncrasy in terms of fluctuating case alignments, as explained in § 26.2-iii, § 34.1.2.2-i, and § 39.3.1. Again, bimorphemic analysis of VVsm  $|+(u)ti\dot{k}i-$  will reveal a mutual relation between two functions of the allative case, as demonstrated in § 39.7.3.

Likewise there are also a number of suffixes, whose bimorphemic composition is far from apparent because of certain phonological adjustments involved (like deletion), e.g. VV  $|+ci\dot{y}-$  ‘because, having as a reason’ and VV  $|+ni\dot{y}-$  ‘since, starting from’; see under NV  $|-li\dot{y}-$  ‘to supply with’ (§ 38).

The most common component of composite suffixes include:

- |      |    |      |  |  |
|------|----|------|--|--|
| (60) | a. | VNnm | $ -t\dot{y}-$ , $ -n\dot{y}-$ , $ +(u)ci\dot{y}-$  | nominalizers; § 18                       |
|      |    | VNrl | $ -ya\dot{y}-$ , $ +(s)t-$ , $ -l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-$ , $ -_1ki\dot{n}a\dot{y}-$                     | relativizers; § 17                       |
|      | b. | NVrv | $ +\eta u-$ and $ -ki-$  | relational verbs; § 37                   |
|      |    |      | – noteworthy that these are involved in as many as four of the composite suffixes (59) given above |  |
|      | c. | NV   | $ +\eta it-$   | privative verb; § 38.1                   |
|      | d. | NV   | $ -li-$  | ‘to make’, etc.; § 38.3.                 |
|      |    | NV   | $ -li\dot{y}-$ , $ -liu\dot{y}-$   | ‘to supply with’/ ‘to deal with’; § 38.3 |

Most of these components, i.e. except for  $|-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-$ ,  $|-_1ki\dot{n}a\dot{y}-$  and  $|-li-$ , are represented in the composite suffixes in (59).

All of the composite suffixes are the result of transcategorial cyclical conversions (§ 4.1.3.1-ii). That is, they are composed of the two transcategorial suffixes of opposite directions in which the word class of a stem is converted by the first suffix (VN) and is cycled back to the original category by the immediately following second (NV), i.e. nominalization followed by reverbalization, eventually yielding a VV composite suffix, like  $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$ ; cf. § 37.5.3.2 in particular.

Conversely, there are composites of NV+VN, i.e. verbalization followed by renominalization:  $N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N$ . This cyclical expansion (generally less fixed than  $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$ ) is more apt to be of synchronic process than diachronic, which are illustrated in § 20.4, and in ii) below. They add to the semantic elaboration (secondary categorization) or provide additional connotation (‘twist’ – cf. Sapir 1921: 25) rather than yielding grammatical markers, that is, as opposed to cyclical expansion of  $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$  type more commonly found in fixed grammatical markers.

Cyclical expansion, which results either in grammatical markers or in semantic elaboration (including twists, subcategorization or selection), is an important feature of CAY morphology, although not all composite suffixes are cyclical and there are many composite suffixes of the type NN+NN or VV+VV that are also more or less fixed.

In representations of CAY examples, the more fixed composite suffixes, as above, are listed as single suffixes (without an internal boundary) even though

analysis is in fact feasible, while less fixed compositions, which are more of syntactic derivation, are given with an internal boundary as two suffixes.

ii) *Less bound cyclical expansion as synchronic process*: Cyclical expansion, which is morphological, may productively occur like a syntactic expansion,  $N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N$  as well as  $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$ .

ii.a)  $N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N$  yields nominal cyclical expansion – note the difference from the compared in the following two cyclical expansions containing the relational verb ‘to be’ (intransitive and transitive) and a relative clause:

- (61) *Yupi-u-lrii-t* ‘the ones who are Yupiks’  
 Y.-be-VNrl- ABS/REL.pl.  
 cf. *Yupi-i-t* ‘the Yupiks’  
 Y.-EV-ABS/REL.pl.
- (62) *aana-ke-l-qa* ‘one who was my (not genuine) mother’  
 Mo-have.as-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 cf. *aana-ka* ‘my mother’  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.

Further illustrations are available in § 20.4 (in relation to nominal elaborations).

ii.b)  $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$  yields verbal cyclical expansion – note the difference in the following:

- (63) *tang, pissu-qenga-qe-tu-kenka*  
 see hunt-VNrl-have.as-HAB-PTP.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘see, they are the ones (kind) I always hunt’  
 cf. *tang, pissu-tu-kenka*  
 see hunt-HAB-PTP.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘see, I always hunt them’.
- (64) *tanger-kenga-u-nata ma-a-ni*  
 see-VNrl-PRV-APP.1pl.here-EX-LOC  
 ‘there is nothing for us to see here, we have nothing to see’ – PRV  
 |+*nit-*| into *-u-* before APP (§ 51.1.3)  
 cf. *tanger-pek'-nata ma-a-ni*  
 see-NEG-APP.1pl. here-EX-LOC  
 ‘we didn’t see (anything) here/(someone) didn’t see us here’.

Further illustrations are available in § 37.5.3 (in relation to relational verbs).

Cyclical elaboration, less bound, may be intervened by another suffix coming in between. The following (a), (b), and (c) are reciprocal nominals marked with duality (*-k*), which are actually relative clauses through cyclical expansion of  $N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N$  (NVrv+VNrl *-qe-llrii-*). In (b) the expansion is intervened by the aspect marker VVt *-ura-*, while (c) has another cyclical expansion (*-u-lrii-*) recursively, which is also intervened by the evidentiality marker VVe *-llini-* – hence all three meaning ‘grandmother and grandchild’ with different connotations but distinct from *maurlu-u-k* (GrMo-EV-ABS.du) ‘two grandmothers’ with no cyclical elaboration:

- (65) a. *maurlu-qe-llrii-k*  
GrMo-have.as-VNrl-ABS.du.  
‘(ones who mutually have each other as) grandmother and grandchild (currently)’  
– note the composite suffix with a transitive relational verb (§ 37.2) and an intransitive relative clause (§ 37) and the duality of de-transitivized relational verb
- b. *maurlu-q-ura-lrii-k*  
GrMo-have.as-CNT-VNrl-ABS.du.  
‘(ones who mutually have each other as) grandmother and grandchild (continuative/stative)’  
– expansion by VVt suffix
- c. *maurlu-q-ura-lriar-u-llini-lrii-k*  
GrMo-have.as-CNT-VNrl-be-EVD-VNrl-ABS.du.  
‘(ones who evidently have each other mutually as) grandmother and grandchild (continuative/stative)’.

iii) *Problems with |ta| compositions*: It would not be out of place to mention here a number of composite suffixes, mentioned in different chapters, which are characterized by one peculiar morpheme *|+ta-|* indicating temporariness (‘at certain time’ – anaphoric in nature). Unlike all other CAY suffixes, it modifies the *following* suffix (of possession or existence) as if it were a prefix (which is otherwise alien to CAY). The *|+ta-|* group suffixes, regarded as close-knit composite suffixes, include five NV suffixes in § 38.1, e.g. (a) below, and one NN suffix in § 20.1 as in (b):

- (66) a. NV *|+ta-ŋqȳ-|* ‘to exist, have N [at the time]’ – temporary existence/possession  
cf. NV *|-ŋqȳ-|* ‘to exist at, to have N’
- b. NN *|+ta-lȳ-|* ‘one having [at the time]’ – temporary possession  
cf. NN *|-lȳ-|* ‘one having’.

The morpheme  $|ta|$  is also problematic with regard to whether it might be related to the VV (equalitive)  $|+ta-|$  ‘to that extent, as – as’ – e.g. *mik-ta-uq* ‘it is that small, is as small as X [EQL]’ (§ 45.6.1) – which is again anaphoric.

The idiosyncrasy is further reminiscent of the anaphoric  $|ta-|$ , which is the only one “prefix-like” element occurring only before two (out of twenty eight) demonstrative roots in GCAY, i.e. *ta-u-* and *ta-ma(t)-*, but proclitic before any demonstrative roots in NS dialect as *ta(z)=* (§ 12.2.3.6-ii). Thus the morpheme is intriguingly unique, given that CAY (like other Eskimoan languages) lacks prefixation, and is again mentioned in § 4.3-i as one of the morphological anomalies.

#### 2.5.4. *Morphological expansions illustrated*

Recursive expansion and complementation through added suffixes of various kinds is illustrated below in two ways (§ 4.2.5.4.1 and § 4.2.5.4.2), the second of which is interrelated with syntactic expansion, to give some idea of the general extent of expansion by way of derivational suffixes.

##### 2.5.4.1 *Polysynthetic words*

The words below all first begin with the simple noun stem  $|aŋyaŋ-|$  ‘boat’ with no derivational suffix. However big a difference there may be in the amount of semantic and grammatical content packed into each word, all the examples below are nothing but single words, with no enclitic added, ranging from simple words to very ‘heavy’ words. They are nominals or verbs as indicated by N or V inflection at the end:

- (67) *angyaq-Ø<sub>N</sub>*                    ‘(the) boat’ – with no derivation  
boat-ABS.sg.
- (68) *angya-cuara-a-k<sub>N</sub>*  
boat-small-EV-ABS.du.  
‘(the) two small boats’ – with semantic (adjectival) modification

The following two examples (69a, b) are both verbalizations of the expanded stem *angya-cuar-* in (68) into intransitive (a) and transitive (b) verbs through the transcategorial relational verb suffix NVrv *-u-* or *-q(e)-* (§ 37). The ‘small boat’ therein is not a core argument, and, unlike the English constructions (glossed), it is not a copula complement (in the sense of Dixon 2002) in (a) and not a (direct) object in (b), but is simply the head (stem) of the predicate. These

denominal relational verbs show a relation of identity or equation holding between the predicate head and the S/P core argument ('someone/thing' to be identified or equated), while the A argument in (b; 'I') functions as a possessor (irrespective of the alienability) of the predicate head:

- (69) a. *angya-cuara-u-guq<sub>V</sub>* 'it is a small boat' – intransitive  
boat-small-be-IND.3sg.  
b. *angya-cuar-q-aqa<sub>V</sub>*  
boat-small-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'it is *my* small boat, lit. *I* have it as/for a small boat' – transitive  
– the transitive subject ('I') is semantically the possessor for the predicate head ('small boat').

Another kind of denominalization occurs in the following by way of the transcategorial suffix NV *-li-* 'to make' (§ 38.3):

- (70) a. *angya-cuara-li-uq<sub>V</sub>* 'he is making a small boat' – intransitive  
boat-small-make-IND.3sg.  
b. *angya-cuara-li-anga<sub>V</sub>*  
boat-small-make-IND.3sg.1sg.  
'he is making *me* [P] a small boat' – transitive.

The following has a further expansion of the preceding (70a) for grammatical elaboration by VVn (§ 44) and VVe (§ 43.2):

- (71) a. *angya-cuara-li-sciigat-uq<sub>V</sub>*  
boat-small-make-cannot-IND.3sg.  
'he cannot make a small boat' – negation  
b. *angya-cuara-li-sciigat-lini-uq<sub>V</sub>*  
boat-small-make-cannot-EVD-IND.3sg.  
'(now I see) he cannot make a small boat' – evidentiality.

The following is a nominalization of the preceding (71) into a relative and a nominal clause through transcategorial suffixes VNrl and VNnm:

- (72) a. *angya-cuara-li-sciigal-nguq<sub>N</sub>*  
boat-small-make-cannot-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
'the one who cannot make a small boat' – relative clause  
b. *angya-cuara-li-sciigat-lini-uci-a<sub>N</sub>*  
boat-small-make-cannot-EVD-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
'that (I found) he cannot make a small boat' – nominal clause

The relative clause (a) may co-occur with an external head noun, e.g. *aata-ka* (Fa-ABS.1sg.sg.), forming an appositive phrase ('my father who cannot make a small boat'; § 16.1) with case and number agreement. This relative clause can be reverbalized into a relational verb construction, thus constituting a cyclical expansion (V→N→V):

- (73) *angya-cuara-li-sciigal-ngu-u-guq<sub>v</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-cannot-VNrl.-be-IND.3sg.  
 'he is the one who cannot make a small boat' – intransitive.

This intransitive relational verb may in turn be returned to a nominal or renominalized, thereby adding subtle connotation (selection or second categorization), as compared with (72a) above:

- (74) *angya-cuara-li-sciigal-ngu-u-lria<sub>N</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-cannot-VNrl-be-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 'the kind/type of a man who cannot make a small boat (lit. the one who is one who cannot make a small boat)'.  
 – This is a relative clause with cyclical expansion. The *-ngu-* and *-lria-* are suppletive variants of intransitive participial relativizer  $|+_{1}ɲu\dot{y}^*-|$  and  $|-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}^*|$  (§ 17.2.1).

The relational verb construction in (73) above, which is a simplex verb, may be embedded into (75) "complex verb" (with speculative VVem  $|+_{1}cuk\dot{i}^*|$  'A' to think that'; § 40.2.3), which may in turn be relativized into (76), which is a "concatenated relative clause" (see § 17.7 for details):

- (75) *angya-cuara-li-sciigal-ngu-u-yuk-aqa<sub>v</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-cannot-VNrl-be-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I think he cannot make a small boat (he is the one who cannot make a small boat)' – complex verb.
- (76) *angya-cuara-li-sciigal-ngu-u-yuke-l-qa<sub>N</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-cannot-VNrl-be-A'.think-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 'the one who I thought could not make a small boat'.

Back to (72b) above, the nominal clause may be syntactically complemented as a P argument in a main clause, for instance, with transitive *nallu-aqa* (not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.):

- (77) *Nallu-aqa angya-cuara-li-sciigat-lini-uci-a<sub>p</sub>*  
 'I do not know that/if he cannot make a small boat'.

But for this particular case (ignorance or doubt), CAY has an established morphological device of embedding the nominalization or bringing about a synthetic process of “morphological complementation”, that is, by employing the complex-verbal suffix VVcm (ignorative; § 40.2.5)  $|+(u)ciit-|$  ‘not to know, to be unsure’, whether transitive (with A argument added) or intransitive (with A “deleted”):

- (78) a. *angya-cuara-li-sciigal-uciit-aqa<sub>v</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-cannot-A'.not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know that (why) he cannot make a small boat’  
 – transitive complex verb
- b. *angya-cuara-li-sciigal-uciit-uq<sub>v</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-cannot-A'.not.know-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is not known that (why) he cannot make a small boat’  
 – intransitive complex verb.

– which illustrates a complex-verbal suffix that adds an upper-layer clause within a single verb, thereby increasing valency (of the upper-layer agent A'; ‘he’). The suffix  $|+(u)ciit-|$  ‘not to know’ is a composite suffix obviously composed of the VNnm  $|+(u)cij-|$  (§ 18.2.1) and the privative NV  $|+jit-|$  ‘to lack, not to have’ (§ 38.1).

Another complex verb (directive ‘A’ to ask’; § 40.2.2) is compared with a simplex (non-complex) verb, both transitive:

- (79) *angya-cuara-li-sq-aanga<sub>v</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-A'.ask-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he wants/asks me to make a small boat’ – complex verb
- cf. *angya-cuara-li-yug-aanga<sub>v</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-DES-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he wants to make me a small boat’ – simplex verb with desiderative VVm  $|+_1cuy-|$ .

Despite the same transitive inflection (3sg.1sg.) *-aanga*, the complex verb expresses a wish concerning a different subject, while the compared simplex expresses a wish concerning the same subject.

The compared simplex is expanded in the following into a subordinate clause in the constantive-connective mood (§ 50.3), with the intensifier and the past marker added for verbal modifications:

- (80) *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-llru-aqami<sub>v</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-DES-ITS-PST-CNNwn.3Rsg.  
 ‘whenever he really wants to make a small boat very much’ – intransitive simplex verb.

As a dependent mood clause, this may stand as an adverbial adjunct to a main clause, for instance, *tai-lar-tuq* (come-CUS-IND.3sg.) ‘he (himself) comes here (whenever he really...)’.

The expanded stem *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-llru-* is further expanded with two more suffixes into (81) and by yet another into (82):

- (81) *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-ugnarq-aanga<sub>v</sub>* = § 39(1)  
 boat-small-make-DES-ITS-PST-NEG-INF-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I think (guess) he didn’t really want to make me a small boat (so he didn’t)’ – transitive.
- (82) *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-sugnarq-aanga<sub>v</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-DES-ITS-PST-NEG-but-INF-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘maybe [I thought] he really did not want to make me a small boat (no interest or enthusiasm; though actually he made one)’ – transitive.

This (82) may be further expanded by two suffixes into a highly wrought-up word like (83). Inferential *-s/yugnarq-* is repeated with PST inserted, hence two INFs and two PSTs:

- (83) *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-sugnarqe-llru-yugnarq-aanga<sub>v</sub>*  
 boat-small-make-DES-ITS-PST-NEG-CTR-INF-PST-INF-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I’m in doubt that he actually didn’t really want to make me a small boat (but he did)’ – transitive  
 – with an overtone of questioning/doubtfulness added to (81) as a mere statement.

Finally, an intransitive verb (stem) in (69) may be put into an exclamation, with no argument involved, by the particlizer VPc  $|+_{1}paa|$  (§ 52.4.1), whether it is a simple verb (a) or a ‘heavy’ verb (b):

- (84) a. *angya-cuara-u-vaa=lli*  
 boat-small-be-EXC=ENC  
 ‘how small a boat (it is)!’
- b. *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-vaa=lli*  
 boat-small-make-DES-ITS-PST-NEG-but-EXC(=EXC)  
 ‘how I really didn’t want to make a small boat (though I did)!’ – cf. (82).

Before closing this section, it would be worthy to note a few things with regard to these illustrations:



i) Recursive derivational suffixes are attested with nine verbal categories in (83), while recursive transcategorial conversions are attested in (65c) with double verbalizations and double nominalizations within single words:  $N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N$ .

ii) All these polysynthetic words, illustrated with increasing complexity and sophistication, are far from being something awkward or artificial, but this much of derivation is perfectly acceptable to Yupik speakers (elders at least).

iii) With rich and subtle overtones, they can often be used by older speakers and be understood well by many middle-aged people (even though they themselves may use them very seldom, if ever). The younger generation, say, of thirty years or less, who mostly have a limited command of the already impoverished language, may not or cannot go further than (much shorter) straightforward statements with fewer derivational suffixes and transcategorial conversions, but instead use ‘analytic’ or periphrastic sentences with independent words replacing derivational suffixes.

iv) Even though older speakers are generally more comfortable with polysynthesis than younger speakers, their speech in no way consists exclusively of such long ‘holophrastic’ words, which are practically impossible, given, for one thing, the (rich but still) limited/closed set of derivational suffixes.

v) A polysynthetic word may be replaced by a “periphrastic construction” with verbal splitting and resetting (§ 4.2.5.5.2) for some effects (indirectness or prominence on a particular suffix). This contains a cosubordinate clause with an appositional-mood verb (§ 51.3.1) and a main verb starting with the prop stem  $|pi-|$  ‘to do; thing’.

vi) Mithun (1983: 235–236) writes us that speakers of many North American Indian languages (but rarely English speakers) are conscious of stylistic or aesthetic skill of creating new, morphologically complex words, thereby actualizing the possibility their language has to offer. Similar competence is characteristically observed among CAY elder speakers, some more than others, particularly in narratives, but also even daily conversations.

#### *2.5.4.2 Multiple embedding*

To embed clauses, syntactic expansions (into sentences) must be closely related with morphological expansions (into words), as illustrated here, starting from a transitive simplex sentence:

- (85) *Carayi-i-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *sasku-t<sub>P</sub>*                      *alík-ait*.  
ghost-EV-REL.pl.    weapon-ABS.pl.    fear-IND.3pl.3pl.  
'Ghosts/bears are afraid of weapons.'

– which is embedded into a complex transitive sentence as the following:

- (86) [*Carayag-nun<sub>(A)</sub>*                      *sasku-t<sub>P</sub>*                      *alík-]ni-it*  
ghost-ALL.pl.                      weapon-ABS.pl.    fear-A'.say-IND.3pl.3pl.  
'They [A] say that bears are afraid of weapons.'

– which is in turn embedded into a complex sentence (§ 40.2.4) with an appositional clause in the following:

- (87) *Niit(e)-lar-ai*                      [[*carayag-nun<sub>(A)</sub>*    *sasku-t<sub>P</sub>*  
hear-CUS-IND.3sg.3pl.    ghost-ALL.pl.    weapon-ABS.pl.  
*alík-]ni-lukí*].  
fear-A'.say-APP.3pl.  
'He [A] heard (someone [(A')]) say that bears are afraid of weapons.'

– which is in turn complementized (§ 18.4) as the P argument for the main clause predicate in the following:

- (88) *Neq'a-qa-llini-a*  
remember-suddenly-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg.  
[*niit(e)-la-ll-ni*                      [[*carayag-nun<sub>(A)</sub>*    *sasku-t<sub>P</sub>*  
hear-CUS-VNm-ABS-3Rsg.sg.    ghost-ALL.pl.    weapon-ABS.pl.  
*alík-]ni-lukí]]<sub>P</sub>*].  
fear-A'.say-APP.3pl.  
'He [A] suddenly remembered that he [G=A] had usually heard (someone [(A')]) saying) that bears are afraid of weapons.'

### 2.5.5. *Periphrasis*

Although CAY has a marked morphological inclination toward high synthesis, it should be noted that there are a few cases in which analytic constructions are deliberately selected for certain effects and purposes.

#### 2.5.5.1 *Derivational suffixes vs. stems*

Single words with some derivational suffixes may be replaced by analytical constructions that contain semantically corresponding stems – “lexical periphrasis”. The paired expressions, though not necessarily equivalent in actual con-

texts, may have some different pragmatic functions or semantic connotations – cf. Mithun (1998).

‘Adjectival’ NN suffixes (e.g. ‘small’) may correspond to relative clauses (§ 17) in analytic expressions; (89a) is a single word for ‘a small kayak’, which is described in (89b) by an appositive phrase (§ 16.1) consisting of a relative clause (e.g. ‘one which is small’) and its head (‘kayak’):

- (89) a. *qaya-cuar*  
kayak-small.ABS.sg.  
‘the/a small kayak’
- b. *qayaq*                      *mike-llria*  
kayak.ABS.sg.              small-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
‘the/a small kayak; the/a kayak which is small [description]’.

Each of these may be embedded into an appositional phrase (with the head ‘woman’) through NN *-lek* (‘one having’) when the relative clause (b) is subject to what is called “stranded” as an oblique-case NP (§ 25.2.2).

- (90) a. *arnaq*                      *qaya-cua-lek*  
woman.ABS.sg.              kayak-small-one.having.ABS.sg.  
‘the/a woman with a small boat’
- b. *arnaq*                      [*mike-llria-mek*              *qaya-lek*]  
woman.ABS.sg.              small-VNrl-ABM.sg. kayak-one.having.ABS.sg.  
‘a woman with a small boat’.

Some NV suffixes may be semantically quasi-equivalent to verb stems. The denominal verb (a) in the following example with NV *|+tuŷ-|* ‘to eat’ (§ 38.2) may generally have the same meaning as the analytic expressions (b) with the verb from the stem *|niŷi-|*, as mentioned in fn.1. However, aside from the many younger speakers who clearly tend to use analytic expressions, there seems to be some pragmatic difference between the use of single words and periphrastic sentences.

- (91) a. *atsa-tur-tuq*                      ‘he is eating berries’  
berry-eat-IND.3sg. – *|+tuŷ-|*
- b. *atsa-nek*                      *ner'-uq*                      (~ *ner'-uq atsa-nek*)  
berry-ABM.pl.              eat-IND.3sg.  
‘he is eating *berries*’  
– see also (93) and § 5(87) for the word order.

In the following example, the single word (a) merely presents the fact of his eating berries, while the (fronted) ablative-modalis NP in the analytical expres-

sion (b) receives more or less focus on ‘berries’ and the verb is likely not to occur. Likewise a synthetic vs. periphrastic:

- (92) a. *qantar-kit-aa* ‘he gave her a dish’  
dish-give-IND.3sg.3sg. – NV |+*kic*-| (§ 38.2)  
b. *cikir-aa* *qanta-mek* ‘he gave her a dish’  
give-IND.3sg.3sg. dish-ABM.sg. – secundative |*cikiy*-| ‘to give’.

### 2.5.5.2 *Splitting with expletive |pi-| – periphrastic constructions*

More systematic and extensive than the preceding lexical periphrasis, synthetic verbs (certain denominal verbs and expanded verb with VV suffixes) may be rendered periphrastically by splitting them into two independent words, with the use of the expletive and ambivalent pro stem |*pi*-| ‘thing; to do’ (§ 10.3.1, etc.), thereby serving discourse functions in particular (spotlighting, shading off, indirectness, etc.).

i) *Nominal splitting*: A synthetic denominal verb (N + NV) may be split into a full NP and a |*pi*-| verb. The suffix requires a prop |*pi*-| in order to “reset” a word, while the “discharged 放出”<sup>18</sup> or stranded noun is inflected with the ablative-modalis (§ 25.2.2).

In the following example, (a) is a denominal verb (intransitive) with an S argument, while (b) has the nominal stem *qayar-pa(g)*- ‘big kayak’ stranded into an ablative-modalis NP, with the prop verb used to reset the rest of the original verb *-ngqer-tuq*. Splitting as in (b) may yield room for focusing the ‘big kayak’. Either word order is possible, with some pragmatic difference.

- (93) a. *qayar-pa-ngqer-tuq*  
kayak-big-have-IND.3sg.  
b. *qayar-pag-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> *pi-ngqer-tuq* ~ *pi-ngqer-tuq* *qayar-pag-mek*  
kayak-big-ABM.sg. PI-have-IND.3sg.  
‘he [S] has a big kayak’.

In addition, a synthetic nominal with the particular NN suffix |*-ly*-| ‘one having’ (§ 20.1.2) may also be split with nominal prop |*pi*-|:

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18. This is employed as a contrary process of “incorporation” in its wide sense. The term 放出 itself was once suggested, with utmost caution, by Rokuro Kono as regards the nature of Japanese “verbs” and “verbal complexes” (§ 2.3.2) in Kamei et al. (1989: 1580–1582, 1996: 1298).

- (94) a. *qayar-pa-lek*  
kayak-big-having.ABS.sg.  
b. *qayar-pag-mek pi-lek ~ pi-lek qayar-pag-mek*  
kayak-big-ABM.sg. PI-having.ABS.sg.  
'one with a big kayak'.

ii) *Verbal splitting*: This is a very common construction, in which splitting is brought about by a cosubordinate clause in the appositional-mood verb, with the prop verb *|pi-|* taking the rest of the suffixes to reset the verb. This periphrastic construction with “splitting” and “resetting” most commonly takes place notably in a number of constructions such as optative verbs (§ 5.3.2, § 49) and others (§ 51.3.1).

An optative or imperative verb like the following, in which splitting occurs between the verb stem and the inflection may have a measurable pragmatic difference:

- (95) a. *Aqúm-i!* ‘(You [sg.]) sit down!’  
sit-OPT.2sg.  
b. *Aqúm-lutèn ≠ pí(i)!*  
sit-APP.2sg. do.OPT.2sg.  
‘(You [sg.]) sit down (and so and so)!’  
– parenthesized *i* represents an emphatic vowel doubling and not the OPT marker as the first (a).

(a) is a direct command, while (b) may be less direct (possibly with the implication of asking someone to sit and to keep doing something else such as talking or knitting) – see § 51.3.1. Unlike the nominal splitting (93), (94) above, it is important that (b) does not have the word order permuted, with the appositional verb always preceding the *pi-* verb, and is articulated as a bound phrase, with the major accent on the second word.

As commonly as optative verbs, a string of suffixes that forms a synthetic verb may be split and “suspended” by an appositional inflection while the second verb (as the main clause predicate) does the “resetting” of the verb with the support of the prop *|pi-|* ‘to do’, to which the remaining suffixes are attached. Splitting may be more likely than not determined by any verbal category including evidentiality. The last suffix before the splitting appositional-mood inflection may receive more prominence, and a periphrastic construction of this type may chiefly be a device for bringing one category (suffix) into focus, instead of being simply a strategy for avoiding a long and heavy verb. Although the functions of the splitting are not fully understood at this writing, younger speakers tend to (or can only) use the analytic expression (a) instead, losing a

difference that has been an asset of the traditional language. Examples particularly in § 51.3.1.

Another type of splitting, though less common, may also be made through the use of contemporative-connective mood verbs ('when'; § 50.8) instead of appositive verbs:

- (96) *Angya-cuara-li-ller-mini*  
 boat-small-make-CNNwn-3Rsg.1sg.  
*pi-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-sugnarq-aanga.*  
 do-DES-ITS-PST-NEG-but-INF-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'maybe he really did not want to make me a small boat (though he actually made one)'  
 ≐ (82) *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-sugnarq-aanga.*

The periphrastic construction may imply that the person was not interested in making a small boat, but probably a bigger one instead, while the one-word construction implies little interest in making a boat (whether small or big).

### 3. Morphological anomalies

Despite its one-sidedness of morphological process (predominant suffixation) and high regularity in agglutinative articulation, CAY as a natural language cannot be totally free from morphological 'leaking', but exhibits a number of anomalies or deviations from the basic pattern as well as morphophonemic exceptions (Miyaoaka 1997b).

Among morphological processes other than suffixation, CAY apparently does not have what can be regarded as "internal modification". Vowel or consonant apophony is not used at all.

Only to a very limited extent is grammatical use made of "accent modification" with expressive or intensifying effects (see § 8.7).

Compounding, a very common and productive morphological process employed in many other languages of the world,<sup>19</sup> is totally absent in CAY (as stated in § 2.3, § 4.1.1). There is no evidence that CAY has ever employed stem or root compounding (of neither type N-N, V-V, N-V, or V-N). Both the "bound phrases" (§ 2.3.2) and the rather anomalous "phrasal compounds" (§ 4.3-v), which are entirely distinct processes from each other, are not stem (root) compounding. The former is a matter of two (or more) words articulated

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19. So much so that the generalization has often been offered that the process is a universal feature of language (cf. Asher 1994: 5.2553–2554), this despite Sapir (1921: 68), for instance. The generalization may be related with rather arbitrary conceptioning of "word" and "compounds" (cf. § 2).

as a single articulus, and the latter is nothing but a single word. The complete avoidance of compounding is a striking feature that differentiates CAY and the other Eskimoan languages from the other linguistic families of the North Pacific Rim, with the possible exception of Tungusic. As a corollary to its lack of compounding, CAY is taken not as a noun-incorporating type of language (as repeated), instead featuring denominal verbs (although this does not mean that two features are mutually exclusive, given, say, Chukchi and Koryak, where noun incorporation and denominal verbs coexist and supplement each other – see T. Kurebito 2001a; M. Kurebito 2001).

The other morphological processes, which are very marginally encountered in CAY, are mentioned below in § 4.3 – see also § 4.1.1 for a few idiosyncratic derivation suffixes.

i) *Prefixation*: CAY lacks prefixation, unlike its Athabaskan neighbor languages which are dominantly prefixing languages as stated earlier (§ 4.1.1, § 4.1.3). There are caveats (§ 4.2.5.3-iii) that may possibly be related:

i.a) a number of NV suffixes (of possession, etc.) characterized by the presence or absence of a prefix-like *ta-*, e.g.  $|(+ta)-\eta q x-|$  ‘to have/exist (temporarily)’ (§ 38.1)

i.b) the anaphoric prefix-like  $|ta-|$  as one problem of composite suffixes that seems to be pan-Eskimoan. This  $|ta-|$  solitary morpheme is fossilized in most CAY dialects and occurs with only two of the twenty-eight demonstrative roots present in the language, i.e.  $|ta+u-|$  ‘that one there’ (PRX) and  $|ta+mat-|$  ‘that one there’ (EXT) – see § 12.1. We have to add, however, that in NS, the northernmost of the CAY dialects, this anaphoric morpheme  $|ta(z)-|$  occurs before any of the demonstrative roots like (§ 13.2.3.6-ii; cf. Miyaoka 1984a: 56–57 – based on fieldwork at Elim). It could be interpreted to mean that the morpheme remains a proclitic in the dialect.

i.c) conceivably the equalitive marker VVc  $|+ta-|$  ‘to that extent, as – as’ may perhaps be the same morpheme (§ 45.6.1), cf. (66).

ii) *Root increment*: An infix-like increment occurs in the four (out of thirty) demonstrative roots with the form of  $|((C)akm-|$  (as vs.  $|((C)am-|$ ; where *C* is /p, c, q/ – Table 8 and § 12.1 for the demonstrative category), which is not considered infixation as known in Austroasiatic (e.g. Khmer) and Austronesian (e.g. Tagalog) languages. It is a sub-morphemic element as found in  $|qa-k-m-|$  ‘outside (immediate vicinity)’ as contrasted with  $|qam-|$  ‘inside, upriver, inland’.

iii) *Suppletion*: This is another grammatical process of very marginal use in CAY. The language has no lexically conditioned suppletive variants. The

“number suppletion” (suppletive plural verbs) that occur quite often in Native American languages (cf. Booker 1982) and in others (e.g. Ainu, cf. Tamura 2000: 37–41; Sato 1994: 115–122)<sup>20</sup> are totally alien to CAY where the plural marker, either in nominals or verbs, is always  $|+t|$  with no variants (as mentioned; § 4.1.2-ii).

There are at least four grammatical markers, however, that show morphologically and/or phonologically conditioned “suppletion”. All of them concern high-frequency morphemes, three (a, b, c) of which are inflectional, while the last (d) is a valency-modifying suffix responsible for one kind of complex verbs (i.e. causative).

a. appositional mood marker:  $|+lu-| \sim |+_1na-|$ , with the second variant occurring after the “negative” stems that end in  $/t/$  and after the negative marker  $|+_1piki-|$  for the appositional mood (§ 51.1.4): e.g. APP-3sg. *pi-lu-ku* ‘doing it’ vs. *pi-ksau-na-ku* ‘not doing it yet’ (VVn  $|ksait-|$ ) and *pi-vke-na-ku* ‘not doing it’.

b. optative second person singular (subject) marker (§ 49.1-iii, Table 48):  $|+n|$  after (stem-)final  $/c/ \sim |+_1u|$  after  $/t/ \sim |+a|$  after velar C  $\sim |+Ø|$  after V  $\sim |+yĩ|$  after VV.

c. intransitive participial marker (§ 47.1) –  $|l̥yiaȳ-| \sim |+_1ɲuȳ-|$  (after stem-final  $/t/$ ) – which also serves as an intransitive (agentive / active) relativizer (VNrl; § 17.2.1): e.g. *qer-tu-lria* ‘high spot (lit. one that has much elevation)’ with NV  $|+tu-|$  vs. *qer-kil-nguq* ‘low spot (lit. one that has little elevation)’ with NV  $|+kit-|$ .

d. causative complex transitive marker (VVcm; § 40.2.1):  $|vkay̆-|$  (postvocalic)  $\sim |+cic-|$  (postconsonantal), which serves also as “coreferential marker” (§ 40.2.1.1, § 51.1.4.3):<sup>21</sup> e.g. *nere-vkar-aa* ‘she let/had him eat (something)’ vs. *ayag-cet-aa* ‘she let/had him go’.

The coreference marker of the latter serves for “subject coreference” between a main clause and a cosubordinate clause with an appositional mood, and it is distinct from “agent coreference” between an upper and a lower clause within complex verbs (§ 40.1-iii).

iv) *Reduplication*: Though not being an anomaly, the morphological strategy of “reduplication” is utilized in CAY only in a limited number of ways, and again in very marginal cases. Far from being a productive process in the language, it has little grammatical relevance. This comes as a striking contrast to many of the nearby languages for which the process marks a wide range of important grammatical functions (e.g. distributive plural, diminutive, verbaliza-

20. Sato analyzes twenty intransitive suppletive verb roots and thirty transitive ones in comparison with North American data according to Booker (1982).

21. Fortescue et al. (1994: 427) points out that the two variants must have already been in complementary distribution in Proto-Eskimo.





Either of them is distinct from a case of stem compounding. The status of (non-enclitic) bound phrases would at first seem to be a tempting solution for their morphological interpretation, but their phonological articulations clearly suggest the contrary. See § 27.8 (locative case) and § 11.6.2 (teknonymy) for descriptions of each at full length.

vi) *Sound symbolism* Although sound symbolism is not far from a rarity in languages, CAY includes at least four kinds: i) intensification by consonant gemination, ii) reduced intensity (slowness/carefulness) by vowel doubling, iii) word-final vowel doubling in vocatives, and iv) distance symbolism through low vs. non-low vowels in demonstrative roots. The first two are triggered by or internal to certain suffixes. See Hinton et al. (1994) for a typology of sound symbolism.

a. *intensification by consonant gemination*: Some intensifying suffixes of the VV type may trigger a disturbance of the prosodic pattern for emphasis in the form of consonant gemination (through a regressive accent). See illustrations of the following suffixes:

- (98) |*-qapiyc-*| ‘very, at all, just’, etc.; § 41.3.1.
- (99) |*-łáy-*| ‘suddenly’, with gemination triggered on the consonant of the preceding syllable ; § 42.2.2  
 cf. |*-łay-*| ‘in imitation (after s.o.)’, with no gemination triggered; § 3.3.4.3-ii, § 41.1.

b. *reduced intensity by vowel doubling*: A few pairs of VV and NV type suffixes characterized by a single vs. a double vowel show that a double vowel symbolically has an overtone of less intensity that includes slowness/carefulness, more time/continuity, weakness/feebleness, relaxedness, etc.:

- (100) a. |*-qcaý-*| ‘not quite as it normally is, kind of, without putting full effort into it’ vs.  
 |*-qcaa(ýa)ý-*| ‘taking time, feebly, weakly, sickly’ – illustrated in (101) below; § 41.1
- b. |*+caý-*| ‘to make something –er’ vs.  
 |*+caa(ýa)ý-*| ‘to make something –er (more slowly/patiently, by taking more time); § 39.1.2
- c. |*+paý*| ‘greatly, immensely, a lot’ vs.  
 |*+paayaý-*| ‘quite a bit (but with less intensity or longer duration)’; § 41.3.2
- d. |*+ɲ\*(i)naný-*| ‘while’ (CNNwl) – vowel doubling emphasizes continuity; § 41.3.3
- e. |*+ɲuýc-*| ‘to become/become -er’ (relational verb); § 37.3, vs.

f. |+*ɲuuɣc*-| ‘to become’ / ‘become a little -er’; § 37(52).

- (101) a. /kitúk|càɣ̣|luku/ |*kituy-qcaỵ*[+luku| *kitukcarluku*  
 fix-kind.of-APP.3sg.  
 ‘fixing it (just doing, not so intently)’ vs.  
 b. /kitúk|caáɣ̣|luku/ |*kituy-qcaaỵ*[+luku| *kitukcaarluku*  
 fix-taking.time-APP.3sg.  
 ‘slowly fixing it (very neatly, carefully, lovingly with lots of care)’.

Distinct from the single vs. double vowel contrast within suffixes as illustrated above, which has a symbolic difference, a word-initial vowel may be uttered as a doubled vowel by some speakers in the mid-upper Kuskokwim area with expressive effect (P18vi-e), at least before the VVa |-*qapia(ɣa)ɣ̣*-| ‘very’:

- (102) |*asiɣ̣-qapia(ɣa)ɣ̣+tuɣ̣*|  
 good-EMP-IND.3sg.  
 a. /así'qappiáɣ̣tuq/ *assiqapiartuq*  
 ‘it is very good’  
 b. /áasiqá'piáɣ̣tuq/ *aassiqapiartuq* [AF]  
 ‘it is good (e.g. when one is full, in a relaxed mood)’ – § 9 (29).

The doubled vowel in the following stem seems to have the same effect of slowness:

- (103) |*qalɣ̣iỵ*-| ~ |*qaalɣ̣iỵ*-| ‘to rattle (of bearded seal)’ [AKKL 30]

c. *word-final vowel doubling in vocatives*: The doubling of the final vowel of absolutes, except in vowel clusters, characterizes a vocative form used in addressing persons at some distance or in an exaggerated way. Final vowel /i/ is doubled into /ii/ (as in d. below). The doubling, with its acoustic prominence, serves the purpose of attracting the hearer’s attention (Hinton et al. 1994: 8). This applies to personal names (a), kinships (b), and other nominals (c, d) particularly including nominal demonstratives which refer to persons – see § 31.1 for more.

- (104) a. *Nuka-a-q* ‘Nukaq!’ (*Nuk'aq*) – /núkkaaɣ̣/ vs. /núkkaɣ̣/  
*Nuka-nku-u-t* ‘Nukaq and his family!’ (NN |+*nku*-| ‘associate of’, |+*t*| ABS/REL pl.)  
 b. *aana-a* ‘mother!’ (*aana* ABS.sg.)  
 c. *u-ku-u-t* ‘(You [pl.]), these ones!’ (*u-ku-t* this-EX-ABS.sg.)

- d. *qengar-pa-li-i-k* ‘(You [sg.]), big nose! (*qengar-pa-lek* nose-big-having.ABS.sg. – NN *-ly-* ‘one having’).

Note that the last vowel to be doubled may not necessarily belong to a stem but may belong to a suffix or an expander.

There is a vocative suffix *|-maa|* ‘my – !’, which may possibly be a vowel-doubled form of the possessed relative *|-ma|* ‘my’ (REL.1sg.sg.), though it remains a question why the relative case is used for this function. Illustrations in § 31.

The deverbal particlizer VPc *|+<sub>1</sub>paa|* (~ *|+vaa|*) for exclamations (§ 52.3) might also be characterized by the vowel doubling of the same element as in the intensifier NN/VV *|+<sub>1</sub>pay-|* ‘big; greatly’, VVa *|+<sub>1</sub>pakay-|* ‘so much’, etc. (§ 41.3.2).

d. *distance symbolism through vowel height*: The high front vowel /i/ in a number of CAY demonstrative roots seems to symbolize the spatial or temporal proximity of the referent to the speaker. See Cooper and Ross (1975) for certain types of sound symbolism in deictic demonstratives observed among the world’s languages.

The following parallelism from distal non-extended demonstrative roots (NEX), Table 8 in § 12.1, show the four distals (DIS) have the shape  $|(C)a(k)m-$  with the low vowel /a/ while their corresponding proximal (PRX) have the high front /i/ – e.g. proximal vs. distal as in *|am-|* vs. *|iŋ-|* ‘over there’ and *|pakm-|* vs. *|pik-|* ‘up above there’; see § 4.3-ii for infix-like increment *-k-* in the latter.

## Chapter 5

### Syntactical preliminaries

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Words – at the first stage of articulation at the content plane, starting from morphemes, as the object of morphology – are further articulated (jointed together) into so-called phrases, clauses, and sentences, commonly regarded as the object of syntax (§ 2.2). As stated (§ 2.3), phrases are distinguished into “bound phrases” and “(free) phrases” – the former is monoarticulous, while the latter is multiarticulous (§ 2.4-v). Some of the (strongly) bound phrases in one end may come close to compound words (in many other languages) and some others at the other end may come close to (free) phrases, thereby constituting a hazy area of gradience between morphology and syntax.

## 1. Constituents of clauses

A typical CAY clause consists of two cores, i.e. a verb predicate (with its adjuncts) and one or two NPs (core nominal arguments). As the predicate, a VP in CAY contains a single verb, with obligatory indexing of one or two core arguments in inflection (“pronominal arguments”), hence an intransitive or a transitive verb (§ 5.1.1). A verb may optionally be accompanied by its adjunct(s) which include oblique (demoted) arguments, peripherals or adverbials (which can be nominals, particles, and subordinate clauses), and cosubordinate clauses (as used by Van Valin 1993).

While one or two core arguments are obligatorily indexed in verb inflections, their external NPs are not obligatory. When external, the NP is marked with a syntactic case – either absolutive or relative (§ 4.1.4, § 23 and § 24) – and is cross-referenced with the person in verb inflection, agreeing in number (obligatory verbal agreement).

A core argument NP, marked with the absolutive or the relative case, can be a single nominal, a nominal phrase (§ 5.1.2), or a nominalized clause (i.e. relative and nominal; § 17 and § 18), as is also the case for a non-core (demoted) argument NP marked with the ablative-modalis, allative, or locative case. By contrast, a peripheral (adverbial) argument NP is marked in one of the five oblique cases (perlative and equalis besides the preceding three) but not indexed in the predicate.

Verbal agreement follows the subject-object (nominative-accusative) pattern. The subject (S or A), the most important grammatical relation, functions as the syntactic pivot. The subject status is given to the absolutive-case argument of intransitive verbs and to the relative-case (i.e. ergative-case) argument of transitive verbs. The absolutive-case argument for the latter is the object. The subject controls reflexivization (with a reflexive pronoun; § 13.1, § 13.2) as well as the reflexive third person (3R; § 22.2) in possessed nominals and in two non-independent clauses – “subordinate” (characterized by the “connective” mood; § 50) and “cosubordinate” (“appositional” mood; § 51). A nominal clause, to be complemented in the main clause, requires demotion of the subject of the original clause into G function (relative case).

Other constituents may include conjunctive, interjective, or vocative elements.

A clause may form a compound or a complex sentence together with another clause, hence biclausal, or may have another clause morphologically embedded, forming a “complex transitive” verb or a comparative clause.

## 1.1. Verbs – intransitive vs. transitive

Verbs have two inflectional categories: person (subject and object) and mood. The mood includes the “indicative”, “participial”, “interrogative”, and “optative” (independent or main-clause moods; § 46 through § 49), “connective” (subordinate or adverbial mood; § 50), and “appositional” (cosubordinate; § 51). Verbs with one core argument (subject) indexed in inflection are intransitive, while those with two core arguments (both subject and object) indexed are transitive. This means that CAY verbs feature either mono- or bi-personal indexing, but none with three or more persons despite the fact that a verb may be ditransitive (trivalent) or multi-valent owing to valency increase (§ 39, § 40).

In the following two examples with the indicative-mood predicate, (1) contains an intransitive verb that is monopersonal with the subject (‘3sg.’) indexed in its inflection as P argument, while (2) contains a transitive verb that is bipersonal with both the subject (‘3sg.’) and the object (‘3pl.’) person indexed as A and P arguments. The compared sentence for (2) is a detransitivized or intransitive construction (zero-derived antipassive), which is monopersonal with only the subject person indexed as S argument:

- (1) *Angun<sub>S</sub> tekite-llru-uq unuk.*  
 man-ABS.sg. arrive-PST-IND.3sg. night.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The man came at night.’
- (2) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub> ner-yug-ai cakneq atsa-t<sub>P</sub>.*  
 man-REL.sg. eat-DES-IND.3sg.3pl. very.much berry-ABS.pl.  
 ‘The man wants to eat the berries very much.’
- cf. *Angun<sub>S=A</sub> ner-yug-tuq cakneq atsa-nek<sub>(P)</sub>.*  
 man.ABS.sg. eat-DES-IND.3sg. very.much berry-ABM.pl.  
 ‘The man wants to eat berries very much.’

A predicate verb (*tekite-llru-uq*, *ner-yug-ai*, *ner-yug-tuq* – all in the indicative mood) is the obligatory constituent of a clause: It can be a complete sentence by itself with no other words (core argument NP *angun*, *angute-m* or adverbial adjunct *unuk*, *cakneq*), since any core arguments are indexed in the verb inflection as pronominal subject or object. See § 23.2 for peripheral function of *unuk* in the absolutive case.

Pragmatically, a core argument NP such as *angute-m*, *angun*, *atsa-t* in a syntactic case generally carries old information and as a “discourse topic” it may not commonly occur in utterances (§ 5.4.1).

1.1.1. *Verb stems – primary and valency-modified*

CAY morphosyntactics show support for the classification of primary verb stems (with no valency modification) into three types (3) in view of valency or arguments involved, that is S, P, T, R, and A.

i) *Primary verb stems*: In terms of the number and kind of arguments involved (§ 4.2.1-iii), they are:

- (3) a. intransitive or monovalent (stems): with S; § 33  
 e.g. |tai-| ‘to come over’, |iqa-| ‘to be dirty’
- b. monotransitive or bivalent (stems): with P (patient) and A (agent) or A<sub>IMP</sub> (impersonal agent); § 34  
 e.g. |niyi-| ‘to eat’ (agentive, S=A), more examples in § 34.1  
 |atyi-| ‘to tear’ (patientive, S=P), more examples in § 34.2  
 |ciku-| ‘to freeze, cold’ (impersonal patientive) in § 34.3
- c. ditransitive or trivalent (stems): with T (theme), R (recipient), and A (agent); § 35  
 e.g. |cikiy-| ‘to give (s.t.) to’ (secundative, S=R), more examples in § 35.1.1  
 |kipuc-| ‘to buy (for s.o.)’ (indirective, S=T), more examples in § 35.1.2.

With inflection, (a) can only form intransitive verbs (unless valency-increased), while (b, c) can form either transitive or intransitive verbs.

The three-way classification of stems is not always clear-cut. For one thing, this is because, even without a valency increase, monovalents can occur with transitive inflection to a considerable extent but with much idiolectal (rather than local) variation, while there are chiefly bivalent stems that are rarely used with transitive inflection by many speakers but only intransitively instead (again with much variation).

Transitive verbs may become different types of intransitives through different patterns of detransitivization, e.g.:

- (4) a. antipassive (zero-derived) from the agentive type  
 e.g. *ner'-uq* ‘he is eating, has eaten’
- b. antipassive (suffix-derived) from the patientive type  
 e.g. *allg-i-uq* ‘he has torn (s.t.)’
- c. medio-passive (zero-derived) from the patientive type  
 e.g. *alleg-tuq* ‘it tears’ / ‘it has been torn’



- d. reflexive / passive (zero-derived) from ditransitive verbs  
 e.g. i. *tun'-uq ellmi-nek* (3Rsg.-ABM)  
 'he gave himself (e.g. to God)' – but not \**cikir-tuq*  
 (secundative) *ellmi-nek* .  
 ii. *ak'a cikir-tuq* 'he was already given (something)'.

ii) *Valency modification*: Primary verb stems (3a, b, c) may be subject to valency modification – increase, decrease, or rearrangement (replacement of one argument with another) – by means of valency-modifying suffixes – simplex verb modifying (VVsm) and complex transitive modifying (VVcm) (§ 4.2.5.1 and just below). A monovalent stem may be extended to be bivalent, a bivalent one to be trivalent, a ditransitive to be tetravalent, and so on, and reversely decrease by one argument may be made from a bivalent and a trivalent stem.

The most productive valency increases are for (a) simplex verbs by VVsm suffixes and (b) complex transitives by VVcm suffixes, which introduce different extended arguments:

- (5) a. *Simplex*: VVsm suffixes (§ 39)  
 A [causative transitivizer]  
 E [experiencer] E<sub>APL</sub> (applicative; comitative, recipient, benefactive, etc.)  
 E<sub>ADV</sub> (adversative)  
 A<sub>IMP</sub> [impersonal agent] distinct from the primary A<sub>IMP</sub> as in (3b) |*ciku-*|.
- b. *Complex*: VVcm suffixes (§ 40)  
 A', A'', ... [upper-clause agent] causative (distinct from A in (5a), directive, speculative, reportative, ignorative, expectant.

A valency increase may be recursive, so a monovalent stem can be extended into a bivalent one, which in turn can be extended into a trivalent one, and so on.

A primary stem (3) – whether monovalent, bivalent, or trivalent – forms a simplex verb with or without a VVsm, while one with a VVcm A', A'',... forms a “complex transitive”<sup>1</sup> which has one or, recursively, more upper clauses with

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1. Also known as “double transitives” (see Kleinschmidt 1851 on Greenlandic), “compound-verbal” (Jacobson 1995 for CAY), etc., but should be distinguished from “complex verbs” as in Grimshaw and Mester (1985), cf. also Woodbury and Sadock (1986). They are also entirely distinct from English “complex transitives” (Quirk et al. 1972) and are not “serial verbs” (as in many Papuan languages), compound verbs (with stem compounding in many languages of the world), or “verbal complexes” (as in Korean and Japanese [Kono 1955: 399, Miyaoka 2002: 102–118, cf. § 2.3.2], which are actually enclitic or non-enclitic bound phrases serving as predicate verbs).

the agent(s) – respectively, A'.cause, A'.wish/ask, A'.think, A'.say, A'.not.known, A'.wait. In the following example, each pair shows a contrast between a simplex and a complex transitive:

- (6) a. *tuqu-t-aa* ‘he killed it’ – simplex verb with VVsm causative |*+c-*| (§ 39.1.1)  
       *tuqu-vkar-aa* ‘he let him die’ – complex verb with VVcm causative |*-vkaŷ-*| (§ 40.2.1)
- b. *nere-yug-aqa* ‘I want to eat it’ – simplex verb with VV desiderative non-valency-modifying |*+<sub>1</sub>cuy-*| (§ 43)  
       *nere-sq-aqa* ‘I asked him to eat s.t. / I asked s.o to eat it’ – complex verb with VVcm directive |*+sqi-*| (§ 40.2.2).

Either of these can also have intransitive inflection by way of detransitivization. Despite the term, complex transitives are morphologically single verbs, hence monoclausal.

There are a small number of suffixes for valency decrease and rearrangement (VVsm; § 39).

It is important that, while valency modification within a simplex verb by VVsm suffixes is more or less restricted lexically, valency increase for complex transitives by VVcm suffixes is very productive, as if it were a sentential syntactic operation.

However many arguments a verb may have, its inflection indexes only one or two arguments as stated. Accordingly, if three or more arguments are involved, reduction of one or more arguments (by demotion, etc.) is obligatory so that the verb can be inflected either transitively (with two core arguments) or intransitively (with one core argument).

### 1.1.2. *Passives (vs. antipassives)*

i) CAY, an ergative language, has a highly productive use of antipassive verbs, both zero-derived and suffix-derived (§ 34.1.1, § 34.2.2, § 39.4.4, § 39.6, and see vi) below), while there is no specifically passive construction (cf. fn. 2).

This is not to say that passive-like expressions are not relevant to CAY.

ii) All patientive bivalent stems (P=S) are “medio-passive” if inflected intransitively like (4c) *alleg-tuq*, meaning ‘it breaks’ or (much less commonly) ‘it is broken’. In the latter passive-like reading, however, the A argument is “deleted” and cannot be externally expressed by a free-standing NP – see § 34.2.1 for passive readings of patientive stems.

iii) Agentive bivalents with (zero-derived) intransitive inflection, like (4a) *ner'-uq*, are generally antipassive with P demoted, meaning 'he is eating/ has eaten (s.t.)', but, given with aspectual (continuative/perfective) specification, they may have passive readings, like 'it is eaten [already]', again with A deleted – § 34.1.2.1.

iv) The A argument of bivalent stems (primarily to be assigned the relative case) may be demoted to the allative status (§ 26.2), but this only in more or less specific constructions, i.e. complex transitive verbs, complement clauses, and [partly] pseudo-passive constructions – exemplified in § 30.2.3, § 30.3.1, and § 30.3.2.2-iv respectively.

v) CAY has no solid suffix whose main function is passivization (like the 'unreservedly productive' *-niqar-* in West Greenlandic; Fortescue 1984: 266).<sup>2</sup> Passive-like expressions, however, come at least in three different ways:

a. Continuous/perfective suffix VVt  $|+(u)ma-$  may be responsible for passivization, i.e. TAM-sensitive passive (§ 34.1.2.2, § 42.2.3): e.g. *navg-uma-ug* 'it is broken', *tuquc-ima-ug* 'it has been killed'; *ner-uma-ug* 'the fish has been eaten; the fish is eating for a long time' – cf. iii) above. The A-argument hardly occurs through an external NP. See also VVm  $|+yaykau-$  (§ 43).

b. Composite suffix  $|+yau-$  from the passive relativizer VNrl  $|+yay-$  ('one that has been –ed') followed by the intransitive relational verb NVrv  $|+yju-$  ('to be'; § 17.4.2): e.g. *tuqut-au-guq* 'he is killed', lit. 'he is one that has been killed' (stative) from the stem  $|tuquc-$  'to kill' (in turn from  $|tuqu-c-$  die-A – cf. (6a) *tuqu-t-aa* 'he killed it'). The demoted A argument NP for this is not in the allative case (like iv) but fluctuates among oblique cases. This composite suffix is called "pseudo-passive (PPS)",<sup>3</sup> together with the following  $|+(s)ciy-$  ~  $|+(s)ciuy-$  (§ 34.1.2.2).

This stative pseudo-passive construction 'to be (something) –ed' has its corresponding transitive construction, with each having an inchoative version in addition. See examples in § 17.4.2-ii. The four-way contrast of pseudo-passive

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2. In West Greenlandic the passive agent appears in the ablative case, unlike the allative case in other Eastern Eskimo dialects (cf. § 26-fn. 2). It is also interesting to note that the W.Gr. passive *-niqar-* with ablative demotion of A agent seems to be regarded by Kleinschmidt (1851: 138) as composite with VNnm *-niq* and NV *-qar-* 'to have', while the Greenlandic language has allative demotion of some A arguments (e.g. for "double" or complex transitives), given that that CAY has the ablative-modalis demotion in pseudo-passives marked by the v-b) composite suffix.
  3. The term "pseudo-passive" is differently used by Fortescue (1984: 266) for West Greenlandic to refer to an intransitive causative complex transitive (his "double transitive") such as CAY *tanger-cet-ug* (see-A'.let-IND.3sg.3sg.) 'he let himself be seen', which is taken as a reflexivization in this grammar (§ 40.1-i)). It is also not the same either as what is often termed as pseudo-passives in English, like *it has not been slept in*.

constructions (stative vs. inchoative and intransitive vs. transitive) come from the same background as the relational and the comparative constructions to follow (§ 5.1.1.3-i and -ii). Note that the pseudo-passive and the comparative constructions are formed by the composite suffixes with the four relational verbs below.

c. Composite suffixes  $|+(s)ciy-| \sim |+(s)ciuy-|$ : e.g. *tuqute-scir-tuq* or *tuqute-sciur-tuq* ‘he was killed’ (dynamic and mainly adversative; § 34.1.2.2-i). The demoted A argument NP fluctuates between the ablative-modalis and the allative. Analysis of these suffixes will reveal that they are composed of the agentive/active relativizer VNrl  $|+st-|$  (‘one who does’; § 17.5.1) followed by one of two NV suffixes (*-lir-* ‘to supply’, *-liur-* ‘to work on, deal with’) and that they actually have come from detransitivizations with the ablative-modalis demotion typical of denominalization by the NV suffixes. This type of pseudo-passive is treated under the sections of case alignment (§ 25.2.3, § 26.2-iii, § 30.3.2.2), bivalent stems (§ 34.1.2.2-i), and valency-modifying VVcm suffixes (§ 39.3.1) – see § 4.2.5.3 also for suffix composition.

Mainly adversative, this pseudo-passive is distinct from the adversative (and benefactive) verbs in the following vi).

vi) CAY has a very productive use of “adversative” verbs (e.g. ‘to the detriment of X, on/for X’) and a less productive use of “benefactive” verbs (‘to the benefit of X’) characterized by valency increase with “experiencer” (E) suffixes  $|+yi-|$  (§ 39.5) and  $|+(u)c-|$  (§ 39.4.2-ii). They are primarily transitive and may be detransitivized.

As a matter of fact, the preponderance of antipassives over passives (i above) should be directly connected with these adversative and benefactive verbs, and, notably, the two E-adding suffixes concerned are exactly the same morphemes responsible for antipassive verbs. It will turn out that the CAY antipassive construction is best captured within the matrix of the E extended verbs (cf. § 39.5.2; Miyaoka 1984b).

vii) CAY has no periphrastic passives such as the English constructions *to be*, *become*, *get -ed*, although v-b) with  $|+yau-|$ , etc. above may be considered CAY’s morphological correspondent to the English.

### 1.1.3. Various derived verbs

CAY has a number of verb constructions by means of verb suffixes that deserve special attention. All such suffixes are treated in different chapters (sections):

i) *Relational verbs*: The term “relational verb” (§ 37, cf. § 4–fn.10) is employed in this grammar for copula-like equational verbs, that is, transcatelogial

or denominal verbs, since it may be misleading to use the term “copula”.<sup>4</sup> CAY does not have a prototypical copula construction with two arguments, such as “copula subject” and “copula complement” (cf. Dixon 2002, 2005: 27–29), which encodes equation, identity, or group membership between the two participants (e.g. ‘X is Y’).

i.a) First, the CAY relational verbs are of two types, either (a) intransitive with S argument or (b) transitive with A and P involved, as shown in the following, where the participant X is expressed by an NP in the S or P function, while Y is a referent of the stem of the denominal(ized) verb. It is a possessor Z of Y that is referred to by an NP in the A function (like ‘X is Z’s Y’). Thus:

- (7) a. ‘X is Y’ intransitive with X as subject  
– marked by verbalizing NVrv |+*ŋu*-| (monovalent ‘to be’; § 37.1)
- b. ‘X is Z’s Y’ transitive with X as object and Z as possessor  
– marked by verbalizing VNrv |-*ki*-| (patientive bivlant ‘to have – as’, ‘to consider – as’; § 37.2).<sup>5</sup>

– which indicate that a relation of identity or group membership holds between X and Y, that is, the referent of a predicate head (noun stem of a denominal verb) and the S/P core argument (logical subject – someone/something to be equated or identified), while A argument (for transitive b) functions as the possessor Z(a) (alienable or inalienable) of the predicate head as illustrated:

- (8) a. *it* [S] *is a boat* intransitive  
b. *it* [P] *is my* [A] *boat* (lit. *I have it as a boat*) transitive

– and as exemplified with an expanded noun stem *angya-cuar-* (‘small boat’):

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4. The term “copula” is not used either by Jacobson (1995: 63, 163) for CAY intransitive *+(ng)u-* (|+*ŋu*-) and transitive *-ke-* (|-*ki*-), dealing with the two separately, while Woodbury (1985: 69–70, 73–74) correctly captures the correlation of the two and of their certain parallelism with the nominal constructions – see also Rischel (1971) for West Greenlandic. For this Eastern Eskimo language, Curnow (2001) refers to the intransitive construction of the type (8a) by the term “inflectional copula” construction, citing Fortescue (1984), but not mentioning the transitive like (8b) for the Eastern Eskimo. Transitive constructions marked by |-*yi*-|, cognate to CAY |-*ki*-|, occur also in Greenlandic. Fortescue himself, who uses the term “derived copular” sentences (1984:70), describes the transitive ones as corresponding to the intransitive possessive verb |-*qaŷ*-| ‘to have’ (CAY |-*ŋqx*-|; § 38.1) rather than to the intransitive |-*u*-| and calls the |-*yi*-| a “ditransitive possession morpheme” (2003: 126).

5. The ‘to have – as’ is a traditionally established gloss in Eskimology. Kleinschmidt has it like ‘er *hat ihn zum Sohn*’ for West Greenlandic (1851: 134).

- (9) a. *angya-cuara-u-guq* ‘it is a small boat’  
boat-small-be-IND.3sg.  
b. *angya-cuar-q-aqa* ‘it is my small boat, lit. I have it as a small boat’  
boat-small-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.

– which differently ‘mold’ the relation between two participants X and Y according to whether X has a possessor Z or not. Note that a CAY transitive relational verb is something totally different from, e.g. English “transitive copular” clause (like *I made the boat small*).

CAY’s intransitive and transitive relational verbs, respectively characterized by NVrv suffixes  $|+\eta u-|$  and  $|-ki-|$ , behave similarly in many ways. Though the transitive  $|-ki-|$  is commonly glossed as ‘to have – as’, like above, the relational verbs are distinct, with good evidence, from the language’s other verbalizing (NV) suffixes (§ 38), like the possessive verb  $|-\eta q x-|$  ‘to have N’ (fn. 4; which are semantically transitive but always occur with intransitive inflection; § 38.1), verb of existence  $|+tanq x-|$  ‘there to be N’, and of acquisition  $|-\eta i-|$  ‘to get’, as well as action verbs like ‘to eat’, ‘to supply’, ‘to make’, etc. See e.g. § 25.2.2.

An important function of relational verbs lies in supplying a comment for a topic NP notably in the absolutive case (S or P function). The topic typically stands before the comment, very often interrupted by a potential pause, thereby having the force of the so-called “cleft sentence” of some languages:

- (10) [*Ing-na(=wa)* *ene-cuar*]<sub>p</sub>,  
over.there-EX.ABS.sg.(=ENC) house-small.ABS.sg.  
*maqi-vi-k-aaput*.  
bath-place-have.as-IND.1pl.3sg.  
‘That small house over there is our steam house’, lit. ‘We use that small house as a steam house; it is that small house over there which we use as steam house’.
- (11) [*Im-na(=wa)* *tekite-lleq* *akwaugaq*]<sub>s</sub>,  
that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.(=ENC) arrive-VNrl.ABS.sg. yesterday  
*kassa-u-llini-uq*.  
white.man-be-EVD.IND.3sg.  
‘(I now find) that one (you know) who arrived yesterday is a white man.’
- (12) [*Tekite-llr-e-n(=wa)* *ma-a-vet*]<sub>s</sub>,  
arrive-VNnm-EV-ABS.2sg.sg.(=ENC) here-EX-ALL  
*qangva-urt-a? / qaku-urt-a?*  
when-become-INT.3sg.  
‘When is (has become) your (sg.) arrival here?’

The fronted topic followed by a pause may have phonemic prominence (high tone in particular).

i.b) Second, besides the contrast between (a) intransitive (unpossessed) and (b) transitive (possessed Y), each such relational verb has a contrast between (a) stative ('to be N') and (b) inchoative ('to become N'), which is incidentally the case with (12), thus:

- (13) a. *'he [S] has become a father*  
 b. *'he [P] has become **my** [A] father (I now have/own him as a father), pragmatically 'I have been adopted as his **son**'*

– which are respectively marked by the composite suffix NVrv  $|+\eta u-\dot{y}c-|$  (intransitive 'to become, to be now') and VNrv  $|-k-sayuc-|$  (transitive 'to have now – as, to become someone's') and illustrated in § 37.3 and § 37.4. These inchoative relational suffixes are built on the stative relational  $|+\eta u-|$  and  $|-ki-|$  followed by an aspectual element.

Otherwise, relational verbs can occur with any usual verb categories, derivational and inflectional, despite some syntactic differences from other denominal verbs (§ 37.5.1).

Relational verbs as such, however, are not merely copula-like but are also the basis of other parallel relations between two entities, which include comparative verbs ('to be more – than'; just below, together with superlative and equalitive verbs; § 45).

Furthermore, in combination with nominalizations (relative clauses and nominal clauses), relational verbs permeate many aspects of CAY morphosyntax and semantics, including valency increase/rearrangement (§ 39.7) and clausal transcategorial conversions (illustrated in § 17 and § 18), but also, diachronically, they have yielded a fair number of highly productive grammatical markers including such basic categories as past tense and negation markers (§ 4.2.5.3-i; § 42.1 and § 44), and also contributed abundantly to basic vocabulary (e.g. *elpe-ke-* 'to sense' from 'to have you – as', § 13[43]). Recognition of the correspondence between intransitive  $|+\eta u-|$  and transitive  $|-ki-|$  may be crucial, since the relational verbs could be considered the warp and weft of Eskimo morphosyntax in particular.<sup>6</sup>

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6. Clearly, transitive relational verbs are entirely different from the construction that is occasionally referred to in some languages as "transitive copulas" or "object complements" (for instance English constructions like *it made her happy*). See Dryer (2007) also for types of copulas and Pustet (2003: 7, etc.) for "transitive copulas" in Basque and Koasati (Muskogean, North America).





and § 45.3 together with relation between comparative clauses and comparative phrases in § 45.4.

It will be seen that CAY comparative markers, or indices of comparison, are also composite suffixes from a relational verb suffix preceded by the abstract nominalizer VN<sub>nm</sub> *|-nỵ-* (§ 18.3.2), which means that they are nothing but reverbalizations of comparative phrases like *ange-n-qa* ‘my bigger one, one bigger than me’.

Superlative and equalitive comparison (‘the most’ and ‘as – as’) are also supplied with unpossessed (intransitive) vs. possessed (transitive) versions and stative vs. inchoative versions in § 45.3-iv and § 45.6.2, thus totaling up to twelve indices (4×3) which are summarized in § 45.7.

iii) *Complex transitive verbs*: A clause may be morphologically embedded into an upper clause that is realized by a VV<sub>cm</sub>, i.e. “complex transitive”, suffix that is either causative (causing), directive (asking), speculative (thinking), reportative (saying), ignorative (not knowing, unsure), or expectant (waiting); § 40. A complex transitive clause may be further embedded into a still higher complex transitive clause, and so on, resulting in a “multi-layered complex transitive” verb, discussed and illustrated at full length in § 40.2.

A complex transitive is illustrated with reportative VV<sub>cm</sub> *|+ni-* ‘A’ says that A/S should do s.t.’. The following *ner-yug-ni-a* in (a) is a reportative complex transitive with extended verb stem *ner-yug-ni-* (the two agents involved; eater and reporter), and *ner-yug-ni-uq* in (b) is its (zero-derived) detransitivization:

- (17) a. *Arna-m<sub>A=A'</sub>*            *angun<sub>P</sub>*            *ner-yug-ni-a*  
 woman-REL.sg.    man.ABS.pl.    eat-DES-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*atsa-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 berry-ABM.pl.  
 ‘The woman says the man [P=S(A)] wants to eat berries.’
- b. *Arna<sub>S=A</sub>*            *ner-yug-ni-uq*            *atsa-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*. cf. (2)  
 woman.ABS.sg.    eat-DES-A'.say-IND.3sg.    berry-ABM.pl.  
 ‘The woman says she wants to eat berries.’ – with agent coreference

Whether (a) transitive or (b) intransitive, a complex verb is monoclausal (forming a simplex sentence) and the verb is a single word while morphologically expressing two events.

The following (b) is a three-layered complex transitive construction, with the verb (a) *tai-ciq(-uq)* morphologically embedded into an upper-layer verb (reportative), which is further embedded into the higher complex transitive (speculative):

- (18) a. *tai-ciq-uq*            *unuaqu*  
 come-FUT-IND.3sg. tomorrow  
 ‘he will come tomorrow’

- b. *tai-ciq-ni-yuk-aa* *unuaqu*  
 come-FUT-A'.say-A".think-IND.3sg.3sg. tomorrow  
 i. 'he thinks that she says that (s.o.) will come tomorrow'  
 – with S demoted  
 ii. 'he thinks that (s.o.) says that she will come tomorrow'  
 – with A" demoted.

– two readings of (b) may be disambiguated by an explicit oblique NP (ablative-modalis or allative).

iv) *Impersonal verbs*: Two kinds, i.e. primary (a) and derived (b), are distinguished.

a. “*stem-inherent or primary*” *impersonals*: include monovalent or bivalent stems (but no ditransitive), and zero-derived bivalents, i.e. transitive use of monovalents (§ 33.3, § 34.3, § 33.4). The impersonal argument S<sub>IMP</sub> and A<sub>IMP</sub> involved indicate some *unidentifiable natural force* – like *ciku-i* (IND.3sg.3pl.) ‘*it* freezes them, i.e. they are frozen’ with the stem (3b) |*ciku-*|.

b. “*suffix-derived impersonals*”: characterized by the very productive A<sub>IMP</sub> adding suffix |+*naŷqi-*| (§ 39.2.2). The impersonal argument added A<sub>IMP</sub> is something like *necessity or destiny*, and sometimes glossed (though clumsily) as ‘*it* behooves / destines him/me/you to (e.g. leave)’ for ‘he is / I am / you are destined to, must (leave)’ like *ayag-narq-ua* (go-NEC-IND.1sg.) ‘I must go, lit. *it* behooves me to go’.

In either iv.a) or iv.b), the impersonal argument S<sub>IMP</sub> or A<sub>IMP</sub> is inflectionally indexed as an intransitive or transitive subject only in the third person singular, but is never expressed overtly by a free-standing NP (including a free personal pronoun of the third person singular). Transitive impersonal verbs (or “transimpersonal” constructions; Haas 1940; Malchukov 2008) may be detransitivized by A<sub>IMP</sub> or A deletion just like any patientive verbs in the language, hence “impersonal passives”.<sup>8</sup> In general, impersonal passives are more commonly used than transimpersonals. See § 33.3 and § 34.3 for discussions of impersonal verbs.

v) *Non-prototypical A* In this connection, it is noted that the transitive versions of the two of the four kinds of verb briefly introduced above, i.e. ii) comparative verbs and iv) necessitative impersonal verbs, appear to be remarkably in decline in favor of the corresponding intransitive constructions, actually being driven to total disuse among many speakers (and perhaps in some local areas also). It should probably be noted also that the kind of A argument involved in them is a non-prototypical A (i.e. other than typically agentive argument –

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8. But these are not “passives of intransitives”, which have often been called “impersonal passives” in the literature (like Latin *curritur* ‘(it) is being, running is done’).

like animate or human beings – for bivalent stems). As mentioned, impersonal verbs have the  $A_{IMP}$  of natural/supernatural force or process (§ 34.3.2) and process and of necessity and destiny (§ 39.2), and comparative verbs have the A as a standard of comparison ‘[larger] than *someone/something*’ (§ 45.1.2) – see also § 24.2.5 for non-prototypical A arguments.

There is one case to the contrary, however, (with intransitive construction instead of transitive suffering more attrition) that concerns adversative applicative verbs (‘to my detriment, *on me*’) characterized by  $|+\gamma i_1-|$  as the adder of adversative E argument, i.e.  $E_{ADV}$ , e.g. ‘it escaped on me (so I could not catch it)’ with ‘me/I’ as “sufferer” – fully described in § 39.5. Presumably the whole construction (transitive and intransitive) of this may have lost productivity in general, while itself showing a very wide range of variation in CAY, and many (even middle-aged) speakers testify to feeling its general archaism. But the general tendency is that transitive adversative constructions are obviously still more common than the corresponding intransitive ones as documented according to the type (§ 39.5.1). This contrast (to the favor of the transitive) from the opposite case (comparative and impersonal verbs) may have some relevance to the most productive use of the antipassive construction characterized by  $|+\gamma i_2-|$  with intransitive inflection (§ 39.5.2, § 39.6.1).

## 1.2. NPs

An “NP” may stand as a core or demoted argument or a peripheral (adverbial). A single NP may also be uttered as a sentence by itself. It may be a single nominal (§ 11 through § 15), a nominal phrase (just below; § 16) as well as a nominalization (§ 5.2.2), i.e. relative clause (§ 17) and nominal or complement clause (§ 18).

There are five kinds of nominal phrases – “appositive”, “coordinate”, “juxtaposed”, “attributive (genitive)”, and “adjunctional” (§ 16.1 through § 16.5). The two (or more) nominals constituting a nominal phrase typically occur adjacent to one another. Except for juxtaposed ones, which are specific to additive-type of numerals (e.g. ‘11, 12, 13,...’ as ‘10+1, 2, 3’) and are strongly bound phrases, nominal phrases may be articulated as separate forms (multiarticuli written with a space), though they typically form weakly bound phrases (monoarticuli indicated by  $\neq$ ). As such, they may be reversed (permuted), detached and non-contiguous with one or more words intervening (i.e. as multiarticuli). By contrast, juxtaposed phrases cannot be reversed. They seem close to phrasal compounds (like locative verbs above, as single words; § 4.3-v), but they are not (and are instead bound phrases).

Each type of nominal phrase is illustrated below with just one example, to be described at full length in § 16. The case assignment of a whole nominal phrase depends upon its syntactic function within its clause, and all the illustrations

below are given with the absolutive case (unless otherwise indicated) for the sake of convenience:

The five type of nominal phrases are followed by “adnominal clauses” (§ 16.5), which are somewhat like non-restrictive relative clauses.

i) *Appositive phrases* – consisting of two (or more) nominals that agree in case and number. In the following example, (a) with ABS marking may stand in S or P function in a clause, while (b) with REL marking occurs either in A function or G function:

- (19) a. *im-na*                                  *arnaq*  
           that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.            woman.ABS.sg.  
           ‘that woman (you know)’ – e.g. with ‘is sick’ or ‘I like her’
- b. [*im-u-m*                                  *arna-m*]<sub>G</sub>  
           that.ANP-EX-REL.sg.        woman-REL.sg.  
           ‘that woman (you know)’ – e.g. with ‘likes me’ or ‘the daughter of’.

A relative clause with an external head NP forms an appositive phrase with the deverbal (relative) clause as the dependent – see § 16.1.

ii) *Coordinate phrases* – consist of two (or more) nominals in coordination, conjoined by a coordinating enclitic (e.g. |*=tu*| ‘and’; § 54.5) or particle (e.g. |*cali*| ‘and’, |*wa=tu*| /*wàllu*| ‘or’; § 53.5) among others. The nominals stand in the same case as for appositive i) above, though the number may disagree, – described at length in § 16.2.

- (20)        *pani-ka*                                  *nulir-qa=llu*                                  ‘my daughter and my wife’.  
               Da-ABS.1sg.sg.                      Wi-ABS.1sg.sg.=and

iii) *Juxtaposed phrases* – apparently include only additive-type of numeral phrase consisting of two (or more) additive numerals, which form strongly bound phrases, close to compounds. This may presumably be a new addition to the morphological processes of the language. See § 16.3 as well as § 14.3.3 (numerals) for fuller descriptions and examples together with their morphological peculiarities:

- (21)        *qula*        ≠        *malru-k*                                  ‘twelve’  
               10.ABS.sg.        2-ABS.du.

iv) *Attributive (“genitive”) phrases* – consist of the head nominal obligatorily inflected for the third person (possessor) and the dependent nominal obligatorily in the G function (relative case) agreeing in number, as in (a) below, that is, ‘woman’s daughter’ = ‘woman’s *her*-daughter’. The attributive phrase (a) be-

low may be embedded in an upper attributive phrase as in (b) – see § 24.1 for more details.

- (22) a. *arna-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *pani-a*  
 woman-REL.sg.                      Da-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the woman’s daughter’
- b. [*arna-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *pani-an*]<sub>G</sub>                      *atr-a*  
 woman-REL.sg.                      Da-REL.3sg.sg.                      name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the name of the woman’s daughter’.

It is important to note beforehand that a comparative phrase (like ‘the one bigger than my boat’, lit. ‘my boat’s its-bigger-one / being-big’ – cf. § 5.1.1.3-ii, § 18.3.2 and § 45.1) with its external standard NP of comparison (‘my boat’) is an attributive phrase in construction, so is a complement clause (§ 18) with its external logical subject.

v) *Adjunctional phrases* – consist of a head nominal and its restrictive nominal inflected for one of the oblique cases. It is adnominal like ‘fish *from*-river’ for ‘river fish’, but with the two constituents lacking morphological coreference, unlike an attributive one (iv).

- (23) *ellallug-mek emeq*                      (≐ *ellalluk emeq*; appositive)  
 rain-ABM.sg. water.ABS.sg. rain.ABS.sg. water.ABS.sg.  
 ‘rain water’.
- kuig-mek neqe-t*                      (≐ *kuig-e-m neqa-i*; attributive)  
 river-ABM.sg. fish-ABS.pl. river-EV-REL.sg. fish-ABS.3sg.pl.  
 ‘river fish’.

It is not always the case that an adjunctional phrase can be replaced by an appositive or an attributive phrase.

See § 16.6 for “adnominal clauses (verbs)”.

CAY has no “phrasal verbs” such as the English *to give up*, *to put up with*. A verb may instead be accompanied by adverbial adjuncts (peripheral arguments in one of the oblique cases, non-inflecting words, or subordinate clauses), to form a part of a VP.

### 1.3. Peripherals

An NP in one of the oblique cases with an adverbial function (§ 25 through § 29; as well as the absolutive with the locative function, § 23.2), a connective-mood clause (§ 50), and non-inflecting particles and enclitics (§ 53, § 54) constitutes a peripheral in a clause.

## 2. Clause linkings

There are two types of clauses in CAY – independent (or main) and dependent – and the latter in turn has two subtypes, i.e. “subordinate” with connective-mood verb and “cosubordinate” (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) with appositional-mood verb. A cosubordinate clause is very often used independently, however.

A main clause has a predicate verb in one of the four independent moods, i.e. indicative, participial, interrogative, and optative (§ 46 through § 49) or in the appositional mood (§ 51) as its VP head and may be syntactically independent, potentially forming a sentence by itself, that is, a monoclausal “simplex sentence”. A subordinate clause with connective mood (§ 50) may also constitute a sentence, with its main clause being implicit.

The language has a fair number of connective moods marked differently but with a shared set of person suffixes. This is apparently correlated with the fact that CAY has hardly developed subordinating conjunction words (like English *when, if, because*, etc.).

A “converb” is not an inflected verb, though closely related with a participial mood verb (§ 49). It constitutes a dependent (adverbial) clause but is distinct from a connective-mood verb, which is fully inflected.

A sentence may also be bi- (or multi-) clausal, that is, a “complex sentence” consisting of a main clause and a dependent clause or a “coordinate sentence” consisting of two (or more) independent clauses. A complex sentence is not to be confused with a “complex transitive verb” (§ 40), the latter of which may by itself form a simplex sentence.

There are a number of strategies for linking clauses:

i) One clause may be linked with another into coordination by a conjunction word (enclitic or particle; § 53.5 and § 54.4), thereby yielding a “compound sentence” with two (or more) “coordinate clauses”, or it may be linked into subordination or cosubordination by selecting the connective or the appositional mood, thereby yielding a “complex” or a “cosubordinate sentence”.

Coordinate clauses may have a number of different clause combinations – indicative + participial, indicative + optative, indicative + appositional, participial + participial, etc. – as will be illustrated in each of the four chapters for independent moods.

ii) A clause-head verb may be nominalized either by a nominalizer (VN<sub>nm</sub>; § 18) or a relativizer (VN<sub>rl</sub>; § 17) to be embedded into a main clause, that is, as a nominal clause or a relative clause (thus forming a simplex sentence).

iii) A clause may be morphologically embedded into an upper clause by a complex transitive suffix (thus forming a simplex sentence), as mentioned previously.

Biclausal sentences (compound, complex, or cosubordinate) are either (a) a monoarticulus with no (or little) pause with no falling (but level) tone at the end of the first clause or (b) biarticuli with a pause and a falling tone there.

- (24) a. [Atam u-na kai-lria] [neqka-li-**nge'rmi**].  
 b. [Atam u-na kai-lria]. [neqka-li-**nge'rmi**].  
 see this-EX.ABS.sg. hungry-PTP.3sg. food-have.lots-CNNth.3Rsg.  
 i. 'See, this person is hungry *though* he has lots of food.'  
 ii. 'See, this person is hungry, *though* he has lots of food.'

## 2.1. Coordinate, subordinate, and cosubordinate

i) *Coordinate (compound) sentences*: These consist of two (or more) clauses, each with a predicate verb in one of the four independent moods or in the appositional mood, are linked as a coordinate construction to express addition, sequence, or alternative, typically by a coordinate enclitic like  $|=lu|$   $/=lu/$  'and',  $|=wa|$  ( $\sim| \neq wa|$ ) 'and, but, well, also' (§ 54) or a particle such as  $|cali|$  'and',  $|tua(=i)=lu|$  'and then', or  $|wa=lu|$   $/wà\text{h}u/$  'or, otherwise' (§ 53) (which also link two NPs into a coordinate phrase [§ 5.1.2-ii] like A B=*llu* 'A and B'). As a clause linker, an enclitic is attached to the initial word of the second clause, or a particle stands at the beginning of the second clause.

However, there are cases of simple juxtaposition in which no clause linker is used. This is usually the case when the second clause expresses a result or consequence of the event expressed by the first clause, typically with a predicate verb of 'seeing', 'observing', or 'finding', and most often with an appositional-mood verb as the predicate – see § 51.4.1-i. A typical example of this is the "observational construction" (Jacobson 1994, 1995) characterized by the particle  $|maatin|$  within the first clause, glossed as 'lo and behold, it was noticed/found, upon –ing (it was noticed), etc.' (§ 53.5-ix). The first clause usually contains an indicative-mood verb, while the second has a participial-mood or an appositional verb (see § 47.4-ii, § 51.4.1-iv):

- (25) *Kuul'tilakessaqs maaten uit-uq, [tau-ku-t*  
 p.n.ABS.sg. then open-IND.3sg. that-EX-ABS.pl.  
*pingayun taquka-a-t]<sub>A</sub> tangva-ki-it. ≙ § 47(49)*  
 three.ABS.pl. bear-EV-ABS.pl. watch-PTP-3pl.3sg.  
 'Goldilocks opened (eyes), and (she found) those three bears were watching her.' [KPLT 43]

Compound sentences show different combinations of moods. The following pair illustrates combinations of an indicative-mood clause accompanied by a

participial-mood clause (a) or an appositional-mood clause (b) – see § 49.8, etc. for other mood combinations.

- (26) a. *Arna-t<sub>s</sub>*                    *iqva-llru-ut*,  
 woman-ABS.pl.    pick.berry-PST-IND.3pl.  
*ui-ngit<sub>s</sub>=wa*                                    *kuvya-lriit*.  
 husband-ABS.3pl.pl.=also    net.fish-PTP.3pl.  
 ‘The women were berry picking, while their husbands were net-fishing.’
- b. *Arna-t<sub>s</sub>*                    *iqva-llru-ut*,  
 woman-ABS.pl.    pick.berry-PST-IND.3pl.  
*ui-ngit<sub>s</sub>=llu*                                    *kuvya-luteng*  
 husband-ABS.3pl.pl.=and    net.fish-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘The women were berry picking, and their husbands were net-fishing.’

The third person possessor of *ui-ngit* shows that the second clause is not syntactically dependent upon the first, hence resulting in coordinate clauses. Note the difference in person (3pl. vs. 3Rpl.) of the two sentence-final verbs, which reflects the idiosyncrasy of the appositional mood (§ 51.1).

ii) *Subordinate (complex) sentences*: A subordinate complex sentence has a predicate in one of the connective moods, with the connective-mood clause functioning as an adverbial adjunct to the main clause by supplying a temporal or logical (conditional, causal) setting. Note in the following examples that the reflexive-third person possessor of *ui-teng* shows that the second clause (connective-mood) is syntactically dependent upon the first.

- (27)        *Arna-t*                    *iqva-llru-ut*,                    *ui-teng*  
 woman-ABS.pl.    berry.pick-PST-IND.3pl.    Hu-ABS.3Rpl.pl.  
*kuyi-ita*.  
 net.fish-CNNbc.3pl.  
 ‘The women were berry picking, because their own husbands were net-fishing.’

Subordinate sentences characterized by a connective-mood verb, with the main clause in different moods, are discussed and illustrated at full length in § 50.

iii) *Cosubordinate (complex) sentences*: A main clause may co-occur with an appositional-mood clause. The latter is, instead of being a coordinate (compound) sentence like (26b) above, an adnominal clause (verb) which serves like a “non-restrictive relative” clause or a “dangling” clause modifying an NP of the main clause (§ 16.6-i; cf. “predicative adnominal adjuncts” – Miyaoka 1997: 66). It is basically linked to the subject (S/A) of the main clause, having multi-



farious functions potentially subject to different interpretations (miscellaneous attendant/additional circumstances as well as the temporal setting of the argument) and behaving somewhat like a “dangling” (or “hanging”) participle in English grammar:

- (28) *Arna-t<sub>p</sub>*                      *qam-a-ni*                      *tange-llru-anka*  
 woman-ABS.pl.                      up-EX-LOC                      see-PST-IND.1sg.3pl.  
*iqvar[-cel]-luki.*  
 pick.berry-have-APP.3pl.  
 ‘I saw the women up there (, who are) picking berries (lit. [I] having them berry pick).’

– where the second clause has the subject (‘I’) coreferential with the first clause subject and has the optional coreferential maker *-cel-* (§ 51.1.4.3). By contrast, the two clauses may form a coordinate complex sentence as in the following, with different subjects (‘I’ and ‘they’) and no coreferential marker:

- (29) *Arna-t<sub>p</sub>*                      *qam-a-ni*                      *tange-llru-anka,*  
 woman-ABS.pl.                      up-EX-LOC                      see-PST-IND.1sg.3pl.  
*iqvar-luteng.*  
 pick.berry-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘I saw the women upriver, and they were berry picking.’

The most common type of phrasal numerals (additive with *cip-luku*) in CAY is actually a cosubordinate clause of this kind (as mentioned in § 14.3.1, § 16.6-i). Cosubordinate clause sentences characterized by an appositional-mood verb are discussed and illustrated at full length in § 51.

See § 16.6-ii and § 50.10 for another kind of non-restrictive adnominal clause that modifies S/P argument of a main clause, which is the function of the stative-connective mood clause (‘[being] in the state of –’, ‘[being] alone’, etc.).

## 2.2. Nominalizations

CAY nominal clauses (§ 18) and relative clauses (§ 17) are deverbal nominalizations with nominal inflection (case, number, and [optional] person). The former is made by a VNnm suffix, with the nominal argument(s) in the original clause subject to case alternation, while the latter is a relativization by a VNrl suffix with or without an external head standing in apposition. Like single nominals or nominal phrases, these two kinds of clauses can be either a core argument NP or a demoted argument for the main clause.

i) *Nominal clauses* – morphosyntactically form an attributive phrase (§ 16.4) consisting of the nominalized predicate as the head NP and its dependent NP in the relative, which refers to its absolutive-case argument in S (incl. derived S) function (§ 18). The logical subject is demoted to G (possessor) function. The case of the head depends upon the role which it fills in the main clause. The following illustration shows that the intransitive construction (a) is nominalized to be complemented in the main clause (b):

- (30) a. *arnaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *tekit-uq*  
           woman.ABS.sg.            arrive-IND.3sg.  
           ‘the woman arrived’  
       b. [*arna-m<sub>G</sub>*            *tekiy-uci-a*]<sub>P</sub>                      *nallu-aqa*  
           woman-REL.pl.    arrive-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.    not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
           ‘I do not know that/how the woman arrived’.

CAY has a number of nominal clause suffixes (VNm) – see § 18.2 and § 18.3.1.

ii) *Relative clauses* – morphosyntactically appositive phrases consisting of the head NP and the nominalized predicate, agreeing in case and number (§ 16.1). The following illustration shows that the intransitive construction (a), identical with (30a) above, is relativized and embedded into the main clause (b):

- (31) a. *arnaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *tekit-uq*                                      = (30a)  
           woman.ABS.sg.            arrive-IND.3sg.  
           ‘the woman arrived’  
       b. [*arnaq*                      *tekite-lleq*]<sub>P</sub>                      *nallu-aqa*  
           woman.ABS.sg.    arrive-VNrl.ABS.sg.    not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
           ‘I do not know the woman who (had) arrived’.

The predicate *nallu-aqa* in (b) may come at the beginning or may even split inside the relative clause, which itself can reverse the internal word order. The head noun *arnaq* (‘woman’) of the relative clause (b) may not be externally expressed, since the deverbalized clause alone can work as an argument (‘the one who (had) arrived’).

CAY has a number of relativizing VNrl suffixes which differ in arguments to be selected for the head – see § 17.2 through § 17.6.

### 3. Sentence types

This is the only part where sentence types will be mentioned as a whole and illustrated in details.

#### 3.1. Questions – *content, polar, alternative, echo, indefinite, indirect*

There are two major types of interrogative sentences: (a) content or informational questions (as with a *wh-* word) and (b) “polar” (*yes-no*) questions, each with subtypes. Both typically have a sentence-final falling tone.

i) *Content questions*: A content question is a request for information that the speaker expects can or will be supplied by the addressee. It requires an ignorative word or phrase (nominal or verb; see § 15.2 for six ignorative primary stems – ‘what, who, where, when, how, how many’) and a predicate verb occurs in the interrogative mood (§ 48.2), as opposed to a polar question in ii) below.

The ignorative word or phrase typically comes at the beginning of a sentence, though it can occur later in the sentence as well.

One question may contain two ignorative words conjoined by the enclitic  $|=lu|$  ‘and’ as in (49) and (50).

The verb used in a response (a, b) in the following question (32) is not necessarily in the indicative mood as in (a) but is more frequently in the participial as in (b), which is more reactive or responsive and is typically accompanied by the reactive enclitic  $|=wa|$  (§ 54.1):

- (32)
- |    |                              |                      |   |                        |                            |
|----|------------------------------|----------------------|---|------------------------|----------------------------|
|    | <i>Ki-na<sub>S</sub></i>     | <i>tekit-a?</i>      |   |                        |                            |
|    | who-ABS.sg.                  | arrive-INT.3sg.      |   |                        |                            |
|    | ‘Who has arrived?’           |                      |   |                        |                            |
| a. | <i>Nuk’aq<sub>S</sub></i>    | <i>tekit-uq.</i>     | ~ | <i>Tekit-uq</i>        | <i>Nuk’aq<sub>S</sub>.</i> |
|    | p.n.ABS.sg.                  | arrive-IND.3sg.      |   |                        |                            |
|    | ‘Nuk’aq arrived.’            |                      |   |                        |                            |
| b. | <i>Nuk’aq<sub>S</sub>=wa</i> | <i>tekite-llria.</i> | ~ | <i>Tekite-llria=wa</i> | <i>Nuk’aq<sub>S</sub>.</i> |
|    | p.n.ABS.sg.=REA              | arrive-PTP.3sg.      |   |                        |                            |
|    | ‘Nuk’aq arrived.’            |                      |   |                        |                            |

The focus *Nuk’aq* for the question by *ki-na* may stand word-initially or not.

Ignorative words in content questions may either be a particle (‘how’), an inflected adverbial adjunct (‘why’, ‘when’, ‘where’), or a core or demoted argument (‘what’, ‘who[m]’, ‘which’). Not only intransitive S and monotransitive P and A, but any ditransitive T, R, or A can be questioned by an ignorative word and the interrogative-mood verb (as illustrated in § 48.2) – cf. § 35.2.4 for ques-

tions of ditransitive verbs. Content questions are more fully illustrated with ignorative words (§ 15.2) and interrogative mood verbs (§ 48.2).

Verbs of other moods than the interrogative, however, may also be used to form content questions, see, e.g. § 47.2 for a participial-mood verb particularly with the particle *|ima|* ‘you know’.

ii) *Polar questions*: A polar question, in contrast with the content question just above, does not occur with an interrogative-mood verb and is characterized by the rhetorical question particle *|qaa|* (§ 53.2; instead of an ignorative word).<sup>9</sup> This *|qaa|* as a particle may occur independently as a free word meaning ‘(is that) right?’ – see (38b) for confirmation. But it is typically attached like an enclitic to the sentence-initial word (except for vocative and interjective words), nevertheless forming a non-enclitic bound phrase as indicated by ≠ below (which triggers a pre-boundary regressive accent, unlike an enclitic =).

Depending upon which constituent is the focus of the polar question, (33) has different constituent orders. Typically the particle is attached to the word initial word, forming bound phrases */nùk|kàqaa/* and */tikí|tùq|qaa/* with the regressive accent on the final syllable of the first word:

- (33) a. *Nùk’àq ≠ qaa*      *tekit-uq?*      ‘Has *Nuk’aq* arrived?’  
           p.n.ABS.sg.≠QST    arrive-IND.3sg.  
       b. *Tekít-ùq ≠ qaa*      *Nuk’aq*      ‘Has *Nuk’aq* arrived?’  
           arrive-IND.3sg.≠QST    p.n.ABS.sg.

– thereby showing that the questioning *qaa* is not an enclitic. Compare with enclitic bound phrases *Nuk’aq=llu* */nùk|kaq|tu/* ‘*Nuk’aq* also’ and *tekituq=llu* */tikí|tuq|tu/* ‘and he arrived’ with no regressive accent (*\*/nùk|kàq|tu/*, *\*/tikí|tùq|tu/*).

A ditransitive verb in polar questions is shown by:

- (34) *Arna-m<sub>A</sub> ≠ qaa*      *cikir-aa*      *angun<sub>R</sub>*  
           woman.REL.sg.≠QST give-IND.3sg.3sg.man.ABS.sg.  
           *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>?*  
           ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
           ‘Did the woman give the man ice cream? Is it the woman who gave the man ice cream?’

9. It is interesting to note that the distinction in verb mood that CAY makes between polar questions (marked by *|qaa|*) and content questions does not obtain in its closest neighbors Central Siberian Yupik (CSY; Western Eskimo) and Iñupiaq (Eastern), where the interrogative mood is employed for either type of question, but that, among the neighboring languages, Yukaghir, an isolated “Paleosiberian” language, follows exactly the same pattern as CAY, with an interrogative mood and the same contrast between the two types of questions – see Krejnovich (1982: 150–151) and Endo (1993: 83–85).

A response to an polar question typically occurs with the affirmative particle  $|ii=i|$  / $ií=i/ \sim /ii=i/$  ‘yes’ (35)<sup>10</sup> or the negative  $|qaan|$  / $qaán/ \sim |qañña|$  / $qàñña/$  ‘no’ (36)<sup>11</sup> in the sentence-initial position, and if a verb accompanies (though not obligatory), it is done “reactively” in the participial mood and with the interactive enclitic  $|wa|$  or declaratively in the indicative mood:

- (35) *Ii=i, tekite-llria=wa / tekit-uq.*  
 yes arrive-PTP.3sg.=REA arrive-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Yes, he has arrived.’ – /tikí|tí|xìà(w)wa/ ( $w = [w] \sim [w^x]$ )
- (36) *Qaang, tekite-ksail-nguq=wa. / tekite-ksait-uq.*  
 no arrive-NEG-PTP.3sg.=REA arrive-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘No, he has not yet arrived.’  
 – with the suppletive negative participle *-nguq* after the /*t/*-final suffix (VVn  $|ksait-|$  ‘not yet’; § 44) instead of  $-(l)lria$ .

When replying to a negative question, Yupik speakers confirm or deny the statement made in the question either with the particle *ii=i* ‘yes’ or *qaang~qang’a* ‘no’ (showing the same pattern as Japanese but not as English), as in (37a) vs. (b):

- (37) *Tekite-ksait-tuq ≠ qaa Nuk’aq?*  
 arrive-not.yet-IND.3sg.≠QST p.n.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Has Nuk’aq not arrived?’
- a. *Ii-i, tekite-ksail-nguq=wa. / Ii-i, tekite-ksait-uq.*  
 yes arrive-not.yet-PTP.3sg.=REA yes arrive-not.yet-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Yes (as you asked), he has not arrived yet.’
- b. *Qaang, tekite-llria=wa. / Qaang, tekit-uq.*  
 no arrive-PTP.3sg.=REA / no arrive-IND.3sg.  
 ‘No, he has arrived.’

A polar question with  $|≠qaa|$  is formally distinguishable from the confirmation of a presumption by the questioner using the particle independently. Compare (a) a polar question with (b) a confirmation:

10. It is very common, however, to raise the eyebrow slightly to express ‘yes’, often, though not necessarily, out of shyness. This is not only the case with children.

11. Pragmatically, however, the use of this negative particle may be more or less avoided, especially where definite negation could not be guaranteed (as in future events or happenings), in favor of some hedgings such as *naamiki* ‘I don’t know, I am not sure’, *aipaagni* ‘perhaps (fifty-fifty; *aipa-agni* partner-LOC.3du.sg.)’.

- (38) a. *Ené-rpa-ngqér-cit ≠ qaa?*  
 house-big-have-INT.2sg.≠QST  
 ‘Do you (sg.) have a big house?’  
 b. *Enér-pa-ngqér-tuten, qaá~qáa? (Enér-pa-ngqér-cugnárq-uten).*  
 house-big-have-IND.2sg. QST house-big-have-INF-INT.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) have a big house, right?’ (‘I think you have a big house.’)

Some speakers may use a question to ask for permission with an optative-mood verb, optionally accompanied by *|qaa|*, which may express a little stronger request:

- (39) *Ner-la-kek ≠ qaa?* ‘May I eat them (du.)?’ [JS,IW]  
 eat-OPT-1sg.3du.≠QST

Another means of coding a polar question is final rising intonation without the particle, as in the following, which, however, may sound more blunt than (33):

- (40) *Tekit-úq? # Nuk’aq?* ‘Has Nuk’aq arrived?’

iii) *Alternative questions*: A coordinate phrase with the alternative particle *|wallu|* ‘or’ (§ 53.5-vi) becomes an alternative question (‘A or B’) with the polar-interrogative particle *|qaa|* or the alternative *|natiy-|* ‘which’ (§ 15.2.3.2):

- (41) *Qayar-pa-li-uq ≠ qaa wall’(u) ≠ pi-cuar-mek?*  
 kayak-big-make-IND.3sg.≠QST or thing-small-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Is he making a big kayak or a small one?’  
 – with *pi-* in *pi-cuar-mek* as a pro-stem for *qayar-* ‘kayak’. See § 16.2 for the particle and § 25.2.2-ii for the stranded NP in the ablative-modalis.

- (42) *Nali-ak<sub>p</sub> assik-siu, [kuuvviaq wall’u*  
 which-ABS.3du.sg. like-INT.2sg.3sg. coffee.ABS.sg. or  
*saayuuq]?*  
 tea.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Which do you (sg.) like, coffee or tea?’

iv) *Echo questions*: These have a rising intonation rather than a rising-falling, unlike the other questions. They may be formed with any constituent, and can be polar echoes or ignorative echoes. The other constituent(s), like the predicate, may or may not be repeated:

- (43) *Unuaqu aya-katar-tukuk Tununer-mun.*  
 tomorrow leave-IMN-IND.1du. pl.n.-ALLsg.  
 ‘Tomorrow we(du.) are going to Tununak.’
- a. *Unuaqu? Tununer-mun?*  
 ‘Tomorrow?’ ‘To Tununak?’  
 (with no predicate *aya-katar-tutek?* IND.2du. ‘you (du.) are going’)
- b. *Unuaqu Tununer-mun?*  
 ‘Tomorrow, to Tununak?’
- c. *Qaku? / Nat-mun?*  
 ‘When?’ ‘To where?’  
 (with no predicate *aya-katar-cetek?* INT.2du. ‘you (du.) are going’)

Interrogative word (i.e. content) questions may have echoes as well:

- (44) *Nat-mun aya-katar-ceñuk?*  
 where-ALL leave-IMN-INT.1du.  
 ‘Where are we (du.) going to (you mean/want)?’
- cf. *Nat-mun aya-katar-cetek?*  
 where-ALL leave-IMN-INT.2du.  
 ‘Where are you (du.) going to?’

v) *Indefinite questions*: These convey ‘how about? I wonder, I hope’ by means of the enclitic  $|=mi|$  (§ 54.1-ii). Added to the sentence-initial word, it may induce a question along the line of ‘how about?’, although it can just be a soliloquy:

- (45) *U-na=mi? / U-u-tun=mi?*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.=ENC this-EX-EQL.sg.=ENC  
 ‘How about this?’ ‘How about like this?’
- (46) *Aata-vut<sub>s</sub> ak’a tekit-uq.*  
 Fa-ABS.1pl.sg. already arrive-IND.3sg.  
*Aata-n=mi?*  
 Fa-ABS.2sg.sg.=ENC  
 ‘Our father always came back. How about your (sg.) father?’
- (47) *Nauwa(=mi) aata-ka?*  
 where(=ENC) Fa-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘(But) where is my father?’  
 – asking the speaker himself or someone else.

vi) *Indirect questions with nominalizations*: These are complementized into verbs of asking (e.g.  $|apic-|$  ‘to ask’) and of not knowing (e.g.  $|nalu-|$  ‘not to know’). A question sentence, whether one of content or polar, may be nominal-

ized by the VNnm suffixes – |+<sub>1</sub>uciŷ-| and |-tŷ-| (§ 18.2.1 and § 18.2.2) which are quasi-equivalent – and complemented into a main clause, with the necessary case alternations (§ 30.3.1).

- (48) *Apte-llru-anga* [nulia(r)-qa~nulia-ma<sub>A</sub>  
ask-PST-IND.3sg.1sg. Wi-ABS/REL.1sg.sg.  
*na-nl-uci-anek / na-nte-llr-anek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
where-be.at-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
‘He asked me where my wife is / was.’  
– see § 18.1.2.1 for two patterns of the subject of the embedded clause.  
cf. *Na-nt-a* *nulia-n<sub>S</sub>?* ‘Where is your (sg.) wife?’  
where-be.at-INT.3sg. wife-ABS.2sg.sg.

- (49) [*Qa-ku* *nat-mun=llu* *ayag-ciq-ucia-nek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
when-FUT where-ALL=and leave-FUT-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*apes-gu.*  
ask-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
‘Ask him when and (to) where he will leave.’

The main clause may also be a content question itself:

- (50) *Ki-na<sub>R</sub>* *apte-llru-siu* [*qangvaq*  
who-EX.ABS.sg. ask-PST-2sg.3sg. when.PST  
*yuurte-llru-ci-anek*]<sub>(T)?</sub>  
born-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
‘Who did you (sg.) ask when he was born?’
- (51) *Nallu-aqa* [*arna-m* *neq-mek*  
not.know-IND.1sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*nere-llru-ci-a* *ataku-mi*]<sub>p.</sub>  
eat-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. evening-LOC  
‘I don’t know whether the woman ate fish in the evening.’  
cf. *Arnaq ≠ qaa* *nere-llru-uq* *neq-mek*  
woman.ABS.sg.≠QST eat-PST-IND.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*ataku-mi?*  
evening-LOC  
‘Did the woman eat fish in the evening? / I wonder if the woman ate fish in the evening.’
- (52) [*Na-ni-qapiar* *kuyya-llru-ci-anek* *May’a-m*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
where-LOC-ITS net-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg. p.n.-REL.sg.  
*nallu-unga.*  
not.know-IND.1sg.  
‘I don’t know exactly where May’aq drift-netted.’



- cf. *Na-ni-qapiar*      *kuvya-llru-a*      *May'aq?*  
 where-LOC-ITS      net-PST-INT.3sg.      p.n.ABS.sg.  
 'Where exactly did May'aq drift-net?'

vii) *Rhetorical questions:*

vii.a)  $|=ki\dot{y}|$  'I wonder' (§ 48.3, § 54.2-iii) – does not necessarily expect an answer, nor is it a straight request for information, though it may be answered as such. It may instead be a question to the speaker himself or a question of idle curiosity: Compare the following with (51):

- (53)      *Arnaq<sub>s</sub>=kiq*      *nere-llru-uq*      *neq-mek<sub>(p)</sub>*  
 woman.ABS.sg.=I.wonder      eat-PST-IND.3sg.      fish-ABM.sg.  
*ataku-mi.*  
 evening-LOC  
 'I wonder if the woman ate fish in the evening.'

vii.b) VVm  $|=li-$  'perhaps' (§ 43) – indirect or mild questions that are generally preferred to the compared polar question with  $|qaa|$ , cf. also § 47.2.1.1 with participial mood.

- (54)      *kai-lli-uten*      'are you (sg.) hungry?'  
 hungry-INF-IND.2sg.  
 cf. *kaig-tuten=qaa*      'are you (sg.) hungry?'  
 hungry-IND.2sg.=QST

### 3.2. Commands – *direct and indirect*

Optative-mood verbs are most commonly used for commands.

i) *Direct* – optative verbs with the second person subject. In the following pair, (a) is direct and may sound too harsh, while the periphrastic construction (b) consisting of the prop verb  $|pi-$  (§ 49.4.2) and an appositional-mood verb (§ 51.3.1) is more polite but possibly has the added implication of 'doing something else':

- (55) a. *Naquges-gu*      *irnia-n<sub>p</sub>*.  
 put.belt-OPT.2sg.3sg.      child-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 'Put a belt on your (sg.) child.'  
 b. *Naqugg-luku*      *irnia-n<sub>p</sub>*      *pi-u.*  
 put.belt-APP.3sg.      child-ABS.2sg.sg.      PI-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 'Put a belt on your (sg.) child (while you are doing something in the meantime).'  
 – cf. § 4.2.5.5.2-ii.

A third-person optative verb is mainly used for asking permission or consent from the addressee (instead of a command – ii.a). It can also be used to avoid the directness as a disguised person (§ 32.3.2) for a second person.

There are a few other devices to avoid the directness, e.g. use of the suffix *|-qay-* (§ 49.4.3).

A prohibition or negative command is expressed by an optative-mood verb expanded with the general negator VVn *|-nyit-* (§ 44, § 49.6.1).

ii) *Indirect* – various constructions may serve as indirect commands:

- a. a third-person subject optative verb (*‘let him’*) – § 49.2
- b. the directive complex transitive verb with *|+sqi-* ‘A to tell / ask him to’ – § 40.2.2
- c. use of the modal suffix VVm *|+nayqi-* (§ 43) in an indicative-mood verb (*‘you should’*).

### 3.3. Exclamations and vocatives

i) *Exclamation sentences* – two types, involving the use of either:

- a. two intensifying suffixes VVa *|+ipakay-* ‘so much’ and *|+ipay-* ‘intensely’ (§ 41.3.2)
- b. their apparently related “particizer” VPc *|+ipaa|* (§ 52.4.1)  
– each occurring in a distinct construction, though substantially equivalent as exclamations.

(a) *|+ipay-* and its apparently related “particizer” (b) *|+ipaa|* are first illustrated:

- (56) a. *Tupag-yara-tu-vag-cit* (elpet)!  
wake-early-REG-ITS-INT.2sg. 2sg.
- b. *Tupag-yara-tu-vaa* elpe-ni!  
wake-early-REG-EXC 2sg.-LOC  
‘What an early riser you (sg.) are!’

(a) occurs with an interrogative-mood verb but without an interrogative word, unlike content questions – § 5.3.1-i. It is a question-like exclamation. (In non-exclamative contexts, the suffixes can occur in any verb mood – see § 46 through § 51). On the other hand, (b) is a unique morpheme which derives verb stems into non-inflecting words taking no (core) arguments, i.e. “argument-less” (see § 27.6). Furthermore (a) involves an argument, i.e. in S function, as the target of an exclamation and may be expressed externally by an NP in the

absolutive case, while (b) may have the notional subject expressed in the locative case (§ 27.6).

The other suffix  $|+_{1}pakay-|$  in (a) above is shown with the interrogative inflection:

- (57) *Ner-yui-pakar-cit!* (*elpet*)  
 eat-never-ITS-INT.2sg. 2sg.  
 ‘Why haven’t you (sg.) eaten all this time!’

See § 48.4 for a discussion of suffixal exclamations as in (56a), (57) and § 41.3.2 for the intensifying suffixes themselves, while § 52.4.1 for details of the particlerizer exclamation as in (56b).

ii) *Vocatives*: Forms used in addressing persons are chiefly characterized by doubling of the final vowel of the absolutive form of nominals, except that a singular vocative for nominal demonstratives ends in *-suuq* ~ *-yuuq* (§ 12.2.1 and § 31.1). Vocative demonstratives are more or less formal. Two other minor types, as well as one with a locative-case NP referring to a first or a second person argument, are provided in § 31.2 and § 31.3.

- (58) a. *u-suuq* ‘you (sg.), this one here!’  
 – cf. *u-na* (ABS.sg.) ‘this one here’  
*u-ku-u-t* ‘you (pl.), these ones here!’  
 – see § 12.2.1 for plural expander *-ku-*.  
 b. *aana-a* / [HBC] *aana-ang* ‘mother!’  
 c. *aana-maa* ‘you (sg.), my mother!’

In addition, a locative-case NP referring to the second person, typically placed in the sentence-initial position, has a vocative force if used with an optative-mood verb; cf. § 27.5.

### 3.4. Predicate-less sentences

In addition to typical sentences with a predicate verb (with or without its external core argument[s]), particles or NPs can be sentences by themselves. The former includes sentence words (§ 53.2) and interjective/exclamative particles (§ 53.1) as well as non-argumental exclamations/vocatives above (§ 5.3.3).

- (59) *Ii=i.* ‘Yes.’  
*Kita!* ‘Here!’  
*Ik’iki(ka)!* ‘So many/much!’  
*Piciatun.* ‘In any manner/way/place.’

Any NP (nominal, nominal phrase, nominalization) can be a sentence by itself:

- (60) a. *Ciissiq.* ‘A bug.’  
 bug.ABS.sg.  
 – as in response , e.g. to:  
 cf. *U-na ca-u-ga?*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. what-be-INT.3sg.  
 ‘What is this?’  
 b. *Ma-kuciq ciissiq* ‘This kind of bug.’ – this-kind.ABS.sg.  
 c. *Kegge-ste-ka ciissiq.* ‘The bug that bit me.’ – bite-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.

Particles can act as predicates like *nauwa* (§ 15.2.3.3), in place of the interrogative-mood verb *na-nt-a* (where-be.at-INT.3sg.) ‘where is it?’:

- (61) *Nauwa aana-ka?*  
 where Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Where is my mother?’

A few nominal suffixes in particular, inflected for the absolutive case but not for person, may give the nominal a predicative force by itself:

VN/NN |*-ɣlainay\**-| ‘nothing but, lots of, all, only’ (§ 41.3.3) – possibly related to VV |*+\*ɣinay-*| ‘only, just...’. Within an appositive nominal phrase, it has a predicative force:

- (62) a. *Tua=i nere-rrlainaq.*  
 then eat-nothing.but.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Oh my, he/you is/are always eating!’  
 – which may be accompanied by a personal pronoun to specify the person:  
 cf. *Tua=i nere-rrlainaq elpet.*  
 then eat-nothing.but.ABS.sg. 2sg.  
 ‘Oh my, you (sg.) are always eating!’  
 b. *Qai-nga aug-glainaq*  
 surface-ABS.sg. blood-NN.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Its surface is all bloody’.

NN |*+<sub>1</sub>pay-*| ‘big’ (§ 20.1.1):

- (63) a. *Maaten tangrr-aqa, tanqig-pak* (≡ *tanqig-pag-luni*).  
 when see-IND.1sg.3sg. bright-ITS.ABS.sg. bright-ITS-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘I saw it, and (then) it was something very bright.’

– the *-pak* nominal has the verbal force as the parenthesized cosubordinate *-luni* form, which is also the case with the following:

- b. [*Maaten ullag-luku pi-aqa*] *wang-ni*  
 when approach-APP.3sg. PI-IND.1sg.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 [*u-na* [*uuteki'-inraq* *peksuq* [Y]].  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. mallard-product.ABS.sg. egg.ABS.sg.  
 ... [*Ecu-ir-pak* *tanqig-pak*].  
 murky-deprived-ITS.ABS.sg. bright-ITS.ABS.sg.  
 ‘When I approached, I found what appeared to be a mallard egg to me... It was very transparent and very bright.’ (with surprise or discovery) [AKKL 176 (Mary Mike)]  
 – see § 12(3) for *u-na* ‘this; something noticed’ and § 53.5-ix for *maaten*. The appositive phrase with *-pak* is quasi-equivalent to:  
 cf. *ecu-ir-pag-luni* *tanqig-pag-luni*  
 murky-deprived-ITS-APP.3Rsg. bright-ITS-APP.3Rsg.

NN |+*piay-*| ‘genuine’ (§ 41.3.1):

- (64) *cetu-i=gguq* *tak-pia-t*  
 nail-ABS.3sg.pl.=RPR long-ITS-ABS.pl.  
 ‘Her nails, it is said, were very long.’ [CTPK 9]

### 3.5. Direct and indirect speech

CAY has a number of devices for reporting what someone has said.

i) *Direct quotation*: The most direct technique is a direct quotation that uses a reporting verb with the stem |*qany-*| ‘to say’ or pro-verb |*pi-*| ‘to do’ together with what was actually said. Note no shift in person in the following:

- (65) “*Tai-ciq-ua unuaqu*”, *qaner-tuq*.  
 come-FUT-IND.1sg. tomorrow say-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He said, “I will come tomorrow.”’
- (66) “[*Ki-na=llu im-na*]<sub>s</sub>  
 who-EX.ABS.sg.=and that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.  
*inarte-llru-llini-uq ingle-mnun!*” *qaner-tuq*  
 lie-PST-EVD-IND.3sg. bed-ALL.1sg.sg. say-IND.3sg.  
 [*aanaq taqukaq*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 Mo.ABS.sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘“And who (at all) lay down upon my bed?” said the mother bear.’  
 [KPLT 41]

- (67) ... *wa-ten qan-qi-na, "amller-i-luci*  
 here-EQL say-ASP-OPT.2sg. be.many-INC-APP.2pl.  
*tai-ki-ci*".  
 come-ASP-OPT.2pl.  
 '... you (sg.) should say, "come back in great quantities"  
 [LL] – addressing to fish; § 49 (65a).

ii) *Reportative enclitic* [=yuy] (§ 54.4): This is a very common device for transmitting a message or information through the speaker as an intermediary, with:

- a. the addressee (listener) as the goal and a third party as the source – ‘(he, etc.) says/reports that’
- b. the addressee as the source and a third party as the goal – ‘tell/ask (him, etc.) that’.

The enclitic is attached to the sentence-initial word if the whole sentence is a matter to be conveyed.

- (68) a. *Tai-ci-q-ua=gguq unuaqu.*  
 come-FUT-IND.3sg.=RPT tomorrow  
 ‘(He says) he will come tomorrow.’  
 b. *Tai-narq-ua=gguq unuaqu.*  
 come-should-IND.1sg.=RPT tomorrow  
 ‘(He says) I should come tomorrow.’
- (69) a. *Tai-ci-q-ua=gguq unuaqu.*  
 come-FUT-IND.1sg.=RPR tomorrow  
 ‘(Tell him/them) I will come tomorrow.’  
 b. *Tai-narq-ua=gguq unuaqu.*  
 come-should-IND.3sg.=RPR tomorrow  
 ‘(Tell him) he should come tomorrow.’

If the third party is indefinite, the enclitic =*gguq* indicating hearsay ‘it is said’ is very frequently used in narratives, usually coming at the end of a sentence-initial word.

See § 54.3 for more illustrations.

iii) *Indirect speech with* |+ni-|: The third device involves indirect speech by means of the reportative complex transitive |+ni-| ‘A say’ (§ 40.2.4), which, as stated (§ 5.1.1.3-iii), adds an upper-layer clause (‘A says that –’), with the information to be delivered by the embedded clause. The embedding |+ni-| functions as an indicator of the evidential status of the sentence. In the following pair, repeated from (18), the transitive (a) is a report made by the speaker of

another person's arrival (with two arguments), while the detransitivized (b) with subject coreferentiality is a report of the speaker's own arrival:

- (70) a. *Tai-ciq-ni-a* *unuaqu.*  
 come-FUT-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg. tomorrow  
 'He says she/he (another) will come tomorrow.'  
 b. *Tai-ciq-ni-uq* *unuaqu.*  
 come-FUT-A'.say-IND.3sg. tomorrow  
 'He says he (himself) will come tomorrow.'

The construction may be periphrastic with the complex verb in an appositional form accompanied by a main clause with the verb |*qany̆-*| 'to say', |*qany̆uc-*| 'to tell' (|*qany̆+(u)c-*| with E<sub>APL</sub>), or the pro-verb |*pi-*| 'to do' (§ 51.3.2):

- (71) a. *Tai-ciq-ni-luni* *unuaqu* *pi-uq ~ qaner-tuq.*  
 come-FUT-A'.say-APP.3Rsg. tomorrow say-IND.3sg.  
 'He says he (himself) will come tomorrow.'  
 – the reflexive third person *-luni* (appositional) being coreferential with the main clause verb  
 b. *Tai-ciq-ni-luku* *unuaqu* *pi-uq ~ qaner-tuq.*  
 come-FUT-A'.say-APP.3sg. tomorrow say-IND.3sg.  
 'He says she/he (another) will come tomorrow.'

With an optative verb, the following has a reversed flow of information:

- (72) *Qanrus-gu,* *tai-ciq-ni-lua* *unuaqu.*  
 tell-OPT.2sg.3sg. come-FUT-A'.say-APP.1sg. tomorrow  
 'Tell *him* I am coming tomorrow.'

See also § 5.3.1-vi for indirect questions using the secundative ditransitive |*apic-*| 'to ask'.

#### 4. Constituent order

CAY morphologically handles within a single word those various syntactical relationships for which many other (less synthetic) languages employ a number of separate words. While the internal constituent order of suffixes is very much restricted, word order in sentences is rather flexible, largely in correlation with the double-marking system of the language (§ 4.1.4.2) for both:

i) a predicate verb (subject and object number) and its core argument NPs (case and number) – for the clause level

ii) a head NP (third person/number) and its attributive NP (number) – for the phrase level.

In the following example:

- (73) *Elitnauriste-m<sub>A</sub>*      *assik-ai*      *mikelngu-u-t<sub>P</sub>*  
 teacher-REL.sg.      like-IND.3sg.3pl.      child-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘The teacher likes the children.’

– where the syntactic relationship among the verb and two argument NP’s is unambiguous, because of their inflections with double marking, univocally showing that the subject is ‘the teacher’ (singular) and the object is ‘the children’ (plural), and implying that any one of the six possible orders for the three items involved have no substantial difference, even though the order above is likely to occur more commonly than others (§ 5.4.1).

By the same token, at the phrase (attributive):

- (74) *elitnauriste-m<sub>G</sub>*      *mikelngu-i*      ‘the teacher’s children’.  
 teacher-REL.sg.      child-ABS.3sg.pl.

– where the relation between the possessor and the possessum is marked in the two NPs, hence the reversed order of *mikelngu elitnauristem* bringing about no difference, though the NP in G function is likely to come first.

Less constrained order is also the case with other nominal phrases than attributive – appositive, coordinate (apart from the conjunctive enclitic), adjunctive – except for the strongly bound juxtaposed phrases (§ 5.1.2-3, § 14.3.3 [numerals], § 16.3).

Subordinate or cosubordinate clauses do not show any discrepancy from main clauses in terms of constituent order.

Little evidence exists that the heaviness of an argument NP or a predicate may affect the word order.

However, word order either within clauses or nominal phrases may be pragmatically conditioned – see e.g. § 5.4.4.

No particular quantifier or numeral “floating” is relevant to CAY.

An enclitic and an enclitic-like particle generally follows the clause-initial word (i.e. second-position enclitic), except for the coordinate  $|=tu|$  ‘and’.

See § 15.2 and § 35.2.4 for the position of interrogative words.

#### 4.1. Some tendencies

If, as in the following example, both the subject and the object NP (*elitnauriste-t* and *mikelngu-u-t*) are in the same number (plural), there is no formal cue to indicate whether either NP is the subject or object, since the



absolutive and the relative case have no distinction for non-singular unpossessed nominals (Table 20; § 21). In such a case, the word order comes into play – (a) is most naturally taken to have ‘the teachers’ as the subject, and (b) ‘the children’ as the subject, suggesting a tendency towards A P V (or S O V):

- (75) a. *Elitnauriste-t<sub>A</sub>*      *mikelngu-u-t<sub>P</sub>*      *assik-ait*  
 teacher-REL.pl.      child-EV-ABS.pl.      like-IND.3pl.3pl.  
 ‘The teachers like the children.’  
 b. *Mikelngu-u-t<sub>A</sub>*      *elitnauriste-t<sub>P</sub>*      *assik-ait*  
 child-EV-ABS.pl.      teacher-REL.pl.      like-IND.3pl.3pl.  
 ‘The children like the teachers.’

– although P NP may be encountered to stand before A-NP, both in the same number – see e.g. § 49 (26).

The verb may also come sentence-initially as below:

- (76)      *Apt-ait*                      *mikelngu-u-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *angute-t<sub>P</sub>*.  
 ask-IND.3pl.3pl.      child-EV-REL.pl.                      man-ABS.pl.

– which is commonly understood again to mean ‘the children asked the men’, that is, with the same tendency to place the subject before the object, although the reverse reading (‘the men asked the children’) may also be possible. Thus it would not seem easy to decide the canonical or dominant word order of CAY sentences in terms of the subject, object, and verb,<sup>12</sup> although the language does show a measurable preference for APS (or SOV) as the unmarked order.

However, the word order may be largely conditioned by discourse/pragmatic factors instead of syntactic function. An NP in a syntactic case, absolutive and relative, that works as a discourse topic typically comes at the sentence-initial position, with a peripheral or demoted argument (in an oblique case) placed towards the sentence final. See § 5.4.3 for fronting of a peripheral or an oblique NP that works as a sentence topic.

This is also the case for ditransitive verbs as in the following pair, (a) transitive and (b) intransitive:

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12. The possibility of finding keys to the matter of basic word ordering may be partly excluded in CAY by the very fact that the language does not employ stem compounding or noun incorporation as a morphological process, and that its dependent-mood (connective) verbs do not seem to reveal a pronounced tendency toward a certain type of ordering (unlike some languages whose subordinate clauses can reflect unmarked word ordering as the clause tends to be used merely to describe a fact or to set the scene for the main clause, and is less liable than the latter to word order variability in terms of, say, topicalization).

- (77) a. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *cikir-narq-aa*                      *angun<sub>R</sub>*  
 woman-REL.sg.                      give-NEC-IND.3sg.3sg.                      man.ABS.sg.  
*akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The woman must give the man some ice cream.’
- b. *Angun<sub>S</sub>*                      *cikir-narq-uq*                      *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 man.ABS.sg.                      give-NEC-IND.3sg.                      ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The man [S=R] must be given some ice cream.’  
 – T argument in (a) is demoted because of the secundative verb *cikir-*  
 and is retained in (b) where A (‘giver’, i.e. ‘woman’) is deleted.

The core argument NP, which carries old information, is apt not to be externally expressed by a free NP, however, as it is inflectionally marked.

Likewise, the following transitive sentence, which features an ergative construction with the two arguments both externally expressed by a relative and an absolutive case NP (§ 23.1, § 24.2), is grammatically a perfect Yupik sentence as a statement, but may hardly be encountered as other than a translation from another language or possibly as an answer to linguists’ elicitations.

- (78) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *taqukaq<sub>P</sub>*                      *tuqut-aa*.  
 man-REL.sg.                      bear.ABS.sg.                      kill-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man killed the bear.’

If *angute-m* ever occurs, the word order does not matter, and as a statement, no marked prosodic prominence is necessarily given to any word.

In the following example also, (a) typically occurs without the agent NP *angute-m* ‘the man’, but it likely shows up if with an anaphoric (demonstrative) specification and/or some adjunct in apposition like in (b):

- (79) a. *Taqukaq<sub>P</sub>*                      *tuqut-aa*.                      ~                      *Tuqut-aa*                      *taqukaq<sub>P</sub>*.  
 bear.ABS.sg.                      kill-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He killed the bear.’
- b. [*Ik’-u-m*                      *angute-m*]<sub>A</sub>                      *taqukaq<sub>P</sub>*                      *tuqut-aa*.  
 across-EX-REL.sg.                      man-REL.sg.                      bear.ABS.sg.                      kill-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘That man across there killed the bear.’

Likewise, the transitive object (‘him/her’) is not explicit with a free NP in (80a). In (b) it shows up with the demonstrative and the relative clause as the sentence-final phrase, though more as supplementary information rather than the topic (with the anaphoric *im-na* particularly emphasizing shared knowledge):

- (80) a. *Na-ni*                      *nataqe-ciq-sia?*  
 where-LOC                      find-FUT-INT.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘Where shall I find him/her?’

- b. *Na-ni*                    *nataqe-ciq-sia*                    [*angun*  
 where-LOC    find-FUT-INT.1sg.3sg.    man.ABS.sg.  
*im-na / tau-na*                    *sugtu-lria*]<sub>p?</sub>  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.                    tall-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Where shall I find that man who is tall?’

Despite the relatively low functional load of word order, there are certain constructions that may tend to, or even have to, occur in certain more or less fixed orders. This includes rigid order of juxtaposed-phrasal numerals (§ 14.3.3), interrogative words that typically occur in the sentence-initial position (though also in the second position; § 48.2.3), the pro-word *|+pi-|* in periphrastic constructions – optative verbs (§ 49.4.2), complex verbs (§ 40.6.1) – after the other, i.e. cosubordinate word, and so on.

See Woodbury (1987b: 191–192) for elucidations as to particle-related ordering.

#### 4.2. Detached constructions

Although items belonging to a constituent show a strong tendency to be adjacent, discontinuation or detached articulation (§ 2.3.3) is far from rare, correlated with a low rigidity in word order that is largely supported by double marking.

NPs constituting a nominal phrase (§ 16) or a relative clause, for instance, are typically contiguous, but they easily can be interrupted by another word, say, a predicative as in the example § 17(36). See also § 27(115) for a particularly interesting instance of “word order crossing” across two nominal phrases, schematically, of {A B}{C D} into {A C B D}.

#### 4.3. Disambiguation

Word order, however, may often be relevant or even crucial in avoiding possible ambiguities in different types of constructions – clausal and phrasal.

In the following pair of sentences the dual demonstrative *tau-ku-k* ‘those’ is ambiguous, i.e. either in the absolutive or the relative case, as is the case with the indicative verb *anglica-llini-ak* with either the transitive inflection of *-ak*, i.e. either 3du.3sg. or 3sg.3du., when it occurs after stem-final CV (see § 46.1). The different position of the demonstrative, however, should disambiguate as the translations provided:

- (81) a. *Aren tau-ku-k<sub>A</sub> tua=i nutaan anglica-llini-ak,*  
 oh that-EX-REL.du then happened raise-EVD-IND.3du.3sg.  
*tua=i [im-u-tun irnia-ge-lria-tun].*  
 then that-EX-EQL.sg. child-have.as-VNrl-EQL.sg.  
 ‘Oh, (I see that) *they two* raised *her/him* as if he were their (own) child.’
- b. *Aren tua=i nutaan anglica-llini-ak tau-ku-k<sub>P</sub>,*  
 oh then happened raise-EVD-IND.3sg.3du. that-EX-ABS.du.  
*tua=i [im-u-tun irnia-ge-lria-tun].*  
 then that-EX-EQL.sg. child-have.as-VNrl-EQL.sg.  
 ‘Oh, (I see that) *he* raised *them two* as if they were her/his (own two) children.’

In attributive phrases the dependent is more apt to precede the head (as stated), but sentences such as the following (a) are ambiguous with regard to whether the relative-case NP *arna-m* is in G or A function, while (b), with *atr-a* placed after the verb, is more likely to have the reading a-ii):

- (82) a. *Arna-m atr-a assik-aa*  
 woman-REL.sg. name-ABS.3sg.sg. like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 i. ‘He likes the *woman’s* name.’  
 – with *arna-m<sub>G</sub>* constituting an attributive phrase with its head NP *atr-a*  
 ii. ‘The *woman* likes his name.’  
 – with *arna-m<sub>A</sub>* as the subject of the transitive *assik-aa*.
- b. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub> assik-aa atr-a<sub>P</sub>.*  
 ‘The *woman* likes his name.’

Ambiguity also arises with appositional-mood verbs as to whether they are subordinate to a main clause predicate or belong to an embedded clause:

- (83) *Cuka-luni yuarut-mek atu-ner-mek elit-ug.*  
 fast-APP.3Rsg. song-ABM.sg. sing-VNnm-ABM.sg. learn-IND.3sg.
- a. *Cuka-luni [yuarut-mek atu-ner-mek]<sub>(P)</sub> elit-ug.*  
 ‘He is learning *fast* how to sing a song.’
- b. *[Cuka-luni yuarut-mek atu-ner-mek]<sub>(P)</sub> elit-ug.*  
 ‘He is learning how to sing a song *fast*.’

The ambiguity is avoided if the appositional verb follows the main clause predicate:

- (84) *[Yuarut-mek atu-ner-mek] elit-ug cuka-luni (≡ cukamek PCL).*  
 ‘He is learning *fast* how to sing a song.’

(Potential) pauses often play an important role in disambiguating otherwise identical utterances in a variety of cases. The relevance of pauses in semantic interpretations will be mentioned in sections where it is relevant.

#### 4.4. Fronting

i) In actual utterances, any part of a sentence including a peripheral can be fronted as a sentence topic, optionally accompanied by the reactive/responding enclitic  $|=wa|$  (or non-enclitic  $|\neq wa|$  in some coastal areas; § 54.1-i), forming a single bound phrase characterized by marked prominence – greater stress and length, falling tone, but, most significantly, a pause. For instance, back to (78) ‘the man killed the bear’:

- (85) a. *Árna-m*, *tuqut-aa* *taqukaq*.  
 woman-REL.sg. kill-IND.3sg.3sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘It is a woman (not a man as is ordinary) that killed the bear.’
- b. [*Ím-u-m* *árna-m*], *tuqut-aa*  
 that.ANP-EX-REL.sg. woman-REL.sg. kill-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*taqukaq*.  
 bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘It is that woman (you know) who killed the bear.’
- (86) a. *Arná-m(=wa)*, *taqukaq* *tuqut-aa*.  
 b. *Taquúkaq(=wa)*, *arna-m* *tuqut-aa*.  
 c. *Tuqút-aa(=wa)*, *taqukaq*.  
 d. *Tuqút-aa(=wa)*, *arna-m*.

A peripheral one can also be fronted:

- (87) a. *Atsa-nek(=wa)<sub>(P)</sub>* *ner’-uq*.  
 berry-ABM.pl. eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is eating *berries*.’
- b. *Ner’-uq* *atsa-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 eat-IND.3sg. berry-ABM.pl.  
 ‘He is *eating* berries.’  
 – while the following denominal verb is just a neutral statement:  
 cf. *atsa-tur-tuq* ‘he is eating berries’  
 berry-eat-IND.3sg.

ii) The first or the second person reference accompanied by a (free) personal pronoun can serve to focus it and add specificity to the reference. In the following example, the sentence-initial or fronted person reference implies the speak-

er's strong identification as a woman, though the pronoun is not obligatory. Note the pause (comma) after *arna-mi*. Even if without the pronoun, the first person reference of *arna-mi* is clear from the verb inflection (IND.3pl.1sg.):

- (88) [**Wii** *arna-mi*], *assik-aatnga* *mikelngu-u-t<sub>A</sub>*  
 1sg. woman-LOC.sg. like-IND.3pl.1sg. child-EV-REL.pl.  
 'As for me, a woman, the children like/love me.'  
 – The *wii* can be replaced with its fuller form *wiinga* (§ 13.1).

As explained in § 27.4 and § 30.6-v, the NP 'woman' to specify the core argument in P function occurs most generally with the locative case marking as far as it refers to a first or second person, in contrast with a third-person referent that always takes the absolutive case marking. Compare the second vs. the third person reference:

- (89) a. [**Elpet** *arna-mi*], *assik-aatgen* *mikelngu-u-t<sub>A</sub>*.  
 2sg. woman-LOC.sg. like-IND.3pl.2sg. child-EV-REL.pl.  
 'As for you (sg.), a woman, the children like/love you.'  
 b. [**Ellii** *arnaq*], *assik-aat* *mikelngu-u-t<sub>A</sub>*.  
 3sg.ABS. woman.ABS.sg. like-IND.3pl.3sg. child-EV-REL.pl.  
 'As for her, a woman, the children like/love her.'

Though less commonly, such a personal pronoun and the NP may occur in non-initial positions, with or without internal pause:

- (90) a. *Assik-aatnga* *mikelngu-u-t*, [(**wii**), *arna-mi*].  
 like-IND.3pl.1sg. child-EV-REL.pl. 1sg. woman-LOC.sg.  
 b. *Mikelngu-u-t*, [(**wii**), *arna-mi*], *assik-aatnga*.  
 child-EV-REL.pl. 1sg. woman-LOC.sg. like-IND.3pl.1sg.  
 'The children like/love me, a woman.'

In the coordinate sentence below, the second clause topicalizes the person pronoun with its specifying NP in contrast with the first clause ('men'):

- (91) *Angute-t* *pissur-yar-lar-tut*, [**wangkuta**=*llu*  
 man-ABS.pl. hunt-go.to-CUS-IND.3pl. 1pl.=and  
*arna-mi*] *manar-yar-aq-luta* *iqallua-nek*.  
 woman-LOC.pl. fish-go.to-CUS-APP.1pl. tomcod-ABM.pl.  
 'The men go hunting, and (as for) we women, we fish tomcod.' [BL]

# Chapter 6

## Sociolinguistic notes

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Yupik speakers are highly sensitive to indirectness/politeness and reserve/restraint in speech and to interpersonal attitudes as to whom or what to speak about. In general they tend to be averse to explicit reference or to overtly or directly expressing one's own desires or judgments. The people are 'characteristically more reserved in expressing emotion', according to Orr and Orr [QNMC 373]. Elusive reference is commonly adopted in songs.

On the other hand they are fond of joking with each other, especially with a particular kinship group (cross cousins in particular) by using (dis)honorific suffixes (§ 20.3).

Sociolinguistic aspects are relevant or even crucial to make adequate selections of linguistic features in daily utterances, not just lexical but also grammatical – especially of particular suffixes, enclitics, and verbal moods.

Hensel et al. (1983) and Hensel (1996) have extremely detailed observations on conversational pragmatics and anthropological linguistic information about the Yupik people. Kwachka and Basham (1990), as their research on English texts written by the college-level native students, describe some Yupik discourse patterns that encode the native social values.

### 1. Hedging

Linguistic hedging in GCAY, the avoidance of definite or too precise statements, commitments, direct mentions, or personal opinions, is extensively followed by deliberately selecting one of the devices available.

The hedging practice is not merely concerned with a special set of words or phrases in the language to be used in certain situations but is a matter of the normal and common way of speaking in almost any situation in the daily life of Yupik people irrespective of when, where, or to whom a person is speaking. The use of direct or definitive phrasing, particularly with regard to personal feelings or future events, would not be well received by 'conservative' speakers

– cf. Morrow (1990). Sensitivity to indirectness / politeness and reserve / restraint is an important feature of the language that permeates many aspects – morphological, syntactic, and lexical – of its structure. There are a good number of grammatical and lexical strategies that conspire to avoid directness, specification, or assertion in speech. They also serve to show respect particularly to elders.

In constructing a word or a sentence, speakers will tactfully choose:

- i) verb moods (§ 46 ~ § 51); see e.g.  $|-_1cu(a)-|$  (§ 50.7)
- ii) subject persons – “disguised person” of the third for the first or second or of the plural for the singular (§ 32.3.2), possibly related to use of the locative case to refer to a first or second person argument (§ 27.4) and to avoidance of vocatives by final vowel doubling to an elder or respected person (§ 31.1).
- iii) highly elaborate system of demonstrative such as  $|u-|$  ‘this’ (§ 12.2.3.5-i)
- iv) particles (§ 53)
- v) enclitics – e.g.  $|=kin|$ ,  $|=kiy|$ ,  $|=yuy|$  (§ 54)
- vi) various kinds of verb elaborating suffixes – e.g. VVa  $|-qay-|$  ‘just, merely, politely’, VVm  $|+_1caaqi-|$  ‘but actually’, VVt  $|+niay-|$  ‘so that, soon’, VVe  $|-lini-|$  ‘I see’ in addition to attitudinal or (dis)honorific suffixes (§ 20.3)
- vii) more or less “set” expressions of less assertive or positive answers in combination with a verb or a nominal – e.g. *aipaagni* ‘may or may not, fifty-fifty; lit. in one of the two’ (§ 5-fn. 11, § 11.4.3, § 40[179]), *piyukuvet* ‘if you (sg.) like’ (§ 50.6), *pilliria=wa* ‘it may/could be so, perhaps he did’ (§ 47(4)), or the like
- viii) frequent use of the semantically neutral or expletive pro/prop word  $|pi-|$  ‘to do; one’ (§ 10.3.1-ii, § 34.7-ii, § 51.3 etc.) instead of a concrete word (e.g. § 51.3.1)
- ix) avoidance or very infrequent use of the strong negative particle  $|qàŋa|$  ‘no!’ which sounds too direct or blunt (as compared with English ‘no’, for instance) and may commonly be supplanted by such indirect or evasive or non-committal particles as *naam(ell)*’ or *naamiki(ka)* ‘I don’t know’. The very common particle  $|ii=i|$  ‘yes’ (§ 53.2) is most frequently replaced by non-verbal quick eyelid movement upward, shyly among children in particular.
- x) use of informal “nicknames” (§ 11.6.1-i).

By selecting one or more of these “pragmatic softeners” unconsciously (unintentionally) or not, a Yupik speaker normally “cushions” himself from the effect(s) that an utterance might otherwise bring about on the addressee and some non-human beings, thereby maintaining adequate psychological aloofness.



In particular, they are (expected to be) mindful of avoiding too much focus on themselves and of sounding self-assertive or ‘authoritative’ in relation to other peoples. It is most likely that speech, heedless of these subtleties, can sound (too) abrupt, blunt, awkward, impolite, rude, or even childish.

Each of the devices listed above is illustrated in respective sections.

## 2. (Dis)honorific (or attitudinal) expressions

Certain NNh/VVh suffixes (§ 20.3) are selected to express the speaker’s attitude toward or evaluation of the topic – person(s) or being(s) especially from within the natural world – to be uttered. Distinctions are basically made among positive or honorific (elevating, respectful, desirable, or endearing), negative or dishonorific (depreciating, derogatory, or condescending).

(Dis)honorific or attitudinal expressions by means of the suffixes are very common in daily utterances and in narratives, but less in formal speech such as ceremonial or public speaking. Usually these suffixes (except NNh  $|\text{-}\dot{y}\dot{u}\dot{y}\dot{l}\dot{u}\dot{y}\text{-}|$  ‘poor, sorry’) may not be used to refer to elderly persons, however.

In addition, Yupik speakers love to use cooing words – called  $|\text{in}\dot{q}\dot{u}\text{-}|$  ~  $|\text{in}\dot{q}\dot{u}\dot{a}\dot{y}\text{-}|$  (from  $|\text{in}\dot{i}\dot{q}\dot{i}\text{-}|$  ‘to coo (to child)’) and VNrl/nm  $|\text{+}_1\dot{u}\text{-}|$  or its derivative  $|\text{+}_1\dot{u}\dot{a}\dot{y}\text{-}|$  ‘means’) – in addressing to a baby or a young child, whether a relative or not. As a child grows up, their use may fall off (at least at the presence of other people, when it is possibly embarrassing).

## 3. Word taboos

Some Yupik people claim to have had a kind of awareness of the tremendous potency of words to actualize what they utter, perhaps on a par with the belief in ‘soul of language’ as has been reported from different corners of the world, even though the topic would remain very difficult to adequately substantiate.<sup>1</sup>

Word taboos, or the avoidance of words that are believed to be of ill omen or otherwise improper, seem to have obtained in the traditional Yupik culture and language.

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1. Holtved once wrote in his remarks on Eskimo semantics (1958: 620): ‘The Eskimo language reaches far back into times, where even the magical effect of words was taken as a reality. And, in particular, the mere representation in words of a desired situation, as in magic prayers, was closely associated with the fulfillment of the wish. In a certain sense there was no sharp limit between the spoken word and its objects.’

i) As is often the case with elsewhere in the world, death is most likely to be a candidate for tabooing, and GCAY has a number of alternative words for ‘to die’. The most common and straightforward |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’, which applies to humans and animals (but *not* to birds, fish, or plants), is replaced by such stems as:

- (1) |*ca-taiȳuc-*| ‘there is nothing any longer’ (something-no.more.there)  
 |*yu-u-nȳiy-*| ‘to stop being a person’ (person-be-no.longer) – § 44(11)  
 |*iȳmiȳ-*| ‘to keep going’ (toward into one’s goal/destination)  
 |*nala-*| ‘to die (usually of plants)’  
 – as in *nala-ma-lrii-t* (die-CNT-NVrl-ABS.pl.) ‘dead people’  
 |*aniȳniȳ-iȳc-*| ‘to deprive of breath’  
 – as in *anerner-irt-uq* (breath-PRV-IND.3sg.) ‘he died; his breath left him’  
 |*ilanaȳc-*| ‘to deprive, deplete – of’ (secundative ditransitive)  
 |*ilanaȳti-lȳiaȳ-*| ‘a death, dead one, lit. (some part of) one taken away’ – with VNrl.

In addition, there are more respectful ways of mentioning someone’s death such as:

- (2) |*pitixnia-qcaȳ-*| ‘(for men) to hunt slowly, be gone away hunting (slowly) with bow and arrows’ – ‘shoot-CSQ-slowly’  
 |*makiȳa-cuaȳ-*| ‘(for women) to gather little, have gone out gathering food items such as greens/eggs’.

ii) As known among many northern peoples of the earth, the words for ‘bear’ – |*taqukaȳ-*| ‘brown bear; [NI.HBC] seal’ or |*tanaȳȳliȳ-*| ‘black bear’ – tend to be avoided, since, according to some speakers, bears have their ears to the ground to listen to people who speak of them (as expressed by the phrase *nu-na-m aci-akun* ‘through the ground, below the earth’ – [AKKL 42]. Cf. Nelson (1899 [1979: 438]). Respect, praise, awe, or caution is paid to this mighty animal by using expressions like:

- (3) |*ineq-sunar-liar*| ‘very lovable, cute’ (|*iniq̄i+cunaȳ(q̄i)+lia(ȳa)ȳ-*| coo-induce-one.who?)  
*assir-tuq* ‘he is good’  
*yug-nek pi-yuit-uq* ‘he doesn’t attack people’ (person-ABM.pl. do-never-IND.3sg.).

iii) CAY culture has the practice of prohibition from mentioning names of certain individuals. Directly correlated with this is the prevalent custom of naming a recently born baby after a deceased person (necronym).

Teknonymy – by which a (living) person is designated as the parent of a child (in the form of ‘X’s mother’ or ‘X’s father’, typically with the eldest child’s name employed as X) rather than by her or his individual name – is a device for the avoidance of the use (utterance) of her/his “real name”.<sup>2</sup> The practice is still commonly observed, though this may become a frequent source of confusion to non-Yupik outsiders in particular.

Teknonymic words, with distinction of female and male names, are each characterized by some morphological anomalies (§ 4.3-v, § 11.6.2).

Avoidance of mentioning a recently deceased person as a factor driving lexical replacement is very famous among East Greenlanders (Angmagssalik) where words that even sound like the person’s name were avoided (Bergsland and Vogt 1962). It could hardly be ascertained whether or to what extent the practice was ever responsible for lexical replacement in the history of CAY – cf. Miyaoka (1978: 36–48).

To identify an individual by name may be avoided by choosing a demonstrative pronoun out of its highly elaborate system (§ 12.1).

#### 4. Word play

i) The Yupik people enjoy making fun of certain birds by imitating their sounds or names, sometimes onomatopoeically (§ 4.3-iv.d) or by referring to their habits. The usual targets for such play are minor birds (such as crows, jaegers, terns, or certain small birds) rather than subsistence-wise important ones such as ducks and geese. The sounds and names used are often contemptuous. Rhymed names are often employed.

(4) *Naruya-cuaq,*                      *ca-cuaq,*                      *pi-cuaq!*  
 seagull-small.ABS.sg.    some-small.ABS.sg.    thing-small.ABS.sg.  
 – calling, playfully, to a small seagull, followed by a common pair of neutral stems |ca-| and |pi-| (cf. § 10.3).

(5) *Yunga-a,*    *yunga-a,*    *kayangu-minek*    *melug-a-yuli!*  
 jaeger-VOC    jaeger-VOC    egg-ABM.3Rsg.pl.    suck.egg-CNT-good.at

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2. See also Lantis (1946: 235–237) and Fienup-Riordan (1988: 16, 461–462) as well as E. B. Tylor (1871).

– uttered to a jaeger that eats bird eggs even including its own, with a sharp rising tone of the final syllable /li/ of the last word. The final vowel doubling in *yunga-a* is vocative (§ 31.1).

ii) Word play may also be employed to make fun of certain persons in some situations involving teasing and other relations. Playing with another person's name may achieve a humorous, satirical, fun-making, or annoying effect. The following is an exchange between two persons (likely youngsters):

- (6) a. *Arnaq, marnaq, narnaq!*  
 – calling a person named *Arnaq*, followed by two alliterated forms. The third form is clearly an allusion to the stem |*naŷi-*| ‘smell’.
- b. *Angalraq, pangalraq!*  
 – replying to the person called *Angalraq*, followed by an alliterated form, which has stem |*paŋaly-*| ‘to gallop’.
- (7) a. *Qaq’liq!*  
 b. *Praise the Lord Amin Amin!*  
 – a boy named *Amill’aq* calls a girl by her nickname *Qaaquq*, who responds to him by the shortened ‘Amen’ for *Amill’aq*.

In the next example three women – *Uliggaq*, *Pet’ngaalria*, and ‘*Vegglugaa-marnaan*’ – are playing cards, Irritated by another's slow play, one annoys the player with an impromptu name that alludes to both the proper name and to the card suits *agyalek* (club; lit. ‘one having a star’), *ipek* (diamond; *ipg-* ‘to be sharp’), and *umiq* (spade; ‘hard stone’):

- (8) a. *Ampi Ul-iggaq, Agyal-iggaq!*  
 – to *Uliggaq* (*ampi* ‘hurry up!’, *-iggaq* with final vowel doubling of the person name)
- b. *Cáqtarta Umi-t’ngaalria!*  
 – rebutal to *Pet’ngaalria* (*ca-qtar-ta* do.what-darn-INT.3sg.; ‘what the heck is he doing?’)
- c. *Kitak elpet Ipegg-lugaamarnaan!*  
 – to ‘*Vegg-lugaamarnaan* (*kitak* ‘well then, now your turn’, *elpet* 2sg.; female teknonymy – § 4.3-v, § 11.6.2).

The examples given above were supplied by Elsie Mather.

## Part 2

### Phonology

This is pretty much the phonological analysis of some of the author's early work (since 1970) with amplification.

CAY has a fair amount of allomorphic variation, the majority of which is phonologically conditioned. As such, these variations can be reduced to quite regular but somewhat "deep" (deep-layered) phonological, i.e. morphophonemic, rules. There are not a few idiosyncrasies (due to fusion, suppletion, etc.) specific to inflectional suffixes in particular and irregular and sporadic adjustments specific to a limited number of derivational suffixes.

Apart from such idiosyncrasies and irregularities, phonological representations are converted to phonemic ones by the set of phonological rules in § 7 (segmental adjustments; P1 through P17), § 8 (prosody; P18), and § 9 (post-prosodic adjustments; P19 through P24). Morpheme shapes and suffix types (§ 4.2.2.2) are directly relevant to the segmental adjustments. The rules are given in the *List of phonological rules* (pp. xli–xlii).

The rule applies from the leftmost boundary in a word or an articulus toward the right. If more than one rule is relevant to a segment, the rules generally apply in the numerically ordered sequence. Stages in the phonological derivation are linked by the conventional arrow > or < to be read 'becomes' or 'is derived from'. Ordered derivations are fully given in each illustration.

In the illustrations below, however, all involved in phonological derivations are not exhaustively given in ( ): Very common rules of wide and general application (like devoicing P13i followed by final adjustment P17, etc.) may be omitted.



## Chapter 7

### Segmental adjustments

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The adjustments in this chapter should typically be applied in the ordered way before the prosody and the postprosodic adjustments in the following two chapters (unless otherwise indicated).

The rules (P1) through (P17) deal only with segmental adjustments (while prosodic ones dealt with in § 8 and postprosodic ones in § 9). They constitute internal sandhi whose domain is a word, pertain only to adjustments of a more generalizable character, and are not free from exceptions. It will turn out that many of the adjustments are triggered by consonant or vowel cluster restrictions (§ 3.2 and § 3.3).

Some phonological adjustments, however, are specific to suffix types as marked by some conventions – i.e. + (plus), – (minus), <sub>1</sub> (subscript 1), \* (asterisk); § 4.2.2.1-iii – and others are unique to specific suffixes (unless to some dialects) and will be mentioned in each pertinent section in the three chapters (§ 7, 8, 9). A number of them are predictable by suffix-initial (or -medial) segment(s), the more common of which are listed beforehand:

- a.  $[-li-]$  group suffixes (§ 38.3), characterized by deletion of (stem-final) vowel plus the suffix-initial  $/l/$ : e.g.  $[-li-]$  ‘to make’,  $[-liy-]$  ‘to supply (with)’
- b. suffixes beginning with  $/(u)/$ , which is deleted after stem-final full vowel, see also (P5i.c) for apical adjustment: e.g.  $VNrl$   $|+(u)t-|$ ,  $VNnm$   $|+(u)ciỵ-|$ ;  $VVsm$   $|+(u)c-|$ ,  $VVt$   $|+(u)ma-|$
- c. suffixes beginning with  $/(s)t/$  or  $/(s)c/$ , whose  $/s/$  is deleted after a stem-final velar (P14iii): e.g.  $VNrl$   $| (s)t(i)... |$  (§ 17.5),  $VVsm$   $|+(s)ciỵ-| \sim |+(s)ciuỵ-|$  (§ 39.3),  $VVn$   $|+(s)ciiya...-|$  (§ 44)
- d. suffixes with (prosodic-conditioned) foot-internal  $/y/$ -deletion, as parenthesized (§ 8-iii): e.g.  $NN/VV$   $|-ya(y)aỵ-|$  (‘small, young’; § 20.3),  $VVa/NN$   $|-k*aca(y)aỵ-|$  (‘very, most’; § 41.3.5) – see *Suffix List* (pp. 1565–1575).

### 1. (C)VC-stem/root strengthening: (P1)

A monosyllabic stem or root of the shape (C)VC is strengthened by gemination and is marked by the grave accent (˘) on the vowel in phonological/phonemic representations. The main source for gemination, however, is prosodic by (P18ii) and (P18iv). The apostrophe after the consonant in orthography indicates the gemination (but no apostrophe for prosodic gemination)

- (1)  $|yuy-piy[+\emptyset]|$  (person-genuine-ABS.sg.) ‘Yupik Eskimo’  
 $> |yùy-piy| > /yùppik/$  (P1, P9, p13i, P17) *Yup’ik*.
- (2)  $|mic-ṭỵu[+yuỵ]|$  (land-PST-IND.3sg.) ‘it (bird, airplane) landed’  
 $> |mìc-ṭỵu[+yuỵ]| > /mitṭḷx̣uuq/$  (P1, P5ii,iii, P10, ...) *mit’ellruuq*.
- (3)  $|iη+u[+mi]|$  (over.there-EX-LOC.sg.) ‘in the one over there’  
 $> |iη+u[+mi]| > /iηηumi/$  *ing’umi*.

Gemination stays after the apical adjustment:

- (4)  $|mic[+luni]|$  (hunt-APP.3Rsg.) ‘it landing’  
 $> /mìHuni/$  (P1, P5i) *pill’uni*.

The stem  $|pic-|$  ‘to hunt, to catch game’, which is clearly derived from  $|pi+c-|$  (thing-catch/obtain), is not perceived as a single stem, at least by some speakers, who accordingly do not exhibit this stem-initial strengthening:

- (5) a.  $|pic[+_1tụỵ] \sim |pi+c[+_1tụỵ]|$  (thing-catch-IND.3sg.)  
 ‘he hunted, caught (game)’  
 $> /pittuq/$  (P1, P5i)  $\sim /pituq/$  (P5i) *pit’uq \sim pituq*.



- b.  $|pic[+luni] \sim |pi+c[+luni]$  (thing-catch-APP.3Rsg.)  
 ‘he hunting, catching (game)’  
 >  $|pi\text{ḥ}uni/\sim|pi\text{ú}ni/$  *pilluni* ~ *pilluni*  
 – the later variant has rhythmic lengthening instead of the initial strengthening.

A CVC-shaped English loan follows the same pattern of strengthening:

- (6) *lip'-ar-tuq* (1.-LNK-IND.3sg.)  $|lippaxtuq/$  ‘she lipsticks’  
 – see § 52.5.2 for the linker following the English word.

## 2. Initial fricativization: (P2)

A suffix-initial stop of the retaining type (marked by +; § 4.2.2.1-iii.a) is intervocalically fricativized (lenited) in the following cases.

i) Initial /p/ may be intervocalically fricativized to /v/ (though not by some suffixes):<sup>1</sup>

i.a) person markers (Table 21 through 23) – more likely among older people:

- (7)  $|ataata[+put]$  (FaBr-ABS.1pl.pl.) ‘our paternal uncles’  
 >  $|á\text{t}\text{t}\text{a}\text{á}\text{t}\text{a}\text{v}\text{u}\text{t}/$  *ataatavut*  
 Note by contrast that (a) and (b) below have no fricativization – (a) because of the deleting type (marked by -; § 4.2.2.1-iii.a) and (b) because of the stem-final consonant:
- a.  $|ataata[-put]$  (FaBr-ABS.1pl.pl.) ‘our paternal uncles’  
 >  $|á\text{t}\text{t}\text{a}\text{á}\text{t}\text{a}\text{p}\text{u}\text{t}/$  *ataataput*
- b.  $|a\eta ay[+put]$  (MoBr-ABS.1pl.sg.; P13i) ‘our maternal uncle’  
 >  $|a\eta áx\text{p}\text{u}\text{t}/$  *angagput*.
- (8)  $|niqi[+put]$  (fish-ABS.1pl.sg.) ‘our food’  
 >  $|n\acute{i}q\text{f}\text{u}\text{t}/$  (P2i.acf. P8ii.a, P13i) *neqvut*.

i.b) initial /p/ of mood markers: precessive-connective  $|+paily-|$  (§ 50.4), negative appositional  $|+piki-|$  (§ 51.1.3-i.c), continuative prohibitional optative  $|+pii q-|$  (§ 49.6.3). See examples in each section. They delete a stem-final apical (/t, c/), thus marked as  $|_1p/$  (P5-i.a) when relevant.

---

1. /p/ fricativization also occurs after an apical consonant if the /p/ is followed by /i/, and after /cic/ in the case of the exclamatory particlizer VPc  $|+paa|$  (§ 52.4.1), which in turn fricativizes final /c/ into /z/ instead of deleting by (P5i).

i.c) initial /p/ of derivational suffixes: intensifying VVa |-*piay̆*-|, |+*pay̆*-|, etc. (§ 41.3.1, § 41.3.2), though lexically much conditioned, and exclamative particlizer VPc |+*paay̆*| (§ 52.4.1). See examples in each section. The augmentative NN |+*pay̆*-| has also its restricted variant |+*vay̆*-| (§ 20.1).

ii) Inflection-initial /t/ and /c/ are intervocalically fricativized to /z/:

ii.a) of retaining type inflections – by some (but not all) speakers:

- (9) |*ataata*[+*tiy̆*] (FaBr-ABS.2du.sg.) ‘your (du.) paternal uncle’  
> /*àttaátazik̆*/ (P8ii.a, ..) ~ /*àttaátatik̆*/ *ataatasek̆* ~ *ataatatek̆*.
- (10) |*ataata*[+*ci*] (FaBr-ABS.2pl.sg.) ‘your (pl.) paternal uncle’  
> /*àttaátazi*/ ~ /*àttaátaci*/ *ataatasi* ~ *ataataci*  
– note no fricativization in the following due to the stem-final consonant, that is, not intervocalically:  
cf. |*añay̆*[+*ci*] (MoBr-ABS.2pl.sg.) ‘your (pl.) maternal uncle’  
> /*añáxc̆i*/ *angagci*.

ii.b) non-third person interrogative-mood marker |+*ci*-| – see § 48.1 (Table 47).

See also (P5ii.a) for fricativization of /t/ into /l/.

iii) Suffix-initial /<sub>1</sub>c/ (cf. Suffix list) preceded by subscript <sub>1</sub> is fricativized to /z/ except after final apical (cf. P5i) (and /z/ is thereafter devoiced after voiceless consonants by (P13) but otherwise generally becomes /y/ in many dialects [P16ii]). There are a good number of derivational suffixes with initial /<sub>1</sub>c/.

- (11) |*ayay*+<sub>1</sub>*cuy̆*[+*tŭy̆*] (go-DES-IND.3sg.) ‘he wants to go’  
> |*ayayzuy̆tŭy̆*] > /*ayáy̆yuxtuq̆*/ (P2iii, P16ii, ...) *ayagyugtuq̆*.
- (12) |*kuimay̆*-<sub>1</sub>*culi*[+Ø] (swim-good.at-ABS.sg.) ‘one good at swimming’  
> |*kuima-zuli*] > /*kuímayúli*/ (P2iii, P9, P16ii) *kuimayuli* = (125)  
cf. |*kix̆i*-<sub>1</sub>*culi*[+Ø] (bite-good.at-ABS.sg.) ‘northern pike, lit. one good at biting’.  
> /*kíxsuli*/ (P2iii, P9, P13i) *keggsuli* = (62).

In accordance with this fricativization, the suffix-initial /<sub>1</sub>c/ exhibits the frequently encountered surface alternation of /c/ ~ /z/ (/y/) ~ /s/, due to its succeeding final-apical deletion (P5i.a), /z/ to /s/ devoicing (P13i), and /z/ to /y/ adjustment (P16ii; most dialects):

- (13) *ayag-zug-tuq* ~ (11) *ayag-yug-tuq* ‘he wants to go’  
*meq-sug-tuq* ‘he is thirsty’  
*eli-cug-tuq* < |*ilic*+<sub>1</sub>*cuy*-| (P5i) ‘he wishes to learn’.

iv) A trace of fricativization of /k/ is also found sporadically in person markers. See the optative 2sg. object marker |+*kin*| ~ |+*yin*| and the optative and connective 3sg. object marker |+*ku*| ~ |+*yu*| (cf. Table 30 [verbal person markers] as well as Table 48 [optative] and Table 49 [connective]).

### 3. Initial velar adjustments: (P3)

i) A suffix-initial weak (i.e. non-asterisked – cf. § 4.2.2.1) velar nasal /ŋ/ of a retaining suffix is deleted after a velar:

- (14) |*atɣ*[+*ɣa*] (name-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘his name’  
 > |*atɣ*[+*a*] (P3i) > /*átɣa*/ (P13i) *atra*.
- (15) |*kuiy*+*ɣu*[+*ɣuy*] (river-be-IND.3sg.) ‘it is a river’  
 > /*kúiyuuq*/ (P3i, P10) *kuiguuq*  
 – note that the nasal is not deleted in the following as it does not occur after a velar:  
 cf. |*niqi*+*ɣu*[+*ɣuy*] (fish-be-IND.3sg.) ‘it is a fish’  
 > /*nìqɣuuq*/ (P8ii, P10) *neqnguuq*.

The Kuskokwim dialect tends to replace a strong (i.e. asterisked) velar nasal with a weak one for certain morphemes such as the causal- and the simultaneous-connective mood marker |+<sub>1</sub>*ɲ*\**a*-| (§ 50.2) and |+<sub>1</sub>*ɲ*\**inanɣ*-| (§ 50.9). This results in a frequently encountered difference between [Y] /-V(C)+*ɲ*V-/ and [K] /-V(C)+V-/:

- (16) a. [Y] *cali-ngan* ~ [K] *cali-an* (work-CNNbc.3sg.)  
 ‘because he works’  
 b. [Y] *pair-ngan* ~ [K] *pair-an* (lick-CNNbc.3sg.)  
 ‘because he licks’  
 c. [Y] *tangerr-ngamku* ~ [K] *tangerr-amku* (see-CNNbc.1sg.3sg.)  
 ‘because I saw it’.
- (17) a. [Y] *cali-nginanrani* ~ [K] *cali-inanrani* (work-CNNbc.3sg.)  
 ‘while he was working’  
 b. [Y] *qavar-nginanemni* ~ [K] *qava-inanemni* (sleep-CNNwl.1sg.3sg.)  
 ‘while I was sleeping’.

However, more frequently in the Kuskokwim Dialect than elsewhere, the suffix-initial weak velar nasal /ŋ/, may delete the final /y/ of some suffixes instead – e.g. NN |+*ɲuaŷ*-| ‘imitation of’ (§ 20.1.1). A result of this difference is the /ii/ sequence (due to /aŋa/) instead of /aa/ (due to /aŷa/) illustrated in (P6ii) Central Vowel Adjustments.

ii) An initial velar stop or fricative of the deleting-type suffix (as below and NV |-*qsiy*-| ‘to be far’, etc.) is assimilated to a preceding stem-final velar with regard to whether it is front or back. The stem-final velar is later deleted by (P9).

- (18) |*qayaŷ*[-*ka*]| (kayak-ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘my kayak’  
> /qayá·qa/ (P3ii, P9) *qayaqa*.
- (19) |*ilay-qataŷ*[+*tut*]| (dig-IMN-IND.3pl.) ‘they are about to dig’  
> |*ilay-kataŷ*[+*tut*]| (P3ii) > /ilá·katáxtut/ (P9, ...) *elakatartut*.
- (20) |*kuiy-ɣaŷ*| (river-small.ABS.sg.) ‘small river’  
> |*kuiy-xaŷ*| (P3ii, P9) > /kuíxaq/ (P13i, ...) *kuiggaq*  
cf. |*cuyaŷ-ɣaŷ*| > /cuyá·ɣaq/ (P9, P13i, ...) *cuyarraq* ‘a little bit of tobacco’.

ii.a) Velar assimilation does not occur on a strong (asterisked) velar as of the intensifier NN/VVa |-*k\*ac(a)(y)aŷ*-| (§ 41.3.5, § 45.2.2), NNh/VVh |-*k\*ayaŷ*-| ‘darned’ (§ 20.3, § 43.1), VV |-*k\*i*-| ‘to find, consider’ (§ 37.2.1; vs. NVrv |-*ki*-| ‘to have as’; § 37.2), and VVm |-*k\*una*-| ‘to think about –ing’ (§ 43):

- (21) |*asiy-k\*i*[+*aa*]| (good-consider-IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he likes her/it, considers her/it good’.  
> /así·kaa/ (P9) *assikaa*  
cf. |*anyay-ki*[+*aa*]| (boat-have-as-IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘it is his boat’  
> /ányàqqa/ (P3ii, P9) *angyaqaa* – cf. (22) *angyarkaŷ* below.

No velar assimilation is also the case with a strong velar of retaining suffixes:

- (22) |*anyaŷ+kaŷ*| (boat-FUT.ABS.sg.) ‘material for boat, future boat’  
> /ányaxkaq/ *angyarkaŷ*.

#### 4. Final velar adjustments: (P4)

Stem-final velar /y/ is adjusted before a retaining suffix. Final velar of nominal stems distinguish “strong” and “weak” (§ 4.2.2.1-i).

i) Final weak /y/ is deleted:<sup>2</sup>

i.a) before a retaining suffix that consists of a single consonant (+C) or begins with a consonant cluster (+CCV).

- (23) a. |*anyay*[+t| (boat-ABS/REL.pl.) ‘boats’  
 > /*ányat*/ *angyat*  
 |*anyay*[+m| (boat-REL.sg.) ‘of the boat’  
 > /*ányam*/ *angyam*
- b. |*anyay*[+nka| (boat-ABS.1sg.pl.) ‘my boats’  
 > /*ányanka*/ *angyanka*  
 |*anyay*[+tyun| (boat-PRL.pl.) ‘by the boats’  
 > /*ányatxun*/ (P13i) *angyatgun*.  
 – while the final weak velar /y/ is not deleted before a retaining suffix that begins with CV:  
 cf. |*anyay*+pay| (boat-big.ABS.sg.) ‘a big boat’  
 > /*ányaxpak*/ *angyarpak* ~ /*ányáxpak*/ *angya’rpak* (variant specific to NN |+pay|, § 20.1.1)  
 – cf. (22) /*ányaxkaq*/ *angyarkaqa* (with no variant).

i.b) before a nominal inflection for unpossessed nouns, beginning with CV, e.g. LOC.sg. |+mi|, ALL.sg. |+mun|, PRL.sg. |+kun|, EQLsg. |+tun|, etc. (Table 20) as well as before the locative verb NV |+m(i)t-| / |+n(i)t-| ‘to be at’ (location verb, § 27.8):

- (24) a. |*anyay*[+nun| (boat-ALL.pl.) ‘to the boat’  
 > /*ányanun*/ *angyanun*.  
 |*qayay*[+kun| (kayak-PRL.sg.) ‘by the kayak’  
 > /*qayá:kun*/ *qayakun*
- b. |*anyay*+mit[+<sub>1</sub>tuý| (boat-be.at-IND.3sg.) ‘he is in the boat’  
 > /*ányamtuq*/ (P5i, ...) *angyamtuq*.

ii) If the stem-final velar is strong, it is not deleted before a retaining suffix that consists of a single consonant (+C) or begins with a consonant cluster (+CCV), but the schwa /i/ is added before the suffix (after the boundary) – cf. (P8ii), however:

- (25) |*mikilnyuý*\*[+t| (child-ABS.pl.) ‘children’  
 > |*mikilnyuý*\*[+it| > /*mikilnyut*/ (P10, incl. /i/ assimilation) *mikelnyut*.

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2. It is to be noted that this rule may dissolve the so-called “half-retaining” type of suffixes (marked by the division or percent sign ÷ [Jacobson 1984: 16] or % [Jacobson 1995: 32]).

– while the stem-final weak velar is deleted by a retaining suffix such as described by (P4i.a) above, hence the following, which has no asterisked stem-final:

- cf. |*aŋaʎkuɣ*[+t] (shaman-ABS.pl.) ‘shamans’  
 > /aŋáʎkut/ (P4i.a) *angalkut* – but no \**angalkuut*.
- (26) |*aŋay*[+y+put] (MoBr-ABS.1pl.du.) ‘our maternal uncles (du.)’  
 > |*aŋay*[+iy+put] > /aŋŋíxput/ (P6i, P10, ...) *angiigput*.
- (27) |*aŋay*[+y+mta] (MoBr-REL.1pl.du.) ‘of our maternal uncles (du.)’  
 > |*aŋay*[+iy+imta] > /aŋŋíyimta/ (P6i) *angiigemta*.

## 5. Final apical adjustments: (P5)

i) Suffixes with the initial subscript <sub>1</sub> condition apical adjustments of the final apical of the preceding morphemes. But the processes are largely specific to certain suffixes and may be very sporadic.

i.a) *Deletion*: A stem-final apical (/t, c/) is deleted before a suffix with the subscript <sub>1</sub> if the suffix begins with a non-velar stop (/p, t, c/):

- (28) |*niic*[+<sub>1</sub>tuɣ] (hear-IND.3sg.) ‘he hears’  
 > |*nií*[+tuɣ] > /niítuq/ *niítuq*.  
 |*niic*+*icuy*[+<sub>1</sub>tuɣ] (hear-DES-IND.3sg.) ‘he wants to hear’  
 > |*nií*+*cuy*[+tuɣ] > /niícuxtuq/ *niicugtuq*.
- (29) |*mikit*[+<sub>1</sub>tuɣ] (small-IND.3sg.) ‘he/it is small’  
 > |*miki*[+tuɣ] > /míktuq/ *míktuq*  
 – with more common variant |*miki*[+yɣuɣ] > /mikkuq/ (P8ii.a, P11) *mik’uq*.

In spite of the final apical deletion the suffix boundary (-) is conventionally kept in surface forms as in *niit-uq* and *niic-ugtuq* in this description so that pairs such as *pairt-uq* ‘he encounters’ (< |*paiy*c[+<sub>1</sub>tuɣ] |) and *pair-tuq* ‘he licked’ (< |*paiy*[+<sub>1</sub>tuɣ] |) can be distinguished. Likewise *niic-ug-tuq* for (28).

- (30) |*ac*[+<sub>1</sub>paily+ŋaku] (don-CNNbf-3sg.3sg.) ‘before he puts it on’  
 > |àc[+paily+ŋaku] (P1) > |à[+paily+aku] (P5i) /àppáilyaku/  
*apailgaku*.

Final apical deletion, however, applies also before NN |<sub>-1</sub>tuɣ-| (§ 20.1), VNnm |<sub>+1</sub>nɣ-| (§ 18.3.1.2), |<sub>-1</sub>tɣ-| (§ 18.3.2), and the negative appositional

marker  $|-_1na-$  (§ 51.1.3), and also before, though without subscript  $_1$ , a few idiosyncratic (but very frequent) suffixes VVsm  $|+cic-$  (postconsonant variant for causative  $|+vkay-$  – § 40.2.1) and VVt  $|+ciqi-$  (FUT; together with doubling of  $/i/$  – § 42.1-ii). See examples in each section.

i.b) *Fricativization*: Otherwise the stem-final apical  $/t/$  and  $/c/$  are generally fricativized to  $/l/$  and  $/z/$  respectively before a suffix beginning with the subscript  $_1$ :

- (31)  $/t/ > /l/$ :<sup>3</sup>  
 $|pi-n\dot{y}it[+_1Y^*u|$  (do-NEG-OPT.2sg.3sg.) ‘(you [sg.]) don’t do it!’  
 $> |pi-n\dot{y}il[+_1Y^*u|$  /pínÿilyu/ *pinrilgu*.
- (32)  $|asiit-_1k^*i[+aq|$  (bad-consider-IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I dislike it’  
 $> |asiil-k[+aq|$  (P8ii)  $> /\text{àssiilkaqa}/$  (P13i) *assiilkaqa*.
- $/c/ > /z/$ :
- (33)  $|taic[+_1k^*i|$  (bring-OPT.2sg.3pl.) ‘(you[sg.]) bring them along/over!’  
 $> |taiz[+_1k^*i| > /taiski/$  (P13i) *taiski*.
- (34)  $|taic[+_1Y^*u|$  (bring-OPT.2sg.3sg.) ‘(you [sg.]) bring it along here/to me!’  
 $> |taiz[+_1Y^*u|$  /taízÿu/ *taisgu*.

Fricativization, however, applies only for the postvocalic apical before the connective markers  $|+_1\eta a-$  (CNNbc; § 50.2) and  $|+_1\eta^*inan\dot{y}-|$  (CNNwl; § 50.9), relativizers VNrl  $|+_1\eta u\dot{y}^*|-|$  (§ 17.2.1),  $|+_1vi\dot{y}-|$  (§ 17.6.1) as well as VVa  $|+_1mi-$  (§ 41.3.5), VVt  $|+_1\eta a-$  (§ 42.2.3), VVm  $|+_1\eta^*at-$  (§ 43), and VVn  $|+_1\eta^*ait-$  (§ 44).

Apical deletion (i.a) and fricativization (i.b) are contrastively illustrated in the following pair, by  $|-_1na-$  (negative appositional; § 51.1.3) and  $|+_1\eta a-$  (CNNbc; § 50.2), each preceded by the privative NV  $|+\eta it-$  with final apical:

- (35) a. *angni-i-nani* ‘(he) being sadly’  
 happiness-PRV-APP.3Rsg.

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3.  $/t/$  vs.  $/l/$  could probably reflect an alternation already present at an earlier stage of the language, as sporadically suggested by the pair of the indirective ditransitive *patu-t-aa* ‘he closes (s.t.) on it’ derived from  $|patu-$  ‘cover, lid’ with the applicative (VVsm)  $|+(u)c-$  (postvocalic  $/u/$  deletion) vs. homophonic monotransitive *palu-t-aa* ‘he closes it’ derived with the causative  $|+c-$ . Conceivably related also to the root  $|palu\dot{y}-|$  ‘lying face-down’. Cf. conceivable pair of  $|it\dot{y}-|$  ‘to enter’ vs.  $|ilu|$  ‘inside’ (?).

- b. *angni-il-ami* ‘because he is sad’  
 happiness-PRV-CNNbc.3Rsg.  
 – both occur in sentences § 51(7).

i.c) A few common suffixes without subscript <sub>1</sub> show irregular final apical adjustments (deletion or fricativization):

- a. VVsm |+caŷ-| (*elic-ar-tuq* ‘he is studying’; |*ilic+caŷ-*|), VVsm |*caa(ŷa)ŷ-*| (*nepa-il-caar-luta* ‘we being quiet’) – see § 39.1.2  
 b. suffixes with initial /(u)/, e.g. VNrl |+(u)t-| (*kiz-un* ‘sinker’, VVsm § 17.6.2), VNnm |+(u)ciŷ-| (*ilak-uy-uciq* ‘being related’, § 18.2.1), |+(u)c-| (*nunay-ut-* ‘to visit with’, § 39.4.1), have the suffix-initial *u* deleted after a stem-final full vowel. Another suffix, VVt |+(u)ma-| (§ 42.2.3), also has the initial *u* deleted but no apical adjustment.

ii) The final /c/ without being deleted or fricativized merges into /t/:

- (36) |*ikiŷ-c±laŷ[+tuŷ]* (open-A-HAB-IND.3sg.) ‘it opens’  
 > |*ikiŷt±laŷ[+tuŷ]* – see (38) with (P5iii).

ii.a) However, the final /t/ (incl. one from /c/) and the initial /l/ of the mood markers for optative (first and third person subject, apart from /l/ of 1pl. |+lta|) and appositional verbs are reduced to voiceless /t/: see § 49.1 and § 51.1.1.

- (37) |*tikic[+li]* (OPT.3sg.)  
 > |*tikit+li* /tikíːli/ *tekilli* ‘may he arrive’  
 |*tikic[+luni]* (APP.3Rsg.)  
 > |*tikit+luni* /tikíːluni/ *tekilluni* ‘he arriving’.

iii) A /i/ is added after a (post)stem that ends in /t/ (after ii above):

- (38) |*ikiŷt±laŷ[+tuŷ]* = (36) > |*ikiŷti±laŷ[+tuŷ]*  
 > a. [Y] /ikíxt̪iláxtuq/ *ikirtellartuq* ~  
 b. [K] /ikíxt̪iláxtuq/ *ikirtelartuq*  
 with ± showing the dialectal type variation (+ and -).
- (39) |*kixut[+picí]* (tooth-REL.2pl.pl.) ‘of your (pl.) teeth’  
 > |*kixuti[+vici]* (P2i.a) > /kixúːt̪íci/ (P8i, P13i) *keggutevci*.
- (40) |*cavi+ut[+Ø]* (row-INS-ABS.sg.) ‘oar’  
 > |*cavi+uti*| (P8ii.a, 17iii) *cavun*.



## 6. Central vowel adjustments: (P6)

i) Two single central vowels (/a, i/) which flank a front velar (/ɣ, ŋ;/ unasterisked or weak) next to a boundary are both fronted to /i/, being followed by the intervocalic velar deletion (P10)

(41) a. |*tumi*[+*ŋa*] (footprint-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘his footprint’

> |*tumi*[+*ŋi*] > /tùmmii/ *tumii*

b. |*nuna*[+*ŋa*] (land-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘his land’

> |*nuni*[+*ŋi*] > /nùnnii/ *nunii*.

(42) a. |*ina-ŋqa*[+*ŋama*] (lie-STT-CNNst.1sg.) ‘I lying’

> |*ina-ŋqi-ima*] /inânqíima/ *inangqíima*

b. |*ĩpiki+uma*[+*ŋamku*] (sense-STT-CNNsg.1sg.3sg.)

‘as I am aware of it’

> /ĩpikúmiimku/ (P8, P6) *elpekumiimku*

– see § 42.2.3 for the stative/continuative suffix.

(43) |*aŋay*[+*iɣ+put*] = (26)

> |*aŋiy*[+*iɣ+put*] (P4ii, P6i) > /ànŋíixput/ (P13i) *angiiput*.

(44) |*aŋay*[+*mta*] (MoBr-REL.1pl.sg./pl.) ‘of our maternal uncle(s)’

> |*aŋay*[+*imta*] (P4ii, P6i) > /ànŋíimta/ *angiimta*.

The rule applies from the leftmost boundary in a word toward the right, i.e., the end of the word. Note in the following that the central vowel before |*mta*| is not fronted: The same vowel before the dual marker (|+*ɣ*|) is first fronted to /i/ between two central vowels, resulting in the sequence /iɣi/ for which the rule is not relevant.

(45) |*aŋay*[+*iɣ+imta*] = (27)

> |*aŋiy*[+*iɣ+imta*] (P10, P4ii) > /ànŋíiyimta/ (83) *angiigemta*.

(46) |*ayay*[+*lta*] (go-OPT.1pl.) ‘let us go!’

> |*ayay*[+*ilta*] > /àyyiíłta/ *ayiilta*

cf. /*ayáłta*/ *ayalta*, which is also used, has the inflection with the deleting type |-*lta*| – see also the complex transitive |+*sqi*-| (§ 40.2.2).

ii) /ii/ for /aa/: Particularly among Kuskokwim speakers, an /ii/ sequence very often occurs where /aa/ would be expected. This is indeed the case when the suffix-initial weak velar nasal /ŋ/ of a retaining suffix, which typically would be deleted by (P3i), instead deletes the final /ɣ/ of certain stems, as men-

tioned at the end of (P3ii) above, i.e. /ii/ from /a+ŋa/ < /aŷ+ŋa/ instead of typical /aa/ from /aŷ+a/ < /aŷ+ŋa/.

- (47) |*aŋyaŷ-cuaŷaŷ*[+ŋa| (boat-small-ABS.3sg.sg.; NN) ‘his small boat’  
> |*aŋyacuŷaŋa*| (P9) > /aŋyacuáŷii/ *angyacuarii*.
- (48) |*aŋi-nŷ-k\*acayaŷ*[+ŋat| (big-CMP-ITS-ABS.3pl.sg.)  
‘the biggest one of them’  
> |*aŋiŋkacayaŋat*| (cf. P3ii.a) > /aŋiŋkacayii/ *angenkacagiit*  
– see § 41.3.5 for the ITS (superlative) marker.
- (49) |*tamaŷ*[+ŋan| (be.all-CNNst.3sg.) ‘it being all, all of it’  
> a. *tamiin* ~ b. *tamaan* – see § 14.10.3.  
e.g. a. *nuna tamiin paqtaa* ‘he went to check all of the land’  
b. *neqa tamaan neraa* ‘he ate the whole fish, it being all of it’.
- (50) |*kuvyaŷ*[+ŋa | (net-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘his net’  
> a. *kuvyii* ~ b. *kuyyaa*.  
|*aŷnaŷ*[+ŋani| (woman-LOC.3sg.sg.) ‘in his wife’  
> a. *arniini* ~ b. *arnaani*.
- (51) |*suytu-qapiaŷaŷ*[+ŋama| (tall-ITS-CONbc.1sg.) ‘as I was very tall’  
> *sugtuqapiariima* – see also § 41(73).

iii) A nominal-stem final /i/ becomes /a/ before the front velar /ŋ/ followed by a vowel other than /a/:

- (52) |*tumi*[+ŋi| (footprint-ABS.3sg.pl.) ‘his footprints’  
> |*tuma*[+ŋi| > /tùmmai/ (P10) *tumai*.  
cf. |*nuna*[+ŋi| (land-ABS.3sg.pl.) ‘his lands’  
> /nùnnai/ *nunai*.
- (53) |*niqi+ŋut*[-nka| (fish-supply-ABS.1sg.pl.) ‘my supply of fish’  
> |*niqa+ŋut*[-nka| > /niqqáutenka/ (P10, P5iii) *neqa-ute-nka*.

## 7. Schwa insertion: (P7)

The fourth vowel or schwa /i/ is inserted to avoid three-consonant clusters in the following cases as an epenthetic vowel (EV):

i) Between two contiguous stem final consonants when followed by a consonant (except weak velar fricatives) or a major boundary, or if preceded by a third consonant:<sup>4</sup>

- (54) |*nuty-ly*[+Ø] (gun-having-ABS.sg.) ‘one with a gun’  
 > |*nutiy-ly*| > /nútlík/ (P9, ..) *nut’lek*.  
 |*nuty+cuy*[+*tut*] (shoot-DES-IND.3pl.) ‘they want to shoot’  
 > |*nutiy+zuy*[+*tut*] > /nutíyuxtut/ (P16) .

- (55) |*atý*[+Ø=*lu*] (name-ABS.sg.=and) ‘also the name’  
 > |*atíy=lu*| > /atíq=lu/ (P13i, P17i, P13i) *ateq=llu*.

ii) In the case of three-consonant clusters the insertion may occur after either the first or the second consonant:

- (56) |*áývinly*[+*n*] (six-ABS.pl.) ‘six’  
 > a. /áývinlîyin/ *arvinlegen* ~ b. /áývinîlyin/ *arvinelgen* (§ 14.1).
- (57) |*azvÿ+yu*[+*yut*] (walrus-be-IND.3pl.) ‘they are walruses’  
 > a. |*azvÿ+u*[+*yut*] > /ázvîÿyuut/ (cf. P3i) *asveruut* ~  
 b. |*azivÿ+u*[+*yut*] > /azivÿyuut/ *asevruut*.

In the preceding two examples above, the first (a) perhaps more common than (b), probably it conforms to the absolutive singular form *arvinlek* (§ 14.1) and *asveg* in consonant alignment.

- (58) |*kiu+ñamiñnyu*| (answer-CNNbc.3Rdu.3sg.; cf. § 50.2)  
 ‘because they (du.) answered him’  
 > a. |*kiu+ñamiñnyu*| *kiungamegnegu* ~  
 b. |*kiu+ñamiñnyu*| *kiungamgen’gu* (but not \**kiungamegen’gu*;  
 P18ii.c)  
 – The latter (b), however, can also be CNNbc.1du.3sg. ‘because we  
 (du.) answered him’.

See § 20.2 for the special case of /i/ insertion before |-aÿ-|.

- 
4. The insertion of /i/ between two morpheme-final consonants also occurs at least before: i) |+*u*-| (expander for non-absolutive singular demonstrative stems (§ 12.2) and ii) repetitive VVt |+*(y)aÿ*-| (§ 42.4):
- i) |*akm+u*[+*mi*] > /akimumi/ > /áknumi/ (cf. P18ii.c) *ak’mumi* ‘in that one across there’  
 cf. |+*a*-| (expander for adverbial demonstrative stems; § 12.3.1):  
 |*akm+a*[+*ni*] > /ákñani/ (cf. P13ii) *akmani* ‘across there’
- ii) |*nuty+a*[+*yuy*] > *nut’gauq* (cf. P18ii.c) ‘he is shooting repeatedly’.

**8. Schwa deletion: (P8)**

Schwa /i/ is deleted in the following cases:

i) /i/ followed by CV within an inflection is deleted if the deletion does not violate the consonant cluster restriction (§ 3.3.5):<sup>5</sup>

(59) |*kixuti*[+*vici*] = (39) > |*kixuti*[+*vci*] (P13i).

ii) Morpheme-final /i/ is deleted:

ii.a) before a retaining suffix which begins with a voiced segment:<sup>6</sup>

(60) |*kixut*[+*pit*] (tooth-REL.2sg.pl.) ‘of your (sg.) teeth’  
> |*kixuti*[+*vit*] (P5iii, P2i) > |*kixut*[+*vit*] > /*kixútfit*/ (P13i) *keggutvet*.

(61) |*niyi*[+*yut*] (eat-IND.3pl.) ‘they eat’  
> |*niy*[+*yut*] > /*niy̆yut*/ (P11) *ner’ut*.

ii.b) before a few deleting suffixes beginning with /z/ (< VVsm |*-icu-*|, VN |*-culi-*|, and VV |*-cuit-*|) or /l/ (e.g. |*-li-*|):

(62) |*kixi*-*culi*[+Ø] (bite-good.at.ABS.sg.) ‘Northern pike’ (lexicalized)  
> /*kixsuli*/ (P13i) *keggsuli* – cf. (12) also

(63) |*niqi*-*li*[+*yu*] (fish-make-IND.3sg.) ‘he is preparing fish’  
> /*niqliuq*/

Related /li/ suffixes may be lexicalized, without schwa deletion: See the following two pairs in which the ones with *q’l* reflect no schwa deletion and no (P13i) devoicing (but later being suppressed; P18ii.c), thereby /ql/, while *ql* in the other representing /q̆l/ due to deletion and devoicing:

5. The deletion is blocked in the 2du.3sg. |+*tiyu*| for interrogative and optative inflections (Table 47 and 48): |*niyi*[+*ci*+*tiyu*] (eat-INT-2du.3sg.) > /*niy̆ciy̆u*/ *ner’cet’gu* ‘you (du.) eat it?’

6. It is to be noted that this rule could replace stem-final “e dropping” (symbolized by the tilde ~; Jacobson 1995: 23). Deletion is blocked in the following cases:

i) noun stem final /i/ before the suffixes VV/ NV |+*cuumiit-*|, VV/NV |+*cuuma-*|, and VV/NV |+*cuy-*| as in:

|*niqi*+*cuy*+*tu*] /*niqyuytuq*/ *negyugtuq* ‘he wants fish’ – instead of \*/*niqsuytuq*/

ii) when /i/ separates two identical consonants: |*kuvi*+*vi*] /*kuvivvik*/ *kuvevik* ‘place for spilling’.

- (63)' a. *neqliurtuq* 'he is working on fish' – cf. NV *|-liuy̆-|* 'to work on' vs. *neq'liurtuq* 'she is serving food'  
 b. *neqlinrraq* 'fish cut up (or food served) just now'  
 – cf. NV *|-li-|* 'to make' and VV *|-niḵa(ȳa)ḵ\*-|* 'newly' vs. *neq'linraq* 'part/product of fish' – cf. NN *|-linȳaḵ\*-|* 'product of'.

ii.c) before noun inflections of the deleting type (in Tables 21 through 23) which begin with a nasal plus vowel, despite great variance among speakers, to the extent that some speakers delete the vowel only when the noun is plural, while others do so whether it is singular or plural.

- (64) a. *|niqi-ni|* (ABS.3Rsg.pl.) 'his own fish(pl.)'  
 > */niqni/* (P13ii) as in *neqni nerai* (IND.3sg.3pl.)  
 'he is eating his own fish(pl.)'  
 b. *|niqi-ni|* (ABS.3Rsg.sg.) 'his own fish(sg.)' = § 8(23)  
 > */niqni/* (schwa suppressed by P18ii.c) as in *neq'ni neraa*  
 (IND.3sg.3sg.) 'he is eating his own fish(sg.)'.

ii.d) future optative *|-<sub>1</sub>ki-|* (which seems to occur more in the Yukon than Kuskokwim region) – examples in § 49.5.

iii) optionally before a deleting suffix or a retaining suffix that begins with a voiceless segment (cf. i above), when the stem is in the form of */(C)VCVCi-/*. This applies *after* final velar deletion (P9), and apparently prevalent in the area south of the Kuskokwim (cf. Jakobson 1998: 176).

- (65) *|aqumi+ciqi[+yuy̆|* (sit-FUT-IND.3sg.) 'he will sit'  
 > a. *|aqumiciquq|* (P8, P11, ...) > */aqu'mici'quq/ aqumeciquq ~*  
 b. *|aqumciquq|* > */aqu'nciquq/ aqumeciquq.*
- (66) *|aqumi-ki[+luy̆|* (sit-FUT-OPT.2du.) 'let us(du.) sit (in future)'  
 > a. *|aqumikiluk|* > */aqu'miki'luk/ aqumekiluk ~*  
 b. *|aqumkiluk|* > */aqu'nciluk/ aqumkiluk.*
- (67) *|ayuqi-ti[+yuy̆|* (resemble-perhaps-IND.3du.)  
 'perhaps they (du.) are similar'  
 > a. *|ayuqiliuk|* > */ayu'qiliuk/ ayuqelliuk ~*  
 b. *|ayuqliuk|* > */ayu'qliuk/ ayuqliuk.*
- (68) *|qayay̆-ḡi-ti[+yuy̆|* (kayak-get-perhaps-IND.3sg.)  
 'perhaps he has got a kayak'  
 > a. *|qayaniliuq|* (P9, P8, P11, ..) > */qayá'ḡiliuq/ qayangelliuk ~*  
 b. *|qayanḡiuq|* > */qayánḡiuq/ qayanglliuk.*

**9. Final velar veletion: (P9)**

A final velar is deleted before a deleting-type suffix which is marked with the minus (-):

- (69) |*qayaŷ-put*| (kayak-ABS.1pl.pl.) ‘our kayaks’  
 > /*qayá·put/ qayaput*  
 – compare with:  
 cf. |*qayaŷ+put*| (kayak-ABS.1pl.sg.) ‘our kayak’  
 > /*qayáxput/ (P13i) qayarput*.
- (70) |*ilay-kataŷ[+tut]* (= 19, P3ii, ..) > /*ilákatáxtut/ elakatartut*.
- (71) |*yùŷ-piŷ*| (= 1, P1, ..) > |*yùpiŷ*| *Yup’ik*.

See also (P3ii) for the final-velar deletion after initial velar assimilation as in e.g. (18) ~ (20).

Deletion of a voiceless velar may leave a trace by devoicing the following voiced fricative, which is generally the case with the Kuskokwim and the Yukon dialects (cf. Jakobson 1998: 167):

- (72) |*tanŷ-nŷit[+yaa]* (see-NEG-IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he does not see it’  
 > /*tanŷnŷittaa/ (P7i, P9, P11) tangenrritaa*.
- (73) |*tanŷ[-lŷiaŷ-ŷa]* (see-PTP-1sg.) ‘I am seeing’  
 > /*tanŷŷiá·ŷa/ tangellrianga*.

The deletion, however, tends to be blocked before a prevocalic velar stop if the final velar is voiceless (74, 75, 76) or a back velar preceded by (parenthesized) /*ŷa/* or /*ya/* (77, 78) in certain morphemes.

- (74) |*uivinŷx[-ku+ni]* (round-CNNif-3Rsg.) ‘if it is round’  
 > a. /*uívinqíxkuni/ (P7) uivenqegkuni ~*  
 b. /*uívinqíkú·ni/ (P7, P9) uivenqekuni*  
 – |*uivi-nŷx-*| (circle-good.way) ‘to be round’.
- (75) |*tanŷ-qataŷ[+tuŷ]* (see-IMN-IND.3sg.) ‘he is about to see’  
 > /*tanŷqatáxtuq/ tangerqatartuq*.
- (76) |*tanŷ-ki[+lii]* (see-FUT-OPT.1sg.) ‘I hope I see (someone) in future’  
 > /*tanŷqíllii/ tangerqilii*.

In the following two example, the parenthesized (*y*a) or (*ya*) may be deleted by (P18v), not being subject to (P17).

- (77) |*tuyka(ya)y[-ka]* (ivory-ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘my ivory’  
 > a. /túxkaʔá:qa/ (P13i, P3ii, P10) *tugkaraqa* ~  
 b. /túxkáxqa/ (P13i, P3, but no deletion) *tugka’rqa*.
- (78) |*ini-cua(ya)y[-ka]* (house-small-ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘my small house’  
 > /inícuaáxqa/ (*e*)*necuarqa*.

### 10. Intervocalic velar deletion: (P10)

A single voiced velar next to a morpheme boundary is deleted if it is between two single vowels, the first of which is a full vowel.<sup>7</sup>

- (79) |*tuma[+ɲi]* (= 52) > |*tuma[+i]* > /tùmmai/ *tumai*.
- (80) |*kiu[+yaɣ+ɲa]* (answer-IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 ‘he answers (question) him/her’  
 > |*kiu[+yaɣ+a]* (P3i) > /kiúyaa/ (P10) *kiugaa*.  
 – Deletion of /y/ is blocked in order to meet the maximum two vowel restriction (§ 3.2).
- (81) |*qavay+uciy+ɲit[+yaqa]* (sleep-VNnm-lack-IND.1sg.3sg.)  
 ‘I don’t know if he is sleeping’  
 > |*qavay+uciy+it[+aqa]* (P10, P3i, P10, P3i)  
 > /qávvaúciitaqa/ *qavauciitaqa*.

The deletion is accompanied by the assimilation of /i/ by the preceding vowel:

- (82) |*mikilɲuy\*[+it]* (=25; P4ii) > /mikilɲuut/ *mikelɲuut*.

As stated in (P6i), the central vowel adjustment is to be followed by the intervocalic velar deletion:

- (83) |*aɲay[+y+mta]* > |*aɲay[+iy+imta]* (= 27) > |*aɲiy[+iy+imta]* (= 45; P6i) > |*aɲi[+iy+imta]* (P10) *angiigemta*.

7. Deletion is blocked for a strong /ɲ\*/ (except for 2sg.1sg. |+ɲ\*a| after the optative marker |+yi-| (Table 48) or the aspect marker |-<sub>1</sub>ki-| (§ 49.5) and the initial velar of the suffixes NN |-yuyay\*-| ‘multitude of’ and VV |-<sub>1</sub>yí-| ‘to become’. Deletion occurs with a velar inside certain suffixes (not next to a boundary): e.g. NV |+ɲiyuc-|.

Compare the following with the same inflection (IND.1sg.) where different velars are deleted depending upon the different pre-boundary segments, yielding *-gua*, *-unga*, or *-ua*:

- (84) |*mikilŋuŷ*\*+*ŋu*[+*ɣuŷ-ŋa*] (child-be-IND-1sg.) ‘I am a child’  
 > |*mikilŋuŷ*+*u+ɣu-ŋa*] (P3i) > |*mikilŋu*+*u+ɣu-a*] (P10, P9)  
 > /mikiŋuúɣua/ *mikelŋuu-gua*.
- (85) |*ui*+*ŋu*[+*ɣuŷ-ŋa*] (husband-be-IND-1sg.) ‘I am a husband’  
 > |*ui*+*ŋu*+*uŷ-ŋa*] (P10) > |*ui*+*ŋu*+*u-ŋa*] (P9)  
 > /uíŋuúŋa/ *uingu-unga*.
- (86) |*aŋut*+*ŋu*[+*ɣuŷ-ŋa*] (man-be-IND-1sg.) ‘I am a man’  
 > |*aŋut*+*ŋu*+*uŷ-ŋa*] (P10) > |*aŋut*+*ŋu*+*u-ŋa*] (P9)  
 > /aŋútŋuúŋa/ *angutngu-unga*.
- (87) |*miki*[+*ɣuŷ-ŋa*] (small-IND-1sg.) ‘I am small’  
 > |*mik*+*ɣua*] (P8ii, P9) > |*mikkua*] (P11) *mik’-ua*.

An intervocalic velar may be retained as the trace on the devoiced vowel with velar friction, which is at least the case with /u/ and /a/ of VN |*-<sub>1</sub>quŷ*-| ‘part’ (§ 19[63]), NN |*+qaŷ*-| ‘exact’ (with some location nouns) as well as |*aŋayuqaŷ*-| ‘parent’, |*atikuy*-| ‘parka’, etc., followed by /a/ or /i/. See § 3 (30) *uyaqu-a* [uyá·qo<sup>x</sup>a] ~ [uyá·qoa] ‘his neck’ and (31) *atku-a* [átku<sup>x</sup>a] ‘his parka’ also.

- (88) a. |*ciu-qaŷ*[+*ŋani*] (front-just-LOC.3sg.sg.) ‘just in front of it’  
 > |*ciu-qaŷ*[+*ani*] > |*ciu-qix-ani*] (cf. P19) *ciuqerrani* ~ |*ciu-qa-ani*] (P3i, P10) *ciuqaani*  
 b. |*ciu-qaŷ*+*ŋiŷ*[+*aa*] (front-just-move-IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 ‘he went through the right area beside it’  
 > |*ciu-qix-i-ŷaa*] (cf. P19) *ciuqerriraa* ~ |*ciu-qa-ir-aa*] (P3i, P10) *ciuqairaa*.

### 11. Weak velar fricative deletion: (P11)

A weak (i.e. non-asterisked) velar fricative is deleted after a consonant:

- (89) |*amaŷ*[+*ɣaŷ+ŋa*] (back.pack-IND-3sg.3sg.) ‘he backpacks it’  
 > |*amaŷ*[+*a+a*] > (P3i, P10, P11) > /amá·ŷaa/ *amaraa*.
- (90) |*maniŷ*+*ɣi*[+*ɣut*] (smooth-become-IND.3pl.) ‘they become smooth’  
 > |*maniŷ*+*i*[+*ut*] > /maní·ɣiut/ (P10, P11) *manigiut*.



In the case of the two mood markers, the indicative intransitive  $|+yuy\dot{-}|$  / transitive  $|+yay\dot{-}|$  and the interrogative third person  $|+ya-|$  (but not the optative  $|+yi-|$  or VNrl  $|+yay\dot{-}|$  / VNrl  $|+yay\dot{k}aq\dot{-}|$ ), the deletion of  $/y/$  is accompanied by strengthening (gemination) on the preceding stem if it is in the shape (C)VC, i.e. (C)VC $+y >$  (C)VCC.

- (91)  $|miki[+yuy\dot{-}\eta a|$  (small-IND-1sg.) 'I am small'  
 $> |mikkua|$  (P8ii.a, P9, P10) *mik'ua*.

## 12. Labiovelar fricativization: (P12)

The approximant  $/w/$  becomes a labial-velar fricative  $/y^w/$  (but a non-velarized voiceless  $/\Lambda/$  in HBC and NS). See NN  $|-\dot{y}u\dot{y}lu\dot{y}\dot{-}|$  for the labiovelar  $/y^w/$  due to syllable contraction.

- (92)  $|wa[+ni|$  (here-LOC)  $> |y^w a[+ni| >$  'here'  
 a.  $/x^w ani/$  (P3i)  
 b.  $/\Lambda ni/$  [HBC • NS] *wani*.
- (93)  $|aw[+na|$  (over.there-EX.ABS.sg.) 'the one over there'  
 $> /à y^w na/augna$ .
- (94) a.  $|aw+u[+m|$  (there-EX.REL.sg.) 'of the one over there'  
 $> /à w+u[+m|$  (P1)  $> /à y^w+u[+m| > /à y^w y^w um/$   $\widehat{aug'um}$   
 – Compare with the adverbial demonstrative (with blocking of P1; § 12.3.1):  
 b.  $|aw+a[+ni|$  (there-LOC) 'over there'  
 $> /awá'ni/$  *avani*.
- (95)  $|tawaam|$  'but'  
 $> /tây^w y^w aam/$   $\widehat{taugaam}$ .

## 13. Devoicing: (P13)

Fricatives and nasals are devoiced in the following cases (see Table 3 for the symbols):

- i) Fricatives are devoiced when next to a voiceless consonant or at the beginning or end of a word, i.e. next to a major boundary:

- (96) |y<sup>w</sup>a[+ni| (= 92a; P12) > /x<sup>w</sup>ani/.
- (97) |atiỵ=lu| (= 55; P7) > /atəx̣=lu/.
- (98) |aŋyaŋ+paŋ| > |aŋyaχ+paχ| (P4i.a).
- (99) |kixut[+vit| > |kixut[+fit| (cf. 39; P5iii, P8ii.a, P13i).

Note the minimal pair (a) vs. (b) below; the fricative is not devoiced in (b):

- (100) a. |u-na-cuaŋaỵ[+Ø=mi| (this-EX-small-nine-ABS.sg.=ENC) ‘how about this small one?’ – cf. (P17i)  
> /uná:cuáχ=mi/ *unacuar=mi* – an enclitic bound phrase
- b. |u-na-cuaŋaỵ-mi| (this-EX-small-nine-LOC.sg.=ENC)  
‘in this small one’  
> /uná:cuáŋmi/ *unacuarmi* – a single word.

ii) Nasals are devoiced after stops and optionally after voiceless fricatives, unless across a major boundary:

- (101) a. |pi+st+ŋu[+yuŋ| (do-ANT-be-IND.3sg.) ‘he is a servant (lit. doer)’ >  
|pist+ŋu[+uŋ| > /pist̪ŋuŋuŋ/ (P5iii, P8iia, P13ii, P10) *pistēŋuuq*
- b. |ciut+ŋu[+yuŋ| (ear-be-IND.3sg.) ‘it is an ear’  
> /ciútŋuŋuŋ/ *ciutnguuq*.
- (102) |azimc+ni[+yaŋ+ŋa| (break-A'.say-IND-3sg.3sg.)  
‘he says (she) cracked it in half; he says she cracked (s.t.) in half’  
> |azimt+ŋi[+a| > /azimŋia/ (P5ii,iii, P8ii, P13ii, P3i, P10, P14i;  
§ 40.2.4 for |+ni-|) *asemñia*  
– 46.1-ii for IND-3sg.3sg. *a* from *aa* after stem final CV.
- (103) |iyc-nŋ| (throw-VN.ABS.sg.) ‘throwing away’  
> /ixŋəq/ (P13ii, P14) ~ /ixnəq/ (P14) *eggneq*  
– cf. § 3(5a) *errneq* and § 18.3.1.2 for more examples.

Compare the following pair, the second of which has an enclitic boundary, which blocks the devoicing:

- (104) a. |aŋyaŋ+paŋ[+ŋatni| (boat-big-LOC.3pl.sg.) ‘in their big boat’  
> /aŋyaχpiitŋi/ (P13i, P3i, P6, P10, P13ii) *angyarpiitni* vs.
- b. |aŋyaŋ+paŋ[+t=mi| (boat-big-ABS.pl.-ENC) ‘how about the boats?’  
> /aŋyaχpiitmi/ (P13i, P4, P7i, P6, P10)  
> /aŋyaχpiitmi/ *angyarpiit=mi*.

iii) Some suffixes show fricative devoicing across an intervening /i/: e.g. participial *|l̥y̥iḁy̥-|* (VNrl; § 47.1) after /i/.

iv) An /i/ becomes /i̥/ between /c/ and a non-word-final apical, and the apical (if voiced) is devoiced. This is the case with a stem-initial /ci/, a (post)stem-final /cic/, the interrogative marker for non-third person subjects *|+<sub>1</sub>ci-|* (Table 47), and the second-person plural marker *|+pic̥i|* in adverbial-case and connective-mood inflections (Table 23 and 49):

(105) *|cila|* ‘world’ > /ci̥la/ (> [K] /i̥la/) *cella* (~ [K] *ella*)  
*|tany̥i̥yc̥ituq|* ‘it is dark’ > /tan̥y̥i̥x̥c̥ituq/ *tan’gercetuq*  
 – while [HBC] retains /i/ like *cilla* and *tan’gercetuq*.

(106) a. *|kii̥y̥+cic[+tu̥y̥|* ‘it (air, weather) is hot, warm’  
 – NV *|+cic-|* (§ 33.4.3) > *|kii̥y̥+cit-uq|* > /ki̥i̥x̥c̥ituq/ *kiircetuq*  
 b. *|ayay+cic[+<sub>1</sub>yu|* ‘(you [sg.]) let it go!’  
 – VVcm *|+cic-|* (§ 40.2.1) > *|ayay+cis[+yu|* > /ayáxcisxu/ (P5i, P13iv) *ayagcessgu*.

(107) *|ayay[+cinuy|* ‘do we (du.) leave? (INT)’  
 > *|ayay[+ci̥ñuk|* > /ayáxc̥i̥ñuk/ (P13iv,...) *ayagceñuk*.

Postprosodic fricative devoicing may occur particularly in the Kuskokwim dialect: See (P21).

Devoicing is blocked in loanwords and onomatopoeic words.

#### 14. Post-devoicing cluster adjustments: (P14)

Certain types of consonant clusters are avoided by deleting a consonant or inserting a /i̥/:

i) A verb stem final apical flanked by consonants is deleted:

(108) *|azimt+ñi[+a|* (= 102) > /azim̥ñḁ/.

(109) *|cini̥y̥c+mi[+yut|* (visit-also-IND.3pl.) ‘they also visit’  
 > *|ci̥ñix̥t+ñi[+ut|* > /ci̥ñix̥m̥iut/ (P5ii, iii, P8ii, P10, P13iv, ii) *ceñirrimiut*.

(110) *|qimayc+vi̥y̥|* (put.away-place.ABS.sg.) ‘bag’  
 > /qimáxfik/ (P5ii, iii, P8ii, P14i, ...) *qemaggvik*.

- (111) |yuuŷc[-nŷ-mni| (born-CNNwn.1sg.; § 50.8) ‘when (~ after) I was born’  
 > /yuúxŋímmni/ *yuurrnemni*  
 – compare with the variant:  
 |yuuŷc[-tŷ-mni| (born-CNNwn.1sg.) ‘when I was born’  
 > /yuúxtíímmni/ *yuurtellemni*  
 – compare also with:  
 |yuuŷc[-nŷ-mkun| (born-CNNqs.1sg.; § 50.11.2) ‘after I was born’  
 > /yuúxŋímmni/ *yuurrnemni*.

By contrast, a nominal stem final /t/ and an inflection-inside /t/ (cf. P15ii), flanked by consonants, is not deleted but a /i/ is inserted after the consonant instead:

- (112) a. |pist+ŋu[+uŷ| = (101a) > /pístíŋŋuuq/  
 – compare with:  
 b. |ciut+ŋu[+yuŷ| = (101b) > /ciúttuuq/.
- (113) |niŷí[+ŋ\*a+mtŷu| (eat-CNNbc-1pl.3sg.) ‘because we are eating it’  
 > /níŷŋàmtixu/ (P8ii, ...) *nerngamteggū*.<sup>8</sup>

ii) An /i/ is inserted between the two consonants of a word-initial sequence /iCC/ (except in verb stems with the shape /iCi-/) with the second consonant next to a boundary:

- (114) |imŷ[+a| (drink-OPT.2sg.) ‘(you [sg.]) drink!’  
 > |imŷa| > /i(m)imíŷa/ (cf. P18ii.e = § 8[40b]) *emera ~ mer’a*  
 – § 3.6.4 for different manners of writing.
- (115) a. |itŷ[+ŋa| (anus-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘his anus’  
 > |itx[+a| > |itíxa| > /i(i)tíxxa/ (P3i, ...) *eterra ~ terr’a*  
 – compare with:  
 b. |atŷ[+ŋa| (name-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘his name’  
 > /átxa/ (P3i, ..) *atra*.

iii) A suffix initial /s/ followed by apical stop (as in VNrl |+st-|, VVsm |+sci(u)ŷ-|, VVn |+sciiyat-|) is deleted after a stem final velar:

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8. The deletion does occur in the cluster /ŷtn/ within an ending as in |qayayŷ[-miŷtni| (kayak-LOC.3Rpl.sg.) > /qayá·mixŋi/ (cf. P13i, ii) *qayameggni* ‘in their own kayak’.

- (116) a. |*ikayuŷ*+*st*[+Ø] | (help-ANT-ABS.sg.) ‘helper’  
 > |*ikayuŷta*| > /iká:yuŷta/ *ikayurta*.  
 – compare with:  
 b. |*cali*+*st*[+Ø] | (work-ANT-ABS.sg.) ‘worker’  
 > |*calista*| > /calista/ *calista*.

### 15. /t/ affrication: (P15)

A dental /t/ may be affricated to /c/ in the following cases:<sup>9</sup>

i) optionally before /i/ followed by preconsonantal /s/:

- (117) |*tuquc*+*sqi*[+*yuy*] (kill-ask-IND.3sg.) ‘he asks to be killed’  
 > |*tuquti*+*sq*[+*uq*] > /tuqúːcisquq/ ~ /tuqúːtisquq/ (P5ii, iii, P8ii, P11)  
*tuquesquq* ~ *tuqutesquq*.

ii) inside an inflection before an apical stop (/t, c/), with /i/ being inserted between the consonants:

- (118) |*yuy*[+*ttun*] (person-EQL.pl.) ‘like Eskimos, in Yupik’  
 > /yúxcitun/ (P1, ...) *yugcetun*.
- (119) |*taŋx*[+*ŋa-mtiy*] (see-CNNbc-1pl.2du.) ‘because we see you (du.)’ ~  
 |*taŋx*[+*ya-mtiy*] (see-IND.1pl.2du.) ‘we see you (du.)’  
 > [Y] /taŋíxŋámciŋtik/ *tangerrngamcetek* ~  
 [K] /tánxámciŋtik/ (cf. P3i; § 50.2) *tangrramcetek*.
- (120) |*taŋx*[+*ŋa-mtci*] (see-CNNbc-1pl.2pl.) ‘because we see you(pl.)’  
 > [Y] /taŋíxŋámciŋci/ *tangerrngamceci* ~  
 [K] /tánxámciŋci/ (P3i; § 50.2) *tangrramceci*.

The two Kuskokwim forms above may also be indicative, meaning ‘we see you (du.) (IND.1pl.2du.)’ and ‘we see you (pl.)’ respectively.

iii) optionally before suffixes beginning with /li/ (§ 38.3) if the /l/ and its preceding vowel are deleted:

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9. Postprosodically, another type of /t/ affrication may occur: /t/ becomes /c/ before /i/ followed by geminated /s/ or /c/: |*kixut*-*cuaŷaŷ*| ‘small tooth’ > /kixúːciccuax/ *keggucecuar*.

- (121) a. |*tĩṅsuut-li*[+*luni*] (airplane-make-APP.3Rsg.)  
 ‘(he) making an airplane’  
 > /*tĩṅsuútili*·*luni*/ *tengssuuteliluni* ~ /*tĩṅsuúcilú*·*ni*/ *tengssuuciluni*.
- b. |*tĩṅsuut-li*[+*ɣay*+*ɲi*] (airplane-make-IND.3sg.3pl.)  
 ‘he is making them an airplane’  
 /*tĩṅsuútilii*/ *tengssuutelii* ~ /*tĩṅsuúcii*/ *tengssuucii*  
 cf. |*tĩṅsuut*[+*ɲa*] (airplane-ABS.3sg.3sg.) ‘his airplane’  
 > /*tĩṅsuúti*/ *tengssuutii* – with no affricated variant by contrast.
- (122) |*qimuyt-linɣay*\*| (dog-part.ABS.sg.; NN)  
 ‘product/part of a dog, resembling a dog’  
 > /*qimúxcinɣaq*/ *qimugcinraq*.
- (123) |*tuqu+c+ima*[+*yuɣ*] (die-A-VVt-IND.3sg.) ‘it has been killed’  
 – cf. VVt |+(*u*)*ma*-| > /*tuqú*·*cimmauq*/ *tuqucimaug*.

### 16. /v/ and /z/ adjustments: (P16)

i) A single fricative /v/ tends to become the approximant /w/ between full vowels (in many dialects – cf. Jacobson 1998: 78, 172), unless it is stem final:

- (124) a. |*cali+vɨɣ*[+Ø] (work-place-ABS.sg.) ‘place to work’  
 > /*calí*·*wik*/ *calivik*.  
 – compare with the following which retains the fricative:
- b. |*cavi+uti*| = (40) ‘oar’  
 > /*cav+uti*| > /*cavun*/ *cavun*.

ii) A prevocalic single fricative /z/ next to a boundary commonly becomes the approximant /y/ unless it is inflection-initial. This does not apply, however, to at least the Norton Sound dialect (cf. Jacobson 1998: 55, 175):

- (125) |*kuimay-culi*| (swim-good.at.ABS.sg.) ‘one good at swimming’  
 > /*kuímayú*·*li*/ (cf. P2iii, P9) *kuimayuli* ~ [NS] /*kuímazú*·*li*/ *kuimasuli*.
- (126) a. |*nutiy+zuy*[+*tut*] (=54, P7)  
 > /*nutíyyuxtut*/ *nutegyugtut* ~ [NS] /*nutíyzuxtut*/ *nutegsugtut*  
 – note that inflection-initial /z/ remains intact in the following:
- b. |*pi*[+*cit*] (do-INT.2sg.) ‘you (sg.) do (INT)’  
 > /*pizit*/ (cf. § 48.1) *pisit*.

- (127) a. |*pikic*+(*u*)*t*[+Ø] (move-INS-ABS.sg.) ‘Monday’  
 > |*pikiy*+*un*| > /*píkyun*/ (P5i.c, P17ii) *pekyun*  
 Note the geminated /z/ which remains intact in the following:  
 b. |*kic*+(*u*)*t*[+Ø] (sink-INS-ABS.sg.) ‘sinker’  
 > /*kìzzun*/ (cf. P1, P5i, P17iii) *kis’un*.

## 17. Word-final adjustments: (P17)

Before a major boundary the following adjustments take place:

i) A velar fricative becomes a stop:

(128) |*cali*+*viy*| = (124); P16i) > /*calí·wik*/.

(129) |*atix*=*tu*| = (97; P13i) > /*atíq=tu*/.

This adjustment is commonly blocked if a word-final /*ÿ*/ is preceded by /*ÿa*/:

(130) |*qulñunÿitayÿ*[+Ø] (nine-ABS.sg.) ‘nine’  
 > /*qúlñùnÿitá·x*/ (P13i, cf. P18v) *qulñunrita’ar* (§ 14.1).

(131) |*u*+*na-cuayÿ*[+Ø=*mi*] = (100a) ‘how about this small one?’  
 > /*uná·cuáx=mi*/ *unacuar=mi*.

ii) Velar defricativization (above) may be blocked inside a bound phrase:

(132) |*qayayÿ*[+Ø=*am*] (*qayaq*-ABS.sg.=ENC) ‘a kayak, again’  
 /*qayàÿ*=(*ÿ*)*am*/ (rather than /*qayàq*=(*q*)*am*/) *qayar=am* (*qayaq=am*)  
 – with pre-boundary regressive accent (yielding gemination).

Compare the following voiced fricative after final truncation inside a non-enclitic bound phrase:

(133) |*ataki niÿ-i*| (hurry eat-OPT.2sg.) ‘(you [sg.]) eat!’  
 > /*atàÿ≠niÿi*/ for /*atá·kì≠niÿi*/ (/*atá·ki niÿi*/) *ataki neri*.

iii) A /*i*/ becomes /*a*/ unless postvocalic /*ti*/ becomes /*n*/:

(134) |*ini*[+Ø] (ABS.sg.) > /*ina*/ (*e*)*na* ‘house’.

(135) |*cali*+*st*[+Ø] (work-VNrl-ABS.sg.) > /*calísta*/ (cf. P5iii) *calista*  
 – compare with:  
 |*cav*+*uti*| (P16i) > /*cavun*/ *cavun*.

## Chapter 8

### Prosody

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### Prosody

Prosodic rules will be illustrated (§ 8.1 through § 8.8):

i) *Accentuation*: The most important linguistic function of CAY prosody or “accentuation” on syllables (ii below) is demarcation. Coupled with a (potential) pause, it signals a boundary of a phonological articulus (expression plane), differentiating an enclitic bound phrase from a non-enclitic one and the latter from an independent (free) phrase – the different domains on which the prosodic system performs. It is realized phonetically in the three physical properties that are intrinsic in a segment, that is, stress (loudness), pitch (tone and intonation), and duration (quantitative changes, i.e. vowel lengthening, consonant gemination, and tempo). Though one of them may be more dominant than others depending upon the syllable shape and position, they conspire to function as effective cues to the auditory prominence of an accented (or strong) syllable. See § 8.1 and § 8.3 for stress, pitch, and tempo as the other phonetic realizations of accent.



As stated (§ 3.1, § 3.5), the term “accent” is employed, for lack of a better general term in use, to cover all these phonetic realizations of the prosodic pattern. Accent brings out a contrast in prominence between successive syllables (ii below). A syllable with more prominence is accented (strong), while one with less prominence is unaccented (weak). If a word or a (either enclitic or non-enclitic) bound phrase flanked by pauses has two or more accented syllables, the one rightmost (i.e. closest to its end) tends to carry the greatest prominence. This is called a “prime accent”.

The pattern of accentuation is chiefly “rhythmic” and “progressive” (Miyaoaka 1970, 1971), though it may become “regressive” as well, if the unidirectional progressive accentuation is disturbed by factors such as:

1. affectiveness or emphasis (intensification) specifically connected with certain morphemes (stems and suffixes)
2. an accent inherent to or triggered by certain morphemes (“lexical accent”)
3. syllable contraction specific to a number of suffixes that have certain segmental sequences
4. (C)VC-stem strengthening (P1; § 7.1)
5. foot structuring
6. boundary signaling.

The first three factors are lexically conditioned, while the last three are phonologically predictable (from syllable structure and boundary), as illustrated below. The factor of the widest scope is the fifth – i.e. foot structuring.

Some of the lexically conditioned changes are eventually responsible for producing surface contrasts between single and lengthened vowels and between single and geminated consonants – hence the necessity for indicating quantity in phonemic representations.

ii) *Syllable*: A syllable is the minimum form or articulus (on expression plane; § 2.2.1) which is a prosodic unit carrying an accent. It is either open – (C)V – or closed – (C)VC – at the phonological level. Syllable division is marked, if necessary, by a period (.) without a following space. The divisions come:

1. between two vowels: VV → V.V (e.g. *pi.uq*)
2. between two consonants whether geminates or clusters: CC → C.C (e.g. *pis.ta*)
3. before a single intervocalic consonant: VCV → V.CV (e.g. *pi.kaq*),

thus parsing, e.g. VCVVCC. ... as V.CV.VC.C rather than V.CVVC.C ... with “a heavy syllable”.

A phonological syllable as such could be equated with the “mora”. The term mora is not used in this grammar, but it should be understood that CAY is a “mora-counting” (rather than a “syllable-counting”) language, with lengthening and gemination being interrelated. This is my own stance since Miyaoka (1970) distinct from the other Yupik linguists who tended to treat gemination as basic (Krauss, Jacobson, Leer, see Krauss ed., cf. also Zubizarreta 1980, Woodbury 1987b, and Hayes 1995).

A syllable, whether open or closed, may either be strong (i.e. accented) or weak (i.e. unaccented) depending upon the environment in which it occurs. A closed syllable more easily bears the weight of an accent than an open one does. Accordingly an open syllable tends to be weak, while a closed one tends to be strong.

Rhythmic and regressive accentuation forms “metrical feet” (iii below).

The greater accentual capacity of closed syllables reflects, among other things, the following facts:

1. a single closed syllable can constitute a foot by itself, but a single open syllable by itself cannot (except for one very specific – and inevitable – case; (P18iv.b).
2. a closed syllable can be strong without any change in its segmental composition, while an open syllable requires the quantitative change of a segment through vowel lengthening or consonant gemination in order to become strong.

iii) *Foot*: A foot is an articulus on the phonological plane that occupies the next level beyond the syllable (§ 2.2.1). A CAY foot is composed of a single syllable (generally closed) or two syllables, i.e. “monosyllabic” or “disyllabic”. A foot division is indicated by a bar (|) if necessary in phonological or phonetic notations (/ / or [ ]). As the consequence of accentuation, foot structuring is basically “progressive” and “iambic” (disyllabic) with a weak syllable followed by a strong one, though with the progressive accentuation being disturbed (i above) it may yield a monosyllabic foot. A sequence of syllables that are paired with an articulus at the morphological level can thus be viewed as a sequence of “metrical feet” (Miyaoka 1970, 1971).

The relevance of feet to the rhythmic pattern seems natural and obvious. Its significance or explanatory force goes far beyond that, however. The mechanical disturbance brought about by foot structuring (i-5 above) is related to a preference or avoidance of certain types of feet in favor of others, which is in turn conditioned by (a) the capacity of the syllable to bear the weight of accent and (b) the need for boundary signaling. The various phonetic realizations of the disturbances in fact conspire to signal the different major boundaries – word, enclitic bound phrase, non-enclitic bound phrase, (free) phrase, and so on (cf. § 9.7).

As stated, CAY feet are either disyllabic (iambic) – consisting of a weak syllable followed by a strong one – or monosyllabic. The syllable in a monosyllabic foot, which naturally must be accented so that it may constitute a foot by itself, always turns out to be a closed syllable (except for the one inevitable case; P18iv.b-ii). It follows from this that a foot division never fails to immediately follow a strong syllable (hence P18v.a, b).

There are a small number of suffixes in which a “foot-internal” consonant may be “lenited” or ‘dropped’ between vowels depending upon the accent, that is, a foot-internal /y/ is deleted (cf. adjustment d. in Part 2), as in NNh |-ca(y)ay̆|- ‘small, dear’ (§ 20.3) and VV/NN |-k\*ac(a)(y)ay̆|- ‘to a high degree’ (superlative – § 41.3.5, § 45.2.2-i).<sup>1</sup>

CAY does not have a “trochaic foot”, unlike Alutiiq or Pacific Yupik (Leer 1985).

iv) *Progressive vs. regressive accents*: For phonemic representations, two kinds of accent marking, “acute” and “grave”, are employed in phonemic representations. The acute (´) represents a “progressive” or rhythmical accent and the grave (`) a “regressive” accent, which do not correspond to, for example, high and low pitch. The former generally corresponds to lengthening and the latter to gemination.

The rhythmical accent, which is completely dependent on the syllabic structure of words and enclitic bound phrases, operates iambically from the leftmost syllable rightward and is realized as “vowel lengthening” (§ 8.1). On the other hand, the regressive accent, which results from the avoidance of certain syllabic sequences within a word or a bound phrase, or is conditioned by a major boundary and by certain specific morphemes, stresses the preceding syllable and is chiefly realized as “consonant gemination” (of an intervocalic single consonant). There are some measurable differences particularly with regard to tempo as well. Rhythmic accentuation is primary, while regressive accentuation is secondary, in that the latter presupposes the former. The former is responsible for iambic feet, while the latter is generally responsible for monosyllabic feet. Lexically inherent accents are to be taken as regressive in view of the phonetic realization.

A full vowel in a progressively (or rhythmically) accentuated open syllable is lengthened (e.g. /á/ > /áː/), while a progressively accentuated open syllable with the schwa /i/ or a regressively accentuated open syllable (with any vowel) becomes a closed syllable while geminating an immediately following syllable-initial consonant – e.g. /iCV/ > /iC.CV/, /àCV/ > /àC.CV/. Note that, since the vowel /i/ cannot be lengthened (§ 3.2), unlike a full vowel, the only phonetic

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1. The CAY pattern of iambic accentuation has led to understanding of the extensive consonant gradation (lenition) in the Seward Peninsula Inupiaq dialect adjacent to the Norton Sound dialect of CAY (cf. Kaplan 1985).

process by which the open syllable with /i/ can be accented and bear the weight of a strong syllable is to become closed through gemination.

A lengthened vowel is “tautosyllabic” (with no internal syllable division), while a geminated consonant is “ambisyllabic” (with its syllable division between the two consonants). Thus, at the phonemic level a syllabic nucleus has one of the following shapes: /V/ (single short), /V·/ (single long), /V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>/ (double), or /V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>(·)/ (cluster). The /V·/ and /V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>/ are identical in quantity, as the two-mora limitation blocks the lengthening of the second of two successive identical vowels. The two can, however, differ in tone. The single long /V·/ generally has a level tone, while the double /V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>/ can have a rising tone, especially in a prime-accented syllable. The (·) in /V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>(·)/ means that V<sub>2</sub> may be either short or long. There is, incidentally, no “overlong” vowel with three morae in CAY.<sup>2</sup>

The prosodic rules (P18i – rhythmical) and (P18ii – regressive) given below apply iteratively from the initial syllable of a word or a bound phrase (i.e. the articulus-initial syllable) towards the end. (P18iii) and (P18iv) are boundary-sensitive, i.e. to non-enclitic (≠) and enclitic (=) boundary. (P18v) through (P18vii) are disturbances of or deviations from the regular pattern.

### 1. Rhythmical accent: (P18i)

Starting from the initial syllable, which is accentuated if it is a closed syllable or unaccented if it is an open syllable, accents fall rhythmically on every two syllables. An initial closed syllable always constitutes a monosyllabic foot (except for P18vi):

- (1) |*maqi-qatay-lini*[+*luni*] ‘now I see he is about to take a steambath’  
 bathe-IMN-EVD-APP.3Rsg.  
 > |*ma.qi.qa.ta.li.ni.lu.ni*| > /ma.qí·|qa.tá·|lí.ní·|lu.ni/ (i, iii)  
*maqiqatalliniluni* – with rhythmical accents (P18i, simply given as i hereafter in this chapter) iteratively on three open syllables (but deaccentuation on the final *ni* (P18iii, simply as iii).
- (2) |*quzñiyñalñuy+tanq̄x*+<sub>1</sub>*cuyñayqi*[+*yuq=lu=yuȳ*]  
 goat-there.to.be-PRB-IND.3sg.=ENC=ENC  
 ‘they say there seems to be a goat also’  
 > |*quz.ñiy.ñal.ñuy.tan.qix.suy.nax.quq=lu=xuȳ*|

---

2. A notable difference from CSY (Krauss 1975) in which three levels of vowel quantities (short, long, and overlong) are distinguished could arguably be correlated with the lack of gemination in that language.

(cf. P7ii, P2iii, P8ii, P11...)

> /qúz|ñiý.ñál|ñux.tán|qíx.súç|nax.qúq|=lu=xuq/  
*qusngirngalngurtangqerrisugnarquq=llu=gguq.*

- (3) |quzñiýñalñuy+pay+tanqç+cuyñayqi[+yuq=lu=yuý|  
 goat-big-there.be-PRB-IND.3sg.=ENC=ENC

‘they say there seems to be a big goat also’

> |quz.ñiý.ñal.ñuy.pax.tan.qíx.suy.nax.quq=lu=xuq|

> /qúz|ñiý.ñál|ñux.páx|tan.qíx|suy.náç|quq=łú|=xuq/  
*qusngirngalngurpangtangqerrisugnarquq=llu=gguq.*

- (4) |anyay-li-qatay[+tut|

boat-make-IMN-IND.3pl.

‘they are about to make a boat’

> |añ.ya.li.qa.taç.tut| (cf. P9, ...) > /áñ|ya.lí·|qa.táç|tut/

*angyaliquatartut.*

- (5) |qayay-li-qatay[+tut|

‘they are about to make a kayak’

kayak-make-IMN-IND.3pl.

> |qa.ya.li.qa.taç.tut| (cf. P9, ...) > /qa.yá·|li.qá·|taç.tut/ (iii)

*qayaliqatartut.*

- (6) |qayay+pay[+mi=mi|

‘how about in the big kayak?’

kayak-big-LOC.sg=ENC

> |qa.yax.pay.mi=mi| > /qa.yáç|pay.mí·|=mi/ *qayarpagmi=mi.*

## 2. Regressive accent: (P18ii)

Rhythmical accentuation is mechanically disturbed by preferential tendencies and boundary signaling. If the rhythmic accent by the preceding rule (i) is due to fall on a certain open syllable (§ 8.2.1 through § 8.2.3), the accent regresses onto the preceding syllable (ii), which is typically a weak syllable because of its environment. The secondarily, i.e. regressively, accentuated syllable comes to constitute a monosyllabic foot by itself. The remaining portion of the word is again accentuated in iambic rhythm by (i). Accent regression is responsible for some word-initial and most medial monosyllabic feet.

### 2.1. Avoiding /V.V/: (P18ii.a)

Any two consecutive vowels, whether a cluster or a double vowel, within a word must cluster together in a single foot, avoiding a foot division between the



- > |*ak.ŋix.ta.at.ŋa*| (cf. P5ii, P11, P3i, P10, ..) > /ák|ŋix|ta.át|ŋa/ (i, ii.b, i)  
*akngirtaatnga*
- b. |*akŋiyc[+ya+tŋa]* ‘they hurt me (interrogative)’  
 hurt-INT-3pl.1sg.  
 > |*ak.ŋix.tat.ŋa*| > /ák|ŋix.tát|ŋa/ *akngirtatnga*.

Likewise the following pair, where the accented syllable /lúÿ/ belongs to the disyllabic foot in (a), whereas the /lùÿ/ in (b) is a regression and constitutes a monosyllabic foot by itself. It is pronounced at a slower tempo (particularly with long [ÿ]) and with a stronger stress than the first syllable /ul/, which has a lexically inherent accent:

- (11) a. |*uluÿ+ni[+yaa]* ‘she says he looked away’  
 look.away-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 > |*u.luÿ.ni.a*| (P10 and § 46.1) > /u.lúÿ|ni.a/ *ulurnia*
- b. |*ul'uÿ+ni[+yaa]* ‘she says it is slowly flooding’  
 flood.slowly-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 > |*ul.luÿ.ni.a*| > /ùl.lùÿ.ní.a/ (i, ii.c, i, iii) > /ùl|lùÿ|ni.a/ *ul'urnia*.

This rule (ii.a) is blocked before a major boundary inside a bound phrase as in the following (b). Compare with the single word (a):

- (12) a. |*cali+yay[+m]* ‘of the work’  
 work-VNrl-REL.sg.  
 > |*ca.li.am*| (cf. P4i, P10) > /ca.li.am/ (i) > /càl|liam/ (ii.a, i, iii) *caliam*
- b. |*cali[+Ø=am]* ‘(you [sg.]) get to work (hurry up)!, work again!’  
 work-OPT.2sg.=ENC  
 > /ca.lí|=am/ (i, ii.a blocked, i.e. no regression, due to the boundary)  
*cali=am*  
 – where =*am* incidentally can be an enclitic (‘again’) or an encliticized truncation of |*ampi*| (‘hurry’); § 54.1-iii vs. § 53.1-i.

The following pair shows that interjective particles from an adverbial demonstrative (§ 12.2.2.2) like (a) are enclitic bound phrases while (b) is a single word, i.e. an indicative verb:

- (13) a. |*pik-a=i*| ‘above there!’  
 up-EX=INJ  
 > /piká=i/ (i, ii.a blocked) *pika=i*
- b. |*pi-ki[+ŋi]* ‘he owns them, they are his’ (relational verb)  
 thing-have.as-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 > /pikai/ > /pikkai/ (i, ii.a, i, iii) *pikai*.

## 2.2. Avoiding /CVC.CV́/: (P18ii.b)

A foot consisting of a closed syllable followed by an open one is avoided. Otherwise the closed syllable, in spite of its greater accentual capacity, would become a weak syllable in an unbalanced foot with an open strong syllable. If the rhythmical accent is due to fall on an open syllable immediately preceded by a closed syllable, the accent regresses to the closed one:

- (14) |*caŋac-n̄yit*[+<sub>1</sub>*tutin*] ‘there is nothing wrong with you (sg.)’  
 amiss-NEG-IND.2sg.  
 > |*ca.ŋa.tin.yi.tu.tin*| (P5ii, iii, i) > /*ca.ŋá·|tìn|yí.tú·|tìn/* (i, iib, i)  
*cangatenrituten*  
 – compare, however, with the Norton Sound form /*ca.ŋá·|tìn.yí·|tu.tin/*  
 (21), which has no regression.
- (15) |*aŋyaŷ+pay-li+<sub>1</sub>cuyŋa+<sub>1</sub>cuyŋaŷqi+yuy*’  
 boat-big-make-able-PRB-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he seems able to make a big boat’  
 > |*aŋ.yax.pa.li.yuy.ŋa.yuy.nax.quq*| (P9, P2iii, P2iii, P8, P11, P16ii, ..)  
 > /*áŋ|yàx|pa.lí·|yùŷ|ŋa.yúŷ|nax.quq/* (i, ii.a, i, ii.a, i, iii)  
*angyarpaliyugngayugnarquq*.  
 – The accent on the word-initial /aŋ/ is deleted by some speakers to favor a disyllabic foot |*aŋ.yáx*| instead of the two monosyllabic feet in succession.

This rule (ii.b) is blocked before a major boundary. Compare the following two pairs – (a) enclitic phrase vs. (b) single word – and note that the blocking serves to signal the boundary:

- (16) a. |*aŋyaŷ*[+*yŋi=mi*] ‘how about his two boats?’  
 boat-ABS.3Rsg.du.=ENC  
 > |*aŋ.yay.ni=mi*| > /*áŋ|yàŷ.ní·|mi/* (i, regression blocked before =)  
*angyagni=mi*
- b. |*aŋyaŷ*[+*yŋi+mí*] ‘than in the two boats’  
 boat-LOC.du.-LOC  
 > |*aŋ.yay.ni.mí*| > /*áŋ|yàŷ|ni.mí/* (i, iib, i on *ni*, but iii) *angyagnimi*.
- (17) a. |*qayaŷ+pay*[+*mi=mi*] ‘how about in the big kayak?’  
 kayak-big-LOC.sg.=ENC  
 > |*qa.yax.pay.mi=mi*| > /*qa.yáx|pay.mí·|mi/* (i) *qayarpagmi=mi*.



- b. |*qayaỵ+paỵ[±mini]* ‘in his own big kayak’  
 kayak-big-LOC.3Rsg.sg.  
 where the retaining- or deleting-type suffix, dialect dependent, yields the differences:  
 i. |*qa.yax̣.paỵ.mi.ni*| > /*qa.yáx̣|pàɣ̣|mi.ni*/ (i, ii.b, i, iii) *qayarpagmini* ~  
 ii. |*qa.yax̣.pa.mi.ni*| > /*qa.yáx̣|pamí·|ni*/ (i) *qayarpamini*.  
 – In (b-ii), the /*paỵ*/ has the final velar deleted before the deleting-type suffix (*-mini*), hence no regression unlike (b-i).

The regressively accented (16b) /*yàɣ̣*/ and (17b-i) /*pàɣ̣*/, each constituting a monosyllabic foot by itself, occur at a slower tempo and with a somewhat stronger stress than the unaccented /*yaỵ*/ and /*paỵ*/ elsewhere, which belong to a disyllabic foot.

Likewise, a contrast occurs between enclitics and suffixes (of an open syllable):

- (18) a. *allragni=llu* /á|*xaỵní·|tu*/ ‘in/during the last year as well’  
 last.year=and  
*allragni=mi* /á|*xaỵní·|mi*/ ‘what about the last year?’  
 last.year=how.about  
 b. *allragni-mi* /á|*xàɣ̣|nimi*/ ‘than last year’  
 last.year-LOC.

See the difference also in foot structuring in the following pair with a single and a double vowel in the optative:

- (19) a. |*atxaỵ[+li=tuq]* ‘I wish he would go down’  
 go.down-OPT.3sg.=ENC  
 > |*at.xaỵ.li=tuq*| > /át|*xaỵlí·|=tuq*/ (i) *atrarli=tuq*  
 b. |*atxaỵ[+lii=tuq]* ‘I wish I would go down’  
 go.down-OPT.1sg.=ENC  
 > |*at.xaỵ.li.i=*| > /át|*xàɣ̣|lií·|=tuq*/ (i, ii, i) *atrarlii=tuq*.

Accentuation proceeds further from a regression-blocked syllable as in (17a). Note the difference in the following pair with two identical enclitics (/=*lu=yuỵ*/ and=RPR) and the same syllable sequence and the dialect variation (±) noted in (17b):

- (20) a. |*qayaỵ+paỵ[+mi=mi=lu=yuỵ]*  
 ‘and how about in the big kayak, they say’  
 > |*qa.yax̣.paỵ.mi=mi=lu=xuq*| > /*qa.yáx̣|paỵ.mí·|mi.lú·|xuq*/  
*qayarpagmi=mi=llu=gguq*

- b. |qayaŷ+pay[±mini=lu=yuŷ]  
 ‘and in his own big kayak, they say’  
 i. |qa.yax.pay.mi.ni=lu=xuq| > /qa.yáx|pàŷ|mi.ní·|lu.xuq/  
 ii. |qa.yax.pa.mi.ni=lu=xuq| > /qa.yáx|pamí·|niłú·|xuq/  
     qayarpagmini=llu=gguq
- c. |qayaŷ+pay[±mini-mi=lu=yuŷ]  
 ‘and than in his own big kayak, they say’  
 i. |qa.yax.pay.mi.ni.mi=lu=xuq| > /qa.yáx|pàŷ|mi.ní·|miłú·|xuq/  
 ii. |qa.yax.pa.mi.ni.mi=lu=xuq| > /qa.yáx|pamí·|nimí·|łuxuq/  
     qayarpagminimi=llu=gguq  
 – see § 27.9.1 and § 27(105d) for the double case marking (comparison locative) |-mi| in (c).

This regression (ii.b) does not, however, occur in the Norton Sound dialect (Kotlik, Chaniliut, and perhaps also Old Hamilton – Martha Teeluk), where a rhythmical accent that is due to fall on an open syllable immediately preceded by a closed one does not regress (cf. Miyaoka 1970: 166–167; 1982).<sup>3</sup> The example above (14) thus occurs contrastively in a different surface form with the fourth syllable lengthened instead of the fifth:

- (21) |caŋac-nŷit[+<sub>1</sub>tutin| ‘there is nothing wrong with you (sg.)’  
 > |ca.ŋa.tin.ŷi.tu.tin| [NS] > /ca.ŋá·|tin.ŷí·|tu.tin/ (i, iii) *cangatenrituten*.

Compare also:

- (22) |cuŋaycic+<sub>1</sub>pakay[+tat| ‘(how) green they are!’  
 > |cu.ŋax.cis.fa.kax.tat| *cungagcessvakartat*  
 a. > /cu.ŋáx|cis|fa.káx|tat/ – with regression  
 b. > /cu.ŋáx|cis.fá·|kax.tat/ [NS]

3. The late Martha Teeluk of Kotlik insisted (p.c. 1967) in what was at first a matter of confusion to me that both were heard, but it turned out to be a matter of dialect mixture in the small area of Kotlik or in her own speech (Miyaoka 1970: 167). Incidentally it is to be noted that Swadesh (1952b: 75) gives his Unaaliq form *mumixcuyluuki* ‘translating them’ with two *u*’s for the appositional mood inflection (/mumiy-t-cuy-luki/ turn.over-A-DES-APP.3sg.), which evidently represents non-regression in the Norton Sound dialect, that is, /mu.míx|cuŷ.lú·|ki/ for the more general /mu.míx|cùŷ|luki/ with regression (*mumigcugluki*).

2.3. Avoiding /CV.Cí/: (P18ii.c)

If a rhythmical accent is due to fall on an open syllable with the schwa /i/, which is preceded by another open syllable CV to form a foot /CV.Cí/, the /i/ is syncopated, with the preceding syllable being closed and regressively accented. Syncopation does not operate, however, in the Norton Sound dialect (NS), where the /i/ is strengthened by geminating the following consonant:

- (23) |kĩmy[-ni| 'his own flesh'  
 flesh-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 > |ki.mi.ni| (cf. P7, P9; i) > /kĩm|ni/ (cf. ii.c) *kemni*, cf. (33) below  
 cf. [NS] /ki.mĩn|ni/ (cf. P7, P9; i) *kemeni*.
- (24) a. |niqi[-ni| 'his own fish'  
 flesh-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 > |ni.qi.ni| > /nĩq|ni/ (ii.c) *neq'ni* = § 7(64b)  
 b. |niqi[+ni| 'in the fish'  
 flesh-LOC.pl.  
 > |niq.ŋi| (cf. P8ii, P13ii) > /nĩq|ŋi/ *neqni*.
- (25) a. |iqaiy+ŋiy+yĩ2-nĩxay\*| 'one who has just washed (something)'  
 dirt-deprive-APS-just.ABS.sg.  
 > |i.qa.i.yi.ni.xaq| (cf. P3i, P11, ...) > /ĩq|qai|yĩn|xaq/ (i, ii,a, i, ii.c)  
*iqairinrraq*  
 b. |iqaiy+ŋiy-nĩxay\*| 'thing that has just been washed'  
 dirt-deprive-just.ABS.sg.  
 > |i.qa.i.ni.xaq| (cf. P3, ...) > /ĩq|qai|ni|xaq/ *iqainerraq*  
 – where the syncopation does not operate since the open syllable /ni/  
 is not to be accented.
- (26) a. |aŋyay+pay-ŋi+ciqi[+yuy| 'he will get a big boat'  
 boat-big-get-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 > |aŋ.yax.pa.ŋi.ci.quq| (cf. P9, P8, P11, ...) > /aŋ|yax|pax|ci.quq/ (cf.  
 i, ii.b, i, iii) *angyarpangciquq*  
 b. |aŋyay-piy-ŋi+ciqi[+yuy| 'he will get a genuine boat'  
 boat-genuine-get-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 > |aŋ.ya.pi.ŋi.ci.quq| > /aŋ|ya.pĩ|ŋi.ci|quq/ (cf. P9, P9, P8, P11, ..)  
*angyapingeciquq*  
 – where the syncopation does not operate since the rhythmic accent  
 does not fall on /ŋi/.

- (27) |*an̄yaŷ-ŋi+ciq̄i+<sub>1</sub>cuŷnaŷq̄i*[+*ɣuŷ*] ‘he will probably get a boat’  
boat-get-FUT-PRB-IND.3sg.  
> |*an̄.ya.ŋi.ciq̄.suŷ.naŷ.quq*| (cf. P9, P2ii, P9, P8, P11, ..) >  
a. /*án̄|yaŋ|ciq̄.súŷ|naŷ.quq*/ (i, ii.b, i, iii) *angyangciqsugnarquq*  
b. /*án̄|ya.ŋíc|ciq̄.súŷ|naŷ.quq*/ [NS] *angyangeciqsugnarquq*.

The non-NS form (a) may have another rather common variant, as will be provided later, that is characterized by foot restructuring (see P18ii.h below), i.e. (43) /*án̄|yaŋ.cíq̄|suŷ.náŷ|quq*/, distinct from (b)

### 2.3.1. Blocking: (P18ii.d–g)

The /i/ syncopation with accent regression (ii.c) is blocked in the four cases below, although it does occur in the Nunivak (NUN) and, to a degree, in the Hooper Bay-Chevak (HBC) dialect (cf. Jakobson 1998: 88), as noted below:

ii.d) when the consonants flanking the vowel /i/ are identical (including the quasi-identical /c/ and /t/~n/, /z/ and /s/, /q/~ŷ/ and /x/, etc.); the retained (non-syncopated) /i/ serves to avoid homophonic collision of a consonant that would be difficult to distinguish from a geminate:

- (28) |*kily-laŷ-tŷu*[+*ɣaŷ+ŋi*] ‘he used to invite them’  
invite-CUS-PST-IND-3sg.3pl.  
> |*ki.li.lal.xu.i*| (cf. § 46.1) > /*ki.li|lál|xu.i*/ (i, ii.d, i, iii.a, ...) *kelelallrui*.
- (29) |*kuvi+viki*[+*yaa*] ‘it spilled on him’  
spill-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.  
> |*kuvivikaa*| (cf. P8ii, P11) > /*kuvív|vik|kaa*/ (i, ii.d, i, iii.a, ..) *kuvevikaa*  
– with argument-rearranging |+*viki*-| from |+*viyki*-| (VNrl.place-have.as); § 39.7.2.
- (30) |*cacituqut*[+Ø] ‘one to rely upon’  
support-ABS.sg.  
> |*ca.ci.tu.qun*| (cf. P17ii) > /*ca.cít|tu.qun*/ *cacetuqun*.
- (31) |*quzŷ-siyaay*[+*tuŷ*] ‘he is coughing too much’  
cough-too.much-IND.3sg.  
> |*qu.zi.si.ya.ay.tuq*| (cf. P7, P9, ...) > /*qu.zis.siy.ya.áx.tuq*/ (i, ii.d, i, ii.a, i) *qusessiyaagtuq*.

*Between stem and inflection:*

- (32) |*nacíc*[+*1tuy*]  
 look.around-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is looking around from a height, is on the look out’  
 > |*na.ci.tuq*| (cf. P5i) > /*na.cít|tuq*/ (i, ii.d, ...) *nacetuq* – cf. [HBC] *nastuq*.

- (33) |*kím̃y*[-*mi*]  
 flesh-REL.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘of his own flesh’  
 > |*ki.mi.mi*| (cf. P7, P9) > /*ki.mím̃|mi*/ (i, ii.d) *kememi*, cf. (23) *kemni*.

- (34) |*paluc-qaỹ*[+*y\*u*]  
 close-POL-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘(you [sg.]) please close it!’  
 > |*pa.lu.ti.qa.xu*| (cf. P3ii.b, P5ii, iii; § 49.1-iii) > /*pa.lú·|tiqíx̃|x̃u*/ (cf. P19) *paluteqerru*  
 – compare with:  
 cf. |*atuỹ-qaỹ*[+*y\*u*]  
 sing-POL-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘(you [sg.]) please sing it!’  
 > |*a.tu.qi.xu*| > /*a.tú·|qíx̃u*/ *atuqerru*.

- (35) |*nipc-qaỹ*[+*y\*u*]  
 extinguish-POL-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘(you [sg.]) put it out!’  
 >  
 /*níptiqíx̃x̃u*/ *nipteqerru* ~ /*níptiqá·x̃u*/ *nipteqarru* [HBC] with no /*a*/ raising of (P19).

*Inside an inflection:*

- (36) |*asiki*[-*kika*]  
 like-PTP.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I like him’  
 > |*a.si.ki.ki.ka*| > /*a.sí·ki.kík.ka*/ (ii.d) *asikekeka*.

- (37) |*qayaỹ*[+*picini*]  
 kayak-LOC.2pl.sg.  
 ‘in your kayak’  
 > |*qa.yax̃.pi.ci.ñi*| (cf. P13iv, etc) > |*qa.yáx̃.pi.cíñ.ñi*| (cf. i) *qayarpeceñi*.

In HBC, no blocking permits homophonic clusters though with “phonetic schwa-like excrescence”, or double consonants in “heteromorphic” sequences (Woodbury rev.):

- (38) |*ani-nañiỹ*[+*tuỹ*]  
 go.out-no.more-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he no longer goes out’  
 > /*an<sup>(i)</sup>|nañix̃|tuq*/, possibly represented as *an’nanrirtuq*  
 cf. [GCAY] /*a.nin|nañix̃|tuq*/ *anenarirtuq*.

ii.e) when the immediately preceding syllable consists of a word-initial /i/ – see § 3.6.4 for the orthographical variations below:

- (39) |ini[-ka| ‘my house’  
house-ABS.1sg.sg.  
> |i.ni.ka| > /i.nik|ka/ (i, ii.e) *eneka* ~ *nek’a*  
cf. [NUN] |i.ni.ka| > /in|ka/ (cf. ii.c) *enka*.
- (40) a. |imÿ[-ni| ‘his own water’  
water-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
> |i.mi.ni| (cf. P7i, P9) > /i.mín|ni/ (i, ii) *emeni* ~ *men’i*  
cf. [NUN] |i.mi.ni| > /im|ni/ (i, ii.c) *emni* ‘his own water’
- b. |imÿ[+a| ‘(you [sg.]) drink!’  
drink-OPT.2sg.  
> |i.mi.ÿa| > /i.míÿ|ÿa/ *emera* ~ *mer’a*
- c. |imÿ-qa(ÿa)qi[-luni| ‘he drinking now and then’  
drink-occasionally-APP.3Rsg.  
> |i.mi.qaq.lu.ni| (P7i, P9, /ÿa/ deletion by P18v) > /i.míq|qàq|lu.ni/  
(cf. i) *emeqaqluni* ~ *meq’aqluni*; see § 3.6.4 for orthographical variations.

ii.f) in a lexically conditioned prosody disturbance, e.g. by the intensifier VVa |<sub>+1</sub>pay-| (§ 41.3.2):

- (41) |niÿi-pay[+tuÿ| ‘he is eating a lot’  
eat-ITS-IND.3sg.  
> |ni.ÿi.pax.tuq| > /niÿip|paxtuq/ *nerepagtuq*  
– cf. \*/niÿpaxtuq/ and \*/niÿpaxtuq/.

ii.g) personal names (§ 11[217c]) of the shape /(C)VCiCV-/ have the /i/ strengthened by gemination on the following consonant:

- (42) *Mumèssaq* /mumìs|saq/  
*Cikèmaq* /cikìm|maq/.

### 2.3.2. Foot restructuring: (P18ii.h)

This takes place after the syncopation, presumably as an innovation to avoid a monosyllabic foot – and especially word-initial sequences of monosyllabic feet – in favor of a disyllabic foot, as regressive accents (P18ii) may bring forth a succession of (at least three) monosyllabic feet due to a necessary foot structure

preference. It may be that a disyllabic foot can be taken as unmarked and that too many monosyllabic feet in succession would make accentuation purposeless by not producing contrasts in syllable prominence (Miyaoaka 1985a: 62–64). Foot restructuring is illustrated in the following three examples, the first of which is another, rather commonly heard, variant of (27a):

- (43) |*an̩yaŷ-ŋi+ciqi+cuŷnaŷqi*[+*ɣuŷ*] ‘he will probably get a boat’  
 boat-get-FUT-PRB-IND.3sg.  
 > |*an̩.ya.ŋi.ciŷ.suŷ.naŷ.quq*| > (27)a /*án̩|yàn̩|ciq.súŷ|naŷ.quq*/  
 > /*án̩|yan̩.ciŷ|suŷ.náŷ|quq*/ *angyangciqsugnarquq*  
 – Note that having two initial monosyllabic feet is avoided in that the second syllable forms a disyllabic foot with the third, accompanied by the ensuant restructuring. This is distinct from (27b), which is unique to the Norton Sound dialect.
- (44) |*is̩xat-ki-ł̩yu-n̩yit*[+*yaqa*] ‘this was not my grass bag’  
 bag-have.as-PST-NEG-IND.1sg.sg.  
 > |*is̩.xa.ti.kił̩.xun̩.ŷi.ta.qa*| >  
 a. /*is̩|xàt|kił̩.xún̩|ŷi.tá|qa*/  
 b. /*is̩|xat.kił̩|xùn̩|ŷi.tá|qa*/ (with restructuring) *issratkellrunritaqa*.

The following (a) has two forms with or without foot restructuring, while (b) from the Yukon, where no /i/ syncopation is involved due to the different suffix type (retaining) of /+laŷ-/ , has no restructured form, unlike (a):

- (45) a. |*tan̩x+cic-lay*[+*tuŷ*] [K] ‘he usually allows himself to be seen’  
 see-CAU-CUS-IND.3sg.  
 > |*ta.ŋiŷ.ci.ti.lax̩.tuq*| >  
 i. /*ta.ŋiŷ|cit|lax̩.tuq*/  
 ii. /*ta.ŋiŷ|cit.láx̩|tuq*/ (with restructuring) *tangercet’lartuq*  
 b. |*tan̩x+cic+lay*[+*tuŷ*] [Y] > |*ta.ŋiŷ.cit.lax̩.tuq*| (cf. P8ii) >  
 /*ta.ŋiŷ|cit.láx̩|tuq*/ *tangercetlartuq*.

The foot-restructured type is characteristic of the non-Yukon area, where both the primary and the restructured forms (a-i and a-ii) may be heard with similar frequency (cf. Jacobson 1998: 60).

### 3. Deaccentuation: (P18iii)

Due to the rhythmical accentuation, the accent may fall on the penultimate of an articulus (i.e. word or bound-phrase) or on the ultimate, in which latter case, it

is deaccented. This leads to one or two accentless “hypercatalectic” syllables, preceded by the (last and strongest) accented syllable, which characterizes the end of an articulus.

- (46) a. *nuná|mi* ‘on the land’  
*nuná|mi=llu* ‘also on the land’  
*nuná|mini* ‘on his own land’  
 b. *nuná|mini|=llu* ‘also on his own land’  
*nuná|mini|=llu=gguq* ‘also on his own land, he says’  
 c. *nuná|mini|=llu=ggúq* ≠ *tua=i* – with SFL *tua=i*.
- (47) *tuá|=i=llu* ‘and then’  
*tuá|=ingún|rituq* ‘it’s not the end’ (-*ngu-* ‘to be’, -*nrit-* NEG)  
*tuá|=ingun|ritúq|=gguq* ‘he says it’s not the end’.

#### 4. Regressive accent in bound phrases: (P18iv)

##### 4.1. Before a non-enclitic boundary (P18iv.a)

A syllable preceding a non-enclitic boundary (≠; § 2.3.1) receives a regressive accent (´). Note the different realizations in the pairs below depending upon whether the boundaries are non-enclitic or enclitic (=), apart from one special case of regression before enclitic boundaries (P18iv.b).

i) V ≠ C (vowel and consonant across a non-enclitic boundary): The pre-boundary (open) syllable is strengthened by gemination, thereby distinguishing the (a) non-enclitic boundary from the (b) enclitic one (with =). Note the difference of pre-boundary regressive accent in (a) but not in (b):

- (48) a. |*aŋyaŷ*[-*ka* ≠ *qaa*] ‘my boat?’  
 boat-ABS.1sg.sg.≠QST  
 > |*aŋ.ya.qa* ≠ *qaa*| (cf. P3ii, P9) > /áŋ|ya.qà(q)|qaa/ (i, iii, iv.a-i)  
*angyaqa* ≠ *qaa*  
 b. |*aŋyaŷ*[-*ka*=*lu*] ‘my boat too’  
 boat-ABS.1sg.sg.=and  
 > |*aŋ.ya.qa*=*lu*| (cf. P9, P13) > /áŋ|ya.qá|lu/ (cf. i) *angyaqa=llu*.
- (49) a. |*nuna*[-*ka* ≠ *tanim*] ‘my land!’ (with annoyance)  
 land-ABS.1sg.sg.≠EXC  
 > /nu.ná|kà(t)|ta.nim/ (i, iv.a-i) *nunaka* ≠ *tanem*  
 b. |*nuna*[-*ka*=*lu* ≠ *tanim*] ‘my land too!’ (annoyance)  
 land-ABS.1sg.sg.=and≠EXC



- > /nu.ná·|kaù(t)|ta.nim/ (i, iii, iv.a-i) *nunaka=llu ≠ tanem*  
 cf. |*nuna[-ka=lu=yuq]* ‘my land too, they say’  
 land-ABS.1sg.sg.=and=RPR)>/nu.ná·|kaù·|xuq/ *nunaka=llu=*  
*gguq.*

A monosyllabic non-inflecting words is generally enclitic, but /wa/ (§ 54.1-i) may be a non-enclitic for some speakers (in some areas) as in (a) below, hence with pre-boundary regression, but not in (b):

- (50) a. |*u-na ≠ wa*| ‘(yes/but) this one’  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.≠REA  
 > /unà(x<sup>w</sup>)≠x<sup>w</sup>a/ (iv.a-i) *una ≠ wa*  
 b. |*una=wa*|  
 > /uná·=x<sup>w</sup>a/ *una=wa.*

There are a few other non-inflecting words that may behave either as an enclitic or a non-enclitic), e.g. the attention-calling particle /taŋ/ (§ 53.3-v), with two variations on /ŋa/ in terms of pre-boundary regressive accent:

- (51) a. |*aŋi[-lÿia-ŋa ≠ taŋ ≠ wii]*  
 big-PTP-1sg.≠see≠1sg.  
 ‘see (it’s a fact) I’m big (instead of normal-sized)!’  
 > /a.ŋí|ÿiá·|ŋà(t)|tàŋ|x<sup>w</sup>ii/ *angelrianga ≠ tang ≠ wii*  
 b. |*aŋi[-lÿia-ŋa = taŋ ≠ wii]*  
 > /a.ŋí|ÿiá·|ŋa.tàŋ|x<sup>w</sup>ii/ *angelrianga=tang ≠ wii.*

ii) C ≠ V: The regressive accent may attract the word-final consonant into the preboundary syllable (through gemination), thereby placing both the syllable and the foot division at the boundary. Note below that the boundary does not fall within a foot, that is, the final consonant of the first word belongs to the pre-boundary syllable and foot. The first example shows that the accent differentiates the non-enclitic bound phrase (a) from the single word (b):

- (52) a. |*nuna[+t ≠ u-ku[+t]* ‘this village’  
 land-ABS.pl.≠this-EX-ABS.pl.  
 > /nu.nàt|(t)u.kut/ (iv.a-ii) *nunat ≠ ukut.*  
 b. |*nunac[+ukut]* ‘we are visiting’  
 visit-IND.1pl.  
 > /nu.ná·|tu.kut/ *nunatukut.*

Regressive accentuation is further illustrated in three non-enclitic phrases below:

- (53) |*qayaŷ*[+*mnun* ≠ *u-ku*[+*nun*]| ‘to these kayaks of mine’  
 kayak-ALL.1sg.pl.≠this-EX-ALL.pl.  
 > /qa.yám|nùn|(n)ukú·|nun/ *qayamnun* ≠ *ukunun*.
- (54) |*qayaŷ*[+*ŋat* ≠ *u-na*]| ‘this kayak of theirs’  
 kayak-ABS.3pl.sg.≠this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 > /qàŷ|yaàt|(t)una/ *qayaat* ≠ *una*.
- (55) |*amiŷ* ≠ *ata* ≠ *ikiŷiz-yu*|  
 door-again-open-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘(you [sg.]) open the door (as you usually do)!’  
 > |a.miŷ|yatà|iki·|ŷizyu| *amig* ≠ *ata* ≠ *ikiresgu*. – see (P22) for the first word final *g*.

In this bound phrase consisting of three words, the first regressive accent (*mìŷ*) is within the context of C ≠ V, while the second regressive accent (*tà*) between the second and the third word is within the context of V ≠ V (and thus without gemination; see iv below):

iii) C ≠ C: No gemination occurs because of the two consonants. Note that the regressive accent in the second example below makes a monosyllabic foot of the pre-boundary syllable:

- (56) |*qayaŷ* ≠ *tikic*[+*yuq*]| ‘the kayak arrived’  
 kayak.ABS.sg.≠arrive-IND.3sg.  
 > /qa.yàq|ti.kí·|tuq/ *qayaq* ≠ *tekituq*.
- (57) |*qayaŷ*[+*mun* ≠ *tikic*[+*yuq*]| ‘he came to the kayak’  
 kayak-ALL.sg.≠arrive-IND.3sg.  
 > /qa.yá·|mùn|ti.kí·|tuq/ *qayamun* ≠ *tekituq*.

iv) V ≠ V: No gemination is possible, as no consonant is adjacent to the boundary. The regressive accent on the pre-boundary (open) syllable is not realized as vowel lengthening (unlike a progressive accent on an open syllable) but is realized instead in terms of tone and stress (i.e. unlowered and not destressed). This is apparently the only case in CAY in which an accented open syllable occurs unlengthened:

- (58) |*cali* ≠ *ama*[+*ni*]| ‘(you [sg.]) work over there!’  
 work.OPT.2sg.≠over.there-LOC  
 > /cali|amá·|ni/ *cali* ≠ *amani*.  
 cf. /càl|liam/ (= 12a) *caliam* ‘of the work’  
 /calí·|am/ (= 12b) *cali=am* ‘(you [sg.]) get to work (hurry up)!’

- (59) |*tupay*[+*ci* ≠ *ampi*] ‘(you [pl.]) (hurry up and) wake up!’  
 wake.up-OPT.2pl.≠urging  
 > /tu.páx|ci|ám.pi/ *tupagci* ≠ *ampi*.

See also /tà/ in (55) /yàtà/ above before initial vowel.

If a double vowel or a vowel cluster comes next to the boundary ≠, a glottal stop may occur optionally as a means of forming a hiatus. The greater the total number of vowels across ≠ (naturally with a maximum of four), the more likely it is for there to be a glottal stop. Compare the three vowels with the four in the following pair, where the stem for ‘father’ has the peculiar variants of /ata-/ ~ /aata-/ (§ 11.4):

- (60) |*qayay*[+*ηa* ≠ *ata*[+*ma*] ‘my father’s kayak’  
 kayak-ABS.3sg.sg.≠Fa-REL.1sg.sg.  
 > /qày|yaá|(?)atá|ma/ *qayaa* ≠ *atama*.
- (61) |*qayay*[+*ηa* ≠ *aata*[+*ma*] ‘my father’s kayak’  
 > /qày|yaá|?aá|tama/ *qayaa* ≠ *aatama*.

#### 4.2. Before an enclitic boundary: (P18iv.b)

A syllable preceding the enclitic boundary receives a regressive accent, but only if the enclitic begins with a vowel (compare with non-enclitic bound phrases above).

Cases of regressive accents before an enclitic are limited (as opposed before a non-enclitic word). This is due to three reasons. First, because of the limited inventory of enclitics; second, due to the deaccentuation (P18iii) that occurs before a non-enclitic but not before an enclitic; and third, because, while two syllables flanking ≠ are prevented from coinciding within a single foot, those flanking = can coincide within a single foot *unless* that causes two segments across the boundary to coincide within a single syllable.

i) C=V (consonant and vowel across the enclitic boundary): The pre-boundary regressive accent replaces a rhythmic accent, if any, on the pre-boundary syllable. It is a device used to prevent the boundary from occurring within a syllable.

- (62) a. |*nuty*=*am*] ‘again the gun’  
 gun.ABS.sg.=again  
 > /nutìk|(k)am/ (iv.b-i) *nutek*=*am*

- b. |*qilay=am*| ‘again the sky’  
 sky.ABS.sg.=again  
 > /qiláy|yam/ (variant of /qilàk|kam/; cf. P22i) *qilag=am*  
 – compare with the homonymous single word:  
 cf. |*qilayay[+m]*| ‘of the palate’  
 palate-REL.sg.  
 > /qilá·|yam/ *qilagam*.

Consequently, a trisyllabic word before an enclitic must have a monosyllabic foot:

- (63) |*qilay[+mun=am]*| (sky.ALL.sg.=again) ‘again to the sky’  
 > /qiláy|mùn|(n)am/ *qilagmun=am*.

ii) V=V: Unlike the other cases of regressive accents, no gemination is possible where two vowels occur on both sides of an enclitic boundary, since no consonant is adjacent to the boundary. Accordingly, the regressive accent is realized instead by lengthening the pre-boundary vowel. This is likely the only way of preventing the vowel from falling into a single (phonetic) syllable with the post-boundary vowel and is the only case in which a single open syllable with a lengthened vowel constitutes a monosyllabic foot.

All the examples have the enclitic |=*am*| ‘again’ which is the only CAY enclitic that begins with a vowel (apart from the truncated |=*am*| from |*ampi*| ‘hurry up!’). A comparison is provided with (quasi-)homonymous but single words:

- (64) a. |*qaný[+mi=am]*| ‘in the mouth again’  
 mouth-LOC.sg.=again  
 > /qanáy|mì·|am/ (i, iv.b-ii) *qanermi=am*  
 cf. |*qaniýmiaý[+m]*| ‘of the thing held in the mouth’  
 thing.in.mouth-REL.sg.  
 > /qanáy|miam/ *qanermiam*
- b. |*cuyay[-ka=am]*| ‘my leaf tobacco again’  
 tobacco-ABS.1sg.sg.=again  
 > /cuyá·|qà·|am/ (cf. P3ii, P9) *cuyaqa=am*  
 cf. |*cuyay·xay\*[+m]*| ‘of a little bit of leaf tobacco’  
 tobacco-little-REL.sg.  
 > /cuyàx|xaam/ (cf. P9) *cuyarraam*.

The first word in the following ends with a consonant in its underlying form, but (P5iii, P17iii) cause it to end with the vowel /a/, which then receives the regressive accent (P18iv.b-ii):

- (65) |*cali-st=am*| ‘again the worker’  
 work-VNrl.ABS.sg.=again  
 > /ca.lis|tà·|am/ *calista=am*.

In the following, a regressively accented syllable before the enclitic boundary is phonetically different from one before a non-enclitic boundary in the sentence provided for comparison, i.e. /ni·/ vs. non-lengthened /ni/ (only with a high pitch):

- (66) |*qayay-li[+luni=am]*| ‘he is making a kayak again’  
 kayak-make-APP.3Rsg.=again  
 > /qa.yá·|li.lú·|ni·|am/ *qayaliluni=am*  
 cf. |*qayay-li[+luni ≠ am-a[+ni]*| ‘he is making a kayak over there’  
 kayak-make-APP.3Rsg.≠ there-EX-LOC  
 > /qa.yá·|li.lú·|ni|amá·ni/ *qayaliluni ≠ amani*.

iii) No regressive accent occurs if an enclitic begins with a consonant, that is, in cases of V=C and C=C, where the pre-boundary syllable, if rhythmically accentuated, retains the accent. Note that, before an enclitic boundary, final deaccentuation (P18iii) is not applicable, as the regressive accent of (P18ii.b) is blocked in the following:

- (67) a. |*nuna=lu*| ‘and the land’  
 land.ABS.sg.=and  
 > /nu.ná·|lu/ *nuna=llu*  
 b. |*nuna[+ka=lu=yuy]*| ‘my land also, they say’  
 land-ABS.1sg.sg.=and=RPR  
 > /nu.ná·|ka.lú·|xuq/ *nunaka=llu=gguq*.

The following example contains (a) an enclitic bound phrase, (b) a single word (with double locative case marking; § 27.9.1), and (c) a non-enclitic bound phrase, each forming a single articulus. They are prosodically different in that: (a) has no regressive accent on the *mi* before = (as it is in V\_C), yielding the same accent as (b), though (a) may have a slightly rising tone on the final =*mi* (presumably due to the interrogative force) as contrasted with the final two syllables in (b) which are low in tone; and in that, by contrast, *-mi* in (c) receives the regressive accent before non-enclitic ≠ (P18iv.a).

- (68) a. |*kiay[+mi=mi]*| ‘how about in the summer?’  
 summer-LOC.sg.=how.about  
 > /kiáy|mimi/ *kiagmi=mi*

- b. |*kiay*[+*mi-mi*]| ‘than last summer’  
 summer-LOC.sg.-LOC<sub>CMP</sub>  
 > /*kiáy*|*mimi*/ *kiagmimi* (double case marking)
- c. |*kiáy*[+*mi-mi* ≠ *kiiycit̃-n̄ȳu-yuȳ*]| ‘it is hotter than last summer’  
 summer-LOC.sg.-LOC<sub>CMP</sub>≠hot-more.than-IND.3sg.  
 > /*kiáy*|*mimi*|*kiíx̄*|*cit̃n̄*|*ȳuuq*/ *kiagmimi* ≠ *kiircetenruuq*.

Accent regression by (P18ii.b) is blocked for /*lu*/ in the following since it is followed by another enclitic [= *yuȳ*].

- (69) |*qayaȳ*[+*mun=lu=yuȳ*]| ‘also to the kayak, they say’  
 kayak-ALL.sg.=and=RPR  
 /*qa.yá*|*muntú*|*xuq*/ *qayamun=llu=gguq*.

Regression does take place when the pre-boundary word consists of a single open syllable.

- (70) /*ca=mi*/ ‘then what?’  
 what.ABS.sg.=contrast  
 > /*càm*|*mi*/ *ca=mi*  
 – the regression is optional for some speakers for whom it does not contrast with the single word:
- cf. /*ca*[+*mi*]/ ‘when?, in what?’  
 what-LOC.sg.  
 > /*cami*/ *cami*.

The following two particles might reflect the composition of /*wa*/ (adverbial demonstrative ‘here’) followed by an enclitic (= *llu*, = *gguq*), given the gemination as in /*ca=mi*/ above:

- (71) a. |*wàxxuq*| ‘so-called, so expressed’  
 > /*x<sup>w</sup>àx*|*xuq*/ *wagg’uq*
- b. |*wàtu*| ‘or’  
 > /*x<sup>w</sup>àt̃*|*tu*/ *wall’u*
- cf. |*wa*[+*ni*]| ‘here’  
 here-LOC  
 > /*x<sup>w</sup>ani*/ *wani*.

As stated above, the rhythmic prosody may be disturbed by a number of factors in addition to phonologically predictable mechanical disturbances, e.g. syllable contraction in certain suffixes (P18v), inherent accent in certain morphemes and by affectiveness (P18vii), as well as a few “accent-repelling” CV bases (as named by Jakobson – see § 8.6).

Now, given with the regressive accent due to an enclitic or non-enclitic boundary, the three kinds of articuli (§ 2.3.1) – i.e. a word, an enclitic bound phrase (conjoined with =), and a non-enclitic phrase (with ≠) – are to be clearly distinguished.

The following utterance consists of three articuli, each characterized by one or two accentless hypercatalectic syllable(s):

- (72) *Tua=i aũg-na ≠ ava=i qanimci-qa ≠ iqukli-tuq*  
 so away-EX.ABS.sg. away story-ABS.sg. end-IND.3sg.  
 /tuá|=i áuŷ|nà|≠awá|=i qaném|ciqà|≠iquk|lituq/  
 ‘So the story I just told is over.’

### 5. /ɣa/ and /ya/ deletion (syllable contraction): (P18v)

The /ɣa/ and /ya/ of the sequence /((ɣa)ɣ/ and /((ya)ɣ/ which occur in a fair number of morphemes, with phonological peculiarities mentioned in (P9), are deleted before a major boundary or (though optionally with some morphemes) before a consonant – Miyaoka (1974b). The front velar /ya/ deletion is accompanied by the assimilation of the following back velar to the front. The deletion may be accompanied by a regressive accent, which is the case for NNh |*-hi(ɣa)ɣ-*| and NN |*-qtahi(ɣa)ɣ-*|. The NNh |*-ɣuɣluɣ-*| also shows another idiosyncratic syllable contraction, e.g. in § 3(170).

One phonological effect of deletion in the language is that, by disturbing the rhythmic pattern, it yields a surface contrast between a single and a lengthened vowel and between a single and a geminated consonant, as well as a contrast in stress. Note the use of an apostrophe to indicate this divergence, cf. § 3.6.2.

The following has two options – (a) with no deletion and (b) with deletion where the accent is retained on the second foot after the deletion:

- (73) |*anɣ+tu(ɣa)ɣ[+tuɣ]* ‘he keeps saying yes’  
 say.yes-CNT-IND.3sg. >  
 a. /anɣ|tuɣáx|tuq/ *angerturartuq*  
 b. /anɣ|túx|tuq/ *angertu'rtuq* – § 3.6.2-iii for the V\_C apostrophe in orthography  
 – By contrast with this VVt suffix |*+t/ɣu(ɣa)ɣ*| (§ 42.2.3), the following NV |*+tuɣ-*| (§ 38.2), without the syllable concerned, has the third syllable naturally unaccented, yielding a minimal pair with (b) above in terms of stress:  
 cf. |*anɣ+tuɣ[+tuɣ]* ‘he is chewing gum’  
 gum-take-IND.3sg.  
 > /anɣ|tuɣtuq/ *angerturtuq*.

With the stem ‘to chew gum’ in the following pair, the deletion and non-deletion of / $\dot{y}a$ / are contrasted, with the suffix final velar (/ $\dot{y}$ /) deletion in (b) by the suffix VVn |- $\dot{ny}it$ -| waiving the necessary condition for deletion:

- (74) a. | $an\dot{y}+tu\dot{y}+tu(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}[+_1tu\dot{y}]$ | ‘he keeps on chewing gum’  
 gum-take-CNT-IND.3sg.  
 > / $an\acute{x}|tu\dot{y}t\acute{x}|tuq/$  *angerturturtuq*
- b. | $an\dot{y}+tu\dot{y}+tu(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}-n\dot{y}it[+_1tu\dot{y}]$ | ‘he is not continuing to chew gum’  
 gum-CNT-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 > / $an\acute{x}|t\acute{x}|tu\dot{y}an|\dot{y}ituq/$  *angerturturanrituq*.

In the following, the syllable deletion occurs optionally in (b) after accentuation (with lengthening), which yields a lengthened vowel before a consonant cluster, thereby constituting a minimal pair between the two examples in terms of the surface contrast of a lengthened vs. a short vowel, i.e. (b) / $\acute{y}i\acute{x}$ / vs. (c) / $\acute{y}i\acute{x}$ /:

- (75) | $u\dot{y}i(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}c[+_1tu\dot{y}]$ | ‘it (boat) beached suddenly/accidentally’  
 beach.suddenly-IND.3sg. >
- a. / $u\acute{y}i|\dot{y}a\acute{x}tuq/$  *ugirartuq*
- b. / $u\acute{y}i\acute{x}|tuq/$  *ugi'irtuq* – § 3.6.2-iii for the V\_V apostrophe in orthography
- c. | $u\dot{y}i\dot{y}c+_1tu\dot{y}$ | ‘it (boat) beached’  
 beach-IND.3sg.  
 > / $u\acute{y}i\acute{x}|tuq/$  *ugirtuq*.

The surface contrast is also evident in:

- (76) | $tupi\dot{y}+(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}ka\dot{y}[+\emptyset]$ | ‘something to be woven’  
 weave-VNrl.FUT-ABS.sg.  
 > / $tupi\dot{y}+\dot{y}a\dot{y}kaq/$  > / $tup\acute{i}|\dot{y}a\acute{x}kaq/$  *tupigarkaqaq* ~ / $tup\acute{i}\acute{x}|kaq/$   
*tupi'igkaqaq*.

The following set of words has the same numeral stem for ‘nine’ followed by different inflectional or derivational suffixes, with the first two (a, b) featuring deletion. By contrast, (c) has its preceding processes (P3i, P10) that waive the condition for deletion:

- (77) a. | $qul\eta un\dot{y}ita(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}[+ny]$ | ‘nine’  
 nine-ABM.pl.  
 > / $q\acute{u}l|\eta\grave{u}n|\dot{y}it\acute{a}\dot{y}|\dot{y}nik/$  *qulngunrita'arneka*



- b. |*qulɥunɥita(ɥa)ɥ*[+Ø] ‘nine’  
 nine-ABS.sg.  
 > |*qúlɥùnɥítá·ɥaɥ*| > /qúl|ɥùn|ɥíta·ɣ/ *qulɥunrita’ar*  
 – as contrasted with the /ya/ retained due to the intervocalic velar deletion:
- c. |*qulɥunɥita(ɥa)ɥ+ɥu*[+ɥuɥ] ‘it is nine’  
 nine-be-IND.3sg.  
 > /qúl|ɥùn|ɥítá·|ɥáú|*guq/ qulɥunritarauguq.*

In (b) the word-final /((ɥa)ɥ/ (i.e. the stem-final before ABS.sg. |+Ø)) is contracted into the voiceless back velar, as is also the case with:

- (78) |*unuakua(ɥa)ɥ*[+Ø] ‘early morning’  
 > /ùn|nuá·|*kuaɣ/ unuakuar*
- cf. |*unuakua(ɥa)ɥ*[+mi] ‘early in the morning’ (LOC.sg.)  
 > /ùn|nuá·|*kuá·|(ɥa)ɥmi/ > unuakuarmi ~ unuakuararmi.*

These two (77b) and (78) show that a GCY word-final voiceless back-velar fricative /ɣ/, which is not a rare occurrence, is a result of /ya/ deletion.

In the following two pairs, the difference in the stem shapes (a. mono- vs. b. disyllabic) and the (non-)deletion of /ya/ affect the succeeding syllables including the enclitics (/lu/ vs. /lu:/):

- (79) a. |*pi+caɥa(ɥa)ɥ*[+tuɥ=lu=ɥuɥ] ‘he is also early, they say’  
 do-early-IND.3sg.=and=RPR  
 > /piyá·|ɥaxtúq|*tuxuq/ piyarartuq=llu=gguq.*
- b. |*níɥi+caɥa(ɥa)ɥ*[+tuɥ=lu=ɥuɥ] ‘they say she also ate early’  
 eat-early-IND.3sg.=and=RPR  
 /níɥ|*yaɥá·x|tuq|tú·|xuq/ neryara’artuq=llu=gguq.*
- (80) |*tupiɥ+(ya)ɥkay*[+Ø=lu=ɥuɥ] ‘and something to be woven, they say’  
 weave-VNrl.FUT-ABS.sg.=and=RPR
- a. > /tupí·|ɥaxkáq|*tuxuq/ tupigarkaɥ=llu=gguq ~*
- b. > /tupí·x|*kaq|tú·|xuq/ tupi’igkaɥ=llu=gguq* (with lengthening on the first enclitic).

The following verb with three intervening suffixes show two /ya/-deletions, aside from (P10) on first *ɥ*, (P11) on second *ɥ* and *ɥ*, and (P10) on *ɥ* (before original *ɥ*):

- (81) *uita-ur-ka-urr-luni* ‘she (Irene Reed) was to stay (in Alaska)’  
 |uita+yu(ȳa)ȳ+ȳ(aȳ)kaȳ+ȳurȳc[+luni|  
 stay-CNT-VNrl.FUT-INC-APP.3Rsg.  
 lit. ‘she has now come (to be one who is) to keep staying’ – see  
 Gladys Dart (2008: IRES 24–25) cited in § 43(80).
- (82) |aqumi+yu(ȳa)ȳ+cuȳnaȳqi[+ȳuȳ=lu=ȳuȳ|  
 sit-CNT-presumably-IND.3sg.=and=RPR  
 ‘he is also presumably sitting a while, they say’  
*aqúmú’ryugnárquq=llú=gguq*  
 cf. |aqumi+cuȳ+cuȳnaȳqi[+ȳuȳ=lu=ȳuȳ|  
 sit-DES-presumably-IND.3sg.=and=RPR  
 ‘he also presumably wants to sit, they say’  
*aqúmyugyúgnarqúq=llu=gguq.*

Variance among speakers is sometimes observed, however, with regard to deletion. The following word with its two variants is derived from |*aȳuka’(ȳa)ȳ-* ‘elderly man’. It may be the case that in this kind of variance, one group of speakers uses the form in (83)b by deleting /ȳa/ from the underlying form:

- (83) |aȳuka’(ȳa)ȳ+paȳ+taȳq̄x[+tuȳ=lu=ȳuȳ|  
 elder-big-there.be-IND.3sg.=ENC=ENC  
 ‘there is also a big elderly man, they say’  
 a. *angúká’rpagtángqertúq=llu=gguq* (with /tu/)   
 b. *angúkarpágtangqértuq=llú=gguq* (with /tú:/)  
 ‘there is also a big elderly man, they say’.

From the limited number of speakers consulted, (a) seems to be used by the older generation and (b) by younger people, although it might be premature to conclude that this is a general tendency.

### 5.1. Within inflections: (P18v.a)

The /ȳa/ and /ȳa/ deletion may occur within inflections as well:

i) In connection with the indicative transitive marker |+ȳaȳ-| (§ 46.1):

- (84) |pi+cuȳ[+(ȳa)ȳ-ka| ‘I want (to get) it’  
 get-DES-IND-1sg.3sg.  
 > |pi+ȳuȳ[+aȳ-qa| >  
 a. /piyú’|ȳaqa/ *piyugaqa* ~  
 b. /piyú’x|qa/ *piyu’ugqa*.

The following pair derives from the different treatments of the person marker, that is, either of the retaining type (a) |+ka| of the deleting type (b) |-ka| (Table 21), the latter of which is the more typical. See § 3(170) and § 46.1-iv for more examples.

- (85) a. |*amaỵ*[+*yạỵ*+*ka*] ‘I backpack it’  
backpack-IND-1sg.3sg.  
> |*amá*·*xqa*| (with P9 blocked, P18v) *ama*’*arqa*
- b. |*amaỵ*[+*yạỵ*-*ka*] ‘I backpack it’  
> |*amá*·*yaqa*| (cf. P3, P9) *amaraqa*.

ii) as a constantive-connective mood maker |+*yaq(a)*-| (‘whenever’; § 50.3) which seems to involve /ya/ deletion:

- (86) |*pisụỵ*[+*yaqa*+*mi*] ‘whenever he went hunting’ >  
hunt-CNNwv.3Rsg. >
- a. |*pisú*·*yaqá*·*mi*| *pissuraqami*
- b. |*pisú*·*xqami*| *pissu*’*urqami*  
– the latter of which suggests the original |+*yạỵ*+*q(a)*-|.

## 5.2. Before other consonants: (P18v.b)

Though much less frequent and more lexically limited to a few suffixes, /ya/ deletion also occurs before consonants other than /y/. The deletion or retention of /ya/ may have some (implicational) differences at least for some speakers. This occurs with:

i) VVt |+*qa(ya)qi*-| (ASP) ‘intermittently, now and then’:

- (87) |*qavaỵ*-*cuaỵ*-*qa(ỵa)qi*[+*luni*] ‘he taking short naps now and then’  
sleep-DIM-ITM-APP.3Rsg.
- a. /*qavá*·|*cuá*·|*qiyáq*|*luni*/ *qavacuaqeraqluni* (/a/ > /i/ by P19) ~
- b. /*qavá*·|*cuá*·|*qáq*|*luni*/ *qavacuaqqluni*  
– with the deleted variant (b) possibly implying involuntariness.

ii) A sequence of suffix-final /y/ and VVt |+*yaqi*-| ‘habitually, always’ (typically in appositional verbs):

- (88) |*iqvaỵ*+*yaqi*[+*lua*]  
pick.berry-ASP-APP.1sg.  
‘I habitually picking berries’

> |iqva(ŷa)qłua| (cf. P11, P8ii, ..) >

- a. /íq|faŷáq|łua/ *iqvaraqlua* ~
- b. /íq|fáq|łua/ *iqvaqlua*.

iii) Certain suffixes – VVt |+nauŷ-| and |+niay-| (§ 42.2.6) and VVm |-<sub>1</sub>cuay-| (§ 43) at least when followed by the indicative (transitive) marker |+yaŷ-| (§ 46.1). Note the optional deletion before the first person singular /mC/ in the following three:

- (89) |aki+nauŷ[+yaŷ-mkin| ‘I will/let me pay you (sg.) for the favor’  
reciprocate-so.that.now-IND-1sg.2sg.  
> |aki+nauŷ+a-mkin| (cf. P11, P9) >
- a. /akí|naú|ŷamkin/ *akinauramken* ~
  - b. /akí|naúm|kin/ *akinaumken* ~ *akinaamken*  
– with the retained variant (a) possibly sounding like ‘I am paying you back (in retaliation)’.  
See also § 42(175).
- (90) |ilit+nauŷ[+yaŷ-mci| ‘I will learn of you’  
learn-so.that.now-IND-1sg.2pl.
- a. *elitnauramci* ~
  - b. *elitnaumci*  
– Note, however, that the stem |ilitnauŷ| ‘to teach’, which is homonymous with the derived stem |ilit+nauŷ-| above does not have the deletion:  
cf. |ilitnauŷ[+yaq-mci| ‘I am teaching you’  
teach-IND-1sg.2pl.  
*elitnauramci* (with no variant of \**elitnaumci*).
- (91) |cikiŷ+niay[+(ŷa)q-mkin| ‘I will give you (something) in the future’  
give-so.that.in.future-IND-1sg.2sg.
- a. *cikirniaramken* ~
  - b. *cikirniamken*.

### 5.3. Dialect variations

It could only be remarked that the Hooper Bay-Chevak and the Nunivak dialects feature somewhat different manners of the syllable contraction of /(ŷa)ŷ/ from the Norton Sound dialect and General Central Yupik, since my information from these marginal dialects are very limited. The differences seem to have a few other changes intermixed, requiring further investigation:

- (92) |atxay[+luni| ‘he going down’  
go.down-APP.3Rsg.  
a. [GCY] átràrluni /átxàyluni/ (with accent regression of P18ii.b)  
b. [NUN] át’èrluni /áttiyluni/  
c. [NS] átrarlúni /átxaylú·ni/ (P18ii.b blocked)  
d. [HBC] átre<sup>l</sup>úni/átxilú·ni/.
- (93) |tuntu+c+quyay[+tua| ‘I keep catching reindeer’  
reindeer-catch-CNT-IND.1sg.  
a. [GCY] túntuqú’urtua /túntuqú·xtua/ (with P18v)  
b. [NUN] same  
c. [NS] túntuqú<sup>rr</sup>èrtua /túntuqú·xixtua/ (with P18ii.a)  
d. [HBC] túntuqú<sup>rr</sup>èrtua /túntuqú·xittua/.

## 6. CV-stem weakening: (P18vi)

When a CV stem/root is followed by a consonant cluster, the word-initial closed syllable may lose the accent that it would take according to P18i, with the accent “repelled” – as Steven Jacobson called it – to the next closed syllable, at least for some dialects (or speakers) (Jacobson 1984b; 1995: 15; 1998: 33 for dialectal distribution). The accent tends to remain on the initial closed syllable for lexicalized (derived) stems. Deletion or retention may or may not, however, make any semantic difference.

Illustrations are made of three CV stems/roots:

i) |pi-| ‘to do’:

- (94) |pi-st[+Ø|  
do-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
a. /pís|ta/ *pista* ‘servant, helper’  
b. /pistá/ > /pista/ (cf. P17iii) *pista* ‘one who does, doer’  
– only in parts of [Y] and with no orthographical device for distinction.

In correspondence with the distinction above (if any):

- (95) a. *pístèngqatártuq* ‘something is going to be done to him’ (-*qatar*- IMN)  
b. *pístèngqatártuq* ‘he is going to get a servant’ (-*ng*- ‘to get’).

The accent (retention or loss) may not make any difference:

(96) |*pi-vkaŷ-lʲu-nʲit*[+*yaa*] ‘he did not make her do (something)’  
do-A'.cause-PST-NEG-IND.3sg.3sg.

- a. /pif|kałxún|ŷit|taa/ ~  
b. /pifkál|xún|ŷit|taa/ *pivkallrunritaa*.

ii) |*ca-*| ‘to do what/something’:

(97) |*ca+ŋi+cuy+tuŷ*|  
something-get-DES-IND.3sg.

- a. *cáŋgyuŷtuq* ‘he wants to catch fish or game (lexicalized)’  
b. *cangyúŷtuq* ‘he wants to get something’ (Jacobson 1994a: 10).

(98) |*ca+sqi-nʲit*[+*yaa*] ‘he does not ask her to do anything’  
do.what-A'.ask-NEG-IND.3sg.3sg.

- a. /cás|qín|rit|taa/ ~  
b. /casqín|rit|taa/ *casqenritaa*.

iii) |*ki(t)-*| ‘who’:

(99) |*kin-ku*[+*t=lu=yuŷ*] ‘who (pl.) also? they say’  
who-EX-ABS.pl.=and=RPR >

- a. /kín|kutlú·|xuq/ ~  
b. /kinkút|łuxuq/ *kinkut=llu=gguq*.

The accent is not repelled for monosyllabic stems/roots of a closed syllable (C)VC, as compared with the preceding:

(100) |*kan-ku*[+*t=lu=yuŷ*] ‘also the ones down there, they say’  
down-EX-ABS.pl.=and=RPR >  
/kán|kutlú·|xuq/ *kakut=llu=gguq*.

## 7. Lexical and affective disturbances: (P18vii)

Besides the predictable disturbances of mechanical nature (§ 8.2, § 8.4, § 8.5), some disturbances of the rhythmic pattern of prosody are lexically triggered by certain morphemes while others are not. Most of the realizations involve gemination except the last one, which involves vowel lengthening.

a) In a small number of suffixes and, at least for some speakers, a regressive accent may disturb the rhythmic pattern for emphasis or some other affective or attitudinal effect. See § 3.6.2 for the use of apostrophes to represent gemination

below, when connected to lexical and affective disturbances. These include:

VVa	-qapiŷc-  ~  -qapia(ŷa)ŷ-	‘very (much)’
NN	+paŷ-	‘big’
VPc	+ <sub>1</sub> paa	exclamative
VV(VN)	- <sub>1</sub> cu(li)-	‘(one) good at -ing’.

(101) |asiŷ-qapiŷc[+<sub>1</sub>tuŷ| >  
good-AUG-IND.3sg.

- a. /asi|qapix|tuq/ *assiqapigtuq* ‘it is very good’ ~  
b. /asiq|qapix|tuq/ *assiq’apigtuq* ‘it is *very* good’ = § 9(19).

(102) |pamyuŷ+paŷ|  
tail-big.ABS.sg.

- a. /pámyuxpak/ *pamyurpak* ‘big tail’ ~  
b. /pámyüxpak/ *pamyu’rpak* ‘one with a big tail; you (sg.) big tail!’  
(affective).

(103) |aŷyaŷ-li-cu[+yuŷ| ‘he is good at making boats’  
boat-make-skillful-IND.3sg.

- a. /áŷyalí’yuuq/ *angyaliyuuq* ~  
b. /áŷyaliyuuq/ *angyaliy’uuq* (possibly emphatic).

b) A small number of suffixes have an inherent accent that causes iambic regression to the preceding suffix, though the patterns of regression differ according to the suffixes concerned. These include the suffixes in § 32 and § 20:

VVt	+ŷa(ŷa)ŷc-	‘suddenly, immediately, momentarily, a little, unexpectedly’
VVt	-qàŷc-	‘suddenly’ (vs. VVa  -qaŷ-  ‘just, a while’)
VVt	-tàŷ-	‘suddenly’ (vs. VVt  -táy-  ‘imitatively’)
VVa	-(ŷa)ŷc-	‘quickly, slightly’
NNh/VVh	-tí(ŷa)ŷ*-	‘funny, darned’ (vs. NN  -tŷ-  ‘past, former’).

(104) |ila-ŷi-ŷà(ŷa)ŷc[+<sub>1</sub>tuŷ| ‘it (suddenly) became more, multiplied’  
part-get-little-IND.3sg.

- /ilá|ŷàx|tuq/ *ilanga’rtuq*  
cf. |ilanaŷc[+<sub>1</sub>tuŷ| ‘(something) is deprived of/taken away from it’  
take.away-IND.3sg. – passivized secundative ditransitive (§ 35.2.1.1)  
/ilá|ŷaxtuq/ *ilangartuq*.

- (105) a. |caqiy-(ya)yc[+<sub>1</sub>tuý] ‘he made a slight turn’  
turn-little-IND.3sg.  
/caqi·χtuq/ caqi’irtuq
- b. |caqiy-qayc-[+<sub>1</sub>tuý] ‘he made a sudden turn’  
turn-sudden-IND.3sg.  
/caqqiqixtuq/ caq’iqertuq
- cf. |caqiy+c[+<sub>1</sub>tuý] ‘he made a turn’  
turning-A-IND.3sg. > /caqix|tuq/ caqirtuq.
- (106) |mayuy-qayc[+<sub>1</sub>tuý] ‘he is going up suddenly/quickly’  
go.up-suddenly-IND.3sg.  
/mày|yuqix|tuq/ (P19 as to /a/ > /i/) may’uqertuq
- cf. |mayuy-qay[+<sub>1</sub>tuý] ‘he is going up a while’  
go.up-ITS-IND.3sg.  
/mayú·|qixtuq/ mayuqertuq.
- (107) |atuy-tay[+<sub>1</sub>tuý] ‘he is suddenly singing’  
sing-suddenly-IND.3sg.  
/àt|tułax|tuq/ at’ullagtuq
- cf. |atuy-tay[+<sub>1</sub>tuý] ‘he is suddenly singing after someone else’  
sing-imitatively-IND.3sg.  
/atú·|łaxtuq/ atullagtuq.
- (108) |yuaýut-łi(ya)ý+tañqx[+<sub>1</sub>tuý] ‘there is a funny old song’  
song-funny-there.be-IND.3sg.  
/yuá·ýùłixtañqixtuq/ yuaru’tle’rtangqertuq
- cf. |yuaýut-łý+tañqx[+<sub>1</sub>tuý] ‘there is an old song’  
song-PST-there.be-IND.3sg.  
/yuá·ýùłixtañqixtuq/ yuarutlertangqertuq.

### 8. Double vowel contraction: (P18viii)

Double vowel contraction is often attested in GCAY, though perhaps more commonly in the Hooper Bay-Chevak and the Nunivak dialects, although extensive documentation in those marginal dialects awaits fuller investigation.

a) A double vowel is contracted into a single vowel before two consonants. The HBC form of (109a) has the regular accentuation (as in GCY) followed by vowel contraction, and thus only contrasting with (109b) in terms of accent:



- (109) a. |*an̩yaŷ-ŋat̩yʊn*| ‘by their boat’  
 boat-PRL.3pl.sg.  
 [GCY] /*án̩yaát̩xun/ an̩gyaat̩gun* ~ [HBC] /*án̩yát̩xun/ an̩gyat̩gun*
- b. |*an̩yaŷ-tyʊn*| ‘by the boat’  
 boat-PRL.pl.  
 [GCY.HBC] /*án̩yat̩xun/ an̩gyat̩gun*.

By contrast, in HBC, the contraction (a) results in complete homonymy with (b):

- (110) a. |*uu+c-<sub>1</sub>n̩y[+ŋa]*| ‘his burn’  
 burn-VVsm-VN-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 > |*uu-n̩y-a*| > [GCY] /*úun̩y̆a/ uun̩ra* ~ [HBC] /*ún̩y̆a/ un̩ra*  
 – A-adder VVs |+c-| is deleted by (P5i) because of the deverbal noun  
 |+<sub>1</sub>n̩y̆-| (result; § 18.3.1.2).
- b. |*un̩y̆[+ŋa]*| ‘his armpit’  
 armpit-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 [GCY • HBC] /*ún̩y̆a/ un̩ra*.

Contracted forms are not necessarily unique to HBC but are very often heard elsewhere as well:

- (111) |*yuun̩caŷi-st*| ‘medical doctor, medicine’  
 medicate-VNrl.ABS.sg.<sup>4</sup>
- a. /*yuún̩caŷista/ yuun̩garista* ~  
 b. /*yún̩caŷista/ yun̩garista*.
- (112) |*t̩iŋi+cuut+vay*| ‘big airplane’  
 fly-VNrl-big.ABS.sg.
- a. /*t̩iŋsuúl̩vak/ tengssuul̩vak* ~  
 b. /*t̩iŋsúl̩vak/ tengssul̩vak* – may be more common [SK]

This double vowel contraction does not take place before a single consonant, as contrastively shown in the following:

- (113) |*t̩iŋi+cuut[+ŋa]*| ‘his plane’  
 fly-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 /*t̩iŋsuút̩ii/ tengssuut̩ii* ‘his plane’  
 – but not *\*tengssut̩ii*. Likewise no *\*tengsuuterpak* for (112).

---

4. That |*yuun̩caŷi-*| with two vowels is the original form would be supported by the most probable derivation of the stem from |*yuŷ+ŋu-ŋcaŷ+y̆i-*| (person-be-try.cause-APS), cf. |*yu-u-*| ‘to live (person-be)’.

b) Vowel contraction may be triggered by a few suffixes, as is at least the case for the VVt  $|-l\grave{a}y-$  ‘suddenly’ (as contrasted with VVa  $|-l\grave{a}y-$  ‘in imitation’ – cf. § 8.7-ii), with gemination reflecting the contraction:

- (114)  $|\widehat{u}y\grave{a}q\grave{a}y-$  ‘to retch, gag, feel nausea’  
 $\widehat{u}g\grave{a}q'a-llag-tuq$  /wàqqaláxtuq/ ‘he gags suddenly’  
 cf.  $\widehat{u}g\grave{a}q\grave{a}a-llag-tuq$  /wàqqaałaxtuq/ ‘he retches in imitation’.

- (115)  $|l\grave{a}l\grave{a}y-$  [Y] ‘to bark, utter’ –  $|l\grave{a}l-$  (onomatopoeic)  
 $'lall'a-llag-tuq$  ‘it [dog] is suddenly barking’.

The double vowel /aa/ in the following stems is contracted either into /i/ or /a/:

- (116)  $|l\grave{i}v\grave{a}a\grave{y}-$  ‘to buzz; outboard motor’  
 a.  $'lev'i-llag-tuq$  ~  
 b.  $'lev'a-llag-tuq$  ‘it [outboard motor] is suddenly buzzing’  
 cf.  $'lev\grave{a}a-llag-tuq$  ‘it started’.

## Chapter 9

### Postprosodic adjustments

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A number of surface adjustments are made postprosodically.

#### 1. /a/ raising: (P19)

The low vowel /a/ is raised to the central /i/ (schwa) between a back velar stop and a back velar fricative immediately before an inflection:

- (1) |*aŋayuqaŷ*[+put] ‘our boss’  
 boss-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 > /aŋá yuqíxput/ *angayuqerput*
- cf. |*aŋayuqaŷ*[-put] ‘our bosses’  
 boss-ABS.1pl.pl.  
 > /aŋá yuqá put/ (P9) *angayuqaput*  
 – with final consonant deletion of the stem final /ŷ/ cancelling the condition for vowel raising, which also applies to the non-raising of the compared example in the following.
- (2) |*amaŷ-qay*[+ŷ\**u*] ‘(you [sg.]) please backpack it!’  
 backpack-POL-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 /amá qíxu/ *amaqerru*.
- cf. |*amaŷ-qay-tŷu*[+ŷaa] ‘he backpacked it’  
 backpack-POL-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 /amá qálŷua/ *amaqallrua*.  
 – see § 8(34, 35) for |-qay-| with or without vowel raising into /i/ in this pair and in the following example.

Note an accented /a/ blocks the raising in favor of lengthening if followed by an open syllable.

- (3) |*nipc-qay*[+*y*\**u*] ‘(you [sg.]) please turn it off!’  
 turn.off-POL-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 /níptiqáːxu/ *nipteqarru* ~ /níptiqàxxu/ *nipteqerru* (cf. P18ii.c)  
 – the former with the raising blocked, e.g. in HBC.

## 2. Vowel cluster adjustments: (P20)

i) Word-initial /i/ and /u/ followed by accented /á/ become /y/ and /w/ respectively:

- (4) |*uy+a*[+*ni*] ‘down there’  
 down-DEM.EX-LOC  
 > /wáːni/ (cf. P18i) *uani*.
- (5) |*iŋ+a*[+*ni*] ‘over there’  
 over-DEM.EX-LOC  
 > /yáːni/ (cf. P18i) *iani* ~ *yaani* (depending on writers).

ii) With considerable variance, the accent on the second vowel of the clusters /ai/ and /au/ (and also /ui/ and /iu/ for some speakers) tends to shift from the second to the first, with the second vowel delengthened, although, as Anthony Woodbury observes (p.c.), locations of the pitch peak in diphthongs may be ‘surprisingly chaotic even across repetitions of the same word by the same speaker’.

- (6) |*tau+na*[+Ø] ‘that one’  
 that-EX-ABS.sg.  
 > /táuna/ (cf. P18i) *tauna*.
- (7) |*ui*[-*ka*] ‘my husband’  
 Hu-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 /uíːka/ ~ /úika/ (cf. P18i) *uika*.

iii) The second vowel of a double vowel is shortened due to the two-mora limitation:

- (8) |*isýat-ki*[+*yaa=lu*] ‘it is also his bag, backpack’  
 bag-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.=and  
 > /isxàtkaaː=lu/ (cf. P5iii, P8ii, P11, P13; P18i, ii.c, ii.b, i) >  
 /isxàtkaaː=lu/ *issratkaa=llu*.

The /aá/, pronounced with a rising tone, yields a surface contrast with /á·/ with a level tone ( § 3.2.4-ix) as in:

- (9) |iṣỵat[-ka=lu| ‘also my bag, backpack’  
 bag-ABS.1sg.sg.=and  
 > /iṣx̣atká·=lu/ (cf. P5, P13, P18i, ii.b blocked) *issratka=llu*.

It is the enclitic that, in the following, yields the contrast on the initial double vowel, with rather level pitch in (a) and pitch peak protracted and higher in the first syllable in (b):

- (10) a. |aána-ní-mi| ‘like at mothers’  
 Mo-LOC.pl.-CMP.LOC. *aananimi*  
 b. |áana-ní=mi| ‘how about his (own) mother?’  
 Mo-LOC.3Rsg.=how.about *aanani=mi*  
 cf. |aána-míni| ‘at his (own) mother’  
 LOC.3Rsg.sg. *aanamini*.

### 3. Postprosodic devoicing: (P21) – Kuskokwim dialect

A fricative is devoiced before a voiceless stop in certain morphemes mainly in dialects south of the Kuskokwim (including Bristol Bay) as well as in NUN (but not in HBC):

- (11) a. |nịỵi[-ki-na| ‘(you [sg.]) eat (soon, in future)!’  
 eat-ASP-OPT.2sg.  
 > [K] /níxkina/ *nerkina* vs.  
 [Y] /níỵkina/ (cf. P8ii.c) *ner’kina*.  
 b. |nịỵi-cuạỵ-qaỵ[+luta| ‘we eating a little’  
 eat-little-POL-APP.1pl.  
 > [K] /níxcuạq̣ịỵluta/ *nercuaqerluta* vs.  
 [Y] /níỵcuạq̣ịỵluta/ *ner’cuaqerluta*.
- (12) |nịỵi-łini[-yuỵ| ‘I see he ate’  
 eat-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 > [K] /nịx̣łinniuq/ *nerrliniuq* vs.  
 [Y.HBC] /nịỵłinniuq/ *ner’lliniuq*.

#### 4. Pre-boundary fricativization: (P22)

Particularly in faster or somewhat sloppy pronunciation, a word-final velar or apical may stay fricative (despite P17-i) before an enclitic or a non-clitic word in bound phrases, although the pre-boundary regressive accent (P18iv) still occurs. See examples (b) below.

i) *Before an enclitic boundary*: illustrated with a front velar as well as an apical:

- (13) |*nutɣ=am*| ‘again the gun’  
 a. /*nutik=(k)am*/ (cf. P7, P13-i, P17-i) *nutek=am* ~  
 b. /*nutiɣ=(ɣ)am*/ (with P13-i, P17-i blocked) *nuteg=am*.
- (14) |*kuiɣ=mi*| ‘how about the river?’  
 river.ABS.sg.=how.about  
 a. /*kuik=mi*/ (cf. P13-i, P17-i) *kuik=mi* ~  
 b. /*kuiɣ=mi*/ (with P13-i, P17-i blocked) *kuig=mi*.
- (15) |*ɪɫpic=mi*| ‘how about you (sg.)?’  
 you.2sg.=how.about  
 a. /*ɪɫpit=mi*/ *elpet=mi* ~  
 b. /*ɪɫpiz=mi*/ *elpes=mi*.
- (16) |*ɪɫpic=kiq*| ‘I wonder if/what you (sg.)...’  
 you.2sg.=RQC  
 a. /*ɪɫpit=kiq*/ (cf. P5ii) *elpet=kiq* ~  
 b. /*ɪɫpis=kiq*/ (as if from |*ɪɫpic=<sub>1</sub>kiq*|; P5i.b, P13i) *elpes=kiq*.

ii) *Before a non-enclitic boundary*:

- (17) |*kuiɣ ≠ un 'a*| ‘the river down there’  
 river.ABS.sg. ≠down-EX.ABS.sg.  
 a. /*kuik ≠ unna*/ (cf. P13-i, P17-i; P18iv.a-i) *kuik ≠un 'a* ~  
 b. /*kuiɣunna*/ (with P13-i, P17-i blocked) *kuig≠un 'a*.
- (18) |*niɣi [+luy ≠ ata]*| ‘let us eat again (as usual)!’  
 eat-OPT.1du. ≠see  
 /*nérlùɣ ≠ (ɣ)ata*/ (cf. 8ii; P18iv.a-i) *nerlug ≠ ata!*

## 5. Affective adjustments (P23)

Phonetic realizations, both segmental and prosodic, are conditioned by affective factors (expressiveness, exclamative force, emphasis, or attitudinal effect) in various ways:

i) A rhythmic accent is replaced with a regressive one and/or the final vowel of the preceding morpheme is deleted – cf. (P18vii.a). This process is employed very often and particularly with intensifiers (VVa; § 41.3):

VVa  $|-qapiyc-| \sim |-qapia(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}-|$  (§ 41.3.1):

- (19) a.  $|asi\dot{y}-qapiyc[+_1tu\dot{y}]|$  ‘it is very good’  
 good-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 > /asiqqapixtuq/ *assiq’apigtug*  
 cf. /asi’qapixtuq/ *assiqapigtug* = § 8(101)
- b.  $|asi\dot{y}-qapia(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}[+_1tu\dot{y}]|$  ‘it is very good’  
 good-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 > /ásqàppiáxtuq/ *asqapiartug* – vowel deletion accompanied by regressive accent, which may occur with truncation (§ 9.6), i.e. (32)  
 /ásqàppiax/ *asqapiar*  
 cf. /asi’qàppiáxtuq/ *assiqapiartug* – see also (29) below.
- (20)  $|asiit-qapiyc[+_1tu\dot{y}]|$  ‘it is very bad’  
 bad-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 > /asítqapixtuq/ *assitqapigtug* (vowel de-doubling)  
 cf. /asi’tiqá’pixtuq/ *asiiteqapigtug*.
- (21)  $|nalú-qapiyc[+_1yaqa]|$  ‘I don’t know it at all’  
 ignorant-ITS-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 /nàlqapixtaqa/ *nalqapigtaqa* (vowel deletion accompanied by regressive accent)  
 cf. /nalú’qapixtaqa/ *nalluqapigtaqa*.
- (22)  $|niñli\dot{y}-qapiyc[+_1tu\dot{y}]|$  ‘it is very cold’  
 cold-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 /niñliqqapixtuq/ *nenglliq’apigtug* (regressive accent)  
 cf. /niñliqá’pixtuq/ *nenglliqapigtug*.

VVa  $|+_1pay-|$  ( $\sim |+_1vay-|$  § 41.3.2):

- (23)  $|ayakay+_1pay[+_1tu\dot{y}]|$  ‘he took off, left fast’  
 leave-EMP-IND.3sg.  
 > /ayákpaxtuq/ *ayakpagtuq* – with syllable syncopation.

- (24) |*kic+paɣ*[+<sub>1</sub>*tuɣ*] ‘it/he fell precipitously into the water’  
 drop-EMP-IND.3sg.  
 > /kìppaxtuq/ *kip’agtuq*  
 cf. /kittipáxtuq/ *kit’epagtuq*.
- (25) |*pamyuɣ+paɣ*[+ø]  
 tail-EMP-ABS.sg.  
 ‘you (sg.) big tail! (affective); one with a big tail, big tail’  
 > /pámyùɣpak/ *pamyu’rpak*  
 cf. /pámyuxpak/ *pamyurpak* ‘big tail’.

VVa |-*kac(a)(y)aɣ*-| (§ 41.3.5):

- (26) |*quya-kaca(y)aɣ*[+*luni*] ‘(he) being really thankful’  
 thank-EMP-APP.3Rsg.  
 > /quyàkkacá·yàɣluni/ *quyak’acagarluni*  
 cf. /quyá·kacá·yàɣluni/ *quyakacagarluni*.

ii) A vowel or a consonant may be double long (as marked by :) with a slower tempo:

- (27) |*tua=i*| ‘there!, stop!’ (interjective adverbial demonstrative)  
 > /tuá·i/ ~ /tuá:i/ *tua=i!*
- (28) |*aɣinɣiatpaa*| ‘wow, too bad!’  
 unsatisfactory-EXC  
 > /aɣín·qíá·paa/ *arenɣiapaa!* – § 5.3.3-i.b and § 52.4.1.

iii) Sporadically, a short open syllable may be accented and lengthened with high pitch for emotive or mimetic factors:

- (29) |*asiɣ-qapia(ɣa)ɣ*[+<sub>1</sub>*tuɣ*]  
 good-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 /á·|siqá·|piáɣ|tuq/ *aassiqapiartuq* ‘it is very good’ [AF]  
 ‘it is very good’ – as when one is full and is in a relaxed or slacking mood)  
 cf. (19b) /así·|qàp|piáɣ|tuq/ *assiqapiartuq* (regular derivation).
- (30) |*aɣ-piaɣ ≠ tau-na*|  
 big-ITS≠that.ABS.sg.  
 /á·ŋ|piáq ≠ táuna/ *aangpiaq ≠ tauna!* ‘that one is big!’ – |*aɣi*-| ‘to be big’.



- (31) *Aluviiluvii* /alú'wií'lú'wí' / *ii-g* ≠ *maq'-uk*.  
 tear eye-ABS.du. flow-IND.3du.  
 ‘Tears, tears, someone’s eyes are streaming.’ [QNMC 92]  
 – from *aluvik* [alu'wik] with partial reduplication.

See also § 12 (18) *u-kuu-u-u-t* ‘these!’

## 6. Truncation (P24)

Truncation may occur at the end of a word, whether inflecting or non-inflecting. A truncated form is indicated by the apostrophe or by parenthesizing the truncated vowel (§ 3.6.2).

i) The word-final truncation for exclamative and/or affective effects particularly concerns intensifying and augmentative suffixes:

- (32) /ásqàpiax/ ‘(something) *very* good!’ (together with stem-final vowel deletion)  
*as-qapiar* – from (19b) *as-qapiar-tuq*, which itself is an emphatic form with stem-final vowel deletion of *assi-qapiar-tuq* ‘it is very good’.

- (33) *angar-vak* ~ *angalkur-pak* ‘powerful shaman’ – see NN |+<sub>1</sub>pay-|.

ii) A bound phrase may frequently be characterized by truncation *before* the phrase-internal boundary (particularly ≠), whether inflecting or non-inflecting:

- (34) |qaiłun ≠ pi[+ya| ‘How is it/does he?’  
 how≠do-INT.3sg.  
 > /qaiłun ≠ pia/ > /qàił ≠ pia/ *Qaiłl* ≠ *pia*?
- (35) *Ner-ì=àt' ≠ amci!* ‘Eat now as usual!’  
 cf. *Nerì ≠ ata!* ‘Eat, as usual!’ – OPT.2sg.
- (36) *taun' ≠ imna* for *tauna imna* ‘the aforementioned/previously known’  
*am' ≠ cali* *ampi cali* ‘hurry up and work!’  
*atag' ≠ tauna* *ataki tauna* ‘well then’.
- (37) *Ner-iu ≠ un' ≠ tamalku-an.* = § 14 (143) ‘(you [sg.]) eat it whole!’

Compare |tau+na| in the following two examples and see the truncation as the first component, but not as the second:

- (38) |*tau-na* ≠ *taic*[+*yu*] ‘(you [sg.]) bring that one (to me)!’  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.≠bring-OPT.2sg.3sg. >  
 /*taùn* ≠ *táizyu*/ *Taun’* ≠ *taisgu!*  
 cf. /*táunà* ≠ *táizyu*/ *Tauna* ≠ *taisgu!*
- (39) |*ic+ciqi*[+*lyia* ≠ *tau-na*] ‘That one might fall’  
 fall-FUT-PTP.3sg.≠that-EX.ABS.sg. >  
 /*ixciqìl*≠*táuna*/ *Igciiqel’* ≠ *tauna*  
 cf. /*ixciqìl*≠*xìà*≠*táuna*/ *Igciiqellria* ≠ *tauna*.

An appositional-mood verb often has its inflection-final vowel truncated, thus, *-lun’*, *-luk’* for 3Rsg. *-luni*, 3sg. *-luku*, etc. (or even *-l’*).

- (40) a. *mayu-llini-lun’* ≠ *tamaaggun* ‘(he) going up (through) there (PRL)’  
 b. *tekite-llini-luk’* ≠ *tauna ena* ‘(he) arriving at that house’.

The exclamative particle *tang!* may be derived from the optative *tangrr-u* (§ 52.2).

An enclitic very often shows truncation as represented:

- (41) a. =*ll’* / =*ll(u)*, =*w’* / =*gg’* / =*w(a)*, etc.  
 b. *tua=ll’*, *tua=i=w’*, etc.

iii) Final truncation occurs in vocative forms to address a person – see § 31.3.

## 7. Boundaries and potential pauses in summary

Many of the segmental adjustments (§ 7) have been shown to be sensitive to major boundaries – enclitic =, non-enclitic ≠ inside bound phrases, and independent (free) word bound # (or space): (P7), (P13), (P17), and (P22).

Many phonological features specific to and responsible for boundary signaling, however, are prosodic. One feature demarcates one or two kinds of boundaries from the other(s), and a number of different features (including segmental ones) conspire to signal one kind of boundary. Some of the features correlate with each other, and some features are optional, with their occurrences helping only to emphasize a boundary that is obligatorily signaled by other features. Some are predominant depending upon the context and thereby have a stronger demarcative function than other features. Context can also lessen the demarcative function of a feature.

It is important to note the following for CAY:

- i) When two segments flank a boundary, whether enclitic or non-enclitic, they

belong to separate syllables. In other words, a boundary cannot fall within a single syllable, in sharp contrast to such language as French, where liaison regularly may obscure word boundaries. In CAY, this implies that some prosodic processes may take place in opposition to the syllable division principle (§ 8-ii).

ii) When two syllables flank an enclitic boundary, they may or may not belong to the same foot, while two syllables flanking a non-enclitic boundary may never belong to the same foot, that is to say, the boundary = can fall within a single foot, while the boundary ≠ cannot. This is one respect in which an enclitic is distinguished from a non-enclitic word.

iii) Pauses can be very important keys to distinguish between two or more expressions, both functionally and semantically:

- (42) a. *cikir-aanga*                      *maklaar-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*                      *tamalku-u-luku*  
 give-IND.3sg.1sg.      seal-ABM.sg.                      whole-be-APP.3sg.  
 ‘he<sub>i</sub> gave me [R] a bearded seal as a whole ([he<sub>i</sub>] having *it* be a whole)’  
 – where, without pause before the appositional verb *tamalku-u-luku*, it is a cosubordinate clause, as a non-restrictive adnominal verb, compared with:
- b. *cikir-aanga*                      *maklaar-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*,                      *tamalku-u-luni*  
 give-IND.3sg.1sg.      seal-ABM.sg.                      whole-be-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘he gave me a bearded seal, (and) *it* was a whole’  
 – where, with a pause, the appositional verb is an independent clause, forming a compound phrase.
- (43) a. *ámlller-è-t*                      ≠                      *yaqúlg-e-t*  
 many-EV-ABS.pl.                      bird-EV-ABS.pl. (see § 14.10.2)  
 ‘many birds’  
 – one (non-enclitic) bound phrase or one articulus, characterized by pre-boundary regressive accent and one major accent on *u*
- b. *ámlller-e-t*,                      *yaqúlg-e-t!* (exclamation)  
 many-EV-ABS.pl.                      bird-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘many!, birds!’  
 – two articuli, each with its own major accent on *a* and *u*.

A pause may give more emotional value to a sentence, as in the following after the particle *nakleng*:

- (44) *Nakleng(.)* [*tau-na*                      *angun*]<sub>S</sub>                      *tuqute-llini-lria*  
 poor.PCL      that-EX.ABS.sg.                      man.ABS.sg. kill-EVD-PTP.3sg.  
*ellminek.*  
 3Rsg.ABM  
 ‘Oh, poor guy, that man killed himself (I now see).’



## Part 3

### Nominals

CAY nominals as a word class inflect just as verbs do, though in their own unique way (but opposed to non-inflecting words, that is, particles and enclitics; § 52 through § 54) in that they are morphologically composed of a stem (incl. root-derived one), derivational suffix(es), and an inflection, occurring in that order, although the derivation is not obligatory. Nominals together with nominal phrases are surveyed in § 10 through § 16. § 10 includes brief survey of ambivalent stems (and roots) which are subject to both nominal and verbal inflections (cf. § 32). Possible derivations include nominalized clauses, i.e. relative clauses and nominalizations (§ 17, § 18), as well as deverbal nouns (§ 19) and nominal elaborations (§ 20).

An inflection (sometimes called an “ending”) for nominals is a combination of (partly fused) case, number, and person (possessor) (§ 10.1). The case marks the syntactic function (whether core or oblique of an argument NP – § 23 through § 29). Nominal referents are classified by number (§ 21) and optionally by person (§ 22).

Gender, nominal classification, numeral classifiers, and (in)alienability are grammatically alien to CAY. There is no animate vs. inanimate classification either in its nominal system except that personal pronouns (§ 13) are restricted to humans. The system of nominal demonstratives with thirty distinct roots serves a classificatory and a definite article-like function on nouns, however (§ 12.2).

An NP, which can be a single nominal, a nominal phrase, or a nominalized clause (relativization and nominalization), stands as the S, P, T, R, or A core argument of a clause (T and R for ditransitives), or their demoted ones, as an attributive adjunct (in G function) to its head NP or as an adverbial adjunct (in an oblique function), depending upon the case marking (unless vocative or interjective). A core argument NP is cross-referenced in number with the predicate verb.



# Chapter 10

## Nominal inflection and ambivalent stems

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### 1. Nominal inflections

Nominals inflect for the basic grammatical categories of “number” (§ 21), “person” (§ 22), and “case” (§ 23 through § 29), serving to indicate the grammatical functions and to characterize subclasses of nominals (§ 11 through § 15). No subclass lacks case inflection, but not all nominals fully inflect for every category. Common nouns show the fullest inflection and may have extensive derivation, while other nominals have less inflection and much more limited derivation. The morphological and syntactic peculiarities of these are treated in respective chapters.

i) *Number*: Number is an obligatory category for nominals, which inflect for one of three numbers, i.e. “singular”, “dual”, and “plural” (§ 21), except for adverbial demonstratives and ignoratives, which lack number inflection (§ 12.2.1).

ii) *Person*: Person is an optional category for nominals, marking the possessor: A nominal may be “unpossessed” (Table 20) or “possessed” (Table 21–23). There are certain constructions for which the person marking is obligatory. (By contrast, person is always obligatory in verbs to mark the subject and the object persons – § 32). The nominal person (possessor) typically occurs with common nouns and, to a very limited extent, for other nominals, but never for adverbial demonstratives. Four nominal persons (for possessor) are distinguished, i.e. “first”, “second”, “third”, and “reflexive-third” persons<sup>1</sup> (§ 22).

Some nominal person (for possessor) markers are apparently identical with verbal person markers (for subject and object).

---

1. The term “fourth person” has sometimes been used in Eskimo linguistics for the reflexive-third (e.g. Thalbitzer 1911; Bergsland 1955).

The grammatical category of nominal persons (possessor/possessed) indicates ownership, association, and part-to-whole relation, kinship relationship, and the like. A nominal with a third-person (possessor) inflection may be externally accompanied by a possessor NP in G function (the relative, i.e. genitive, case), thereby constituting an attributive phrase (§ 16.4).

iii) *Case*: Case is the most important grammatical category for nominals in CAY in that it is directly correlated with verbs to determine the structure of a clause. There are seven cases that mark an NP in its inflection. Two of the seven cases are syntactic, the absolutive (§ 23) and the relative (§ 24).<sup>2</sup> The other five cases are oblique and mainly adverbial, including the ablative-modalis (§ 25), allative (§ 26), locative (§ 27), perlative (§ 28), and the equalis (§ 29).<sup>3</sup> There are also vocative (§ 31) and interjective forms (the latter being specific to adverbial demonstratives – § 12.3).

An oblique-case nominal may form an adjunctive phrase (§ 16.5) with a semantically modified NP.

One idiosyncrasy in CAY of the locative and the equalis case for comparative use is that they may have a “double case marking” (§ 27.9), i.e. a (spatial or temporal) locative NP may be followed either by a locative-case marker *-mi* (§ 27.2; ‘than’) or an equalis-case marker *-tun* (§ 29.2; ‘like, as’) as a standard of comparison.

Some words show traces of nominal inflection, though only of a few oblique cases (but not for number and person), and they are taken as particles (§ 52.2).

It is also possible to find traces of oblique cases in markers of many connective moods – contemporative-connective (§ 50.8) and all five quasi-connective moods (§ 50.11).

Assignments of cases (syntactic and their demoted) are summarized in § 30.

The case suffixes specific to adverbial demonstratives (and a few marginal nominals) are given in § 12.3.1.

iv) *Inflection*: Morphemes for the three nominal inflection categories are partly segmentable and partly fused. Inflections are given for unpossessed nominals (case and number complexes) in Table 20 (§ 21) and for possessed nouns (case, number, and person complexes) in Table 21 (absolutive case; § 23), Table 22 (relative case; § 24), and Table 23 (oblique cases; § 27).

A nominal thus inflected can function as a core or oblique argument NP; so can a nominal phrase (§ 16) and a relative (§ 17) and nominal (§ 18) clause. Nominal phrases and clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

---

2. The two are known as “objective” and “subjective” in early Greenlandic grammars.

3. Other more or less common terms that have been used in Eskimo linguistics include “distantialis” for the for ablative, “instrumental” for the modalis, “terminalis” for the allative, “vialis” for the perlative, and “similaris” or “conformative” for the equalis.



## 2. Nominal stems

CAY nominals vary widely in function, with some of them functioning more like adjectives, adverbs, or adpositions (prepositions or postpositions) of other languages. They are classified below as nouns (§ 11), demonstratives (§ 12), personal pronouns (§ 13), numerals and quantifiers (§ 14), and ignoratives (§ 15), each necessarily with subclasses having their morphological (and syntactic) characteristics, though they partly overlap with each other except for demonstratives, which form a tight closed system. There are a number of stems, for instance, that yield location nouns and numerals. A few common nouns may function as indefinite nominals.

A nominal stem, however, does not necessarily end up as a nominal because derivation may easily bring transcategorial expansions (which is also the case with a verb stem). A nominal stem can be derived from a verb stem with a nominalizing suffix (VN; § 17 through § 19). Whether the primary stem of a word is nominal or verbal, and no matter how many suffixes may follow the stem, the resulting word is a nominal only if the morpheme immediately preceding the inflection is nominal, i.e., a (primary) nominal stem, a VN or an NN suffix.

Morphologically, opposition of nominal and verb stems is not necessarily clear-cut. A fair portion of nominal stems may also be verbal, i.e. ambivalent (§ 10.4). In addition, there are a considerable number of “roots”, which are commonly indefinite or ambivalent in terms of word-class distinction (nominal or verbal; § 10.5) and cannot be directly followed by an inflection without being expanded by a root expander.

## 3. Most basic stems – *|pi-|* and *|ca-|*

There are only two CV-stems in CAY – that is, *|pi-|* and *|ca-|*, which are ambivalent (‘[to do] thing’ and ‘[to do] what/something’) – apart from the root *|na-|* ‘where’ and a fair number of CVC-roots and stems. The two may often be more or less expletive (with hardly any semantic content). As stems, they can inflect without derivation, thus absolutive singular *pi* ‘thing’ and *ca* ‘what’ with *|+ |*, which is not the case with *|na-|* (but e.g. LOC *na-ni* ‘where’). They often show parallel derivations – e.g. *pi-li-ug* ‘he is making something’ vs. *ca-li-ug* ‘he is doing something’ –, accordingly occurring as (fixed) pairs § 10.3.1.

### 3.1. *|pi-|*

This may function as a full noun (‘thing; so-and-so’), “pro-” (pro-noun) for avoiding the repetition of a noun, or “prop” (prop noun), while it may also function as a more or less generic verb (‘to do, say, realize, happen’ – § 34.7, § 35.1.1-iv, § 51.3.2), “pro-” (pro-verb), or an expletive “prop” (prop verb –

§ 4.2.5.5.2, § 51.3.1); see also § 24.3.2, § 25.2.2, § 40.6. A prop, which occurs in periphrastic constructions, is glossed as “PI”.

Only nominal stems are exemplified here, (1) without and (2) with derivation, with verbal use in § 34.7, etc.:

- (1) *pi* ‘thing, one’ (+ ABS.sg.)  
cf. imperative verb *pi* ‘do!’ (*pi*[+ do-OPT.2sg.) but often *píi* as well.
- (2) a. *pi-n* ‘your (sg.) thing’ (*pi*[+*n* thing-ABS.2sg.sg.)  
– homonymous with deverbal noun ‘cause’ (*pi+t* [+do VNrl-ABS.sg.)  
*pi-ruk* ‘a fat person’ (NNh |-*yuy*-| ‘big’)  
verbalized:  
b. *pi-u-* ‘to be right, important, be something’ – with intransitive relational NVrv |+*yu-*| ‘to be’ (§ 37.1).  
*pi-ke-* ‘to own’ – with transitive relational NVrv |+*ki-*| ‘to have – as’ (§ 37.2)  
*pi-te-* ‘to catch (mammals rather than fish) – NV |+*c-*| (§ 38.2), cf. (9b) |-*ca-ŋi-*| ‘to catch’  
verbalized and re-nominalized:  
c. *pi-li-sta* ‘one who is making something’ (*pi-li+st* [+thing-make-VNrl-ABS.sg.)  
*pi-li-aq* ‘something made’ as in *pi-li-a-n* (do-make-VNrl-ABS.2sg.sg.) ‘the one you (sg.) made’.

The nominal stem |*pi-*| may be an indefinite pronoun:

- (3) a. *Pi* *tekit-uq.*  
thing.ABS.sg. come-IND.3sg.  
‘So-and-so (someone) came.’  
b. *pi-m* *aati-in*  
thing-REL.sg. Fa-ABS.3sg.sg.  
‘so-and-so’s father’  
c. *Pi-m* *ene-k-aa.*  
thing-REL.sg. house-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
‘It is so-and-so’s house, lit. so-and-so has it as a house.’  
– *ene-k-aa* with transitive relational verb NVrv |-*ki-*| (§ 37.2), cf. (2b) *pi-ke-* above.

The stem may also be used pragmatically as a “disguised person” (§ 32.3.2) to avoid direct reference (§ 6.1).

i) *As a pro*: The nominal |pi-| is very much used as often a “pro-noun” (glossed as ‘one, thing’) for avoiding repetition of the same noun (possibly to make it sound indirect):

- (4) *qayar-pak* wall’(u) **pi-cuar**  
 kayak-big.ABS.sg. or one-small.ABS.sg.  
 ‘a big kayak or a small one’  
 – for *qayar-pak* wall’(u) *qaya-cuar*  
 ‘a big kayak or a small kayak’.

Likewise, the locative-case *pi-vni* and *pi-mni* in the following example serve as a standard of comparison (§ 27.3, § 45.1.1), taking the place of *qaya-vni* /-rpeni (kayak-LOC.2sg.sg.; ‘than your (sg.) kayak’) and *aata-mni* (Fa-LOC.1sg.sg.; ‘than my father’):

- (5) a. [*Qaya-qa* un’-a]<sub>s</sub> *assi-nru-uq*  
 kayak-ABS.1sg.sg. down-EX.ABS.sg. good-CMP-IND.3sg.  
**pi-vni.**  
 one-LOC.2sg.sg.  
 ‘My kayak down there is better than yours.’  
 b. *Aata-n<sub>s</sub>* *ak’alla-u-nru-uq* **pi-mni.**  
 Fa-ABS.2sg.sg. old-be-CMP-IND.3sg. one-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Your father is older than mine.’

ii) *As a prop*: The nominal stem |pi-| is also used very often as an expletive prop or “prop noun” (glossed as PI) to fill the slot as a noun stem (verb head) in denominal verbs in place of a stranded NP, thereby giving it an (oblique) argument status and allowing to have an adjunct NP in the ablative-modal case (§ 25.2.2). Note that this is a necessary device in CAY, which does not allow a noun compound or a nominal phrase (consisting of two or more noun stems) to be denominalized as a whole.

The following denominal verbs are intransitive with only the S argument (‘I’) indexed, with the ‘fish’ in (a) not being an object but merely the verbal head and with the *pi-* in (b) as the prop-noun:

- (6) a. *neqe-ngqer-tua* ‘I have fish’  
 fish-have-IND.1sg.  
 b. [*Neq-nek*]<sub>(p)</sub> **pi-ngqer-tua.**  
 fish-ABM.pl. PI-have-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I have *fish*.’  
 [*Amler-nek neq-nek*]<sub>(p)</sub> **pi-ngqer-tua.**  
 many-ABM.pl. fish-ABM.pl. PI-have-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I have *many* fish.’

– of which (a) is a neutral statement and cannot focus on the ‘fish’ or make any adnominal specification to the ‘fish’ within the verb (such as ‘many’, ‘fresh’, etc.). The only possible way to do so is to use the prop-noun and put the nominal stem (‘fish’) externally as an oblique NP, making the specification of ‘many’ possible in apposition to the NP for ‘fish’ – cf. appositive phrase *amller-e-t neqe-t* ‘many fish’ (both in the absolutive plural).

By the same token, a secundative ditransitive (trivalent) stem such as *|pi-li-|* ‘to make something for someone’ (§ 35.1.1-iv) in the following example may be considered to be derived from nominal prop *|pi-|*, with *qaya-mek* in the following as a stranding into the ablative-modal NP from bivalent *qaya-li-aqa* ‘I am making him a kayak’, and *pi-* taking the place of the noun stem as the prop:

- (7) *Qaya-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>                      *pi-li-aqa*.  
 kayak-ABM.sg.                      PI-make-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am making a kayak [(T)] for him [R].’

### 3.2. *|ca-|*

This is an ignorative stem corresponding to *|pi-|* which subsumes interrogative, indefinite, and negative that can also be verbal (‘[to do] what, something, nothing’): See § 15.2.1.1, § 15.3, and § 48 for the verb moods which are selected, depending upon the interrogative and a non-interrogative use.

The nominal use alone is illustrated briefly in (8) without derivation and in (9) with one:

- (8) *ca?*                      ‘what?’ (+ ABS.sg.)  
*ca-mi?*                      ‘in what, around what time?’ (-*mi* LOC.sg.).
- (9) a. *ca-li-sta* ‘worker; one who does something’  
 something-make-VNrl.ABS.sg. – relativization of verbalized *ca-li-*  
 b. *ca-ng-uq* ‘he catches (fish)’, cf. *pit’uq* ‘he catches (by gun/snare/trap)’  
 something-get-IND.3sg. – verbalization  
 c. [*Qavci-nek*                      *akakiig-nek*]  
 how.much-ABM.pl.                      white.fish-ABM.pl.  
*ca-nge-llru-sit?*  
 something-get-PST-INT.2sg.  
 ‘How many whitefish did you catch?’ [DW] – cf. (2) *|pi-t-|*.

A fuller description of *|ca-|* is provided in § 15.2.1 and § 15.3.

i) As a pair with *|pi-|*: The two monosyllabic stems *|ca-|* and *|pi-|* occur in various constructions more or less idiomatically as a pair (implying indefiniteness – ‘some, any, whatever’), typically with *|ca-|* preceding *|pi-|*:

- (10) a. *ca-u-llr-at* *pi-llr-at*  
 something-be-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg. do-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘anything they are / do’
- b. [*Ca-ura-llr-at* *pi-ura-llr-at*]<sub>s</sub>  
 do.something-CNT-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg. do-CNT-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.  
*assir-luni*.  
 good-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Everything they (continuously) do is good.’
- (11) [*Ca-ngraan* *pi-ngraan*] *niic-aqu-naku*.  
 do.what-CNNth.3sg. do-CNNth.3sg. hear-PRH.FUT-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘Don’t listen to him, anyway (no matter what, even though he  
 wants/insists).’  
 – with concessive-connective clauses (§ 50.5) subordinate to the  
 prohibitional optative (§ 49.6.2).

Some appositional verbs with |*ca-*| and |*pi-*| are used as somewhat lexicalized particles or set phrases: See § 51.2.7.

- (12) [*ca-luni* *pi-luni*] *pi-lria*  
 do.what-APP.3Rsg. do-APP.3Rsg. do-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘whatever/however/wherever he is’.
- (13) *pi-ger-luni* ‘it happened (suddenly), it came to be noticed’  
*ca-ger-luni* ‘it happened on one occasion / day’ = § 41(177),  
 with intensifier *-ger-* < *-qar-* (§ 41.3.4), e.g. § 15 (80), § 45 (33),  
 § 51 (110c).

The pairing may have an euphonious effect:

- (14) *Naruyar-pak* [*ca-rpak* *pi-rpak*]  
 seagull-big.ABS.sg. what-big.ABS.sg. thing-big.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Hey, seagull, big guy!’ – vocative or call to a seagull, teasingly.

#### 4. Ambivalent stems

Not only |*pi-*| and |*ca-*|, but also a fair portion of CAY stems that belong to the basic vocabulary, both cultural and common are bivalent, serving as both nominal or verb stems. Their derivations with certain suffixes also function this way.

The following is a far from comprehensive sample to illustrate their wide semantic coverage:

i) *Body-parts and their closely/directly related physiological actions and events:*

- (15) |qanȳ-| ‘mouth; to speak’, |aamaȳ-| ‘female breast; to suckle’, |akñiȳ-| ‘nerve; to hurt’, |anaȳ-| ‘feces; to defecate’, |ciny-| ‘(to) bruise’, |iȳ-| ‘(to expel) flatus (fart)’, |miȳyaȳ-| ‘to vomit’, |nutñayȳ-| ‘heartbeat/pulse; to throb’, |pupiȳ-| ‘(to get) impetigo’, |qavaȳ-| ‘(to) sleep’, |quzȳ-| ‘(to) cough, cold’, |qiciȳ-| ‘spittle, to spit’, |taqi-| ‘penis; to have sexual intercourse’.

ii) *Drinking and eating:*

- (16) |apiataȳ-| ‘(to eat) lunch’, |imiȳ-| ‘water; to drink’, |miluy-| ‘(to suck) fish eggs’, |minayȳ-| ‘(to leave, set aside) food for someone’, |taañayȳ-| ‘(to drink) liquor’, |kuiñiȳ-| ‘(to smoke) tobacco’, |qasaȳ-| ‘(to eat) raw fish/meat’, etc.

iii) *Clothing:*

- (17) |atkuy-| ‘(to put on) parka’, |całmay-| ‘(to) patch clothing’, |kixinaquȳ-| ‘(to put) a mask’, |nacaȳ-| ‘(to put on) a hat, parka hood’, |qaspyȳ-| ‘(to put on) parka cover’, |piluyuy-| ~ [Y] |kamyuy-| ‘(to put on) skin boots’ (nominal root |kamy-|; § 10.5-v), etc.

iv) *Subsistence and physical activity:*

- (18) |amaȳ-| ‘backpack; to carry’, |iquy-| ‘(to carry) thing on shoulder’, |kivy-| ‘load (carried); to lift’, |iqvaȳ-| ‘(picked) berries; to pick berries’, |mału-| ‘(to find) a beached carcass’, etc.

v) *Psychological:*

- (19) |añniȳ-| ‘happiness; to be happy’, |nału-| ‘not knowing; not to know’, |ukvȳ-| ‘belief, faith; to believe’, etc.

vi) *Social activities:*

- (20) |añuyay-| ‘war/warrior; to fight’, |iȳiȳ-| ‘(to hold) a memorial feast’, |aȳula(ȳ)-| ‘woman’s Eskimo dance; to be in motion’, |qanimci-| ‘(to tell a) story’, |maqi-| ‘(take a) steam bath’, |yuȳayȳ-| ‘(to) dance’, etc.

vii) *Instrument or means:*

- (21) |anyayȳ-| ‘(to use) boat’, |cauyaȳ-| ‘(to) drum’, |cavy-| [Y.HBC] ‘har-

poon, spear; spear', |*manay-*| '(to fish with) a hook', |*ikamyay-*| '(to travel by) sled', |*kalhay-*| '(to carry [fish] on) bag/knapsack', |*kaminia-*| '(to use, heat) stove', |*niya-*| '(to) snare, catch', |*nut-*| 'gun; to shoot', |*naayua-*| '(to play with) toy', |*pituy-*| 'chain, line; to fasten, tie', |*uskuyay-*| '(to) harness', |*uliy-*| '(to use) blanket', etc.

viii) *Location*: cf. § 11.2

- (22) |*ciu-*| '(to be, go) in front, first', |*ciñiy-*| 'point; to sharpen', |*kiñu-*| 'back part, area behind, stern; to back up, go back to', |*qukay-*| '(to reach) middle', |*qumiy-*| 'one inside; to enclose', |*tunu-*| '(to move) backwards' (verbally as in |*tunu-c-*| 'to turn one's back (on)' with applicative VVsm |+(*u*)*c-*|), etc.

ix) *Nature*:

- (23) |*ciku(y)-*| 'ice; to ice, freeze', |(c)*ila-*| 'weather, world, sense; to become weathered/tanned' (cf. § 12 – fn. 5), |*macay-*| [NS] 'sun; to shine', |*maliy-*| 'wave, bring along', |*napa-*| 'tree; to be upright', |*iki-*| 'big fire; (to be on) fire, to burn', |*pyuy-*| 'to smoke', |*tanqiy-*| 'brightness; to be bright', |*uli-*| 'high tide; to rise, flood', etc.

x) *Time words*: cf. § 11.3.4

- (24) |*kiay-*| '(to become) summer', |*unuy-*| 'night (to fall)', |*ataku-*| '(to become) evening', |*unuaqu-*| '(to become) tomorrow', etc.

xi) *Quantifiers (incl. exhaustives)*: cf. § 14.10

- (25) |*amly-*| '(to be) many, much', |*mikuy-*| 'a lot (assorted, different kinds), to be abundant' (cf. § 33[1]); |*avy-*| 'half; to halve', |*tama(iku)y-*| '(to be) all, whole' and |*kii-*| '(to be) only, alone'.

xii) *Miscellaneous*:

- (26) |*aliyütuy-*| '(to see) ghost', |*alanyuy-*| '(to experience) apparition'; cf. (43), |*amay-*| 'load on back; to backpack', |*atuy-*| 's.t. useful; to use, wear, sing', |*capi-*| 'barrier, curtain; to block from view', |*cimiy-*| 'substitution; to substitute, replace', |*iqhu-*| 'wrong; to tell a lie', |*ila-*| 'part; to add', |*natu-*| 'state/place of not knowing (e.g. *nallu-ani* 'behind his back'); not to know, be ignorant', |*nimiy-*| 'binding, wrapping; to bind, wrap', |*piqu-miy-*| 'back load; to carry on back', |*piniy-*| 'strength; to be strong', |*tut-*| 'bedmate; to sleep next to', |*uñilay-*| 'louse, spruce cone; to itch', etc.

- (27) |*ayuyqi-*| ‘likeness; to be similar’  
 a. *Agayun*<sub>s</sub>      *ayuqa-it-uq*      ‘there is no comparison with God’  
     God.ABS.sg.      likeness-lack-IND.3sg. – NV |+*ɲit-*| ‘to lack’  
 b. *ayuqe-nrit-uq*      ‘it is not like something’  
     similar-not-IND.3sg. – VVn |-*nɲit-*|.

xii) *Derived stems:*

- (28) |*ala-kay-*| ‘strange, different thing; to be separate, single out, become independent’, |*pi-kay-*| ‘future possession; to get something’ (NN |+*k*\**aɣ-*| ‘future’), |*ayayu-nɣ-*| ‘Sunday (to come)’ (worship-VNnm), |*quya-yayay-*| ‘(to have) Thanksgiving’ (be.thankful-VNnm), etc.

xiii) *Loanwords:*

- (29) |*mily-*| ‘(to drink) milk’.
- (30) a. |*alusistuaɣ-*| ‘(have, celebrate) Christmas’, used as a verb in:  
 b. *Angni-mek* / *Assi-lria-mek*  
     merry-ABM.sg.      good-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
     *Alussistua-qi-na!*  
     have.Christmas-FUT-OPT.2sg.  
     ‘Have a merry Christmas!’

There are a limited number of verb stems (incl. expanded ones) may be used as nominals without a class conversion, but only with the relative case inflection in A or G function – see § 24.3.<sup>4</sup>

## 5. Roots

The CAY lexicon seems to contain many roots that are basically indeterminate as to word class and cannot function as primary nominal or verbal stems until expanded by a root expander (EX). The expanders for roots may possibly be a kind of obsolete suffixal elements, but some of them are still (very) productive derivational suffixes. Even though many stems appear or are suspected to contain a root, in many cases it is not easy to extract it to identify with an extant or assumed expander.

---

4. Kayo Nagai (p.c.) supplied me with an interesting piece of information that CSY verb stems may be considerably free to be used as nominals, and be so used in the absolutive and other cases.



Root morphology of CAY (and Eskimo in general, for that matter) has hardly been explored, though we now have a very important source for this in Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan (1994).

Since a greater part of root-expanded stems are verbal, they will be listed and illustrated in § 36, so just a few are exemplified here. They may be classified as postural, emotional/psychological, and dimensional.

i) *Postural roots*: Common expanders include aspectual (stative) suffix  $|+(u)ma-|$  /  $|-ŋ(q)a-|$  (§ 42.2.3) and transitivizing agent adder  $|+c-|$  (§ 39.1.1): The former is responsible for monovalent stems, while the latter for patientive bivalent ones (thus with derived antipassives).

- |      |                        |   |
|------|------------------------|---|
|      | $ inay̆- $             | ‘lying’   |
| (31) | a. <i>ina-ngqa-uq</i>  | ‘he is lying down’ – monovalent <i>ina-ngqa-</i>          |
|      | b. <i>inar-t-aa</i>    | ‘he laid her/it down’ – patientive <i>inar-t-</i>         |
|      | <i>inar-t-uq</i>       | ‘he lay down’ (detransitivization).                       |
|      | <i>inar-c-i-uq</i>     | ‘he is helping (s.o./s.t.) to lie down’<br>(antipassive). |
|      | $ kanay̆- $            | ‘bent forward’  |
| (32) | a. <i>kana-ngqa-uq</i> | ‘it (bow)/he (head) is bent forward’                      |
|      | b. <i>kanar-t-aa</i>   | ‘he bent it forward’                                      |
|      | <i>kanar-t-uq</i>      | ‘he bent forward’.  |

See § 36.2 for more postural-root derived stems and related expanders.

ii) *Emotional/psychological roots*: Common expanders include relational suffixes  $|-_1k^*i-|$ , etc. (§ 37) and desiderative / tendential  $|+_1cuŋ-|$  (§ 43(15)), and necessitative  $|+nay̆qi-|$  (§ 39.2): The first one is responsible for patientive bivalent stems, the second and the third for monovalent ones.

- |      |                         |   |
|------|-------------------------|---|
|      | $ paqna- $              | ‘curiosity’                                       |
| (33) | a. <i>paqna-k-aa</i>    | ‘he is curious about it’                          |
|      | <i>paqna-qsagut-aa</i>  | ‘he now curious about it’ (inchoative relational) |
|      | b. <i>paqna-yug-tuq</i> | ‘he is curious’                                   |
|      | c. <i>paqna-narq-uq</i> | ‘it is interesting, curiosity-provoking’.         |
|      | $ kiny̆- $              |   |
| (34) | a. <i>ken-k-aa</i>      | ‘he likes her’                                    |
|      | b. <i>keneg-yug-tuq</i> | ‘he is in love’                                   |
|      | c. <i>keneg-narq-uq</i> | ‘she is lovable, it is precious’.                 |

See § 36.1 for more emotional-root derived stems and related expanders.

iii) “*Dimensional*” roots: positional, directional, kinetic (Jacobson 1984a: 664):

- (35) |*iqi-*| ‘width’, |*niqu-*| ‘narrowness’, |*qas-*| ‘loudness’, |*mis-*| ‘visibility/audibility’, |*miy-*| ‘(sudden) noise, thud’, |*qiḃ-*| ‘elevation (high/low)’, |*suy-*| ‘tallness’, |*tuniḃ-*| ‘power, impact’.

– which share their verbalizing suffixes (NV; § 38); |+*tu-*| ‘to be large in dimension, have much’, |+*k\*it-*| ‘to be small in dimension, have little’ (§ 38.4) and VN/VVc |+*kili-*| ‘to get lesser’ (§ 45.3-iii):

- (36) *qas-tu-uq* ‘it is loud’  
*qas-kit-uq* ‘it is quiet, less loud’  
*qas-kelli-uq* ‘it is getting quieter, less loud’.
- (37) *mis-tu-uq* ‘it is in full view’  
*mis-kit-uq* ‘it can hardly be seen’  
*mis-kelli-uq* ‘it is getting more obscure’.
- (38) a. *mig-tu-uq* ‘it is loud, thudding’  
*mig-kit-uq* ‘it is quiet’  
 b. *mig-pallarte-llru-uq* ‘it made a loud thud’ (intensifier) [YQYL 8]  
 c. *mig-pak (tut’-uq)* ‘(it [airplane] landed) with a big thump’  
 d. *mig-pagte-llria-mun (ui-gart-ua)* ‘(I woke up) to a big thump’.  
 thud-ITS-VNrl-ALL.sg.

iv) *Miscellaneous:*

- (39) |*paliḃ-*| ‘sun-tanned’  
*palir-t-uq* ≡ *palir-t-aa* ‘he got sun-tanned’ – |*paliḃ-c-*| with impersonal A added  
*pallir-c-ima-uq* ‘he is sun-tanned (for a long time)’.

v) *More nominal in nature than verbal:*

- (40) a. |*kamy-*| ‘boot’  
*kamek-sak* ‘ankle-high skin boot’  
*kamg-uk* ‘knee-high skin boot’  
 b. *kamg-ug-tuq* ‘he put on boots (himself)’ – with same element as *-uk* above  
*kamg-ug-aa* ‘he puts boots on her’  
 c. *kamilaḃ-* ‘barefoot, shoe removing’ – a rare case of derived root, probably with a privative element (?), i.e. /il/ reflecting NV |+*ḡit-*| ‘to lack’ (privative)

- kamila-ngqa-uq* ‘he is barefoot’ – stative VVt |+*η(q)a-*|  
*kamilar-t-aa* ‘he removes her shoes’ – causative VVsm |+*c-*|  
*kamilar-t-uq* ‘he is barefoot, has removed (his own) shoes’.
- |*itpi-*| ‘sensation, consciousness’ – perhaps related with the second person pronoun (§ 13.1.2).
- (41) a. *elpe-k-aqa* ‘I sensed it’ – with NV |-*ki-*| ‘to have – as’ (transitive relational verb)  
*elpe-k-suun* ‘sense’ – with VNrl |+*cuut-*| ‘instrument, means’
- b. *elpe-ng-uq* ‘he came to his senses’ – with NV |-\**ηi-*| ‘to acquire, realize’.
- (42) *mulḡay-* ‘carefulness’  
*mulnga-k-luku* ‘carefully (doing on it)’  
*mulnga-it-uq* ‘he is acting carelessly’ – NV |+*ηit-*| ‘to lack’ (deprivative), cf. (40c).
- |*ala-*| ‘invisibility (hidden, screened off)’
- (43) a. *ala-it-uq* ‘it is visible’  
b. *ala-ir-vik’-lar-ai*  
invisible-PRV-VVsm.place-CNS-IND.3sg.3pl.  
‘he (Christ) appears to them (disciples)’ [New Testament] – NV |+*ηiŷ-*| ‘to deprive’
- c. *ala-ngruq* ‘unexpected appearance, apparition, discovery’.

The transitive relational and the privative as found above (*-k-*, *-ng-*, *-it-*, *-ir-*) belong to the suffixes which often occur as root expanders.

vi) *Root expanders for demonstratives:* There are four root expanders that are selected by demonstrative roots to form nominal and adverbial demonstrative stems (§ 12.2 and § 12.3), with each exemplified by the root |*u-*| ‘this one here’.

- (44) a. |+*na*| absolute singular nominal demonstratives  
– *u-na* (ABS.sg.)
- b. |+*u-*| non-absolute singular nominal demonstratives  
– *u-u-mi* (LOC.sg.)
- c. |+*ku-*| non-singular nominal demonstratives – *u-ku-t* (ABS.pl.)
- d. |+*a-*| adverbial demonstratives – *w-a-ni* (LOC).

# Chapter 11

## Nouns

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Nouns can be grouped broadly (and somewhat arbitrarily) into subclasses with respect to their morphological features and/or syntactic functions.

Common nouns, except for time words (§ 11.3), have the fullest inflection and expansion by derivation, while the other subclasses of nominals (§ 12 through § 15) are more or less limited in inflection and in derivation. Most color terms (§ 11.5) are chiefly verbal but included here for the sake of convenience.

## 1. Appositive nouns

Semantically, appositive nouns have the “adjectival” function of one nominal qualifying another, with which it stands in apposition while agreeing in case and number, thereby forming an appositive phrase (§ 16.1). This typically occurs with a common noun as the semantic head.

Some are primary stems, such as:

- (1) |*ala-*| ‘different, another’, |*aẓiỵ-*| ‘naughty, mischievous, audacious’, |*cimiỵ-*| ‘substitute, change’, |*ikiỵ-*| ‘bad, ugly’, |*nutaỵaỵ-*| ‘new; fresh fish’, |*iq̣suỵ-*| ‘left (hand, foot)’, |*taliỵpiỵ-*| ‘right (hand)’.

An appositive noun typically occurs with its semantically head nominal:

- (2) a. *alla*                      *yuk*                      (*wang-ni*)  
 different.ABS.sg.      person.ABS.sg.      1sg.-LOC  
 ‘(he is) a different/another person (to me, as far as I am concerned)’  
 – cf. § 27.2 for the locative pronoun
- b. *alla-k*                      *yu-u-k*  
 different-ABS.du.      person-EV-ABS.du.  
 ‘two different persons’.

Two appositive nouns may occur with a head nominal:

- (3) [*Espaak*      *nutaraq*      *cimiq*]<sub>s</sub>                      *assir-tuq*.  
 ABS.sg.      new.ABS.sg.      replacement.ABS.sg.      good-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The new substituted spark plug is good.’ [YED 120]

A head NP has an appositive nominal in the following, with the comparative phrase (§ 5.1.1.3-ii, § 45.4) being in apposition with the head NP:

- (4) [*alla*                      *angyaq*]                      *ange-nr-a*  
 different.ABS.sg.      boat.ABS.sg.      big-VNnm.CMP-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘another boat that is larger than it’.

Appositive nouns may or may not inflect for person, with only the head noun possessed. An appositive noun inflected for person may be less frequent.

- (5) a. [*Neq-ka*                      *qassaq*]<sub>s</sub>                      *neqnirq-uq*.  
 fish-ABS.1sg.sg.      raw.ABS.sg.      tasty-IND.3sg.  
 ‘My raw fish/food is tasty.’

- b. [*Neq-ma qassa-m*]<sub>A</sub> *iluliqe-vkar-aanga*.  
 fish-REL.1sg.sg. raw-REL.sg. stomach.ache-A'.cause-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘My raw fish/food made my stomach upset.’
- (6) [*Tau-na ene-n nutaraq*]<sub>P</sub>  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. house-ABS.2sg.sg. new.ABS.sg.  
*assik-aqa*.  
 like-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I like that new house of yours (sg.).’  
 – apposition of three constituents including a nominal demonstrative (§ 12.2).
- (7) *ayuqe-n irnia-n*  
 likeness-ABS.2sg.sg. child-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘your child resembling/acting like you’.
- (8) [*Tan ’gurra-qa asriq ~ asri-qa*]<sub>S</sub> *tai-guq*.  
 boy-ABS.1sg.sg. naughty.ABS.sg./1sg.sg. come-IND.3sg.  
 ‘My naughty/mischievous boy has come.’  
 – The person-inflected form *asri-qa* may possibly be used by some speakers with a certain attachment or endearment implied.

There are at least a few appositive nominals that seem to be derivatives from the primary appositive stem |*ata-*| (above) and the particle |*aka*| ‘already, long time ago’:

- (9) a. |*atayuy-*| |*atàyuy-*| ‘abnormal, different, odd, rare’  
 cf. *allayu-u-nru-uq* ‘it is more strange (than)’
- b. *ak’a-llaq* ‘old (one)’ with NN |*lay\**-| (§ 20.1)  
 cf. *ak’alla-urt-ua* ‘I am now old’  
*nutem-llaq* ‘something traditional’  
 – cf. *nutem* ‘originally, traditionally, from the beginning’.

– The first form |*atàyuy-*| with gemination, which is used more among children (though not necessarily), is homonymous with (2) *allà ≠ yuk* ‘another person’ when uttered as a single bound phrase, owing to its pre-boundary gemination. It is not known, however, whether the derivative is ultimately related to or evolved from *alla yuk* (2). But the example added, i.e. *allayu-u-nru-uq*, shows that *allayuk* is a single word, not the appositive phrase *alla yuk* followed by the relational verb *-u-* ‘to be’.

Appositive nouns are subject to a certain extent of derivation:  
By NN suffixes:

- (10) *ikiu-piaq* ~ *ik'i-piaq* /ikki<sup>w</sup>pieaq/<sup>1</sup>  
ugly-ITS.ABS.sg  
'someone very ugly (e.g. person like a monkey)'.
- (11) *ak'alla-qapiar*      *pi-li-nguaq*  
old-ITS.ABS.sg.      thing-make-imitation.ABS.sg.  
'very old (ancient) artifact'.

By NV suffixes – relational verbs (NVrv), etc.:

- (12) a. *ak'alla-u-guq*      'he/it is old'  
b. *nutemlla-u-guq*      'it is something traditional, it goes back  
to the ancient time'  
c. *allayu-u-guq*      'it is strange'  
d. *asgi-u-guq*      'he is mischievous'  
e. *iki-u-kacaga-lria*      *tengmiaq*  
ugly-be-ITS-VNrl.ABS.sg. bird.ABS.sg.  
'one that is very ugly'.
- (13) *Ca-nek<sub>(p)</sub>*      *qassa-tu-sit?*  
what-ABM.pl.      raw-eat-IND.2sg.  
'What do you (sg.) eat raw?'

When an appositive phrase is put into certain NV or NN suffixes, typically the appositive nominal is externally stranded into the ablative-modalis case (§ 25.2.2). This is the case with the NN *-lek* 'one having' as well as a number of NV suffixes:

- (14) *Ella<sub>s</sub>=gguq*      *alla-mek*      *yu-it-uq*.  
world.ABS.sg.=RPR another-ABM.sg. person-PRV-IND.3sg.  
'It is said that there are no different persons in the world, i.e. we are all the same.' – a common adage among the Yupik people.  
cf. (2) *alla yuk* 'a different person'.
- (15) [*At'-lek*      *allayug-mek*]<sub>s</sub>      *tai-guq*.  
name-having.ABS.sg.      strange-ABM.sg.      come-IND.3sg.  
'The one with a strange name is coming.'  
cf. *ateq allayuk* 'a strange name' = (9a).

---

1. With labialization of the vowel /-i-/ (accented) due to the following bilabial /p/ before the double vowel.

In addition it is to be noted that a relative clause (§17), a nominal demonstrative (§12.2), and a numeral (other than *-luku* verb numeral, §14.3.1) are adjectival and appositive in relation to their semantic head.

## 2. Location nouns

### 2.1. Stems

CAY has a considerable number of location nouns that refer chiefly to spatial location. Some of them can also have a temporal sense, with *|nati-|* being less concrete, though common – e.g. (20), see also § 12.2.1-v. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish location nouns from time words. Some body part nouns serve as location nouns as in (b):

- (16) a. *|aci-|* ‘(area) below/under’, *|akuli-|* ‘(area) between’, *|cani-|* ‘(area) beside’, *|ciu-|* ‘fore’, *|ilu-|* ‘interior’, *|iquy-|* ‘(other) end’, *|kiyu-|* ‘(boat) stern, (area) behind, absence, (time) after’, *|kilu-|* ‘back/away from house/river’, *|kiti-|* ‘(area) toward river/water, down’, *|qai-|* ‘(body) surface, top’ (cf. *|qaiy-|* ‘wave’), *|qukay-|* ‘middle, center, waist, area (between)’, *|quliy\*-|* ‘(area) above, upper one’, *|manu-|* ‘front’, *|minla-|* ‘edge’, *|nati-|* ‘(corresponding) time, space, existence’ (cf. 21, 22 *|na-t-|* ‘where, part’), *|nuna-|* ‘land, place, room; time (about) (e.g. § 16[68])’, *|nili-|* ‘border, edge, limit’, *|tunji-|* ‘(area) toward, direction’, etc.
- b. *|pai-|* ‘mouth (non-anatomical)’ (cf. *|qany-|* ‘mouth’ which is anatomical, apart from its figurative use), *|qukay-|* ‘middle; waist, back’, *|tunu-|* ‘back, (area) back’ (cf. *|tunu-y-|* ‘tallow, back fat’, *|tunu-cuy-|* ‘back of head just above the neck’).

Person (possessor) inflection is obligatory (§ 22) for location nouns, serving to indicate a point of reference. Such a possessed location noun may occur alone, but generally it occurs with its adjunct in G function to specify the point of reference, forming an attributive NP (place or time). Within the attributive NP the adjunct typically stands before the possessed location noun, and so may be called a “postpositional noun”. But the reverse order may be encountered, as in (19), etc.

- (17) a. *(ene-m<sub>G</sub>)*                      *tunu-a*            /            *tunu-ani*  
           house-REL.sg.                back-ABS.3sg.sg./LOC.3sg.sg.  
           ‘(at) the back of (the house)’



- b. (*ene-m<sub>G</sub>*)                    *elat-i-i*            /                    *elat-i-inek*  
house-REL.sg.                    outside-EV-ABS.3sg.sg./ABM.3sg.sg.  
‘(from) outside (the house)’.
- (18) [*ella-m<sub>G</sub>*                    *iqu-a*]<sub>P</sub>                    *nar-qe-rraar-luku*  
universe-REL.sg.                    end-ABS.3sg.sg.                    smell-ITS-first-APP.3sg.  
‘living to an old age, living long enough to smell the tail-end of life’  
[YEEM 310].
- (19) *mengli-i*                    *nanva-m<sub>G</sub>*  
edge-ABS.3sg.sg.                    lake-REL.sg.  
‘edge of a lake’.
- (20) a. *uksu-m<sub>G</sub>*                    /                    *tama-tu-m<sub>G</sub>*                    *nalli-ini*  
winter-REL.sg.                    /                    that-EX-REL.sg.                    time-LOC.3sg.sg.  
‘during the winter’ / ‘back then, in those days’  
– cf. (22b) *na-t-i-ini*.
- b. *atauci-rqu-mek*                    [*maqinr-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                    *ilu-ani*]  
one-RFQ-ABM.sg.                    week-EV-REL.sg.                    inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
‘once a week’ – cf. (161).

In addition to (16), adverbial demonstrative stems (with |+a-|; § 12.2.1) and ignorative |na-| ‘where’ (§ 15.2.3.1), if expanded by |+t|, become location noun stems (‘the area’):

- (21) |*ama-t-*| < |*am-a-*|                    ‘the area over there’  
|*kia-t-*| < |*ki(w)-a-*|                    ‘the one inside, upriver’  
– cf. *kiug-na* (ABS.sg.)  
|*na-t-*| < |*na-*|                    ‘where/when, part’.
- (22) a. *kia-t-i-ini*                    ‘upriver, further inside/interior from it’  
inside-EX-EV-LOC.3sg.sg.
- b. *na-t-i-ini*                    ‘in what part of it’  
where-EX-EV-LOC.3sg.sg.

The participial relative clause by VNrl |-*ki-*| (§ 17.2.2) forms location nouns ‘near’ and ‘far’ from the bivalent stem |*yaaqsiy-*| ‘to be off in the distance’ (from adverbial demonstrative |*ya-a-*| ‘over there’):

- (23) *yaaqsi-ki-i*                    ‘the place far from it’ (-i < |+*ya*| ABS.3sg.sg.)  
*yaaqsi-nril-ki-ini*                    ‘at the place not far from it’  
(-ini < |+*yani*| LOC.3sg.sg.), e.g. § 17[103].

## 2.2. Syntax and semantics

A rich variety of location nouns, alone or with their adjunct or attributive NPs, are very often accompanied by one of the uniquely developed demonstratives (§ 12), constituting an important system of localization in CAY.

As mentioned above (§ 11.2.1), a location noun occurs obligatorily with person (possessor) inflection, which serves to indicate a point of reference, together with its adjunct or attributive NP. The adjunct NP may be an attributive phrase by itself or a deverbalized clause:

- (24) **[[kat'-u-m                  amirlu-m]<sub>G</sub>                  aci-an]<sub>G</sub>**  
 down-EX-REL.sg    cloud-REL.sg.    under-REL.3sg.sg.  
*neq-t-a-a*  
 fish-catch-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'the fish caught from under that cloud down there.'

- (25) **[Assir-i-Ilerka-ma<sub>G</sub>                                  ngeli-inun]**  
 good-become-VNnm.FUT-REL.1sg.sg.    limit-ALL.3sg.sg.  
*ma-a-ni                  uita-ciq-ua.*  
 this-EX-LOC    stay-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 'Until I become better, I will stay here.'

- (26) *quyurte-Ile-mta<sub>G</sub>                                  ilu-ani/iqu-ani/kingu-ani*  
 meet- VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.    inside/end/back-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 'while/at the end/after we are meeting/met'.

A location noun itself may occur in a syntactic case or in an oblique case:

i) *absolute* – in S or P function:

- (27) **[Elat-i-i                                  qasgi-m<sub>G</sub>]<sub>S</sub>                                  atauci-mek<sub>(P)</sub>**  
 outside-EV-ABS.3sg.sg.    steam.house-REL.sg.    one-ABM.sg.  
*qimugte-tangqer-tuq.*  
 dog-there.be-IND.3sg.  
 'There is one dog outside of the steam house (men's house).'
- (28) **Qai-ka<sub>S</sub>                                  tamar-mi                                  iqa-uq.**  
 surface-ABS.1sg.sg.    be.whole-CNNst.3Rsg.    dirty-IND.3sg.  
 'My body surface is totally/wholly dirty (lit. my body, being a whole is, dirty).'  
 – see § 14.10.3 for adnominal verb *tamar-mi*.

ii) *relative* – in A or G function: see (24) *aci-an*.

iii) *allative*:

- (29) *Up'nerka-mi*                    [*akerte-m<sub>G</sub>*                    ***tungi-inun***]  
 spring-LOC.sg.                    sun-REL.sg.                    space.toward-ALL.3sg.sg.  
*ayag-tuq.*  
 go-IND.3sg.  
 'In spring it (the time) is going toward the sun, i.e. the summer.'

iv) *ablative*:

- (30) *tuntu-m<sub>G</sub>*                    ***nati-inek***  
 reindeer-REL.sg.                    part-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 'what part of the reindeer'.
- (31) [*Ingri-m<sub>G</sub>*                    ***amat-i-inek***]  
 mountain-REL.sg.                    over.there-EV-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*tengssuun<sub>S</sub>*                    *pug'-uq.*  
 airplane.ABS.sg.                    appear-IND.3sg.  
 'The airplane appears from behind the mountain.'  
 – with (P5iii, P6, p7) on the inflection [+*ɲany*].

Location nouns occur also with ablative |± *niyñiy*-| as in *nalli-i-nirnek* (§ 11.3.2-iv § 25.3).

v) *locative*:

- (32) [*Imarpi-i-m<sub>G</sub>*                    ***quka-ani***]                    *qikertar-tangqer-tuq.*  
 sea-EV-REL.sg.                    middle-LOC.3sg.sg.                    island-there.be-IND.3sg.  
 'There is an island in the middle of the ocean.'
- (33) a. *iqva-m<sub>G</sub>*                    ***nati-ini***  
 berry-REL.sg.                    when-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 'at the time of berries'
- b. [*Alussistua-m<sub>G</sub>*                    ***ciu-ngani***]  
 Christmas-REL.sg.                    fore-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*yu-urte-llru-unga.*  
 person-become-PST-IND.1sg.  
 'I was born before Christmas.'

vi) *perlative*:

(34) [*Yu-u-t*<sub>G</sub>                    *kingu-atgun*                    *malirqer-anka*.  
 person-EV-REL.pl. behind-PRL.3pl.sg. chase-IND.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘I am chasing / I chased the people.’

(35) [*Talli-ma*<sub>G</sub>                    *nati-ikun*]                    *kilir-cia?*  
 arm-REL.1sg.sg. part-PRL.3sg.sg. cut-INT.1sg.  
 ‘What part of my arm am I injured/cut?’

2.2.1. *Stem specifics*

i) |*qukay-*| – typically occurs with dual inflection, as in the following (‘in the area between’), as is also the case with the stem |*akuli-*| ‘middle’:

(36) [[*Mamterillr-e-m*                    *Tuntutuliara-a-m=llu*]<sub>G</sub> *quka-agni*.  
 pl.n.-EV-REL.sg. pl.n.-EV-REL.sg.=and middle-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*issuri-mek*                    *pit-ua*.  
 seal-ABM.sg. catch-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I caught a spotted seal halfway between Bethel and Tuntutuliak.’  
 – the two place names forming a coordinate phrase (§ 16.2).

(37) *Ena*                    [[*ene-ma*                    *ene-vet=llu*]<sub>G</sub>  
 house.ABS.sg. house-REL.1sg.sg. house-REL.2sg.sg.=and  
*akuli-igni*.  
 between-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘The house between my house and your (sg.) house.’ – with *ena* as  
 the head of adjunctive phrase (§ 16.5)  
 – see also *akule-vuk* (ABS.1du.) ‘between us (du.)’.

ii) |*tunu-*|, |*aci-*|, |*kinu-*|, |*nalu-*| – with figurative meanings:

(38) *Tunu-mni*                    *qalar-utk-aatnga*.  
 back-LOC.1sg.sg. talk-VVsm-IND.3pl.1sg. – § 39.7.1 for *-utk-*.  
 ‘They are talking about me in my absence (i.e. behind me).’

(39) [*Yu-u-t*<sub>G</sub>                    *aci-atgun*                    /                    *nallu-atgun*]  
 person-EV-REL.pl. beneath-PRL.3pl.sg. not.knowing-PRL.3pl.sg.  
*yu-u-guq*.  
 person-be-IND.1sg.  
 ‘He is humble, is not a prominent person, not trying to be noticed.’  
 – The second alternative has a more negative sense.

iii) |*kilu-*|, |*tunu-*|, |*kiŋu-*| ‘back / behind’ – with similar meanings:

- (40) a. [*ingri-m*                      *ing'-u-m*]<sub>G</sub>                      *kelu-a*  
 mountain-REL.sg. over.there-EX-REL.sg. area.behind-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the area behind the mountain over there’  
 b. *kelu-vni*                      *tang*                      *tua=i!*  
 behind-LOC.2sg.sg. ATN                      so  
 ‘(see) behind you (sg.)!’
- (41) a. *tunu-a*                      *ene-ma*<sub>G</sub>                      ‘the back part of my house’  
 back-ABS.3sg.sg. house-REL.1sg.sg.  
 b. *tunu-ka*                      ‘my back’  
 back-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 cf. *manu-ka*                      ‘my front’.
- (42) a. *qaya-m*<sub>G</sub>                      *kingu-a*                      ‘the stern of a kayak’  
 kaya-REL.sg. stern-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 b. *tuqu-llr-an*<sub>G</sub>                      *kingu-ani*                      ‘after his death’  
 die-VNnm-REL.3sg.sg. after-LOC.3sg.sg.

iv) *Terms for direction*: Primarily referring to wind from a certain direction:<sup>2</sup>

- (43) |*niyŷ-*| |*niyiqvay-*|                      ‘north (wind)’  
 |*uŋalay-*|                      ‘south (wind)’.

v) |*nati-*|: Semantically less concrete, referring to a correspondence in time, space, limit, or existence. Often occurs in oblique NPs. See also § 11.2.3.2 with privative derivation.

- (44) a. [*U-u-m*<sub>G</sub>                      *nalli-ini*]                      *atur-niar-tukut*  
 this-EX-REL.sg.                      time-LOC.3sg.sg. sing-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
*No.100-aa-mek.*  
 hymn-LNK-ABM.sg.  
 ‘At this time let us sing No. 100 (hymn).’  
 – more formal expression than the particle *watua* ‘now’.  
 b. [*Uksu-m*<sub>G</sub> / *Uksu-llr-an*<sub>G</sub>                      *nalli-ini*]  
 winter-REL.sg.                      winter-VNnm-REL.3sg.sg. time-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*aya-llru-uq.*  
 leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘During the winter / When the winter came, he left.’

2. This may explain certain local or dialectal variations: The |*uŋalay-*|, for instance, means ‘east’ in Lake Iliamna (Jacobson 1984). Absolute compass directions may have had little relevance to traditional Yupik life in southwest Alaska, on the expansive and flat tundra with rivers meandering in all directions.

- (45) *Nal-qapiari-ikun*      *atra-llini-unga*      *angya-ma*<sub>G</sub>.  
 place-exact-PRL.3sg.sg. descend-EVD-IND.1sg. boat-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I just came down straight toward my boat.’  
 cf. VVa |*qapiyc-*| ~ |*qapia(ȳa)ȳ-*| (§ 41.3.1).  
 – detached construction (§ 5.4.2) with the predicate splitting the attributive phrase.

Derived form |*nal'a(ȳa)ȳ-*| – often in the perlocative case:

- (46) a. *nall'arar-pegun* / *nalla'r-pegun* (PRL.2sg.) ‘only by yourself (sg.)’  
 b. *Nall'ara-mkun*      *yu-u-gua*.  
 oneself-PRL.1sg.sg. person-be-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I live by myself, not bothering anyone.’  
 c. *Nall'ari-ikun*      *cikir-ru*.  
 oneself-PRL.3sg.sg. give-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Give (something) only to him.’

### 2.3. Derivation

Location noun stems, including those derived from adverbial demonstrative stems, are limited in derivation, but they take a good number of suffixes that are more or less specific to them (§ 17.3), including a number of general NN and NV suffixes.

#### 2.3.1. Nominal elaboration (NN)

Location nouns may be elaborated by suffixes largely specific to them, as well as by some general suffixes. Some of them may occur with time words (§ 11.3).

Table 6: NN suffixes for location nouns

NN/NV	<i>-qvaȳ-</i>  ~  <i>+vaȳ-</i>	‘(to move) further, advanced in direction or time, toward the end’
NN	<i>-qliȳ*</i>  ~  <i>+liȳ-</i>	‘the one (located) in’
NN	<i>-qliȳnȳ-</i>  ~  <i>+liȳnȳ-</i>	‘side, area of’
NN	<i>+k/ȳaȳaȳ-</i>	‘just, right, exact location of’
NN	<i>+ȳaȳaȳ-</i>	‘just, little’
NN	<i>+nȳ-</i>	‘area of’

Just like primary location words, they typically occur with person inflection:

- (47) *ciu-li-at* (ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘the eldest of them; their ancestor (as a whole)’  
*tunge-qli-qa* (ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘the one close/next to me’  
 – see also § 14.9 (ordinal numerals).
- (48) *kingu-nr-atgun* (PRL.3sg.sg.) ‘through their tracks, where they passed’  
*yaa-kara-ani* (LOC.3sg.sg.) ‘just over there from it (place)’.

In the locative case (a) and the absolutive (b):

- (49) a. *ene-t* [*ungala-qli-ani* *kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub>*]  
 house-ABS.pl. south-one.in-LOC.3sg.sg. river-EV-REL.sg.  
 ‘houses on the southern side of the river’  
 – adjunctional phrase (§ 16.5)
- b. [*Inita-mel-ngu-u-t<sub>G</sub>* *ungala-qli-it*]<sub>P</sub>  
 fish.rack-be.at-VNrv-EV-REL.pl. south-one.in-ABS.3pl.pl.  
*it’r-us-ki*.  
 enter-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘Bring in the ones (fish) in the southern side of the fish rack.’

Secondary location nouns may also be subject to further expansion:

- (50) [*ingri-nek* *paug-ku-nek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 mountain-ABM.pl. back-EX-ABM.pl.  
*kelu-qli-ngqe-llini-luteng*  
 back-one.located-have-EVD-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘(they) have those mountains to the back of their village’. [FASM 5]

There are a few more general (not specific to location nouns) suffixes that occur with location stems: e.g. NN |*-xa(ya)ɣ\*-*| ‘a little, a few, just, only’ (§ 14.5, § 20.1) and VV |*-qapiayaɣ-*| (§ 41.3.1, cf. |*-qapiɣc-*|).

- (51) *qull-ra-mni* area.above-just-LOC.1sg.sg. ‘just above me’  
 cf. *qule-mni* area.above-LOC.1sg.sg. ‘above me’.
- (52) [*Watna-la-llr-ata* *nal-qapiari-i*]<sub>S</sub>  
 act.like.this-CUS-VNnm-REL.3pl.sg. when-EMP.just-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nallunar-tuq*.  
 not.known-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is not known exactly when they did (it like) this (i.e. festival).’  
 [CAUY 19]  
 – *watna-* from *wa-ten* EQL ‘like this’; § 12.3.1.

NN/NV  $|-qva\dot{y}-| \sim |+va\dot{y}-|$ : Probably related with NN and VV  $|+pa\dot{y}-|$  ‘big, bigly (ITS)’, it occurs also with adverbial demonstrative stems (with regular EX  $-a-$ ; § 12.3.1), location nouns, time words.

- (53) *ket(e-q)va-ni* ‘far down’ –  $|kit-|$  ‘area down toward river/sea’  
*qul(e-q)va-ni* ‘far above’ –  $|quli-|$  ‘area up above’.
- (54) *unu-kva-ni* ‘late at night’ –  $|unuy-|$  ‘night’;  $-ni$  LOC  
*iqu-kva-ni* ‘toward the end (of time period)’ –  $|iquy-|$   
‘end of object’ also  
*ataku-qva-ni* ‘in late evening’  
cf. *ataku-qva-uma-inanrani* ‘while it is moving toward the evening’  
evening-toward-CNT-CNNwl.3sg.  
– where the stem is verbal (‘to become evening’), cf. below.
- (55) *uk-a-qva-ni* ‘very near; recently’ (DEMad;  $-a-$  EX)  
*ki-a-qvaq-ni* ‘way inside the river; late into the summer’.
- (56) a. *cani-qva-ara-ani* ‘little close to it’  
beside-beside-little-LOC.3sg.sg. – see below for  $|ηa\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$   
b. *nate-qva-qapig-ni=kiq* ‘I wonder just exactly where’  
where-advanced-ITS-LOC=RQC – followed by the intensifier.

Though nominal elaboration typically occurs in the locative case, as above, an absolutive form also may occur, as in the appositive phrase below:

- (57) *kiak-vaq* ‘all last summer’  
cf. *kiag-pak* ‘whole, long summer, all this present summer’.
- (58) *Qul(e-q)vaq* *pag-na]<sub>s</sub> *ats-ir-tuq.*  
up-advanced.ABS.sg. up-EX.ABS.sg. berry-lots-IND.3sg.  
‘There are lots of berries in the spot very high up.’  
–  $|atsa\dot{y}-li\dot{y}-|$  with /V-/ deletion (§ 38.3).*

As NV suffix: ‘to go/put to the direction of, move further’. It can often be elaborated by VV suffixes. See § 15.2.3.1-iii.

- (59) *kan-a-var-luni*  
*pav-a-var-luni*  
*ki-a-var-luni* ‘(he) going further upriver/into the house’  
*ki-a-(q)va-qanir-luni* ‘(he) going further upriver’ – VVa  $|+kani\dot{y}-|$   
‘more (intensely)’ (§ 41.3.5).



- (60) *ciu-var-tuq* ‘he moved forward (as to the bow of a boat)’  
*aci-var-tuq* ‘it went down’  
*qai-var-tuq* ‘it comes to the surface’.
- (61) *qul-var-luni* ‘(he) going up’ (*|quli-* ‘area above’)  
*qul-var-r-luku* ‘putting it up’ – with A-adding VVsm *|+c-*,  
hence transitive APP.3sg.
- (62) *nat-var-cit?* ~ *nat-vir-cit?* ‘where are you (sg.) going?’  
where-go-INT.2sg.
- (63) *ataku-qva-uma-inanrani*  
evening-advanced-CNT-CNNwl.3sg.  
‘(while it was) sometime towards late evening’.

NN *|-qliy\*-|* ~ *|-liy\*-|* ‘the one (located) in’. This is attested with most of location words. The latter variant is less productive. It also occurs with adverbial demonstratives (§ 12.3.3, see also § 15.2.3.1-ii).

- (64) *aci-qliq* ‘the one below’, *aku-qliq* ‘bottom part (the one on the hem of the parka)’, *akule-qliq* ‘the one in between, middle’, *cani-qliq* ‘the one beside’, *ciu-qliq* ‘the one in front, the first one’, *kelu-qliq* ‘the one close behind’, *kingu-qliq* ‘the one behind/after, second’, *qacarne-qliq* ‘the one by the wall(side)’, *quka-qliq* ‘the one in the middle’, *qule-qliq* ‘the top one, the one higher’, *nalle-qliq* ‘the one beside’, *nege-(qva)-qliq* ‘the (farthest) one to the north’, *ngele-qliq* ‘north side’, *tunu-qliq* ‘the one behind’, *tunge-qliq* ‘the one close’, *ungala-qliq* ‘the one to the south’.
- (65) a. *qule-qliq* ‘top one, the one next in height from the bottom, one higher’ (*|quli-* ‘area up above’)  
*qule-qli-a* ‘the one on top of it’ (ABS.3sg.sg.)  
b. *ciu-qliq* ‘the first one, one in front (standing / walking)’ (*|ciu-* ‘front’)  
*ciu-qlir-mek* ‘the first time; from the first’ (*-mek* ABM)  
*ciu-qli-at* ‘the first one of them’ (ABS.3pl.sg.)  
cf. *ciu-liq* (69) ‘the eldest of male among all brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins (addressing)’ – cf. female counterpart *al’aq* (172)  
*ciu-li-at* ‘their ancestor (as a whole)’ – with associative elaborating NN *|-ay-* = § 21(14)

- c. *tunge-qli-qa* ‘the one close to me’ – |*tunji-*| ‘direction toward’, -*qa*  
ABS1sg.sg.  
*tunge-qli-mni* ‘in/at my side, next to me’ (LOC.3sg.sg.)  
cf. *tung-liq* ‘the second one’
- d. *nate-qli-at* *nut-qatar-ciu?*  
which-NN-ABS.3pl.sg. shoot-IMN-INT.2pl.3sg.  
‘which one of them (of the group) are you going to shoot?’  
– § 15.2.3.1 for the ignorative stem  
cf. *na-liq* ‘which one’ with *na-* ‘where’.
- (66) *with adverbial demonstratives* (§ 12.3.3):  
*ki-a-qliq* ‘one further toward inland’.
- with kinships*:
- (67) a. *annga-qliq* ‘the second oldest brother’– |*anḡay-*| (elder brother)  
*annga-qli-kacaar* ‘the oldest brother’ – cf. *annga-qliq* above  
b. *kingu-qli-qa* ‘my younger sibling’ – |*kiḡu-*| ‘one behind’, -*qa*  
ABS.1sg.sg.  
*kingu-qli-kacaar-qa* ‘my youngest sibling’.
- (68) *in place names* (§ 11.6.3):  
*Nege-qliq* ‘St. Mary’s (Yukon)’  
*Ungala-qliit* ‘Unalakleet’ (Norton Sound – the southernmost of the Alaskan Inupiaq area)  
cf. *ungala-qliq* ‘the southern one/side’.

The variant |+*liḡ\**-|, which is less productive, also occurs after some location stems and in most of the (five) basic color terms (§ 11.5):

- (69) *tung-liq* ‘the second’ – cf. *tunge-qliq* above  
*aku-liq* ‘middle, area between’ – cf. |*akuli-*| ‘between’  
*at-liq* ‘area below’ (root |*at-*| ‘below, under’ perhaps as in |*atḡay-*| ‘go down’)  
*ciu-liq* ‘eldest sibling’ (calling name for an eldest male of the children of sisters or brothers by the younger ones).
- (70) *qater-liq* ‘white (one)’  
*kavir-liq* ‘red (one); redberry (cranberry)’  
*qiug-liq* ‘blue (one)’  
*cungag-liq* / *esir-liq* ‘yellow (one)’.

– but no *\*tungu-liq* ‘black (one)’ instead of which the nominal participial *tungu-lria* ‘one which is black’ occurs.

The suffix is often followed by the intensifier  $|-k^*ac(a)(y)a\dot{y}-|$  ‘very, most’ (§ 41.3.5), like  $|-qli-kaca(y)a\dot{y}-|$  ‘the utmost one located in’, which yields the superlative forms. See also  $|-n-kac(a)(y)a\dot{y}-u-|$  with VNnm  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  – see § 45.2.2 for superlative degree.

- (71) a. *qulé-qli-kácaar* ‘the very top one’ – cf. *qule-qliq* above  
*qulé-qli-kácàga-at* ‘the highest one of them’ (ABS.3pl.sg.)  
 b. *qule-qli-kacaga-u-guq* (*kiimi*) ‘it is the (only) one on top’ (*kii-mi*  
 be.alone-CNNst.3Rsg.)  
*qule-qli-kacaga-u-gut* ‘they are the topmost (of them all)’.

NN  $|-qli\dot{y}n\dot{y}-| \sim |+li\dot{y}n\dot{y}-|$  ‘side, area of’; cf. NNnm  $|+n\dot{y}-|$  below.

- (72) a. *kingu-lirner-ani* ‘in the area behind it’ ( $|ki\dot{n}u-|$  ‘back’, *-ani*  
 LOC.3sg.sg.)  
 cf. *kingu-qli-ani* ‘at his younger brother’  
 b. *tung-lirner-aneq* [*akerte-m<sub>G</sub>* *pit'e-llr-an*]<sub>G</sub>  
 direction-side-ABL.3sg.sg. sun-REL.sg. rise-VNnm-REL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘from the direction where the sun rises’.

This suffix may occur with a few non-locational nouns as well:

- (73) a. *akerte-qlirner-mi* ‘on the sunny side’  
 sun-side-LOC.sg.  
 b. *tallir-pi-lirner-met-uq* ‘it is on the right side (genuine arm)’  
 arm-genuine-side-be.at-IND.3sg.  
 – see below (§ 11.2.3.2) for locative verb NV *-met-*.

NN  $|+k/ya\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$  ‘just, a little, right, exact (location, area)’; cf. NN  $|-x\dot{a}\dot{y}^*-|$  with location noun stems. Occurs with location nouns, as attested below with LOC.3sg.sg. and also with adverbial demonstrative stems (§ 12.3.3):

- (74) a. *cani-kara-ani* ‘a little right beside it/him’  
 –  $|cani-|$  ‘beside’  
*ciu-kara-ani* ‘right before it/him’  
 front-just-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 b. *ki-a-kara-ani* ‘just inside, upriver from it / him’  
 inside-EX-just-LOC.3sg.sg. – *ki-a-* from  $|kiuy-a-|$  (§ 12.2)  
*ya-a-kara-ani* ~ *ya-a-kari-ini* ‘just away from it/him’.

- (75) *ki-a-kar-qa* (ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘just further inside / upriver from me’.

NN |+*ŋaŋaŋ*-| ‘just, shortly’:

- (76) a. *aci-ara-ani*  
 b. *kingu-ara-ani* ‘shortly after it, just behind it’  
 c. *qul’-ara-ani* ~ *qul’-ari-ini* ‘just above it’  
 – |*quli*-|. See (P6ii, P10) as to variation -*aa*-~ -*ii*-  
 d. *Ciu-ngara-ani* *iter-tuten.*  
 fore-just-LOC.3sg.sg. enter-IND.2sg.  
 ‘You came in just before she did (ahead of her doing).’  
 cf. *ciu-ngani* ‘before it’.

NN |+*nŷ*-| ‘area of’. This occurs at least in:

- (77) *ciu-neq* ‘direction in front, what lies ahead in space or time’ (cf. *ciu-ner-kaq* ‘future’ – NN.FUT), *kingu-neq* ‘area behind, home, place/time (where one originates, has passed), past’, *qukar-neq* ‘middle area; midsection of a fish’.

It also occurs in some place names, etc.:

- (78) a. *Canineq* ‘Coastal region (down to Togiak)’, *Cevv’ar-neq* ‘Chefornak’, *Nak-neq* ‘Naknek’, *Qip-neq* ‘Kipnuk’, *Tunu-neq* ‘Tununak’, etc. – mostly in the southern part of the CAY area.  
 b. *puqla-neq* ‘sun’ [NUN] – cf. *puqla-* ‘warmth’, *puqla-nir-tuq* ‘it is warm, hot’.

The suffix |+*nŷ*-| could also be a part of NN |-(*q*)*liŷnŷ*\*-| (above) which occurs with |*aci*-|, |*akuli*-|, |*cani*-|, |*ciu*-|, |*kilu*-|, |*qai*-|, |*quli*-| as well as |*uŋalayaŷ*-| ‘south’, and so on.

It could also be identified in the composite suffix |+*ni(u)ŷ*-|, illustrated under NV |*li(u)ŷ*-| ‘to deal, be occupied with’ (§ 38.3), alongside the pseudo-passive |+*sci(u)ŷ*-|, both characterized by /V-/ deletion.

There may be a possibility that this NN suffix, which is locational, is related with the nominalization (VNm |*nŷ*-|) or the noun of result (VN |+*nŷ*-|), given that the *kingu-* can be verbal (‘to go back to’) as in (48).

## 2.3.2. Verbalization

Location nouns may be verbalized by a number of NV suffixes. Some of them are specific to location nouns, while the others are general verbalizing suffixes:

Table 7: NV suffixes for location nouns

NV	<i>-qsiy-</i>	‘to be far in that direction’
NV	<i>+ñiy-</i>	‘to move over/through’
NV	<i>+ñit-</i>	‘to lack’ – privative verb (§ 38.1)
NV	<i>+m(i)t-</i>   /   <i>+n(i)t-</i>	‘to be at’ – locative verb (§ 27.8)
NV	<i>-ki-</i>	‘to have as’ – transitive relational verb (§ 37.2)

NV |*-qsiy-*| ‘to be far in that direction’ – can be used not only with a location noun or an adverbial demonstrative stem (§ 12.4) but also, though rare, with a non-location noun (82):

- (79) a. *aci-qsig-tuq* ‘it is far down’ – |*aci-*| ‘area below’  
*kelu-qsig-tuq* ‘it is far behind – |*kilu-*| ‘area behind’  
*cani-qsig-tuq* ‘it is close to the side’  
*tunu-qsig-tuq* ‘it is far behind’
- b. *ilu-qsig-tuq* ‘it (e.g. *nuna-mta* our village) is far inside, she (*pani-ka* my daughter) is very close to heart’  
*ilu-qsig-aqa* ‘she (*pani-ka* my daughter) is very close to me’ (IND.1sg.3sg.)  
*ilu-qsi-nru-rte-* ‘to become more cherished’ [YQYW 194-195]  
– inchoative comparative *-nru-rte-* (than *-mi*)
- c. *uk-a-qsig-tuq* ‘it is nearby’ – adverbial demonstrative |*uk-a-*| ‘approaching’.  
*ya-a-qsig-tuq/ya-a-qsig-aa* ‘it is distant’ / ‘it is far from it’ – |*iy-a-*| ‘over there’.
- (80) a. *aci-qsig-tuq* ‘it is far down’; = (79a), above
- b. *aci-qsig-aa* [*May’a-m<sub>G</sub> eni-i*]<sub>P</sub>  
‘Mayaq’s house is far below’ – *eni-i* (house-ABS.3sg.sg.); zero-derived transitive (§ 33.4)
- c. *aci-qsi-nru-uq* [*May’a-m<sub>G</sub> eni-ini*] *pi-ka<sub>S</sub>*  
‘mine is farther down than Mayaq’s house’  
– *eni-ini* (house-LOC.3sg.sg.), *pi-ka* ‘thing-ABS.1sg.sg.’; intransitive comparative (§ 45.1.1)
- d. [*May’a-m<sub>G</sub> eni-in*]<sub>A</sub> *asi-qsi-nq-aa* *pi-ka<sub>P</sub>*  
‘mine is farther down than Mayaq’s house’  
– *eni-in* (house-REL.3sg.sg.); transitive comparative (§ 45.1.2).

- (81) *Teng-au-llru-uq*                      *qule-qsig-pek'-nani*.  
 fly-CNT-PST-IND.3sg.      high-far-NEG-APP.3Rsg.  
 'It was flying around not high.'
- (82) a. *Kass'a-qsig-tuq*  
 white.man-direction-IND.3sg.  
 'it is in the time of the white men, it is modern' [QQLK 82]
- b. *Anuralria-qsig-tuq*                      *tange-llr-a*.  
 p.n.-direction-IND.3sg.      look-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'His appearance looks like Anuralria.'

NV  $|+m(i)t-|$  /  $|+[person] n(i)t-|$  'to be at/in' – "locative verbs". The latter variant stands after person inflection for which a relative-case NP may occur as an adjunct, forming a bound phrase. See § 27.8 for more details:

- (83) a. *angya-mt-uq*                                      'he is in(side) the boat'  
 below-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.
- b. *estuulu-m*  $\neq$  *aci-ant-uq*                      'it is beneath the table'  
 table-REL.sg. below-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.
- (84) *Angya-m<sub>G</sub>*      *kingu-ant-uq*                      /      *ilu-agnet-uq* ~ *ilu-ant-uq*  
 boat-REL.sg. behind/inside-LOC.3sg.sg.      be-IND.3sg.  
*massiinaq<sub>S</sub>*  
 machine.ABS.sg.  
 'The motor is in the stern of/inside the boat.'  
 – intransitive clause where the relative-case *angya-m* is the adjunct to the (third-person possessed) nominal component in the locative verb; cf. (85) *angya-m* in A function.

The very common NV suffixes – relational verbs (§ 37) and privative and deprivative verbs (§ 38.1) – often occur with location nouns, among them:

NVrv  $| -ki-|$  'to have – as'. A location noun may be verbalized by the transitive relational NV suffix (§ 37.2-ii), whose A argument indicates the point of reference:

- (85) *Angya-m<sub>A</sub>*      *kingu-k-aa*                                      *massiinaq<sub>P</sub>*.  
 boat-REL.sg. behind-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.      machine.ABS.sg.  
 'The boat motor is in the stern.'  
 – equivalent to the locative verb (84) above.
- (86) a. *Tung-k-aa*                                      *anuqe-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *ungalaq<sub>P</sub>*.  
 direction-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.      wind-REL.sg.      south.ABS.sg.  
 'The wind is from the south.'

- b. *Qimugte-m<sub>A</sub> tung-k-aa neq-ni<sub>P</sub>.*  
 dog-REL.sg. direction-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg. fish-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘The dog went straight to his food.’
- (87) a. [*Uu-m tumyara-m<sub>A</sub> nal-k-aa*]  
 this-EX.REL.sg. road-REL.sg. place-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*ene-ka<sub>P</sub>.*  
 house-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘This road goes straight to my house.’
- b. *Maa=i ma-n’a<sub>P</sub> nal-k-aa*  
 here=INJ this-EX.ABS.sg. time-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*yura-la-llr-ata<sub>A</sub> imu-mi.*  
 dance-CUS-VNnm-REL.3pl.sg. that.long.time.ago-LOC.sg.  
 ‘A long time ago this (now) is the time they used to dance, lit. their dancing customarily has this as the time.’
- (88) *aki-qli-q-lutek cauyar-lutek*  
 opposite-one.located-have.as-APP.3du. drum-APP.3du.  
 ‘they(du.) beating drums, sitting across from each other (having each other as opposite one)’.

NV |+*nit*-| ‘to lack’ (privative) – see also § 38.1 after common nouns:

- (89) a. *Agayun<sub>S</sub> nalla-it-uq.*  
 God.ABS.sg. correspondent-PRV-IND.3sg.  
 ‘God has no beginning or end.’ ≙ *aquqa-it-uq* (resemblance-PRV-IND.3sg.) or *pi-ta-tait-uq* (do-as.as-PRV-IND.3sg.)
- b. [*Im-na angun<sub>S</sub> nalla-it-uq.*]  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. correspondent-PRV-IND.3sg.  
 ‘That man is gone (for good), totally vanished.’
- c. *tenga-u-naku* ‘directly’  
 space-PRV-NEG.APP.3sg.

NV |+*niy*-| ‘to move over/through (space)’ – The privative ‘to de(-N), remove, deprive’ (§ 38.1) should be the same suffix, as if from ‘to remove the space between’.

- (90) a. *qula-ir-aa* ‘it flew over / above it’ – |*quli*-| ‘area above’  
*ilu-ir-aa* ‘he comes through it (a river)’ – |*ilu*-| ‘inside’
- b. *ma-a-ggu-ir-aa* ‘he went through this side of it’  
 – apparently after a perlocative adverbial demonstrative.

- (91) *cani-qa-ir-aa* ~ *cani-qerr-ir-aa*  
 beside-exact-move.through-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he went through the right area beside it’.
- (92) *Ene-ka<sub>P</sub>*                      *ule-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *kelu-ir-aa*.  
 house-ABS.1sg.sg.    tide-REL.sg.area.behind-deprive-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The tide went behind (surrounded) my house.’  
 cf. homonymous *kelu-ir-aa* ‘he is taking its stitches out’ (with *kelur-*  
 ‘stitch’) in § 38 (49).

### 3. Time words

Time words in CAY are morphologically varied. They belong to common nouns, demonstratives (nominal, adverbial, and interjective), and (quasi-)particles. Many of them behave like location nouns. However, some are verbal or derived from verbal stems.

As nominals, time words inflect for case, number, and person. But the extent of their inflection, as well as derivation, differs largely depending upon the kind of stem. Quasi-particles are presumably relics with limited inflection (particularly lacking in number distinction).

Ignoratives of time distinguish the past [*qayvay-*] ‘when, how long ago, some time’ and future [*qaku-*] ‘when, how long from now, some time from now’.

In addition, most of the connective-mood verbs (§ 50) also function adverbially as subordinate clauses – ‘when, if, whenever, while, etc.’ – to the main clause.

#### 3.1. Inflection

Number distinction is possible, at least for some time words.

- (93) a. *erner-mi* vs. *erner-ni* ‘on/during the day’ vs. ‘on/during the days’  
 day-LOC.sg. day-LOC.pl.  
 b. *erner-e-t<sub>G</sub>*                      *ili-itni* ‘on/during one of the days’  
 day-EV-REL.pl. some-LOC.3pl.sg.

Person (possessor) inflection serves as the point of time reference. If it is externally expressed by a relative-case NP as in (93b) and (94), below, this constitutes an attributive phrase with the possessed time word as head:



- (94) *Qaaritaa-m<sub>G</sub>*      *erenr-a*      (/ *erenr-ani*)  
 festival-REL.sg.      day-ABS.3sg.sg.      (/day-LOC.3sg.sg.)  
 ‘the day (/ on the day) of *Qaariitaq*’.<sup>3</sup>

The person-inflected *qaku-ani* (LOC.3Rsg.sg.) with the ignorative stem ‘when’ for the future may mean the time either ‘after’ or ‘before’ the point of time reference, while *qangva-ani* is only for the past, and may be replaced by *nalli-ini* ‘(during, in the time) when’.

- (95) [*Alussistua-m<sub>G</sub>*      *qaku-ani*]  
 Christmas-REL.sg.      when.FUT-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*yu-urte-llru-sit?*  
 person-become-PST-INT.2sg.  
 ‘What time *after* Christmas were you(sg.) born?’ – can be ‘before’ as well.

Though typically inflected for a third person (as above), but a non-third inflection is also attested:

- (96) *erne-put*      *ma-ku-t*      ‘these days of ours’  
 day-ABS.1pl.pl.      this-EX-ABS.pl.

Derivation and inflection, however, are marginal in most time words, becoming close to particles:

|*ak’a-*| ‘already, a long time ago’ – with apparent traces of inflection, an NN suffix and particle-specific suffix:

- (97) a. *ak’a-nun* / *akaar-nun*      ‘for a long time’  
       *ak’a-nu-rpak*      ‘for a very long time’  
       *ak’a-nek*      ‘since a long time ago’  
 b. *ak’a-llaq*      ‘old (one)’ (appositive noun) = (9)  
 c. *ak’a-ki(ka)*      ‘(it is) a long time ago (more than expected)’  
       with particlizer INJ *-ki(ka)* (§ 52.1).

|*alqunaḡ-*| – ‘suddenly, rapidly’:

- (98) *Alqunaq*  $\doteq$  *alqunar-mek* *ella<sub>s</sub>*      *kii-ri-qer-tuq*.  
 suddenly(/-ABL)      weather.ABS.sg.      warm-become-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The weather rapidly became warm.’

3. Practice of visiting with bowls and asking for food with the visitors’ faces painted to hide their identity, possibly a preparation for Bladder-Feast festival (*Nakaciuq*). See CAUY [43–44 and 50–51] for *Qaaritaaq* and its understandings (*taringnaurutii*); cf. also Fienup-Riordan (1983: 233–234).

|*kisi-*| ‘only (?)’ – cf. |*kii-*| ‘only, alone’ (quantifier; § 14.10.4):

- (99) *Kesia-nek*      *tu-a-ten*      *pi-ura-tu-ut.*  
 always            that-EX-EQL      do-CNT-GEN-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They are always doing (something like) that.’ – common expression  
 of either criticism or praise.

### 3.2. Syntax

Time words may occur in a syntactic, i.e. absolutive or relative, case.

i) *Absolutive case* – in S (100) or P function, but it can also be adverbial:

- (100) a. *Unuaqs*                      *Maqinr-u-ciq-uq.*  
 tomorrow.ABS.sg.      Saturday-be-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Tomorrow is (will be) Saturday.’  
 b. *erneqs*                      *av-kan*  
 day.ABS.sg.                      split-CNNif.3sg.  
 ‘when it is afternoon, lit. when the day splits into two’  
 c. *unuk<sub>s</sub>*                      *qukar-tuq*  
 night.ABS.sg.                      reach.middle-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it is midnight’.

– where (c) *qukar-tuq* is from the impersonal (patientive) bivalent stem |*qukay-*|, which can occur with transitive inflection with the same meaning as in the following, literally ‘it (*A<sub>IMP</sub>*) reached the middle of the day’, hence the time word in the absolutive case:

- (101) *quka-qer-luku*                      *unuk<sub>p</sub>*  
 reach.middle-ITS-IND.3sg.3sg.      night.ABS.sg.  
 ‘it is just about midnight’ – cf. § 41.3.4 for the intensifier.

As the adverbial adjuncts of (past) time of a predicate, some time words occur in the absolutive singular, but others occur both in the absolutive and in an oblique form, while some others occur only in the locative.

- (102) a. *Akwaugaq*      /      *erner-pak*                      (*c*)*ella<sub>s</sub>*  
 yesterday.ABS.sg. /      all.day-big.ABS.sg.      weather.ABS.sg.  
*assi-llru-uq.*  
 good-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The weather was good yesterday/all day today.’

- b. *Ellas assi-llru-uq erner-mi* (LOC.sg.).  
 ‘The weather was good during the day.’

Temporal location in the absolutive refers to an event/occurrence at a particular (definite, past) time (‘at’), while one in the locative refers to a more general time (‘during, some time in’):

- (103) a. *unuk (c)ella-rva-llru-uq*  
 night.ABS.sg. weather-big.ABS.sg.  
 ‘it was (we had) a heavy rain last night’  
 b. *unug-mi (c)ella-rva-llru-uq*  
 night-LOC.sg. weather-big.ABS.sg.  
 ‘it was (we had) a heavy rain during the night’.
- (104) a. *Unuk tekite-llru-ut.*  
 night.ABS.sg. arrive-PST-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They came last night (at a particular time).’  
 b. *Unug-mi tekite-llru-ut. / (c)ellalli-llru-uq.*  
 night-LOC.sg. arrive-PST-IND.3pl. rain-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘They came *at night* (not in the daytime). / It rained *at night* (for a while).’

A future time word expanded with  $|+ku-|$  (‘coming, next’; § 11.3.3, § 52.2) is also adverbial in the absolutive singular form:

- (105) *Unu-ku / Unua-ku*  
 night-FUT.ABS.sg. tomorrow.morning-ABS.sg.  
*tai-ki-na.*  
 come-ASP-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) come tonight/tomorrow morning!’

ii) *Relative case:*

G function – with location noun:

- (106) a. *unu-u-m<sub>G</sub> quka-a / -ani*  
 night-EV-REL.sg. middle-ABS.3sg.sg./-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘midnight/at midnight’  
 b. *unu-u-m<sub>G</sub> quka-llr-a ≐ qukar-yara-a*  
 night-EV-REL.sg. reach.middle-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘midnight, lit. the night’s reaching the middle’  
 – Note that *unu-u-m* cannot be the subject for the transitive predicate (101) *qukar-aa* as this is an impersonal verb.

- (107) *unu-u-t<sub>G</sub> / unuaku-t<sub>G</sub>*      *ili-itni*  
 night/morning-EV-REL.pl.      part-LOC.3pl.sg.  
 ‘during one of the nights/mornings’.

A function – as standard of comparison (§ 24.2.4) of transitive comparative clauses (§ 45.3), stative and inchoative:

- (108) *Akwauga-m<sub>A</sub> / Uumi-m<sub>A</sub>*      (*c*)*ella<sub>P</sub>*  
 yesterday/few.days-REL.sg.      weather.ABS.sg.  
*assi-nq-aa.*  
 good-CMP-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The weather (now) is better than yesterday/a few days ago, lit. yesterday/a few days ago has the weather as a better one.’
- (109) *Yaaliagni-m<sub>A</sub>*      *kiircet-neqsagut-aa.*  
 day.before.yesterday-REL.sg.      hot-CMP.INC-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘It has become warmer than the day before yesterday.’

iii) *Locative case* – for temporal location (‘in, at, on’):

- (110) *unuaqu*      *erenra-ni*      ‘tomorrow during the day’.

often in appositive phrases:

- (111) a. *u-u-mi* (this-EX-LOC.sg.)      *Pekyut-mi*      ‘this last Monday’  
 b. *ya-a-ni* (over-EX-LOC.sg.)      *Pekyut-mi*      ‘this coming Monday’  
 cf. *Pekyut-mi* (LOC.sg.) ‘on Monday (either next or last)’.
- (112) a. [*Tau-mi*      *erner-mi*]      *nat-murte-llru-uq.*  
 that-LOC.sg.      day-LOC.sg.      where-go.to-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He went somewhere that day.’  
 b. [*Pingayu-ni*      *erner-ni / Agayuner-ni*]      *uita-llru-ukut*  
 three-LOC.pl.      day / week-LOC.pl.      stay-PST-IND.1pl.  
*ma-a-ni.*  
 this-EX-LOC  
 ‘We stayed here for three days/weeks.’

as a standard of comparison (§ 27.3) – of intransitive comparative clauses (§ 45.1), as contrasted with the transitive (108), above:

- (113) *Ella<sub>S</sub>*      *assi-nru-uq:*  
 weather.ABS.sg.      good-CMP-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The weather (now) is better than’:  
 a. *akwauga-mi*      ‘yesterday’

- b. *uumi-mi* ‘a few days ago’ – a single time period / one day  
 c. *uumi-r-pag-mi* ‘for many days, recently’ – postvocalic epenthetic  
 -r- before *-pag-* (§ 20.1)  
 d. *imumi-r-pag-mi* ‘ever since one can remember, for a long time’.

Many time words show morphological idiosyncrasies. The word *uumi* ‘recent(ly), a few days ago’ should come from a nominal demonstrative with locative inflection ( $|u+u+mi|$  this-EX-LOC.sg. – § 12.2.1), but as a time word it may be followed by the future particle-specific suffix  $|+ku|$  (§ 11.3.3, § 52.2) – e.g. *uumi-ku* ‘next time’ – and can be in the relative or ablative case – e.g. *uumi-m* and *uumir-nek*.

iv) *Ablative case* – temporal starting points (‘since, from’), as contrasted with the corresponding goal/destination (‘to, towards’) in the allative case in vi) below:

- (114) *Qangvar-nek ane-ksaic-it?*  
 when-ABL go.out-not.yet-INT.2sg.  
 ‘Since when have you (sg.) not gone out?’
- (115) *Atataku-t-aa aya-llerka-ni*  
 after.while-A-IND.3sg.3sg. go-VNnm.FUT-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*unuaqu-mek yaaliaku-mun.*  
 tomorrow-ABM.sg. day.after.tomorrow-ALL.sg.  
 ‘He postpones his travel from tomorrow to the day after tomorrow.’  
 – with *atataku-* (127) as a verb stem (§ 11.3.3) from *atata-* ‘later on’.
- (116) *Cama=i-r-nga ak’a-nek*  
 hello-LNK-say-OPT.2sg.1sg. long.time-ABM  
*tangrr-amken.*  
 see-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘Shake hands with me (i.e. Hello me) since I see you (sg.) (as I have just seen you) after a long time.’
- (117) a. [*Uumir-nek tekite-rraa-nerminek*] *yagagcet-uq.*  
 few.days.ago-ABM arrive-first-CNNqs.3Rsg. busy-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He has been busy since he came back a few days ago.’ – cf. (118b) below
- b. *Uumi* [*tekite-rraar-nerminek akwaugar-nek*]  
 few.days.ago arrive-first-CNNqs.3Rsg. yesterday-ABM  
*yagagcet-uq.*  
 busy-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He came back a few days ago and has been busy since yesterday.’

v) *Ablative marker* |+niɣniɣ| for time words: This can replace the simple ablative marker with little difference, though it may specify or emphasize the time of the start (according to the judgment of one consultant). Fully illustrated in § 25.3. The function of the first element |+niɣniɣ| has not been identified.

- (118) a. *kiag-nirnek* ‘since summer’  
*unug-nirnek* ‘since last night’  
*allrag-nirnek* ‘since last year’ (*allragni*)  
*ak’a-nirnek* ~ (116) *ak’a-nek* ‘since a long time ago, for a long time’  
*watua-nirnek* ‘since a while ago, for a while’ (*watua*)
- b. *allami-r-nirnek* ~ *allrag-nirnek* ‘since last year’  
*uumi-r-nirnek* ~ (117) *uumi-r-nek* ‘since the other day (recent)’  
*allami-nirnek* ‘since last year’ (*allami* last year)  
*uumi-nirnek* ‘since the last time’ (*uumi* recently; in this one)
- c. *amatiig-nirnek* ‘since two days before yesterday’ (*amatiigni*)  
*yaaliag-nirnek* ‘since two days/years ago, since the day/year before yesterday/last year’ (*yaaliagni*).

The group (b) and (120) below show the cases of double case-marking (§ 27.9.3).

Some time words, however, occur more often with the simple ablative |-niɣ|. The replacement of *ak’a-nek*, for instance, by *ak’a-nirnek* as above, though possible, may sound somewhat odd.

after the locative:

- (119) *Pingayirit-mi-nirnek* ‘since Wednesday’ – ABS *pingayirin*.  
 Wednesday-LOC-ABL

after the ablative |+kin| (§ 12.3.1) following adverbial demonstrative stems:

- (120) a. *w-a-ke-nirnek* ‘from now on’ (DEM-EX-ABL-ABM)  
*tu-a-ke-nirnek* ‘from then on’
- b. *ma-a-ke-nirnek* ‘from now on’  
*tama-a-ke-nirnek* ‘from then on’.

vi) *Allative case* – for temporal goal/direction (‘to, towards’; § 26.1), as contrasted with the corresponding temporal origin (‘from’) in the ablative case (iv):

- (121) *Unug-mun=tang*                      *tekis-ki-lii*                      *aya-inanemni.*  
 night-ALL.sg.=ATN                      arrive-ASP-OPT.1sg.                      go-CNNwl.1sg.  
 ‘While going along, I came upon the night.’
- (122) *Tama-qsau-nani*                      *ava=i*                      *ak’a-nun*  
 lose-not.yet-APP.3Rsg.                      there=INJ                      long.time-ALL  
*tangerr-narq-uq.*  
 see-NEC-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It (e.g. plane) is visible there a long time without disappearing from sight.’

To refer to the hour (‘o’clock’), a numeral or the ignorative stem of number (*|qavciy-|* ‘how many’) is used with the allative or the ablative case, accompanied by the verb *|kauy-|* ‘to strike’ (see § 14.6-vii also for non-native expressions of time): See § 26.1-iii for the similar fluctuations between the two oblique cases.

- (123) a. *Qavci-nun / Qavci-nek*                      *kaug-ta?*  
 how.many-ALL.pl./-ABM.pl.                      strike-INT.3sg.  
 ‘What time is it (how many does it strike)?’
- b. *Malru-gnun / Malru-gnek*                      *kaug-tuq.*  
 two-ALL.du./-ABM.du.                      strike-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is two o’clock (it strikes two).’

vii) *Perlative and equalis cases*:

- (124) *unug-kun*                      ‘by night’  
*erne-rrlainar-kun*                      ‘only in the daytime’ (VVt *|xlainay-|*; § 41.3.3).
- (125) *Akwauga-tun*                      *ayuq-uq.*  
 yesterday-EQL                      similar-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is like yesterday.’

### 3.3. Derivation

A considerable number of time words are derivatives, which may in turn yield further derivatives, often involving a large amount of morphological idiosyncrasy.

Some come from demonstrative stems, including nominal  $|u-u-|$  and adverbial  $|w-a-|$ ,  $|tu-a-|$ , and  $|ya-a-|$ .

The appositive noun stem  $|ata-|$  ‘different (one)’ occurs in *alla-mi* ‘last year’ (apparently with the locative marker) and its derivatives.

Time words may take some locational suffixes, e.g.  $|- (q)va\dot{y}-|$ , in § 11.2.3.1.

A number of time words are deverbal nominals (with VN), which can have further derivations:

VN  $|+{}_1n\dot{y}-|$  – deverbal noun, cf. § 18.3.1.2:

- (126) a. *er-neq* ‘day’ –  $|i\dot{y}c-|$  ‘to dawn / daybreak’  
*up’-ner-kaq* ‘spring’ –  $|upc-|$  ‘to prepare’, with the future *-kaq*.  
 b. *Maqi-neq* ‘Saturday’  
*Agayu-neq* ‘Sunday, week’  
 see § 11.3.5-iii for days of week.

A number of derivational suffixes yield secondary time words with a slight associative elaboration. Some of them, however, are of more general application.

NN  $|-ku-|$  added to many time words (including particles – see § 52.2):

- (127) *kia-ku* ‘next summer’ vs. *kiak* ‘(last, this past) summer’  
*uksu-qu* ‘this coming winter’ *uksuq* ‘(last) winter’  
*erne-qu* ‘later today’ *erneq* ‘day’  
*iciva-qu* ‘a few days/weeks from now’ vs. *icivaq* ‘a few days/weeks ago’  
*atata-ku* ‘after a while’  $\doteq$  *atata* ‘later on’  
 cf. (115) as a verb stem  
*ata-ku* ‘this (coming) evening’ cf. *ataku-mi* ‘in the evening’  
*qa-ku* ‘when’ (FUT); cf. *qang-vaq* ‘when’ (PST)  
 – § 15.2.4.
- (128) *Erne-qu* *tai-ki-na*.  
 day-FUT come-ASP-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) come (sometime later) today!’  
 cf. *Erner-mi* *tai-llru-uq*.  
 day-LOC.sg. come-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He came in the daytime OR today.’



The suffix characteristically occurs also after inflections, specifically, the locative marker of various kinds of nominals (adverbial and nominal demonstratives, appositive nouns, common nouns, ignorative), indicating the future:

- (129) *wani-ku* ‘after a while’ *w-a-ni* ‘here’  
*ukani-ku* ‘in the future’ *uk-a-ni* ‘in time/area toward now/here’  
*uumi-ku* ‘next time’ *u-u-mi* ‘recently; in this one’  
*uumi-ar-qu* ‘a few days from now’ (\**uumi-aq*)  
*allami-ku* ~ *allragni-ku* ‘next year’ *alla-mi* ~ *allrag-ni* ‘last year’.
- (130) a. [*ukani-ku*                    *kingu-mta*]<sub>G</sub>                    *yu-it*  
toward.here-FUT    one.behind-REL.1pl.pl.    person-ABS.3pl.pl.  
‘our future generations’  
b. [*ukani*                    *ciulia-mta*]<sub>G</sub>                    *yu-it*  
toward.here    ancestor-REL.1pl.pl.    person-ABS.3pl.pl.  
‘our past generations’.

The following example also seems to have adverbial demonstrative stems, i.e. *ya-a-(ni)* and *am-a-(ni)* ‘over there’ (like *wani* and *ukani* above), although the constitution is not clear enough (cf. § 11.2.3.1 [+liŷ\*-|]):

- (131) *yaalia-ku* ‘two days/years hence’    *yaaliagni* ‘two days / years before’  
*amatii-ku* ‘three days/years hence’    *amatiigni* ‘three days/years before’  
cf. *yaaliag-ni-m ama-ti-i-ni* (LOC.3sg.) ‘four days/years hence’, which shows *amatii-ku* as a case of postinflectional derivation (§ 4.1.3.2)  
cf. also *erner-mi-ku*.

*Today* vs. *tomorrow*, *morning*, *day* vs. *night* – with different derivations/inflections:

- (132) *unuk*                                    ‘(last) night’  
cf. *unug-mi*                                ‘in/during the night/at night’  
*unu-ku*                                    ‘tonight (this coming)’  
*unug-pak*                                ‘all night’.
- (133) a. *unua-mek*                            ‘today’  
*unua-mi*                                    ‘than this (past) morning’ (e.g. ‘warmer’)  
*unua-tun*                                  ‘like this morning’  
*unua-ku* ≙ *unua-ku-mi* ‘tomorrow morning’  
b. *unuakua-yaar*                            ‘very early in the morning’  
*unuakua-yaar-qu*                            ‘very early tomorrow morning / at the crack of dawn’  
*unuakua-yaar-mi*                            ‘during very early morning’

- c. *unuaq* ‘this past morning’ – see (139)  
*unua-qu* ‘tomorrow’  
*unuaqu-mun* ‘until tomorrow morning’  
 e.g. with *utaqa-ki-na* (wait-ASP-OPT.2sg.) ‘you (sg.) should wait’  
*unuaqu-mek* ‘from tomorrow’  
 cf. *unuaqu=mi* ‘how about tomorrow?’ (enclitic =*mi*).
- (134) *ernek* ‘day (vs. night), one day’  
*erenr-ani* ‘during the day’  
*erner-mi* ‘in the daytime/today’  
*erner-mi-ku* ‘midday today (after now)’  
*erne-qu* ‘later/midday today’  
*erner-pak* ‘all day (long)’ – (141) below; cf. *erner-pag-mi*.

The *-ku-* form may be followed by the locative *|+ηani|* (LOC.3sg.sg.) to indicate the point of reference ‘the time after it’, at least in the following:

- (135) [*Yu-urte-llr-an<sub>G</sub>*                      *allami-ku-ani*]  
 person-become-VNm-REL.3sg.sg.      last.year-ASP-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*yu-urte-llru-unga.*  
 person-become-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I was born the year after he was born.’
- (136) a. [*Alussistua-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *unuaqu-ani*]  
 Christmas-REL.sg.      tomorrow-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the morning after Christmas’
- b. [*Alussistua-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *qaku-ani*]  
 Christmas-REL.sg.      when.FUT-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*yu-urte-llru-sit?*  
 person-become-PST-INT.2sg.  
 ‘What time after Christmas were you (sg.) born?’  
 – This may also be ‘before’ = (95).

The suffix does not occur after names of week: \**Pekyut-ku* (above), \**Maqine-qu*.

NN *|-ay-|* yields a number of associative elaboration on time words – see § 20.2 for *|+ay-|*:

- (137) *uksu-aq* ‘fall, last fall’ – *uksuq* ‘(last) winter’  
 a. *Uksuaq<sub>P</sub>*                      *upy-ul-la-ut.*  
 fall.ABS.sg.                      prepare-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT-1pl.3sg.  
 ‘Let’s prepare for the fall.’

- b. *Uksuar-mek<sub>(p)</sub>*      *utaqa-ukut.*  
 wait-ABM.sg.      wait-IND.1pl.  
 ‘We are waiting for the fall.’

The derived words may be further expanded into an adverbial particle with the future *|-ku-*, above:

- (138) *Uksua-qu*      *tai-ki-na!*  
 fall-FUT      come-ASP-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘Come this coming fall!’  
 – Compare *uksua-qu* with *uksuaq* in (137a) which also refers to the coming fall.

Likewise from *|unuy-* ‘night’:

- (139) *unu-aq*      ‘(this past) morning’ – *unuk* ‘(last) night’  
*unu-a-qu*      ‘tomorrow’ – *unu-ku* ‘tonight’  
*unuaqu-llr-anun* (\*?*unuaqu-mun*) *utaqa-ki-na*  
 tomorrow-VNmn-ALL3sg.sg.      wait-ASP-OPT.3sg  
 ‘wait the whole time until tomorrow’.

NN *|-a(ya)ÿ\*~|~|<sub>-1</sub>ka(ya)ÿ\*~|* associative elaboration (‘not quite yet, early’) on some time words, distinct from the above NN *|-aÿ-* – § 20.2:

- (140) *ataku-ar* ~ *ataku-araq* ‘early evening’ vs. *ataku* ‘this evening’  
*unuaku-ar* ‘early morning’ vs. *unuaku* ‘tomorrow morning’  
*iciva-ar-qu* ‘soon, in near future’  
 vs. *icivaqu* ‘a few days/weeks from now’.

NN *|+pay-* used in conjunction with time words to indicate a totality of time (‘during, throughout, the whole; big’) or sometime in the future. It takes the absolutive singular marking instead of the locative, cf. § 23.2:

- (141) *Erner-pak*      (*c*)*ellalli-llru-uq* / *tanger-ciq-aqa.*  
 day-big.ABS.sg.      rain-PST-IND.3sg . / see-FUT-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘It rained all day long.’ / ‘I will see him today.’

– where the absolutive *erner-pak* is the adverbial adjunct, while the locative *erner-pag-mi* would mean a point in some span of time (see the suffix *|+pay-* – § 20.1.1). Likewise *kiag-pak* (but not \**kiag-pag-mi*) below, which is a comparee of comparison. On the other hand, a time word for a standard of com-

parison (‘than’) in intransitive comparative clauses (§ 45.1.1) takes the locative case, as in the following:

- (142) a. *Kiag-pak*                      *amlle-nru-ut*                      *neqe-ts*  
 summer-big.ABS.sg.    many-CMP-IND.3pl.    fish-ABS.pl.  
*allragni-mi*.  
 last.year-LOC.sg.  
 ‘Fish are more abundant this summer than last year (summer).’  
 – compare with the allative form, which indicates a destination instead of a ‘whole summer’:
- b. *Kiag-pag-mun*                      *tekit-ua*                      *tama-a-ni*.  
 summer-big-ALL.sg. arrive-IND.1sg.    there-EX-LOC.  
 ‘I arrived there at the big summer (country) (i.e. from a cold place).’
- (143) *Pi-aqe-llriik=gguq*                      *qangvar-pak*                      *ta=ima*.  
 do-CNT-PTP.3du.=RPR    when-big.ABS    there  
 ‘The two lived for ever after.’ – as in stories where the two are often grandmother and grandchild.
- (144) *Tu-a-ten*                      *pi-yara-u-guq*                      *ukani-rpak*.  
 there-EX-EQL do-VNnm-be-IND.3sg.    toward.here-big.ABS.sg.  
 ‘That is a custom for a long time.’  
 – compare with the future:
- cf. *Tu-a-ten*                      *pi-yara-u-ci-q-uq*                      *ukani-ku*.  
 there-EX-EQL do-VNnm-be-FUT-IND.3sg.    toward.here-FUT  
 ‘That will be a custom for a long time to come.’

The suffix occurs also after ignorative time words:

- (145) *qangvar-pak*                      ‘how long (has it been)?’ – but not ‘forever’  
 a. *Qangvar-pak*                      *ca-tait-a?*  
 when.big                      what-there.no-INT.3sg.  
 ‘How long has he been gone?’  
 b. *Qangvar-pak*                      *ta=ima*                      *angnir-lutek*                      *pi-uk*.  
 when.big                      there                      happy-APP.3du.                      do-IND.3du.  
 ‘They(du.) were happy there (unseen) for a long time.’
- (146) *Qaku-rpak*                      *calia-qe-katar-tatgu?*  
 when-big                      work-have.as-IMN-INT.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘How long are they going to work on it?’

NV |+c-| possibly A adder (VVsm; § 39.1.1):

- (147) a. *unuaqu-t-ua* ‘I plan to go tomorrow’  
 cf. *unuaqu-t-aanga* ‘he is doing (s.t.) to/for me tomorrow’ – applicative |+*(u)c-*|  
 b. *atataku-t-aa* ‘he puts it off till later, postpones it’ (115).

### 3.4. Ambivalent time words

Some time words – including four season names and others – are ambivalent, behaving both as noun and verb stems. See also § 10.4.

Verbally they occur either with an intransitive inflection (with impersonal S arguments) or with a transitive one (with impersonal A and affected P; § 33.3):

- (148) a. *kiag-tuq* ‘it becomes summer’ (IND.3sg.)  
 – |*kiay-*| ‘(to become) summer’  
*kiag-aakut* ‘the summer falls upon us’ (IND.3sg.1pl.)  
 b. *uksuar-aa* ‘it became autumn on him’ (IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 – |*uksuay-*| ‘(to become) autumn’.

Some speakers use the applicative suffix VVsm |+*(u)c-*| for transitive verbs (§ 39.4.2-ii). The following (a) may thus be heard instead of (148a) *kiag-aakut* above:

- (149) a. *kiag-ut-aakut* ‘the summer falls (it summers) upon us’ (IND.3sg.1pl.)  
 b. *unuaqu-t-aanga* ‘he is doing (s.t.) to/for me tomorrow’ (IND.3sg.1sg.).

As verb stems, they often occur in the connective mood (§ 50):

- (150) *Unuaqu-aqan* *apiata-mi* *tai-lar-tuq.*  
 tomorrow-CNNwv.3sg. lunch-LOC.sg. come-CUS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He comes over every day (lit. whenever it tomorrows) at lunch time.’
- (151) *Kiag-akut* ~ *kiag-uc-akut* *upagt-ukut.*  
 summer(-E<sub>APL</sub>)-CNNbc.3sg.1pl. move-IND.1pl.  
 ‘Because the summer came on us, we moved to the fishcamp.’

- (152) *Ataku-kani* ~ *ataku-us-kani*      *tekie-iiq-uq*.  
 evening(-E<sub>APL</sub>)-CNNif.3sg.3Rsg. arrive-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘When the evening falls on him (lit. whenever it becomes evening to him), he will arrive.’

### 3.5. Seasons, months, and days of week

i) *Seasons*: Of the four given below, only the two (a) are primary stems:

- (153) a. *kiak*           |*kiay-*|           ‘summer’  
           *uksuq*           |*uksuḃ-*|           ‘winter’  
       b. *up’nerkaq*   |*up-niḃ-kay-*|      ‘spring’ – probably from |get.ready-VNnm-FUT| – |*up(c)-*|  
           *uksuaq*       |*uksu-aḃ-*|      ‘fall’ – with NN |*-aḃ-*|.  
           cf. *uksuar-yartuq*           ‘early fall, between summer and fall’  
   with VV<sub>m</sub>/NN |<sub>+1</sub>*caḃtuḃ-*| (§ 43).

- (154) [*Qavci-ni*           *uksu-ni*]           *ma-a-nt-a?*  
 how.many-LOC.pl. winter-LOC.pl. this-EX-be.at-INT.3sg.  
 ‘How many winters/years has he been here?’ – locative verb (§ 27.8).

ii) *Months*: The people in the former days may (or may not) have had a chronometry by moons. Nelson (1899: 235), who stayed among the Eskimo about the Yukon Delta (1877 to 1881), recorded thirteen terms for the moons from Russian Mission (lower Yukon) and twelve from the two other neighborhoods (Unalit and just south of the Yukon). Modern terms of twelve months seem to be conventionalized from original terms for certain (uneven) lengths of a year which reflect differences in the most characteristic local phenomena concerned, like kinds and times of animal/bird/fish migration and activity, ice formation, cultural events, etc. As such, these are not something divided at (nearly) regular intervals.

Terms necessarily differ from one local area to another. Jacobson’s comparison (1984: 670) covering the major dialect areas – Norton Sound, Nunivak, Yukon, Kuskokwim, and Bristol Bay – all for modern twelve months shows a considerable amount of discrepancies according to region. Even one and the same name for a month may refer to different months, so much so that people from dialectally close locations are often found to argue over the name for the new moon [CIUL 366–367].

Here is the list from Nelson Island (Toksook Bay) collected in 1980 from Bob Hooper by Oka (1982: 37–38) with his brief notations cited and my tentative analysis at the end:

(155)	January	<i>Manignar-cuut-nguaq</i> – loche fish ( <i>manignaq</i> ) migrate downstream and are caught in nets under the ice;   <i>maniynay+cuut-nuaŷ</i> -  (loche.fish-tool-inauthentic)
	February*	<i>Kep'-ner-ciq</i> – the severe cold and frozen season comes to an end, and the houses are flooded with melted water, and holes may be made in the roof of an <i>enepiaq</i> ‘sod house’ for entry and exit;   <i>kipi-nŷ</i> -  (cut-VNnm)
	March*	<i>Tengmiir-vig-uaq</i> – waiting for the geese to fly back to them;   <i>tijmiaŷ-liŷ+viŷ+nuaŷ</i> -  (bird-supply-time-inauthentic)
	April	<i>Tenge-m-qapiar</i> – the month during which the geese come;   <i>tiji+m+qapiaŷ</i> -  (fly-?-ITS)
	May	<i>Iqalluarpi-i-t an-uti-it</i> –   <i>iqatuaŷpay+t</i>   (tom.cod-REL.pl.)   <i>ani+ut+ŋat</i>   (go.out-time-ABS.3pl.sg.)
	June	<i>Kayang-u-t an-uti-it</i> – eggs of various species of birds are taken from their nests;   <i>kayanuŷ+t</i>   (egg-REL.pl.)   <i>ani+ut+ŋat</i>   (same as in ‘May’)
	July*	<i>Ing-un</i> – bird’s feathers molt;   <i>iŋc+ut</i>   (molt-time.ABS.sg.)
	August	<i>Qangqiiq ing-uti-it</i> – ducks, geese, and other birds fly everywhere after shedding their feathers;   <i>qanqiiŷ</i>   (ptarmigan.ABS.sg.)   <i>iŋc?+ut+at</i>   (molt-time-ABS.3pl.sg.) – first word perhaps plural <i>qangqiiit?</i> , given the plural person inflection on the head word <i>ing-uti-it</i>
	September	<i>Amiraayaaq</i> – young caribou get antlers;   <i>amiŷ-aa?+cayayŷ</i>   (‘skin-?-young’)
	October	<i>Amirairun</i> – the antlers of caribou get velvety;   <i>amiŷ-ay?-liŷ-ut</i>   (skin-?-supply-time.ABS.sg.)
	November	<i>Cauyarvik</i> – time of dancing to a drum accompaniment during this season;   <i>cayayŷ+viŷ</i>   (drum-place/time.ABS.sg.)
	December	<i>Kanr-u-ya-uciq</i> – the coldest weather and shortest days;   <i>kanŷ-u-cay-uciŷ</i>   (frost-be-make.er-VNnm. ABS.sg.).

Another list from Akula (Tundra area), a part of the Kuskokwim, as given by Wassillie Berlin [CIUL 364–365], shows almost the same common naming, but at the same time a speaker from the Coastal area still argues with half of the terms.

In recent times, one hears English names of months more frequently:

- (156) *Ak'a* **December**-aar-tuq.  
 already month-LNK-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is December already.’ – § 52.5.2 for LNK (linking suffix).

iii) *Days of the week*: As concepts newly introduced to Yupik culture, day names are derivatives (from the native sources). Four of them, i.e. ‘Tuesday’ through ‘Friday’, are derived from |*aipay̆*-| ‘partner, one of two’ (§ 11.4.3-ii) and the numerals for ‘3’, ‘4’, and ‘5’ (see Table 5) derived with |*lĭyit*-| (< |*lĭy-i-t*-| ‘supply-APS-VNrl’); cf. the cross-boundary /V-1/ deletion which characterizes the |*li-*| group words (§ 38.3) and § 17 (234a) for the relativizer (‘means’):

- (157) *Aip-irin* ‘Tuesday’ (lit. ‘the one which supplies a partner’)  
*Pingay-irin* ‘Wednesday’ (lit. ‘the one which supplies a three (third)’)  
*Cetam-irin* ‘Thursday’  
*Tallim-irin* ‘Friday’.

These occur with person inflection to signify ‘(on) the second day, etc. (of the month)’, except for ‘(on) the first day’ which employ the location word |*ciuqlĭy-*| (from |*ciu-*| ‘front’):

- (157)’ *iralu-m* *ciuql-iritii(ni)*, *aip-iritii(ni)*, *pingay-iritii(ni)*, ...  
 moon-REL.sg. first-, second-, third-ABS.3sg.sg.(LOC.3sg.sg.)  
 ‘(on) the first, second, third... day of the month’ – with *-iritii(ni)*  
 from *-irit(e)+nga(ni)*.

The other three days than the four above are deverbal nominals with (a) VNnm |*-ny̆-*| and (b) VNr/ |*+(u)t-*| ‘means’ (same above):

- (158) a. *Maqi-neq* ‘Saturday’ |*maqi-*| ‘to take a steam bath’  
*Agayu-neq* ‘Sunday; week’ |*ayayu-*| ‘to pray, worship’  
 b. *Peky-un* ‘Monday’ |*pikic-*| ‘to move; [BB] to work’.<sup>4</sup>

Days of the week are illustrated with the locative case and a denominalized relational verb:

- (159) *Maqiner-mi* *yu-u-t̆s*  
 saturday-LOC.sg. person-EV-ABS.pl.  
*maqi-la-llru-ut.*  
 bathe-GEN-PST-IND.3pl.  
 ‘People used to take a steam bath on Saturday.’
- (160) *Unuaqu* *maqinr-u-ci-q-uq* / *cetamirit-ngu-ci-q-uq.*  
 tomorrow saturday/thursday-be-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It will be Saturday/Thursday tomorrow.’

4. The words were perhaps initiated in the Bristol Bay area when Russian Orthodox missionaries arrived there with the names for days of week.





English numerals are more commonly found to occur with the suffix *-klaay-*, however:

- (166)     *tuu-klaag-tuq*                   ‘it is two o’clock’  
           *siks-aa-klaag-tuq*               ‘it is six o’clock’ (*-aa-* LNK).

#### 4. Kinship terms

Kinship terms in CAY are a closed subset of nominals. They are of particularly great significance in Yupik societies since they indicate to whom one is related, both inside and outside one’s village, and thus what one’s social responsibility or potential role to another is (e.g. serving as host for a visitor from another village, as a marriage partner, and so on). Except between joking cousins, generally cross cousins, who are free to say and do anything to each other, kinship terms or nicknames are more commonly used than person names (§ 11.6.1).

Among siblings, abbreviated forms may possibly be used to address one another, but rarely full names.

Kinship terms inflect for case and number and rarely occur without person inflection except when addressing others. See § 31 for vocative forms.

##### 4.1. Iroquoian type

The kinship term system of CAY is of the so-called “Iroquoian type” (Spier 1925), distinct from the “Eskimo type” that is dominant, though not exclusively, in the Eastern Eskimo area – northern Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. The CAY system is further distinct, however, from the Iroquoian type as found among Siberian Eskimos (including St. Lawrence Island) and in some parts of northern Alaska, where one finds a more complicated system (Miyaoaka 1987: 81–86).

The words for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ feature a peculiarity:

- (167)     *ata-* ~ *aata-*     ‘father’         |*a(a)ta-*|  
           cf. *a[a]ti-i*       ‘his father’ (ABS.3sg.sg.)  
           *ana-* ~ *aana*     ‘mother’        |*a(a)na-*|  
           cf. *a[a]ni-i*       ‘his mother’ (ABS.3sg.sg.).

The (word-initial) single vs. double vowel variation (*a* ~ *aa*) is unique to these two stems – constituting a morphological anomaly in CAY (§ 4.3-iv.b; together with *ataata* ‘father’s brother’ and *anaana* ‘mother’s sister’ below), with the possible difference that *aata-vut* /*áatavut*/ ‘our father’ (ABS.1pl.sg.)

may sound more childlike/young or less mature than *ata-vut* /atáˈvut/ which sounds more formal, is preferred by elders, and is used in the Lord's Prayer. The word *atamta* is used in the Catholic churches in the lower Yukon (Michael Dunham, p.c.).

As an Iroquoian type, the CAY system distinguishes between paternal and maternal uncles and aunts. Compare (a) vs. (b):

- (168) a. *ataata* 'paternal uncle (FaBr)  
           – cf. *ataati-i* ('his FaBr'; ABS.3sg.sg.)  
       b. *angak* 'maternal uncle (MoBr)'.  
 (169) a. *acak* 'paternal aunt (FaSi)  
           b. *anaana* 'maternal aunt (MoSi)  
           – cf. *anaani-i* ('his Mo.Si'; ABS.3sg.sg.).

Note that the words for 'paternal uncle' and 'maternal aunt' of the Iroquoian type may perhaps show reduplication (§ 4.3-iv.b) respectively of |*a(a)ta*| 'father' and |*a(a)na*| 'mother' above. By contrast, 'cross cousin's father/mother' (i.e. 'maternal uncle; MoBr' / 'paternal aunt; FaSi') are primary (unanalyzable) stems |*anay-*| / |*acay-*| respectively. Therefore it may be conceivable that the stem variations (with single or double *a*) peculiar to the two kinship terms can be ascribed to some sort of metanalysis from the reduplicated terms.

Parallel cousins are classificatory siblings (170), although there is no such parallelism for the younger generation (171):

- (170) *anngaq* 'older brother; older male parallel cousin'  
           – cf. *ciuliq* below  
       *alqaq* 'older sister; older female parallel cousin'  
           – cf. *al'a(q)* below  
       cf. *arna-u-neq* 'elder sister; being a woman' – related with comparative nominal (§ 18.3.2).  
 (171) *uyuraq* 'man's younger brother / male parallel cousin, woman's younger sister / female parallel cousin' – gender of the possessor may not be specific  
       *nayagaq* 'man's younger sister'  
       cf. [HBC] *angutnguaq* 'woman's older brother' vs. *arnauneq* 'man's younger sister' (Woobury rev.), cf. § 18(195, 196)

The classification of parallel cousins as siblings is also reflected in the existence of such terms (calling names) as:

- (172) *ciuliq* ‘the eldest male among all brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins’  
 cf. *ciuli-at* ‘the eldest of them, their ancestor’ (ABS.3pl.sg.)  
*al’a(q)* ‘the eldest female among all brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins; in the family’.

Cross cousins have different terms, depending upon the sex of the speaker:

- (173) a. *iluraq* ‘man’s male cross cousin’ – |*-ilu(ȳa)ȳ\*-*|  
*ilunqaq* ‘woman’s female cross cousin’ – |*-ilunqȳ\*-*|  
 b. *ui-cunqaq* ‘woman’s male cross cousin’  
*nulia-cunqaq* ‘man’s female cross cousin’  
 – note the constitution of (b), with |*ui-*| ‘husband’ and |*nuliaȳ-*| ‘wife’ followed by the diminutive/attitudinal NN |*-cunqȳ-*| ‘little, dear’.

Different terms are also used for ‘nephews’ and ‘nieces’:

- (174) a. *usruq* ‘man’s sister’s child’, cf. (169) *acak*  
*nurr’aq* ‘woman’s sister’s child’, cf. (169) *anaana*  
 b. *qangiar(aq)* ‘man’s brother’s child’ – |*qanġia(ȳa)ȳ\**|  
*an’gar(aq)* ‘woman’s brother’s child’ – |*anya(ȳa)ȳ\**|.

There are a number of kinship terms that are derivatives with NN |+*aȳ-*| (§ 20.2). The system, however, is not necessarily universal among all CAY areas and, at least in some areas, a number of other terms may be added to or take the place of the ones given there.

Based on his fieldwork at Nelson Island in 1960’s, Gamo (1964) finely elucidated the far-reaching significance and role of *nengauk* ‘brother-/son-in-law such as SiHu, DaHu, BrDaHu, etc.’ in forming bands (groups) for Yupik economic and social activities. See also [PAIT 380–385] for a vivid description about the mutual *negau-ke-lriik* ‘father-in-law and son-in-law’.

Actual use of the kinship terms, however, is not as simple as it may appear in kinship charts; the original system seems to cause some confusion to speakers and can be fully lost among younger generations. One factor behind this complication and possible confusion seems to be the use of a specific term to cover a group of other terms as well as the extended and sometimes loose use of some terms. The term (173a) *iluraq* ‘man’s male cross cousin’, for instance, can be used as the cover term for cross cousins and, by extension, as referring to a male friend through some established relationship with a relative or a non-relative,

while the term *maurluq* ‘grandmother’ may be used to refer to an (unrelated) old woman.

Another factor is the traditional custom of naming a newborn after a deceased person, creating a resultant namesake relationship (Nelson 1899: 424–425). A namesake called *ate-llgun* (< |atȳ-łȳut-| name-partner) is supposed to behave or to be treated in the same way as her/his partner in many aspects of life – in being addressed, ceremonies (e.g. *elriq* ‘memorial feast’<sup>5</sup>), etc. According to Elsie Mather (p.c.), when a woman is named, for instance, after her mother’s younger brother, she will always call the mother by the term *al’aq* (above) and is not supposed to call the mother *aana* ‘mother’. The woman will be called as *ui-cungaaq* ‘woman’s male cross cousin (above; lit. little dear husband)’ (above) by the mother’s cross cousin (in spite of the fact that the woman is not a male).

A deceased relative is expressed by the NN |+*ŋiȳut-*| ‘deceased’ (§ 20.1):

- (175) *aana-irut-ka* ‘my deceased mother’  
Mo-deceased-ABS.1sg.sg.

See Jacobson (1984: 671–672, 1995: 422–424) and Fienup-Riordan (1983: 144–149) for a more complete examination of kinship terms.

#### 4.2. Reciprocal relatives |-*kiȳiiȳ/t*|

Kinship terms referring to a reciprocally (or mutually) related pair occur in the dual (or plural) intransitive form of the cyclically expanded +(u) suffix from transitive relational verb NVrv |-*ki-*| ‘to have as’ with the intransitive participial relativizer VNrl |-*łȳiaȳ-*|.<sup>6</sup> Since the NVrv verb is patientive, its intransitive may be:

- (176) *aana-ke-llrii-k* ‘mother and daughter’  
cf. *aana-k-uk* (Mo-have.as-IND.3du.) ‘they(du.) are mother and daughter, lit. reciprocally mothers’.

This is because an inflectional form of patientive monotransitive verbs such as NVrl may be reciprocal (as well as reflexive) – § 37.2-ii. By contrast, there is no reciprocity associated with the intransitive relational verb NVr |+*ŋu-*| ‘to be’ (§ 37.1):

5. Lantis (1946, 1945) and CAUY (105–151). See § 39 (239b).

6. Cf. § 34-fn.3 for comparison with CSY.

- (177) *aana-u-lriik* ‘two mothers; two who are mothers’  
 cf. *aana-u-guk* (Mo-be-IND.3du.) ‘they are two mothers’  
 – see also *aana-gka* (Mo-ABS.1sg.du.) ‘my mother and father, lit. my two mothers’.

Likewise:

- (178) *aata-ke-lriik* ‘father and son’  
*maurlu-qe-lriik* ‘grandmother and grandson (grandmother and grandson) – |*mauyluy*\*-| ‘GrMo’  
*tutgararulu-qe-lriik* [HBC] ‘grandparent an grandchild’ (Woodbury, rev.) – |*tutxayayulu*\*-| ‘grandchild’  
*ilunga-qe-lriik* ‘two women cross cousins’ – |*ilunay*-| ‘female cross cousin of a female’  
*nulir-qe-lriik* ‘wife and husband’ – |*nulix*-| ‘wife’  
*aca-ke-lriik* ‘aunt (FaSi) and nephew (or niece)’  
 – see also *aci-i-gka* ‘my two aunts’ – |*acay*[+y+ka] ABS.1sg.du. with EV -i-.

– in a kin dyad, it is possible to build the word on either member of the pair; see § 21(12)

The suffix occurs with plural inflection as well:

- (179) *Sugtu-nq-aat* *annga-qe-lriit*<sub>A</sub>.  
 tall-CMP-IND.3pl.3sg. older.Br-have.as-VNrl.REL.pl.  
 ‘He is taller than the rest of his brothers.’  
 – ‘ones who are mutually elder brothers’. § 45.1.2 for transitive comparative clauses where NP for standard NP is in the A function.
- (180) *U-ku-nek* *taugken* *ila-ngqe-llini-luteng*  
 this-EX-ABM.pl. actually relative-have-EVD-APP.3Rpl.  
 [*tau-ku-t* *nuna-t*]<sub>s</sub> [*annga-qe-lria-nek*  
 that-EX.ABS.pl, land-ABS.pl. elBr-have.as-VNrl-ABM.pl.  
*cetama-nek*] *arnaunr-at=wa* *atauci-rraq*.  
 four-ABM.pl. elSi-ABS.3pl.sg.=ENC one-just.ABS.sg  
 ‘Actually, there were these relatives (this family) in the village, four brothers including their only sister.’ [FASM 12]  
 – See (170) and § 18 (194) for lexicalized comparative noun from *arna-u-nr-at* (woman-be-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.). The last nominal phrase with the conjunctive article =*wa* ‘and, including’ occurs independently of the preceding, hence in the absolutive case.

The reciprocal plural *ila-ke-llriit* with the stem *|ila-|* ‘part, kin, relative’ (§ 11.4.3-i, just below) is a term for ‘family’. The immediate family may also be called *ila* (which may also mean ‘brother’ or ‘sister’), an extended family or relatives *ila-kuta-t* (with VNnm *|-kutay-|*; § 17 .6.2-iii), and distant relatives or distant cousins *tungayi-i-t* (*|tunayay-|*, probably with the location stem *|tunji-|* ‘direction, area toward’).

#### 4.3. ‘Part, relative, partner’ – *|ila-|*, *|aipay-|*

The two noun suffixes, inalienably with person inflection (§ 22.5-ii), function like partitive nouns meaning ‘part/relative of, and ‘one (the other) of two or a pair, a partner of’. These most commonly occur together as the head of an attributive phrase with an NP in G function; cf. ignorative equivalent *|naliy-|* (§ 15.2.3.2).

i) *|ila-|* ‘part one/some of, relative’: As verbal, this is a secundative ditransitive ‘to add (something) to’ (§ 35.1). See § 15.2.3.2 for the ignorative equivalent *|naliy-|* ‘which one’, e.g. § 15 (36–38).

The stem may function as a nominal quantifier (cf. § 14.10). See also § 21.4 for *|ila-|* in terms of nominal number.

Compare the singular (a) and the plural (b) forms by noting the difference in agreement:

(181) [*Arna-t<sub>G</sub>*                      *il i-ita*]<sub>A</sub>                      *irnia-q-aa*.  
 woman-REL.pl.                      part-REL.3pl.sg.                      child-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is the child of one of the women, lit. one of the women has him as the child.’

(182) a. [*Neqe-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *ili-i*]<sub>P</sub>                      *ner-aa*.  
 fish-REL.sg.                      part-ABS.3sg.sg.                      eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He ate part of the fish(sg.)’  
 b. [*Neqe-t<sub>G</sub>*                      *ila-it*]<sub>P</sub>                      *ner-ai*.  
 fish-REL.pl.                      part-ABS.3pl.pl.                      eat-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘He ate some of the fish (pl.)’

The singular *ili-i* as in (a) can be partitive (i.e. ‘some fish’) and semantically closer to the plural (b); § 21.4, which is also the case with the following:

(183) a. *yu-u-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *ili-i*  
 person-EV-REL.sg.                      part-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘some people’ (not meaning ‘part of the person’)

- b. *yu-u-t<sub>G</sub>*                      *ila-it*  
 person-EV-REL.pl.    part-ABS.3pl.pl.  
 ‘some of the people’.

As a partitive singular, the phrase below in S function agrees with the singular subject of the verbs (in the cosubordinate and main clauses):

- (184) [*Angute-m<sub>G</sub>=llu*            *ili-i*]<sub>S</sub>                      [*uterte-vke-nani*  
 man-REL.sg.=and    part-ABS.3sg.sg.    go.back-NEG-APP.3Rsg.  
 [*arna-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*                      *aipa-ng-luni*]]  
 woman-ABM.sg.    spouse-get-APP.3Rsg.  
*tau-ku-miu-ngurt-aq-luni*.  
 that-EX-inhabitant-become-CUS-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘And a man, not going home but getting a wife, would become the  
 inhabitant of that village.’

This partitive singular construction, however, seems to be somewhat archaic, and is used by older and more fluent speakers. See § 21.4 for more examples, as well as nouns that occur in this construction.

Since ‘part of it’, as expressed by *ili-i* (ABS.3sg.sg.), is indefinite and unspecified, the noun may not properly work with a noun indicating something composite (e.g. ‘boat’, ‘chair’, ‘human body’). Compare the following pair, the latter of which feels somewhat odd (to some speakers):

- (185) a. [*Natr-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *ili-i*]<sub>P</sub>                      *mingu-llru-a*.  
 floor-EV-REL.sg.    part-ABS.3sg.sg.    paint-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He painted part of the floor.’  
 b. ?[*Angya-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *ili-i*]<sub>S</sub>                      *nave-llru-uq*.  
 boat-REL.sg.                      part-ABS.3sg.sg.    break-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Part of the boat is broken.’  
 – which, although possible, sounds somewhat awkward. As contrasted with something like the ‘floor’, a composite thing like a boat calls for specificity regarding which part of it is broken. On the other hand, there is nothing wrong with the following plural:  
 cf. [*angya-t*                      *ila-it*]<sub>S</sub>                      *nave-llru-ut*  
                     boat-REL.pl.    part-ABS.3pl.pl.    break-PST-IND.3pl.  
                     ‘some boats are broken’.

Likewise, some nouns (e.g. ‘nail’ and ‘window’) may work well with *ili-i* ‘part of’ while others (e.g. ‘body’ and ‘arm’) may not:

- (186) *cetu-ma*                      ‘of my nail’ (REL.1sg.sg.),  
                     *egalr-e-m*                      ‘of the window/smokehouse’ (EV-REL.sg.) vs.



- cf. ?*teme-ma* ‘of my body’  
 ?*talli-ma* ‘of my arm’ – while ignorative *nati-i(kun)* ‘what part’  
 can go with.

The *ila-* nouns may not necessarily occur within attributive phrases, but only with person inflection:

- (187) a. *ila-si* ~ *ila-ci* ‘one of you(pl.)’ (ABS.2pl.sg.)  
*ila-ci* ‘some of you(pl.)’ (ABS.2pl.pl.)  
 b. *ili-it* ‘one of them’ (ABS.3pl.sg.) – with no dependent NP  
 c. *ila-nka* ‘my relatives’ (ABS.1sg.pl.).

The stem combines with a number of productive denominalizing (NV) suffixes, applicative, privative, transitive relational, etc.

- (188) a. *ila-it-**uq*** ‘part of it is missing’  
 b. *ila-**ngart-aa*** ‘some of it is taken out/away’  
 c. *ila-**lir-aa*** ‘she stayed with/joined him’  
 d. *ila-**k-aa*** ‘she is his companion’  
 e. *ca-m/ki-a* *ila-**k-aten***  
 what/who-REL.sg. part-have.as-INT.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘who are you (sg.) related to?’

ii) |*aipay-*| ‘partner?’:

- (189) *angya-gma<sub>G</sub>* ***aipa-ak***  
 boat-REL.1sg.du. partner-ABS.3du.sg.  
 ‘one of my boats(du.)’.

independently used – not within an appositional phrase:

- (190) ***Aipa-an<sub>A</sub>*** ***aipa-ni<sub>P</sub>*** *pi-a.*  
 partner-REL.3sg.sg. partner-ABS.3Rsg.sg. do-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘His partner said to his (own) partner.’
- (191) ***Aipar-puk<sub>S</sub>*** *unegg-narq-uq.*  
 partner-ABS.1du.sg. remain-NEC-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Either you (sg.) or I (lit. one of us two) has to stay.’  
 – A selective phrase of two independent pronouns – *elpet wall’u wii*  
 ‘you (sg.) or I’ (§ 53.5-vi with conjunctive particle) – can be added,  
 but the subject of the verb still has to be in the third person  
 (\**uneggnarqu-ten* [IND.2sg.], \**uneggnarq-ua* [IND.1sg.]).

The following locative form is used very often as an adverbial particle when one wants to avoid a definite answer (i.e. to hedge):

(192) *aipa-agni* ‘fifty-fifty; maybe not, perhaps’ (LOC.3du.sg.).

See § 51.2.1-i for *|aipaŷ-|* constructions very common in appositional (cosubordinate) clauses.

## 5. Color terms

CAY has five basic color terms. Though their stems (or roots) are more verbal than nominal in view of derivations, they are included here for convenience. Color nouns are commonly derived by the suffix VN *|+liŷ-|* ‘one, thing, area’ (as with some location nouns – § 11.2.3.1) and the relative-clausal (participial) VNrl *|-liŷiaŷ-|*. As is the case with appositive nouns, color nouns do not typically inflect for person (though they may) and commonly occur in an appositive phrase with its modified head NP.

An emphatic nominal form (‘very’) is made with the VV *|-qapiŷc-|* (§ 41.3.1) and *|-ckiŷ-|* (§ 38.4) ‘to have a good, nice, just right’ (vii below).

The two most basic colors, white and black, are derived from verb stems:

i) *|qatŷ-|* ‘to be white’ (monovalent): *qater-tuq* ‘it is white’ (IND.3sg.).

(193) *qate-llria* ‘white (thing)’ (VNrl.ABS.sg.)  
*qate-llria atkuk* ‘white parka’.

The *-liq* form may occur with or without person inflection:

(194) *qater-liq* ‘white (thing)’ (ABS.sg.)  
 a. *qater-liq* *qaspe-qa*  
 white-one.ABS.sg. cover-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my white (cloth) parka cover’<sup>7</sup>  
 b. *qater-li-qa* *paltu-u-ka*  
 white-one-ABS.1sg.sg. jacket-EV-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my white jacket’  
 c. *Nauwa* *qater-li-qa?*  
 where white-one-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Where is my white one (thing)?’

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7. Called *kuspuk* in Alaskan English.

A vocative form is attested with final vowel doubling (§ 31.2):

- (195) *Iir-pa-ka*                      *qater-li-maa!*  
 eye-big-ABS.1sg.sg.              white-one-VOC.1sg.  
 ‘You, my big white eye!’

ii) |*tunu-*| ‘to be black, dark’:

- (196) a *tungu-lria*                      *yaassiik*  
 black-VNrl.ABS.sg.      box.ABS.sg.  
 ‘black box’  
 b. *tungu-lria-nek*                      *nuya-lek*  
 black-VNrl-ABM.pl.      hair-having.ABS.sg.  
 ‘one with black hair’  
 – cf. § 25.2.2 for a stranded NP in the ablative-modalis.

- (197) *tungu-liq*                      *kegluneq*  
 black-one.ABSsg.      wolf.ABS.sg.  
 ‘black-colored, blackish wolf’.

Verbal forms are generally intransitive (a), but at least some speakers may employ a transitive use with zero-derived A or A<sub>IMP</sub> addition (b) – see viii below and § 33.4.2:

- (198) a. *tungu-ut*                      (black-IND.3pl.)  
 ‘they are black’  
 b. *tungu-i*                      (black-IND.3sg.3pl.)  
 i. ‘it blacks them; they are black’ (impersonal patientive)  
 ii. ‘he blacks them’.

The three other colors below (‘red, blue, yellow’) have intransitive forms expanded by |+*cic-*| (§ 33.4.3), which notably does not occur with the other two colors (‘white, black’) above.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that this suffix, which Jacobson (1984: 440) glosses as ‘to have the quality of V or N’, is causative (VVcm).

- (199) *kavir-cet-uq*      ≙      *kavir-cet-aa*      ‘it is red’  
*qiug-cet-uq*                      ‘it is blue’  
*cungag-cet-uq*                      ‘it is yellow/green’.

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8. The demarcation between the two groups may be of some interest, given the color term hierarchy [i.e., *white/black* > *red* > *green* > *yellow* (~ > *yellow* > *green*) > *blue* > *brown* > ...] (Berlin and Kay 1969).

A verb with |+*cic*-| is further expanded:

- (200) *kavir-cet-siyaag-an*  
 i. ‘because it is too red’ (red-CAU-too.much-CNNbc.3sg.)  
 ii. ‘you (sg.) are making it too red’ (red-CAU-too.much-IND.2sg.3sg.).
- iii) |*kaviy*-| ‘to be red’: Occurs with *-liq* but not *-lria*.
- (201) a. *linta-qa*                      *kavir-liq*                      (\**kavir-li-qa*)  
 ribbon-ABS.1sg.sg.    red-one.ABS.sg.    (ABS.1sg.sg.)  
 ‘my red ribbon’
- b. *Naquges-nga*                      [*linta-mek*                      *kavir-li-mek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 belt-OPT.2sg.1sg.    ribbon-ABM.sg.    red-one-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Put a red ribbon around me [R] (my waist).’ – secundative |*naquyc*-|  
 ‘to put (a belt, etc.) on’
- c. *kavir-liq*  
 ‘redberry’ but, in some areas, ‘cranberry’ also, which is elsewhere called *tumag-liq* (from |*tumay*-| ‘to taste bitter’), etc.

With A argument adder VVsm |+*c*-|:

- (202) *kavir-t-aa*                      ‘she reddens it, paints it red’  
*kavir-t-uq*                      ‘it is being reddened’  
*kavir-c-i-uq*                      *keggina-minek<sub>(p)</sub>*  
 red-A-APS-IND.3sg.    face-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘she is painting her (own) face red’.
- (203) *kavir-te-vkar-aa*                      ‘he makes (s.o. *-mun*) redden it’ vs.  
*kavir-cete-vkar-aa*                      ‘he makes it red’.

Other attested verb forms occur with an inchoative suffix (§ 42.2.1):

- (204) *kavi-ri-a* / *kavi-ri-uq*                      ‘he reddens it / reddens (s.t.)’  
*kavi-ng-uq*                      ‘he is blushing’.

The color ‘yellow’ has two stems that are secondary derivatives from noun stems:

iv) |*cunay-cic*-| ‘to be yellow (almost green)’: cf. |*cunay*-| ‘gall, bile’.

- (205) a. *cungag-cet-uq*                      ‘it is yellow/green’ (IND.3sg.)  
 b. *cungag-cete-llria*                      ‘yellow’ (VNrl.ABS.sg.) – but \**cunga-lria*  
*cungag-liq*                      ‘yellow/green (thing)’ (ABS.sg.).

v) |iziŷ(-cic)-| ‘to be yellow; egg yolk’:

- (206) a. *esir-cet-uq* ‘it is yellow’ (IND.3sg.)  
 b. *esir-cete-llria* ‘yellow’ (VNrl.ABS.sg.)  
*esir-liq* ‘yellow (thing)’ (VNrl.ABS.sg.).

vi) |qiu(y)-| ‘to be bluish, become blue, ripe; be discolored’ (impersonal patientive)

- (207) a. *qiu-lria* ‘black and blue (injury)’ (ABS.sg.)  
 b. *qiu-lrii-t* *sura-t ~ cura-t*  
 blue-VNrl-ABS.pl. blueberry-ABS.pl.  
 ‘ripe blueberries’ – cf. (208) below.

- (208) *qiug-liq* *gaspeq*  
 blue-one.ABS.sg. cover.ABS.sg.  
 ‘blue/bluish (cloth) parka cover’.

- (209) a. *Sura-ts* *qiu-gut.*  
 blueberry-ABS.pl. become.blue-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The blueberries are now ripe.’  
 b. *Akerte-m<sub>A</sub>* *cura-t<sub>P</sub>* *qiu-gai.*  
 sun-REL.sg. blueberry-ABS.pl. make.blue-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘The sun ripened the blueberries.’  
 – Some speakers prefer the stem with an A addition (VVsm |+c-|),  
 i.e. *qiu-t-ai* to *qiu-gai*.

vii) *Color terms modified by a number of suffixes* – which are not necessarily limited to color terms.

- (210) a. *qat-qapik* *qanikcaq*  
 white-EMP.ABS.sg. snow.ABS.sg.  
 ‘very white snow’  
 – also *tungu-qapik*, *qiu-qapik*, *cunga-qapik*, etc.  
 b. *keneq* *kavir-pak*  
 fire.ABS.sg. red-AUG.ABS.sg.  
 ‘a bright red flame’.

- (211) *tungu-cke-llria* ‘(very) black’ (VNrl.ABS.sg.) – |-ckiŷ-|  
 (§ 38.4) ‘to have a good, nice, just right’  
*kavi-cke-llria* ‘(very) red’  
*qiu-cke-llria* ‘(very) blue’  
*cunga-cke-llria* ‘(very) yellow’.

(212) *kavir-qurar-ma-luni* ‘(it) being a little red’. [CIUL 34]

viii) *Impersonal verbs*: At least ‘(to) black, white, red, blue/dicolor’ – are attested (and illustrated in § 33.4.2) with impersonal agent (A<sub>IMP</sub>), that is, as impersonal transitive verbs, e.g. § 33 (38) *keggina-a<sub>P/S</sub> qatr-aa* ≙ *qater-tuq* ‘her face is white’. See also (196) with *tungu-* above.

## 6. Proper names

Traditionally proper names were used only for persons and places within their lands, while the preference for Yupik names – descriptive with native sources – for schools, community buildings, public places, and other institutions introduced by Russian and American cultures seems to have become common only recently. One instance of which is an institution founded in the process of the recent land-claim issues, i.e. *Calista* – from *|cali-sta|* (work-VNrl.ABS.sg.) – as one of the thirteen regional corporations formed under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971, which covers the Yukon Kuskokwim Delta region.

### 6.1. Names

The Yupik naming system, intricately related to the entire social network and kinship system, is a very important part of the Yupik culture. Traditionally it did not feature first and last names, although surnames, mostly given by missionaries of different denominations and mandated by the government, have now spread in the society.

The traditional names are gender free, even though some may sound more appropriate for men or for women.

Valuable information concerning the naming practice (*aciqengyaraq*; naming after a dead person) is given in Mather (1985: 105–106, etc.) based on her own original research done with village elders. A clear description of the system is also provided in Mather (ca. 2000). The following points concerning names (i through iv below) depend heavily upon her work and direct information. See also Fienup-Riordan (1983: 149–153) for naming and the use of names.

There are several groups of names:

i) *Four groups*: The first group consists of age-old established or “formal” names, called *at-pia-t* ‘real names’ (< *|atŷ-piaŷ[+t]* name-genuine-ABS.pl.). Single families and extended family groups have pools of names passed down through generations as newborns are named after (recently) deceased close relatives (in the hope of receiving their positive traits). A person’s formal name,

which is not a family name as above, serves to distinguish one's own family from another (that one is familiar with or has heard about) and to establish a person within a family, an extended family, and the village as a whole, in other words, her/his identity in the entire Yupik social network. A formal name is used with respect both to the deceased and the living namesake as well. Traditionally, children in particular were expected not to utter formal names of people (even when they are known to the speakers) but to use kinship or informal names instead. Elsie Mather collected about seven hundred Yupik formal names [LYFN].

The second group of personal names includes non-established or informal names, more like nicknames (or 'tags'), and may not be considered to be a "name" by older people. These are either more individually tailored names that have originated through some action, incident, or quality associated with the person, or a shortened version of the real name (e.g. *Tun'* from *Tuntull'er*, *Kuik* from *Kuignaq*). Such a "nickname" is usually not to be used in formal settings. It is a clever way of avoiding the use of children's formal names out of respect for their deceased namesakes, though they come to be known by their formal names as they grow older. At the same time it may be a way to show intimacy. Informal names may also be used by 'teasing relatives' or cross cousins, often in a derisive or joking manner, (often to the chagrin of the person being teased). Informal names can indeed be used as an indirect way of annoying or insulting someone. Informal and descriptive names can, however, eventually come to be lexicalized as real names.

The third group involves "teknonymy" (based upon children's names), a fairly common practice among peoples of the world, as described below.

The fourth group involves "shaman names", which distinguish these individuals from the general population and which are believed to endow them with unusual abilities and powers. While a shaman might have another more common name as well, shaman names as such were generally not passed on.

(A fifth group, the names of "legendary figures", are not passed on either.)

Typically, person names are given by a community member (relative etc.). But, though perhaps not as common, shamans are also known to be name-givers. The custom has long been suppressed by missionaries, though some people are still known to keep names of this category – e.g. *Yuungcaraq*. According to Marie Mead from Nunapitchuk /nuna·piccuaq/ (p.c.), the name given to that location by a shaman is *aruma-vik*, lit. 'the place for being rotten'.

ii) *Directness avoided*: Directness is generally something to be avoided in traditional Yupik society as it can be confrontational and disrespectful, and indirectness is preferred in speech and action (cf. § 6.1), thereby showing deference, respectful consideration, or politeness to the addressee.

Direct name-calling was avoided, especially outside the household or close family (group) or when the addressee was an older person or deceased. It is avoided especially in the presence of the person concerned.

For informal avoidance of names for older people, *Marpak* ‘big grandmother’ and *Apacungaaq* ‘little grandfather’ – from *ma-*(root) ‘grandmother’ and *apa-* ‘grandfather’ with the suffix having the role as the unique designator – may be used (Woodbury rev.).

Cross cousins may use real names (in full) for each other, while siblings and parallel cousins (which belong to the same category distinct from cross cousins – see above) rarely use them for each other but only in shortened forms, if ever. Shortened or truncated forms may be acceptable in some other cases, but they can also sound very awkward or undignified. Between related persons, kinship terms or nicknames are more often used than the persons’ actual names, except perhaps between cross cousins. See also teknonymy below (§ 11.6.2).

Name taboos also existed for the culturally most important non-human elements (such as animals and the weather, etc.) – cf. § 6.3.

iii) *Formal names*: Conferred on newborn babies by older persons (usually a matriarch) in a ritual that has different names in different areas:

- |       |                     |   |
|-------|---------------------|---|
| (213) | <i>aciqengyaraq</i> | atȳ-liȳ-kin̄i+caȳaȳ[+Ø <br>name-supply-APS-VNnm.ABS.sg. |
|       | <i>kangilirluku</i> | kan̄iȳ-liȳ[+luku <br>source/beginning-supply-APP.3sg.   |
|       | <i>tagcirluku</i>   | taȳi-ciȳ[+luku <br>come.up-make-APP.3sg.). <sup>9</sup> |

Naming is traditionally an important activity in the Yupik culture since it also creates and perpetuates the relationship between the living and their ancestors (Morrow and Mather 1994: 38–39).

A person may acquire new names with changes in their circumstances, particularly when young (even after reaching puberty), in the hope of succeeding to the essence, attributes, or positive traits (physical or mental) of the names’ former holders, or of multiplying interconnections with others and attaining potential new roles in society. This practice is still common.

An unexplained illness may be understood as constituting a need for a certain name to be taken. In a curing ritual, shamans used to confer names that were not traditional (e.g. plant names or something with strong qualities) but that hopefully would ‘keep one up/alive’ or ‘provide firmness’.

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9. The word may be related to the old belief that a deceased person, who goes to the land of the dead in the netherworld, returns back to the family through renaming, that is, ‘come up from the water or lower area’ (Elsie Mather, p.c.).



- (214) *napacirluku* ~ *napanirluku* |*napa+ut-liy+luku*|  
 be.upright-VNrl-supply-APP.3sg.  
*teggucirluku* |*tiyu+ut-liy+luku*|  
 be.hard-VNrl-supply-APP.3sg.

Mather (2000) provides a list of formal Yupik names that she collected over the years (since the early 1980s) from older Yupik people and from various sources such as traditional stories and more recent baptismal records of Moravian missionaries. The area covers the coastal region (called *Canineq*, but also as far south as *Togiak*), the Kuskokwim, and the tundra (called *Akula* ['area between']). The list gives about 700 formal names, together with their (dialectal) variants. Some of them are more widespread than others, and more local ones may be considered 'non-names' by some others.

It is noteworthy that as many as slightly less than one fifth of names are intransitive participial relative clauses with VNrl |*-lyiay-*| ~ |*+<sub>1</sub>nyu-*| ('one who'; § 17.2.1), the latter of which typically occurs with privative |*+nit-*| 'to lack' (§ 38.1) or after stem final /t/:

- (215) a. *panaly+a-lyiay+Ø* | (run-CNT-VNrl.ABS.sg.), claimed by some to be  
 a certain warrior's name  
*Nug'ara-lria* probably with the stem |*nyu-*| 'to get out'  
*Akiuga-lria* from |*akiuyc-*| 'to roll'  
 b. *Naca-il-nguq* 'one without a hat' – |*nacay-*|  
*Aigga-il-nguq* 'one without hand(s)' – |*aixay-*|  
*Putuku-il-nguq* 'one without a big toe' – |*putuy-*|  
*Uqamail-nguq* 'one which is heavy' – |*uqamait-*|.

Many are shortened forms that have less descriptive analyzability:

- (216) *Cingarkaq* 'one to touch nose to nose'  
 – |*cihay+kay-*| (kiss-FUT).

The shortening of personal names is often characterized by a regressive accent (realized as consonant gemination) and/or devoicing:

- (217) a. *Arr'aq* *Arnaq* in (219) below  
*Nuk'aq* see above  
*Akiuk'aq* *Akiugalria* above  
 b. *Tupak'aq* *Tupagalria* – |*tupay-*| 'to wake up'  
*Angivv'aq* *Angivran*  
*Pangall'aq* further shortened into *Pangall'*  
*Ciking'aq* *Cingarkaq*, above

- |    |                  |  |
|----|------------------|--|
|    | <i>Ikit'aq</i>   | <i>Ikiituk</i> – ‘wild celery’                             |
|    | <i>Cikill'aq</i> | cf.   <i>cikiȳ</i> -  ‘to give’                           |
| c. | <i>Ciqellaq</i>  | /ciq̄ɬɬaq/ cf.   <i>ciq̄ȳ</i> -  ‘to splash, throw water’ |
|    | <i>Mumessaq</i>  | /mumissaq/   |
- see § 8.2.3.1-iv for no apostrophe.

Truncation is very common with vocative forms – see § 31.3, etc.:

- (218) *Angall'* from *Angalra-lria* (VVrl)  
*Angut'* from *Angute-kayak* or *Angute-vialuk* (with NNh).

Common nouns may be names for some persons:

- (219) *Arnaq* ‘woman’, *Arnacuar* ‘small woman’, *Arnaucuaq* ‘little woman (?)’, *Ciuqliq* ‘the first one’, *Ikamraq* ‘dogsled’, *Kass'aq* ‘non-native, caucasian’, *Naruyaq* ‘gull’, *Nayagaq* ‘man’s younger sister’, etc.

Some are adopted from foreign names:

- (220) *Paula(aq) ~ Paull'*.

Many names are teknonymies (see immediately below).

See § 6.4 for an instance of playing with person names.

## 6.2. Teknonymy

Teknonymy, also mentioned in § 4.3-v and § 6.3-iii, seems to have been (and still be) a more or less common practice observed in traditional Yupik societies, as it is among many peoples in the world. It is a device for avoiding the real name of an adult (and elders in particular) assumedly related to personal names that were once taboo – by which a parent is named after their children (i.e., ‘-’s mother’ and ‘-’s father’). The avoidance is still observed, but now it is more out of respect than out of a belief in any potential bad fortune. See also Fienup-Riordan (1983: 152).

Coupled with the namesake practice, another Yupik custom, teknonymy may very often be a source of possible confusion to non-Yupik outsiders. A woman whose name is *Nuk'aq*, for instance, may be called – out of respect or avoidance of directness – using the name of her eldest son or daughter *May'aq* as ‘May’aq’s mother’ (below). When the woman passed away, the name *Nuk'aq* may be given to a new-born baby in the society (village), whether male or female and whether related or not. Then the baby, who has the given name of

*Nuk'aq*, would be called *May'amarnaan* out of the same respect for the deceased, even if the baby is a boy, and although the baby is necessarily younger than *May'aq* and the deceased *Nuk'aq* is not the genuine mother of the boy.

As a proper noun (person name), a teknonym is not an attributive phrase but a phrasal compound.

Morphologically speaking, teknonyms demonstrate an anomalous type of phrasal compounds (§ 2.4-vi). A teknonym clearly shows original composition of the name of one's child in the relative case followed by the word for 'woman' (*|aŷnaŷ-*) or 'father' (*|a[a]ta-*) – note the difference in choice of the word, i.e. 'woman' vs. 'father' (not 'man'). There is also a very interesting morphological difference between females and males in teknonymy.

i) *Female teknonymy*: Illustrated by various forms in which a woman is named after a child named *May'aq*, teknonymy is discussed in the following pair in terms of word formation, morphosyntactic peculiarity (inflection), and derivation. (a) is a phrasal compound as a teknonymy and is unanimously grasped or treated as a single word by speakers, while (b) is a bound or free phrase consisting of two words and which are thus written separately (see § 4.3-v):

- (221) a. *May'amarnaan* /máy|yamáŷ|naan/  
 '(a woman called) May'amarnaan' (ABS/REL.sg.)  
 b. *May'a-m ≠ arna-an* /máy|yàm|(m)áŷ|naan/  
 ~ *May'a-m arna-an* /máy|yam áŷ|naan/  
 p.n.-REL.sg. (≠) woman-REL.3sg.sg.  
 'of Mayaq's woman (girlfriend or live-in mate)'.

of which the teknonym (a) is obviously a morphological contraction of (b). Importantly, it has no distinction between the absolutive and the relative (thus ABS/REL.sg.; § 4.1.4.1. By contrast, the non-teknonymous (b), consisting of two words typically articulated as the first with the pre-boundary regressive accent (*yàm* – below) characteristic of bound phrases marked by  $\neq$  (§ 8.4.1 – P18iv), is syntactically an attributive phrase in G function, consisting of the adjunct NP and its head *arna-an*. As such, (b) may co-occur, e.g. with *at-piar-a* (name-real-ABS.3sg.sg.), to mean 'the real name of May'aq's woman'. The single word (a) vs. the bound phrase (b) reflects the different patterns in syllabification and accentuation (P18iv.a), as shown by the phonemic representations above. On the other hand, The non-technonymic (b) is characterized by the regressive accent as a bound phrase (*yàm.máŷ*), and the accent may be more clearly realized with gemination in some areas, particularly in the coast, though it may be articulated elsewhere without regression (*ya.máŷ*). or as two articuli.

In the following, by contrast, where the child's name is *Ugiq* (with no gemination as in *May'aq* above), the accentuation in the teknonymy (a) is real-

ized as vowel lengthening /í:/ on the second syllable, demonstrating that it is a single word unlike in phrase (b), bound or free:

- (222) a. *Ugimarnaan* /u.ɣí'.màÿ.naan/  
 '(a woman called) Ugimarnaan'  
 b. *Ugi-m ≠ arna-an* /u.ɣim ≠ (m)áÿ.naan/ ~  
*Ugi-m arna-an* /u.ɣim (m)áÿ.naan/  
 p.n.-REL.sg.(≠) woman-REL.3sg.sg.  
 'of Ugiq's woman'.

It is important to note that the morphological unity of a teknonymy as single word, i.e. phrasal compound word, is also reflected in the fact that it cannot be split in two by inserting another word such as the interrogative particle *qaa* (§ 53.3), which has to follow the whole word as in (a), while a non-teknonymic phrase allow permutation, with the particle normally attached to the first word. Compare the following:

- (223) a. *May'amarnaan ≠ qaa?*  
 '(Is it) May'amarnaan?'  
 – \**May'am ≠ qaa arnaan?*  
 b. *May'a-m ≠ qaa arna-an* (*at-piar-a*)?  
 p.n.-REL.sg.QST woman-REL.3sg.sg. (name-real-ABS.3sg.sg.)  
 '(Is it) (the real name) of May'aq's woman?' – cf. § 2 (9b).

Since the non-teknonymic *arna-an* in (b) is in the relative case (REL.3sg.sg.), it many naturally occur in either the G or A function (contrasted with the ABS.3sg.sg. *arna-a*). But, peculiarly enough, the teknonymy *May'amarnaan* in (a), without distinction of the absolutive and the relative, occurs either in S and P or in the G and A positions, and this despite its *-an*, which supposedly reflects the third-person possessed relative-case marker in the final analysis (cf. formation in oblique cases below). Compare the teknonymic (224a, b, c, d) with the non-teknonymic (225a, b, c, d):

- (224) a. *May'amarnaan<sub>S</sub>* *aya-llru-uq.*  
 TKN leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'May'amarnaan went away.'  
 b. *May'amarnaan<sub>P</sub>* *tange-llru-aqa.*  
 TKN see-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I saw May'amarnaan.'  
 c. *May'amarnaan<sub>A</sub>* *tange-llru-anga.*  
 TKN see-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'May'amarnaan saw me.'

- d. *May'amarnaan*<sub>G</sub>      *at-piar-a*.  
 TKN                      name-real-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'May'amarnaan's real name.'

By contrast, in the case of the corresponding non-teknonymic phrase below, its head NP 'woman' occurs in the absolutive case *arna-a* in (a, b), but in the relative *arna-an* in (c, d), following the morphosyntactic pattern of the language exactly:

- (225) a. [*May'a-m arna-a*]<sub>S</sub>                      *aya-llru-uq*.  
 p.n.-REL.sg. woman-ABS.3sg.sg. leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'May'aq's woman went away.'
- b. [*May'a-m arna-a*]<sub>P</sub>                      *tange-llru-aqa*.  
 p.n.-REL.sg. woman-ABS.3sg.sg. see-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I saw May'aq's woman.'
- c. [*May'a-m arna-an*]<sub>A</sub>                      *tange-llru-anga*.  
 p.n.-REL.sg. woman-REL.3sg.sg. see-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'May'aq's woman saw me.'
- d. [*May'a-m arna-an*]<sub>G</sub>                      *at-piar-a*.  
 p.n.-REL.sg. woman-REL.3sg.sg. name-real-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'May'aq's woman's real name.'

Teknonyms (a) and non-teknonymic phrases (b) are fully contrasted together with oblique forms as may be shown by the following contrast:

	(a) teknonymy	(b) 'his woman' (3sg.sg.)
(226)	ABS <i>May'amarna-an</i>	<i>arna-a</i>
	REL <i>ibid.</i>	<i>arna-an</i>
	ABM <i>May'amarna-anek</i>	<i>arna-anek</i>
	ALL <i>May'amarna-anun</i>	<i>arna-anun</i>
	LOC <i>May'amarna-ani</i>	<i>arna-ani</i>
	PRL <i>May'amarna-atun</i>	<i>arna-atun</i>
	EQL <i>May'amarna-akun</i>	<i>arna-akun</i>
	VOC <i>May'amarna-an</i>	<i>arna-a</i> (with final vowel doubling – § 28.1).

The inflections are identical between (a) and (b) except that (a) does not distinguish between the absolutive and the relative or with the vocative. The single form in *-an* occurs in both S/P and A/G functions as illustrated in (224) above. A teknonym never occurs with the singular case marking, thus no such form as \**May'amarna-mun*, unlike non-teknonymic *May'am arnaa-mun* 'to the woman of Mayaq' for instance.

The female teknonym is illustrated in three oblique cases:

- (227) a. *May'amarnaa-nun tun-ki-u.*  
 TKN-ALL give-ASP-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 'You (sg.) give it to May'amarnaan.'  
 b. *May'amarnaa-tun ayuq-uq.*  
 TKN-EQL resemble-IND.3sg.  
 'She looks like May'amarnaan.'  
 c. *May'amarnaan, tai-qa-a!*  
 TKN.VOC come-POL-OPT.2sg.  
 'May'amarnaan, (please) come!'

The lack of distinction in the syntactic cases between the absolutive and the relative could conceivably be correlated with the same lack in non-third person personal pronouns (Table 9, § 13.1). It is very intriguing how these two kinds of nominals, i.e. teknonymies and personal pronouns, in CAY seem to commonly lack distinction of the most basic syntactic cases. See § 13.1 for another possible correlation.

Any (person) names can be formed into teknonyms, as in the following:

- (228) *Apálcimàrnaan (Apalcìq), Árnaáqumàrnaan (Arnaaquq),*  
*Ay'angimàrnaan (Ay'angìq), Kíkikaámàrnaan (Kíkikaaq),*  
*Ungày'amàrmanaan (Ungay'aq), Cùngaúyàràámàrnaan (Cungauyar*  
*with /ya/ deletion, Cungauyaraam [REL.sg.] – |cuŋauyayəy|).*

Some show the phonological changes involved in the original phrases:

The doubled vowel before *m* in the following teknonymies reflects the regular changes across the boundary (P4ii, P6, P10), as in the relative singular *Ayiim* < |ay'ay+m|:

- (229) *Áyiimàrnaan (Ay'ak), Pàniimàrnaan (Panik), Pùtuúimàrnaan (Putuk),*  
*Tùmiimàrnaan (Tumik), Qemírrlirálriimàrnaan (Qemirrliralria),*  
*'Végluáraámàrnaan ~ 'Véglùgáámàrnaan ('Veggluar < 'veggugar)].*

A teknonym may be subject to derivation like an ordinary person name. Illustrations include the associative NN, the (non)honorific NNh, and intransitive relational NVrv suffixes:

- (230) *May'amarnaa-nku-t* 'May'amarnaan and her family' (-t ABS.pl.).  
 (231) *May'amarnaa-cuar* 'May'amarnaan (small/dear/with awe/praise)' (ABS.sg.).

- (232) *May'amarnaa-**ngu**-uq* [im-na aya-lleq]<sub>s</sub>.  
TKN-be-IND.3sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. leave-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
'That one (ANP) who left is May'amarnaan.'

ii) *Male teknonymy*: As opposed to the stem |aɣ̃naɣ̃-| for 'woman' used in female teknonymy, the stem |ata-| 'father' with its variant |aata-| (§ 11.4.1) – instead of |aɣ̃ut-| 'man' – is used for the male counterpart. It is interesting that forms such as *May'a-m atii* with the absolutive -*atii* (< |ata+ɣ̃a| Fa-ABS.3sg.sg.; cf. P6ii) are also used in addition to forms with relative *ati-in* (< |ata+ɣ̃an| REL.3sg.sg.; cf. *arna-an*), although the latter might be used by some people.

Male teknonymy of the following (a) is illustrated by a man who is named for his or her child *May'aq*, with non-teknonymic phrase (b) given for comparison. Again, as contrasted with female teknonymy, it is noteworthy that a male teknonymy is not morphologically contracted into a single word, i.e. phrasal compound, but remains a bound phrase, although functionally it is teknonymic:

- (233) a. [*May'a-m ati-i* (/ *ati-in*)]<sub>s</sub> aya-llru-uq.  
p.n.-REL.sg. Fa-ABS(REL).3sg.sg. leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
'(A man called) May'amatii(n) went away.'
- b. [*May'a-m a(a)tii*]<sub>s</sub> aya-llru-uq.  
p.n.-REL.sg. Fa-ABS.3sg.sg. leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
'May'aq's father went away.' – see § 11.4.1 as to the two variants for 'father'
- a. /màyyàm ≠ (m)àtii(n)/ but not \*/màyyamá'tii(n)/  
b. /màyyàm ≠ (m)àttii/ ~ /màyyam ≠ (m)aátii/.

Although male teknonymy either has final -*n* or not, only the former *May'amatiin* occurs in the A or G function:

- (234) a. [*May'-am ati-in*]<sub>A</sub> pi-k-aa.  
TKN-REL.3sg.sg. thing-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'It belongs to (a man called) May'amatiin, lit. M. has it as a thing.'
- b. [*May'-am ati-in*]<sub>G</sub> at-ra.  
TKN-REL.3sg.sg. name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
'May'amatiin's name.'  
– not \**May'amatii*.

A few other male teknonymies attested include:

- (235) *Cùngáyàrààmàtii*, *Kikikìkaámàtii*, *Máncuámàtii* (*Mancuaq*; Frank Amadeus), *Unángiimàtii* (*Unángik*), etc.

To conclude, the differences between a female vs. a male teknonymy include:

1. choice of the stem for ‘woman’ (instead of ‘mother’) vs. ‘father’ (instead of ‘man’)
2. reduced use of the relative-case form with final *-n* for male teknonymy
3. morphological articulation – phrasal compound for female ones.

Concerning the contrast of female vs. male teknonyms, it should be relevant to mention, though we must avoid making sweeping assumptions, what some speakers seem to think it reflects the special status of women in the Yupik culture. Women traditionally had the responsibility and privilege of keeping the knowledge of family names and relationship terms, to perform naming rituals for newborns, to prepare the first-seal ceremony for young men in the family, etc. Marie Meade (p.c.), originally from Nunapitchuk, goes so far as to suggest the plausibility of a connection with the stronger taboo on women, and thus their names, as the sex that is naturally endowed with a ‘special power and aura’.

We must add that, although more information may certainly be needed, in some areas (e.g. Kuskokwim) and among some people, an adult may also be addressed with a bound phrase using his or her younger sibling’s name followed by the possessed form (3sg.sg.) of *|alqay-|* ‘elder sister’ or *|anqay-|* ‘elder brother’ instead of ‘woman (mother)’ or ‘father’.

### 6.3. Place names

CAY place names are presented separately in § 21.6 in view of the number in which they occur. Most of them are descriptive and analyzable to some degree, derived with, for instance, VNrl *|+<sub>1</sub>viy-|* (§ 17.6.1) and NN *|+miu[+t|* (dweller-ABS/REL.pl.; § 20.1.2), both of which refer to the plural dwellers (‘inhabitants of’) and the place:

- (236) *Mertar-vik*  
 ‘a place on Nelson Island’ – lit. place (or spring) for getting water’.
- (237) *Ayikatar-miut*  
 ‘old village near Kasigluk / its people’ (from *Ayikataq*)  
*Mamteriller-miut* ~ *Mamterilleq*  
 ‘Bethel’ (the former may imply its human community more than a physical place)  
 – see § 18 (145c) for a tentative analysis of *Mamterilleq* as *|mamtīyāy-li-t̄y|* (cache-spend-VN).



- (238) *Assike-nru-aqa* [Kicaq *Anchorage-aaq*]<sub>p</sub>  
 like-CMP-IND.1sg.3sg. anchor.ABS.sg. pl.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.  
*Mamteriller-mi*.  
 pl.n.-LOC.sg.  
 ‘I like Anchorage more than Bethel.’  
 – Yupik word for ‘anchor’ is added here to *Anchorage-aaq*, though not necessarily.

A *-miut* place name may not only mean a single village but cover a grouping or area of villages: E.g.

- (239) *Qaugku-miut* ‘Upriver People’ (Tuluksak upriver; |qaw-| ‘inside’, Table 8), *Akul-miut* ‘People in the Middle (Nunapitcuk, Kasigluk, Atmautluak; |akuli-| ‘area between’), *Kuigpag-miut* (People of the Yukon area; ‘big river’), etc.

One and the same name may be applied to different societies by speakers from different areas (Shinkwin and Pete 1984: 97–99).

A number of village names particularly in the southern part of the CAY area are formed with NN |+ny̆-| ‘area of’-*neq* (see § 18.3.1.2): E.g.

- (240) *Cevv’ar-neq* ‘Chefornak’, *Nak-neq* ‘Naknek’, *Qip-neq* ‘Kipnuk’, *Tunu-neq* ‘Tununak’, etc.

As with personal names (§ 11.6.1) there are a few place names that are intransitive nominal participles (relative clauses; § 17.2.1):

- (241) *Kuig-il-nguq* (|kuiy+ɲit-ɲuy\*-| river-PRV-VNrl.ABS.sg.; ‘one which has no river’) ‘Kwigillingok village on Kuskokwim Bay’ – often shortened as *Kuik*’.

Place names seem to have been in an attributive-phrasal composition rather often, typically occurring in bound phases. A fair amount of phrasal compositions are recorded in the appendix *Cup’ig Place Names* (Amos and Amos 2003: 376). The following two village names are from the mouth of the Yukon:

- (242) a. *Nuna-m ≠ Iqu-a* /nunàm ≠ (m)iqqua/ ‘Sheldon Point’  
 land-REL.sg. ≠ end-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 b. *Negeqli-i-m ≠ Pai-nga* /niyiqliim ≠ páiŋa/ ‘Pitkas Point’  
 north-EV-REL.sg. ≠ mouth-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 – from the attributive phrase *nege-qli-i-m* (north-one.to-EV-REL.sg.; NN |-qliy-|) *pai-nga* (mouth-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘mouth of St. Mary on the Andreafsky River (*Negeqliq*)’.

Note that, since these village names are not single words (phrasal compounds) but bound phrases (as marked by ≠ and evident from the regressive accent on the pre-boundary syllable), the two words involved (like *nuna-m* and *iqu-a*) do not allow permutation and splitting as by ≠ *qaa* (question), thus \**Iqua Nunam* and \**Nunam ≠ qaa Iqua* (‘Sheldon Point?’) but *Nunam ≠ Iqua ≠ qaa*. As a single word, the village name may be subject to derivation (denominalization) as the following:

- (243) *Nunam.Iqua-miu-**ngu-llini**-uten.*  
 pl.n.-dweller-be-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘(I now see) you (sg.) are from Sheldon Point.’

## 7. Onomatopoeia

As in most languages, onomatopoeia in CAY are a relatively unimportant portion of the lexicon that ‘tend to contrast somewhat with the normal materials of language’ (Sapir [1933] 1951: 14), and many of them manifest reduplicative formation, though rarely ‘repeated three or four times’ as in Chinook (Boas 1904: 119) – see § 4.3-iv. CAY, however, is not a language with a particular inclination for onomatopoeia like Chinookan (Boas 1911; Silverstein 1994), but nevertheless it has a good number of onomatopoeic words which serve as nouns, verbs, or particles. There are some imitatives that utilize sounds outside of the conventional speech system, which causes difficulties in rendering them into writing.

Many onomatopoeic nouns are bird and (some) animal names. See wordplay (§ 6.4) for making fun of certain birds by imitating their sounds or names or by referring to their habits.

- |       |                           |  |
|-------|---------------------------|--|
| (244) | <i>lev.lev.leraq</i> [NS] | ‘sandpiper’                            |
|       | <i>yugi.yugiq</i> [NS]    | ‘robin’ [YED]                          |
|       | <i>tem.tem.taaq</i> [Y]   | ‘pectoral sandpiper’                   |
|       | <i>ciiv.civ.ciuk</i>      | ‘yellow warbler’ [YED]                 |
|       | <i>teva.tevaaq</i>        | ‘American golden plover’               |
|       |                           | – [(tíva tíva tíva) tívá’tiv]          |
|       | <i>arraangi(i)q</i>       | ‘oldsquaw duck’                        |
|       |                           | – [a’x a’x a’ŋí] ~ [aʔ aʔ a’ŋí] ~      |
|       |                           | [at at aŋí] (with rising tone on [í]). |

As in many other languages, birds and small animals like the following (b) that are less central to the culture tend to be subject to frequent replacement with more regional variants (with differences in suffixes, sounds, or even stems):

- (245) a. *'lagiq ~ 'lak'.lakaaq* 'goose' – /lak lak lak/  
*peleq.pel'er ~ peleq.pelra(a)q* 'frog' – /p̄iləq p̄iləq p̄iləq/  
*iisuayaar ~ iisuraar ~ iiyuraar* 'a kind of sandpiper' – /iízəȳó'/  
*tuusiik ~ tuuyiik* 'American golden plover' – /tú'si'/.  
*'leq.leq ~ neq.leq* 'black- or white-fronted goose' – /ləȳ ləȳ/  
 b. *qut'raaq* from /q̄ótər q̄ótər q̄ótər/ (/r/ for voiced rolling) ~ *qucill-gaq ~ qucill-ngaq ~ qucil-kuryuk ~ tacellgaq* [NS] 'sandhill crane'.  
 c. *tekci-tak ~ tekci-uk ~ tekci-ugaq ~ tekci-lunaq ~ tekci-ugglugaq / sulissuliq ~ sulissuli-ar ~ suli.ssuliyaar ~ suli.ssuliyagaq* 'savannah sparrow' – /tíkculi sulí:: sulí/ (with rising tone on final syllable; /::/ represents extra long)  
 d. *pi.pi.piaq ~ pi.pi.piar-pak ~ pi.pi-piar-pa-lek* 'yellowlegs, whimbrel, dowitcher' – NN *-piaq* 'genuine', NN *-lek* 'one having'.

A number of other onomatopoeia concern things besides bird and (some) animal names, most of which are elements introduced after contact in the Yupik environments, and which are named onomatopoeically again with reduplication:

- (246) *'ler.leraaq* 'Chinese'  
*teng.tengaaq* 'guitar, banjo'  
*tuq.tuqaaq ~ tuq.tuq* 'an old type of boat engine'  
*man'a.man'aaq* 'traditional game similar to prisoner's base' [YED].

### 7.1. Non-nominal

A smaller number of onomatopoeic words are verbs and particles, which also occur as a means of representing physical (corporeal and environmental) sounds.

- (247) |*aqisc- ~ aqisɲaaɣ-*| 'to sneeze'  
*aqessngaa* 'achoo!'  
*aqest-uq ~ aqessngaar-tuq* 'he sneezed' (-*tuq* IND.3sg.).
- (248) |*is-*| 's-s-s' (sibilant sound)  
*ess-aar-tuq* 'she is saying s-s-s to soothe a baby'.
- (249) |*lây-*| [Y] ' (dogs) to growl' – /lál lálɬaɬ:/  
*Qimugt-e-m* '*la.ll'a-llag-aanga* /lálɬaɬá |ɣaáɬɲa/.  
 dog-EV-REL.sg. growl.RPT-IND.3sg. 1sg.  
 'The dog growled at me.'

- (250) |*liṽaay-*| ‘to buzz (outboard motor)’  
 a. **‘levaa-llag-tuq** /liṽ|vá’|ʔaxtuq/ ‘it is buzzing imitatively’  
 – VV |-*lay-*| ‘after another’  
 b. **‘lev’a-llag-tuq** /liṽ|vaʔáx|tuq/ ~  
**‘lev’i-llag-tuq** /liṽ|viʔáx|tuq/ ‘it is buzzing suddenly’  
 – with VV |-*lay-*| ‘suddenly’, which triggers accentual regression accompanied by vowel reduction; cf. (P18vii-b).
- (251) |*waqaay-*| ‘to retch, gag, feel nausea’  
 a. **uḡaqa-a-llag-tuq** /wàq|qá’|ʔaxtuq/ ‘he retches imitatively, after someone’  
 b. **uḡaq’a-llag-tuq** /wàq|qaʔáx|tuq/ ‘he retches suddenly’.
- (252) |*liqim-*| ‘to gobble’: Note that this occurs as a particle independently or reduplicated as in (b, c):  
 a. **‘leqem-qer-aa** ‘he put it quickly into the mouth and swallowed it’  
 (-*qer-* < VVa |-*qay-*|)  
 b. *Ner-luku* *ama=i*  
 eat-APP.3sg. over.there-INJ  
**‘leqem-leqem-aar-luni** /liqím|liqim|maáy|luni/  
 gobble-gobble-LNK-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He is eating it over there, making gobbling sounds.’  
 c. *Pani-i-m<sub>A</sub>* *neq’-ni<sub>p</sub>* **‘leqem**  
 p.n.-EV-REL.sg. food-ABS.3Rsg.sg. gobble  
*ig-qer-aa*.  
 swallow-quickly-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Panik quickly swallowed her (own) food with gobbling sounds.’
- (253) |*ux-*| ‘(wind) to make noise’  
 a. **ugg’-agt-uq** /ùx|xaxtuq/ ‘it is making noise’  
 b. **ugg-aar-a-uq** /ùx|xaá’|yauq/ ‘it is making an *ugg-* sound (like leaves rustling)’.
- (254) |*iḥxaxc-*| ‘to rush (of water)’  
**ellerrarr-luni** /iḥx|xàx|ʔuni/  
 ‘it (water) is rushing’.

## Chapter 12

### Demonstratives

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Demonstratives, as a linguistic expression of deixis, are the most coherent group of nominals to constitute a closed system. Of the Eskimo-Aleut languages, all of which seem to have uniquely expansive developments in their systems of demonstratives, the two languages at the western end of the family, CAY and Aleut, together have the most elaborate systems. Of the thirty (actually twenty-eight) stems as given in Table 8 below, at least twenty have direct Aleut cognates, though with difference in the systems of reference (Bergsland 1951, 1986: 111–113). Eastern Eskimo has a basically similar but simpler system (Miyaoaka 1984a). The CAY system seems quite unique when compared with the other languages of the world, both in terms of its abundance of roots and the pattern in which they are organized.

In addition, the system has features that are hardly found in other languages, although, like the demonstrative systems of many languages, the CAY system is basically locational – primarily spatial but also temporal. The complex system

of demonstratives permeates Yupik speech, and through those uniquely adjusted demonstrative ‘eyes’, the Yupik world is viewed and categorized.

It has been noticed for some time that younger speakers in general are losing (at least) part of the demonstrative system in accordance with the shift away from the traditional hunting-fishing-gathering culture in which the demonstrative complexity is anchored.

### 1. Demonstrative roots

Demonstratives, which are either nominal (incl. adverbial) or verbal, are formed from as many as thirty demonstrative roots (Table 8), which are the kind the late Paschal Afcan (from the Lower Yukon) patiently helped me uncover and classify in early 1968 (cf. Miyaoka and Afcan 1969). The system itself was gradually found to be just as applicable to the Kuskokwim and the other CAY areas. Jacobson gave his own insights into the system organized into a diagram (1984c), and Rukeyser (2005) has recently made an important contribution to our understanding of this important grammatical feature in CAY.<sup>1</sup>

Some differences in the more peripheral areas (Norton Sound, Hooper Bay / Chevak, Nunivak Island, and Lake Iliamna) and the characterization of the GCAY system in view of these and other Eskimo languages are found in Fortescue (1988). The Norton Sound divergence (esp. § 12.2.3.6-ii) was recorded at Elim from Sheldon Nagaruk in the summer of 1982 (Miyaoka 1984a).

Most of the demonstratives are deictic, while there are a few that can be anaphoric (ANP) and one that is intrinsically so. The deictic demonstratives are classified semantically in terms of two fundamental features:

a. *Horizontal extension (and motion)*, with a trinomial contrast – “extended” (EXT) and “non-extended” (NEX), the latter of which divides into “distal” (DIS) and “proximal” (PRX).

b. *Orientation toward the environment*, with twelve spatial categories (I~XII) mainly classified in relation to some topographical features as well as to the domain of the speaker and hearer as the deictic center.

An extended demonstrative refers to an object or a place (and, metonymically, a temporal duration) that is not narrowly localized but is horizontally lengthy, widespread, or which moves lengthwise so that a person needs to move their eyes to understand it. A non-extended demonstrative – distal or proximal – refers to a more specific place (or time) or an object that is stationary (or moving within a confined area) and can be located precisely.

---

1. It would be fair to mention that the Jesuit priest Lonneux (cf. § 14-fn. 4) had recorded as many as twenty-seven demonstrative stems from the Yukon dialect around the 1940s, though with no illustration or classification.

The distinction between (non-extended) DIS and PRX is chiefly a matter of distance and distinctness. A PRX demonstrative refers to an object or a place that is relatively near, distinct, and visible, while a DIS refers to an object or a place, indistinct and typically invisible, that is more distant than a corresponding closer one. Jakobson (1995) named DIS as “obscured” and PRX as “restricted”.

The following Table gives the thirty demonstrative roots as uncovered and formulated in early 1968 while collaborating with Paschal Afcan:

Table 3: Demonstrative Roots

	extended		non-extended		
			distal	proximal	
I	<i>mat-</i>			<i>u-</i>	here (domain of the speaker)
II	<i>tamat-</i>			<i>tau-</i>	there (domain of the hearer)
III			<i>im-</i>		aforementioned or known
IV			<i>uk-</i>		approaching (space and time)
V	<i>aw-</i>	<i>am-</i>		<i>ij-</i>	over there
VI	<i>ay-</i>	<i>akm-</i>		<i>ik-</i>	across there, on the opposite
VII	<i>paw-</i>	<i>pam-</i>		<i>pij-</i>	back / up there, away from river
VIII	<i>pay-</i>	<i>pakm-</i>		<i>pik-</i>	up / above there [vertical]
IX	<i>un-</i>	<i>cam-</i>		<i>kan-</i>	down / below there, toward river (bank)
X	<i>uny-</i>	<i>cakm-</i>		<i>uy-</i>	out there, toward exit, down river (downstream)
XI	<i>qaw-</i>	<i>qam-</i>	<i>kiuy-/kiw-</i>		inside, up river, inland
XII	<i>qay-</i>	<i>qakm-</i>	<i>kix-</i>		outside, north

Much of the life of the Yupik people is oriented toward the water (a river in particular), which is the center of daily activity and a demonstrative categorization, with an orientation system that is rightly named ‘riverine’ by Fortescue (1988, 2011) in contrast with the ‘coastal’ one in Eastern Eskimo dialects and Siberian Yupik – see the categories X (down river) and XI (up river) in particular. Utilization of the land is somewhat secondary to river and coastal activities, although there are important subsistence activities carried out on the tundra, some with surprisingly great fascination and enthusiasm (e.g. berry picking particularly among women).

The trinomial contrast of extension is not relevant to the categories III |*im-*| and IV |*uk-*|. The former |*im-*|, which is anaphoric (§ 12.2.3.6-i), refers to an entity in shared knowledge or in consciousness that is invisible and has no connection with any physical location, often implying that the speaker cannot recollect the name of the entity. The latter |*uk-*|, which indicates motion (in space and time) toward the speaker, contrasts with V |*aw-*|, which can indicate motion away (moving away) from the speaker, or time just passed in addition to the assigned area (‘over there’). As such, |*aw-*| can also have the anaphoric function to replace |*im-*|. See Fortescue (1988a: 18–19) for the analysis of the CAY four cardinals relative to demonstratives in particular.

Morphological parallelisms between I and II, V and VI, VII and VIII, IX and X, XI and XII are obvious, and Jacobson (1995) describes the contrast as “more accessible” (odd numbered stems) and “less accessible” (even-numbered). The purely horizontal level V and VI lack the distinction of down/below, up/above, or inside/outside.

Details in semantic categorization as tabled above are illustrated in § 12.2.3.

The spatial categories IV through XII of demonstratives are correlated, though loosely, with certain verb stems of directed motion meaning ‘go (there)’, although more general verbs of motion, e.g. |*ayay-*| ‘to go, leave’, |*iṭỵ-*| ‘go in’, may co-occur with two or more categories including I through IV.

- |     |      |                  |                                 |
|-----|------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) | IV   | <i>ayiịỵc-</i> | ‘to approach from the distance’ |
|     | V    | <i>ay-</i>       | ‘to go over’                    |
|     | VI   | <i>qịỵaỵ-</i> | ‘to go across’                  |
|     | VII  | <i>tay-</i>      | ‘to go up from river’           |
|     | VIII | <i>mayuỵ-</i>   | ‘to go up, climb’               |
|     | IX   | <i>aṭỵaỵ-</i> | ‘to go down’                    |
|     | X    | <i>ani-</i>      | ‘to go out’                     |
|     |      | <i>anilyaỵ-</i> | ‘to go toward exit, downriver’  |
|     | XI   | <i>iṭỵ-</i>    | ‘to go in’                      |
|     |      | <i>iṭỵaỵ-</i> | ‘to go upriver’                 |
- as illustrated with adverbial demonstratives below with interjective *-i* or allative *-vet*:

- |    |                           |                             |                                   |
|----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. | <b><i>uk-a=i</i></b>      | <b><i>agiirte-llria</i></b> | ‘approaching (IV.NEX) this way!’  |
| b. | <b><i>mayur-luni</i></b>  | <b><i>pik-a-vet</i></b>     | ‘going up (VIII.PRX) there’       |
| c. | <b><i>atarar-luni</i></b> | <b><i>un-a-vet</i></b>      | ‘going down there (IX.EXT)’, etc. |

These verbs are monovalent but can occur with transitive inflection, with locational P addition by zero derivation (§ 33.4.1). A locational nominal is often modified by a demonstrative.

Demonstratives are either “nominal” (DEMnm – § 12.2) or “adverbial” (DEMad – § 12.3) depending upon which kind of expander follows a root and which one of the two sets of case suffixes is selected. A demonstrative, nominal or adverbial, may occur by itself, but it typically occurs within an appositive phrase to classify another nominal. Each demonstrative can be equally amenable to a certain extent of derivation, that is, nominal elaboration (by NN suffixes) and denominalization (by NV suffixes), the latter of which yields “verbal” demonstratives (§ 12.4).

Morphologically, the stem for a nominal demonstrative (§ 12.2.1) comes from the root followed either by the singular (absolutive) expander |+*na*|, (non-absolutive) singular |+*u-*| or non-singular (dual or plural) |+*ku-*| respectively



(with one caveat; see 2a below). The stem for an adverbial demonstrative (§ 12.3.1) has the root expanded by |+a-|.

Demonstratives have some morphological similarities with two ignorative words: |ki(t)-| (*ki-na* ‘who, someone’, etc.; § 15.2.2) with nominal demonstratives, and |na-| (*na-ni* ‘where, somewhere’, etc.; § 15.2.3) with adverbial demonstratives.

## 2. Nominal demonstratives

A nominal demonstrative may make up a complete NP by itself or form an appositive phrase (§ 16.1) with one or more nominals when it is similar in function to a definite article in other languages (except for its great classificatory function). It may allow speakers to talk about some entities without identifying them by names, cf. see word taboos (§ 6.3).

### 2.1. Morphology

Of the thirty demonstrative roots given in Table 8, the two II |*ta-mat-*| and |*ta-u-*| are clearly derivatives from I |*mat-*| and |*u-*| and are both deictic and anaphoric. The |*ta-*| is evidently anaphoric and is the only prefix CAY has. It is fossilized and non-productive except for the Norton Sound dialect (§ 12.2.3.6-ii) where it occurs with any demonstrative root.<sup>2</sup>

Nominal demonstratives inflect only for case and number, but not for person – see Table 20 (§ 21).<sup>3</sup>

- 
2. The suffix as such, unique as it is, is a Pan-Eskimo morpheme. Bergsland (1956: 69) writes that the West Greenlandic *ta(C)-* may perhaps be regarded as a variant of the interjective *ta-* in that dialect. In CAY, one might perhaps think of its remote affinity with the two kinds of *-ta-*, that is, one in composite suffix for verbs of possession/existence/deprivation (§ 38.1) and the other being equalitive (§ 41.3.5).
  3. In St. Lawrence Island Yupik (CSY) which has reportedly twenty-three demonstrative roots, however, nominal demonstratives expanded by |+*na-*| and (less commonly) by |+*ku-*| inflect for person (by possessive markers generally taken by nouns), and behave like location nouns (‘possessor’s area of’). They occur with any case and person inflection, although some such demonstratives do not inflect for the first and the second person, apparently because of semantic constraints. E.g. *anyam* (boat-REL.sg.) *saam-na-ŋa* (DEM.below-EX-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘the bottom part of the boat’, where the root |*sam-*| corresponds to CAY |*cam-*| – K. Nagai (2004: 110–115, and p.c.). This interesting phenomenon, not observed in other Eskimo languages, was first disclosed and described by de Reuse (1994: 173–177), with his proposed “postinflectional” reinterpretation of *-na-* which was sometimes considered an inflectional ending.

i) *Root expansion*: In order to be inflected, a demonstrative root must be expanded to become a stem by one of the expanders, and derivation may or may not intervene between the root and the inflection.

- (2) a.  $|+na-|$                     absolutive singular (followed by  $[+\emptyset]$  ABS.sg.)  
 b.  $|+u-| \sim |+\emptyset|$  (after  $|tau-|$ ; P7) non-absolutive singular  
 c.  $|+ku-|$                     non-singular (dual or plural) inflection.

Apart from the isolated  $|+na-|$ , the expander contrast between singular vs. non-singular also holds true with verbal demonstratives (§ 12.4).

Different root expansions are illustrated for the root I  $|u-|$  ‘this/here’:

- (3)  $|u+na-|$  (only applied to nominal demonstratives)  
*u-na* (ABS.sg.) ‘this one’  
*u-na-cuar* (small.ABS.sg.) ‘this small one’ –  $|-cua(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}^*|$   
*u-na-lkuk* (darn.ABS.sg.) ‘this darn one’ –  $|-lkuy-|$ .
- (4)  $|u+u-|$   
 a. *u-u-mi* (LOC.sg.) ‘in this one’  
*u-u-cuar-mi* (small-LOC.sg.) ‘in this small one’  
 – cf. (P18v) for  $/\dot{y}a/$  deletion  
 b. *u-u-ngu-uq* (be-IND.3sg.) ‘it is this one’  
 – verbal demonstrative.
- (5) *u-u-cunga-a-m<sub>G</sub>*                    *atr-a*  
 this-EX-cute-EV-REL.sg.    name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘this cute person’s name’  
 cf. *u-na-cungaq*                    *ateq*  
 this-EX-cute.ABS.sg.    name.ABS.sg.  
 ‘this cute name’.
- (6)  $|u+ku-|$   
 a. *u-ku-k* (ABS/REL.du.) ‘these two’  
*u-ku-ni* (LOC.pl.) ‘in these ones’  
*u-ku-cuara-a-t* (small-EV-ABS/REL.pl.) ‘these small ones’  
 – cf. (P7i) for EV  
 b. *u-ku-u-gut* (be-IND.3pl.) ‘it is these ones’.

See § 21.2 also for  $-ku-$  which characterizes associative NN suffix  $|+nku-|$ .

ii) *Phonological adjustments* – required in formation of some stems:

- (7) |*akm-*| (VI) ‘across there, on the opposite’ – same pattern with  
|*pakm-*|, |*qakm-*|, |*cakm-*|  
a. |*akm+na-*| *akem-na* (ABS.sg.) ‘that one across there (DIS)’ – cf.  
(P7i) for EV  
b. |*akm+u-*|*ak'm-u-m* (REL.sg.) – cf. § 7-fn. 4, and (P18ii.c) also  
*ak'm-u-mi* (LOC.sg.)  
cf. adverbial *akm-a-ni* (LOC) with devoiced nasal *m*  
c. |*akm+ku-*| *akem-ku-t* (ABS/REL.pl.) – cf. (P7i) for EV  
*akem-ku-gnun* (ALL.du.).
- (8) |*am-*| (V) ‘over there’ – same pattern with |*pam-*|, |*qam-*|, |*cam-*|  
a. |*am+na-*| *am-na* (ABS.sg.) ‘that one over there (DIS)’  
b. |*am+u-*| *am'-u-m* (REL.sg.)  
*am'-u-mi* (LOC.sg.), with (P1) gemination  
c. |*am+ku-*|*am-ku-t* (ABS/REL.pl.)  
*am-ku-gnun* (ALL.du.).

While (8b) has gemination because of the (C)VC- stem before a vowel (P1), the anaphoric root |*im-*| (III) may or may not have gemination, and is thus a doublet |*im'-*| and |*im-*|, the latter of which behaves more like an adverbial particle:

- (9) |*im+u-*|  
a. *im'-u-mi* (LOC.sg.) ‘in that one’  
*im'-u-mek* (ABM.sg.) vs.  
b. *im-u-mi* ‘at that time’  
*im-u-mek* ‘you know that way, the same way as people usually do’.

A root with final /k/ has a specific adjustment of inserting /y/ between the two /k/s of the sequence /k+ku/ (with the non-singular expander |+ku-|), resulting in /ky+ku/ to which /i/ insertion of (P7i) applies:

- (10) |*ik+ku*[+t] (ABS/REL.pl.) > *ikegkut* /*ikixkut*/  
‘the ones across there (PRX)’.

In addition, the three roots |*kan-*|, |*mat-*|, and |*tamat-*| have some irregularities – listed in the order of absolutive singular form, non-absolutive singular suffix, and non-singular suffix:

	root	abs.sg	non-abs.sg. stem	non-sg. stem
(11)	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kan 'a</i>	<i>kàtu-</i>	<i>kanku-</i>
(12)	<i>mat-</i>	<i>man 'a</i>	<i>màtu-</i>	<i>maku-</i>
(13)	<i>tamat-</i>	<i>tamana</i>	<i>tamatu-</i>	<i>tamaku-</i>  .

Demonstratives do not inflect for person (possessor).<sup>4</sup> Nominal demonstratives are marked with the same number and case suffixes as ordinary nouns (Table 20), although they have “vocative” forms specific to them (below). By contrast, adverbial demonstratives have no number and person, but only case (§ 12.3.1), although they have “interjective” forms (§ 12.3.2.2).

iii) *Vocative forms*: In addition to the above, most of demonstratives have special vocative forms – singular |+*zuuŷ*|~[HBC] |+*yuuŷ*| (instead of |+*na-*|) and non-singular |+*kuuŷ-*| (du.) / |+*kuut*| (pl.) – which are characterized by doubling of a vowel, as with vocatives for common nouns (like *aanaa* ‘mother!’ for *aana* ‘mother’; § 31.1). Illustrations are made for the root |*u-*| ‘this/here’:

- (14) a. *u-suuq* ~ *u-yuuq!* (sg.) ‘you (sg.)! this one here!’  
*u-kuu-k!* (du.) ‘you (du.)! these two here!’  
*u-kuu-t!* (pl.) ‘you (pl.)! these ones here!’  
 b. *am-suuq* ~ *am-yuuq!* (sg.) ‘you (sg.)! over there!’  
*am-kuu-k!* (du.) ‘you (du.)! over there!’

The root |*u-*| ‘this one here’ is used to address a second person (§ 12.2.3.5).

It is interesting to note the vowel doubling recurs on the derivational suffix that follows the vocative stem:

- (15) *u-suu-cuara-a-q!* (sg.) ‘you (sg.)! this little one!’  
*u-suu-ru-u-k!* (du.) ‘you (du.)! these (stout) two!’  
 – NNh |*-yuy-*|.
- (16) *U-kuu-cunga-a-t* *tai-ger-ci!*  
 this-VOC-cute-VOC-pl. come-POL-OPT.2pl.  
 ‘you (pl.), cute ones, come here!’  
 cf. *U-ku-cunga-a-t<sub>p</sub>* *assik-anka.*  
 this-EX-cute-EV-pl. love-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I love these cute ones.’

4. Unlike CAY and other Eskimo languages, person inflection for nominal (or ‘pronominal’) demonstratives is fully attested for CSY in K. Nagai (2004: 110–115).

Note the vocative *u-kuu(-t)* as opposed to the compared stem *u-ku(-t)* as well as the different *-a-*'s (vocative vs. mechanical epenthesis).

Irregularities are involved in the vocatives *kacuuq* for *|kan-|* and *macuuq* for *|mat-|*. No vocative is recorded for *|tamat-|*.

Vocative forms (formation above; § 12.2.1) of nominal demonstratives are commonly used for addressing some person(s), with the selection of the demonstrative depending upon the location (and motion) of the addressee(s). The object referred to by a vocative form of a nominal demonstrative is typically a person (or animate):

- (17) *Cakem-suuq*, *iter-luten* *pi(i)!*  
 out.there-VOC.sg. enter-APP.2sg. do.OPT.2sg.  
 'Hey, you (sg.) out there, come in!'

In the asking-festival or gift-exchange ceremony called *petugtaq* (lit. 'something tied upon'; see § 13-fn. 1 and § 18 (165), the man who brought the gift into the community house loudly/proudly shouts, with affective or expressive lengthening by more than two vowels as in the following example from (14a) *u-kuut*: See (P23iii) in § 9.

- (18) *Petug-ta-t* *u-kuu-u-u-ut!*  
 tie.on-pertaining-ABS.pl. this-EX-expressive-VOC.pl.  
 'Here are the *Petugtat!*' [CAUY 21]

## 2.2. Syntax

A nominal demonstrative can occur independently, like a 'pronoun', to fill a syntactic slot of a sentence (core or peripheral):

- (19) *U-na<sub>S</sub>* *ca-u-ga?*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. what-be-INT.3sg.  
 'What is this?'
- (20) *Pik'-u-m<sub>A</sub>* *aciqsi-nq-aa* *ene-ka.*  
 one.up-EX-REL.sg. below-CMP-IND.3sg.3sg. house-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 'My house is farther below than the one (up) there.'  
 – relative-case nominal demonstrative as comparee (§ 45.1.1): see § 11.2.3.2 for denominal stem *|aciq-siy-|*.

A nominal demonstrative occurs, however, much more often adnominally, forming an appositive phrase (§ 16.1) with the other nominal(s), which it 'classifies' and modifies:

- (21) ***u-na***                      *napaq*            /    [Y.HBC.NUN] *uqviaq*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.            tree.ABS.sg./    willow.ABS.sg.  
 ‘this tree (willow)’
- (22) [***pakm-a-ni***            [*kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub>*            *kangr-ani*]]  
 up-EX-LOC            river-EV-REL.sg.    source-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘at the river-end up there (VIII-DIS)’. [FASM s.20, s.27]

A demonstrative stands in the phrase-initial position, but the opposite order can also be found, as in the following, with VIII versus VIII just above:

- (23) [*Quka-a=llu*                      ***pam-na***]<sub>s</sub>            *mernu-ng-luni*  
 back-ABS.3sg.sg.=and    back-ABS.sg.    tired-get-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘His lower back (back there; VII-DIS) is also becoming/became fatigued.’

A nominal demonstrative often precedes a relative clause with or without its external head; see § 16.1-vii and § 17.1.2-v for more examples:

- (24) ***paug-na***                      [*yuilquq*  
 back-EX.ABS.sg.            tundra.ABS.sg.  
*ikiitu-ngqer-tura-lria* ~ *tarna-ngqer-tura-lria*]  
 celery-have-CNT-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
 ‘the wilderness back there where wild celery grows (but nowhere else)’.

### 2.3. Semantics – categorization through demonstratives

The categorization of demonstratives is made in terms of extension (extended and non-extended [distal and proximal]), of space (I through XII), etc., as illustrated with a number of pairs.

#### 2.3.1. *Extended vs. non-extended*

Compare, first, the following pair of the category I, i.e. proximal |*u-*| and extended |*mat-*|:

- (25) a. ***u-na***                                      *napa* / [Y] *uqviar*  
 this.non.EXT-EX.ABS.sg.    tree(willow).ABS.sg.  
 ‘this (standing) tree’.

- b. *ma-n'a*                                      *napa* / [Y] *uqviar*  
 this.EXT-EX.ABS.sg.                      tree.ABS.sg.  
 'this (lying) tree'.

– (a) *una* categorizes the tree as more or less precisely locatable, implying a *standing* (but not lying) tree whose length (height) does not matter as long as it stands, while (b) *man'a* implies that the speaker refers to the tree with some length as *lying lengthwise* before her/him, that is, a tree that is horizontal (not vertical) and long enough to be perceived as an extended object, requiring one to move one's eyes to grasp it. See also § 45(102b) *ma-ku-t pitegcaute-t* 'these arrows' (ABS.pl.).

It is important to note, however, that a long array of *standing* trees may have horizontal extension, if viewed from a good distance, thus the following exclamative with the extended VI demonstrative nominal:

- (26) [*Ag-ku-ni=lli*                                      *napa-ni*]                      *cungagcess-vaa!*  
 across.EXT-EX-LOC.pl.=ENC tree-LOC.pl.                      green-VPc.EXC  
 'My, how green those trees are across there (across the river, way, road, etc.)!'  
 – See § 27.6 for the locative inflection in the argumentless exclamation with |+*paa*|.

Likewise, one and the same object, say, an island, can be referred to as *una* if the speaker is pointing to it, e.g., on a map, or if it is some small (pinpointable) piece of land seen from a very near viewpoint, while *man'a* is used if the speaker is seeing it as a spread-out piece of land or if he is on the land. Uses of the category |*u-*| vs. |*mat-*| will be addressed again in § 12.2.3.5 as they are quite varied.

The opposition between distantal and proximal non-extended demonstratives is illustrated below with group IX:

- (27) *cam-na* / *ka-n'a*                                      *nepa*  
 down.DIS/PRX-EX.ABS.sg.                      sound.ABS.sg.  
 'that sound down there!'  
 – likely invisible vs. visible.

Yupik settlements (villages, towns) and general areas are categorized in different ways, depending upon whether one views them as points or expanses, and how one localizes the world outside the Yupik area. See § 12.2.4.

2.3.2. *Categories IX and X: 'down/below' vs. 'out, toward river'*

Illustrated for the three categories in terms of extension:

- (28) a. *un-ku-t* *Nunivaa-t*  
 down.EXT-EX-ABS.pl. pl.n-ABS.pl.  
 'Nunivak (Island) down there' – for Nelson Islanders
- b. [*Un'-u-mek* *nayir-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *pissu-qatar-tua*.  
 down.EXT-EX-ABM.sg. seal-ABM.sg. hunt-IMN-IND.1sg.  
 'I am about to hunt that seal (in horizontal motion, going by) down there.' – see (31) *un'*- below.
- (29) [*Ka-n'a* *angyaq*]<sub>s</sub> *kit'e-qatar-tuq*.  
 down.PRX-ABS.sg. boat-ABS.sg. sink-IMN-IND.3sg.  
 'That boat down there is about to sink.'
- (30) [*Cam-na* *Kuig-pi-i-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 down.DIS-EX-ABS.sg. river-big-EV-REL.sg.  
*pai-nga*]<sub>s</sub> *qai-lir-tuq*.  
 mouth-ABS.3sg.sg. wave-have.lots-IND.3sg.  
 'It is rough down there at the mouth of the Yukon.'

The river mouth, while physically expansive, is taken here as a specific place (DIS), like a point on an invisible mental map.

While category IX, as illustrated above, implies that the speaker is (feels to be) higher up than the river mouth, the X roots for 'out there, down river, toward (building) exit' imply the same level (as the river). Thus, replacement of (30) *cam-na* with the distal X *cakem-na* implies that the speaker is on the same level, although *imarpik camna* 'the sea down there' could be used even when the speaker is on the sea (i.e. on the same level).

The following citation (from a narrative) is explicit about the higher location as well as the motion characteristic of IX.EXT |*un-*| *un'*(a):

- (31) ..., *pi-ina-nermini* *pi-llini-uq* [*ikamraq*  
 do-CNNwl.3Rsg. do-EVD-IND.3sg. sled.ABS.sg.  
*un'*] *ca-m* – *qemi-m=gga* *qai-ngani*  
 down.ABS.sg. some-REL.sg. hill-REL.sg.=REA top-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*uita-ller-mini* *pi-lli-lria*.  
 stay-VNrl-LOC.3Rsg.sg. do-CJT-PTP.3sg.  
 [*Ikamraq un'-a*] *kitur-yartu-lria*;  
 sled.ABS.sg. down-EX.ABS.sg. pass-in.order-PTP.3sg.  
 '..., while he was going, he saw that there was a sled down there – he probably was on a hill. The sled down there was passing.' [ELLA 40]



The same categorization referring to a space outdoors also applies to space inside a building, with the door or exit side corresponding to the mouth of the river.

### 2.3.3. Category XII: ‘outside’ (without reference to the river).

In contrast with IX *cam-na* (e.g. for the river mouth; above) and VIII *pakem-na* (e.g. ‘up there’, ‘heaven’; [35]), (c)*ella* (*|cila-*), generally glossed as ‘weather’, which is the most important aspect of the Yupik cosmology as a whole, is often referred to by the distal XII *qakem-na* ‘the one outside’.<sup>5</sup>

- (32) *Arenqiat-uq*                      [[*qakem-na*                      *ella-vut*]<sub>s</sub>  
discouraging-IND.3sg.    outside-EX.ABS.sg.    weather-ABS.1pl.sg.  
*assii-nani*].  
bad-APP.3Rsg.  
‘It is discouraging that the weather outside is not good.’
- (33) [*Qag-na*                      *qimugta*]<sub>p</sub>                      *petug-yartu-rru*.  
outside-EX.ABS.sg.    dog.ABS.sg.                      tie-go.to-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
‘Go and tie up the (moving and visible) dog outside.’
- (34) *qag-ku-miut* ~ *qakem-ku-miut*  
outside.EXT/DIS-EX-inhabitant.ABS.pl.  
‘Yukon village or Inupiat area’ – for Kuskowim speakers.

Compare with VIII *|pakm-* (e.g. ‘up there’, ‘heaven’):

- (35) *pakm-a-ni*                      *qilag-mi*  
up-EX-LOC.sg.                      heaven-LOC.sg.  
‘up in the heaven’.

---

5. The noun *ella* ~ [Y] *cella* (< *|cila-*) is variously translated as ‘world, nature, weather, outdoors, awareness, sense’, and its ‘owner’, that is, *ella-m* (REL.sg.) *yu-a* (person-ABS.3sg.sg.), corresponding to West Greenlandic *sila* and *inu-a* (cf. Birket-Smith 1959: 162–65 for the concepts); e.g. § 14 (134), § 46 (16), § 50 (34), etc. It is a bivalent stem (§ 10.4) and is subject to a very wide variety of derivations (*passim*). Deeply imbedded in the Yupik culture, it is taken as something like a highest-rank entity having its own personality and mind, and is perceived as something to be treated with great awe and fear. Cf. also Nelson (1899 [1979: 394]). The writer (unnamed but presumably Irene Reed) of 20-page *Notes to the Stories* of QTAS (p. 366) writes ‘The Yup’ik notion of *ella* is closer to the Vedic notion of *prana*, that is, the manifestation in the individual body of the cosmic energy, or the *Atama*, the individuated essence of the Supreme Soul, than it is to the Western notion of an individual personal consciousness’.

XII applies to a building or a room as well, with the door or entrance corresponding to the mouth of a river.

- (36) *It'r-us-ki* *tamalku-ita* [muri-i-t  
 enter-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.2sg.3sg. all-CNNst.3pl. wood-EV-ABS.pl.  
*keg-ku-t*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 outside-EX-ABS.pl.  
 'You (sg.) bring in all the wood out there.'

#### 2.3.4. Motion toward vs. away

Motion toward and away from the speaker is distinguished by IV |*uk-*| and extended V |*aw-*| (used with different verbs).

- (37) *Elpek-uma-a* [uk-na *angun*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 feel-CNT-IND.3sg.3sg. approaching-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
 'He feels the coming man (though invisible).'

- (38) *Atam* [uk-na *ngyaq*]<sub>s</sub>  
 look.PCL approaching-EX.ABS.sg. boat-ABS.sg.  
*agiirte-llria* *uci-p'aka-pigg-luni*.  
 approach-PTP.3sg. load-big-EMP-APP.3Rsg.  
 'Look, the boat is coming, with (itself having) a big load'  
 – see § 53.1-iii for *atam*.

- (39) *Auḡ-suuq*, *neq-su-qatar-tuten ≠ qaa?*  
 moving.away-VOC.sg. fish-seek-IMN-IND.2sg.≠QST  
 'Hey, you (sg.) (moving away), are you going fishing?'

- (40) *tua-ten* *ayuuq-luni* [auḡ-na  
 there-EQL similar-APP.3Rsg. moving.away-EX.ABS.sg.  
*qanemciq*]<sub>s</sub><sup>6</sup>  
 story.ABS.sg.  
 'that's the way that story goes' [QNMC 304]

---

6. CAY tales may be categorized into two kinds that sometimes overlap: *qanemciq* (|*qanimciy*\*-|, a narrative/story referring to a relatively recent event and experience) and *quliraq* (|*quliyay*-|, a (traditional) myth/tale in the framework of a more distant past, cf. [Y] *univkaraq* [MT]). See Woodbury (1984b: 13–14) and Morrow and Mather (1994: 37–38) for two CAY literary genres.



- b. *Mak-tek* ≠ *am'* ~ *Makteg=am'*      *u-kuuk!*  
 get.up-OPT.2du. hurry                      this-VOC.du.  
 'You (du.) (here), now wake up!' – *am'* as truncation of *ampi*.

ii) *Temporal location*: Classified in terms of extendedness, that is, as a point in time (45) vs. duration (46):

- (45)      *u-u-mi*                      *sass'a-mi* ~ *cass'a-mi*      'at this hour'.  
 this.PRX-EX-LOC.sg.      hour-LOC.sg.'
- (46) a. *mat'-u-mi*                      *iralu-mi*                      'in this month'  
 this.EXT-EX-LOC.sg.      moon-LOC.sg.
- b. *erne-put*                      *ma-ku-t*                      'these days of ours'.  
 day-ABS.1pl.pl.                      this-EX-ABS.pl.
- (47) a. *ma-ku-tun*                      *yura-ner-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*                      *elit-ua*  
 this.EX-EQL.sg.                      dance-VNnm-ABM.sg.      learn-IND.1sg.  
 'I learned the way of dancing like the one now going on'.

iii) *The extended man'a 'this one'*: This is often used to refer to a cultural tradition or custom in its entirety – with another example § 16 (33):

- (48)      *Ataki* (≠ *tang*) *wangkuta*      [*ma-n'a*                      *yurar-yaraq*]<sub>P</sub>  
 urging see 1pl.                      this-EX.ABS.sg.      dance-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
*ciutmur-ute-qer-laut!*  
 move.forth-E-ITS-OPT.1pl.3sg.  
 'Let us maintain this dancing tradition.'  
 – § 53.3-i for the particle *ataki*.

### 2.3.6. *Anaphora*

i) *Root |im-|*: The anaphoric demonstrative IV *|im-|* is commonly used to suggest or refer to something that the speaker wants the listener to remember or understand (as when he prefers not to be explicit or he himself has forgotten the name). The extended V *|aw-|* 'one going away' can also be anaphoric, as in (50).

- (49)      [*Im-na*                      *tuqu-lleq*                      *akwaugaq*]<sub>S</sub>  
 ANP-ABS.sg.      die-VNrl.ABS.sg.      yesterday  
*tuunra-lg-u-uq.*  
 helping.spirit-one.having-be-IND.3sg.  
 'That (person) who died yesterday was a shaman.'

- (50) [*Aug*'-u-mi ~ *Im*'-u-mi(/*Im*-u-mi) *ene-mi* *kavirli-mi*]<sub>p</sub>  
 ANP-EX-LOC.sg. house-LOC.sg. red-LOC.sg.  
*tange-llru-aqa.*  
 see-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I saw him in that (you remember) red house.'

- (51) [*Im*-u-tun *icuw*' *ayuqe-llria-mek*]  
 ANP-EX-AEQ.sg. you.know resemble-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
*car-a-ngqe-llria.*  
 car-LNK-have-APP.3sg.  
 'He has a car like that kind (you know).'

An important use of |*im*-| is to stand before another demonstrative, forming an appositive phrase for mental reference:

- (52) *im-na* *pag-na*  
 ANP-EX.ABS.sg. up.there-EX.ABS.sg.  
 'you know, that one up there' – shared knowledge.

It often occurs together with |*ta*-u-|, which is anaphoric itself:

- (53) *Ellii* [*ta*-u-na *im-na* *qan-lleq*]  
 3sg.ABS that-EX-ABS.sg. ANP-EX.ABS.sg. say-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*carayag-tait-ni-luku.*  
 ghost-there.be.no-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
 'He was the one who had said there were no ghosts.' [YQYL 8]  
 – *carayak* can also be a 'bear'.

Absence of *tau-na* here does not yield much difference, but it may be used for euphonicity. The text [FASM] with 102 sentences contains three examples *tau-ku-t im-kut* (s.20), *im-na tau-na* (s.29), and *tau-kugnek im-kugnek* (s.99).

The anaphoric demonstrative may co-occur with the interrogative/indefinite pronoun |*kin*-| 'who, someone', apparently emphasizing indefiniteness:

- (54) *Ene-meggnun* *maaten* *iter-tut* [*ki-na*  
 house-ALL.3Rpl.sg. when enter-IND.3pl. who-EX.ABS.sg.  
*im-na*]<sub>s</sub> *ite-llru-llini-lria.*  
 that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg. enter-PST-EVD-PTP.3sg.  
 'They entered and found someone (who) had already entered.' [KPLT 31]  
 – see § 12.3.1 for equalis *maaten*.

The anaphoric *|im-|* also occurs in verbal demonstratives (see § 12.4) and in such particles as:

- (55) *|imku|* ‘uh’ – used to express uncertainty or hesitation  
*|imutun|* ‘you know’, e.g. (51)  
*|ima|* ‘as I / you remember, you know; (say) again as I forget’ (directing the listener towards something)  
*|ta=ima|* ‘now there (not in sight)’  
 – § 53.3-viii for orthographical *ta-ima* or *tayima*.

The last particle, pronounced /ta(y)iˈma/ (but not /\*táima/), is considered a lexicalized (proclitic) bound phrase and is of interest in that it has evidently evolved from two anaphorics, that is, *|im(a)|* preceded by the anaphoric prefix *|ta(z)-|* (in the next section) which is still productive in the Norton Sound dialect [NS] north of Kotlik, though in GCAY only residually fixed in the two roots II *|tau-|* and *|tamat-|* (corresponding with I *|u-|* and *|mat-|* – Table 8).<sup>7</sup> The -y- in the written form *tayima* can find potential support in the possibility that intervocalic /y/ reflects the /z/ as in the productive *|taz-|* (~*|ta-|*) in NS. See § 3.3.2.2-i for the dialect variation of /z/~y/.

In addition, the II PRX *|tau-|* ‘this’ and EXT *|tamat-|* ‘that’ can be anaphoric as well as deictic:

- (56) *tau-m<sub>G</sub>* / *tamat-u-m<sub>G</sub>* *kingu-ani*  
 that-REL.sg. / that-EX-REL.sg. hind-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘after that (known)’.

ii) *Prefix |ta-|*: As stated with regard to Table 8, the anaphoric *|ta-|* only occurs in two derived roots *|ta-u-|* and *|ta-mat-|* in GCAY, while in NS the prefix *|ta(z)-|* (z before consonant) occurs with any demonstrative roots,<sup>8</sup> taking the place of an appositive phrase with an *|im-|* demonstrative, as in GCAY (just above). An exhaustive list of the nominal and the adverbial demonstratives with and without *|ta(z)-|*, as collected from Sheldon Nagaruk at Elim in 1982, is given in Miyaoka (1984a: 56–57).

- (57) a. *tas-pag-na* – see (52) *im-na pag-na*  
 b. *ta-ing-na*  
*ta-ing-a-ni* – cf. [GCAY] *ing-na* and *ya-a-ni*.

7. The particle *tayima* (or sometimes spelled *ta-ima*) is advised not to be written as *taima*, which should represent /\*táima/ (cf. *tauna* /táuna/ ‘this’) in the orthography.

8. The NS *|ta(z)-|* undoubtedly reflexes the CSY *|ta-, taz-, tis-|* which, stands before any of the twenty-third demonstrative roots the language has (K. Nagai 2004: 101–105).

To Nagaruk (p.c.), the presence vs. absence of the prefix brings difference in implications such as:

- (58) a. *Ta-akm-a-ni* *qavar-tar-ciq-ukut.*  
 ANP-across-EX-LOC.sg. sleep-get-FUT-IND.1pl.  
 b. *Akm-a-ni* *qavar-tar-ciq-ukut.*  
 across-EX-LOC.sg. sleep-get-FUT-IND.1pl.  
 a ≐ b ‘We will stay overnight over there.’

– where (a) implies going back to a place that the party passed or from where they started, while (b) implies a new place in their trip.

Another difference of the anaphoric demonstrative with *|ta-|* lies in that it may imply greater remoteness from the speaker:

- (59) a. [*Ta-uk-na* *angun*]<sub>p</sub>  
 ANP-approaching-EX.ABS.3sg. man.ABS.sg.  
*ui-k-aqa.*  
 husband-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 b. [*Uk-na* *angun*]<sub>p</sub> *ui-k-aqa.*  
 approaching-EX.ABS.3sg. man.ABS.sg. Hu-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘That man coming this way is my husband.’  
 – (a) implies a man further away from the speaker than (b) without the prefix. See Miyaoka (1984a: 56–58) for more details.

This anaphoric prefixal *|ta-|* may presumably be akin to the equalitive VVa suffix *|+ta-|* ‘as – as, to that degree’ as in *ang-ta-uq angya-mtun* (EQL.1sg.sg.) ‘it is as big as my boat’ (§ 45.6.1), although this is an unique case in the predominantly suffixal language of CAY where its only prefix seems to show a kind of “floating” from the suffix status.

As suggested in § 4.2.5.3-iii, we might also conceive of some relatedness of *|+ta-|* (with these elements), which uniquely precedes a number of existential, possessive, acquisitive, and deprivative suffixes (§ 38.1).

## 2.4. References to areas/villages

Areas or villages surrounding one’s location are categorized into V through XII of the demonstrative system. The following is a categorization for speakers at Bethel, but it is far from an established classification, and one and the same place (area, village) can be perceived as being in different categories among the inhabitants there. Bristol Bay, for instance, seen as V, may be taken as VI or IX. Fairbanks, likewise seen as V, may be taken as XI.

	EXT	DIS	
(60)	V <i>aug-na</i>	/ <i>am-na</i>	Bristol Bay, Anchorage, Fairbanks, etc.
	VI <i>ag-na</i>	/ <i>akem-na</i>	St. Lawrence Is., Siberia, Seattle, New York, Canada, Japan, etc.
	VII <i>paug-na</i>	/ <i>pam-na</i>	Akulmiut villages (Kasigluk, Nunapitchuk, Atmautluak)
	VIII <i>pag-na</i>	/ <i>pakem-na</i>	heaven, some mountain, up slope, river source, etc.
	IX <i>un'-a</i>	/ <i>cam-na</i>	the Aleutian Islands, etc.
	X <i>uneg-na</i>	/ <i>cakem-na</i>	Kuskokwim coast village, etc.
	XI <i>qaug-na</i>	/ <i>qam-na</i>	upriver area, Kwethluk, part of the Yukon, etc.
	XII <i>qag-na</i>	/ <i>qakem-na</i>	Yukon, Iñupiat villages, Lower 48 states, etc.

## 2.5. Derivation

Derivation of demonstratives is limited largely to (dis)honorific suffixes and a number of elaborating or verbalizing demonstrative stems. Verbalization by NV suffixes is nothing but derivation of verbal demonstratives (§ 12.4).

The derivation comes after stems that are expanded from a root by  $|+na-|$  (for singular absolutive),  $|+u-|$  (for singular non-absolutive), and  $|+ku-|$  (for non-singular) (§ 12.2.1).

(Dis)honorific elaboration of nominal demonstratives, sporadically illustrated in § 20.3, is added:

- (61) a. *u-na-cuar* 'this small one' – NN  $| -cua(\dot{y}a)\dot{y} - |$   
 this-EX-small.ABS.sg.  
 b. *u-u-cuar-mi* 'in this small one'  
 this-EX-small.LOC.sg.  
 c. *u-ku-cuar-ni* 'in these small ones'  
 this-EX-small-LOC.pl.  
 d. *u-ku-cuara-a-t* 'these small ones'  
 this-EX-small-EV-ABS/REL.pl.  
 – with  $/\dot{y}a/$  deletion in (a, b, c) before a consonant or a boundary (P18v; § 8.5), as contrasted with (d), which accordingly requires the epenthetic *-a-*.
- (62) a. *u-na-**lkuk*** 'this darned person' – NN  $| -lkuy - |$   
 this-EX-darned.ABS.sg.  
 b. *u-suu-**lku-u-k*** 'you (sg.) bad guy!'  
 this-VOC-darned-VOC-ABS.sg.





### 3. Adverbial demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives function as adverbial adjuncts, mostly local (spatial and temporal) and manner adjuncts. An adverbial demonstrative may stand independently on its own or occur with another nominal constituent to form an appositive phrase, both adverbial adjuncts.

#### 3.1. Morphology

An adverbial demonstrative stem is derived from its root with the adverbial expander |+a-| (blocking the accentuation of P1 and the /i/ insertion of P7). An expanded adverbial demonstrative stem is followed by an inflectional suffix. Unlike nominal demonstratives (§ 12.2.1), they inflect only for case, but not for number or person, and only for the five adverbial cases, not for the two syntactic (absolute and relative) cases. The case markers for adverbial demonstratives (below) are somewhat different from those for nominal ones. There is no ablative-modalis case, but only ablative.

The constitutions of adverbial demonstratives (DEMad) are illustrated for locative forms with |+ni| for three roots in comparison with the corresponding nominal demonstratives (DEMnm) expanded by |+u-| (non-absolute singular) and |+ku-| (non-singular) – § 12.2.1:

	root		expanded	locative	
(68)	ma(t)-	ad.	ma+a-	maa-ni	'here'
		nm.sg.	mat'+u-	mat'u-mi	'in this one'
					(see P1 for gemination)
		nm.pl.	ma+ku-	maku-ni	'in these ones'.
(69)	ik-	ad.	ik+a-	ika-ni	'across [the river, way, road, etc.] there'
		nm.sg.	ik+u-	ik'u-mi	'in the one across there' (see P1)
		nm.pl.	ik+ku-	ikegku-ni	'in the ones across there', see (10).
(70)	akm-	ad.	akm+a-	akma-ni	'across there'
		nm.sg.	akm+u-	ak'mu-mi	'in the one across there' (P7i, P18ii.c)
		nm.pl.	akm+ku-	akemku-ni	'in the ones across there' (P7i).

There are specific adjustments involved in the formation of expanded adverbial stems with |(C)ay-| (where  $C = p, q$ ), i.e. extended VI, VIII, and XII:

	root		expanded	locative
(71)	(C)ay-	ad.	(C)ayaa-	(C)agaa-ni ~ (C)ii-ni.

Note that there is another /a/ added after the expander, e.g. (81) *aga-a-tmun*. This is probably a device for avoiding the change of /aya/ into /ii/ (by P6, P10), though it does occur particularly in NS and NUN (cf. Jakobson 1998: 94). The change characterizes the dialect of the Norton Sound Yupik people (north of Kotlik) who are thereby called *Qii-miut* ‘(Martha Teeluk, p.c. – Miyaoka 1982: 28; 1984a: 55–56; see NN |+*miu*-| ‘dweller of’; § 20.1.2).

The following adjustments are unique to each root:

- (72) |*kiuy*-| |*kia*-| *kia-ni*
- (73) |(ta)*mat*-| |(ta)*maa*-| *tamaa-ni*
- (74) |*u*-| |*wa*-| *wa-ni* /x<sup>w</sup>ani/
- (75) |*uγ*-| |*ua*-| ~ |*uγaa*-| *ua-ni* ~ *uγaa-ni* /wa<sup>·</sup>ni/  
‘over there, toward exit’
- (76) |*tau*-| |*tua*-| ~ |*tawa*-| *tua-ni* /tua<sup>·</sup>ni/ ~ [HBC] *tawa-ni* /tawa<sup>·</sup>ni/  
‘there’ – see § 3-fn.12 for HBC *w*.

Unlike nominal demonstratives, which inflect like ordinary nouns except for person (possessor), adverbial demonstratives have no number and person, but only case, and this without the two syntactic cases (absolute and relative). Furthermore, their five oblique case markers are partly different from those for nominals in general. They have the ablative case, but no modalis use (thus the abbreviation ABL being used instead of ABM for adverbial demonstratives).

There are some adverbial demonstrative stems that are used as particles on their own (i.e. without inflection), like the ones from II |*tama-a*| and III |*im-a*| (above):

- (77) |*tama-a*| ‘at a reasonable time, without delay, soon’ as a temporal particle (§ 53.4)
- |*im-a*| ‘as I / you remember, you know; (say) again as I forget’ (directing the listener towards something; § 53.3-vii).

Different case forms are illustrated for two roots |*ma(t)*-| ‘here’ and |*ik*-| ‘across there’ – except for the equalis case:

i) *locative*:

- (78) |+*ni*| *maa-ni*, *ika-ni*, etc.

A locative-case adverbial demonstrative (but not a nominal one), as well as common nouns, may be followed by the equalis marker *-(ce)tun* (§ 29) for double case-marking (§ 27.9.2) instead of *-ten* (90) for adverbial demonstratives:

- (79) *maa-ni-tun* 'like here'  
*akma-ni-(ce)tun* 'like over there, like in the (lower 48) States'.

Adverbial demonstrative stems often occur as stems of locative verbs (§ 27.8), which is not the case with nominal demonstrative stems – see (140).

- (80) *maa-nt-ukut* 'we are here'  
 this-EX-be.at -IND.1pl. – cf. *ma-a-ni* LOC.

ii) *allative*:

- (81)  $|+vit| \sim |+tmun|$  *maa-vet~maa-tmun,*  
*ika-vet~ika-tmun*  
*aga-a-tmun* 'toward across there'; cf. (71) for *-a-*.  
 cf. NV  $|+viȳc-| \sim |+tmuȳc-|$  'to go to / toward' (133).

Of the two variants, the  $|+vit|$  form is more particular or definite in reference than the second  $|+tmun|$ , although the stems  $|w+a-|$  ( $< |u+a-|$ ) and  $|tua-|$  ( $< |tau+a-|$ ) as well as DIS demonstratives (e.g.  $|am+a-|$ ) only take  $|+vit|$ . The variant  $|+tmun|$  is probably a suffix composite with  $|+t-|$  below (for spatial location nouns) followed by the allative case marker  $|+mun|$  (for nominals). It occurs very marginally in nominals other than adverbial nominals: e.g. *nege-tmun* 'northward' ( $|niȳȳ-|$  'north, northerly wind'). These allative markers yield denominalising suffixes NV  $|+tmuȳc-| \sim |+viȳc-|$  'go to' below (§ 12.4).

iii) *ablative*:

- (82)  $|+kin|$  *maa-ken*  
*tua-ken*  $< |taugken|$   
*ikaken*, etc.

Adverbial demonstratives of  $|uny-|$ ,  $|(C)ay-|$ , and  $|(C)aw-|$  have variants for the ablative form, possibly with a slight semantic difference, one of which has no expander  $|+a-|$ :

- (83) *un'ga-ken / unyakin/ ~ uneg-ken / unixkin/ < |uny(+a)+kin|*  
 'from down river, toward the shore there'  
 – with the epenthetic *e* in the second before the consonant by (P7i).

cf. also *un'gaa-ken* with a doubled *a* as in the following:

- (84) *pagaa-ken* /pàγγaákin/ ~ *pag-ken* /páykin/ < |pay(+aa)+kin|  
‘from up/above there’.

Note the doubled *a* for the first form which is the above-mentioned device for avoiding the change of |paya| into |pii| (by P6, P10), as is the case with extended stems (C)agaa-~ (C)ii- (as in *Qii-miut* above). Compare with extended |(C)aw-|:

- (85) *pava-ken* ~ [HBC] *pawa-ken* /pawá'kin/<sup>10</sup> ~ *paug-ken*  
/páx<sup>w</sup>kin/<sup>11</sup> < |paw(+a)+kin| ‘from up there (away from the river)’  
– cf. nominal *paug-na* (EX.ABS.sg.), *paug-ku-t* (EX-ABS/REL.pl.).

iv) *perlative*:

- (86) |+xun| *maa-ggun*  
*ika-ggun*  
*tua-ggun*, etc.  
– but *uuggun* ~ *wuun* instead of \**waggun* from |wa-|.

As with the ablative, adverbial demonstratives with a root inflection in |y| – but apparently not with |(C)aw-| – have two variants for the perlative form without the expander |+a-|.

- (87) *un'ga-ggun* ~ *un'-ggun* < |uny(+a)+xun| ‘through down there’  
– with the epenthetic *e* in the second position before the consonant  
by (P7i).  
cf. *uneg-ken* also.

- (88) *pagaa-ggun* /pàγγáaxun/ < |pay+aa+xun| ~ *pag-g'un* /páxxun/  
< |pay+xun| ‘through up/above there’.

- (89) *pava-ggun* /pawá'xun/ ~ *paw-ggun* /pàw<sup>x</sup>xun/ < |paw(+a)+xun|  
‘through back there’.

v) *equalis*: occurs only with the two stems – |wa-| and |tua-|, behaving like adverbs of manner or yielding particles:

10. Writing *pauga-ken* is preferred among some speakers. Note the writing *pawaken* for HBC, where the letter *v* represents the fricative /v/ (instead of approximant /w/) – see § 3.6.1-iv and § 3-fn. 12.

11. This formation is probably reflected in the lexicalized particle *taugken* ‘even though’ (< |tau+a+kin| with the II root ‘that’).

- (90) |*+tin*| a. *wa-ten* ‘like this’  
 b. *tua-ten* ‘like that; even, including’  
*tuar-(piaq)* ‘(it seems) just like that’  
*tua-t-raar-piaq* ‘just as the first one’.

The second *tua-ten* often functions as a conjunctive particle (‘also, that is the way’) (§ 53.5-viii), while it may signal approval (e.g. *ii=i tuaten* ‘yes, so’) or ‘also, including, even, like’:

- (91) *Cikir-tu-llru-aqa* *piciatun, ulua-nek* *tua-ten.*  
 ‘give-CUS-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. any knife-ABM.pl. this-like  
 ‘I gave him all different things including/even knives.’

There are two isolated verbal demonstratives of manner – |*watna-*| ‘to act this way’ and |*tuatna-*| ‘to act like that’ – both certainly derived from the equalis *waten* and *tuaten* (90).

- (92) [*yuurte-ll-ni<sub>p</sub>* *ayag-ne-q-luku*]  
 be.born-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg. start-VNnm-have.as-APP.3sg.  
*tuatna-lar-tuq.*  
 do.that-HAB-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He has acted like that since he was born.’

The equalis *maaten* (from |*ma+a+tin*|) is generally used as a lexicalized particle ‘when, upon –ing (I noticed)’ – see § 53.5-viii, and example (54) in this chapter:

- (93) **Maaten** *ner'-aqa,* *tuarpiaq* *wang-ni*  
 like.this eat-IND.1sg.3sg. just.like 1sg.-LOC  
 [*u-na* *paraluq*].  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. maggot.ABS.sg.  
 ‘When I ate it, (I looked and saw) what looked to me like a maggot (in the food).’  
 – See § 27.2 for the use of the locative *wang-ni*. In this “observational construction”, the demonstrative *una* in apposition with the following noun, introduces something that has been noticed. Without it, *paraluq* would just refer back to the P argument of the predicate *ner'aqa*.

iv) *to compose particles* – together with an enclitic:

- (94) |*tuahu*| ‘and then’ – |*tua=lu*| (§ 53.5-i; |*=lu*| ‘and’, § 54.5).

The following two particles with a demonstrative root are geminated with (P18iv.b):

- (95) |wàtu| ‘or, nor’ – |wa=lu| (§ 53.5-vi)  
 |wàxuỵ| ‘as they call, so-called’ – |wa=yuỵ| (§ 53.4-ix; |=yuỵ| RPR,  
 § 54.4).

See § 12.3.2.2 for interjective forms with |=i|.

The particle *ta=ima* ‘somewhere (now), there (not in sight), probably’ (§ 53.3-viii) is also from the adverbial demonstrative stem from the anaphoric III |im-| and prefix |ta-| (§ 12.2.3.6).

### 3.2. Syntax

An adverbial demonstrative functions as an adverbial adjunct (either locational or temporal), if not interjective or presentative:

#### 3.2.1. Adverbial adjuncts

Compare with the nominal demonstrative in the absolutive:

i) *locative case*:

- (96) **Ma-a-ni** *kiircet-uq.*  
 here-EX-LOC hot-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is hot [air] here.’  
 cf. **Ma-n’a** *kiircet-uq.* = repeated § 23 (8), with locative S  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. hot-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is hot in this place (village, house).’

Although the *maani* and *man’a* are both adverbial adjuncts (despite the latter being in the absolutive case), the former refers to a more indefinite area (‘here’) than the latter, which is more likely invisible.

- (97) *Tangrr-arka-it-uq* **ma-a-ni**  
 see-VNrl-PRV-IND.3sg. this-EX-LOC  
 ‘He has nothing to see here.’  
 cf. *Tangrr-arka-it-uq* **ma-n’a**<sub>s</sub>.  
 see-VNrl-PRV-IND.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘There is nothing to see here (lit. this [place] has not [any]thing to be seen).’

Time reference is illustrated by |*tama-a-*| ‘there; at that time, back then’:

- (98) ***Tama-a-ni***            *yu-u-t*  
 there-EX-LOC            person-EV-ABS.pl.  
*ayaga-ssuuta-ic-aaqe-llru-ut*            [*ma-ku-nek*  
 travel-INS-PRV-CTR-PST-IND.3pl.    this-EX-ABL.pl.  
*cuka-luteng*            *ayaga-lria-nek*]<sub>(p)</sub>.  
 fast-APP.3Rpl.            travel-VNnm-ABL.pl.  
 ‘At that time the people did not have [transportation, i.e.] these fast  
 means of traveling.’ [AKKL 10]

The locative adverbial demonstrative *wa-ni* ‘here’, however, may have adverbial function diluted, merely adding momentum in the flow of speech, supplying spotlighting, or serving as an expletive sentence filler (SFL) – see *tua=i* (§ 53.6-i) as well.

- (99) [*U-na-cungàq* ≠ ***wani*** *arnaq*]<sub>s</sub>            *kit-u-u-ga?*  
 this-EX-HNR.ABS.sg. SFL woman.ABS.sg. who-EX-be-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Who is *this* (dear) woman?’  
 – forming a bound phrase together with the preceding word (as indicated by ≠ and with regressive accent on the final syllable; cf. § 2[14]).

ii) *allative case*:

- (100) ***Ma-a-vet***            *allaneq<sub>s</sub>*            *ite-llru-uq.*  
 here-EX-ALL stranger.ABS.sg. enter-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The stranger/visitor came in here.’  
 cf. [***Mat-u-mun***            ***ene-mnun***]            *allaneq<sub>s</sub>*  
 this-EX-ALL.sg. house-ALL.1sg.sg. stranger.ABS.sg.  
*ite-llru-uq.*  
 enter-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The stranger/visitor came into this house of mine.’

iii) *ablative case*:

- (101) *Qaillun=kin'*    *un-a=i*            *pit-aq-luki*  
 how=wonder down-EX=INJ    catch-HAB-APP.3pl.  
*neqe-r-lii*            *un-a-ken.*  
 food-have-OPT.1sg. down-EX-ABM  
 ‘I wonder how I can catch those down there and eat them?’ [ELLA 260] – *kin'* from *kina* (§ 54.2-ii), *un-a=i* correlated with *un-a-ken*.



i) *with a common or a location noun* – usually in this order, forming an appositive phrase in L function (§ 16.1):

- (102) [**ma-a-ggun** <sub>0</sub> *tumyara-kun*] *aya-kuvet*  
 here-EX-PRL trail-PRL.sg. go-CONif.2sg.  
 ‘if/when you (sg.) go by this road (the road here)’.

### 3.2.2. Interjectives

Adverbial demonstrative stems (e.g. *pik-a-*) with the clitic-like marker  $|=i|$  (mentioned in § 12.3.1) are used, usually when sentence-initial, calling attention in either spatial or temporal settings as interjective and/or presentative particles, rather than being fully adverbial. Interjectional forms may be temporal particles.

- (103) a. *pika=i* /piká·|i/ ‘up there!’  
 – For the encliticity (=) in interjective forms, compare with:  
 cf. *pikai* /pik|kai/ ‘he owns them’ – relational verb *pi-k-ai* (thing-have.as-IND.3sg.3pl.)  
*ava=i* ‘over there!; then (a while ago)’  
*maa=i* ‘here!; at this time; as you know’  
*maa=i-rpag-tun* ‘just like today, this time’ – with AUG-EQL  
 b. *tua=i* ‘then, so (now), that’s all, stop’, etc.  
 – more often than not followed by the enclitic  $=llu$ , serving as one of the most common conjunctions, i.e. *tua=i=llu*, often shortened *tua*, *tua=llu*, or *tua=ll* ‘and, then, and then, so now, and so’  
 – rather than an interjective word. See § 53.5-i for more as a conjunction and § 53.6-i for expletive use.

The apparently composite  $|waniwa|$  is employed instead of  $*|wa=i|$ .

In the case of DIS demonstratives in the form of  $|(C)akm-$ , forms without  $|=i|$  are used more commonly, while forms without it may also be heard:

- (104) *akma* ~ *akma=i* ‘across there!’  
*pakma* ~ *pakma=i* ‘up, above there!’, etc.

i) *initial interjectives*:

- (105) **Pika=i** *aqum-ga-uq.* ‘Up there, he is sitting.’  
 up.there=INJ sit-STT-IND.3sg.

- cf. **pika-ni** [LOC] *aqumgauq* 'he is sitting up there'  
 – which is not interjective but adverbial. See also (111) *pika=i* ≠ *pika-ni aqumgauq*.
- (106) **ika=i**=*gguaq=wa* *hospital-aar-kaq*  
 across-INJ-RPT=REA h.-LNK-FUT.ABS.sg.  
 'they say the one across there will be a hospital'.
- (107) *Yug-tang-uq* **akma**, *aqva-u* *egan!*  
 person-get-IND.3sg. across.INJ fetch-OPT.2sg.3sg. pot.ABS.sg.  
 'Over (across) there, where the people are (e.g. house), and get the pot!'
- (108) a. **Ava=i** *tangrr-aqa* *ayag-tel-luku*.  
 over.there-INJ see-IND.1sg.3sg. go-A'.have-APP.3sg.  
 'I saw him leaving *there/right now*.'
- b. **Ava=i** **yaa-ni** *tangrr-aqa* *nere-vkar-luku*.  
 over.there-INJ over.there-LOC see-IND.1sg.3sg. eat-A'.have-APP.3sg.  
 'A little while ago I saw her / him eating *over there*.'  
 – *ava=i* (temporal) and *yaa-ni* (locational) both from the same category V root.
- ii) *often after attention-calling tang*:
- (109) a. *tang* ≠ *yaa=i* 'look, over there!' – § 53.3-v for *[taj]*.  
 b. *Tang* ≠ *maa=i* ~ *uka=i* [*agiirte-llria* *tengssuun*]<sub>s</sub>!  
 look here-INJ this.way approach-VNrl.ABS.sg. plane.ABS.sg.  
 'See, the plane is approaching this way/coming now (as expected)!' –  
 cf. French *voilà!* (see-here).

An interjective form is often used as an introductory (or largely expletive) particle that often stands a) particularly before the respective (pronominal or adversative) demonstrative, or b) before some locationally related word:

iii) *before another demonstrative of the same kind*: compare v) in reverse order.

- (110) a. **una=i** ... *una-ken* 'it's from down there'  
**kia=i** *kiug-na* 'it's that one inside/up there'
- b. **Tua=i** **tua-ni** *uksur-pak* *uita-llini-luni*.  
 then/so there-LOC. winter-big.ABS.sg. stay-EVD-APP.3Rsg.  
 'So she lived there all winter.'
- c. **uka=i** **uka-ni-ku** 'far in the future'  
 'approaching-INJ approaching-LOC-FUT (§ 11.3.3)

- d. *Tangrruu-guq*      **ava=i**      **ava-ni**  
 visible-IND.3sg.      over.there-INJ      over.there-LOC  
*agayuvig-mi*      *quyurte-llr-atni*.  
 church-LOC.sg.      gather-VNnm-LOC.3pl.sg.  
 ‘He was seen *just a few minutes ago* over there at the meeting at the church.’

- (111) **Pika=i** ≠ **pika-ni**      *aqum-ga-uq*.  
 ‘Up there, he is sitting.’ – cf. (105).

Instead of this, the following are heard from speakers from the Lower Yukon, e.g. [MT].

- (112) a. *pika* ≠ *pikani*      /pikàpiká'ni/      ‘see, up there!’  
 b. *uga* ≠ *ugaani*      /wawáá<sup>(l)</sup>ni/      ‘see, out there!’  
 – note that the second syllable *ka* is not lengthened in (a) (cf. P18iii) and that the second *w* is not geminated in (b), showing that these are bound phrases.

- (113) *Maa=i* *man'-a<sub>p</sub>*      *nal-k-aa*  
 here      this-EX.ABS.sg.      time-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*yura-la-llr-ata<sub>A</sub>*      *im-u-mi*.  
 dance-CUS-VNnm-REL.3pl.sg.      that-EX-LOC.sg.  
 – § 12.2.3.6-i for anaphoric |*im-*|  
 ‘Long time ago this is the time (of the year) they used to dance.’ [MM]

iv) *before locationally related word:*

- (114) a. **uka=i**      *ak'a-ku*  
 ‘far in the future!’ (*uka=i* approaching, *ak'a* ‘long time’)  
**uka=i**      *agiirte-llria*  
 ‘it was approaching’ (*agiirc-* ‘to approach from the distance’)  
 b. **Ava=i**      *tangrr-aqa*      **ayag-tel-luku**.  
 over.there-INJ      see-IND.1sg.3sg.      go-A'.have -APP.3sg.  
 ‘I saw him leaving *there/right now*.’  
 c. **qagaa=i**      **Kuigpag-miu-nek**      *niite-lar-tuci*  
 out-VOC      Yukon-dweller-ABM.pl.      hear-GEN-IND.2pl.  
 ‘you have heard of the Yukon people’. [ELLA 354–355]

v) *As second-position interjective particle:* Conversely (cf. iii), it may stand after a respective demonstrative or after some related word when it is more like

a sentence filler forming a non-enclitic bound phrase with the preceding word. See § 2(14):

- (115) *aŭgna-ll' ≠ avá=i* 'that one (leaving)'  
*ugná-gg' ≠ uá=i arnaq* 'there is a woman out there'  
*kiani ≠ kiá=i, kiugnà ≠ kiá=i* 'there up river, one from there up river'  
*ik-a-ni ≠ ika=i, kia-ken kia=i*  
*kan-ku-t ≠ kan-a=i, ma-ku-t ≠ ma-a=i, im-ku-t ≠ ima*, etc.
- (116) *tua=i=llu aŭg-na ≠ ava-i* *ayag-luni*  
 then moving.away-EX.ABS.sg.≠there go-APP.3Rsg.  
 'and there he went (away)' – cf. § 12.2.3.4.
- (117) [*Kuig-at tama-na*]<sub>s</sub> *imarpig-mun*  
 river-ABS.3pl.sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. sea-ALL.sg.  
*an-uma-llini-luni,* *pai-nga<sub>s</sub>* *paŭg-aa=i*  
 go.out-STT-EVD-APP.3Rsg. mouth-ABS.3sg.sg. out-EX-INJ  
*yaaqsig-pek'-nani.*  
 far-NEG-APP.3Rsg.  
 'Their river flows into the sea, and the (river) mouth out there is not far away.' [FASM]

For this function, *tua=i* (from II |*tau-*|) in particular is a more general (and more expletive) filler that may stand not necessarily after its related word, but after a wider range of word:

- (118) a. *tau-nà ≠ tuá=i arnaq* 'that woman'  
*tua-tèn ≠ tuá=i pi-ta-aqa* 'that how long I'm making'  
 that-AQL ≠ SFL do-as.as-IND.1sg.3sg. [ELLA 244]
- b. *pia-vèt ≠ tuá=i* '(to) back there'  
*yug-mèk ≠ tuá=i aqvai-lutek, ...* 'they came to get a person'  
 person-ABM.sg.≠SFL fetch-APP.3R.du.

The *tua=i* is very often an expletive as well, serving as a most general sentence-filler (SFL), typically when being attached to a sentence-initial word as a bound phrase – see § 53.6-i for more.

What would appear to be the same |=i|, however, is found after a few stems that do not seem demonstrative:

- (119) *ala=i* /alá|i/ fear, surprise, or fright  
*cama=i* 'hello!'  
*ii=i* 'yes'

*ila=i* ‘oh, no!’.  
*iki=i* [HBC] ‘apparently so!’ [Woodbury rev.]

The =*i* may be written as *yi* by some writers, e.g. *alayi* for *ala=i*.

Lexicalized particles originally with interjective =*i* are treated as single words and not given without analysis in glosses (§ 3.6.3)

### 3.3. Derivation

Adverbial demonstrative stems derive a great quantity of secondary location nouns from a number of NN and NV suffixes, many of which are shared by derivatives from location noun stems (§ 11.2.3). The derived location noun stems take a general case marker as a location noun, instead of one for demonstrative adverbs.

NN |-(*q*)*liy*-|: Generally occurring with location noun stems (§ 11.2.3.1), is sporadically found after an adverbial demonstrative stem, at least in:

- (120) a. *ki-a-qliq* ‘innermost, one further toward inland’  
 b. *ukisqa-q-ngameng uk-a-li-q-ngameng*  
 help-have.as-CNNbc.3Rpl. approaching-EX-one-have.as-CNNbc.3Rpl.  
 ‘as they (brothers and sister) would help each other and are close together’ [FASM 39]  
 cf. *uk-a-li-q-uk* ‘they(du.) are close together’.

NN |+*kayay*-|: Used with location noun stems – see § 11.2.3.1:

- (121) *ya-a-kara-ani*  
 ‘in the area just beyond it’ – LOC.3sg.sg. *-ani*  
*ki-a-kara-itni*  
 ‘a little in the upriver side of them’ – LOC. 3pl.pl. *-itni*.
- (122) a. *ta-u-na ki-a-ka’r-qa*  
 that-EX-ABS.sg. beside-EX-just-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘that one a little beyond me, that one just beside/over me’  
 – from *ki-á-karár-qa* with syllable deletion, hence the accent on *kar*.
- b. [*Ki-a-kara-ani amiig-e-m aqumlleq<sub>s</sub>*  
 beside-EX-just-LOC.3sg.sg. door-EV-REL.sg. chair.ABS.sg.  
*uita-uq.*  
 stay-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The chair is somewhat away from the door.’

NN |-(q)vay̆-| ‘near, toward the direction’ – see § 11.2.3.1:

- (123) *uk-a-qva-ni* ‘very near, recently’  
*uk-a-qva-ar-ni* ‘very very near, recently’ (with |-(ya)y̆\*-| – see § 20.2)  
 cf. *uk-a-ni* ‘coming this way; in the future’.
- (124) *Mecig-narq-uq* *ya-a-qva-nek.*  
 see.well-NEC-IND.3sg. over.there-EX-far-ABL  
 ‘It can be seen from far away.’

NN |+t-| The most productive derivative suffix for adverbial demonstrative stems to build spatial location nouns. These must inflect for case and person. The person inflection serves to indicate the point of reference:

- (125) a. *ma-a-ti-ini* ‘in / on this side of it (toward the speaker)  
 – LOC.3sg.sg. -*ani*  
*av-a-ti-ini* ‘in its area around there’  
 b. *u-a-ti-itni* [*nuna-t kan-ku-t*]<sub>G</sub> ‘at the edge/exit of that village  
 down there’ – LOC.3pl.sg. -*atni*  
 c. *na-te-n* ‘where/what part of you (sg.)’ – ABS.2sg.sg. -*n*.
- (126) *Ava-te-mteni* *carayi-i-t<sub>s</sub>* *amller-tut.*  
 around.there-NN-LOC.1pl.sg. bear-EV-ABS.pl. be.many-IND.3pl.  
 ‘There are a lot of bears around us.’

However, there are some adverbial demonstrative stems that do not have location nouns in |+t-|, in which case non-demonstrative stems fulfill this function. Thus, with a person inflection:

- (127) a. |*quli-*| *quli-ini* ‘in its upper part’ instead of \*|*pik-a-t-*|  
 |*kilu-*| *kelu-ani* ‘up and away from it toward the hinterland’  
 – \*|*pi-a-t-*|  
 b. |*kit-*| *keti-ini* ‘down and away from it toward the river’  
 – \*|*kan-a-t-*|  
*Iikivi-i-m* *keti-inel-nguq*  
 river-EV-REL.sg. below-3sg.be.at-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the one below Iikivik River’ [PAIT 38]  
 – relativization of locative verbs (§ 27.8).

#### 4. Verbal demonstratives

Demonstrative verbs are formed from demonstrative stems (nominal and adverbial) by NV suffixes – cf. § 12.2.3.6-i:

- (128) a. *im-ku-uq* / *im-ku-cir-tuq* (*qilag-tuq*)  
 ‘he is doing something (well actually, knitting)’ – hesitantly (before stating what ‘he’ is doing) or when forgetting temporarily; cf. *im-ku-III* with expander and *im-ku-ciq* ‘that kind of thing; something whose name is forgotten’ (cf. § 18.2.1.3 )  
 b. *imku-ryug-tuq* ‘he wants to do that [secretive]’ (DES-IND.3sg.)  
 c. *imku-qi-luk* ‘let us(du.) that! [secretive between a couple]’ (FUT-OPT.1du.).

A number of NV suffixes are more or less specific to demonstratives – see also § 11.2.3.2 for derivations from location nouns:

NV *|-qsiy-* ‘to be in the direction’ – see § 11.2.3.2 for more illustrations:

- (129) a. *ki-a-qsig-tuq* ‘it is far inside/upriver (unreachable)’  
 b. *uk-a-qsig-tuq* ‘it is nearby’  
*uk-a-qsig-i-uq* ‘it is getting closer’ – VVt *-gi-* ‘to become’.

NV *|-(q)vay-* ‘to move/put forward’; occurs also with location nouns (§ 11.2.3.1) and is very often interchangeable with NV *|+viyc-* ~ *|+timuyc-* (below):

- (130) *uk-a-qvar-tuq* ‘it is nearing’ – cf. (123).
- (131) *uk-a-var-tuq* ‘he is moving this way’  
*u-a-var-tuq* ‘he has gone toward the entrance, down away’ – *|uy-*  
 $\hat{=}$  *ua-virt-uq* ~ *u-a-temurt-uq*  
*ki-a-var-tuq* ‘he is going further inside/away from the entrance’ –  
*|kiw-*  
 cf. *ki-a-virt-uq* ‘he has gone further inland’.
- (132) *qul-var-tuq* ‘it elevates, he is putting (something) up’  
*nat-var-ta* (INT.3sg.) ‘is he going somewhere / toward where did he go / was he going?’  
*kingu-var-tuq* ‘he is going toward the rear’  
*kingu-var-aa* ‘he took it to the rear’.

NV  $|+(t)mu\dot{y}c-| - |+vi\dot{y}c-|$  ‘to go to/toward’ – for adverbial demonstrative stems (including adverbial ignoratives), is derived from the two allative case markers  $|+(t)mun| - |+vit|$  (81) specific to adverbial demonstratives (§ 12.3.1), with a verbalizing element that might perhaps be a NV  $|+c-|$  ‘to go to, to catch’. See also § 38.5. Generally the two suffixes occur interchangeably:

- (133) *ma-a-virt-uq* ~ *ma-a-tmurt-uq* ‘he is coming here’ –  $|ma-a-|$  (this-DEMad), cf. (81)  
 cf. *ma-a-**vet** tai-guq* ‘he is coming this way’ – *tai-guq* IND.3sg., *-vet* ALL  
*ki-a-virt-uq* ~ *kia-tmurt-uq* ‘he is going upriver / to an area toward up’  
*pav-a-virt-uq* ~ *pav-a-tmurt-uq* ‘he is going downriver’  
*akm-a-virt-uq* ~ *akm-a-tmurt-uq* ‘he is going across’ –  $|akm-|$   
*qam-a-virt-uq* ~ *qam-a-tmurt-uq* ‘he is going upriver’  
*u-a-virt-uq* ~ *u-a-tmurt-uq* ‘he is going downriver’  
*un’g-a-virt-uq* ‘he is going through down there’.
- (134) *nat-virte-qatar-cit* ‘where are you(sg.) about to go?’  
 where-go.to-IMN-INT.2sg. – \**na-virte-*.
- (135) *Apt-aanga* *nate-tmur-uci-mnek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg. where-go.to-VNnm-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He asked me [R] where I am going.’

See § 14.10.4 for the allative-derived suffix after the quantifier  $|kii-|$  ‘to be alone, only’.

NV  $|+xui\dot{y}-| \sim |+kui\dot{y}-|$  ‘to go through, by way of’, probably related with the perlative case marker  $|+xun|$  – see e.g. (86). The second variant is attested with a common noun as in (b).

- (136) a. *av-a-gguir-tuq* ‘he is going that way’  
*ma-a-gguir-tuq* ‘he is coming along this way’  
*pav-a-gguir-tuq* ‘he is coming through that back way’  
*un’g-a-gguir-tuq* ‘he is going through down there’  
*pag-aa-gguir-tuq* (~ *pag-gguir-tuq*) ‘he is flying up above there’  
 (VIII  $|pay-|$ ) – § 12.3.1 for *-aa-*  
 b. *kuig-kuir-tuq* ‘he is coming through the river’;  
 cf. perlative  $|+kun|$ .



On top of these demonstrative-derived suffixes, some general derivative suffixes also occur with demonstrative stems, like the intransitive relational verb NVr |+*ɲu*-| ‘to be’, NV |+*tuɣ̣*-| ‘to eat’, a locative verb, etc.:

- (137) a. *u-u-**ngu**-uq* ‘it is this one’  
 this-EX-be-IND.3sg.  
*u-u-**cunga**-u-guq* ‘it is this cute one’  
 this-EX-cute-be-IND.3sg.
- b. *u-ku-**u**-gut* ‘they are these’  
 this-EX-be-IND.3pl. – with /ŋ/ deletion after a single vowel  
*u-ku-**u-nrit**-ut* ‘they (e.g. what I’m looking for) are not these’  
 this-EX-be-NEG-IND.3pl.
- (138) *u-u-**ngu-ciit**-ua*  
 this-EX-be-VNm-PRV-IND.3sg.  
 ‘I am confused (lit. I lack understanding / I don’t know what it is)’  
 – ignorative VVcm |+*uciit*-| (§ 40.2.5) from VNnm |+*uciỵ*-| as in:  
 cf. *u-u-**ngu-ciq*** ‘understanding (lit. being this one, how this one is)’  
 this-EX-be-VNm.ABS.sg.

In derivations with |+*tuɣ̣*-|, note that the demonstrative expander (*-u*- vs. *-ku*-) agrees in number with the inflection but, remarkably, shows implicational difference, as in:

- (139) a. *u-u-**tur**-ci* ‘you (pl.), eat this!’ – NV |+*tuɣ̣*-| ‘eat’, OPT.2pl.  
 b. *u-ku-**tur**-ci* ‘you (pl.), eat these (pl.)!’

The plural expander *-ku*-, as opposed to *-u*- gives some implication in (b) of non-singularity for the thing eaten.

NV |+*n(i)t*-| ‘to be at’ (locative verbs) derived from the locative marker |+*ni*| (78) – § 4.3.6 and § 27(85) for more details and examples:

- (140) a. *ki-a-**n(e)t**-uq* /kiá·|nitúq/ ~ /kián|tuq/ ‘he is in there, upriver’  
 – compare with location nouns:  
 cf. *ilu-**anet**-uq* ‘he is inside it’  
*ilu-**qva-nt**-uq* ‘it is way inside’, cf. § 27 (83b).
- b. *pik-a-**n(e)t**-ukut* /piká·n|tukut/ ~ [HBC] /piká·|nitú·|kut/  
 ‘we are up there’.

# Chapter 13

## Personal pronouns

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Personal pronouns in CAY, as given in Table 9 (with person category indexed in inflections, i.e. inflectional suffixes, at the end), are free words and refer *only to humans* as a subject and object for verbs (§ 32), as well as a possessor for nouns (§ 22). Though the language is very sensitive to (dis)honorifics or attitudinal expressions (§ 6.2, § 20.3), it has no politeness distinction as far as personal pronouns and inflectional persons are concerned.

### 1. Morphology

Personal pronouns distinguish the third person from the reflexive-third, as is the case with nominal inflections (§ 22.2) and with the non-independent mood inflections of verbs (§ 32.4). Only (non-reflexive) third-person pronouns distinguish between absolutive and relative forms. Each of the other pronouns – first, second, and reflexive-third – has one and the same (“common case”) form serving both functions.

As stated (§ 4.1.4.1-iii), the lack of distinction, as such, in the first and the second person between the absolutive and the relative may perhaps be correlated with a teknonym (§ 11.6.2) that has a single form ending in *-an* used in both S/P and A/G functions, and also with the use of the locative case (§ 27.4) to mark a core argument NP.

Table 9: Personal pronouns

	singular	plural	dual
first	<i>wii ~ wiiŋa</i>	<i>waŋkuta</i>	<i>waŋkuk</i>
second	<i>ilpit</i>	<i>ilpici</i>	<i>ilpitik</i>
reflexive-third	<i>ilmi</i>	<i>ilmij</i>	<i>ilmik</i>
third	absolutive	<i>ilait</i>	<i>ilkik</i>
	relative	<i>ilaita</i>	<i>ilkinka</i>

Personal pronouns come from two roots  $|wa(\eta a)-|$  (first person) and  $|il(i)-|$  (non-first person) –  $|il-|$  (second and reflexive-third) and  $|i(i)-|$  (third). The former may possibly be related to the demonstrative  $|u-|$  ‘this (one) here’ (e.g.  $|wa-ni|$  ‘here’; § 12.1), but the latter does not seem related to any, except perhaps with the obsolete stem  $|it-|$  ‘to be’, as in the locative verbs (§ 27.8).

A personal pronoun has the root directly followed by inflection, largely with some fusion, but a personal pronoun root may have a very limited kind of derivation (particularly by [dis]honorific NNh suffixes (§ 20.3) and a few NV suffixes; § 13.3).

Nominal demonstratives (§ 12.2) are very often used as a human or non-human third person personal pronouns, functioning like ‘definite articles’ in other languages.

### 1.1. $|wa(\eta a)-|$ first person

Though the root  $|wa-|$  may possibly be an adverbial demonstrative stem with the root  $|u-|$  ‘here, this’ (above) and the expander  $|+a-|$ , personal pronouns show more resemblance in their formation to nominal demonstratives rather than adverbial ones.

The first person singular absolutive/relative pronoun has two variants:

- (1) a.  $|wii|$  *wii* ‘I, me’  
 b.  $|wiiŋa|$  *wiiŋa* ‘(it is) me’ (more emphatic).

The shorter (a)  $|wii|$  derives from  $|wa+\eta a|$  with the first person verbal marker (see § 32.2.1) where the regular change of  $/\eta a/ > /ii/$  (P6ii, P10) is involved (e.g. *nunii* ‘his land’ from  $|nuna+\eta a|$ ). The more emphatic (b) may show the secondary addition of the person marker in addition to the shorter one.

Oblique case markers are suffixed to the stem  $|waŋ-|$  (singular) or  $|waŋ-ku-|$  (non-singular), which are illustrated for the allative case:

- (2) a. *wang-nun* 1sg.ALL ‘to me’  
 b. *wang-ku-gnun* 1du.ALL. ‘to us two’.

Note that the *-ku-* in (b) is the non-singular expander for nominal demonstratives, and the allative-case marker  $|+(y)nun|$  is the one for nominal demonstratives – e.g. *u-ku-gnun* ‘to these two here’ – instead of the allative  $|+vit|$  for adverbial demonstratives (§ 12.3.1).

### 1.2. $|i\acute{l}(i)-|$ non-first person

Like the first person (as stated), the second and the reflexive-third person pronouns (i) do not distinguish between the absolutive and the relative; such distinction only obtains with the third person (ii).

i) *Second and reflexive-third person  $|i\acute{l}-|$* : Pronouns of the two persons have the common forms for the absolutive and the relative, with the stem followed by the relative-case person suffixes for nouns (Table 22), and, as concerns the other cases, by those in the respective case (Table 23):

(3)	a.	<i>el-pet</i>	(2sg.ABS/REL)	<	$ i\acute{l}+pit $
		<i>el-penun</i>	(2sg.ALL)	<	$ i\acute{l}+pinun $
	b.	<i>el-peci</i>	(2pl.ABS/REL)	<	$ i\acute{l}+pici $
		<i>el-peceñun</i>	(2pl.ALL)	<	$ i\acute{l}+picinun $ .
(4)	a.	<i>ell-mi</i>	(3Rsg.ABS/REL)	<	$ i\acute{l}+mi $
		<i>ell-minun</i>	(3Rsg.ALL)	<	$ i\acute{l}+minun $
		<i>ell-mikun</i>	(3Rsg.PRL)	<	$ i\acute{l}+mikun $
		– mainly as a lexicalized particle ‘for no particular purpose’ as in § 28 (31)			
	b.	<i>ell-meng</i>	(3Rpl.ABS/REL)	<	$ i\acute{l}+miŋ $
		<i>ell-meggnun</i>	(3Rpl.ALL)	<	$ i\acute{l}+mixnun $ .

Reflexive-third person pronouns, by contrast, may be used for either humans or non-humans.

ii) *Third person  $|i\acute{t}i-$* : Third person pronouns, by contrast, are used only for humans.

With a distinction between the absolutive and the relative, the stem is followed by the inflection as in:

(5)	a.	<i>elli-i</i>	(3sg.ABS)	<	$ i\acute{t}i+\eta a $
		<i>elli-in</i>	(3sg.REL)	<	$ i\acute{t}i+\eta an $
		<i>elli-inun</i>	(3sg.ALL)	<	$ i\acute{t}i+\eta anun $
	b.	<i>ella-it</i>	(3pl.ABS.)	<	$ i\acute{t}i+\eta it $
		<i>ella-ita</i>	(3pl.REL)	<	$ i\acute{t}i+\eta ita $
		<i>ella-itnun</i>	(3pl.ALL)	<	$ i\acute{t}i+\eta inun $ .

Note the same regular change of (a) *i-i* and (b) *a-i* from final /i/ followed respectively by |+ŋa| (ABS.3sg.sg.) and |+ŋi| (ABS.3sg.sg.) – see (P6ii, P10).

A person referring to a possessor (in G function) or a transitive subject (in A function), whether expressed by a personal pronoun or noun, may be emphasized by a particlized word |*nakmiin*| ‘genuine, own’ (§ 13.4).

In glossing, personal pronouns are given without morpheme divisions, unless necessary.

## 2. Syntax

Since a pronominal person reference to the subject and object (verbs) and to the possessor (nominals) is obligatory within their inflections, the use of free or independent personal pronouns is necessarily limited and, in many cases, optional. Their use is otherwise more or less emphatic. There are a number of cases, however, in which free personal pronouns are syntactically obligatory (reflexive, reciprocal, etc.).

In general, a more liberal use of free personal pronouns, though redundant in many cases, has been observed among younger speakers.

### 2.1. Anaphoric

Personal pronouns may be used for persons indexed in inflections as an anaphora, though this is usually not needed:

i) *Third person*: This is the only person that personal pronouns distinguish between the absolute and the relative. It is illustrated here with different functions:

(6) a. *Elliin*<sub>A</sub>            *pi-a.*                            ‘He did it; he is the one who did.’  
3sg.REL                do-IND.3sg.3sg.

b. *Ellii*<sub>S</sub>                *pi-uq.*                            ‘He did, he is the one who did.’  
3sg.ABS                do-IND.3sg.  
– cf. \**ellmi* (3Rsg.) *pi-uq.*

(7) a. *Elliin*<sub>A</sub>    *irnia-ni*<sub>P</sub>                            *assik-aa.*  
3sg.REL. child-ABS.3Rsg.sg. like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
‘He likes his own child.’

b. [*Elliin*<sub>A</sub> [*nakmiin atku-ni*]<sub>P</sub>                            *ata-a.*  
3sg.REL own parka-ABS.3Rsg.sg. wear-IND.3sg.3sg.  
‘He put on *his own* parka *by himself*.’ – see § 13.4.1 for *nakmiin*.

- (8) *Ellaita*<sub>A</sub> *neq'ake-k-teng*<sub>P</sub> *atu-lar-aat.*  
 3pl.REL. remember-VNrl-ABS.3Rpl.sg. use-REG-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 'They (older generations) follow the ones (traditions) they remember.'
- (9) [*Aana-ma* *elliin*]<sub>A</sub> [*cikiut-ni* *irnia-minek*]<sub>P</sub>  
 Mo-REL.1sg.sg. 3sg.REL gift-ABS.3Rsg.sg. child-ABL.3Rsg.sg.  
*assik-aa.*  
 like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'My mother *herself* likes her gift from her child.'

Note that the third person pronoun *elli-in* occurs in apposition with *aana-ma*.  
 Relative-case third-person pronouns in G function:

- (10) *elliin*<sub>G</sub> *angya-a* / *angya-anun*  
 3sg.REL boat-ABS.3sg.sg. boat-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 'his boat / to his boat (another person's from the third person subject)', thus not \*'his own'  
 – with the personal pronoun forming an attributive phrase as in e.g.  
*angute-m<sub>G</sub> angya-a(nun)* '(to) the man's (his) boat'.

Note below that the subject ('he') within the dependent (subordinate and cosubordinate) clause is emphasized by *ellii* (but not 3Rsg. \**ellmi*) while the verb is marked by the reflexive-third to refer to the main-clause subject – cf. (15) and (16):

- (11) *Tai-llru-ug* [*ellii* *mernu-ng'ermi* ≡ *mernur-luni*].  
 come-PST-IND.3sg. 3sg.ABS tired-CNNth.3Rsg./-APP.3Rsg.  
 'He came over, although he himself was tired.'

Oblique cases:

- (12) *Ui-nge-llru-unga* *elliinek.* 'I got married to him.'  
 Hu-get-PST-IND.1sg. 3sg.ABM

ii) *Non-third persons* – with some emphasis:

- (13) [*Wiinga* *aata-ka*]<sub>S</sub> *kipuce-ste-ṅgu-ug.*  
 1sg. Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. buy-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
 'My father is a storekeeper.'
- (14) [*Wi* *pi-ka-mnek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *quyur-tua.*  
 1sg. thing-FUT-ABM.1sg.sg. gather-IND.1sg.  
 'I am gathering *my own* (future) things.'

See also § 12 (48) *wangkuta* (1pl.)... *ciutmur-ute-qer-laut* (OPT.1pl.sg.) ‘let us maintain ...’ in which the pronoun similarly emphasizes the person.

Use of the reflexive third person *ellmi* is rare but has been attested at least in:

- (15) [*Ellmi*            *pi-ka-minek*]<sub>(P)</sub>                            *quyur-tuq.*  
 3R.sg.            thing-FUT-ABM.3Rsg.sg.            gather-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is gathering *his* own (future) things.’ – cf. (14).
- (16) *Ellminek*    [*nakmiin atku-ni*]<sub>P</sub>                            *at-aa.*  
 3Rsg.ABM own            parka-ABS.3Rsg.sg.    wear-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She *herself* put on *her own* parka.’

## 2.2. Reflexive

One of the important functions of a free personal pronoun, however, is to serve as a reflexive pronoun. The target of reflexivisation is the subject of the clause concerned. With a reflexive verb (detransitivized; § 34.4.1), the reflexive pronoun occurs in the ablative-modalis as a demoted argument (type 1 demotion; § 25.2.1):

- (17) *pai-gua*                            *wangnek*                            ‘I am babysitting myself.’  
 stay.behind-IND.1sg. 1sg.ABM
- (18) a. *Tange-llru-uq*            *ellminek*<sub>(P)</sub>                            *tarenriurut-mi.*  
 see-PST-IND.3sg.    3Rsg.ABM                            mirror-LOC.sg.  
 ‘He saw himself in the mirror.’
- b. *Tange-llru-unga*            *wangnek*<sub>(P)</sub>                            *tarenriurut-mi.*  
 see-PST-IND.1sg.    1sg.ABM                            mirror-LOC.sg.  
 ‘I saw myself in the mirror.’  
 – *tarenriurun* ‘mirror’ < |*tayin̄ȳ(aȳ-l̄)iūȳ-ut-*| (image-work.on-VNrl)/(P22)

– without the personal pronouns they mean nothing but ‘he/I saw (something) in the mirror’; cf. *tange-llru-unga yug-mek* (person-ABM.sg.) *tarenriurut-mi* ‘I saw a person in the mirror’.

The pronoun in (19a) differentiates reflexivisation (A<P) from medialization (A ∞ P; § 34.2.1) in (19b), which is specific to patientive bilavent verbs:

- (19) a. *tuqute-llini-uq*            *angun*<sub>S=A</sub>                            *ellminek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 kill-EVD-IND.3sg.    man.ABS.sg.                            3Rsg.ABM.  
 ‘(I see) the man killed himself’ – reflexive

- b. *tuqute-llini-uq*      *qimugta* <sub>S(A∞P)</sub>  
 kill-EVD-IND.3sg.    dog.ABS.sg.  
 ‘(I see) the dog (was) choked’ – medialized  
 – |*tuqu-c-*| ‘to kill’ from |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’ with A adding VVsm |*+c-*|  
 cf. transitive *tuqute-llini-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.) *angun* (man.ABS.sg.) ‘(I see) he killed the man’.
- (20) *aana-k-uq* <sub>S=A</sub>      *ellminek* <sub>(P)</sub>  
 Mo-have.as-IND.3sg.    3Rsg.ABM  
 ‘She takes care of herself, she mothers herself.’  
 – see § 37.2.1 for the intransitively inflected transitive relational verb |*-<sub>1</sub>ki-*|.
- (21) *nasvag-tuk*      *ellmegnek* <sub>(T)</sub>  
 show-IND.3Rdu.    3Rdu.ABM  
 ‘They (du.) showed themselves (to others [(R)]).’  
 – indirective ditransitive |*nazvay-*| ‘to show’.
- (22) ***Ellmitun***    *ayuqe-sq-uma-yaaq-aanga*      *tauḡaam*  
 3Rsg.EQL    similar-A' ask-CNT-but-IND.3sg.1sg.    but  
*wang-u-unga*.  
 1-be-IND.1sg.  
 ‘He wants me to be like him(self), but I am myself.’ – cf. (42b).

### 2.3. Reciprocal

Reciprocal verbs are typically characterized by the applicative VVsm |*+(u)c-*| and transitive relational NVrv |*-<sub>1</sub>ki-*| (and their derivatives). Reflexive pronouns are not obligatory. If they occur, both reciprocal and reflexive readings may result, at least with some verbs – see § 34.4.

- (23) *Ikayur-tukuk*      *wangkugnek* <sub>(P)</sub>.  
 help-IND.1du.    1du.ABM  
 i. ‘We (du.) are helping each other.’  
 ii. ‘We (du.) are helping ourselves.’

### 2.4. Other requirements

Personal pronouns may be obligatory or at least pragmatically preferred, but there are a number of cases in which they are grammatically obligatory, because person references cannot be made in inflections.



i) *In an oblique function* – syntactically and/or semantically required by the co-occurring predicate verb:

- (24) a. **Ellini**            *uita-unga.*  
 3sg.LOC            stay-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I am staying *with* him.’
- b. **Ellitun**            *uita-ta-uq.*  
 3sg.EQL            inactive-as.as-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is inactive just as long *as* he [another] is.’ – VVsm |+ta-|  
 (§ 41.3.5; § 45.6.1)
- c. **Ellinun**            *tekit-ua.*  
 3sg.ALL            arrive-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I arrived *at* him (his place).’
- d. **Ellimek**            *tekit-ua.*  
 3sg.ABM            arrive-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I arrived *from* his place.’
- e. **Ellikun**            *tai-guq.*  
 3sg.PRL            come-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He came here *through/by way of* him.’

An ablative-modalis form may mean ‘by oneself, without help’:

- (25) a. **Elliminek**      *igt-uq.*  
 3Rsg.ABM      fall-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He/It falls down by him/itself.’
- b. **Ellminek**      *ner-aa.*  
 3Rsg.ABM      eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She is eating it *by herself* (with no permission, of her own accord).’
- (26)      *Elliin<sub>A</sub>=wa*      **ellminek**      *pi-a.*  
 3sg.REL=REA      3Rsg.ABM      do-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He did it *by himself*.’

ii) *Demoted arguments* – in detransitivised mono- or ditransitive verbs (see § 34, § 35):

- (27)      *Tun’-uq*            **ellminek**<sub>(T)</sub>      *Agayut-mun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 give-IND.3sg.      3Rsg.ABM      god-ALL.sg.  
 ‘He is giving himself to God.’  
 – |tuni-| indirective ditransitive.

Note the demoted *Agayut-mun* (R) in the allative case for indirective ditransitive and the demoted personal pronoun (T) in the ablative-modalis case

for detransitivisation, i.e. for reflexivity (§ 13.2.2). By contrast, the personal pronoun in the allative case in the following:

- (28) *Tais-gu*                      **wangnun**<sub>(R)</sub>    *igar-cuun*<sub>T</sub>.  
bring-OPT.2sg.3sg. 1sg.ALL      write-VNrl.means.ABS.sg.  
'Bring the pencil to me.'  
– compare with the secundative ditransitive where the first person argument ('me') is inflectionally coded:  
cf. *Cikir-nga*                      *igar-cuut-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.    'Give me [R] a pencil.'  
give-OPT.2sg.1sg. write-VNrl.means-ABM.sg.

iii) *Demoted A argument* – from complex transitives (§ 40) to the oblique status, or more specifically, to the allative-case personal pronoun (Type 2 demotion; § 26.2):

- (29) *Angya-ni*<sub>P</sub>                      **elpenun**<sub>(A')</sub>    *aqva-qa-a-sq-aa*.  
boat-ABS.3Rsg.sg. 2sg.ALL    get-POL-EV-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'He wishes you (sg.) to go to get his (own) boat.'

iv) *Enumeration*:

- (30) [**Wiinga** *aata-ka*                      *aana-ka=llu*]<sub>S</sub>                      *tekit-ukut*.  
1sg. Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=and arrive-IND.1pl.  
'I, my father, and my mother arrived.'

Note the first person plural for the intransitive subject, with three persons involved. But the phrase *aataka aanaka=llu* without the first pronoun *wiinga* entails two third persons only ('my father and my mother') and should be accompanied by a dual verb (31a), while no explicit enumeration would yield (31b):

- (31) a. [*Aata-ka*                      *aana-ka=llu*]<sub>S</sub>                      *tekit-uk*.  
Fa-ABS.1sg. Mo-ABS.1sg.=and arrive-IND.3du.  
'My father and my mother arrived.'  
b. **Wiinga**<sub>S</sub>=*llu*    *tekit-ua*.  
1sg.=and arrive-IND.1sg.  
'I also arrived.'

v) *As independent NP* – whose argument cannot be marked inflectionally:

- (32) *Cangate-nrit-ua*,                      **elpet**=*mi* (~ *elpes-mi*)?  
wrong-NEG-IND.1sg. 2sg.= how.about  
'I am fine, how about you (sg.)?'  
– see § 9.4 for preboundary fricativization /t/ ~ /z/ (P22).

- (33) *Irnia-n ≠ qaa?* – *Qang'a* *elliin*<sub>G</sub>.  
 child-ABS.2sg.sg.≠QST no 3sg.REL  
 ‘Your (sg.) child (you mean)?’ – ‘No (not mine but), his.’

vi) *To specify a person* – by adding to a noun. If a person indexed in predicates (subject or object) or nouns (possessor) has a noun added as a supplementary explanation, an independent personal pronoun usually occurs with the noun:

- (34) a. [*Ellii* *arnaq*]<sub>P</sub> *assik-aat* *mikelngu-u-t*<sub>A</sub>.  
 3sg.ABS woman-ABS.sg. like-IND.3pl.3sg. child-EV-REL.pl.  
 ‘The children like her (as) a woman.’  
 cf. *arnaq assik-aat mikelngu-u-t*. ‘the children like the woman.’  
 b. [*Wii(nga)* *arna-mi*]<sub>(P)</sub> *assik-aatnga* *mikelngu-u-t*<sub>A</sub>.  
 1sg. woman-LOC.sg. like-IND.3pl.1sg. child-EV-REL.pl.  
 ‘The children like me (as) a woman.’

In both of these, the person pronoun (*ellii* and *wiinga*) occurs with the explanatory noun (‘woman’) for the P argument.

The pronoun in (a) naturally occurs in the absolutive case, while, if the person concerned is in the first person (or the second person), the noun occurs in the locative case (*arna-mi* instead of the absolutive *arnaq*). This use of the locative case for an NP referring to first or second person argument, together with a personal pronoun as an adjunct, is the topic described in § 27.4. The same with a possessor as in the following (for ‘my shooting’):

- (35) [*Wii* *arna-mi*]<sub>(G)</sub> *nut'ga-l-qa*<sub>S</sub> *assii-uuq*.  
 1sg. woman-LOC.sg. shoot-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. bad-IND.3sg.  
 ‘As a woman, my shooting is bad.’

Such a locative case NP (like *arna-mi*) referring to a non-third (first or second) argument instead of the absolutive or the relative may be ambiguous with the two arguments in the same number, unless accompanied by a personal pronoun:

- (36) *Mik-qapiara-lria-mi ≠ qaa* *elitaqe-rpenga?*  
 small-EMP-VNrl-LOC.sg.≠QST recognize-IND.2sg.1sg.  
 i. ‘Do you (sg.) who are very small recognize me?’  
 ii. ‘Do you (sg.) recognize me (I) who am very small?’

Although the second reading may be less common, the second person pronoun *elpet* added to reading (a) or the first person *wii* to (b) would serve to disambiguate.

vii) *Disambiguating and contrastive*:

- (37) *iqā-ir-i-nari-angā* (wangnek / wii)  
 dirt-deprive-APS-time.to-IND.3sg.1sg. 1sg.ABM / 1sg.  
 i. ‘It is time for me to wash.’ – with impersonal A  
 ii. ‘It is time for him to wash for me.’ – modal; see § 39. 2.1 for the ambiguity due to VVsm |*naḃqi-*|  
 – the addition of the pronoun *wangnek* would help for the first reading and that of *wi* for the second reading.

viii) *For contrast* – cf. anaphoric use:

- (38) *Akwaugaq* *petugta-llru-ata* *angute-teng<sub>s</sub>* *unuaqua-ni*  
 yesterday p.-PST-CNNbc.3pl. man-ABS.3pl.pl. today-LOC  
*ellait<sub>s</sub>* *yurar-luteng.*  
 3pl.ABS dance-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘Because yesterday the men had the *Petugtaq*,<sup>1</sup> they (women) danced today.’ [CAUY 22], cf. § 40 (43).

### 3. Derivation

Personal pronouns may have derivation only to a limited extent.

i) *Nominal elaboration*: (Dis)honorific suffixes (§ 20.3) are often used with personal pronouns.

- (39) a. *wiinga-cilleq* ‘I (angry)’  
*wiinga-vialuk* ‘I (angered)’  
 b. *elle-urлу-a* ‘poor him!’.
- (40) *Wii-urлуq* ~ *Wiinga-urлуq* *pi-k-anka.*  
 1sg.-poor thing-have.as-IND.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘They belong to (poor) me; lit. I (poor me) own them.’

---

1. This refers to the ceremonial *petugtaq*, referred to as the ‘Asking Festival / Feast’, in ethnographical literature (Lantis 1947; Morrow 1984). See also § 16 (33) and CAUY [19–28] for its description written in Yupik by Elsie Mather and § 17 (160) for the etymology.

ii) *Verbalization*:

- (41) a. *Quyana cakneq elpe-ngu-luten.*  
 thank.you very.much 2-be-APP.2sg.  
 ‘Thank you(sg.) very much, it being you.’ – the speaker may be re-  
 lieved or glad to (unexpectedly) see or hear from the addressee;  
 intransitive relational verb (§ 37.1)
- b. *Elpe-ngu-nercir-luten unak-ngail-ken.*  
 2-be-A'.wait-APP.2sg. obtain-will.not-PTP.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘The likes of you won’t be able to obtain her.’ [QQLK 238-239]  
 – lit. ‘you waiting to be you, you will not obtain her’, with VVcm  
 -nercir- (§ 40.2.6).

The following pair, with a difference in the person, i.e. the third person singular vs. the first singular, nevertheless have actually the same meaning ‘it’s me’:

- (42) a. *wang-u-uq*  
 1-be-IND.3sg.
- b. *wang-u-unga ~ wiinga-u-gu*  
 1-be-IND.1sg. – cf. (22).

The following shows lexicalized verbalizations from a second person pronominal stem:

- (43) a. *elpe-ng-uq* ‘he comes to his senses’ – NV  $|-η*i-|$  ‘to acquire’
- b. *elpe-k-aqa* ‘I sensed it’ – NVrv  $|-_1ki-|$  ‘to have – as’  
*elpe-k-uq* ‘it is sensed’  
*elpe-k-uma-uq* ‘it is felt / sensed / understood / noticed / predicted’  
 – § 42 (90b)  
*elpe-k-suun* ‘sensor, sense of a body’ – cf. § 26 (6b).

iii) *Lexicalized particles*:

- (44) *ellii-nginaq pissu-llini-uq*  
 3sg.ABS-only hunt-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘(I see) he hunted *for nothing, in vain*’  
 – derived with NN/VV  $|+η*inaỵ-|$  ‘only, totality of; only’. But (4a)  
*ellmi-kun* would instead mean ‘(I see) he hunted just for fun, not seriously’.

4. |*nakmi-*|

This is a unique root in stressing a person's intrinsic part or nature – '(one's) own, real, well-defined, chosen / preferred, cared about, original (thing / person); to own'. As a root, it occurs with a fossilized inflection as *nakmiin* (but not \**nakmika*, \**nakmaita*, *intending* '1sg.', '3pl.') and with a much more limited extent of derivation (some with little analyzability).

4.1. |*nakmiin*|

*As fossilized particle:* |*nakmiin*| 'one's own (something possessed)' to emphasize a possessor or a third-person transitive subject (relative case NP if overt). It functions as an adnominal adjunct somewhat like the exhaustive quantifiers |*tama(lku)ŷ-*| '(to be) all, whole' and |*kii-*| '(to be) alone, only' (§ 14.10) and the final |*-an*| may reflect the same inflectional suffix (CNNst. 3sg.) that occurs along with them. It may sometimes be replaced by reflexive pronoun 3Rsg. *ellmi*.

- (45)        (*wii*) ***nakmiin*** *pi-ka* 'my own (possessed) thing' (ABS.1sg.sg.)  
               (*elpet*) ***nakmiin*** *pi-n* 'your (sg.) own thing' (ABS.2sg.sg.)

The particle can emphasize a possessor can be emphasized by a free personal pronoun, like the parenthesized *wii* and *elpet* in (a).

- (46) a. ***nakmiin*** *irniar-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.)  
           'her own (genuine, biological) son'  
       b. [***Nakmiin*** *irnia-ni*]<sub>P</sub>                    *avaliq-aa*.  
           own            child-ABS.3Rsg.sg.    take.care-IND.3sg.3sg.  
           'She has her own child living with her.'  
       c. [***Nakmiin*** *irnia-qe-lria-tun*]                    *avaliq-aa*.  
           own            child-have.as-VNrl-EQL.sg. take.care-IND.3sg.3sg.  
           'She is taking care of him as her own child.'
- (47)        [***Nakmiin*** *narulka-ut-minek*]<sub>(T)</sub>                    *ciki-llru-a*.  
           own            spear-supply-ABM.3Rsg.sg.    give-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
           'He gave him (another person) his own harpoon.' See (55).
- (48) a. [***Nakmiin***        *atku-ni*]<sub>P</sub>    *at-aa*.  
           own                    parka-ABS.3Rsg.sg.            wear-IND.3sg.3sg.  
           'She put on her own parka.'

- b. [**Nakmiin** atku-minek]<sub>(P)</sub> at'-uq.  
 own parka-ABM.3Rsg.sg. put.on-IND.3sg.  
 'She put on her own parka.'  
 – *nakmiin* may be replaced by 3Rsg. *ellmi* or even by 3sg.REL *elliin*.
- (49) [*Angute-m* (**nakmiin**) *qetunra-ni=llu*]<sub>A</sub> *ner-aak*.  
 man-REL.sg. own So-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=and eat-IND.3du.3sg.  
 'The man and his own son are eating it.'
- (50) [**Nakmiin=llu** *qetunra-qa*]<sub>S</sub> *tai-ciq-ukuk*.  
 own=and So-ABS.1sg.sg. come-FUT-IND.1du.  
 'My own son and I will come (lit. we [du.] will come, my own son as well).'

See also § 16.2.1-i for *nakmiin* within a coordinate clause.

- (51) a. **Nakmiin** *pi-k-aqa*.  
 own thing-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'It is my own (I [A] have it [as thing]).'
- b. **Nakmiin** *ilu'ur-q-aqa*.  
 own cousin-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'She is my [A] real (well-defined) cousin.'

The stem |*nakmi-*| may be rarely used in some dialects. It is found only once in all the transcribed Chevak texts, with *ell(e)-* forms being more common in that usage [Woodbury rev.]

#### 4.2. Derivatives

i) *With relational NVrv* |-ki-| 'to have – as' (§ 37.2):

- (52) *nakmi-k-aqa* 'I chose, preferred, looked up to him/it, he/it is my chosen one' (IND.1sg.3sg.)  
*nakmi-ke-k'nga-i* 'his chosen ones' [New Testament]  
 – relative clause (ABS.3sg.pl.)  
*nakmi-k-uma-lria* 'the chosen or favored one [DEED], directed'  
 – VVt |+(u)ma-| CNT/PSV, VNrl -lria.ABS.sg.
- (53) *Nakmi-ke-ll-ma*<sub>A</sub> *tuyur-aanga* *aki-nek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 own-have.as-VNrl-REL.1sg.sg. send-IND.3sg.1sg. money-ABM.pl.  
 'The person I chose/cared about sent me [R] some money.'

- (54) *Tau-na<sub>p</sub> ≠ tang      nakmi-k-luku      pi-qer-ru.*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.≠ATN own-have.as-APP.3sg.      do-POL-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Give that (person) his own (thing), choose that person (and do something to/for her/him/it)!’

ii) *With applicative VVsm |+(u)c-* – forming a secundative ditransitive stem ‘to give (something of one’s own)’:

- (55) *Nakmi-t-aa      narulka-ut-minek<sub>(T)</sub>.*  
 own-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.      spear-VNrl.means-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He is giving him [R] his own harpoon.’  
 – trivalent; see also *nakmi-t-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I give (something of my own [(T)]) to him [R]’. See (47).

iii) *|nakmiila-* – possibly with the NN suffix *|-lay-* ‘thing of, belonging to’ (§ 20.1.2), which occurs with person inflection:

- (56) a. *nakmiilla-qa* (ABS.1sg.sg.)  
 ‘one (permanently) belonging to me, e.g. child, clothing’  
 b. *nakmiilla-ak      qetunra-ak*  
 own-ABS.3du.sg.      son-ABS.3du.sg.  
 ‘their(du.) own son’.
- (57) a. *Nakmiilla-ni<sub>p</sub>      assik-aa.*  
 own-ABS.3Rsg.sg.      like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He likes his own.’  
 b. *Nakmiilla-a<sub>s</sub>      tuqu-uq.*  
 own-ABS.3sg.sg.      die-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His real offspring died.’



# Chapter 14

## Numerals and quantifiers

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### 1. Numeral stems

CAY numerals do not seem to have emerged as a system all at once (as is probably the case with any human language). Instead, it may have been a gradual expansion from a system with very low numbers evolving to include a few non-native elements, presumably based upon the actual manner of quantifying or counting entities, e.g., by using fingers and toes. Thalbitzer (1908: 6; 1923: 148) gave a vivid depiction (with a picture) of how the basic numeral system in East Greenlandic reflects the manner of counting (cf. Miyaoka 1978: 25–35).

The numeral system itself, however, is not as well-ordered or systemized in Eskimo as the language's demonstrative roots (see Table 8; § 12.1). See Rischel (1996) for a typology of Eskimo numerals in particular and Comrie (2005, 2007) for a typology of numeral bases in general.

The CAY word *naaqitet* or *naaqutet* for 'numbers' comes from *|naa-qi-|* 'to count, read', which in turn, comes from the stem *|naa-|* 'to be complete in number' – see fn. 5 for more details.

Table 10 (below) provides the stems for primary numerals, i.e. single-word numerals, in CAY. The others are phrasal.

Table 10: Numeral stems

1 <i>atauciŷ-</i>	2 <i>malŷu-(y)</i>	3 <i>piŷayu-(n)</i>	4 <i>citama-(n)</i>
5 <i>talima-(n)</i>	6 <i>aŷvi-nlŷ-</i>	7 <i>malŷu-nlŷ-</i>	8 <i>piŷayu-nlŷ-</i>
9 <i>qul-nunritayayŷ*-</i>	10 <i>quli-</i>	14 <i>akimiaŷ-unritayayŷ*-</i>	15 <i>akimiaŷ-</i>
19 <i>yuina-unŷitayayŷ*-</i> ~ <i>ipiaŷ-unŷitayayŷ*-</i> 20 <i>yu-inayŷ*-</i> ~ <i>ipiaŷ-</i>			

These primary stems themselves are common for the whole area of CAY except for a few dialect variations concerning the stem for 'twenty'. Among them, '1' through '6' and '10' have cognates in Eastern Eskimo – e.g. Thalbitzer (1908) – , suggesting that they are most probably the part of the numeral system that dates back to the oldest developmental stage of Eskimo. The arithmetic base is '20'. Most other numerals aside from '20' (i.e. '11' through '13' and '16' through '18') and all beyond '20' are phrasal with two or more primary numerals variously combined. In addition, the introduction of a few non-native numerals have supplemented the language with a decimal system for higher numerals beyond '100' or '1000' (§ 14.4).

Numeral stems are subject to derivation, although only to a limited extent and with areal variations (§ 14.5).

i) *Compositions of numeral stems*: Most of the primary stems above are obviously derivatives or appear to have come from some non-numeral stems (or roots). See below for the parenthesized (*y*) and (*n*) for '2' through '5'.

The stem *|yuinaŷ\*-|* for '20' comes from *|yuy-|* 'person' plus NN/VV *|+ŷ\*inaŷ-|* 'totality of, only, nothing but', i.e. implying a whole body with fingers and toes. It occurs commonly in the Bethel and coastal areas (but *|cuinaŷ\*-|* in Cup'ik-speaking Hooper Bay/Chevak), although the Roman Catholic priest Barnum (1901: 220) and the Moravian minister Hinz (1944: 29) also give *|ipiaŷ-|*. The stem *|ipiaŷ-|* comes from *|ipiŷ-|* 'appendage' (cf. *ipia-t* 'ten fingers and the ten toes') and is generally used in the Yukon and in Nunivak (sometimes Hooper Bay/Chevak also [Woodbury rev.]). See Jacobson (1998: 45) for a detailed areal distribution of the variants.

The stem |*quli-*| for ‘10’ is a location noun which means ‘top, area above’, that is, ‘all the fingers (as contrasted with toes)’, and |*akimiy-*| for ‘15’ may perhaps contain another location noun |*aki-*| ‘opposite, other side’.

The stem |*talima-*| for ‘5’ may possibly be related with the stem |*taliy-*| ‘arm’ expanded by some obsolete derivative element, apparently having the same derivation with |*citama-*| for ‘4’.<sup>1</sup>

The stem |*ayvi-nly-*| for ‘6’ probably comes from the verb stem |*ayviy-*| ‘to cross over to’ (cf. PE |*ayvay-*| ‘edge of hand’; Fortescue et al. 1994: 45). Its following |*-nly-*|, which occurs also for ‘7’ and ‘8’, contains the nominal-elaborating NN |*-ly-*| ‘one having’, but a question remains as to whether the preceding |*-n-*| is the nominalizer VNnm |*-ny-*|, which hypothesis would require an explanation for why it also stands after the presumably nominal stems (‘2’ and ‘3’) for ‘7’ and ‘8’.<sup>2</sup> The stem |*piṅayu-*| for ‘3’ and ‘8’ has the variant |*piṅazu-*| in some contexts, e.g. (94b), and in a small area of the Yukon Delta.

The stems for ‘9’, ‘14’, and ‘19’ are derivatives of ‘10’, ‘15’, and ‘20’ using the composite suffix |*+ṅuyita(ṽa)ṽ\**-| ‘be-not-a.little, not-quite’ from intransitive relational verb NVrv |*+ṅu-*| ‘to be’, negator VVn |*-nyit-*| ‘not’, and nominal-elaborating NN |*-a(ṽa)ṽ\**-| ‘something like, in a lesser degree’ – see § 8(77) for the syllable contraction involved. They are cases of minus-one “subtraction”, i.e. 10–1, 15–1, and 20–1.<sup>3</sup> However, for 14, the form by juxtaposition may also be encountered – *qula cetaman* ‘14’ (10+4); § 14.3.3.

The composite suffix may feature /*ṽa*/ deletion (§ 8.5); hence *qulngunritaraq* (§ 20.1.1), *akimiarunritaraq*, *yuinaunritaraq* in addition to those in the Table. In the Norton Sound dialect, *qulngurutilnguq* occurs for ‘9’ with a slightly different derivation |*qul-ṅuy-uta-il-ṅuy\**[+Ø] (10-become-VNrl-there.no-VNrl-ABS.sg.).

- 
1. Apart from the morphological derivations concerned, some clear perception of 4 and/or 5 as the “ritual numbers” as mentioned for Western Eskimo by Lantis (1946: 224, 1947: 98) has not been confirmed from the present-day speakers among my contacts. Note, however, the mention of the number in example (86) concerning “*nakaciuryaraq*” (CAUY: 31–42; cf. *nakacuut* ‘bladders’) or “bladder feast” (Nelson 1899: 379–393, Lantis 1946: 158–159, etc.; § 11-fn. 3), one of the major festivals among Alaskan Yupiks, which used to be held probably in late fall.
  2. One might suspect that this is a case of analogy with regard to the derived stem for ‘six’.
  3. Among the languages of the North, subtractive numerals are attested at least in Ket (Yeniseian), more extensively than CAY but as phrases and not as single words, like ‘8’ = 10–2 (10 without 2), ‘9’ = 10–1, ‘18’ = 20–2, ‘19’ = 20–1, ‘28’ = 30–2, ‘29’ = 30–1; ‘80’ = 100–20, ‘90’ = 100–10 (Krejnovich 1968: 460). Cf. also Latin *duo-dē-vīgintī* ‘18’ (two from twenty) and *ūn-dē-vīgintī* ‘19’ (one from twenty).

ii) *Lacunae and different devices*: The lacunae that are filled by phrasal numerals are of three types – a) adnominal, b) appositive, and c) juxtaposed – respectively discussed in § 14.3.1, § 14.3.2, and § 14.3.3:

- (1) a. *qula*                      *pingayu-nek*                      *cip-luku*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    three-ABM.pl.    exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘thirteen’(10+3; ‘exceeding 10 by 3’)
- b. *qule-n*                      *pingayu-n*  
 ten-ABS.pl.    three.ABS.pl.  
 ‘thirty’ (10×3) – see the plural marker *-n* below
- c. *qula*                      *pingayu-n*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    three-ABS.pl.  
 ‘thirteen’ (10+3).

(1a) should be adequately analyzed as an adnominal verb clause (§ 16.6-i) with the appositional *cip-luku* ‘exceeding’ (based on the secundative stem) – literally ‘(one [A]) oversupplying 10 [R] with 3 [T]’. The adnominal verb type is based upon the actual way that one conceives the number, i.e. by bringing together or dividing a mass step by step as if mentally viewing the scene involved. While (a) is a quantifying expression, it is a “usual way” (Comrie 2008: 4), the arrangement most widely established with hardly any variation throughout the entire CAY area, which has the three words more or less fixed in that order, though not obligatorily.

(1b) illustrates another traditional way of forming (multiplicative) numerals, i.e. appositive phrase (§ 16.1).

(1c) may be a recently developed type, i.e. juxtaposed phrase (§ 16.3), partly taking place of (a) but not reaching to high numbers. Many speakers (generally older) feel (c) to be childlike or even unacceptable. An important feature of (c) is that it is a fixed (non-enclitic) bound phrase that does not allow phrase-internal permutation, and for which insertion is generally not allowed.

In formations of numerals, all four arithmetic operations are utilized – addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. Addition is the operation taken for (a) and (c), while multiplication is used for (b) and is also found with the frequency suffix *|-yqu-* ‘times’ (§ 14.8) as in (48). Division is only used with the adnominal verbs with the stem *|avy-* ‘half, to halve’ (only for ‘½’). See § 14.3.1.4 for “halving”.

iii) *Subtractive suffix*: Subtraction is generally used only with derived stems above (for ‘9’, ‘14’, and ‘19’) with the aforementioned composite suffix *|+nyūyita(yā)y\*-|* – see Barnum (1901), Hinz (1944), and Jacobson (1995).

However, the Catholic priest Lonneux (fn.7) in his undated manuscript (p. 35) from the Yukon area gives *malruk yuina-unritaraa-t* for ‘39’ and *pingayun*

*yuina-unritaraa-t* for ‘59’, respectively reflecting  $40(2 \times 20) - 1$  and  $60(3 \times 20) - 1$  (see § 14.3.2-i concerning two-numeral multiplication for ‘40’ and ‘60’). One of my consultants [from Coastal Region] manifested a fluctuation between ‘39’ ( $40 - 1$ ), ‘59’ ( $60 - 1$ ) and ‘38’ ( $2 \times 19$ ; despite the disagreement in number), ‘57’ ( $3 \times 19$ ) for the two respectively. Another consultant [from Nelson Island] would interpret them as ‘38’ and ‘57’ (if ever).

On the other hand, the Moravian missionary Rev. Ferdinand Drebert (Kukokwim and Bristol Bay areas)<sup>4</sup> has *yuinat tallima-unritaran* (i.e. *tatlemaunritaran*) for ‘99’ in his dictionary manuscript [DEED 148], which was easily accepted by the first consultant, but interpreted as ‘about hundred’ by another (from Kuskokwim).

The inverted forms of these, e.g. *yuina-unritaraa-t malruk*, are not accepted.

These higher forms with the subtractive suffix are obviously far from common nowadays, though more information needs to be obtained from older speakers, all the more so because they are morphologically very interesting in that the readings of ‘39’, ‘59’, and ‘99’ might suggest a possibility of an appositive phrase (40, 60, 100’; § 14.3.2) – perhaps as another instance of a phrasal compound, one of the morphological anomalies (§ 4.3.5) – being expanded by the derivational, i.e. subtractive, suffix.

iv) *Exact numbers*: Any exact and high numbers can be expressed in the CAY numeral system (with the help of a few non-native stems). But, as speakers express, much importance was not laid upon using of (exact and high) numbers in traditional Yupik life based on subsistence until recently and, as many speakers testify, giving too specific a number would hardly be appreciated and be somewhat alien to Yupik culture. Giving specific number of items, which some speakers feel is ‘too English’, usually tends not to be encouraged; instead, an approximate number is generally preferred (see below), as if to say ‘(I got) about five fish’ without being exact for even such a low number as ‘5’ – § 6.1 for avoidance of specification and directness..

As stated, there can be two (or more) ways of expressing one number by adnominal verbs, depending upon how the number is analyzed: ‘25’, for instance, may be  $20 + 5$ ,  $15 + 10$  (both adnominal or juxtaposed), or  $5 \times 5$  (appositive). However, there is generally one “usual way” (above) or established option that is used (and is more readily understandable) as a numeral in preference to other(s). In this instance, it is the adnominal type ( $20 + 5$ ). The other two ( $15 + 10$  and  $5 \times 5$ ) are not generally understood as numerals.

v) *Erosion*: In the rapidly acculturating life with money economy of the present day, the use of numerals is growing in importance, compared with how

---

4. Served in Alaska for the period of 1912–1954, cf. Henkelman and Vitt (1985).

they have been used in traditional subsistence society. In some far-flung villages where the native language is still rather strong, the traditional numeral system is encouraged and re-enforced in schools. As Comrie discusses (2005: 203–204), however, linguistic erosion for endangered languages is even more “acute” with numeral systems, since they ‘are particularly susceptible to the kinds of sociolinguistic changes that arise through language contact’.

In the whole CAY area, the primary stems themselves (Table 10) are shared with only slight dialect variations. But use of the stems in details (incl. agreement, derivation, non-native stems, etc.) is far from uniform and, in fact, seems not well-established, with a large and fluctuating variety among speakers and geographical areas, specifically because English numerals are now more and more taking the place of the native system (even for basic numerals like ‘20’). There seems to be no grammatical feature or category that exhibits more variations and fluctuations than numerals among CAY speakers and dialects, an opposite extreme of which is the demonstrative system (§ 12), although this is also on the wane among younger speakers in general.

## 2. Inflection

Numerals inflect for number and case but only the singular distinguishes between the absolutive (zero marked) and the relative cases, as is the case with common nouns. For the oblique cases, the unpossessed noun inflections (Table 20) of the appropriate number are employed. Person inflection is limited to ordinal numerals (§ 14.9), and this only with a third person possessor.

Those numeral stems with the parenthesized (*y*) and (*n*) in Table 10 always occur with the consonant (respectively dual and plural) as if they are part of stems. But the other stems take the singular absolutive marker  $|+\emptyset|$  when used as a numeral (as a point in the numeral system, in pointing out the number), but the dual  $|+y|$  or the plural  $|+t| \sim |+n|$  when used as a number (in counting or quantifying entities) – the plural  $|+t|$  is generally elected by the stem-final back velar, but  $|+n|$  otherwise.

- |     |    |                  |                            |                   |
|-----|----|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| (2) | a. | <i>yuinaq</i>    | <i>cip-luku</i> (APP.3sg.) | ‘more than twenty |
|     | b. | <i>yuina-a-t</i> | <i>arna-t</i>              | ‘twenty women’    |
|     |    | 20-EV-ABS.pl.    | woman-ABS.pl.              |                   |

The selection, however, of the plural  $|+t|$  or  $|+n|$  shows considerable fluctuations that seem to be individual or generational.

Fluctuation, a notable phenomenon with numerals in general (§ 14.1-v), is remarkable in number agreement concerning adnominal verb clauses – see § 14.3.1.1.1.

Singular: |+Ø| (ABS) / |+m| (REL):

- (3) a. [atauciq arnaq]<sub>S</sub> tai-guq  
 one.ABS.sg. woman.ABS.sg. come-IND.3sg.  
 ‘one woman is coming’  
 b. [atauci-m arna-m]<sub>G</sub> yu-u-ci-a  
 one-REL.sg. woman-REL.sg. person-be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘one woman’s life’.

The semantic head NP (‘woman’) and its modifying numeral (‘one’) constitute an appositive phrase with free word order.

The primary numeral stems for ‘10’, ‘20’, and ‘1000’ (loan) generally take the singular marking despite their content, while the head NP and its related verb occur in the plural.

- (4) a. [Yuinaq arna-t]<sub>S</sub> tai-gut  
 20.ABS.sg. woman-ABS.pl. come-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Twenty women are coming.’  
 b. [Qula neqe-t] tais-ki.  
 ten.ABS.sg. fish-ABS.pl. bring-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘(You [sg.] bring the ten fish (to me).’

However, *yuin-a-t arna-t* for (a) and *qule-n arna-t* for (b) may be heard from fluent speakers.

The plural form *yuina-a-t* occurs in appositive phrases for multiplication, e.g. with *pingayun* (‘3’) for ‘60’ as will be seen more fully in § 14.3.2. Dual: |+y| (ABS/REL):

- (5) a. *malru-k arna-k* ‘two women’  
 b. *malru-k yuina-a-k* ‘40’(2×20).  
 2-ABS/REL.du. 20-EV-ABS/REL.du.

Plural: |+n| (ABS/REL) or |+t| (ABS/REL) as above:

- (6) a. *pingayu-n, arvinelg-e-n, qule-n, ... arna-t*  
 ‘three, six, ten, ... (women)’  
 b. *yuina-a-t ~ ipia-t, tiissiessaa-t, ... arna-t*  
 ‘twenty, thousand, ... (women)’.

### 3. Phrasal numerals

To move beyond basic numerals (Table 10), two or more of them are combined to yield a higher numeral, morphologically forming either an appositional adnominal verb (§ 14.3.1), an attributive (§ 14.3.1.1), appositive (§ 14.3.2), or juxtaposed phrase (§ 14.3.1).

#### 3.1. Adnominal verbs with *-luku*

An appositional-mood verb, whose primary function is that of cosubordination (§ 51.2), is employed for the most common type of phrasal numerals, following the pattern of the CAY verbal and nominal system which can be ‘analyzed in a strictly grammatical way’ (despite Jacobson 1995: 417). The verb in question is basically inflected with the third-person singular (object) *-luku*, forming an adnominal verb clause (§ 16.6-i). See § 14.3.1.1.1 below for the number fluctuation.

The verb stem involved is the secundative ditransitive *|cipic-|* ‘to exceed, oversupply’ for addition as in (a) below, while the secundative stem *|nuŷc-|* ‘to undersupply, fall short’, behaving morphosyntactically the same way as (7a) and § 14.3.1.1, may serve for subtraction as in (7b) and § 14.3.1.2 and not be irrelevant to counting, but though it is not regarded as a part of the numeral system. On the other hand, the patientive bivalent *|avy-|* ‘to halve, divide into two’ may be employed for division as in § 14.3.1.4.

There is another stem, derived by the intransitive relational NVrv *|+ŋu-|* (§ 37.1), which inflects with the appositional *-luku*, as given in § 14.3.1.3 and § 14.3.1.4.

Here we start from *cip-luku* numerals (together with *nurr-luku*, likewise with secundative stem).

- (7) a. *cip-luku* (*|cipic[+luku|* exceed-APP.3sg.)  
       ‘exceeding X (by Y), (Y) more than X’  
    b. *nurr-luku* (*|nuŷc[+luku|* fall.short-APP.3sg.)  
       ‘not reaching X (by Y), (Y) less than X’.

– where X (arithmetic base; e.g. ‘10’, ‘20’, etc.) and Y (modification) are, respectively, numerals in R function (absolute case) and in demoted T function (ablative-modal case). X as the arithmetic base is marked generally as the singular verb with *-luku*, though the dual *cip-lukek* and plural *cip-luki* may be encountered (§ 14.3.1.1.1).

A verb for ‘to exceed, surpass’ is known to be used for standard of comparison in many languages (Dixon 2008), while the CAY *|cipic-|* verb is the im-



portant device for non-round numerals and it is not employed for the standard of comparison (which is expressed by an NP in the relative or locative case; § 45).

### 3.1.1. Addition: *cip-luku*

The appositional verb from the secundative ditransitive stem is accompanied by its R argument NP (numeral base) in the absolutive case and the demoted T argument NP (addition or excess) in the ablative-modal case. Thus ‘twelve’, for instance, is expressed as:

- (8) a. *qula*<sub>R</sub>            *malru-gnek*<sub>(T)</sub>        *cip-luku*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    two-ABM.du.    exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘twelve; lit. (it/they) exceeding ten by two’
- b. [*qula*<sub>R</sub>            *malru-gnek*<sub>(T)</sub>        *cip-luku*]  
 ten.ABS.sg.    two-ABM.du.    exceed-APP.3sg.  
*iralur-tangqer-tuq*            *allraku-mi*.  
 moon-there.be-IND.3sg.    year-LOC.sg.  
 ‘there are twelve months in a year’        = § 51(241).

The phrasal numeral above with appositional *cipluku* is an adnominal verb (§ 16.6-i) which modifies the head (*iralur-* ‘moon’) of the denominal verb — it is important to see such an adnominal verb (‘being twelve’) is not syntactically connected to or dependent upon the semantic head NP ‘fish’ or ‘persons’, as in the following, but is a “dangling” modifier of the nominal head (§ 16.6, § 51.5).

- (9) a. [*Qula*<sub>R</sub>            *malru-gnek*<sub>(T)</sub>        *cip-luku*]            *neqe-t<sub>P</sub>*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    two-ABM.du.    exceed-APP.3sg.    fish-ABS.pl.  
*tais-ki*.  
 bring-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) bring the twelve fish (to me)!’
- b. [*qula*            *malru-gnek*<sub>(T)</sub> *cip-luku*]            [*yu-u-t<sub>G</sub>*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    two-ABM.du.    exceed-APP.3sg.    person-EV-REL.pl.  
*atr-it*]  
 name-ABS.3pl.pl.  
 ‘the names of the twelve persons’.

The phrasal numeral for ‘12’ above has the underlying clause, as in the following (a) (in the indicative mood), although the verb with *cipt-* (*|cipc-*) may also be used, as in (b) not as a phrasal nominal:

- (10) a. *qula*<sub>R</sub>                    *malru-gnek*<sub>(T)</sub>                    *cipt-aa*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    two-ABM.du.                    exceed-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘it is twelve; it oversupplies / exceeds ten by two’.
- b. [*twenty-q*                    *allraku-t*]<sub>P</sub>                    *cipt-aat*  
 20-LNK.ABS.sg.    year-ABS.pl.                    exceed-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘they are past the age of twenty’.

The phrase-internal word order of the absolutive R, the ablative-modalis (T), and the appositional verb, as in (9), is the most typical, with little flexibility. But insertion of, say, the question particle, is possible after the phrase-initial word in the Wickernagel position, as in *qula ≠ qaa malru-gnek cip-luku* ‘thirteen?’, implying that the clause is not a fixed bound phrase.

For an appositional construction, such as (9a) *qula malru-gnek cip-luku*, a shortened expression *qula malru-gnek* without the verb is heard at least as a reply to a question asking for a number. The abbreviated appositional phrase can be considered an adjunct phrase (with the oblique *malru-gnek*; § 16.5), but as a numeral it may not be well accepted by traditional speakers.

See § 14.3.3 also for *qula malruk* ‘12’ of (1c) type, which is a juxtaposed phrase (§ 16.3).

The R argument as the base of phrasal numerals may be a phrasal numeral itself. The *yuina-a-t cetaman* ‘eighty’ in the following is an appositive phrase for multiplication (20×4; see § 14.3.2):

- (11) a. [*yuina-a-t*                    *cetama-n*]<sub>R</sub>                    *tallima-nek*<sub>(T)</sub>                    *cip-luku*  
 20-EV-ABS.pl.    four-ABS.pl.                    five-ABM.pl.                    exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘eighty-five (exceeding 80[20×4] by 5)’
- b. [*yuina-a-k*                    *malru-k*]<sub>R</sub>                    *qul-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>                    *cip-luku*  
 20-EV-ABS.du.    two-ABS.du.                    ten-ABM.sg.                    exceed-APP.3du.  
 ‘fifty’ (exceeding 40[20×2] by 10)’.

Two (or more) phrasal numerals may be combined for higher numerals: The numerals ‘50’, ‘70’, ‘90’, ... for instance, are formed with an appositive phrase (20×2, 3, 4, ...) followed by adnominal phrase (10 exceeding), like:

- (12) a. [*yuina-a-t*                    *pingayu-n*]                    *cali* [*qula*                    *pingayunleg-nek*  
 20-EV-ABS.pl.    three-ABS.pl.                    and    ten.ABS.sg.                    eight-ABM.pl.  
*cip-luku*]  
 exceed-APP.3sg.
- b. [*yuina-a-t*                    *pingayu-n*]                    [*qula=wa*                    *pingayunleg-nek*  
 20-EV-ABS.pl.    three-ABS.pl.                    ten.ABS.sg.=and                    eight-ABM.pl.  
*cip-luku*]  
 exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘seventy-eight’ = [20×3]+[10+8 exceeding]

– in which the conjunctive particle *cali* or enclitic =*wa* ‘also’ are employed to combine two phrases, forming a coordinating phrase as a whole.

Depending upon how the count is analyzed, two (or more) expressions are possible for one and the same number. The ‘seventy-eight’ immediately above can also be analyzed as follows:

- (13) [yuina-a-t pingayu-n] [akimiaq pingayu-nek]  
 20-EV-ABS.pl. three-ABS.pl. 15.ABS.sg. three-ABM.pl.  
*cip-luku*  
 exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘seventy-eight’ = [20×3]+[15+3 exceeding].

Two *cip-luku*’s may be attested for two additions:

- (14) [pingayu-n yuina-a-t] [qule-n cip-luku]  
 three-ABS.pl. 20-EV-ABS.pl. ten-ABS.pl. exceed-APP.3sg.  
 [malru-k cip-luku]  
 two-ABS.pl. exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘seventy-two’ = [3×20]+[10 exceeding]+[2 exceeding]  
 – transliterated from Moravian orthography by Schultze (1894: 11).

The adnominal verb construction as a traditional means of expression is a flexible means for numeral expression. However, there is usually only one way to analyze any given numeral, and (13) would certainly be less “usual” than (12).

### 3.1.1.1. Fluctuation in number agreement

Adnominal verb constructions have their base, e.g. ‘80’ in (11), in the R function, which is taken as the singular and is accordingly marked with *-luku* (3sg.) in the appositional verb. However, this singular marking seems to have been challenged by the plural *cip-luki* or the dual *cip-lukek* (depending upon the actual number of the base), which appear to be coming into current use (perhaps more among the younger generations). This may possibly be a rather recent type of fluctuation, or it may represent a kind of hypercorrection induced by the grammatical number of the numeral that is the base for the numeral.

This is illustrated by the following example of the contrast (with number agreement) which I recorded from a middle-aged woman (who is a city dweller):

- (15) a. yuinaq pingayu-nek cip-luku ‘twenty-three’ (20+3)  
 20.ABS.sg. three-ABM.pl. exceed-APP.3sg.



lar *-luku* seems more persistent in (a), while it may be more likely replaced with the dual *-lukek* in (b).

- (19) a. [yuina-a-k      malru-k]      cetama-nek      *cip-luku*  
 20-EV-ABS.du. two-ABS.du. four-ABM.pl. exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘forty-four ( $[20 \times 2] + 4$ )’  
 b. [yuina-a-k      malru-k]      *cip-lukek* ~ *cip-luku*  
 20-EV-ABS.du. two-ABS.du. exceed-APP.3du./3sg.  
 ‘more than forty ( $20 \times 2$ )’.

Fluctuation in “more than” expression has been recorded for the following:

- (20)      *tiissicsaa-t*      *tallima-n*      *cip-luki* ~ *cip-luku*  
 1000-ABS.pl. five-ABS.pl. exceed-APP.3pl./3sg.  
 ‘more than five thousands’.

The *|cipic-|* ‘to exceed’ may be followed by inchoative *|-ŋ\**i*-|* ‘to begin to’ to express ‘to become to around (e.g. twenty of age)’ – see § 42 (27).

### 3.1.2. Subtraction

In CAY, subtractive numerals are established only for ones derived with *|+ŋuyita(ŋa)ŋ\*-|* (be-not-a.little, not-quite), i.e. ‘9, 14, 19’ as given in Table 10 and mentioned in § 14.1-iii.

In addition, there is an appositional verb with (7) *nurr-luku* ‘not reaching it (by some)’ from *|nuŋc-|* ‘to fail to reach’, as the negative (subtractive) version of *cip-luku* ‘exceeding’. However, it seems not to be used for an established numeral. But it follows the same pattern as the addition, and the analysis for *cip-luku* numerals also applies.

While the *nurr-luku* verb may never be used as a numeral in place of a single (suffixal) numeral such as *qul-ngunritaar* ‘nine’, the following shows the identical construction as the compared additive format with *cip-luku*:

- (21)      *qula*      *atauci-mek*      *nurr-luku*  
 ten.ABS.sg. one-ABM.sg. not.reaching-APP.3sg.  
 ‘nine’ (10-1), lit. ‘not reaching ten by one’  
 cf. *qula*      *atauci-mek*      *cip-luku*  
 ten.ABS.sg. one-ABM.sg. exceeding-APP.3sg.  
 ‘eleven’ (10+1), lit. exceeding ten by one’.

Without the demoted (ablative-modalis) nominal *atauci-mek*, it is actually used for ‘less than X’ expressions:

- (22) a. *qula nurr-luku* ‘less than ten’  
 cf. *qula cip-luku* ‘more than ten’  
 b. *Wii akiute-ngqer-tua* [*qula nurr-luku*].  
 1sg. money-have-IND.1sg. ten.ABS.sg. not.reach-APP.3sg.  
 ‘I have less than ten dollars.’

Note that the subtractive verb ‘less than X’ is again a dangling modifier, only semantically modifying the nominal head (‘money’) of the denominal verb – cf. (8b) and (9b).

The subtractive verb, however, may be used with an ablative-modalis NP (T argument) in non-numeral contexts:

- (23) *Tununeq<sub>R</sub> nurt-aqa* [*malru-gnek*  
 pl.n.ABS.sg. not.reach-IND.1sg.3sg. two-ABM.du.  
*mile-a-gnek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 m.-EV-ABM.du.  
 ‘I could not reach Tununak (Nelson Island) by two miles.’

### 3.1.3. Relational *-ngu-luni* and *-ngu-luku*

As mentioned (§ 14.3.1), there is another construction with an appositional, i.e. adnominal, verb, which employs the (stative) intransitive relational VNrv *|+ɲu-* ‘to be N’ (§ 37.1), instead of the ditransitive verb *cip-luku*:

- (24) *Qul-ngu-luki neqe-t<sub>p</sub> tais-ki*.  
 ten-be-APP.3pl. fish-ABS.pl. bring-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘Bring ten fish (to me)!’
- (25) [*Qula malru-u-lutek / pingyayu-u-luteng*] *arna-t<sub>s</sub>*  
 ten.ABS.sg. two-be-APP.3Rdu. / three-be-APP.3Rpl. woman-ABS.pl.  
*tai-gut*.  
 come-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Twelve/Thirteen women are coming.’

These appositional verbs are obviously cosubordinate clauses of attendant circumstance (quantity – § 51.2.1-ii), hence the third person *-luki* for the P argument NP (‘fish’) for (24) but the reflexive third person *-lutek/-luteng* for the S argument NP (‘woman’) for (25). In the former the co-referential marker (possible as in *qul-ngu-vkar-luki*) is deleted, as is usually the case (§ 51.1.4.3).

It should be clear that, while *cip-luku* phrasal numerals have the third person object marking for the appositional verb, the construction with the relational

verb  $|+\eta u-|$  may have the marking of any person as its cosubordinate clause. Compare the following pair:

- (26) a. [*Qula malru-u-luta*] *tai-llru-ukut*.  
 ten.ABS.sg. two-be-APP.1pl. come-PST-IND.1pl.  
 ‘Twelve of us (we being 10+2) came here’
- b. [*Qula malru-gnek cip-luku*]  
 ten.ABS.sg. two-ABM.du. oversupply-APP.3sg.  
*tai-llru-ukut*.  
 come-PST-IND.1pl.  
 ‘We twelve (oversupplying 10 with 2) came here.’

– appositional *malru-u-luta* in (a) is adnominal to the subject argument (1pl.), while the subject of *cip-luku* in (b) is coreferential to the main clause subject (1pl.), with only the object (3sg.) being marked.

The two kind of appositional constructions (cosubordinate vs. adnominal) occur with “halving” as immediately below.

### 3.1.4. Halving: *avg-u-luku/aveg-luku*

The two /ávýulú·ku/ and /avíyluku/ come respectively from  $|avy+(\eta)u[+luku|$  (half-be-APP.3sg.) ‘(it) being a half’ and  $|avy[+luku|$  (halve-APP.3sg.) ‘dividing it in half’ – with the ambivalent stem (‘half; to halve’). Either of them is accompanied by an ordinal number (§ 14.9) in P function. Thus the second example below ‘two point five (2.5)’, for instance, is analyzed as ‘two with half of the third one’:

- (27) a. *aipa-a* (partner-ABS.3sg.sg.) *avg-u-luku* / *aveg-luku*  
 ‘one and a half (1.5)’ – ‘partner’ for ‘two’
- b. *pingayu-ak* (three-ABS.3du.sg.) *avg-u-luku* / *aveg-luku*  
 ‘two and a half (2.5)’
- c. *tallimi-it* (five-ABS.3pl.sg.) *avg-u-luku* / *aveg-luku*  
 ‘four and a half (4.5)’.

Note that the numeral bases have a third-person possessor marked (*-a*, *-ak*, *-at*), depending upon the numeral.

Likewise, ‘thirty’ can be expressed as ‘twenty with its partner halved’ (20 +  $[20 \div 2]$ ), that is:

- (28) *yuinaq* [*aipa-a*<sub>P</sub>] *aveg-luku*  
 20.ABS.sg. partner-ABS.3sg.sg. halve-APP.3sg.

– although the established numeral for ‘30’ is *yuinaq qul-mek cip-luku* (20+10).

The expression with ‘halving’ is employed in the traditional way of counting hunted animals as follows:

- (29) *Up'nerkaq*                      *tevyulir-cu-llemni*                      [*naanr-e-t*  
spring.ABS.sg.                      muskrat-hunt-CNNwn.1sg.                      32-EV-ABS.pl.  
*pingayu-n*]<sub>p</sub>                      *tekite-llru-anka*                      [*cetami-it*  
three-ABS.pl.                      arrive-PST-IND.1sg.3pl.                      four-ABS.3pl.sg.  
***avg-u-luku***].<sup>5</sup>  
half-be-APP.3sg.  
‘When I hunted muskrats in spring, I got three bundles and a half, i.e. 112 (= [32×3]+[32÷2]); lit. arrived at three bundles, with their fourth being a half.’ [EA]  
cf. [K] *kanaqlag-* for *tevyulir-*.

– where the nominalization *naanr-e-t* ‘being complete in number’ (*|naa-nȳ-t|* ‘complete-VNnm-ABS.pl.’) is used to imply thirty-two (or forty)<sup>6</sup> since that number of muskrat pelts was traditionally considered sufficient for making one parka. See also:

- (30) *Tua=i=llu=gguq*                      [*irniar-ak*                      *tau-na*]<sub>s</sub>  
and=RPT                      child-ABS.3du.sg.                      that-EX.ABS.sg.  
*atku-ngqerr-luni*                      [[*muskrat-a-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *aipa-a*]  
parka-have-APP.3Rsg.                      m.-LNK-REL.sg.                      partner-REL.3sg.sg.  
***avg-u-luku***].  
half-be-APP.3sg.  
‘Well, their (du.) child had a parka made out of a muskrat and a half.’  
[QLK 132]  
– obviously referring to a dwarf-like child in a story, given such a small animal as a muskrat.

Finally, the stem *|avy-|* as nominal may also be used for numerals, when inflected with person (3sg.sg.):

- (31) *tiissitsaa-m avg-a*                      ‘500’ (= 1000÷2)  
1000-REL.sg.                      half-ABS.3sg.sg.  
– used twice in (52c) for ‘500’.

5. The *naanr-e-t* is from *|naa-nȳ-|* (become.complete-VNnm) meaning ‘completed one’ (bundle of pelts), the stem of which yields a patientive monotransitive *|naa-qi-|* ‘to count, read’ (complete-have.as; § 14.1) and a noun stem *|naa-qi-t-|* ~ *|naa-q-ut-|* ‘number’.

6. It is used to mean ‘forty’, however, in some areas, since the Hudson Bay Company so decided (according to Caroline Hoover, p.c.).



The ambivalent stem *|avy-|* ‘half; to halve’ may occur in non-numeral contexts, with a reflexive third person inflection:

- (32) a. *kep'-uq*                      *avg-luni*  
 break-IND.3sg.                      halve-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘it broke into half’
- b. *kep'-uq*                      *avg-u-luni*  
 break-IND.3sg.                      half-be-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘just the half is broken’
- cf. *kep-aa*                      *avg-u-luku*  
 break-IND.3sg.3sg.                      half-be-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘he made it half’.

### 3.2. Appositive phrases – multiplication

Apposition is another common morphological process for nominal phrases in CAY (§ 16.1) in addition to adnominal ones and is employed for numerals on the basis of the *multiplication* (×) of two numbers. The two involved stand in the same case marking. Accordingly they are clearly distinct from juxtaposed phrases for *addition* (+) in § 14.3.3.

i) ‘40’, ‘60’, ‘80’, ‘100’: Two-numeral multiplications by *|yuinaɣ\*-|* ~ *|ipiaɣ-|* ‘twenty’ (10×2,...20×2,...) system:

- (33) a. *yuina-a-k* ~ *ipia-k*    ∪    *malru-k*  
 20-[EV-]ABS.du.                      two-ABS.du.                      ‘forty’ (20×2)
- b. *yuina-a-t* ~ *ipia-t*    ∪    *pingayu-n*  
 20-[EV-]ABS.pl.                      three-ABS.pl.                      ‘sixty’ (20×3)
- c. *yuina-a-t* ~ *ipia-t*    ∪    *tallima-n*  
 20-[EV-]ABS.pl.                      five-ABS.pl.)                      ‘hundred’ (20×5).

The highest number possible with native numerals (by multiplication), *yuina-a-t yuina-a-t* 400 (20×20), is attested in (52b) and § 16 (68).

Distinct from juxtapositions, this system allows for permutation (∪), although the position of the two words in the order above is apparently more common than the opposite (the permuted *malru-k yuina-a-k* and others are also possible). The sign ∪ as in A ∪ B is conventionally used to mean that both orders A B and B A are possible. Non-permutability is indicated by \*∪ (§ 14.3.3).

Likewise, the number *|quli-|* ‘ten’ may form ‘20, 30, ...’ by multiplication (10×2, 3, ...), though these are rarely used as numerals:

- (34) a. *qule-k* (ten-ABS.du.)    ∪    *malru-k*    (two-ABS.du.)  
           ‘twenty’ (10×2) for *yuinaq* / *ipiaq*??  
       b. *qule-n* (ten-ABS.pl.)    ∪    *pingayu-n* (three-ABS.pl.)  
           ‘thirty’ (10×3)??  
           – which is much less common than the adnominal verb like:  
           cf. [*yuinaq qul-mek cip-luku*] *neqe-t* ‘thirty (20+10) fish’.

This expression for 100 using multiplication is lexicalized:

- (35) [*yuina-a-t*            *tallima-n*]<sub>G</sub>    *qul-ngur-uti-t*  
       20-EV-REL.pl.    five-REL.pl.    ten-INC-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.  
       ‘tithing, lit. one tenth of a hundred’  
       – note the same suffix sequence of the inceptive VN |+*ɲuɣc*-| plus the  
       instrumental VNrl |+(*u*)*t*-| (‘the one [means] of becoming ten’) as in  
       NSU *qul-ngur-uta-il-nguq* ‘nine’ (§ 14.1-i), cf. § 39.4.1-iii for post-  
       vocalic /c/ deletion before |+(*u*)*c*-|.

An appositional phrasal numeral, again unlike a juxtaposition, may be detached (§ 2.4-vii), although not so common:

- (36) a. *qule-n* ≠ *qaa*            *pingayun*    ‘(is it) thirty?’  
           *yuina-a-k* ≠ *qaa*        *malru-k*    ‘(is it) forty?’, cf. § 2(14)  
       b. *pingayun neqet*        *qule-n* ‘thirty fish’, cf. § 2(13).

ii) ‘50’, ‘55’, ‘70’, ‘75’, ‘90’, ‘95’: The following (37) and (38) are combinations of the dual or plural form (multiplication) followed by a juxtaposed *qula* ‘ten’ or *akimiaq* ‘15’, while (11) is a combination of an appositive and an adnominal phrase:

- (37)    *yuina-a-k*                    ∪    *qula* /            ∪    *akimiaq*  
       20-EV-ABS.du.                    ten.ABS.sg.            15.ABS.sg.  
       ‘fifty’ (40[20×2]+10) / ‘fifty-five’ (40+15).

Note that, as a juxtaposition, permutation is possible (*qula yuina-a-k*) but insertion is hardly so (? *yuina-a-k* ≠ *qaa qula*).

- (38) [*yuina-a-t*            ∪    *pingayu-n*]            *qula* / *akimiaq*  
       20-EV-ABS.pl.            three-ABS.pl.            ten / 15.ABS.sg.  
       ‘seventy / seventy-five (60[3×20]+10/15)’  
       [*yuina-a-t*            ∪    *cetama-n*]            *qula* / *akimiaq*  
       20-EV-ABS.pl.            four-ABS.pl.            ten / 15.ABS.sg.  
       ‘ninety / ninety-five (80[4×20] +10/15)’.

The first two numerals ('60' and '80') in this order (with *yuina-a-t* preceding) may be more natural than in the opposite order, although they are permutable.

But note the difference in the following:

- (39) a. *yuina-a-k*                      *qula*                      ***malru-k***  
           20-EV-ABS.du.                    ten.ABS.sg.                    two-ABS.du.  
           'fifty-two' (40[20×2]+10+2)
- b. *qula*                      ∅                      [*yuina-a-k*                      *malru-k*]  
           'fifty' (10+40[20×2])
- c. ?*qula*                      *malru-k*                      *yuina-a-k*                      – confusing.

Although the general way of denoting multiplication is an appositive phrase, the frequency suffix  $|\dot{y}qu-$  'times' (§ 14.8) is found to occur at least in (48) for 1000 (10 times 100[5×20]).

### 3.3. Juxtaposed phrases – combination

Juxtaposition as a morphological process is employed to a certain extent in CAY only for numerals based on the *combination* of two (or more) numbers to form higher numbers. The two (or more) numerals agree in case, but not necessarily in number. Accordingly, they are distinct from the preceding appositive phrases for multiplication (§ 14.3.2). Compare the following pair:

- (40) a. *yuinaq*                      *malru-k*                      'twenty-two'  
           20.ABS.sg.                    two-ABS.du.                    – juxtaposed                    vs.
- b. *yuina-a-k*                      *malru-k*                      'forty'  
           20-EV-ABS.du.                    two-ABS.du.                    – appositive.

This kind of phrase as a numeral may not be well received by elders or may sound childlike to them, especially if it occurs with a nominal to be modified (e.g. *arna-t* 'women'). However, it is used particularly as a response to a question (e.g. 'how many?'), often with the responsive enclitic  $|\dot{=}wa|$  like *yuinaq malruk(=wa)*, or as listing successive numbers (over ten).

One may, however, suspect this type of additive phrasal numeral to be a recent development. This is another area of fluctuation with regard to the numerals mentioned earlier.

i) 11~13, 16~18, 21~30: Two numerals in juxtaposition – with *qula* '10', *akimiaq* '15', or *yuinaq / ipiaq* '20', juxtaposed with a primary numeral *in that order* (10+1, ..., 15+1, ...; 20+1, ...) stand in contrast to morphological sub-

tractions for ‘9, 14, 19’ (10-1, 15-1, 20-1) with the suffix NN  $[-a(ya)y^*]$  ‘a little piece of’ added after the stems for ‘10, 15, 20’.

Each two-word numeral below is given in the absolutive singular. A  $*\cup$  B means only AB is possible and the reverse  $*BA$  is not (or hardly) accepted.

- (41)
- |                |         |                 |                                    |
|----------------|---------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>qula</i>    | $*\cup$ | <i>atauciq</i>  | ‘eleven’ (10+1) – $*atauciq\ qula$ |
| <i>qula</i>    | $*\cup$ | <i>malruk</i>   | ‘twelve’ (10+2)                    |
| <i>qula</i>    | $*\cup$ | <i>pingayun</i> | ‘thirteen’ (10+3)                  |
| <i>akimiaq</i> | $*\cup$ | <i>atauciq</i>  | ‘sixteen’ (15+1)                   |
| <i>akimiaq</i> | $*\cup$ | <i>malruk</i>   | ‘seventeen’ (15+2)                 |
| <i>akimiaq</i> | $*\cup$ | <i>pingayun</i> | ‘eighteen’ (15+3)                  |
| <i>yuinaq</i>  | $*\cup$ | <i>pingayun</i> | ‘twenty-three’ (20+3)              |
| <i>yuinaq</i>  | $*\cup$ | <i>qula</i>     | ‘thirty’ (20+10)                   |
| <i>yuinaq</i>  | $*\cup$ | <i>akimiaq</i>  | ‘thirty-five’ (20+15).             |

A juxtaposed phrase seems go hardly beyond ‘40’, since the appositive phrase for ‘40’ (20×2) is traditionally used (§ 14.3.2), though we may encounter higher numbers such as ‘120’ (100+20) by juxtaposition in (47).

ii) *Juxtapositions as bound phrases*: As stated, juxtaposed numeral phrases are strongly bound (§ 2.3.2), and generally articulated as single forms (*articuli*). As such their word order is not susceptible to permutation (as indicated by  $*\cup$ ) and to insertion of another word. In this respect, juxtaposed phrases are distinct from appositive phrases.

- (42)
- |    |                      |         |                 |                                    |
|----|----------------------|---------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>qula</i>          | $*\cup$ | <i>atauciq</i>  | ‘eleven’ (10+1) – juxtaposed       |
|    | cf. <i>angun</i>     | $\cup$  | <i>atauciq</i>  | ‘one man’ – appositive             |
| b. | <i>yuinaq</i>        | $*\cup$ | <i>pingayun</i> | ‘twenty-three’ (20+3) – juxtaposed |
|    | cf. <i>yuina-a-t</i> | $\cup$  | <i>pingayun</i> | ‘sixty’ (20×3) – appositive.       |

The above juxtaposed numeral phrases *qula*  $\neq$  *atauciq* ‘eleven’ and *yuinaq*  $\neq$  *pingayun* ‘twenty-three’ may be split into two *articuli* *qula*  $\neq$  *qaa atauciq* (‘eleven?’) and *yuinaq*  $\neq$  *qaa pingayun* (‘twenty-three?’) with the interrogative particle *qaa* inserted by some speakers, but would be taken as meaningless by others (who would hear it ‘as if’:  $*‘10, right?, one’$  or  $*‘20, right?, 3’$ ). The particle cannot be added after the phrases ( $*qula\ atauciq\ \neq\ qaa$ ,  $*yuinaq\ pingayun\ \neq\ qaa$ ), which speakers would say sound childlike. Adnominal phrases (detailed in § 14.3.1) would be used instead – e.g. *qula*  $\neq$  *qaa atauci-mek cip-luku* ‘eleven?’ (lit. ten one exceeding; *-mek* ABM, *-luku* APP.3sg.) by the latter group. Likewise:  $*yuinaq\ neqe-t\ pingayun$  intending [yuinaq pingayun] *neqe-t* or [yuinaq pingayu-nek] *cipluku neqe-t* ‘twenty-three fish’.

Appositive numeral phrases, by contrast, will be found to be susceptible of permutation and insertion as in:

- (43) *yuina-a-t pingayun* ~ *pingayu yuina-a-t* ‘60’  
*yuina-a-t* ≠ *qaa pingayun* ‘60 (right)?’  
*yuina-a-t neqe-t pingayun* ‘sixty fish’, cf. (33).

Juxtaposed phrases that are single forms are nevertheless distinct from phrasal compounds that are single words (§ 4.3.5). For instance, *qula* ≠ *pingayun* ‘thirteen’ is articulated as /qulá(p)|piŋá|yun/ (with regressive accent before the boundary) but not \*/qulá|piŋá|yun/.

#### 4. Higher numerals: 100, 1000, and beyond

A further high number can be formed by using CAY numerals (with appositive and adnominal phrases combined as in the following):

- (44) a. *Tua=llu allraku-ni* [*yuinar-ni malrunleg-ni qul-mek*  
 then year-LOC.pl. 20-LOC.pl. seven-LOC.pl. ten-ABM.pl.  
*cip-luki*], ...  
 exceed-APP.3pl.  
 ‘Then about 150 years ago, ...’ (20×5+10 exceeding; the time Vitus Bering tried to cross the waters toward Alaska) [VBER 3]
- b. *Joseph-aaq unguva-uq allraku-ng-luni*  
 p.n.-LNK.ABS.sg. live-IND.3sg. year-get-APP.3Rsg.  
*[yuina-a-t tallima-n qul-nek cip-luku]*  
 20-EV-ABS.pl. five.ABS.pl. 10-ABM.pl. exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Joseph lived a hundred and ten years.’ ([20×5]+10 exceeding)  
 [AYAG 50: 22]
- (45) *Nuna-mteni ene-ts amller-ta-ut* [*yuina-a-t*  
 land-LOC.1pl.pl. house-ABS.pl. many-as.as-IND.3pl. 20-EV-ABS.pl.  
*qulngunritara-a-t*] *tallima-nek cip-luku*.  
 nine-EV-ABS.pl. five-ABM.pl. exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘In our village, there are as many as one hundred eighty-five houses  
 (20×9+5 exceeding)’.

But beyond ‘100’, a few special numerals for ‘100’, ‘1000’, etc. are more commonly adopted, and supplemented with traditional numerals:

- i) ‘100’ – |*kavluut-*| and |*niyavaŋ-*|: Besides *yuina-a-t* ~ *ipia-t* (pl.) *talliman* ‘100’, cf. (33), these special numerals (both of unknown etymology – Jacobson

1984: 193, 256) sporadically occur in some dialects, i.e. the former in some parts of the Yukon (and in Nunivak), and the latter reportedly in the Bristol Bay area. The ‘100’, according to some people, refers to an ‘ammunition primer’, which came in sets of one hundred in a box (cf. Jacobson 1998: 91). The next examples were obtained from a Yukon speaker (the late Martha Teeluk from Kotlik):

(46) *Nuna-vut<sub>s</sub>*                      *kavluut-nek<sub>(p)</sub>*                      *yu-ngqer-tuq.*  
village-ABS.1pl.sg.    100-ABM.pl.                      person-have-IND.3sg.  
‘Our village has one hundred people.’

(47) [*kavluute-t*    *yuinaq*]                      *tallima-nek*  
100-ABS.pl.    20.ABS.sg.    five-ABM.pl.  
‘one hundred twenty-five’ ([100+20]+5) –with *cip-luku* abbreviated.

ii) ‘1000’: It is possible to count the number 1000 by using Yupik numerals as ‘10 times of 20×5 (10 sets of 100)’ as in (48), but the Russian-American period contributed a loan for ‘thousand’ (*týsyacha*), which is more common and generally used even at the present time:

(48) *yuina-a-t*                      *tallima-n*                      *qule-rqu-nek*  
20-EV-ABS.pl.                      five-ABS.pl.                      ten-times-ABM.pl.  
‘one thousand’ ([20×5]×10)  
– cf. also Barnum (1901: 220). See § 14.8 for the frequency/ multiplicity |*-yqu(y)*-|.

(49) a. |*tiisicsaay-*| ~ |*ciicitsaay-*|                      ‘thousand’  
b. *tiisicsaa-mek*                      ‘(for) 1000 (dollars)’  
*tiisicsaa-nek pingayu-nek*                      ‘(for) 3000 (dollars)’ – e.g. (50) below.

(50) [*Anchorage-aa-mi=gguq*                      [*Yupi-i-t*                      *uita-lrii-t*]]<sub>s</sub>  
pl.n.-LNK-LOC.sg.=RPT                      y.-EV-ABS.pl.                      stay-VNrl-ABS.pl.  
[[*tiisicsaa-t pingayu-n*]                      *cip-luku*]                      *amller-ta-ut.*  
1000-ABS.pl.    three-ABS.pl.    exceed-APP.3pl.    many-as.as-IND.pl.  
‘Yupiks living in Anchorage are as many as three thousand.’  
– possibly much more now.

As for ‘million’, however, Father Lonneux, S. J.,<sup>7</sup> noted (undated: 37) that the people “have a certain knowledge of the Russian word for million, but the

7. The Belgian-born priest (1890–1953) who worked mainly at the mouth of the Yukon River and Norton Sound about 25 years, beginning in the late 1920s (Carriker et al. 1976: 14). The description of ‘million’, above, is found in his 70 page typescript of

real value of this number is unknown to them, it is but an immense and incalculable number”.

Nowadays, the English ‘million’ and ‘billion’ have come into use with the same final shape perhaps by analogy with the Russian loan:

- (51) |*miilicaaŷ-*| ‘million’ |*piilicaaŷ-*| ‘billion’.

Aside from this, English numerals in general have rapidly been taking the place of native numerals, even among some older speakers, and this not only for the higher numbers, but without being established yet as loans. They belong to the category of English words being most readily interspersed in Yupik.

The Book of Numbers, or *Naaq-uma-llr-at* (count-STT-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg. ‘their counting’), in the recently translated Old Testament [PPPT] lists the populations of the tribes expressed in the native numeral system (apart from the Russian loan for 1000) showing a still strong trend toward traditional lexemes, at least in the translation of the Bible: the glosses in the examples below omit the case indications (ABS and ABM with *-mek/-nek*) as well as the mood APP.3sg. (for *cip-luku* ‘exceeding’).

- (52) a. *arvinelgen tiissitsaa-t, yuina-a-t=wa qule-n*  
 six.ABS.sg. 1000-ABS.pl. 20-EV-ABS.pl.=also ten-ABS.pl.  
 ‘6200’ = [6×1000]+[20×10]
- b. [[*yuina-a-k malru-k akimiar-unritaa’ar-mek*  
 20-EV-ABS.du. two-ABS.du. 14(15-1)-ABM.sg.  
*cip-luku*] *tiissitsaa-t*, [*yuina-a-t=wa yuina-a-t*]  
 exceed-APP.3sg. 1000-ABS.pl. 20-EV-ABS.pl.=also 20-EV-pl.  
 ‘54,400’ = [[20×2]+14]×1000]+ [20×20]
- c. [[[*tiissitsaa-m avg-a*], [*yuina-a-t tallima-n*]  
 1000-REL.sg. half-ABS.3sg.sg. 20-EV-ABS.pl. five-ABS.pl.  
*pingayu-nek cip-luku*] *tiissitsaa-t*, [*tiissitsaa-m*  
 three-ABM.pl. exceed-APP.3sg. 1000-ABS.sg. 1000-REL.sg.  
*avg-a*], [*yuina-a-k malru-k qul-nek*]  
 half-ABS.3sg.sg. 20-EV-ABS.du. two-ABS.du. ten-ABM.pl.  
*cip-luku*  
 exceed-APP.3sg. – see § 14.3.1.4 for *avg-a*.  
 ‘603,550’ = [[[1000÷2]+[20×5]+3]×1000]+[1000÷2]+[[20×2]+10]

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Yupik grammar. I have not ascertained which one of the two items (Frames 55–92 or 93–168) cited by Carriker et al. is the microfilm of this typescript.

## 5. Derivation

Limited derivations are made with a number of general suffixes or ones specific to (some kinds of) nominals.

*NN/NV suffixes* – e.g.  $|-x̣a(ȳa)ȳ^*|$  ‘only, a little’ (§ 20.1.1):

- (53) a. *atauci-rraq irniaq* ‘one child’  
 one-only.ABS.sg. child.ABS.sg.  
 b. *atauci-rraq arna-u-nr-at* ‘their only one sister’ [FASM 12]  
 one-only.ABS.sg. woman-be-VNnm- ABS.3pl.sg.
- (54) a. *akimia-rra-a-n* ‘only fifteen’  
 15-only-EV-ABS.sg.  
 b. *akimia-rra-a-tun kiput-aqa*  
 15-only-EV-EQL.sg. buy-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I bought it for only fifteen dollars.’
- (55) *Malru-rrar-Ø-luni qimugte-gnek ikamrar-tuq.*  
 two-only-useAPP.3Rsg. dog-ABM.du. do.sled-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He went by sled, using only two dogs.’  
 – *malru-rrar-tuq* by itself can mean ‘he caught only two’.

The very productive diminutive NN  $|-cua(ȳa)ȳ^*|$  ‘small’ may also be used with a numeral stem by some speakers:

- (56) *ene-k malru-cuara-a-k* ‘two small houses’.  
 house-ABS.du. two-small-EV-ABS.du.

– though *ene-cuara-a-k malru-k* with the suffix put inside the head may be preferred by other speakers.

*NV relational verbs* (§ 37) – incl. inchoative ones:

- (57) a. *Allraku-ts pingayu-urt-ut.*  
 year-ABS.pl. three-become-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Three years have passed (lit. years have become three).’  
 b. [*Nuk’a-m<sub>G</sub> irniar-i*]<sub>S</sub> *pingayu-u-gut /*  
 p.n.-REL.sg. child-ABS.3sg.pl. three-be-IND.3pl. /  
*pingayu-urt-ut.*  
 three-become-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Nukaq (now) has three children (lit. Nukaq’s children are/became three).’



(58) *malru-i-**ngu**-ci-at<sub>p</sub>*                      *apertur-luku*  
 two-sets-be-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.    mention-APP.3sg.  
 ‘pointing out that there are two (sets, groups), i.e. their being two’  
 – see § 14.7 for group numerals with *-i-* ‘sets of’.

(59) *malru-ka-**q**-aqa*  
 two-FUT-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘she will be my other (second) wife’

*applicative VVsm* |+(u)c-| (§ 39.4):

- (60) a. *Malru-u-**I**-luku*                      *callug-aak*.  
 two-be-E<sub>APL</sub>-APP.3sg.    fight-IND.3du.3sg.  
 ‘They two fight against him.’
- b. *Malru-i-**ngu**-I-luku*                      *aya-ut-aat*                      *qunguq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 two-sets-be-E<sub>APL</sub>-APP.3sg.    go-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3pl.3sg.    coffin.ABS.sg.  
 ‘They, in two groups (one on each side; lit. [they] being two on it),  
 took away the coffin.’

See § 14.6 through § 14.8 for a few other NN suffixes that yield group/collective numerals, frequency numerals, and days of the week.

## 6. Syntax

i) *Modifying a head*: When a numeral is used to modify (quantify) an entity, it is in apposition with the head NP in (a) and (b) below, but the adnominal verb in (c) is a dangling modifier (§ 16.6-i):

- (61) a. *pingayu-n*    /    *qule-n*                      *tengsuute-t*  
 three-ABS.pl.    /    ten-ABS.pl.    airplane-ABS.pl.  
 ‘three/ten airplanes’
- b. [*yuinaq*                      *pingayu-n*]                      *tengsuute-t*  
 20.ABS.sg.                      three-ABS.pl.                      airplane-ABS.pl.  
 ‘thirty airplanes’
- c. [*qula*                      *pingayu-nek*                      *cip-luku*]                      *tengsuute-t*  
 ten.ABS.sg.                      three-ABM.pl.                      exceed-APP.sg.                      airplane-ABS.pl.  
 ‘thirteen airplanes’.

Any one of them can fill the S slot as in the following:



- (68) *Aki-lir-aqa* *qul-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 price-supply-IND.1sg.3sg. ten-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I paid him [R] 10 dollars.’  
 – ablative-modalis numeral as the demoted argument of the  
 secundative ditransitive.
- (69) *Atauci-kun mikelngu-u-t<sub>s</sub> qia-gut.*  
 one-PRL.sg. child-EV-ABS.pl. cry-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The children are crying all together.’

See also the equalis case for price (below).

iv) *Verbalization*: When an appositive-phrasal numeral is verbalized by embedding one of the NPs (typically other than the numeral), the numeral is stranded to the ablative-modalis status (§ 25.2.2). Compare the appositive (61a) *pingayu-n tengssuut-e-t* ‘three airplanes’ with the following (a):

- (70) a. *Nuk’aq<sub>s</sub> tengsuute-ngqer-tuq pingayu-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 p.n.ABS.sg. airplane-have-IND.3sg. three-ABM.pl.  
 ‘Nukaq has three planes.’
- b. *Qul-nek*<sub>(P)</sub> *yuara-ngqer-tukut.*  
 ten-ABM.pl. finger-have-IND.1pl.  
 ‘We have ten fingers.’
- cf. *qule-n yuara-t* (ten-ABS.pl. finger-ABS.pl.) ‘ten fingers’.

v) *Numeral as number*: As stated (§ 14.2), a numeral stem with the singular |+Ø| is used as a number (a common noun) instead of counting an entity:

- (71) *atauciq, malrunlek, pingayun, ..., pingayunlek, qulngnrita’ar, qula=llu*  
 ‘one, two, three, ..., eight, nine, and ten’.
- (72) *Kitak count-a-qa-a* [*atauciq*<sub>P</sub>  
 then c.-LNK-POL-OPT.2sg. one.ABS.sg.  
*ayag-n-e-q-luku qula<sub>P</sub> tekil-luku*]!  
 start-VNnm-EV-have.as-APP.3sg. ten.ABS.sg. reach-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Then you (sg.) please count from one (lit. having it as a start) to  
 ten (lit. [you] reaching ten)!’  
 – The English word *count* is used here for |*naaqi-*| ‘to read, count’  
 (fn. 5).

vi) *Price* (‘dollars’): Expressed by a single numeral (not a phrasal numeral as below) in the equalis case:

- (73) a. *Tun-aa* *malrug-tun/qulngunrita'ar-tun/*  
*qul-tun* (~ *qul'-tun*)/*yuinar-tun*.  
 sell-IND.3sg.sg. two-/nine-/ten- / 20-EQL  
 'He sold it (to s.o.) for two/nine/ten/twenty dollars.'
- b. *Aki-ngqer-tuq* *malrug-tun/qulngunrita'ar-tun/*  
*qul-tun* (~ *qul'-tun*)/*yuinar-tun*.  
 value-have-IND.3sg.  
 'It is two/nine/ten /twenty dollars.'
- (74) *kipute-llru-a* *tamalku-tun*  
 buy-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. whole-EQL.sg.  
 'He bought it for one dollar.'
- (75) *kangira-tun* '25 cents' – |*kaŋiŋaŋ-*| 'corner, quarter' from  
 |*kaŋiŋ-*| 'beginning, source'  
*aveg-tun* '50 cents' – cf. § 14.3.1.4.

– note that the stems are not numerals.

A relative singular form of a numeral is used to express the price ('dollar') in attributive phrases with the head *aki-a* 'its opposite', while some numerals occur with derivative suffix |+*tuŋ-*| 'dollar', at least in the Dillingham area:

- (76) *atauci-m* (~ *tamalku-m*; § 14.10.3), *qulngunritara-a-m*, *qule-m*,  
*akimiar-e-m*, *yuina-a-m*, ... *aki-a* (opposite-ABS.3sg.sg.)  
 'one, nine, ten, twenty dollars' worth (purchase of)'.  
 (77) a. *malrug-tuq*, *pingayu-tuq*, *arvinleg-tuq*, *qul-tuq*, *akimiar-tuq*,  
*yuinar-tuq* (ABS.sg.)  
 'two, three, six, ten, fifteen, twenty dollars'  
 b. *tamalku-tu-m*, *pingayu-tu-m*, *qul-tu-m*, *akimiar-tu-m*, ... *aki-a*  
 'one, three, ten, fifteen dollars' worth'  
 – see § 14.9 for the third-person (possessor) inflection that yields  
 ordinal numerals  
 c. *tallima-tu-yug-tuq* 'it is five dollars'  
 – for *tallima-nek aki-ngqer-tuq* (cf. [73b] with *-ngqer-* 'to have'), etc.  
 in other areas.

This expansion is also the case with 'one dollar' from the quantifier |*tamalkuŋ-*| 'a whole (thing)' (§ 14.10.3):

- (78) *Malrug-tuq* *amlle-nru-urt-uq* *tamalku-tu-mi*.  
 two-dollar.ABS.sg. many-more-INC-IND.3sg. whole-dollar-LOC.sg.  
 'Two dollars are (becomes) more than one dollar.' – cf. (67).

It may only be a matter of conjecture whether the NN suffix  $|+tu\dot{y}-|$  is related to the equalis-case marker  $|+tun|$  or not.

The word *tallima-tuq* ‘5 dollars’, however, can also be understood in the Bristol Bay dialect, notably, to mean either ‘one dollar’ (5×20 cents) or ‘100 dollars’ (5×20 dollars) depending upon what is taken as the base, possibly reflecting the basically vigesimal pattern of CAY numerals.

It is interesting to note that a loan numeral is not used in the equalis case but in the ablative-modalis:

- (79) *Kipute-llru-a*                      *tiissicsaa-mek* / [*tiissicsaa-nek*  
buy-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. 1000-ABM.sg. / 1000-ABM.pl.  
*pingayu-nek*].  
three-ABM.pl.  
‘He bought it for 1000/3000 dollars.’ – *\*tiissicsaa-tun*.

An adnominal verb numeral with or without *cip-luku* and an adjunctional numeral without *cip-luku* may occur with a numeral in the ablative-modalis case, but not in the equalis:

- (80) *yuinaq qul-mek*                      (*cip-luku*)                      ‘for thirty dollars’  
*qula pingayu-nek*                      (*cip-luku*)                      ‘for thirteen dollars’  
– *\*qul-tun* and *\*pingayu-tun*.
- (81) *Atkuk<sub>S</sub>*                      *aki-ngqer-tuq*                      [*qula<sub>R</sub>*                      *pingayu-nek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
coat.ABS.sg. price-have-IND.3sg. ten-ABS.sg. three-ABM.pl.  
*cip-luku*].  
exceed-APP.3sg.  
‘The coat costs thirteen dollars.’
- (82) *Atkuk<sub>T</sub>*                      *tun-aa*                      *angut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*                      [[*yuinar-nek*  
coat.ABS.sg. sell-IND.3sg.3sg. man-ALL.sg. 20-ABM.pl.  
*tallima-nek*]<sub>(T)</sub>                      *aki-lir-luku*].  
five-ABM.pl. price-supply-APP.3sg.  
‘She sold the coat for 100 dollars (supply the price of 100).’  
– note that the NV suffix *-lir-* makes *aki-lir-* a secundative ditransitive (§ 38.3).

A single nominal is verbalized by NV  $|+su\dot{y}-|$  ‘to seek’ (§ 38.2) – ‘it is X dollar(s)’:

- (83) *tallima-ssur-tuq* / *qull-sur-tuq* / *tamalku-ssur-tuq*  
‘it is five, ten, one dollar(s)’.

vii) *Time/hour etc.*: With an ablative-modalis or an allative numeral for hour, the verb |*kauy-*| ‘to strike’ refers to the hour (‘o’clock’). The Russian loan |*cas’ay-*| ~ |*sas’ay-*| (from *chasy*) is used to mean ‘clock, hour’.

- (84) *pingayu-nun* ~ *pingayu-nek*      *kau-kan*  
 three-ALL.pl./ABM.pl.      strike-CNNif.3sg.  
 ‘at three o’clock (lit. when it strikes)’.
- (85) a. *Pingayu-nek sass’ar-r-luni*      *cali-llru-ug.*  
 three-ABL.pl. clock-have-APP.3Rsg.      work-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He worked for three hours.’  
 b. *cass’a-m<sub>G</sub> avg-ani*      ‘in half an hour’  
 hour-REL.sg. half-LOC.3sg.sg.
- (86) *Qanemci-lriit<sub>S</sub> pi-ut*      [*erner-ni cetama-ni wall’u*  
 tell-VNrl-ABS.pl. say-IND.pl. day-LOC.pl. four-LOC.pl. or  
*tallima-ni*] *nakaciu-lar-ni-luki.*  
 five-LOC.pl. do.feast-CUS-A’.say-APP.3pl.  
 [*Talliman=gguq u-ku-t*]<sub>P</sub>      *cuqe-k-vallur-luki*  
 five.ABS.pl.=RPT this-EX-ABS.pl. measure-have.as-most-APP.3pl.  
*pi-lar-tut.*  
 do-GEN-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Tellers (about the feast) say that they usually had the bladder feast  
 four or five days. They said five was the usual number of things.’  
 [CAUY 42]  
 – See fn. 1 for ‘bladder feast’.

To express ‘twelve o’clock’ (i.e. ‘noon’ or ‘midnight’), the impersonal patientive verb |*gukay-*| ‘to reach the middle’ is used with the absolutive-case NPs of |*iyny-*| ‘day’ and |*unuy-*| ‘night’ instead of the numeral:

- (87) *Qukar-tuq*      *erneq<sub>S</sub> / unuk<sub>S</sub>*  
 reach.middle-IND.3sg.      day/night.ABS.sg.  
*Qukar-aa*      *erneq<sub>P</sub> / unuk<sub>P</sub>*  
 reach.middle-IND.3sg.3sg.      day/night.ABS.sg.  
 ‘It is noon/midnight.’  
 – the second one (transitive construction) literally means ‘*it* (A<sub>IMP</sub>)  
 reached the middle of the day/night’.
- (88) [*Qule-n<sub>P</sub> tekil-luku*]      *unuk*      *makta-llru-unga.*  
 ten-ABS.pl. arrive-APP.3sg.      night.ABS.      be.up-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I was up *till* (reaching) ten o’clock last night.’  
 – note the singular *-luku* despite the plural *qule-n* (§ 14.3.1.1.1).

In addition, the English ‘clock’ is uniquely introduced into CAY as a verbalizing (NV) suffix *|-klaay-|* instead of the verb stem *|kauy-|* ‘to strike’:<sup>8</sup>

NV/NN *|-klaay-|*

- (89) *Qavci-klaag-ta?* ‘What time is it?’  
 how.many-clock-INT.3sg.  
 ≐ *Qavci-nun ~ Qavci-nek kaug-ta?*  
 how.many-ALL.pl./ABL.pl. strike-INT.3sg.
- (90) a. *Atauci-klaag-tuq* (one-o’clock-IND.3sg.) ‘It is one o’clock.’  
*Pingayu-klaag-tuq* (three-o’clock-IND.3sg.) ‘It is three o’clock.’  
 – common now, however, is the use of English numerals:  
 b. *one-klaag-tuq*  
*three-klaag-tuq.*
- (91) *Qavci-klaag-mi makc-it?* – *Eight-kella’ag-mi.*  
 how.many-clock-LOC.sg. get.up-INT.2sg. – e.-o’clock-LOC.sg.  
 ‘What time did you (sg.) get up?’ – ‘Eight o’clock.’

See § 11.3.5-ii, iii for names of the month and days of the week.

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8. This isolated loan in CAY is reminiscent of the Chinook Jargon word *kapō* ‘man’s coat’ which may have become a suffix in Quileute (Boas 1947: 225). On the other hand, it is interesting that the same English word *clock* is borrowed also in Central Siberian Yupik (at least as spoken by Siberian Yupik who are American citizens, on Saint Lawrence Island, Alaska) where, however, it is used both as a stem and as a suffix occurring after an English numeral (examples below; K. Nagai, p.c.). It is to be noted in passing that the two Western Eskimo languages (CAY and CSY), while very close to each other, reveal an important difference in morphological trends. although we are not sure whether the majority of Siberian Yupik, who live in Russia, use the English pronunciation instead of some Russian word:

- a. *Na-ni kellaag-ni make-sin?* ‘What time did you get up?’  
 where-LOC.sg. clock-LOC.sg. get.up-INT.2sg.’  
*Na-vek kellaag-e-k lliightak?* ‘What time is it?’  
 where-ALL clock-EV-ABS.du. become-INT.3du.
- b. *Five-kellaag-mi.* ‘At five o’clock.’ ≐ *Tallima-mi* (five-LOC.sg.)  
 f.-clock-LOC.sg.  
*Iit-kellaag-yaght-uma-a.* ‘It’s about to be eight o’clock.’  
 eight-clock-IMN-ASP-IND.3sg.3sg.

viii) *Age*: ‘years old’. |*atʔaku(y)-ŋi-*| (year-get-) ‘to get, be old’:

- (92) ***Qavci-nek*** *allraku-ng-sit?* ~ *allraku-ngqer-cit?*  
 how-ABM.pl. year-get-INT.2sg. year-have-INT.2sg.  
 ‘How old are you (sg.)?’  
 – the second variant with |*-ŋqɣ-*| ‘to have’ recently has been increasing in use.
- (93) [*Qula<sub>p</sub>* [*pingayu-nek cip-luku*] *pani-ka<sub>s</sub>*]  
 ten.ABS.sg. three-ABM.pl. exceed-APPL.3sg. Da-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*allraku-ng-uq.*  
 year-get-IND.3sg.  
 ‘My daughter is thirteen years old (lit. my daughter has got years, [she] exceeding 10 by 3).’

## 7. Group (collective) numerals

Group numerals are formed by NN |*-i-*| (‘group, composition’):

- (94) a. *nuna-t* *atauci-i-n* / *malru-i-n*  
 land-ABS.pl. one-group-ABS.pl. / two-group-ABS.pl.  
 ‘one village’ / ‘two villages’.  
 – *nuna-t* can be ‘a village’ or ‘villages’ (§ 21.6), though the singular *nuna atauciq* is also possible
- b. [*Pingasu-i-n* ~ *Pingayu-i-n* *yu-u-t*]<sub>s</sub> *tai-gut.*  
 three-group-ABS.pl. person-EV-ABS.pl. come-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Three groups of people came.’  
 – Before the collective suffix, interestingly. In the collective numeral for ‘3’, the *-s-* form is more common than *-y-* (cf. |*pinjayun*| ~ |*pinjasun*| ‘three’).

Intransitive relational verbs – including inchoative (98):

- (95) [*Qahyaar-ni nuna-t*]<sub>s</sub> *pingasu-i-ŋgu-ut* ~ *pingayui-i-ŋgu-ut.*  
 pl.n.-LOC.pl. land-ABS.pl. three-group-be-IND.pl.  
 ‘Villages on Nelson Island are (in a group of) three.’
- cf. *Qahyaar-ni nuna-tangqer-tuq pingayu-nek<sub>(p)</sub>.*  
 pl.n.-LOC.pl. land-exist-IND.3sg. three-ABM.pl.  
 ‘There are three villages on Nelson Island.’



- (96) *Malru-i-**ngu**-luteng*      *yu-u-t<sub>s</sub>*      *ayag-tut.*  
 two-group-be-APP.3Rpl.    person-EV-ABS.pl.    go-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Two groups of (they being two groups) people went.’  
 ≙ [*malru-i-n yu-u-t*]<sub>S</sub> *ayag-tut* ‘Two groups of people went.’  
 – cf. lexicalized *malri-k* ‘twin’ with *u > i*.
- (97) *Pingayu-i-**ngu**(-vkar)-luki*      *atsa-t<sub>p</sub>*      *caqu-i.*  
 three-group-be(-CRF)-APP.3pl.    berry-ABS.pl.    wrap-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘She wrapped the berries in groups of three.’  
 – The coreferentializer *-vkar-* is more commonly omitted (§ 51.1.4.3).
- (98) *malru-i-**ngurt**-ut*      ‘they have separated into two groups’  
 two-group-become-IND.3pl.

Composite suffix NV *|-iyc-|* – ‘to separate into groups’:

- (99) *Umyuar-a<sub>s</sub>*      *malru-**igg**-luni*      *atawau-nrit-uq.*  
 mind-ABS.3sg.sg.    two-separate-APP.3Rsg.    good-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His mind fluctuating between the two is not good.’  
 – with adnominal *-luni* verb.

## 8. Frequency numerals

Frequency/multiplicity numerals (‘X times’) are formed by NN *|-ŷquŷ-|* with the ablative-modal case marking of the appropriate number, as in the following as well as (48) *qule-rqu-nek* ‘ten times’:

- (100) *Nuni-inun*      *aya-llru-unga*      *malru-rqu-gnek.*  
 land-ALL.3sg.sg.    goPST-IND.1sg.    two-FRQ-ABM.du.  
 ‘I visited his village twice.’
- (101) *atauci-rqu-qapiar-mek*  
 two-FRQ-ITS-ABM.sg.  
 ‘only once (e.g. annually)’ [TKDF 9] – with intensifier (§ 41.3.1).

The suffix may also occur with the quantifier *|amŷ-|* ‘many, much’ (§ 14.10.2) and the ignorative numeral *|qavciŷ-|* ‘how many, how much?’ (§ 15.2.6):

- (102) *Iter-t-a-u-guq*      *amlle-rqu-nek.*  
 enter-A-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.    many-FRQ-ABM.pl.  
 ‘He has been (one put) in prison many times.’

- (103) *Qavci-rqu-nek*                      *tengssuun<sub>s</sub>*                      *ma-a-vet*  
 how.many-FRQ-ABM.pl. airplane.ABS.sg. this-EX-ALL  
*tai-lar-ta*                      [*agayunr-e-m*                      *ilu-ani*  
 come-REG-INT.3sg. week-EV-REL.sg. inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 (~ *nitili-mi*)]?  
 (~ week-LOC.sg.; § 11.3.6 for |*nitiliy-*|)  
 ‘How often does an airplane come here in a week?’

The suffix NN |*-yqu(y)-*| may be related to the marginally productive suffix implying repeated actions as in *ite-rqur-i-uq* (APS) ‘he is bringing in wood’. Cf. VVt |*-yqi-*| (§ 42.2.4).

## 9. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by a third-person possessor suffix (|*+ya*| ABS.3sg.sg. and |*+yat*| ABS.3pl.sg.) on (a) non-numerical location noun (§ 11.2.1) as well as (b) numeral stem:

- (104) a. *tungli-a* ~ *aipa-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.)                      ‘(its) second (one)’  
           – |*tunliy\*-*| ‘area toward’, |*aipay-*| ‘partner’  
           *ciuqli-at* (ABS.3pl.sg.)                      ‘(their) first (one)’  
           – |*ciuyliy\*-*| ‘front’  
           *kinguqli-at* (ABS.3pl.sg.)                      ‘the last, youngest (one)’  
           – |*kinuqliy\*-*| ‘area behind’  
       b. *pingayu-at*                      ‘(their) third’  
           *arvinleg-at*                      ‘(their) sixth (one)’.

The |*-(q)liy\*-*| ‘one located in’ (§ 11.2.3.1) may also occur with numeral stems:

- (105) *pingayu-qliq*, *cetama-qliq*, *arvinle-qliq*, ...  
           ‘the third, fourth, sixth, ... one’  
       cf. *ciu-qliq* ‘the first one’, from *ciu-* ‘front’

A possessed (ordinal) numeral typically forms an attributive phrase with its modifying NP in the relative case (G function), though it may not occur with an external possessor (when contextually known) such as *irnia-ma* ‘child’, etc. in the following examples:

- (106) *ciuqli-at*                      *irnia-ma<sub>G</sub>*  
 first-ABS.3pl.sg.                      child-ABS.1sg.pl.  
 ‘the first of my children’ – attributive phrase

- cf. *ciuqliq*                      *irnia-qa*  
 child-ABS.1sg.sg.      first-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my first child’ – appositive phrase.
- (107) a. *erenr-e-t<sub>G</sub>*                      *ciuqli-at*  
 day-EV-REL.pl.      first-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘the first day (the first of the days)’
- b. *erenr-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *aipa-a*  
 day-EV-REL.sg.      partner-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the second day (the partner of the day)’.
- (108) a. *cetami-it*                      *irnia-ma<sub>G</sub>*  
 four-ABS.3pl.sg.      child-REL.1sg.pl.  
 ‘my fourth child’ (*i-it* from *a+ηat*)
- b. *irnia-megnuk<sub>G</sub>*      *ciuqli-at / tungli-at*  
 child-REL.1du.pl.      first-/second-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘the first / the second of our(du.) children’
- c. [*Cetama-ni*      *irnia-mni*]                      [*ciuqli-i-m*  
 four-LOC.pl.      child-LOC.1sg.pl.      first-EV-REL.sg.  
*tungli-a*]                      *arna-u-guq*.  
 second-ABS.3sg.sg.      woman-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The second (from the first) of my four children is a girl.’

Ordinal numbers may occur in oblique cases:

- (109)      *ciuqli-ani*      /      *aipa-ani*  
 ‘the first/second time’ (*-ani* LOC.3sg.sg.).

*[aipay-]* with a dual inflection occurs in a lexicalized particle *aipa-agni* ‘fifty-fifty, perhaps’ (LOC.3du.sg.):

- (110)      *Aipa-agni*                      *iqvar-ciq-ua*                      *akerci-qan*.  
 partner-LOC.2sg.sg.      pick.berry-FUT-IND.3sg.      sunny-CNNif.3sg.  
 ‘I may go pick berries if the sun shines.’

Ordinal numerals with *[+yit-]* occur with the days of the week (Tuesday through Friday) and months – § 11.3.5-iii.

## 10. Quantifiers

Except for the first of the four quantifiers given below (§ 14.10.1 through 4), three are bivalent stems, that is, they can also be verb stems, which are described in this section for convenience's sake. As a matter of fact, the last two stems ('[to be] all', '[to be] only'), which may be called "exhaustive quantifiers", have more verbal than nominal use, but inflect only for the stative-connective and the appositional mood (§ 14.10.3.1; § 14.10.4.1), functioning as "dangling" adnominal verbs (§ 16.6).

### 10.1. |*ɛlma*(*ɣa*)*ɣ*-| 'a little bit of amount' (food, fish, water, etc.)

This is used only as a nominal (unless denominalized), e.g. (115), with different expansions of degree. Typically used for something uncountable, though we may have (113a), unlike |*amɣ*-| just below (§ 14.10.2) is suitable for something countable.

(111) a. *neqa ellmaar / ellma(a)r-cuar*  
'very little food/fish'

b. *akutaq ellma(a)r-cuagaaq*  
'very little/very, very little ice-cream'  
– appositive phrases.

(112) *pi-llru-a ellma / ellma-ar / ellma-cuar / ellma-cua-yaar*  
do-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. (very) little  
'He did it a little.'

(113) a. *ellmara-a-k* 'two little bits'  
little-EV-ABS/REL.du.

b. *ellma-cuara-a-m<sub>G</sub> aki-a*  
little-small-EV-REL.sg. money-ABS.3sg.sg.  
'the price of a small bit/amount' – cf. (76) for the attributive phrase.

Oblique case marking is not made directly to the stem – \**ellma-m*, \**ellma-mek*, \**ellma-nek*, \**ellma-tun*, but occurs on expanded stems:

(114) a. *Ellma ciki-qi-u.*  
little give-ASP-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
'You (sg.) give him [R] a little bit.'  
– *ellma* as a particle but not a T argument.

- b. [*Neq-mek ellmaar-mek*]<sub>(T)</sub> *ciki-qer-nga*.  
 fish-ABM.sg. little-ABM.sg. give-ITS-OPT.2sg.1sg.  
 ‘Give me [R] a little bit of fish.’
- c. [*Ellma(a)-cuar-mek neq-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *ner'-uq*.  
 little-small-ABM.sg. fish-ABM.sg. eat-IND.sg.  
 ‘He ate a little bit of fish.’

Verbalized – that is, in relational verbs:

- (115) *ellmara-u-nrit-uq* (little-be-NEG-IND.3sg.)  
 ‘it is not something to be taken lightly, not a small amount’.

## 10.2. |*amły-*| ‘(to be) many, much; to do (something) too much’.

Nominal use may occur as an NP on its own (116) or in appositive phrases with another nominal. Examples are given in the absolutive, locative, and ablative-modalis:

- (116) *Amleq<sub>P</sub>* *ner-aa*.  
 lot.ABS.sg. eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He ate a lot.’
- (117) a. *ámller-è-t* ≠ *yaqúl-g-e-t* ‘many birds’  
 many-EV-ABS.pl. bird-EV-ABS.pl.  
 – appositive phrase (typically articulated as one bound phrase with a pre-boundary regressive accent and one major accent on *qul*), as opposed to the following which is more emphatic when articulated as two articuli each having its major accent on *a* and *qul*:
- b. *ámller-e-t, yaqúl-g-e-t!* ‘many! birds!’
- (118) a. *amller-mi* (LOC.sg.)  
 ‘almost all of the time, under most circumstances, many a time’.
- b. *Petugtaqs sagte-llru-llini-uq* [*nuna-ni*]  
 festival.ABS.sg. spread.out-PST-EVD-IND.3sg. land-LOC.pl.  
*amller-ni*.  
 many-LOC.pl.  
 ‘The “Asking Festival” was spread over many villages.’ [CAUY 20]  
 – § 13 fn. 1
- (119) a. *Imir-aa a(a)skaq<sub>R</sub>* [*kuuvvia-mek amller-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 fill-IND.3sg. cup.ABS.sg. coffee-ABM.sg. many-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She filled the cup with lots of coffee.’  
 – with secundative ditransitive verb.

- b. [*Nutara-**nek** a**mller-nek***]<sub>(P)</sub>      *aklu-ngqe-llru-ut.*  
 new-ABM.pl. many-ABM.pl.      thing-have-PST-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They had many new things.’

### 10.2.1. Verbal

This occurs with intransitive (and transitive) inflection and in various moods (unlike the last two exhaustive quantifiers; § 14.10.3.1 and § 14.10.4.1).

- (120) *Elite-llr-e-nka<sub>S</sub>*                      *Yup’ig-**nek***      ***amller-tut.***  
 learn-VNrl-EV-ABS.1sg.pl.      Y.-ABM.pl.      many-IND.pl.  
 ‘What I learned from Yupik people is a lot.’
- (121) ***Amller-i-luci***                      *tai-ki-ci!*  
 be.many-become-APP.2pl.      come-FUT-OPT.2pl.  
 ‘You (pl.) come back in great quantities!’  
 – addressing fish, mammals, etc.
- (122) ***amller-aqa***  
 be.much-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I made a lot of it.’ – somewhat rare.
- (123) *tua-ten*      ***amller-ta-a***                      *saska-qa<sub>R</sub>*  
 there-EQL      much-as.as-IND.3sg.3sg.      cup-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*kuuvvia-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 coffee-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He filled my coffee cup that much.’  
 – without R and T argument NP, the equalitive clause may mean ‘he measured it to be that much’, with equalitive VVa |*+ta-*| (§ 45.6.1).
- (124) *Apy-ute-ngqer-tua*                      *Yup’ig-tun*      ***amlle-nril-ngur-**nek*****.  
 ask-VNnm-have-IND.1sg.      Y.-EQL.sg.      many-NEG-VNrl-ABM.pl.  
 ‘I have a few questions (questions not in many).’ [DW]  
 – \**ellma-cuar* (§ 14.10.1) for *amlle-nril-ngur-**nek***.

### 10.3. |*tama(lku)ÿ-*| ‘(to be) a whole one (sg.)/all different kinds (pl.)’

As “exhaustive quantifier”, this commonly occurs in appositive phrases with a common noun. The |*tamaÿ-*| without *-lku-* is not generally used much, according

to one consultant, but perhaps once in a while when elders are around. Instead of a quantifier, *|tamalkuy-|* can also mean ‘dollar’ as illustrated in § 14.6-vi.

Nominal use is much less common than verbal use.

i) *With no person inflection:*

- (125) a. [*Ca-t*            *tama-t*]<sub>P</sub>    *atur-ai*.  
 some-ABS.pl. all-ABS.pl. use-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘He uses different things (kinds).’ – appositive phrase.
- (126) [*Neqe-t*            *tama-t*]<sub>S</sub>    *kuimar-tut*            *kuig-kun*.  
 fish-ABS.pl. all-ABS.pl. swim-IND.3pl. river-PRL.sg.  
 ‘Different kinds of fish swim in the river.’  
 – compare with the (quasi-equivalent) verbal use:  
 cf. *Neqe-t tamar-meng* (CNNst-3Rpl.) *kuimar-tut kuig-kun*.  
 ‘Fish, they being all, swim in the river.’
- (127) a. [*Neqa*            *tamalkuq*]<sub>P</sub>            *ner-aa*.  
 fish.ABS.sg. whole.ABS.sg. eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He ate the whole fish.’  
 b. [*Neq-mek*            *tamalku-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>    *ner'-uq*.  
 fish-ABM.sg. whole-ABM.sg. eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He ate a whole fish.’  
 – compare with the verbal:  
 cf. *Neqa tamalku-an* (CNNst.3sg.) *ner-aa*.  
 ‘He ate all of the fish (leaving nothing).’

The parenthesized ablative-modalis nouns below, which form an appositive phrase with *tama-nek*, may be dispensed with in the following two examples:

- (128) *Kuvya-a ~ Kuvyi-i* [*tama-nek* (*neq-nek*)]<sub>(P)</sub>    *ca-ng'-uq*.  
 net-ABS.3sg.sg. all-ABM.pl. fish-ABM.pl. thing-get-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His net caught different kinds (of fish).’  
 – see (P6ii, P10) for *ii* in the variant *kuvyi-i*.
- (129) [*Tama-nek* (*atsa-nek*)]<sub>(P)</sub>            *iqva-llru-uq*.  
 all-ABM.pl. berry-ABM.pl. pick.berry-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘She picked various kinds of berries.’

ii) *With person inflection* – oblique:

- (130) *tami-ini*                            LOC.3sg. – with (P6ii, P10) from *|tamay[+ɲani]*  
*tama(lku)-mteñi*                    LOC.1pl.

*tama(lku)r-peni* LOC.2sg.

*tama(lku)-itgun* PRL.3pl.

– see the oblique-case markers for possessed nouns in Table 9; cf. § 14.10.3.1 for verbal inflection.

- (131) a. [*Nuna-m<sub>G</sub> qai-ngani*] *tami-**ini*** *emeq<sub>s</sub>*  
 land-REL.sg. surface-LOC.3sg.sg. all-LOC.3sg.sg. water.ABS.sg.  
*uita-uq.*  
 stay-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Water is everywhere (in its whole) on the land.’
- b. [*Nuna-t<sub>G</sub> qai-ngatni*] *tama-**itni*** *emeq<sub>s</sub>*  
 land-REL.pl. surface-LOC.3pl.pl. all-LOC.3pl.pl. water.ABS.sg.  
*uita-uq.*  
 stay-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Water is everywhere (on the surface of) in the villages/land.’
- (132) [*Ene-ni **tama-itni** uita-lar-tuq*]  
 house-LOC.pl. all-LOC.3pl.pl. stay-GEN-IND.3sg.  
*nuna-mteni.*  
 village-LOC.1pl.sg.  
 ‘He usually stays in different houses in our village.’
- iii) *Limited derivation:*
- (133) [*Ella-m<sub>G</sub> yu-a*]<sub>s</sub> *tami-in(e)t-uq.*  
 world-REL.sg. person-ABS.3sg.sg. all-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The owner of the universe (as the highest-rank entity) is everywhere, omnipresent.’  
 – locative verb (§ 27.8) with little difference with *tami-**ini*** (all-LOC. 3sg.sg.) *uita-uq* (stay-IND.3sg.).
- (134) *Neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub> tamalku-tur-tuq.*  
 fish-ABM.sg. all-eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He ate all the fish (whole or in pieces).’
- (135) a. *Tamar-mir-tuq* ⇌ *Tamalk-irt-uq* [*ukver-a Agayut-mun*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 whole-become-IND.3sg. faith-ABS.3sg.sg. god-ALL.sg.  
 ‘His faith in God is wholehearted (totally with all of himself, with all his hearts).’ [EM]
- b. [*Umyua-qa tamalk-irr-luku*] *ukver-tua.*  
 mind-ABS.1sg.sg. whole-become-APP.3sg. believe-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I believe with all my mind.’



iv) *relational verbs*:

- (136) *Iqva-tens*                      *tama-u-gut*.  
 berry-ABS.2sg.pl.    all-be-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Your (sg.) picked berries are of all kinds.’

The following, again with the same relational verb suffix, has much of the same force as the comparable verbal use (stative-connective § 14.10.3.1):

- (137) *Neqa<sub>P</sub>*                      *tama(lku)-u-luku*    *ner-aa*.  
 fish.ABS.sg.    be.all-be-APP.3sg.    eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She ate the fish whole (i.e. it being whole and not cut in pieces).’  
 – *akutaq* ‘ice cream’ could not replace *neqa*, since it is not something to be cut, while it could be a replacement for the following:  
 cf. *Neqa<sub>P</sub>/akutaq<sub>P</sub>*                      *tama(lku)-an*                      *ner-aa*.  
 fish/ice.cream.ABS.sg.    be.all-CNNst.3sg.    eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She ate all the fish / ice cream.’

### 10.3.1. Verbal

It occurs only in stative-connective mood forms (§ 50.10), as is also the case with *|kii-|* ‘(to be) only, alone’ (§ 14.10.4.1), functioning as an adnominal verb, similar to cosubordinate clauses (§ 51.5).

*|tama(lku)ÿ-|* ‘to be all’ is illustrated in different persons:

- (138) 1sg.    *tama(lku)r-ma*                      1pl.    *tama(lku)-mta*  
 2sg.    *tama(lku)r-pet*                      2pl.    *tama(lku)r-peci*  
 3sg.    *tama(lku)an ~ tamiin*                      3pl.    *tama(lku)-ita*  
 3Rsg.    *tama(lku)rmi*                      3Rpl.    *tama(lku)r-meng*  
 – see the connective-mood person (intransitive) markers in Table 49,  
 cf. § 14.10.3 for nominal markings.

The reflexive third person form refers to the clause subject, and the third person to the object. The variant *tamiin* for 3sg. *tama-an* (< from *|tamaÿ+ÿan|*) is heard especially among the Kuskokwim speakers – see (P6ii, P10).

i) *First person*:

- (139) *Nere-llru-atnga*                      *egturya-t*                      [*nang-yarpiar-lua*  
 eat-PST-IND.3pl.1sg. mosquito-REL.pl.    end-almost-APP.1sg.  
*tamar-ma*].  
 all-CNNst.1sg.  
 ‘The mosquitos ate almost all of me.’

cf. *inar-ma* (lie-CNNst.1sg.) *nere-llru-atnga*  
‘They ate me while I was sleeping.’

(140) *tama-q’apiar-ma* ‘completely all of me’ – with the intensifier.

ii) Reflexive third person:

(141) a. *Ena*<sub>S</sub> *tamar-mi* *puyuuq-uq*.  
house.ABS.sg. be.all-CNNst.3Rsg. smoked-IND.3sg.  
‘The whole house (lit. the house, *it being a whole*) is stained with smoke/soot.’

– *tamar-mi* is not a nominal in the singular locative case; the change of the subject to the plural (‘houses’) yields *ene-t tamar-meng* (CNNst.3Rsg.) *puyuuqut*.

b. [*(May’a-m)*<sub>G</sub> *atr-a*]<sub>S</sub> *tamar-mi*  
p.n.-REL.sg. name-ABS.3sg.sg. whole-CNNst.3Rsg.  
*tai-li*, *tai-li*.  
come-OPT.3sg. RPT

‘(May’aq)’s name totally / wholly come, come.’

– one of a number of formulae used in different areas by which a deceased person’s name (here May’aq) is conferred to a newborn in a naming ritual [Elsie Mather, p.c.], cf. § 11.6.1.

(142) a. *Mecung-uq tamar-mi* [*ene-m*<sub>G</sub> *ilu-ani*].  
wet-IND.3sg. be.all-CNNst.3Rsg. house-REL.sg. inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
‘It is wet inside the whole house.’

b. *Uita-ut tamar-meng* [*ene-t*<sub>G</sub> *ilu-itni*].  
stay-IND.3pl. be.all-CNNst.3Rpl. house-REL.pl. inside-LOC.3pl.pl.  
‘They are in all of the houses.’

iii) Third person:

(143) a. *tama-an eki-u*  
whole-CNNst.3pl. put-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
‘Put it in the whole thing!’

b. *ner-iu ≠ un* ≠ *tamalku-an*  
eat-OPT.2sg.3sg. ≠ this.ABS.sg. be.whole-CNNst.3pl.  
‘You (sg.), eat it whole!’

(144) a. *Akutar-tu-l-qa<sub>P</sub>* *tami-in*  
ice.cream-eat-VN-ABS.1sg.sg. be.all-CNNst.3sg.  
*quyake-lar-aqa*.  
thank-CUS-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘I am thankful every time I eat *akutaq* (Eskimo ice cream).’



10.4. |*kii-*| ‘alone, only’ (~[HBC] |*kiiyi-*|~[Mountain Village] |*kizi-*|)

The nominal use is only marginal. The verbal use, which is more common, is given below in § 14.10.4.1.

- (149) a. [*Elpeni*            *kii-vni*]            *uita-uq*.  
           2sg.LOC            alone-LOC.2sg.    stay.IND.sg.  
           ‘He is only staying at your (sg.) place.’  
       b. [*Wangni*            *kii-mni*]            *uita-lar-tuq*.  
           1sg.LOC            alone-LOC.1sg.    stay-GEN-IND.3sg.  
           ‘He only stays with me.’

i) *As locative verbs* (§ 27.8):

- (150) a. *kii-met-ua*  
           alone-be.at-IND.1sg.  
           ‘I am alone.’ – locative verb  
       b. *kii-me-nii*            *iter-tuq*  
           alone-be.at-APP.1sg. come.in-IND.3sg.  
           – § 51.1.3-ii for appositional marker 1sg. |+*1nii-*| after final apical  
           ‘I was alone when he came in / he came in when I was alone.’  
           cf. *kii-ma* (§ 14.10.4.1) below  
       c. *kii-met-lemni*  
           alone-be.at-CNNwn.1sg.  
           ‘when I was alone’.

- (151) *Wangni*            *assi-nru-uq*            *kii-met-leqs*.  
           1sg.LOC            good-CMP-IND.3sg.    alone-be.at-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
           ‘To me it’s better to be alone; I feel better alone.’

ii) *With derived suffixes* – from oblique case markers (allative and ablative-modalis); see also NV |+*viyc-*| ~ |+*tmuyc-*| after adverbial demonstratives (§ 12.4):

- (152) *kii-murr-sug-tuq*  
           alone-go.to-TND-IND.3sg.  
           ‘he is stingy ~ he wants to be the only one’.
- (153) *Piipiqs*            *kii-miir-tuq*. ~ *kii-mii-llru-uq*  
           baby.ABS.sg.    itself-become?-(PST-)IND.3sg.  
           ‘The baby (has just) stood up by herself, i.e.with no one’s support).’  
           – apparently isolated derivation with locative *-mi-*.

## 10.4.1. Verbal

This occurs only in the stative connective-mood forms (CNNst; § 50.10), which is also the case with *|tama(lku)ŷ-* ‘to be all, whole’ (§ 14.10.3.1), functioning as an adnominal verb.

i) *First person:*

- (154) *Kii-ma*                      *apt-aanga*                      / *apt-aqa*.  
 alone-CNNst.1sg.      ask-IND.3sg.1sg. / ask-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘He asked *me alone* (me, being alone)’ / ‘*Only I* (I, being alone) asked him.’
- (155) *Kii-ma*                      *uita-l-qa<sub>p</sub>*    *assike-nrit-aqa*.  
 alone-CNNst.1sg. stay-VNm-ABS.1sg.sg.      like-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t like staying alone.’  
 – cf. *kiime-nii* (be.alone-APP.1sg.) ‘me being alone’.
- (156) *Ki-na=ll(u)*                      *aya-katar-cetek?*      – *Kii-ma*.  
 who-EX.ABS.sg.=and go-IMN-INT.du.      – alone-CNNst.1sg.  
 ‘Who are you going with?’    ‘All by myself.’  
 – *kii-ma* alone can be an answer, while *kii-me-nii* (150b) is likely to co-occur with, say, *aya-katar-tua* ‘I am going to go’.

ii) *First vs. third person:*

- (157) a. *Kii-ma*                      *qula<sub>p</sub>*                      *pi-k-aqa*.  
 alone-CNNst.1sg.      ten.ABS.sg. thing-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘The ten (dollars) is mine alone (only I have the ten).’
- b. *Kii-ngan*                      *qul-tun*                      *pi-ngqer-tua*.  
 alone-CNNst.3sg.      ten-EQL.sg. thing-have-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I have only ten (dollars).’  
 – modifying the oblique NP.

iii) *Reflexive third person:*

- (158) *Napa-uq*                      *kii-mi*.  
 stand-IND.3sg.      alone-CNNst.3Rsg.  
 ‘He is a lone survivor, lit., he stands *alone*.’

iv) *Third person:*

- (159) *kii-rra-an*                      *irnia-q-aqa*  
 alone-only-CNNst.3sg.      child-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘he is my *only* child (I have him alone as a child)’  
 – § 14.5 and § 20.1.1 for  $|\text{-}\dot{x}a(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}^*|\text{-}$ .

v) *Reflexive third vs. third person:*

- (160) a. *Kii-mi*                      *tuqute-llru-a.*  
 be.alone-CNNst.3Rsg.      kill-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘*He alone* killed it.’  
 b. *Kii-ngan*                      *tuqute-llru-a.*  
 be.alone-CNNst.3sg.      kill-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He killed *only it.*’

# Chapter 15

## Ignoratives

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### 1. Functions and morphology

Ignoratives are a class of morphologically diverse words, functionally common, however, in that they are required in content questions (§ 5.3.1) in which the head verb selects the interrogative mood (§ 48), and they may subsume not only interrogative uses (e.g. ‘where’, § 15.2) but also non-interrogative uses, i.e. indefinite (‘somewhere’, § 15.3.1) and negative (‘nowher’, § 15.3.2).

There are six ignorative stems, two nominals, two ambivalent, and two particles:

Table 11: Ignorative stems

nominal	<i>ki(t)-</i>	who
	<i>na-</i>	where
nominal/verbal	<i>ca-</i>	(to do) what
	<i>qavciy-</i>	(to do) how many
particles	<i>qa(ŋ)-</i> / <i>qaŋvaq</i> , <i>qaku</i>	when
	<i>qai-</i> / <i>qaiḷun</i>	how

The three of them  $|na-|$  ‘where’,  $|ca-|$  ‘(to do) what’, and  $|ki(t)-|$  ‘who’ have a limited extent of denominal derivation.

Either nominally or verbally, they inflect only to a limited extent and not all in the same way. While  $|ca-|$  ‘what’ and  $|ki(t)-|$  ‘who’ inflect for number and case,  $|qavciy-|$  ‘how many’ and  $|na-|$  ‘where’ inflect only for case (but the latter like adverbial demonstratives). The expanded (nominal) ignorative stems  $|na(t)-|$ , etc. that are derived from  $|na-|$  ‘where’ inflect for person (possessor) – see § 12.3.3 for  $|+t-|$  selected by adverbial demonstrative stems to derive location nouns.

A verbally inflected ignorative word in the interrogative mood functions by itself as a content (or *wh-*) question. This is also the case for interrogative clauses that consist of the ignorative  $|qaillun|$  ‘how’ or  $|ca-|$  ‘(to do) what’ and the generic bivalent stem  $|pi-|$  ‘to do; thing’ (§ 10.3.1) in the causal-connective, appositional, or participial mood.

Ignorative words used in conjunction with an interrogative-mood verb  $|pi-|$  – e.g. *pi-a* (INT.3sg.) just below – are frequently used as a kind of set phrase for expressing uncertainty (e.g. ‘I am not sure how, I can’t really say how [but....]’) besides their use in asking questions (e.g. ‘how does he, what’s wrong with him?’):

- (1) *qaill’* (*qangvaq*, *qavci-nek*, *ki-na*, *na-ni...*)  
 how when how.many-ABM.pl. who-ABS.sg. where-LOC  
 $\neq pi-a$   
 do-INT.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder how (when, how many, who, where...) he/it does’.

The phrase is somewhat equivalent to an interrogative phrase with the enclitic  $|=kiy|$  ‘I wonder’ (§ 54.2-iii).

Derivation by suffixes, either nominal elaboration or verbalization, is very much limited. The intensifier VV  $|-qapia(ya)y-|$  or  $|-qapiyc-|$  ‘very (much)’ (§ 41.3.1), used in questions, introduces a request for more specific or true answers:

- (2) a. *qaillu-qapik* ‘exactly how’  
 b. *na-ni-qapiar* ‘exactly where’ (*-ni-* LOC)  
 – note the suffix comes after the locative inflection  
 c. *na-t-qapiari-i* ‘exactly what part of it’ (*-t-* location noun, 3sg. possessor; cf. P6ii, P10)  
 d. *na-te-qva-qapig-ni/-mi* ‘exactly to which area’ (direction; LOC.sg./pl.)

Apart from ignorative stems, there is one ignorative complex transitive suffix VVcm  $|+(u)ciit-|$  ‘not to know, not to be sure whether/that’ and its compo-



site suffixes (§ 40.2.5). This very productive suffix itself is a composite of the nominalizer VNm  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.2.1.1) and the privative  $|+\eta it-|$  (§ 11.2.3.2, § 38.1).

## 2. Ignorative stems

This section only handles the interrogative uses of the stems, with non-interrogative (indefinite and negative) ones described in § 15.3.1 and § 15.3.2.

### 2.1. $|ca-|$ ‘(to do) what’.

The stem is ambivalent (as stated). Nominally used, the nominal  $|ca-|$  inflects for case and number but does not take a possessor marking:

- |     |               |                               |
|-----|---------------|-------------------------------|
| (3) | <i>ca</i>     | ABS.sg.                       |
|     | <i>ca-m</i>   | REL.sg.                       |
|     | <i>ca-mek</i> | ABM.sg. (HBC <i>ca-meng</i> ) |
|     | <i>ca-t</i>   | ABS/REL.pl.                   |
|     | <i>ca-k</i>   | ABS/REL.du.                   |

- (4) *Ca-mi* *yuurte-llru-sit?* – *Iqva-m<sub>G</sub>* *nalli-ini.*  
 what-LOC.sg. be.born-PST-INT.2sg. berry-REL.sg. time-LOC.3sg.  
 ‘When were you (sg.) born?’ – ‘At the time of the berries.’  
 –  $|nali-|$ ; § 11.2.1 and (P6ii, P10).

The locative-case word *ca-mi* ‘during what occasion’ is less precise than *qangvaq* ‘when’ (§ 15.2.4.1). One may respond to a question with the former with a general time-frame, e.g. by *uksuar-mi* ‘in the fall’, while the latter usually elicits a more precise answer, such as the day, month, or year. The former may, moreover, sound like an old way of asking.

- (5) [*Ca<sub>p</sub>* *pi-te-k-luku*] *qia-sit?*  
 what.ABS.sg. do-VNrl.means-have.as-APP.3sg. cry-INT.2sg.  
 ‘For what reason (lit. having what as the means / cause) are you (sg.) crying?’ – cf. *pi-n* ‘cause’.
- (6) *Cà-t* ≠ *u-kú-t?*  
 what-ABS.pl. this-EX-ABS.pl.  
 ‘What are these?’ (exclamation) – with no predicate.

Derivation may take place to a certain extent:

- (7) *U-kù-t<sub>s</sub>* ≠ *cá-u-gat?* ‘What are these?’  
 this-EX-ABS.pl. what-be-INT.3pl.
- (8) [[*Ca-kuci-mek* *kuvya-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *atur-luci*]  
 what-kind-ABM.sg. net-ABM.sg. use-APP.2pl.  
*iqalluar-cur-lar-ceci?*  
 cod-hunt-HAB-INT.2pl.  
 ‘What kind of net do you (pl.) use for hunting cod?, lit. using what  
 kind of net, do you hunt cod?’  
 – see composite suffix *|-kuciŷ-|* in § 18.2.1.3.
- (9) *Ca-tur-yug-cit?* ‘What do you (sg.) want to eat?’  
 what-eat-DES-INT.2sg.

### 2.1.1. Verbal *|ca-|* ‘to do what’.

The verbal stem is inflected for person and mood as an interrogative verb, often inquiring as to reasons (‘why’):

- (10) *U-kù-t<sub>s</sub>* ≠ *ca-at?*  
 this-EX-ABS.pl. ≠ do.what-INT.3pl.  
 ‘What are these (*they*) doing?’  
 – cf. (6) and (7) with nominal *ca-*.
- (11) a. *ca-avet* < *|ca[+ŋavit|* CNNbc.2sg.  
*ca-luten* APP.2sg.  
*ca-lriaten* PTP.2sg.  
 ‘why are you (sg.) ...?’
- b. *ca-amta* < *|ca[+ŋamta|* CNNbc.1pl.  
*ca-luta* APP.1pl.  
*ca-lriakut* PTP.1pl.  
 ‘Why are we ...?’
- (12) *Ca-ami=wa* *qia-ga?*  
 do.what-CNNbc.3Rsg.=REA cry-INT.3sg.  
 ‘And (yes, I wonder) why is she crying?’  
 – *ca-ami* may be replaced by periphrastic (54) *qaillun pi-ami*.
- (13) *Ca-luci* ~ *Ca-lriaci* *tarrice-pakar-cec-ia?*  
 do.what-APP.2pl. / PTP.2pl. walk-ITS-A'.make-INT.2pl.1sg.  
 ‘Why (doing what) do you (pl.) make me wander around so much?’

- (14) *Ca-na-luten tai-llru-sit?*  
 what-PPS-APP.2sg. come-PST-INT.2sg.  
 ‘For what purpose/intention (lit. To do what) did you (sg.) come?’  
 – purposive *|-na-|* (§ 51.2.3-iii).
- (15) *ca-kuna-sit?* ‘what are you (sg.) intending to do?’  
 what.do-intend-INT.2sg. – VVm *|-\*kuna-|* (§ 43).

### 2.1.2. *|ciin|* ‘why’.

A general interrogative particle for reasons (just above); cf. converb *ca-lriim* (§ 47.6.1) ‘when, as’ also.

- (16) a. *Ciin qav-a-vet itrar-la-nric-eci?*  
 why up-EX-ALL go.up-HAB-NEG-INT.2pl.  
 ‘Why do you (pl.) never go upriver?’
- b. *Ciin ila-vut<sub>s</sub> tai-nrit-a?*  
 why relative-ABS.1pl.sg. come-NEG-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Why hasn’t our relative come?’ – possibly with implied annoyance or disappointment on the speaker’s part.

This is a fossilized particle from *|ca-|* ‘to do’, while person-specific interrogatives in the connective mood (CNNbc; § 50.2) as in (11) show that the particle *|ciin|* ‘why’ originally comes from the causative-connective verb *ca-ngan* *|ca[+(ŋa)ŋan|* (CNNbc.3sg. ‘because he does what’) with the common change of *-anga-* to *-ii-* (§ 7.6; P 6ii).<sup>1</sup> Thus the the following two are sub-tantially interchangeable:

- (17) *Ciin ~ Ca-avet pata-ngnaq-vakar-cit?*  
 PCL ~ do.what-CNNbc.2sg. hurry-CNA-ITS-INT.2sg.  
 ‘Why are you (sg.) in such a hurry (doing what, what is the matter with you)?’

### 2.2. *|ki(t)-|* ‘who’

The stem shows a type of inflection and expansion similar to a nominal demonstrative (with root expander *|+na-|*, *|+u-|*, and *|+ku-|* – § 12.2.1), though with some peculiarities. Derivation may take place to a certain extent:

---

1. As retained in CSY *ca-ngan* ‘why’.

- (18) a. *ki-na* ‘who’ ABS.sg.  
 b. *ki-a* ~ *kitu-m* REL.sg.  
 – the former *ki-a* specific to *|ki(t)-|* stem and the latter *kitu-m*, with (c) expansion as below, may be heard in the Coastal area instead of (b):  
 c. *|kit-u-|* non-ABS/REL singular stem:  
     *ki-tu-mi* LOC.sg.  
     *ki-tu-kun* PRL.sg.  
     *ki-tu-(ce)tun* EQL.sg.  
     *ki-tu-u-luni* APP.3Rsg. ‘he being who’  
     – with intransitive relational verb NVrv *|+ŋu-|* ‘to be’.  
 d. *|kin-ku-|* non-singular stem:  
     *kin-ku-t* ABS/REL.pl.  
     *kin-ku-ni* LOC.pl.  
     *kin-ku-tgun* PRL.pl.  
     *kin-ku-(ce)tun* EQL.pl.  
     *kin-ku-u-luteng* APP.3Rpl. ‘they being who’.

Note c) singular *kit-u-u-luni* vs. d) plural *kin-ku-u-luteng* (with NVrv *-u-* ‘to be’) whose inflection agrees with the subject number. See also *kit-u-* in the singular verbs in (22).

i) *Absolutive, relative, and locative forms of |ki(n)-|*:

- (19) a. ***Ki-na<sub>p</sub>*** *iqlu-agu?* ‘To whom is he lying?’  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. lie-INT.3sg.3sg.  
 b. ***Ki-a<sub>A</sub>*** *iqlu-agu?* ‘Who is lying to him?’  
 who-REL.sg. lie-INT.3sg.3sg.  
 c. [***Ki-a<sub>A</sub>*** *angya-a*]<sub>s</sub> *tamar-ta?*  
 Who-REL.sg. boat-ABS.3sg.sg. lose-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Whose boat is lost?’ [EM]
- (20) *Kin-ku-ni* *uita-a* *aana-n<sub>s</sub>?*  
 who-EX-LOC.pl. stay-INT.3sg. Mo-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘With whom (pl.) is your (sg.) mother staying?’

ii) *Derivations* – with some NN type and NV type (relational verb) suffixes:

- (21) *ki-na-cungaq* *tau-na<sub>s</sub>?*  
 who-EX-dear.ABS.sg. that-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Who is that one (dear)?’  
 – see § 20.3 for the honorific (attitudinal) suffix.

- (22) a. *kit-u-u-sit?* ‘who are you (sg.)?’  
 who-EX-be-INT.2sg.
- b. *Pakem-na<sub>S</sub>=kiq* *kit-u-u-ga*  
 up-EX.ABS.sg.=ENC who-EX-be-INT.3sg.  
*nep-lir-paka-lria<sub>S</sub>?*  
 noise-supply-ITS-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I wonder who it could be that is making so much noise up there?’  
 – a detached construction of a relative clause (§ 2.3.3), across *kit-u-u-ga*. A plural subject, instead, such as *neplirpaka-lriit* (PTP.ABS.pl.) ‘ones who are making so much noise’ naturally requires the plural expander *-ku-* as in *kin-ku-u-gat* (INT.3pl.) instead of *kit-u-gat*.

### 2.3. |na-| ‘where’

- (23) *na-ni* LOC  
*nat-mun* (but no *\*na-vet*) ALL  
*na-ken* (but no *\*na-mek*) ABL  
*na-uggun* / *na-w’un* ~ *na-gg’un* PRL
- (24) *Na-w’un* *tai-llru-sit?*  
 where-PRL come-PST-INT.2sg.  
 ‘How/Which way (transportation/route) did you (sg.) come?’
- (25) *Na-ken* *tai-luni* *pi-a?* ‘Where has he come from?’  
 where-ABL come-APP.3Rsg. PI-INT.3sg.  
 ≙ non-periphrastic *na-ken tai-ga?* (come-INT.3sg.) – with hardly any difference.

Derivations – a number of case-derived verb suffixes (NV type):

- (26) a. *Na-nt-a* *aana-ka<sub>S</sub>?* ‘Where is my mother?’  
 where-be.at-INT.3sg. Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 – a locative verb with |+n(i)t-| ‘to be at’ (§ 27.8) that is more formal than questions with *nauwa* (§ 15.2.3.3)
- b. *na-nc-it* (INT.2sg.) ‘where are you (sg.)?’
- (27) *na-wuir-ciq-sit?* ‘which way will you (sg.) be going through?’  
 where-go.through-FUT-INT.2sg.  
*na-wuir-vi-it-uq* ‘there is no way through it’  
 where-go.through-VNrl-PRV-IND.3sg.  
 – cf. (24) perlocative *na-w’un* and derived NV |+xuiy-| (§ 12.4) ‘to go by way of’.



- (33) *Nateqli-at<sub>P</sub>*                      *nut-qatar-ciu?*  
 which.one-ABS.3pl.sg.      shoot-IMN-INT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Which one in relation to them (their position) are you (sg.) going to shoot?’
- (34) *Nateqli-i-n<sub>P</sub>*                      *aata-k-siu?*  
 which.one-EV-ABS.2sg.sg. Fa-have.as-INT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Which one (person) in relation to you (sg.) is your father?’

iii) |*nati-qvay-*| ‘which area far toward (in relation to something)’, with NN suffix |*-qvay-*| ‘far’ (§ 11.2.3.1): See also (32b).

- (35) *Nate-qva-qapiar-ni=kiq / Nate-qva-qapig-ni=kiq*  
 which-area-EMP-LOC=ENC  
*ene-ngqer-ta?*  
 house-have-INT.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder exactly where he has a house.’

### 2.3.2. |*naliy-*| ‘which one’.

This is the ignorative equivalent of the partitive noun |*ila-*| ‘part, relative, some of’ (§ 11.4.3-i), inflecting in the same fashion: cf. NN |*-liy\*-*| (§ 11.2.3.1).

- (36) a. *nalir-put*                      ‘which one of us(pl.)’ (ABS.1pl.sg.)  
       cf. *ila-put*                      ‘one of us(pl.)’  
       b. *nali-it*                        ‘which ones of them(pl.)’ (ABS.3pl.pl.)  
       cf. *ila-it*                        ‘some of them(pl.)’.
- (37) *Nalir-peci<sub>A</sub>*                      *ner-au?*  
 which-REL.2pl.sg.      eat-INT.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Which one of you (pl.) ate it?’
- (38) [*Nali-at*                      *kass’a-t<sub>G</sub>]<sub>P</sub>                      *ui-k-siu?*  
 which-ABS.3pl.sg.      white.man-REL.pl.      Hu-have.as-INT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Which white man (lit. which one of the white men) is your (sg.) husband?’  
 – *naliat kass’at* is an attributive phrase with *naliat* as the head, functioning as the P argument for the transitive relational verb (§ 37.2), while *qavcin kass’at* ‘how many white men’ in (62) is an appositive phrase.*

The stem |*naliy-*| may often occur with a coordinate phrase conjoined by the particle |*wātu*| ‘or’ (§ 53.5-vi):

- (39) *Nali-agnek*<sub>(P)</sub>            *pi-yug-cit / yuurqer-yug-cit*  
 which-ABM.3du.sg. do/drink-want-INT.2sg.  
 [*kuuvvia-mek*            *wall'u*            *saayu-mek*]<sub>(P)?</sub>  
 coffee-ABM.sg.            or            tea-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Which (which of the two) do you (sg.) want (to drink), coffee or tea?’

### 2.3.3. |*nauwa*| ‘where’

This particle apparently has the ignorative stem |*na-*| and may have the same composition as |*qayuwa*| ‘how’ in (60), but its exact composition remains uncertain. It is less formal than the verb |*na-nt-*| ‘to be where’ above, and less specific than LOC |*na-ni*| in (23).

- (40) *Nauwa ~ Nauw’*            *aana-ka*<sub>S?</sub>  
 where            Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Where is my mother?’
- (41) *nauwa=mi*            ‘But, then, where?’ (ENC =*mi*; § 54.1-ii).  
 – cf. *na-ni=mi* (where-LOC=ENC), which is more specific.

May often be shortened as in:

- (42) *nau’ ≠ im-na*            ‘Where is that one?’  
 (*im-na* that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.)

### 2.4. |*qa(ŋ)-*| ‘when’.

The root occurs in |*qayvaŋ-*| and |*qaku-*|.

#### 2.4.1. |*qayvaŋ-*| ‘when (in the past)’

This behaves more like a particle, though it may occur in the ablative case and with a few limited suffixes. Compare with the future |*qaku-*| ‘when (in the future)’ (§ 15.2.4.2).

- (43) *Qangvar-**nek***    *age-ksaic-it*            *ene-vceñun?*  
 when-ABL    go.over-not.yet-INT.2sg.    house-ALL.2sg.sg.  
 ‘When is the last time you (sg.) went (lit. since when you have not been) to your house?’



- (44) a. *Qangva-urt-a* ~ *qangva-u-ga tekite-llr-a<sub>s</sub>?*  
 when-become/be-INT.3sg. come-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘How long has it been / is it since he arrived (his arrival)?’
- b. *Qangva-lla-u-gat u-ku-t<sub>s</sub>?* –  
 when-thing.of-be-INT.3pl. this-EX-ABS.pl. –  
*Kia-lla-u-gut.*  
 summer-thing.of-be-IND.3pl.  
 ‘How old (things) are these?’ – ‘They are from last summer.’
- (45) [*Alussistua-m<sub>G</sub> qangva-qu-ani*] *yuurte-llru-sit?*  
 Christmas-REL.sg. when-FUT-LOC.3sg.sg. be.born-PST-INT.2sg.  
 ‘When after Christmas were you (sg.) born?’  
 – with *|-ku-|* for the future time (§ 11.3.3 and just below), though it  
 can be for the past after *qangvaq*, and the answer could either be:
- cf. (*Alussistua-m*) *ciu-ngani* before-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*kingu-ani* after-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*aka-urr-ner-akun* long.time-become-VNnm-PRL.3sg.sg.

#### 2.4.2. *|qaku-|* ‘when (in the future); later’

Like *|qayvay-|* ‘when (in the past)’ just above, this is nearly a particle, but it has a very limited inflection. See § 11.3.3 and § 52.2 as to *|-ku-|* (FUT).

- (46) ***Qaku*** [*im-na aya-lleq*]<sub>s</sub> *uterc-iiq-a?*  
 when that-EX.ABS.sg. go-VNrl.ABS.sg. return-FUT-INT.3sg.  
 ‘When will that one (ANP) who left come back?’
- (47) *qaku-kugc-it?* ‘when are you (sg.) planning to do (something)?’  
 when-NV-INT.2sg. – cf. § 42.2.1 for the NV suffix.

The future vs. past contrast may be neutralized:

- (48) [*Alussistua-m<sub>G</sub> qaku-ani*] *yuurte-llru-sit?*  
 Christmas-REL.sg. when-LOC.3sg.sg. be.born-PST-INT.2sg.  
 ‘What (length of) time *after* or *before* Christmas were you (sg.)  
 born?’ – see also (45) and the following:
- (49) [*Tekite-llr-e-n(=wa)*] *ma-a-vet*]<sub>s</sub>,  
 arrive-VNnm-EV-ABS.2sg.sg.(=ENC) this-EX-ALL  
*qangva-urt-a? / qaku-urt-a?*  
 when-INC-INT.3sg.  
 ‘When it is (now) that you (sg.) arrived here?’ – see (44a).

The time stems *|qayvay-|* and *|qaku-|* have durative derivations *qangvar-pak* and *qaku-rpak* ‘for how long’ with the augmentative NN *|+pay-|* as exemplified in § 11.3.3.

2.5. *|qai-|* ‘how’, attested in two particles:

2.5.1. *|qaitun|* (*particle*) ‘how’

(50) **Qaillun** *u-na<sub>s</sub>* *atur-narq-a?*  
 how this-EX.ABS.sg. use-NEC-INT.3sg.  
 ‘How must this be used?’

(51) *Apt-aanga* [**qaillun** *angya-ma<sub>G=S</sub>*  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg. how boat-REL.1sg.sg.  
*tak-ta-ci-ane<sub>k</sub>*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 long-as.as-VNm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He asked me [R] how long my boat is.’

i) *With limited inflection and derivation:*

(52) *qaillu-tun* ‘How/in what way?’ (EQL).

(53) *qaillu-qapik* ‘exactly how’ (ITS)  
*qaillu(n)-qapiar* ‘exactly how (more intensifying)’, cf. (2b).

This ignorative word often co-occurs with *|pi-|* verb ‘to do’ (§ 34.4) in various moods (articulated as a bound phrase; § 2.3), serving like a person-inflected interrogative word:

(54) *qaillun ≠ pi-ami* ≙ (12) *ca-ami?* ‘Why he?’ (-*ami* CNNbc.3Rsg.).

(55) *qaillun=wà ≠ pi-a* ‘I don’t know why he is (doing) that’ (-*a* INT.3sg.).

ii) *Truncated form qaill’ /qait’/:*

(56) a. *Qaill’ ≠ pi-ama* *qavarni-vakar-cia* *unuamek.*  
 how do-CNNbc.1sg. sleepy-ITS-INT.1sg. today  
 ‘I wonder why (lit. I doing how) I am so sleepy today.’

b. *Qaill’ ≠ pi-luni* *tai-ga?*  
 how do-APP.3Rsg. come-INT.3sg.  
 ‘How (how doing) did he come?’

- c. *Qaill'* ≠ *pi-lrianga*      *irr'i-vakar-cecia?*  
 how      do-PTP.1sg.      stare-ITS-INT.2pl.1sg.  
 'What I am doing so that you (pl.) are staring at me?'

- (57) *qaill'* ≠ *ayuq-sit?*  
 how ≠ resemble-INT.2sg.  
 'What's the matter with you (sg.)?'  
 – bound phrase pronounced as /qai|layúq|sit/ (not \*/qai|layuq|sit/).

The Yukon version of the most common greeting-like expression is *cangac-it?* (what.amiss-INT.2sg.). It may carry negative connotations ('something is wrong with you?'), and some elders do not seem to like this. There is another expression *waqaa*, which is not a simple greeting either (see § 53.2).

### 2.5.2. |qayu-| 'how'

At least in HBC and NS area, the stem occurs in a few fossilized particles, taking the place of |*qail(un)*| or |*qavciy-*| (below) (cf. Jacobson 1988: 58, 166):

- (58) ***Qayu-tun*** (/ *qavci-tun* / *qaill'*)      *aki-tu-ta-a?*  
 how-EQL      value-endowed-as.as-INT.3sg.  
 'How much is it?'
- (59) ***Qayuwa* ~ *qayugga***      *tegumiaq-lar-ciu?*  
 how      hold-HAB-INT.2sg.3sg.  
 'How do you (sg.) hold it?'

The particle may hardly be ignorative, as in the Coast dialect:

- (60) ***Qayuwa***      *an'-uq.*  
 'He is going out for a change (though he usually does not).'  
 – |*ani-*| 'to go out'.

It may be suspected (though not certain) that the |-*wa*| in this particle as well as *nauwa* 'where' (§ 15.2.3.3) was originally the enclitic =*wa* (§ 54.1-i). Likewise it is uncertain whether |-*mi*| is an enclitic or not (|=*mi*| 'how about'; § 54.1-ii):

- (61) ***Qayumi.***      'I don't know.'

2.6. |*qavciy-*| ‘(to be/do) how many/much’.i) *As a nominal stem* – inflects like a numeral stem (§ 14.1):

- (62) [ *Qavci-n*                      *kass'a-t*<sub>s</sub>                      *ene-mi*                      *uita-at?*  
 how.many-ABS.pl. white.man-ABS.pl. house-LOC.sg. stay-INT.3pl.  
 ‘How many white men are staying in the house?’  
 – appositive phrase, as contrasted with attributive (38) [*nali-at*  
*kass'a-t*] ‘which white man’.
- (63) *Qavci-nek*<sub>(p)</sub>                      *imarmiutar-te-llru-at?*  
 how.many-ABM.pl. mink-catch-PST-INT.3pl.  
 ‘How many minks did they catch?’
- (64) *Qavci-rqu-nek*                      *ernerpak / nitili-mi*  
 how.many-FRQ-ABM      day.ABS.sg. / week-LOC.sg.  
*tengssuun*<sub>s</sub>      *ma-a-vet*                      *tai-lar-ta?*  
 plane.ABS.sg. this-EX-ALL      come-HAB-INT.3sg.  
 ‘How many times a day / a week does an airplane come?’  
 – see § 14.8 for NN |*yqu(y-*| (FRQ) and § 11.3.6 for |*nitiliy-*| ‘week’.
- (65) *Qavci-u-gat*                      *ene-mi*                      *kass'a-t*<sub>s</sub>?  
 how.many-be-INT.3pl.      house-LOC.sg.      white.man-ABS.pl.  
 ‘How many white men are there in the house?’

The unique loan suffix from the English noun (‘clock’) occurs after this stem as well as |*ca-*| – see § 14.6-vii.

- (66) *qavci-klaag-ta?* ~ *ca-klaag-ta?*      ‘What time is it now?’  
 what-clock-INT.3sg.  
 ≙ *qavci-nun kaug-ta?* – |*kauy-*| ‘to strike’.

ii) *As a verb stem*:

- (67) a. *qavcir-cit?*    ‘How old are you (sg.)?’  
 be.how.many-INT.2sg.  
 b. *qavci-rrar-cit?*  
 be.how.many-little-INT.2sg.  
 ‘How many (few) did you (sg.) get?’ (as in hunting)  
 – NN/NV |*-xa(ya)y-*| ‘(to get) a little, few’ (§ 20.1.1).

### 3. Non-interrogative uses

When co-occurring with a non-interrogative mood verb, most of the ignorative words are non-interrogative, i.e. indefinite or negative ('some' or 'no').

While the ignorative pronoun *ki-na* (ABS.sg.) in (a) and (b) below is interrogative ('who') with interrogative-mood inflection (*-a* INT.3sg.), it is indefinite ('someone') in (c) with an indicative verb (*-uq* IND.3sg.), and negative ('no one') in (d) with the negative VVn *-nrit-*:

- (68) a. *Ki-na<sub>S</sub> aya-llru-a?* 'Who went/left?'  
 b. *Ki-na<sub>S</sub> aya-nrit-a?* 'Who didn't go?'  
 c. *Ki-na<sub>S</sub> aya-llru-uq.* 'Someone went.'  
 d. *Ki-na<sub>S</sub> aya-nrit-uq.* 'No one went.'

Interrogative use as contrasted with indefinite use is illustrated with the relative *ki-a* (REL.sg.) in the A function. Note the difference between (a) vs. (b) in verbal inflection, i.e. interrogative vs. indicative, both with future specification (*-ciq-*):

- (69) a. *Ki-a<sub>A</sub> kiu-ciq-anga?* 'Who will answer me?' (INT.3sg.1sg.)  
 b. *Ki-a<sub>A</sub> kiu-ciq-aanga.* 'Someone will answer me.' (IND.3sg.1sg.)

– see (70) with an optative verb.

#### 3.1. Indefinite

- (70)  $|ki(t)-|$ :  
*ki-a<sub>A</sub> un'-a<sub>P</sub> atu-ul-liu*  
 who-REL.sg. down.there-ABS.sg. sing-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.3sg.3sg.  
 'let *someone* sing for that one down there'. [PAIT 348]

- (71)  $|qan̄vaȳ-|$ :  
**Qangvaq**=wa *aya-llru-lria.*  
 when=ENC go-PST-PTP.3sg.  
 'He left *some time* ago.'

- (72) **Qangvar**-nek *akerci-qsait-uq ma-n'a<sub>S</sub>.*  
 when-ABL sunny-not.yet-IND.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 'It hasn't been sunny here for *some time*.'  
 – with *akerci-* from *akerc-* plus *-lir-* (§ 33[19]).

- (73) |qavciy-|:  
**Qavci-rrar-ø-luni**                      *ayag-tuq.*  
 how.many-few-have-APP.3Rsg. go-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He left with/using *a few* (dogs of his own).’
- (74) *Ak’a*    [**qavci-nek**                      *ta=ima*    *erner-nek*]  
 already how.many-ABM.pl.    ANP            day-ABM.pl.  
*pi-rraar-luteng*    *nutaan arna-t<sub>s</sub>*                      *aki-lar-tut.*  
 do-first-APP.3Rpl. then    woman-ABS.pl. repay-pl.CUS-IND.3pl.  
 ‘After they had done something for *several* days, the women reciprocated (it was after some days that the women repaid or had their *petugtaq*).’ [CAUY 24] – a description of ceremonial gift exchange between the men and women (§ 13-fn.1).
- (75) |ca-|:  
**Ca-ni<sub>p</sub>**                      *tamar-ni-i.*  
 what-ABS.3Rsg.pl. lose-A'.say-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘He says (someone) has lost *something* his own.’
- (76) *ca-qa-t*                      *ili-itni*  
 what-brief-REL.pl.    some-LOC.3pl.sg.  
 ‘at/during one of those (brief, small) occasions’  
 – VV |qay-| ‘briefly’ (§ 41.3.4)  
 cf. *ca-t ili-itni* ‘one time’.
- (77) a. *Tuar* [*tau-na*                      *qimugta*]<sub>s</sub>    **ca-mek** <sub>(p)</sub>                      *niite-llria.*  
 seems that-EX.ABS.sg. dog-ABS.sg. some-ABM.sg. hear-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘It seems that that dog hears *something*.’  
 b. [**ca-mek**                      *alla-mek*]<sub>(p)</sub>                      *ner-vailegpet*  
 some-ABM.sg. other-ABM.sg. eat-CNNbf.2sg.  
 ‘before you (sg.) eat *something* else’.

|ca-| may be emphasized by the exhaustive quantifier |tamaŷ-| ‘(to be) all, whole’ (§ 14.10.3) as adnominal verbs in the stative-connective mood (§ 16.6-ii, § 50.10):

- (78) a. *ca<sub>p</sub>*                      *tami-in*                      *nallu-nrit-aa*  
 thing.ABS.sg. be.all-CNNst.3sg. ignorant-NEG-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He knows *the whole (thing)*.’  
 b. *ca-t<sub>p</sub>*                      *tama-ita*                      *nallu-nrit-ai*  
 thing-ABS.pl. be.all-CNNst.3pl. ignorant-NEG-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘He knows *all things*.’

as verbs of indefinite use:

- (79) **Ca-na-luten** ≠ *qaa*                      *tai-llru-uten?*  
do.what-PPS-APP.2sg.≠QST              come-PST-IND.2sg.  
'Did you (sg.) come for any purpose, i.e. in order to do *something*?'

(80) a. **ca-qer-luni**  
do.what-ITS-APP.3Rsg.  
'it happened (exceptionally); *something* (not usual, somewhat different from preceding events) happened on one occasion/day'  
– somewhat lexicalized use as a sort of signal of a shift or a change in narrative sequence, besides the literal sense of 'just as he was doing something', cf. QNMN xvii

b. *Ene-mi*                      *uita-ura-rraar-luni*                      *an-llini-uq*  
house-LOC.sg.    stay-CNT-after-APP.3Rsg.              go.out-EVD-IND.3sg.  
**ca-qer-luni**.  
do.what-ITS-APP.3Rsg.  
'(I now see) it happened that he went out after continuing to stay in the house.'

|*na-*|:

(81) a. *u-na* ≠ **na-n**=*lli*                                      ≙              **na-n**=*ll'* ≠ *atag'* ≠ *u-na*  
this-EX.ABS.sg. ≠ where-LOC=EXC  
'where should this be?'  
– the latter with exclamative particle *atag'* (*atak[i]*) 'well then, let me see' inserted

b. **na-ni-llikiar-tuq**              /*nani' | hik | kiáx | tuq /*  
where-LOC-wonder-IND.3sg. (VVm -*llikiar-*; § 43)  
'he is wondering (feels) if he is doing well/uncertain about where to be or his situation'.

(82) **Na-ni=llu=gguq**              *cali*              *angute-ts*              *yurar-luteng*  
where-LOC=and=RPR              also              man-ABS.pl.              dance-APP.3Rpl.  
*arna-u-nguar-luteng*.  
woman-be-imitate-APP.3Rpl.  
'It is also told that *in some place* the men danced (pretending) as women.' [CAUY 23]

Indefinite use of |*na-*| may co-occur with another interrogative word (non-interrogative), thereby triggering the interrogative mood:

- (83) **Na-ni**                      **qangvaq**              *tange-llru-siken?*  
where-LOC              when              see-PST-INT.1sg.2sg.  
'When did I see you (sg.) *somewhere*?'

By contrast, two ignorative words in the following are both of indefinite use, hence they require no interrogative-mood verb:

- (84) *Tange-llru-nrit-ua*                      *kit-u-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>                      *na-ni*.  
 see-PST-NEG-IND.1sg.      who-EX-ABM.sg.      where-LOC  
 ‘I didn’t see anyone anywhere.’

### 3.2. Negative

i) *With a negative suffix* (VVn; § 44):

- (85) *Tua=i*      *qaillun*                      *qaner-ciiga-nani*.  
 so                      how                      speak-cannot-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘So he could not say anything (any way).’
- (86) a. *Kit-u-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>                      *tange-llru-nrit-ukut*.  
 who-EX-ABM.sg.      see-PST-NEG-IND.1pl.  
 ‘We did not see anybody.’
- b. *Waniwa=llu*      [*ki-a*<sub>G</sub>                      *ner-ki-inek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 here=and                      who-REL.sg.                      eat-VNrl-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*niite-ksait-ua*,                      [*tuluraru-u-t*                      *tama-ku-t*].  
 hear-not.yet-IND.3sg.      raven-EV-ABS.pl.      that-EX-ABS.pl.  
 ‘To this day, I haven’t heard of anybody eating any ravens.’ [ELLA 258]
- (87) a. *Nate-tmur-a-yuu-nateng*                      [*uksu-mi*                      *kiag-mi=llu*].  
 where-go.to-CNT-never-APP.3Rpl.      winter-LOC.sg.      summer-LOC.sg.=and  
 ‘(They) did not get around much in the winter or in the summer (in the old days).’
- b. ..., [*ta-u-m*                      *yu-u-m*]<sub>A</sub>                      *yagg-luni*  
                     that-EX-REL.sg.      person-EV-REL.sg.      reach-APP.3Rsg.  
*uyaquurr-akun*                      *kemg-a*<sub>P</sub>                      *agtu-llini-a*,  
 neck-PRL.3sg.sg.                      skin-ABS.3sg.sg.                      touch-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 [*nat-mi*]<sub>A</sub>                      *pi-nril-engraaku*.  
 what.part-REL.3sg.sg.      do-NEG-CNNth.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘That Eskimo, although it was repulsive to him, reached under the [ghost’s] collar to touch its skin.’ [YQYL 10-11]
- (88) a. *U-na*<sub>S</sub>                      *tai-guq*                      [*ca*]<sub>P</sub>                      *pi-cii-naku*.  
 this-ABS.sg.      come-IND.3sg.      what.ABS.sg.      do-not.sure-APP.3sg.  
 ‘This one is here, not knowing what it is for.’



- b. [*Unuk<sub>p</sub>*      *tekil-luku*]      *ca-tait-uq*.  
 night.ABS.sg. arrive-APP.3sg.    what-not.exit-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He *is gone* (there was nothing) until (reaching) the night.’

ii) *Verbal vs. nominal* |ca-|:

- (89) a. *ca-nrit-uq*      ‘there’s nothing wrong with it, it is OK; [may also mean] you are welcome’  
           *ca-nrit-uten*      ‘there’s nothing wrong with you (sg.); you are OK’  
 b. *ca-u-nrit-uq*      ‘it’s nothing’  
           *ca-u-nrit-uten*    ‘you’re nothing’ – an insult (not to be uttered).

iii) With composite suffix |*-ṭy(u)-it-*| (PST-PRV) ‘was never, has never been’. Additional examples in § 44.

- (90) a. *Ki-na<sub>s</sub>*                      *assi-llru-it-uq*.  
           who-EX.ABS.sg.      good-PST-PRV-IND.3sg.  
           ‘There is no one better than others; is no one who has ever been good; nobody is perfect.’  
 b. *Na-ni*                      *assi-llru-it-uq*.  
           where-LOC.      good-PST-PRV-IND.3sg.  
           ‘There never was a time/place that he was good (in his history).’

## Chapter 16

### Nominal phrases

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A nominal phrase, consisting of two or more constituents (nominals) and filling a syntactic slot just like a single nominal, is internally either “appositive” (§ 16.1),<sup>1</sup> “coordinate” (§ 16.2), “juxtaposed” (§ 16.3), “attributive” (genitive; § 16.4), or “adjunctional” (§ 16.5). Finally added here is a non-restrictive “adnominal clause” (§ 16.6), a clause characterized by an appositional (§ 51) or a stative-connective (§ 50.10) mood, which semantically modifies an NP or a noun-stem. This is distinct from a (restrictive) “relative clause” as a nominalization (§ 17).

The two (or more) nominals concerned are typically, though not necessarily, contiguous, occurring next to each other. They are usually pronounced as a single articulus – as a weakly bound phrase – but with possible permutation, i.e. internal free word order. Attributive phrases tend to have the dependent NP (in G function) preceding the head, though the reverse order by permutation is still possible. An exception is a juxtaposed phrasal numerals (§ 14.3.3), which are strongly bound and basically have fixed word order with no permutation or insertion.

Except for a juxtaposed phrase (because of the nature, § 16.5), a nominal phrase may have one or two nominal phrases embedded, which in turn may have another phrase embedded (thus three-layered). Different combinations are attested below, where the double greater than sign » means ‘which embeds’:

- i. appositive phrase:   » attributive phrase (11), (13b), (16), (19), (23), (32)  
                              » attributive phrase » attributive phrase (17)

---

1. Called “attributive adjectives” by Woodbury (2002: 83), cf. also Woodbury (1985b: 64) for “noun phrase” in apposition.

- » appositive phrase (27) / attributive phrase (13c) / relative clause (25a), (33)
  - » coordinate phrase (43)
  - » two attributive phrase § 20 (230)
- ii. coordinate phrase: » one or two adjunctive phrases (42)
- iii. attributive phrase: » appositive phrase (59), (60a), (64) / attributive phrase (60b) / coordinate phrase (61) / adjunctive phrase (63)
  - » coordinate » attributive phrase (62)
  - » adjunctive » appositive phrase (65)
- iv. adjunctive phrase: » appositive phrase (76), (79) / coordinate phrase (73), (80) / attributive phrase (78).

Nominal phrase embedding often results in a detached articulation (§ 2.3.3), as amply illustrated below. See § 27 (115) also for an interesting case of “word order crossing” between two nominal phrases as a special type of detached articulation.

A CAY relative clause with its (external) head noun (§ 17.1.1) consists of an appositive phrase (with external head) with or without an attributive phrase (with external subject), while a comparative phrase (verbalization of which is a comparative clause; § 45.4) consists of an appositive phrase (with comparee) and an attributive (with standard of comparison), and a complement clause consists an attributive phrase (with its logical subject; § 18.1), that is, forming a possessive construction.

A nominal phrase as a whole cannot be subject to morphological derivation in CAY. As far as appositive and coordinate phrases are concerned, however, they may have one constituent (typically a common noun) expanded by a nominal-elaborating suffix NN *|-ly-* ‘one having’ as in example (74) below, or verbalizing suffixes NV *|-ŋq̄x-* /  *|+tanq̄x-* ‘to have, there be’, *|-ŋ\**i*-* ‘to get’,  *|+tuŷ-* ‘to eat’, *|-li-* ‘to make’), with the other constituent being “stranded” (or left behind) to the ablative-modal status (§ 25.2.2).

The case marking of a nominal phrase as a whole is naturally determined by its function within a clause, where it fills a syntactic slot.

CAY has neither verbal phrases (phrasal verbs), verbal complexes (§ 2.3.2), nor serial verbs in other languages.

## 1. Appositive phrases

The two or more nominals that constitute an appositive phrase agree in number and case, and generally (though not obligatorily) stand next to each other. A

relative clause with external head is an appositive phrase in constitution, e.g. (25), but compare with (56b).

An appositive phrase comes, with the absolutive case inflection and in connection particularly with the reactive enclitic  $|=wa|$  (§ 54.1-i), to have a predicative force. This is a property that leads the issue of a participial relative clause (with external head) vs. a participial mood verb — cf. § 17.2.1-vii, § 47.2.1. See Woodbury (1985: 69–72) for the significant insight in this regard.

Various combinations of nominal constituents in appositive phrases are attested, although it is very often the case that one of the constituents is a common noun. In that case, it is the semantic head to be modified by the other constituent(s). An implication of this is that CAY has no “zero copula” (verbless copula) clauses created merely by juxtaposing two nominals — cf. relational verbs (‘A is [someone’s] B’; cf. § 5.1.1.3-i, § 37) instead.

i) *Two common nouns*: with various semantic relationships — content, material, purpose, use, etc.

- (1) a. *qanikcaq*       $\cup$       *ena*  
 snow.ABS.sg.      house.ABS.sg.  
 ‘snow house, house *made of* snow’
- b. *aanaq*       $\cup$       *taqukaq*  
 Mo.ABS.sg.      bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘mother bear’ [KPLT 41]
- c. *tuluq*       $\cup$       *qasgi-ruaq*  
 ivory.ABS.sg.      q.-imitation.ABS.sg.  
 ‘ivory-made model of *qasgiq* (community house)’<sup>2</sup>
- d. *taryaqvag-cuun*  $\cup$       *kuvyaq*  
 salmon-INS.ABS.sg.      net.ABS.sg.  
 ‘king salmon net’.

Permutability (indicated by  $\cup$  ; cf. § 14.3.3) seems always allowed with appositive phrases (unlike juxtaposed phrases; § 16.3), that is, head-modifier order or modifier head order, and insertion by another word is possible. Thus, the preceding (1) with the interrogative particle  $|qaa|$  (§ 53.2) added to form a non-enclitic phrase:

- 
2. A *qasgiq* used to be a highly regarded men's house (commonly used for festivals, young men's education, etc.) where women are not allowed in except for festivals. Nowadays it functions as a community hall. By contrast, the *ena* ‘house’ was, according to Kanaqlak (2011: 31), the ‘domain for the women, where young girls were taught the essence of the womanhood’.

- (2) a. *qanikcaq* ≠ *qaa ena* ~ *ena* ≠ *qaa qanikcaq* ‘snow house (, right)?’  
 – but not \**qanikcaq en* ~ *a* ≠ *qaa*.  
 b. *ak'allar-mi* ≠ *ene-mi* (§ 23[5]) ~ *ene-mi* ≠ *ak'allar-mi*  
 ‘in the/an old house’.

An appositive phrase may be near synonymous to an adjunctive phrase with oblique case nominal as the dependent (§ 16.5):

- (3) *puckaq*                      *emeq*  
 barrel.ABS.sg.              water.ABS.sg.  
 ‘water *in* the barrel (drinking container)’  
 ≡ adjunctive *emeq pucka-mi* (LOC.sg.)      ‘water in a barrel’  
 cf. *emer-un*                      /                      *emer-vik*                      ‘place for drinking’  
 drink-VNrl.means.ABS.sg.      drink-VNrl.place.ABS.sg.
- (4) *atur-aq-luta*                      [*pilugug-**nek***                      *taquka-**nek***]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 use-CUS-APP.1pl.      boot-ABM.pl.                      seal-ABM.pl.  
 ‘we would use seal skin boots’.

A common noun inside an appositive phrase may be a possessed one. The following pair is equivalent, although the first one may be more common than the second:

- (5) a. *qantaq*                      *neq-ka*  
 bowl.ABS.sg.                      food-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 b. *qanta-qa*                      *neqa*  
 bowl-ABS.1sg.sg.                      fish.ABS.sg.  
 ‘my bowl (full) of fish/food’.

i) Litteral translation by apposition of English phrases such as ‘dog tail’ may not work in CAY. An appositive phrase involving a constituent referring to a part or a product of living things requires derivation by NN *|-linyay\*-|* ‘part, product, trace’ (with /V-l/ deletion; § 38.3), with its derived NP forming an appositive phrase with the other NP:

- (6) *qimugc-inraq* (~ *qimugte-linraq*) *pamyuq*  
 dog-NN.ABS.sg.                      tail.ABS.sg.  
 ‘dog tail (tail *as a part of* a dog)’.
- (7) *uuteki'-inraq*                      *peksuq*                      [Y]  
*uqsuq-inraq*                      *kayanguq*                      [K]  
 mallard-product.ABS.sg.      egg.ABS.sg.  
 ‘mallard egg (*as a product of* a mallard)’.

For the two above, CAY does not allow such appositive phrases as \**qimugta pamyuq* and \**uutekaq peksuq* without the suffix *-linraq*, although attributive phrases (§ 16.4) such as *qimugte-m* (REL.sg.) *pamyu-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘dog’s tail’ and *uqsuqa-m* (REL.sg.) *kayang-u-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.) [K] ‘mallard’s egg’ are grammatical. More examples in § 20.1.2.

ii) *With a numeral*: An numeral often forms an appositive phrase to quantify another nominal, including a relative clause (10), etc.

(8) *Uita-yug-tukut* [ene-mi *atauci-mi*].  
stay-DES-IND.1pl. house-LOC.sg. one-LOC.sg.  
‘We want to live in one house.’

(9) *tallima-n* *irnia-nka*  
five-ABS.pl. child-ABS.1sg.pl.  
‘my five children’ – but not \**tallima-nka irnia-t*.

(10) *pingayu-n* *aya-llr-e-t*  
three-ABS.pl. leave-VNrl-EV-ABS.pl.  
‘three who went away’.

Appositive phrasal numerals for expressing multiplication, consisting of two (or more) basic numerals (Table 10), such as *tallima-n* (5-ABS.pl.) *yuina-a-t* (20-EV-ABS.pl.) ‘hundred (i.e. five times twenty)’, are detailed in § 14.3.2.

iii) *With a location noun* (§ 11.2.1):

(11) *kiag-mi* [*puqla-m<sub>G</sub>* *nalli-ini*]  
summer-LOC.sg. warmth-REL.sg. time-LOC.3sg.sg.  
‘during the warm summer season’  
– the locative NP *kiag-mi* and the attributive phrase with the *nalli-ini* as head NP constitute an appositive phrase (i.e. are in apposition).

iv) *With an appositive noun* (§ 11.1.1) – less likely possessed:

(12) a. [*Nutaraq* *angyaq*]<sub>s</sub> *ang’-uq*.  
new.thing.ABS.sg. boat.ABS.sg. big-IND.3sg.  
‘The new boat is big.’  
b. [*Angute-m<sub>G</sub>* [*nutaraq* *angya-a*]]<sub>s</sub> *ang’-uq*.  
man-REL.sg. new.thing.ABS.sg. boat-ABS.3sg.sg. big-IND.3sg.  
‘The man’s new boat is big.’  
– one constituent *nutaraq* splitting (detaching) another constituent *angute-m angya-a* (attributive phrase).

v) *With a demonstrative words* (§ 12): Every one of CAY's thirty demonstratives, both pronominal and adverbial, occur very often in appositive phrases, making up for the absence of definitive articles in the language.

A demonstrative word typically stands at the phrase-initial position, though the reverse order does occur. A difference in meaning in such a case is something to be explored.

*nominal demonstrative:*

- (13) a. **u-na**                      *qayaq*                      /    *qaya-qa*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.      kayak.ABS.sg.      /    kayak-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 'this kayak' / 'this kayak of mine' (with possessed head)
- b. **u-na**                      [*angute-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *qaya-a*]  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.      man-REL.sg.      kayak-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'this kayak of the man' – in apposition with the attributive phrase
- c. **u-u-mun**                      [*angute-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *qaya-anun*]  
 this-EX-ALL.sg.      man-REL.sg.      kayak-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 'to this kayak of the man's'.
- (14) ***Auḡ-na*** ≠ *tang*                      *taqukaq!*  
 that.going.away-EX.ABS.sg.≠ATN      bear.ABS.sg.  
 'Look, that bear (which is) going away!'  
 – split by the attention-calling particle, forming a bound phrase /áŷ<sup>w</sup>nà(t)≠taŋ/ with its characteristic regressive gemination (P18iv.a; § 8.4.1).
- (15) a. **ta-u-na**                      *ki-a-kar-qa*  
 that-EX-ABS.sg.      beside-EX-just-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'that area just further inside/upriver than I am'  
 – |+k/aŷaŷ-| (§ 11.2.3.1)
- b. **tau-ku-k**                      *malru-k*                      /    *aya-llr-e-k*  
 that-EX-ABS/REL.du. two-ABS/REL.du.    leave-VNrl-EV-ABS/REL.du.  
 'those two' / 'those(du.) who went away'.
- (16) *Ingri-ngqer-tuq*                      [***pauḡ-na***]  
 mountain-there.be-IND.3sg.    back.there-EX.ABS.sg.  
 [*kelu-at*                      (*nuna-t<sub>G</sub>*)]s.  
 behind-ABS.3pl.sg.    village-REL.pl.  
 'There is a mountain back there behind it (village).'

- (17) *Tua=i=wa* [**tama-na** [[*kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub>* *pai-ngan*]<sub>G</sub>  
and that-EX.ABS.sg. river-EV-REL.sg. mouth-REL.3sg.sg.  
*nuni-i*]]<sub>S</sub> *mara-u-llini-an* *nuna-kar-nii-nani*.  
land-ABS.3sg.sg. muddy-be-EVD-CNNbc.3sg. land-FUT-bad-APP.3Rsg.  
'And that land of the river mouth was marshy, so it was not a good  
land (for something).' [FASM 4]  
– appositive phrase with the attributive *kuig-e-m pai-ngan* embedded,  
the latter of which is also an attributive.

*adverbial demonstrative:*

- (18) [**ma-a-ggun** *tumyara-kun* (~ *tumyara-kun ma-a-ggun*)]  
here-EX-PRL trail-PRL.sg.  
*aya-kuvet*  
go-CONif.2sg.  
'if/when you (sg.) go by this road (the road here)'.  
(19) [**Pag-aa-ni** [*ingri-m<sub>G</sub>* *qai-ngani*]]  
above-EX-LOC mountain-REL.sg. top-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*yug-mek<sub>(P)</sub>* *tange-llru-uq*.  
person-ABM.sg. see-PST-IND.3sg.  
'He saw a man *above there* on top of the mountain.'  
– see § 12.3.1 for the doubled *aa* of the adverbial demonstrative ex-  
pander.

An adverbial demonstrative may stand in apposition with its corresponding nominal demonstrative, usually in that order:

- (20) [**Ma-a-ni** **mat'-u-mi** (*nuna-mteni*)]  
this-EX-LOC this-EX-LOC.sg. village-LOC.1pl.sg.  
*uita-lar-tukut* [*uksu-mi* *kiag-mi=llu*].  
stay-CUS-IND.1pl. winter-LOC.sg. summer-LOC.sg.=and  
'We live here in this village of ours both in the winter and the sum-  
mer.' – [*uksumi kiagmi=llu*] as a coordinate phrase.

vi) *An ignorative pronoun:*

- (21) [**Ki-a** *yu-u-m*]<sub>A</sub> *ikirr-ngairul-luku*  
who-REL.sg. person-EV-REL.sg. open-will.not-APP.3sg.  
[*qakm-a-ken* *ella-mek*].  
out-EX-ABL outside-ABM.sg.  
'No person will be able to open it from the outside.' [QLLK 364]  
– negative ignorative.



- (22) [[*Ca-kuci-mek* *kuyya-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *atur-luci*]  
 what-kind-ABM.sg. net-ABM.sg. use-APP.2pl.  
*iqalluar-cur-lar-ceci?*  
 cod-hunt-HAB-INT.2pl.  
 ‘What kind of net do you (pl.) use for hunting cod?’

vii) *With an attributive phrase embedded:*

- (23) *emeq* [*qanta-m<sub>G</sub>* *ima-a*]  
 water.ABS.sg. bowl-REL.sg. content-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘water that is in the bowl/dish (water [which is] the content of the bowl/dish)’.

vi) *With a comparative phrase embedded* – (58) embedded

- (24) a. *alla* [*angya-ma<sub>G</sub>* *ange-nr-a*]  
 another.ABS.sg. boat-REL.1sg.sg. big-VNnm.CMP-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘my other larger boat (lit. another, the one bigger than my boat)’  
 b. *angya-ma* *alla* *ange-nr-a* (same as above)  
 – split by the intruding appositive noun.

vii) *With a relative clause* (§ 17):

- (25) a. *u-na* [*taqukaq* *pini-lria*]  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. bear.ABS.sg. strong-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘this strong brown bear (this brown bear which is strong)’.  
 b. *aug-na* [*tange-llr-a* *kaviaq*]  
 over-EX.ABS.sg. see-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. fox  
 ‘that one going away he saw’ – see viii) below for three-component appositive phrases.

- (26) [[*Mat'-u-m* *ene-ke-st-i-i*]  
 this-EX-REL.sg. house-have.as-VNrl-EV-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*angun*]<sub>S</sub> *akm-a-nt-uq*.  
 man.ABS.sg. across-EX-be.at-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man who is the owner of this house is (lives) across there.’

- (27) *Ikayu-ut-uq* [*pani-minun* [*cali-lria-mun*  
 help-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. daughter-ALL.1sg.sg. work-VNrl-ALL.sg.  
*ataner-mun*]].  
 boss-ALL.sg.  
 ‘He is helping out (once) my daughter who is working for the boss.’  
 see § 39.4.4 and § 39 (168, 16) for an demoted NP in the allative  
 (instead of ablative-modalis).

viii) *with three components of various combinations* – this is far from rare:

- (28) *atauciq*      *kipusvik*      *ange-lria*  
 one.ABS.sg.    store.ABS.sg.    big-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘one big store’.
- (29) *akuta-k=gguq=wa*      *malru-k*      *qanta-k*  
 ice.cream-ABS.du.=RPT=REA    two-ABS.du.    bowl-ABS.du.  
 ‘(there were) two bowls of *akutaq*’ [QNMC 116]  
 – note the enclitics attached to the phrase-initial word.
- (30) [*Espaak*      *nutaraq*      *cimiq*]<sub>s</sub>      *assir-tuq*.  
 spark.ABS.sg.    new.ABS.sg.    substitute.ABS.sg.    good-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The new substituted spark (spark plug) is good.’ [YED 120]
- (31) *Ikiitug-te-qatar-tut*      [*yuilqu-mek*  
 celery-get-IMN-IND.3pl.    wilderness-ABM.sg.  
*ikiitu-ngqer-tura-lria-mek*      *pava-ken*].  
 celery-have-CNT-VNrl-ABM.sg.    back-ABL  
 ‘They are about to pick wild celery from the wilderness back there  
 where wild celery grows.’  
 – notably the demonstrative at the appositive phrase final.
- (32) [*pava-t-mun*      [*pissur-yara-m<sub>G</sub>*      *tungi-inun*]  
 back-NN-ALL      hunt-VNnm-REL.sg.    direction-ALL.3sg.sg.  
*yuilqu-mun*]      *ayag-luteng*  
 tundra-ALL.sg.      go-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘they went to the hunting area of tundra away from the river’.  
 – one constituent of the appositive phrase is an attributive one.
- (33) [[*Ma-n’a*      *cayara-llr-at*]      [[*yu-u-t<sub>G</sub>*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.    do-VNnm-PST.ABS.3pl.sg.    person-EV-REL.pl.  
*ap-qi-it*]      *Petugtaq*]]<sub>s</sub>      [*kass’a-t<sub>G</sub>*  
 call-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.    festival.ABS.sg.    white.man-REL.pl.  
*iga-itni*]      *Asking.Festival-aa-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 writing-LOC.3pl.pl.    a.f.-LNK-ABM.sg.  
*apr-uma-lar-tuq*.  
 call-PSV-CUS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘This festival which people call *Petugtaq* is called Asking Festival in  
 white men’s writings.’<sup>3</sup> [CAUY 19]

3. See § 13-fn.1 as well as Lantis (1947: 73–76) and CAUY (19–28) for Asking Festival or *petugtaq*.

– S argument NP (in the absolutive case) is an appositive phrase consisting of two appositive phrases, the second of which has an attributive phrase (relative clause) embedded. The peripheral NP (in the locative) is an attributive phrase. See § 12.2.3.5-iii for the use of nominal demonstrative *man'a*.

### 1.1. Verbalization

If one constituent of an appositive phrase is verbalized by a NV suffix, the other constituent(s) will be stranded to the ablative-modal status (§ 25.2.2-i).

The following appositive phrase may be verbalized into (a) and (b), but the latter may be grammatical or ungrammatical:

- (34) *ene-r-pak* *nutaraq* 'a big new house'  
house-EC-big.ABS.sg. new.ABS.sg.
- a. *Ene-r-pa-ngqer-tuq* *nutara-mek.* 'He has a big, new house.'  
house-EC-big-has -IND.3sg. new-AMB.sg.
- b. *Ene-r-pa-u-guq nutara-mek.*  
i. = (a) possession  
ii. \*'it is a big, new house' – relational verb.

The ablative-modal NP *nutara-mek* in (a) serves as an external modifier to the head of the denominal possessive verb. On the other hand, (b) can be ungrammatical, because a relational verb (§ 37) is not susceptible of verbalization by a non-relational denominal verb such as a possessive (§ 38) – NN suffix *-pak* can mean both 'a big N' and 'one who has a big N', as reiterated in § 37.5.1.

The non-possessive *ene-r-pa-u-guq*, instead, can be followed by a relational verb in the appositional mood, which expresses 'newness' as additional information. The second clause is preceded by a potential pause as the independent use (§ 51.10).

- (35) a. *Ene-r-pa-u-guq* *nutara-u-luni.*  
house-EC-big-be-IND.3sg. new-be-APP.3Rsg.  
'He has a big house, and it is new.'
- b. *Ene-r-pa-k-aqa* *nutara-u-luku.*  
house-EC-big-have.as-IND.1sg,3sg. new-be-APP.3Rsg.  
'It is my big house, and it is new.'  
– see § 51.1.4.2 for the different person of the two appositional verbs in (a) and (b).

The same kind of deverbalization occurs with coordinate phrases just below.

## 2. Coordinate phrases

In coordinate phrases the two or more nominals concerned are linked by a conjunctive particle (e.g. |wàlu| ‘or’ |cali| ‘and, furthermore’; § 53.5-vi, § 53.4-x) or enclitic (e.g. |=lu| ‘and’; § 54.5 – “monosyntactic” coordination). The particle stands before the last of the coordinating words of the phrase (A *wallu* B; A, B, *wallu* C), while the enclitic is attached to the last word (A, B=*llu*, A, B, C=*llu*). Each of the nominals involved occurs in the same case, with the case marking repeated, except when a reflexive third person possessor is involved (below).

i) =*llu*:

- (36)      *arnaq*                      *angute-k=llu*  
 woman.ABS.sg.    man-ABS.du.=and    ~  
           *angute-k*                *arnaq=llu*  
 man-ABS.du.      woman.ABS.sg.=and  
 ‘a woman and two men’.

The enclitic cannot stand after the first constituent (\**arnaq=llu angutek*) in contrast with the non-enclitic |*qaa*| (question), which is typically attached to a sentence-initial word as (a) below, though (b) is also possible:

- (37) a. *arnaq ≠ qaa angutek=llu*  
 b. *arnaq angutek=llu ≠ qaa?*  
 ‘a woman and two men (, right)?’

- (38)      [*nuna-mi*      *emer-mi=llu*]              *uuta-tuli-t*  
 land-LOC.sg.    water-LOC.sg.=and    stay-capable-ABS.pl.  
 ‘amphibians, lit. one capable of living both on the land and in the water’. – an adjunctive phrase with a deverbal noun (§ 19.1).

- (39)      *uuta-llini-aq-ut*                      *nate-tmur-a-yuu-nateng*  
 stay-EVD-REG-IND.3pl.    nowhere-go.to-RPT-never-APP.3pl.  
           [*uksu-mi*                      *kiag-mi=llu*]  
 winter-LOC.sg.              summer-LOC.sg.=and  
 ‘they stayed (at ...) without going anywhere in the summer and in the winter’ [SMFA s.3].

- (40)      [*Arnaq*                      *qetunra-ni=llu*]              *aya-llru-uk.*  
 woman.ABS.sg.      So-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=and    leave-PST-IND.3du.  
 ‘The woman and her (own) son left, lit. the woman left and her own son (left) also.’ – note the number agreement, but compare with transitive construction (47).

As is the case with appositive phrases (§ 16.1.1), verbalization of coordinate phrases is also possible with a stranded NP in the ablative-modalis status in § 25.2.2-ii. The following example (a) illustrates three nominals forming a coordinate phrase, which is verbalized in (b) with two NPs stranded to the ablative-modalis marking:

- (41) a. *neqerrluk*                      *neqa*                      *kemek=llu*  
 dried.fish.ABS.sg.    fish.ABS.sg.    meat.ABS.sg.=and  
 ‘dried fish, fish, and meat’  
 b. ***Kemeg-tu-llru-uq***                      [*neqerrlug-mek*                      *neq-mek=llu*].  
 meat-eat-PST-IND.3sg.    dried.fish-ABM.sg.    fish-ABM.sg.=and  
 ‘He ate meat, dried fish, and fish.’

A coordinate clause may have one or more adjunctive phrases:

- (42) a. *yaquleg-cur-yaraq*                      [*yaquleg-nek=llu*    *ungu-yaraq*]  
 bird-hunt-VNnm.ABS.sg.    bird-ABM.pl.=and    drive-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 ‘bird hunting and driving molting birds’ [PAIT 159]  
 b. [*Yug-tun*                      *iga-ute-llr-it*]  
 person-EQL.sg.    write-E<sub>APL</sub>-VNnm-ABS.3pl.3pl.  
 [*kass’a-tun=llu*                      *mumigte-llr-it*]  
 white.man-EQL.sg.=and    turn.over-VNnm-ABS.3pl.3pl.  
 ‘Yupik translation and English translation’ [PAIT liv]
- (43) [*qulira-t*                      *qanemcit=llu*]    *kingu-var-c-ima-lrii-t*  
 legend-ABS.pl.    story-ABS.pl.    rear-go.toward-A-PST-VNrl-ABS.pl.  
 ‘legends and stories for future generations (lit. one which are passing down to future generations’ – title for [QQLK], cf. 16.1-vii.

A constituent with =*llu* attached presupposes an precedent, which may not occur explicitly (but merely understood), however. Compare the following pair with difference in the possessor of the ‘son’ (reflexive third vs. third) and in the number of eaters marked in the transitive verb and note the absolutive case for the ‘son’ in (a) as opposed to the relative in (b) – cf. (47) below:

- (44) a. *Qetunra-ni<sub>A</sub>=llu*                      *nere-llru-ak*                      *akutaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 So-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=and    eat-PST-IND.3du.3sg.    ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘(Someone, e.g. a woman) and her own son ate the ice cream.’  
 b. *Qetunra-an<sub>A</sub>*                      *nere-llru-a*                      *akutaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 So-REL.3sg.sg.    eat-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.    ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Her son ate the ice cream.’

ii) *wall'u*: see also § 53.5-vi

- (45)      *atauciq*            *malru-k*                    ***wall'u***            *pingayu-n*  
 one.ABS.sg.    two-ABS.du.            or                    three-ABS.pl.  
 ‘one, two, or three’  
 – typically pronounced in three articuli (with potential pause), with the particle standing before the third, i.e. a bound phrase: *atáuciq # málrúk # wàll'ù ≠ pingáyun*, with *wall'u* forming a bound phrase with its following NP.

iii) *cali*: see also § 53.4-x

- (46)      [*yuina-a-t*            *pingayu-n*]            [*qul-nek*            *cip-luku*  
 20-EV-ABS.pl.    three-ABS.pl.    ten-ABM.pl.    exceed-APP.3sg.  
*cali pingayunleg-nek*]  
 and eight-ABM.pl.  
 ‘seventy-eight’ (lit. ‘exceeding 60 [20×3] by 10’ with ‘8’ added)  
 – the first two words forming an appositive phrase, cf. § 14(12, 13).

## 2.1. Reflexive third person within a coordinate phrase

While ‘the woman’ and ‘her own son’ in the intransitive construction (40) above is in the absolutive, in the following transitive construction ‘the woman’ is in the relative case but ‘her own son’ is in the absolutive (relative *\*qetunra-mi=llu* REL.3Rsg.sg. is ungrammatical):

- (47)      [*Arna-m*            *qetunra-ni=llu*]            *nere-llru-ak*  
 woman-REL.sg.    So-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=and    eat-PST-IND.3du.3sg.  
*akutaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The woman and her (own) son ate the ice cream.’ – cf. (44a)

– which suggests that this coordinate phrase comes from a coordination of ‘the woman ate the ice cream and her own son (ate) also’.

- (48)      *anngaq*            *nayaga-ni=llu*  
 elBr.ABS.sg.    yoSi-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=and  
 ‘an older brother and his (own) younger sister’. [QQLK 458]

i) *With |nakmiin| ‘(one’s) own (something possessed), self’*: The pronominal *nakmiin* may be added as an adjunct to a possessor or transitive subject, though not so commonly, as stated in § 13.4.1. The following pair demonstrates what happens when this occurs within a coordinate phrase. The two sentences are

substantially identical, but differ in the possessor inflection (reflexive third absolutive *-ni* vs. third relative *-an*) and the position of the enclitic *=llu*, as the bracketing shows:

- (49) a. [*Arna-m*                    [*nakmiin*    *qetunra-ni=llu*]]<sub>A</sub>  
 woman-REL.sg.    own                    So-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=and  
*nere-llru-ak*                                    *akutaq<sub>P</sub>*.  
 eat-PST-IND.3du.3sg.    ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The woman and her own (i.e. not adopted) son ate the ice cream.’  
 – with *nakmiin* added to (47) and the absolutive *qetunra-ni* likewise,  
 as contrasted with the relative *qetura-an* in the following:
- b. [[*Arna-m*                    *nakmiin=llu*]    *qetunra-an*]]<sub>A</sub>  
 woman-REL.sg.    own=and                    So-REL.3sg.sg.  
*nere-llru-ak*                                    *akutaq<sub>P</sub>*.  
 eat-PST-IND.3du.3sg.    ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The woman and her own, the son, ate the ice cream.’

– the (a), if without *arnam*, that is, [*nakmiin*    *qetunra-ni=llu*]<sub>A</sub> *nere-llru-ak* would mean ‘(someone) and her own son ate the ice cream’, corresponding to (44a).

ii) *With NN |+nku-| in coordinate phrases*: One constituent in a coordinate phrase referring to a person(s) often contains the NN |+nku-| ‘associate of’ (§ 20.1.2) with a dual or plural marking. Note the dual of the first word because of two persons involved, ‘May’aq’ and ‘his (own) daughter’, and the absolutive case of the latter:

- (50) [*May’a-nku-k*                    *pani-ni=llu*]<sub>A</sub>                    *ceñirt-aagkut*.  
 name-associate-REL.du.    Da-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=and    visit-IND.3du.1pl.  
 ‘Mayaq and his own daughter, lit. M. and his associate, i.e. his own daughter, visited us.’

### 3. Juxtaposed phrases

As stated (§ 14.3.3), it is very common nowadays that two or more numerals occur in juxtaposition as mere additions (e.g. 10+2 = 12), although the elders may not accept the innovation. These do not necessarily have number agreement, thereby being clearly distinct from appositive phrases (§ 16.1), including appositive numeral phrases, which are multiplicative (e.g. 20×2 = 40; § 14.3.2).

This may be taken as a kind of compounding, a morphological process presumably adopted in a rather recent stage of the language, to which stem-compounding has been totally alien.

The primary stems *qula* ‘10’, *akimiaq* ‘15’, or *yuinaq* ‘20’, in particular, followed by an additive numeral (see § 14.3.3) forms a strongly bound phrase (with ≠), i.e. a juxtaposed phrase, where the internal word order cannot be reversed and the pre-boundary regressive characteristic of non-enclitic bound phrases occurs:

It is very common to hear, particularly from the younger generation:

- (51) *qulà* ≠ *atauciq* ‘eleven’ (10+1)  
 ten.ABS.sg. one.ABS.sg.

The reversed *\*atauciq qula* is not ‘eleven’, but just means, if ever uttered, ‘one ten’; that is, the phrase is not permutable as a numeral. Many of the older generation may abhor this kind of juxtaposed numeral, and insist on using the traditional *qula atauci-mek cip-luku* ‘eleven’ (with adnominal verb; § 14.3.1.1) instead.

Even those who use juxtaposed numerals will not accept insertion of or separation by another word – *\*qula ≠ qaa atauciq?* – unlike other phrasal numerals. Likewise:

- (52) *yuinaq* ≠ *pingayu-n*  
 20.ABS.sg. three-ABS.pl.  
 ‘twenty-three’ (20+3)  
 – equal to the traditional *yuinaq pingayu-nek cip-luku*.  
 cf. *\*pingayun yuinaq*  
*\*yuinaq ≠ qaa pingayu-n*.

By comparison, an appositive phrase for multiplication is permutable:

- (53) *yuina-a-t* *pingayu-n*  
 20-EV-ABS.pl. three-ABS.pl.  
 ‘sixty’ (20×3).

Juxtaposed phrases with two two-digit numbers like 20 and 10 may allow permutation, however.

- (54) *yuinaq qula* ‘thirty’ (20+10) – better in this order than otherwise  
 [*yuinaq qula*] \*<sub>∪</sub> *pingayu-n* ‘thirty-three’ (20+10+3)  
 20.ABS.sg. ten.ABS.sg. three-ABS.sg.  
 [*yuina-a-k qula*] \*<sub>∪</sub> *pingayun* ‘fifty-three’ (20×2+10+3)  
 – *qula* can stand at the initial position, but the order shown is preferred.

The following has an appositive phrase in juxtaposition with another numeral:



- (55) [yuina-a-t pingayu-n] akimiaq ‘seventy-five’  
 20-EV-ABS.pl. three-ABS.sg. 15.ABS.sg.  
 – quasi-equivalent to the cosubordinate construction (§ 14.3.1):  
 [yuina-a-t pingayu-n]<sub>P</sub> akimiar-mek cip-luku  
 20-EV-ABS.pl. three-ABS.sg. 15-ABM.sg. exceed-APP.3sg.

#### 4. Attributive (genitive) phrases

An attributive (genitive) phrase consists of a dependent nominal (possessor) in G function (relative case marked) and its head nominal with a third person marked (obligatorily possessed – § 24.1), agreeing in number. The possessor NP typically precedes the head, which is not totally obligatory, however. The language has no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession except for certain classes of nominals (§ 22.5).

- (56) a. *angute-m<sub>G</sub> pani-ni* ‘the man’s daughter’  
 man-REL.sg. daughter-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 b. [*angute-m<sub>G</sub> assike-ki-i*] *pani-ni*  
 man-REL.sg. like-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. daughter-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘the daughter the man loves’.

– note that the relative clause (b) is an appositive phrase with an attributive phrase embedded; compare with (a) and with (25b). (b) is the relativisation of: *angute-m<sub>A</sub> assik-aa* (like-IND.3sg.3sg.) *pani-ni<sub>P</sub>* ‘the man likes his (own) daughter’.

Miscellaneous examples of attributive phrases with various semantic relationships are given, with many more examples in § 12, § 18, and § 45:

- (57) a. *yurar-uta-it* *kegginaqu-t<sub>G</sub>*  
 song-means-ABS.3pl.pl. mask-REL.pl.  
 ‘the songs *for* the masks (songs to accompany mask dancing)’  
 b. *pisur-te-t<sub>G</sub> angya-at* ‘the boat *of* the hunters’  
 hunt-VNrl-REL.pl. boat-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 c. *teggenn-e-t<sub>G</sub> inerqu-uta-it*<sup>4</sup>  
 elder-EV-REL.pl. admonish-means-ABS.3pl.pl.  
 ‘warnings *from* the elders’ – title of an narrative (by George Kanri-lak). [QNMC]

4. *Inerqu-un* ‘admonishment, prohibition’ from § 36(27) [*iniy(quy)*]-| ‘to warn not to’ is one of Yupik traditional warnings or rules for right living, as collected by Fienup-Riodan (2005 [YQYW xiv]) – including *ayuq-ucir-tu-ut-e-t* ‘instructions and directions’, *el-ucir-tu-ut-e-t* ‘directions, intructions’; see also § 17(233b) *alerqu-un*, § 18(94c) *qaner-yaraq*, § 18(108) *ayuq-uciq*.

A comparative phrase (§ 18.3.2.1, § 45.4) is constitutionally an attributive (genitive) phrase:

- (58) *angya-ma<sub>G</sub>*                      *ange-nr-a*  
 boat-REL.1sg.sg.      big-VNnm.CMP-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the one bigger than my boat’.

An attributive phrase may embed an appositive phrase:

- (59) [*irnia-ma*                      *asri-m*]<sub>G</sub>                      *atr-a*  
 child-REL.1sg.sg.      naughty-REL.sg.      name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the name of my naughty child’.
- (60) a. [[*Ella-mta*                      *mat’-u-m*]<sub>G=S</sub>  
 world-REL.1pl.sg.      this-EX-REL.sg.  
*kia-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub>    *alla-u-guq.*  
 become.summer-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.      different-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Our weather this summer is weird/unusual.’  
 – impersonal monotransitive |*kia*-| ‘(it) to summer’; see § 12-fn. 5 for *ella*
- b. [*Ella-m<sub>G</sub>*      *irniar-an*]<sub>G=S</sub>                      *igte-llr-a*]<sub>P</sub>  
 Ella-REL.sg. child-REL.3sg.sg.      fall-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*iillak-luku, ...*  
 amaze-APP.3sg.  
 ‘(he) being amazed at [the idea] that Ella’s child was fallen (lit. Ella’s child’s falling),...’. [AKKL 178]

The head of the attributive phrase in (a) and (b) is a nominal clause (§ 18.2.2) as complementation to the predicate.

An attributive phrase may embed a coordinate phrase:

- (61) [*imarmiuta-a-t*                      *cuignilngu-u-t=llu*]<sub>G</sub>      *piciryara-llr-at*  
 mink-EV-REL.pl.      otter-EV-REL.pl.=and      custom-PST-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘custom regarding mink and otter’ [PAIT 239]  
 – cf. § 39 (40g) *piciryaraq* from *pi-cir-yaraq* (VVsm-VNrl)
- (62) [[*yaqulg-e-t<sub>G</sub>*                      *enr-ita*]    *nissu-ita=llu*]<sub>G</sub>  
 bird-EV-REL.pl.      bone-REL.3pl.pl      wing.feather-REL.3pl.pl.=and  
*atu-u-llr-it*  
 use-be-VNnm.ABS.3pl.pl.  
 ‘uses of bird bones and feathers’ [PAIT 167]  
 – cf. |*atuy*-| ‘something useful; to use’.

An attributive phrase may embed an adjunctive phrase:

- (63) *arna-t<sub>G</sub>* [*qalu-rpag-teggun qalu-la-llr-at*]  
 woman-REL.pl. dipnet-AUG-PRL.pl. dipnet-CUS-VVnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘women(‘s) dipnetting with large dip nets’. [PAIT 197]

In the following, the attributive phrase (in P function) with an appositional embedded is detached by its head:

- (64) *qanr-utke-qatar-qa* [*mat’-u-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 speak-VVsm-IMN-IND.1sg.3sg. this-EX-REL.sg.  
*ili-i* [*qanemci-m<sub>G</sub>]*<sub>P</sub>  
 part-ABS.3sg.sg. story-REL.sg.  
 ‘I will narrate an episode in this story.’ [ELLA 248]
- (65) *qaya-m<sub>G</sub>* [*atauci-mi erner-mi*] *tumarte-llr-a*  
 kayak-REL.sg. one-LOC.sg. day-LOC.sg. assemble-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘assembling a kayak in a day’ [PAIT 264]  
 – detached by the dependent *atauci-mi erner-mi* (appositive phrase)  
 within the attributive phrase *qaya-m tumarte-llr-a*.

The case of the head nominal depends upon the syntactic status of the phrase in a clause. Compare the pair:

- (66) a. [*Angute-m<sub>G</sub> pani-a*]<sub>P</sub> *nallu-aqa.*  
 man-REL.sg. Da-ABS.3sg.sg. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know the man’s daughter.’
- b. [*Angute-m<sub>G</sub> pani-an*]<sub>A</sub> *nallu-anga.*  
 man-REL.sg. Da-REL.3sg.sg. not.know-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘The man’s daughter doesn’t know me.’

An attributive phrase can be an adjunct to another noun, constituting an upper-layer attributive phrase, and the embedding is theoretically recursive ad infinitum. The late Paschal Afcan once constructed the sentence (c) below, though largely for fun, which is a six-layered attributive construction, though it is confusing to many other speakers:

- (67) a. [[*Angute-m<sub>G</sub> pani-an*]<sub>G</sub> *atr-a*]<sub>P</sub>  
 man-REL.sg. Da-REL.3sg.sg. name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nallu-aqa.*  
 not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know the man’s daughter’s name.’

- b. [[[*Angute-m*<sub>G</sub> *pani-an*]<sub>G</sub> *ui-ngan*]<sub>G</sub>  
 man-REL.sg. Da-REL.3sg.sg. Hu-REL.3sg.sg.  
*atr-a*]<sub>P</sub> *nallu-aqa*.  
 name-ABS.3sg.sg. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know the man’s daughter’s husband’s name.’  
 – compare with a double-layered attributive phrase with relative clauses involved in § 17(33).
- c. [[[[[[*Angute-m*<sub>G</sub> *pani-an*]<sub>G</sub> *ui-ngan*]<sub>G</sub>  
 man-REL.sg. Da-REL.3sg.sg. Hu-REL.3sg.sg.  
*qaya-an*]<sub>G</sub> *uci-in*]<sub>G</sub> *ima-in*]<sub>G</sub>  
 kayak-REL.3sg.sg. load-REL.3sg.sg. content-REL.3sg.sg.  
*ila-it*]<sub>P</sub> *nallu-anka*.  
 part-ABS.3sg.pl. not.know-IND.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘I don’t know some of the content of the load of the man’s daughter’s husband’s kayak.’
- (68) [[[[*Allraku-t*]<sub>G</sub> [*yuina-a-t* *yuina-a-t*]<sub>G</sub>  
 year-REL.pl. 20-EV-REL.pl. 20-EV-REL.pl.  
*pellu-llr-e-t*]<sub>G</sub> [*nuni-itni*]] *1582-mi*  
 pass-VNm-EV-REL.sg. time-LOC.3pl.sg. year-LOC.sg.  
*tau-ku-ts* *tua-ten* *pi-llru-ut*.  
 that-EX-ABS.pl. there-EQL do-PST-IND.3pl.  
 ‘This (Bering’s arrival) happened almost 400 years go in the year 1582.’ [VBER 2]

Two village names in the mouth of the Yukon are phrasal compounds (i.e. single words) from attributive phrases as mentioned in § 11.6.3, and are subject to derivation (b):

- (69) a. *Nunà-m ≠ Iqu-a* ‘Sheldon Point (lit. the end of the land)’  
*Negeqli-i-m ≠ Pái-nga* ‘Pitka’s Point’ (lit. the mouth of the north)’  
 b. *Nuna(-m(-)Iqu(-)a-miu-ngu-llini-uten*.  
 ‘(I now see) you (sg.) are from Sheldon Point.’  
 – which is a verb with the village name (a) expanded and inflected (place-dweller-be-EVD-IND.3sg.).

## 5. Adjunctional phrases (with oblique case NP)

An adjunctional phrase is also adnominal, just like an attributive (genitive) phrase above, in that it is a modifying dependent to its semantic head NP, but, unlike an attributive, there is no agreement. It may consist of a dependent NP in one of the oblique cases, which commonly marks an adverbial adjunct for a

predicate, and its semantically modified head NP – ‘rain water’ = ‘water *from* rain’. Just as a predicate does not mark a non-core argument in an oblique case, the semantic head in an adjunctional phrase has no grammatical connection to its adjunct.

All the five oblique cases are attested:

*ablative-modalis*:

- (70) *emeq*                      *kuiḡ-mek*    ‘water from the river’ – see § 25.1.1.  
water.ABS.sg.      river-ABM.sg.

- (71) [*Ma-a-ken*            *tang-lleq*]<sub>s</sub>                      *assir-tuq*  
here-EX-ABL      see-VNnm.ABS.sg.      good-IND.3sg.  
‘The view from here is good.’

- (72) *ella-nge-lle-mnek*                                      *yu-u-ci-qa*  
awareness-get-VNrl-ABL.1sg.sg.      person-be-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
‘my life since I came to get awareness’  
– the adjunctional phrase is possible with appositional-mood verb  
*ayag-lua* (leave-APP.1sg.); § 16.6-i: i.e.  
[*ella-nge-lle-mnek ayag-lua*]      *yu-uci-qa*  
‘my life starting from the time I came to get awareness’.

*coordinate phrase within an adjunctional one*:

- (73) [*kaviar-nek*                      *uliir-nek=llu*]                      *pissur-yaraq*  
red.fox-ABM.pl.      arctic.fox-ABM.pl.      hunt-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
‘hunting red foxes and Arctic foxes’ [PAIT 230]

A phrase consisting of a derived noun with NN *|-ly-* ‘one having’ (§ 20.1.2) and a stranded noun in the ablative-modalis case (§ 25.2.2) is considered an adjunctional phrase:

- (74) *gate-llria-mek*                      *atku-lek*    ‘one in a white parka’  
white-VNrl-ABM.sg.      parka-one.having.ABS.sg.  
cf. *gate-llria*                      *atkuk*      ‘white parka’ – appositive phrase.  
white-VNrl.ABS.sg.      parka.ABS.sg.

*allative*:

- (75) *tumyaraq*                      *ma-a-vet*                      ‘this trail to here’.  
trail.ABS.sg.      this-EX-ALL

- (76) [*ciki-ut-ka*                                      *atkuk*]                      *arna-mun*  
give-VNrl.means-ABS.sg.      parka.ABS.sg.      woman-ALL.sg.  
‘parka as my gift to the woman; the parka that I gave to the woman’.

- cf. *Ciki-ute-k-aa* *atkuk<sub>T</sub>* *arna-mun<sub>R</sub>*  
 give-VNrl-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg. parka.ABS.sg. woman-ALL.sg.  
 ‘He is giving a parka to the woman.’ – indirective ditransitive construction.
- locative:*
- (77) a. *Agayun qilag-mi* ‘God in heaven’  
 God.ABS.sg. heaven-LOC.sg.  
 b. *ila-nka Negeqlir-mi* ‘my relatives at St. Mary’s’.  
 partner-ABS.1sg.pl place-LOC.sg.
- (78) [*ik-na ena*] [*ene-ma<sub>G</sub>*  
 across-EX.ABS.sg. house.ABS.sg. house-REL.1sg.sg.  
*tunu-ani*]  
 back-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘that house across there behind my house’.
- (79) [*ma-a-ni maa=i Kusquqvag-mi*] *qanemciq*  
 here-EX-LOC now place-LOC.sg. story.ABS.sg.  
 ‘a story (that comes) nowadays here from the Kuskokwim area’.  
 [AKKL 196]
- (80) [*nuna-mi emer-mi=llu*] *uita-tuli-t*  
 land-LOC.sg. water-LOC.sg.=and stay-capable-ABS.pl.  
 ‘amphibians, lit. one capable of living both on the land and in the water’, cf. VN |-tuli-| (§ 19.1)  
 – an adjunctive phase whose head is a deverbalized nominal, that is, a deverbalization of a clause with an adverbial adjunct in an oblique case:  
 cf. [*nuna-mi emer-mi=llu*] *uita-ut*  
 land-LOC.sg. water-LOC.sg.=and stay-IND.3pl.  
 ‘they live both on the land and in the water’.
- equalis:*
- (81) *kass’a-tun atr-a* ‘his name in English’.  
 white.man-EQL.sg. name-ABS.3sg.sg.
- perlative:*
- (82) *tumyaraq nunapig-kun / ma-a-ggun*  
 trail.ABS.sg. tundra-PRL.sg. / here-EX-PRL  
 ‘trail through the tundra’ / ‘road through here’  
 cf. *tumyara-kun maa-ggun* ‘by this road’.

Despite the above, however, there is one type of phrase where an absolutive-case NP is adjunctive: This occurs with time nouns whose absolutive form can

be adverbial (locational; § 23.2) and forms an adjunctive phrase like an oblique case nominal:

- (83) *unuk* (c)*ella-rvak* ‘the strong rain last night’  
 night.ABS.sg. weather-big.ABS.sg.  
 cf. *unug-mi* (c)*ella-rvak* ‘the strong rain during the night’.  
 night-LOC.sg. weather-big.ABS.sg.

## 6. Adnominal clauses (verbs) – appositional and stative-connective

Though distinct from the five kinds of nominal phrases above, two kinds of “adnominal verbs” (predicative adjuncts) in the appositional and the stative-connective mood are added. They are similar in function to the so-called “non-restrictive” relative clauses or “dangling” participles in English grammars (Curme 1931: 17.4 [159]), semantically modifying a (core or non-core argument) NP or a nominal stem. These relative-clause-like structures are distinct from complex noun noun phrases headed by relativizers, that is, verb-to-noun relativizing suffixes (VNrl) in § 17.

i) *Appositional*: An appositional-mood verb with its basic function of cosubordination may serve as an adnominal verb (§ 51.5), like a non-restrictive relative clause. In the following the appositional verb *yug-yag-luni* with the reflexive third person subject is taken as an adjunct to the noun *angyaq* ‘boat’, while *yug-ya-lria* in the compared is an intransitive (participial) relative clause (§ 17.2.1):

- (84) *Angyaqs* *yug-yag-luni* *tekit-ug.*  
 boat.ABS.sg. person-have.lots-APP.3Rsg. arrive-IND.3sg.  
 ‘A/The boat, with (which has) many people, has arrived.’  
 cf. [*Angyaq* *yug-ya-lria*]<sub>s</sub> *tekit-ug.*  
 boat.ABS.sg. person-have.lots-VNrl.ABS.sg. arrive-IND.3sg.  
 ‘A/The boat with (one having) many people has arrived.’  
 – *yug-ya(g)-* may be replaced by *uci-li(r)-* ‘load-supply’ which can refer to people aboard.

Likewise, the appositional *yug-yag-luni* in (a) below is taken as an adnominal verb semantically modifying the attributive phrase *angya-m ciu-nga*, intervening (detaching) it, while the relative clause with *-lrii-* in (b) constitutes an appositive clause in G function for *ciu-nga*:

- (85) a. *angya-m<sub>G</sub>* *yug-yag-luni* *ciu-nga*  
 boat.REL.sg. populous-APP.3Rsg. fore-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the boat’s *forepart* that has many people’

- b. [*angya-m*     *yugya-lrii-m*]<sub>G</sub>     *ciu-nga*  
 boat.REL.sg.    populous-VNrl-REL.sg.    fore-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the *forepart* of the boat that has many people’  
 cf. *angyaq<sub>s</sub>* *yugyag-tuq* *ciu-mini* (LOC.3Rsg.sg.)  
 ‘the boat has many people in its forepart’.

– in reference to (a), see § 18 (67) *Yupi-u-luta* (Y.-be-APP.1pl.) *ciulia-mta* (ancestor-REL.1pl.pl.) ‘(of) our ancestors (we) who are Yupiks’, and note that a locative case NP may also have the same kind of adjunct function to a first or second person argument as in § 27(32d) *arna-mi* (woman-LOC.sg.) *nut’ga-l-qa* (shoot-VNm-ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘my shooting (I) am a woman’.

The appositional *yugyag-luni* in the following is not so much an adjunct as an independent clause by itself (see § 51.4.1), being commonly preceded by pause as shown by the parenthesized comma (,) but no pause is usual inside the appositive phrase in the compared:

- (86)     *Tange-llru-unga*     *angya-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> (,) *yugyag-luni*.  
 see-PST-IND.1sg.    boat-ABM.sg.    populous-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘I saw a boat, (and) it had many people.’  
 cf. *Tange-llru-unga*     [*angya-mek*     *yugya-lria-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 see-PST-IND.1sg.    boat-ABM.sg.    populous-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I saw a boat that had many people.’

One type of phrasal numerals (§ 14.3.1.1) is considered an adnominal verb construction with the secundative ditransitive [*cipic-*] ‘to exceed (by), overflow’ in the appositional mood. The *cip-luku* (APP.3Rsg.) ‘exceeding it by’, as in the following, is the traditional device for higher numbers with fractions. As such the numeral construction has a R NP (as numeral base) in the absolutive and T (as difference or addition) in the ablative-modal, as the gloss in the following shows.

- (87)     *qula<sub>R</sub>*     *pingayu-nek*<sub>(T)</sub>     *cip-luku*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    three-ABM.pl.    exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘thirteen, lit. exceeding ten [R] by three [(T)]’ (10+3).  
 – which can stand by itself as a numeral or occur with a noun (or a noun stem) as its numeral adjunct.

- (88) a. [*qula pingayu-nek*     *cip-luku*] *mikelngu-u-t* (child-EV-ABS.pl.)  
 ‘thirteen children’  
 b. [*qula pingayu-nek*     *cip-luku*] *allraku-ng-uq* (year-get-IND.3sg.)  
 ‘he is thirteen years old (lit. he got years, thirteen)’  
 – in which the appositional phrase (or adnominal verb) is an adjunct to the head (noun stem) of the denominal verb.



Note that the following non-numeral construction is parallel to the numeral (87):

- (89) *akutaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *neq-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*                      *ila-luku*                      *as-qapiar-tuq*  
 ice.cream.ABS.sg.    fish-ABM.sg.    add-APP.3sg.    good-INT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘the ice-cream [S=R], with fish added, is very good’  
 – *asȳ-* ‘to be good’.

Back to numerals, if the ablative-modalis NP (‘three’) does not occur, it means ‘more than X’ (§ 14.3.1.1.2):

- (90) *tiissicsaa-t*                      *cip-luki*  
 1000-ABS.pl.                      exceed-APP.3pl.  
 ‘more than (lit. exceeding them) one thousand’  
 – with APP.3pl. because of the plural *tiissicsaa-t*.

ii) *Stative-connective*: In the same way as the appositional-mood (above), a stative connective-mood verb (§ 50.10 – ‘being in the state of’) with the reflexive third person subject serves as an adnominal verb:

- (91) *Ena<sub>S</sub>*                      *tamar-mi*                      *yu-l’ir-tuq*.  
 house.ABS.sg.    be.whole-CNNst.3Rsg.    person-supply-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The whole house (i.e. the house, it being whole) is full of people.’

The connective-mood verbs with *tamar-* semantically modify the noun ‘house’. Likewise in the following, *tamar-mi* and *tamar-meng* semantically modify the preceding nouns in G function:

- (92) a. *ene-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *tamar-mi*                      *ilu-ani*  
 house-REL.sg.    be.all-CNNst.3Rsg.    inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘inside the whole house’  
 b. *ene-t<sub>G</sub>*                      *tamar-meng*                      *ilu-itni*  
 house-REL.pl.    be.all-CNNst.3Rpl.    inside-LOC.3pl.pl.  
 ‘inside all of the houses’.

Thus, the stative-connective verb as adnominal adjunct has much the same force as an appositional verb (§ 16.6-i), though with measurable difference.

- (93) *Neqa<sub>P</sub>*                      *tamalku-an*                       $\doteq$  *tamalku-u-luku*    *ner-aa*.  
 fish.ABS.sg.    be.all-CNNst.3sg.    all-be-APP.3sg.    eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She ate all of the fish / the fish as a whole.’  
 cf. *neqa<sub>P</sub>*    *ner-aa*.                      ‘she ate the fish.’



## Part 4

### Nominal derivation morphology

CAY nominal derivation morphology includes deverbal nominalization ( $V \rightarrow N$ ) and nominal elaboration ( $N \rightarrow N$ ) attained by the great number of nominal suffixes the language has in stock.

The former, i.e. deverbal nominalization as a transcategorial conversion, includes relative clauses (by VNrl; § 17), nominal clauses (by VNnm suffixes; § 18) and deverbal nouns (by VN; § 19). Relative and nominal clauses may tend to easily become lexicalized into nouns, common and proper, as is typically the case with deverbal nouns. They are syntactic (clause) formation from verbs, while the other deverbal nouns (§ 19) are frozen lexicon. The three may sometimes be opaque, however.

The latter, i.e. nominal elaboration, which semantically elaborates nominal stems (by NN; § 20), yields derived nominals with adjectival, locational, or attitudinal modification.

On the other hand, verbal derivation includes denominal verbalization ( $N \rightarrow V$ ) and verb elaboration ( $V \rightarrow V$ ) attained by verbal suffixes, the former by NV suffixes (§ 37, § 38) and the latter particularly by a great number of suffixes, which include various valency modifications (by VVsm and VVcm; § 39 and § 40) and a wide variety of non-valent verbal elaborations (adverbial and grammatical by VV; § 41–45).

It is important that not only nouns and other nominals but (clausal) nominalizations and relativizations may be verbalized, and that the two opposite directions of transcategorial conversions ( $V \rightarrow N$ ,  $N \rightarrow V$ ) may take place morphologically, i.e. within a single word, changing the word (clause) class back and forth. A verb may once be nominalized and be again verbalized back or ‘cycled back’ into a verb. This cyclical “reverbalization” process ( $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$ ; § 20.4 as well as § 17.8.1) is very productive and is responsible for a variety of verbal elaborations that yield a number of important grammatical markers (such as tense-aspect, modality, negation, comparison, etc.). Likewise, a nominal may once be verbalized and again be nominalized back, i.e. ‘cycled back’ into a nominal. This cyclical “renominalization” process ( $N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N$ ; § 17.8.2) is also very productive and responsible for various subtle shades of semantical (e.g. subcategorization) and functional content. The two changes of the opposite direction are mutually recursive within a single word ( $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V \dots$ ), which is another important source for increasing the polysynthesis of the language.



# Chapter 17

## Relative clauses

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### 1. CAY relative clauses in general

A relative clause construction in CAY consists of a nominalized clause by way of one of “relativizers” (i.e. VNrl suffixes; Table 12) and its modified head (or antecedent) NP. So it may be considered as a complex nominal phrase, but, as stated (§ 16.6), it is distinct from a relative-clause-like adnominal clause with no relativizer involved. The relativized clause and the head NP are appositive in constitution (§ 16.1), agreeing in number and case – ‘the man, (*the one*) *who arrived yesterday*’. The head or the antecedent may either precede or follow the clause. But the head may not be external, thereby forming a headless relative

clause. As such, CAY has no word (free or bound) called ‘relative pronoun’, no “pronoun retention”, nor word-order strategy of any kind.

CAY relativizers may be grouped as in Table 12, mainly in view of arguments to be relativized, that is, “participial”, “preterite”, “passive”, “agentive/active”, and “oblique”.

### 1.1. Relativizers and arguments to be relativized

The argument accessible to relativization is either S (intransitive), P (monotransitive), or T/R (indirective/secundative ditransitive), as well as A (transitive subject), cf. argument hierarchy in terms of accessibility to the absolutive and next to the relative (§ 30.2).

Extended E (in simplex verbs; § 39) and A' (for complex verbs; § 40) arguments may also be relativized.

G argument cannot be relativized, that is, CAY has no construction, for instance, for \*‘the *fish* whose eye the man is eating’ from ‘the man is eating *the fish* eye’, while ‘the man who is eating the fish eye is a white man’ is quite possible (185).

It is also possible to relativize a comparee of intransitive and transitive comparative clauses, that is, respectively S and P argument NP – see § 45.1.6.

Relativization of peripheral L (locational) or I (instrumental) is rather marginal.

In terms of relativization (choice of a relativizer), S argument distinguishes active S (Sa) from inactive S (Si) and includes antipassive S (derived from A; S=A). The choice is described in the discussion of each relativizer concerned.

Relativizers of the participial  $|-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-|$  and the agentive/active  $|+(s)t-|$  group are for intransitive relative clauses, and the others for transitive ones (with obligatory person inflection), except for  $|-l\dot{y}-|$ , which is for both. A “participial relativizer” – transitive as well as intransitive – is so called because it is characterized by the same marker as the participial mood (§ 4.2.1-i, § 47), both transitive and intransitive.

Tense specification is made for relative clauses in the composite relativizers (with NN  $|-l\dot{y}-|$  and  $|+k*ay-|$ ), as shown in Table 12, or may optionally be made by a VVt suffix put before the relativizer. The composites  $|+(s)t\dot{y}-|$  and  $|+(s)t\dot{y}ka\dot{y}-|$  contain the regular  $/i/$  insertion by (P5iii).

Table 12: Relativizers (VNrl):

participial		present/progressive	
S	<i>-l̥iay̥-</i>   ~   <i>+<sub>1</sub>ɲuɣ̥*-</i>   (after /t/)	– no person inflection	§ 17.2.1
P/T/R	<i>-ki-</i>	– obligatory person inflection	§ 17.2.2
preterite		past	
S	<i>-t̥y-</i>	– no person inflection	§ 17.3
P/T/R		– obligatory person inflection	
passive			
P/T/R	<i>-<sub>1</sub>kiŋay̥-</i>     <i>+yay̥-</i>     <i>+yay̥kay̥-</i>	processive/perfective perfective future – obligatory person inflection	§ 17.4
agentive/active			
A/Sa	<i>+(s)t-</i>     <i>+(s)tiŋy̥-</i>     <i>+(s)tiŋkay̥-</i>	present past future – with or without person inflection	§ 17.5
oblique			
L	<i>+viɣ-</i>	location	§ 17.6.1
I	<i>+(u)t-</i>   /   <i>+c/suut-</i>	instrument, means – with or without person inflection	§ 17.6.2

Relativizers have produced a fair amount of (more or less) lexicalized deverbal nouns. The agentive/active suffix |*+(s)t-*| (§ 17.5) is very productive in this respect – with post-velar /s/ deletion (P14.iii). The passive VNrl |*-<sub>1</sub>kiŋay̥-*| (§ 17.4) could presumably be regarded as derived from VNrl |*+yay̥-*| preceded by VV |*-<sub>1</sub>kiŋi-*| ‘to V something’ – cf. YED (468).

## 1.2. Morpho-syntactic properties

CAY relative clauses, as distinct from nominal clauses, are characterized by a number of shared morpho-syntactic properties:

i) *Person inflection*: A relative clause of an intransitive construction (1) has no person inflection, while one of a transitive construction (2) is person-inflected.

- (1) [[*Unuk tai-lleq*] *angun*]<sub>P</sub> *aata-k-aqa*.  
 night.ABS.sg. come-VNrl.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. Fa-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man who came (here) last night is my father.’  
 cf. *angun*<sub>S</sub> *tai-llru-uq* (PST-IND.3sg.) *unuk*  
 ‘the man came (here) last night’.

- (2) [[*Neqe-m<sub>G=A</sub> nere-llr-a*] *ciissiq*]<sub>S</sub> *mik-lini-uq*.  
 fish-REL.sg. eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. bug.ABS.sg. small-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘(I now see) the bug that the fish ate is small.’  
 cf. *neqe-m<sub>A</sub> nere-llru-a* (PST-IND.3sg.3sg.) *ciissiq<sub>P</sub>*  
 ‘the fish ate the bug’.

The head *angun* and *ciissiq* constitute appositive phrases with the respective relative clause, while the relative clause itself in (2), which has the external possessor (in G function) for the person inflection, constitutes an attributive phrase.

A relative clause of a ditransitive construction with T or R argument is also person-inflected, as amply illustrated in the sections of transitive relativizers, e.g. (123) through (125), (191) through (193), (222).

ii) *Relativizer vs. nominalizer*:

ii.a) As stated, the suffix *|-l̥y̆-|* can be a nominalizer (‘the fact of -ing’; VNnm – § 18.2.2) as well as a relativizer (VNrl – § 17.3). This can occur with or without person inflection, possibly yielding ambivalent interpretations. Compare in the following (a) nominalization vs. (b) relativization the latter of which has the same pattern as (2) above:

- (3) a. [*Neqe-m<sub>G=A</sub> nere-llr-a* *ciissi-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*]<sub>P</sub>  
 fish-REL.sg. eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. bug-ABM.sg.  
*nallu-aqa*.  
 not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know that the fish ate a bug (the fish’s eating a bug).’  
 b. [*Neqa nere-llr-a* *Nuk’a-m<sub>G=A</sub>*]<sub>S</sub> *assiit-uq*.  
 fish.ABS.sg. eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. p.n.-REL.sg. bad-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The fish Nuk’aq ate is not good.’

*|-l̥y̆-|* as nominalizer is amply illustrated in § 18.2.2, etc.

A difference shows up when the relative clause is pluralized as in (4), entailing pluralization of the main clause predicate:

- (4) [[*Neqe-m<sub>G</sub> nere-llr-i*] *ciissi-t*]<sub>S</sub> *mik-lini-ut*.  
 fish-REL.sg. eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl. bug.ABS.pl. small-EVD-IND.3pl.  
 ‘(I now see) the bugs that the fish ate are small.’  
 – unlike (3a), a plural *neqe-m nere-llr-i* (ABS.3sg.pl.) cannot be a nominal clause.

ii.b) In addition, the intransitive participial relativizer *|-l̥y̆iay̆-|* can be taken as a nominalizer, at least in a few limited cases (§ 17.2.1-ix, § 29.1-ii):



- (5) [Assi-lrii-**m**<sub>G=P</sub> atu-llr-a]<sub>s</sub> caknermaq-piar-tuq.  
 good-VNnm-REL.sg. use-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. difficult-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Doing good is not easy.’  
 – note that *assi-lria* is P-argument for the bivalent verb *atu(r)*-.

The following example with *-lria-* may also have a nominalization reading ii) where it stands as a standard of similarity in the equalis case (‘like -ing’; § 29.1-ii) for the verb |*ayuqi-*| ‘to be similar’:

- (6) *Nere-lria-tun akuta-mek ayuq-uq.*  
 eat-VN-EQL.sg. ice.cream-ABL.sg. similar-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘He looks like *s.o. who is eating* ice-cream.’  
 ii. ‘It is like *eating* ice-cream.’  $\rightleftharpoons$  *ner(’)-llr-tun* (VNrl).

As in ii), such a nominalization-like *-lria-* can be substituted by the nominalizer VNnm |*-tŷ-*| at least for some speakers:

- (7) *Anchorage-aa-met-leqs ayuqe-nrit-uq*  
 pl.n.-LNK-be.at-VNnm-ABS.sg. resemble-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 [*kingune-mini uita-lria-(ce)tun*  $\rightleftharpoons$  *uita-llr-tun.*  
 back.home-LOC.3Rsg.sg. stay-VNnm-EQL.sg.  
 ‘To live in Anchorage is not like staying back home.’

The instrumental |*+(u)t-*| may also be taken as a nominalizer in rather rare cases – see § 17.6.2-i.

iii) *Externally headed or headless*: Occurrence or not of an external head NP is both equally common, although, in fact, it is not usually expressed if contextually or semantically clear. In (8) the head (‘man’) would need not be expressed, if there is only one man singing, for instance.

- (8) [*Atu-lria angun*]<sub>p</sub> *ila-k-aqa.*  
 sing-VNrl-ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. relative-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man [the one] who is singing is my relative (lit. I have the man [the one] who is singing as a relative).’

Lack of an external head may lead to ambivalence, however:

- (9) *uita-vi-k’-la-llr-e-n<sub>p</sub>* *paqna-luku*  
 stay-place-have.as-CUS-VNrl-EV-ABS.2pl.sg. check-APP.3sg.  
 i. ‘going to see *the place* you used to live’  
 ii. ‘going to see *the one* you used to stay with’.

If a head is external, agreement in case and number between the relativized nominal and the head as an appositive phrase is always the rule, since the two constitute an appositive phrase.

The following is not an exception either, though the English translation may be deceptive:

- (10) *yu-u-t*                                      *aterte-llr-i*  
 person-EV-ABS.pl. drift-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
 ‘the people who are drifting away; lit. *it* [A<sub>IMP</sub>] drifts the people [P] away’.

– where the explicit head noun *yuut* in the plural is not the S argument but is the P argument for the impersonal patientive verb |*atiyc-*| ‘to drift with the current’, whose A<sub>IMP</sub> is deleted in de-transitivization (§ 34.3), cf. the relative clause from the (impersonal) transitive construction of *yu-u-t<sub>P</sub> atert-ai* (IND.3sg.3pl.) ‘the people were drifted away’.

iv) *Filling different slots*: Externally headed or not, a relative clause may fill a core or an oblique slot of a main clause or a modifier slot in a NP. If it is a core argument, it agrees with the main-clause predicate in number:

S slot:

- (11) *Tua(=i)=llu=gguq* [*tau-na*                                      *nuna-ka-il-nguq*]<sub>S</sub>  
 then=RPR                                      that-EX.ABS.sg.                                      place-FUT-PRV-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 [*gasgi-m<sub>G</sub>*                                      *quka-anun*                                      *aqume-llini-luni*.  
 mens.house-REL.sg.                                      middle-ALL.3sg.sg.                                      sit-EVD-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘And then, they say, that one (person) without a place to stay sat down in the middle of the men’s house.’

P slot:

- (12) [*Napa-li-lria*                                      [*ingri-m<sub>G</sub>*                                      *kangr-a*]]<sub>P</sub>  
 tree-supplied-VNrl.ABS.sg.                                      mountain.ABS.sg.                                      top-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*mayur-aa*.  
 go.up-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He went up the area (the mountain top) where there are many trees (i.e. that has many trees supplied).’

cf. *napa-lir-tuq* (tree-supplied-IND.3sg.) ‘it (area, spot) has many trees’.

T slot:

- (13) *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>=wa*                                      *tua=i tune-llru-kii*                                      [*tau-na*  
 woman-REL.sg.=REA                                      SFL                                      give-PST-PTP.3sg.3sg.                                      that-EX.ABS.sg.  
*issrat-suar*                                      *mingqe-ll-ni*]<sub>T</sub>                                      *Ingqi-mun* <sup>(R)</sup>.  
 bag-small.ABS.sg.                                      sew-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg.                                      indian-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The woman sold to the Indian that small grass carrying bag she sewed.’

- R slot:
- (14) *Ciki-lar-ai* [yu-u-t  
give-REG-IND.3sg.3pl. person-EV-ABS.pl.  
*neq-sur-ciigal-ngu-u-t*]<sub>R</sub> *neq-nek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
fish-hunt-cannot-VNrl-EV-ABS.pl. fish-ABM.pl.  
'She always gives fish to the people who cannot fish.'
- A slot:
- (15) [*Angute-m atu-lrii-m*]<sub>A</sub> *qaya-li-llru-anga*.  
man-REL.sg. sing-VNrl-REL.sg. kayak-make-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
'The man who is singing made me a kayak.'
- G slot:
- (16) a. [*tange-ll-ma kass'a-t*]<sub>G</sub> *ila-it*  
see-VNrl-REL.1sg.pl. white.man-REL.pl. part-ABS.3pl.pl.  
'some of the white men whom I saw'  
b. *qertu-lrii-m*<sub>G</sub> *qai-ngani*  
high-VNrl-REL.sg. top-LOC.3sg.sg.  
'on a high land (lit. on the top of one which is high).'

Relative clauses in non-core functions (demoted or peripheral) are in § 17.9.

v) *A nominal demonstrative heading a relative clause*: A relative clause with or without the external head is very often accompanied (typically preceded) by a nominal demonstrative (like 'that one across there'; § 12.2), which has a function similar to a proclitic-like "article" in other languages of the world.

- (17) [*u-na gaspeq*] *atur-arqa-qa*  
this-EX.ABS.sg. clothing.ABS.sg. wear-VNrl.FUT-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*tengsuut-mi*  
airplane-LOC.sg.  
'this *kuspuk* (cloth-made clothing worn by itself or as a parka cover)  
that I will wear in the airplane'.
- (18) *tau-na* [*kegginaqu-m*]<sub>G</sub> *taqe-sti-i*  
that-EX.ABS.sg. mask-REL.sg. finish-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
'that one who made the mask'  
cf. [*tau-m kegginaqu-m*]<sub>G</sub> *taqe-sti-i*  
that-EX.REL.sg. mask-REL.sg. finish-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
'that maker of that mask'.

The initial position of a nominal demonstrative is not obligatory, however:

- (19) [[*Ner-ke-vvuk* ~ *Nere-k-vuk* [***u-na*** *neqa*]]<sub>s</sub>  
 eat-VNrl-REL.1du.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. fish.ABS.sg.  
*assiite-llini-uq.*  
 bad-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘This fish that we(du.) are eating is (as I see now) bad.’
- (20) [*Amiq* ***u-na*** *mingqe-ller-put* *akwaugaq*]<sub>s</sub>  
 skin.ABS.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. sew-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg. yesterday  
*alleg-ciq-ngat-uq.*  
 tear-FUT-maybe-IND.3sg.  
 ‘This skin that we sewed yesterday will perhaps tear.’

As often, a nominal demonstrative may occur independently by itself as if to take the place of the head, given the abundance of no less than thirty demonstrative roots (§ 12.1) which may convey a very high amount of information concerning locational/directional/motional specification.

vi) *Reference to the first or the second person argument*: When an NP refers to the first or the second person, it occurs with the locative case instead an absolutive or a relative (§ 27.4), and this is also the case with a relative clause most commonly of the participial *-lrial-nguq* (though also of a few others):

- (21) *Naulluu-lria-mi* ≠ *wii* *tangerr-suumiit-aqa.*  
 sick-VNrl-LOC.sg.≠1sg. see-NEG.DES-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I, being sick, do not wish to see him.’  
 – referring to the first person subject.
- (22) *Elpet* *naulluu-yuil-ngur-mi* *itr-uma-uten.*  
 2sg. sick-never-VNrl-LOC.sg. enter-CNT-IND.2sg.  
 i. ‘You (sg.), who are never sick, are in the hospital.’ (perfective)  
 ii. ‘ – are now going into the hospital.’ (processive).

Though apparently much less common, the same use of relative clauses is attested at least with transitive verbs with *|-ki-|* (§ 17.2.2) and the preterite *|-ṭỵ-|* (§ 17.3) – with more illustrations in § 17.9-iv.

- (23) *elpet* *puqi-nru-yuk-saaqe-lle-mteni*  
 2sg. clever-more-A'.think-but-VNrl-LOC.1pl.sg.  
 ‘you (sg.) who we thought were clever or a better speaker (but)’  
 – concatenated relative clause (§ 17.7), just below in x).

vii) *“Non-restrictive”*: The so-called “non-restrictive” use of relative clauses (as separated by comma in English) is not attested in CAY, although the language has two kinds of what could be considered non-restrictive adnominal

clauses (§ 16.6) which are served by either stative-connective (§ 50.10) or appositional (§ 51.5).

viii) *Verbal categories*: In relativization, most verbal categories in the underlying clause (adverbial, TAM, negation, evidential), are retained. A relative clause as such may become a very heavy word:

- (24) *tai-yu-llru-yaage-leq* ‘the one who wanted to come (but not made it)’  
come-DES-PST-but-VNrl.ABS.sg.
- (25) *angut-ngu-ngua-lingu-ng-lleq*  
man-be-pretend-tired-INC-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
‘the one (girl) who is getting tired of behaving like a man, of pretending to be a man’.
- (26) *qaya-cuara-li-yu-kapiges-ki-i* *mikelnguq*  
kayaq-small-make-wish-ITS-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. child.ABS.sg.  
‘the child for whom he strongly wants to make a small boat’.
- (27) *pi-nrite-llr-a* ‘the one he omitted, didn’t act on’  
do-NEG-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*pi-ke-nrite-st-i-i* ‘the one who does not own it’  
thing-have.as-NEG-VNrl-EV-ABS.3sg.sg.

The participial intransitive relativizer has a variant that selects a negative stem, that is, |+<sub>1</sub>nyũ\*|- (instead of |-l̥yiaɣ̥|- § 17.2.1): e.g. *pi-sciigal-nguq* ‘one who cannot do’.

ix) *Constitution of relative clauses*: A relative clause may contain a number of words, including not only a nominal demonstrative (above), a numeral but also a demoted argument, an adverbial adjunct (a peripheral argument or a particle), etc. as well as its own dependent clause(s), accordingly rendering it a heavy clause:

- (28) [[*Ma-n’a* *cayara-llr-at*] *[yu-u-t*  
this-EX.ABS.sg. festival-PST-ABS.3pl.sg. person-EV-ABS.pl.  
*ap-qi-it* *Petugtaq]]<sub>s</sub> *[kass’a-t<sub>G</sub>*  
call-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg. festival.ABS.sg. white.man-REL.pl.  
*iga-itni*] *Asking.Festival-aa-mek apr-uma-lar-tuq.*  
writing-LOC.3pl.sg. a.f.-LNK-ABM.sg. call-STT-CUS-IND.3sg.  
‘This old-time festival (of theirs) which people call *petugtaq* is called Asking Festival in the white men’s literature.’ [CAUY 19]  
– see § 17.2.2-vii for *ap-qi-it* ‘what they call’ and § 13-fn. 1, etc.*

- (29) [May'a-m<sub>G=P</sub> elissar-**tellr-e-k** ciemek Yup'ig-tun  
 p.n.-REL.sg. teach-VNrl-EV-ABS.3sg.du. first Y.-EQL.sg.  
 1967-aami]<sub>s</sub> Bertha.Lincoln-a-u-llru-uq  
 year-LNK-LOC.sg. p.n.-YKL-be-PST-IND.3sg.  
 Julia.Simon-aaq=llu.  
 p.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.=and  
 'The ones (du.) who taught Yup'ik to Mayaq in 1967 for the first  
 time are Bertha Lincoln and Julia Simon.'  
 – a villager's recollection of Mayaq's stay at Umkumiut, a fishing  
 camp on Nelson Island.

Heaviness of a relative clause, however, does not necessarily bring any dominant position in a sentence such as sentence-final movement, for instance:

- (30) [[Cuka-**luku** atu-**qenga-at** angute-t<sub>G=A</sub>] yuarun]<sub>s</sub>  
 fast-APP.3sg. sing-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg. man-REL.pl. song.ABS.sg.  
 assiit-uq.  
 bad-IND.3sg.  
 'The song the men are singing fast is not good.'

x) *Relativization of a complex transitive construction* (§ 40.4.1): This yields a "concatenated relative clause"; details in § 17.7.

- (31) *angun* [uita-la-llru-**yuke-l-qa**  
 man.ABS.sg. live-GEN-PST-A'.think-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 Mamteriller-mi]  
 pl.n.-LOC.sg.  
 'the man (who) I thought used to live at Bethel'.
- (32) *pani-i-n* *puqi-nru-**yuke-knga-qa***  
 Da-EV-ABS.2sg.sg. smart-more-A'.think-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 [tau-mi arna-mi]  
 that-LOC.sg. woman-LOC.sg.  
 'your (sg.) daughter (who) I think is smarter than that woman'
- cf. *puqi-nru-uq* [tau-mi arna-mi]  
 'she is smarter than that woman'  
 – with locative NP as standard of comparison (§ 27.3).

xi) *Embedding of a relative clause*: A relative clause may have another relative clause embedded. In the following example, one attributive phrase with a relative clause is embedded into another, also with a relative clause.

- (33) [[*irnia-ma*<sub>G</sub>      *qilugte-llr-an*]<sub>G</sub>      *qimugti-in*]<sub>G</sub>  
 child-REL.1sg.sg. bark-VNrl-REL.3sg.sg. dog-REL.3sg.sg.  
*nere-stellr-a*      *taqukaq*  
 eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the bear that ate the dog that barked at my child’.

– which, however, may cause much difficulty in interpreting even for those speakers to whom a double-layered attributive phrase, if it has no relative clauses involved, presents little or no problem, like § 16 (68b) ‘the man’s daughter’s husband’s name’.

xii) *Word order*: Word order inside a relative clause construction is of little syntactical relevance. With no semantic difference, an external head may precede or follow its restrictive clause. Either of the four in the following example makes little difference, among which (e) and (f) have the phrase detached by the head *angyaq*:

- (34) a. *angyaq*      [*atu-qenga-a*      *angute-m*]<sub>G</sub>  
 boat.ABS.sg. use-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. man-REL.sg.  
 ‘the boat [the one] that the man is using’  
 b. *angyaq*      [*angute-m*      *atu-qenga-a*]  
 c. [*atu-qenga-a*      *angute-m*]      *angyaq*  
 d. [*angute-m*      *atu-qenga-a*]      *angyaq*  
 e. *angute-m*      *angyaq*      *atu-qenga-a*  
 f. *atu-qenga-a*      *angyaq*      *angute-m*.

Likewise, example (8) above with *atu-lria angun* ‘the man who is singing’ may also be *angun atu-lria* with no difference, and see also the following which also have the predicate intervene the relative clause.

- (35) [*Atu-lria*      *pakm-a-ni*]<sub>P</sub>      *ila-k-aqa*  
 sing-VNrl-ABS.sg. up-EX-LOC relative-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 [*angun*]<sub>P</sub>.  
 man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The man who is singing up there is my relative (lit. I have the man as a relative).’

However, a pause after the *ila-k-aqa* makes the sentence a description of the man – ‘the one who is singing up there is my relative, who is a man’.

Likewise, with no external head, the predicate may occur between the demonstrative and the relative clause:

- (36) [Tau-na]<sub>s</sub>                    *ca-ngat-a*                    [qia-vaka-*lria*]<sub>s</sub>?  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.    what-matter-INT.3sg.    cry-much-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘How is that one who keeps crying?’

– where a pause after *ca-ngat-a* again will cause some difference – ‘How is that one? She is crying,’ with *-lria* form being more verbal (participial mood).

On the contrary, the relative clause in the following ditransitive construction could hardly be split by the verb or the recipient NP:

- (37) *Qanr-utk-aa*                    *wangnun*<sub>(R)</sub> [tuntultuntuvak  
 speak-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg. 1sg.ALL    caribou/moose.ABS.sg.  
*tange-ll-ni*]<sub>T</sub>  
 see-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He told me about (of) the moose/reindeer he saw.’

xiii) *Lexicalization*: A considerable amount of CAY lexicon has come from internally headed relative clauses, like deverbal nouns (common and proper) – e.g. *mikel-nguq* ‘child’ from |*miki(c)*-| ‘to be small’, *cali-sta* ‘worker’ and *cali-ssuun* ‘tool’ from |*cali*-| ‘to work’. Deverbal nouns as such are susceptible to further expansion. Examples abound in sections of each relativizer.

xiv) *Transcategorical conversions*: A remarkable feature of the morpho-syntax of CAY relative clauses in particular is its involvement in recursive transcategorical conversions. Relative clauses are involved in two ways of “cyclical expansion”,  $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$  (by morpheme sequence of V-VNrl-NV) and  $N \rightarrow V \rightarrow N$  (by N-NV-NVrl). The former is a reverbalization (§ 17.8.1) in which, if an explicit head occurs, demotion of the head or its restricting portion is obligatory. The latter is a renominalization (§ 17.8.2) of verbalizations (most typically by relational verbs ‘to be/become [someone’s]’; § 20.4). The two transcategorical conversions may alternately come one after another, like  $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V \rightarrow V$ .

xv) *Expansion of relativizations*: Otherwise, expansion of a relative clause by NN or NV suffixes is more or less limited, though it is attested at least with |*-lriay-*| and |*+(s)t-*| – e.g. *-lria-tanger-tuq* ‘there is one who V’, *-lriar-ta-it* ‘one who is/does N – among them’ (|*+tay\**-|; § 20.1.2); the pseudo-passive *-sc-i(ur)-tuq* ‘he was -ed’ as a fixed composite suffix and *-ste-ngqer-tuq* ‘he was -ed’ (or literally ‘he has one who is/does’); see § 25.2.3-ii, § 39.3.1, etc.

Each type of relativizer with its respective usages is illustrated below (§ 17.2 through § 17.6).



## 2. Participial relativizers

The intransitive and transitive participial relative clauses (i.e. nominal participles) employ the same markers as those suffixes that verbally function as the participial-mood markers respectively for intransitive and transitive verbs (§ 47). The intransitive relative clauses do not inflect for person (unless lexicalized into common nouns), while the transitive has obligatory person inflection for the A argument.

### 2.1. Intransitive VNrl $|-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-| \sim |+_1\eta u\dot{y}^*|-|$ (variant after final /t/)

Relativizes the S argument of intransitive constructions (including detransitivized ones with derived S argument, like reflexive-reciprocal, antipassive, and detransitivized complex transitive – see ii), as is the case with other intransitive relativizers.

i) *Suppletive variants*: The former variant  $|-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-|$  has morphological idiosyncrasies illustrated with some case-number inflection:

- (38) a. *-lria* ABS.sg.  
 b. *-lrii-m* REL.sg.  
     *-lrii-k* ABS/REL.du.  
     *-lrii-t* ABS/REL.pl.  
 cf. Aurra-*lrii-nkut* ‘Aurratria (94) and his family’, with NN  $|+nku-|$  (§ 20.1.2).  
 c. *-lria-mi* LOC.sg. – as in: *etu-lria-mi kuimar-tuq* ‘he swims where it is deep’ (*etu-* ‘to be deep’, *kuimar-* ‘to swim’)  
 d. *-lriar-i* ABS.3sg.pl. – as in: *unguva-lria-i imarpi-i-m* ‘sea animals’ (*unguva* ‘life’, *imarpi* ‘sea’).

The suffix-initial  $/l\dot{y}/$  may or may not be assimilated in terms of voicelessness:

- (39) a. *take-lria* ~ *take-llria* ‘one that is long’ – variants with voiced or voiceless initial fricative  $/l\dot{y}/ \sim /l\dot{x}/$ ; cf. § 3(75)  
 b. *aassaqe-llrii-k* i. ‘ones (du.) hiding’  
     ii. ‘secrets;  $|aasaqi-|$  ‘to be secretive’.

The other variant  $|+_1\eta u\dot{y}^*|-|$  is selected by a morpheme-final /t/ (but not /c/), with the initial subscript  $_1$  triggering apical adjustment of the final /t/ to  $/l/$  (P5i.b). The morpheme-final /t/ characterizes most of privative NV, like  $|+\eta it-|$

‘to lack, have no’ (§ 11.2.3.2, § 38.1), and locative verbs NV |+m(i)t-| ‘to be at’ (§ 27.8) as well as negative VVn suffixes (§ 44):

- (40) a. *nuna-il-nguq* ‘one who has no land, place to stay’  
 b. *agayun* *capr-il-nguq*  
 god.ABS.sg. limitation-PRV-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
 ‘fearless/almighty God (lit. God that has no limitation)’.
- (41) *maa-nel-nguq* ‘the one here’ – adverbial demonstrative |ma-a-|  
*quka-mel-nguq* ‘the one in the center’ – |qukaŷ-|  
*qilag-mel-nguq* ‘the one in heaven’ – |qilay-|  
*elaturra-mel-nguq* ‘the one in the porch’ – |ilatuxay-|.
- (42) *cimi-yuil-nguq* ‘one which never changes’  
*ayag-ciigal-ngu-u-t* ‘ones who cannot go’  
*pi-u-nril-nguq* ‘something worthless’  
 (thing-be-NEG-means.ABS.sg.).
- (43) *yuungcariste-t* *kayu-tatke-nril-ngu-u-t* = § 45 (106b)  
 doctor-ABS.pl. strong-as.as-NEG-VNrl-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘different levels of doctors’ [AKKL 48]  
 – see § 45.6.2 for the equalitive -*tatke*-.

The choice of the two variants is illustrated by (a) vs. (b) in the following pairs (44) through (46):

- (44) a. *taq-uma-lrii-t*  
 finish-PAS-VNrl-ABS.pl.  
 ‘complete things; ones which have been completed’  
 b. *taq-uma-nril-ngu-u-t*  
 finish-PAS-NEG-VNrl-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘incomplete things; ones that have not been completed’.
- (45) a. *qer-tu-lria* ‘high spot; one that has much elevation’  
 elevation-have.much-VNrl.ABS.sg. – NV |+tu-|  
 b. *qer-kil-nguq* ‘low spot, one that has little elevation’  
 elevation-have.little-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 – NV |+k\*it-|; see (51a) with a head NP.
- (46) a. *ner-yunqe-llria* ‘one who loves to eat’  
 eat-love-VNrl-ABS.sg. – VVm |+*cunqx*-| ‘to love to’  
 b. *ner-yunqeggi-al-nguq* ‘one who does not like to eat’  
 eat-love-NEG-VNrl-ABS – VVn |+at-|.

- (47) [ma-ku-t                    tuntupi-i-t  
 this-EX-ABS.pl. caribou-EV-ABS.pl.  
 qungutura-u-**nriI-ngu**-u-t]s                    amlIerr-saaqe-ng'ermeng  
 domesticated-be-not-VNrl.-EV-ABS.pl. lots-but-CNNth.3Rpl.  
 'though these caribous that are not domesticated are plenty'.  
 [FASM s.24]

The morpheme-final (underlying) /c/, by contrast, selects |-l̥y̥iay̥-| as illustrated with the inchoative intransitive relational verb NVrv |+ɲuy̥c-| (§ 37.3):

- (48) ak'alla-**urte-llria**                    aana-ka  
 old-INC-VNrl-ABS.sg. Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 'my mother who is now (has become) old'.

A stem-final /t/, however, may be followed by the variant |-l̥y̥iay̥-| beside |+ɲuy̥-|:

- (49) mikelnguq            nere-**nrite-llria** ~ nere-**nriI-nguq**  
 child.ABS.sg. eat-NEG-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 'the child who did not eat'.

The variants may reflect some difference in the following pair – (a) in prayers as a more established expression than (b) with the literal meaning:

- (50) a. qilag-mete-**llria-mi**            'you (sg.) who are in Heaven!'  
 sky-be.at-VNrl-LOC.sg.  
 – NV |+m(i)t-| 'to be at'; see § 27.5 for the vocative use of the locative case and its example of § 27 (61).  
 b. qilag-mel-**ngur-mi**            'in/at the one who resides in Heaven'  
 sky-be.at-VNrl-LOC.sg.

In CAY, which has no adjectives as a word class and a rather limited number of adjectival NN suffixes, the intransitive participial relative clause has an important function of supplying many adnominal adjuncts derived from adjectival monovalent verb stems. Syntactically it forms an appositive phrase with the nominal to be modified.

- (51) a. qertu-**llria**            ingriq            'a high mountain' – qertu- 'to be high'  
           qerkil-**nguq**            ingriq            'a low mountain' – qerkil- 'to be low' = (45)  
 b. qimugta            tungu-**llria**            'a black dog' – |tuɲu-|  
           qimugta            qate-**llria**            'a white dog' – |qat̥y̥-|  
 c. assi-**llria**            qantaq            'a good bowl'  
           assiil-**nguq**            qantaq            'a bad bowl'.



- (58) *qimugte-ka* [*keg-kenge-lria* *mikelngur-mek*]  
 dog-ABS.1sg.sg. bite-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg. child-ABM.sg.  
 ‘my dog that is biting a child (right now)’  
 cf. *keg-keng-lleq* ‘one that bites’  
 – from detransitivized complex transitives (§ 40). Note agentive  
 |+ni-| ‘A to say’ vs. patientive |+vkaŷ-| ‘A to cause’, the latter of  
 which requires suffix-derived antipassivization:
- (59) *iga-y<sup>(h)</sup>u-ni-lria*  
 write-well-A’.say-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
 ‘one who says the he (himself) writes well’ – cf. (76a) below.
- (60) *cali-vkar-i-lria* *ataneq*  
 work-A’.make-APS-VNrl-ABS.sg. boss.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the boss who make (someone) work’  
 ≙ *cali-vkar-i-lleq*  
 cf. antipassive: *ataneq<sub>S</sub> cali-vkar-i-uq*  
 ‘the boss makes (someone) work’  
 transitive: *atanr-e-m<sub>A</sub> cali-vkar-aa*  
 ‘the boss makes her/him work’.
- iv) *With relational verbs*: Intransitive NVrv |+ŋu-| ‘to be’ (§ 37.1) and transitive |-ki-| ‘to have – as’ (§ 37.2), the latter of which, intransitively inflected, is responsible for reciprocal relationship/kinship (§ 11.4.2) and reflexivity (§ 34.4). More in § 37.5.3.2 for relativization of relational verbs.
- (61) a. *Yupi-u-lrii-t* ‘ones who are Yupiks’  
 Y.-be-VNrl-ABS.pl.  
 b. *yu(u)ngcar-i-ste-ŋgu-lria* *pani-ka*  
 medicate-APS-VNrl-be-VNrl.ABS.sg. Da-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my daughter who is a doctor’.
- (62) a. *aipa-qe-llrii-k* (du.) ‘married couple, two companions’  
*aana-ke-llrii-k* ‘mother and daughter/son’  
 b. *ila-ke-llrii-t* (pl.) ‘family’ (including at least as far  
 as first cousins).
- (63) *piva-ke-llria* *ellmi-nek*  
 boast-VNrl-ABS.sg. 3Rsg.-ABM  
 ‘selfish person’ (reflexive)  
 – root-expansion with |-<sub>1</sub>k\*<sub>i</sub>-| ‘to consider’ (§ 37.2.1).

v) *With applicative and adversative verb* – E<sub>APL</sub> |+(u)c-| (§ 39.4) and E<sub>ADV</sub> |+yi-| (§ 39.5):

- (64) *aqva-ute-llrii-t* ‘racers’  
run-E<sub>APL</sub>.with-VNrl-ABS/REL.pl.
- (65) a. *tuqu-i-lria* ‘mourner’  
cf. adversative *tuqu-i-guq* ‘he had (someone) die’ vs. *tuqu-i-gaa* ‘she [S] died on him [E<sub>ADV</sub>]’ (§ 39.5.1)  
– compared with *tuqu-lria* ‘one who dies / (has just) died’
- b. *ciku-i-lrii-t* ‘ones on whom (something) is frozen’  
– relativization on the derived S argument from the impersonal patientive stem *ciku-* ‘to freeze’; cf. *ciku-i-gut* ‘they had (s.t. [demoted P]) freeze’ vs. *ciku-i-gai* ‘it [A<sub>IMP</sub>] freezes (s.t. [demoted P]) on them (E<sub>ADV</sub>)’.

vi) *Verbal elaborations* – intensity, tense-aspect, etc.:

- (66) a. *kenegna-qapigte-llria* ‘very lovely one’ – |kiny-|  
b. *menuit-qapigte-llria* ‘very clean one’ – |menu-it-| (spot-PRV).
- (67) *pi-ciqe-llria* ‘one who will do (go, etc.)’  
do-FUT-VNrl-ABS.sg.
- (68) a. *aru-ma-lria* *neqa* ‘rotten fish’  
ripen-STT-VNrl-ABS.sg. fish.ABS.sg.
- b. *May’a-mek* *apr-uma-lria*  
p.n.-ABM.sg. call-STT-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
‘the one who is called Mayaq’  
≙ *ap-qi-it May’aq* (ABS.sg.) – with corresponding participial transitive relativizer.
- (69) *Qanemci(t)-qatar-amci* *israc-i-la-lria-nek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
tell-IMN-IND.1sg.2pl. basket-make-CUS-VNrl-ABM.pl.  
‘I am about to tell you (stories) about *ones who* make grass baskets.’

vii) *Comparison with participial-mood*: Since participial-mood verbs typically co-occur with one of a number of certain particles (enclitic or non-enclitic), typically the second-position |=wa|~|≠wa| (§ 54.1-i) as in (b). No ambiguity with relativization usually ensues:

- (70) a. *atu-lria* *angun* ~ *angun* *atu-lria*  
sing-VNrl.3sg. man.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. sing-VNrl.3sg.  
‘the man who is singing’

- b. *Atu-lria=wa*            *angun<sub>s</sub>~ Angun<sub>s</sub>=wa*            *atu-lria.*  
 sing-PTP.3sg.=REA    man.ABS.sg.    man.ABS.sg.=REA    sing-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘The man is singing.’

The following example with the particle may be ambiguous, although a co-occurring word as well as the prosody may disambiguate:

- (71)    **Tang**    [*tau-na*            *angun*]            *angni-il-nguq.*  
 PCL    that-EX.ABS.sg.    man.ABS.sg.            happy-PRV-PTP.3sg.  
 i. ‘See/Look, that man who is unhappy!’ – relative clause  
 ii. ‘(Because) that man is unhappy!’ – predicative  
 – i) with *tangr-ru* (OPT.2sg.3sg.) ‘you (sg.) see it’, while ii) with  
*nepli-nri-lu* (noisy-NEG-OPT.2sg.) ‘don’t be noisy!’, for instance.

viii) *Frequent use for first or second-person reference*: See § 17.1.2-vi.

ix) *Rather rare use as nominalization*: See § 29.1-ii for examples with the equalis case inflection as well as (6b) above.

x) *Quasi-participial (relative clause) suffixes*: After certain stems, the participial *|-iyiay-* may be replaced by a few other VNrl suffixes for agent nouns:

- a. *|-li(y)-|*            ‘one (person or animal) who/that is, does’  
 b. *|+tuli-|*            ‘one who is capable of, typically does’  
 c. *|+<sub>1</sub>culi-|*            ‘one who is good at’

– which, while still retaining productivity, have produced a number of lexicalized nouns, mainly for animate beings (human, animals). See § 19.1.

- (72)    *Ing-na=wa*                            *yura-y(‘)uli.*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.=REA            dance-one.good.ABS.sg.  
 ‘There he is, that good dancer.’
- (73)    [*tama-ku-t*            *angalku-t*            *pi-li-tuli-t*  
 that-EX-ABS.pl.    shaman-ABS.pl.            thing-make-VNrl-ABS.pl.  
*kegginaqu-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*]  
 mask-ABM.pl.  
 ‘those shaman who make masks’.
- (74)    *qanr-uc-iur-a-tuli-t*  
 speak-APL-work.on-CNT-VNrl-ABS.pl.  
 ‘ones who continually speak to (instruct) others’. [YQYW 6 (David Martin & Theresa Moses)]

The following pair may have some semantic difference:

- (75) a. *acsa-li-lria* ‘one (place) which currently has lots of berries’ vs.  
 b. *acsa-li-tuli* ‘one (place) which normally has lots of berries’  
 – NV *|-liy̆-|* ‘to have plenty of, to supply with’.
- (76) a. *iga-y<sup>(s)</sup>u-ni-lria* ‘one who says the he (himself) writes well’  
 – neutral = (59) above  
 b. *iga-y<sup>(s)</sup>u-ni-tuli* ‘one who brags that he (himself) writes well’  
 – with some derision  
 c. *iga-y<sup>(s)</sup>u-ni-sta* ‘one who brags that he (himself) writes well’  
 – more derision (§ 17.5.1).

The *-tu-*, as in *-tuli-*, also occurs in another relativizer-like *|-tuaŷ-|* ‘one that is’, which may be related to the passive relativizer *|+yaŷ-|*, though it has limited productivity:

- (77) *ang-tuar-u-unga* ‘I am a big person’  
 big-one.that.be-be-IND.1sg.

xi) *Limited or marginal substitution* – with an appositional verb in the reflexive-third person, which is actually the adnominal verb of the mood (§ 16.6, § 51.5):

- (78) *tuunritu-lria* (~ *tuunritu-li*) ≅ *tuunritu-luni* *arnaq*  
 use.spirit-VNrl-ABS.sg. use.spirit -APP.3Rsg. woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘a woman who uses medicine/shamanistic powers’.

xii) *Cyclical composition*: Reverbalization of a *-lria* relative clause, or cyclical verbal expansion (§ 37.5.3.1), is attested by a number of NV suffixes – relational and privative. A reverbalization may further be subject to transcategorical conversion (§ 17.8.2).

VNV *|-l̆yiaŷ+u-|* < *|-l̆yiaŷ+ŋu-|* (NVrv). Note the semantic differences (‘kind of, compared with others’ from the original form without cyclical expansion (given for comparison).

- (79) a. *ange-lriar-u-uq*  
 big-VNrl-be-IND.1sg.  
 ‘it is something important, is a big one’ (compared with others)  
 cf. *ang’-uq* ‘it is big’ (with no comparison implied)



- b. *ange-lriar-u-ngat-uq*  
big-VNrl-be-maybe-IND.3sg.  
'it maybe is / seems to be something big/important'  
– see (263) for further transcategorial conversion.
- (80) *nayir-cu-lriar-u-ngat-uq*  
hair.seal-hunt-VNrl-be-maybe-IND.3sg.  
i. 'he might be [the one who is] hair seal-hunting (while other people doing something else)'  
ii. 'he might be hair seal-hunting [hair seal out of different species of seals]'  
cf. *nayir-cur-ngat-uq* 'he might be hair seal-hunting.  
hair.seal-hunt-maybe-IND.3sg.
- (81) *can-li-lriar-u-luni* *nuna*  
grass-provided-VNrl-be-APP.3Rsg. land.ABS.sg.  
'the land which is (a kind of land) well provided with grass'  
– |*cany-*| 'grass', |*liy-*| 'to supply'; an adnominal use of appositional verbs (§ 51.5), see also (78)  
cf. *can-lir-luni* *nuna*  
'the land well provided with grass' – no implication as above.
- (82) *ui-ngqe-llriar-u-llini-uq*  
Hu-have-VNrl-be-EVD-IND.3sg.  
'(evidently) she is married, one who has a husband'  
cf. *ui-ngqer-tuq* 'she has a husband'.
- VNV |*lyiaŷ+it-*| / |*lyiaŷ+tait-*| < |*lyiaŷ+ŋit-*| / |*lyiaŷ+tait-*| with privative NV (§ 38.1)
- (83) *ange-lriar-it-uq*  
big-VNrl-PRV-IND.3sg.  
'he doesn't have one more important than himself'  
– see (264) for further transcategorial conversion, i.e. reverbalization.
- (84) *angya-li-lriar-tait-uq*  
boat-make/have.lots-VNrl-PRV-IND.3sg.  
i. 'there is no one who is making boats'  
ii. 'there is no one who has a lots of boats'  
– ambivalence because of *-li-* coming either from NV |*-li-*| 'to make' or NV |*liy-*| 'to have lots' (§ 38.3).



Lexicalized nominals may be made from an expanded verb stem with a VV or a NV suffix:

- (92) *temci-narqe-llria* ‘joke; something funny’  
 funny-VVsm.NEC-VNrl.ABS.sg. – |+*naŋqi-*| (§ 39.2.1).

See (62) above and § 11.4.2 for kinship terms expanded with |-*ki-lŷii-γ*| (in the dual), which denote reciprocal pair like ‘mother and daughter’.

Lexicalized nominals with the privative NV |+*ŋit-*| ‘to have no’ which selects the variant |+*ŋuŷ\**-|:

- (93) *aki-il-nguq* ‘debt; something cheap or reasonably priced’  
 – |-*aki-*| ‘money’  
*assi-il-nguq* ‘sin; something bad’ – |-*asiŷ-*| ‘to be good’  
*atr-il-nguq* ‘ring finger; no name’ – |-*atŷ-*| ‘name’  
*cuign-il-nguq* ‘land or river otter’ (with unidentifiable stem).

Intransitive participial relative clauses without head are also a very important source in the language for proper nouns, i.e. more commonly persons (94) and (95) than places (96), again including ones with the privative denominal stem NV |-*ŋit-*| (‘to have no, be without’):

- (94) *Aurra-lria* ‘One who is crawling’ – |-*auŋaŷ-*| ‘to crawl’  
*Ayaga-lria* ‘One who is travelling around’  
 – |-*ayaya-*| ‘to move around’  
*Kaiga-lria* ‘One who is always asking’ – |-*kaiya-*| ‘to request’.
- (95) *Aigga-il-nguq* ‘No hand; one who has no hand’ – |-*aixaŷ-*|  
*Putuku-il-nguq* ‘No big toe’ – |-*putukuŷ-*|  
*Kumlu-il-nguq* ‘No thumb’ – |-*kumlu(ŷ)-*|  
*Tekr-il-nguq* ‘One without index finger’ (a story title) – |-*tikŷ-*|  
*Pula-vi-il-nguq* ‘One who does not have place to go forward’  
 – |-*pula+viiŷ-*| ‘go.forward-place’.
- (96) *Kuig-il-nguq* ‘Kwigillingok, a village on Kuskokwim Bay (lit. one that has no river)’ – |-*kuiŷ-*| ‘river’.

## 2.2. Transitive VNrl |-*ki-*|

Transitive participial relative clauses with obligatory person inflection, corresponding to a transitive participial mood verb, relativize an absolutive-case NP, i.e. P, (indirective) T, or (secundative) R, with the obligatorily inflected person (possessor) reflecting the A argument, which may or may not be accompanied by

an explicit head NP in the relative case (G function), unlike the foregoing intransitive suffix. This is the same as is the case with other transitive relativizers, i.e. preterite (§ 17.3) and passive (§ 17.4).

The suffix  $|-_1ki-$  is realized in different ways, that is,  $/-q-$ ,  $-k-$ ,  $-qV-$ ,  $-kV-$ , because of the segmental adjustments (§ 7) involved – (P3ii) velar assimilation and (P9) stem-final velar deletion.

i) *P argument relativized* – e.g. relativization of transitive construction *neqe-m* (REL.sg.) *ner-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘the/a fish [A] is eating it [P]’, with agentive bivalent verb:

- (97) *neqe-m*<sub>G=A</sub> *ner*<sup>[1]</sup>*-ki-i* ‘the one that the fish is eating’  
 – voiceless cluster  $-rk-$   $/xk/$  in the Kuskokwim dialect but the voiced  $-r$   $'k-$   $/yk/$  elsewhere; cf. (P21): Compare with a. and b.
- a. *neqe-m*<sub>G=A</sub> *nere-llr-a* ‘the one that the person ate’  
 – with  $|-tj-$  (§ 17.3), homonymous with nominal clause (3a)
- b. *neqe-m*<sub>G=A</sub> *ner-a-a* ‘the one that the person has eaten’  
 – with  $|-yay-$  (§ 17.4.2), homonymous with the indicative transitive verb *ner-aa* ‘he is eating it’ above.

– as opposed to the intransitive participial *nere-lria* (ABS.sg.) ‘the one who is eating’, which cannot be person-inflected and accordingly cannot co-occur with *yu-u-m* in G function.

With an external head, by contrast:

- (98) a. *atsa-t* *ner*<sup>[1]</sup>*-ka-i*  
 berry-ABS.pl. eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
 ‘the berries that he is eating’
- b. *atsa-t* *caqu-llru-ke-nka* (wrap-PST-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.)  
 ‘the berries I put away’ [EL].

- (99) *yuarun* *atu-qe-ka* (<  $|atuy-ki[-ka]|$ )  
 song.ABS.sg. sing-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘the song that I am singing’

cf. intransitive *angun atu-lria* (sing-ABS.sg.) ‘the man who is singing’.

The following, again with the agentive stem  $|kipuc-$  ‘to buy’, is from *enap kiput-arput* (buy-IND.1pl.3sg.) ‘we [A] bought the house [P]’, is illustrated with different relativizers. They have the external head (‘house’) with the agent (‘we’; 1pl.) expressed only by the person inflection (ABS.1pl.sg.  $-vvut-$   $-put$ ) but not by an external relative-case NP:

- (100) *ena kipus-ke-vvut* ‘the house that we (just) bought’  
 cf. a. *ena kipute-ller-put* ‘the house that we bought’ ≡ c. below  
 b. *ena kipus-kengar-put* ‘the house that we are buying’  
 c. *ena kiput-ar-put* ‘the house that we have bought; we bought the house’  
 d. *ena kiput-arkar-put* ‘the house that we will buy’  
 – c. with *-ar-put* happens to be homonymous with the transitive verb *kiput-arput* above, but this sort of ambiguity cannot occur with its future version d.

more examples without head NP:

- (101) *Pi-ke-ke-n<sub>S</sub>* *qaya-cuara-u-llini-uq.*  
 thing-own-VNrl-ABS.2sg.3sg. kayak-small-be-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘What you (sg.) have is (now I see) a small kayak.’
- (102) *Nuna-k-ngal-ki-inun<sub>R</sub>* *elli-a.*  
 place-have.as-seem-VNrl-ALL.3sg.sg. put-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She put it to the origin (place) where it seems to have existed.’  
 – cyclical expansion (§ 37.5.3).

An adverbial demonstrative stem is verbalized and is relativized:

- (103) a. [*yaa-qsi-ki-i* *ceña-m<sub>G=A</sub>*] *qikertaq*  
 there-far-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. shore-REL.sg. island.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the island (the place) that is far from the shore’
- b. *imarpi-i-m<sub>G</sub>* *yaa-qsi-nril-ki-ini*  
 ocean-EV-REL.sg. there-far-NEG-VNrl-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘(at the place) not far from the ocean’  
 cf. *yaa-qsig-aa* (there-far-IND.3sg.3sg.) *ceña-m<sub>A</sub>* *qikertaq<sub>P</sub>*  
 ‘the island is far from the shore (the shore has the island far away)’.

See § 17.3 for relativization of ditransitive verbs.

ii) *Tense-aspect specification* – by a preceding VV suffix (as is the case with intransitive relative clauses):

- (104) a. *tang-la-q-vut* ‘the one we usually see’  
 see-CUS-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.
- b. *elri-ute-tu-ki-i* ‘the one he does the memorial feast for’ [CAUY 153]  
 have.feast-E<sub>APL</sub>-CUS-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.

As in (b), the marker *|-tu-|* ‘regularly, to be capable’ (§ 42.2-v) in particular often occurs with this relativizer; see the following as well as *-tu-ke-* in ‘what is called, so-called’ (107).

- (105) *Pissu-tu-ke-nka<sub>s</sub>*                      *ma-a-ni*                      *enurnar-tut*.  
 hunt-CUS-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.              this-EX-LOC              scarce-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The ones (game animals) that I generally hunt are scarce around here.’  
 – without external head.

The past marker *|-ṭỵu-|*, by contrast, does not occur with this relativizer *|-ki-|*, thus *\*pissu-llru-ke-nka*, which should be *pissu-llr-e-nka* (hunt-VNrl-EV-ABS.1sg.pl.) ‘the ones I hunted’.

iii) *Compared with participial moods*: As is the case with intransitive ones, the transitive participial suffixes participate both in nominals (relative clauses) and verbs (participial-mood verbs as main clause predicates – § 47), with possible ambiguity usually avoided by the use of a certain enclitic or particle particularly like *|=wa|* in (106b) below:

- (106) a. *atsa-t*                      *ner<sup>[1]</sup>-ka-I*                      ‘the berries that he is eating’  
 berry-ABS.pl.                      eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
 b. *Atsa-t=wa*                      *ner<sup>[1]</sup>-ka-i*.                      ‘He is eating the berries.’  
 berry-ABS.pl.=REA eat-PTP-3sg.3pl.

Some people may tend to use the *|-ki-|* suffix more in a verbal (participial mood) function, hardly using it as a nominal (relativizer). Those speakers seem to regard *|-<sub>1</sub>kiŋaỵ-|* (§ 17.4.1) to be more natural as nominal. This relativizer, which is obligatorily followed by inflection and cannot be followed by a derivational suffix, never forms a composite suffix or serves as a reverbaler.

iv) ‘*so-called, what they call*’: Relative clauses by the transitive participial *|-ki-|* are involved in the ways of introducing a new word, a name or an expression – ‘so-called, what is called’ – somewhat resembling the English relative pronoun *what*. Two ditransitive verbs are commonly employed, that is, *|pi-|* ‘to do; all something/one (as something)’ and *|ap̣ỵ-|* ‘to say, pronounce’.

As a relative clause, CAY expressions of ‘so-called, what they call’ have person distinction like ‘what I/you/they/they themselves, etc. call’:

- (107) *maklag-nek*                      *pi-tu-ka-it*  
 bearded.seal-ABM.pl.              say-CUS-VNrl-ABS.3pl.pl.  
 ‘what they customarily call *maklak* (bearded seal)’  
 cf. *pi-tu-it* (IND.3pl.3pl.) *maklag-nek* ‘they call them *maklak*’.

- (108) [*Ap-qe-ka=wa* *im-na*  
 call-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.=ENC that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.  
*Mayaq'aq*]<sub>s</sub> *tekite-llria*.  
 p.n.-ABS.sg. arrive-PTP.3sg.  
 'That one I call Mayaq'aq has arrived.'  
 – relativized bivalent verb ('to call') in apposition with the nominal demonstrative and the person name, with the intransitive participial *tekite-llria* as the predicate in the sentence, and the enclitic =*wa* attached to the sentence-initial word within the relative clause.
- (109) a. *ap-qi-it* *May'aq*  
 call-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg. p.n.ABS.sg.  
 'the one who they call Mayaq'  
 b. *May'a-mek* *apr-uma-lria*  
 p.n.-ABM.sg. call-PAS-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 'the one who is called Mayaq'.
- (110) [*Yura-mek* *ciu-mek*] *pi-lar-tut* *uksuar-mi*,  
 dance-ABM.sg. front-ABM.sg. do-CUS-IND.3pl. fall-LOC.sg.  
 [*aug'-u-mi = im'-u-mi* *ap-qi-itni ~ ape-q-meggni*  
 that-EX-LOC.sg. say-VNrl-LOC.3pl.sg./3Rpl.sg.  
*cauyar-vig-mi*] *atu-ng-luteng*.  
 drum-time-LOC.sg. sing-INC-APP.3Rpl. [AKKL 14 (Mary Mike)]  
 'In the fall, they<sub>i</sub> would do an introductory (invitational) *yuraq* dancing, beginning to sing during what they<sub>i</sub>/they<sub>i</sub> call the time for drumming.'

The two relativized clauses *ap-qi-itni* (LOC.3pl.sg.) and *ape-q-meggni* (LOC.3Rpl.sg.) are both possible in this sentence, which differs according to the possessors, that is, 'what they (*generally*) call' and 'what they (*themselves* – referring to the singers) call'. They are in apposition with the preceding demonstratives and the following noun ('drumming time').

The same contrast of third vs. reflexive third for the relative clause ('what they call') is found within a five-line sentence by another narrator also in [AKKL 18 (Paul John)]:

- (111) a. *ap-qi-itnek* *curukar-luteng*  
 call-VNrl-ABM.3pl.sg. visit-APP.3Rpl.  
 'they (invited guests) doing what is called *curuqaq*'  
 b. *ape-q-meggnnek* *agayu-li-luteng*  
 say-VNrl-ABM.3Rpl.sg. prayer-make-APP.3Rpl.  
 'they<sub>i</sub> (shamans) creating what they<sub>i</sub> call *agayu*'.

– the (coreferential) subject of the appositional verb is implicitly referred to in (a) but is *angalku-t* (ABS.pl.) ‘shamans’ in (b) which immediately precedes the relative clause; see [AKKL 229, 230] for *agayu(t)* ‘prayer, [NI] mask’ and *curuqaq(t)* ‘invited guest (to Messenger Feast)’ from *curug-* ‘to (go over to) challenge, attack’.

### 3. Preterite relativizers VNrl |*-tʔ-*|

Relativizes both i) intransitive S (incl. derived S) and ii) transitive P, as well as ditransitive (secundative) R and (indirective) T, that is, selecting an absolutive-case NP as antecedent.

i) *Relativization of intransitive clauses* – S argument, including derived S as in (113), with no person inflection.

- (112) *aya-lleq* / pl. *aya-llr-e-t* ‘one/ones that went away’  
 – possessor inflected \**aya-l-qa* is ungrammatical (not meaning \*‘I who went away’).

By contrast:

- (113) a. *ner’-lleq* ~ [K.BB] *nerr-leq* ‘one who ate’  
 eat-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 b. *qayar-pa-li-sqe-ssaaqe-lleq*  
 kayak-big-make-A'.ask-butVNrl-ABS.sg.  
 ‘one who wants (someone) to make a big kayak for himself (though in vain; VVe |+<sub>1</sub>caaqi-|)’ – each corresponding to the intransitive verb *ner’-uq* ‘he eats’ (antipassive) and *qayar-pa-li-sqe-ssaq-uq* ‘he wants to have a big kayak made for himself (but in vain)’ (reflexive).

These two, with bivalent verbs, can have person inflection (just below):

ii) *Relativization of transitive clauses*: P/T/R argument relativized, with obligatory inflection which reflects the A argument. Compare with (113) above:

- (114) a. *nere-l-qa* ‘one which I ate’  
 b. *qayar-pa-li-sqe-ssaaqe-l-qa*  
 ‘one whom I asked to make a big kayak for me (though in vain)’  
 – each corresponding to a transitive verb like *ner’-aqa* ‘I eat it’ and *qayar-pa-li-sqe-saaq-aqa* ‘I wanted him to have a big kayak made for me’.



- (115) *Tuallu* ≠ *qaa* [*ena* *im-na*  
 then≠QST house.ABS.sg. that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.  
*tange-l-ci*?  
 see-VNrl-ABS.2pl.sg.  
 ‘So, how about that house you saw?’
- (116) *ena* *pi-yug-yaaqe-llr-at* *ak’anun*  
 house.ABS.sg. do-DES-but-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg. long.time  
 ‘the house that they had wanted for a long time’.
- (117) [*Aata-ka* *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-l-qa*]<sub>S</sub>  
 father-ABS.1sg.sg. boat-small-make-DES-ITS-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*yu-u-nrir-tuq*.  
 person-be-no.longer-IND.3sg.  
 ‘My father for whom I strongly wanted to make a small boat is now dead.’  
 cf. *Aata-ka*<sub>P</sub> *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigt-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.).  
 ‘I strongly wish to make a small boat for my father.’

By contrast, patientive bivalents show difference in intransitive reflexivization from agentive (just above):

- (118) a. *qimugta* *tama-l-qa*  
 dog.ABS.sg. lose-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘the dog that I lost’  
 cf. *qimugta*<sub>P</sub> *tamar-aqa* (lose-IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I lost the dog’
- b. *qimugta* *tama-lleq*  
 dog.ABS.sg. lose-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
 ‘the dog that was lost’  
 cf. *qimugta*<sub>S=P</sub> *tamar-tuq* (lose-IND.3sg.) ‘the dog was lost’.

Accordingly, for a patientive verb to have the A argument (the loser of the dog) relativized, antipassivization is required to make it a derived S, with P argument being demoted into the ablative-modalis:

- (119) *Angun* (*qimugte-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>) *tamar-i-lleq*.  
 man.ABS.sg. dog-ABM.sg. lose-APS-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
 ‘The man who lost (a dog).’  
 cf. *angun*<sub>S=A</sub> (*qimugte-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>) *tamar-i-uq* (lose-APS-IND.3sg.)  
 ‘the man lost (a dog)’.

Another patientive verb |*naaqi-*| ‘to read’, as in the transitive construction, is illustrated with the agentive/active relativizer |+(s)t-| (§ 17.5.1) in the following,

with P argument relegated to the relative-case position, in comparison with the underlying clause:

- (120) [*Bible-aa-t<sub>G</sub>*            *naaqe-sti-it*]            *yuk*  
 B.-LNK-REL.pl.    read-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.    person.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the person who reads the Bible’  
 – usually the Bible is expressed in the plural (as a composite; § 21.5).  
 cf. *yu-u-m<sub>A</sub>*            *naaq-ai*            *Bible-aa-t<sub>P</sub>*  
 ‘person-EV-REL.sg. read-IND.3sg.3pl.    B.-LNK-ABS.pl.  
 ‘the person is reading the Bible’.

– while P-argument is relativized in (121) by *-llr-*, with A argument in G function:

- (121) [*yu-u-m<sub>G=A</sub>*            *naaqe-llr-i*]            *Bible-aa-t*  
 person-EV-REL.sg. read-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.    B.-LNK-ABS.pl.  
 ‘the Bible that the person reads’  
 cf. *Bible-aa-m<sub>G</sub>*            *naaqe-llr-a*  
 B.-LNK-REL.sg.    read-VNr-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the reading of the Bible’.

The three relativizers, with antipassive verbs having derived S, do not show the contrast, however – cf. § 17.1.2.1.

- (122) [*Bible-aa-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*            *naaq-i-iria / -i-sta / -i-llaq*]            *yuk*  
 B.-LNK-ABM.pl.    read-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg.            person.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the person who reads the Bible, the reader of the Bible’.

Ditransitive R (secundative) and T (indirective) argument are relativized by following the same pattern as the P argument in bivalent verbs, that is, with the absolutive-case argument as antecedent and with person inflection, respectively in the following two:

- (123) [*arna-m<sub>G=A</sub>*            *akuta-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*            *ciki-llr-i*]  
 woman-REL.sg.    ice.cream-ABM.sg.    give-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
***angute-t***  
 man-ABS.pl.  
 ‘the men [R] to whom the woman gave (some) ice-cream’  
 – can be replaced by *ciki-qi-i* and *ciki-qenga-i* ‘the ones to whom she is giving (s.t.)’  
 cf. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>* ***angute-t<sub>R</sub>*** *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>* *ciki-llru-i* (give-PST-IND.3sg.3pl.)  
 ‘The woman gave ice-cream to the men.’

- (124) [*arna-m*<sub>G=A</sub>            *angut-nun*<sub>(R)</sub>            *tune-llr-a*]  
 woman-REL.sg.        man-ALL.pl.            give-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
***akutaq***  
 ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the ice-cream [T] that the woman gave/sold to the men’  
 – can be replaced by *tun-ki-i* and *tun-kenga-i* ‘the one she is selling  
 (to s.o.)’  
 cf. *Arna-m*<sub>A</sub> ***akutaq***<sub>T</sub> *angut-nun*<sub>(R)</sub> *tune-llru-a* (give-PST-IND.3sg.3pl.).  
 ‘The woman gave / sold the ice-cream to the men.’

Since ditransitive stems are patientive in view of detransitivization, antipassivization is necessary in order to have the A argument (‘woman’ above) relativized. Compare the following with (124):

- (125) [*angut-mun*<sub>(R)</sub>        *akuta-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>            *tun-i-lleq*]  
 man-ALL.sg.        ice.cream-ABM.sg.        give-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
***arnaq***  
 woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the woman [S=A] who sold ice-cream to the man’  
 – The antipassive *|tun'-i-|* is semantically specialized (‘to sell’ rather  
 than ‘to give’).

As stated in § 18.2.2, *|-l̥y-|* is not simply a preterite relativizer (VNrl). It may also be a marker for a nominal clause (VNnm) as well as an (adjectival) nominal expander meaning ‘past, former, ex-’ (NN; § 20.1.1), which, when further expanded with the relational verb NVrv *|+ŋu-|* ( / NVrv *|\_i ki-|*) in cyclical expansion, functions as the past tense marker VVt *|-l̥y-|* ( / *|\_i q i-|*) ‘-ed’ (§ 42.1). Each of these occurs very frequently in discourse, with little restriction in productivity. It would not necessarily be easy to tell whether we are dealing with homonymy here or two functions of a single morpheme (or of one origin), though, as treated and discussed separately, I am inclined to think that the latter would be the case, i.e. multifunctionality. Together with VNnm function, the case is reminiscent of the multifunctional English *that* as a complementizer (conjunctive), a relativizer (pronoun), and a demonstrative (pronoun and adjective) among others.

#### 4. Passive relativizers (P argument)

There are three passive relativizers – named “processive”, “perfective”, and “future” – which relativize P argument in the underlying clause, with the A argument being coded by the person (possessor) inflection.



The addition of  $|+kay-|$  to  $|_{-1}kijay-|$  is not grammatical, or sounds awkward at the least, unlike  $|+yay-|$  vs. its future  $|+yaykay-|$ :

$|_{-1}kijay-|$  has much the same force as the (possessed) participial  $|_{-1}ki-|$ , thus:

- (130) [*Amiq* *u-na* *mingqe-k'ngar-put*  $\rightleftharpoons$  *mingqe-k-vut*]<sub>S</sub>  
 skin.ABS.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. sew-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.  
*alleg-yug-tuq.*  
 tear-TND-IND.3sg.  
 ‘This skin we are sewing tends to tear.’ – cf. (20) with *-ller-*.
- (131) [*Assir-luku* *keni-qenga-a*  $\rightleftharpoons$  *keni-qi-i* *neqa*]<sub>P</sub>  
 good-APP.3sg. cook-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. fish.ABS.sg.  
*ner'-ciq-erput.*  
 eat-FUT-IND.1pl.3sg.  
 ‘We will eat the fish which she did a good job cooking.’
- (132) a. *Niis-kenga-qa*<sub>S</sub>  $\rightleftharpoons$  *Niis-ke-ka*<sub>S</sub>  
 hear-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg. hear-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*qia-lriar-u-uq.*  
 cry-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The one I’m hearing is (one who is) crying.’ – possibly past
- b. *Niis-kenga-qa qia-guq*  
 ‘The one I’m hearing is crying’ – present.

The contrast between processive and perfective is more apparent after stem-final /c/ for some speakers, who either fricativize /c/ to /s/ or delete it, as indicated by the subscript <sub>1</sub> (cf. P5.i):

- (133) a. *ena* *kipus-kengar-put*  
 house.ABS.sg. buy-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘the house we are (in the process of) buying now’ –  $|kipuc-|$  ‘to buy’
- b. *ena* *kipu-kengar-put*  
 house.ABS.sg. buy-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘the house we bought’.  
 – some speakers may use both in the sense of (a).

i) *Lexicalization*: rather limited, but attested at least by:

- (134) *yugnike-k'ngaq* ‘friend’ – *yugnike-* ‘to feel comfortable with’  
*aqva-k'ngaq* ‘child of the guest in messenger feast (or reciprocally of the host)’  
 – *aqva-* ‘fetch’; see [CAUY 159–185] for the feast or *kevgiq*.

ii) *Reverbalization*: attested at least by relational verbs and the possessive verb  $|-ŋq̄x-|$  ‘to have’:

VNV  $|-_1kiŋa-u- / -_1kiŋa-q̄i-|$  ‘to be something -ed (constantly)’

- (135) *kipu-kenga-u-guq*  
 buy-VNrl-be -IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘it is a purchase, something purchased’ –  $|kipuc-|$  ‘to buy’  
*kipu-kenga-q-aqa*  
 buy-VNrl-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘it is what I bought, what has been bought (already)’  
 cf. *kiput-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I (just) bought it’.
- (136) *Niis-kenga-q-aqa* *qia-gura-lria<sub>p</sub>*.  
 hear-VNrl-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg. cry-CNT-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I keep hearing (often) the one crying continually.’  
 cf. *Niit-aqa qia-gura-lria<sub>p</sub>*  
 ‘I hear (now, one time) the one crying continually’.
- (137) *Atu-qenga-qe-la-qenka=wa* *[ma-ku-t*  
 use-VNrl-have-REG-PTP.1sg.3pl.=ENC *this-EX.ABS.pl.*  
*nutg-e-t]<sub>p</sub>*.  
 gun-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘These are guns I constantly use. / I constantly use these guns.’ (not  
 as a response, not an answer)  
 cf. *Atu-la-qenka=wa*. ‘I usually/regularly use them.’  
 use-REG-PTP.1sg.3pl.=ENC.

– which has another reading, i.e. relative clause, with *-qe-nka* (VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.), ‘these guns I constantly use’ (as a response) as double relative clause (V > N > V > N) – see § 17.8.

VNV  $|-_1kiŋa-ŋi-|$  ‘to get something -ed’

- (138) *Niis-kenga-ng-ua* *tengssuut-mek<sub>(p)</sub>*.  
 hear-VNrl-get-IND.1sg. airplane-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I am starting to hear an airplane (from far away), am getting an  
 airplane heard.’  
 – the cyclical expansion with VN+NV with NV  $|-ŋ^*i-|$  ‘to get,  
 acquire’ (‘to get something -ed’) is distinct from same as the  
 inchoative VV  $|-ŋ^*i-|$  ‘to start’ as:  
 cf. *niite-ng-ua* *ayag-ni-luku*  
 hear-INC-IND.1sg. leave-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
 ‘I start to hear that he left (as something said or a rumor)’.

VNV  $|_{-1}kij\alpha\text{-}\eta qix\text{-}|$  ‘to have something –ed’ <  $|_{-1}kij\alpha\dot{y}\text{-}\eta qx\text{-}|$

- (139) *Niis-kenga-ngqer-tua*      *qia-gura-lria-mek.*  
 hear-RCL-have-IND.1sg.    cry-CNT-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I keep hearing (I had a sound coming to me) someone crying continually.’  
 – The hearing could be an illusion and the sound doesn’t have to be actual crying, which connotation is not shared by the following with no cyclical expansion:  
 cf. *niit-ua* (hear-IND.1sg.) /*niite-ng-ua* (-INC-) *qia-gura-lria-mek*  
 ‘I am hearing/starting to hear someone crying continually’.

#### 4.2. VNrl $|+yay\dot{y}\text{-}|$

Relativizes *P* argument of transitive verbs; perfective or processive. More capable of being lexicalized than the preceding VNrl  $|_{-1}kij\alpha\dot{y}\text{-}|$  nominal:

- (140) a. *tuqut-aq* ‘something or someone (that was) killed’ –  $|tuqu\text{-}c\text{-}|$  ‘die-A’  
*itert-aq* ‘one in jail, lit. one who was put in’ –  $|ity\text{-}c\text{-}|$  ‘enter-A’  
*tait-aq* ‘one brought over’ (usually referring to a thing rather than a person) –  $|tai\text{-}c\text{-}|$  ‘come-A’  
 b. *qilag-aq* ‘knitted thing’ –  $|qilay\text{-}|$  ‘to knit’  
*iqair-aq* ‘something washed’ –  $|iq\alpha\text{-}\eta iy\text{-}|$  ‘dirt-deprive’ with NV (PRV).  
 c. *tep'-aq* ‘driftwood or one that has drifted ashore’ [YED 369]  
 – impersonal patientive  $|tipi\text{-}|$  ‘(it) to bring ashore’.
- (141) a. *iqair-a-ten* (ABS.2sg.pl.)  
 ‘the ones you (sg.) are washing; the ones you (sg.) washed’  
 b. *Iqair-a-nka<sub>P</sub>*      *miil-ir-anka.*  
 wash-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.    soap-supply-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am soaping the ones I am washing.’  
 – *miil-ir-* <  $|miilay\text{-}liy\text{-}|$  with NV  $|liy\text{-}|$  ‘to supply’ following the stem which is Russian loan from *mylo*.

In (b) above, *iqairanka* can also be a transitive indicative verb meaning ‘I wash them’ (*-anka* IND.1sg.3pl.); see (100c).

- (142) [*Akutaq*      *tait-a-n*]<sub>P</sub>      *ner'-aqa.*  
 ice.cream.ABS.sg.    bring.over-VNrl-ABS.2sg.sg.    eat-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am eating the icecream you brought over here.’

- cf. [*Soup-aq*                      *tais-kenga-n*]<sub>P</sub>  
 soup-LNK.ABS.sg.    bring.over-VNrl-ABS.2sg.sg.  
*kuv-yaqu-naku!*  
 spill-PRH-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) don’t spill the soup you *are bringing* over here.’

i) *After monovalent verbs*: It is to be noted that the suffix, which basically relativizes a P argument, can nevertheless occur after a monovalent verb. This is generally the case with “mutative” verbs, i.e. those denoting a passing from one place or state to another. One is reminded of English past participles of intransitive (mainly the so-called mutative) verbs, which can be attributive (e.g. Zandvoort 1960 [1953]: 48–49; cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 542), e.g. *an escaped convict, a retired officer, fallen leaves, a returned emigrant, the risen sun*, etc.:

- (143)    *tekit-aq*                      ‘one who arrived, i.e. a guest; one who moved from another village’ – |*teikic-*| ‘to arrive’  
           *mit’-aq* [Y]                      ‘landed bird/plane’ – |*mic-*| ‘to land’  
           *igt-aq* [Y]                      ‘one which fell’ – |*iyc-*| ‘to fall’  
           *pekt-aq* [Y?]                      ‘one who/that is moving’ – |*piki-*| ‘move/walk’, perhaps with A<sub>IMP</sub> |+*c-*|, cf. (147), § 34(99).

The suffix may occur after a denominal stem with NV |+*c-*| ‘get, catch’ as well as a bivalent stems with A-adder VV<sub>sm</sub> |+*c-*| as in *tuqu-t-* ‘to kill’ from *tuqu-* ‘to die’ and *uni-t-* ‘to leave behind’ from *uni-* ‘to disappear’ (§ 39.1.1-i.b):

- (144) a. *ikiitug-t-a-it* / *tarnar-t-a-it*                      ‘wild celeries they picked’  
           celery-get-VNrl-ABS.3pl.pl.  
           cf. *ikiitu-it* / *tarna-it*                      ‘their celeries’  
       b. *pi-t-a-a*    *kaviaq*  
           thing-get-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.    fox.ABS.sg.  
           ‘the fox he caught’.
- (145)    *uni-t-a-ci*    *yu-u-t*  
           dissolve-A-VNrl-ABS.2pl.pl.    person-EV-ABS.pl.  
           ‘the people you left behind’ [FASM 42]

ii) *Reverbalization of passive relative clauses*: This is attested at least by relational verbs NV<sub>rv</sub> |+*ɲu-*| / |*ki-*| (and their corresponding inchoative |+*ɲuyc-*| / |*k(i)sayuc-*|), privative |+*ɲit-*| / |+*ɲiɣ-*|, and verbs of existence. See also § 17.4.2-i.



VNV |+*ya+u-* / (inchoative) |+*ya+uɣc-*| with intransitive relational verbs. Responsible for a stative “pseudo-passive” construction ‘to be (something) –ed’ (§ 34.1.2.2-ii, § 39.3.2). Often replaced by aspectual VVt |+*(u)ma-*| (§ 42.2.3). Compare with another pseudo-passive |+*(s)ciy-*| (§ 34.1.2.2-i, § 39.3.1) which is responsible for a dynamic construction. See (153) and (154) for the corresponding transitive construction with |+*ya-qi-*| / |+*ya-qsayuc-*|:

- (146) a. *tuqu-t-a-u-guq* ‘he is (one who was) killed’  
 die-A-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  $\rightleftharpoons$  *tuquc-ima-uq* ‘he is killed, has been killed’  
*tuqu-cir-a-u-guq* ‘he is being kept dying’  
 – with VVsm -*cir-* ‘to let/wait’ (§ 39.1.3) instead of the causative -*c-* (§ 39.1.1)
- b. *kiner-t-a-u-guq* ‘it is one dried’  
 dry-A-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
*kiner-cir-a-u-guq* ‘it is one that is being dried’
- c. *iter-t-a-u-guq*  
 enter-A-VNrl-be-IND.3sg. – cf. (140a)  
 ‘he is a prisoner / is in jail, lit. he is one who was put in’
- d. *paqrit-a-u-guq*  
 find.missing-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it was found to be missing, it is something found missing’
- e. *pi-kar-t-a-u-guq*  
 thing-FUT-get-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it is something brought/obtained (for possession)’, cf. § 37 (80).

An agent NP, e.g. ‘the dog’ as a killer for (a), which should occur in the relative case if in a transitive construction (*qimugte-m tuqu-t-aa* ‘the dog killed him’), does not occur with the allative case, but can be added as some instrument or means by an perlativ or an ablativ modalis NP (*qimugte-kun / qimugte-mek*). An allative NP may occur with (a), e.g. *Qip ’nermiu-nun*, but it would mean ‘for the sake of the Kipnuk people’ [PP].

A mutative stem (143) is illustrated with -*a-u-guq*:

- (147) *tekit-a-u-guq* ‘he is one who arrived, i.e. a guest or stranger’  
 $\rightleftharpoons$  *allanr-u-uq*  
*pekt-a-u-guq* ‘he is moving, travelling’; from (143).

Impersonal patientive verbs (with A<sub>IMP</sub>) – e.g. |+*atiɣc-*| ‘drift with the current’ – can also be relativized and put into a relational verb, which is further relativized e.g.:

- (148) *atert-a-u-lleq*  
 drift-VNrl-be-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
 ‘the one who drifted away; lit. the one who was the one that it (A<sub>IMP</sub>)  
 drifted’  
 – see (10) for the verb with impersonal A argument.
- (149) *Na-nt-a*                      *aata-n<sub>S</sub>?*                      – *Itert-a-u-guq*.  
 where-be.at-INT.3sg. Fa-ABS.2sg.sg. enter-A-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Where is your father?’ – ‘He is in jail, lit. one who was put in.’

The *itert-a-u-guq* may be subject to cyclical expansion, thus, *itert-a-u-lriar-u-  
 uq*. The two are quasi-equivalent but the latter cannot be an answer to *nanta  
 aatan?*, since *itert-a-u-lria* is a secondary categorization meaning ‘onewho is  
 the one put in’, i.e. an inmate as a category.

- (150) *Tama-a-ken*                      *tekit-a-u-guq*.  
 there-DEMad-ABL arrive-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is the one who arrived from there, is here from outside (another  
 place), i.e. he is a guest.’
- (151) a. *Qaya-qa<sub>S</sub>*                      *mingu-ga-u-guq*                      *assir-luku*.  
 kayak-ABS.1sg.sg. paint-VNrl-be-IND.3sg. good-APP.3sg.  
 ‘My kayak is painted well, lit. is (the one) painted it being good.’  
 ≙ *mingu-uma-uq*
- b. *Qaya-qa<sub>P</sub>*                      *mingu-ga-q-aqa*                      *assir-luku*.  
 kayak-ABS.1sg. paint-PPS-IND.1sg.3sg. good-APP.3sg.  
 ‘I had my kayak painted well.’; see transitive (153a)  
 – either already painted or being worked on now, and the painter ei-  
 ther ‘I’ or ‘someone else’.

Note, in a ‘passive of experience’-like (b), the parallelism with the transitive  
 relational verb and with the standard of comparison in transitive comparative  
 construction.

- (152) a. *kiner-t-a-urr-luki*                      ‘making them (become) dried’  
 dry-A-VNrl-INC-APP.3pl.  
 cf. *kiner-t-a-u-guq*                      ‘it is dried’
- b. *kassuut-arka-urte-llini-aq-ata*  
 marry-VNrl.FUT-INC-EVD-CNNwv.3pl. [FASM 34]  
 ‘whenever they are now scheduled to get married’  
 – § 17.4.3 for the future *-arka(r)-*.

VNV |+*ya-qi-* / (inchoative) |+*ya-qsayuc-*| with transitive relational verbs. Forms a (stative) pseudo-passive construction ‘to have – ed / to be (one’s something) -ed’, though less common than the preceding intransitive ones. Note the parallelism of the following example with the standard of comparison in transitive comparative construction § 45 (13b, 14) in that A argument is the possessor.

- (153) a. *mingug-a-q-aqa* ‘I have it painted’  
 paint-VNrl-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 – quasi-equivalent to *mingu-kenga-q-aqa*, cf. (151b)
- b. *mingug-a-qsagut-aa*  
 ‘he now has it painted, has it reached to the state of being painted’.
- (154) *igt-a-q-ni-luku* *May’a-mun*  
 fall-VNrl-have.as-A'.say-APP.3sg. p.n.-ALL.sg.  
 ‘(he) saying May’aq had let it fall’  
 – demoted allative NP in relation to the complex verbe *-ni-*; ‘May’aq (*Maya-m*) had it as a fallen one’ cf. (143).

VNV |+*ya+it-* / |+*ya+iḃ-*| with privative verbs (§ 38.1):

- (155) *pek-t-a-it-uuq* ‘he isn’t moving / is inactive’ [YED]  
*pek-t-a-ir-uuq* ‘he has stopped moving’  
 cf. *pek-t-a-u-guq* ‘he is moving, is travelling’, cf. (143), (147)  
 – *peke-* (make.movement-A-).

VVN |+*ya(y-ta)ḡqḡ-*| with verbs of existence (§ 38.1):

- (156) *Luqruuyak<sub>s</sub> ner’-a-ngqer-tuq* *can’giir-nek<sub>(p)</sub>*  
 pike.ABS.sg. eat-VNrl-have-IND.3sg. blackfish-ABM.pl.  
 ‘The pike’s stomach contains blackfish (lit. the pike has stomach content of blackfish).’  
 cf. appositive phrase *ner’-aq can’giiq* ‘blackfish which was eaten’.
- (157) *Tuqu-t-ar-tangqer-tuq* *yug-mek*  
 die-A-VNrl-there.be-IND.3sg. person-ABM.sg.  
 ‘There is a person that was killed.’ – see § 17.8-iv.  
 cf. appositive phrase *tuqu-t-aq yuk* ‘man who was killed’.

iii) *After the VN suffix* |-*li-*| ‘to make’ – with deletion of /V-l/ (§ 38.3):

- (158) a. *angya-li-a-n* ~ *angy-i-a-n*  
 boat-make-VNrl-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘the boat you (sg.) are making/made’

- b. *tuyu-li-ar-i*  
 reader-make-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
 ‘the readers (lay preachers) he made (taught)’ – Russian loan *toyón*.
- c. *pi-li-a-gpuk*  
 thing-make-VNrl-ABS.1du.du  
 ‘the things (du.) we (du.) made’  
 – also means ‘we(du.) are making something for them (du.)’.

The *-li-aq* ‘made one’ as above occurs in transitive constructions with a monovalent stems of size (‘big’, ‘small’, ‘short’, etc.), with A argument supplied; see § 33.4.2-ii for transitive use of intransitive stems:

- (159) *ang-aa* *pi-li-a-ni<sub>p</sub>*  
 big-IND.3sg.3sg. thing-make-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘he has made the (his own) thing big’  
*mik’-ak* *ikamra-li-a-gni<sub>p</sub>*  
 small-IND.3sg.3du. sled-make-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.du.  
 ‘he has made the sled small’  
 – with implication of ‘(he made) but actually (small)’.

iv) *Lexicalization* – produces many common nouns:

- (160) a. *akut-aq* ‘Eskimo ice cream’ – *|akuc-|* ‘mix, jumble’  
*irni-aq* ‘child, offspring’ – *|iyni-|* ‘to give birth’  
*mingqii-gaq* ‘grass basket’ – *|miqii-|* ‘to make a grass basket’  
 b. *petug-t-aq* ‘gift exchange between the men and the women (lit. something tied on)’  
 – with A adder VVsm *|+c-|* on *|pituy-|* ‘to be tied’.  
 See § 13-fn.1 and § 18 (165).

As noted, *|+yay-|* is more liable to be lexicalized than the other passive (processive) relativizer *|-kiŋay-|*:

- (161) a. *mumig-t-aq* ‘translation, [Y] pancake’  
 b. *mumige-s-kengaq* ‘something being translated’ – *|mumiy-c-|*  
 (turn.over-A).
- (162) a. *ner’-a-qa*  
 eat-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my stomach contents (lit. one that has been eaten by me)’  
 – see (P8ii.a) and (P11) as to gemination  
 b. *ner-kenga-qa* ‘the one I am eating/ate’.

- (163) a. *elitnaur-aq* ‘student’  
 b. *elitnau-qengaq* ‘one who is being taught’ – |*ilicnauy-*| ‘to teach’.

Note the homophony in the following example: Not only a relative clause (a) but also a lexicalized noun (b) and a transitive verb (c).

- (164) a. *angut-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *elitnaur-ak*                      *nasaurlu-u-k*  
 man-EV-REL.sg.                      teach-VNrl-ABS.3sg.du.                      girl-EV-ABS.du.  
 ‘the two girls whom the man taught (before)’  
 – *nasaurluuk* as the head
- b. [*angut-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *elitnaur-ak*]                      *nasaurlu-u-k*  
 man-EV-REL.sg.                      student-VNrl-ABS.3sg.du.                      girl-EV-ABS.du.  
 ‘the man’s two girl students’  
 – *nasaurluuk* in apposition with the attributive phrase
- c. *angut-e-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *elitnaur-ak*                      *nasaurlu-u-k<sub>p</sub>*  
 man-EV-REL.sg.                      teach-IND.3sg.3du.                      girl-EV-ABS.du.  
 ‘the man is teaching the two girls’  
 – *nasaurluuk* as object of the transitive construction.

Though very marginal, the suffix apparently occurs in the following NN suffix, which may possibly be related to NV |+*miy-*| ‘to use, do with (a body part in particular)’ (§ 38.2):

NN |+*mi-ay-*| ‘one held in (body part)’

- (165) a. *qaner-miaq* ‘thing held in the mouth’ – |*qany-*| ‘to speak’  
*uner-miaq* ‘thing held under the arm’ – |*uny-*| ‘to put under arm’  
 b. *kegg-miaq* ‘thing held in the teeth’ – |*kixit-*| ‘to bite’  
*tegu-miaq* ‘thing held/carried in hands/arms’ – |*tiyu-*| ‘to take in hand’.

#### 4.3. VNrl |+*yaykay-*| (future)

< |+*yay+k\*ay-*| with FUT NN |+*k\*ay-*| –relativizer with future implication (‘something to be -ed in future’)

- (166) a. *kiput-arkar-put*                      ‘the one we are going to buy’  
 buy-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 b. *tangrr-arkar-put*                      ‘the one we will be seeing (in future)’  
 see-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 cf. *tanger-qengar-put* ‘the one we see (now)’ (§ 17.4.1).

- (167) *amiq u-na mingq-erkar-put*  
 skin.ABS.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. sew-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘this skin we’ll be sewing’  
 – with P19 /a/ raising on the first syllable of VNrl |+yaykaỵ-|.

*after indirective ditransitives:*

- (168) *neq-sur-tuq tuni-arka-minek*  
 fish-hunt-IND.3sg. sell-VNrl-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘he is fishing commercially’ [YED 262] – lit. ‘(as) his own things to be sold’.

- (169) *angun atur-arkaq*  
 man.ABS.sg. sing-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the one who is going to sing’ (‘the one who is going to be utilized’)  
 ⇨ participial relative clause *atur-ciqe-llria* where the FUT specification is made by the preceding VVt suffix |-ciqi-|.

*after bivalent derivatives:*

- (170) *pi-t-arka-it* ‘the ones they are going to catch (by hunting)’  
 thing-catch-VNrl-ABS.3pl.pl.  
 – cf. (144b) *pi-t-a-a* ‘the one he caught’  
*aya-ut-arka-qa* ‘the one I am going to take (with me)’  
 go-E<sub>APL</sub>with-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.

The suffix |+yaykaỵ-| may be subject to (P18v) deletion of /ya/ deletion (syllable contraction; § 8.5) after rhythmical accent (P18i), hence the orthographically represented *i’i* and *u’u* in the second and the third examples below:

- (171) *iqair-arkaq ~ iqai-rkaq* ‘one (clothing) to be washed’  
 – |iqaiỵ-| ‘to wash’.
- (172) *kenir-arka-ni ~ keni’i-rka-ni* /kiní xkani/  
 cook-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘what she is going to cook’ – |kiniỵ-| ‘to cook’.
- (173) *atur-arka-nka ~ atu’u-rka-nka* /atú x|kàn|ka/  
 use/sing-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.  
 ‘my clothing, something to be used / sung by me’

i) *Reverbalization*: Like the two other passive relativizers |-<sub>1</sub>kihaỵ-ki-| and |+yaỵ-|, reverbalization may occur:

- (174) a. *Tangrr-arka-it-uq* *ma-n'a<sub>s</sub>*.  
 see-VNrl-PRV-IND.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. – PRV |+*ɲit*-|  
 ‘There is nothing to be seen here, lit. this [place] does not have things  
 to be seen.’
- b. *Pairt-ark-i-ute-nka*. ‘My legacy to you.’ [title for PAIR]  
 encounter-VNrl-supply-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.  
 – reverbalization further renominalized (relativized); *-i-* from NV  
 |-*liy-*| and instrumental VNrl *-ute-* (§ 17.6.2).

ii) *Reverbalized composite suffix* |+*yaɣkau-*| (< |+*yaɣ+kaɣ+ɲu-*|; with intransitive relational verb) – functions as a modality marker (VVM, § 43; ‘to be supposed to, should, have to V / be V-ed’), with the original passive nature (passive relativizer |+*yaɣ-*|) of the composition being lost or retained. In the former case, it has the original patientive nature of |+*yaɣ-*| attenuated and does not necessarily select bivalent stems, but may come after monovalent stems and with transitive inflection as well.

The following example illustrates this suffix as applied to mono-, bi-, and trivalent (secundative and indirective) stems, but see also § 43 (73–79):

- (175) a. *ayag-arkau-guq* ‘he is supposed to go’  
 cf. *ayag-arkaurt-uq* see § 17.4.3-iii just below for the inchoative
- b. *tangrr-arkau-gaqa* ‘I will (am supposed to) see him’ (IND.1sg.3sg.)  
*kap'-arkau-gaa* ‘he is supposed to spear it’ (IND.3sg.3sg.)
- c. *cikir-arkau-guq* ‘*he* [R] is supposed to be given’ (secundative)  
*tun'-arkau-guq* ‘*it* [T] is supposed to be given/sold’ (indirective)
- d. *tuqu-arkaurr-luni* ‘he was soon to die’ [QLK 102]  
 – (d) as well as compared (a) has the corresponding inchoative suffix  
 |+*yaɣka-uɣc-*| as in iii) below and listed in the chapter of modality  
 § 43(80), both standing after monovalent stems.

- (176) a. *Ner'-arkau-guq* *kumla-naku*.  
 eat-should-IND.3sg. cold-APP.3sg.  
 ‘It must be eaten cold.’
- b. *Ner'-arkau-gaa* *kumla-naku*.  
 eat-should-IND.3sg.3sg. cold-APP.3sg.  
 ‘He must eat it cold.’  
 – note that the appositional verb (a) as well as (b) has the third person  
 form and the reflexive third form \**kumla-nani* is un-grammatical,  
 as explained in § 51.1.4.2. See § 51.1.3 for the appositional |-*naku*|  
 after stem-final apical, as in |*kumlac-*| ‘(liquid, object) to be cold’.

A further expansion is illustrated here as well as abundantly in § 43 (for modality):

- (177) *ner'-arkau-nric-aaq-uq*  
eat-should-NEG-but-IND.3sg.  
'he should not eat (but)'

iii) *Inchoative intransitive* |+*yaykauyc-*|. See also § 43 (80):

- (178) *Alangaar-yaaq-naur-tut kassuut-arkaurte-llini-aqata.*  
surprised-but-would-IND.3pl. marry-VNrl.FUT-INC-EVD-CNNwv.3pl.  
'They (parents) would get surprised when they (children) are now certainly supposed/scheduled to get married.' [FASM 34]

## 5. Agentive/active relativizer

The following three relativizers with initial /+(s)t/ relativize an active-type S argument from intransitive verbs and an A (and its derived S) argument from transitive verbs. Unlike the intransitive participial relativizer |-*lyiaȳ-*| (§ 17.2.1), they do not relativize a non-active or stative S – see (179c).

The parenthesized /s/ is deleted after velar by (P14iii):

- (179) a. *cali-sta* 'worker'  
*kuvya-sta* 'one who fishes by net'  
b. *qilug-ta* 'one who barks'  
*ikayur-ta* 'helper'  
cf. *ikayu-a-sta* 'helper' (long time); VVt -a- 'continuously'  
c. \**ange-sta*  
cf. *ange-lria* 'one who/that is big'.

A transitive P argument is delegated to the relative-case position (or genitivized), and is marked in the relativization as the possessor, e.g. *qilug-ti-i* (ABS.3sg.sg.) 'one who barks at him/her (his/her barker)' from (b) above.

An demoted P for antipassives (zero- or suffixed) remain in the ablative-modalis.

An external head NP is underlined.



## 5.1. VNrl |+(s)t-| ‘one who does, -er (commonly by trade, profession, nature)’

The example (180) is a relative clause with an external head derived from the agentive verb construction, and (181) from the patientive one, each with (b) from its antipassive construction:

- (180) a. [*neqe-m*<sub>G=P</sub> *nere-sti-i*] *qimugta*  
 fish-REL.sg. eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. dog.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the dog that eats the fish’ – with A relativized  
 cf. *qimugte-m*<sub>A</sub> *neqa*<sub>P</sub> *ner-aa*  
 dog-REL.sg. fish.ABS.sg. eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘the dog is eating the fish’ – agentive *nere-*
- b. *qimugta* [*nere-sta* *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>]  
 dog.ABS.sg. eat-VNrl-ABS.sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘the dog that eats fish’ – with derived S relativized.  
 cf. *qimugta*<sub>S(A)</sub> *ner’-uq* (IND.3sg.) *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> ‘the dog is eating  
 fish’ – zero-derived antipassive.
- (181) a. *im-na* *carayaq* [*tuquce-sti-i*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. bear.ABS.sg. kill-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*qimugte-ma*<sub>G=P</sub>]  
 dog-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘that (ANP) bear which killed my dog’ – with A relativized  
 cf. [*Im’-u-m* *carayi-i-m*]<sub>A</sub> *tuqut-aa*  
 that-EX-REL.sg. bear-EV-REL.sg. kill-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*qimugte-ka*<sub>P</sub>.  
 dog-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘That bear killed my dog.’ – patientive *tuquc-*
- b. *im-na* *carayaq* [*tuquc-i-sta*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. bear.ABS.sg. kill-APS-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
*qimugte-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>]  
 dog-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘that (ANP) bear that killed my dog’ – with derived S relativized  
 cf. [*Im-na* *carayak*]<sub>S<A</sub> *tuquc-i-uq*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. bear-ABS.sg. kill-APS-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*qimugte-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 dog-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘That bear killed my dog.’ – suffix-derived antipassive  
 – See (189) for the nominal demonstrative like *im-na* in relative  
 clauses.

Again, the following two relative clauses (182) and (183) are from agentive and patientive verb constructions, i.e. with *atur-* ‘to sing’ and *pi-ke-* ‘to own’:

- (182) a. *angun* [ *atur-ti-i* *yuarute-m*<sub>G=P</sub> ]  
 man.ABS.sg. sing-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. song-REL.sg.  
 ‘the man who is singing the song’
- b. *angun* [ *atur-ta* *yuarut-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> ]  
 man.ABS.sg. sing-VNrl-ABS.sg. song-ABM.sg.  
 ‘the man who sings/is singing a song’.
- (183) *angalkuq* [ *kegginaqu-t*<sub>G=P</sub> *pi-ke-sti-it* ]  
 shaman.ABS.sg. mask-REL.pl. thing-have.as-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘the shaman who owns masks’  
 – see § 20 (150) for the same sequence of relativized relational  
 verb *-ke-sti-*.

In the following example the relativized *malirqer-te-* is the transitive object in the transitive sentence (a) and its demotion in the antipassive (b). *May’a-m* in (a) is the transitive subject as well as the possessor of the relative clause (thus in the reflexive third):

- (184) a. *May’a-m*<sub>A</sub> *anag-aa* *malirqer-te-ni*<sub>P</sub>.  
 p.n.-REL.sg. surpass-IND.3sg.3sg. chase-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘Mayaq got away from the one who chased him (his own chaser).’
- b. *May’aq*<sub>S</sub> *anag-tuq* *malirqer-te-minek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 p.n.ABS.sg. surpass-IND.3sg. chase-VNrl-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘Mayaq got away from the one who chased him (his own chaser).’

Compare *-(s)ta* relativization of A argument (185) with (186), where the same transitive construction (with *nere-* ‘to eat’) has the P argument instead relativized by three transitive relativizers, with the A argument being in the relative case:

- (185) [ *Tau-na* [ [ *neqe-m*<sub>G</sub> *ii-ngan* ]<sub>G=P</sub> ]  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. fish-REL.sg. eye-REL.3sg.sg.  
*nere-sti-i* ]<sub>S</sub> *kass’a-u-llini-uq*.  
 eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. white.man-be-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘(I see now) that one who is eating the fish eye is a white man.’
- (186) [ *qimugte-m*<sub>G=A</sub> *nere-llr-a* / *ner-ki-i* / *ner-a-a* ] *neqa*  
 dog-REL.sg. eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. fish.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the fish that the dog ate / is eating / has eaten’.

A headless relative clause is also very common as in the following example bark:

- (187) a. *carayi-i-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *tangvag-ti-i*  
 ghost-EV-REL.sg.    see-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the one who saw the ghost’
- b. *At-qe-sta-i<sub>S</sub>=wa*    *am-a=i*  
 name-have.as-VNrl-3sg.pl.=REA      over.there-EX=VOC  
*nukalpiar-urte-llriit.*  
 good.hunter-become-PTP.3pl.  
 ‘Ones (children who were) named after him have grown into young  
 adults now at home (over there).’ [CIUL 30]

The relativized NP head may be inflected for non-third person, which reflects the P argument:

- (188) a. *kenke-ste-ka*    ‘the one who loves me’  
 love-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.
- b. *qilug-te-ka*    *qimugte-ka*  
 bark-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.      dog-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my dog that barked at me (the dog, barker of me)’  
 – compare with a third person possessor, thus accompanied by the  
 relative-case NP:
- cf. [*mikelngu-u-m<sub>G</sub>*    *qilug-ti-i*]    *qimugte-ka*  
 child-EV-REL.sg.    bark-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.      dog-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my dog that barked at the child’ – from:  
*qimugte-ma<sub>A</sub>* (dog-REL.1sg.sg.)    *qilug-aa* (bark-IND.3sg.3sg.)  
*mikelnguq<sub>P</sub>* (child.ABS.sg.)  
 ‘my dog barked at the child.’

A relative clause is often accompanied by a nominal demonstrative, commonly preceding it: see also (181), (185).

- (189) a. *tau-na*    *naulluu-lria*    *ceñirce-ste-ka.*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.      sick-VNrl.ABS.sg.      visit-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘that sick person who visited me’
- b. *tau-m<sub>G</sub>*    *naulluu-lrii-m<sub>G</sub>*    *ceñirce-sti-i*  
 that-REL.sg.                      sick-VNrl-REL.sg.      visit-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the one who visits that sick person.’

The relativization of A argument differentiates time-aspect specification primarily by the three suffixes themselves (i.e. participial [= present/progressive], preterite, passive), while the A relativization has only secondary derivations of the same suffix. More examples in § 17.5.2 and § 17.5.3.

- (190) a. [*ene-m<sub>G=P</sub>*      *kipute-sti-i*]      *angun*  
house-REL.sg. buy-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
‘the man who (has just) bought the house’  
b. *kipute-stellr-a* (*akwaugaq*) ‘the one who bought it (yesterday)’  
c. *kipute-steka-a* (*atata*) ‘the one who will buy it (later)’.

i) *Relativization of ditransitive A argument*: Indirective T and recipient R argument is delegated to the relative-case position (i.e. is genitivized), since the T or R is the one which is to occur in the absolutive case; § 35).

- (191) a. **T-am** (REL.sg.) *tune-sti-i* (ABS.3sg.sg.)  
‘the one [A] who gives T (to s.o. [R])’ – indirective  
cf. *tune-ste-ka* (ABS.1sg.sg.)  
‘the one who gives/sells/turns over me (to s.o.)’  
b. **R-am** (REL.sg.) *cikir-ti-i* (ABS.3sg.sg.)  
‘the one [A] who gives (s.t. [T]) to R’ – secundative  
cf. *cikir-te-ka* (ABS.1sg.sg.)  
‘the one who gave (s.t. [T]) to me [R]’.
- (192) a. *cikir-i-ste-ka* (ABS.1sg.sg.)  
give-VVsm-VNrl.ABS.1sg.sg.  
‘the one who gave (s.t. to s.o.) for/on me [E]’  
– adversative (benefactive) VVsm *-gi-*, with its E argument as possessor; limited acceptability  
b. *cikir-tur-i-ste-ka* (CNT)  
‘the one who customarily gives for me’.
- (193) *arnaq* [*payugte-sti-i*      *angute-m<sub>G=R</sub>*  
woman.ABS.sg. bring-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. man-REL.sg.  
*akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*]  
ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
‘the woman [A] who brings ice-cream [T] to the man [R]’;  
secundative [*payuyc-*] ‘to bring (food) to’ – compare with transitive (participial) relativizer [*-ki-*] for R absolutive argument:  
cf. *angun* [*payuges-ki-i*      *arna-m<sub>G=A</sub>*  
man.ABS.sg. bring-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. woman-REL.sg.  
*akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*]  
ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
‘the man [R] to whom the woman [A] is bringing ice-cream [T]’.

ii) *Relativization of complex transitive verbs*: This requires antipassivization, except for the reportative |+ni-| complex transitives.

(194) *cali-vkar-i-sta* ‘one who make (someone) work’  
work-A'.make-APS-VNrl.ABS.3sg.sg.

(195) *pic-u-yuk-i-sta* *irnia-minek*  
hunt-well-A'.think-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg. child-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
‘one who thinks his (own) child to be a good hunter’  
– interchangeable with (participial) intransitive relativizer  
≙ *pic-u-yuk-i-lria*.

By contrast, since a complex transitive with |+ni-| ‘A' to say’ is agentive in view of detransitivization, it does not need suffix-derived antipassivization:

(196) a. *iga-y<sup>(i)</sup>u-ni-sta*  
write-well-A'.say-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
‘the one who brags that he (himself) writes well’ (derisive)  
b. *iga-y<sup>(i)</sup>u-ni-sti-i*  
write-well-A'.say-VNrl.ABS.3sg.sg.  
‘one who says that he (another) writes well’.

vii) *Agent nouns*: The relativizer |(s)t-| is very productive of (more or less lexicalized) deverbal nouns – ‘-er, one who does’ (as by trade, profession, nature, ability).

(197) a. *cali-sta* ‘worker’ – *cali-* ‘to work’  
*nere-sta* ‘louse’ – *nere-* ‘to eat’  
cf. *nere-sta-i* ‘the one who eats them’, though usually ‘his louse’ (-i ABS.3sg.pl.)  
*uni-sta* ‘deceased parent’ – monovalent *uni-* ‘to disappear, dissolve’  
*kagi-sta* ‘janitor, custodian’ [YED] – *kagi-* ‘to sweep’  
cf. *kagi-n/kagi-suun* ‘broom’, § 17.6.2 (instrumental relativizeer)  
b. *pi-sta* ‘duckling’ – cf. (P18vi)  
cf. *pi-sta* ‘one who does’  
– this contrast is areally limited.

(198) *qimug-ta* ‘dog’ – *qimug-* ‘to pull [of dogs]’  
*anirtur-ta* ‘Savior’ – *anirtur-* ‘to save, rescue’  
*alular-ta* ‘driver, pilot’ – *alular-* ‘to drive’  
*kenir-ta* ‘cook’ [K,NI,BB]  
*neqsur-ta* ‘fisherman; one who fishes’ – *neq-sur-* ‘fish-seek’.

- (199) *Eleg-i-a*                      *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *kelip-i-sta<sub>E</sub>*  
 burn-ADV-INT.3sg.3sg.    woman-REL.sg.    bread-make-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*kelipa-inek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 bread-ABM.3sg.pl.  
 ‘The woman burnt the baker’s bread (lit. burnt his bread on the bread-maker).’

Basically antipassivization is required in lexicalized agent nouns as well:

- (200) a. [K] *elitnaur-i-sta* / [Y] *elicar-i-sta*    ‘teacher’  
 teach-APS-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
 – |ilitnauỵ-| / |ilicaỵ-| ‘to teach, learn’ (S=P)  
 cf. *elitnaur-aq* / *elicar-aq*                      ‘student’  
 – with passive relativizer |+yaȳ-|; § 17.4.2
- b. *kass’aq elitnaur-i-ste-vvut* / [Y] *elicar-i-ste-vvut*  
 ‘the white man who teaches us, our white man teacher’; -*vvut*  
 ABS.1pl.sg.
- (201) a. *cuqc-i-sta*                      ‘judge’ – |cuqic-| ‘to measure, judge’  
 cf. *cuqc-i-ssuun*                      ‘ruler’ – instrumental |+cuut-| (§ 17.6.2)
- b. *tarenra-ir-i-sta*                      ‘photographer’ – NV |+ñiỵ-| ‘to deprive’  
 shadow-deprive-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 cf. *tarenra-ir-i-ssuun*                      ‘camera’.

However, some lexicalized nouns occur with the antipassivization:

- (202) *kegguc-iur-i-sta* ~ *kegguc-iur-ta*    ‘dentist’  
 tooth-deal.with-(APS-)VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 – |kixut-liuỵ-| ‘tooth-deal.with’  
*yu(u)ngcar-i-sta* ~ *yu(u)ngcar-ta*    ‘doctor’  
 – |yuuncaȳ-| ‘to medicate’  
 cf. *yu(u)ngcar-aq*  
 ‘one who has been medicated, patient’ (passive).

The suffix may be followed by a few NVsuffixes – e.g. § 38.3.

Two tense-specified composite suffixes below may occur, though less common.

## 5.2. |+(s)tiŋy-| Past connotation by addition of NN |-ŋy-|

- (203) *ceñirte-stel-qa* *akwaugaq*  
 visit-VNrl.PST-ABS.1sg.sg. yesterday  
 ‘the person who visited me yesterday’; cf. (189a)  
 – instead of which the marking of the past by VVt |-ŋyu-| before the relativizer as in *ceñirte-llru-ste-ka* may be acceptable for some speakers but sound childish or very odd to other speakers:

- (204) [*angut-e-m<sub>G</sub>* *tuquce-stellr-a*] *qimugta*  
 man-EV-REL.sg. kill-VNrl.PST-ABS.3sg.sg. dog.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the dog who killed the man’  
 – see also (181a).

## 5.3. |+(s)tiŋay-| Future connotation by addition of NN |+kay-|.

- (205) *mikelnguq* [*atur-tekaq* *u-u-mek*]  
 child.ABS.sg. sing-VNrl.FUT.ABS.sg. this-EX-ABM.sg.  
 ‘the child who *is going to* sing this (song)’  
 cf. *mikelnguq* [*atur-ta* *uu-mek*]  
 ‘the child who *sang* this (song)’.
- (206) *ikayua-steka-qa*  
 help-VNrl.FUT-ABS.1sg.sg. – |*ikayua*-| ‘to help’  
 ‘one who will help me (in future), my future helper’  
 – possibly homonymous with a reverbalization of a relative clause though with no future connotation in:  
 cf. *ikayua-ste-k-aqa* ‘he is my helper’  
 help-VNrl-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.

Reverbalization of the future relative clause by relational verb:

- (207) *auluke-steka-q-luku* ‘having her as one who will take care’  
 tend-VNrl.FUT-have.as-APP.3sg.

See § 25.2.3 and § 39.3.1 for “pseudo-passives” with composite suffixes |+*sciuy*-| (adversative) and |+(s)tiŋqy-| (benefactive).

## 6. Oblique relativizers

CAY has two peripheral relativizers – locational  $|+{}_1viy-|$  ‘the place where’ and instrumental  $|+(u)t-|$  ‘the means whereby’.

Both of the two oblique relativizers contribute to quasi-connective mood markers (see § 50.11.1 and § 50.11.4), as do some nominalizers (§ 18).

With L or I argument relativized, the A/S argument is genitivized.

- (208) *yu-u-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *ner-vi-a*  
 person-EV-REL.sg.    eat-place-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the one / place [L] where the man eats; his dining table’.

### 6.1. Locational

$|+{}_1viy-|$  (with P14i postconsonantal /t/ deletion) relativizes L argument (spatial and temporal). This suffix serves as a quasi-connective mood marker (§ 50.11.1).

- (209) [*assir-lua*            *uita-vi-ka*                      *kii-ma*                      /  
 good-APP.1sg.    stay-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.    alone-CNNst.1sg.  
*kii-me-nii*]                                      *ene-cuar*  
 alone-be.at-APP.1sg.                      house-small.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the small house where I am staying fine by myself’  
 cf. *assir-luauita-unga* (stay-IND.1sg.) *kii-ma / kii-me-nii ene-cuar-mi*  
 (LOC.sg.) ‘I am staying fine by myself in a small house’

– in which the relative clause retains two adjuncts from the underlying clause.

Time-aspect specification is made by a following NN suffix, just like other relativizers, instead of a preceding VVt suffix (*\*uita-llru-vi-ka*, *\*uita-lar-vi-ka* REG):

- (210) *uita-vig-ka-qa*                      ‘the place I am going to stay’  
 VNrl-FUT-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*uita-vi-l-qa*                                      ‘the place I stayed’  
 VNrl-PST-ABS.1sg.sg.
- (211) *nayir-nek*                      *pissur-vi-llr-a*  
 seal-ABM.pl.                      hunt-VNrl-PST-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the place he hunted hair seal’.



The future version is made by the addition of  $|+kay-|$ , as with the passive  $|+yaykay-|$  (§ 17.4.3) and agentive/active  $|+(s)tikay-|$  (§ 17.5.3):

- (212) *Ii=i, manar-vigka-mnun=wa* *tekit-ua.*  
 yes hook(fish)-VNrl-FUT-ALL.1sg.sg.=REA arrive-IND.1sg.  
 ‘Yes, I have arrived at where I am going to hook fish.’

Possession may occur either on the relative clause or on its explicit head:

- (213) a. [*kiag-mi* *uita-vi-ka*] *ene-cuar*  
 summer-LOC.sg. stay-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg. house-small.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the small house where I stay in summer’  
 b. [*kiag-mi* *uita-vik*] *ene-cuar-qa*  
 summer-LOC.sg. stay-VNrl. ABS.sg. house-small-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my small house to stay in summer’  
 cf. *kiag-mi uita-unga* (stay-IND.1sg.) *ene-cuar-mi / ene-cuara-mni*  
 (LOC.sg./LOC.1sg.sg.)  
 ‘I am staying in the / my small house in summer’.

i) *More or less lexicalized nouns*: common or proper.

- (214) *kipus-vik* ‘store’ –  $|kipuc-|$  ‘to buy’  
*mis-vik* ‘airport’ –  $|mic-|$  ‘to land’  
*qemagg-vik* ‘bag; container for s.t. precious [YEEM 314]’ –  
 $|qimayc-|$  ‘to put away’, cf. (P14i)  
*qaner-vik* ‘cross-cousin of a same sex (lit. one whom (one) talks  
 to)’, i.e. *ilungaq* (female) or *iluraq* (male)  
*Mertar-vik* ‘Mertarvik’ (on Nelson Island) –  $|miytay-|$  ‘fetch  
 water’.
- (215) *qimugte-r-vik* ‘kennel’ (*qimugte-* ‘dog’); with  $/y/$  added after  $/t(i)/$ .

Deverbal nouns with the suffix include some of the month names (‘time of [doing something]’), which differ in the specific months referred to depending upon the area (dialect) – see [YED 670]. Another suffix to produce month names is one of the other relativizers, i.e.  $|+(u)t-|$  (§ 17.6.2).

- (216) *Ui-vik* ‘December’ (<  $|uivi-vik|$ ;  $|uivi-|$  ‘to go around’)  
*Cup-vik* [Y] ‘June’ ( $|cupi-|$  ‘[ice] to break up’)  
*Nurar-cur-vik* [Y] ‘August’ (*nurar-cur-* ‘caribou.calf-hunt’)

*Cauyar-vig-mi* ‘in November, i.e. during the time for drumming / in the place for drumming’ (*cauyar-* ‘drum’, *-mi* LOC.sg.).

At least one of the month names in the Yukon dialect is an attributive phrase with a *-vik* noun:

- (217) *Amira-ir-vi-at* *Tuntu-t* [Y] = *Amira-ir-vik* [elsewhere]  
 skin-PRV-VN-ABS.3pl.sg. caribou-REL.pl.  
 ‘September (lit. shedding time [of caribou])’.

ii) *Composite suffixes*: The locational relativizer has the composite suffix with the transitive relational verb NV  $|+ki-|$  ‘own, have – as’, and it often serves for argument modification.

VVsm  $|+viki-|$  ‘to do at/in/on’. Not only yields a semantic twist or metaphorical expansion but also has an important function of argument increase or rearrangement of (locational) P or (ditransitive) R argument adder (§ 35.1.3-ii.b; § 39.7.2).

The composite suffix may promote the R argument in indirective ditransitives in parallel with the T promoting composite with  $|+utiki-|$  (§ 17.6.2):

- (218) a. *aqum-vik-aa* ‘he sat down on it (lit. he has it as place for sitting)’  
 –  $|aqumi-|$  ‘to sit’  
 b. *arulair-vik-aa* ‘he stops at it (place)’ –  $|ayula+\eta iy-|$  ‘move-PRV’  
 c. *quya-vik-aa* ‘she thanked him, is thankful to him’ –  $|quya-|$  ‘to be thankful’; some speakers have *quya-a* instead.  
 d. *alair-vik-aa* ‘he appears to her’ –  $|alaiy-|$  from root  $|ala-|$  ‘invisible, inaudible’ with PRV  $|+\eta iy-|$   
*alair-vik’-lar-ai* ‘he (always) appears to them’ [New Testament]  
 e. *kuve-vik-aa* /kuviv|vik|kaa/ ~ *kuv’-ik-aa* /kuv|vik|kaa/  
 spill-have.place-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he spilled (s.t.) on her’ – cf. (P18ii.d).
- (219) a. *Kuik kuimar-vik-aa*.  
 river swim-place.have-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is swimming at the river; the river is the place he is swimming at.’ – cf. *kuig-mi kuimar-tuq*  
 b. ?*Kuig-mek kuimar-vik-i-uq*. – this antipassive possible but apparently with lower acceptability than:  
*kuig-mek kuimar-vi-li-uq* (swim-place-make-IND.3sg.).

- (220) *Cauyar-vi-k-atara-anga* *wii.*  
 drum-time-have.as-about.to-IND.3sg.1sg. 1sg.  
 ‘November is about to begin for me.’ [CIUL 366] – with impersonal A.
- (221) *cali qanemci-uq [tau-mek*  
 again tell-IND.3sg. that-ABMsg.  
*amir-kar-yug-vike-llr-atnek]*  
 skin-FUT-want-VVsm-VNrl-ABM.3pl.sg.  
 ‘she also told about that one (person) who they asked to produce  
*maklak* (bearded seal) skins’ [CAUY 178]

The composite suffix disambiguates the ditransitive stem *|kuv̥i-|* ‘to spill’, as in *kuv-aa* ‘he spilled (something) on her’ or ‘he poured it (on someone/thing)’ (§ 35.1.3).

Note that *pi-yug-vik(e)-* below, with R adder, works as indirective ditransitive:

- (222) *Tutgara-ni<sub>R</sub> pi-yug-vik-luku ca-mek<sub>(T)</sub>.*  
 GrCh-ABS.3Rsg.sg. thing-want-R-APP.3sg. something-ABM.sg.  
 ‘(He) asking for something through (wanting something at) her/his  
 own grandchild.’ [CAUY 27]

See § 39.7.2 for valency modification of promoting R argument.

VV *|+viit-|* ‘to have no intention to’ (with privative suffix)

- (223) *ayag-viit-aqa* (go-no.intention-IND.1sg.3sg.)  
 ‘I have no intention to go’.

## 6.2. Instrumental

VNrl *|+(u)t-|* ‘means, reason whereby’. Various phonological adjustments involved, e.g. /u/ deletion after stem-final full vowel, fricativization of stem-final apical, etc. (cf. P5i.b) will be illustrated in ii) below concerning deverbal nouns.

This suffix also stands after noun stems as *NN |+ɲut-|* (§ 20.1.2) ‘supply, things owned (not inherent but in temporary possession)’, which has no /u/ deletion (e.g. *nuna-uti-i* ‘his property’, *mura-ute-ka* ‘my wood supply’).

It may presumably have the same historical source with the applicative VVsm *|+(u)c-|* (§ 39.4) and the quasi-connective mood marker (§ 50.11.4 – see below).

i) *Rather limited relativization*: though very productive of deverbal nouns (ii), below. Example (224) has two readings, both of which imply perrelative-case NPs (§ 28):

- (224) *yu-u-m<sub>G</sub> ner-uti-i*  
 lit. ‘the one [I] the person eats (with)’, which actually means:  
 i ‘one the person eats with (e.g. spoon)’ = *ner’-ssuuti-i*  
 ii. ‘something as a main food staple (e.g. fish, moose for Yupiks)’  
 – compare respectively with:  
 cf. a. *‘Luuskaa-kun ner-narq-uq*  
 spoon-PRL.sg. eat-should-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it should be eaten by spoon’  
 b. [*wangkuta*] *Yupig-ni yuu-gukut neq-kun*  
 1pl. Y.-LOC.pl. live-IND.1pl. fish-PRL.sg.  
 ‘we Yupiks live on fish’.
- (225) *yuarun [atu-uti-i arna-m<sub>G</sub> cuka-luni]*  
 song.ABS.sg. use-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. woman-REL.sg. fast-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘the song the woman uses/sings fast’  
 ≡ *atu-qi-i/atu-qenga-a*, which is generally more preferred  
 cf. *yuarute-tgun atur-tukut*  
 song.book-PRL.pl sing-IND.1pl.  
 ‘we are singing by a song book’.
- (226) [*mikelngu-u-m<sub>G=S</sub> aling-uti-i*]<sub>s</sub> *qimugte-ngu-uq*  
 child-EX-REL.sg. fear-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. dog-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘the source for the child’s fear is a dog’.

The future and past versions are made by a following tense-aspect marking, as with the other relativizers:

- (227) *ner-ute-ka-at* ‘something they will eat (with)’  
*ner-ute-llr-at* ‘something they used to eat (with)’.

Relativized complex transitives: Example (228) below has the upper-layer A'-argument (‘my father’) genitivized and the A argument (‘my daughter’) in the embedded clause demoted to the allative-case status:

- (228) *aata-ma<sub>G</sub> pi-sq-uti-i (I pi-sqe-llr-a) pani-mnun*  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. do-A'.ask-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. Da-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘what my father asked/wanted my daughter to do’  
 – from *aata-ma<sub>A'</sub> pi-sq-aa* (do-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg.) *pani-mnun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
 ‘my father wants my child to do it’, with complex transitive |+sqi-|  
 ‘A' to ask (someone) to’; cf. *pi-sq-un* ‘rule, law’.

- (229) [Kuingir-ngau-nii pi-sq-**ut-ka**]<sub>p</sub>  
 smoke-will.not-APP.1sg. do-A'.ask-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*maligtaqu-nrit-aqa.*  
 obey-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I do not follow my advice for not smoking (i.e. that I am told not to smoke).' – with a cosubordinate clause retained from the underlying:  
 cf. *kuingir-ngau-nii pi-sq-uma-unga* (do-A'.ask-STT-IND.1sg.) 'I am told that I should not smoke'.

ii)  $|(u)t-$  as a nominalizer: the suffix functions as a nominalizer rather than as a relativizer:

- (230) a. *Qanemci-k-qer-yu-**uti-i*** <sub>p</sub> *nallu-aqa.*  
 story-have.as-ITS-DES-VN-ABS.3sg.sg. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 i. 'I don't know why/that he wishes to tell a brief story.'  
 – nominal clause  
 ii. 'I don't know the one (e.g. story) he wants to tell briefly.'  
 – relative clause  
 b. *Cali-yuumiil-**ute-n*** <sub>p</sub> *nallu-aqa.*  
 work-care.not-VNnm-ABS.sg. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I don't know why/that you (sg.) do not care to work.'

Example (231) is ambivalent (a, b), with the second reading as a subordinate clause in the quasi-connective mood (§ 50.11.4) whose marker obviously came from the same suffix:

- (231) *kis'-**uti-ini***  
 i. 'at the time he/it (boat, seal) sank, was drowned' (sink-VNnm-LOC.3sg.sg.)  
 ii. 'as soon as it sank/was sinking' (sink-CNNqs-3sg.).  
 –  $|kic-$  'to sink' subject to fricativization; cf. P5i.b and below.
- (232) a. *aana-ir-**uti-ini***  
 Mo-PRV-VNnm-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 i. 'when her/his mother died'  
 ii. 'as soon as her/his mother died' – as quasi-connective verb  
 (§ 50.11.4) like (231b) above  
 b. *aana-ir-**uy-uti-i***  
 Mo-PRV-E<sub>APL</sub>-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'the reason that caused him to lose his mother'.

iii) *Deverbal nouns*: A great number of deverbal nouns below are given according to the phonological changes involved: (a) deletion of suffix-initial /u/ after stem-final full vowel, (b) deletion of stem final /i/, (c) stem-final velars, and (d) three kinds of stem-final apical changes (fricativization and deletion).

- (233) a. *pi-n* ‘cause’ – |*pi-*| ‘to do’  
 – very commonly with a number of NV suffixes:  
 cf. *pi-te-r-luni* (‘to have’) = *pi-t’-lir-luni* (‘to supply’) ‘with what cause’  
*pi-te-k-luku* (‘to have’) ‘because of it; having it as a cause’  
*kagi-n* ‘broom’ – |*kayi-*| ‘to sweep’ = *kagi-ssuun*  
*angu-n* i. ‘man’, ii. ‘one who provides edible items’  
 – cf. *angu-ssaag-ta* ‘one who tries to provide edibles’ [PA]  
*Agayu-n* ‘God’ – |*ayayu-*| ‘to pray, worship’  
*naulluu-n* ‘illness’ – |*nauuu-*| ‘to be sick’  
*nere-vkar-i-n* ‘feast (way of inviting/asking to eat)’ (-*vkar-i-* VVcm-APS)  
*napa-n/napa-ti-i* (ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘support/something that helps one stay alive’ [YEEM 312]
- b. *pi-sq-un* ‘rule, law; i.e. the one which A' tells A to do/follow’; cf. (228), (229)  
*alerqu-un/inerqu-un* ‘warning, instruction, established saying, law’ – |*aliyquiy-*| / |*iniyquy-*| ‘to admonish, command’  
*akq-un* ‘promise’ – |*akqi-*| ‘to promise’  
*cav-un* ‘oar’ – |*cavi-*| ‘to row’  
*kegg-un* ‘tooth’ – |*kixi-*| ‘to bite’  
*inq-un* ‘cooing word’ – |*inqi-*| ‘to coo’  
*qurr-un* ‘chamber-pot, honey-bucket’ – |*quxi-*| ‘to urinate’  
*taanga-un* ‘container of liquor’ – |*taangay-*| ‘to drink (liquor)’  
*umyuaq-uta-it* ‘things for remembering them’ – |*umyuaqi-*| ‘to remember’, -*it* ABS.3pl.pl.
- c. *ayaur-un* ‘something to pole a boat with’ – |*ayauy-*|  
*yuar-un* ~ *atu-un* ‘song’ – |*yuay-*| ~ |*atuy-*| ‘to sing, use’  
*ingula-un* ‘slow song to accompany an *ingulaq* (|*ijulay-*|) dance performed by women  
*yu(u)ngca-un* ‘medication’ – |*yu(u)ncay-*| ‘to medicate’  
*ipu-un* ‘wooden ladle’ – |*ipuy-*| ‘to ladle, move with bow high in air’  
*pini-un* ‘energy’ – |*piniy-*| ‘to be strong’
- d. *cuqy-un* ‘pattern’ – |*cuqic-*| ‘to measure’ (cf. P5i.b)  
*alail-un* ‘marker’ – |*alait-*| ‘to be visible’  
*naqug-un* ‘belt’ – |*naquyc-*| ‘to put a belt on’ (secundative; cf. P5i.a)  
*payug-un* ‘something to bring over’ – |*payuyc-*| ‘to bring (s.t.) to’.

Some names of days and months are derived by the suffix, although some differences obtain depending upon the area (dialect): see also the locational relativizer VNrl |+<sub>1</sub>viy-| (§ 17.6.1). More area-specific variations are recorded. [YED 670]

- (234) a. *Peky-un* ‘Monday; time to move’ – |*pikc-*| ‘to move, walk’  
*Aipiri-n* ‘Tuesday’ – |*aipiyi-*| ‘to repeat for the second time’  
 b. *Kaug-un* ‘June’ – |*kauy-*| ‘to hit (fish)’  
*Ing-un* ‘July’ – |*iŋc-*| ‘(bird) to molt’  
*Nulir-un* ‘October’ – |*nuliyc-*| ‘to mate’  
*Amira-ir-un* ‘August’ – |*amiya-iy-*| ‘to take skins off’  
 – see also § 11.3.5.

Lexicalized deverbal nouns may also be the case with expanded stems:

- (235) *pi-cetaar-un* ‘evil deed, temptation (VVcm |+*citaay-*|)’  
*qanikc-iur-un* ‘snow shovel’ (< |*qanikcaɣ\*-liuy-*| snow-work.on)  
*nere-vkar-i-n* ‘feast’, lit. ‘(time for) letting (someone) eat’ (anti-passivized complex transitive).

The word for ‘(to have) birthday’ is a lexicalization of a possessed form with a stem final /y/ added:

- (236) a. *an-ut-iiq* / *an-ut-iir-* ‘birthday’ / ‘to have a birthday’ – |*ani-*| ‘to go’  
 b. *Anutii-qa<sub>s</sub>* (= *anutii-ma<sub>G</sub>* *erenr-a*)  
 birthday-ABS.1sg.sg. birthday-REL.1sg.sg. day-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*September.25-aar-u-uq.*  
 date-LNK-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘My birthday is September 25<sup>th</sup>.’

Verbalization illustrated with the derived nouns:

- (237) *ca-t-ngu-nrit-uq* ‘it is nothing, exists for nothing’  
 do.what-means-be-NEG-IND.3sg. – a response, e.g. to ‘what is it for?’
- (238) [*Pi-ta-i-nani* ~ *pi-ta-u-nani* *kit-u-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*] *qener-tuq.*  
 do-cause-EV-PRV-APP.3Rsg. someone-EX-ABM.sg. angry-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is angry, with no reason (not knowing anyone as a cause).’  
 – *pi-n* (|*pi-ut-*|) ‘reason’ (233a); see § 51.1.3-i.b for the privative /i/  
 ~ /u/ variation for the appositional verb.
- (239) [*Tuqu-llr-anek* *pi-c-ir-luteng*] *qia-gut.*  
 die-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg. do-cause-supplied-APP.3Rpl. cry-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They are crying because he died.’ – *pi-c-ir-* from |*pi-t-liy-*|.

iv) *Composite suffixes*: The first one of them below does the work of valency arrangement, promoting the T-argument in secundative ditransitives (with demotion of R), thereby changing into indirective ditransitives (§ 39.7.1) – as contrasted with the R-promoting composite |+viki-| (§ 17.6.1, § 39.7.2).

VV |+(u)tiki-| with transitive relational verb NVrv |-ki-| ‘to have – as, to be the reason / means for –ing’; with phonological adjustments of /u/ deletion after stem-final vowel (P5i.c) or /i/ syncopation (P18ii.c). This increases or rearrange an argument (§ 39.7.1).

- (240) *tuqu-tek-aa* ‘he dies because of her/it; she/it is his reason for dying’  
*qia-tk-aa* ‘he is crying on account of her/it’.  
*ayuuq-utk-aa* ‘this is how it is, its way’.
- (241) a. *umyuaq-utk-aqa* ‘it is something I remember by, is my reminder’  
 think.about-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 b. *nerq-utk-aqa* *qimugte-mnun*  
 feed-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg. dog-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘it is something I feed my dog with’ – behaves like an indirective ditransitive verb.
- (242) [*Im’-u-m* *qanaa-teke-ll-ma*]<sub>A</sub> *ceñirte-llru-anga*.  
 that-EX-REL.sg. talk-VVsm-VNrl-REL.1sg.sg. visit-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘That (ANP) one I was talking about visited me.’

Use as argument rearrangement is fully illustrated as VVsm |+(u)tiki-| in § 39.7.1.

VV |+(u)tju-| ‘it is something for –ing, to do with’ – with intransitive relational verb NVrv |+tju-| (below):

- (243) *Luuskaaqs* *ner-utngu-uq*.  
 spoon.ABS.sg. eat-be.thing.for-IND.3sg.  
 ‘A spoon is something to eat with.’ – cf. (224a).
- (244) *Atu-utngu-uq* [Y] *May’a-mek*.  
 song-be.thing.for -IND.3sg. p.n.-ABM.sg.  
 ‘It it a song (something to be sung) about / from Mayaq.’  
 – |atuy-| ‘sing’; *atu-un* ‘song, way of singing’.
- (245) *Qanr-uy-utngu-qapiar-tuq*  
 say-VN<sub>APL</sub>-be.thing.for-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is an important instruction.’ [CAUY 27]



The equalitive VVc  $+_1ta-$  ‘as – as’ (§ 41.3, § 45.6.1) may stand before the relativizer VNrl  $|+(u)t-|$  as in the following:

VN  $|+_1ta-t-|$  ‘one that is as – as’; composite with post-vocalic /u/ deletion of  $|+(u)t-|$ .

- (246) a. *ang-tat-ka* ‘one who is as big as I’  
big-as.as-ABS.1sg.sg.  
b. *ene-n* [*ang-tati-i* *ene-ma<sub>G</sub>*]  
house-ABS.2sg.sg. big-as.as-ABS.3sg.sg. house-REL.1sg.sg.  
‘your house, which is as big as my house’  
– appositive phrase with the attributive one embedded.

The index may also be followed by other deverbalizers VNrl *-lriar-* and *-llr-* and VNnm *-ucir-*, but not *-nr-* and *+carar-* (~ *+yarar-*).

The VN  $|+_1ta-t-|$  may be followed by the relational verbs (NVrv) into valency modifying composite suffixes to serve as indices of equalitive transitive comparison (§ 45.6.2), both stative and inchoative, as in:

- VV  $|+_1tatiki-|$  ‘to be as – as’  
VV  $|+_1tatiksayuc-|$  ‘to become as – as’

– both of which can occur with either transitive or (reciprocal) intransitive inflection as illustrated in § 45.6.

VNrl  $|+cuut-|$  ~  $|+suut-|$  ‘instrument, means’, (postconsonantal~postvocalic, although the Nelson Island and the Hooper Bay-Chevak dialects appear to have generalized the latter variant to be used regardless of the final segment it follows). Mainly forming deverbal nouns rather than being used as a relativizer. Can occur as an NN suffix as well (‘means for’), although to a limited extent.

As relativizer:

- (247) [[*Cuka-luni* *seg-cuut-ni* *ulua-ni*]<sub>p</sub>  
fast-APP.3Rsg. cut-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg. knife-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*tama-llru-a*.  
lose-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
‘She lost her knife she cuts fish fast with.’
- (248) a. *angya-cuar* [*ayag-a-ssuute-ka* *neq-sur-lua*]  
boat-small.ABS.sg. go-RPT-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg. fish-seek-APP.1sg.  
*kiag-mi*]  
summer-LOC.sg.  
‘the small boat I use to go fishing in summer’

- cf. *Angya-cuar-kun*    *ayag-a-lar-tua*    *neq-sur-lua*  
 boat-small-PRL.sg. go-RPT-CUS-IND.1sg. fish-seek-APP.1sg.  
*kiag-mi*.  
 summer-LOC.sg.  
 ‘I go fishing in the small boat in summer.’
- b. *angya-cuar-qa*    [*ayag-a-ssuun*    *neq-sur-lua*  
 boat-small.ABS.1sg.sg. go-RPT-VNrl.ABS.sg. fish-seek-APP.1sg.  
*kiag-mi*]  
 summer-LOC.sg.  
 ‘my small boat I use to go fishing in summer’.

Possibly being more of a deverbal noun, tense-aspect specification is not made in the relativizer (thus *\*ayaga-lar-cuun* / *\*ayaga-llru-cuun* from *ayaga-ssuun* above), but is made by a succeeding NN suffix, for instance, like *ayaga-ssuute-ka-qa* / *ayaga-ssuute-l-qa* ‘my future / past mode of transportation’.

The following, which is a common adage among CAY speakers, has a reverbalization of a relative clause rather than a verbalization of the deverbal nominal *cali-ssuun* ‘tool’:

- (249) *lik<sub>s</sub>=gguq*    *cali-ssuut-ngu-uq*.  
 eye.ABS.sg.=RPT work-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The eyes (watching) are the tools for working (actually doing).’

Deverbal instrumental nouns – formed with great productivity. Hayatsu (1994) analyzes her collected 166 instrumental nouns with this suffix, including some that may not be fully lexicalized, but rather are ad-hoc, made-up words. The suffix is used also as NN suffix. Her list includes twenty-two nouns derived from noun stems. Of the rest, which are from verb stems (including denominal verb stems), the majority are from bivalent stems (74 agentive, 58 patientive) with the others from monovalent ones (12).

- (250) *qavar-cuun*    ‘pajama’ – |*qavaȳ-*| ‘to sleep’  
*niite-ssuun*    ‘hearing aid’ – |*niic-*| ‘to hear’  
*igar-cuun* ~ *igarr-suun* [NI]    ‘pen, pencil’ – |*iyaȳ-*| ‘to write’  
*unugg-suun* [NI]    ‘moon’ – |*unuȳ-*| ‘to become night’; possibly a word taboo for *iraluq*  
*niicugni-ssuute-t*    ‘radio’ – |*niicuȳni-*| ‘to listen to’; cf. § 21.5 for plural of composite objects  
*ken-nge-ssuute-t*    ‘fire starters’ – *ken(r)-nge-* ‘start-begin’ [YEEM].

- (251) *ella-lliur-cuun* ‘raincoat’ – |[c]iɬatuy-liuɣ̣-| ‘rain-deal.with’  
*nuna-kuar-cuun* ‘automobile [K]; transportation on land’ – *nuna-kuar-*  
‘to go by land, walk along the river/ lake bank not by  
boating’  
*ciuciq-suun* ‘ear medicine’ – |ciut-liqi-| ‘ear-afflicted’; see § 38.3  
for the specific change concerning the suffix-initial //.

Patientive stems basically have to be antipassivized, typically by APS |+ɣi<sub>2</sub>-| (§ 39.6.1). However, some speakers prefer non-antipassivized forms without *-i-*:

- (252) *ini-i-ssuun* ‘clothespin’ – |ini-| ‘to hang for drying’  
*kap’-i-ssuun* ~ *kap-suun* ‘hypodermic needle’ – |kapi-| ‘to stab’  
*unga-ir-i-ssuun* ~ *unga-ir-cuun* ‘razor’ – |uŋay+ɲiɣ̣-| ‘beard-remove’  
*ma(a)ssl-ir-i-ssuun* ‘butter-knife’ – |ma(a)sɬ(aɣ̣-l)iɣ̣-| ‘sup-  
ply-butter’  
*nau-vkar-i-ssuun* ‘fertilizer’ – |nau-vkaɣ̣-| ‘grow-A’, make’.

used in appositive phrases:

- (253) [*Uksur-cuut-nek* ~ *Uksurr-suut-nek* [NI] *atkug-nek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
winter-means-ABM.pl. parka-ABM.pl.  
*atur-aq-luta.*  
use-CUS-APP.1pl.  
‘We use winter parkas.’

as NN suffix:

- (254) *tengmiar-cuun* ~ *yaquleg-cuun* ‘shotgun’  
– *tengmiar-lyaquleg-* ‘bird’  
*ingeg-cuun* ‘(fountain) pen’  
– *ingeg-* ‘ink’; from English  
*iralu-ssuute-t* ~ *iralur-cuute-t* ~ *irali-ssuute-t* ‘calendar’  
– |iɣ̣aluỵ-| ‘moon’.

VN |+(u)taɣ̣-| ‘means’. An expanded suffix that is restricted to a small number of lexicalized nouns.

- (255) *inq-utaq* (~ [233b] *inq-un*)  
‘made up words for cooing babies/children’ – |inqi-| ‘to coo’  
*aya-utaq* ‘something taken along, hunting gear’  
*pek-utaq* [NS] ‘snow shovel’ – |piki-| ‘to move’  
*milqa-utaq* ‘something to throw with, e.g. ‘sling’ – |milqaɣ̣-| ‘to  
throw’  
*piqer-tu-utaq* ‘axe’ – |piqiɣ̣-tuỵ-| ‘whack-once’  
*kaug-tu-utaq* ‘club’ – |kauỵ-tuỵ-| ‘strike-once’.

Suffix-initial /u/ is deleted after the stem final vowel, as with |+(u)t-| itself:

- (256) *ini-ta-t* ‘fish-rack, clothes line’ – |*ini-*| ‘hang out to dry’; -*t* ABS.pl. – see § 21.5 for plurality of a composite.

VN |*-kutay-*| ‘means, something used as’. Note the parallel constitution of VNnm |+(u)*ciy-*| ‘whether/that’ vs. NN |*-kuciy-*| ‘one of the same kind’ (§ 18.2.1.3).

- (257) *napa-lrii-t* [*tuqu-llr-e-t<sub>G</sub>*  
stand-VNrl-ABS.pl. die-VNrl-EV-REL.pl.  
*nallu-nail-kuta-it*]  
not.know-not.cause-means-ABS.3pl.pl.  
‘the (grave) post that tells where the dead are’ [CAUY 153]
- (258) *nali-kutaq* ‘blanket’ – |*naliy-*| ‘to cover; cover, tent, shelter’  
*uli-kutaq* ‘shawl’ – |*uliy-*| ‘(to use as) blanket’  
*cap-kutaq* ‘curtain, something used as a shield’ – |*capi-*| ‘to block from view’  
*ila-kuta-t* ‘extended family, relatives’ – |*ila-*| ‘to add; part, kin’;  
-*t* ABS.pl.  
*mana-qutaq* [NI] ‘fishing hook, line, and pole’ [YEEM 312] – |*manay-*| ‘to fish with a hook’  
*pugta-qutaq* ‘gill-net float, buoy’ [YEEM 314] – |*puyta-*| ‘to float’.

## 7. Concatenated relative clauses

As mentioned in § 17.1.2-x, relativization of a complex verb (for multilayered clauses; § 4.1.3.1-iii, § 40.4.1) yields “concatenated relative clauses” (Jespersen 1927: 10.7, 1933: 34.5<sub>6</sub>) – like the English *the boy she thinks I like* [the boy] [(the one) that she thinks I like] ← *she thinks I like the boy* and (doubly concatenated) *the boy that you say she thinks I like* [the boy] [(the one) that you say she thinks I like] ← *you say she thinks I like the boy*. Cf. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1064).

The following, derived from the complex verb clause *im-na<sub>P(=S)</sub> tai-ni-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I said that that one (person) came’, consists of two concatenated clauses – (a) in S function and (b) in A function for the intransitive and the transitive main clause predicate respectively:

- (259) a. [*Im-na*                      *tai-ni-l-qa*]<sub>S</sub>  
 that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.    come-A'.say-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*ceñirte-llru-uq.*  
 visit-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'That one (who) I said came (had come) visited.'
- b. [*Im'-u-m*                      *tai-ni-ll-ma*]<sub>A</sub>  
 that.ANP-EX-REL.sg.    come-A'.say-VNrl-REL.1sg.sg.  
*ceñirte-llru-anga.*  
 visit-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'That one (who) I said came (had come) visited me.'

Two readings are possible in the following concatenated relative clause:

- (260) *qimugta*                      *tamar-yuke-l-qa*  
 dog.ABS.sg.                      lose-A'.think-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 i. 'the dog which *I thought* was lost'  
 ii. 'the dog which *I thought* (someone) lost'  
 – The two different readings are possible because of the patientive  
 monotransitive verb |*tamay-*| 'to be lost, to lose', from the respective  
 complex verb construction:
- cf. *Qimugta*<sub>P</sub>                      *tamar-yuk-aqa.*  
 dog.ABS.sg.                      lose-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I think the dog is lost.' – from *qimugta*<sub>S</sub> *tamar-tuq* 'the dog is lost'  
*Qimugta*<sub>P</sub>                      *tamar-yuk-aqa*                      (*angut-mun*)<sub>(A)</sub>.  
 dog.ABS.sg.                      lose-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.    (man-ALL.sg).  
 'I think someone (the man) lost the dog.' – from *qimugta*<sub>P</sub> *tamar-aa*  
 (*angute-m*)<sub>A</sub> '(the man) lost the dog'.

A periphrastic complex transitive (§ 40.6) can also be (concatenated-) relativized:

- (261) [*Qan-llaq*                      *carayag-tait-ni-luku*]<sub>P</sub>  
 say-VNrl-ABS.sg.                      ghost-there.be-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
*ataata-k-aqa.*  
 FaBr-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'The one who had said there are no ghosts is my uncle.' [YQYL 8]
- cf. *Qaner-tuq*                      *carayag-tait-ni-luku.*  
 say-IND.3sg.                      ghost-there.be-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
 'He said (saying that) there are no ghosts.'

Concatenated relative clauses are also illustrated amply in § 40.4.1.

## 8. Transcategorial conversions of relative clauses

As stated (§ 17.1.1-xii) and illustrated with most relativizers, relative clauses may be subject to further transcategorial conversions.

A relative clause (V-VNrl) may be verbalized into a clause (V-VNrl-NV), i.e. “reverbalization” (V→N→V), which may further be nominalized into a relative clause (V-VNrl-NV-VNrl) as well as a nominal clause (V-VNrl-NV-VNnm), i.e. “renominalization” (V→N→V), and so on, thereby accumulating semantic or functional refinements. (Note that the hyphen and quotation marks previously employed to introduce these terms will not be used henceforth.) Reverbalization of relative clauses is surveyed in § 17.8.1 below. The opposite way of achieving transcategorial conversion, that is, a denominal clause particularly with a relational verb followed by renominalization (N→V→N) is surveyed in § 17.8.2.

A reverbalization or a renominalization may be subject to further transcategorial conversion. Any kind of relativizers, other than the transitive participial relativizer *|-iki-*, can be involved in the changes. Combinability with denominalizers differs from one relativizer to another, but is rather limited. Exclusion of transitive participial relativizers (NV) in this respect is a consequence of their obligatory person inflection.

The denominalizers that do the reverbalization include:

a. relational verbs (or equational; NVrv, intransitive and transitive; § 37), which are the most common reverbalizers attested to come after any type of relativizers (except the transitive participial; above). Inchoative relational verbs are also attested to reverbalize (*+ga-urc-*, *+gaq-saguc-*; § 17.4.2).

b. verbs of existence (e.g. *|-ɲqɣ-* ‘there be’) / acquisition (e.g. *|-ɲ\*ɪ-* ‘to get, acquire’) / deprivation (e.g. *|-ɲit-*, *|-ɲiy-*; § 17.2.1), with or without the *|ta-* prefix (§ 38.1), are attested at least after intransitive participial and passive relativizers (e.g. *-kenga-ngqer-*; § 17.4.1).

c. locative verbs (§ 27.8), which are attested at least after the intransitive participial relativizer (*-lria-met-*; § 17.2.1).

d. oblique relativizers with the transitive relational verb have yielded composite suffixes for valency modification – VVsm *|+viki-* and *|(u)tiki-* (§ 39.7).

If a relative clause has its external head NP, constituting an appositive phrase, reverbalized, demotion is obligatory. Either the external head or its restricting relative clause may be verbalized, with the other one being demoted to an ablative-modal status, as is generally the case with appositive phrases (§ 25.2.2) – see § 17.8.1-ii.

8.1. Reverbalization:  $V \rightarrow \text{VNrl} \rightarrow \text{NV}$ .

Reverbalization morphology of relative clauses employs a rather limited variety of verbalizing suffixes, among them, relational verbs ('to be / become [someone's]; § 37) and verbs of existence/acquisition/deprivation (§ 38.1). See also § 37.5.3.2 (verbal cyclical expansion).

i) *Reverbalization and its further expansion*: Starting from an intransitive construction *angun* (man.ABS.sg.) *ang'-uq* (big-IND.3sg.) 'he is big', a reverbalization of a relative clause may be illustrated by:

- (262) *angun<sub>s</sub>            ange-lriar-u-uq*  
 man-ABS.sg.    big-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
 'the man is the one who is something important (or big)'  
 – which is a reverbalization of the relative clause:  
 cf. *angun    ange-lria* (big-VNrl-ABS.sg.) 'the man who is big'.

This is further deverbalized into a nominal clause with VNnm *-llr-*:

- (263) *angute-m<sub>G</sub>        ange-lriar-u-llr-a*  
 man-REL.sg.    big-VNrl- be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'the man's (state of) being the one who is something important (or 9big), the man's importance'.

A relative clause is reverbalized by a different NV suffix and is further relativized, thereby yielding "double relativization":

- (264) *angun                ange-lriar-il-nguq*  
 man.ABS.sg.    big-VNrl-NV.PRIV-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 'the man who doesn't have one more important than himself'  
 – cf. (83) with the privative |+*nit-*| whose final apical requires the variant |+*nyũ\**-| of the intransitive relativizer.

The second relativization is made after evidentiality and tense-aspect intervention:

- (265) *maurlu-q-ura-lriar-u-llini-lrii-k*  
 GrMo-have.as-CNT-VNrl-be-EVD-VNrl-3du.  
 '(they happen to be) a grandmother and a grandchild'  
 – with the second relativization of the reverbalization.

A relative clause with the passive relativizer *-kengar-* (§ 17.4.1) is attested. Starting from a relativized clause *kipu-kengar-* 'something bought' from verb

stem |*kipuc-*| ‘buy’, the following illustrates a relativization followed by reverbalization by the relational verb, transitive and intransitive:

- (266) *kipu-kenga-q-erput* ‘it is what we bought; it is our bought thing’  
 buy-VNrl-have.as-IND.1pl.3sg.  
 cf. *kipu-kengar-put* (ABS.1pl.sg.) ‘what we bought’.
- (267) *tanger-qenga-u-luta* ~ *tanger-kenga-u-luta*  
 see-VNrl-be-APP.1pl.  
 i. ‘we being (ones) seen’  
 ii. ‘we being in need of help (but neglected)’ – which reading has been traditional in general, though most younger speakers nowadays seem to lean toward the first (literal) reading alone  
 cf. *tanger-qengar-put* (ABS.1pl.sg.) ‘what we are seeing’.

Double relativization – A reverbalization of a relative clause may be further relativized, but with aspect specification intervened:

- (268) a. *issuri-t* *pissu-qenga-qe-tu-ke-nka*  
 seal-ABM.pl. hunt-VNrl-NV.have.as-HAB-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.  
 ‘the spotted seals I always hunt for’  
 – cf. (105) *pissu-tu-ke-nka* (hunt-HAB-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.) ‘the ones I hunt for’
- b. *Maa-ni enurnar-tut* *pissu-qenga-qe-tu-ke-nka<sub>s</sub>*.  
 here-LOC scarce-IND.3pl. hunt-VNrl-have.as-REG-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.  
 ‘The ones (game) I always catch or hunt for are scarce here.’

Double cyclical expansion – A double relativization may further be reverbalized as in the following from (150):

- (269) *Angun<sub>s</sub>* *tama-a-ken* *tekit-a-u-lriar-u-llru-uq*.  
 man.ABS.sg. that-DEMad-ABL arrive-VNrl-be-VNrl-be-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He was the one who (was an) arrived (one) from there, the one who was in the category of guests from outside (and was treated as such).’

Double cyclical expansion is made, with negation intervened:

- (270) *tanger-kenga-u-nrir-arka-urr-luteng*  
 see-VNrl-be-no.longer-VNrl.FUT-become-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘(before the winter sets in, salmonberries) they will no longer be seen’ [ELLA 130]  
 cf. (267) and see also *tanger-kenga-u-nrir-luteng* ‘they are no longer to be seen’.





- b. [*Yu-u-t*                      *tamar-meng*]<sub>s</sub>                      [*ella-rpi-i-m*  
 person-EV-ABS.pl.    be.all-CNNst.3Rpl.    world-big-EV-REL.sg.  
*ilu-ani*]                      *cayara-ngqe-lar-tut*  
 inside-LOC.3sg.sg.    custom-have-GEN-IND.3pl.  
*ayuqe-nril-ngur-nek*.  
 similar-NEG-VNrl-ABM.pl.  
 ‘All (lit. they being all) the people in the world have different customs.’

## 8.2. Renominalization: N → NV → VNrl/VNnm

A denominal clause – particularly with the relational verb NVrv *|+ɣu-|* (intransitive) or *|-ki-|* (transitive) – may be cycled back or renominalized into a nominal, i.e. a relative or a nominal clause. See also § 20.4.

The following illustrates a renominalization into a relative clause, starting from a simple denominal verb of *qaya-u-* ‘to be a kayak’ (intransitive relational verb from the nominal stem *|qayay-|* ‘kayak’) being immediately expanded further and cycled back into a nominal by the relativizer *-lriar-* or *-llr-*, hence semantic differences:

- (274) a. *qaya-u-lria*                      ‘one that is a kayak’  
 kayak-be-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 – which may imply ‘one that is still working as a kayak’, contrasted with the simple *qayaq*.  
 b. *qaya-u-lleq*                      ‘one that was a kayak’  
 kayak-be-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 – which may be ‘a relic or no more functioning one’, contrasted with *qaya-lleq* (ABS.sg.) ‘old kayak’ with no cyclical expansion.

Likewise, the corresponding transitive relational verb stem *qaya-qe-* could be cycled back into nominals in (275), but with obligatory person (possessor) inflection and the relational verb object being selected for the head in relativization.

- (275) a. *qaya-qe-ki-i*                      ‘one that he uses / is using as kayak’  
 kayak-have.as-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 b. *qaya-qe-llr-a*                      ‘one he used (once had) as a kayak’  
 kayak-have.as-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 – neither of which is the same as the simple *qaya-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘his kayak’. Again:  
 (276) a. *aana-ke-ki-i*  
 Mo-have.as-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘one who is her/his mother (one whom he has as a mother)’

- b. *aana-ke-llr-a*  
 Mo-have.as-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘one who was her/his (not genuine) mother’.

The transitive relational verb stem with  $|-_1ki-$ , however, may be followed by an S-relativizer, when the transitive stem is intransitivized for reciprocity (§ 34.4), as in the following:

- (277) *aana-ke-llrii-k*  
 Mo-have.as-VNrl-ABS.du.  
 ‘two who are (reciprocally) mothers, i.e. mother and daughter/son’.

A renominalization into a nominal clause is illustrated in the following, which is, nevertheless, ambiguous with regard to (276b) above:

- (278) *Aana-ke-llr-a<sub>s</sub>*                      *assir-tuq.*  
 Mo-have.as-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.    good-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Having her as a mother is good.’

## 9. Non-core roles in main clauses

Most of relative clauses illustrated above fill the roles of core arguments of main clauses, occurring in the absolutive (S, P, T, and R) or in the relative case (A and G) – see § 17.1.2-iv. Relative clauses in the other functions (demoted, peripheral, etc.) are given here:

i) *Demoted P or T* – in the ablative-modalis case:

- (279) [*Angut-mek    atu-lria-mek    pakm-a-ni*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 man-ABM.sg.    sing-VNrl-ABM.sg.    up.there-EX-LOC  
*niic-ugnga-unga.*  
 hear-can-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I can hear a man who is singing up there.’
- cf. [*Angun    atu-lria*]<sub>P</sub>                      *niic-ugnga-aqa.*  
 man-ABS.sg.    sing-VNrl.ABS.sg.    hear-can-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I can hear the man who is singing.’
- (280) *Nasvit-aanga    tangerr-su-lle-mnek*<sub>(T)</sub>  
 show-IND.3sg.1sg.    see-DES-VNrl-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He showed me [R] what I wanted to see.’

- (281) *Kass'a-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *Nuk'a-nku-t<sub>R</sub>*                      *pi-li-i*  
 white.man-REL.sg.    p.n.-family-ABS.pl.    one-make-IND.3sg.3pl  
 [*ene-mek*                      *pi-yu-uma-llr-atnek*                      *ak'anun*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 house-ABM.sg.    thing-want-CNT-VNrl-ABM.3pl.sg.    long.time  
 'The white man is building for the Nuk'aq family a house they have wanted to have for a long time.'

By contrast, the following is a (trivalent) complex transitives with addition of an upper-clause agent A' (§ 40), which triggers the demotion of P argument of the primary verb, coupled with promotion of A argument into P:

- (282) *Pissu-qenga-minek<sub>(P)</sub>*                      *nere-vkar-aanga*.  
 hunt-VNrl-ABM.3Rsg.sg.    eat-A'.let-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'He [A'] let me [P=A] eat what [(P)] he caught by hunting.'

ii) *Demoted R* – in the allative case:

- (283) *Neqa<sub>T</sub>*                      *nerq-utke-ssaqu-naku*                      [*ik-a-ni*  
 fish.ABS.sg.    feed-use.for-PRH-APP.3sg.    across-EX-LOC  
*aqumga-lria-mun*                      *qimugte-mun*]<sub>(R)</sub>  
 sitting-VNrl-ALL.sg.    dog-ALL.sg.  
 'Don't feed the fish to the dog that is sitting across there.'  
 – see § 35.1.2.1 for the R demotion by way of the valency rearranging *-utke-*.

iii) *Demoted A* – in the allative case in a periphrastic complex transitive construction:

- (284) *Pi-llini-a*                      [*tangvag-ti-inun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
 say-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg.    see-VNrl-ALL.3sg.sg.  
*agtur-arkau-ni-luku*                      [*carayi-i-m*  
 touch-supposed.to-A'.say-APP.3sg.    ghost-EV-REL.sg.  
*kemg-a*]<sub>P</sub>                      *uyaqu-akun*.  
 skin-ABS.3sg.sg.    neck-PRL.3sg.sg.  
 '(So I see) he told him that the one who sees it [ghost] is supposed to touch the ghost's skin by its neck.'  
 – the agentive/active (headless) relative clause *tangvag-ti-inun* filling the demoted A argument slot in the complex transitive (characterized by *-ni-*) in the appositional clause.

iv) *Reference to the first or second-person argument in the locative case* (§ 27.4): Most commonly encountered is the intransitive participial relative

clause by *|-l̥yia-|* / *|+ɲuɣ̣-|*, as illustrated above in § 17.1.2-vi, although the two other relative clauses, by *|-ki-|* and *|-l̥ỵ-|* with P argument involved, also are attested:

- (285) *Elpet assike-ke-mni tangerr-sug-yaaq-amken.*  
 2sg. like-VNrl-LOC.1sg.sg. see-DES-but-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 ‘I would like to see you (sg.), whom I like.’  
 – cf. *assik-amken* ‘I like you (sg.)’.
- (286) *Ner-yuk-le-mni elpet nere-nrit-lini-uten.*  
 eat-A'.think-VNrl-LOC.1sg.sg. 2sg. eat-NEG-EVD-IND.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) I thought ate hasn’t apparently eaten.’  
 – cf. *ner-yuk-amken* ‘I think you (sg.) ate (something)’.

v) *Periphrastic – in the locative case*: including vocative (§ 27.5) and exclamative (§ 27.6) uses:

- (287) [*Ak’a tangerr-vi-ll-e-mni taqukar-pag-mek*]  
 long.time.ago see-place-PST-EV-LOC.1sg.sg. bear-big-ABM.sg.  
*kui-cuar-mi tuntuqs eme-qaq-luni ~ me-q’aq-luni.*  
 river-small-LOC.sg. caribou.ABS.sg. drink-ITM-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘In the small river where I saw a big bear a long time ago the reindeer is occasionally drinking water.’
- (288) [*Mikelngur-ni niite-llria-ni*] *ma-a-vet tai-ki-ci.*  
 child-LOC.pl. hear-VNrl-LOC.pl. this-EX-ALL come-FUT-OPT.2pl.  
 ‘Children who hear this, come here!’
- (289) [*Atu-lria-ni=lli tau-ku-ni*] (*cuka-vaa!*)  
 sing-VNrl-LOC.pl.=EXC that-EX-LOC.pl. fast-VPc.EXC  
 ‘Oh, how fast those singers are!’

vi) *Periphrastic – in the allative case*:

- (290) *Mayur-tuq [napa-li-lria-mun [ingri-m<sub>G</sub> kangr-anun]].*  
 go.up-IND.3sg. tree-supplied-VNrl-ALL.sg. mountain-REL.sg.  
 top-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘(He went up) to the top of the mountain where there are many trees (i.e. which have many trees).’ – cf. (12).

- (291) *Arulai-llru-ukut* [atsa-t<sub>G</sub> nau-tu-**ki-itnun**].  
 stop-PST-IND.1pl. berry-REL.pl. grow-HAB-VNrl-ALL.3pl.sg.  
 ‘We stopped at *the place* where berries usually grow.’  
 – The relative clause is an attributive phrase and has no external head.  
 The verb *nau-* is binominal with locational P argument (e.g. *atsa-t*  
 [berry-REL.pl.]<sub>A</sub> *nau-gaat* [grow-IND.3pl.3sg.] *man’a nuna-pik*  
 [this.ABS.sg. land-genuine.ABS.sg.]<sub>P</sub> ‘berries are growing on this  
 tundra’).

vii) *Headless relative clauses as an adjunct to the predicate:*

- (292) *Nutara-u-nril-ngur-mek* *ikamra-ng-uq.*  
 new-be-NEG-VNrl-ABL.sg. sled-get-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He got a sled that is not new.’  
 – The head of the relative clause [*nutara-u-nril-nguq ikamraq*]  
 (ABS.sg.) ‘a sled that is not new’ is verbalized into the predicate,  
 with the stranded NP demoted into the ablative-modalis.
- (293) *Assi-iria-mek* *akuy-ut-aa*  
 good-VNrl-ABM.sg. make.ice.cream-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*aana-ni*<sub>P</sub>.  
 Mo-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘She is making a good ice cream for her mother.’

# Chapter 18

## Nominal clauses

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## 1. Nominal clauses: basic properties

The head of a nominalization (or deverbal clause) shows inflectional properties of nominals in general (case, number, and person). It is always in the singular and may or may not be inflected for person (possessor). The case depends upon the core or demoted argument or the peripheral argument slot it fills in the main clause. Arguments involved in a nominalization may necessarily be subject to case alternation.

CAY nominalizers, which refer to an event, fact, action, or state, are given in Table 13. The two nominalizers  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.2.1) and  $|t\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.2.2), which are the only two nominalizers that have the future version with NN  $|+ka\dot{y}-|$  (§ 20.1), are more clausal than the other two  $|+_1ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.2.3) and  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.3.1).

The nominalizer  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  is argument-less and is characterized by “unexpressed subjects” (Comrie & Thompson 2007: 368–369), the very property of which is responsible for its bifunctionality (comparative nominals as well as abstract nominalizations) to be discussed in § 18.3.

Nominalizations with any nominalizer may become more or less lexicalized deverbal nouns.

Table 13: Nominalizers (VNnm)

	$ +(u)ci\dot{y}- $ / <i>more</i>	<i>act/state of -ing; wh-; if</i>		§ 18.2.1
<i>clausal</i>	$ +(u)ci\dot{y}ka\dot{y}- $	<i>stative, progressive</i>	future	
	$ -t\dot{y}- $	<i>the fact that (was)</i>		§ 18.2.2
	$ -t\dot{y}ka\dot{y}- $	<i>perfective, individual</i>	future	
↑	$ +_1ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}- $	<i>(general) way that, how</i>		§ 18.2.3
↓	$ -n\dot{y}- $	<i>(abstract) -ing (itself) / nature of -ing</i>	no person inflection	§ 18.3.1.1
<i>non-clausal</i>	$ +_1n\dot{y}- $	<i>deverbal nouns</i>		§ 18.3.1.2
	$ -n\dot{y}- $ / $ -_1t\dot{y}- $ * <i>more/most</i>	<i>comparative nominals:</i>	<i>obligatory person</i>	§ 18.3.2

\* initial /n/ merges with stem final /t/ into /t/, thus  $|-_1t\dot{y}-|$  (with /t/ deletion).

Nominalizations may be very commonly followed by a limited kind of derivational suffixes of NV type, thereby being reverbalized, and, much less, of NN.

VNnm  $|+_1ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$  requires an agentive stem, just like relativizing VNrl  $|+(s)t-|$ ,  $|+(cu)ut-|$ , and a patientive verb stem (§ 36.2) needs to be antipassivized by VVsm  $|+y_{i2}-|$  (§ 39.6.1), as is illustrated in each section.

It should also be noted beforehand that, diachronically, some of the deverbalizing suffixes – VNnm  $|-t\dot{y}-|$ ,  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$ ,  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  and VNrl  $|+vi\dot{y}-|$ ,



|+(s/cu)ut-| (§ 17.6,1, § 17.6.2) – contribute quasi-connective mood markers (§ 50.11).

Apart from the bifunctionality of |-nỵ-|, mentioned above, the following two nominalizers are also multi-functional and may be homonymous with other grammatical markers, like relativizers, etc. Therefore their treatments overlap in different chapters or sections:

- a. |-ṭỵ-|:  
preterite nominalization (§ 18.2.2), relative clause (§ 17.3), and NN ‘past’ (§ 20.1)
- b. |-ḷỵiạỵ-| ~ (post-apical) |+<sub>1</sub>nỵỵ\*-|:  
intransitive relative clause, (marginal) nominalization (§ 17.2.1), and intransitive participial mood (§ 47.1).

More important properties of nominalizations are summarized:

i) A verb, with its argument(s) involved, may be nominalized by one of the nominalizers (VNnm), and the deverbalized nominalization always stands in the singular (one of the differences from a relative clause), apart from lexicalized deverbal nouns.

- (1) *atu-lleq* / *atu-ciq* / *atu-yaraq* / *atu-neq*  
sing-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
‘singing / the way of singing / how to sing’.

The four nominalizers are more or less interchangeable, with some restrictions.

The fourth one |-nỵ-| is never inflected for person and is limited in the case it inflects with (no relative case, for instance) – See § 18.3.1.1. It is also a nominalization with fewer verbal categories than other nominalizers (apart from voice or valency modification; see § 18.1.4).

ii) Except for |-nỵ-|, the head of a nominalization may be inflected for person (possessor). The person reflects the absolutive-case argument – S (incl. derived S), P, indirective T, or secundative R – in the verb concerned. If it is in the third person, the argument can occur in a full NP, which is genitivized and marked with the relative case.

- (2) *atu-llr-a* / *atu-uci-a* / *atur-yara-a* / \**atu-nr-a*  
sing-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
‘his singing / that he sang ~ is singing / his way of singing’  
– cf. *atur-tuq* ‘he is singing’.

The person ('his') or the logical subject for them may be external, like *angute-m*<sub>G=S</sub> (man-REL.sg.), *aata-ma*<sub>G=S</sub> (Fa-REL.1sg.sg.), etc. 'the man's singing', 'my father's singing' – cf. *anguns* / *aata-ka*<sub>S</sub> (ABS.sg.) *atur-tuq* 'the man / my father is singing'.

If the argument refers to a non-third person, it is only marked in the inflection of the nominalization, typically with no external or full personal pronoun (unless emphasis needed): e.g.

- (3) *atu-uci-ka* / *atu-uci-n*  
sing-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. / 2sg.sg.  
'that I am singing, my singing' / 'that you (sg.) are singing, your singing'.

iii) While the argument-less *|-nỵ-|* cannot have person inflection, the comparative nominal *|-nỵ-|* (with the final /t/ merger as marked by \* in the Table 13.) has obligatory person inflection. The two will turn out to be two functions of one and the same morpheme (abstract nominalizer). See § 18.3.2.

iv) *|-ṭỵ(kaỵ)-|* and *|(u)ciỵ(kaỵ)-|* have the future version and may be clausal, both intransitive and transitive (§ 18.1.2), unlike the two other nominalizations *|+<sub>1</sub>caỵaỵ-|* and *|-nỵ-|*. The two are also responsible for ignorative verbs ('not to know what/whether/if, ...'), as mentioned in § 18.2.1.3

v) Nominalizations are complemented into a main clause, filling its core or demoted argument slot – S, P, T (but not R), and A – or G slot in an attributive phrase (§ 18.4.2-ii). Note that the nominalizations in (4) are marked with the absolutive case as the transitive object of the predicates, while marked in (5) with the relative case as the attribute in the phrase:

- (4) a. [*Aana-ma*<sub>G=S</sub> *atu-uci-a*]<sub>P</sub> *assik-aqa*.  
Mo-REL.1sg.sg. sing-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. good-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'I like the way my mother sings.'
- b. [*Aana-ma*<sub>G=S</sub> *atu-llr-a*]<sub>T</sub>  
Mo-REL.1sg.sg. sing-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*apy-utke-llru-aqa*  
ask-VVsm-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'I asked (s.o. [(R)]) if my mother sang.'
- (5) *iqva-llr-ata*<sub>G=S</sub> *tan'gerpag-nek*<sub>(P)</sub> *nuni-i*  
pick.berry-VNnm-REL.3pl.sg. black.berry-ABM.pl. land-ABS.3sg.sg.  
'the place they picked blackberries (i.e. the place of their picking blackberries)'  
– cf. *iqva-llru-ut* (PST-IND.3pl.) *tan'gerpag-nek* 'they picked blackberries'.

Complementation of a transitive nominal clause requires its specific case alternations, as described in § 18.1.2.

vi) Nominalization is made on any type of verb – monovalent (including detransitivized), agentive or patientive bivalent, ditransitive as well as valency-modified ones, such as complex transitives – with person inflection (-a ABS.3sg.sg.). Illustrations are made with the nominalizer |+(u)ciy̆-|:

- |     |    |                        |                            |  |
|-----|----|------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| (6) | a. | <i>aya-uci-a</i>       | monovalent                 | ‘his [S] leaving’  |
|     | b. | <i>ner-uci-a</i>       | i. agentive bivalent       | ‘eating of it [P], that (how) it is eaten’                     |
|     |    |                        | ii. Ø-derived antipassive  | ‘his [S=A] eating (s.t.), that he ate (s.t.)’                  |
|     | c. | <i>naaq-uci-a</i>      | patientive bivalent        | ‘reading/counting of it [P], that (how) it is read/counted’    |
|     | d. | <i>naaq-i-ci-a</i>     | suffix-derived antipassive | ‘his [S=A] reading/counting (s.t.)’                            |
|     | e. | <i>tun-uci-a</i>       | indirective ditransitive   | ‘giving/selling of it [T] (to s.o.), to being given (to s.o.)’ |
|     | f. | <i>ciki-uci-a</i>      | secundative ditransitive   | ‘giving him [R] (s.t.), his being given (s.t.)’                |
|     | g. | <i>-ni-ci-a</i> , etc. | complex transitive         | ‘his saying that he or another does...’.                       |

### 1.1. Different types of verbs

Each type of verb illustrated below may include denominalized stems and be accompanied by adnominal or adverbial adjuncts. Verbal categories in derived stems to be nominalized are in § 18.1.4.1.

- monovalents*: cf. (6a)
- |     |    |                                |                                    |   |
|-----|----|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| (7) | a. | <i>aata-ma<sub>G</sub></i>     | <i>tekite-llr-a</i>                | /   |
|     |    | Fa-REL.1sg.sg.                 | arrive-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.            |   |
|     |    | <i>akutar-tu-llr-a</i>         |                                    |   |
|     |    | ice.cream-eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. |                                    |   |
|     |    |                                |                                    | ‘that my father arrived’ / ‘that my father ate ice cream’       |
|     | b. | <i>(qangva-urt-a)</i>          | <i>tekite-llr-e-n<sub>S</sub>?</i> |   |
|     |    | (when-INC-INT.3sg.)            | arrive-VNnm-ABS.2sg.sg.            |   |
|     |    |                                |                                    | ‘(how long has it been) since you(sg.) arrived, your arriving’. |
- |     |                |   |
|-----|----------------|---|
| (8) | <i>ma-a-ni</i> | <i>nunar-pag-tangqerr-uci-a</i>           |
|     | this-EV-LOC    | land-big-there.be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.        |
|     |                | ‘that this great land was here’. [JCVB 4] |

*agentive bivalents*: cf. (6b)

- (9) a. *neqe-m<sub>G</sub> ner-uci-a*  
 fish-REL.sg. eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 i. ‘fish [G=P] eating, eating of fish’  
 ii. ‘fish’s [G=S] eating (s.t.)’ – antipassive
- b. *neqe-m<sub>G</sub> ner-uma-ci-a*  
 fish-REL.sg. eat-PSV-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘that the fish/meat [G=P] has been eaten’
- c. *arna-m<sub>G</sub> neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub> nere-llru-ci-a*  
 woman-REL.sg. fish-ABM.sg. eat-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*ataku-mi*  
 evening-LOC.sg.  
 ‘that/whether the woman [G=S] ate fish in the evening’
- d. *tepsarqe-llrii-m<sub>G=P</sub> [nare-llr-a*  
 stink-VNrl-ALL.sg. smell-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nere-llr-a=llu]*  
 eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.=and  
 ‘smelling and eating of fermented (stinky) fish [G=P] head’.
- (10) a. *nukalpia-m<sub>G</sub> tange-llr-a taquka-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 hunter-REL.sg. see-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. bear-ABM.sg.  
 ‘that the great hunter [G=S] saw (i.e. the great hunter’s seeing) a bear’
- b. *nukalpia-mun<sub>(A)</sub> tange-llr-a taquka-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 bear-EV-REL.sg. see-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. bear-REL.sg.  
 ‘the bear [G=P] being seen by the great hunter’ – with demotion of original A to the allative.
- (11) a. *igar-yara-n* ‘your (sg.) way of writing (something)’ cf. (6b-i)  
 write-VNnm-ABS.2sg.sg. – with A more commonly marked than P
- b. *igar-yara-at kalika-t<sub>G</sub>* cf. (6b-ii)  
 write-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg. book/letter-REL.pl.  
 ‘the way/how the book [G=P] is written/penmanship’  
 – cf. (157) also.

*patientive bivalents*: cf. (6c):

- (12) *Bible-aa-t<sub>G</sub> naaq-sara-at / naaq-uci-at*  
 B.-LNK-REL.pl. read-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘the way how to read the Bible’ / ‘the way the Bible [G=P] is read’  
 – not meaning \*‘their way of reading the Bible’, cf. (16).
- (13) a. *alle-lleq* ‘(way of) being torn’  
 tear-VNnm.ABS.sg. – |atý-|

- b. *qaner-yara-mta<sub>G</sub>*                      *tama-llerka-a*  
 speak-VNnm-REL.1pl.sg.    lose-VNnm.FUT-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘loss (i.e. being lost in future) of our language [G=P]’.

The verbs |*naaqi-*| ‘to read/count’ and |*tamay-*| ‘to lose’ in (12), (13b) cannot have A as genitivized for the possessor of nominalizations. This is also the case with the denominal relational verb *nuna-ke-* ‘to live’ for which the P argument is ‘a place or person to live in/with’ – hence the need of antipassivization to have the agent in G function, as given in (15) and (16):

- (14) a. *Anchorage-aa-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *nuna-ke-llr-a*  
 pl.n.-LNK-REL.sg.                      land-have.as-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘to live in Anchorage, life in Anchorage [G=P] (lit. having Anchorage as land [place to live])’
- b. *angute-m<sub>G</sub>*                                      *nuna-ke-llr-a*  
 man-LNK-REL.sg.                      land-have.as-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘(for a woman) to live with the man [G=P]’ – with A-argument (e.g. ‘woman’) being deleted, cf. (15)
- cf. *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *nuna-k-aa*                                      *Anchorage-aaq<sub>P</sub>* /  
 woman-REL.sg.    land-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.    pl.n.-EX.ABS.sg. /  
*angun<sub>P</sub>*  
 man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the woman lives in Anchorage / with the man (lit. she has Anchorage/man as place to live)’  
 – the noun *nuna* ‘land’ can also mean ‘place to live’, being equivalent to *uita-vik* (stay-place.VNrl.ABS.sg.); thus *uita-vi-ke-llr-a* for (a) *nuna-ke-llr-a*.

The bi-functionality of |*-tj-*| (§ 18.2.2.1) yields another reading of *nuna-ke-llr-a* as a relative clause (‘the one he lives with / in’).

- antipassives required of patientive stems:*
- (15) *arna-m<sub>G=S(A)</sub>*                      *nuna-k-i-llr-a*  
 woman-REL.sg.                      land-have.as-APS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*Anchorage-aa-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 pl.n.-LNK-ABM.sg.  
 ‘for a woman to live in Anchorage’, cf. (14).
- (16) *angute-m<sub>G=S(A)</sub>*    *naaq-i-yara-a* ≡ *naaq-i-ci-a*    *Bible-aa-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 man-REL.sg.    read-APS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.    B.-LNK-ABM.pl.  
 ‘the man’s way of reading the Bible’, cf. (12).

- (17) *arna-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *aya-ute-llr-a*  
 woman-REL.sg.              go-E<sub>APL</sub>-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the woman’s taking (s.t.) away’ – applicative  $|+(u)c-|$  has  
 antipassivization as one of its functions (§ 39.4.4).

*indirective ditransitive*: cf. (6e)

- (18) *neqe-m<sub>G=T</sub>*              *tun-uci-a*                      *angut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 fish-REL.sg.      give-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.      man-ALL.sg.  
 ‘the fact that the fish was sold to the man’.

- (19) *igarcuute-m<sub>G</sub>*              *lli-ci-a*                      [*stuulu-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 pencil-REL.sg.      put-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.      table-REL.sg.  
*qai-nganun*]<sub>(R)</sub>  
 surface-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘putting (being put) of the pencil [G=T] on top of the table’ –  $|ili-|$  ‘to  
 put, place (to)’.

*secundative ditransitive*: cf. (6f)

- (20) *arrsi-i-m<sub>G=R</sub>*              *ciki-llr-a*                      *neq-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 needy-EV-REL.sg.      give-VNm.-ABS.3sg.sg.      fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘giving fish (food) to a poor person’ – cf. (43).

*complex transitives*: cf. (6g) – (21a) agentive *-ni-* vs. (21b) patientive  
*-sqe-* (thus antipassive *-sq-i-*); see § 40.2.

- (21) a. *ayag-ni-llr-a* ‘his saying that he (himself) or another has gone’  
 leave-A'.say-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 cf. *ayag-ni-a* ‘he said she has gone’  
 leave-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.

- b. *aya-a-sq-i-llr-a*                      *yug-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 leave-EV-A'.ask-APS-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.      person-ABM.pl.  
 ‘his telling the people to leave’  
 cf. *aya-a-sq-ai*                      *yu-u-t<sub>P</sub>*  
 leave-EV-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3pl.      person-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘he told the people to leave’.

- (22) *Bible-aa-nek/-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*      *naaq-i-vka-llr-a*  
 B.-LNK-ABM.pl./sg. read-APS-A'.let-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*agayulirte-m<sub>G</sub>*              *yug-nun*                      *Agayuvig-mi*  
 minister-REL.sg.      person-ALL.pl.      church-LOC.sg.  
 ‘the minister [G=A] letting (people) read the Bible in the church’.

## 1.2. Nominal clause complemented

As stated (§ 18.1-v), a nominalization most typically serves as complement to a main-clause predicate. It is to be noted that nominalizations illustrated so far are all concerned with intransitive verbs (incl. detransitivized ones with a second or a third argument being demoted or deleted). They are one argument, i.e. intransitive, nominalizations (§ 18.1.2.1), and have to be distinguished from two arguments, i.e. transitive, nominalizations (§ 18.1.2.2). Illustration is minimally given here, but at fuller length in § 18.4.

## 1.2.1. Intransitive nominalizations

In one-argument nominalizations, the single argument, which is to be marked with the absolutive case if a full NP, is basically genitivized and marked with the relative case (cf. § 18.1-ii). However, the absolutive-case NP to be genitivized may often remain in the absolutive case. Hence the two patterns in the following, i.e. a) absolutive *-ka* and b) relative *-ma*:<sup>1</sup>

- (23) [*Aana-ka* / *-ma*      *atu-uci-anek*]<sub>(P)</sub>      *assik-i-unga*.  
 Mo-ABS/REL.1sg.sg. sing-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.    good-APS-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I like the way my mother sings.’

The former retains more of a clausal structure (*aana-ka*<sub>S</sub> *atur-tuq* IND.3sg. ‘my mother is singing’), while the latter is more of an attributive phrase (*aana-ma*<sub>G</sub> *atu-uci-a* ‘my mother’s singing’), with the ablative-modalis *atu-uci-anek* triggered by the intransitivity of the main-clause predicate. It is not clear to me which pattern is more dominant among CAY speakers; the two are sometimes found in the speech of one and same speaker with little difference.

The case of the nominalization head itself is determined by the slot it fills, i.e. ablative-modalis *atu-uci-mek* because of the intransitive *assik-i-unga* in the preceding example. Likewise, in the following pair with the main-clause predicates *paqna-yug-tua* and *paqna-k-aqa*, respectively an intransitive and a transitive form expanded from the root *|paqna-* ‘curious, check’, the nominalization (a) fills the demoted slot of the former as in (23) above, while the nominaliza-

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1. Acceptability of the two patterns is duly documented by Jacobson (1995: 368), who describes a) with the absolutive-case NP as the subject of an embedded intransitive verb vs. b) with relative-case NP as the possessor of a derived noun, citing:  
*Qanr-us-nga*      *ciin*    a) [*tau-na qimugta*] / b) [*tau-m qimugte-m*]  
 say-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.2sg.1sg.why    that-EX.ABS/REL.sg. dog.ABS/REL.sg.  
*qilu-uci-anek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 bark-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘Tell me [R] why that dog is barking.’ [gloss mine]

tion (b) serves as the object of the latter. An *\*im-na kass'aq* with *nerellrucia* in (b) cannot be any kind of acceptable phrase in CAY:

- (24) a. [[*Im-na* *kass'aq*]<sub>S</sub> *tep-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. white.man.ABS.sg. fish.head-ABM.sg.  
*nere-llru-ci-**anek***<sub>(P)</sub> *paqnayug-tua*.  
 eat-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg. curious-IND.1sg.
- b. [[*Im'-u-m* *kass'a-m*]<sub>S</sub> *tep-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 that-EX-REL.sg. white.man.REL.sg. fish.head-ABM.sg.  
*nere-llru-ci-**a***<sub>P</sub> *paqnak-aqa*.  
 eat-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. curious-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I am curious whether that (ANP) white man ate a fermented fish head.'  
 cf. [*Im-na kass'aq*]<sub>S</sub> *tep-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> *nere-llru-uq*. (IND.3sg.).  
 'That (anaphoric) whiteman ate a fermented fish head.'  
 – (zero-derived) antipassive.

Nominalizations are illustrated with different case markings determined by the slot they fill:

i) *Absolutive case*: If a nominalization fills the slot of the intransitive S, monotransitive P, or indirective T (though not secundative R), the nominalization head is marked with the absolutive case:

- S-slot*:
- (25) [*Qaillun iga-**uma-ci-a***]<sub>S</sub>  
 how write-PSV-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*taring-nait-uq*.  
 understand-not.cause-IND.3sg.  
 'It is not understandable how it is written.'
- (26) [[*Amller-e-t* *atsa-t*]<sub>G</sub> *nere-llr-at*]<sub>S</sub>  
 much-EV-REL.pl. berry-REL.pl. eat-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
*ilu-liq-narq-uq*.  
 inside-affected-NEC-IND.3sg.  
 'Eating of too much berries [G=P] causes stomach-aching.'
- (27) [*Arna-m<sub>G</sub>* *kass'sa-mun*<sub>(A=S)</sub>  
 woman-REL.sg. white.man-ALL.sg.  
*nere-sq-i-ci-a* *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>]<sub>S</sub>  
 eat-A'.ask-APS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*tun'er-narq-uq*.  
 embarrass-NEC-IND.3sg.  
 '(The fact of) the woman inviting (asking) the white man to eat fish is embarrassing (to us).'



- cf. *arnaq*<sub>S=A</sub> *kass'a-mun*<sub>(A=S)</sub> *nere-sq-i-uaq neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 – antipassive  
*arna-m*<sub>A</sub> *kass'a-mun*<sub>(A)</sub> *nere-sq-aa neqa*<sub>P</sub>  
 ‘the woman invites the white man to eat a / the fish’  
 – type 2 complex transitive (§ 35.1.2).

*P-slot:*

- (28) [[*Im-u-m* *angute-m*]<sub>G=S</sub> *Bible-aa-nek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 that-EX.REL.sg. man-REL.sg. B.-EX-ABM.pl.  
*naaq-i-ci-a*]<sub>P</sub> *paqnak-aqa*.  
 read-APS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. curious-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am curious whether that (anaphoric) man reads the Bible.’  
 cf. *Bible-aa-nek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *naaq-i-uaq* (APS-IND.3sg.) ‘he is reading the Bible’.

- (29) [*Hymn-a-m*]<sub>G=P</sub> *atu-llr-a* *Agayuner-mi*]<sub>P</sub>  
 h.-LNK-REL.sg. sing-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. sunday-LOC.sg.  
*quyak-aqa*.  
 appreciate-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I appreciate singing of a hymn on Sunday.’

- (30) *taumek nallu-llru-llini-kiit* [*ma-a-ni*  
 then not.know-PST-EVD-PTP.3pl.3sg. this-EX-LOC  
*nunar-pag-tangqerr-uci-a*]<sub>P</sub>  
 land-big-there.be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘so they did not yet know that this great land was here’. [JCVB 4]

*T-slot:*

- (31) [*Aata-ma*]<sub>G=S</sub> *aya-llru-ci-at*]<sub>T</sub>  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. leave-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*apy-utke-llru-a*.  
 ask-VVsm-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She asked whether my father left.’  
 – T argument promoted by VVsm |+(u)t(i)ki-| (§ 35.1.3) for the  
 secundative |apic-| ‘to ask’.

ii) *Relative case*: If a nominalization fills the slot of the transitive A or the genitive G in an attributive phrase, the nominalization is marked with the relative case:

- A-slot:*
- (32) [*Cura-t<sub>G=S</sub>*            *qiu-llr-ata*]<sub>A</sub>            *umyua-qa<sub>P</sub>*  
 blueberry-REL.pl.    ripe-VNnm-REL.3pl.sg.    mind-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*angnir-cet-aa.*  
 happy-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'Blueberries ripening made my mind happy.'
- G-slot:*
- (33) [*erenr-ani*            *tupa-ll-ma*]<sub>G</sub>            *kingu-akun*  
 day-LOC.3sg.sg.    wake.up-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.    behind-PRL.3sg.sg.  
 'after I got up during the daytime (not necessarily morning)'. [BL]
- iii) *Ablative-modalis*: If a nominalization fills the slot of a demoted monotransitive (P) or secundative ditransitive (T), the nominalization is marked with the ablative-modalis case:
- (34) [[*Im-na*            *angun*]<sub>S</sub>            *Bible-aa-nek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.    man.ABS.sg.    B.-EX-ABM.pl.  
*naaq-i-ci-anek*]<sub>(P)</sub>            *paqnayug-tua.*  
 read-APS-VNnm-ABM.3pl.sg.    curious-IND.3sg. – cf. (28) above.  
 'I am curious whether that (anaphoric) man reads the Bible.'
- (35) a. [*Na-ni-qapiar*            *kuvya-llru-ci-anek*            *May'a-m<sub>G=S</sub>*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 where-LOC=ITS    net-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.    p.n.-REL.sg.  
*nallu-unga.*  
 not.know-IND.sg.  
 'I do not know exactly where May'aq drifted net.'
- b. [*Na-ni-qapiar*            *kuvya-llru-ci-anek*            *May'a-m<sub>G=S</sub>*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 where-LOC=ITS    net-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.    p.n.-REL.sg.  
*apt-aanga.*  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'She asked me [R] exactly where May'aq drifted net.'
- (36) *Apt-aanga*            [*qaillun*    *ene-ma*]<sub>G</sub>  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg.    how    house-REL.1sg.sg.  
*ayuq-uci-anek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 resemble-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 'He asked me [R] how my house [G=S] looks like / its (way of) resembling, condition.'

## 1.2.2. Transitive nominalizations

In contrast, nominalizations of two-argument clauses, i.e. transitive A and P, have the A argument NP demoted into the allative, exactly like the A of the embedded clause in type 2 complex transitive.

i) Filling a demoted slot (P) or (T) of the main-clause predicate: Compare (24), where the curiosity lies in about whether the ‘white man’ ate a ‘fish head’ or not, with the following, wherein the embedded transitive construction expresses a curiosity about by whom the fish was eaten

(37) [[*Im-u-mun* *kass 'a-mun*]<sub>(A)</sub> *tepa*<sub>P</sub>  
that-EX-ALL.sg. white.man.ALL.sg. fish.head.ABS.sg.  
*nere-llru-ci-anek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *paqnayug-tua*.  
eat-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg. curious-IND.1sg.  
‘I am curious whether (it is) that (anaphoric) white man (who) ate the fermented fish head.’

cf. [*Im 'u-m* *kass 'a-m*]<sub>A</sub> *tepa*<sub>P</sub>  
that-EX.REL.sg. white.man.REL.sg. fish.head.ABS.sg.  
*nere-llru-a*.  
eat-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
‘(It is) that (ANP) white man (who) ate the fermented fish head.’

(38) [[*Im-u-mun* *angut-mun*]<sub>(A)</sub> *Bible-aa-tP*  
that-EX-ALL.sg. man.ALL.sg. B.-EX-ABS.pl.  
*naaq-uci-atnek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *paqnayug-tua*.  
read-APS-ABS.3pl.sg. curious-IND.3sg.  
‘I am curious whether that (anaphoric) man reads the Bible / whether it is that man who reads the Bible.’  
– cf. (34) with ‘that man’ as the absolutive case NP.

(39) [*Ui-mnun*]<sub>(A)</sub> *Anchorage-aa-mun* *qetunra-qa*<sub>P=S</sub>  
Wi-ALL.1sg.sg. pl.n.-LNK-ALL.sg. So-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*aya-a-sq-uci-anek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *paqnayug-tua*.  
go-EV-A'.tell-VNnm.ABM.sg. curious-IND.1sg.  
‘I am curious that / why my wife is telling my son to go to Anchorage.’

cf. *ui-ma*<sub>A'</sub> *Anchorage-aa-mun* *qetunra-qa*<sub>P=S</sub>  
Wi-REL.1sg.sg. pl.n.-LNK-ALL.sg. So-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*aya-a-sq-aa*  
go-EV-A'.tell-IND.3sg.3sg.  
‘my wife is telling my son to go to Anchorage’.

- (40) [Arna-**mun**<sub>(A)</sub>      ciki-**uci-anek**      neq-**mek**<sub>(T)(P)</sub>  
 woman-ALL.sg. give-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*nallu-unga.*  
 not.know-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I don’t know if the woman gives fish.’
- (41) *Quya-unga*      [ikayu-**uci-mnek**      elpe-**ñun**<sub>(A)</sub>]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 thankful-IND.1sg. help-VNnm-ABM.1sg.sg. 2sg.-ALL  
 ‘I am thankful that you (sg.) are helping me [P].’  
 – nominalization-internal P argument is expressed by the person inflection (‘1sg.’), but not by a full NP.
- (42) *Aata-ma*<sub>A</sub>      apt-**aanga**      [tan’gurrar-**nun**<sub>(A)</sub>      angyaq<sub>P</sub>  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. ask-IND.3sg.1sg. boy-ALL.pl. boat.ABS.sg.  
*atu-llr-atnek / atu-llru-ci-atnek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 use-(PST-)VNnm-ABM.3pl.sg.  
 ‘My father asked me [R] whether the boys are using the boat.’

ii) Filling a P or T argument slot of the main-clause (transitive) predicate:

- (43) [Arna-**mun**<sub>(A)</sub>      arrsak<sub>R</sub>      ciki-**uci-a**]<sub>P</sub>  
 woman-ALL.sg. needy.ABS.sg. give-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nallu-aqa.*  
 not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I [A] don’t know if/that the woman gave (s.t.) to the poor person.’  
 – The P slot can be filled with genitivized R argument or S (antipassive) argument:
- cf. a. *arssi-i-m*<sub>G=R</sub>      ciki-**uci-a**  
 needy-EV-REL.sg. give-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘that the poor person was given’ – cf. (20)
- b. *arna-m*<sub>G=S</sub>      arrsag-**mek**<sub>(R)</sub>      ciki-**qeng-uci-a**  
 woman-REL.sg. needy-ABM.sg. give-APS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘that the woman gives (s.t.) to the poor person’.
- (44) [Aata-**mnun**<sub>(A)</sub>      nere-llru-**ci-a**      akuta-**mek**<sub>(P)</sub>]<sub>T</sub>  
 Fa-ALL.1sg.sg. eat-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
*apy-utke-llru-a.*  
 ask-VVsm-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He asked (s.o.) if my father ate ice cream.’

- (45) [Kass'a-**mun**<sub>(A)</sub>      ene-li-llr-uci-at  
 white.man-ALL.sg. house-make.for-PST-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 Nuk'a-nku-t<sub>P</sub>]P      nallu-aqa.  
 p.n.-family-REL.pl. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I don't know if/when the white man made a house for the Nuk'aq family.'  
 – note *Nuk'a-ku-t* in the relative case (cf. (6b) *ner-uci-a* 'eating of it'/'his eating?') and compare with:
- cf. Kass'a-**m**<sub>A</sub>      ene-li-llru-i  
 white.man-REL.sg. house-make.for-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 Nuk'a-nku-t<sub>P</sub>.  
 p.n.-family-ABS.pl.  
 'The white man made a house for the Nuk'aq family.'
- (46) *Apte-llru-aqa*      [atur-yugnga-**ci-mnek**  
 ask-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. use-can-VNnm-ABM.1sg.sg.  
*cali-ssuuti-i*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 work-means-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'I asked him if I could use his tool.' [EA]  
 – nominalization-internal A argument (user of tool) is expressed by the person inflection (1sg.) instead of an allative-case NP.

### 1.3. With no person inflection

The three nominalizers  $|-t\dot{y}-|$ ,  $|(u)ci\dot{y}-|$ , and  $|+_1ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$ , if appearing with no person inflection, are more or less interchangeable with  $|-n\dot{y}-|$ .

i)  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  vs.  $|+_1ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$ : The former concerns generality (abstract, continual, habitual, established), and in this respect,  $|+_1ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$  is somewhat closer to the other nominalizers.

- (47) *Arna-u-neqs*      *pinial-liq-narqe-lar-tuq*.  
 woman-be-VNnm-ABS.sg. weak-suffer-cause-CUS-IND.3sg.  
 'Being a woman tends to make one suffer from weakness; being a woman causes one to have weakness.' [EM]

Despite the non-inflection of  $|-n\dot{y}-|$ , there is a person-inflected *arna-u-nr-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.), which does not mean 'her being a woman', but 'his older sister' to be explained as a comparative nominal (§ 18.3.2).

- (48) [*Naaq-i-neq*  $\hat{=}$  *Naaq-i-yaraq* *Bible-aa-nek*]<sub>P</sub> *tengruk-aqa.*  
 read-APS-VNnm-ABS.sg. B.-LNK-ABM.pl. eager-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am eager to read the Bible.’  
 – with possible substitution with *naaq-i-lleq*.
- (49) a. *Taangiq-neq*<sub>P</sub>  $\hat{=}$  *taangiq-saraq*<sub>P</sub> *pegt-aqa.*  
 drink-VNnm.ABS.sg. drop-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I’m through with the drinking.’
- b. [*Cali-neq*  $\hat{=}$  *Cali-yaraq* *ma-kuci-mek*]<sub>P</sub> *qessak-aqa.*  
 work-VNnm.ABS.sg. this-kind-ABM.sg. lazy-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t like this kind of working (working itself).’  
 – § 18.2.1.3 for *-kuci-*.

ii)  $|+I\dot{y}-|$  vs.  $|-n\dot{y}-|$ : The example (a) below has the common implication of the speaker’s experience (e.g. now actually drinking or has done), though otherwise it is almost equivalent to and interchangeable with (b), except for some difference as given in the translations, e.g. drinking in general (whoever the drinker is) for (b):

- (50) a. [*Eme-lleq* / *Me-ll’eq* *unuaku-mi*]<sub>P</sub> *assiilk-aqa.*  
 drink-VNnm.ABS.sg. morning-LOC.sg. not.like-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t like to drink in the morning.’
- b. [*Eme-neq* / *Me-n’eq* *unuaku-mi*]<sub>P</sub> *assiilk-aqa.*  
 drink-VNnm.ABS.sg. morning-LOC.sg. not.like-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t like drinking in the morning.’  
 – see § 3.6.4 for the two orthographies concerning  $|im\dot{y}-|$  ‘to drink’.

It is interesting to note the similar difference as in English between *I hate lying* (the vice in general) versus *I hate to lie* (myself, in this particular case). Here *emer-yaraq*, by contrast, would mean ‘the manner in which people drink (in the morning).’

The generality vs. particularity difference – more abstract vs. more concrete or non-actualized vs. actualized – seems to be also the case with the following, in which two nominal clauses with different nominalizers form a coordinate sentence, with the second accompanied by the adverbial adjunct:

- (51) *Taanga-neq*<sub>S</sub> *ca-nric-aaq-uq* *taugaam*  
 drink-VNnm.ABS.sg. something-NEG-but-IND.3sg. but  
 [*taanga-lleq* *unuaqu-aqa*]<sub>S</sub>  
 drink-VNnm.ABS.sg. tomorrow-CNN.wn.3sg.  
*atawa-u-nrit-uq.*  
 blessing-be-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Drinking is fine (lit. is nothing), but drinking daily (lit. whenever it is tomorrow) is not good.’

Otherwise, without person inflection, the nominalizer  $|-t\dot{y}-|$  may be interchangeable with the abstract nominalizer  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  yielding little difference:

- (52) [Cuka-luni atu-**llec**  $\rightleftharpoons$  atu-**neq**]<sub>S</sub> assiit-**uq** / capernarq-**uq**.  
 fast-APP.3Rsg. sing-VNnm.ABS.sg. not.good / difficult-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Singing fast is not good / it is difficult to sing fast.’

iii)  $|-t\dot{y}-|$  vs.  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$ : imply more of personal experience as in the following compared with (49b) just above:

- (53) [Cali-**llec**  $\rightleftharpoons$  Cali-**ciq** ma-kuci-**mek**]<sub>P</sub> qessak-**aqa**.  
 work-VNnm.ABS.sg. this-kind-ABM.sg. lazy-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am disinclined toward (don’t like) this kind of working (as my experience).’

It is thus more common than not that these two nominalizers – though  $|-t\dot{y}-|$  perhaps more so than  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  – occur with person inflections and other specifications (e.g. aspect), like *cali-l-qa* / *cali-ci-qa* (ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘this kind of my work’. Likewise *taangiq-la-l-qa* (drink-CUS-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘I’m through with my habitual drinking’ for (49a).

The *pi-ciq* in (a) in the following example can be replaced by *pi-llec* in (b), without substantial difference. But, if some particular information (e.g. ‘as established in our place’) were added, as in (b), the latter suffix would sound more appropriate.

- (54) a. [Tua-ten pi-**ciq**]<sub>S</sub> asiit-**uq**.  
 there-EQL do-VNnm.ABS.sg. bad-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Doing that way (that way of acting/being/behaving) is not good.’  
 b. [Tua-ten pi-**llec** kingune-**mteni**]<sub>S</sub> asiit-**uq**.  
 there-EQL do-VNnm.ABS.sg. home-LOC.1pl.sg. bad-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Doing that way *back home* (i.e. *in our home*) is not good.’

Semantically conditioned, the two nominalizers  $|-t\dot{y}-|$  and  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  may be relevant to tense-aspect difference, perfective vs. non-perfective. As a matter of fact, some speakers may use  $|-t\dot{y}u-ci\dot{y}-|$  (PST-VNnm) for the former  $|-t\dot{y}-|$ .

#### 1.4. Elaborations of nominal clauses

Elaboration of a nominalization is made through adding to the verb stem various verb categories means of VV suffixes, by limited nominal elaboration by means of NN suffixes, and by a subordinate or a cosubordinate clause.





- (58) [Na-ni-qapiar            kuvya-llru-ci-a  
 where-LOC-ITS            net-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 May'a-m<sub>G=S</sub>]p            nallu-aqa.  
 p.n.-REL.sg.            not.know-IND.1sg.sg.  
 'I do not know exactly where May'aq drift-netted.'
- (59) Aka-urt-uq            [ma-a-nte-nge-l-qa  
 old-become-IND.3sg.    this-EX-be.at-INC-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 kiime-nii ≐            kii-ma]s.  
 be.alone-APP.1sg.    alone-CNNst.1sg.  
 'It is a long time since I started living here by myself, lit., my starting to stay here by myself is now a long time.' – with appositional or stative-connective adnominal adjunct (§ 16.6).
- (60) Nalluyagut-aqa    [qangvaq elicar-i-nge-llru-ci-qa]p.  
 forget-IND.1sg.3sg. when.PST study-APS-INC-PST-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 'I forgot when I started teaching.'  
 – some speakers may prefer VNnm *-llr-* to *-llru-ci(r)-*.
- (61) aya-kata-l-qa<sub>p</sub>            nall'arr-luku            (iter-tuq)  
 go-IMN-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.    hit-APP.3sg.            enter-IND.3sg.  
 'at (lit. he hitting) the time of my being about to leave (he came in)'  
 – nominal clause in P function for the cosubordinate clause.
- (62) [Tupa-karraa-lleq            unuaku-mi]s  
 wake.up-right.after-VNnm-ABS.sg.    morning-LOC.sg.  
 kuuvviar-yug-narq-uq.  
 drink.coffee-DES-NEC-IND.3sg.  
 i. '[The act of the first] waking up in the morning causes one to want coffee.'  
 ii. 'The one first to awaken in the morning may want coffee.'
- (63) angut-ngu-ngua-lngu-nge-l-qa<sub>s</sub>  
 man-be-pretend-tired-INC-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 (ak'a-urt-uq)  
 long.time-become-IND.3sg.  
 '(it has been a long time since) I began getting tired of behaving like a man, got tired of pretending to be a man'.<sup>2</sup>

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2. This is a sentence uttered by one consultant who, having lost her husband many years before, had to support her family by working hard like a man (fishing, hunting, getting/cutting woods, and so on). There is, however, another very common context in Yupik life where a young girl whose namesake is a boy is supposed to

*modality and evidentiality*, |+<sub>1</sub>caay̆-| ‘but, actually’, |-*lini*-| ‘now found, realized’, etc.:

- (64) a. *Nallu-aqa* *tai-garkau-ci-a<sub>p</sub>*  
not.know-IND.1sg.3sg. come-should-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
b. *Nallu-unga* *tai-garkau-ci-ane<sub>k(p)</sub>*  
not.know-IND.1sg. come-should-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
‘I don’t know that/when he is supposed to come.’

These suffixes (e.g. future, probability) may not stand before the nominalizer |-*iy̆*-|: \**maa-nc-iiqe-l-qa* ‘that I will be here’, \**maa-nc-ugnarqe-l-qa* ‘that I will probably be here’, etc.

- (65) *ner-yug-narqe-llr-a* ‘its being good to eat, its causing (someone) to eat’  
*pi-li-yug-yaaq-lleq* ‘wanting/desire to make (but not actualized)’.
- (66) *nulir-qe-qatar-yaaqe-llr-an*  
wife-have.as-IMN-CTR-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
‘his getting married to her (almost but not actually)’.
- (67) *Ma-n’a* *Yupi-u-luta*  
this-EX.ABS.sg. Y.-be-APP.1pl.  
[*ciulia-mta<sub>G</sub>* *picir-yara-a*]<sub>s</sub>  
ancestor-REL.1pl.sg. tradition-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*ca-u-nril-le-k-sunaic-aaq-uci-a*.  
some-be-NEG-VNnm-have.as-not.tend-CTR-VNnm-ABS.sg.  
‘That is the reason why we Yupiit should not think that the way our ancestors lived was not something to be proud of.’ [QQLK 344–345]  
– note the adnominal appositional *Yupi-u-luta*, modifying the first person *-mta* (§ 16.6.1).
- (68) a. *Qaya-li-sciigat-lini-ci-a<sub>p</sub>*  
kayak-make-cannot-EVD-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*taringe-sciigat-aqa*.  
understand-cannot-IND.1sg.  
‘I cannot understand how (I found, definitely) he cannot make a kayak.’  
b. *angayuqa-mta<sub>G</sub>* *pici-u-lria-mek*  
parent-REL.1pl.sg. truth-be-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
*qanrute-llru-llini-llr-a*  
tell-PST-EVD-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
‘(we will start being grateful) that our parents told us the truth’.  
[QQLK 344–345]

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behave and look like a boy (especially in clothes and hair styles), a pretended action of which she has grown tired – cf. § 20-fn.1 for *-ngua(r)*- in Yupik culture.

*negatives:*

- (69) a. *pi-nrit-leq*  $\cong$  *pi-nrit-neq*  
 ‘not doing anything, fact of doing nothing’  
*pi-nrit-llr-a* (\**pi-nrite-nr-a*)  
 ‘his not doing (something)’  
 b. *ca-nrit-llr-a*  
 ‘the way it was nothing; her/his/its well being’  
*cali-nrite-ll-ma<sub>A</sub>* *pi-a-nga*  
 work-NEG-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg. do-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘the fact that I did not work is affecting me’ [EM]
- (70) a. *taangiq-suit-lleq*  $\cong$  *taangiq-suit-neq* ‘not getting drunk’ – |*-cuit-*|  
*taanga-yuit-leq* ‘never to drink, no drinking at all’  
 b. *taanga-yuirut-leq* ‘to drink no longer’ – |*-cuiyuc-*|  
*taanga-yuiruy-uci-a* ‘his not drinking any more’.
- (71) *Maa-nc-uumite-l-qa<sub>P</sub>* *nallu-a.*  
 this-EX-be.at-DES.NEG-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. not.know-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He doesn’t know that I do not care to be here.’  
 cf. *maa-nte-l-qa* ‘he does not know that I am here’  
 this-EX-be.at-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.
- (72) *Qayar-pa-li-sciigal-uci-n<sub>P</sub>*  
 kayak-big-make-cannot-VNnm-ABS.2sg.sg.  
*nallunai-ger-ru.*  
 explain-POL-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Please explain the (reason why) you (sg.) cannot make a big kayak.’
- (73) *Niit-aqa* [*tengsuut-e-m<sub>S</sub>*  
 hear-IND.1sg.3sg. airplane-EV-REL.sg.  
*tekite-ksail-uci-a*]<sub>P</sub>.  
 arrive-not.yet-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘I heard that the plane has not arrived yet.’
- (74) *Kuingir-ngaite-l-qa<sub>P</sub>* *maligtaqu-nrit-aqa.*  
 smoke-will.not-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. follow-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I do not follow (the rule) that I should not smoke.’

ii) *Valency modification* (VVsm; § 39):

- (75) a. *qaillun* *atr-an<sub>G=P</sub>* *iga-uma-ci-a*  
 how name-REL.3sg.sg. write-PSV-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘how his name is written’

- b. *kemg-e-m<sub>G=P</sub>*                      *ner-uma-ci-a*  
 meat-EV-REL.sg.    eat-PSV-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘that the meat has been eaten’.
- (76)    *ila-k-uy-ucir-put*  
 relative-have.as-E<sub>APL</sub>-VNnm-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘that we are related, our being related’  
 cf. *ila-k-ut-arput* (IND.1pl.3sg.) ‘we are related to him’.
- iii) *Complex-transitive clauses* (VVcm; § 40) – a morphological comple-  
 mentation: Except for [+ni-], complex transitives are patientive and so nominal-  
 ization is typically found with antipassivized forms.
- (77) a. *ayag-ni-llr-a*  
 go-A'.say-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘his saying that he himself or another has gone’  
 b. *Ayag-ciq-ni-llr-a<sub>p</sub>*    *nallu-aqa.*  
 leave-FUT-A'.say-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.    not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know whether he said he (himself) will leave.’
- (78)    [*Aya-a-sq-i-llr-a*    *yug-nek<sub>(p)</sub>]<sub>s</sub>*  
 leave-EV-A'.ask-APS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.    person-ABM.pl.  
*canganarq-uq.*  
 objectionable-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His telling the people to leave is considered odd.’  
 cf. *aya-a-sq-ai* (IND.3sg.3pl.) *yu-u-t<sub>p</sub>* (EV-ABS.pl.)  
 ‘he told the people to leave’.
- (79)    [*Elpet kass 'a-mi*],    *assiiilke-llini-an*  
 2<sup>nd</sup>.sg.    white.man-LOC.sg.                      like-EVD-IND.2sg.3sg.  
*tup-mek*    *nere-sqe-lleq<sub>p</sub>.*  
 fish.head-ABM.sg.    eat-A'.ask-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 ‘(I now see) you (sg.) white man do not like to be asked to eat fer-  
 mented fish head.’
- (80)    *qaya-cuara-li-yu-kapigg-ni-llr-a*  
 kayak-small-make-DES-ITS-A'.say-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘his saying that he (himself) wanted to make a small kayak (for  
 someone) very much’  
 – with relative clause reading also.

As above, a nominal clause may occur with a highly synthetic or ‘heavy’ stem involving various verbal elaboration suffixes, i.e. VV, VVsm, VVcm.

## 1.4.2. Further expansions

Further expansion of a nominalization by its following suffixation is extremely limited. Apart from the future  $|+ka\dot{y}-|$  which is responsible for the two composite nominalizers  $|-t\dot{y}ka\dot{y}-|$  and  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}ka\dot{y}-|$  (as given in Table 13), hardly any nominal elaborating suffixes stand after a nominalization VNnm.

There are a small number of NV which stand after a nominalization, yielding composite suffixes (VV < VNnm-NV), most of which are largely grammaticalized or fixed grammatical markers.

The nominalization suffixes  $|-t\dot{y}-|$ ,  $|-n\dot{y}-|$ ,  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$ ,  $|+_1ca\dot{y}ait-|$  are followed by two kinds of NV suffixes:

- (81) a. relational verbs (intransitive) NVrv  $|+\eta u-|$  and (transitive)  $|-ki-|$  and their corresponding inchoative versions  $|+\eta u-\dot{y}c-|$  and  $|-k-sa\dot{y}uc-|$  – § 37  
 b. privative NV  $|-jit-|$  – § 11.2.3.2, § 38.1.

– which have yielded the following two groups of composite suffixes, all of which are very common and basic grammatical markers in CAY:

- (82) *intransitive / transitive*  
 $|-t\dot{y}u-|$  /  $|-lqi-|$ \* past tense marker ‘-ed’ (§ 42.1)  
 $|-n\dot{y}u-|$  /  $|-nqi-|$  comparative index ‘to be more’ (§ 45.1)  
 $(|+_1ta-|)$  /  $|+_1tat(i)ki-|$ \*\* equalitive ‘to be as – as’ (§ 45.6)  
 $|+(u)ciu-|$  /  $|+(u)ciqi-|$  similitive ‘to be like’ (§ 18.2.1.3)  
 $|+_1ca\dot{y}au-|$  /  $|+_1ca\dot{y}aqi-|$  ‘to be the time/route for’ (§ 18.2.3).

\* the intransitive vs. transitive contrast is only retained in HBC (elsewhere the first covers both).

\*\*  $|t(i)|$  reflects VNrl  $|+(u)t-|$ .

- (83) a.  $|-n\dot{y}it-|$  general negator ‘not’ (§ 44)  
 $|-n(i)\dot{y}it-|$  comparative negative ‘to have no (other) than’ (§ 45.5)  
 $|+(u)ciit-|$ , etc. ignorative ‘uncertain, not being known’ (§ 40.2.5)  
 $|+_1ca\dot{y}ait-|$  ‘not to do/cannot do any further’ (§ 18.2.3)  
 b.  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}ki-|$  <  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}ka\dot{y}-li-|$  ‘to make it a rule to’ (§ 18.2.1.2).

– (b) is a rather rare composition where a verbalizing suffix (|-li-| ‘to make’) other than a relational or a privative one is involved, as illustrated in (111).

While some are not necessarily fixed, many of these composite suffixes behave like single grammatical markers (VVt, VVn, VVc, VVcm in particular). The nominalizers |-ṭỵ-|, |-ṇỵ-|, and |+(u)ciỵ-|, with person and case (oblique) inflection, have diachronically contributed to the contemporative-connective mood marker (‘when’; § 50.8) and some of the quasi-connective mood markers (‘until’, ‘after’, ‘since’, ‘as soon as’, ‘whether’; § 50.11).

In addition, the nominalizers also occur in much less fixed composition, more along the lines of incidental suffix sequences with one of the two kinds of suffixes (relational and negative), and they are responsible, together with relativizers, for morphological reverbalsizations or transcategorical changes characteristic of the language (§ 17.8.1). As such, these are more of synchronical derivation than diachronical (above).

#### 1.4.3. Subordination and cosubordination to a nominalization

A nominalization may contain a subordinate (adverbial) clause in the connective mood and a cosubordinate clause in the appositional mood (incl. a non-restrictive adnominal verb), as well as an adverbial adjunct (e.g. ‘[I like] the way my mother sings *at church / in the morning*, etc.’ for [4]).

- (84) [*Cali-vaka-ama*                      *mernu-qapigte-ll-ma*]<sub>A</sub>  
 work-hard-CNNbc.1sg.      tired-ITS-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.  
*qavarni-vkar-aanga*.  
 sleepy-A'.make-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘My great tiredness because I worked very hard has caused me to be sleepy.’
- (85) [*Cuka-luni*                      *neqe-m<sub>G=A</sub>*      *nere-llr-a*  
 do.fast-APP.3Rsg.      fish-REL.sg.      eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*ciissi-nek<sub>(p)</sub>*]<sub>P</sub>                      *anglanaq-aqa*.  
 bug-ABM.pl.                      enjoy-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I enjoy (watching) the fish eating bugs fast.’
- (86) *Qanrut-aanga*                      [*tekiy-uci-vnek / tekite-llr-penek*  
 tell-IND.3sg.1sg.      arrive-VNnm-ABM.2sg.  
*qimugte-r-luten*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 dog-have-APP.2sg.  
 ‘He told me about your arriving / how you (sg.) arrived with a dog team.’ – the second variant as a completed fact (and more of the past than the first).

## 1.5. Indirect interrogative clauses

An interrogative clause, either a content (§ 5.3.1-i) or a polar (§ 5.3.1-ii), may be nominalized into indirect questions (§ 5.3.1-vi), most frequently by the nominalizer  $|(u)ci\dot{y}(ka\dot{y})-$  (§ 18.2.1) and, perhaps less frequently, by  $|-l\dot{y}(ka\dot{y})-$  (§ 18.2.2), which is primarily in the past context. The  $|(u)ci\dot{y}-$  type predominance for this function is understandable, given its implication of uncertainty, while  $|-l\dot{y}-$  type has typically an implication of particularity and actualization and certainty. As such, the two may be interchangeable in some cases, but not in others.

The more common verbs of the main clause which co-occur with interrogative nominal clauses include:

- (87) a) secundative ditransitive  $|apic-$  ‘to ask’  
 b) bivalent  $|nalu-$  ‘not to know’  
 c) root  $|paqna-$  ‘curious, check’ expanded into (monovalent)  $paqna-$   
 $ug-$  and (bivalent)  $paqna-ke-$ .

i) *Content questions with ignorative (interrogative) words*: Examples below include  $|(u)ci\dot{y}-$  and  $|-l\dot{y}-$ , though  $|+ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-$  is attested as well.

- (88) a. *Apt-aanga* *qavci-u-ci-itnek*<sub>(T)</sub>  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg. how.many-be-VNnm-ABM.3pl.pl.  
 ‘He asks me [R] how many they are.’  
 – *qavci-u-llr-atnek* instead would imply ‘previously’
- b. *Apt-aanga* *na-tmur-ucirka-minek*<sub>(T)</sub>  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg. where-go.to-VNnm-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He asked me where he should go.’
- c. *Apte-llru-anga* *kit-u-u-cir-peñek* / *kit-u-u-ller-peñek*<sub>(T)</sub>  
 ask-PST-IND.3sg.1sg. who-EX-be-VNnm-ABM.2sg.  
 ‘He asked me who you (sg.) are.’
- (89) [*Ca-mek* *iga-uci-qa*]<sub>P</sub> *nallu-aqa*.  
 some-ABM.sg. write-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know what I am writing.’
- (90) *Nallu-nrit-an=qa* [*na-ni*  
 where-NEG-INT.2sg.3sg.=QST where-LOC  
*carayag-mek tange-llr-at*]<sub>P</sub>?  
 bear-ABM.sg. see-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘Do you know where they saw a bear/monster?’  
 cf. *tange-llr-at* replaceable with *tange-llru-ci-at* (PST-VNnm).

ii) *Polar questions without interrogative words:*

- (91) *Nallu-aqa* [ *assi-uci-a*  
not.know-IND.1sg.3sg. good-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
[ *atur-yara-m* *cukamek* ]<sub>G=S</sub>]<sub>P</sub>.  
sing-VNnm-REL.sg. fast  
'I don't know whether singing fast is good.'
- (92) [ *Aata-ka<sub>S</sub> ~ Aata-ma<sub>S</sub> aya-llru-ci-anek* ]<sub>(T)</sub>  
Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. / REL.1sg.sg. leave-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*apte-llru-anga*  
ask-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
'She asked me [R] whether my father left.'  
– the relative form *aata-ma* may be used by some speakers, but it has another reading 'my father asked me whether she left' (in A function), which is more common:
- cf. *Aata-n<sub>S</sub> ≠ qaa aya-llru-uq?* / *Aata-n<sub>S</sub> ≠ kiq*  
Fa-ABS.2sg.sg. QST leave-PST-IND.3sg. Fa-ABS.2sg.sg. QST  
*aya-llru-lli-uq.*  
leave-PST-perhaps-IND.3sg.  
'Did your (sg.) father leave?' / 'I wonder if he left.'
- (93) a. *Ukver-tua* [ *nukalpia-m<sub>G=S</sub> tange-llr-a*  
believe-IND.1sg. hunter-REL.sg. see-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*carayag-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
bear-ABM.sg.  
'I believe that the great hunter saw a bear.'
- b. *Niit-an ≠ qaa?* [ *nukalpia-m<sub>G=S</sub> tange-llr-a*  
hear-IND.2sg.3sg.≠QST hunter-REL.sg. see-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*carayag-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*]<sub>P</sub>  
bear-ABM.sg.  
'Have you (sg.) heard that the great hunter saw a bear?'  
– *tange-llr-a* has another reading (140) as a deverbal noun, 'his appearance, look'.

## 1.6. Deverbal nouns

Aside from nominal clauses, the nominalizers also yield deverbal nouns – “action nominals” in a wide sense – which inflect for case, number and even person, like common nouns. They are typically subject to be lexicalized and easily amenable to further derivation, unlike nominal clauses which are limited in this aspect. Some belong to the basic vocabulary. Some are from denominal verbs:



- (94) a. *tang-lleq* ‘view, appearance, vision’ – |*taŋx-*| ‘to see’; see § 18.2.2 for more examples  
*ken-i-lleq* ‘fireplace’ – primarily from |*kinŷ-liŷ-*| ‘fire-supply’; cf. *kenir-vik* ‘kitchen’  
*neq-li-lleq* ‘summer fishing camp for preparing fish for winter’ – |*niq(i)-li-*| ‘fish-make’  
 ≙ *neqli-vik* with VNrl |*+viŷ-*| ‘place for –ing’
- b. *ata-uciq* ‘one (numeral)’ – with stem |*ata-*| ‘to be attached’?  
*ivr-uciq* ‘waterproof (skin) boot’ – |*ivŷ-*| ‘to step into water’; see § 18.2.1 for more examples
- c. *ig-yaraq* ‘throat’ – |*iŷi-*| ‘to swallow’  
*qaner-yaraq* ‘language, word, word of advice ; speaking’ – |*qanŷ-*| ‘to speak’; see § 18.2.3 also
- d. *aipa-i-neq* ‘widow, widower’ – |*aipa(ŷ)+ŋit-*| ‘spouse-lack’  
*arna-u-neq* ‘elder sister (man’s)’ – |*aŷna+ŋu-*| ‘to be a woman’; cf. (194a) ‘being a woman’.

Unlike nominal clauses with |*-nŷ-*|, deverbal nouns with |*+<sub>1</sub>nŷ-*| may be person-inflected, as exemplified in § 18.3.1.2.

A number of place names seem also to be originally deverbal nouns.

- (95) *Tunu-neq* ‘Tununak’ (on the Nelson Island)  
 – |*tunu-c-*| ‘to turn one’s back on’  
*An-yaraq* ‘Aniak (on the Kuskokwim); lit. place to go out’  
 – |*ani-*| ‘to go out’.

## 2. Various nominalizers (VVnm)

The three nominalizers (incl. their future composite suffixes; § 18.2.1 through § 18.2.3,) can occur with or without person inflection, yielding nominal clauses or (lexicalized) deverbal nouns. They are often interchangeable with each other. The person marked, which reflects a core argument of the underlying clause, functions as a possessor for deverbalized nominal clauses.

2.1. |*+(u)ciŷ-*|, etc.

2.1.1. VVnm |*+(u)ciŷ-*|

This suffix, with initial /u/ deletion after a stem-final full vowel; see P5i.c, § 4.2.2.1-iii.b describes the way/state/condition (rather than one-time event), meaning ‘how, whether, that...’. By contrast with VVnm |*-tŷ-*| (§ 18.2.2.1), this

tends to have implication of uncertainty or non-definiteness, and to be used to make a general statement (below). As such it frequently occurs with ignoratives (§ 15) and with the verb |naļu-| ‘not to know, to be uncertain’.

Of the three nominalizers, this suffix is the most clausal, occurring with rich verbal categories and used much more commonly than |-tÿ-| for transitive nominal clauses.

i) *Phonological adjustments* – /u/ deletion after a stem-final full vowel illustrated in (a, b, c) in the following, intervocalic velar deletion (P10) in (d), final /i/ deletion (P8ii.a) in (e), and stem-final apical fricativization (P5i.c; /c/ > /z/ > /y/) in (f):

- (96) a. *pi-ci-a* ‘the way it is’  
do-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*pi-ci-atun* ‘(in) any (way)’ (EQL), cf. § 29.3
- b. *ca-miu-ngu-ci-a*  
what-inhabitant -be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
‘what part of the land he is from, his origin (village)’
- c. *yu-u-ci-a*  
person-be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
i. ‘his way of living’, ii. ‘his (dead person's) soul’  
cf. *yu-u-ci-llr-at* (PST-ABS.3pl.sg.) ‘the way they lived’
- d. *pi-la-uci-a* ‘his custom’ – cf. (a) above  
do-CUS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.
- e. *ner-ucir-put*  
eat-VNnm-ABS.1pl.sg.  
‘the way (as tradition, culture) we eat’ – |niÿi-| ‘to eat’
- f. *ilakuy-ucir-put* *ava-ken*  
related-VNnm-ABS.1pl.sg. then-ABL  
‘our being related, i.e. our unity/kinship relation, from long time’  
– |ilakuc-| ‘to be related’ is from |ila-ki-uc-| (relative-have.as-E<sub>APL</sub>).

ii) |+(u)ciÿ-| vs. |-tÿ-| – share the future variant with |+kaÿ-| (§ 18.2.1.2, § 18.2.2.2, § 20.1), as shown in Table 13, and are mutually interchangeable in many cases. However, the former may imply a longer term activity or connote uncertainty as to realization, while the latter seems to imply a completed or particular activity or fact and, according to Jacobson (1995: 380), is most likely to be used in the more northern area (such as NS, Y, and HBC):

- (97) *Nallu-nait-ug* [qai]llun *anguyi-i-m<sub>G=S</sub>*  
not.know-not.cause-IND.3sg. how war-EV-REL.sg.  
*ayagni-uci-a*]<sub>s</sub>.  
begin-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
‘It is clear how the war began.’

Some speakers volunteered that this nominal clause with *-uci-* is more likely to imply a war now under way, while *ayagni-llr-a* implies a war ‘slightly in the past’, although the two are simply alternatives without a difference for other speakers. See also § 18.1.3.

The particularity or definiteness of  $|+{}_1t\dot{y}-|$ , as opposed to  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$ , seems to lead to the use in the following (b, c), as opposed to (a) for a particular standard of comparison (‘like – ’), expressed by the equalis case NP:

- (98) a. *Ayuq-uci-ni<sub>p</sub>* *assiit-ni-a.*  
 resemble-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg. bad-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She says she doesn’t feel well; she says her (physical) state / condition is not good.’
- b. *Ayuqe-ll-ni<sub>p</sub>* *tua-ten assiit-ni-a.*  
 resemble-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg. there-EQL bad-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She says she doesn’t like her (fact of) being *like that*.’
- c. *Ayuqe-ll-ni<sub>p</sub>* *aana-mitun*  
 resemble-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg. mother-EQL.3Rsg.sg.  
*assiilke-ñi-a.*  
 dislike-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She says she doesn’t like her (fact of) looking like her mother.’

There may be some dialect difference involved concerning the two suffixes, this is not necessarily agreed upon by speakers of other areas (like Kuskokwim), however, suggesting that the difference due to dialect may need further study.

iii) *A nominal clause with  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  of uncertainty* – very often complemented into becoming a main clause with the predicate  $|natu-|$  ‘not to know’:

- (99) a. [*Carayi-i-m<sub>G=S</sub>* *yug-mek<sub>(p)</sub>* *nere-llru-ci-a*]<sub>p</sub>  
 bear-EV-REL.sg. person-ABM.sg. eat-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nallu-aqa.*  
 not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.
- b. [*Carayag-mun<sub>(A)</sub>* *yuk<sub>p</sub>* *nere-llru-ci-anek*]<sub>p</sub>  
 bear-ALL.sg. person-ABS.sg. eat-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*nallu-aqa / nallu-unga*  
 not.know-IND.1sg.3sg. / -IND.1sg.  
 ‘I don’t know whether the bear ate a/the person.’

Besides this syntactical affiliation with  $|natu-|$ , the suffix has added the unique composite suffix (ignorative complex transitive) VVcm  $|+(u)ciit-|$  ‘A’ not to know S/A do’ (§ 40.2.5) with the privative NV suffix  $|+jit-|$  ‘to lack, not to have’ to the inventory of complex transitives (there are only six kinds, all the



- (104) *nallu-nrit-nertu-ta-ci-rra-mtun*  
 not.know-NEG-HAB-as.as-VNnm-little-EQL.1sg.sg.  
*qanemci-k-qata'r-qa*  
 talk-have.as-IMN-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I shall tell as much as I know'  
 – Notably the nominalizer (VNnm) *-ci-* is followed by the NN suffix *-rra-*, which however is also the case at least with § 33(62) *ayuuq-ucir-rlugt-uq* 'he feels sick'.
- (105) [*Kuig-e-m<sub>G=S</sub>*            *iqtu-ta-ci-a*]<sub>s</sub>  
 river-EV-REL.sg.    wide-that.much-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nallu-narq-uq.*  
 not.know-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 'It is not known how wide the river is.' – cf. (103) below.

vii) *After another nominalizer:*

- (106) *uita-yara-u-ci-a* <sub>p</sub>                            *tua=i*    *Agayunr-e-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 stay-VNnm-be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.    SFL    sunday-EV-REL.3sg.  
*nutaan*    *pi-ng-luku*  
 now            do-INC-APP.3sg.  
 'they started observing the fact that Sunday [G=S] was a rest day'. [CS]

viii) *Deverbal nominals* – with more or less lexicalization:

- (107) a. *el-uciq*                            'shape, condition, nature, intelligence, consciousness' – obsolete stem |*it-*| 'to be, exist' probably in the locative verb NV |+*m(i)t-*| (§ 27.8)  
 b. *el-uci-a qikerta-m<sub>G</sub>*                    'the shape of the island' – |*qikiytay-*| 'island'.
- (108) *ayuuq-uci-a*                            'its similarity, way of being, the way / look / how it looks like' – |*ayuuqi-*| 'to resemble, be similar'.
- (109) a. *agayu-ma-ciq*                            'religion' (worship-STT-VNnm)  
           *u-u-ngu-ciq*                                'understanding' (u-u-ngu- this-EX-be)  
 b. *u-u-ngu-ciit-ua*                                'I have become confused, mixed up'  
           – complex transitive derived with the VNnm suffix, cf. (112b).

2.1.2. *VNnm* |+(u)ciy̆kaŷ-| (*future*)

Behaves the same way as *VNnm* |+(u)ciy̆-| except for the future specification by *NN* |+k\*aŷ-| (*future*).

- (110) *Kuingir-ngail-ucirka-qa<sub>p</sub>*                      *atu-nrit-aqa.*  
 smoke-will.not-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.      use-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am not following my promise/instruction not to smoke.’  
 – *VVt* |+<sub>1</sub>ŋ\*aŷ-| ‘will not’.

A nominal clause with |+(u)ciy̆kaŷ-| may be verbalized by *NV* |-li-| (‘to make’), hence *VVt* |+(u)ciy̆ki-| ‘to make it a rule to’ (§ 42.5), which is a rather rare case in which a nominalization is reverbalized by other suffixes than the negative and the relational verbs, as stated in § 18.1:

- (111) *kuingir-ngail-ucirk-i-llru-anga*  
 smoke-will.not-VNnm-make-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘she made it a rule that I should not smoke / she instructed me not to smoke’  
 cf. *kuingir-ngait-ua*                      ‘I will not smoke’  
 smoke-will.not-IND.1sg.

The nominalizer |+(u)ciy̆-| followed by the privative *NV* |+ŋit-| composes the complex transitive marker |+uciit-| ‘not to know (whether)’ (§ 18.2.1.3 just below and § 40.2.5), which is very often used as a morphological complementation in place of the syntactical complementation with bivalent verb |*natu-*| ‘not to know’ accompanied by a |+(u)ciy̆-| nominal clause, e.g. (91).

2.1.3. *Composite suffixes*

*VVcm* |+ (u)ciit-| ‘A’ not to know/not to be sure / not seem ... that/whether/wh-, ...’ (ignorative complex transitive), which is assumedly related to the possible implication of uncertainty/indefiniteness of the nominalizer |+(u)ciy̆-|. As stated in § 18.2.1.1-iii, this composite suffix yields reverbalization of |+(u)ciy̆-| which behaves as a complex transitive (§ 40.2.5).

- (112) a. *pi-ciit-aa* (do-not.know-IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he does not know it does’  
*pi-ciit-uq* (do-not.know-IND.3sg.) ‘no one knows it does’  
 b. *ca-ciit-aqa* (do.what-not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.)  
 ‘I have no idea what he is doing’  
*ca-ciit-ua* (do.what-not.know-IND.1sg.)  
 ‘I have no idea what I am doing’.

- (113) *u-u-ngu-ciit-ua*(this-EX-be-not.known-IND.1sg.)  
 ‘I am mixed up, I can’t choose’  
 cf. (109) *uu-ngu-ciq* (this.EX-be-VNnm.ABS.sg.) ‘understanding’.

This complex verb is equivalent to the construction of *|natu-|* ‘not to know’ with a nominal clause. As such it may occur with both transitive and intransitive inflection. Two types of a complex transitive with different demotions – (a) type 1 and (b) type 2 – are given together with their detransitivized construction (c) with A demotion. Compare (99) and (100) with the following:

- (114) a. *Carayak*<sub>p=s</sub> *yug-mek*<sub>(p)</sub> *nere-llru-ciit-aqa*.  
 bear.ABS.sg. person-ABM.sg. eat-PST-A'.not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know / am not certain whether the bear ate a person (probably it did not).’  
 b. *Carayag-mun*<sub>(A)</sub> *yuk*<sub>p</sub> *nere-llru-ciit-aqa*.  
 bear-ALL.sg. person.ABS.sg. eat-PST-A'.not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know whether the bear ate the person.’  
 c. *Carayak*<sub>s</sub> *yug-mek*<sub>(p)</sub> *nere-llru-ciit-uq*.  
 bear.ABS.sg. person-ABM.sg. eat-PST-A'.not.know-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The bear is not known to have eaten a person; it is not known (to the speaker) whether the bear ate person.’
- (115) *Ca-mek* *naaq-i-ciit-aqa*.  
 what-ABM.sg. read-APS-A'.not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know what he is reading (e.g. absent-mindedly).’

The periphrastic *|natu-|* construction ‘not to know (if)’ and the morphologized (ignorative) complex transitive *|-uciit-|* construction ‘A not to know’ may have some semantic difference:

- (116) a. *Iga-uciit-ua* *ca-mek*<sub>(p)</sub>.  
 write-A'.not.known-IND.1sg. some-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I don’t know what [ignorative] I am writing about (possibly absent-mindedly).’  
 b. [*Ca-mek*<sub>(p)</sub> *iga-uci-qa*]<sub>p</sub> *nallu-aqa*.  
 some-ABM.sg. write-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know what I am writing.’

*In the set phrases:* The neutral verb *|pi-|* ‘to do, cause’ occurs very often in sets with VNnm *|+(u)ciy-|*:

- (117) a. [**Ca<sub>p</sub>**                    **pi-cii-naku**]                    *u-na<sub>s</sub>*  
 what.ABS.sg. do-A'.not.known-APP.3sg.                    this-EX.ABS.sg.  
*qenert-uq.*  
 angry-IND.3sg.  
 'He (this person here) is angry for no apparent reason.'  
 – an intransitive clause like (b) may also be used, though it may sound a little odd to some speakers:
- b. [**Ca-mek** <sub>(p)</sub>                    **pi-cii-nani**]                    *u-na<sub>s</sub>*  
 what-ABM.sg. do-A'.not.known-APP.3Rsg.                    this-EX.ABS.sg.  
*qenert-uq.*  
 angry-IND.3sg.  
 'He (this person here) is angry, not knowing anything (what is the cause).'  
 – compare respectively with transitive *pi-ciit-aa* and intransitive *pi-ciit-uq* in (112a).

More examples in § 40.2.5.

The privative suffix NV |+*ɲit*-| as occurring in |+*uciiit*-| is also found in the general negator VVn |-*ɲiit*-| 'not' (§ 44) with abstract nominalizer VNnm |-*ɲi*-|. It also forms a composite with |-*ɲi*-| (thus \*|-*ɲiit*-|) and |+*(u)ciy*-| also occurs in parallel compositions with the privative NV |+*ɲiɲuc*-| 'to have N deprived and |+*ɲiɲuc*-| 'not to have any longer' (§ 38.1) – see § 40.2.5.1 also for the following composite suffixes.

VVcm |+*(u)ciy<sup>h</sup>kait*-| 'A' not to know whether /wh- / that will ...' – future ignorative (§ 18.2.1.2) followed by the privative as in |+*(u)ciit*-|.

- (118) *Camek* <sub>(p)</sub>                    *ner-ucirkait-ua.*  
 what-ABM.sg.                    eat-A'.not.know.FUT-IND.1sg.  
 'I do not know what to eat.'
- (119) *Qaillun ca-cirkaic-ar-tua* ~ *pi-cirkaic-ar-tua*                    [*ene-ka<sub>s</sub>*  
 how do-A'.not.know.FUT-would-IND.1sg.                    house-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*im-kan*]  
 collapse-CNNif.3sg.  
 'I wouldn't know what/how to do if my house collapses.'  
 – See § 50.6 for non-actuality (hypothetical/imaginative) |+*caɲ*-|.

VVcm |+*(u)ciiy*-| 'now not to know, to be now confused' – cf. (113) above.

- (120) *u-u-ngu-ciir-tua*                    'I have become mixed up, confused'  
 this-EX-be-not.known.INC-IND.1sg.



VVcm |+(u)ciiyut-| ‘not to know any longer, to get confused’.

- (121) *u-u-ngu-ciirut-aqa* *ca-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 this-EX-be-no.more.known -IND.1sg.3sg. some-ABM.sg.  
*iga-uci-qa*<sub>P</sub>  
 write-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I don’t know any longer what I am writing’.
- (122) *Nat-mun aya-uciirut-ukut.*  
 where-ALL go-no.more.known-IND.1pl.  
 ‘We are getting much confused about where we go.’

The future ignorative may also be followed by the privative parallel to |+(u)ciit-|.

Aside from these composite suffixes, which are highly productive, there are a number of more or less fixed suffix combinations with relational verbs (transitive) |-<sub>1</sub>ki-| and (intransitive) |+<sub>1</sub>ju-|.

VNV |+(u)ci-qi-| / |+(u)ci-u-| ‘it is like, always –ing, in that state, ...’

- (123) *Ayuq-uci-q-aat* *tua-ten* [ak’a  
 similar-VNnm-have.as-IND.3pl.3sg. there-EQL long.time  
*tama-a-ni Yupi-u-yara-lleq*<sub>P</sub>.  
 that-EX-LOC Y.-be-VNnm-PST.ABS.sg.  
 ‘That is the way (of being) how the Yupik were a long time ago.’
- (124) [Mat’-u-m *ceña-m*]<sub>A</sub> / [Tau-m *angut-e-m*]<sub>A</sub>  
 this-EX-REL.sg. shore-REL.sg. that-REL.sg. man-EV-REL.sg.  
*ayuq-uci-q-aa*  
 similar-VNnm-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg  
 ‘This shore is always like that (i.e. unchanged).’ / ‘That man is always like that (e.g. working hard).’
- (125) *Pi-ci-u-nrit-uq* *umyua-mni.*  
 do-VNnm-be-NEG-IND.3sg. mind-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘It is not a reality or truth in my mind.’
- (126) *Ayuq-uci-u-guq* *tua-tun*  
 ‘similar-VNnm-be-IND.3sg. there-EQL  
*akute-lleq*<sub>S</sub>.  
 make.ice.cream-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 ‘That’s the way of making *akutaq*.’

The following NN suffix appears to be a fixed composite suffix, although it is hard (for me) to determine what is the first element and whether it is analyzed with relational NVrv  $|-k(i)-|$  (or NN plural  $|-ku-|$ ).

NN  $|-kuciy-|$  ‘one of the same kind.’

- (127) *Alla-kuci-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *pi-k-aa*.  
 different-kind-REL.sg.      thing-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg  
 ‘It belongs to something different; it is a different type.’  
 – *Alla-m* without the suffix can also be used without much difference.
- (128) *Angya-kuci-vnek* <sup>(P)</sup>                      *kipuc-iiq-ua*.  
 boat-kind-ABM.2sg.sg.      buy-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I’ll buy a boat of the same kind as yours.’  
 – compare with an alternative phrasal expression:  
 cf. [*Angyar-pecetun*      *ayuqe-llria-mek*] <sup>(P)</sup>                      *kipuc-iiq-ua*.  
 boat-EQL.2sg.sg.      resemble-VNrl-ABM.sg.      buy-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I’ll buy one that is like your boat.’  
 – see § 29.1 for the equalis case.
- (129) *Kina-kuci-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *cikir-aanga*.  
 who-kind-REL.sg.      give-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘Someone (whoever it is) gave something [(T)] to me [R].’ (avoiding explicit mention of the giver).
- (130) *Ca-kuci-mek*                      *ene-ngqer-cit?*  
 what-kind-ABM.sg.      house-have-INT.2sg.  
 ‘What kind of house do you (sg.) have?’

The composite suffix may also be followed by the intransitive relational verb:

- (131) *ca-kuci-u-gat*  
 what-kind-be-INT.3pl.  
 ‘what kind are they?’

The suffix may follow a demonstrative root (§ 12). It would be possible, or at least conceivable, that the  $|ku|$  in the composite may represent the same plural expander for nominal demonstratives (as in ABS/REL.pl *ma-ku-t* ‘these ones’).

- (132) a. *ma-kuciq*                      ‘this kind of thing’ (ABS.sg.)  
*ma-kuci-t / ma-kuci-nek*      ‘this kind of things’ (ABS/REL.pl. /  
 AMB.pl.); e.g. (49b), (53)

- b. *im-kuciq* ‘that kind of thing (something whose name is forgotten)’ – anaphoric.

The composite suffix is attested with further expansion:

- (133) *tama-kucir-taq* ‘something pertaining to that kind of thing’  
– see § 20.1.2 for NN |+*taŷ*-| ‘one belonging’.

A parallel constitution of this composite suffix may be NN |-*kutay*-| ‘means, something used as’ with |+*(u)taŷ*-| ‘means’ (§ 17.6.2-iii).

## 2.2. |-*tŷ*-|, etc.

These produce a nominal clause that typically describes a realized, experienced, or individualized event or fact (‘the act of –ing’, the time of ‘that’, ...), generally with the connotation that something has already happened or is now happening (and, accordingly, not compatible with uncertainty), as contrasted with the other two VVnm suffixes (§ 18.2.1 and § 18.2.3), which are time-wise neutral. The second one again has the NN |+*k\*aŷ*-| (§ 20.1.1) added to the first for future specification.

### 2.2.1. VVnm |-*tŷ*-|

The suffix is phonologically identical with the relative clause marker (VVrI), as illustrated below in iv) and v). The two functions of the same form are reminiscent of the English *that* (conjunction and relative clause) with multifunctionality.

i) *No person inflection* – well-illustrated later:

- (134) [*Unug-nek ellalli-ileq*]<sub>s</sub> *taq’-uq*.  
night-ABL rain-VVnm.ABS.sg. finish-IND.3sg.  
‘The raining since last night stopped.’ – |*italiŷ*-| ‘to rain’.

ii) *Person-inflected*:

- (135) a. *nere-l-qa*<sub>s</sub> *cuka-it-uq*  
eat-VVnm-ABS.1sg.sg. fast-PRV-IND.3sg.  
‘I eat slowly (lit. my eating is slow)’  
b. *elitnaur-i-l-qa* *elitnaurvig-mi*  
teach-APS-VVnm-ABS.1sg.sg. school-LOC.sg.  
‘the time I taught at school’.

- (136) *Aka-urt-uq* *kia-llr-a<sub>S</sub>*.  
 long.time-become-IND.3sg. become.summer-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘It’s been a long time since it (weather) turned into summer.’
- (137) [*Cuka-luten atu-llr-e-n*]<sub>S</sub> *assiit-uq*.  
 fast-APP.2sg. sing-VNnm-EV-ABS.2sg.sg. bad-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Your (sg.) singing fast (already done) is not good.’
- (138) [*Iqva-llr-ata<sub>G</sub>* *tan’gerpag-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 pick.berry-VNnm-REL.3pl.sg. black.berry-ABM.pl.  
*nuni-i*]<sub>S</sub> *can-lir-tuq*.  
 land-ABS.3sg.sg. grass-provided-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The place they picked blackberries is grassy.’

iii) *Deverbal nouns*:

- (139) *naspaa-llaq* ‘taste (sense); act of tasting’ – |*naspaa-*| ‘to taste, sample’  
*tang-llaq* ‘view, appearance’ – |*tang-*| ‘to see’  
*tange-l-qa* ‘my vision’  
 – all being read as relative clauses as well (‘one who tasted’, ‘one who saw’, ‘what I saw’).
- (140) *Tange-llr-a<sub>S</sub>* *allaka-urt-uq*  
 see-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. different-become-IND.3sg.  
*allragni-mi*.  
 last.year-LOC.sg.  
 ‘His appearance/look became different from last year.’

iv) *Homonymy with relative clause*: The nominalizer |*-lɣ-*| is phonologically identical with the preterite relativizer (§ 17.3), thereby ambiguity of (a) nominal and (b) relative clause below. In syntactic composition, however, both are attributive phrases:

- (141) *arna-m<sub>G</sub>* *aya-ute-llr-a*  
 a. woman-REL.sg. go-E<sub>APL</sub>-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the woman’s taking (s.t.) away’  
 b. woman-REL.sg. go-E<sub>APL</sub>-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the one whom the woman took away’.
- (142) *yu-u-m<sub>G</sub>* *nere-llr-a*  
 a. person-EV-REL.sg. eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 i. ‘person’s eating (s.t.), that the person ate (s.t.)’  
 ii. ‘eating of a person’ – cf. (6b)

- b. person-EV-REL.sg. eat-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
‘what the person ate’.

Compare with nominalization (14b) *nuna-ke-llr-a*:

- (143) *Anchorage-aaq / angun*                      *nuna-ke-llr-a*  
pl.n.-LNK.ABS.sg. / man.ABS.sg.    land-have.as-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
‘Anchorage where she lives / the man who she lives with’.

Again (a) nominal vs. (b) relative clauses, which have different nominal inflections but substantially mean the same:

- (144) a. [*qava-llr-ata*<sub>G=S</sub>                      (*nuni-i*)<sub>S</sub>                      *can-lir-tuq*  
sleep-VNm-REL.3pl.sg.    land-ABS.3sg.sg.    grass-supplied-IND.3sg.  
‘the area (where) they slept (lit. their sleeping’s area) is grassy’  
b. [*qava-llr-at*                      (*nuna*)<sub>S</sub>                      *can-lir-tuq*  
sleep-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.    land.ABS.sg.    grass-supplied-IND.3sg.  
‘the area (where) they slept (lit. the area, one they slept) is grassy’.

The NP *nuni-i / nuna* for ‘land’, which does not have to be explicit as it is self-explanatory, forms an attributive phrase in (a) but an appositive phrase in (b); some speakers, however, prefer *qavar-vi-llr-at* (sleep-VNrl-PST-ABS.3pl.sg.) to (b).

Because of the homonymy with relative clause  $|-t\dot{y}-|$ , it may be difficult to determine which function is involved in the following derivatives with *-lleg*, though the derivation certainly shows the  $/V-l/$  deletion (§ 38.3):

- (145) a. *up’nerk-i-lleg* ‘spring camp’ – *up’nerkaq* ‘spring’  
*uks-i-lleg* ‘winter village’ – *uksuq* ‘winter’  
*uksu-i-lleg* ‘fall camp’ – *uksuaq* ‘fall’, *uksu-i-tu-ut* ‘they had fall camps’ [PAIT 190], with NV  $|-li-$  and VVt  $|-tu-$  ‘regularly’ (§ 42.2.5)  
b. *neq-li-lleg* ‘fish camp’  
cf. *Mamterilleq* ‘Bethel’ – probably from *mamteraq* ‘cache, storehouse’.

VV  $|-t\dot{y}u-$  ( $|-tqi-$ ) – composed of the nominalizer  $|-t\dot{y}-|$  followed by the intransitive relational verb NVrv  $|-nu-$  ‘to be N’ (and transitive NV  $|-ki-$  ‘to have – as N’). Despite the intransitivity, the former suffix functions as the general past marker for both intransitive and transitive verbs in most of CAY dialects, while NUN and HBC dialects retain the distinction of  $|-t\dot{y}u-$  /  $|-tqi-$  as the respective past marker of intransitive and transitive verbs. The markers are fully

illustrated in § 42.1 and elsewhere.

The parallel composition with the intransitive and transitive relational verbs will be seen in the comparative index below (§ 18.3.2) and in § 45.1.

### 2.2.2. *VNnm* |-*liykay-*| (*future*)

Behaves the same way as |-*ly-*| except for the non-preterite specification accreted by its following future |+*k\*ay-*| ('the act / that of -ing in future, that / when - will,...'), cf. § 18.2.2.1.

- (146) a. *ner'-lkerka-a* 'his future act of eating; the time he usually eats'  
eat-VNnm.FUT-ABS.3sg.sg.  
b. *keni-lkerka-a* 'her future act of cooking'  
cook-VNnm.FUT-ABS.3sg.sg.
- (147) *Neryuniur-tua ellallu-ng-lkerka-aneK.*  
expect-IND.1sg. rain-INC-VNnm.FUT-ABM.3sg.sg.  
'I am expecting it to start raining.'
- (148) [*Qaner-yara-mta*<sub>G=S</sub> *tama-lkerka-a*]<sub>S</sub>  
speak-VNnm-REL.1pl.sg. lose-VNnm.FUT-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nangyar-narq-uq.*  
afraid-NEC-IND.3sg.  
'The loss (i.e. being lost sometime) of our language is frightening.' –  
expressed by Paschal Afcan in 1994.

The English distinction between '-ing' and 'to -' for the verbs 'remembering/to remember' and 'forgetting/to forget' can be expressed by selecting either the complementizer -*ll(e)r-* / -(*u*)*cir-* or the (future) -*lkerka-* / -(*u*)*cirkar-*. Thus:

- (149) a. *Nalluyagut-aqa* [*ikayur-i-l-qa*]<sub>G=S</sub>  
forget-IND.1sg.3sg. help-APS-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*aata-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>]<sub>P</sub>.  
Fa-ABM.1sg.sg.  
'I forgot helping my father, I forgot that/when I helped my father.'
- b. *Nalluyagut-aqa* [*ikayur-i-lkerka-qa*]<sub>G=S</sub>  
forget-IND.1sg.3sg. help-APS-VNnm.FUT-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*aata-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>]<sub>P</sub>.  
Fa-ABM.1sg.sg.  
'I forgot to help my father.'

- (150) *Nalluyaguc-aqu-naku* [unuku  
forget-PRH.FUT-OPT.2sg..3sg. tonight  
*tai-llerka-n*]<sub>p</sub>.  
come-VNnm.FUT-ABS.2sg.sg.  
‘You (sg.) don’t forget to come tonight.’  
– see § 49.6.2 for future prohibition |+<sub>1</sub>caqu-|.
- (151) *Takar-yug-tuq* *atu-llerka-minek*<sub>(p)</sub>.  
shy-TND-IND.3sg. sing-VNnm.FUT-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
‘He is shy to sing.’ – rather than ‘he is shy of singing’  
≡ *Taka-q-aa* *atu-llerka-ni*<sub>p</sub>.  
shy-think.as-IND.3sg.3sg. sing-VNnm.FUT-ABM.3Rsg.sg.

A nominal clause with the future |-*tiȳkaȳ*-| may be replaced with one with |+*uc̄ȳkaȳ*-| as below, though the former may be more common while, to some speakers of the Kuskokwim dialect, the latter seems to imply less certainty (‘whether he will go’).

- (152) *Neq’ake-llru-a* [ceñirte-llerka-ni ≡ ceñir-ucirka-ni  
remember-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. visit-VNnm.FUT-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*aca-minun*]<sub>p</sub>.  
FaSi-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
‘He *remembered to* go to visit his (own) aunt (father’s sister).’  
– see just below for the second form.
- (153) [*Aya-llerka-qa*<sub>p</sub> ≡ *Aya-ucirka-qa*<sub>p</sub> *nall’arr-luku*] *iter-tuq*.  
go-VNnm.FUT-ABS.1sg.sg. hit-APP.3sg. enter-IND.3sg.  
‘At the time of my being about to leave (lit. [he] hitting my future leaving), he came in.’

|-*tiȳkait*-| followed by privative NV |+*ñit*-|, just like |(u)*ciit*-| and |(u)*ciȳkait*-| ‘A’ ‘not to know’ (§ 18.2.1.3) from |(u)*ciȳ(kaȳ)+ñit*-|:

- (154) *ca-llerkau-nani* ‘he didn’t know what to do’ (APP.3Rsg.)  
– with suffix-final *-u-* due to the privative |+*ñit*-|.

The nominalizer |-*tiȳkaȳ*-| often co-occurs with a future particle (e.g. ‘tomorrow’, ‘tonight’) inside the nominal clauses, though it is not obligatory:

- (155) [*Qimugte-r-luni* *aya-llerka-a* *unuaqu*]<sub>p</sub>  
dog-have-APP.3Rsg. go-VNnm.FUT-ABS.3sg. tomorrow  
*nallu-aqa*.  
not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘I don’t know that he will go with a dog-team tomorrow.’

– where replacement by *nallu-llru-aqa* (not.know-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.) for the main-clause predicate verb would bring ‘I did not know that he *was going* with a dog-team’.

### 2.3. VNnm |+<sub>1</sub>caŷaŷ-|

This suffix for ‘how (generally, customarily, ceremonially) to do; (usual) way in living, time, way, route, device, method of -ing, area of activity’ occurs with or without person inflection.

- (156) a. *igar-yara-qa*  
 write-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my (usual) way of writing’
- b. *igar-yara-ma<sub>G</sub>*                      *ayuq-uci-a*  
 write-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.    resemble-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the way/pattern of my writing, how I write’
- c. [*Yug-tun*                      *igar-yaraq*]<sub>p</sub>                      *elisnga-aqa*.  
 person-EQL.sg.    write-VNnm.ABS.sg.    knowledgeable-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am good at how to write (the way of writing) Yupik.’
- d. *igar-yara-t kalika-t*                      ‘tablet’  
 – distinct from (11b).

The suffix has the implication of customariness in itself and typically does not co-occur with an aspectual marker such as VVt |-*lay*-| ~ |+*lay*-| (‘usually, customarily’) – thus \**iga-lar-yara-qa*, which nonetheless may be used by some speakers.

The suffix is interchangeable with other nominalizers though with slight differences:

- (157) [*Yug-tun*                      *igar-yaraq* ≡ *iga-lleq* ≡ *iga-neq*]<sub>p</sub>  
 person-EQL.sg.    write-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
*nallu-aqa*.  
 not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I do not know (the way of) writing Yupik.’

Note that *iga-neq* implies Yupik writing in general, while *iga-lleq* may imply that the speaker has some experience in the past.

On the other hand, the following pair of lexicalized (attributive) phrases are mutually replaceable – impersonal bivalent stem |*qukaŷ*-| ‘(to reach) the middle’:



- (158) *erner-e-m ~ erenr-e-m<sub>G</sub>*      *qukar-yara-a* ≡ *quka-llr-a*  
 day-EV-REL.sg.                      reach.middle-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the noon (lit. the day’s [G=S] reaching the middle)’ with slight difference between ‘noon in general’ vs. ‘actual noon’
- cf. *qukar-aa* ≡ *qukar-tuq*                      *erneq<sub>P/S</sub>*  
 reach.middle-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.      day.ABS.sg.  
 ‘it is the noon time (lit. *it* reaches the middle of the day)’  
 – with impersonal patientive verb.

|+<sub>1</sub>caɣaɣ| as such is most frequently used in expressions for established or traditional ways of various aspects of life (customs, ceremonies, festival, etc. – generally collective), possibly with more or less lexicalization:

- (159) a. *kevgir-yaraq*                      ‘Messenger Feast’ – |kivɣiɣ-liɣ-| (feast-supply)<sup>3</sup>  
*nakac-iur-yaraq*                      ‘Bladder Feast’ – |nakacuy-liuɣ-| (bladder-work.with)<sup>4</sup>
- b. *aviuqaq-saraq*                      ‘ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased’ – |aviuqaqi-| ‘to offer food’  
*tarvar-yaraq*                      ‘(ritual) purification by smoke from burning Labrador tea, wild celery, or parsnip’ – |taɣvaɣ-|  
*ella-nguar-yaraq*                      ‘the way to ensure *ella*’s benevolence (to model *ella*)’ – NV |-ɣuaɣ-| ‘to imitate’  
*neq-li-c-araq*                      ‘food offering to the namesake of the deceased’ – |niqi-li-(u)c-| (food-make-E<sub>APL</sub>)  
*evcug-tur-yaraq* ~ [Y] *ellug-tur-yaraq* ‘symbolic brushing (of diseases, etc.) during ceremonial dances’ – |ivcuɣ-tuɣ-| ~ |ituy-tuɣ-| ‘to brush.off (dirt/snow)’.
- (160) *Yu-pi-u-yaraq*      ‘being/living like a Yupik, the way of being a Yupik’  
 |yuy-piɣ+ɣu+<sub>1</sub>caɣaɣ[+Ø]  
 person-genuine-be-VNnm-ABS.sg.

– which is a very commonly used word. *Yupi-u-lleq* (with |-tɣ-|) and *Yupi-u-neq* (with |-nɣ-|) may also be used with almost the same meaning, though possibly not as commonly, while *Yupi-u-ciq* (with |+(u)ciɣ-|) means ‘the state of being a Yupik’.

3. See in particular CAUY (159–178) and Lantis (1946).

4. See § 14-fn. 1 and Lantis (1946, 1947) for the feast.



Newly introduced customs may also employ the suffix, as in the following where, it is to be noted, the nominalizer is followed by another, showing cyclical expansion:

- (166) [uita-**yara-u-ci-a** (tua=i)  
 stay-VNnm-be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. then  
*Agayunr-e-m<sub>G</sub>*<sub>P</sub> *nutaan pi-ng-luku.*  
 sunday-EV-REL.sg. fine do-INC-APP.3sg.  
 ‘They started observing the way that Sunday was a rest day (i.e. time of resting).’ [CS]  
 – see (177b) and (179) for the composite *-yara-u-*.

Activities referred to by the suffix are not necessarily collective but can also include personal habits:

- (167) a. *iqmig-**yara-qa*** ‘my chewing tobacco’  
 chew-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 b. [*Tai-ciq-uq* [*tai-**yara-ni**<sub>S</sub>* *tekis-kan*].  
 come-FUT-IND.3sg. come-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg. arrive-CNNif.3sg.  
 ‘She will come when it is the usual time for her to come (lit. when her coming time arrives).’
- (168) *aipa-q-**saraq**<sub>P</sub>* *atur-luku*  
 spouse-have.as-VNnm.ABS.sg. use-APP.3sg.  
 ‘(he) doing what couples do’.

Nominalizations include more or less lexicalized nouns (common and proper) besides ceremonial activities:

- (169) *neq’a-**yaraq*** ‘thing to remember, parable, story to suggest one’s behavior’ – |*niq’aŷ-*| ‘to recall’  
*ca-**yaraq*** ‘doing something; custom, festival’ – |*ca-*| ‘to do something’  
*qaner-**yaraq*** ‘word, language’ |*qaniŷ-*| ‘to speak’  
*eyag-**yaraq*** ‘traditional practice, abstinence, or taboo related with birth, death, illness, puberty, etc.’ – |*iyay-*| ‘to do the practice’  
*kegg-**saraq*** ‘mouthpiece of bow drill (for starting fires or drilling)’ – |*kixi-*| ‘to bite’  
*yurar-**yaraq*** ‘feather or fur hood for use with a hoodless parka [YEEM 317], lit. way of checking outside’ – |*yuŷay-*| ‘to come up and out of an opening’  
*iter-**yaraq*** ‘how to enter; entrance’ – |*ity-*| ‘to enter’

- kalvag-yaraq* ‘underground passage to a traditional underground structure’ – |*kalvay-*| ‘to go down into ground’  
*Quya-yaraq* ‘Thanksgiving’ from ‘the act of giving thanks’ – |*quya-*| ‘to be thankful’.

Antipassivization by VVsm |+*yi*<sub>2</sub>-| (§ 39.6.1) – required by patientive monotransitive verbs:

- (170) a. *kitugc-i-yaraq* *levaa-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 repair-APS-VNnm.ABS.sg. outboard.motor-ABM.pl.  
 ‘how to repair outboard motors’ – |*kituyc-*| ‘to repair’  
 cf. *kitugc-i-uq* (APS-IND.3sg.) ‘*levaa-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>’ ‘he is repairing outboard motors’  
 b. *tegu-keng-yaraq* *yug-mek*  
 take-APS-VNnm.ABS.sg. person-ABM.sg.  
 ‘arrest of a person’. [MKTB 50]
- (171) *qungic-i-yaraq* ‘way of burying; funeral ceremony’ – |*qungic-*| ‘to bury’  
*ipeg-car-i-yaraq* ‘how to sharpen’ – |*ipiy-cay-*| ‘sharp-make.er’  
*naaq-i-yaraq* ‘how to read, reading’ – |*naaqi-*| ‘to read, count’  
 cf. *naaq-saraq* cf. (172b)  
*igar-yaraq* ‘how to write’ above with agentive |*iyay-*| ‘to write’ – cf. (156).
- (172) a. [*Tau-m angut-e-m*]<sub>G=S</sub> [*assir-luni Bible-aa-nek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 that-REL.sg. man-EV-REL.sg. good-APP.3Rsg. B.-LNK-ABM.pl.  
*naaq-i-yara-a*.  
 read-APS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘The way the man reads the Bible well.’  
 b. [[*Tau-m iga-m*]<sub>G=P</sub> *naaq-sara-a*]<sub>P</sub>  
 that-REL.sg. letter-REL.sg. read-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*elite-ngna-qi-u*.  
 learn-try-FUT-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) try to learn the letter’s reading / the way the letter is read.’
- After various denominal stems:*
- (173) a. *neq-sur-yaraq* ‘fishing camp’ as well as clausal ‘how to fish, way of fishing’ – |*niqi-suy-*|  
 fish-seek  
*up’nerk-i-yaraq* ‘spring camp’ – |*upiniykay-li-*| spring-make  
*ii-ngir-yaraq* ‘snowblindness’ – eye-PRV

- ella-liur-yaraq* ‘checking the weather, weather forecasting’ – |*itay-liuy-*| weather-work.on  
*ila-liur-uc-araq* ‘way of being sociable’ – associate-work.on-E<sub>APL</sub> (|+(u)c-|)  
 b. *qaner-yara-liur-yaraq* ‘linguistics’  
 – cf. (169) *qaner-yaraq* ‘word, language’, with the same nominalizer repeated.

|*+<sub>1</sub>caɣay-*| may be followed by the privative suffix |*+ɣit-*| and a relational verb |*-ki-*| and |*+ɣu-*|, but not so much as fixed a composite suffix as an incidental sequence:

VNV |*+<sub>1</sub>caɣa-it-*|

- (174) *ayag-yara-it-uq* ‘he cannot go any further’.
- (175) *Ak’a tama-a-ni naaq-i-yara-ite-llru-ut*  
 long.time there-EX-LOC read-APS-VNnm-PRV-PST-IND.3pl.  
*igar-yara-u-nateng=llu.*  
 write-VNnm-PRV-APP.3Rpl.=and  
 ‘Long time ago they had no reading or writing.’ – see § 51.1.3 for *-u-* in the last word with |*+ɣit-*|.

Unlike the composite suffixes |*+(u)ciit-*| and |*+(u)ciɣkait-*| with |*+(u)ciɣ-*| (§ 18.2.1.3), the composition does not yield the connotation of ‘not to know/seem’.

VNV |*+caɣa-qi-*| / |*+caɣa-u-*| ‘to be the time / way / route for’ with relational verbs, parallel to |*+(u)ciqi-*| ‘to be like, in that state’, above:

- (176) a. *Kuik<sub>P</sub> tai-yara-q-aat.*  
 river.ABS.sg. come-route-have.as-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘The river is their usual route of coming, lit. they have the river as their usual route of coming.’  
 b. *U-na<sub>P</sub> ayag-yaqa-q-aqa.*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. go-way-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘This is my way of going/living.’
- (177) a. *Atakuq<sub>P</sub> naaq-i-yara-q-aqa.*  
 evening read-APS-VNnm-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘Evening is the time for me to read.’

- b. *Atakuq<sub>s</sub> naaq-i-yara-u-guq (wang-nun).*  
 evening read-APS-VNnm-be-IND.3sg. 1sg.-ALL  
 ‘Evening is the time for reading (to me).’
- (178) *qasgiq taugaam uita-yara-qe-llru-amegteggu.*  
 q.ABS.sg. only stay-VNnm-have.as-PST-CNNbc.3Rpl.3sg.  
 ‘since the *qasgiq* was where they used to gather’. [ELLA 436–437]
- (179) *Tua-ten cali qaner-yara-u-lria*  
 that-EX-EQL again say-VNnm-be-VNrl.sg.  
*inerqu-ut-ngu-luni.*  
 forbid-VNrl-be-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘That (way of saying) is one of the rules.’ [ELLA 576–577]

Finally, a derived stem with  $|+_1ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$  may be used verbally, meaning ‘to do the way/practice of –ing’. E.g. *quya-yara-* ‘to celebrate Thanksgiving’ (*quya-* ‘to be thankful’) as in § 27(10).

### 3. Bifunctional $|-n\dot{y}-|$

Contrasted with the preceding three nominalizers,  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  has important peculiarities and seems to have two apparently disparate functions (as stated). As the nominalizer, it cannot have person inflection when it is interchangeable with three other nominalizers, as in the following example (180) § 18.1.3), but  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  can have person inflection, when it has another function not shared by any one of the other three (and therefore cannot be interchanged with them):

- (180) [*Qan-tu-neq*  $\cong$  *-lleq*  $\cong$  *-yaraq* *yug-tun* *kii-ngan*]<sub>s</sub>  
 speak-capable-VNnm.ABS.sg. person-EQL.sg. be.only-CNNst.3sg.  
*assir-tuq.*  
 good-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Speaking only (lit. it being only) Yupik (like a person) is good; it is good to speak only Yupik.’

– in which *-neq* has the connotation of generality or habituality (‘as a general fact’), as contrasted with *-lleq* implying particularity (individual or experienced), *-yaraq* as custom/tradition, and *-uciq* (somewhat close to *-yaraq*).

As shown in (2), *atu-llr-a*, *atu-uci-a*, *atur-yara-a* with person inflection are mutually interchangeable. By contrast,  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  with person inflection, i.e. *atu-nr-a*, cannot replace any one of the three in (180). But  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  has another function as index of comparison, when person inflected, and when its person serves as

standard of comparison. It has two functions, either with or without person inflection. The two functions come from one and the same morpheme  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  and are complementary. Without person inflection,  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  serves as an argumentless nominalizer while, with obligatory person inflection, it serves as an index of comparison for which the person is standard of comparison (§ 45.1).

In passing, it is added concerning the preceding sentence that the appositional verb *qantu-luni* (APP.3Rsg.) may marginally be understood as equivalent to (180) *qantu-neq*, though it may possibly have some implication like ‘instead of English’ (which is due to the typical use of APP clauses as predicative adjuncts to S or A argument in the main clause), hence another reading ‘he, speaking only Yupik, is good’ (§ 51.2 and § 51.6.1).

### 3.1. Abstract $|-n\dot{y}-|$ vs. deverbal $|+{}_1n\dot{y}-|$

Contrasted with the three nominalizers above, which can form both clausal and deverbal nouns with optional person inflection, the fourth nominalizer  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  does not inflect for person.<sup>7</sup> Being an abstract argument-less nominalizer, it is differentiated from the deverbal noun  $|+{}_1n\dot{y}-|$  (typically of result nouns) with its specific phonological adjustments (concerning stem-final velars and apicals, as indicated by the suffix-initial minus vs. plus with  ${}_1$ ; P5i), which may or may not inflect for person, just like deverbal nouns in general (§ 19).

The argument-less nominalizer  $|-n\dot{y}-|$ , however, may occur with obligatory inflection when it serves as index of comparison  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  with post-apical (apparent) variant  $|-{}_1l\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.3.2). The homonymous markers, complementary in terms of person inflection, are a functional branching of one and the same  $|-n\dot{y}-|$ . The abstractness of  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  nominalization will turn out to be crucial in understanding comparative constructions.

#### 3.1.1. Abstract nominalization $|-n\dot{y}-|$

The uninflectable nominalizer  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  with no core argument involved indicates unspecified action / event / state in general (*that - , -ing*) with abstractness implied (§ 18.1-ii). This argument-less construction with  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  may also be complemented in a main clause in various functions (except of A, G, and R), as is the case with the other nominalizations. S and P only are exemplified here (cf. § 18.4):

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7. This is a notable difference from Greenlandic, where the argument-less nominalizer inflects for person (Fortescue 1984: 44–48).

- (181) *Aitau-neq<sub>s</sub>*                      *assir-tuq*                      *naulluu-lria-mun.*  
yawn-VNnm.ABS.sg.    good-IND.3sg.    sick-VNrl-ALL.sg.  
'Yawning is a good sign for a sick person.'
- (182) a. *Qat'-neq<sub>P</sub>*                      *assiilk-aqa.*  
white-VNnm.ABS.sg.    dislike-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'I don't like being pale.' – [*qatý-*] 'to be white'
- b. *Arna-ni<sub>(A)</sub>*                      *iqva-neq<sub>P</sub>*                      *assik-arput.*  
woman-LOC.pl.    pick.berry-VNnm.ABS.sg.    like-IND.1pl.3sg.  
'We women like berrypicking.'  
– see § 27.4 for the locative-case NP for the first person subject.
- (183) *Nallu-nrit-aqa*                      [*keni-neq*                      *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*]<sub>P</sub>  
not.know-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.    cook-VNnm.ABS.sg.    fish-ABM.sg.  
'I know how to cook fish.'
- (184) [*Nallunai-neq*                      *kass'a-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*                      [[*u-u-m*  
explain-VNnm.ABS.sg.    white.man-ALL.pl.    this-EX-REL.sg.  
*qaner-yara-m*]<sub>G</sub>                      *qangi-anek<sub>(T)</sub>* ]]<sub>S</sub>                      *capernarq-uq.*  
speak-VNnm-REL.sg.    source-ABM.3sg.    difficult-IND.3sg.  
'To explain the meaning of this word to white men is difficult.'

Abstract *|-ny-* nominalizations may be accompanied by their adjuncts – see (186) *cuka-luni* also:

- (185) [*Akutar-tu-neq*                      *tami-in*]<sub>P</sub>  
ice.cream-eat-VNnm.ABS.sg.    be.all-CNNst.3sg.  
*quyake-lar-aa.*  
thank-CUS-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'She is thankful of (the act of) eating every time she eats *akutaq* (ice cream).'

The abstract nominalizer itself, which does not inflect for person, may occur in the oblique cases of the ablative-modalis and the locative at least:

- (186) [*Cuka-luni*                      *atu-ner-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>                      *elit-uq.*  
fast-APP.3Rsg.    sing-VNnm-ABS.sg.    learn-IND.3sg.  
'He learned / is learning to sing fast.'
- cf. [*Cuka-luni*                      *atu-neq*]<sub>P</sub>                      *elit-aa.*  
fast-APP.3Rsg.    sing-VNnm.ABS.sg.    learn-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'He learned to sing fast.' – very much the same as above.



- (187) *Ig-qaanerminek*      *teng-au-ner-mek*<sub>(p)</sub>      *taq'-uq.*  
 fall-CNNqc.3Rsg.    fly-around-VNnm-ABMs.    finish-IND.3sg.  
 'He quit flying since he fell (crashed).'  
 – quasi-connective with VVa |-x̣aanỵ-| 'first, after -ing' (§ 50.11.3)  
 with final /c/ and /x̣/ fused into /q/.

As stated, VNnm |-nỵ-|, above, may be interchangeable in many cases with three other nominalizers |-ṭỵ-|, |+(u)ciỵ-|, and |+<sub>1</sub>caỵaỵ-|, only if these are not person-inflected. The two nominalizers used may have some semantic difference, at least in some contexts, though I have not been able to detect any measurable one, and many speakers say they do not use *keni-ller-mek* and *atu-ller-mek*, although some speakers say they do:

- (188) a. *Keni-ner-mek* ≡ *kenir-yara-mek*<sub>(p)</sub>      *taq'-uq.*  
 cook-VNnm-ABM.sg.      finish-IND.3sg.  
 'She finished cooking.'

If person inflection is involved here, *-ller-* is the only choice even for those speakers who do not accept the one above, given the uninflectable argumentless *-ner-*.

The abstract nominalization may indicate time ('at the time of -ing, despite the time of -ing'):

- (189) *Cali-ner-mi*      *qavarni-ngait-uten.*  
 work-VNnm-LOC.sg.    sleep-will.not-IND.2sg.  
 'You(sg.) won't be sleepy when working / at work.'  
 cf. *cali-ner-peni* (CNNwn.2sg.) 'when you (sg.) worked' (§ 50.8)  
 – see also § 27(20) *ayag-yuk-ner-mi* 'in my thinking / I thought (you) left (but)'.

For the abstract nominalization of time, the subject ('one leaving') can be anybody, whereas the constantive-connective verb has to be person-specified:

- (190) [*Aya-kata-neq*      *tami-in* ~ *tamalku-an*] *qia-lar-tuq.*  
 go-IMN-VNnm.ABS.sg.    all-CNNst.3sg.      cry-REG-IND.3sg.  
 'He cries at every departure time / whenever one (he or another) is about to leave.'  
 cf. *Aya-katar-aqa-mi*      *qia-lar-tuq.*  
 leave-IMN-CNNwv-3Rsg.    cry-REG-IND.3sg.  
 'He cries whenever he is about to leave.'

Abstract nominalization indicating an abstract concept (general, non-realized, non-individualized) is further exemplified, including ones from derived stems (193) and (194):

- (191) *cali-neq* ‘working’  
*ner-neq* ‘eating’  
*ang-neq* ‘being big; boss, leader, authority’  
*mik’-neq* ‘being small’.
- (192) *Agayu-neq* ‘Sunday, week’ – |*ayayu-*| ‘to pray, worship, do church service’  
*Maqi-neq* ‘Saturday’ – |*maqi-*| ‘to take a steam bath’.
- (193) *ermi-uma-neq* ‘(channel) going from the lake further into the interior’  
 go.toward-STT-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 – |*iy̆miy̆-*| ‘to keep going towards one’s goal’.
- (194) a. *arna-u-neq* ‘being a woman, womanhood’  
 woman-be-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 – cf. (47); stative relational |*+ɲu-*| ‘to be’ (§ 37.1)  
 b. *Arna-urr-neq* *Mamteriller-mi*  
 woman-become-VNnm.ABS.sg. pl.n.-LOC.sg.  
 ‘coming of age at Bethel’  
 – cf. inchoative relational |*+ɲuyc-*| ‘to become’ (§ 37.3).

These abstract nominalizations are lexicalized in the following and may be inflected for person:

- (195) a. *arna-u-n-qa* ‘my elder sister’ (from ‘woman-being.itself, my’)  
 b. *arna-urr-ne-qa* ‘my sister who has become old’.
- (196) *angut-ngu-nr-a* ‘her older brother’ (from ‘her being man itself’)  
 man-be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.

It should be clear enough that *arnauneq* and *angutnguneq* are not kinship terms (common nouns) such as *alqaq* ‘elder sister’ and *nayagaq* ‘younger sister’ (§ 11.4.1). They are in fact an indirect way of referring to the older sister or brother that has apparently dropped out of use among younger speakers. Additionally, (195b) with an inchoative relational verb may not be used by some speakers.

The abstract nominalizer |*-n̆y̆-*| may be followed by two NV suffixes, i.e. privative |*+ɲit-*| ‘to have no, lack’ and intransitive relational verb |*-ɲu-*| ‘to be’:

VVn |*-n̆y̆it-*| ‘not V’ as a fixed composite suffix that serves as the general negator (with full illustrations in § 44):

- (197) *qane-nrit-uq* ‘he did not speak (lacks speaking)’; *qaner-* ‘to speak’  
*ange-nrit-uq* ‘it is not big (lacks bigness)’  
*cali-nrit-uq* ‘he is not working’.

VV *|-ny̆+(ŋ)u-|* ‘to be *always/constantly* –ing (lit. to be –ing *itself*)’ – works as aspect or emphatic marker:

- (198) *qane-nr-u-uq* ‘he is always/constantly talking, talks a lot, is talkative (nuisance)’  
*cali-nr-u-uq* ‘he is working and working, always/continually working’  
*nere-nr-u-uq* ‘he is eating and eating, always eating’  
*qia-nr-u-uq* ‘he is always crying’.

- (199) *Ange-nru-uq*                      *wang-ni*.  
 big-EMP-IND.3sg.    1sg.-LOC  
 ‘It is exciting to me (as far as I am concerned).’ – as when the speaker is very elated or delighted at the sight (or news) of hundreds of caribou approaching, a multitude of salmonberries growing, etc.

This is the same sequence of the argument-less nominalizer and the relational verb (including transitive *|-ki-|* ‘to have – as’) that has produced the grammaticalized comparative marker (VVc), namely intransitive *|-ny̆u-|* and transitive *|-nqi-|* ‘more, –er’, the very topic to be discussed in the next section (§ 18.3.2). As such, it will be seen below, that (199) may ambivalently be a comparative construction, meaning ‘he is bigger than I’ (231).

Aside from these two compositions (negator and emphasizer), the abstract *|-ny̆-|* in further derivation is limited to *|-nĭxa(ȳa)ȳ\*-|* NN ‘one that has just –ed’, VV ‘recently, for the first time’ (with *|-xa(ȳa)ȳ\*-|* ‘a little, a few, just, only’; § 20.1.1), and *|-ny̆-tu-li-|* ‘one who does much’.

Finally it should be added here that the argument-less *|-ny̆-|* may be traced in the marker of the contemporative- and quasi-connective moods (‘when’, ‘after’, ‘since’ CNNwn; § 50.8, § 50.11.2, § 50.11.3), which naturally inflects for person (subject and object) as verbs. And the aforementioned interchangeability of *|-tȳ-|* and *|-ny̆-|* is also the case with this contemporative-connective mood marker:

- (200) *yu-urr-ne-mni* ~ *yuurte-lle-mni* ‘when I was born’  
 person-INC-CNNwn-1sg. – *|-yu-uȳc-|* (person-become) ‘to be born’  
 cf. § 50.8 for more examples.

3.1.2. *Deverbal nouns* |+<sub>1</sub>nȳ-|

This type of nominalization (basically of result) may be inflected for person just like a common noun but unlike an abstract |-nȳ-|. Phonological differences between the two, that is, a. argument-less vs. b. deverbal nouns, yield contrastive examples below in terms of a few respects:

i) *Velar deletion vs. retention:*

- (201) a. *aya-neq* ‘leaving’ – with final velar of the stem |*ayay-*| ‘to go, leave’ being deleted  
 b. *ayag-neq* ‘start, beginning’ – velar retained  
 – of which the possessor inflection is only for the deverbal noun, like (b) *ayag-ner-a* ‘its start, beginning’ (ABS.3sg.sg. -a), but not for the abstract (a) \**aya-nr-a* ‘his leaving’.
- (202) a. *quka-neq* ‘reaching the middle’  
 b. *qukar-neq* ‘middle area, midsection of a fish’ – |*qukay-*| ‘to reach middle’.

ii) *Stem-final /i/*: The (b) in the following two examples have the suffix-initial nasal devoiced because of stem final vowel deletion before the retaining suffix with + (by P8ii.a, P13ii), while (a) *qup’-neq* has no devoicing before the deleting type, as indicated by the apostrophe:

- (203) a. *qup’-neq* /qupniq/ ‘splitting’ – |*qupi-*| ‘to split’  
 b. *qup-neq* /qupɲiq/ ‘crack, result of splitting’.
- (204) a. *tegg’-neq* /tixniq/ ‘being hard’ – |*tixi-*| ‘to split’  
 b. *tegg-neq* /tixɲiq/ ‘elder person’ – cf. presumably the cognate *tegganeq* ‘elder person’, in which the vowel -a- seems hard to explain.

iii) *Apical retention vs. deletion*: Before |-nȳ-| vs. |+<sub>1</sub>nȳ-| (cf. P5i.a), yielding two minimal pairs and one homonym (with different underlyings) below:

- (205) a. *kumlat-neq* ‘(way of) being cold’  
 b. *kumla-neq* ‘frozen fish’ – |*kumlac-*| ‘to freeze’.
- (206) a. *ukit-neq* ‘making a hole’  
 b. *uki-neq* ‘hole’ – |*ukic-*| ‘to make a hole in’.

- (207) *uu-neq* i. ‘being cooked’ – |*uu-nȳ-*| (cook-VNnm.ABS.sg.)  
 ii. ‘burn (as result)’ – |*uu-c-nȳ-*| (cook-A-VN.ABS.sg.)  
 with apical deletion.

Fricativization instead of deletion, probably due to the monosyllabic stem:

- (208) a. *kit-neq* ‘sinking’  
 b. *kiz-neq* ‘s.t. settled/sunken at the bottom’ – |*kic-*| ‘to sink’.

The retained apical, when interconsonantal, is deleted after devoicing at least the first consonant, as in *-rrn-* in b), which represents /*ɣ̃n*/ (or optional /*ɣ̃ŋ*/) from /*ȳc-n*/ (see P13ii):

- (209) a. *alarr-neq* ‘making errors’  
 b. *alar-neq* ‘mistake (already made), place with error’ – with apical deletion  
*Alarneq* ‘Alakanuk’ (on the Yukon delta) – |*alajȳc-*| ‘to err’.

- (210) a. *err-neq* ‘dawning’ – |*ȳc-*| ‘to dawn’  
 b. *er-neq* ‘day’  
*erenr-a* [*yuurte-llr-an* *pani-ma<sub>G</sub>*]<sub>G</sub>  
 day-ABS.3sg.sg. born-VNnm-REL.3sg.sg. Da-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘the date of my daughter’s birth’.

- (211) a. *qacarr-neq* ‘hitting, slapping’  
 b. *qacar-neq* ‘wall, side, impact of wind’ – |*qacajȳc-*| ‘to hit, strike (against)’.

Since phonological adjustments only concern stem-final velars and apicals, ambivalence may arise after a stem-final vowel:

- (212) a. *nang-neq* i. ‘using up’ – |*najȳ-*| ‘to use up, consume’  
 ii. ‘cowlick, vortex of head hair; the last one’  
 cf. *nang-ne-qa* ‘my last child’  
 b. *per-neq* i. ‘bending’ – |*piȳi-*| ‘to bend’  
 ii. ‘bent (side), e.g. of oval bowl, something already bent’  
 c. *ata-neq* i. ‘being attached’ – from |*ata-*| ‘to be attached, dependent’  
 ii. ‘chief, boss’ – cf. *a(a)ta* ‘father’  
 cf. *ata-ner-put* ‘our load, boss’ (ABS.1pl.sg.).

iv) *More deverbal nouns:*

- (213) *qiu-neq* ‘Mongolian mark’ – |*qiu-*| ‘to become blue’  
*ata-neq* ‘chief, boss’ – |*ata-*| ‘to be attached’  
*kelig-neq* ‘scrapings’ – |*kily-*| ‘to scrape’  
*meq-neq* ‘bald spot’ – |*miqi-*| ‘to shed hair’  
*ullir-neq*[Y] ‘cut’ – |*uliy̆c-*| ‘to cut open’  
*aru-ma-neq* ‘rotten wood’ [YED) – *aru-ma-* (rot-PRF)  
*aner-neq* ‘spirit, soul, breath’ – root |*an̆y-*|  
*ciru-neq* ‘antler’ – conceivably with |*ciy̆u-*| ‘to cover’ (?).
- (214) *up-ner-kaq* ‘spring’ – *upc-* ‘to prepare’, +*kar-* FUT.  
*up-ner-ka-a* ‘his spring’ (ABS.3sg.sg.).

One may be inclined to see a possibility that this is the suffix also found in a number of location nouns, place names, etc:

- (215) *ciu-neq* ‘something in front, what lies ahead, direction, destination’ – |*ciu-*| ‘to be ahead’  
 cf. *ciu-ner-put* ‘our future, something in front of us’ (ABS.1pl.sg)  
*kingu-neq* ‘area in the back, past, zone left behind’ – |*kiŋu-*| ‘to be back’  
 cf. *kingu-ne-qa* ‘my past; my child after me; ‘after me, where I passed’ (ABS.1sg.sg.)  
*qukar-neq* ‘middle area’ – |*qukay̆-*| ‘middle’.
- (216) *Tunu-neq* ‘Tununak’ (on Nelson Island) – |*tunu-c-*| (be.back-E<sub>APL</sub>)  
 ‘to turn ones’ back (on)’  
*Alar-neq* ‘Alakanuk’ (on the Yukon delta), cf. (209b).

3.2. Comparative nominal |*-ny̆-*| (~ post-apical |*-iŋy̆-*|)

The abstract nominalizer |*-ny̆-*|, which, as stated, cannot inflect for person and can only replace another nominalizer without person inflection, does occur, nevertheless, with person inflection when the suffix serves as a phrasal comparative marker (‘more -er’, ‘most -est’).<sup>8</sup>

8. We owe the idea of comparative use of the nominalizer or the identity of the latter and the comparative maker to the insight of Greenlandic grammarians like Kleinschmidt (1851: 116) and Thalbitzer (1923: 149; for the Ammassalik, i.e. East Greenlandic dialect, despite the difference from CAY in that the West. Greenlandic nominalizer *-niq* does inflect for person. Cf. Fortescue et al. (1994: 414).

## 3.2.1. Comparative phrases

The possessor on |*-nȳ-*| indicates the “standard of comparison” (‘than X’). To be person-inflected itself is instrumental in supplying the standard of comparison for the abstract nominalization:

- (217) *ange-nr-a* ‘the one bigger than *he/it*’ (lit. *his/its* bigness)’ – cf. (218)  
 cf. *ang-neq* ‘working’  
*cali-nr-a* ‘the one working (who works) more than *he*’  
 cf. *cali-neq* ‘being big’, etc.  
*tegge-nr-a* ‘the one harder than *it*’  
*mike-nr-a* ~ *mike-llr-a* ‘the one smaller than *he/it*’ – see (226b) for the second variant.

i) *The inflected person (third person) of a comparative nominal* – may be accompanied by an external NP in the relative case, forming an attributive phrases in constitution. e.g.

- (218) a. *angya-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *ange-nr-a*  
 boat-REL.sg.                      big-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the boat’s big one / bigness, i.e. the one bigger than *the boat*’  
 b. *angya-ma<sub>G</sub>*                      *ange-nr-a*  
 boat-REL.1sg.sg.                      big-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the one bigger than *my boat*’.

A comparative nominal may also be accompanied by another NP with the same case marking, which is the “comparee”, forming an appositive phrase in constitution.

- (219) a. *angyaq*                      *ange-nr-a*  
 boat-ABS.sg.                      big-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the boat bigger than it’, i.e. *the boat* the one bigger than it’  
 b. *angya-n*                              *ange-nr-a*  
 boat-ABS.2sg.sg.                      big-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘your (sg.) boat bigger than it, i.e. *your boat* the one bigger than it’.

With the attributive and the appositive phrase conjoined, we get “comparative phrases” with both the standard and the comparee externally expressed:

- (220) [*angya-ma<sub>G</sub>*                      *ange-nr-a*]                      *angya-n*  
 boat-REL.1sg.sg.                      big-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.                      boat-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘your (sg.) boat bigger than my boat’.

The inflected person (standard of comparison) may be in a non-third person when it is not accompanied by an external NP in the relative case:

- (221) a. *ange-ne-qa* ~ *ange-n-qa* ‘the one bigger than me’  
 big-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 – the two variants with difference in schwa insertion are both used;  
 see P7i (Final cluster breaking)  
 cf. (218a) *angya-m<sub>G</sub> ange-nr-a* ‘the one bigger *than* the boat’
- b. [*tau-na yuk*] *ange-ne-qa* ~ *ange-n-qa*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. person.ABS.sg. big-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘that person bigger than me’.
- (222) *yu-u-t pi-nr-aput*  
 man.ABS.sg. big-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘the persons who are more rich / doing better than us’ [FASM 41]  
 – *yu-u-t* is a comparee NP, but not a standard of comparison.

ii) *The possessor (i.e. standard of comparison)* – may also be in the dual or plural. But comparison of the following with (218a):

- (223) *angya-k<sub>G</sub> ange-nr-ak* ‘the bigger of the two boats’.  
 boat-REL.du. big-VNnm-ABS.3du.sg.

shows that the possessum, i.e. comparee, in this has to be a ‘boat’, while that in (218a) is not necessarily a ‘boat’ but can be a ‘car’, ‘barge’, ‘house’ (or anything).

The possessor may be plural, when the implication is superlative (‘biggest of three or more’), as in the following (a), and it is intensified (b) with the NN suffix *|-kaca(y)ay-* (§ 41.3.5, § 45.2.2-i):

- (224) a. *angya-t<sub>G</sub> ange-nr-at* ‘the biggest one of the boats’  
 boat-REL.pl. boat-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.
- b. *angya-t<sub>G</sub> ange-n-kacagi-it* ‘the *biggest one* of the boats’.  
 boat-REL.pl. boat-VNnm-ITS-ABS.3pl.sg.

iii) *The possessum, i.e. compare* – may also be in the plural or dual:

- (225) a. *angya-t<sub>G</sub> ange-nr-it* ‘the bigger ones out of the boats’  
 boat-REL.pl. boat-VNnm-ABS.3pl.pl.
- b. *angya-t<sub>G</sub> ange-nr-egket*  
 boat-REL.pl. boat-VNnm-ABS.3pl.du.  
 ‘the two bigger ones out of the boats’.



iv) *The comparative nominal*  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  – which has a stem-final apical fused with the initial  $/n/$ , hence the variant  $|-_1t\dot{y}-|$ . Illustrated with two stems,  $|asiit-|$  ‘to be bad’ and  $|miki(c)-|$  ‘to be small’:

- (226) a. *assiil-**lr**-a* ‘the one worse than it’  
 bad-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 b. *mike-**llr**-a ~ mike-**nr**-a* ‘the one smaller than it’  
 small-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.

The variation of  $|mick-|$  ~  $|miki-|$  (as in *mikt-uq* ~ *mik’-uq* ‘it is small’; IND.3sg.) seems to be of idiolectal nature (or even occasional) rather than due to dialect (although the former reportedly may sound more traditional to some speakers).

v) *The parameter of comparison* – which is a primary verb stem of the ‘adjectival’ nature (quality, quantity, state) in the above-cited examples as well as in the following:

- (227) *neqe-t<sub>G</sub>* *uquri-nr-at* ‘the fattest of the fish(pl.)’.  
 fish-REL.pl. fat-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 – cf. *uquri-nru-uq wang-ni* ‘she is fatter than I’.

But it can be a denominal verb (including a relational verb) and is not necessarily of adjectival nature:

- (228) *neqe-m<sub>G</sub>* *uqu-li-nr-a*  
 fish-REL.sg. fat-supplied-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the fatter part of the fish’  
 – NV  $|-li\dot{y}-|$  ‘to be supplied, have lots’ (§ 38.3).

- (229) *angyar-pa-u-nr-a* *u-u-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 boat-big-be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. this-EX-REL.sg.  
 ‘the one who has a bigger boat than this one (person)’.

The suffix NN  $|+pay-|$  ‘big’, while added to a ‘thing’ noun, very often (or even most commonly) refers to a person as its owner rather than the thing itself, so the underlying relational verb *angyar-pa-u-guq* (IND.3sg.) can be either a.) ‘he has (is the one having) a big boat’ or b.) ‘it is a big boat’.

- (230) [*Arnarkara’urlu-u-n-qa* *im-na*]<sub>s</sub>  
 old.woman-be-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.  
*tuqu-uq*.  
 die-IND.3sg.  
 ‘That old woman older than I [an old woman myself] died.’



serves as the standard of comparison (§ 27.3; unlike a relative-case NP [§ 24.2.4] for a transitive construction below).

Compare (232a), repeated from (198), with (232b). Intervention of another participant (person) in the locative NP is instrumental in yielding a comparative clause in parallel with (217) *ange-nr-a* ‘the one bigger than he/it’ (vs. abstract nominalization *ang-neq* ‘being big, bigness itself’).

- (232) a. *nere-nr-u-uq* ‘he is eating and eating, always eating’  
eat-VNnm-be-IND.3sg.
- b. *nere-nru-uq* *angut-mi* / *akwauga-mi*  
eat-more-IND.3sg. man-LOC. sg. / yesterday-LOC  
‘he is eating more than the man / than yesterday’
- cf. *nere-nr-a* *angute-m<sub>G</sub>*  
eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. man-REL.sg.  
‘the one eating more than the man’.
- (233) a. *cali-nr-u-uq*  
work-VNnm-be-IND.3sg.  
‘he is working and working, always/continually working (lit. *working itself*)’
- b. *Cali-nru-uq* *wang-ni* / *aata-mini*.  
work-more-IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC / Fa-LOC.3Rsg.sg.  
‘He is working more than me/his father.’

It should thus be clear that comparative constructions, whether phrasal or clausal, typically occur with the inflected person as the standard of comparison, which may occur as explicit NP in G function in cases of comparative phrases – but, in cases of comparative clauses, it occurs as explicit NP in L function (locative case) if intransitive, and in A function if transitive (as illustrated in § 45). This means that the standard of comparison fills the A=G slot (in the relative case), but is demoted into an oblique slot (in the locative case).

Finally, the post-apical variant  $|-i\dot{y}u-|$  (with fusion) of the comparative clauses (index) is illustrated with two contrastive expanded stems:

- (234) a. *sug-kil-lru-uq* ‘he is shorter (than)’ –  $|-suy-kit-|$  ‘to be short’, probably with the stem  $|-yuy-|$  ‘person’ followed by NV  $|-k*it-|$  ‘to have little’ (§ 38.4)
- b. *sug-tu-nru-uq* ‘he is taller (than)’ –  $|-suy-tu-|$  ‘to be tall’, probably with the same stem followed by NV  $|-tu-|$  ‘to have much’ (§ 38.4) – cf. (226) for the contrastive comparative phrases.

#### 4. Nominalizations in main clauses

A nominal clause is complemented into a main (superordinate) clause to fill one of its argument slots – core, demoted, or peripheral.

Word order of a nominalization in relation to the main clause is not syntactically relevant, although it may pragmatically be affected. Not so rarely, a nominalization is attested to be split by the main clause, as in the following (*tangelar-apat*), where the sentence-initial perlocative NP is an adverbial adjunct to the constituent in G function within the nominalization in P function:

- (235) *Yu-u-ngnaqe-llr-atgun*                      *tang-lar-apat*  
 person-be-try-VNnm-PRL.3pl.sg.    see-REG-IND.1pl.3sg.  
 [*qanr-uy-ut-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *atu-uci-a*]<sub>P</sub>.  
 say-E<sub>APL</sub>-means-EV-REL.sg.            use-VNnm-ABS.sg.  
 ‘We used to see their adhering to/obeying the advice/command in the way they make a living (lit. try to be a man) in their traditional way.’  
 – with the predicated splitting the nominal clause as its P argument NP.

##### 4.1. With absolutive-case marking

i) *In S function*: The more common verbs (stems) that may take a complement clause in S function include: ‘to be’, ‘to become’, ‘to be gone’, ‘to be over’, ‘to be a long time’, ‘to be good’, ‘to be bad’, ‘to be wrong’, ‘to be difficult’, ‘to be easy’, ‘to be slow’, ‘to be/look different’, ‘to resemble’, ‘to be a fun’, ‘to be a blessing’, ‘to be objectionable’, ‘to be frightening, and ‘to tend to cause (one) afraid, desirous, ...’; also, (relational verbs) ‘to be/become N’.

- (236) [*Carayi-i-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *tange-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub>                      *alingnarq-uq*.  
 bear-EV-REL.sg.    see-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.    frightening-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Seeing (of) a bear (G=P) is frightening.’  
 – |*aliñi*–| ‘to be scared’ with necessitative VVsm.
- (237) [*Ellii*                      *tuquc-i-llru-yuk-luku*                      *carayag-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*]  
 3Rsg.ABS    kill-APS-PST-A'.think-APP.3sg.    bear-ABM.sg.  
*kamayul-qa*]<sub>S</sub>                      *alart-uq*.  
 suspect-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.            wrong-IND.3sg.  
 ‘My suspicion that he (focused) killed a bear is wrong.’  
 cf. *Ellii tuquci-llru-yuk-luku carayag-mek<sub>(P)</sub> kamayug-tua* (IND.1sg.).  
 ‘I suspect he (focused) killed a bear.’

- (238) a. [*Angute-m<sub>A</sub> angyar-pa-li-yu-kapigte-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub>  
 man-REL.sg. boat-big-make-want-ITS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*pellug-tuq.*  
 pass-IND.3sg  
 ‘The man’s strong wish (lit. that the man strongly wishes) to make a big boat is over; the man has no more strong wish to make a big boat.’
- b. [*Angute-m<sub>A</sub> angyar-pa-li-yu-kapigc-uk-uci-a*]<sub>S</sub>  
 man-REL.sg. boat-big-make-want-ITS-A'.think-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*alarte-llini-uq.*  
 wrong-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man’s assuming that (someone) strongly wishes to make a big boat is not correct (as I see now).’

The embedded clause in (b) is a complex transitive. Replacement of its nominalizer *-uci-* with *-llr-* as in (a) would make (b) an assumption in the past.

*Relational verbs:*

- (239) a. *Niite-neq<sub>S</sub> elpek-suute-n̄gu-uq teme-mun.*  
 hear-VNnm.ABS.sg. feel-INS-be-IND.3sg. body-ALL.sg.  
 ‘Hearing is a means of awareness to one’s body.’
- b. *Assi-neq<sub>S</sub> alerqut-ngu-uq. /*  
 good-VNnm-ABS.sg. command-VNnm-be-IND.3sg. /  
*cakviurnarq-uq.*  
 difficult-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Being good is a commandment, a golden rule/is difficult.’
- (240) *Tuqu-ngig-ca-ut-ngu-uq=gguq [qava-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 die-easily-cause-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.=RPT sleep-REL.sg.  
*atur-yu-ssiyaa-llr-a]*<sub>S</sub>.  
 use-TND-too.much-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘They say sleeping [G=P] too much is an invitation for early death.’  
 [FA]
- (241) [*Taquka-mek<sub>(P)</sub> tange-llru-ni-luni qane-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub>  
 bear-ABM.sg. see-PST-A'.say-APP.3Rsg. say-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*aka-urt-uq.*  
 long.time-become-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is (now) a long time ago that he said he saw a bear.’

ii) *In P/T functions*: More common verbs (stems), which may take a complement clause in P function include: ‘to learn/to teach’, ‘to expect/to eager’, ‘to think dangerous’, ‘to be anxious’, ‘to worry about’, ‘to find amiss’, ‘to be afraid’, ‘to be hesitant’, ‘to regret’, ‘to approve’, ‘to be thankful’, ‘to appreciate’, ‘to ask (questions)’, ‘to tell’, ‘to explain’, ‘not to know’, ‘to know’, ‘to remember – ing’, ‘to forget –ing / to –’ (cf. § 18.2.2.2), ‘to believe’, ‘to like’, ‘to regret’, ‘to dislike’, ‘to prefer’; also, (denominal verbs) ‘to be ones’ N’ etc.

See ditransitive stems – § 35(7b) and § 35(37b) – for complement clauses in T function; (249). A nominal clause in R function is not expected nor attested.

*P function*:

- (242) *Neryuk-aqa*                      *tekite-llerka-a/ -n<sub>P</sub>*.  
 expect-IND.1sg.3sg. arrive-VNnm.FUT-ABS.3sg.sg./2sg.sg.  
 ‘I’m expecting that he / you(sg.) will arrive (his / your arrival).’
- (243) [*Aya-kar-raa-l-qa*    *yuilqu-mun*  
 go-ITS-first-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. tundra-ALL.sg.  
*iqvar-lua*]<sub>P</sub>                      *assike-pia-lar-qa*    *cakneq*.  
 pick.berry-APP.1sg. like-ITS-REG-IND.1sg.3sg. very.much  
 ‘I like my first time I go to the tundra picking berries very much.’
- (244) *Tua=i=llu mingeq-nginanermini* [[*mingqute-m im-u-m*]<sub>G</sub>  
 then=and sew-CNNwl.3Rsg. needle-REL.sg. that-EX-REL.sg.  
*elli-ci-a*]<sub>P</sub>    *nalluyagut-aa*.  
 put-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. forget-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘And then, when he was sewing, he forgot where that (ANP) needle [G=S] was put.’ [Barnum 1901: 280]
- (245) [*Aata-ksagute-l-qa*    (*wiinga*)]<sub>P</sub>  
 Fa-become-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. 1sg.  
*quya-k-aa*.  
 thank-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is happy about his becoming my father.’  
 – lit. ‘he is (has it as) thankful that I have come to have him as father’  
 cf. inchoative transitive relational *aata-ksagut-aqa (wiinga)* ‘he has become ( is now) my father’.
- (246) *mernu-neq<sub>P</sub>*    *nallu-luku*  
 tired-VNnm.ABS.sg. not.know-APP.3sg.  
 ‘not knowing how to be tired’ [QNMC 348]

Complex transitive constructions with an appositional-mood (cosubordinate) clause may be complementized:

- (247) *Neq'a-qa-llini-a*  
 remember-suddenly-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 [*niit(e)-la-ll-ni*  
 hear-CUS-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 [*carayag-nun<sub>(A)</sub> sasku-t<sub>P</sub> alik-ni-luki*]]<sub>P</sub>  
 bear-ALL.pl. weapon-ABS.pl. fear-A'.say-APP.3pl.  
 'He suddenly remembered that he [himself] had usually heard (some-  
 one saying) that bears are afraid of weapons.'  
 – transitive 2 with allative demotion.

- (248) [*Ciin May'a-m<sub>G=S</sub> qalarte-sciigal-uci-a*  
 why p.n.-REL.sg. speak-cannot-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 [*Yup'ig-tun assir-luku*]]<sub>P</sub> *nallu-aqa.*  
 Y.-EQL.sg. do.good-APP.3sg. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I don't know why May'aq [G=S] cannot speak Yupik well.'  
 – uttered by a Yupik speaker in ridiculing Mayaq's practical com-  
 mand of the language.

*T function:*

- (249) *Nallunair-aa* *angut-mun<sub>(R)</sub> [qaillun*  
 explain-IND.3sg.3sg. man-ALL.sg. how  
*akuta-li-neq]*<sub>T</sub>  
 ice.cream-make-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 'She explained to the man how to make ice cream.'

#### 4.2. With relative-case marking

i) *In A function:* Much rarer, compared with S or P slot, and used only in limited cases.

*as locational expression:*

- (250) *Maa=i* *ma-n'a<sub>P</sub>* *nal-k-aa*  
 here=INJ this-EX.ABS.sg. time-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 [*yura-la-llr-ata* *imu-mi*]<sub>A</sub>.  
 dance-CUS-VNnm-REL.3pl.sg. that.long.time.ago-LOC.sg.  
 'Long time ago this (season) now is the time they used to dance, lit.  
 their dancing customarily has this now as the time.'

as the subject of causative complex transitives ('A' to make, cause') – commonly the case with *|-tɣ-|* nominal clauses (§ 24.2.3):

- (251) [*Cali-vaka-ama* *mernu-qapigte-ll-ma*]<sub>A</sub>  
 work-hard-CNNbc.1sg. tired-ITS-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.  
*manar-yar-cete-nrit-aanga*.  
 fish-go-A'.make-NEG-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'My great tiredness because I worked very hard has prevented me  
 from going (ice)fishing.'  
 cf. *mernu-qapigte-llru-unga* (IND.1sg.) 'I was very much tired.' –  
*|miɣnuɣ-|*.

ii) *In G function*: A nominal clause in G function typically forms an attributive phrase with a location word (§ 11.2) to serve as a temporal adjunct ('after, toward at the time of -ing').

- (252) a. [[*Watna-la-llr-ata*]<sub>G</sub> *nal-qapiari-i*]<sub>S</sub>  
 act.like.this-CUS-VNnm-REL.3pl.sg. time-ITS.exact-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nallunar-tuq*.  
 not.known-IND.3sg.  
 'It is not known exactly when this (festival) was done (lit. when they  
 used to do this way).' [CAUY 19]
- b. *Mamteriller-mete-ll-ma*<sub>G</sub> *nalli-inirnek*.  
 pl.n.-be.at-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg. time-3sg.ABM.  
 'since the time I was in Bethel'.
- (253) [[*Apertu-ll-ma* *wangnek*]<sub>G</sub> *kingu-akun*]  
 show-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg. 1sg. ABM behind-PRL.3sg.sg.  
*nallu-nri-llru-anga*  
 not.know-NEG-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'After I introduced myself, he now knows me.'
- (254) [*erenr-e-m / unua-m*<sub>G=S</sub> *erte-llerk-an*]<sub>G</sub>  
 day/morning-EV-REL.sg. dawn-VNnm.FUT-REL.3sg.sg.  
*tungi-inun*  
 direction-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 'toward the daybreak (toward the direction of the day's/the morning's  
 dawning)'.
- (255) *yu-urte-llr-an*<sub>G</sub> *allami-ku-ani*  
 person-become-VNnm-REL.3sg.sg. (last)year-FUT-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 'in the following year after he was born'.



## 4.3. Ablative-modalis case marking

A complement clause in P function or in ditransitive T function may be demoted into an oblique function with ablative-modalis case marking, depending upon the main clause.

## i) Demoted P function:

- (256) *Ukver-luteng* *tua=i ataam* *[[tau-m*  
believe-APP.3Rpl. SFL again that-REL.sg.  
*pit-arka-m<sub>G</sub>*  
catch-VNrl.FUT-REL.sg.  
*pit-arka-urte-nqigte-llerka-anek*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
catch-VNrl.FUT-become-again-VNnm.FUT-ABM.3sg.sg.  
'They believed that again the animal (the one to be caught) will become again (one) to be caught.' [CAUY 31] – reason for observing *nakaciuq* or Bladder Feast. See fn. 3 for the feast.
- (257) [*Kaig-aqameng=gguq*] [*ciinlugguar-a-luteng*<sup>9</sup>] [*ciin*  
hungry-CNNwn.3Rpl.=RPT regret-RPT-APP.3Rpl. why  
*nere-llru-nril-uci-meggnek* [*tau-mek*  
eat-PST-NEG-VNnm-ABM.3Rpl.sg. that-ABM.sg.  
*neq-meggnek*]<sub>(P)</sub>]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
fish-ABM.3Rpl.sg.  
'(They say) whenever they were starving, they regretted why (that) they did not eat that fish of theirs.' [MJ]
- (258) *Iqva-inanermini=gguq* *paqna-yu-nge-ki-li*  
pick.berry-CNNwl.3Rsg.=RPR curious-DES-INC-ASP-OPT.3sg.  
[*ca-tangqerr-uci-anek* [*caneg-pi-i-t<sub>G</sub>*  
what-there.be-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg. grass-big-EV-REL.pl.  
*ilu-at*]]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
inside-ABS.3pl.sg.  
'While picking berries, it is said, he became curious about what was inside the tall grass.' [YSRA 9]

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9. Formation of the verb stem *ciinlugguar-*, translated as 'continually ask (oneself) why, regret' by Jacobson (1984: 117), is most possibly derived from the ignorative *ciin* 'why' (as speakers feel), though its analysis remains a perplexity.

- (259) [Mik-le-mni qaillun nuna-mta<sub>G=S</sub>  
 small-VNnm-1sg.sg. how land-REL.1pl.sg.  
 ayuq-uci-atnek]<sub>(P)</sub> qalamci-ciq-ua.  
 similar-VNnm-ABM.3pl.sg. tell-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I’ll tell a story about how our village was when I was small.’  
 – ayuq-uci-atnek ~ ayuq-llr-atnek ~ ayuq-uci-llr-atnek.

ii) *Demoted T function:*

- (260) Qanr-ut-aanga ayagyua-ll-minek<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 say-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. young-VNnm-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘She told me about *when* she was young.’
- (261) Apertu-ut-aanga [qaillun  
 show-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. how  
 ap'-la-llr-anek qaner-yara-m<sub>G</sub>]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 pronounce-REG-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg. say-VNnm-REL.sg.  
 ‘He showed me *how* the word [G=P] is pronounced.’
- (262) Allan-*iu-ner-mek*<sub>(T)</sub> elitnaur-ru.  
 stranger-deal-VNnm-ABL.sg. teach-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) teach him how to receive/treat a stranger.’  
 – |alan̄ȳ-|, with -iu- from VV |liuȳ-| ‘to deal with’.
- (263) Qanemci(-t)-qatar-amci issrac-i-yara-mek<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 tell(-E<sub>APL</sub>)-IMN-IND.1sg.2pl. basket-make-VNnm-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I am going to tell you [R] (a story) about *how to* make grass baskets  
 (backpacks).’

4.4. With allative-case marking for a peripheral argument

- (264) Cali-llerka-mnun/-mnek qessa-unga.  
 work-VNnm.FUT-ALL/ABM.sg. lazy-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I am lazy to work (in future), don’t feel like working.’  
 – the ablative-modalis form preferred by some speakers.

# Chapter 19

## Other deverbal nouns

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There are a number of suffixes that have yielded (frozen) deverbal nouns (VN), where no argument is involved, as contrasted with relative clauses (VNrl; § 17) and nominalizations (VNnm; § 18) in the preceding sections, as stated in Prelude for Part 4 Nominal Derivation Morphology.

### 1. Agent nouns

Table 14: VN suffixes for agent nouns

VN	+li-	‘one who/that is, does’ (obsolete)
VN	+liy-	‘one like’ (obsolete)
VN	- <sub>1</sub> culi-	‘one who/that does well, best -er’
VN/NN	-tuli-	‘onw who/that is capable, one that generally does’

VN |+li-| ‘one who/that is, does’. Similar in function particularly with the intransitive participial relativizer VNrl |-lyiy-| (§ 17.4.1) and agentive / active VNrl |+(s)t-| (§ 17.5.1), but hardly productive, occurring only in a small number of lexicalized nouns.

- (1) *uqila-li* ‘fast runner’ – |uqila-| ‘to run fast’  
*kayu-li* ‘strong person’ – |kayu-| ‘to be strong’.

After a few derivative suffixes:

- (2) a. *tegle-ngar-li* ‘thief’ – |tiyly-| ‘to steal’  
*iqlu-ngar-li* ‘liar’ – |iqlu-| ‘to lie’ – with |-ŋay-| ‘chronically’  
 b. *ner-yunqegg-li* ‘one who loves to eat’ – |+<sub>1</sub>cunqix-| ‘to love to’  
 c. *yug-tu-tu-li* ‘man-eater’ – |+tuy-| ‘to eat’, |-tu-| REG (§ 43.2.5).

This VN suffix, hardly productive any longer, occurs in the (more productive) composite suffixes VN |-<sub>1</sub>culi-| and VN/NN |-tuli-| below.

VN |+liŷ-| – occurs mainly in animal names and color(-related) terms (§ 11.5), though it is not quite certain whether this is from the preceding |+li-|:

- (3) *tan'ger-liq* 'black bear' – |*tanyiy-*| 'darkness'  
*uqur-liq* [Y] 'silver salmon' – |*uqunŷ-*| 'oil'.
- (4) *esir-liq* 'yellow (one)' – |*isiŷ-*| 'egg yolk'  
*kavir-liq* 'red (one), cranberry' – |*kaviŷ-*| 'red'  
*qater-li-n* 'your (sg.) white clothing for winter seal-hunting' (-n ABS.2sg.sg.).
- (5) *tukur-liq* 'wealthy person' – |*tukuŷ-*| 'to be wealthy'  
*tumag-liq* 'cranberry' – |*tumay-*| 'to taste dry and bitter' [YED]  
*tegg-liq* 'metal, bead' – |*tixi-*| 'to be hard'  
*elngur-liq* 'sewing thread' – |*ilhuŷ-*| 'to be tough'.

The two composites may occasionally occur like relative clauses with adjuncts, and typically refer to certain notable characteristics of persons, animals, etc. by capturing their characteristics.

VN |-<sub>1</sub>culi-| 'one who/that does well, best –er' – with VVsm |-<sub>1</sub>cu-| 'to be proficient, do well'.

- (6) a. *kuima-yuli* 'one good at swimming' – |*kuimay-*| 'to swim'  
*iga-yuli* 'one who writes well' – |*iŷay-*| 'to write'  
*milqu-yuli* 'unseen creature living in woods that are believed to throw wood/stones (at people); monkey' – secundative |*milqu-*| 'to throw (s.t.) at (maliciously)'  
*aa-yuli* ~ *aara-yuli* 'red-necked grebe; one who is always yelling' – |*aa-*| 'to say "ah"', |*aaŷa-*| 'to scream'  
*Mum-yuli* person name ('expert drummer') – cf. *mumeq* 'drumming stick'
- b. *kegg-suli* /*kixsuli*/ 'pike fish' (lexicalized) – |*kixi-*| 'bite'  
*naru-ssuli* 'skilled harpooner' [YEEM 312] – cf. *narup'ag-/ narulpag-* 'to thrust a weapon'.
- (7) [*Pi-yuli-t*                      *unang-yuli-t*]  
do-well-ABS.pl.              obtain-well-ABS.pl.  
*amlle-nrit-lini-aq-ut.*  
many-NEG-EVD-always-IND.3pl.  
'There are not always many excellent hunters.' [FASM 24]

- (8) *antipassivization* – typically with VVsm  $|-y_i2-|$ , after patientive stems:  
*ipegcar-i-yuli* ‘one good at sharpening’ –  $|ipiyca\dot{y}-|$  ‘to sharpen’  
*kitugc-i-yuli* ‘one good at repairing’ –  $|kituyc-|$  ‘to repair’  
*kep'-i-yuli* ‘beaver’ (lexicalized) –  $|kipi-y_i2-|$  (sever-APS), cf. [K] *paluqtaq*.

*after expanded stems:*

- (9) *tuqu-t-ara-yuli* ‘murderer (lit. ‘one who kills repeatedly)’  
 – *tuqu-t-* ‘to kill’ (die-A) with  $|+1taay\dot{-}|$  (CNT).
- (10) *tanger-qapigc-uli* ‘one who just sees, i.e. doing nothing further, not giving a helping hand’ (see-ITS) – an attitude the Yupiks believe should be avoided.
- (11) *Yunga(-a), yunga(-a), kayangu-minek*  
 jaeger-VOC RPT bird.egg-ABM.pl.  
*melug-a-yuli!*  
 eat.egg-CNT-good.at.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Hey, jaeger, one that sucks [even] its own eggs!’ (accusing, ridiculing or teasing the bird)  
 – known at least in the Coast area and Nelson Island and originally perhaps a part of a story. The vocative vowel doubling (§ 31.1) is lost by some speakers.

VN/NN  $|-tuli-|$  ‘one who/that is capable of, well endowed with, one that usually does’ – with NV  $|+tu-|$  ‘to be well endowed’ / VV ‘usually’. Attested after various derivations and marginally as an NN suffix.

- (12) *nav-tuli-nek<sub>(T)</sub> qantar-kit-aa*  
 break-well-ABM.pl. dish-give-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he gave him breakable dishes’.
- (13) *ayag-cece-tuli qurr-un*  
 go-A<sup>1</sup>.let-capable.ABS.sg. urinate-NVrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘flush toilet (lit. one that is capable of letting a honey-bucket go)’.
- (14)  $[[Kuig-e-m_G pai-nganun] neqe-ngqe-tuli-mun]$   
 river-EV-REL.sg. mouth-ALL.3sg.sg. fish-have-usually-ALL.sg.  
*ayag-naur-tukut.*  
 go-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
 ‘Let’s (now) go to the mouth of the river where there usually is fish.’

- (15) *keglunr-urte-tuli-u-ni-lukek*  
 wolf-become-one.capable-be-A'.say-APP.3du.  
 '(he) saying they (du.) have the ability to turn themselves into  
 wolves'. [ELLA 110]

The suffix may replace the intransitive participial relativizer VNrl  $|-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-|$  /  $|+_{1}n\dot{y}\dot{y}^*|-|$  (§ 17.2.1), but with some difference as in the second example below:

- (16) *tuunri-tuli / tuunri-tu-lria* *arnaq*  
 use.spirit-capable.ABS.sg. / -NV-VNrl.ABS.sg. woman.ABS.sg.  
 'a woman who uses shamanistic powers' – *tuunri-* < *tunra(r)-lir-*  
 (spirit.power-have.lots).
- (17) a. *acsa-li-tuli* 'place that *normally* has lots of berries'  
 b. *acsa-li-lria* 'place that *currently* has lots of berries' –  $|acsay\dot{-}li\dot{y}\dot{-}|$   
 (berry-have.lots)  
 – the speaker is not sure about the berries this summer in (a), but is  
 sure (with some evidence) in (b).
- (18) a. *erin-i-tuli* 'vowel'  
 voice-makeVNrl.ABS.sg. – *erin-i-* from  $|i\dot{y}ina\dot{y}\dot{-}li\dot{-}|$  (voice-make)  
 b. *erin-i-tuli-u-nril-nguq*  
 voice-make-VNrl-be-VNrl.ABS.sg. 'consonant' [YED 150]  
 – renominalized by the participial relativizer.
- (19) *im-na=wa* *sugtu-lria* *high.school-a-mi*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.=REA tall-VNrl.ABS.sg. h.s.-LNK-LOC.sg.  
*elitnaur-i-tuli / elitnaur-i-tu-lria*  
 each-APS-VN.ABS.sg. / -NV-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 'you know that (ANP) tall one who teaches at the high school'.

Interestingly, the two suffixes  $|-_{1}culi-$  and  $|+tuli-$  co-occur with the complex verb suffix VVcm  $|+ni-$  'A'.say' (§ 40.2.4) intervening:

- (20) a. *iga-yu-ni-tuli ~ iga-y'u-ni-tuli*  
 write-well-A'.say-one.capable.ABS.sg.  
 'one who brags that he writes well, is the best writer'; with some  
 derisive connotation but not so much as:  
 b. *iga-yu-ni-sta ~ iga-y'u-ni-sta* – agentive relativizer  $|+(s)t-$  (§ 17.5.1)  
 'one who brags that he writes well'; with a mocking tone.



- b. *ane-**lgut-ka*** ‘my sibling’ – |*ani-*| ‘to go out’  
*pi-ta-**lgut-ka*** ~ (23) *pi-ta-**llgut-ka*** ‘my same age, peer’.

Verbalized composite suffixes:

VNV |*-lyut-ki-*| ~ |*-lyut-ki-*| with transitive relational verb NVrv |*-ki-*| ‘to have – as’ (stative) and |*-k(i)sayuc-*| ‘to acquire – as’ (inchoative); very often reciprocal with intransitive inflection (§ 34.4), meaning ‘same, common, together; different’.

- (26) a. *aya-**llgut-k-aqa***  
 go-partner-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am travelling with him, he is my traveling companion’  
 b. *aya-**llgut-k-uk***  
 go-partner-have.as-IND.1du.  
 ‘we (du.) are traveling companions, are traveling together’.
- (27) a. *yu-u-**llgut-k-aqa*** ‘he is the same age as me, is a Yupik like us’  
 b. *arnarkara’urlu-u-**llgut-k-aqa*** ‘she is my fellow old woman, is an old woman like me’  
 cf. *arnarkara’urlu-u-guq* ‘she is an old woman’  
 c. *nuna-**llgut-k-aqa*** ‘he is from the same village’.
- (28) a. *(e)ne-**lgut-k-uk*** ~ *(e)ne-**llgut-k-uk*** ‘they(du.) share a house’  
*piciryara-**llgut-k-ukut*** ‘we have common ways’  
 b. *assike-**llgut-k-uk*** ‘they (du.) love each other, are mutual lovers’  
*ange-**llgut-k-uk*** ‘they (du.) are equally big’  
*ate-**llgut-k-uk*** ‘they (du.) are namesakes’  
 cf. (24) *ate-**llgut-ka*** ‘my namesake’.
- (29) a. *umyua-**llgute-ksagute-llrii-k***  
 mind-sharer-acquire-VNrl-ABS.du. – inchoative  
 ‘those(du.) who are now with one mind’  
 b. *nuna-**lgut-ke-nril-ngu-u-t***  
 land-companion-have.as-NEG-VNrl-EV-ABS.pl. [ELLA 380–381]  
 ‘those from different villages (lit. ones who do not share land)’  
 cf. (25a) *nuna-**lgut-ka*** ‘one from the same village as me’  
 c. *piciryara-**llgut-ke-ng’e’rmeng*** ‘though they had common festival’  
 custom-sharer-have.as-CNNth.3Rpl. [CAUY 19]



- (30) *Allrag-nirnek kuvya-llgut-k-aqa.*  
 last.year-ABL drift.net-partner-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘He has been my fishing companion since last year.’ [YEO 105]
- VNV |-*tyuc-iŷ*-| with NV |-*liŷ*-| ‘to supply with’; with /V-/ deletion (P15iii).
- (31) *umyua-llguc-ir-ciigat-arput* ‘we cannot think the same way as he’  
 think-partner-supply-cannot-IND.1pl.3sg. – cf. (24).
- (32) *wangnun<sub>(A)</sub> nere-llguc-i-i-sqe-lluni*  
 1sg.ALL eat-parter-supply-EV-A'.ask-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(he) wanting me to eat (with him), to join to eat’  
 – complex transitive with demoted A in the allative.
- (33) *Pi-llguc-ir-yug-aa cali-yara-kun.*  
 do-partner-supply-DES-IND.3sg.3sg. work-VNnm-PRL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He wanted to join her (in some activity).’

VN/VV |+*naŷ*-| ‘one that causes / to cause’. A still-productive but very limited in further derivation. It occurs in composite suffixes VVn |+*nait*-| ‘not to cause’ (§ 44) and perhaps also the converb-like |+*nami*| ‘could have –ed, but’ (below). On the other hand the deverbal use is maintained with the necessitative A<sub>IMP</sub> (impersonal agent) adder VVsm |+*naŷqi*-|, |+*naŷi*-|, and |-*kixnaŷqi*-| (§ 39.2), the first of which is also given as a modality VVm (§ 43).

- (34) a. *aling-naq* ‘hazardous thing’ – |*aliji*-| ‘to be afraid’  
 b. (*tua=i*) *aling-naq-piaq!* ‘it is very scary!’  
 cf. *aling-narq-uq* ‘it is frightening’; see § 43  
*aling-nait-uq* ‘it is not frightening’; see § 44  
*alinge-vkar-aa* ‘it frightens him’; see § 40.2.1 (causative complex transitive).

As a nominal (a), it has no person inflection (\**alingna-qa*), while the plural *alingna-t* may also be used.

- (35) *Qinu-it-naq taugaam kii-ngan*  
 upset-PRV-thing.ABS.sg. only be.only-CNNst.3sg.  
 ‘Live tranquilly, with only harmony.’ [ELLA 176–177]
- (36) a. *keneg-naq* ‘someone lovable’  
 b. *keneg-na-piaq* ‘very pretty’  
 cf. *keneg-narq-uq* ‘she is lovable’.

- (37) a. *tuqu-naq* ‘poison’ – |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’  
 b. *tuqu-naq-piaq* ‘something that surely kills’  
 cf. *tuqu-narq-uq* ‘it is poisonous’.
- (38) *tune-naq* ‘giving/selling, something given/sold’ – |*tuni-*|  
 ‘to give’.

Case inflection is possible – at least in the relative case (§ 24):

- (39) *quinag-na-m<sub>A</sub>* *neve-vailg-anga*  
 ugly-causing-REL.sg. penetrate-CNNbf-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘before the knowledge of the worldly things had permeated me’  
 – |*quinay-*| is an old word [Y]
- (40) *yu-u-t* *tuqu-a-la-llru-ut* *naulluu-na-m<sub>A</sub>*  
 person-EV-ABS.pl. die-RPT-GEN-PST-IND.3pl. sick-NEC-REL.sg.  
*pi-luki*  
 do-APP.3sg.  
 ‘people used to die of plague (post-contact disease)...’ [LL]

As VV type:

- (41) a. *keneg-nar-tuq* ‘he is pretty, lovely, good’ – cf. (36) above  
*keneg-na-lria* ‘one who is pretty, lovely, good’ (with relativization)  
 b. *nallu-nar-tuq* ‘it is not known’.
- (42) *ilumun* *celli-naq-lar-tuq* *kesianek*  
 surely sharpen-NEC-REG-IND.3sg. always  
*atu-llriani* (~ *atu-lriani*), ...  
 use-CNV  
 ‘surely it (knife) has to be sharpened when frequently used’ [MT]  
 – see § 47.6.2 for the participial converb.

It is not certain whether the following suffix contains the |*+naya-*|:

VVm? |*+nami*| ‘despite the time to; should/could have –ed (but did not)’; after the same verb stem as the predicative verb (with explicit negation or implied contrariness).

- (43) *Qimugte-m<sub>A</sub>* *kegg-nami* *kegge-nrit-aa*.  
 dog-REL.sg. bite-should.but bite-not-IND.3sg3sg.  
 ‘The dog could have bit him, but didn’t.’

- (44) a. *Ak'a=am ner-nami nere-ksait-ukut*  
 already=ENC eat-should.but eat-not.yet-IND.1pl.  
*uita-llini-ukut.*  
 wait-EVD-IND.1pl.  
 'Even if we could have eaten (despite having had the time to eat), we haven't yet / we waited (sat around).'
- b. *Ner-nami nere-ksail-kevnga.*  
 eat-should.but eat-not.yet-PTP.2sg.1sg.  
 'You haven't eaten me when you could.' – cf. § 27(21) *ayag-nami*.

There are a number of obsolete VN/NN suffixes which yielded a great quantity of lexicalized nouns, the most conspicuous of which is the following  $|-_1qu\dot{y}-|$ . Some other obsolete suffixes are identifiable in a limited number of words in some specific content categories.

VN/NN  $|-_1qu\dot{y}-|$  'a spot or a small part or a thing (which is like / associated with)', particularly an anatomical part and a spatial spot.

The original roots or stems to which the suffix is added are not only verbal but can also be nominal, though they are very often difficult to identify. The nominal stems include nominalizations.

It is to be noted that many derivatives are more or less local and may not be attested in some CAY areas. Fortescue et al. gives PE form *qu\dot{y}* 'something associated with or attached to something' (1994: 423). See also Thalbitzer (1908: 20) for comparative information from other Eskimo dialects, and Miyaoka (1967) for a comparative analysis.

- after verbal roots or stems (incl. putative ones):*
- (45) *uiv-quq* 'knot in wood' –  $|uiv\dot{i}-|$  'to go around in a circle'  
 cf. *uiv-neq* 'joint or connected part' – with VN  $|+_1n\dot{y}-|$  (result).
- (46) *nang-quq* 'end, arrow- or spear-head' (conceivably from  $|nan\dot{j}\dot{i}-|$   
 'to use up, to consume')  
 cf. *nang-neq* 'cowlick, hair standing on end'.
- (47) *alarca-quq* [Y]  
 'appendix' (perhaps from  $|alayc-|$  'to make a mistake, err')  
 – with the dialectal variations *alarca-uk* ~ *alarca-un* ~ *alar-cuaq*.

*after stem-final /t/* – characteristic of negative and privative suffixes, with /t/ fricativized into /l/ by (P5i.b):

- (48) *can'ggel-quq* 'fontanelle' –  $|canx\dot{i}t-|$  'to be thin'  
*takvial-quq* 'blind spot' –  $|takv\dot{i}at-|$  'to be blind'

- cf. *takvial-nguq* ‘person with poor sight’ – participial relative clause  
*etgal-quq* ‘shallow place’ – |*ityat-*| ‘to be shallow’  
*mikel-quq* [Y] ‘little finger’ – |*mik(i)t-*| ‘to be small’.

The Kuskokwim [K] *iqelquq* ‘little finger’ for the last has an unidentifiable /l/ probably following the stem |*iqy-*| ‘corner of mouth’, as in the following as well:

- (49) *tegga-l-quq* ‘rock’ – perhaps related with |*tixi-*| ‘to be hard’ though with a different vowel  
 cf. *teggarvak* ‘large stone’.
- after the privative suffix* NV |+*nit-*| ‘to have no’:
- (50) *yu-il-quq* ‘wilderness’ – |*yuy-*| ‘person’  
*can’g-il-quq* ‘spot with no grass’ – |*cany-*| ‘grass’  
*ciku-il-quq* ‘open hole in ice; fontanelle [HBC.BB; MKTB 26]’ – |*ciku-*| ‘ice’  
*qenu-il-quq* ‘fontanelle [MKTB 26]’ – |*qinu-*| ‘ice’  
*carr’-il-quq* ‘meadow, clearing, clean place’ – with unidentifiable root |*cax-*| (*carr’-it-* ‘to be clean’)  
*ii-ngil-quq* ‘spot with no eye’ – cf. (63).

Likewise, *nuyaq* ‘hair’, *napa* ‘tree’, *qanikcaq* ‘snow’, etc. may be followed by *-l-quq*, referring to ‘a spot/place without’.

*after other negative suffixes:*

- (51) *niic-uil-quq* ‘one who is the most stubborn one, does not mind / heed’ – |*niic-*| ‘to listen’ and VVn |*-cuit-*| ‘never’.

ii) *Possible with VNnm* |*-ny-*|: If the preceding stem does not end in a velar, it may be difficult to see whether the /n/ reflects VNnm |*-ny-*| or |+*1ny-*| (§ 18.3.1), as might be the case with *meqe-nquq*, *tuqu-nquq* and *aru-nquq* below:

- (52) *gate-nquq* ‘white spot’ – |*qatȳ-*| ‘to be white’  
*tungu-nquq* ‘bearded seal’ [NI] – |*tuŋu-*| ‘to be black’  
*meqe-nquq* ‘bold/hairless spot’ – |*miqĩ-*| ‘to shed hair’  
 cf. *meq-neq* ‘bald spot’ [YED 235]  
*tuqu-nquq* ‘mole or blemish on the human skin; dead branch/tree’ – |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’  
 cf. *tuqu-neq* ‘dying’  
*aru-nquq* ‘ripe berry’ – |*ayũ-*| ‘to ripen, rot’  
 cf. *aru-ma-neq* ‘rotten wood’ [YED 82]  
*tegge-nquq* ‘hard piece, styloid process, unripe berry that is still hard’ – |*tixi-*| ‘to be hard’

cf. *tegg(a)-neq* ~ *tegg'-neq* 'older person' (§ 18[204])  
*et'u-nquq* ~ *et'u-lquq* 'deep place' – |*itu-*| 'to be deep'  
 – The second form with /-l-/ may conceivably be analogous to  
*etgalquq* 'shallow place' from |*ityat-*| 'to be deep' with the same root.

Derivatives with *-nquq* that refer to person, as below, are slangish and not used in formal settings:

- (53) *qava-nquq* 'one who sleeps much, does not observe much, sleep-  
 yhead' – |*qavay-*| 'to sleep'  
*qessa-nquq* 'lazy person' – |*qisa-*| 'to feel lazy'  
 – cf. (57) *qessa-m-quq*.

iii) Possibly with comparative marker VNnm |*-ny-*|: cf. § 18.3.2. Or perhaps as lexicalized nominalization:

- (54) *ange-nquq* 'big toe, the biggest one' – cf. [K] *putukuq* 'big toe'  
*ange-nqu-yuk* 'big toe [Y], big iceberg; the biggest one'  
 cf. *angu-nquq* ~ [HBC] *angu-nqu-yuk* 'big toe' – with the stem vowel *u*  
 conceivably owing to vowel assimilation when lexicalized.

iv) *With unidentifiable /l/ intervening*: A considerable number of derivatives apparently come from nominal stems with an enigmatic /l/ inserted. Jacobson [YED 493] has a suffix of *-lquq* 'old broken piece of N' by giving *mura-lquq* 'broken piece of driftwood', *ca-lquq* 'any old thing, a piece of junk' besides the above-cited *cuya-lquq* 'piece of leaf tobacco'. One might think of some analogy with the rather dominant type above, although the identity remains unclear:

- (55) *aci-l-quq* 'root of plant' – |*aci-*| 'bottom'  
*ciku-l-quq* 'iceberg, onshore pile of old ice' – |*ciku-*| 'ice'  
*tunge-l-quq* 'distant cousin/relative' – |*tunji-*| 'direction'  
*cavi-l-quq* 'shavings, piece of metal/iron/tin' – |*caviy-*| 'iron,  
 knife'  
*cuya-l-quq* 'leaf' – |*cuyay-*| 'leaf, chewing tobacco'  
*yaqu-l-quq* 'something similar to wings' – |*yaquy-*| 'wing'  
*kitngi-l-quq* 'heel of a sled runner' – |*kitngiy-*| 'heel'  
*ulluva-l-quq* 'disembodied cheek of a fish' – |*uhuvay-*| 'cheek'  
 cf. *ulluva-lqin* 'preopercle of a fish'  
*iqu-l-quq* 'end piece' – |*iquy-*| 'end'  
*iqe-l-quq* 'little finger' – from |*iqy-*| 'corner of mouth' or |*iquy-*|  
 'end (piece, part)'.

At least one derivative has /n/ instead of /l/ after the nominal stem:

- (56) *uqu-nquq* ‘fatty part’ – |*uquȳ-*| ‘oil’.

v) *With an unidentifiable /m/ and /ŋ/:* Several derivatives have an enigmatic /m/ intervening between the stems – either verbal and nominal – and the suffix. In some it occurs as a variant of one with /n/, while in others one might be inclined to associate it in some way with the aspectual suffix VVt |+(u)ma-| (perfective/continuative; § 4.2.2.3).

- (57) *passi-m-quq* [Y] ‘tray’ – |*pasi-*| ‘to squash, to crush, to flatten’,  
|*pasi-ma-*| ‘to be squashed’, cf. [K] *qantaq*  
*nallu-m-quq* ‘dull-witted person’ – |*nalu-*| ‘to be ignorant’,  
|*nalu-ma-*| ‘to be in the state of not knowing’  
*qessa-m-quq* (~ *qessa-m-kaq*; FASM 18) ‘lazy one’ – |*qisa-*| ‘to feel  
lazy’; *qessa-n-quq* also (YED)  
– some Upper-river variant (?) for (53) *qessa-n-quq*  
*tegge-m-quq* ‘salmonberry (unripe, hard)’ – |*tixi-*| ‘to be hard’.
- (58) *ciute-m-quq* ‘snail shell’ – |*ciut-*| ‘ear’  
*cetu-m-quq* ~ *setu-m-quq* ‘seal flipper, bird claw, talon; caribou  
nail scraper’ [YEEM] – |*cituy-*| ‘nail, claw’.
- (59) *tata-ng-quq* ‘cartilage in fish head’ [YED]

vi) *Directly after nominal roots or stems:*

- (60) *uya-quq* ‘neck (anatomical)’ – |*uya-*| ‘neck’  
*aglu-quq* ‘jaw’ – |*agluȳ-*| ‘roof beam’  
*ak-quq* ‘branch, knot of tree’ – probably related with |*aky-*|  
‘stair, rung, barb’  
*ima-quq* [K] ‘pus’ – |*imaȳ-*| ‘content, pus’  
*keggina-quq* ‘mask’ – |*kixinaȳ-*| ‘face’  
*talli-quq* ‘flipper of seal, leg of an animal’ – |*tatiȳ-*| ‘arm’  
*Talliquq* [Y] ‘Alaska Peninsula and Aleutian Islands’  
[YED 355]
- (61) *pames-quq* ‘coccyx (small bone at the stem of a spinal column)’ –  
with same root as in |*pamzuȳ-*| ‘tail of an animal’.

vii) *With an unrecognizable root or stem*: Given that these are all body parts, the suffix may perhaps be an old formative for stems of this semantic category, while at least some may be primary stems with no suffix.

- (62) *ciisquq* ‘knee’  
*nasquq* ‘head (anatomical or other); director/provider in the context of the potlatch [TKDF 114]’ – cf. Eastern Eskimo *niaquq* ‘head’  
*isquq* ‘side of sandbars where the water is deep’ [PAIT 38–39]  
*ilquq* ~ *il’quq* ‘brain; head’  
*melquq* ‘fur, body hair’ – cf. Eastern Eskimo *mitquq*  
*qamiquq* ‘head, section of a tree stump’  
*pequq* ‘scruff of the neck’  
*ircaquq* ‘heart’  
*kucuquq* ‘pelvis (bone)’ – cf. *kucuknaq* ‘icicle’  
*tatangquq* ‘cartilage in fish heads’  
*qaquq* ~ *qaq’uq* ‘middle finger’, [K] *qatneq*  
*yaquq* ‘wing’ – cf. Eastern Eskimo *isarquq*.

viii) *Intervocal retention*: The final /y/ of this suffix tends to be retained intervocalically as velar friction (cf. P10-i) – see § 3.3.6-ix and § 3(130). A consultant testifies that pronunciation without velar friction (that is, with vowel cluster) sounds childish.

- (63) a. *uyaqu-a* ~ *uyaqurr-a* ‘his neck’ – with ABS.3sg.sg. |+*ŋa*|  
 /uyá:qua/ /uyá:qux<sup>w</sup>a/  
*isqurr-itnek* (ABM.3pl.pl) [PAIT 39] – cf. (62) *isquq*  
 /isqux<sup>w</sup>itnik/  
*ii-ngil-qurr-a* ‘spot where its eye was (lit. where it has no eye)’  
 /iinjilqux<sup>w</sup>a/ – cf. (50) *il-ngil-quq*  
 b. *tegge-nqurr-it-uq* ‘it does not have any hard thing in  
 /tixinquxí:tuq/ (as part of) it’ – with privative NV |+*ŋit*-|.

ix) *Composite*:

|-*quxay*\*-| probably expanded by NN |-*xɑ(yɑ)y*\*-| ‘a little, just’ (§ 20.1.1):

- (64) *kui-l-qurraq* ‘creek’ [QQLK] – |*kuiy*-| ‘river’  
*tegga-l-qurraq*; ‘a little rock’ [CAUY 45; ELLA 122] – cf. (49)  
*uqvi-l-qurraq* ‘piece of branch’ [QNMC 86] – |*uqvivy*-| ‘willow’  
*angute-l-qurraq* ‘normal man’ [QQLK 638]  
 – with unidentifiable *-l-*; cf. iv) above.

- (65) *angalku-u-nril-qurraq*  
 shaman-be-NEG-VN.ABS.sg.  
 ‘angalkuq whom they considered the weakest’ [QQLK 30–31]  
*amirlu-ite-n-qurraq*  
 cloud-PRV-VNnm?-NN.ABS.sg.  
 ‘cloudless opening (*alga-neq*)’ [QQLK 714–715]

|-*qucuy*-| expanded by the unproductive |-*cuy*-| ‘something similar to’. The composite suffix often has a negative connotation (‘bad, strange’) and is attested in the following and a few others:

- (66) *ama-qucuk* ‘hump/dorsal fin’ – |*amay*-| ‘load on one’s back’  
*pengu-qucuk* ‘hillock’ – |*piñuy*-| ‘hill’  
*pupi-kucuk* ‘(something like) impetigo’ – |*pupiγ*-| ‘crusted sore’  
*ima-qucuk* ‘pus (green and yellow)’ [MKTB 35] – |*imay*-| ‘content, pus’  
*akul-qucuk* ‘crack between boards’ – perhaps with |*akuli*-| ‘area between’, as in *akul-miut* ‘ones who live on the tundra’  
 cf. *akul-tu-qucuk* ‘gap between logs of a tree’ as well.

The complex may be found after /n/, which possibly reflects VNnm |-*nγ*-| or |<sub>+1</sub>*nγ*-| (§ 18.3.1):

- (67) *uki-n-qucuk* ‘tote-hole at the bow of a kayak’ [YEEM 316] – |*uki*-| ‘to get a hole’ with its derivation *uki-neq* ‘hole’  
*ilutu-n-qucuk* ‘dip/hole in the ground’ – |*ilutu*-| ‘[hole] to be deep’  
*qertu-n-qucuk* ‘hummock mound’ – |*qiγ-tu*-| ‘to be high’ with NV |<sub>+tu</sub>-| ‘be great in dimension’  
*tungu-n-qucuk* ‘dark fur trim on parka, ruff, calfskin; added strip of dark skin or fur on a parka or other sewn object [YEEM 316]’ – *tungu-neq* ‘being dark’.

The composite is apparently followed by associative elaboration, cf. NN |-*a(γa)γ\**-| (§ 20.2):

- (68) *tuqu-n-qucu-ar* ‘freckle’ – cf. *tuqu-n-quq* ‘mole’.

The |-*cuy*-| itself is attested in:

- (69) *quma-cuk* ‘someone similar to a worm’ – |*qumay*-| ‘worm’  
 – used in reference to / addressing someone who is seen as disgusting



<i>qumi-cuk</i>	‘something inside the abdomen’ –   <i>qumiy-</i>   ‘[have] something inside such as a belly’
<i>irupa-cuk</i>	‘leg of a bird, animal’ –   <i>iyu+pay-</i>   ‘leg-big’?

The possibility of the obsolete |*-cuy-*| living on in the very productive NN |*-cua(ya)y̆\*-*| and |*-cuṇay̆-*|, etc. remains open to question.

Side by side with |*-<sub>1</sub>quy̆-*|, there is another remarkable suffix that reoccurs in a fair number of anatomical terminologies from different Eskimo dialects/languages, both Western and Eastern, just a few examples of which include:

|*-lu(y̆)-*| anatomical(?); obsolete:

(70) *cup-luq* ‘pipe, hose’ – |*cupi-*| ‘to blow on’.

Western Eskimo (incl. CAY) is compared with Eastern:

	<i>western</i>	<i>eastern</i>	
(71)	/tam-lu(y̆)/	/tav-lu/	‘chin’
	/kum-lu(y̆)/	/kuv-lu/	‘thumb’
	/tuq-lu(y̆)/	/tuq-lu(y̆)/	‘throat, windpipe’
	/qax-lu(y̆)/	/qaq-lu/	‘lip’ – CAY /qix̄lu(y̆)/ [YED], perhaps with /y/ [Drebert], etc.
	/qav-lu(y̆)/	/qav-lu/	‘eyebrow’.

See also Miyaoka (1967: 107–109) for more. Some of them have Aleut cognates as connected by Bergsland, e.g. *qam(i)-* ‘eyebrow’ (1994: 306, 527), and Fortescue et. al (1994: 408) gives a proto-Eskimo suffix *-lu(y̆)* ‘place or thing (for performing action)’. On the other hand, this obsolete suffix is suggested as the origin of the appositional (cosubordinate) mood marker |+*lu*| (§ 51.1.1) by Mithun (2008: 98).

# Chapter 20

## Nominal elaborations

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Nominal elaboration is responsible for the semantic elaboration of preceding nominal stems. The semantic function of nominal-expanding (NN) suffixes generally consists in bringing about a more or less concrete ‘adjectival’ elaboration (e.g. ‘big’) or secondary modification (§ 20.1). A small part of NN suffixes give merely a slight “associative” elaboration on the preceding stems (generally of certain semantic categories) and are often very opaque in content (§ 20.2). A fair number of “(dis)honorific” NN suffixes express positive or negative attitudes to persons or some living things, and they are also used as VV suffixes (§ 20.3). Besides (dis)honorifics, many NN suffixes may also serve as one or more other types, i.e. VN, NV, VV.

Some NN suffixes, which occur in a considerable number of stems, are however oblique and no longer productive. Only the more or less productive NN suffixes are given below.

### 1. Adjectival

#### 1.1. Qualifying

Table 16: NN suffixes for adjectival qualification

NN	+paŷ-  /  +pałŷ-	‘big, greatly’/‘huge’
NN/VV	-cua(ŷa)ŷ*-  ~ (after /t/ and HBC)  -ksua(ŷa)ŷ*-	‘small, little; a little, just’
NN	-ŷuŷaŷ*-	‘multitude of, many’
NN	-xa(ŷa)ŷ*-	‘a little, a few, just, only’
NN/VN	-piŷ-  ~  -piaŷ-	‘genuine, exclusively one’s own’
NN	-kiŷtaa(ŷa)ŷ-	‘good’
NN/VN	+ŷuaŷ-	‘imitation of, likeness of; to pretend to’
NN/VN/	-tuŷ-  ~  -ŷtuŷ-	‘bad, old, deviated, unspecified; to (cause one to) be bad’

VVa		
NN	+k*ay-	‘something that is unrealized or belongs to the future’
NN	-ly-	‘past, former (but not any more/longer)’
NN	+ηiyut-	‘deceased, cause/time of losing s.t./ s.o.’

NN |+pay-| ~ |+vay-|: The former has a postvocalic epenthetic consonant /y/ (/y/) and the latter occurs optionally after /t/. The latter may also have an epenthetic /y/, although this is very rare. Augmentative (‘[one with] big, tall, a big quantity of, extraordinary’) or used with nouns of duration as a VV intensifier |+pay-| ‘greatly, intensely, a lot’.

It brings about idiosyncratic prosodic disturbances or syllable truncation depending upon the stems.

In contrast with the diminutive suffix NN |-cua(ya)y\*-|, this suffix may be used with some negative connotations.

i) Variant |+vay-| – lexically limited: There may or may not be a semantic difference between the two variants:

- (1) a. *ella-r-vak* ‘strong rain, very bad weather, dark cloud’  
 cf. *ella-r-pak* ‘awareness, world’  
*ellar-pa-u-guq* ‘he has enormous mind, good sense’  
 b. *tegga-r-vak* ‘large rock’ – |tixa-| ‘to be hard’.  
 c. *ciul-va-a-k* ‘(you with) big ear!’ – |ciut-| ‘ear’, cf. (10b).

The suffix, and its variant |+vay-| in particular, is commonly accompanied by stem final syllable deletion accompanied by changes in the preceding consonant, breaking up consonant clusters through /i/ insertion in the stem, and accent disturbance in the variants in parentheses.

- (2) a. *taluyar-pak* ~ *talus-vak* ‘big fishtrap’ – suggesting a root |taluc-|  
 b. *angalkur-pak* ~ *angar-vak* ‘powerful shaman’  
 c. *arnar-pak* (~ *arná’r-pak*) ~ *aren-vak* ‘big woman’  
*angyar-pak* (~ *angyá’r-pak*) ~ *anges-vak* ‘big boat’; cf. [NS] *angsaq*.  
 d. *qimugte-r-pak* ~ *qimul-vak* ‘big dog’ – the former may sound childlike to some speakers  
*nereste-r-pak* ~ *nerel-vak* ~ *neres-vak* (?) ‘big louse’  
 e. *yaquleg-pak* ~ *yaqul-vak* ~ *yaqul-pak* [EM] [LI] ‘arctic loon’.
- (3) *maras-pak* ‘very wet mud’ from *marayaq*; cf. *maras-tu-* ‘to be muddy’  
*mires-pak* ‘copious vomiting’ from *miryaq*  
*naten-pak* ‘halibut’ from *naternaq* ‘flounder’.

ii) *Phonological disturbance*: If the suffix follows a stem of two closed syllables, the first-syllable accent (regularly assigned) may be retracted (destressed) to the second (for emphasis or expressiveness, as is also the case with the VVa |+*pay*-| ('greatly'; § 41.3.2): The second forms below, with a phonological disturbance, have greater expressive force (exclamative, derogatory, name calling) than the first ones, although the retracted form is far from general:

- (4) *pamyur-pak* /pám|yuxpak/ 'big tail' vs.  
*pamyú'r-pak* /pamyúx|pak/ 'one with a big tail, *big* tail; you (sg.) big tail!'  
 – the second has greater expressive force (exclamative, derogatory, name calling) than the first, but with little semantic difference.
- (5) *angyar-pak* /áj|yaɣpak/ 'big boat'  
*angyá'r-pak* /anjáx|pak/ 'big boat' / 'one with a big boat'  
 – the second form is perhaps more common, which usually has its second reading (the owner rather than the boat).
- (6) *asver-pak* ~ *asvér-pak* 'big, rough walrus'  
*tamlur-pak* ~ *tamlúr-pak* 'big chin'  
*arnar-pak* ~ *arnár-pak* (~ *arén-vak*) 'big woman'  
 cf. *arnàr-pi-i-t* (~ *arèn-vi-i-t*) 'big women'  
*arnàr-pa-a-k* '(you) big woman!', cf. (10b).
- (7) *ecu-ite-r-pak* *tanqig-pak* ~ *tanqíg-pak*  
 not.clear-PRV-EC-AUG.ABS.sg. brightness-AUG.ABS.sg.  
 'quite transparent and bright'.

This syllable disturbance does not occur with other syllable sequences (\**qi.mug.té'r-pak*, \**ta.lu.yá'r-pak*, \**qus.ngir.ngal.ngú'r-pak* etc.):

- (8) a. *qi.múg.ter-pak* ~ (2b) *qimúlvak* 'big dog'  
*ca.lís.ter-pak* 'big worker'  
*ta.lú.yar-pak* 'big fishtrap'  
*pís.ter-pak* 'large or great helper'
- b. *qús.ngir.ngál.ngur-pak* 'big goat'  
 – with bisyllabic (closed syllable) stem |*quzɣiy-*| ('reindeer') followed by a VVm/NV |+*ɣat-*| ('to look like') and a participial relative clause (VNrl).

The suffix may cause a double vowel to contract into a single one:

- (9) *Misar-pak* /mizáx|pak/ ‘older Miisaq’ (person name)  
 – from *Miisaq* /mií|zaq/. This may be used to differentiate if there are two *Miisaq*’s in a village, for instance. The necessary distinction, however, may also be made by using NN |-*cua*(*yá*)*y*\*-| ‘small, younger’ (below) for the younger one (30) *Miisacuar*.

iii) *Ownership*: The suffix very often refers to the owner/possessor of the nominal stem referent (‘one who has big –’) rather (or even more commonly) than its owner (e.g. ‘one who has a big ear’ than just ‘a big ear’ – below):

- (10) a. *nuyar-pak* ‘(one with) long hairs’  
*ciute-r-pak* ~ *ciul-vak* ‘(one with) a big ear’ – |*ciut*-| ‘ear’  
*ella-r-pak* ‘big/whole world; one (little child) who has a great awareness’  
*nuna-r-pak* ‘earth’  
*qaner-pak* ‘(one with) a big mouth; one who talks a lot’  
 – |*qany*-| ‘mouth, talking; to speak’  
 b. *uyaqur-pa-a-k* ~ *uyaq-va-a-k* ‘(you with) a big neck!’ [LL], with vocative final vowel doubling (§ 31.1).

- (11) *iig-pa-ka* *qaterli-maa!*  
 eye-big-ABS.sg. white-VOC.1sg.  
 ‘My child with a white big eye!’ (addressing) – see § 31.2 for vocative *-maa*. Also possible is *iig-pa-maa*.

iv) *Nominal demonstratives*: These can have an augmentative suffix when plural forms require a non-singular stem expansion with |-*ku*-| (§ 12.2.1):

- (12) a. *u-na-r-pak* ‘this big one (being/acting extraordinary), fat one’  
 pl. *u-ku-r-piit* / du. *u-ku-g-piik*  
 b. *im-na-r-pak* ‘that (ANP) large, fat one’  
 pl. *im-ku-r-piit* / du. *im-ku-g-piik*.

When a nominal demonstrative form such as (12) occurs in an appositive phrase with a common noun, the suffix may occur with either one of them, showing “floating” like (dis)honorific suffixes (§ 20.3):

- (13) a. *u-na* *angyar-pak*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. boat-big.ABS.sg.  
 i. ‘this big boat’  
 ii. ‘this one with a big boat’ – compare with:

- b. *u-na-rpak*                      *angyaq*  
 this-EX-big.ABS.sg. boat.ABS.sg.  
 ‘this big boat’ – more expressive but not \*‘this one with a big boat’.

v) *Further derivation*: Intransitive relational verb NV |+*ɟu*-| ‘to be’ (§ 37.1), etc.:

- (14) *nanev-pa-u-guq* ~ *nanvar-pa-u-guq*            ‘it is a big lake’  
 – with syllable truncation and /i/ insertion.
- (15) *Ella-r-pa-u-guq*                      [*tau-na*                      *mikelnguq*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 world-EC-big-be-IND.3sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. child.ABS.sg.  
 ‘He sees things (the world) well, lit. he is (one with) a great (world) awareness.’  
 – expression often used in praise of a little child.

However, (13b) *una-rpak* with demonstrative stem, for instance, may not be followed by a relational verb (though the demonstrative stem itself can be, e.g. *u-u-guq*).

All three derivations (a, b, c) in the following example mean ‘one with long hair’, but (a) is more common, and (c) could be used to address someone; (b) is a relativized relational verb:

- (16) a. *nuyar-pa-lek*                      ‘one with long hair’  
 hair-big-one.having.ABS.sg.  
 b. *nuyar-pa-u-lria*                      ‘one that has long hair’  
 hair-big-be-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 c. *nuyar-pak*                              ‘(one that has) long hair’.  
 hair-big.ABS.sg.

The combination also often refers to possession (‘having a big’) rather than or in addition to the possessed object (‘being a big –’): cf. (5), etc.

- (17) *iteg-va-u-guq* ~ *it’gar-pa-u-guq*  
 ‘it is a big foot’ / ‘he has big feet’  
*angya’r-pa-u-guq* ~ *angyar-pi-uq*  
 ‘it is a big boat’ / ‘he has a big boat’  
 – with the occasional change of *-pa-u-* to *-pi-*.

The possession as the second reading may be more natural than *angyar-pa-ngqer-tuq* ‘he has a big boat’ with the explicitly possessive suffix NV |-*ŋqɣ-*|.

Other kinds of derivations include:

- (18) a. *nuyar-pa-nr-urt-uq* ‘she has got long hair’  
 hair-big-more-become-IND.3sg.  
 – inchoative comparative verb (§ 45.3)
- b. *nuyar-pa-lir-tuq* ‘it has long hair’  
 hair-big-supply-IND.3sg.
- c. *nuyar-pi-lria ~ nuyar-pa-li-lria* ‘one with very thick hair’  
 |*nuyay+pay-liy[-lyiaŷ]*  
 hair-big-have.lots-VNrl-ABS.sg.  
 – with /V-/ deletion in |+*pay-li(y)*-|, which is a common segmental adjustment specific to |-*li-*| group suffixes (§ 38.3) that are characterized by an initial /li/.

vi) *Lexicalized*:

- (19) a. *mig-pak* ‘sudden noise or thud’ – root *mig-*  
*atsar-pak* ‘an apple/orange’ – *atsar-* ‘berry’  
*Kuig-pak* ‘the Yukon River’ – *kuig-* ‘river’
- b. *maa=i-rpak* ‘this time, this year’– interjective demonstrative  
*maa=i* ‘here, as you know’ (§ 12.3.2.2).

|+*paŷy-*| ‘huge’– suggesting a frightening quality [QNM 361]. Perhaps composite with NNh |-*li(ya)y-*| ‘funny, darned, disrespectful, ...’ (§ 20.3).

- (20) a. *angul-vall'er* ‘huge man’  
 b. *tauna-r-pall'er* ‘that great big one’ [YED 548]  
 that-EX-EC-NN.ABS.sg.

vii) *Duration of time*: ‘during, throughout’ (contrasted with time in general or as a point, cf. § 11.3.3), this is reminiscent of the French *-(n)ée* as in *matinée* vs. *matin*, *soirée* vs. *soir*, *journée* vs. *jour*, and so on. Note that, while the derived nouns in the absolutive case function as adverbial adjuncts indicating duration, those in the locative case (*-mi*) indicate a point in time. More examples in § 11.3.3.

- (21) a. *unug-pak* *cali-ma-llru-uq*  
 night-big.ABS.sg. work-CNT-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he worked all night, during the night’
- b. *unug-pag-mi* *ui-gart-uq*  
 night-big-LOC.sg. wake.up-suddenly-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he woke up suddenly in the middle of the night’  
 – |*uic-*|, VVt |+*ya(ya)y-*|.

- (22) *Kii-vet* [ *ma-a-ni* (e)*ne-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 alone-CNNst.2sg. here-EX-LOC house-REL.sg.  
*ilu-ani*] *pai-gi* *atakur-pak*.  
 inside-LOC.3sg.sg. stay-OPT.2sg. evening-big.ABS.sg.  
 ‘You (sg.), stay home alone here in the house all evening.’
- (23) *Qangvar-pak* *tua-ten* *pi-u-lriit*.  
 when-big.ABS.sg. there-EQL thing-be-PTP.3pl.  
 ‘They are like that forever (in the future or the past).’  
 – as contrasted with *qangvaq* ‘when (in the past)’ and *qaku* ‘when (in the future)’, cf. § 15.2.4.

NN/VV  $[-cua(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}^* -]$  ~ (after /t/ and HBC)  $[-_1ksua(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}^* -]$  ‘small, little’ (the second form deletes final /t/). This is much more than merely nominal elaboration, but is expressive or attitudinal, often used in a praising tone (‘dear’). Also as a VV suffix, meaning ‘in a small way’ as well as after particles. Thus, this is one of the (dis)honorific suffixes (§ 20.3) that “float”, as a preference in Kuskokwim dialects to NN  $[-cun\dot{y} -]$ .

i) *NN type with phonological adjustments:*

- (24) a. *ene-cuar* ~ *ene-cuaraq* ‘small house’  
 b. *ene-cuara-a-t* ‘small houses’ (EV-ABS/REL.pl.)  
 c. *ene-cuara-ngqer-tuq* ‘he has a small house’ – NV  $[-\eta q x -]$  ‘to have’  
 d. *ene-cua(ra)r-tangqer-tuq* ‘it (place) has a small house’ – NV  $[+tanq x -]$  ‘there exist’ (temporary).

The optional contraction of / $\dot{y}a$ / by (P18v) is observed in (a, d), an epenthetic vowel by (P7i) in (b), and final velar deletion by (P9) in (a; the first). There is also an epenthetic vowel in (b). The deletion of the final velar in (c) because of the dropping type suffix  $[-\eta q x -]$  cancels the condition of the syllable contraction (thus *-cuara-*).

The second variant  $[-_1ksua(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}^* -]$ , which is general in HBC, is also common on the Kuskokwim coast:

- (25) *angute-cuara-a-t* ~ *angu-ksuara-a-t* ‘small men’  
 –  $[-a\eta ut -]$ , with EV *-a-* as in (28b) below  
*tengssuute-cuar* ~ *tengssuu-ksuar* ‘small plane’ –  $[-ti\eta suut -]$   
 – the first *-cuar* form may sound childlike, at least to some speakers in areas where both are used.



- (26) *tek-cuar-qa* ‘my (index) finger (of dear child)’ used, e.g. when comforting a child by sucking on his or her finger – from  $|tk\dot{y}\text{-cua}(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}\text{-ka}|$  (finger-small.END-ABS.1sg.sg.) with  $/\dot{y}a/$  deletion (P18v).
- (27) *una-ksuar* ‘small hand’ –  $|unat\text{-}|$ .

This might be somewhat confusing with (28a), in which the suffix follows nominal demonstrative stems (with expanders):

- (28) a. *u-na-cuar* ABS.sg. ‘this little one’  
 b. *u-u-cuara-a-m* REL.sg. (with EV *-a-*)  
 c. *u-u-cuar-mi* LOC.sg.  
 d. *u-u-cuar-tun* EQL.sg.

Note that the demonstrative root  $|u\text{-}|$  ‘this one’ is followed by the singular absolutive and non-absolutive expanders  $|+na\text{-}|$  and  $|+u\text{-}|$ , while non-singular (dual and plural) stems are characterized by the expander  $|+ku\text{-}|$ , as in the following:

- (29) a. *u-ku-cuara-a-t* ABS/REL.pl. ‘these little ones’  
 b. *u-ku-cuar-ni* LOC.pl.  
 c. *u-ku-cuar-tun* EQL.pl.

These diminutive demonstratives assume a praising tone, while augmentative *una-rpak* ‘this big one’ may instead be used in a demeaning tone or with disgust.

In addition to common nouns and nominal demonstratives, various types of nominals take this suffix, including proper names:

- (30) a. *Nunapi-cuaq* ‘Nunapitchuk’ (village) – lit. ‘little tundra’  
*Nunapi-cuar-ni* ‘at Nunapitchuk, than Nunapitchuk’  
 b. *Miisa-cuar* ‘little/dear Miisaq’ (person name) – cf. (9).

The second name may be used to distinguish between two persons with the same name in order to refer to a younger one ‘younger Miisaq’ in contrast to (9) *Misar-pak* ‘older Miisaq’ (with augmentative NN  $|+pa\dot{y}\text{-}|$ , accompanied by the vowel contraction of  $/ii/$  to  $/i/$ ).

ii) *As a VV suffix*  $|-\text{cua}(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}\text{-}| \sim |-\text{ksua}(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}\text{-}|$  ‘little, just, in a small way, not seriously’: Diminutive verbs with the suffix are far from sporadic.



iv) *After particles:*

- (39) *nakle-cuar* ‘poor dear’ – |*nakliŋ*| ‘poor thing’  
*waqaa-cuar* ‘hello, dear’  
*ellma-cuar* ‘a little bit’  
*quyana-cuar* ‘thank you (dear)’.

NN |*-yuyay\**-| ‘multitude of, many’. It occurs with plural inflection and often occurs with “plural verbs”, like *qavur-*, *avur-* ‘to gather, collect’ (§ 34.2-iii); cf. NN |*-yuy-*| ‘large’ below.

- (40) a. *agya-ruga-a-t* ‘multitude of stars’  
*angya-ruga-a-t* ‘many boats’  
*qimugte-ruga-a-t* ‘lots of dogs’  
 b. *May’a-m kalika-ruga-i*  
 p.n.-REL.sg. paper-many-ABS.3sg.pl.  
 ‘Mayaq’s multitude of papers’.
- (41) *Yu-guga-a-t quya-ngqa-ut*  
 person-may-EV-ABS.pl. gather-STT-IND.3pl.  
*Cultural-Heritage-Center-a-mi.*  
 center-LNK-LOC.sg.  
 ‘A multitude of people’ are gathered at the Cultural Heritage Center.’  
 – see (P3ii) for velar assimilation and (P9) for stem-final deletion.

NN/NV |*-xa(ɣa)ɣ\**-| ‘a little, a few, just, only’. Occurs after different kinds of stems, not only nominals (including numerals and location nouns), but occasionally after verb stems and particles as well.

- (42) *neq-raq* ‘a little bit of fish/food’ – |*niqi-*|  
*cavi-ggaq* ‘a piece of metal [Y.HBC.NI]; a man’s cutting knife’  
 – |*caviɣ-*| ‘metal’  
*kui-ggaq* ‘a little river’ – |*kuiɣ-*|.  
*allayu-ggaq* ‘slightly different’ – |*alayuy-*| ‘strange/abnormal one’.
- (43) *cuya-rraq* ‘a little bit of tobacco’ – |*cuyay-*| ‘leaf, leaf tobacco’  
*cuya-rra-a-m* ‘of a little bit of tobacco’ – with *-a-m* (EV-REL.sg.).
- (44) *ca-rraq* / *ca-rrar-mek* (ABM.sg.)  
 ‘a little’ – ignorative |*ca-*| ‘what, some’  
*ca-rra-qapiar-mek*  
 ‘just a little bit’ – intensified by |*-qapia(ɣa)ɣ-*| (§ 41.3.1).

- (45) *ene-rrar-Ø-luni* ‘having a (small) house/place’  
house-small-have-APP.3Rsg.

Following location noun stems – cf. NN |+k/-yayay-| ‘just, right, exact’ below:

- (46) *Tangrr-aqa*                      *kenurraq*                      *qull-ra-mni*.  
see-IND.1sg.3sg.      lamp.ABS.sg.                      area.above-just-LOC.1sg.sg.  
‘I saw the lamp just right above me.’  
cf. *qule-mni* ‘above me’ (LOC.1sg.sg.).

Following numeral stems:

- (47) *akimia-rra-a-n ~ -a-t*                      ‘only fifteen’  
15-just-EV-ABS.pl. – |akimiy-| ‘fifteen’.
- (48) *arnaunr-at*      *atauci-rraq* ≐ *arnaunr-ra-at*      *atauciq*  
Si-ABS.3pl.sg. one-only.ABS.sg.  
‘their (brothers’) only sister’; cf. § 14(53)  
– appositive phrase; cf. § 45(69) for *arnaunr-*.

As a NV suffix – at least following numeral stems:

- (49) *malru-rrar-tuq*                      (*qimugte-gnek<sub>(P)</sub>*)  
two-only-IND.3sg.                      (dog-ABM.du.)  
‘he catches/uses only two’      (‘he is using only two dogs’).
- (50) *Qavci-rrar-cit?*                      –      *Atauci-rrar-tua*.  
how.many-only-INT.2sg.                      one-only-IND.1sg.  
‘How many (few) did you (sg.) catch?’ – ‘I caught just one.’  
– Use of the suffix carries the implication of ‘not many’ as expected, since it is hard to catch many, while *qavci-cit?* without the suffix has no such implication.

As a particle:

- (51) *Cali-rraq*                      *ciki-ger-nga!*  
more-little.ABS.sg.      give-POL-OPT.2sg.1sg.  
‘You (sg.) give me a little more!’



- (58) a. *uksu-piaq* ‘real winter (with lots of snow and cold)’ – |*uksuŷ-*| ‘winter’  
*yura-piaq* ‘(woman’s) long story dance’  
*ene-piaq* ‘sod house’  
*angya-piaq* ‘frame boat covered with bearded seal skins’ [CIUL 16]
- b. *ene-pia-qa* ‘exclusively my own house’ – |*ini-*| ‘house’  
*irnia-pia-qa* ‘my own child (not an adopted one)’ – |*iyŋiaŷ-*| ‘child’  
*at-piar-a* ~ *at-pi-a* ‘his real name’ – |*atŷ-*| ‘name’
- c. *Kuigilngurmiu-piaq* ‘original, old-time Kuigilnguq man’ (NN *-miu-* ‘inhabitant of’) – see § 11.6.3 for the place name with a participial relative clause.

The suffix produced a number of derivatives which now refer to the content of the primary stem after this has become too general or wider in significance because of environment change or acculturation. The word *Yu-p’ik* ~ *Yu-piaq* ‘Eskimo (of southwestern Alaska), lit. genuine person’, is exactly the case in point, reflecting the extension of the ethnocentric concept ‘person, human being, i.e. Eskimo’. The same kind of derivatives as the result of semantic extension include:

- (59) a. *tuntu-pik* ~ *tuntu-piaq* ‘caribou’ – probably not until the Norwegian introduction of reindeer, which is called *tuntu* in some areas [K.BB; YED], while it refers to ‘reindeer’ in other areas
- b. *ene-piaq* ‘sod house’
- c. *Kass’a-lugpiaq* ~ *Kass’a-pik* ‘Russian’ – primarily called *kass’aq* from Russian *kazák*, which was extended to mean ‘white person, Caucasian. The suffix *-lugpiaq* is a non-productive suffix with the same meaning [YED 494–495].

Note the following suffix order, which is more normal than otherwise:

- (60) *angya-pig-pak* ‘big genuine boat’ (rather than *angyar-pa-pik*), cf. (61a).

Lexicalized, typically as a retaining suffix |*+piŷ-*| ~ |*+piaŷ-*|:

- (61) a. *tallir-pik* ‘right arm, right side’ – |*taliŷ-*| ‘arm’  
*imar-pik* ‘sea, ocean’ – |*imaŷ-*| ‘content’  
*imar-pig-pak* ‘big sea, ocean’, cf. *imar-pak* ‘big shell’, cf. (60)
- b. *atsar-piaq* ‘salmonberry’ – |*atsaŷ-*| ‘berry’.
- (62) a. *nukal-piaq* ‘good hunter, warrior’ – most probably with the stem *nukaq* ‘beaver in its second year’, but with unidentified /l/

- nukal-piar-taq* ‘an exceptionally good hunter’, with NN |+*taŷ*-| ‘belonging to’ below
- b. [*Nukalpia-t*, *nukalpia-pia-t*]<sub>P</sub> *tuqu-rqe-lar-ai*.  
 good.hunter-ABS.pl. good.hunter-real-ABS.pl. kill-RPT-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘He kills hunters, the best hunters, one after another.’ [QNMCM 46–47]
- (63) *tuar-piaq* (~ *tuar*) ‘(it seems) just like’ – § 53.3 for examples.  
*tuat-raar-piaq* ‘just as the first one’, cf. VVa |-*ḡaaŷ*-| ‘after/first –ing’ [ELLA 520]

With exclamative force, like VVa |-*piaŷ*-| ‘really, genuinely’ (§ 41.3.1):

- (64) *u-u-piaq* *kenig-aq* ‘this really well cooked one’  
 this-EX-real cook-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 – where it notably stands after the *-u-* (nominal demonstrative) stem but not after *-na-* (for absolutive singular) – \**u-na-piaq*.

As VN type:

- (65) *ang-pia-k* *ingri-k*  
 big-ITS-ABS.du. mountain-ABS.du.  
 ‘two very big mountains’  
 – may have exclamative force; cf. NN |-*piaŷ*-| (§ 20.1.1).
- (66) *qat-piaq* ≡ *qat-qapik* *qanikcak!*  
 white-really.ABS.sg. snow.ABS.sg.  
 ‘(brilliantly) white snow!’ (appositive phrase) – |*qatŷ*-| ‘to be white’.

NN |-*kiŷtaa(ŷa)ŷ*-| ‘good, joyous’.

- (67) a. *angute-kegtaar* ‘good man’  
*Alussistua-qegtaar* ‘merry Christmas’  
*Qaner-yara-qegtaar* ‘Bible, i.e. good word’  
 speak-VNnm-good.ABS.sg.
- b. *nuna-kegtaar-mec-iiq-ni-luta*  
 land-good-be.at-FUT-A'.say-APP.1pl.  
 ‘(they tell) we will enter at the joyous land’ [QQLK 16–17]
- (68) [*Assi-lria-mek* *Allraku-kegtaar-mek*] *pi-amtek!*  
 good-VNrl-ABM.sg. year-good-ABM.sg. do-IND.1sg.2du.  
 ‘Happy new year to you (du.)!’

NN/VN |+*ɲuaɣ̣*-| ‘imitation of, likeness of’, also as VVa |+*ɲuaɣ̣*-| ‘pretending to – , in imitation, not in a serious manner’ (§ 41.1).<sup>1</sup>

- (69) *keggut-nguaq* ‘false tooth’ – |*kixut*-| ‘tooth’  
*qan-nguaq* ‘rumour’ – |*qanɣ̣*-| ‘mouth’  
*tengsuut’-nguaq* ~ [NUN] *tengssuute-nguar* ‘toy airplane’ – |*tɪŋsuut*-|  
‘airplane’  
*neq-nguaq* ‘fish mask, likeness of a fish’ – |*niq̣i*-| ‘fish’  
*ca-nguaq* ‘mask’ – |*ca*-| ‘something’  
*ca-nguaq keglunr-uaq* ‘false wolf (like a wooden miniature)’ –  
|*kidlunɣ̣*-| ‘wolf’  
*tangrr-uaq* ‘hallucination’ [MKTB 26] – |*tanɣ̣x*-| ‘to see’.
- (70) *aana-ngua-qe-ki-i* ‘the one who is his (not his genuine) mother’  
Mo-likeness-have.as-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
cf. *aana-ke-ki-i* ‘the one (who) is his (genuine) mother’.

The suffix-initial nasal (weak) /*ŋ*/ is deleted by (P3i):

- (71) *yug-uaq* ‘effigy’ – |*yuy*-| ‘person’  
*atsar-uaq* ‘false chamomile’ – |*atsaɣ̣*-| ‘berry’.

The same nasal deletion occurs in the first variant below, while the second features final /*ɣ̣*/ deletion by the suffix-initial /*ŋ*/, which is rather frequent in the Kuskokwim dialect:

- (72) *paralur-ua-t* ~ *paralu-ngua-t*  
‘rice, lit. likeness of maggots’ – |*paɣ̣alunɣ̣*-|.

As VN suffix:

- (73) *pi-li-nguaq*  
thing-make-imitation.ABS.sg. – cf. (69) *ca-nguaq*  
‘artwork (e.g. animal or person carved from walrus ivory or bone)’.

1. The suffix may perhaps be a reflection of a very deep-rooted perception in CAY culture. The English gloss (‘imitation, copy, fake, pretention’) might sound like a negative or (even) derogatory concept; but the suffix may be better understood as reflecting a positive significance of ‘identification with’ when man and nature (non-human world) are merged in harmony, given, for instance, the ways in which a *-nguaq* or *-nguar*-ing (imitation) is used and done in various aspects of traditional life (particularly in ceremonies like the *elriq* or ‘memorial feast’). The word (69) *ca-nguaq* ‘mask’ is also used as a very important item connecting man with nature.



NN/NV/VV  $|-_1huy-| \sim |-y'huy-|$  ‘bad, old, fake, sort of, unspecified, unnamed, undesirable’; ‘to (cause one to) be bad, in bad physical condition, badly affected in’. In more or less lexicalized nouns.

- (74) *anerne-rrluk* ‘evil spirit’ –  $|aniyny-|$  ‘spirit, breath’ [New Testament]  
*neqe-rrluk* ‘dried fish’ –  $|niqi-|$  ‘fish’.
- (75) (c)*ella-rrluk* ‘bad weather’ –  $|(c)ila-|$  ‘weather’  
 (c)*ella-lluk* ‘rain’  
 cf. (c)*ella-llir-tuq*  
 ‘it is raining’ (impersonal) – see NV  $|-liy-|$  and § 30.4 for the vowel *-i-*.
- (76) *tutga-rrlu-u-k!* ‘grandchild!’ –  $|tutyay-|$  ‘GrCh’, with final vowel doubling in vocative forms (§ 31.1).

The suffix in (76) does not literally imply ‘bad’. It may be just a preference or possibly implies that the one addressed may not really be a grandchild, but that the speaker chose to address her/him as one who, though not a grandchild of the speaker, could be a distant relative’s child. Note also the glosses in the following examples:

- (77) *Tumyaraq cane-gglu-u-guq.*  
 trail.ABS.sg. grass-bad-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The trail is grassy (with grass either nothing special, unnamed, or unspecified; hard to walk through).’
- (78) a. *ca-rrluk* ‘something unsavory’ –  $|ca-|$  ‘something, what’  
 b. *Ca-rrlu-ar-nek tai-t-aanga.*  
 something-bad-kind.of-ABM.pl. come-A-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘She brought me food (not something special).’

As NV/VVa type:

- (79) *aniu-llug-tuq*  
 ‘it (snow) is soft and melting’ –  $|aniu-|$  ‘snow on the ground’.
- (80) *nallu-rrlug-tua* ‘I am kind of ignorant’ –  $|natu-|$  ‘to be ignorant’.
- (81) *naulluu-rrlu-llru-unga ~ nall<sup>w</sup>u-rrlug-llru-unga*  
 ill-sort.of-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘I was sort of ill’  
 – See § 8.8 for the labialized voiceless lateral  $/l^w/$  as a trace of the vowel contraction of the preceding syllable.

The denominal verbs generally are monovalent, but they may be impersonal patientive for some speakers, so impersonal transitive may also be used as in the following – see § 33.4.3:

- (82) *ca-rrlug-aa* / *ca-rrlug-tuq*  
 ‘it (A<sub>IMP</sub>) causes him to take ill (be physically wrong), i.e. he is not feeling well’ – |*ca-*| ‘to do something/what’  
*it’ga-rrlug-aa* / *it’ga-rrlug-tuq*  
 ‘he has a sore foot’ – *it’gar-* ‘leg’  
*ayuquci-rrlug-aa* / *ayuquci-rrlug-tuq*  
 ‘he feels sick’ – *ayuq-ucir-* ‘condition’  
*ella-rrlug-aa* / *ella-rrlug-tuq*  
 ‘it is bad weather’ (impersonal).

The following two are tense-marking NN suffixes – see § 42.1:

NN |+*k\*ay-*| ‘something that is unrealized or belongs to the future, material for (FUT)’.<sup>2</sup> As a VN suffix as well.

- (83) *angyar-kaq* ‘material for a boat’ – |*anyay-*| ‘boat’  
*kelipar-kaq* ‘dough’ – |*kilipay-*| ‘bread’  
*kelug-kaq* ‘sewing sinew, grass for weaving’ – |*kiluy-*| ‘stitch’  
*mukaan-ka-t* ‘wheat, seeds of wheat’ – |*mukaa-*| ‘flour, bread’  
 (from Russian *muká*).
- (84) *Neq-ka-ni<sub>p</sub>* *upt-aa*.  
 food-future-ABS.3Rsg.sg. get.ready-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She is getting her (own) meal ready.’
- (85) [*Ca-t* *ili-itni*] *aanaq<sub>s</sub>* *massaa-li-uq*  
 some-REL.pl. part-LOC.3pl.sg. Mo.ABS.sg. mush-make-IND.3sg.  
*unukutar-ka-mek<sub>(p)</sub>*.  
 breakfast-FUT-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Sometime the mother makes mush for (something for) breakfast.’  
 [KPLT 7]

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2. Bronisław Malinowski mentions the practice of naming a material in advance, using a name of something to be completed (*Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1922).

Verbalizations:

- (86) a. *malru-ka-q-aqa*  
two-FUT-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'she will be my other, i.e. second wife'  
b. *Waniwa yug-ka-q-erpuk.*  
now.PCL person-FUT-have.as-IND.1du.3sg.  
'Now he is our child.'
- (87) *qaner-ka-ngqer-tuq*  
talking-FUT-have-IND.3sg.  
'he has something to say' – |*qanȳ*-| 'mouth, talking; to speak'.
- (88) *uita-vig-ka-il-ngu-u-guten ≠ qaa*  
stay-place-FUT-PRV-VNrl-be-IND.2sg.≠QST  
'are you (sg.) the one who will have no place to stay?'

The suffix may make a difference:

- (89) a. *pi-kar-t-uq* 'he got something' vs.  
b. *pi-t'-uq* 'he caught something (game)'  
– |*pi*-| 'something', |*-c*-| 'to get'.
- (90) a. *Nutek imar-kar-tuuma-an kiput-aa.*  
gun.ABS.sg. content-FUT-together-CNNst.3sg. buy-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'He bought the gun with shells (*separately*).'  
b. *Nutek imar-tuuma-an kiput-aa.*  
'He bought the gun *loaded* with shells.'  
– see NV |*-tuuma*-| 'to do together / be accompanied with' (§ 38.5)  
for further illustrations.

As already described with illustrations (§ 17, § 18), the suffix constitutes future versions of relative clauses |*+ȳȳkȳ-*| (§ 17.4.3 for |*+ȳȳ-*|) and |*+(s)tikȳ-*| (§ 17.5.3 for |*+(s)t-*|) and of nominalization |*-ȳȳkȳ-*| (§ 18.2.2.2 for |*-ȳȳ-*|) and |*+(u)ciȳkȳ-*| (§ 18.2.1.2 for |*+(u)ciȳ-*|).

- (91) a. *cali-ar-kar-put* 'the work we are going to do'  
*cali-ste-kar-put* 'the ones who will work for us'  
b. *cali-ller-kar-put* 'our future act of working'  
*cali-ucir-kar-put* 'that/how we (should) work' – |*+put*| ABS.1pl.sg.

Lexicalized:

- (92) *arar-kaq* ‘birch tree fungus’ – |aŷaŷ-| ‘ash’  
*curu-kaq* ‘(invited guest to) intervillage feast, commonly known as the “Messenger Feast”’ (|cuŷuŷ-| ‘challenge, go over to attack’) – characterized by institutionalized competitions in dancing, athletics, and gift-exchanges.

As NV suffix – the derived stem may be ambivalent (§ 10.4) as a nominal (a) and a verb (b) below:

- (93) a. *alla-kaq* ‘strange, different thing’ – *alla* ‘different one’  
 b. *alla-kar-tuq* ‘he/it acts independently/separately, it is set aside from others’ – IND.3sg. -*tuq*.
- (94) *allakar-meng* *tai-gut* *ta=ima*  
 do.separately-CNNst.3Rpl. come-IND.pl. there  
*nunakuarcuut-kun*  
 car-PRL.sg.  
 ‘they are coming by car separately (either from the others or each other)’.

The verbal use can be transitive:

- (95) *Allakar-aa* [*ui-mi*<sub>G</sub> *neq-ka-a*]<sub>P</sub>.  
 separate-IND.3sg.-3sg. Hu-REL.3Rsg.sg. food-FUT-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘She singled out her husband’s food.’

NN |*-lŷ-*| ‘past, former (not any more/longer)’. As mentioned in § 17.3, the CAY morpheme |*-lŷ-*| is multifunctional, serving as a preterite relativizer (VNrl), nominalizer (VNnm; § 18.3), and past-tense marker |*-lŷu-*| / |*-lŷi-*| by cyclical derivation (VVt; § 42), as well as a nominal elaborating suffix.

- (96) a. *ui-l-qa*  
 Hu-PST-IND.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my former husband (now dead, gone somewhere, separated, ...)’  
 b. *ui-l-q-aaq* |*ui-lŷ-ki* [+*yaqa*]|  
 Hu-PST-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘he is my former husband’  
 – more natural than the following with the past marker and the relational verb reversed:

- c. *ui-ke-llru-aqa*  
 husband-have.as-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘he was my husband; I had him (serving) as a husband’.
- (97) *qasgi-llr-u-uq*  
 qasgiq-PST-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it is a former *qasgiq* (men’s house or *kashim*, as it is called in Alaska)’ – which is homonymous with:  
 cf. *qasgi-llru-uq* ‘he went to a *qasgiq*’  
 go.to.qasgiq-VV.PST-IND.3sg.

This may form minimal pairs with NN  $|-h(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}-|$  ‘young, little, funny, darn (it); respectful’ as in:

- (98) a. *yú-ll’ér-tangqér-tuq* ‘there is a dead (former) person’  
 person-PST-there.be-IND.3sg.  
 – see (P1) for the gemination of the (C)VC stem
- b. *yú-ll’e’r-tángqer-tuq* (= [250]) ‘there is a funny old person’  
 person-NN-there.be-IND.3sg.  
 – with (P18v) / $\dot{y}a$ / deletion (syllable contraction with a regressive accent).

The suffix also occurs as the composite preterite version  $|+st\dot{y}\dot{y}-|$  (§ 17.5.2) of the active relativizer VNrl  $|+st-|$ :

- (99) *cali-stelleq* ‘one who worked’ (vs. *cali-sta* ‘one who works’).

NN  $|+h\dot{y}\dot{y}ut-|$  ‘deceased; cause/time of losing’. Probably a suffix composite of NV  $|+h\dot{y}\dot{y}-|$  ‘to deprive – of’ and VNrl  $|+(u)t-|$  ‘fact, time, reason, cause’. Can literally mean ‘means/time/cause of losing’ – see § 17.6.2.

- (100) *aana-irut-i-i* ‘his deceased mother’  
 Mo-deceased-EV-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 – with *-ii-* by (P5iii) / $\dot{h}$ / addition, (P6i) central vowel adjustment, and by (P10) intervocalic velar deletion.
- cf. *aana-irut-uq* ‘he has lost her/his mother’  
 Note the semantic difference from the preceding NN  $|-h\dot{y}\dot{y}-|$  (PST).
- (101) *aipa-irut-ka* ‘my deceased partner (husband/wife)’ (ABS.1sg.sg. *-ka*)  
*aipa-l-qa* ‘my former partner (either dead or alive)’.

- (102) *Angayuqa-irute-mta<sub>G</sub>* (~ *angayuqr-iute-mta<sub>G</sub>*)     *ite-llrani*.  
 parent-deceased-REL.1pl.sg.     enter-CNNwn.3sg.  
 ‘When our late parent came in.’ [AKKL 108]  
 – The alternative (parenthesized) form has optional intervocalic velar deletion conditioned by the contraction of the preceding syllable.
- cf. *Angayuqa-ir-ute-mteni*     *ulla-llru-aqa*.  
 parent-be.deprived-CNSqs-1pl.sg.     go.up-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘As soon as our parent died, I went to him.’  
 – quasi-connective (§ 50.11.4).

For reasons as yet unknown, the suffix NN |+*niyut*-| sounds funny or awkward to some speakers after such kinship terms as *ui* ‘husband’, *nuliaq* ‘wife’, *nuliacungaq* ‘man’s female parallel cousin’, *nengauk* ‘daughter’s husband’, *irniaq* ‘offspring’, *tutgar~tutgaraq* ‘grandchild’. Those speakers may use the term *aipaq* for ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ together with the suffix – e.g. *aipa-irut-ka* ‘my deceased husband or wife’ – but, for the other terms, they may prefer the suffix NN |-*ty*-| ‘former, past’ – e.g. *tutgara-llr-a* ‘his deceased grandchild’.

## 1.2. Belonging

Table 17: NN suffixes for belongings

NN	+ <i>taŷ</i> *-	‘one belonging, pertaining, related to’
NN	- <i>linŷay</i> *-	‘product/part/evidence of a living thing’
NN	+ <i>miu</i> -	‘inhabitant of, one who is in a place, villager of’
NN	+ <i>miu-taŷ</i> *-	‘animals (or things) that belong to a place/thing’
NV	+ <i>miu-yaay</i> -	‘to speak a dialect/language of –’
NN	+ <i>nku</i> -	‘one’s family (incl. extended), associate, partner’
NN	- <i>ty</i> -	‘one having, one using’
NN	+ <i>taly</i> -	‘one having (at a particular period)’
NN/VN	- <i>lyut</i> -  ~  - <i>tyut</i> -	‘associate, partner, fellow (in –ing)’
NN	+ <i>ŷut</i> -	‘supply, things owned (not inherent possessions)’
NN	- <i>taŷ</i> -	‘thing of, belonging to’
NN	- <i>kuciŷ</i> -	‘one of the same kind’ (§ 18.2.1.3)

NN |+*taŷ*\*-| ‘one belonging, pertaining, related to’. Frequently lexicalized. See the next suffix NN |-*linŷay*\*-| with a similar, but a more specific use.

- (103) *kiag-taq*     ‘fish from last year’ (lexicalized) – |-*kiay*-| ‘(last) summer’  
*unuaku-taq*     ‘breakfast’ – |-*unuaku*-| ‘morning’

*ataku-tar-ka-i* ‘things he eats for supper’ – |*ataku-*| ‘evening’;  
|+*kaỵ-*| ‘future’.

- (104) a. *Yup’ig-ta-a-t*  
‘Yupik things’ (ABS.pl.) – with the epenthetic vowel *-a-* because of the suffix-final strong /*ɣ̣\**/ which triggers (P4ii) and (P10). Cf. also (122) *nuna-miuta-a-t*
- b. *Kass’ar-ta-u-guq*  
white.man-pertaining-be-IND.3sg.  
‘it belongs to the white men, it is in the time of the white men’  
[QQLK 82]

A difference is perceived between one with and without the suffix:

- (105) *Kass’ar-tar-taite-llrani* *ma-n’a<sub>s</sub>*  
white.man-pertaining-PRV-CNNwn.3sg. here-EX.ABS.sg.  
‘Before the introduction of store-bought items in this area.’ [AKKL 32] – see § 50.3 and NV |+*tait-*|
- cf. *Kass’ar-taite-llrani man’a* .  
‘When there were no white men in this area.’

May occur after the relativizer |*-lyiạỵ-*|:

- (106) *puqigte-llriar-ta-it* ‘ones who are smart among them’  
smart-VNrl-pertaining-ABS.3pl.pl.
- cf. *puqigte-llriar-e-t* ‘ones who are smart’  
smart-VNrl-EV-ABS.pl.

Occurs also after a few limited NN suffixes (meaning animals or living things that belong to the place), and is often lexicalized. See the composite |+*miu-taỵ\**-| under |+*miu-*| below.

- (107) *tama-kucir-taq* ‘something pertaining to that kind of thing’  
– |*-kucịỵ-*| ‘one of the same kind’ (§ 18.2.1.3).
- (108) *nukal-piar-taq* ‘excellent, genuine accomplished hunter; more accomplished than a *nukal-piaq*’  
– may sound somewhat more archaic to some speakers than *nukal-piaq* ‘good hunter, warrior’ (62) [YED 268]
- Kass’alug-piar-taq* ‘item pertaining to the Russian Orthodox Church’ – *Kass’alugpiaq* ‘Russian’.

NN *[-linɣay\*]* (often with vowel syncope and /l/ deletion; § 38.3) ‘product/part/belonging/ evidence of a living thing (bird egg, fish eye, dog/human tracks/feces, berry juice, etc.)’. A nominal with this suffix constitutes an appositive phrase together with another nominal (§ 16.1) that specifies the product/part/evidence – e.g. ‘dog-*part* tail’ – instead of an attributive phrase (‘dog’s tail’) or compound (‘dog tail’).

- (109) a. *yu-l'inraq* ~ *y-inraq* / *qimugc-inraq*                      *anaq*  
 person/dog-part.ABS.sg.    feces.ABS.sg.  
 ‘human/dog feces’
- b. *yu-l'inra-a-t*                                      *enr-e-t*                      /                      *tume-t*  
 person-part-EV-ABS.pl.                      bone-EV-ABS.pl.                      footprint-ABS.pl.  
 ‘human bones/tracks’.

Note that the monosyllabicity of the stem *[yuy-]* seems to block vowel syncope before /li/, although it may occur as in the second variant of (a). See also (110) below.

- (110) *Ciru-arui* / *-ut*                                      [*kayangu-t*    *tua-ni*  
 cover-IND.3sg.3pl./3pl.                      egg-ABS.pl.    there-LOC  
*tuutangay-inra-a-t*].  
 goose-product-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘The Canadian goose eggs are covered (with grass) over there.’  
 – the appositive phrase *kayangut tuutangay(ag-l)inraat* is split by the adverbial adjunct *tuani*. See § 33.4.3 for the transitive form with zero-added impersonal agent.

Verbalization of an appositive phrase NP triggers the demotion of the stranded nominal with *-linraq* into the ablative-modalis (§ 25.2.2):

- (111) *Neq'-linrar-mek*                      *ii-tur-yug-yaaq-ua*.  
 fish-part-ABM.sg.                      eye-eat-DES-POL-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I would like to eat a fish eye.’  
 – From the appositive phrase:  
 cf. *neq'-linraq*                      *ii*  
 fish-part.ABS.sg.                      eye.ABS.sg.’  
 ‘fish eye’.

But a direct apposition like *\*neqa ii* intended to mean ‘fish eye’ is not accepted, thus *\*neq-mek ii-tur-yug-yaaq-ua* is likewise not accepted – see (112) below – while *neqe-m* (REL) *ii-nga* (ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘fish’s eye’ is grammatical, thus:



- (112) [*Neqe-m ii-gkenek*]<sub>p</sub> *ner-yug-yaaq-ua*.  
 fish-REL.sg. eye-ABM.3sg.du. eat-DES-POL-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I would like to eat fish’s eyes (du.).’

The suffix *-linrar-* can be replaced by the preceding suffix *|+tay\*|-* ‘one belonging to’ (which is not specific to living things). Compare (112) with the following:

- (113) *neq-tar-mek ii-tur-yug-yaaq-ua* ‘I would like to eat fish eye’  
*neq-taq ii* ‘fish eye’.

As another case of verbalization, an appositive phrase with a *-linraq* noun may enter into a relational verb with the other noun in the S function:

- (114) *Atsa-linra-u-guq* [*tau-na juice-aq*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 berry-product-be-IND.3sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. juice-LNK.ABS.sg.  
 ‘That juice is berry; that is some kind of berry juice.’  
 – From the appositive phrase: *atsa-linraq juice-aq* ‘berry juice’.

- (115) *Ing-na<sub>s</sub> yaa=i ungunssi-linra-u-guq*  
 over.there-EX.ABS.sg. there=INJ bear-product-be-IND.3sg.  
*igta<sub>s</sub>*.  
 den.ABS.sg.  
 ‘That den over there belongs to a bear.’ [QQLK 76]

- (116) *Kayanguq ca-linra-u-ga?*  
 bird.egg.ABS.sg. what-part-be-IT.3sg.  
 ‘What kind of a bird egg is it?’ [AKKL 223]

NN *|+miu-|* ‘inhabitant of, one who is at, villager of’ (final weak /*ɥ*/ deletion by P3i).

- (117) *qasgi-miu-t* ‘ones in the *qasgiq* (men’s house)’ – ABS/REL.pl.-*t*  
*Cenar-miu* ‘coast dweller’ – *|ceṇa(ɥ)-|* ‘coast’  
*Akul-miu* ‘inland dweller’ – *|akuli-|* ‘area between’, specifically referring to Tundra People (Nunapitchuk, Kasigluk, Atmauthluak).
- (118) *Napa-miu-t* ‘Napamute village (Kuskokwim)’ – *|napa-|* ‘tree’  
*Umku-miu-t* ‘people at a fishing camp on the Nelson Island where the islanders stay in the summer’ – *|umkuy-|* ‘cliff’.

Often occurs after a pronoun (interrogative, demonstrative) followed by a relational verb VNrv:

- (119) *ca-miu-ngu-sit?* ‘where (what village) are you (sg.) from?’  
 what-inhabitant-be-INT.2sg.
- (120) *ma-ku-miu-ngur-pailegma*  
 this-EX-inhabitant-become-CNNbf.1sg.  
 ‘before I came to live here (lit. before I become an inhabitant here)’.

The following noun is a case of lexicalized phrasal compounds which are anomalous and very rare in CAY (§ 4.3-v) and is repeated in § 27.8-iv:

- (121) [*akert-e-m aci-a*]-*r-miu*  
 sun-EV-REL.sg. beneath-REL3sg.sg-EC-dweller.ABS.sg.  
 ‘a black person (lit. one who dwells beneath the sun)’  
 cf. *akert-e-m<sub>G</sub> aci-ani* ‘beneath the sun’.

NN |+*miutay*\*-| ‘animals or living things that belong to the place; part of things’ – composite suffix, often with lexicalization; see NN |+*tay*\*-| above.

- (122) *nuna-miutaq* ‘land animal’ – |*nuna-*|  
 pl. *nuna-miuta-a-t* with epenthetic *-a-* after /*y̆*\*/  
*yuilqur-miutaq* ‘wild animal’ – |*yuilquy-*| ‘tundra’  
*imarpig-miutaq* ‘sea mammal (incl. some fish)’ – |*imaypiy-*| ‘sea’  
*imar-miutaq* ‘lemming (watery)’  
 cf. *imar-miu* ‘sea dweller’ – |*imay-*| ‘watery content’  
*qilag-miutaq* ‘lemming’ – |*qilay-*| ‘sky’  
*qai-miutaq* ‘child who clings to its parents’.
- (123) *iqug-miutaq* ‘bag fastener’ [NI] – |*iquy-*| ‘end’ [YEEM 310]  
*cipner-miuta-a-t* ‘ends dangling down in front of a woman’s  
*naqugun* (belt)’ – from deverbal noun of |*cipc-*|  
 ‘to have an excess, oversupply’ [YEEM 309]

VV |+*miuyaay-*| ‘to speak the dialect/language of –’. Composite suffix from |+*miu-*| with an unidentified suffix that occurs after a location noun, place name, or nominal demonstrative stem:

- (124) *caniner-miuyaar-luni*  
 coast-speak.dialect-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(he is) speaking like the western Bering coastal people’

- cf. |*cani-*| ‘area beside’  
 ≙ *caniner-miu-tun*                      *qaner-luni*  
 coast-dweller-EQL.sg.      speak-APP.3Rsg.

In the case of demonstratives (most of which may occur with this composite suffix), the actual dialects (areas) vary relative to the speaker’s village (§ 12.2.4), with the suffix following the non-singular expander |*-ku-*|:

- (125) a. *qaug-ku-miuyaar-luni*  
 upriver-EX-speak.dialect-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(he) speaking like upriver/tundra people’ (spoken from the view-  
 point of the coastal people)<sup>3</sup>  
 ≙ *qaug-ku-miu-tun*                      *qaner-tuq*  
 upriver-EX-dweller-EQL.sg.      speak-IND.3sg.  
 b. *ma-ku-miuyaar-tuq*                      ‘he speaks the dialect here (this area)’.

NN |*+nku-*| ‘one’s family (incl. extended)/associate/partner’. Associative, occurring in the dual or the plural, and only in proper names (but not kinship terms); cf. English *the Smiths* referring to ‘Smith and his family’ The |*-ku-*| in the suffix may originally be a non-singular expander (nominal demonstrative, § 12.2.1 and/or first person pronoun, § 13.1.1).

- (126) *Nuk’a-nku-t*                      ‘the family of Nuk’aq’  
 p.n.-family-ABS.pl.

– in which the referent *Nuk’aq* may be the father of the family, the oldest male sibling, or a deceased person widely known or distinguished in some way.

This suffix often occurs in coordinate phrases with the enclitic |*=lu*| ‘and, also’ (§ 54.5). Compare this pair with different numbers:

- (127) a. [*Nuk’a-nku-k*                      *May’aq=llu*]<sub>S</sub>      *tekit-uk*.  
 p.n.-associate-ABS.du.      p.n.ABS.sg.=and arrive-IND.3du.  
 ‘Nuk’aq and his companion May’aq arrived.’  
 – involves two people (N. and M.), but not three, with the two person names constituting a coordinate phrase. May’aq may or may not be a family member of Nuk’aq, but in (b) with the plural inflection, May’aq is clearly not in Nuk’aq’s family:  
 b. [*Nuk’a-nku-t*                      *May’aq=llu*]<sub>S</sub>      *tekit-ut*.  
 p.n.-associate-ABS.pl.      p.n.ABS.sg.=and arrive-IND.3pl.

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3. Especially referring to the slow or dragging pronunciation characteristic of Bethel and its surrounding area (Elsie Mather).

Expanded into relational verbs:

- (128) *Upsa-nku-u-gut* ‘they are in Upsaq’s family’  
p.n.-associate-be-IND.3pl.

The *|ku|* in this suffix might possibly be the non-singular expander for non-singular nominal demonstrative stems (§ 12.1.1; e.g. *u-ku-t* ‘these’), non-singular personal pronouns (§ 13.1; e.g. *wang-ku-ta* ‘we’), and the interrogative stem (*kin-ku-u-gat* ‘who are they?’), though the identity of *-n-* seems to remain a question, despite an intriguing solution by Corbett and Mithun (1996: 13–16).

NN *|-ly-* ‘one having, one using’. As a nominal correspondent to NV *|-ŋqɣ-* ‘to have’ (§ 38.1), it behaves the same way as the latter in having a stranded NP in the ablative modalis case (§ 25.2.2-iii) – see (135) through (139).

- (129) *pupsu-lek* ‘crab; one with a pincer, thumb, and forefinger’  
– *|pupsuy-*  
*kangira-lek* ‘five gallon can’ – *|kanjıyay-* ‘corner’  
*napa-lek* ‘wooded place’ – *|napa-* ‘wood, spruce’  
*ciul-va-lek* ‘one with big ears’ – *|ciut-*, augmentative.
- (130) *tuntu-ıg-e-t* (pl.) ‘reindeer herders’ – *|tuntu-*, EV *-e-*.  
*nuna-ıg-e-t* ‘host village (to invite the counter-village)’  
– *|nuna-* ‘land’ [MMAR: 14]
- (131) *Unga-lek* (~ *Ungag-pa-lek*)  
‘(Long-)moustached’ (entity with an obscure identity).<sup>4</sup>

A nominal with *-lek* very often occurs in appositive phrases to modify the head:

- (132) *arnaq* *irniar-pa-lek*  
woman.ABS.sg. offspring-big-having.ABS.sg.  
‘a woman who has a big child’.
- (133) [*angut-e-m* *angya-ıg-e-m*]<sub>G</sub> *qetunra-a*  
man-EV-REL.sg. boat-having-EV-REL.sg. So-ABS.3sg.sg.  
‘the son of the man who has a boat’.

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4. To some people it may refer to [Y] *Ima-m Yu-a* (‘Person of the Sea’ as the controller of the sea’), which is used presumably for avoidance.

- (134) [Kuig-mun neq'-leg-mun] tekite-llru-uq.  
 river-ALL.sg. fish-having-ALL.sg. arrive-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'He arrived at the river that has fish.'

In the following examples, the ablative-modalis NP is a stranding from an appositive phrase containing the suffix (§ 25.2.2-iii):

- (135) [Naparyaar-**nek** kingune-lg-e-m]<sub>A</sub> pi-llini-a.  
 pl.n.-ABM.pl. home-having-EV-REL.sg. do-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'The man from Hooper Bay said (suggested).' [CIUL 10]
- (136) Patu-i-gi [naparta-**nek** ima-**leg-nek**]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 cover-APS-OPT.2sg. barrel-ABM.pl. content-having-ABM.pl.  
 'You (sg.) cover the barrel full of contents!'
- (137) arnaq [qaspe-**lek** gate-llria-**mek**]  
 woman.ABS.sg. cloth.parka-having.ABS.sg. white-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 'a woman who has a white cloth parka'  
 cf. qaspeq (cloth.parka.ABS.sg.) gate-llria (white-VNrl-ABS.sg.)  
 'white cloth parka (lit. cloth parka, one which is white).'
- (138) qantaq [emer-**mek** ima-**lek**]  
 bowl.ABS.sg. water-ABM.sg. content-having.ABS.sg.  
 'a bowlful of water'.
- (139) [Irnjar-uaq [keggina-**lek** kavirli-**mek**]]<sub>S</sub>  
 child-imitation.ABS.sg. face-having.ABS.sg. red-ABM.sg.  
 assiit-uq.  
 bad-IND.3sg.  
 'A doll with a red face is not good.'

The suffix |-ly-| is almost equivalent to the participial relative clause |-ŋqɣ-lyia-| 'one who has' (§ 17.2.1). But the former does not simply mean possession. By going back to (137), compare the pair:

- (140) a. arnaq qaspe-**lek**  
 i. 'the woman who has/owns a cloth parka'  
 ii. 'the woman wearing the parka'  
 b. arnaq qaspe-**ngqe-llria**  
 'the woman who has a cloth parka'.

NN |+*taly-*| ‘one having (at a particular period)’. Composite suffix with |-*ly-*| followed by the same “prefixal” |+*ta-*| that occurs in some verbs of existence (§ 38.1) – as with |+*taŋq̄x-*| ‘to exist’. It adds a connotation of temporariness or uncertainty. Compare the pairs:

- (141) a. *ena yug-talek* ‘house temporarily full of people’ vs.  
 b. *ena yu-l’ek* ‘house inhabited’ – |-*ini-*| ‘house’, |*yuy-*| ‘person’.
- (142) a. [*Kuik imarpinrar-talek*]<sub>p</sub> *kuvy-ir-aa*.  
 river.ABS.sg. whitefish-having.ABS.sg. net-supply-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He has put a net in the river that has whitefish (*at particular period*).’ – *kuvy-ir-aa* < *kuvya-lir-aa*  
 b. [*Kuik imarpinra-lek*]<sub>p</sub> *kuvy-ir-aa*.  
 ‘He has put a net in the river that (*always*) has whitefish.’
- (143) a. *Kaviar-taleg-mun ayag-ciq-uq*.  
 fox-having-ALL.sg. go-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He will go to the place (*he does not know exactly where*) that has foxes.’  
 b. *Kavia-leg-mun ayag-ciq-uq*.  
 ‘He will go to the (*precise*) place that (*he knows*) has foxes.’
- (144) [*Tau-na camp-aq*]<sub>s</sub>  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. camp-LNK.ABS.sg.  
*yug-talg-u-llini-uq*.  
 person-having-be-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘(I see) that camp is occupied (*right now*).’ – see (141a).

This suffix occurs in some place names outside of GCAY:<sup>5</sup>

- (145) *Uqvig-talek* ‘place of many willows (*uqvik*)’  
 – an abandoned village at the west end of Taylor Lagoon (west of Golovin on Norton Sound)
- Qikmir-taleg-miut* ‘site on a bay northeast of Nunivak Island’  
 – *qikmiq* ‘dog’, old term for *qimugta*
- Qaneryag-taleg-miut* ‘site on the east coast of Nunivak Island’  
 – *qaner-yag-* ‘mouth/saying-much’.

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5. The first place name mentioned, *Uqpiktulik* (*uqpik* ‘willow’ with the same suffix) in Inupiaq, is regarded as the traditional boundary between Norton Sound Yupiks and Inupiaqs (Koutsy 1981: 28). The last two from Amos and Amos (2003: 376).

NN/VN *-lyut-* ~ *-lyut-* ‘associate, partner, fellow (in – ing)’. Some speakers may distinguish between voiceless and voiced laterals. Apparently a composite suffix with NN *-ly-* ‘one having’ above followed by the following NN *+ɲut-* for alienable possession. More examples in VN section (§ 19.2).

- (146) a. *yu-u-llgut-ka* ‘someone the same age as me’  
 person-be-fellow-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 b. *yu-u-lgut-ka* ‘a human being / a Yupik like me’  
 person-be-fellow-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 c. *kass’a-llgut-ka* ‘my companion white man, fellow white man’.
- (147) *ate-llguti-i* ‘his namesake’  
 name-fellow-ABS.3sg.sg.
- (148) *piciryara-llgut-ke-ng’e’rmeng*  
 festival-partner-have.as-CNNth.3Rpl.  
 ‘though they had common festival’ [CAUY19]

NN *+ɲut-* ‘supply, thing owned (not inherently but temporarily)’. This typically occurs with person (possessor) inflection and may have the connotation of “alienable” possessions (as contrasted with an unmarked possessive form which has no alienability distinction) – cf. § 22.5-vi.

This is likely to be the same suffix as the instrumental relativizer VNrl/nm *+(u)t-* ‘means/reasons of’ (§ 17.6.2), though this NN suffix shows no post-vocalic deletion.

- (149) *kemg-uti-i* ‘his supply of meat’ – *|kimy-* ‘meat’, ABS.3sg.sg. *-i*  
 cf. *kemg-a* ‘his flesh’ – ABS.3sg.sg. *-a*; inalienable.
- (150) *mura-ute-ka* ‘my wood supply’ – *|muɣay-* ‘wood’, ABS.1sg.sg. *-ka*.  
*mura-ute-ke-sti-i* ‘one who own that piece of wood (one who has it as *mura-un*)’ – NVrl *-ke-*, VNrl *-ste-*, ABS.3sg.sg. [QQLK 274]
- (151) *neqa-ute-nka* ‘my supply of fish’ – *|niqi-* ‘fish’,  
 ABS.1sg.pl. *-nka*; cf. (P6iii, P5iii)  
 cf. *neqa-i* *kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 fish-ABS.3sg.pl. river-EV-REL.sg.  
 ‘fish of the river’ (inherent to the river).
- (152) *yu-uti-i* ‘a dead person’s soul’ = *tarnaq, avneq* [CAUY]  
 cf. *yu-a* ‘spirit, owner; inner unseen essence’ [Kanaqlak 2011: 16] –  
 corresponding to Eastern Eskimo *inu-a* (Birket-Smith 1959, etc.)

- (153) *Maqc-i-llru-aqa* *taanga-uti-inek* <sub>(P)</sub>  
 pour-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. liquor-supply-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*taang-iqe-llria*<sub>E</sub>  
 liquor-afflicted-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I poured his (supply of) liquor on the drunk.’

*denominalized into a relational verb:*

- (154) *uilu-ute-k-ai* ‘they are his supply of clamshells’  
 clamshell-supply-have.as-IND.3sg.3pl.

NN *|-łay\*|-* ~ *|-łay|-* (non-productive) ‘thing of, belonging to (the past)’.

- (155) *kia-llaq* ‘thing of last summer’ – *|kiay-|* ‘summer’  
*yu-ll’aq* ‘artifact left by people of the past’, etc. – *|yuy-|* ‘person’  
*allami-llaq* ‘a year old’ – *|łamitay\*|-* ~ *|łamitay|-* with *|łami-|*  
 ‘(last) year’.
- (156) a. *kia-lla-u-gut* ‘they are from last summer’  
 summer-belonging-be-IND.3pl.  
 b. *ak’a-lla-urt-ukut* ‘we became old’  
 past-belonging-become-IND.1pl.
- (157) *nakmii-lla-qa* ‘one belonging to me’ – uncertain derivation;  
 cf. *|nakmi-|* ‘self, own’ (§ 13.4).

NN *|-kuciy-|* ‘one of the same kind’. Apparently a composite suffix related with VNnm *|+(u)ciy-|*, illustrated in (§ 18.2.1).

All the adjectival NN suffixes listed above are those that are highly or more or less productive. On the other extreme there are non-productive NN suffixes which have yielded only a few limited derivatives. Many suffixes in between vary in productivity.

An extremity is *|-ıcaluy-|* ‘non-human living thing’, which occurs only with *angu* ‘man’ and *arnaq* ‘woman’:

- (158) *angu-caluy* (with stem-final apical deletion)  
*arna-caluy*  
 ‘male or female living things (such as dog, moose, beaver, fish, etc.)’.



## 2. Associative

The suffixes below are found in a fair number of derivatives, though not productive any more. The semantic effect on the stem is not necessarily clear, but their derivatives may possibly reflect the people's perception of similarity within ('something like, a kind of') or secondary categorization of (some parts of) their environment.

Table 18: NN suffixes for associative elaborations

NN  +naġ̣-	'similar'
NN  -a(ġ̣a)ġ̣*-  ~  + <sub>1</sub> ka(ġ̣a)ġ̣*-	'similar but not completely so, not really, to a lesser degree'
NN  +aġ̣-	'similar'

NN |+naġ̣-| occurs mostly in living things (incl. plants). The stem is identifiable for some but is not certain for others. The sequence *nar* may be an additional syllable of the morpheme concerned (cf. *arnaq* 'woman', *tarnaq* 'wild celery' – bimorphemic?). The suffix should be distinct from the VN/VV |+naġ̣-| 'one that causes – to, causing' (§ 19.2).

- (159) a. *nater-naq* 'flounder' |natġ̣-| 'floor'  
*cikig-naq* 'lake trout' *cikik* 'ground squirrel'  
*cavig-naq* 'metal' *cavik* 'metal, iron, knife'  
*taperr-naq* '(a kind of) seashore grass' |tapġ̣-| (root) 'rope-like'?  
*ceturr-naq* 'arctic cod' *ceturc-* 'to stretch (legs) out'
- b. *arlunaq* 'polar bear' unidentifiable root or stem  
*qanganaq* 'arctic ground squirrel' unidentifiable root or stem  
*Kangirnaq/Kangina'ar* 'Kangiganak' (village) – from *kangiq* 'source, beginning, meaning'?

NN/NV/VV |-a(ġ̣a)ġ̣\*-| ~ |+<sub>1</sub>ka(ġ̣a)ġ̣\*-| (the second variant deletes the stem-final /t/). It adds some associative elaboration on many stems: 'similar but not completely so, not really, to a lesser degree (e.g. young, small...)'. Attested particularly in a number of time words (§ 11.3.3), etc.

- (160) *uru-ar* '(something like) moss (similar but not completely so)' – |uġ̣uġ̣-| 'moss'  
*uru-ara-u-guq* 'it is mossy, is something like moss' – with *-u-* 'to be', *-guq* IND.3sg.

In time words:

- (161) *ataku-ar* (~ *ataku-araq*) 'early evening' – |ataku-| 'this evening'  
*ataku-ar-tuq* 'it is starting to be evening'.

- (162) *ak'alla-ar* 'old person' – |*ak'atay-*| 'old thing'  
*ak'alla-araat* pl. with *-araat* from velar deletion following the  
epenthetic vowel.

After NN |-(y)*tuy-*| 'bad, old' (above):

- (163) *urur-rlu-ar* 'a little bit of moss; a little bit mossy'  
= *uru-rraq* with NN |-(xay)\*-|  
cf. *urur-rluk* 'a certain kind of moss, something mossy-like'  
(not in the tundra but as in different kinds of things  
left out in moist places)  
*neqerrlu-ar* (~ *neqerrluk*) 'dried fish'.

i) *Following stem-final /t/*:

- (164) *angu-kar* 'little old man; not really/manly man, not *nukalpiaq*' –  
|*ajut-*| 'man'.  
(165) *keggu-ka-r-luni* *atauci-mek*  
tooth-little-have-APP.3Rsg. one-ABM.sg.  
'one having only one tooth' – |*kixut-*| 'tooth'.

ii) *As a VV suffix*: 'just barely, little, earlier than expected'.

- (166) *ceñirt-a'ar-tuq* 'he is going house to house' – |*ciñirc-*| 'to visit'.

NN |+ay-| occurs in many stems of various semantic categories related to kinship terms (§ 11.4), body parts, manufactured objects, time words (§ 11.3.3), etc. While it is generally a retaining suffix, it may be of the deleting type.

i) *Kinship, part (of body, etc.)*:

- (167) *cakir-aq* 'brother/sister-in-law (one's spouse's sibling)  
– |*cakiy-*| 'parent-in-law'  
*tutgar-aq* 'grandchild' – |*tutyay+ay-*| (with |*tuty-*| 'to sleep next  
to s.o.')
- ciu-li-aq* 'ancestor' – |*ciu-liy-*| 'older sibling' with |*ciu-*| 'fore'.
- (168) *akur-aq* 'lower abdomen/part of torso' – |*aku(y)-*| 'lower part  
of garment'  
*akulir-aq* 'bridge of nose' – |*akuliy-*| 'middle'  
*tallir-aq* 'bracelet' – |*taliy-*| 'arm'

- cauyar-aq* ‘kayak rib’ – |*cauyay-*| ‘drum’  
*kangir-aq* ‘corner, quarter’ – |*kaniy-*| ‘source, beginning’.  
*ciisqurr-aq* ‘knee cap (patella)’ [MKTB 29] – |*ciisquy-*| ‘knee’;  
 cf. *ciisqu(rr)-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.).

ii) *Time words:*

- (169) *uksu-aq* ‘fall’ – |*uksuy-*| ‘(last) winter’  
*unu-aq* ‘(this past) morning’ – |*unuy-*| ‘last night’.

iii) *Following a limited number of stems with final /y/* – with very little semantic increment: Nouns with or without the suffix may simply be idiolectal or dialectal variations:

- (170) *uqvi(g)-aq* ~ *uqvi-ar* ~ *uqvik* ‘willow’  
*neqerrlu-aq* ~ *neqerrluk* ‘dried fish’.
- (171) a. NN |*-pi-ay-*| ~ |*-piy-*| ‘genuine, real’  
 e.g. *Yu-piaq* ~ *Yu-p’ik* ‘Southwest Alaskan Eskimo’ – *yuk* ‘person’  
 b. NN |*-mi-ay-*| ~ |*-miy-*| ‘thing held with’  
 e.g. *uya-miaq* ~ *uya-mik* ‘necklace’ – *uya* ‘neck’.
- (172) *maklag-aq* ~ *makla-ar* ‘baby bearded seal’ – |*maklay-*| ‘bearded seal’.
- (173) *tangviar-rlu-ar* ‘a little bit of seal blubber’  
 cf. *tangviar-rluk* ‘seal blubber with oil rendered’.

iv) *Epenthetic /i/*: The augmentative NN |+*pay-*| ~ |+*1vay-*| ‘big’ at the very beginning of this section (§ 20.1.1) is peculiar in its bringing out a root-like element with final |*-ay-*|, with /i/ insertion as repeated here – see (P7i) for insertion between stem-final consonants).<sup>6</sup>

- (174) a. *miryaq* ‘vomit’ – *mirs-aq?*  
*mires-pak* ‘copious vomiting’  
*anges-vak* ‘big boat’ = (2c) (~ *angyar-pak*) – *angs-aq?*  
 b. *arnaq* ‘woman’ – *aren-aq?*  
*aren-vak* ‘big woman’ = (2c) (~ *arnar-pak*).

6. It may at least be conceivable that the syllable |*-ay-*| originally was some kind of root expander that may have served to enlarge the lexical stock with a semantic increment on primary roots.

In this connection it could also be conceivable that the suffix has extended its function to serve as the linker (LNK)  $|+(V)\dot{y}-|$  by which loanwords are brought into native inflection – see § 52.3.2.

### 3. (Dis)honorifics (HNR) (NNh/VVh)

“(Dis)honorific” or attitudinal suffixes (HNR) occur very frequently in CAY speech. They may only be employed to someone who is (well) known to the speaker, very often jokingly to cousins and children, but not to elders.

Morphologically being NN or VV suffixes, they do not simply provide a semantic elaboration on the preceding nominal or verb stem, but rather express some attitude, feeling, evaluation, politeness, etc. of the speaker towards the person(s) or thing(s) concerned, which can be either:

(a) *positive* – expressing endearment or attachment, admiration, praise, and politeness, or

(b) *negative* – expressing hatred and insults, criticism, and denial.

The attitude expressed by one and the same suffix, however, may be ambivalent, either positive or negative.

As an NN type, the attitude is expressed toward the referent of the noun stem. As a VV stem, it is directed toward the argument, typically a person, but it may be a thing connected with the verbal action. As a verb elaborating type, they are taken as a kind of modality suffixes (cf. § 43.1).

Characteristically, a (dis)honorific suffix occurs after nominal stems, including common nouns, personal names, nominal demonstratives, and personal pronouns. Though rarely, it also occurs after attributive nouns, numerals, non-personal pronouns, and deverbalizations (relative and nominal clauses) – *ak'alla-cungaq*, *pingayu-cungaat*, *uquri-lria-cungaq* from *ak'allar-* ‘old one’, *pingayut-* ‘three’, *qaku* ‘when’ (FUT), *uquri-lria-* ‘one who is fat’.

Frequent co-occurrence of a (dis)honorific suffix with a nominal demonstrative is the most remarkable feature of (dis)honorific suffixes. As described in § 12.2.1, nominal demonstratives (and the only nominal interrogative  $|ki(t)-|$  ‘who’; § 15.2.2) have three different kinds of stems characterized by three expanders added to the demonstrative roots as: a.)  $|+u-|$  selected by singular nominals (except for ones in the absolutive case; cf. c.)); and singular-subject verbs, b.)  $|+ku-|$  selected by non-singulars; and c.)  $|+na-|$  selected by the absolutive singular case.

In view of their morphology, (dis)honorific suffixes behave somewhat differently than productive suffixes do in general in that, despite being suffixes, they are characteristically nomadic, that is, they “float” among words of different classes (somewhat like clitics), though in a far from uniform way. This im-

plies that they may occur interchangeably after nominal (incl. vocative) and verb stems, but also very often after particles, although there can be a slight difference in emphasis or implication depending upon which word it occurs in or which morpheme it is attached to. They may also be repeated, occurring both in a noun and a verb, or in two or more words of a sentence. At least one suffix (-*yūyluy-*) floats even within words, relative to other suffixes.

Table 19: Suffixes for (dis) honorific suffixes (NNh/VVh)

NNh/VVh	- <i>cunay</i> ŷ*-/    - <i>cua</i> ( <i>yā</i> )ŷ* -	‘cute, nice little, dear, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>ya</i> ( <i>y</i> ) <i>a</i> ŷ-  ~  - <i>ya</i> ( <i>y</i> ) <i>a</i> ( <i>yā</i> )ŷ* -	‘small, dear little, (animal) young, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>yuy-</i>	‘(positively) large, fat, stout, enjoyable, desirable, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>yūyluy-</i>	‘poor, sorry, shabby, small, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>k</i> * <i>aya</i> ŷ-	‘darned, mean; angrily, suddenly, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>kiytaa</i> ( <i>yā</i> )ŷ* -	‘beautiful (physical and mental), good-looking, attractive, respectful, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>hi</i> ( <i>yā</i> )ŷ* -	‘funny, darned, shabby, disrespectful, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>qtay-</i>	‘darned; cute, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>qtahi</i> ( <i>yā</i> )ŷ-	‘darned, despicable, irritating, frustrating, displeasing, derogatory; nice, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>luy-</i>	‘darned, no good, unsatisfactory (though unavoidable); nice, ...’
NNh/VVh	- <i>cihi</i> ŷ-     - <i>vialuy-</i>      - <i>vialūti</i> ŷ-	‘negative, angered, angry, frustrated, huge, ...’

Besides CAY and its closely related CSY (K. Nagai 2000), some languages in the North Pacific Rim are reported to have a similar kind of attitudinal or evaluative morphemes that float, and are usually diminutive or augmentative.<sup>7</sup>

7. In reference to Atkan Aleut, Bergsland (1989: 9) writes that certain derivative suffixes move from the noun to the verb, citing the following pair:

*Hla-kucha-X*    *hila-ku-X*.    ‘The little boy is reading.’

*Hila-kuch-ku-X*.    ‘He is reading, the little one.’

Again, with reference to Koryak (and Chukchi) of the language family adjacent to the Eskimo-Aleut group, M. Kurebito (2000) provides detailed information and a discussion of generally the same kind of phenomena found in a number of diminutive and augmentative suffixes by distinguishing stem-modifying and argument-modifying suffixes. It is interesting to note, however, that in this language the ‘argument-modifying’ suffix, which floats like in CAY, refers to the O or S argument in the ergative pattern, unlike the unanimous subject in CAY.

Finally, in his celebrated classification of grammatical concepts in *Language* (1921), Sapir discusses a Nootka diminutive ‘affix’ in detail (100–111). It is ‘more of a feeling-element, an element of nuance, than our *-ling*’ (111, fn. 17) that floats. Although the term affix is used, it may actually be an enclitic, given his remark

NN/VV *|-cunɣay̆\*-|* ‘cute, nice little, dear’. Generally used teasingly or mischievously towards one to whom the speaker feels dear or close, particularly between cross cousins (cf. § 11.4), but also from an older to a younger person, expressing an attitude of affection or carrying a flavor of endearment. The suffix may sound like something uttered by the older speakers. It is more prominent outside of Kuskokwim where the diminutive *|-cua(y̆a)y̆\*-|* ~ *|-ksua(y̆a)y̆\*-|* (§ 20.1.1) is instead more common, although the diminutive floats to a much more limited extent.

- (175) a. *arna-cunɣaq* / *arna-cuar* ‘(dear) woman’  
*Nuk’a-cunɣaq* / *Nuk’a-cuar* ‘(dear) Nuk’aq’  
 b. *u-na-cunɣaq* / *una-cuar* ‘this (dear) one’  
   – *u-na* ‘this one’ (this-EX.ABS.sg.)  
*ki-na-cunɣaq* / *kina-cuar* ‘who (dear)?’  
   – *ki-na* ‘who’ (who-EX.ABS.sg.).

Two words in (b), nominal demonstrative and interrogative, demonstrate the above-mentioned root expander *-na-* before the singular abstract inflection (zero-marked).

i) *Selection of demonstrative stems*: Fully illustrated with this (dis)honorific suffix ‘cute’ on the demonstrative root *|u-|* ‘this one’, whose pattern applies also to the other suffixes below:

- (176) a. *u-na-cunɣaq* (ABS.sg.) ‘this (dear) one’  
 b. *u-u-cunɣar-mi* (LOC.sg.) ‘in this (dear) one’  
   *u-u-cunɣa-u-guq* (IND.3sg.) ‘it is this (dear) one’  
 c. *u-ku-cunɣa-a-t* / *u-ku-cunɣa-a-k* (ABS.pl./du.)  
   *u-ku-cunɣar-ni* / *u-ku-cunɣa-a-gni* (LOC.pl./du.)  
   *u-ku-cunɣa-u-gut* / *u-ku-cunɣa-u-guk* (IND.3pl./du.).

Vocative forms of nominal demonstratives (*u-suuq* ‘you (sg.)/this one here!’, *u-kuut*, *u-kuuk*; § 12.2.1) may also be followed by an HNR suffix when the vocative doubling of a vowel (§ 31.1) occurs after the suffix (in addition to the vowel doubling in the demonstrative vocative marker itself):

- (177) a. *u-suu-cunɣa-a-q* ‘you (sg.), this one (dear) here!’  
 b. *u-kuu-cunɣa-a-t* / *u-kuu-cunɣa-a-k* ‘you (pl./du.), these ones (dear) here!’

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(‘suffixed to formations that have the value of complete words’) as well as from the description in *Nootka Texts* (Sapir and Swadesh 1939: 236, 242).

ii) *In NPs*: The suffix may occur with any core argument NP:

- (178) a. *Assik-aa*                      *arna-cunga-a-m* <sub>A</sub>.  
 like-IND.3sg.3sg.      woman-HNR-EV-REL.sg.  
 ‘The (dear) woman likes him.’
- b. *Assik-aa*                      *irnia-cunga-qa* <sub>P</sub>.  
 like-IND.3sg.3sg.      child-HNR-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He likes my (dear) child.’
- c. *Tekite-llru-uq*                      *irnia-cunga-qa* <sub>S</sub>.  
 arrive-PST-IND.3sg.      child-HNR-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My (dear) child arrived.’

The suffix may occur with either of the two words inside appositive phrases:

- (179)      *Ki-na*                      *tau-na?*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg.      that-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Who is that one?’
- a. *Ki-na*                      *tau-na-cungaq?*  
 b. *Ki-na-cungaq*                      *tau-na?*

iii) *In predicates*: Though less commonly, the suffix may occur after verb stems and particles. The HNR suffix refers only to the S or A argument, but not to P. Compare with (178) above:

- (180)      *Assike-cungar-aa*                      *irnia-qa* <sub>P</sub>.  
 like-HNR-IND.3sg.3sg.      child-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He (cherished) likes my child.’

- (181)      *tangerr-su-cunga-llini-arpenga*  
 see-DES-HNR-EVD-IND.2sg.1sg.  
 ‘(I see) you (sg. cherished) want to see me’
- cf. *\*tangerr-su-cunga-llini-amken* (IND.1sg.2sg.)  
 – which, with the same expanded stems as above, but the inverse personal relation, is awkward since the suffix should refer to the first person (A argument).

The suffix stands before the verbal categories:

- (182) a. *aya-cungar-ciq-sit*                      (*qaku*)                      ‘(when) will you (sg: dear) go?’  
 go-HNR- FUT-INT.2sg. when.FUT
- b. *ayag-yu-cungar-yugnaraq-uten*                      ‘it seems you (sg: dear) want to go’  
 go-DES-HNR-INF-IND.2sg.

- (183) *tekice-cunga-llini-uten* ‘(I see) you (sg: dear) arrived’ – EVD *-llini-*.

Often occurs in optative-mood verbs:

- (184) a. *aya-cunga(-a)-lta* ‘let us (pl. dear) go’  
go-HNR(–EV)-OPT.1pl.  
b. *pi-ura-cuga-a* ‘goodbye!’  
do-CNT-HNR-OPT.2sg.  
c. *ner-cunga-qi-na* ‘eat (with us)!’  
eat-HNR-FUT-OPT.2sg.

iv) *Both in predicates and NPs*: The suffix may be repeated both in the verb and in the NP, though this use, as illustrated below, is rather rare, while the sentence given for comparison is odd or unacceptable since both parties (‘woman’ and ‘child’) are cherished:

- (185) *Assike-cungar-aa arna-cunga-a-m<sub>A</sub> irnia-qa<sub>P</sub>*.  
like-HNR-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-HNR-EV-REL.sg. child-ABS.1sg.sg.  
‘The (dear) woman likes my child.’  
cf. \**Assike-cungar-aa arna-m<sub>A</sub> irnia-cunga-qa<sub>P</sub>*.  
– intending to mean ‘The woman likes my child (cherished).’

In the following pair with the reversed suffix order, the different scopes of the HNR suffix (working as adnominal suffix in the first and as a verbal in the second) yield different cherished objects (noun stem ‘house’ vs. S argument ‘you’):

- (186) a. *ene-cunga-li-uten*  
house-HNR-make-IND.2sg.  
‘you (sg.) are making a nice little house (cherished)’  
b. *ene-li-cungar-tuten / ene-li-cuar-tuten*  
house-make-HNR-IND.2sg.  
‘you (sg. cherished) made a house’.

v) *Following particles* – the addressee is cherished:

- (187) *waq’a-cungaq ~ waqaa-cungaq* ‘hello!’  
*quyana-cungaq* ‘thanks!’
- (188) *Qaku-cungaq ayag-ciq-sit?*  
when-HNR leave-FUT-INT.2sg.  
‘When are you (sg. cherished/endeared) leaving?’  
– though not so commonly used.



vi) *As lexicalized nouns* – especially for independent kinship terms:

- (189) *nulia-cungaq* ‘female cross cousin of a male’ (lit. ‘cute wife’)  
*ui-cungaq* ‘male cross cousin of a female’ (lit. ‘cute husband’)  
 – even in areas (such as Kuskokwim) where the suffix itself is not so much used.
- (190) a. *ilunga-cunga-cuar* ‘cute female cousin (cherished) (of a female)’  
 b. *ilunga-cunga-maang, qaku ayag-ciq-sit?*  
 cousin-HNR-VOC.1sg.sg. when.FUT go-FUT-INT.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.), my cousin (cherished; female cross), when will you (sg.) leave?’ – see § 31.2 for the vocative suffix *-maang* specific to the first person possessor.
- (191) *cura-cungaq* ‘raisin’ (endearing) – |cuȳay̆|- ‘blueberry’. [YED 132]

NN/VV |*-ya(y)aȳ-*| ~ |*-ya(y)a(ȳa)ȳ\**-| ‘small, dear little, (animal) young, ...’. Occurs after the names of living things (human and non-human) but also after pronominal interrogatives and nominal demonstratives that refer to living things. It may seem somewhat similar to the English *-ling* (as in *duckling* – cf. fn. 7), but is more attitudinal and much more productive. The longer form |*-ya(y)a(ȳa)ȳ-*| is rare.

The intervocalic /y/ deletion occurs as with VVa |*-kaca(y)aȳ-*| ‘very, most’ (ITS; § 41.3.5) and its suffix composite VV/NN |*-nkaca(y)aȳ-*| ‘the –est one’.

The suffix expresses an attitude toward the ‘woman’ in (192), not necessarily referring to smallness in size. The smallness is reflected in time words in the sense of ‘very early’. When occurring in lexicalized animal names, the suffix has no implication of endearment.

i) *Intervocalic velar* – retained at foot-initial position, i.e. after an accented syllable:

- (192) *Arna-yagaq<sub>s</sub>* *ayag-tuq.*  
 woman-HNR.ABS.sg. go-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The *small/dear* woman is going.’ (praising)  
 – *árna-yágaq /áȳ|nayá|ȳaq/* by (P18i).
- (193) *mikélngu-yágaq* ‘child (dear)/little child, toddler’  
*qimúgte-yágaq* ‘dear little/small dog’ – |*qimuy̆ti-*| ‘dog’  
*ungúngssi-yágaq* / pl. *ungúngssi-yàga-a-t* /uŋúŋ|siyàȳ|ȳaat/  
 ‘baby animal(s)’  
*ussúkca-yágaq* / pl. *ussúkca-yàga-a-t* ‘small nail(s)’ – |*usukcay̆-*| ‘nail’.

By contrast, the intervocalic /y/ is lenited and deleted when in the foot-medial position, making the suffix into a single foot. Compare (a) with (b) below:

- (194) a. *túntuvá-yaaq* /tún|tuvá·|yaaq/ ‘moose calf’ (|*tuntuvay-*| ‘moose’) – with rhythmical accent on *-yaáq* being deaccentuated word-finally (P18iii)  
 b. *túntuvá-yàga-a-t* /tún|tuvá·|yày|yaat/ pl. from |*-ya(y)aŷ[+t]*| moose-young-EV-ABS/RELpl. – by (P7i), (P10), and (P18ii.a) cf. *túntu-yàgaq* /tún|tuyá·|yaq/ ‘young caribou’.
- (195) a. *ánqii-yaaq* ‘recently born infant/bird’  
 b. *ánqii-ta-yàgaq* ‘recently born infant/bird’.
- (196) a. *curácitú-yaaq* [Y] ‘baby muskrat’ [MT] – with an unidentifiable stem  
 b. *curácitú-yàgaat* /cuŷá·|cítú·|yày|yaat/ – ABS/REL.pl.

However, velar deletion may be blocked as below:

- (197) *túntuvá-yagaq* ~ (194a) *túntuvá-yaaq* ‘moose calf’.

A longer form |*-ya(y)a(ŷa)y-*| is suggested for the suffix in:

- (198) *sulíssulí-yaar* ‘savannah sparrow’  
 – with /ŷa/ deletion in addition to intervocalic velar deletion.

Additional animal names:

- (199) *kanaqla-yagaq* ‘baby muskrat’ – |*kanaqlay-*| ‘muskrat’  
*issuri-yagaq* ‘baby seal’ – |*issuyiy-*| ‘spotted seal’  
*tuntu-yagaq* ‘caribou calf, baby caribou’ – |*tuntu-*| ‘caribou’.

ii) *Following demonstrative stems:*

- (200) a. *u-ná-yaaq* /uná·|yaaq/ ‘you (sg.)/this one (dear)’  
 this-sg.EX-HNR.ABS.sg. ≡ *u-na-cuar*.  
 b. *ki-ná-yaaq* /kiná·|yaaq/ ‘who (sg. dear)?’  
 who-sg.EX-HNR.ABS.sg.  
 c. *kín-ku-yàga-a-t* /kín|kuyày|yaat/ ‘who (pl. dear)?’  
 who-EX-HNR-EV-ABS/REL.pl.

iii) *In time words*:

- (201) *unuakua-yaar* ‘very early in the morning, break of the day’  
(cf. *unuakuar* ‘early morning’)  
*unuakua-yaar-mi* LOC.sg.  
*unuakua-yaar-qu* FUT (e.g. *ayag-niar-tukut* ‘so we will leave’).

iv) *Lexicalized*: Not necessarily applied to living things:

- (202) a. *angya-yagaq* ‘shrew’ – can also mean ‘small boat’  
*pi-yagaq* ‘duckling; small offspring, baby bird’ – neutral  
stem |*pi-*| (§ 10.3.1)  
*arna-yagaq* [LI] ‘a little (unusually) woman, girl’ [YED]  
b. *imga-yagaq* ‘cigarette’ – |*imɣ-*| ‘to roll’  
*qerru-yaag* ‘small arrow, bullet’ [Y.NS.HBC.NUN]

v) *After particles*: Some speakers find them funny.

- (203) *waq’a-yagaq* ‘here you are, hello (small/dear)’  
*quyana-yagaq* ‘thank you (small/dear)’.

vi) *As verbal suffixes*: These may be used by some speakers, but taken as funny by others.

- (204) a. *aya-yaar-tuq.* ‘he (small/dear) is going, has left’  
leave-HNR-IND.3sg.  
/ayá|yaáx|tuq/ < /ayá|yaǰáx|tuq/  
*piyuá-yaár-tuq* ‘he (cherished) is walking’  
walk-HNR-IND.3sg.  
*assi-yaár-tuq*  
good-HNR-IND.3sg.  
‘he is fairly nice to a certain extent (but not necessarily small)’  
b. *mingqe-yágar-tuq* ‘she (cherished) is sewing’  
sew-HNR-IND.3sg.  
*nénglli-yágar-tuq* ‘it is slightly cold’  
cold-just-IND.3sg.  
c. *anúq-sa(g)úr-tuq* ‘it is breezy’ – |*anuqi-*| ‘wind’.

The following optative forms may be used by some speakers, though others may find them funny:

- (205) *ayá-yaá-lta* (OPT.1pl.) ‘let’s go’  
*assi-yaá-qi-na* (ASP-OPT.2sg.) ‘you (sg.) be good’.

The suffix may occur both in the nominal and in the predicate of a sentence:

- (206) a. *Arna-yagaq<sub>s</sub>*                      *aya-yaar-tuq.*  
 woman-HNR.ABS.sg.                      go-HNR-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The woman (small/dear) has gone.’  
 ≡ *Arna-cuar*    *aya-cuar-tuq.*
- b. [*Arna-yagaq*                      *im-na*]<sub>s</sub>                      *ta=ima*  
 woman-HNR.ABS.sg.                      that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.                      there.unseen  
*aya-yaa-llini-uq.*  
 go-HNR-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘That (tiny/little/cute) woman has evidently left.’

NN/VV |-yuy-| ‘(positively) large, fat, chubby, enjoyable; loud, gregarious’, but may be used more or less teasingly in reference to humans and body parts (but also with a limited set of other nouns). Sometimes as an opposite to |+cuɣay-| ‘cute, small’ above. NN |+pay-| ‘big’ and NN |-vialuy-| also imply ‘big’ but in a more negative sense.

i) *As NN*:

- (207)    *arna-ruk*                      ‘(fat, large) woman’ (teasingly but indirectly implying the size)  
 cf. *arnar-pak*                      ‘big (in size) woman’.
- (208)    *pi-ruk*                      ‘fat person’ – empty |pi-|  
           *pi-ste-ruk*                      ‘big servant’.
- (209)    *ii-ru-u-k*                      ‘his big eyes’ (EV-ABS.3sg.du.).

After nominal demonstratives – see |-cuɣay\*-|:

- (210)    *u-na-ruk*                      ‘this (stout) one (person)’  
           *u-ku-ru-u-t*                      ‘these (stout) ones’  
           *u-suu-ru-u-k*                      ‘you (sg.)/this (stout) one!’

Some speakers add the suffix to personal names: *Panigua-ruk*, *May’a-ruk*.

ii) *Following particles*: Some speakers may find them funny.

- (211)    *quyana-ruk*                      ‘thank you’  
           *waqaa-ruk*                      ‘hello, here you are’.

iii) *As a VV suffix* – endearment to the S/A argument.

- (212) a. *aya-gug-tuq* ‘she left’  
 b. *maqi-rug-tuq* ‘he is taking a steambath’  
*maqi-ru-u-lta* ‘let’s take a steambath’ (-*u-lta* EV-OPT.1pl.)  
 – (P3ii, P9) differentiating between -*gug-* and -*rug-*.
- (213) *qava-ru-lria=wa* ‘she (big) is sleeping’  
 sleep-HNR-PTP.3sg.=ENC.
- (214) *Tangerr-su-gug-arpenga ≠ qaa?*  
 see-DES-HNR-IND.2sg.3sg.≠QST  
 ‘Do you(sg.: teasingly) want to see me?’  
 – addressed jokingly to a large person.

The suffix occurs both in the argument NP as well as in the predicate:

- (215) *Arna-ruk<sub>s</sub>* *keni-rug-tuq.*  
 woman-HNR.ABS.sg. cook-HNR-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The woman (fat, attractive, desirable) is cooking.’
- (216) *Im-na-ruk<sub>s</sub>* (*Arna-ruk<sub>s</sub>*) *nauwa?*  
 that.ANP-EX-HNR.ABS.sg. (woman-HNR.ABS.sg.) where  
 ‘Where is that (chubby) woman?’ – teasingly.

NN/VV [-*yuylyŷ-*] ‘poor, sorry, shabby, small’. Conveys a sense of affection mixed with pity, often with a condescending or a haughty air. As such, one avoids using it in reference to older people, since it would be disrespectful and insulting. It implies humbleness when used in referring to the speaker himself. This very often occurs in personal pronouns and is one of the most frequently used attitudinal suffixes.

i) *As an NN suffix*:

- (217) *angya’-urlyuq* /áŋ|yáy<sup>w</sup>|luq/ ‘boat (shabby)’ vs.  
*qaya’-urlyuq* /qayá|uŷlyuq/ ‘kayak (poor)’  
 – The /*yuyŷ*/ is contracted to /*y<sup>w</sup>*/ in the first, being accompanied by accentuation on the second syllable, and the first /*y*/ is intervocalically deleted in the second.
- (218) *acag-urlyuq* /acá|yuylyuq/ ‘aunt (poor)’ – without (P10) intervocalic velar deletion  
*tutgara’-urlyuq* / [HBC] *tutgarar-ulyuq* ‘grandchild’.

In personal pronouns:

- (219) a. *Wii(nga)-**urluq***      *ene-k-aqa*.  
 1sg.-HNR.                    house-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘It is my (poor) house (lit. I have it as a house).’  
 b. *Wangk-**urlu-u-t***      *ene-k-arput*.  
 1pl.-HNR-EV-pl.      house-have.as-IND.1pl.3sg.  
 ‘It is our (poor) house.’  
 – Note the shortened stem from *wangkuta* ‘we’.

ii) *Word-internal floating*: This HNR suffix in particular “floats”, occurring in a number of positions, i.e. after the pronominal stem, or before and even after the inflectional suffix, an anomaly that never takes place in non-attitudinal suffixes:<sup>8</sup>

- (220)      *ell'e-**urlur-pet** ~ elpe-**urluq***  
 ‘you (sg. poor)’ – cf. *elpet* ‘2sg.’.
- (221)      *ell'e-**urlur-peci** ~ elpe-**urlur-peci** ~ elpeci'i-**urlu-u-t** ~ elpeci'i-**urluq***  
 ‘you (pl. poor) – cf. *elpeci* ‘2pl.’.

iii) *Reference to an S or A argument*. (a) vs. (b) as in (222) and (223) below, though a non-third person pronoun makes no formal distinction between the absolutive and the relative:

- (222) a. *Ell'e-**urlur-pet**<sub>S</sub>*      *ca-qatar-cit?*  
 2sg.-HNR                    do.what-IMN-INT.2sg.  
 ‘What are you (sg. poor) going to do?’  
 b. *Ell'e-**urlur-pet**<sub>A</sub>*      *angya-q-an*.  
 2sg.-HNR                    boat-have.as-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘It is your (sg. poor) boat (lit. you (sg. poor) have it as a boat).’

By contrast, the plural person marker *-peci* is notably split by the HNR suffix:

- (223) a. *Elpe-**urlur-peci**<sub>S</sub>*      *ca-qatar-ceci?*  
 2pl.-HNR                    what-IMN-INT.2pl.  
 ‘What are you (pl. poor) going to do?’  
 – The absolutive pronoun can be replaced with the locative form *elpe-**urlur-peceni*** (§ 27.4).

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8. This is reminiscent of the behavior of the German diminutive suffixes *-chen* and *-lein* which, though marginal, can occur after the plural marker: *Kind-chen* vs. (pl.) *Kind-er-chen*, *Kind-lein* vs. (pl.) *Kind-er-lein*.

- b. *Elpe-**urlur**-peci<sub>A</sub>      angya-q-erci*  
 2pl.-HNR                      boat-have.as-IND.2pl.3sg.  
 ‘It is your (pl. poor) boat, lit. you (pl. poor) have it as a boat.’  
 – see (P19) for /a/ raising in *-erci*.

The third person makes a formal distinction between the absolutive (S function) and the relative (A function) as follows:

- (224) a. *Ellii-**urluq**<sub>S</sub>              ak'alla-urt-uq.*  
 3sg.-HNR.ABS              old-become-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He (poor) has grown old.’  
 b. *Ell'e-**urlu**-an<sub>A</sub>              ene-k-aa.*  
 3sg.-HNR-REL.              house-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘It is his (poor) house (lit. he (poor) has it as a house).’  
 – cf. *elliin* REL.3sg. (< |iti+ɲan|).

iv) *Suffix order*: The difference in the relative order below concerning the HNR suffix reflects the different scopes of the suffixes:

- (225) a. *ene-**urlu**-q-aqa*                      ‘it is my poor house (condition)’  
 house-HNR-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 b. *ene-ke-**urlur**-aqa ~ ene-ke-**urlu**'r-qa*  
 house -have.as-HNR-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘it is, poor me, my house (lit. poor me, I have this as a house)’.

v) *As a VV suffix* – very common:

- (226) *qasgi-**urlur**-tuq*  
 go.to.qasgiq-HNR-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he (pitiful, poor, small) went to the men’s house’.
- (227) *Qaku              ayag-e-**urlur**-ciq-sit?*  
 when.FUT              leave-EV-HNR-FUT-INT.2sg.  
 ‘When are you (sg. poor, sorry) leaving?’
- (228) *qavar-ciigat'e-**urlu**-llini-luni*  
 sleep-cannot-HNR-EVD-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(now I see that) he, poor thing, couldn’t sleep’.
- (229) *uita-vig-ka-ite-qata-**urlur**-pag-cia!*  
 stay-place-FUT-PRV-IMN-HNR-AUG-INT.1sg.  
 ‘what a pity I am to have no place to stay!’

- (230) *Tau-m<sub>A</sub>*      *tua=i tegu-nril-kani*,  
 that-REL.sg. SFL take-NEG-CNNif.3sg.3Rsg.  
*tuqu'-urlur-yar-luni tua*    [[*tau-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 die-HNR-would-APP.3Rsg. SFL that-REL.sg  
*ilu-ani*]                    [*ciku-m<sub>G</sub>*    *akuli-ini*]].  
 inside-LOC.3sg.sg. ice-REL.sg. middle-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 'If he had not taken him, the poor thing [latter] would have died in  
 the middle of that ice.' [ELLA 16 (Mike Angaiak)]

The HNR suffix below follows the complex verb *-ni-* with A' ('one who says'), to which it refers:

- (231) (*e*)*mer-ngait-ni-ŭrlu-lar-yaaqe-llini-uq=ggem*  
 drink-will.not-A'.say-HNR-CUS-but-EVD-IND.3sg.=CTR  
 '(But I realized [with tone of criticism]) he (poor) would say he will  
 not drink'.

NN/VV *|-k\*ayay-|* 'darned, crazy, amazing, praising, teasing'. Also as a VV suffix. Not appropriate to use toward older people.

i) *As an NN suffix:*

- (232) a. *u-na-kayak*                            'this one, darn it'  
 this-sg.EX-HNR.ABS.sg.  
 b. *u-ku-kayi-i-t*                            'these ones, darn it'  
 this-pl.EX-HNR-EV-ABS/REL.pl.

- (233) *Angute-kayak<sub>s</sub>*      *iter-tuq*.  
 man-HNR.ABS.sg. enter-IND.3sg.  
 'The man (darn him) came in.'

- (234) *Taqukar-te-llru-uq*                    *nukalpia-kaya-u-ngami*.  
 seal-catch-PST-IND.3sg. hunter-HNR-be-CNNbc.3Rsg.  
 'He got a seal as he is a good hunter.'

ii) *As a VV suffix:*

- (235) *aya-kayag-tuq*                            'he is leaving/left (quickly, angrily)'  
 leave-HNR-IND.3sg.  
*kuima-kayag-tuq*                            'he is swimming (darn him)' – *|kuimay-|*  
 'to swim'.



- (236) *Angun<sub>s</sub> it-kayag-tuq qenerr-luni.*  
 man.ABS.sg. enter-HNR-IND.3sg. angry-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘The man came in angrily, forcefully, with importance, or loudly;  
 stormed in.’ – with verb stems |iɬy-| and |qiniɬc-|.

Whether the HNR suffix follows a verb stem or a noun, the following pair both mean substantially the same thing. But the first is apt to imply respect to the good hunting (with lots of game) and the second implies respect for or bigness of the hunter. The HNR occurs in all three words in (c), which is closer to (b) than to (a):

- (237) a. [*Ing-na nukalpiaq*]<sub>s</sub>  
 that-EX-ABS.sg. good.hunter.ABS.sg.  
*pissur-ya-kaya-kata-llini-luni.*  
 hunt-go-HNR-IMN-EVD-APP.3Rsg.  
 b. [*Ing-na nukalpia-kayak*]<sub>s</sub> *pissur-ya-kata-llini-luni.*  
 c. [*Ing-na-kayak nukalpia-kayak*]<sub>s</sub> *pissur-ya-kaya-kata-llini-luni.*  
 ‘(I see) that good hunter over there is about to go hunting’.

NN/VV |*-kiytaa(ɣa)ɬ\**-| ‘beautiful (physical and mental), good-looking, attractive, respectful’ – cf. NV |*-kiɬc(i)*-| ‘to have a good –’.

i) *As an NN suffix:*

- (238) *nukalpia-qegtaar* ‘good hunter (handsome, respectful)’  
*akerte-kegtaar* ‘beautiful sun’  
*Qaner-yara-qegtaar* ‘Bible’ – *qaner-* ‘to speak’, *-yara-* VNnm  
 ‘way to’.
- (239) *qimugte-kegtaar* ‘beautiful dog’  
*qimugte-kegtaara-a-t* pl.
- (240) *Aug-na-kegtaar<sub>s</sub>* *kit-u-uga?*  
 DEM-EX-HNR.good.ABS.sg. who-EX-be-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Who is that one going away?’  
 – The suffix occurring in the nominal here is much preferred to the following where the suffix occurs in the predicate:  
 cf. *Kit-u-u-kegtaar-ta* *aug-na<sub>s</sub>?*  
 who-EX-be-HNR-INT.3sg. one.away-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Who is that one (beautiful) going away?’

ii) *As VV suffix:*

- (241) *qava-qegtaara-lria=wa*  
 sleep-soundly-PTP.3sg.=ENC  
 ‘he is sleeping well, soundly, comfortably’.
- (242) *Ca-li-kegtaar-ta* *arnaqs?*  
 what-make-beautiful-INT.3sg. woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘What (nice) is the woman making?’  
 – may be an attitude toward the thing concerned as well as the  
 ‘woman’.

NN/VV *|-hi(ȳa)ȳ\*-|* ‘funny, darn (it), disrespectful, shabby; not the best but, not quite, after all (despite, unwillingly)’.

i) *As an NN suffix:*

- (243) *qayá-ll'er* ‘darn kayak’  
*u-ná-ll'er ~ u-ná-ll'eraq* ‘this (darn) one’ (this-sg.EX-NN.ABS.sg.)  
*u-kú-ll'era-a-t* ‘these (darn) ones’ (this-pl.EX-NN-EV-ABS/REL.pl.).

Note that the suffix follows a strong syllable. Compare with the following in which the syllable contraction triggers a regressive accent on the preceding weak syllable:

- (244) a. *ángyà-ll'er* ‘darn (bad, old) boat’ (ABS.sg.)  
*ángyà-ll'è'r-mek* ‘darn (bad, old) boat’ (ABM.sg.)  
 cf. *ángya-ll'ér-mek* ‘former/old boat’ – NN *|-tȳ-|*
- b. *Ácqà-ll'er* ‘no good Acqaq (person name)’
- c. *átkù-ll'e'r-qa* ‘my ragged old parka’ (ABS.1sg.sg.)  
*kaméksà-ll'e'r-qa ~ kaméksà-ll'erár-qa* ‘my old boot’.

The suffix is often preceded by augmentative and diminutive suffixes:

- (245) *tegga-rva-ll'er* ‘big rock’ – *|tixi-|* ~ *|tixa-|* ‘to be hard’.
- (246) *ene-rpa-ll'er* *ma-n'a!* ‘this big house’  
 house-big-HNR.ABS.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg.
- (247) *qayá-cuárà-ll'er* ‘darn little kayak’ (ABS.sg.)  
 – cf. *qayá-ll'er* above  
*irú-cuá-ll'era-a-k* ‘its spindly legs’ (ABS.3sg.du.; -a- EV)  
*stuúlù-cuá-ll'er* ‘little old table’ (ABS.sg.).

- (248) *U-u(-cua)-llera-a-m<sub>A</sub>* *navg-aa* *saaskaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 this-sg.EX(-little)-HNR-EV-REL.sg. break-IND.3sg.3sg. cup.ABS.sg.  
 ‘This (small darned) guy broke the cup.’

The suffix may be expanded with a verbalizing suffix (NV):

- (249) *nasaurlu-llra-u-luni*  
 young.girl-HNR-be-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(she) being a young girl (possibly not so graceful or well-mannered)’  
 – with /i/ in the suffix syncopated by (P18ii.c).
- (250) *yú-ll’ér-tangqér-tuq*  
 person-funny-there.be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘there is a funny old person’ – with the first syllable accented by (P1).  
 cf. *yú-ll’er-tángqer-tuq* (98) ‘there is a dead (former) person’.

ii) *Following particles:*

- (251) *kitaki-ll’er* ‘please! (beseechingly)’ – *kitaki* ‘please’  
*uu-ll’er* ‘congratulations!’ [PA] – |*uu-*| expression used when  
 one is pleased.

iii) *Lexicalized:*

- (252) *téngmiá-ll’er* ‘crow’ – |*tijmiay-*| ‘bird’  
*pitárkáll’er* ‘bear’ – |*pit-arkar-* catch.game-VNrl; possibly a word  
 taboo  
*Irálù-ll’er* ~ [Y] *Irálù-ll’eq* ‘January, [K] November’ – |*iyaluý-*|  
 ‘moon, month’.

iv) *As VV suffix:*

- (253) a. *aya-ll’e’r-tuq* ‘he left (unexpectedly, feeling bad, pleased)’ –  
 |*ayay-*| ‘to go’, *-tuq* IND.3sg.  
 cf. *aya-cuar-tuq* ‘he left (praised, proud)’  
 b. *ca-ll’e’r-ta?* ‘what is he (despicable) doing’ – |*ca-*| ‘to do  
 what’, *-ta* INT.3sg.; usually with frustration or  
 disdain, though it can also be with respect  
*ca-ll’e’r-cit?* ‘what a hell are you (sg.) doing’ – *-cit* INT.2sg.
- (254) *cuka-ll’er-tuq* ‘it is pretty fast’ – |*cuka-*| ‘to be fast’.

- (255) *Assi-ller-tuq*                      *aipa-qa<sub>s</sub>*.  
 good-despite-IND.3sg.      companion.ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My companion is quite good/pretty.’ – praise for good character.
- (256) *piura-llra-a*                      ‘goodbye’; cf. *pi-ura-a* (do-CNT-OPT.2sg.).
- (257) a. *Aya-ller-tukut*                      *wangkuta*.  
 go-after.all-IND.1pl. 1pl.  
 ‘We left (after all, nonetheless).’  
 b. *Aya-llera-a-lta*                      *ampi!*  
 leave-HNR-EV-OPT.1pl. hurry  
 ‘Let us (shabby) go, hurry up!’
- (258) *Aurre-ll’e’r-tuq*                      *irnia-qa<sub>s</sub>*.  
 crawl-HNR-IND.3sg.      child-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My child is crawling’ (delighted, pleased).
- (259) *ner-ura-ll’ra-rraar-luni*                      ‘first he (poor little him) eating’  
 eat-CNT-HNR-first-APP.3Rsg.

NN *|-qtaŷ-* ‘darn (it); cute’. May express satisfaction or pleasure on the part of the speaker as well as frustration. Used only for a person easy to be with (like cross cousins).

- (260) a. *u-na-qtaq* (sg.)                      / *u-ku-qta-t* (pl.)  
 this-sg.EX-HNR.ABS.sg. / ‘this-EX-HNR-ABS/REL.pl.  
 ‘this one/these ones (darn, mischievous *or* nice, cute)’  
 – frustration or satisfaction.  
 b. *tau-na-qtaq* (sg.)                      / *tau-ku-qta-t* (pl.)  
 that-sg.EX-HNR.ABS.sg. / that-EX-HNR-ABS/REL.pl.

The two somewhat opposite attitudes have different phonetic realizations: The second syllables *naq/kuq* of *|u.náq|taq|/|u.kúq|tat|* tend to be pronounced at a faster tempo with a higher pitch for frustration but at a slower tempo and with a soft tone for satisfaction.

- (261) a. *ca-qtar-ta*                      ‘What the heck you are [lit. he is] doing!’  
 do.what-HNR-INT.3sg.  
 b. *u-na-qtaq*                      *ca-a*                      ‘What is he doing?’  
 this-EX-HNRABS.sg.      do.what-INT.3sg.
- (262) *Ciin*      *Apac’a-m*                      *qiarqe-qtar-tau?*  
 why      p.n.-REL.sg.                      make.cry-HNR-INT.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Why did Apac’aq make him (you) cry?’

- (263) *qaya-ngqe-qtar-yaaqe-llria=wa* ‘he has a kayak (but...)’  
kayak-have-HNR-but-PTP.3sg.=REA.

NN/VV *|-qtali(ȳa)ȳ\*-|* ‘darn, despicable, irritating, frustrating, displeased, derogatory; nice’. Considered as a nice term to use. The deletion of /ȳa/ (P18v) is accompanied by a regressive accent on the preceding syllable if it is unaccented. Also used as a VV suffix.

i) *As an NN suffix:*

- (264) *Mayaq’a-qtall’er* ‘damn!, Mayaq’aq (person name)’ (pejorative?)  
– *Mayaq’aq* ~ *May’aq*.
- (265) *u-na-qtall’er* ‘this (darn) one’ – more frustrated than *una-qtatq* with the former  
*u-ku-qtallra-a-t* ‘these (darn) ones’ – EV-*a-*  
*u-suu-qtallra-a-q* ‘this (darn) one!’

ii) *As a VV suffix:*

- (266) *assi-qtall’er-qi-na* ‘you (sg.) be good (darn it)’  
good-HNR-ASP-OPT.2sg.
- (267) a. *aya-ktallra-a-lta* ‘let’s go (darn it)’  
go-HNR-EV-OPT.1pl.
- b. *aya-ktall’er-tuq* *awa=i* *qimugtas*  
go-HNR-IND.3sg. there dog.ABS.sg.  
‘the (darn) dog is going (away) there’
- c. *aya-ktallra-llini-uten=am* *tua=i!*  
go-HNR-EVD-IND.2sg.=again SPL  
‘(I see, so) you (sg.) went again’ (frustration or pleasure with surprise at unexpected departure).

iii) *Following particles:*

- (268) *piura-qtallra-a* ‘see you (sg.) (darn it)’  
good.bye-HNR-OPT.2sg.  
*piura-qtall’er-ci* ‘see you (pl.) (darn it)’  
good.bye-HNR-OPT.2pl.  
– *piura*, however, is from an optative verb *pi-ura-a* ‘goodbye!’ (do-CNT-OPT.2sg.; § 49[40]), but *pi-ur-ci* (OPT.2pl.).

NN/VV *|-lkuɣ-|* ‘darn, no-good, unsatisfactory (though unavoidable); nice’.

i) *As an NN suffix:*

(269) *iqmi-lku-ka* ‘my (darn) chewing tobacco’ – *|iqmiɣ-|; -ka*  
ABS.1sg.sg.  
*ene-lku-ka=wa~gga* ‘(you see) my ugly (disgusting) house’  
house-darn-ABS.1sg:sg.=REA.

(270) a. *u-na-lkuk* (ABS.sg.) ‘this (darn, annoyed) one’  
b. *u-u-lku-u-m* (EV-REL.sg.)  
c. *u-ku-lku-u-k* (EV-ABS/REL.du.)  
– *-na-/u-/ku* as pronominal demonstrative expanders.

(271) *Arnà-g ≠ u-ku-u-lku-ù-g<sub>s</sub>=am* *ayag-tek.*  
woman-ABS.du≠this-EX-EV-ABS.du.=hurry leave-OPT.2du.  
‘You (du.), (darned) women, go away!’

(272) *May’a-lkuk* *ta=ima* *aya-lria.*  
p.n.-HNR.ABS.sg. there.unseen leave-PTP.3sg.  
‘(Darned) May’aq has gone.’  
– the speaker may be disappointed or happy as the person had been a bother.

ii) *As a VV suffix:*

(273) *Aya-lkug-tuq* *ta=ima* *May’a-lkuk<sub>s</sub>.*  
leave-HNR-IND.3sg. there.unseen p.n.-HNR.ABS.sg.  
‘(Darn) May’aq has gone.’

(274) *assi-lku-ki-na* ‘you (sg.) be good, behave yourself!’  
good-HNR-ASP-OPT.2sg.

iii) *Following particles:*

(275) *waqaa-lkuk* ‘hello!’ – teasing  
*quyana-lkuk* ‘thanks!’ – teasing.

NN/VV *|-citiɣ-|/|-vialuɣ-|/|-vialùtiɣ-|* ‘negative, angered, angrily, frustrated, huge’. This may also refer to the speaker himself. Not always attitudinal, however, it can also mean ‘remains of, abandoned’.

i) *As an NN suffix:*

- (276) a. *May'a-cilleq* 'May'aq (negative, angered, frustrated)'  
 b. *ii-cilleq* 'eye socket'  
*ene-rpa-l-cilleq* (big-old) 'big old (abandoned) house'  
 c. *ner'-cilleq* 'remains of eating/biting' [PA]
- (277) *Kuska-ciller-megnuk kegge-llru-anga.*  
 cat-darned-REL.1du.sg. bite-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'Our (du.) darned cat bit me.'
- (278) *May'a-vialuk*  
*wiinga-vialuk*  
*u-na-vialuk/u-u-vialu-u-m* (REL.sg.)/*u-ku-vialu-u-t* (ABS/REL.pl.).
- (279) *cirune-l-vialuk* 'legendary sea creature' [YED]  
 atler-having-HNR.ABS.sg.  
 – cf. § 18 (213) *ciruneq* 'antler' and *cirun-qatak* 'old antler' [YEEM 309]
- (280) *Arna-vialu-ka<sub>s</sub>* *taangiq-lini-uq.*  
 woman-HNR-ABS.1sg.sg. drunk-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 'The woman (frustrated) is drunk.'

ii) *As a VV suffix:*

- (281) *Aya-ciller-tuq ta=ima nepli-lingu-ami.*  
 leave-HNR-IND.3sg. there.unseen noisy-tired-CNNbc.3Rsg.  
 'She left (angered), tired of all the noise.'
- (282) [*Im-na arnaq*]<sub>s</sub> *ayavialug-tuq.*  
 that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg. woman.ABS.sg. leave-HNR-IND.3sg.  
 'That woman (big, stout, aggressive) left.'  
 cf. [*Im-na arnaq*]<sub>s</sub> *ayagug-tuq.*  
 'That woman (big, desirable) left.' – NNh | -yuy- | (above).
- (283) *Atu-vialull'er-tuq [tau-mek*  
 sing-HNR-IND.3sg. that-ABM.sg.  
*yuarut'-lia-minek (~ yuaruc-ia-minek)].*  
 song-made-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 'He is singing angrily/exaggeratedly (in an unpleasant way) the song he made.'

The suffix may occur either within a predicate (as a VV; a.) or an argument nominal (as an NN; b.), apparently without any substantial difference:

- (284) a. *John-aq<sub>s</sub>*                      *ner-vialug-tuq.*  
           p.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.    eat-HNR-IND.3sg.  
       b. *John-a-vialuk*                      *ner'-uq.*  
           p.n.-LNK-HNR.ABS.sg.    eat-IND.3sg.  
           ‘John (big, angrily) is eating.’

iii) *Following particles:*

- (285)    *waq'a-vialuk ~ waqaa-vialuk.*  
           ‘hello (angered, not welcome, teasing)’.

#### 4. Nominal cyclical expansion (N→V→N)

Derivational processes of two transcategorial conversions yield (a) nominal and (b) verbal cyclical expansion, as stated in § 4.2.5.3-ii. In (a), a nominal stem (either primary or derived itself) is first verbalized and the verbalized stem, in turn, is nominalized again: that is, cycled back to an expanded nominal stem, thereby yielding a semantic difference or secondary categorization. The process may be represented by N→V→N (NVN), yielding a composite suffix corresponding to a NN suffix. This type of cyclical expansion is much less limited in variety (combination) than is the opposite process of (b) verbal cyclical expansion, which may be represented by V→N→V (VNV), as will be summarized in § 37.5.3.2 in reference to relational verbs.

Most importantly involved in nominal cyclical expansions are the relational verb i) transitive NV  $|-_1ki-$  ‘to have as’ (transitive) or ii) intransitive NV  $|+\eta u-$  ‘to be’ (intransitive), or their inchoative versions, followed by one of a few relative clauses:

i) *Transitive relational verb plus relativizer:*

NVN  $|-ki-t\dot{y}-$  ‘former’ from NVrv and VNrl

- (286)    *angut-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *qaya-qe-llr-a*  
           man-EV-REL.sg.    kayak-have.as-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
           ‘the man’s former kayak (lit. what the man had as a kayak)’  
           – with the noun stem  $|qaya\dot{y}-$  once verbalized and now re-nominalized. What the man formerly had may not have been an actual kayak, the connotation of which is not entailed in the following, which has no cyclical expansion:



cf. *angute-m<sub>G</sub> qaya-llr-a*  
 man-REL.sg. kayak-PST-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the man’s former kayak’.

- (287) *aana-ke-l-qa* ‘one who was my (not genuine) mother’  
 Mo-have.as-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 cf. *aana-ka* ‘my mother’.

The two processes of denominalization and deverbalization may be interrupted by one or more VV expansions:

- (288) *uita-vi-k-’la-llr-e-n* ‘the place you used to live’  
 stay-place-have.as-CUS-VNrl-EV-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 cf. *uita-vi-n* ‘your place to stay’.
- (289) *cau-ma-ste-k-qe-rraa-ll-e-mta*  
 face-PRF-VNrl-have.as-ITS-first-VNrl-EV-VNrl.1pl.sg.  
 ‘(of) the one who first faced/relied on us’ [AKKL 94]  
 – the relative-clausal nominal |*caumast*-| is verbalized by the transitive relational verb *-k-* and, after being adverbially elaborated by *-qe-rra-*, is re-nominalized with the relative-clausal *-ll-*.  
 cf. *cau-ma-ste-mta* ‘(of) the ones who face/rely on us’ – without cyclical expansion.

NVN |*-ki-lyiy-*| This very often occurs in the dual, denoting a reciprocally related couple: More examples in § 11.4.2.

- (290) a. *maurlu-qe-llrii-k*  
 GrMo-have.as-VNrl.ABS.du.  
 ‘ones who mutually have each other as grandmother, i.e. grandmother and grandchild (current state)’  
 – cf. *maurlu-u-lriik* ‘two (who are both) grandmothers (but not necessarily related)’, with the intransitive relational verb (*-u-*), thus not implying reciprocity
- b. *maurlu-q-ura-lrii-k*  
 GrMo-have.as-CNT-VNrl.ABS.du.  
 ‘grandmother and grandchild (continuative)’  
 – denominalization and deverbalization interrupted by a VV expansion (aspect), which may again be reverbalized as in § 47 (43).

See (295) for the corresponding alternate.

NVN *|-ki-<sub>1</sub>ki-|*

- (291) *kass'aq* *elitnauriste-ke-ke-ka*  
 white.man.ABS.sg. teacher-have.as-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘the man [P] who is my teacher (i.e. whom I have as a teacher)  
 – compare with (297).
- (292) *[[tau-m irnia-m]<sub>G(=A)</sub> aata-ke-ki-i]*  
 that-REL.sg. child-REL.sg. Fa-have.as-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*kass'aq*  
 white.man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the white man [P] who is the father of that child, i.e. whom that child  
 has as a father’.

The participial relativizer here may be ambiguous with participial-mood verbs as statements, unless used with a non-inflecting word (§ 47.2).

- (293) *Nuna-k-ngal-ki-inun* *elli-a.*  
 land-have.as-seem-VN-ALL.3sg.sg. put-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She put it to the origin (place) where it seems to have existed.’  
 cf. *nuni-inun* ‘to its/his place’.

Note G(=A) NP in (292) above and compare with G(=P) in (294) for the following composite suffix:

NVN *|-ki-st-|*

- (294) a. *[qavci-i-m<sub>G(=P)</sub> pi-ke-sti-in]<sub>A</sub>*  
 wolverine-EV-REL.sg. thing-have.as-VNrl-REL.3sg.sg.  
*pi-llini-luku*  
 say-EVD-APP.3sg.  
 ‘the owner of the wolverine said to him’ [ELLA 46–47]
- b. *pani-ma<sub>G(=P)</sub> elitnauriste-ke-sti-i* *kass'aq*  
 Da-REL.sg. teacher-have.as-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. white.man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the white man who is my daughter’ teacher, i.e. one who my daughter  
 has as a teacher’.

See § 45.1.6 for *|-nqi-kŋay̆-|* from *|-ny̆-ki-<sub>1</sub>kŋay̆-|*, which serves for cyclical expansion of comparative phrases, in other words, relativization of comparative clauses.

NVN  $|-k(i)sa\gamma uc-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-|$ 

- (295) *umyua-llgute-ksagute-llrii-k*  
 think-fellow.in-NVrv-VNrl-ABS.du.  
 ‘two who are now with one mind’ (reciprocal)  
 – the suffix combination can form a participial verb:  
*aipa-qsagute-lli-llrii-k* ‘they(du.) probably became companions’  
 partner-NVrv-CJT-PTP-3du.

NVN  $|-k(i)sa\gamma uc-|ki\eta a\dot{y}-|$ 

- (296) *nulia-qsagus-kenga-minek* *nerilegg-luni*  
 Wi-have.now.as-VNrl-ABM.3Rsg.sg. anxious-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(he) being worried about the wife he had gotten’  
 cf. *nulia-minek* ‘his own wife’  
 Wi-ABM.3Rsg.sg.

ii) *Intransitive relational verb plus relativizer:*NVN  $|+\eta u-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-|$  from NVrv plus VNrl

- (297) *kass’aq* *elitnauriste-ngu-lria*  
 white.man.ABS.sg. teacher-be-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the white man [S] who is a teacher’  
 – compare with (291).
- (298) [*Wangkut-ngu-lria-ni* ~ *Wangku-u-lria-ni* *yug-ni*]<sub>s</sub>  
 1pl.-be-VNrl-LOC.pl. man-LOC.pl.  
*ma-a-ni* *taringe-sciigat-arput.*  
 here-EX-LOC understand-cannot-IND.1pl.3sg.  
 ‘Those of us here who are Yupiks (as a separate group/category; *exclusive*) cannot understand that.’  
 – see § 27.4 for the locative case of the S argument.

Without a cyclical expansion, *wangkutni* (1pl.LOC) means ‘(to) us in general/collectively’ (*inclusive*) and can occur in the following context, but not the cyclically expanded one:

- (299) *Uita-ug* *wangkutni* (\**wangkut-ngu-lria-ni* ~ \**wangku-u-lria-ni*).  
 stay-IND.3sg. 1pl.LOC.  
 ‘He is staying with us.’

The following will also contrastively show the connotation of separation or differentiation through cyclical expansion:

- (300) *Wangku-u-lria-ni tua-ten pi-yunait-ukut.*  
 1pl-be-VNrl-LOC.pl. there-EQL do-should.not-IND.1pl.  
 ‘Those who belong to us should not act like that.’  
 cf. *wangkuta* ‘we/us (collectively)’.
- (301) *Anirtu-ut-ngu-lrii-t<sub>s</sub> qater-tut.*  
 save-VNrl-be-VNrl-ABS.pl. white-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The ones (e.g. herbs) for medicine are white.’ – selection among herbs.  
 cf. *Anirtu-ut-e-t<sub>s</sub> qater-tut.*  
 save-VNrl-EV-ABS.pl. white-IND.3pl.  
 ‘(All) the medicines are white.’

Replacing the following cyclical expansion with no expansion would sound awkward:

- (302) *Elitnaur-i-ste-ngu-lria-ni ~ -nun [mikelngu-u-t*  
 teach-APS-VNrl-be-VNrl-LOC/ALL.pl. children-EV-ABS.pl.  
*incirciya-lrii-t]<sub>s</sub> assi-lar-tut.*  
 obedient-VNrl-ABS.pl. good-GEN-IND.3pl.  
 ‘To those who are teachers, children who are well-behaved are good.’

See §27(66) for a cyclical expansion by *-llriar-u-lria-ni* with the same intransitive relativizer.

The locative and allative forms (meaning ‘for’) apparently do not differ (see § 26.1), but replacement of this with no cyclical expansion like *elitnaur-i-ste-ni ~ -nun* would sound awkward.

- (303) *Ilauc-iiq-uq tau-ku-nun*  
 join-FUT-IND.3sg. that-EX-ALL.pl.  
*elitnaur-i-ste-ngu-lria-nun.*  
 study-APS-VNrl-be-VNrl-ALL.pl.  
 ‘She will join the group of teachers (among different groups, such as nurses, ministers, etc.).’
- (304) [*Elpeci-ngu-lria-ni elitnaur-i-ste-ni*] *elluarr-luki*  
 2pl.-be-VNrl-LOC.pl. study-APS-VNrl-LOC.pl. correct-APP.3pl.  
*elitnaura-t<sub>p</sub> pi-arkau-gaci.*  
 student-ABS.pl. do-supposed-IND.2pl.3pl.  
 ‘You (pl.) who are teachers (as you are teachers) are supposed to treat the students in a correct manner.’

NVN |+*ɲuɣc-lɣiaɣ*-| Inchoative version corresponding to the preceding stative |+*ɲu-lɣiaɣ*-|.

- (305) *angut-ngurte-llrii-t* 'ones who became men, i.e. elders'  
man-become-VNrl.ABS.pl.



## **Part 5**

### **Nominal categories**

Inflectional categories of nominals include number (§ 21), person or possessor (§ 22), and cases (§ 23 through § 29, not including vocative [§ 31]). Chapter 30 is where many things from the previous case chapters are summarized and looks ahead to issues of verb valency, as its integrative treatment, that will be handled in the following verb chapters.





# Chapter 21

## Number

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### Number

Three numbers are distinguished for nominals and verbs in CAY – the singular, dual, and plural – except for adverbial demonstratives (§ 12.3), which do not inflect for number and person, but only for case.

The paradigm for unpossessed nominals, which forms case and number complexes, is given here:

Table 20: Inflections for unpossessed nominals

case	singular	plural	dual
absolutive (+Ø)	+Ø	+t	+y
relative (+m)	+m		
locative (+ni)	+mi	+ni	+yni
allative (+nun)	+mun	+nun	+ynun
ablative-modalis (+niy)	+miy	+niy	+yniy
perlative (+kun)	+kun	+tyun	+ykun
equalis (+tun)	+tun	+ttun	+ytun

It is significant that the syntactic cases – absolutive (§ 23) and relative (§ 24) – are morphologically distinguishable only in the singular but not in the dual and the plural.

As mentioned in § 4.2.2.1-i, nominal stems distinguish “strong” and “weak” final /y/. See (P4) for final velar adjustments, i.e. deletion of final weak /y/ (P4i.a, i.b) and schwa insertion (P4ii), before the inflections given in this table, depending on the shape of the retaining suffix +C (e.g. |+t|) or +CCV[C] (e.g. |+ynun|) vs. +CV[V] (e.g. |+mi|, |+mun|) and upon strong vs. weak /y/.

The examples below are all given in the absolutive case to illustrate the numbers:

- (1) a. *yuk* ‘one person’ ( $[yuy[+\emptyset]$  ABS.sg.; cf. P13, P17)  
 b. *yu-u-k* ‘two persons’ (with EV *-u-* from  $[yuy[+\gamma]$  ABS/REL.du.)  
 c. *yu-u-t* ‘persons (more than two)’ (with EV *-u-* from  $[yuy[+t]$  ABS/REL.pl.).  
 – see (P4ii), (P10) for the epenthetic vowel in (b) dual and (c) plural forms and for its intervocalic deletion.

Paradigms for possessed nouns or nouns with person (possessor) inflection (§ 22) are given in Table 21 (absolute), 22 (relative), and 23 (oblique cases). Unpossessed nouns (above) also have their possessum distinguished in three numbers. Possessed nouns in the absolute case are illustrated with the first person possessor in (2) and the third in (3):

- (2) a. *angya-qa* ‘my boat’ ( $[-ka]$  ABS.1sg.sg.)  
 – see (P3ii) for velar assimilation and (P9) for velar deletion.  
 b. *angya-gka* ‘my two boats’ ( $[+\gamma ka]$  ABS.1sg.du.)  
 c. *angya-nka* ‘my boats (more than two)’ ( $[+nka]$  ABS.1sg.pl.).
- (3) a. *ii-nga* ‘his eye’ ( $[+\eta a]$  ABS.3sg.sg.)  
 b. *ii-k* ‘his eyes (two)’ ( $[+\gamma]$  ABS.3sg.du.)  
 c. *ii-ngit* ‘their eyes’ ( $[+\eta a]$  ABS.3pl.pl.).

The third person possessor ‘his, their’ in (3) may be expressed externally with a relative-case NP in G function, forming an attributive (or genitive) phrase (§ 16.4) with the possessum ‘fish’ in the following, with the number of the relative-case NP being in agreement with the possessor number of the head, hence i.e. double marking:

- (4) a. *neqe-m* (fish-REL.sg.)      *ii-nga* (eye-ABS.3sg.sg.)  
 ‘an eye of the (one) fish, a fish eye’  
 b. *neqe-m* (fish-REL.sg.)      *ii-k* (eye-ABS.3sg.du.)  
 ‘(two) eyes of the fish’  
 c. *neqe-t* (fish-REL.pl.)      *ii-ngit* (eye-ABS.3pl.pl.)  
 ‘eyes of the fish (pl.)’.

The number of a core argument NP (subject and object) is cross-referenced in the predicate:

- (5)      [*Neqe-m*      *ii-nga*]      *naspa-a-gaa*.  
 fish-REL.sg. eye-ABS.3sg.sg. taste-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is trying a fish eye.’

- (6) *Ciute-k*      *ii-ngu-uk.*  
 ear-ABS.du.    eye-be-IND.3du.  
 ‘Listening is seeing; you have to listen carefully (lit. ears are eyes).’ –  
 a very often heard Yupik adage.

In coordinate phrases with =*llu* (§ 16.2), it is generally the total number of the nouns that determines the number agreement with a predicate:

- (7) [*Ene-ka*                      *ene-n=llu*]                      *kiircet-uk.*  
 house-ABS.1sg.sg.    house-ABS.2sg.sg.=and    hot-IND.3du.  
 ‘My house and your (sg.) house are hot.’

The coordinate phrase with =*llu*, with two singular nouns involved, is cross-referenced as the dual in the intransitive verb. The two ‘houses’ are taken individually, possibly implying some difference in temperature.

By contrast, the following, despite the same coordinate phrase as above, occurs with the singular verb. This refers to the weather in one and the same area (as compared with another area). Some speakers, however, may use the dual form, *kiircet-uk*, as in the preceding (7).

- (8) [*Ma-n’a*                      *Mamterilleq=llu*]                      *kiircet-uq.*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.    pl.n.ABS.sg.=and                      hot-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is hot here (this village) and Bethel.’

It is interesting to note that a coordinate clause with the associative suffix NN |+*nku*-| ‘one’s family/associate(s)/partner(s)’ (§ 20.1.2, § 21.2) does not count the number of *N=llu* (where N stands for a person’s name but not kinships):

- (9) [*Nuk’a-nku-k*                      *May’aq=llu*]                      *tekit-uk.* = § 20 (127b)  
 p.n.-associate-ABS.du.    p.n.ABS.sg.=and                      hot-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Nuk’aq and his companion May’aq (i.e. two people) have arrived.

## 1. Duality in kinships

Dual inflection occurs very often with kinship terms. Two uses are noted:

i) Duality may be related to one referent and its (semantically implied) correspondent, if the noun is possessed:

- (10) *aana-gka*      ‘my parents, lit. my two mothers’  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.du.

- cf. *aana-k* ‘two mothers (whether the two are related or not)’  
Mo-ABS/REL.du.

ii) Duality may refer to a reciprocal/mutual relationship by means of the transitive relational NVrv *|-ki-* ‘to have – as’, i.e. ‘to be mutually related as N’ (§ 37.2) as in (a), and its relativized form (b; § 17.2.2):

- (11) a. *aana-k-uk* ‘they(du.) are mother and child (usu. daughter)’  
Mo-have.as-IND.3du. – reciprocal intransitive  
cf. *aana-k-uq* *ellmi-nek*  
Mo-have.as-IND.3sg. 3Rsg.ABM.sg.  
‘she mothers (herself)’, typically with the reflexive pronoun like  
*ellmi-nek*  
b. *aana-ke-llrii-k* ‘mother and child (usu. daughter)’  
Mo-have.as-VNrl-ABS/REL.du.

In a kin dyad, it is possible to build the word on either member of the pair [Woodbury rev.] – for instance, ‘grandmother and grandchild’ [HBC] can be either way of:

- (12) a. *anu’urlu-qe-lriik* ‘the two who have each other as grandmother’  
b. *tutgara’urlu-qe-lriik* ‘the two who have each other as grandchild’.

## 2. Associative non-singular

A name (personal) may be in the “associative” dual and plural when it occurs with the NN *|+nku-* ‘and its family, companion(s), group’ (§ 20.1.2):

- (13) a. *Nuk’a-nku-k* (ABS/REL.du.) ‘Nukaq and his companion’  
*Nuk’a-nku-t* (ABS/REL.pl.) ‘Nukaq and his companions/crew,  
Nukaq’s family’.  
b. *Nuk’a-nku-t* [*mikelngur-mek* *ila-meggnek*]  
p.n.-family-REL.pl. child-ABM.sg. part-ABM.3Rpl.sg.]  
*ilangart-ut*.  
deplete-IND.3pl.  
‘Nukaq’s family lost (lit. were depleted of [usually through death])  
their one child.’  
– secundative *|ilanjyc-* ‘to lose (some of it)’. See § 20.1.2 for more  
examples.

The *|-ku-|* in the suffix is most plausibly identical with the non-singular expander for first person pronouns (as in *wang-ku-ta* ‘we’, *wang-ku-k* ‘we two’; § 13.1.1) and for nominal demonstratives (as in *u-ku-t/u-ku-k* ‘these ones/ones two here’; § 12.2.1). Corbett and Mithun (1996) also pointed it out in verbal person markers of the non-singular first person (as in the indicative *pi-u-ku-t* ‘we do’, *pi-u-ku-k* ‘we two do’; § 32.2.1-iii, Table 30).

### 3. Collective/generic singular

The use of the generic singular (‘general, collective, as a whole’) is attested in some words:

- (14) *ciuli-at* ‘their ancestors (as a whole)’  
 eldest-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 – *|ciuliy̆-|* ‘the eldest male among brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins together’.
- (15) *yu-u-m* *umyuga-a ~ umyuar-a*  
 man-EV-REL.sg. mind-ABS.3sg.sg. ‘the human mind’  
 – two variants due to different velar deletions in *|umyu(y)ay̆+ŋa|*.

The VN suffix *|-lyut-| ~ |-tyut-|* ‘associate/partner in –ing, one similar in (of the same kind)’ (§ 19.2, § 20.1.2) can be used to derive generic nouns:

- (16) *Yu-u-lyut-ka* ‘a human being / a Yupik like me’  
 person-be-partner-ABS.1sg.sg.

### 4. Partitive singular

The noun stem *|ila-|* ‘part, relative; partner’ (§ 11.4.3-i) obligatorily occurs in possessed form as the head of attributive phrases (§ 16.4) – ‘part (of something); (someone’s) relative’ – together with a relative-case noun as its dependent:

- (17) a. *arna-t* (REL.pl.) *ila-it* (*|ila+ŋit|* ABS.3pl.pl.)  
 ‘some of the women; the relatives of the women’  
 b. *arna-t* (REL.pl.) *ili-it* (*|ila+ŋat|* ABS.3pl.sg.)  
 ‘one of the women; the relative of the women’.

By contrast, compare the following pair with the singular possessor; the second example (b) has an additional reading (ii):

- (18) a. *arna-m* (REL.sg.) *ila-i* (*|ila+ɲi|* ABS.3sg.pl.)  
 ‘the relatives of the woman’ vs.  
 b. *arna-m* (REL.sg.) *ili-i* (*|ila+ɲa|* ABS.3sg.sg.)  
 i. ‘the relative of the woman’  
 ii. ‘some women (lit. a part of a woman)’.

While (18a) tends more to mean ‘some (individual members) among the women’, (18b-ii) is a “partitive singular”, literally meaning ‘a part of a woman’.

The partitive singular *ili-i* (3sg.sg.) agrees in number with the verb inflection:

- (19) a. [*Neqe-m ili-i*] *cuka-luni kuima-lar-tuq.*  
 fish-REL.sg. part-ABS.3sg.sg. fast-APP.3Rsg. swim-GEN-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Some fish swim fast.’  
 b. [*Yu-u-m ili-i*] *wa-ten ayuq-uq.*  
 person-EV-REL.sg. part-ABS.3sg.sg. here-EQL resemble-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Some people are like this.’  
 c. [*Pissur-yara-m ili-i*] *nallu-aqa.*  
 hunt-method/way-REL.sg. part-ABS.3sg.sg. ignorant-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know *part/some* of the hunting (area, methods, etc).’
- (20) *Anuq’-vag-luni nengllir-qan (~ nengllir-aqan) tua=i*  
 windy-ITS-APP.3Rsg. cold-CNNwn.3sg. SFL  
 [*ene-m ili-i*] *kiir-i-sciigat-qaq-luni.*  
 house-REL.sg. part-ABS.3sg.sg. warm-INC-cannot-ITS-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Some houses cannot warm up when it is cold and windy.’ [QQLK 6]

Note the semantic difference in the following pair:

- (21) a. [*Erenr-e-m ili-i*] (*c)ella*  
 day-EV-REL.sg. part-ABS.3sg.sg. weather.ABS.sg.  
*assi-lar-tuq.*  
 good-GEN-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The weather is (always) good *part of* the day / *some* days.’  
 b. [*Erenr-e-m ili-ini*] (*c)ella*  
 day-EV-REL.sg. part-LOC.3sg.sg. weather.ABS.sg.  
*assi-lar-tuq.*  
 good-GEN-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The weather is good *some* days.’ – *|iɲɲi-|* ‘day.’

The partitive singular is often used in general statements, co-occurring with the suffix VVa |+ *cuy-*| of tendency: See (24) also.

- (22) [*Arna-m*                    *ili-i*]                    *naulluu-yu-lar-tuq.*  
 woman-REL.sg.            part-ABS.3sg.sg.    be.sick-TND-GEN-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Some women are sickly (while others are not).’

Other attested nouns that occur with this partitive singular construction with *ili-i* include the following, listed in their relative singular form:

- (23) *angalku-m* ‘shaman’, *ungungssi-m* ‘animal’, *neqe-m* ‘fish’, *tuntu-m* ‘caribou’, *yura-m* ‘dance’, *ataku-m* ‘evening’, *kiag-e-m* ‘summer’ (|*kiay-*| with EV), *unu-u-m* ‘night’ (|*unuy-*| with EV), *ca-m* ‘some’, and so on.

Loanwords may also be partitives with *ili-i*:

- (24) [*Kaala-m*            *ili-i*]                    *naveg-yug-tuq.*  
 car-REL.sg.            part-ABS.3sg.sg.    break-TND-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘Some cars are easy to break, break all the time.’  
 ii. ‘Part of the car is easy to break, breaks all the time.’

More examples of partitive |*ila-*| in § 11.4.3-i.

## 5. Composite objects in the non-singular

A “composite object”, composed of two or more components, is generally expressed by a dual or a plural form, referring either to a singular thing or to dual or plural things. The singular form, if used at all, refers to one component of that object. Most of them are clothing and manufactured things as well as body parts (e.g. nose, lung) – see also *nuna-t* ‘village’ and place names (§ 21.6) below. Some (a) dual, (b) plural, and (c) possessed dual forms are illustrated:

- (25) a. *qerrullii-k* (ABS/REL.du.) ‘a pair of pants’  
*atasua-k* ~ *atayua-k* ‘summer trousers’  
*pitegcaute-k* ‘bow and arrow’, lit. ‘two arrows’  
 [QNMC 365]  
*kameksi-i-k* [Y] ‘fur boots’ – sg. *kameksak*  
*taqi-i-k* [Chevak] ‘vagina’ – sg. *taqik* ‘penis’ [YED]  
*pupsu-u-k* ‘a pair of scissors’

- b. *akr-e-t* (ABS/REL.pl.) ‘a ladder ~ ladders, stairway’ – sg. *akeq*  
 ‘a rung’  
*ini-ta-t* ‘fish rack’ – cf. *ini-taq* (hang.dry-  
 belonging.ABS.sg.) ‘a part of a fish rack’  
*taluya-t* ‘fishtrap’  
*qulqite-t* ‘cupboard’ – cf. *qulqin* ‘shelf’ [YED]  
*qatg-e-t* ‘lung(s)’ [Lonneux]  
*niicugni-ssuute-t* ‘a radio ~ radios’ (listen-VNrl.)  
*kalika-t* ‘a book ~ books’ – sg. *kalikaq* ‘paper’  
*Bible-aa-t* ‘Bible’ (composed of several books)  
 – though the singular *Bible-aa-q* may also be heard, cf. *-aa-* as LNK.
- c. *ikamra-gka* (ABS.1sg.du.) ‘my sleigh’ [YED.Lonneux]  
*qenga-gka* ‘my nose’
- d. *ingler-e-nka* (ABS.1sg.pl.) ‘my bed’ – sg. *ingleq* ‘bed’.

A composite object (in the dual or plural) agrees in number with syntactically related words: In the following, the two words that constitute appositive phrases agree in number – dual in (a) and plural in (b), although ambiguity arises as it can also mean a singular object:

- (26) a. *u-ku-k* *yaassiig-e-k*  
 ‘this-EX-ABS/REL.du. box-EV-ABS/REL.du.  
 ‘(of) this box’ or ‘(of) these two boxes’
- b. *u-ku-t* *kalika-t*  
 ‘this-EX-ABS/REL.pl. book-ABS/REL.pl.  
 ‘(of) this book’ or ‘(of) these books’.

The dual composite noun in (a) below (‘sled’ – having two runners) is indexed as such in the transitive verb (dual object) and that in (b) (‘boot’) shows agreement within the appositive phrase and with the transitive verb (dual object):

- (27) a. *Tan’gurra-a-m* *ikamra-k* *atura-k*.  
 boy-EV-REL.sg. sled-ABS.du. use-IND.3sg.3du.  
 ‘The boy is using the sled.’
- b. [*U-ku-k* *pilugu-u-k* *tun-yug-agka*.  
 ‘this-EX-ABS/REL.du. boot-EX-ABS/REL.du. sell-DES-IND.1sg.3du.  
 ‘I wish to sell this pair of boots.’

Group (collective) numerals formed with *|-i-|* (§ 14.7) occur with a composite noun, like (a) as compared with non-composite (b):



- (28) a. *atauci-i-n*                    *kalika-t*  
 one-group-ABS.pl.    book-ABS/REL.pl.  
 ‘one book’ (as consisting of many pages)’  
 b. *atauciq*                            *kalikaq*  
 one.ABS.sg.                    book.ABS.sg.  
 i. ‘one book (as a whole)’    ii. ‘one sheet of paper’.

The semantic difference (composite vs. whole) as in (28) above is retained in the number (plural or singular) of the stranded numerals (§ 25.2.2) when the other noun (‘book’) is verbalized:

- (29) a. *Atauci-nek*                    *kalika-ngqer-tua*.  
 one-ABS.pl.                    book-have-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I have one book (composite).’  
 b. *Atauci-mek*                    *kalika-ngqer-tua*.  
 one-ABM.sg.                    book-have-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I have one book (whole) / one sheet of paper.’

By the same token, a fine distinction with phrases in different numbers can be made as in the following example, ‘he has *a bundle of fish*’, with the predicate *pi-ngqer-tuq* (thing-have-IND.3sg.) in three ways:

- (30) a. *atauci-mek*    *qillert-ar-mek*    *neq-mek*  
 one-ABM.sg.    tie-VNrl-ABM.sg.    fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘(he has) one bundle of one fish tied up’  
 b. *atauci-mek*    *qillert-ar-nek*    *neq-nek*  
 one-ABM.sg.    tie-VNrl-ABM.pl.    fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘(he has) one bundle of (many) fish tied up’  
 c. *atauci-mek*    *qillert-a-agnek*                    *neqe-gnek*  
 one-ABM.sg.    tie-VNrl-EV-ABM.du.    fish-ABM.du.  
 ‘(he has) one bundle of (two) fish tied up’  
 – The relative clausal *qillert-ar-* ‘one that has been tied’ is P-headed. One speaker testifies that, in addition to (b) *qillert-ar-nek*, she has heard (b’) *qillert-ar-mek* (ABM.sg.) as well, thinking that ‘many’ is spotlighted more strongly in (b) than in (b’) where ‘one’ is more strongly spotlighted, however. It still remains a question as to whether this subtlety is generally utilized in the language.

The word for ‘village’ commonly occurs in the plural form of *nuna* ‘earth, sandbar, land’.

- (31)    *nuna-t*                    *atauci-i-n* / *amller-e-t*    ‘one village / many villages’.  
 land-ABS.pl.    one-group-ABS.pl/many-ABS.pl.

But the singular *nuna atauciq* seems to be preferred by some speakers for ‘one village’. Note also the singular *nuna-vut* (ABS.1pl.sg.) ‘our village’. Lonneux (undated; page 2) noted that, if a village consists of only one house, as was sometimes the case historically (even though there might be several families dwelling in it), then the village would be *nuna* but not *nuna-t*.

## 6. Number of place names

Many traditional place names (villages, islands, regions, etc.) often occur in the plural, as is the case with the common name for ‘village’ itself – i.e., *nuna-t* (*nuna* ‘land’), but can be in the singular.

- (32) *Qaluyaar-ni* ‘on Nelson Island [area]’ – *Qaluyaaq* / *Qaluyaa-t*  
*Napaskiar-ni* ‘Napaskiak (on the Kuskokwim)’.
- (33) *Naparyarraq* [YED] ‘Napakiak’ (36)  
*Naparyaraq* ~ *Naparyaryaar* ‘Hooper Bay’.

The plural is also the case for appositive phrases:

- (34) *un-ku-t* *Nunivaa-t*  
 down.there-EX-ABS/REL.pl. pl.n.-ABS/REL.pl.  
 ‘that Nunivak Island (*Nunivaaq*) down there’ (as seen from Nelson Island).

The plural locative noun for Bethel below tends to refer to the place as a (spread out) area:

- (35) *Uksu-mi* *ella* *assiite-llar-tuq*  
 winter-LOC.sg. weather.ABS.sg. bad-REG-IND.3sg.  
*Mamteriller-ni*  
 pl.n.-LOC.pl.  
 ‘In winter the weather is bad at Bethel.’

One and the same village name may occur both in the plural and in the singular, with a semantic difference, but the difference may not generally be perceived by speakers. Otherwise the singular is more general or it seems more likely to be a matter of personal preference.

- (36) a. *Naparyarrar-ni* ~ *Naparyarrar-mi* ‘at Napakiak’ (LOC.pl. ~ LOC.sg.)  
*Tuntutuliar-ni* ~ *Tuntutuliar-mi* ‘at Tuntutuliak’



referred to by a plural possessor marker (instead of the dual) in the head of the attributive phrase (despite the semantic meaning of ‘between the two’):

- (41) [Ekvicuarmiu-**t** Mamterillermiu-**t=llu**] akuli-**it-ni**  
 pl.n.-REL.pl. pl.n.-REL.pl.=and area.between-3pl.sg.-LOC  
 ‘between Eek and Bethel’  
 – cf. Jacobson (1995: 336).

By contrast, non-native towns and cities are referred to in the singular (despite the fact that they are generally more spread out than native villages).

- (42) a. *Anchorage-aa-mi*, *Fairbankes-aa-mi*, *Seattle-aa-mi*, etc.  
 –with LNK -aa-  
 b. *Juneau-mi*, etc.

Using a dual or plural form for these cities would imply ‘two or more Anchorages’.

## Chapter 22

### Person (possessor)

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Person in nominal inflection indicates the possessor, while in verbs it marks the subject or the object (§ 32). The person category distinguishes the first, second, third, and “reflexive-third”, as in the case with verbs. Reflexive-third is sometimes called “fourth person” in Eskimo linguistics (e.g. Thalbitzer 1911; Jacobson 1995).

CAY has no contrast between “inclusive” and “exclusive”.

While person is obligatorily marked in any verbs, it is so marked only in certain kinds of nominals such as kinships, body parts, location nouns, some kinds of numerals, and deverbal clauses. Some nominals (e.g. demonstratives) never inflect for person. The others may or may not.

A nominal with a third-person inflection may or may not occur with an external possessor NP in the relative case (i.e. in G function), forming an attributive or genitive phrase (§ 16.4).

A (free) personal pronoun (§ 32) may occur to emphasize a suffixal (inflected) person, but the language has no “possessive pronoun” (in any person or number, like *my*, *mine*, *your[s]*).

Many of the person markers for nominals are shared by verbs, although there is one set of markers that only occur for verbs, i.e. “verbal person markers” in Table 30 (§ 32.2.1).

The paradigms for nominal persons are given in the succeeding three chapters – Table 21 (absolute; § 23), Table 22 (relative; § 24), and Table 23 (oblique; § 25).

CAY is not a particularly sensitive language for expressing (in)alienability, but it has a number of classes of nominals with obligatory possession (§ 22.5-i through vi), has suffixal devices for expressing alienable possession (§ 22.5-vi, vii), and an appositional clause which implies inalienability.

### 1. First, second, and third persons

- first person:* glossed as ‘my, our’
- (1) a. *angya-qa* ‘my boat’ (|-*ka*| ABS.1sg.sg. – Table 21)  
       *angya-nka* ‘my boats’ (|-*nka*| ABS.1pl.sg.)  
   b. *angyar-put* ‘our boat’ (|+*put*| ABS.1pl.sg.)  
       *angya-put* ‘our boats’ (|-*put*| ABS.1pl.pl.)
- (2) a. *angya-ma* ‘of my boat’ (|-*ma*| REL.1sg.sg. – Table 22)  
   b. *angya-mta* ‘of our boat/boats’ (|-*mta*| REL.1pl.sg./pl.)
- second person:* ‘your’
- (3) a. *pani-i-n* ‘your (sg.) daughter’ (|*paniy*[+*n*]| ABS.2sg.sg.; with  
       EV -*i*- < |*i*|, P7i)  
       *panig-tek* ‘your (du.) daughter’ (|+*tiy*| ABS.2du.sg.)  
   b. *pani-vet* ‘of your (sg.) daughter’ (|-*vit*| REL.2sg.sg./pl.)  
       *pani-vtek* ‘of your (du.) daughter’ (|-*vtiy*| REL.2du.sg./pl.)
- third person:* ‘his/her/its, their’
- (4) a. *atr-a* ‘his name’ (|+*ya*| ABS.3sg.sg.)  
       *atr-it* ‘their names’ (|+*jit*| ABS.3pl.pl.)  
   b. *atr-an* ‘of his name’ (|+*yan*| REL.3sg.sg.)  
       *atr-ita* ‘of their names’ (|+*nita*| REL.3pl.pl.)

A third person suffix entails an anaphoric reference (‘that mentioned, known’):

- (5) *Angya-at<sub>s</sub>*                    *cuka-luni*                    *ayag-tuq.*  
 boat-ABS.3pl.sg.    go.fast-APP.3Rsg.    leave-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Their boat went away fast (lit. it being fast).’
- (6) *Pani-a<sub>p</sub>*                    *assik-aa.*  
 Da-ABS.3sg.sg.    like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He likes his (*another person*’s) daughter.’

By contrast, a reflexive third person, as in (11) *pani-ni* (ABS.3Rsg.sg.), refers to the subject of the clause (§ 22.2), namely, ‘(he likes) his (*own*) daughter’.

#### 1.1. Third-person possessor in attributive phrases

A third-person possessor marking is obligatory in the head NP of attributive (genitive) phrases (§ 16.4). It agrees in number with the dependent NP in the relative case, as shown in the following, which adds a dependent NP to (6) above:

- (7) [May'a-*m*<sub>G</sub>            *pani-a*]<sub>P</sub>            *assik-aa*.  
 p.n.-REL.sg.            Da-ABS.3sg.sg.    like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'He likes Mayaq's daughter.'

The relative word order between the possessor nominal, i.e. *May'am*, and the possessum, i.e. *pania*, is not relevant, though the former may tend to precede the latter, that is, A+N type.

Whichever word order it may take, (7) can have another reading, however, due to the two functions of the relative case (A and G; § 24.1 and § 24.2). The relative-case *May'am* in G function in (7) can also be in A function for a transitive construction as in the following, that is, an explicit NP for (6):

- (8) *May'a-m*<sub>A</sub>            *pani-a*<sub>P</sub>            *assik-aa*.  
 p.n.-REL.sg.            Da-ABS.3sg.sg.    like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'Mayaq likes his (another person than Mayaq's) daughter.'

Attributive phrases are further illustrated for the number agreement between the possessor in G function and the possessum as the head:

- (9) *angi-i-gemta*<sub>G</sub>            *pani-kek*            'our (two) uncles' daughters'.  
 MoBr-EV-REL.1pl.du.    Da-ABS.3du.pl.
- (10) *Nalluyagut-anka*    [*anga-mta*<sub>G</sub>            *atr-it*]<sub>P</sub>.  
 forget-IND.1sg.3pl.    MoBr-REL.1pl.pl. name-ABS.3pl.pl.  
 'I have forgotten our uncles' names.'

It is to be noted here that CAY has a characteristic clause construction in which a possessor NP shows up with A function for transitive relational verbs, while the possessum NP is in P function (§ 5.1.1.3-i, § 37.2, § 37.4, etc.), and G and A are the function of the same relative case (§ 24).

## 2. Reflexive-third person

While a third person (possessor) suffix entails an anaphoric reference, a reflexive-third person refers back to the third person subject of the main clause ('-s own'). The reflexive third person is required if it is the same person with the third-person subject. Compare the following with (8) above:

- (11) *May'a-m*<sub>A</sub>            *pani-ni*<sub>P</sub>            *assik-aa*.  
 p.n.-REL.sg.            daughter-ABS.3Rsg.sg.    like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'Mayaq likes his (own) daughter.'

- (12) *Kipute-llru-a*                      *cikiut-ni<sub>P</sub>*                      *nulia-minun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 buy-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.      gift-ABS.3Rsg.sg.      Wi-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He bought his (own) gift for his (own) wife.’  
 – indirective |*kipuc-*| ‘to buy (to)’  
 cf. *kipute-llru-a*                      *cikiut-ni<sub>P</sub>*                      *nuliar-anun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 buy-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.      gift-ABS.3Rsg.sg.      Wi-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘he bought his (own) gift for his (another’s) wife’.

Possessed nouns with reflexive third person are further illustrated below:

- (13) *Qater-luku*      *angya-ni<sub>P</sub>*                      *mingug-aa*                      *angute-m<sub>A</sub>*.  
 white-APP.3sg.      boat-ABS.3Rsg.sg.      paint-IND.3sg.3sg.      man-REL.sg.  
 ‘The man painted his (*own*) boat white ([he] whitening it).’  
 – see § 51.2 for the cosubordinate construction by an appositional-  
 mood verb with *-luku*.
- (14) *Tallir-pi-teng=gguq<sub>P</sub>*                      (*talli-teng<sub>P</sub>* [RPT])  
 arm-genuine-ABS.3Rpl.pl.=RPR      arm-ABS.3Rpl.pl.  
*nallu-it*                      *taquka-t<sub>A</sub>*.  
 ignorant-IND.3pl.3pl.      bear-REL.pl.  
 ‘They say bears are left-handed (lit. they do not know their right  
 arms).’ [YQYL 142]

Although a reflexive-third person refers back to the third person subject of the main-clause, the number does not necessarily agree:

- (15) a. *Cali-lar-tuq*                      *ene-meggni*.  
 work-REG-IND.3sg.                      house-LOC.3Rpl.sg.  
 ‘He works at their (own) house.’  
 b. *Cali-lar-tuq*                      *ene-megni*.  
 work-REG-IND.3sg.                      house-LOC.3Rdu.sg.  
 ‘He works at their (du.; own) house.’  
 – This may imply either two people being inside a house or only ‘he’  
 being in a house that is owned by two. Because of the homonymy of  
 the locative inflection, this may also mean ‘our(du.) house’.

From the above, it should be clear that:

i) An absolutive-case noun with a reflexive-third person inflection can only appear in the P function, but not the S function:

- (16) a. *pani-ni<sub>P</sub>*                      *assik-aa*.  
 Da-REL.3Rsg.sg.      like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he likes his (own) daughter’, cf. (11).



- b \**Pani-ni*<sub>S</sub>                      *assir-tuq* (IND.3sg.)  
 – this would be an ungrammatical way of trying to say ‘she, i.e. *her own* daughter, is good’.

ii) A relative-case noun with reflexive-third person inflection can only appear in the G function within an attributive phrase as its dependent NP:

- (17) [*Qetunra-mi*<sub>G</sub>      *atr-a*]<sub>P</sub>                      *assik-aa*.  
 So-REL.3Rsg.sg.    name-ABS.3sg.sg.    like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He likes his (own) son’s name.’
- (18) [*Qetunra-mi*<sub>G</sub>      *eni-ini*]                      *uita-uq*.  
 So-REL.3Rsg.sg.    house-LOC.3sg.sg.    stay-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is staying at his (own) son’s house.’

Note that the relative noun *qetunra-mi* in (18) cannot appear in the A function (ergative) within a transitive construction (as a transitive subject). Thus, \**qetunra-mi assik-aa* is ungrammatical and cannot mean ‘his (own) son likes it/him/her’, but would sound something illogical like ‘he, who is his own son, likes it/him/her’.<sup>1</sup>

See also § 16.2.1 for the reflexive third person within a phrase.

iii) A valency change may necessitate an alternation between the third and the reflexive third person inflections, like the following (b) detransitivized from (a):

- (19) a. *Iir-i-a*                                      *paltuug-ane*<sub>(P)</sub>                      *agiirte-llr-ani*.  
 hide-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.    jacket-ABM.3sg.sg.    approach-CNNbc.3sg.  
 – patientive |*iĭy-*| ‘to hide’  
 ‘He hid *her* (\*his own) jacket when she came over.’ – adversative

---

1. However, in a subordinate clause, Jacobson (1995: 158 [fn. 2]) describes an interesting feature of a reflexive-person inflection occurring with A function in a subordinate clause, though I have not been fortunate enough to encounter this construction:

*mikelnguq*<sub>S</sub>    *qava-llru-uq*                      [*aana-mi*<sub>A</sub>                      *erita-inanraki*  
 child.ABS.sg.    sleep-PST-IND.3sg.    Mo-REL.3Rsg.sg.    pluck-CNNwl.3sg.3pl.  
*yaqulg-e-t<sub>P</sub>*]  
 bird-EV-ABS.pl.

‘The child slept while his own mother was plucking.’

In a coordinate clause, by contrast, a third-person *aani-in*<sub>A</sub>=*llu* (Mo-REL.3sg.sg.; instead of \**aana-mi=llu*) occurs with an indicative verb *erita-llru-i* (3sg.3pl.), meaning ‘and his mother plucked them’.

- b. *Iir-i-ug*                      *paltuu-minek<sub>(P)</sub>*                      *agiirte-ller-mini*  
 hide-APS-IND.3sg. jacket-ABM.3Rsg.du. approach-CNNbc.3Rsg.  
 (~ *agiirte-ll-mini*).  
 ‘He hid *his own* when she approached.’ – antipassive.

iv) In complex transitive constructions (§ 40), which also involve person alternation, a reflexive-third person refers back to the third person subject (upper subject) of the verb, but not to that of the embedded verb, thus creating no ambiguity:

- (20) *Uita-qa-a-sq-aa*                                      *angun<sub>P=S</sub>*                      *ene-mini*.  
 wait-POL-EV-ask-IND.3sg.3sg. man.ABS.sg. house-LOC.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘She (politely) asked the man to wait in her (own) house.’

Here, *ene-mini* can never mean ‘in his (the man’s) house’ (since the ‘man’ is not the predicate subject), unlike comparable constructions in some other languages. Accordingly:

- (21) *Qava-llru-yuk-aqa*                                      *angun<sub>P=S</sub>*                      *eni-ini*.  
 sleep-PST-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg. man.ABS.sg. house-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘I [A'] think the man slept in his [the man’s own] house.’

For this same reason, the following is ambivalent, with the third-person possessor (of the ‘house’) referring to either of the two arguments:

- (22) *Ciki-llru-yuk-aqa*                                      *arnaq<sub>P=A</sub>*                      *angut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 give-PST-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg. woman.ABS.sg. man-ALL.sg.  
*akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
*eni-ini*.  
 house-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 i. ‘I [A'] think the woman gave ice cream to the man in *her* house.’  
 ii. ‘I [A'] think the woman gave ice cream to the man in *his* house.’

The third person singular *eni-ini* is ambiguous (‘man’s’ or woman’s). On the other hand, the reflexive third *ene-mini*, which typically should refer to the main-clause third person subject, cannot do so here (because of the first person subject), and it may be used to refer in this sentence to the embedded (lower) clause subject (‘the woman’s house’), which may presumably be a recent innovation, apparently among younger people.

### 3. Possessed nominals in oblique cases

All the possessed nominals given above are in a syntactic case (absolute or relative) (see Table 23). A possessed nominal in any of the five oblique cases can occur, filling the syntactic (oblique) slot of a clause:

- (23)
- |                   |                   |                        |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| <i>angya-mnek</i> | (ABM.1sg.sg./pl.) | ‘(from) my boat(s)’    |
| <i>angya-mnun</i> | (ALL.1sg.sg./pl.) | ‘to my boat(s)’        |
| <i>angya-mni</i>  | (LOC.1sg.sg./pl.) | ‘in my boat(s)’        |
| <i>angya-mkun</i> | (PRL.1sg.sg./pl.) | ‘by way of my boat(s)’ |
| <i>angya-mtun</i> | (EQL.1sg.sg./pl.) | ‘like my boat(s)’      |
- see § 25 through § 29 for examples in each nominal case.

### 4. Emphasis on the possessor

An independent personal pronoun (§ 13.2.1) can optionally be used to place emphasis on the possessor (either alienable or inalienable), as indicated by the inflection:

- (24) a. *aata-ka* (ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘my father’ vs.  
 b. *wiinga* (1sg.) *aata-ka* ‘my father’.

See also § 13 (10) *elli-in* (3sg.-REL) *angya-a* (boat-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘his boat’ (but not ‘his own boat’).

### 5. Inalienability

Although CAY is not so particularly sensitive to distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, there are a number of subclasses of nominals that are obligatorily possessed, i.e. inflected for person:

i) *Body part terms*:

- (25)
- |                     |               |                                       |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>qamiqu(rr)-a</i> | (ABS.3sg.sg.) | ‘his head’ – see under viii) of VN/NN |
|                     |               | - <i>quy</i> -  (§ 19.2)              |
| <i>pamyu-a</i>      | (ABS.3sg.sg.) | ‘its tail’. <sup>2</sup>              |

---

2. This may be used figuratively by an audience requesting dancers to repeat the end of a song.

- (26) [*Cam-na*                                    *it'ga-qa*]<sub>s</sub>                    *puv'-uq.*  
 down.there-EX.ABS.sg.    foot-ABS.1sg.sg.    swell-IND.3sg.  
 'My foot is swollen.'

ii) *Part-to-whole (incl. nouns of location)* – see |*ila-*| 'part, relative', with more in § 11.4.3-i.

- (27) a. *ili-i*    (ABS.3sg.sg.)    'part of it'  
       *ili-it*    (ABS.3pl.sg.)    'one of them' – see § 21.4 for possessor number  
 b. *ila-nka* (ABS.1sg.pl.)    'my relatives'.

- (28) a. [*Aana-ma*<sub>G</sub>                                *cani-ani*]                                *uita-uq.*  
 Mo-REL.1sg.sg.    side-LOC.3sg.sg.    stay-IND.3sg.  
 'He is beside my mother.'  
 b. *Cani-mteñi*                                *uita-uq.*  
 side-LOC.1pl.sg.    stay-IND.3sg.  
 'He is beside us.'

iii) *Kinship terms (except in addressing forms)*:

- (29) *Aata-n*<sub>s</sub>                                *tekit-uq.*  
 Fa-ABS.2sg.sg.    arrive-IND.3sg.  
 'Your (sg.) father has arrived.'  
 cf. *Aata-a*    *wa-a-nt-ua!*  
 Fa-VOC    here-EX-be.at-IND.1sg.

iv) *Deverbal clauses*: One core argument is indexed as person (i.e. genitivized) in deverbalized clauses, that is, relative and nominal clauses.

- (30) *tanger-qe-ka*                                'what I see'  
 see-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 cf. *tangrr-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.)                'I see it'.
- (31) a. *yu-u-ci-a*  
 person-be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 i. 'his way of living, the way how he lives'; *yu-u-guq* 'he is alive'  
       (lit. 'he is a person')  
 ii. 'his (dead person's) soul' – deverbal noun  
 b. *ner-uci-a* = § 18(6)b  
 eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 i. 'eating of it, that/how it is eaten'  
 ii. 'his eating (s.t.), that he eats (s.t.)'.

v) *Ordinal numerals*: ‘the [lit. *their*] first, second, third, ...’ which are characterized by an obligatory person inflection – see § 14.8.

By contrast with obligatory (i.e. inflectional) possessor marking as surveyed above, (in)alienable possession is expressed or implied by the following three cases:

vi) NN |+*ɲut*-| ‘supply of, thing owned (temporary, conventional)’ – § 20.1.2 for examples.

vii) NV composite suffixes of temporary possession/existence/deprivation which are characterized by the unique |+*ta*-|, as contrasted with ones of innate or essential possession, etc. which are not marked thereby; e.g. |+*ta-ɲq̄x*-| vs. |-*ɲq̄x*-|. See § 38.1 for details.

viii) An appositional verb can describe a state or movement of a body part or a part of something inalienable as involuntary or difficult to control. See § 51.2.8 (adjunct to inalienably possessed nominals) for details.

## Chapter 23

### Absolutive case

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#### Absolutive case

CAY has seven cases for nominals:

- a) *absolutive* and *relative* (ergative/genitive) – for core arguments
- b) *ablative-modalis*, *allative*, *locative* – for oblique (demoted) arguments and for adjuncts
- c) *perlative*, *equalis* – for adjuncts.

The two core cases (a) – absolutive and the relative (§ 24) are the syntactic cases to mark core argument NPs, while the other five cases are oblique to mark non-core or demoted NPs or peripheral (adverbial) adjuncts.

Three of the five oblique cases (b) – ablative-modalis, allative, and locative (§ 25, § 26, and § 27) – have syntactic-specified functions (for demoted and stranded NPs, etc.) as well as peripheral functions. The rest, i.e. two oblique cases (c) – perlative and equalis (§ 28, § 29) – are only peripheral.

All non-core cases other than the equalis are basically locational, with the frame of reference spatial or temporal.

A non-core case can also be an adnominal adjunct within adjunctional phrases (§ 16.5).

i) Of the core arguments, A argument NP (for transitive agent) is marked with the relative case, while the others are identically marked with the absolutive case, that is, S (for intransitive subject), P (for monotransitive), T (for indirective ditransitive), and R (for secundative ditransitive), thereby basically yielding the absolutive-ergative case marking system (with a caveat below). The core-argument NPs thus marked are cross-referenced with the verb (§ 32).

ii) Valency-modified verbs as well as primary verbs are case-assigned according to the argument hierarchy in terms of accessibility to the absolutive

status: The absolutive is regarded as higher than that of the relative; hence indicated by ABS > REL.

iii) While an argument may be promoted to the absolutive-case status, an original absolutive case NP may be demoted to an oblique-case status (ablative-modalis or allative) to promote the next higher argument, both by syntactical and/or discourse factors.

iv) The argument hierarchy yields a great variety of case alignments as is summarized in § 30. Since CAY verbs can be multi-valent since valency modifications may be cumulative (as many as seven arguments are attested), the case alignments shown by arguments are a result of complicated process. But they are basically viewed as a voice phenomenon for promoting to the absolutive-case status for the purpose of foregrounding, and an absolutive-case argument is more likely to have a discourse topic function in the predication (which carries a piece of old information), while an oblique argument can be a sentence topic.

v) The absolutive case of time word may have a locative function as well (§ 23.2-ii).

vi) The important caveat (as mentioned in § 4.1.4.1-iii) is that the distinction of absolutive vs. relative is relevant only to an NP that refers to a third person while an NP referring to a first or second person as marked in a verb (or a possessed nominal) either in S, P, A (or G) function, does not generally occur with a syntactic case but neutrally only with the locative case – see § 27.4 (locative as adjunct to a first and second person argument) and § 30.5 (five syntactically relevant cases). A NP referring to a non-third person has the force of a supplementary (not necessarily narrative) explanation rather than being an objective reference.

Also, as mentioned in § 13.1, the distinction between the absolutive and the relative is made only by a third-person free person pronoun, which only refer to humans, but not by a personal pronoun of the other persons, i.e. first, second, and reflexive third (which have a “common case” instead).

vii) The paradigm for possessed nominals in the absolutive case is provided in Table 21. A comparison with Table 46 (indicative/participial-mood inflections) will show that the absolutive-case suffixes for possessed nouns (except for ones with the reflexive-third person possessor) are exactly the same with the third person object marking of indicative/participial transitive verbs (as shown by shaded portions in the Table 21 and 46).

Table 21: Inflections for absolutive-case nominals

possessor		singular	plural	dual
third	singular	+ <i>ŋa</i>	+ <i>ŋi</i>	+ <i>ɣ</i>
	plural	+ <i>ŋat</i>	+ <i>ŋit</i>	+ <i>ɣkit</i>
	dual	+ <i>ŋaɣ</i>	- <i>kiɣ</i>	+ <i>ɣkiɣ</i>
first	singular	- <i>ka</i>	+ <i>nka</i>	+ <i>ɣka</i>
	plural	+ <i>put</i>	- <i>put</i>	+ <i>ɣput</i>
	dual	+ <i>puɣ</i>	- <i>puɣ</i>	+ <i>ɣpuɣ</i>
second	singular	+ <i>n</i>	- <i>tin</i>	+ <i>ɣkin</i>
	plural	+ <i>ci</i>	- <i>ci</i>	+ <i>ɣci</i>
	dual	+ <i>tiɣ</i>	- <i>tiɣ</i>	+ <i>ɣtiɣ</i>
reflexive-third	singular		- <i>ni</i>	+ <i>ɣni</i>
	plural	+ <i>tiŋ</i>	- <i>tiŋ</i>	+ <i>ɣtiŋ</i>
	dual	+ <i>tiɣ</i>	- <i>tiɣ</i>	+ <i>ɣtiɣ</i>

Notes on Table 21:

See (P8ii.c) for the deleting suffix 3Rsg.sg./pl. [-*ni*], which may delete a final /i/, though with great variance among speakers.

(P2i) applies to all retaining suffixes that begin with /pV/, but not necessarily among younger speakers.

The 1sg.sg. absolutive marker [-*ka*] has the variant [+*ka*], which correlates with /*ɣa*/ and /*ya*/ deletion (P18v):

- (1)  $|tuykayay[+ka]| > /tuxkaxqa/$  (with deletion) *tugka'rqɑ* ~  
 $|tugkayay[-ka]| > /tuxkayá'qa/$  *tugkaraqa* 'my ivory'.

The same variation [-*ka*] ~ [+*ka*] obtains for the indicative 1sg.3sg. inflection (§ 46.1).

## 1. S/P function – intransitive subject and transitive object

An absolutive-case NP *arnaq* is illustrated with S function and P function:

- (2) a. *Arnaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *tekit-uq.*  
 woman.ABS.sg.                      arrive-IND.3sg.  
 'The woman arrived.'
- b. *Arnaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *assik-i-uq*                      *mikelngur-nek.*  
 woman.ABS.sg.                      like-APS-IND.3sg.                      child-ABM.pl.  
 'The woman likes children.' – antipassive.
- (3) *Mikelngu-u-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *arnaq<sub>P</sub>*                      *assik-aat.*  
 child-EV-REL.pl.                      woman.ABS.sg.                      like-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 'The children like the woman.'



The *arnaq* ‘woman’ in the intransitive construction (2) and (3), with the absolutive case, functions as a topic. By contrast, the *arna-m* ‘the woman’ in the transitive construction (4) is in A function:

- (4) *Arna-m*<sub>A</sub>                      *mikelngu-u-t<sub>P</sub>*              *assik-ai*.  
 woman-REL.sg.              child-EV-REL.pl.      like-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘The woman likes the children.’

The following (5a) and (5b) are also intransitive constructions like (2), with the ‘woman’ as the topic, while the stem *arnar-* ‘woman’ in (5c), though also an intransitive one likewise, is not a topic:

- (5) a. *Arnaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *uita-ug*                      [*ak'allar-mi*    *ene-mi*].  
 woman.ABS.sg.              stay-IND.3sg.              old-LOC.sg.              house-LOC.sg.  
 ‘The woman stays in the/an old house.’  
 – with the appositive phrase *ak'allar-mi ene-mi*
- b. *Arnaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *ak'allar-mi*              *ene-met-ug*.  
 woman.ABS.sg.              old-LOC.sg.              house-be.at-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The woman is in the/an old house.’  
 – locative verb (§ 27.8) with *ene-mi* of the appositive phrase in (a) verbalized (as a phrasal compound; § 4.3-v), where its other NP is retained *ak'allar-mi* intact (*\*ak'allar-mek*, cf. § 25.2.2). By contrast, the *arnaq* is verbalized in the following:
- c. *Arnar-tangqer-tug*                      [*ak'allar-mi*    *ene-mi*].  
 woman-there.be-IND.3sg.              old-LOC.sg.              house-LOC.sg.  
 ‘There is (lives) a woman in the/an old house.’

In (c) the ‘woman’ is not a core argument but merely a verb head in the denominal verb with the NV suffix, merely describing the existence of a ‘woman at a certain place (not describing something about the ‘woman’).

Pragmatically speaking, the absolutive NP, like *arnaq* above, may not commonly occur externally as it typically belongs to old information known by the speaker and the addressee, though it does occur if accompanied with some specification such as its modifying nominal demonstrative, relative clause, etc.

An absolutive NPs in T (indirective ditransitive) or R (secundative) functions, which likewise serves as a topic, is abundantly illustrated in § 35, but see in particular the contrastive examples of examples § 35 (2, 3) vs. (5, 6) with the verbs for ‘to give’ and ‘to show’.

An extended E argument (applicative or adversative) by VVsm suffix (§ 39.4, § 39.5), and A', A'', ... (upper-clause subject) involved in complex transitive VVcm suffix (§ 40.2) may also come to be assigned the absolutive case, depending upon the case alternation based on argument hierarchy (i.e. a reduction that entails promotion) – § 30.

As mentioned (§ 23-i), an absolutive-case NP agrees in number with S/P (secundative R / indirective T) argument in verb inflection, so does a relative-case NP with A argument, barring the caveat in reference to a first or second person argument (§ 27.4). See the number agreement in:

- (6) *Assik-ai* [ *uku-t* *pingayu-n* *qimugce-cuara-a-t* ]<sub>P</sub>.  
like-IND.3sg.3pl. this-ABS.pl. three-ABS.pl. dog-small-EV-ABS.pl.  
'She likes these three small dogs.'
- (7) *Kiag-tuk* [ *ma-n'a* *qag-na=llu* ]<sub>S</sub>.  
summer-IND.3du. this-EX.ABS.sg. outside-EX.ABS.sg.=and  
'It is now in (has become) the summer here and in the north.'  
– with locational S argument as seen in the subject agreement (dual).

## 2. Absolutive vs. locative

i) Location nouns of space (§ 11.2), nominal demonstratives (§ 12.2), and proper names of places (§ 11.6.3) occur as an intransitive subject as in the following example:

- (8) *Ene-n<sub>S</sub>* / *Mamterilleq<sub>S</sub>* / *Ma-n'a<sub>S</sub>* *kiircet-uq*.  
house-ABS.2sg.sg. pl.n.ABS.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. hot-IND.3sg.  
'It [weather] is hot in your (sg.) house / in Bethel / in this place (village, house).'

They occur also as a locative adjunct (i.e. in the locative case) without any substantial difference as in the following (a), except that nominal demonstratives are replaced by adverbial demonstrative (§ 12.3) as in (b):

- (9) a. *Ene-vni* / *Mamteriller-mi ~ -ni* *kiircet-uq*.  
house-LOC.2sg.sg. pl.n.-LOC.sg./-pl. hot-IND.3sg.  
'It is hot in your(sg.) house / in Bethel.'
- b. *Ma-a-ni* *kiircet-uq*.  
this-EX-LOC hot-IND.3sg.  
'It is hot here.' – but not \**mat-u-mi* (this-EX-LOC.sg.).<sup>1</sup>  
cf. *ma-n'a* *kiircete-llria*  
this-EX.ABS.sg. hot-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
'this place that is hot' – relativization.

1. The locative form *mat'-u-mi*, however, may occur as a standard of comparison (§ 27.2, § 45.1.1) as in *mat'-u-mi kiircete-nru-uq* (CMP-IND.3sg.) 'it is hotter than here' as in (10), and an object of exclamation (§ 27.6), as in *mat'umi=ll' kiirces=vaa!* 'how hot it is here!'

Incidentally, the adverbial demonstrative in the locative case refers in general to an area more indefinite than the corresponding nominal demonstrative *man'a* in the absolutive case. The former is more likely to be invisible, while the latter may be something visible.

ii) Location nouns of time (§ 11.3) may occur as an intransitive subject, thus in the absolutive case.

- (10) *Kiak*<sub>S</sub>                      *assi-nru-uq*                      *uksu-mi*.  
 summer.ABS.sg.      good-CMP-IND.3sg.      winter-LOC.sg.  
 ‘The (this) summer is better than the winter.’  
 – with the standard of comparison (‘winter’) in the locative case (§ 27.3).

However, the same time noun *kiak* in the absolutive case is in locative function in the following example – note the plural verb:

- (11) *Kiak*                      *neq'-liqe-llru-ut*.  
 summer.ABS.sg.      fish-have.much-PST-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Last *or* this past summer they caught a lot of fish.’

Replacement of the absolutive *kiak* with the locative *kiag-mi* (sg.) brings specificity in time ‘in/during the summer (instead of the winter)’ (§ 27.1.1). Note that the plural verb is distinct from an inherent “plural verb” in § 34.2-iii.

Thus the following (a) may be ambiguous:

- (12) a. *Unuk*                      *tekit-uq*.  
 night.ABS.sg. arrive-IND.3pl.  
 i. ‘The night is here.’  
 ii. ‘He came last night.’  
 – Compare (ii) reading with the locative-case noun:  
 b. *Unug-mi*                      *tekite-llru-uq*.  
 night-LOC.sg. arrive-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He came at night (not in the daytime).’

The semantic contrast between the absolutive and the locative form of time words is further illustrated:

- (13) a. *Unug-pak*                      *cali-ma-llru-uq*.  
 night-big.ABS.sg.      work-CNT-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He worked all night.’

- b. *Unug-pag-mi*            *ui-gar-tuq.*  
 night-big-LOC.sg.    wake.up-suddenly-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He woke up suddenly in the middle of the night.’ – |*uic*-| ‘to wake up’.

Nominalization of time verbs is also attested with the absolutive-case marking:

- (14) [*Kia-llr-a*                            *tamalku-an*]  
 summer-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.    all-CNNst.3sg.  
*iqvar-aq-ut.*  
 pick.berry-REG-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They regularly pick berries all summer.’  
 – the possessor of *kia-llr-a* (VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.) reflects the impersonal subject of the verb |*kiaγ*-| ‘(it) to summer’. The stative-connective mood *tamalku-an* (§ 50.10) is a non-restrictive adnominal verb that semantically modifies the nominalization in the absolutive case.
- (15) [*Aya-kata-neq*                        *tami-in* ~ *tamalku-an*]  
 go-IMN-VNnm.ABS.sg.    all-CNNst.3sg.  
*qia-lar-tuq.*  
 cry-REG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He cries at every departure time / whenever (he or someone is) about to leave.’  
 – A nominalization like *aya-kata-neq* cannot person inflection (§ 18.3) and can refer to any person, but it is usually the main-clause subject (‘he’) here. Person specification of ‘the one about to leave’ would require a constantive-connective verb instead, such as *aya-katar-aqa-mi* (CNNwv-3Rsg.; § 50.3) ‘whenever *he* is about to leave’.

## Chapter 24

### Relative case

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#### Relative case

A nominal in the “relative” case (as it is traditionally called in Eskimo linguistics) can be either “genitive”, i.e. in G function within an attributive phrase (§ 16.4) or “ergative”, i.e. in A function within a transitive construction (§ 32.1.2). The following example has two relative-case NPs (both with first person singular possessor *-ma*), one in A function and the other in G function:

- (1) *Aata-ma<sub>A</sub> nallu-llini-a [elicariste-ma<sub>G</sub>*  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. not.know-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg. teacher-REL.sg.  
*atr-a]*<sub>p</sub>.  
 name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘(I found) my father does not know my teacher’s name.’

The paradigm for possessed nominals in the relative case is provided in Table 22:

Table 22: Inflections for relative-case nominals

possessor		singular	plural	dual
third	singular	+ <i>ŋan</i>	+ <i>ŋin</i>	+ <i>ŋkin</i>
	plural	+ <i>ŋata</i>	+ <i>ŋita</i>	+ <i>ŋkita</i>
	dual	+ <i>ŋayniy</i>	- <i>kinka</i>	+ <i>ŋkinka</i>

Table 22 continued: Inflections for relative-case nominals

possessor		singular	plural	dual
first	singular		- <i>ma</i>	+ <i>yma</i>
	plural		- <i>mta</i>	+ <i>y+mta</i>
	dual		- <i>miynuy</i>	+ <i>ymiynuy</i>
second	singular		+ <i>pit</i>	+ <i>ypi</i>
	plural		+ <i>pici</i>	+ <i>ypici</i>
	dual		+ <i>pitiy</i>	+ <i>ypitiy</i>
reflexive third	singular		- <i>mi</i>	+ <i>ymi</i>
	plural		- <i>miŋ</i>	+ <i>ymiŋ</i>
	dual		- <i>miy</i>	+ <i>ymiy</i>

A comparison with Table 49 (connective-mood person markers) will show that the relative-case suffixes for possessed nouns are exactly the same, with the third person object marking of connective-mood intransitive markers (as shown by shaded portions in the Table 22 and 49).

*Notes on Table 22:*

See (P8ii.c) for deleting suffixes that begin with /mV/, which may delete a final /i/, though with great variance among speakers.

(P2i) applies to all retaining suffixes that begin with /pV/, but not necessarily among younger speakers.

The genitive and the ergative uses show an extent of correlation with each other in the relative case marks:

- i) a. the possessor of an attributive phrase (§ 16.4) and
  - b. the transitive subject, i.e. possessor, of a relational verb clause (§ 37.2 and § 37.4)
- ii) a. the standard of comparison of a comparative phrase (§ 18.3.2.1) and
  - b. the standard of comparison, i.e. transitive subject, of a comparative clause (§ 24.2.4, § 45.1.2)
- iii) transitive subject of the “pseudo-passive” clause with |+*yaqi-*| (§ 17.4.2-ii, § 39.3.2) is also the possessor as is the case with the preceding i) b and ii) b.

See also § 30.1.1 for strong affinity of A function with G.

The caveat mentioned in § 23-iv concerning a first or a second person referent is relevant in that the relative case also is replaced by the locative case – see (8) and § 27.4.

Interestingly, a limited number of verb stems or expanded verb stems may directly take singular relative case-marking without any intervening nominaliza-

tion, as if they were bivalent stems with the demarcation between nominals and verbs being obscured – see § 24.3 below.

One marginal peculiarity is that a relative-case possessed NP may be used as a vocative, mainly in the first person with the final vowel doubled – § 31.2.

A paradigm for possessed nominals in the relative case is given in Table 22:

See § 4.2.4-ii and § 7.4-ii for the morpheme boundary indicated inside 1pl.du. |+*y*+*mta*|.

## 1. G function (genitive)

A relative-case NP, being the dependent in an attributive construction with another NP as the head, refers to a possessor (either alienable or inalienable, § 22.5) or a point of reference; the latter nominal, i.e. possessum, must have a third person (possessor) suffix inflection (Table 22), cross-referencing in number with the former. The two nominals linked in this genitive construction constituting an attributive phrase tend to occur contiguously (though not necessarily), with the dependent usually to the left of the head (though not obligatorily).

- (2) a. *arna-m<sub>G</sub>*            *atr-a*  
           woman-REL.sg.    name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
           ‘the woman’s name’
- b. *arna-m<sub>G</sub>*            *atr-i*  
           woman-REL.sg.    name-ABS.3sg.pl.  
           ‘the woman’s names’
- c. *arna-t<sub>G</sub>*             *atr-it*  
           woman-REL.pl.    name-ABS.3pl.pl.  
           ‘the women’s names’.

The head nominal (‘name’) here is conveniently illustrated in the absolutive case, but the case to be assigned is determined by the syntactic role of the NP within the clause.

In the following example, *ciu-nga* in (a) is in the absolutive since the NP is the intransitive subject, while *ciu-ngani* in (b) is in the locative as it is an adverbial adjunct:

- (3) a. [*Qaya-m<sub>G</sub>*            *ciu-nga*]<sub>s</sub>            *navg-uma-ug.*  
           kayak-REL.sg.    fore-ABS.3sg.sg.    break-STT-IND.3sg.  
           ‘The fore part of my kayak is broken.’
- b. [*Qaya-m<sub>G</sub>*            *ciu-ngani*]            *uita-ug.*  
           kayak-REL.sg.    fore-LOC.3sg.sg.    stay-IND.3sg.  
           ‘He/It is (stays) at the fore of the kayak.’

A possessed noun may also be in G function:

- (4) a. *umyuga-an<sub>G</sub>*      *pini-a*  
 mind-REL.3sg.sg.      strength-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘his mental strength’  
 b. *arna-ma<sub>G</sub>*      *atr-a*  
 woman-REL.1sg.sg.      name-ABS.3sg.sg. – cf. (2a).

An appositive phrase (§ 16.1) may be embedded into an attributive phrase as its dependent in G function:

- (5) *Unange-sciigat-uq*      *[[tau-m      tuntu-yaga-a-m]<sub>G</sub>*  
 get-cannot-IND.3sg.      that-REL.sg.      caribou-young-EX-REL.3sg.  
*ayuyi-inek]<sub>P</sub>*.  
 likeness-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He could not get another one like that young calf.’ – cf. [QNMCM 220]

On the other hand, an attributive phrase can also be embedded into another attributive phrase as its dependent:

- (6) *[[Qaya-m<sub>G</sub>      ciu-ngan]<sub>G</sub>      ili-i]<sub>S</sub>*  
 kayak-REL.sg.      fore-REL.3sg.sg.      part-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*navg-uma-uq*.  
 break-STT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘A part of the fore of the kayak is broken.’  
 (7) *[arna-k<sub>G</sub>      ati-ignek]<sub>G</sub>      atr-a*  
 woman-REL.du.      Fa-REL.3du.sg.      name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the name of the father of the two women’.

More examples of embedded attributive phrases are provided in § 16.4.

The caveat mentioned above concerning a non-third person referee is illustrated in the following (b), where the locative-case NP, instead of the relative, refers to the second person possessor:

- (8) a. *[[Elli-in      taangiq-suil-ngu-u-m]<sub>G</sub>      aani-i]<sub>P</sub>*  
 3sg.-REL      drink-never-VNrl-EV-REL.sg.      Mo-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*assik-aqa*.  
 like-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I like the mother of the one (he) who does not drink.’  
 b. *[[Elpet taangiq-suil-ngur-mi]<sub>(G)</sub>      aana-n]<sub>P</sub>      assik-aqa*.  
 2sg.      drink-never-VNrl-LOC.sg.      Mo-ABS.2sg.sg.      like-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I like your mother of you who do not drink.’  
 – see also § 27(32d) for replacement of the relative case by the locative.



## 2. A function (ergative)

A relative-case NP in a transitive verb construction is in A function, being the subject of the verb, which cross-references in number with the NP. As such, it typically works as an agent NP, but it also works as a standard for transitive comparative constructions, as illustrated below (§ 24.2.4) and more fully in § 45.1.2.

Sentences like the following are sometimes given as examples of an ergative construction for the purpose of linguistic explanation, with the subject and the object both expressed explicitly by a relative-case and an absolutive-case NP respectively. The sentence is grammatically correct (and might be actually used), but pragmatically more or less unrealistic:

- (9) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub> tuqut-aa taqukaq<sub>P</sub>.*  
 man-REL.sg. kill-IND.3sg.3sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The man killed the bear.’

As a discourse topic, the sentence-initial *angute-m* ‘the man’ most likely would not show up.

Relative-case NPs in A function are not necessarily animate but include miscellaneous kinds of non-animate nominals. See the different NPs in A function for the same verb below:

- (10) a. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub> iinruq<sub>P</sub> ikayu-utek-aa.*  
 woman-REL.sg. medicine.ABS.sg. help-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The medicine is helping the woman (to heal).’
- b. *Agayuvi-i-m<sub>A</sub> aki<sub>P</sub>*  
 worship-VNrl-EV-REL.sg. money.ABS.sg.  
*ikayu-utek-aa.*  
 help-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The money is being used to help the church (lit. *the church* has the money to help itself with).’
- c. *Ikayu-utek-aa iinru-m<sub>A</sub>.*  
 help-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg. medicine-REL.sg.  
 ‘It (e.g. exercise, water) helps medicine (makes the medicine more effective).’
- (11) *Tupag-cet’ar-aanga* [[*ui-ma<sub>G</sub>* / *anupe-m<sub>G</sub>* /  
 wake-A’cause-IND.3sg.1sg. Wi-REL.1sg.sg. wind-REL.sg.  
*refrigerator-am<sub>G</sub>*] *nepi-in*]<sub>A</sub>.  
 r.-LNK.REL.sg. noise-REL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘The *noise* of my wife/the wind/the refrigerator woke me up.’

Arguments that are external with NP in the relative case are typically those entities that are perceived to have some agency, animate (like person, animal, etc.) or inanimate:

### 2.1. Natural elements

They include ‘sun’, ‘wind’, ‘water’, ‘shore’, ‘tide’ (*ule-m*; § 11[92]), etc.

- (12) a. *Akerte-m<sub>A</sub>*    *ii-gka<sub>P</sub>*                      *akngirte-l(l)ar-ak*.  
 sun-REL.sg.    eye-ABS.1sg.du.    hurt-REG-IND.3sg.3du.  
 ‘The *sun* hurts my eyes.’
- b. *Tungu-ri-a*                                      *akert-e-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *qai-nga<sub>P</sub>*.  
 black-become-IND.3sg.3sg.    sun-EV-REL.sg.    surface-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘The *sun* blackened his skin.’
- (13) *Anuq’-vi-i-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *elivt-ai*                                      *can’g-e-t<sub>P</sub>*                      /  
 wind-big-EV-REL.sg.    flatten-IND.3sg.3pl.                      grass-EV-ABS.pl. /  
*qair-e-t<sub>P</sub>*.  
 wave-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘The strong *wind* flattened the grass/waves.’
- cf. *anuq’-vak<sub>S=A</sub>*                      *elivc-i-uq*                                      *caneg-nek<sub>P</sub>*  
 wind-big.ABS.sg.                      flatten-APS-IND.3sg.                      grass-ABM.pl.
- (14) a. [*Ul-qaaraa-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *elives-kaku*                                      *kuik<sub>P</sub>*]  
 tide-early-REL.sg.                      flatten-CNNif.3sg.3sg.                      river.ABS.sg.  
*ayag-ciq-ukut*.  
 go-FUT-IND.1pl.  
 ‘When the incoming *tide* flattens (causes the waves to disappear upon) the river, we will go.’
- b. *Qair-e-m<sub>A</sub>*                                      *angya-a<sub>P</sub>*                                      *imir-aa*.  
 wave-EV-REL.sg.                      boat-ABS.3sg.sg.                      fill-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The *waves* filled his boat (with water).’
- (15) *Yaaqsig-aa*                                      *ceña-m<sub>A</sub>*                                      *qikertaq<sub>P</sub>*.  
 be.far-IND.3sg.3sg.                      shore-REL.sg.                      island.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The *island* is far from the shore (lit. the shore has the island far in the distance).’

## 2.2. Other miscellaneous nouns

- (16) *Arrsi-i-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *yu-u-t<sub>P</sub>*                      *tuquc-uit-ai*.  
 poverty-EV-REL.sg.    person-EV-ABS.pl.    kill-never-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘Being poor does not kill people.’ [QLK 194]
- (17) *quinag-na-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *neve-vailg-anga*  
 ugly-causing-REL.sg.    penetrate-CNNbf-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘before the knowledge of the worldly things had permeated me’  
 – [Y] |*quinay-*| archaic.
- (18) [*Ellma-cuara-a-m*                      *Clorax-aa-m*]<sub>A</sub>  
 little.bit-small-EV-REL.sg.    decolorant-LNK-REL.sg.  
*qat’ri-a*.  
 turn.white-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Just a little bit of Clorox whitens it (washing).’
- (19) *Allragni-m<sub>A</sub>*                      [*ma-n’a*                      *uksuq*]<sub>P</sub>  
 last.year-REL.sg.    this-EX.ABM.sg.    winter.ABS.sg.  
*nengla-il-k-aa*.  
 cold-PRV-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘This winter is warmer than last year.’  
 – point of reference, cf. standard of comparison below (§ 24.2.4,  
 § 45.1.2).

## 2.3. Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses formed with VNnm |*-Iŷ-*| (§ 18.2.2) occur very often in A function:

- (20) *Cali-vaka-llru-nrite-ll-ma<sub>A</sub>*  
 work-ITS-PST-NEG-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.  
*aki-ka-ic-et-aanga*.  
 money-FUT-PRV-A'.make-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘As I did not work steadily, I have no more money.’  
 – *cali-ura-llru-* instead for some speakers.

A nominal clause in A function very frequently occurs with the neutral verb |*pi-*| ‘to do, affect’ or a causative complex transitive verb with VVcm (A'.make; § 40.2.1):

- (21) *Mernu-qapigte-ll-ma / -llet-pet<sub>A</sub>*  
 tired-very.much-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg./-REL.2sg.sg.  
*pi-anga / -aten.*  
 do-IND.3sg.1sg./-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘My/Your (sg.) extreme tiredness has done it, is upon us/you; because I/you are very much tired.’

#### 2.4. Standard of comparison

An argument NP for the standard of comparison in transitive comparative clauses – whether stative or inchoative (with *|-nqi-|/|-niqsayuc-|*; § 45.1.2, § 45.3) – is marked by the relative case as in the following examples, while those in intransitive comparative clauses (with *|-nyu-|/|-nyuyç-|*; § 45.1.1, § 45.3) are marked by the locative case (§ 27.3) as in the compared (24). The comparee NP, which is typically the topic, is invariably marked by the absolutive case in either construction.

- (22) *Watua-m<sub>A</sub> assi-nq-aa.*  
 while.ago-REL.sg. good-CMP-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is better than a while ago (lit. a while ago had him better).’
- (23) *Pi-nrit-ler-e-m<sub>A</sub> assi-nq-aa.*  
 do-NEG-VNnm-EV-REL.sg. good-CMP-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘It is better than doing nothing.’
- (24) *Ene-n<sub>P</sub> ange-nqe-llini-a pi-ma<sub>A</sub>.*  
 house-ABS.2sg.sg. big-CMP-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg. thing-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘(I now see) your (sg.) house is bigger than mine (lit. mine has your house as bigger one).’
- cf. *Ene-n<sub>S</sub> ange-nru-llini-uq pi-mni.*  
 house-ABS.2sg.sg. big-CMP-EVD-IND.3sg. thing-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘(I now see) your (sg.) house is bigger than mine.’  
 – intransitive comparative.

Note that the standard of comparison for intransitive comparative clauses is marked, as in the compared sentence, by the locative case (§ 27.3, § 45.1.1).

See also (19) through (21) for time words and nominalizations in A function.

## 2.5. Non-prototypical A arguments

There are two kinds of transitive verbs that require special attention.

i) One kind of them is transitive comparative verbs covered in the preceding section (§ 24.2.4), whose A argument is the standard of comparison ('than A') and has little to do with agentivity in the ordinary sense.

ii) The other kind is impersonal transitive verbs that are characterized by no external NP in A function to be marked with the relative case. They are either from primary impersonal stems with  $A_{IMP}$  (§ 34.3) or derived stems with  $A_{IMP}$  extended by necessitative  $VV_{sm}$  |+*naŷqi-*| (§ 39.2). The A argument for primary impersonal stems is some natural or supernatural force or process, and that for the expanded impersonal is some necessity or destiny.

As stated in § 5.1.1.3-v, transitive constructions with these non-prototypical A arguments are apparently falling into disuse among speakers of younger generations, and the corresponding intransitive constructions are taking their place to a remarkable extent, or have almost displaced transitives, though to what degree largely depends on the stems concerned and on the individual, as extensively described in the relevant chapters (§ 45.1.2 as well as § 34.3 and § 39.2).

## 3. Verb stems in the relative case

Certain verb stems (including expanded ones) may be followed directly, i.e. without any deverbalization, by relative-case marking, in G or A function, i.e. within attributive phrases (§ 24.3.1) or transitive constructions (§ 24.3.2).

### 3.1. G function

At least the following two nominals *uga-ani* and *nalli-ini* occur in the locative case (somewhat unique; § 27.1-iii) with a verb stem in the relative case to express reason/cause and time respectively:

i) *ugaani* 'because of it' (reason, cause) – from an obsolete nominal stem |*uŷa(ŷ)-*| apparently followed by the locative |[+*ŷani*| (LOC.3sg.sg.) – perhaps related with the demonstrative stem in |*uŷ-na*| (ABS.sg.) 'the one downriver, by the exit, way out' (though an adverbial demonstrative is generally incompatible with person inflection). It forms an attributive phrase of reason/cause in the locative case together with a relative-case NP:

- (25) [*kenke-m<sub>G</sub>* / *mernu-u-m<sub>G</sub>* *ugaani*]  
 love-REL.sg. / tired-EV-REL.sg. because.of  
 ‘because of love/tiredness’.
- (26) [*Cakner-e-m<sub>G</sub>* *ugaani*] *kiiryug-luni*.  
 struggle-EV-REL.sg. because.of sweat-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He is sweating due to suffering.’
- (27) *tuar tunga-u-naku tuar tangva-keka*  
 as.if space-PRV-APP.3sg. as.if look.at-PTP.1sg.3sg.  
 [*ugaan’ ecuite-m<sub>G</sub>*] [*ma-n’a qelti-i*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 because.of clear-REL.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. shell-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘Because this (its) shell was very transparent it was as if I were looking straight (i.e. having no space) at it [a red yolk inside].’ [AKKL 176]

The relative-case form may be a person-inflected nominalization by VNnm |*-ŷ-*|, just as in § 24.2.3, instead of being immediately followed by the case inflection. See (b) as compared with (a):

- (28) a. [*Kaig-e-m<sub>G</sub>* *ugaani*] *tai-gua*.  
 hungry-EV-REL.1sg.sg. because.of come-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I came because of hunger.’
- b. [*Kai-ll-ma* *ugaani*] *tai-gua*.  
 hungry-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg. because.of come-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I came because of my hunger (because I was hungry).’

This kind of attributive phrase, consisting of *ugaani* and a verb stem in the relative case, expresses stronger causality than the causal-connective verb *ecuilan* (CNNbc.3sg. – § 50.2). Compare the following pair:

- (29) a. [*Nangteqe-m<sub>G</sub>* *ugaani*] *cali-nrit-uq*.  
 sick-REL.sg. because.of work-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He does not work due to being very sick/painful.’  
 – which is a simplex sentence and implies that the sickness is more serious than the complex sentence (b) with the causal-connective verb:
- b. *Nangteq-ngami cali-nrit-uq*.  
 sick-CNNbc.3Rsg. work-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He does not work because he is sick/painful.’

It is interesting to note here that the complex sentence (b) may optionally add *ugaani* for intensification ('very sick') – *nangteqngami ugaani calinrituq* 'because he is very sick, he is not working' – when *ugaani* is obviously nothing but an adverbial particle.

Other more common verb stems include:

- (30) *uqamaite-m, uuqnarqe-m, kumlate-m, ...* with the head ***ugaani***  
'due to or as a consequence of heaviness, hotness, coldness, etc.'

An expanded verb stem (with a VV or NV suffix) may also occur in this construction:

- (31) *Qimug-taite-m ugaani, ayag-ciiga-nani.*  
dog-PRV-REL.sg. because.of go-cannot-APP.3Rsg.  
'Due to a lack of dogs, he cannot leave.'

An expanded verb stem may also be nominalized to occur in this construction as in the following (b):

- (32) a. [*Uterc-u-u-m<sub>G</sub> ugaani*] *aqvaqu-llru-uq.*  
return-DES-EV-REL.sg. because.of run-PST-IND.3sg.  
'He ran due to a wish to return home (homesick).'  
– from *|utiȳc+<sub>1</sub>cuy[+m]*
- b. [*Uterc-u-llr-an<sub>G</sub> ugaani*] *aqvaqu-llru-uq.*  
return-DES-VNm-REL.3sg.sg. because.of run-PST-IND.3sg.  
'He ran due to a wish to return home.'  
– cf. the causal connective-mood (CNNbc.3Rsg.) *uterc-u-ami (ugaani)*.

ii) *nalliini* 'when, at its (the same) time' – from the location noun *|naŋi-* 'correspondent in time or space' (§ 11.2.1) again with the LOC.3sg.sg. suffix *|+ŋani]*.

- (33) [*Yaqulg-e-t<sub>G</sub> ila-it*]<sub>s</sub>  
bird-EV-REL.pl. some-ABS.3pl.pl.  
*pissu(r)-yunari-lar-tut [ingte-m<sub>G</sub> nalliini].*  
hunt-proper.time.to-REG-IND.3pl. molt-REL.sg. at.the.time  
'Some of the birds become easy to hunt at the time of molting.'  
– with *|<sub>-1</sub>cunaȳi-* (§ 39.2).

Unlike the preceding *ugaani*, this construction with *nalliini* seems to have lesser semantic difference, if any, to a connective-mood verb:

- (34) [*tupa-kar-raa-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *nalliini*]  
 wake-just-after-REL.sg.      at.the.time  
 ‘at the time that one wakes up’  
 – see § 51.2.2-iii for the suffix sequence *|-qaɣ̣-ɣaaɣ̣-|*, which often occurs in appositional-mood verbs such as *tupa-kar-raar-luni* (APP.3Rsg.) ‘just after he wakes up’.

### 3.2. A function

The verb stems attested in the constructions of the preceding section (§ 24.3.1) may also occur in A function with or without deverbalization, forming transitive constructions, very often with the pro-verb *|pi-|* ‘to do, affect’ – see § 34.7 also.

- (35) *Mernu-m<sub>A</sub>*      *pi-aci*                                      *tage-lta.*  
 tired-REL.sg.    do-CNNbc.3sg.2du.                      finish-OPT.1pl.  
 ‘Because you are tired (lit. tiredness is upon/affecting you), let us finish.’
- (36) *Cali-nrite-ll-ma<sub>A</sub>*                                      *pi-anga*  
 work-NEG-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.    do-CNNbc.3sg.1sg.  
*aki-uta-it-ua.*  
 money-supply-PRV-IND.1sg.  
 ‘Because I am not working (no work affecting me), I have no money.’

Another verb attested in this transitive construction is *|tuc-|* ‘to arrive, fall / step upon’:

- (37) *Mernu-u-m<sub>A</sub>*                      /    *Iluteqe-m<sub>A</sub>*                      /    *qavara-m<sub>A</sub>* [Y]  
 doze.off-EV-REL.sg. /    sad-REL.sg.                      /    sleepiness-REL.sg.  
*tut-aanga.*  
 fall.on-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘Tiredness/Sadness/Sleepiness came upon me.’

## 4. Ambivalence

There are at least two cases in which a relative-case NP may be ambivalent.

First, ambivalence may arise due to the two functions of G and A in the relative case:



- (38) *Arna-m*                      *atr-a*                      *assik-aa*.  
 woman-REL.sg.              name-ABS.sg.              like-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 i. ‘He likes the *woman*’s name.’ – [*Arna-m*<sub>G</sub> *atr-a*]<sub>P</sub> (genitive)  
 ii. ‘The *woman* likes his name.’ – *arna-m*<sub>A</sub> plus *atr-a*<sub>P</sub> (ergative).

The ambivalence here arises from whether the dependent nominal *arna-m* in the relative case is either (a) in a construction with the head nominal *atr-a* inflected with the third-person possessor or (b) as the subject for the head verb *assikaa* with transitive inflection, as shown by the different roles.

Secondly, a relative-case nominal can be the transitive subject of a main clause or of an embedded complement clause:

- (39) a. [*Na-ni-qapiar*              *kuvya-llru-ci-anek*]<sub>(T)</sub>              *May’a-m*<sub>A</sub>  
 where-LOC-very              net-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.              p.n.-REL.sg.  
*apt-aanga*.  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘May’aq<sub>i</sub> asked me [R] exactly where he<sub>j</sub> drift-netted.’
- b. [*Na-ni-qapiar*              *kuvya-llru-ci-anek*              *May’a-m*<sub>G</sub>]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 where-LOC-very              net-PST-VN-ABM.3sg.sg.              p.n.-REL.sg.  
*apt-aanga*.  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘She asked me [R] exactly where May’aq drift-netted.’  
 – see § 41.3.1 for the morphological peculiarity of the intensifier VVa  
 |*-qapia*(*ya*)*ÿ*-|.

## Chapter 25

### Ablative-modalis case

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The ablative-modalis case in particular has a wider range of functions than most of the other non-core cases.

The ablative-modalis, which is presumably a historical merger in CAY nominals of two cases – the ablative and the modalis (or “instrumental”) – and which have remained distinct in Eastern Eskimo (cf. West Greenlandic ABL *iglu-mit* and MOD *iglu-mik* – ABS *iglu* ‘house’), is primarily marked by the regular Yupik reflex of the original modalis (CAY *ene-mek* ‘house’). It performs a wide range of adverbial and syntactic functions.

Adverbial demonstratives (§ 11.2.2), including the ignorative stem |*na-*| ‘(some)where’, have a special ablative form |*+kin*| and have no function as the modalis, hence ABL instead of ABM – e.g. (3), (18).

The paradigm for possessed nominals in oblique cases, including the ablative-modalis, is given in Table 23. Each column lists the ablative-modalis (ABM; marked by |*-ny*| *nek*), perlocative (PRL; |*+kun*| ~ |*+yun*|), and equalis (EQL; |*+tun*|) in that order, from top to bottom, in subsets of three. The allative and locative forms are obtained by replacing the |*ny*| of the ablative-modalis forms with |*nun*| and |*ni*| respectively.

As Table 23 shows, the distinction between the singular vs. plural possessum is made only for the third person, but not for the others, e.g. *-mnek* ABM.1sg.sg. or ABM.1sg.pl. The number agreement demonstrates the distinction:

- |     |    |  |                                    |
|-----|----|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>qaya-mnek</i><br>kayak-ABM.1sg.sg./pl.<br>‘from this kayak of mine’   | <i>u-u-mek</i><br>this-EX-ABM.sg.  |
|     | b. | <i>qaya-mnek</i><br>kayak-ABM.1sg.sg./pl.<br>‘from these kayaks of mine’ | <i>u-ku-nek</i><br>this-EX-ABM.pl. |

### 1. Starting point, etc.

The adverbial function of the ablative-modalis case is to mark a spatial or temporal starting point ('from'), and to indicate adjunct roles such as means, instrument, etc.:

- (2) *Aki-anet-ut*                      *ene-mek* (~ *ne-m'ek*)  
 across-be.at-IND.3pl. house-ABM.sg.  
 'They are across the house.' – locative verb.
- (3) *Ma-a-ken*                      *yaaqsi-kapigt-uq.*  
 this-EX-ABL                      far-very-IND.3sg.  
 'It is very far from here.'

Table 23: Inflections for oblique-case nominals

possessor			singular	plural	dual
third	singular	ABM	+ <i>ɲany</i>	+ <i>ɲiny</i>	+ <i>ɲkiny</i>
		PRL	+ <i>ɲakun</i>	+ <i>ɲikun</i>	+ <i>ɲkinkun</i>
		EQL	+ <i>ɲatun</i>	+ <i>ɲitun</i>	+ <i>ɲkitun</i>
	plural	ABM	+ <i>ɲatni</i>	+ <i>ɲitnyi</i>	+ <i>ɲkitny</i>
		PRL	+ <i>ɲatyun</i>	+ <i>ɲityun</i>	+ <i>ɲkityun</i>
		EQL	+ <i>ɲattun</i>	+ <i>ɲittun</i>	+ <i>ɲkittun</i>
	dual	ABM	+ <i>ɲayny</i>	+ <i>kinyi</i>	+ <i>ɲkiny</i>
		PRL	+ <i>ɲaykun</i>	- <i>kinkun</i>	+ <i>ɲkinkun</i>
		EQL	+ <i>ɲaytun</i>	- <i>kitun</i>	+ <i>ɲkitun</i>
first	singular	ABM		- <i>mny</i>	+ <i>ɲ+mny</i>
		PRL		- <i>mkun</i>	+ <i>ɲ+mkun</i>
		EQL		- <i>mtun</i>	+ <i>ɲ+mtun</i>
	plural	ABM		- <i>mt+ny</i>	+ <i>ɲ+mt+ny</i>
		PRL		- <i>mt+yun</i>	+ <i>ɲ+mt+yun</i>
		EQL		- <i>mtun</i>	+ <i>ɲ+mtun</i>
	dual	ABM		- <i>miyny</i>	+ <i>ɲmiyny</i>
		PRL		- <i>miynyun</i>	+ <i>ɲmiynyun</i>
		EQL		- <i>miy(t)un</i>	+ <i>ɲmiytun</i>
second	singular	ABM		+ <i>piny</i>	+ <i>ɲpiny</i>
		PRL		+ <i>piyun</i>	+ <i>ɲpiyun</i>
		EQL		+ <i>pitun</i>	+ <i>ɲpitun</i>
	plural	ABM		+ <i>picinyi</i>	+ <i>ɲpiciny</i>
		PRL		+ <i>picityun</i>	+ <i>ɲpicityun</i>
		EQL		+ <i>picitun</i>	+ <i>ɲpicitun</i>
	dual	ABM		+ <i>pitiyny</i>	+ <i>ɲpitiyny</i>
		PRL		+ <i>pitiynyun</i>	+ <i>ɲpitiynyun</i>
		EQL		+ <i>pitytun</i>	+ <i>ɲpitytun</i>

Table 23 continued: Inflections for oblique-case nominals

possessor			singular	plural	dual
reflexive third	singular	ABM	<i>-miny</i>	<i>+yminy</i>	
		PRL	<i>-mikun</i>	<i>+ymikun</i>	
		EQL	<i>-mitun</i>	<i>+ymitun</i>	
	plural	ABM	<i>-miyt+ny</i>	<i>+ymiyt+ny</i>	
		PRL	<i>-miyt+yun</i>	<i>+ymiyt+yun</i>	
		EQL	<i>-miy(t)tun</i>	<i>+ymiy(t)tun</i>	
dual	ABM	<i>-miyny</i>	<i>+ymiyny</i>		
	PRL	<i>-miyniyun</i>	<i>+ymiyniyun</i>		
	EQL	<i>-miytun</i>	<i>+ymiytun</i>		

To repeat the information given above: Table 23 is comprehensive, listing the ablative-modalis (ABM marked by  $|ny|$  *nek* / HBC  $|n\eta|$  *neng*), perlative (PRL  $|+kun| \sim |+yun|$ ), and equalis (EQL  $|+tun|$ ) in that order, from top to bottom, in subsets of three, while the allative and locative forms are obtained by replacing the  $|ny|$  of the ablative-modalis forms with  $|nun|$  and  $|ni|$  respectively.

*Notes on Table 23:*

See (P8ii.c for deleting suffixes that begin with a nasal plus vowel.

(P2i) applies to all retaining suffixes that begin with  $/pV/$ .

(P14i) is blocked in the ablative-modalis, allative, and locative ‘1pl.sg./pl.’ and ‘1pl.du.’ suffixes.

- (4) *Tengmiaqs*                      *nanva-mek*                      *teng’-uq.*  
 goose.ABS.sg.                      lake-ABM.sg.                      fly-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The goose flew off from the lake.’

The temporal use (‘since’) of the ablative-modalis case is very frequent with the appositional verb *ayag-luni* (3Rsg. ‘leaving, starting’; § 51.2.2). The starting point may often be expressed with a nominal clause as in (6):

- (5) a. [*unug-mek*                      *ayag-luni*]                      *ellallir-tuq*  
 night-ABM.sg.                      start-APP.3Rsg.                      rain-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it has been raining since last night’ – cosubordinate clause
- b. [*ciulia-mteñek*                      *ayag-luni*]                      *qaner-yaraq*  
 ancestor-ABM.1pl.sg.                      start-APP.3Rsg.                      speak-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 ‘adage since the time of our ancestors’ – adnominal verb.
- (6) *yu-urte-llr-aneK*    *ayag-luni*  
 person-become-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.                      go-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘since he was born’.

The use of the ablative NP co-occurring with *ayag-luni* is reflected in the construction of the quasi-connective marker  $|-x̣aanỵ-(ny-)|$  ‘since’ (§ 50.11.3) and the precessive-connective marker  $|-_1pailỵ-(ny-)|$  ‘since before’ (§ 50.4.1) with the ablative-modal case following (either with or without person):

*means / instruments / materials:*

- (7) *Qulit-uq*                      *maraya-mek*.  
wash.hair-IND.3sg.    mud-ABM.sg.  
‘She is washing (her own) hair with (using, by means of) mud.’  
– an old custom among the people.
- (8) *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *uut-aanga*                      *puqla-mek*.  
woman-REL.sg.    burn-IND.3sg. 1sg.    heat-ABM.sg.  
‘The woman burned me with hot water.’
- (9) *Ena<sub>S</sub>*                      *qanikca-mek*                      *pi-li-ar-u-uq*.  
house.ABS.sg.    snow-ABM.sg.    thing-make-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
‘The house is made of snow (lit. is one that is made of).’

*topic of speech activity:*

- (10) *Qalart-uq*                      *allragni-mek*.  
talk-IND.3sg.    last.year-ABM.sg.  
‘He is talking about last year.’
- (11) *Ca-mek*                      *qanaa-cetek?*  
what-ABM.sg.    talk-INT.2du.  
‘What are you (du.) talking about?’

### 1.1. In adjunctional phrases

An ablative-case NP may form an adjunctional phrase:

- (12) *nanva-mek*                      *kui-cuar*  
lake-ABM.sg.                      river-small.ABS.sg.  
‘a small river (flowing) from the lake’.
- (13) *ellallug-mek* /                      *kuig-mek*                      *emeq*  
rain-ABM.sg.                      river-ABM.sg.                      water.ABS.sg.  
‘rain water/water from the river’.

## 2. Syntactic

There are two important syntactic functions of the ablative-modalis case. Note that the syntactic (demoted) modalis in the first (2.1) has a function similar to the verb-internal position to which a stranded modalis case constituent is linked (2.2). The third one (2.3) in pseudo-passive constructions is a derivative of the second.

### 2.1. Demoted NPs

The ablative-modalis case marks an NP that is demoted from the absolutive-case status due to valency modification (incl. detransitivization): See § 30.3.1 for “type 1” demotion (vs. “type 2”).

In the following intransitive construction (antipassives; § 34.1.1), unlike the corresponding transitive one given for comparison, the action of the subject is in focus and the demoted P/T, which is backgrounded, is indefinite or only partly affected. The secundative T is subject to obligatory demotion (§ 35.1.1) (just like the indirective R to obligatory allative demotion, § 35.1.2).

The absolutive and the ablative-modalis could not be necessarily considered the contrast between definiteness and indefiniteness. Proper names and possessed nouns can occur in the ablative-modalis, as in (15). Some semantic difference between an absolutive NP and its demoted ablative-modal one is suggested in the glosses of (16) and (20).

- (14) *Angun*<sub>S</sub>      *taquka-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>      *tanger-tuq*.  
 man.ABS.sg.    bear-ABM.sg.      see-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man sees *a/the* bear.’ – parenthesized (P) for demoted NP.
- cf. *Angute-m*<sub>A</sub>      *taqukaq*<sub>P</sub>      *tangrr-aa*.  
 man-REL.sg.    bear.ABS.sg.      see-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man sees *the* bear.’
- (15) [*Im-na*      *arnaq*]<sub>S</sub>      *kenk-i-uq*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.    woman.ABS.sg.    love-APS-IND.3sg.  
*Nuk’a-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 name-ABM.sg.  
 ‘That(ANP) woman loves Nuk’aq.’
- cf. [*Im-u-m*      *arna-m*]<sub>A</sub>      *kenk-aa*  
 that-EX-REL.sg.    woman-REL.sg.    love-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*Nuk’aq*<sub>P</sub>.  
 name.ABS.sg.

- (16) *Ciku-i-gaanga* *qalta-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 freeze-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. bucket-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My bucket froze on me [E<sub>ADV</sub>].’  
 – trivalent adversative with the bivalent P demoted, which possibly implies that the content of the bucket is not known, as contrasted with the absolutive NP in:  
 cf. *ciku-a* *qalta-qa*<sub>P</sub>  
 freeze-IND.3sg.3sg. bucket-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my bucket froze (lit. it [A<sub>IMP</sub>] froze my bucket)’  
 – impersonal patientive (bivalent), with P argument NP in the absolutive case (§ 34.3.1), possibly the content being known.
- (17) [*Angun* *qaya-u-yuk-i-lria*  
 man.ABS.sg. kayak-be-A'.think-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*u-u-mek*<sub>(P)</sub><sub>P</sub> *aata-k-aqa*.  
 this-EX-ABM.sg. Fa-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man who thinks this to be a kayak is my father.’  
 – *u-u-mek* because of the antipassive construction from the transitive complex verb:  
 cf. *qaya-u-yuk-aa* *u-na*<sub>P</sub>  
 kayak-be-A'.think-IND.3sg.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘he thinks this to be a kayak’.
- (18) [[*Ag-lua*] *tua=i* *tangercec-amku*], [*na-ken*  
 go.over-APP.1sg. and show-CNNbc.1sg.3sg. where-ABL  
*pi-llru-llr-ane*<sub>(T)</sub> *ap-lua*.  
 get-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg. ask-APP.1sg.  
 ‘And when I went over and showed it, she asked me [R] where it came from.’ [AKKL 178]  
 – with secundative ditransitive |*apic*-| ‘to ask’.

A demoted NP in the ablative-modalis may be a possessed one:

- (19) *Ner'-uq* *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> / *neqe-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 eat-IND.3sg. food-ABM.sg. / ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He is eating food / is eating (from) my food.’  
 cf. *Ner'-aa* *neqa*<sub>P</sub> / *neqe-ka*<sub>P</sub>.  
 eat-IND.3sg.3sg. food.ABS.sg. / food-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He is eating food / my food.’

- (20) *Ene-kuci-vnek*<sub>(P)</sub>                      *kipuc-iiq-ua*.  
 house-kind-ABM.2sg.sg.    buy-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I shall buy the house that is the same kind as yours.’ (which house/  
 where it is not yet known or decided).  
 cf. *Ene-kuci-n<sub>P</sub>*                              *kipuc-iiq-aqa*.  
 house-kind-ABS.2sg.sg.    buy-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I shall buy the house that is the same kind as yours.’ (already known  
 or decided).  
 – May also be written as *Ne-k’uci-vnek/-n* (§ 3.6.4). See § 18.2.1.3  
 for *|-kuciŷ-|*.

Interrogative sentences also feature the same kind of difference:

- (21) *Ca-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>                              *ner-yug-cit?*  
 what-ABM.sg.                      eat-DES-INT.2sg.  
 ‘What (kind of food) do you (sg.) want to eat?’  
 – The food may not be currently visible, while in the following it may  
 be visible.  
 cf. *Ca<sub>P</sub>*    *ner-yug-ciu?*  
 what.ABS.sg.                      eat-DES-INT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘What/which (specific) food do you (sg.) want to eat?’

*With (suffix-derived) antipassives* (§ 34.2.2, § 39.6) – from patientive  
 monotransitive P or secundative ditransitive T:

- (22) *Iir-i-ug*                                  *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>.                      ‘He hides *a* fish.’  
 hide-APS-IND.3sg.    fish-ABM.sg.  
 cf. *Iir-aa*                                      *neqa<sub>P</sub>*.                      ‘He hides *the* fish.’  
 hide-IND.3sg.3sg.    fish.ABS.sg.
- (23) *Pic-u-yuk-i-lria*                              *irnia-minek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 hunt-well-A’.think-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg.    child-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘One who thinks his (own) child to be a successful hunter.’

Relative clauses and complement clauses may stand in the ablative-modalis  
 case:

- (24) *Pi-yu-lle-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>                              *kipuy-ute-llru-anga*.  
 do-DES-VNrl-ABM.1sg.sg.    buy-E<sub>APL</sub>-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘He bought me [E] what I wanted.’  
 cf. *pi-yu-l-qa* (do-DES-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘what I wanted’.



- (25) *Quya-unga* [tang-**lle-mnek** *irniar-penek*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 thankful-IND.1sg. see-VNnm-ABM.1sg.sg. child-ABM.2sg.sg.  
 ‘I’m glad to see / have seen your (sg.) child.’  
 cf. *tange-llru-unga* *irniar-penuk*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 see-PST-IND.1sg. child-ABM.2sg.sg.  
 ‘I saw your (sg.) child.’

## 2.2. Stranded NPs

The other use of the ablative-modalis case is connected with nominal derivation, that is, denominalization (of nominal phrases by NV suffixe) and nominal elaboration (by NN; § 18).

i) *From denominal verbs* – with an NV suffix such as *|-ŋq̄x-* ‘to have’, *|+tanq̄x-* ‘there be’, *|+ŋit-* ‘to have no’, *|-ŋ\*ĩ-* ‘to get, realize’ (§ 38.1), *|+tuŷ-* ‘to eat’ (§ 38.2), *|-li-* ‘to make (for)’, *|-liuŷ-* ‘to work on/with’ (§ 38.3), NV(VV) *|+cuŷ-* ‘want’ (43), etc. But cf. vi) below.

From the denominal possessive verb *angya-ngqer-tuq* ‘he has a boat’ below, for instance, the nominal stem *angyar-* may be put outside the verb as a kind of “discharging 放出” (§ 2-fn. 15, § 4.2.5.5.2), when the expletive nominal stem *|pi-* ‘one, thing; (glossed as) PI’ takes the place of the nominal stem as a prop for the verb and the “stranded” NP is inflected with the ablative-modalis case, thereby making the denominal verb periphrastic as in (b) of the following pair:

- (26) a. *angya-ngqer-tuq* *anguns*  
 boat-have-IND.3sg. man.ABS.sg.  
 b. *angya-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> *pi-ngqer-tuq* *anguns*  
 boat-ABM.sg. PI-have-IND.3sg. man.ABS.sg.

The stranded NP (‘boat’), distinct as it is from a demoted NP (§ 25.2.1), is also indicated by parenthesized (P) as an oblique for intransitive verbs. See Sadock (1980: 307) for *|pi-* in his “noun incorporation”.

ii) *Appositive phrases*: A nominal phrase as a whole cannot be verbalized because stem compounding is not allowed in the language (a single stem is the rule in a word either for a noun or a verb); the language cannot allow two nominals together to be compounded. If the X of ‘he has X’ is not a single nominal (like ‘boat’) but an appositive phrase (§ 16.1) consisting of two (or more) nominals like *nutaraq angyaq* ‘new boat’ (both ABS.sg.), *malru-k angya-k* ‘two boats’ (both ABS.du.), only one of the nominals is verbalized, and the other

nominal is stranded in the ablative-modalis, since the ‘new boat’ cannot be verbalized by a NV suffix into \**nutarar-angya-ngqer-tuq* ‘he has a new boat’.

Thus, the language has three possibilities for ‘the man has a new boat’ – either one of the two nominals remaining in the verb (as the verb head), with the other stranded, as in (a, b) below, or the prop *[pi-]* taking the place of two nominals in the verb, with the two nominals stranded, as in (c):

- (27) *nutaraq angyaq*  
 new.ABS.sg. boat.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the/a new boat’  
 – which may be verbalized (e.g. ‘the man has a new boat’) in one of the following ways depending upon what nominal is to be the head of the verb. (c) is the *[pi-]* construction:
- a. *nutara-mek*<sub>(p)</sub> *angya-ngqer-tuq* *angun*<sub>s</sub>  
 new-ABM.sg. boat-have-IND.3sg. man.ABS.sg.
- b. *angya-mek*<sub>(p)</sub> *nutara-ngqer-tuq* *angun*<sub>s</sub>  
 boat-ABM.sg. new-have-IND.3sg. man.ABS.sg.
- c. [*nutara-mek angya-mek*]<sub>(p)</sub> *pi-ngqer-tuq* *angun*<sub>s</sub>  
 new-ABM.sg. boat-ABM.sg. PI-have-IND.3sg. man.ABS.sg.
- (28) *Cali=qaa* [*alla-mek yurar-arka-mek*]<sub>(p)</sub>  
 more QST another-ABM.sg. dance-VNrl.FUT-ABM.sg.  
*pi-tangqer-tuq?*  
 PI-there.be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Is there somebody else who is waiting to dance?’ [QNMC 298–299]

The following example has the original appositive phrase *alla qaner-kaq* ‘another (future) utterance’ is verbalized, with one nominal – appositive stem *[ala-]* (§ 11.1) – stranded:

- (29) *alla-mek*<sub>(p)</sub> *qaner-ka-it-ua*  
 another-ABM.sg. say-FUT-PRV-IND.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t have any other thing to say’ [HS]

The number category of an appositive phrase is more likely retained in the stranded NP, as in the following from the compared phrase:

- (30) *malru-gnek*<sub>(p)</sub> *aca-ngqer-tua*  
 two-ABM.du. FaSi-have-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I have two aunts’
- cf. *malru-k* *aci-i-k*  
 two-ABS.du. FaSi-EV-ABS.du.  
 ‘two aunts’.

A stranded NP may be from a relative clause with external head, which is appositive in nature:

- (31) a. *Qate-llria-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>                      *atku-li-uq*  
 ‘white-VNrl-ABM.sg.                      parka-make-IND.3sg.  
 ‘she is making a white parka’
- b. *Ene-li-at*                                      *pi-yug-yaaqe-llr-ane*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 house-make-IND.3pl.3sg.                      do-DES-but-VNrl-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*ak’a-nun.*  
 long.time-ALL  
 ‘They are building him a house he had wanted to have for a long time.’  
 – where *pi-* is not a prop, but a pro-verb for *ene-li-* ‘to build a house’, and the underlying *ene pi-yug-yaaqe-lleq* ‘the house which (he) wanted to have (though in vain)’ is a relative clause, i.e. an appositive phrase.

Likewise, a tri-nominal appositive phrase such as the following can also have either nominal denominalized, with the other two stranded (a, b, c) in the ablative-modalis, or even the whole phrase due to the prop *|pi-|* (d) – illustrated here with the construction of (temporary) existence with *|+tangqX-|* ‘there be (now)’:

- (32)                      *atauciq*                      *kipusvik*                      *ange-lria*  
 one.ABS.sg.                      store.ABS.sg.                      big-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘one big store’ – verbalized into: (a) through (c) ‘there is one big store (in our village)’
- a. *Nuna-mni*                                      *kipusvig-tangqer-tuq*                      [*atauci-mek*  
 land-LOC.1sg.sg.                      store-there.be-IND.3sg.                      one-ABM.sg.  
*ange-lria-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 big-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 – which would be most common
- b. *Nuna-mni*                                      *ataucir-tangqer-tuq*                      [*ange-lria-mek*  
 land-LOC.1sg.sg.                      one-there.be-IND.3sg.                      big-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
*kipusvig-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 store-ABM.sg.  
 – focus on ‘oneness’
- c. *Nuna-mni*                                      *ange-lriar-tangqer-tuq*                      [*atauci-mek*  
 land-LOC.1sg.sg.                      big-VNrl-there.be-IND.3sg.                      one-ABM.sg.  
*kipusvig-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 store-ABM.sg.  
 – focus on ‘bigness’

- d. *Nuna-mni* ***pi-tangqer-tuq*** [*atauci-mek*  
land-LOC.1sg.sg. PI-there.be-IND.3sg. one-ABM.sg.  
*ange-lria-mek* *kipusvig-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
big-VNrl-ABM.sg. store-ABM.sg.
- (33) *Linta-li* [*lumarra-mek* *kavir-li-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
ribbon-make.OPT.2sg. cloth-ABM.sg. red-one-ABM.sg.  
'Make a ribbon out of red cloth!'
- cf. appositive phrase *'lintaq lumarraq kavir-liq* 'red cloth ribbon' – all three in ABS.sg.

In the following, the relative-case NP ('my father's) requires *|pi-|*, yielding a tri-nominal appositive phrase and its verbalization:

- (34) a. *atauciq* *kipusvik* [*aata-ma*<sub>G</sub> ***pi-a***]  
one.ABS.sg. store.ABS.sg. Fa-REL.1sg.sg. thing-ABS.3sg.sg.  
'one store that is my father's'
- b. *kipusvig-tangqe-la-llru-uq* [*atauci-mek* [*aata-ma*<sub>G</sub>  
store-there.be-CUS-PST-IND.3sg. one-ABM.sg. Fa-REL.1sg.sg.  
***pi-anek***]]<sub>(P)</sub>  
thing-ABM.3sg.sg.  
'there used to be one store that was my father's'.

A denominalized clause with a stranded noun construction may be embedded into a complex transitive verb (§ 40):

- (35) [*Kumlaner-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub> ***pi-ngqerr-suk-luta***  
frozen.fish-ABM thing-have-A'.think-APP.1pl.  
*aqvac-aaq-uq*.  
come.get-but-IND.3sg.  
'Thinking he thought we [P] had frozen fish, he came to get some (to no avail).'

iii) *Nominal elaboration with |-ly-|*: CAY has one nominal elaborating suffix NN *|-ly-|/+taly-* 'one having' (§ 20.1.2) that behaves exactly the same as denominalizing suffixes such as *|-ŋqɣ-|/+tanqɣ-* 'to have' above.

- (36) *malru-gnek* *nulia-lek*  
two-ABM.du. Wi-one.having.ABS.sg.  
'the one with two wives' [QQLK]
- cf. appositive phrase *malru-k nulia-k* 'two wives' – both in ABS.du.

Likewise, in the following, the noun |*iḡniaḡ*-| ‘child’ is expanded with the NN suffix into *irnia-lek* ‘one having a child’, which can co-occur with its appositive noun *arnaq* ‘woman’, as in (a), but can be replaced by the prop |*pi*-|, as in (b), with the standard nominal in the ablative-modalis:

- (37) a. *irnia-lek*                      *arnaq*                      ≐  
           child-having.ABS.sg. woman.ABS.sg.  
       b. [*irnia-mek*            *pi-lek*]                      *arnaq*  
           child-ABM.sg.    PI-having.ABS.sg.    woman.ABS.sg.  
           ‘a woman having a child’

An appositive phrase such as *asriḡ irniaḡ* ‘mischievous child’ can also be elaborated with the same suffix in two ways, as in the following (a), with one of the phrases stranded, or (b), with the whole phrase stranded in favor of the prop nominal |*pi*-|. Both mean ‘a woman having a mischievous child’, although (a) may be preferred to (b):

- (38) a. [*asri-mek*                      *irnia-lek*]                      *arnaq*  
           naughty-ABM.sg. child-having.ABS.sg.    woman.ABS.sg.  
       b. [[*asri-mek*                      *irnia-mek*]                      *pi-lek*]  
           naughty-ABM.sg. child-having.ABM.sg.    PI-having.ABS.sg.  
           *arnaq*  
           woman.ABS.sg.

iv) *Coordinate phrases*: The same pattern of stranding occurs with coordinate phrases (§ 16.2) as with appositive phrases above. A bi-nominal coordinate phrase with the enclitic =*llu* ‘and’ (§ 54-v), *wall’u* ‘or’ (§ 53.5-vi), etc. – such as ‘a boat and a kayak’ as in the following – may be denominalized into a clause by either one nominal stranded, as in (a), or with the whole coordinate phrase stranded through the prop |*pi*-|, as in (b), both meaning ‘he has a boat and a kayak’:

- (39)            *angyaq*                      *kayaq=llu*  
           boat.ABS.sg.            kayak.ABS.sg.=and  
       a. *angya-ngqer-tuq*            *kaya-mek=llu*  
           boat-have-IND.3sg. kayak-ABG.sg.=and  
       b. [*angya-mek*                      *kaya-mek=llu*]<sub>(P)</sub>                      *pi-ngqer-tuq*  
           boat-have-IND.3sg. kayak-ABG.sg.=and            PI-have-IND.3sg.

- (40) a. *Neqerrlug-tu-llru-ukut*            *kemeg-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>=*llu*.  
           dried.fish-eat-PST-IND.1pl. meat-ABM.sg.=and  
           ‘We ate some dried fish and meat.’ – with NV |*tuḡ*-| ‘to eat’ given in  
           i), cf. (42a) below  
           – *neqerrluk kemek=llu* ‘some dried fish’

- b. *Kemeg-tu-llru-uq* [neqerrlug-mek neq-mek=llu]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 meat-eat-PST-IND.3sg. dried.fish-ABM.sg. fish-ABM.sg.=and  
 ‘He ate some meat, dried fish, and fish.’<sup>1</sup>  
 – *kemek neqerrluk neqa=llu* ‘some meat, dried fish and fish’:

See § 53(96) for a stranding from a *wall’u* coordinate phrase.

The nominal elaborating suffix NN *|-ly-* ‘one having’ again shows the same pattern as the denominalizing suffix *|-ŋq̄x-* ‘to have’, thus providing two constructions for ‘one having a boat and a kayak’, with or without the prop *|pi-*:

- (41) a. *angya-lek* *kaya-mek=llu*  
 boat-having.ABS.sg. kayak-ABM.sg.=and  
 b. [*angya-mek* *kaya-mek=llu*] *pi-lek*  
 boat-having.ABS.sg. kayak-ABM.sg.=and PI-having.ABS.sg

v) *Attributive phrases*: There is another type of nominal phrase, i.e. attributive (§ 16.2), to be considered. With the same NV *|+tuŷ-* ‘to eat’ as in the following example, (a) is quasi-equivalent to the compared synthetic word. By contrast, (b) from the compared attributive phrase *nayi-i-m neqi-i* may be very rare *if ever* in GCAY. As a matter of fact, I have not succeeded in finding a speaker who accepts (b), though further inquiry may be needed.<sup>2</sup>

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1. This may sound redundant to an outsider, but the traditional Yup’ik diet consists of fish to a degree perhaps unequalled by any other ethnic group on earth. See the adages given at § 27(17) and elsewhere. At even a modest Yupik meal today, one will commonly find several fish dishes prepared in a variety of ways, both dried and otherwise.

2. Given the following construction from Cup’ik (Woodbury: 2002: 87 – e.g. 30):

*maklagaa-m* *citug-tur-tuq*  
 bearded.seal-REL.sg. nail-eat-IND.3sg. [glossing mine]

‘he is eating fermented bearded seal flipper’ – see also § 27-fn. 4

- cf. *maklagaa-m* *citui* ‘fermented bearded seal flipper’  
 bearded.seal-REL.sg. nail-ABS.3sg.pl.

as well as the Greenlandic parallel given by Sadock (1980: 309, 2003: 47; object incorporation of possession) and Woodbury and Sadock (1986: 236):

*tuntu-p / puissi-p* *neqi-tor-punga* ‘I eat reindeer/seal(’s) meat’.  
 reindeer/seal REL.sg. meat-eat-IND.1sg. [glossing mine]

With GCAY replacement of Cup’ik *citug-* with *|situmquŷ-* ~ *|citumquŷ-* ‘seal flipper’ (VN *|-quŷ-*; § 19.2), the attributive phrase (a) is well-accepted by GCAY speakers, but not (b) verbalization:

- a. *maklag-a-m<sub>G</sub>* *s/cetumqu(rr)-a* ‘fermented bearded seal flipper’  
 bearded.seal-EV-REL.sg. flipper-ABS.3sg.sg.

- b. \**maklaga-a-m setumqur-tur-tuq*.

- (42) a. *nayir-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*                      *pi-tur-tuq*  
 seal-ABM.sg.                      PI-eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is eating seal’  
 ≡ *nayir-tur-tuq* (though some speakers may take the periphrastic construction as baby talk)
- b. ?? *nayi-i-m*                      *neq-tur-tuq*  
 seal-EV-REL.sg.                      meat-eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is eating seal meat’
- cf. *nayi-i-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *neqi-i*  
 seal-EV-REL.sg.                      meat-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘seal meat (seal’s meat)’ – attributive phrase.

vi) *Other NV suffixes*: Some other NV suffixes than those given in i) do not have stranded NPs in the ablative-modalis. These include i) relational verbs – see § 37.5.1 – and ii) the very productive locative verb NV  $|+m(\dot{i})t-|$  /  $|+[person]n(\dot{i})t-|$  ‘to be at (X’s -)’ (morphologically idiosyncratic phrasal compound; § 2.3).

As stated (§ 4.3-v), a locative verb is not a primarily monomorphic suffix, but a contraction of the (possibly possessed) locative marker. Thus, the semantic head of the following three-party appositional phrase below can be denominalized by the NV suffix, with the other partners of the phrase remaining in the locative, as in (a) – see § 27.8 for more details – but not ablative-modalis stranding, thus the ungrammatical (b):

- (43)      *ma-n’a*                      *ak’allaq*                      *ena*  
 this-EX-ABS.sg.                      old.one.ABS.sg.                      house.ABS.sg.  
 ‘this old house’
- a. [*ma-t’u-mi*                      *ak’allar-mi*]                      *ene-met-ua*  
 this-EX-LOC.sg.                      old.one-LOC.sg.                      house-be.at-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I live in this house (here) / I live in the old house’
- b. \* [*mat’u-mek*                      *ak’allar-mek*]                      *ene-met-ua*.

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To express the same verbal content (‘he ate fermented seal flipper’), those GCAY speakers I consulted can only use one of the two common intransitive constructions below:

- a. *maklag-mek*                      *s/cetumqur-tur-tuq*  
 bearded.seal-ABM.sg.                      flipper-eat-IND.3sg.
- b. [*maklaga-a-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *s/cetumqu(rr)-anek*]                      *ner’-uq*  
 bearded.seal-EV-REL.sg.                      flipper-ABM.3sg.sg.                      eat-IND.3sg.  
 – verb stem  $|ni\dot{y}i-|$  ‘to eat’ instead of  $|+tu\dot{y}-|$ .

## 2.3. Ablative-modalis for pseudo-passives

i) CAY has a passive-like, i.e. “pseudo-passive”, VVsm suffix and its derived suffix. They are the adversative  $|+(s)ci(u)\dot{y}-|$  ‘to be –ed to the detriment of’ and  $|+(s)ci\dot{y}\gamma a\dot{y}-|$  ‘to be easily –ed’ (§ 34.1.2.2-i, § 39.3.1; the latter with VVm  $|+_1ca\dot{y}-|$ ), with suffix-initial /s/ deleted after consonants. The apparent A argument to be demoted in passivization is peculiarly marked with the ablative-modalis rather than with the allative (though less commonly it is, depending on some speakers/dialects). This kind of peculiarity or fluctuation of the case alignment is not shared by any other suffixes or any other case assignments in CAY. The general rule of demoting A argument (as in passivization) is into the allative (§ 26.2, § 30.2.3), which would suggest the pseudo-passivity of construction.

The marker  $|+(s)ci(u)\dot{y}-|$  itself is actually a composite suffix derived from the agentive/active relativizer VNrl  $|+(s)t-|$  ‘one who’ (with the same /s/ deletion; § 17.5.1), followed by the two NV suffixes  $|-li\dot{y}-|$  ‘to supply’ or  $|-liu\dot{y}-|$  ‘to work on, deal with, play around’ (§ 38.3). The relativizer  $|+(s)t-|$  is characterized by /Vl/ deletion with the optional (but very common) change of /t/ into /c/ after the deletion, i.e.  $|+(s)t-li-| > |+(s)ci-|$  (see § 38.3 for  $|-li-|$  suffixes;), which is responsible for the composition-initial /s)ci/ in the marker.

It would seem that the following example with adversative VV  $|+(s)ciu\dot{y}-|$  has semantically become a passive construction, with the stranded NP (‘bear’) in the oblique case, i.e. ablative-modalis or allative serving as the agent:

- (44)  $[Im-na \quad \quad \quad angun]_s \quad \quad \quad nere-sciiu-llru-llini-uq$   
 that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. eat-PPS-PST-EVD-IND.3sg.  
*taquka-mek/ taquka-mun.*  
 bear-ABM.sg. / -ALL.sg.  
 ‘(Now I see) that man (you know) was eaten by the bear.’  
 cf.  $\{nere-sta = taqukaq\}-liur-tuq$  ‘he dealt-with-eater, i.e. bear’  
 eat-er bear deal.with-IND.3sg.

Many examples are given in § 34.1.2.2-i and § 39.3.1:

But compare the preceding with the following, which has the homonymous verb but with a lexicalized noun *neresta* ‘louse’ (from ‘one who eats’) but the ablative-modalis *taquka-mek* as a beneficiary:

- (45) *neresc-iu-llru-llini-uq* *taquka-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 louse-work.on-PST-EVD.IND.3sg. bear-ABM.sg.  
 ‘(now I see) he is picking out (i.e. working on) lice for the bear (from its head)’  
 –  $|ni\dot{y}i-st-|$  ‘louse’ (eat-er). The ablative-modalis cannot be replaced by the allative (*\*taquka-mun*).



- cf. *nerest-liur-aa*                      *taqukaq*  
 louse-work.on-IND.3sg.3sg.      bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘he is working on lice for the bear’

A denominal verb with  $|-liu\dot{y}-|$  may have a beneficiary P argument, which is also the case with  $|-li-|$  ‘to make (for)’.

From the all above it would be safe to assume that the ostensible passive marker  $|(s)ci(u)\dot{y}-|$  is actually a composite suffix of the active relativizer  $|+st-|$  with the NV  $|-liu\dot{y}-|$  or  $|-liy\dot{-}|$ , and what may seem an agent NP in passive construction is simply an ablative-modalis demotion from an appositive phrase. More examples with the two markers are provided in § 39.3.

However, it would be difficult to assume that the allative marking may be an innovation based upon the reinterpretation of the semantic agent NP as a real A argument. It may reflect the same the allative demotion of the agent concerning complex verb (transitive 2) construction, etc. (§ 26.2-iii, § 40.2.1).

ii) There are at least one pseudo-passive composite suffix from the agentive/active relativizer followed by  $|-\eta q\dot{x}-|$  ‘to have’ (§ 38.1) (cf. the transitive relational verb NVrv  $|-k\dot{i}-|$  ‘to have – as?’; § 37.2). The former  $|+st\eta q\dot{i}\dot{y}-|$  may sometimes be glossed as (benefactive) passive ‘to be –ed for s.o.’, but it seems to have no variation in cases and occurs with the ablative-modalis marking (but not with the allative) for the superficial A argument NP:

- (46)      [*Im-na*                      *angun*]<sub>s</sub>              *ikayur-tengqer-tuq*  
           that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.      man.ABS.sg.      help-PPS-IND.3sg.  
           *pani-minek / ?pani-minun.*  
           Da-ABM.3Rsg.sg./-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
           ‘That man (you know) is being helped by his (own) daughter.
- (47)      *kit-u-mek*                      *nakleke-stengqer-paka-nrir-luni*  
           who-EX-ABM.sg.      pity-PPS-ITS-no.more-APP.3sg.  
           ‘no one took pity on her any longer; she was pitied on by *nobody* any longer’. [QQLK 66–68]

Compare with the second composition  $|+(s)tiki-|$ :

- (48) a. *Kenke-stengqer-tua* *Agayut-mek / ?\*Agayut-mun.*  
 love-PPS-IND.1sg.      God-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I am loved by God.’  
 – with the ablative-modalis for a stranded NP from the appositive phrase:  
*kenke-ste-ka* ‘one who loves me’ (love-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.) *Agayun*  
 ‘God that loves me’,

quasi-equivalent to:

- b. *Kenke-stek-aqa* *Agayun*<sub>P</sub>.  
 love-VNrl.have.as-IND.1sg.3sg. God.ABS.sg.  
 lit. 'I have God as the one who loves (me).'

In (b), however, the noun for 'God' is in P function (but not agent), naturally suggesting that there can be no reason for (a) to have an NP in the allative.

### 3. Composite ablative |±niŋniŋ|

Location nouns, demonstratives, and particles of time may end with the composite |±niŋniŋ| ('since'; § 11.3.2-v) as a variant of the ablative marker (not modalis), thus the variation *-nek* ~ *-nirnek*, with little (if any) difference, reflecting only individual preference. The composite form does not carry the modalis function:

- (49) *Kiag-**nek*** ~ *Kiag-**nirnek*** *tange-qsait-amken*.  
 summer-ABL see-not.yet-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I haven't seen you (sg.) since last summer.'  
 cf. (56) *kiag-mi-nirnek* below.
- (50) *Akwauga-**nirnek*** – *Akwaugar-**nek*** *qanir-tu'r-tuq*.  
 yesterday-ABL snow-CNT-IND.3sg.  
 'It has been snowing since yesterday.'
- (51) ***Wak'**-nirnek* *kuingi-nqigg-ngait-ua*.  
 here-ABL smoke-again-will.not-IND.1sg.  
 'I will not smoke from now on.'  
 – see (58) for *w-a-k'*-nirnek.

Third person inflection may be found with composite ablative words, accompanied by external NP for the person in G function. The attributive phrases form an adverbial adjunct to the *naullu-gua* in (52), and an adjunct phrase (cf. § 25.1.2 below) with *yu-u-ci-qa* in (53):

- (52) [*Tama-tu-**m*** / *Yuurte-ll-**ma***<sub>G</sub>  
 that-EX-REL.sg. / born-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.  
*nalli-**inek*** ~ *nalli-**inirnek***] *naulluu-gua*.  
 time-ABL.3sg. sick-IND.1sg.  
 'I have been sick since that time / since I was born (since the time of my being born).'

The ablative |±niŷniŷ| is also attested after the location noun |*nah-*| (§ 11.2.1) ‘(corresponding) time/space’ with third person inflection to indicate the point of time reference:

- (53) [*tan’gurra-u-ll-ma<sub>G</sub>*            *nalli-inek* ~ *nalli-inirnek*]  
 boy-be-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg. time-ABL.3sg.  
*yu-u-ci-qa*  
 person-be-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my life since I was a boy (from the time of my being a boy)  
 – adjunctional phrase
- cf. [*tan’gurra-u-ll-ma<sub>G</sub>*            *nalli-ini*]  
 boy-be-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg. time-LOC.3sg.  
*yu-u-llr-at*  
 person-be-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘their life when I was a boy (at the time of my being a boy)’.
- (54) [[*Anchorage-aa-mete-ll-ma<sub>G</sub>*            *nalli-inirnek*] *ayag-lua*]  
 place-LNK-be.at-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg. time-ABL.3sg. start-APP.1sg.  
*naulluu-gua*.  
 sick-IND.1sg.  
 ‘Since (starting from) the time I was in Anchorage, I am sick.’

i) The composite marker |±niŷniŷ| has the peculiarity of following what seems to be the locative marker |+*mi*| and the ablative |+*kin*| (§ 12.3.1), both having time significance:

- (55) *Agayuner-mi-nirnek*            *ellallir-tu’r-tuq*.  
 Sunday-LOC-ABL            rain-CNT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It has been raining constantly since Sunday.’
- (56) *Kiag-mi-nirnek*            *maurlu-qa<sub>s</sub>*            *mingq-ura-lar-tuq*.  
 summer-LOC-ABL    GrMo-ABS.1sg.sg.    sew-CNT-HAB-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Ever since (when it was) summer my grandmother has always sewn.’  
 – LOC *kiag-mi* ‘in summer (not in winter)’ vs. *kiak* ‘(last) summer’ /  
 ABL *kiag-nek* ‘since last summer’.
- (57) *Naulluu-llru-uq*, [*ma-a-ni=llu*            *naulluu-vig-mi*]  
 sick-PST-IND.3sg. this-EX-LOC=and sick-place-LOC.sg.  
*uita-llru-huni*            *January-5-aar-mi-nirnek*.  
 stay-PST-APP.3Rsg.    month-day-LNK-LOC-ABL  
 ‘She was sick, and she has been staying here in the hospital since  
 January 5th.’

Finally the composite ablative is attested also after adverbial demonstratives (marked by *-a-*) in the ablative case (*-ken*):

- (58)     ***w-a-k'-nirnek***                   ‘from now on’  
           ***ma-a-ke-nirnek***               ‘from now on’  
           ***tu-a-ke-nirnek***               ‘from that time on’  
           – from *w-a-ken*, *ma-a-ken*, and *tu-a-ken*; see § 12(82).

The function of the locative or ablative marker in this combination (§ 27.9.3) is still to be explored, as it remains a question as to whether this is a kind of double-case marking concerning the locative followed by a comparative or an equalis marking (§ 27.9.1 and § 27.9.2), or utterly distinct from it.

## Chapter 26

### Allative case

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The allative case marked by  $|+mun| \sim |+nun|$  also covers both syntactic and peripheral (adverbial) functions.

The allative case for adverbial demonstratives (§ 12.3.1), which is marked by  $|+vit| \sim |+tmun|$ , has the latter function only and occurs marginally in nominals other than adverbial demonstratives like (3) *nege-tmun* below.

Note beforehand that the allative case is syntactically crucial to complex verb constructions (as well as simplex; § 40) as is elaborated in § 26.2-i.

#### 1. Direction, etc.

The adverbial or locational function of the allative case is to encode a direction or destination in its wide sense (incl. purpose, beneficiary, addressee, relation, recipient, as well as the time).

- (1) *Ayag-yug-tua*            [*nanva-m<sub>G</sub>*            *aki-anun*].  
 go-DES-IND.1sg.    lake-REL.sg.            other.side-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘I want to go *to* the other side of the lake.’
- (2) [*Ma-n’a*            *uita-l-qa*]<sub>s</sub>  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.    stay-VNm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*egmir-ciq-uq*                            *kiag-pag-mun*.  
 go.toward-FUT-IND.3sg.    summer-AUG-ALL.sg.  
 ‘My stay this time will reach *to* the long summer.’  
 – *egmir-* is better than *tekic-*.

Many other motion verbs like  $|ani-|$  ‘to go out’,  $|it̃y-|$  ‘to enter’ also occur with an allative NP. See § 12(1) for general verbs of motion closely correlated with demonstratives.

Non-motion verbs are illustrated with the allative case:

- (3) *nege-tmun kana-uma-luteng imarpig-mun*  
 north-ALL. bend.forward-STT-APP.3Rpl. sea-ALL.sg.  
 ‘they (mountain skirts) are bent down/inclined northward *into* the sea’ [FASM 5]  
 – with two allative NPs, though detached, being in apposition.

- (4) *May’aq<sub>s</sub> arna-mun kuvya-uq.*  
 p.n.ABS.sg. woman-ALL.sg. fish-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Mayaq is drift-netting *for* the woman.’

- (5) *Maa=i amller-e-t<sub>s</sub> [nutara-mun*  
 today many-EV-ABS.pl. new.one-ALL.sg.  
*agayu-ma-ci-mun] ukve-ng-ut.*  
 worship-STT-VNnm-ALL.sg. believe-INC-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Many people have begun to believe in a new religion these days.’

i) *Very often with a relational verb* – intransitive (6) and transitive (7), indicating a relation (‘to be something to/for’), including inchoative relational verbs (§ 37) as well as (13) and (17) below:

- (6) a. *Arna-mun piste-ngu-uq.*  
 woman-ALL.sg. servant-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is a servant *for* a/the woman.’
- b. *Niite-lleq<sub>s</sub> elpek-suute-ngu-uq teme-mun.*  
 hear-VNnm.ABS.sg. feel-INS-be-IND.3sg. body-ALL.sg.  
 ‘Hearing is a sense of (to) the body.’ = § 18(239)  
 – *ilpiki-* ‘to become aware, sense’, compare § 13(43b) with *elpek-i-ssuun* (with APS) which is preferred by some speakers
- c. *[Tau-na nukalpiaq]<sub>s</sub> aata-u-guq*  
 that-EX.ABS.3sg. hunter.ABS.sg. Fa-be-IND.3sg.  
*[wang-nun ayagyua-mun].*  
 1sg.-ALL young-ALL.sg.  
 ‘That good hunter is a father *to* me, a young man.’
- d. *Qip’ner-miu-nun tuqu-t-a-u-guq.*  
 pl.n.-inhabitant-ALL.pl. die-A-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is killed *for the sake of* Kipnuk people.’  
 – note that *Qip’ner-miu-nun* does not indicate the agent of killing, that is, not \*‘by Kipnuk people’.
- (7) *Qapilaa-nun assigta-q-luki.*  
 mussel-ALL.pl. container-have.as-APP.3pl.  
 ‘(We) use them (grass baskets) as containers for mussels (lit. have them as containers for mussels).’ [JS]

ii) *To mark a recipient (R) argument* – for indirective ditransitives (§ 35.1.2), either primary (7) or derived with applicative |+(u)c-| (8) (§ 39), in contrast with secundative R marked with the absolutive case. As a syntactic phenomena, this topic will be recapitulated in § 26.2-ii:

- (8) *Nasvag-aa*                      *nuussi-ni<sub>T</sub>*                      *qetunra-mnun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 show-IND.3sg.3sg.    knife-ABS.3Rsg.sg.    So-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He showed his (own) knife to my son.’
- (9) a. *Aya-ut-aa*                      *emeq<sub>T</sub>*                      *ellii-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 go-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.    water.ABS.sg.    3sg.-ALL.  
 ‘He took the water to her.’
- b. *Kalika-mun<sub>(R=E)</sub>*                      *at-qa<sub>T</sub>*  
 paper-ALL.sg.                      name-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*iga-ut-aqa* ~ *alnga-ut-aqa* [Y.HBC]  
 write.down-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am writing my name on the paper.’
- c. *U-na<sub>T</sub>*                      *cimi-uc-ug-aqa*                      *tau-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.    change-E<sub>APL</sub>-DES-IND.1sg.3sg.    that-ALL.sg.  
 ‘I would like to exchange this for that.’  
 – with argument rearrangement by *-ut-* from secundative *cimir-yug-aqa* (change-DES-IND.1sg.3sg.).

iii) *Replaced with another oblique case* – limited to certain verbs, possibly yielding some measurable difference, but the variations and the choice may depend upon individual preference (or areas?).

*with ablative-modalis:*

- (10) *Cali-ner-mun* ≡ *-mek*                      *qessa-ug*  
 work-VNnm-ALL / -ABM.sg.    lazy-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is lazy towards / about working; does not want to work.’
- (11) *Pingayu-nun* ≡ *-nek*                      *kaug-tuq*  
 three-ALL.pl. / -ABM.pl.    strike-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is three o’clock.’

See also § 11.3.2-vi for the fluctuation between the two cases in connection with the verb |*kauy-*| ‘to strike’ when referring to the hour (‘o’clock’) by a numeral or the ignorative stem of number (|*qavciy-*| ‘how many’).

See § 26.2-iv below for the variation of the two cases for agent-like NPs in pseudo-passives.

- with locative case:*
- (12) *Nalluyagute-llini-anka kalika-t<sub>p</sub>*  
 forget-EVD-IND.1sg.3pl. paper-ABM.pl.  
*ene-mnun* ≡ *-mni*.  
 house-ALL.1sg.sg. / -LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I left (forgot) my paper *at* my house.’
- (13) *Assir-i-llr-a<sub>s</sub> atawa-u-guq*  
 good-INC-VN-ABS.3sg.sg. blessing-be-IND.3sg.  
*aana-mni* ≡ *aana-mnun*.  
 Mo-LOC.1sg.sg. / -ALL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘It is a blessing [in relation] to my mother that he became well.’  
 ≡ *Assir-i-llr-a<sub>p</sub> atawa-k-aa*  
 good-INC-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. blessing-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*aana-ma<sub>A</sub>*.  
 Mo-REL.1sg.sg.  
 – note the co-occurrence with relational verbs mentioned in i).
- (14) *Ner-yartur-luk ene-mni* ≡ *ene-mnun*.  
 eat-go.to-OPT.1du. house-LOC.1sg.sg. / -ALL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Let’s (go and) eat *at* my house.’

Note that the allative-case *ene-mnun* would be appropriate only when the utterance is made away from the house (with some distance *to* the house), while in the following the locative NPs could not be replaced by the allative since the speaker is speaking in his own (‘my’) house:

- (15) *Ner-luk ma-a-ni* / [*mat’-u-mi ene-mni*].  
 eat-OPT.1du. here-EX-LOC this-EX-LOC.sg. house-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Let’s eat here / *at* my house.’

Again in the following, the allative case can be replaced with the locative, though with the important difference that the locative form emphasizes the involvement/commitment of the teachers (‘as far as those who are teachers are concerned’ in § 27.2), while the allative one implies a mere relation (‘to’).

- (16) *Elitnaur-i-ste-ngu-lria-nun* ≡ *-ni* *mikelngu-u-t*  
 teach-APS-ANT-be-PTP-ALL / -LOC.sg. child-EV-ABS.pl.  
*incirya-lrii-t assi-lar-tut*.  
 obedient-VNrl-ABS.pl. good-GEN-IND.3pl.  
 ‘For those who are teachers, children who are well-behaved are good.’





## 1.1. In adjunctional phrases

An allative-case NP may form an adjunctional phrase (§ 16.5) where it is adnominal rather than adverbial.

- (21) *cikiun*                *aana-mnun*  
 gift.ABS.sg.    Mo-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘gift to my mother’
- cf. *cikir-aa*                      *aana-ka<sub>R</sub>*                      *acsa-nek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 give-IND.3sg.3sg.    Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.    berry-ABM.pl.  
 ‘she gave berries to my mother’– secundative ditransitive.
- (22) *acsa-li-tuli-mun*    *tumyara-cuar*  
 berry-have.lots-one.that-ALL.sg.    trail-small.ABS.sg.  
 ‘little trail to the place that normally has lots of berries’  
 – VN |-tuli-| (§ 19.1).

## 1.2. Allative-derived verbalizations

There are two NV suffixes |+*tmuyc*-| and |+*viyc*-| ‘to go to/toward’ derived from the allative case marker |+*mun*| and |+*vit*| (specific to adverbial demonstratives; § 12.3.1). See § 12.4 and § 38.5 for illustrations.

## 2. Syntactic

In contrast with the ablative-modalis case for an NP demoted from the absolutive-case status (type 1 demotion), the syntactic function of the allative case is to mark an NP which is demoted from the relative-case status (type 2 demotion) in connection with the valency reduction. However, in CAY, an NP in A function is hardly external within a simplex verb, unlike other Eskimo languages:<sup>1</sup>

1. In speaking of the “passive rule” for Inuktitut (Eastern Canadian Eskimo), for instance, Kalmár (1979: 56) gives:

*qimmig*        *taku-yau-vuq*        *arnar-mut*    ‘the dog was seen by a/the woman’  
 dog.ABS.sg.    see-PSV-IND.3sg.    woman-ALL.sg. [glosses mine]

See Nowak (2008: 56) and Spalding (1969, 1979) for Inuktitut and Lowe (1985) for Inuvialuktun of Western Arctic Canada as well; West Greenlandic uses ablative case for a passive agent (§ 5.1.1.2 and fn. 2).

By contrast, GCAY does have a pseudo-passive verb |*taŋx*-| ‘to see’ with the composite suffix |+*ya-u*-| (§ 17.7.2, § 39.3.2) accompanied by allative NP (apart

Demotion to the allative case of an NP in A function appears only in:

- i) complex transitives with VVcm (§ 40)
- ii) indirective ditransitives (showing the same type of demotion as the preceding; § 35.1.2)
- iii) complement clauses (§ 18.1.2.2)
- iv) pseudo-passive constructions.

Their mutual relations are obvious, as is demonstrated, e.g., in § 39.7.3 for i) and ii) by analyzing a VVsm composite suffix for argument rearrangement.

i) *In complex transitives*: When a simplex verb construction (23) is embedded into the complex transitive clause (23a) by means of VVcm |+sqi-| ‘A’ ask – to’, the inner A (‘bear’) is demoted to the allative-case status (*taquka-mun*) and the upper-clause A occurs in the relative case. (25a) is detransitivized or passivized into (25b) by agent deletion, with the demoted A retained intact:

- (23) *Taquka-m<sub>A</sub> neqa<sub>P</sub> ner-aa.*  
 bear-REL.sg. fish.ABS.sg. eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The bear is eating the fish.’  
 – \*?? *ner-uma-**uq** taquka-**mun*** (cf. § 34.1.2.1 for TAM-sensitive passives; see also fn. 1)
- a. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub> nere-**sq-aa** neqa<sub>P</sub>*  
 woman-REL.sg. eat-A’.ask-IND.3sg.3sg. fish.ABS.sg.  
*taquka-**mun**<sub>(A)</sub>.*  
 bear-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The woman asks/tells the bear to eat the fish.’
- b. *Neqa<sub>S(A=P)</sub> nere-**sq-uq** taquka-**mun**<sub>(A)</sub>.*  
 fish.ABS.sg. eat-A’.ask-IND.3sg. bear-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The fish asks/wants itself to be eaten by the bear.’
- (24) *Kenke-**sq-uma-uq** [tamalku-**itnun** yug-**nun**]<sub>(A)</sub>.*  
 love-A’.ask-CNT-IND.3sg. all-ALL.3pl. person-ALL.pl.  
 ‘She is anxious to be loved by everyone (all the persons).’
- (25) a. *Nulir-**qe-vka-llru-aqa** Paul-a-**mun**<sub>(A)</sub>.*  
 wife-have.as-A’.let-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. p.n.-LNK-ALL.sg.  
 ‘I let Paul take her as his wife.’

---

from pseudo-passives). Note the allative NP in (6d) which is not a passive agent for the pseudo-passive *tuqu-t-a-u-guq* ‘he is killed’ (*tuqu-t-* ‘to kill’; die-A). Another type of pseudo-passive verbs with |+*(s)ci(u)ŷ-*| (§ 39.3.1), however, is used with an allative NP by some speakers (instead of an ablative-modal NP by others).

- b. *Nulir-qe-vka-llu-unga* *Paul-a-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>.  
 ‘I let myself [A'=P] be Paul’s wife.’

- (26) *Qanrus-nga ciin nulir-qe-vka-llru-ni-luten*  
 tell-OPT.2sg. why wife-have.as-A'.let-PST-VNnm-A'.say-APP.2sg.  
*Paul-a-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>.  
 p.n.-LNK-ALL.sg.  
 ‘Tell me why you (sg.) let Paul take you as a wife.’ – cf. (30).

A complex-verb construction with the inner A argument in the allative case is relativized:

- (27) [*Arna-m*<sub>G(A)</sub> *taquka-mun*<sub>(A)</sub> *nere-sqe-llr-a*]  
 woman-REL.sg. bear-ALL.sg. eat-A'.ask-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*neqa*.  
 fish.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The fish that the woman asked the bear to eat.’

ii) *Indirective ditransitives*: As illustrated in § 26.1-ii, the recipient (R) argument for indirective ditransitives either primary or derived is marked by the allative case (as contrasted with R for secundative ditransitives marked by the absolutive case) as obligatory demotion, cf. § 25.2.1 for secundative T. The contrast in case alignment concerning ditransitive verbs comes from R demotion (or T demotion to the ablative-modalis) according to the agreement hierarchy – see § 30.2.3 and § 35.1.

iii) *In complement clauses*: A nominal clause complement clause formed by VNnm  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  and  $|-l\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.1.2.2) may have a primarily original relative-case NP demoted to the allative by many speakers (which, however, may sound clumsy for other speakers). This shows a parallel pattern with a complex transitive construction:

- (28) *Nallu-unga* [*neqa*<sub>P</sub> *taquka-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>]  
 ignorant-IND.1sg. fish.ABS.sg. bear-ALL.sg.  
*nere-llru-ci-ane*k].  
 eat-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘I don’t know whether a/the bear ate the fish / the fish was eaten by a/the bear.’
- cf. *Neqa*<sub>P</sub> *taquka-m*<sub>A</sub> *nere-llru-a*.  
 fish.ABS.sg. bear-REL.sg. eat-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The bear ate the fish after killing it.’

- (29) *Nallu-nrit-aqa* [elpe-nun kenk-uci-qa].  
 ignorant-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg. 2sg.-ALL love-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I know that you (sg.) love me / I am loved by you.’ [Hinz 1944: 25]<sup>2</sup>  
 – while no such simplex verb construction is grammatical, as \**elpe-nun kenk-ua*.(IND.1sg.) intending to mean ‘I am loved by you (sg.)’.
- (30) *Qanrus-nga ciin nulir-qe-vka-llru-cir-penek*<sub>(T)</sub>  
 tell-OPT.1sg. why wife-have.as-A'.let-PST-VNnm-ABM.2sg.sg.  
*Paul-a-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>.  
 p.n.-LNK-ALL.sg.  
 ‘Tell me why you (sg.) let Paul take you as a wife.’ – cf. (26).
- (31) *taquka-mun*<sub>(A)</sub> *tange-llr-a* *nukalpia-m*<sub>G=P</sub>  
 bear-ALL.sg. see-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. hunter-REL.sg.  
 ‘that the bear saw the great hunter / the great hunter being seen by the bear’; cf. § 18(10) ‘that the great hunter saw a bear’.  
 – compare this passive nominalization with the pseudo-passive in (33) below (under subsection iv), which is adversative and shows variation in case marking.

iv) *Semantic agent of pseudo-passives*: Pseudo-passives formed by the composite VVsm suffix |+sci(u)ȳ-| ‘to be –ed to the detriment (benefit) of,’ have the semantic agent demoted into the allative by some speakers, but into the ablative-modalis by many Kuskokwim speakers, as mentioned in (§ 34.1.2.2-i, § 39.3.1). It may be difficult to see which is an older pattern or a new innovation brought about by reinterpretation of the ‘agent’ (§ 25.2.3).

- (32) *Aana-mnun* / *aana-mnek* *nunur-cir-tua*.  
 Mo-ALL.1sg.sg. / -ABM.1sg.sg. scold-get.ed-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I was scolded by my mother.’  
 cf. *Aana-ma*<sub>A</sub> *nunur-aanga*.  
 Mo-REL.1sg.sg. scold-get.ed-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘My mother scolded me.’

- 
2. Hinz (same page) notably gives also the following simplex verb construction as a passive sentence with the allative (his “terminalis”) designating the doer (or agent):  
*kass'alugpia-nun angllu-ma-ut*  
 Russian-ALL.pl. submerge-PRF-IND.3pl.  
 ‘they have been baptized by the Russians’,  
 – this allative NP, being in a simplex verb construction (TAM-sensitive passive), may not be commonly accepted. Translation by Hinz (GCAY orthography and glosses mine).

- (33) *taquka-mun / taquka-mek*    *tanger-ciu-llr-a*  
 bear-ALL.sg. / -ABM.sg.    see-be.ed-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nukalpia-m<sub>G=P</sub>*  
 hunter-REL.sg.  
 ‘that the great hunter was seen by the bear (on him)’  
 – compare this, having the adversative (rather than benefactive) VVsm *|-sci(u)ȳ-* ‘to be –ed’, with the passive (31) above, which has no applicative connotation (‘on/for’). They have the same case alignment except that the allative cannot be replaced in (31) by the ablative-modalis.

Finally it is to be repeated that the A argument (as marked in the relative case) in the following simplex verb clause cannot be demoted to the allative, while an agent NP is ‘passivized’ to occur in the allative in complex transitives and in complementations (above):

- (34) \**Arnaq*                      *assik-uuq / tanger-tuuq*                      *angut-mun.*  
 woman.ABS.sg.                      like/see-IND.3sg.                      man-ALL.sg.  
 – intending ‘the woman is loved / was seen by the man’  
 cf. *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *arnaqp*                      *assik-aa / tangrr-aa.*  
 man-REL.sg.                      woman.ABS.sg.                      like-/see-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man likes/sees the woman.’

However, it would be difficult to decide whether the use of the allative is a recent innovation or reflects the same allative demotion of the agent in the other agent-related constructions.

## Chapter 27

### Locative case

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The locative case covers a variety of functions indicating spatial and temporal location (§ 27.1), involvement/judgement (§ 27.2), standard of comparison (§ 27.3), adjuncts to a first or a second person referent (§ 27.4), vocative (§ 27.5), and exclamative (§ 27.6). It is also of interest to note two peculiarities: a locative case marking to be contracted with an (obsolete) verb stem of existence, yielding an idiosyncratic phrasal compound (NV ‘to be at/in [someone’s]’; § 27.8), and a locative case marking that can be followed by another oblique case (§ 27.9).

The singular locative marker  $|+mi|$  is phonologically identical with the enclitic  $|=mi|$  ‘how about?’ (§ 54) as in the (a) single word vs. (b) (non-enclitic) bound phrase in the following:

- (1) a. *Mamteriller-mi* ‘at Bethel; than Bethel’  
 b. *Mamteriller=**mi** ~ Mamterilleq=**mi*** ‘how about Bethel?’

Beside the velar variation before the enclitic (*q* vs. *r*) in (b) but not before the inflectional suffix in (a), there is one particular case in which the two are distinguished prosodically, that is, after a monosyllabic word before the two boundaries (§ 8.4.2-iii), as in the following:

- (2) a. *ca-mi* (what-LOC.sg.) /cami/ ‘in what’  
 b. *ca=**mi*** (what.ABS.sg.=ENC) /càmmi/ ‘then what’.

**1. Location, etc.**

The primary function of the locative case is to mark an NP indicating location ('in, at, with, among'), whether spatial or temporal, at which an action/event/fact occurs.

It is very often the case that nouns indicating location are accompanied by one of the highly differentiated demonstrative words (§ 12), either nominal (in apposition with the noun) or adverbial, and by an adjunct in G function for specifying the point of reference – e.g. 'across the river down there (i.e. the river's area across, down there)'. This specification of the point of reference applies to the ablative and the allative case as well.

i) *Spatial*:

- (3) a. *ingri-ni*                      *pissur-luni*  
 mountain-LOC.pl.    hunt-APP.3Rsg.  
 'he is) hunting in the mountains'
- b. *kica-uma-luni*                      [*kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *pai-ngani*]  
 anchor-STT-APP.3Rpl.    river-EV-REL.sg.    mouth-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 'it (boat) is anchored at the river mouth'
- (4)    *Cali-uq*                      *wang-ni*.  
 work-IND.3sg.                      1sg.-LOC  
 'He is working (here) with me.'  
 – see (13a) for another reading.
- (5)    [*Tallima-ni*    *irnia-mni*]                      [*ciuqli-i-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 five-LOC.pl.    child-LOC.1sg.pl.    first-EV-REL.sg.  
*tungi-i*]<sub>s</sub>                      *arna-u-guq*.  
 second-ABS.3sg.sg.                      woman-be-IND.3sg.  
 'The second one of my five children is a girl (lit. *among* my five children, the one next of the first is a woman).'

Often used for location nouns (§ 11.2) – typically accompanied by a relative-case (genitive) NP, thereby forming an attributive phrase:

- (6) a. *kui-cuara-a-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *aki-ani*  
 river-small-EV-REL.sg.    opposite-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 'on the other side of the small river'
- b. [*Aca-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *cani-ani*]                      *aqui-guq*.  
 FaSi-REL.3Rsg.sg.    side-LOC.3sg.sg.    play-IND.3sg.  
 'He is playing beside his (own) aunt.'



ii) *Temporal*: a point or a duration of time depending upon the aspectual feature of the verb concerned:

- (7) a. *Erner-mi aya-llru-uq.* ‘He left today.’ – specific time  
day-LOC.sg. leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
b. *Erner-mi cellalli-llru-uq.* ‘It rained today.’ – ‘for a while’  
day-LOC.sg. rain-PST-IND.3sg.
- (8) *uksuar-mi* ‘in the fall’ – *uksuaq* ‘fall, last fall’  
*uksuar-yartu-mi* ‘during the early fall’ – |+caɣtuɣ-| ‘early’, cf. (71).
- (9) *Cauyar-vig-mi Quyayara-lar-tut.*  
drum-VNrl-LOC.sg. do.thanksgiving-CUS-IND.3pl.  
‘They have Thanksgiving in November (lit. time for drumming).’  
(§ 11.3.5)  
– *cauyar-vig-mi* can also be spatial (‘in the *place* for drumming’);  
*Quyayarar-* as a verbal use of the expanded and lexicalized stem  
(*quya-yarar-* thank-VNnm).
- (10) *Pirtug-mi ciin ayag-a-sit?*  
snowstorm-LOC.sg. why move-around-INT.2sg.  
‘Why are you (sg.) travelling around during the snowstorm?’

Used in appositive phrases:

- (11) [*Ta-u-mi erner-mi*] *nat-murte-llru-uq*  
that-EX-LOC.sg. day-LOC.sg. somewhere-go-PST-IND.3sg.  
*tamar-luni.*  
lose-APP.3Rsg.  
‘He went somewhere on that day and got lost.’  
– *tamar-luni* as a cosubordinate clause of time (§ 51.2.2).

See § 26.1-iii for some verbs which show fluctuation between the allative- and the locative-case adjuncts.

The monovalent |*ɨkic-*| ‘to arrive’ commonly occurs with an allative NP for the goal, e.g. § 33 (33a), but with the locative NP in the following, which pertains to time:

- (12) *tekic-iiq-uq Amiraayaar-mi*  
arrive-FUT-IND.3sg. september-LOC.sg.  
‘we will be coming to the month of September’  
– but not \**tekit-ua* (arrive-IND.1sg.) *Mamteriller-mi*, which should be  
*Mamteriller-mun* (ALL.sg.) ‘I arrived at Bethel’. Compare also with:

- cf. *tekic-iiq-uq* [u-na akiliute-ka]<sub>s</sub>  
 arrive-FUT-IND.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. payment-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*Amiraayaar-mun*  
 month-ALL.sg.  
 ‘this payment of mine will last until September’  
 – also ‘supply of food, oil, wood’, for instance, can be the subject.

The temporal use of the locative case is obviously reflected as a constituent of a number of connective-moods markers – ‘when’ (§ 50.8), ‘after’ (§ 50.11.2), and ‘as soon as’ (§ 50.11.4).

iii) *With a verb stem in the relative case*: A somewhat unique function of the locative case is attested at least with two nominals *uga-ani* and *nalli-ini* to express reason/cause and time respectively (e.g. ‘because of my being hungry’, ‘at the time of moltive’), which is illustrated in § 24.3.1.

## 2. Relation/concern/judgement

Semantically more diffuse than the use for location, the case is attested to indicate something along the lines of relation, concern, judgement, opinion – ‘for one’s (own) part, as far as one is concerned, in one’s perception/thinking, from one’s point of view, etc.’.

The following sentence (13a), repeated from (4), may have the second reading (location):

- (13) a. *Cali-uq* *wang-ni.*  
 work-IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 i. ‘He is working *for my part, in my thinking, as far as I am concerned/involved (whatever you or others maythink).*’  
 ii. ‘He is working (here) at/with me.’ = (4)
- b. *Cali-nrit-uq* *wang-ni.*  
 work-NEG-IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 ‘He/It (e.g. machine) is not working *in my thinking.*’
- (14) *Angalku-u-vke-nata* *wangkut-ni* [yurar-yara-t  
 shaman-be-NEG-APP.1pl. 1pl.-LOC dance-way-REL.pl.  
*kangi-it]*<sub>s</sub> *taring-uma-narqe-nrit-ut.*  
 meanings-ABS.3pl.pl. understand-PRF-A<sub>IMP</sub>-NEG-IND.3pl.  
 ‘To us/as far as we are concerned who (when we) are not shamans  
 the meanings of the dances are not fully understood.’

- (15) [Ing-na kass'aq] wang-ni, maaten  
 over.there-EX.ABS.sg. white.man.ABS.sg. 1sg.-LOC then  
 pi-aqa kass'a-u-nril-lini-lria.  
 do-IND.1sg.3sg. white.man-be-NEG-EVD-PTP.3sg.  
 'That one was a white man to me (it looks, I thought he was), but  
 when I saw, he (actually) was not a white man.'  
 – observational construction.

The locative NP of this function is not restricted to personal pronouns of the first person, but can be employed with the other persons, such as *elpe-ni* '2sg.-LOC' and *ellii-ni* '3sg.-LOC' or with common nouns:

- (16) [Neqe-m nere-llr-a]<sub>s</sub> piciryara-u-guq  
 fish-REL.sg. eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. custom-be-IND.3sg.  
 Yup'ig-ni.  
 man-LOC.pl.  
 'Fish eating (eating of fish) is the Yup'ik way of life (the way of life to a Yup'ik).'

A locative-case deverbalized clause with the verb |*tanx-*| 'to see' can have the same function: For instance, *wang-ni* in (13) and (15) is close or roughly equivalent to *tang-lle-mni* 'in my view/seeing' (see-VNnm-LOC.1sg.sg.). Likewise:

- (17) [Ui-ma<sub>G</sub> tange-llr-ani] angun<sub>s</sub>  
 Hu-REL.1sg.sg. see-VNnm-LOC.3sg.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
 assi-llru-uq.  
 good-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'In my husband's view the man was good.'  
 – which also has another reading 'when my husband saw, the man was good' where *tange-llrani* is a contemporative-connective verb (CNNwn.3sg. – § 50.8).

i) In this use of relation, etc., the locative case may be replaced by the allative (§ 26.1-iii), thus *wang-nun* (LOC) for *wang-ni* in (13a-i). Likewise:

- (18) Anirtur-i-lleq<sub>s</sub> qacignarq-uq  
 help-APS-VNnm.ABS.sg. easy-IND.3sg.  
 angalku-u-lria-ni ~ angalku-u-lria-nun.  
 shaman-be-VNrl.-LOC.pl./-ALL.pl.  
 'Helping (people) is easy for those (they, us, you) who are shamans.'

The allative NP, however, does not have any such implication of involvement. The *-u-lria-ni/-mun* is a cyclical expansion (§ 20.4-ii) – cf. *angalku-ni/nun* ‘to/for shamans’. Incidentally, the locative *angalku-u-lriani* can also mean ‘whenever (one is) a shaman’ as a converb (§ 47.6.2).

In the following example as well, the allative case indicates no special relation or concern (‘on my part’), but just a relation (‘relation’ – § 26.1):

- (19) *Wang-nun assi-nru-uq kii-met-leqs.*  
 1sg.-ALL good-CMP-IND.3sg. alone-be.at-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Being alone is better to me.’

The implication of involvement, standards, etc. may lead to the next function of the locative case as a standard of comparison (§ 27.3).

ii) The nominalizers VNnm *|-nỵ-|* (§ 18.3) or VN *|+naỵ-|* ‘one that causes – to’ (*|+nami|?*; § 19.2) with the (singular) locative inflection signify contrariness (to a supposition):

- (20) *Ayag-yuk-ner-mi ak’a aya-ksaite-llini-uten.*  
 go-A'.think-VNnm-LOC.sg. already go-not.yet-EVD-IND.2sg.  
 ‘I thought (in my thinking) you (sg.) left, but you haven’t.’ (surprise)  
 cf. *?ayag-yuk-na-mi.*

- (21) *Ak’a ayag-nami aya-nrit-uten.*  
 already go-NEC.LOC.sg. go-not-IND.2sg.  
 ‘I thought you (sg.) left (despite the time to leave), but you haven’t.’  
 cf. *ayag-ner-mi.*

### 3. Standard of comparison

The locative case marks the standard of comparison in intransitive comparative clauses with the comparative verbs characterized by the index *|-nỵu-|* ~ *|-<sub>1</sub>ṭỵu-|* ‘to be/do more’ (stative) or *|-nỵuỵc-|* ~ *|-<sub>1</sub>ṭỵuỵc-|* ‘to become/come to do more’ (inchoative) – § 18.3.2, § 45.1.1, § 45.3. By contrast, the standard of comparison for transitive comparative clauses characterized by the index *|-nq̣i-|* or *|-niqsayuc-|* ‘to be/become more’ is marked by the relative case as the transitive subject in A function – § 24.2.4, § 45.1.2, § 45.3.

As opposed to (13a) with two readings, the locative-case NP *wang-ni* in the following example characterized by the suffix *-nru-* is the standard of comparison:

- (22) *Cali-nru-uq*                      *wang-ni*.  
 work-CMP- IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 ‘He is working more *than I (do)*.’

Supplied with the suffix *-nru-* originally from the abstract nominalizer and the intransitive relational verb, this is ‘he is working itself *to me, in my viewing/standard*’ (13a) leading to ‘he is working *more than I*’ below. Compare also the following with the one without the index:

- (23) [*Tau-na*                      *angun*]<sub>s</sub>                      *alla-rra-u-nru-uq*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. different-little-be-CMP-IND.3sg.  
*wang-ni*.  
 1sg.-LOC  
 ‘That man is a little bit different *than me*.’  
 cf. [*Tau-na*                      *angun*]<sub>s</sub>                      *alla-rra-u-guq*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. different-little-be-IND.3sg.  
*wang-ni*.  
 1sg.-LOC  
 ‘That man is a little different *to me (in my thinking) / as far as I am concerned*.’

Despite the index, the locative case *wang-ni* in the following cannot naturally be a standard of comparison, given the nature of the comparee (state of one’s life):

- (24) *Wang-ni*    *assi-nru-uq*                      *kiimet-leqs*.  
 1sg.-LOC    good-CMP-IND.3sg    be.alone-VNm.ABS.sg.  
 ‘For my part (*I think, to my perception*), being alone is better.’

The standard of comparison in the locative case can be various kinds of words, including time words:

- (25) *Uumi-mi* / *akwauga-mi*                      *kiircetu-nru-uq*                      *ma-n’a*<sub>s</sub>.  
 recently-/yesterday-LOC.sg.    hot-CMP-IND.3sg.    this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘This place is warmer than a few days ago/yesterday.’

The prop stem of *[pi-]* ‘thing’ (§ 10.3.1) very often occurs as a standard of comparison to avoid repetition of the same nominal as the comparee (like using *pi-vni* to stand in for *qaya-vni* below), thereby yielding some indirectness:

- (26) [*Qaya-qa*                      *un’-a*]<sub>s</sub>                      *assi-nru-uq*  
 kayak-ABS.1sg.sg.    down-EX.ABS.sg.    good-CMP-IND.3sg.  
*pi-vni*.  
 thing-LOC.2sg.sg.  
 ‘My kayak down there is better than yours (sg).’

The locative case as the standard of comparison is also possible with inchoative comparatives (§ 45.3) – thus, the following may have two readings:

- (27) *Alla-rra-u-nrurt-uq* *wang-ni.*  
 different-kind-be-CMP.INC- IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 i. ‘He has changed to be a little different *than me*.’  
 ii. ‘He has changed to be a little different *to me (in my thinking, opinion)*.’  
 cf. *Alla-rra-urt-uq* *wang-ni.*  
 different-little-INC-IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 ‘He has changed a little *to me (in my thinking)*.’

In the following sentence (with inchoative verb), comparison is implicit in the locative case, though there is no index of comparison:

- (28) *Alla(ka)-urt-uq* *allragni-mi.*  
 different.one-INC-IND.3sg. last.year-LOC  
 ‘He has become different *from* last year.’
- (29) *U-na<sub>S</sub> =tang waniwa avaur-taite-llini-lria*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.=see here forget-tend.not-EVD-PTP.3sg.  
*elpe-ceñi.*  
 2pl.-LOC  
 ‘(I now see) this person does not (tend to) forget things (*in contrast to, unlike*) you or people in general (*as you forget*).’  
 – |+*tait*-| ‘to tend not to’ (§ 38.1)

– which is an oft-heard expression. A replacement with the equalis-case form *elpe-ce-cetun* (2-EQL.pl.) in this sentence, however, would yield an opposite meaning ‘(*the same way*) as you do not forget’: See § 29 for the equalis case.

See § 24.2.4; § 45.1.2 for the relative case to mark a standard for transitive comparison, § 18.3.2.1 for the morphology of these composite suffixes as indexes of comparison, and § 45.1.1 and § 45.1.2 for full discussions and illustrations of comparative constructions.

#### 4. Reference to a first or second person argument

As an ergative language, CAY basically marks a core argument NP with the absolutive case (S/P) or the relative (A). But this ergative pattern notably applies only when the argument refers to something/someone belonging to a third person as coded in the verb. By contrast, as mentioned in § 4.1.4.2-iii and § 23-vi, an argument referring to a first or second person, though coded as such in the

verb or in the possessed NP (of attributive phrases), does not generally take either the absolutive or the relative case marking. Instead, the locative case NP is used like an adjunct (Miyaoaka 1985b, 1994a), working like a secondary explanation rather than as direct or objective reference. This could be regarded as a kind of demotion to avoid a syntactic case marking.

This use of the locative case seems to have been little attested in other Eskimo languages.<sup>1</sup> Fortescue (p.c.) thinks that the function specific to the first/second person argument in CAY is of unknown origin. We cannot be certain, however, that this is an innovation in CAY, since more documentation might possibly uncover some vestiges of the same use in other Eskimo dialects. Woodbury (rev.) suggested calling this locative a specialized complementizer or relativizer.

The first person reference by a locative-case NP is first illustrated. The following is a sentence that I recorded during my first fieldwork at Umkumiut (Nelson Island) in 1967, which left me puzzled for many years thereafter:

- (30) *Angute-t<sub>S</sub>*                    *pissur-yar-lar-tut*,                    [[*wangkuta*=llu  
man-ABS.pl.                    hunt-go.to-CUS-IND.3pl.                    1pl.=and  
*arna-ni*]<sub>(S)</sub>                    *manar-yar-aq-luta*                    *iqallua-nek*.  
woman-LOC.pl.                    fish-go.to-CUS-APP.1pl.                    tom.cod-ABM.pl.  
'The men go hunting, and we women go fishing tomcod.' [BL]

Here, the phrasal NP *wangkuta arna-ni* inside the cosubordinate clause refers to the S argument (first person plural) coded in the appositional verb *manar-yar-aq-luta*. The 'woman' referred to in the first person plural pronoun typically occurs in the locative, but hardly in the absolutive (*\*arna-t*), meaning 'we as / in the status/role/situation of being women'. A majority of speakers will not accept the absolutive *\*arna-t* (ABS.pl.) for the locative *arna-ni*, although I am aware of some speakers using the absolutive *wangkuta arna-t* (ABS.pl.) instead

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1. Jacobson's *Practical Grammar* (1995: 394) has a short section titled as 'Localis as Indirect Modifier of Subject', in which he gives the following two, correctly saying that they are related:

- a. *Ma-ku-miu-ni*                    *neq-su-lar-tukut*                    *kuvya-luta*.  
this-EX-inhabitant-LOC.pl.                    fish-hunt-CUS-IND.1pl.                    net.fish-APP.1pl.  
'We local people catch fish by fishing with nets.'
- b. *Asgu-lria-ni*                    *neqliller-put*                    *tallirpi-lirner-met-uq*.  
go.upstream-VNm-LOC.pl./-CNV                    fish.camp-ABS.1pl.                    right-NN-be.at-IND.3sg.  
'To those going upstream our fishcamp (is) on the right-hand side.'

The locative NP *makumiu-ni* in (a), however, is used to refer to the first person plural ('we') coded in the verb *neqsular-tukut*, while *asgu-lria-ni* in (b) is ambiguous as it could either mean 'to/for those going upstream' (*-ni* = *-nun*; cf. § 27.2) or be a converb 'in/whenever going upstream' (§ 47.6).

– and also *May'aq* for (36) *Maya-mi*. But one consultant has judged that the absolutive forms sound ‘very blunt’.

One may be reminded that the first and the second person (free) pronouns have only a single non-oblique “common” form, without distinction between the absolutive and the relative (Table 9, § 13.1) – cf. § 6.1 (hedging).

It is to be added that the personal pronoun has to be in the common case *wangkuta*, and that the locative case *wangkut-ni* (LOC.pl.) cannot replace *arna-ni*.

Note, by contrast, in the following, with a cosubordinate clause *manar-yaraq-luteng*, the S argument NP is expressed by the absolutive *arna-t* (not locative \**arna-ni*) as it does not refer to the first or the second person:

- (31) [Angute-t<sub>S</sub> pissur-yar-lar-tut], [arna-t<sub>S</sub> =llu  
man-ABS.pl. hunt-go.to-CUS-IND.3pl. woman-ABS.pl.=and  
*manar-yar-aq-luteng iqallua-nek*].  
fish-go.to-CUS-APP.3Rpl. tom.cod-ABM.pl.  
‘The men go hunting, and the women go fishing tomcod.’

As long as it is a first or second person referent, the locative case is used to describe not only an S argument but also P, A, and G arguments as in the following, respectively (a), (b), (c) and (d):

- (32) a. [*Wii arna-mi*]<sub>(S)</sub> *assik-i-unga mikelngur-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
1sg. woman-LOC.sg. like-APS-IND.1sg. child-ABM.pl.  
‘I (as) a woman like children.’
- b. [*Wii arna-mi*]<sub>(P)</sub> *assik-aatnga mikelngu-u-t*<sub>A</sub>.  
1sg. woman-LOC.sg. like-IND.3pl.1sg. child-EV-REL.pl.  
‘The children like me (as) a woman.’
- c. [*Wii arna-mi*]<sub>(A)</sub> *assik-anka mikelngu-u-t*<sub>P</sub>.  
1sg. woman-LOC.sg. like-IND.1sg.3pl. child-EV-ABS.pl.  
‘I (as) a woman like the children.’
- d. [*Wii arna-mi*]<sub>(G)</sub> *nut'gal-qa*<sub>S</sub> *assiit-uq*.  
1sg. woman-LOC.sg. shoot-VNnm.ABS.1sg.sg. bad-IND.3sg.  
‘(As) a woman, my shooting is bad.’

The order of *wii* followed by *arna-mi* may be reversed.

The (d) in particular shows the similar function of the locative case to the adnominal appositional clause (§ 16.6-i, § 51.5) as in the following, which is a part of § 18(67):

- (32)' *Yupi-u-luta ciulia-mta*  
Y.-be-APP.1pl. ancestor-REL.1pl.pl.  
‘(of) our ancestors (we) who are Yupiks’.



An examination of the preceding example shows that, though as an adjunct, the locative-case noun agrees in number with the argument coded in the verb. Thus (32a) above is pluralized into (33) with *arna-ni*:

- (33) [*Wangkuta arna-ni*]<sub>(S)</sub> *assik-i-ukut*  
 1pl. woman-LOC.pl. like-APS-IND.3pl.1sg.  
*mikelngur-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 child-ABM.pl.  
 ‘We (as, who are) women like children.’

Likewise with a relativization (34, 35) as well as a personal name (36) – see Woodbury (1985: 77):

- (34) [*Wangkuta wa-ten pi-ta-ri-lria-ni*]<sub>(A)</sub>  
 1pl. here-EQL do-as.as-become-VNrl-LOC.pl.  
 [*ma-ku-t maa=i ak’a ciulia-mta*]<sub>A</sub>  
 this-EX-ABS.pl. now already ancestor-REL.1pl.pl.  
*atu-llr-it*<sub>P</sub> *tangrr-e-sq-uma-apat*.  
 use-VNrl-3pl.pl. see-EV-ask-CNT-IND.1pl.3pl.  
 ‘We, who have reached (are at) this age now, wish them (younger generations) to see these things (artifacts, etc.) our ancestors used long time ago.’ [AKKL 10]
- (35) “*Ataam ullag-kut, [wangkuta alia-yu-lria-ni]*<sub>(A)</sub>  
 again approach-OPT.1pl. 1pl. lonely-EX-VNrl-LOC.pl.  
*neq-k-i-c-iiq-amteggen.*”  
 food-FUT-make-E<sub>APL</sub>-FUT-IND.1pl.2sg.  
 ‘Come back to us, we, who are lonely, will give you food.’ [CAUY 140; Nelson 1899: 369]
- (36) *May’a-mi wii*] *puqiat-ua.* / *puqia-paa!*  
 p.n.-LOC.sg. 1sg. stupid-IND.1sg. / stupid-EXC  
 ‘Me, May’aq, I am stupid. / How stupid I am!’

These sentences with a locative-case phrase with *wii* or *wangkuta* referring to the first person may possibly be pronounced with a pause following, yielding more explanatory emphasis, which leads to a vocative force if used with an optative verb – see § 27.5 for more of vocatives.

- (37) [*Elpet irnia-mni*]<sub>(A)</sub>, *pai-nga!*  
 2sg. child-LOC.1sg.sg. stay.with-OPT.2sg.1sg.  
 ‘You (sg.), my child, stay behind with me!’

A personal pronoun, like *wii~wiinga*, *wangkuta* and *elpet* above, which typically occurs with the adjunct NP, are not necessarily obligatory, however. Thus, *wangkuta* may or may not be added to:

- (38) *Elicariste-ni*<sub>(S)</sub> [Orthography.Book-aq atur-luku]  
 teacher-LOC.pl. book-LNK.ABS.sg. use-APP.3sg.  
*elicari-lar-tukut.*  
 teach-CUS-IND.1pl.  
 ‘We (as) teachers teach (classes) using the Orthography Book [i.e. YEO].’

An NP in the locative case of this kind may frequently be a relative clause, more often than not with the intransitive participial relativizer  $[-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-|+_{1}\eta y\dot{y}^*-]$  (§ 17.2.1), but at least two other kinds of relative clause are attested (43 through 46 below):

- (39) a. [*Kai-lria-mi elpet*]<sub>(S)</sub> *ner-i wa-ken!*  
 hungry-PTP-LOC.sg. 2sg. eat-OPT.2sg. here-ABL  
 ‘You (sg.) who are hungry, eat from here!’  
 b. [*Kai-lria-ni elpeci*]<sub>(S)</sub> *ner-ici wa-ken!*  
 hungry-PTP-LOC.pl. 2pl. eat-OPT.2pl. here-ABL  
 ‘You (pl.) who are hungry, eat from here!’
- (40) a. [*Wii naulluu-lria-mi*]<sub>(A)</sub> *ullag-aqa.*  
 1sg. sick-VNrl-LOC.sg. go.to-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I, who am sick, went to her.’  
 b. [*Wii naulluu-lria-mi*]<sub>(P)</sub> *ullag-aanga.*  
 1sg. sick-VNrl-LOC.sg. go.to-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘She came to me, who is sick.’

Despite exactly the same adjunct in the same locative case (a, b), there can be no ambiguity regarding whether it is the first or the third person who ‘is tall’, because of the person inflection of the predicate (1sg.3sg. vs. 3sg.1sg.) and because the locative form cannot typically refer to the third person (‘she’). The NP may be reversed as *naulluu-lria-mi* ≠ *wii*.

Since a locative form refers either to a first or a second person, it may co-occur with two predicates with different person marked, as is the case with the following (a), while a third person reference is made in the absolutive case instead of the locative case, as in (b):

- (41) a. *Mik-qapiara-lria-mi angli-sciigat-ua. / angli-sciigat-uten.*  
 small-ITS-VNrl-LOC.sg. grow-cannot-IND.1sg./-IND.2sg.  
 ‘I (being very small) / You (being very small) cannot grow.’

- b. *Mik-qapiara-lria*                      *angli-sciigat-uq*.  
 small-ITS-VNrl.ABS.sg.    grow-cannot-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The one who is very small cannot grow.’ – \**Mik-qapiara-lria-mi*.

Although a personal pronoun is not obligatory, it may be preferred and, furthermore, its presence may serve to avoid ambiguity, as when the two core argument NPs are both non-third persons (of the same number). The example § 13(36) is repeated here in which, although i) below would be a more likely reading, possible ambiguity could be avoided by adding the second person pronoun *elpet* for i) and the first person *wii* for ii):

- (42) *Mik-qapiara-lria-mi* ≠ *qaa*                      *elitaqe-rpenga*?  
 small-EMP-PTP-LOC.sg.≠QST    recognize-IND.2sg.1sg.  
 i. ‘Do you (sg.), who are very small, recognize me?’  
 ii. ‘Do you (sg.) recognize me, (I) who am very small?’

While the intransitive participial relativizer *-lriar-/-ngur-* can only occur after monovalent stems, the preterite relativizer *|-ṭỵ-|* (§ 17.3) can occur both after monovalents and bivalents (43), (44), and the transitive participial relativizer *|-<sub>1</sub>ki-|* (§ 17.2.2) can occur only after transitives (45), (46):

- (43) [*Elpet tekite-ller-mi* ≅ *tekite-llria*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 2sg.    arrive-VNrl-LOC.sg.  
*tangerr-su-nrit-amken*.  
 see-DES-NEG-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 ‘You, who arrived, I don’t want to see you.’
- (44) [*Ner-yuk-le-mni*                      (*neq-mek*)                      *elpet*]<sub>(S)</sub>  
 eat-A'.think-VNrl-LOC.1sg.sg.    fish-ABM.sg.    2sg.  
*nere-nrit-lini-uten*.  
 eat-not-EVD-IND.2sg.  
 ‘(I see now) that you (sg.), who I thought ate (fish), have not eaten.’

This is a concatenated relative clause (§ 17.7) derived from a complex transitive *ner-yuk-amken* (eat-A'.think- IND.1sg.2sg.) ‘I thought you (sg.) were eating’. Compare this with the third person referent in *ner-yuke-l-qa<sub>(S)</sub> nere-nrit-lini-uq* ‘(I see now) he, who I thought had eaten, has not eaten’ (with the third person relative clause in the absolutive case, but not in the locative) from *ner-yuk-aqa* (eat-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I thought he was eating’.

- (45) [*Wii assike-k-mini*]<sub>(P)</sub>                      *ullag-aanga*.  
 1sg.    like-VNrl-LOC.3Rsg.sg.                      come-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘He came to me whom he (himself) likes.’

- (46) [*Puqi-ke-ke-mni* *elpet*]<sub>(A)</sub> *tangerr-sug-yaaq-amken.*  
 smart-find-VNrl-LOC.1sg.sg. 2sg. see-DES-POL-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 ‘I’d like to see you (sg.) who I think are smart (articulate, fluent).’

A locative NP in this function can also occur with person inflection (i.e. possessed), as is also the case for any other function of the locative. In the following, the locative-case possessed *arna-ani* ‘his woman’, which refers to the first person singular intransitive subject, is the head of the adnominal-relative phrase with the possessor *tau-m angute-m* ‘of that man’ (an appositive phrase by itself) as its dependent:

- (47) [*Wii* [*arna-ani* [*tau-m* *angute-m*]<sub>G</sub>]]<sub>(S)</sub>  
 1sg. woman-LOC.3sg.sg. that-EX-REL.sg. man-REL.sg.  
*keni-lar-tua.*  
 cook-CUS-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I, that man’s wife, always cook.’

In contrast with all the above (in reference to a first or a second person), the syntactic cases, absolutive and relative, occur in reference to third person arguments. Compare this with (32b) in reference to a first person:

- (48) [*Ellii* *arnaq*]<sub>P</sub> *assik-aat* *mikelngu-u-t<sub>A</sub>.*  
 3sg.ABS woman.ABS.sg. like-IND.3pl.3sg. child-EV-REL.pl.  
 ‘The children like her, the woman.’

In this, the locative *arna-mi* cannot occur, and the phrase with *arnaq* (with the third person pronoun *ellii* added in the absolutive) is a P argument. Again, in contrast with (40b) and (45) above, the following has the relative-case NP in A function (but not a locative-case NP):

- (49) *Sugtu-lrii-m<sub>A</sub>* *ullag-aanga.*  
 tall-VNrl-REL.sg. go.to-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘The one who is tall came to me.’

Similarly, a second person NP in the locative case (a) in the following is compared with a third person in the absolutive (b):

- (50) a. [*Elpet* *taangiq-suil-ngur-mi*]<sub>(S)</sub> *ayuqnia-narq-uten.*  
 2sg. drunk-never-VNrl-LOC.sg. envy-NEC-IND.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.), who never drink, are to be envied.’  
 b. [*Ellii* *taangiq-suil-nguq*]<sub>S</sub> *ayuqnia-narq-uq.*  
 3sg.ABS drunk-never-VNrl.ABS.sg. envy-NEC-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He who never drinks is to be envied.’

- (51) a. *Cikir-liten*                    *atsa-nek*                    [*elpet*  
 give-OPT.3sg.2sg.    berry-ABM.pl.    2sg.  
*iqvar-ciigal-ngur-mi*]<sub>(P)</sub>!  
 pick.berry-cannot-VNrl-LOC.sg.  
 ‘May she (let her) give berries to you (sg.), who cannot pick berries!’
- b. *Cikir-liu*                    *atsa-nek*                    [*ellii*  
 give-OPT.3sg.3sg.    berry-ABM.pl.    3sg.ABS  
*iqvar-ciigal-nguq*]<sub>P</sub>!  
 pick.berry-cannot-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘May she (let her) give berries to the woman who cannot pick berries!’

For all the above, some speakers are heard to use the absolutive marking for a first or second person referent (as mentioned above), like the following, but then typically with a pause intervening. It may have the implication as parenthesized, as opposed to (32b) ‘the children like me, (I) who am *a* woman’ with the locative noun:

- (52) [*Wii ~ Wiinga*(,) *arnaq*],                    *assik-aatnga*  
 1sg.                    woman.ABS.sg.    like-IND.3pl.1sg.  
*mikelngu-u-tA*.  
 child-EV-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The children like me the woman (oddly, surprisingly, specifically).’

The phrase can also occur at the end of the sentence – *assikaatnga mikelnguut, wii~wiinga*(,) *arnaq*.

Compare also the following pair in which the *angun* with the absolutive noun in (b) specifically implies the category of man (distinct from the woman).

- (53) a. *Wii*                    *angut-mi*<sub>(S)</sub>                    *iqva-lar-tua*.  
 1sg.                    man-LOC.sg.                    pick.berry-CUS-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I, a man, go berrypicking.’
- b. [*Wii*(,) *angun*],                    *iqva-lar-tua*.  
 1sg.                    man-ABS.sg.                    pick.berry-CUS-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I, the man, go berrypicking.’  
 – though this may sound odd to some speakers.

Another illustration is given with a second person pronoun:

- (54) [*Elpeci*, *yupi-i-t*],                    *qigcigyu-tu-uci*  
 2pl.                    person-EV-ABS.pl.                    feel.respect-GEN-IND.2pl.  
*alla-nek*.  
 different-ABM.pl.  
 ‘You Yupik people (now I realize) do respect others.’

## 5. Vocative

A locative-case NP serving (less directly) as a nominal adjunct to a second-person core argument (as in the preceding section) may easily receive a vocative reading, typically in the sentence-initial position. The *elpet angut-mi* in the following, which is an adjunct describing ‘you (sg.) as a man’ in (a), is clearly vocative (addressed to the second person) in (b), particularly if it is pronounced with the accent on *angútmi* and a pause thereafter:

- (55) [*Elpet angut-mi*]      *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*      *nere-sq-aaten*.  
 2sg.    man-LOC.sg.    woman-REL.sg.    eat-A'.ask-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 i. ‘The woman wants you (sg.), a man, [(A)] to eat (something).’  
 ii. ‘You (sg.) a man, the woman wants you (sg.) [P=A] to eat (something).’

Paschal Afcan (p.c.) once offered an interesting comment that the speaker may be shy and respectful toward the hearer in uttering one way (a) but may be more direct (and possibly teasing) in the other with the particular accent, suggesting a functional continuity between the two.

Vocativity becomes more apparent when verbs with a second-person referent occur in optative verbs, in addition to the pause mentioned above and illustrated by the following examples. Such vocative forms are more or less formal (cf. § 31):

- (56) [*Elpet angut-mi*],      *niicugni-nga*.  
 2sg.    man-LOC.sg.    listen-OPT.2sg.1sg.  
 ‘You (sg.), man! listen to me.’

Compare this with the following in which the optative verb is marked as an A argument in the third person and the ‘man’ has no vocative force, supporting the relatedness of the locative-case adjunct and the vocative use for the second-person referent:

- (57) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>*      *niicugni-lia*.  
 man-REL.sg.    listen-OPT.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘Let/may the man listen to me!’

Additional examples of vocatives with locative nouns (referring to a second person) are given:

- (58) [*Elpeci mikelngur-ni*], *alík-luku pi-yaquna-ciú*  
 2pl. child-LOC.pl. fear-APP.3sg. do-FUT.PRH-OPT.2pl.3sg.  
 [*tau-na angun*]<sub>P!</sub>  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘You (pl.) children, don’t be afraid of that man!’  
 – see § 51.3-i for a periphrastic construction (cosubordination of an  
 appositional verb with the pro-verb |*pi-*|) with indirectness implied.
- (59) [*Class-a-mni wii*], *tai-ger-ci!*  
 c.-LNK-LOC.1sg.sg. 1sg. come-POL-OPT.2pl.  
 ‘You (pl.) *my* class (i.e. students), come here!’  
 – The first person pronoun *wii* refers to the possessor (‘my’) of the  
 preceding word.
- (60) [*U-ku-u-t tan’gaur-lur-ni*], *nepa-u-naci*  
 this-EX-VOC-pl. boy-LOC.pl. noise-PRV-APP.2pl.  
*pissu-lar-ci!*  
 hunt-CUS-OPT.2pl.  
 ‘You (pl.) boys, hunt quietly (lit. being without noise)!’  
 – see § 31.1 for the vocative doubling in the nominal demonstrative  
*u-ku-u-t* (pl.) and for the use of the demonstrative |*u-*| ‘this’ to refer to a  
 second person. *U-ku-u-t*, however, is not obligatory here, though it  
 gives a calling tone to what would otherwise be a mere vocative ut-  
 terance.

In the Lord’s Prayer, the word for ‘our Father’ assumes the role of the se-  
 cond-person singular pronoun (*elpet* ‘thou’):

- (61) [*Ata-vut qilag-mete-llria-mi*], *atre-n<sub>s</sub>*  
 Fa-ABS.1pl.sg. heaven-be.at-VNrl-LOC.sg. name-ABS.2sg.sg.  
*kencik-nari-li.*  
 praise-time.for-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name!’ [Kuskokwim  
 version]  
 – see § 11.4.1 for the stem |*a(a)ta-*| ‘father’. In this particular prayer,  
 we see that the absolutive *qilag-mete-llria* has indeed been employed  
 recently by some (particularly younger) people.

See § 5.3.3 and § 31 for more varieties of vocative forms.

## 6. Exclamative

A locative-case NP may commonly be used for an addressee in “argument-less exclamations” (§ 5.3.3-i), an exclamative construction that consists of a verb particized by the exclamative suffix VPc  $|+_1paa|$  (which does not inflect) and the enclitic  $|=li|$  often attached to the sentence-initial word (§ 54.2-iv). Since such an exclamative form is morphologically not a verb but a particle (with no person inflection), the addressee of the exclamation cannot reasonably be expressed by an absolutive-case NP and is instead expressed by an oblique one (the locative). See § 52.4.1 for more examples with the VPc  $|+_1paa|$ .

The following vocative sentence is from the intransitive construction, which has an absolutive-case NP as the S argument (‘the weather’):

- (62) *Akerte-mi=lli puqlanir-paa! ~ Puqlanir-paa=lli akerte-mi!*  
 sun-LOC.sg.=EXC warm-VPc.EXC  
 ‘How warm the sun is!’  
 – word order does not matter only if the enclitic  $|=li|$  is attached to a sentence-initial word:  
 cf. *Akerta<sub>S</sub> puqlanir-tuq.* ‘The sun is warm.’  
 sun.ABS.sg. warm-IND.3sg.

The addressee of the exclamation may be a person as in (63a, b), a demonstrative pronoun or an appositive phrase as in (64, 65):

- (63) a. *Elpe-ŭrlur-mi=lli qasper-i-paa!*  
 2sg.-HNR-LOC.=EXC parka-PRV-VPc.EXC  
 ‘You (sg.) poor guy have no parka!’  
 cf. *Elpe-ŭrlu<sub>S</sub> qasper-it-uten.*  
 2sg.-HNR.ABS. parka-PRV-IND.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) poor guy have no parka.’
- b. *Ississaayuuq, aling, elpeni-lli cauyauc-i-qa-yui-paa.*  
 p.n.VOC.sg. oh.my 2sg.LOC=EXC drum-make-ITS-never-EXC  
 ‘Ississaayuuq, gee whiz, you have not composed a song yet.’ [PAIT 324–325]  
 – to a person who is expected to compose a song after his hunting trip.
- (64) *Mat'-u-mi kiirce-paa ~ kiirces-vaa.*  
 this-EX-LOC.sg. hot-VPc.EXC  
 ‘It [weather] is hot here!’  
 cf. *Ma-n'a<sub>S</sub> kiircet-uq.*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. hot-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is hot here; this place is hot!’



- (65) [*Ag-ku-ni=lli*                      *napa-ni*]                      *cungagcess-vaa!*  
 across-EX-LOC.pl.=EXC    tree-LOC.pl.                      green-VPc.EXC  
 ‘How green those trees are across there!’
- cf. [*Ag-ku-t*                              *napa-t*]<sub>s</sub>                      *cungagcet-ut.*  
 across-EX-ABS.pl.=EXC    tree-ABS.pl.                      green-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Those trees across there are green.’

An interrogative-mood verb with intensifying VVa |+<sub>1</sub>pay-| may occur instead of the particle:

- (66) “*Aling, aullu-t’ar!*                      *Kingune-ngqe-llriar-u-lria-ni ≠ tam*  
 oh.my    watch.out-darn                      home-have-VNrl-be-VNrl-LOC.pl. ≠ look  
*elpetek*                      *qunu-naq-saaq-vag-cetek*  
 2.du.                      reluctant.part-but-ITS-INT.2du.  
*yu-n’erra-qegtaara-a-k,*                      *nukalpia-qegtaara-a-k!*”  
 person-new-good-EV-ABS.du.                      young-good-EV-ABS.du.  
 ‘Oh, for goodnes sakes! You two, who probably have a home to go to, are too precious to loose. You are such precious young men!’  
 [QQLK 412–413]

Note that the common relativizer *-lria-* as in (33, 34) shows a nominal cyclical expansion (§ 20.4) here in the locative NP: ‘one who is one who has a home’.

An exclamation with a locative-case NP occurs also very often with an appositional verb (§ 51.6.2). The most commonly attested verb stems in this exclamative construction include |*uuminayqi-*| ‘to be frustrating, irritating, infuriating, bad, bothersome’ and |*atawaqy-*| ‘to be blessed, fortunate, lucky’, both with impersonal agent expansion (necessitative VVsm |+*nayqi-*|, with /y/ deletion before stem-initial consonant; § 39.2):

- (67) [*Uuminaq-vaa=lli*                      *nater-mi*]                      *iqa-luni!*  
 infuriating-EXC=ENC                      floor-LOC.sg.                      dirty-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Darn the floor being dirty!’  
 – with a potential pause after *natermi*.

An absolutive-case NP may occur instead, however, possibly with some difference.

- (68) *Uuminaq-vaa=lli*                      [*nateqs*                      *iqa-luni!*]  
 infuriating-EXC=ENC                      floor.ABS.sg.                      dirty-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Darn, (that) the floor is dirty!’  
 – with a potential pause before *nateq*.

- cf. *Uuminarq-uq* [nateq<sub>s</sub> *iqa-luni*].  
 infuriating-IND.3sg. floor.ABS.sg. dirty-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘It’s bad (bothersome) that the floor is dirty.’
- (69) *Uuminaq-vaa=lli* *yug-ni* / *yu-u-t<sub>s</sub>*  
 infuriating-EXC=ENC person-LOC.pl. / -EV-ABS.pl.  
*nalluyagul-luki* *ca-yara-teng<sub>p</sub>*.  
 forget-APP.3pl. do-VNnm-ABS.3Rpl.pl.  
 ‘It’s a shame for people to forget their (own) customs!’

The difference seems more substantial in the following pair with a relative-case NP in (b):

- (70) a. [*Atawaqer-paa=lli* *aata-vni*] [*navril-luten*  
 fortunate-EXC=ENC Fa-LOC.2sg.sg. lend-APP.2sg.  
*pilugu-u-gminek*]!  
 boot-EV-ABM.3Rsg.du.  
 ‘How good/generous of your father to lend you (sg.) his (own) boots!’
- b. [*Atawaqer-paa=lli*] [*aata-vet<sub>A</sub>* *navril-luten*  
 fortunate-EXC=ENC Fa-REL.2sg.sg. lend-APP.2sg.  
*pilugu-u-gminek*]!  
 boot-EV-ABM.3Rsg.du.  
 ‘How fortunate for you for your father to lend you (sg.) his (own) boots!’

More examples are provided in § 51.6.2.

## 7. In adjectival phrases

Like other oblique cases, a locative-case NP with its (semantic) head forms an adjectival phrase (§ 16.5):

- (71) *Mamterilleq* *uksuar-yartu-mi*  
 pl.n.ABS.3sg.sg. fall-early-LOC.sg.  
 ‘Bethel in the early fall’.
- (72) *ella-rrlug-mi* *ca-yaraq*  
 weather-bad-LOC.sg. do.what-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 ‘what to do during a bad weather/storm’.
- (73) *atawaqa-un* *wang-ni*  
 fortunate-VNrl.ABS.sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 ‘blessing to me’.

8. Locative verbs – NV |*m(i)t-*| ~ |+[*person*]*n(i)t-*|

As stated in § 4.3-v, the locative verb suffix NV |*m(i)t-*| ~ |+[*person*]*n(i)t-*| (‘to be at/in [someone’s]’) is an idiosyncratic composite suffix, responsible for locative verbs as “phrasal compound”, that is clearly a result of contraction of the obsolete verb stem |*it-*| ‘to be, exist’ with the locative marker (|*mi*| ~ |*ni*|), either unpossessed or possessed.

- (74) a. *angya-mt-uq* /áŋ|yamtuq/ ‘she is inside the boat’  
 b. *angya-mnet-uq* /áŋ|yám|nitúq/ ‘she is inside *my* boat’  
 c. *angya-anet-uq* /áŋ|yaá|nitúq/ ‘she is inside *his* boat’.

(a) is a locative verb verbalized from marks the noun stem |*anyáy-*| as unpossessed and the others (b, c) as possessed (cf. *angya-mni* ‘in my boat’ and *angya-ani* ‘in his boat’). See § 18(107) *el-uciq* ‘shape, nature’ for the obsolete stem, with *t > l* (P5i.b).

A locative verb as above is *not* a bound phrase with two free words conjoined, that is, a locative-case noun (like ‘inside a/my/his boat’) and an intransitive verb (like ‘he/she exists’), but forms a single denominal verb. It is clearly articulated and prosodically characterized as such. While this is considered a “mismatch” between the syntactic unit and the morphological unit (§ 2.2.3), native speakers have never been observed to write them separately as two words.

The parenthesized /i/ in |*m(i)t-*| ~ |+[*person*]*n(i)t-*| ‘to be at’ may be subject to syncope by (P18ii.c) but some speakers drop it postprosodically, e.g. /áŋ|yaá|nitúq/ for (c) above. But it is obligatorily detained as in *qaya-met-uq* /qayá|mitúq/ ‘she is inside the kayak’ owing to the syllable sequence:

- (75) a. *qaya-met-uq* /qayá|mitúq/ ‘she is inside the kayak’  
 kayak-be.at-IND.3sg.  
 b. *angya-mt-uq* /áŋ|yamtuq/ ‘she is inside the boat’  
 boat-be.at-IND.3sg.

The final /i/ of the locative marker |*mi*| is contracted with the initial /i/ of the (obsolete) verb stem, with the vowel retained after the lengthened syllable (a) *yá-* but syncopated by (P18ii.c) after the short *ya* in (b). The contrast also holds for their appositional (3Rsg.) forms *qaya-mel-luni* /qayá|miłú|ni/ vs. *angya-ml-luni* /áŋ|yám|łuni/ ‘(he) being in the kayak/boat’.

The verb stem is still used as a productive verb *et’ur-* in Nunivak (Amos and Amos 2003: 121) and to a lesser extent in HBC, where (74) occurs in two separate words with a locative NP:

- (76) a. *angya-mi*                    *et'-uq*                    'she is in the boat'  
           boat-LOC.sg.                be-IND.3sg.  
       b. *angya-mni*                *et'-uq*                    'she is in my boat'  
           boat-LOC.1sg.sg.        be-IND.3sg.  
       c. *angya-ani*                *et'-uq*                    'she is in his boat'.  
           boat-LOC.3sg.sg.        be-IND.3sg.

GCAIY, by contrast, has no independent verb as *\*et'uq* 'it exists' (<|*it+<sub>1</sub>tuŷ*| be-IND.3sg.), though the stem had presumably been used as an independent verb until some time ago.<sup>2</sup>

A locative verb has two components, a nominal and a verbal, and as such it has the anomaly of involving two inflectional elements, that is, the nominal case (locative /m/ from |+*mi*|) with or without person for the first component and the verbal mood and person inflection. Obviously, this violates what is taken as the general morphological rule that inflection is limited to one per word. In spite of this, the contracted composite form is a monovalent (i.e. intransitive) stem which enjoys full derivation and inflection. A locative verb as such is very productive, but it can never be subject to valency increase (i.e. can never be transitive). It is distinguished from a "locative copula" (Dryer 2007: 238–240).

Whatever morphological theories may have to say, CAY locative verbs are morphologically single verbs and are called "phrasal compounds" (§ 2.4-vi, § 4.3-v), as (female) teknonymies are (§ 11.6.2), given the prosodic pattern exactly like single words. They never occur as separate articuli (forms) and are never subject to permutation or separation (intervention by another word).

The locative verb (a) in the following, characterized by the contraction, shows the same prosodic pattern as a very common denominal verb (b) as a single word with NV |-*li*-| 'to make':

- (77) a. *qaya-met-uq*                /qayá:|mituq/                'he is inside a kayak'  
           kayak-be.at-IND.3sg.

2. The stem |*it*-| is attested in the GCAIY deverbal noun *el-uciq* 'shape, condition, intelligence, consciousness' (with VN<sub>nm</sub>; § 18[107]), and the cognate is still retained in Eastern Eskimo [North Alaska] *ittuq*, [Greenland] *ippuq*, etc. (MacLean 1986, Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan 1994: 117, etc.). As a matter of fact the anomalous process of contraction with locative nominal is not unique to CAY. It may date back to the common period of the Eskimo language, since the same process is attested in Eastern Eskimo, at least West Greenlandic and Iñupiaq (North Alaska); as well as in Central Siberian Yupik, another Western Eskimo language, which has developed locative verbs despite with lower degree of contraction than GCAIY according to K. Nagai (2004: 175–176), cf. also Jacobson (2008:121).

– compare with (74a) above for the phonologically conditioned *-met-* vs. *-mt-*

- b. *qaya-li-**uq*** /qayá·|liuq/ ‘he is making a kayak’  
kayak-make-IND.3sg.

Likewise, a CAY “existential” verb, like *qayar-tangqer-tuq* ‘there is a kayak’, “possessive” verb, like *qaya-ngqer-tuq* ‘he has a kayak’, and “deprivative” verb, like *qaya-it-**uq*** ‘he has no kayak’, all in § 38.1, are made by their respective verbalizing suffix (NV; § 38.1). But these are not phrasal compounds, either.

On the other hand, locative verbs as phrasal compounds like (74) are clearly distinct from bound phrases like the following, characterized by the pre-boundary regressive accent on *mi* and *ni*:

- (78) a. *qaya-mi* ≠ *uita-**uq*** /qayá·|mì|uí|tauq/  
kayak-LOC.sg. stay-IND.3sg.  
‘he is staying in the kayak’  
b. *qaya-mni* ≠ *qavar-**tuq*** /qayam|ni(q)|qaváy|tuq/  
kayak-LOC.1sg.sg. sleep-IND.3sg.  
‘he is sleeping inside my kayak’.

– which would single out a ‘kayak’, ‘my kayak’ (not a ‘boat’, ‘their kayak’, etc. for ‘what do you like?’), while (74), for instance, would merely answer the question ‘where is she?’.

A locative verb ending in *-et-**uq*** may co-occur with a possessive relative-case NP *angute-m* and *angya-cuara-a-m* in G function, typically forming a bound phrase (characterized by the pre-boundary regressive accent):

- (79) a. [*angute-m<sub>G</sub>* ≠ *angya-an*]-**et-**uq** /aŋú·|tì(m)|m)áŋ|yaán|tuq/  
man-REL.sg. boat-1sg.-be.at -IND.3sg.  
‘she is inside the man’s boat’.  
b. *Angun<sub>s</sub>* [*angya-cuara-a-m<sub>G</sub>* ≠ *ilu-an*]-**et-**uq**.  
man.ABS.sg. boat-small-EV-REL.sg. inside-LOC.3sg.-be.at-IND.3sg.  
‘The man is inside her small boat.’****

The NP in G function (*angute-m*, *angya-cuara-a-m*) is syntactically linked through the attributive relation with the first component of the locative verb (*an-an-*, *ilu-an-*). But the noun *angute-m* or *angya-cuara-a-m*, being in a bound phrase, is a separate single word. So permutation and separation (by inserting another word such as question particle *qaa*) is possible for (79), as illustrated by the following:

- (80) a. *angya-an-et-**uq*** ≠ *angute-m* ‘she is in the man’s boat’  
 b. *angute-m* ≠ ***qaa** angya-an-et-**uq*** ‘is she in the man’s boat?’

– but such operations are not possible for the two components of the locative verb *angya-an-etuq*.

The first component (i.e. nominal stem) of a locative verb may be unpossessed as in (75) above, or possessed as in (81) below with (a) first, (b) reflexive third, and (c) third person singular possessors:

- (81) a. *angya-**mnet-uq*** /áŋ|yám|nítuq/ ‘he is inside *my* boat’  
 boat-1sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *angya-**mni*** ‘in *my* boat’  
 b. *angya-**minet-uq*** /áŋ|yamí|nítuq/ ~  
*angya-**mi’*int-uq**** /áŋ|yamí|n|tuq/ ‘he is inside *his (own)* boat’  
 boat-3Rsg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *angya-**mini*** ‘in *his (own)* boat’  
 c. *angya-**anet-uq*** /áŋ|yaá|nítuq/ ~  
*angya-**ant-uq*** /áŋ|yaán|tuq/ ‘he is inside *her/his (another)* boat’  
 boat-3sg.be-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *angya-**ani*** ‘in *his* boat’.

In (b) and (c) the second variant features /i/ syncopation (P18ii.c), which seems to be a personal preference (rather than a dialectal variation).<sup>3</sup>

The nominal component may have the plurality as in (b) below, as well as (103) *ya-a-ti-itnel-*:

- (82) a. *eni-**inet-uq*** /inniínítuq/ ‘she is staying at his house’ (3sg.be.at |+*ŋa-nit-*)  
 b. *eni-**it’net-uq*** /inniítnítuq/ ‘she is staying at their house’ (3pl.be.at |+*ŋat-nit-*).

The nominal component can be of various nominals:

- 
3. But, interestingly, a reflexive-third person form sounds odd in words where the vowel /i/ of person marker |*mi*| does not occur in a syllable that is to be accentuated, that is, is unlengthened.  
 a. *pelatekar-**pa-*minet-uq**** /pilá|tikáx|pamí|nítuq/ ‘he is inside his (own) large tent’  
 tend-big-3Rsg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 b. *?pelateka-**mint-uq*** /pilá|tiká|mintuq/ ‘he is inside his (own) tent’  
 tend-3Rsg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 – The periphrastic *pelateka-**mini uita-uq*** is used instead.

i) A nominal component referring to a place/location (of staying) in a locative verb is not restricted to common names (e.g. boat, house' above), but can be:

Location nouns – either possessed or unpossessed:

- (83) a. *aci-anet-uq* /*acciá nituq/* ~ *aci-ant-uq* /*acciántuq/*  
 below-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 'it is under it'  
 cf. *aci-ani* below-LOC.3sg.sg. 'under it' – |*aci-*| 'below'
- b. *ilu-anet-uq* /*illuá nituq/* ~ *ilu-an-tuq* /*illuántuq/*  
 inside-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 'he is inside it'.  
 cf. *ilu-ani* inside-LOC.3sg.sg. 'inside it' – |*ilu-*| 'inside'.
- (84) *cani-mete-llru-llini-uq* (now I see) it was near'  
 side-be.at-PST-EVD-IND.3sg.

Adverbial demonstratives – with *-a-* expander (§ 12.3.1):

- (85) a. *ma-a-nt-ukut* 'we are here' (IND.1pl.)  
 cf. *ma-a-(ni)* 'here'
- b. *pik-a-net-uq* /*piká nituq/* ~ *pika'-ant-uq* /*piká n|tuq/*  
 'he is up/above there' (IND.3sg.)  
*pik-a-net-ukut* /*piká nitú |kut/* ~ *pika'-a-nt-ukut* /*piká n|tukut/*  
 'we are up there' (IND.1pl.).  
 cf. *pik-a-(ni)*
- c. *cam-à-nec-áqu-nak* ~ *cam-á-nc-aquí-nak*  
 'don't be down below (toward river)' (OPT.2sg.)  
 – |*+<sub>1</sub>caqu-*| (§ 49.6.2)

Location nouns from adverbial demonstratives – with |*+t-*|:

- (86) *ya-a-ti-inet-uq* 'he/it is in the area beyond it'  
 cf. *ya-a-ti-ini*.

By contrast, it is interesting that nominal demonstratives (§ 12.2) cannot be the nominal component of locative verbs:

- (87) a. \**ma-ku-net-ukut* intending to mean, 'we are in these ones'  
 cf. *ma-ku-ni* (this-EX-LOC.pl.)
- b. \**pik-u-met-uq* intending to mean, 'he is in the one up there'  
 cf. *pik-u-mi* (up-EX-LOC.sg.)

Ignoratives (§ 15.2):

- (88) *na-nc-it* ‘where are you (sg.)?’ – cf. *na-ni* (LOC)  
 where-be.at-INT.2sg.

Personal pronouns (§ 13):

- (89) a. *wang-net-uq* ‘he is with me’ – *wang-ni* (1sg.-LOC)  
*wangkut-net-uq* ‘he is with us’ – *wangkut-ni* (1pl.-LOC)  
 b. *elpe-nt-uq* ‘he is with you (sg.)’ – *elpe-ni* (2sg.-LOC)  
 c. *ellii-nt-uq* ~ *ellii-net-uq* ‘he is with her/him’ – *ellii-ni* (3sg.-LOC).

Quantifiers – |*tamay-*| ‘all’ (§ 14.10.3), |*kii-*| ‘only, alone’ (§ 14.10.4):

- (90) a. *kii-met-ua* ‘I am alone, by myself’  
 cf. *kii-ma uita-unga* ‘I am staying by myself’ (be.alone-CNNst.1sg.)  
 b. *kii-met-ut* ‘they are alone, by themselves’  
 cf. *kii-meng uita-ut* ‘they are staying by themselves’ (be.alone-CNNst.3Rpl.).

- (91) [*Nuna-m qai-ngani*] *emeq<sub>s</sub>*  
 land-REL.sg. surface-LOC.3sg.sg. water.ABS.sg.  
*tami-inet-uq*.  
 all-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Water is everywhere on the land (as during a flood).’

Place names: The following locative verb (b) has the lexicalized place name ‘Sheldon Point’ (phrasal compound) which comes from an attributive phrase *nuna-m* (land-REL.sg.) *iqu-a* (end-ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘the end of the land’ – § 21.6.

- (92) a. *Mamteriller-met-lar-tuq* ‘he lives in Bethel’  
 pl.n.-be.at-CUS-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *Mamteriller-mi* ‘in/at Bethel’  
 b. *Nunam-Iqua-net’-lar-tuq* ‘he lives in Sheldon Point (Yukon)’  
 pl.n.-be.at-HAB-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *Nunam Iqua-ni* ‘at Sheldon Point’  
 – as a proper name, *Iquanet’lartuq Nunam* is ungrammatical, while permutation is possible with:  
*Nuna-m* ≠ *iqu-anet-uq* ~ *iqu-anet-uq* ≠ *nuna-m* ‘it is at the end of the land’.



One nominal in an appositive phrase, with the other intact in the locative case.<sup>4</sup>

- (93) [ak'allar-mi ene-m]et-uq  
 old.one-LOC.sg. house- be.at-IND.3sg.  
 'he is inside the old house'  
 cf. ak'allar-**mi** ene-**mi** (LOC.sg.) 'in the old house'.

ii) A third-person possessed locative verb (81)c may be accompanied by its adjunct (attributive NP) in G function, typically forming a bound phrase. The NP may be of various nominals:

- (94) a. [angute-m<sub>G</sub> ≠ angya-an]et-uq /aŋú·|tìm|áŋ|yaá·n|tuq/  
 man-REL.sg. boat-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 'she is sleeping inside the man's boat'  
 cf. angute-m ≠ angya-ani 'in the man's boat'  
 b. [[im'-u-m ≠ angute-m]<sub>G</sub> ≠ angya-an]et-uq  
 that.ANP-EX-REL.sg. man-REL.sg. boat-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 /im|mùm|aŋú·|tìm|áŋ|yaá·n|tuq/  
 'she is sleeping inside that man's boat'  
 cf. im-na ≠ angun 'that man (you know, remember)'.

Here, the NP in G function is syntactically linked through the attributive relation with the nominal component of the locative verb.

iii) The adjunct in G function for locative verbs is of various nominals:

Possessed nominals:

- (95) Qaya-mta ilu-an(e)t-uq.  
 kayak-REL.1pl.sg. interior-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 'He/It is inside of our kayak.'

Phrases:

- (96) a. [Ak'alla-a-m ene-ma]<sub>G</sub> ilu-an(e)t-uq.  
 old-EV-REL.sg. house-REL.1sg.sg. inside-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 'It is inside my old house.'

4. This construction, which might apparently shows a stranding, is totally distinct from a stranded (ablative-nominal) NP construction from an appositive phrase (§ 25.2.2):

ak'allar-**mek** ene-**ngqer-tuq** 'he has an old house'.  
 old.one-LOC.sg. house-have-IND.3sg.

- b. [*Kenugte-llr-ata ene-m*]<sub>G</sub> *ilu-an(e)t-uq*  
 clean-VNrl-REL.3pl.sg. house-REL.sg. inside-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg  
 ‘He is in the house they cleaned.’ – actually a relative clause.
- (97) [[*Nuk’a-m<sub>G</sub> aati-in*]<sub>G</sub> *eni-in*]<sub>G</sub>  
 p.n.-REL.sg. Fa-REL.3sg.sg. house-REL.3sg.sg.  
*ilu-an(e)t-uq*.  
 inside-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is inside the Nukaq’s father’s house.’  
 – multi-layered attributive phrase.

The relative-case NP with the third-person possessed locative verb usually occurs as a single articulus, i.e. a bound phrase (as shown by the non-enclitic phrase boundary ≠), and yet the two are separate words and the relative-case noun is not a part of the phrasal compound. As such, the two can be permuted or separated by inserting another word, say, interrogative particle *qaa* for a yes-or-no question, while such operations can never occur with a locative verb itself because it is a single word. The following example, with an adjunct in G function for the nominal component in locative verbs, demonstrates the possibility of permutation (a vs. b, c vs. d) and separation by another word (c and d).<sup>5</sup>

5. It is interesting to note here the remark to the contrary by Woodbury (2002: 86–87) concerning Cup’ik (Hooper Bay-Chevak):

*ene-m aki-anet-ut* ‘they are opposite the house’  
 house-REL.sg. opposite-3sg.sg.be.at-IND.3pl. [glossing mine],  
 – which he names as an “inseparable unit in syntax” and notes that its permutation is ungrammatical (*\*akianetut enem*), where the phrase *ene-m aki-ani* ‘on the opposite side of the house’ is ‘imported wholesale into the morphology’ of *enem akianetut*, with the inseparable unit functioning as a stem, and assumes a ‘minor rule of grammar’: verb base = NP[LOC] suffix [-*et*].

In GCAY, by contrast, the permuted *aki-anet-ut ene-m* is perfectly acceptable, though perhaps less preferable to some speakers than the reverse order. In my observation and understanding of GCAY, the verb *aki-anet-uq* is a single word, i.e. phrasal compound, but *ene-m aki-anet-ut*, a single syntactic unit (clause), is not a single word but a (free or bound) phrase and, accordingly, can also be separated by another word (= *qaa*) as in (98a) vs. (98c).

Returning to § 25-fn.2 for the Cup’ik construction (Woodbury 2002):

*maklagaa-m citug-tur-tuq* ‘he is eating fermented bearded seal flipper’  
 bearded.seal-REL.sg. nail-eat-IND.3sg. [glossing mine]  
 – which seems to be another case of ‘embedding phrases within words’, where, according to Woodbury, a ‘stem’ and ‘suffix’ function as independent syntactic atoms or ‘syntactic words’ while the NP is an idiom with no nominal (person) inflection – verb stem = NP[+IDIOM, -INFL] + suffix – unlike the *enem aki-an-etut* type.

- (98) *akert-e-m<sub>G</sub>* ≠ *aci-ani* /akíx̣ṭim≠àccíá'ni/  
 sun-EV-REL.sg. below-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘under the sun’
- a. *akert-e-m<sub>G</sub>* ≠ *aci-ant-uq* /akíx̣ṭim≠àccíántuq/  
 sun-EV-REL.sg. below-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it is under the sun’
- b. *aci-ant-uq* ≠ *akert-e-m* /àccíántùq≠akíx̣ṭim/  
 c. *akert-e-m<sub>G</sub>* ≠ *qaa aci-ant-uq?*  
 sun-EV-REL.sg.≠QST below-3sg.be.at-IND.3sg.  
 ‘is it under the sun?’
- d. *aci-ant-uq* ≠ *qaa akert-e-m?*

(a) and (c) are generally preferred to (b) and (d) for permutation, though some speakers have no preference in this respect.

iv) Locative verbs enjoy full inflection and various derivations as monovalent verbs, including a variety of verbal categories and transcategorical conversions. To give just a few examples:

In subordinate (connective) and cosubordinate (appositional) moods:

- (99) a. *kass'a-nte-llemni* ‘when I was in the white man’s land’  
 white.man-be.at-CNNwn.1sg.
- b. *Cali-sciigat-ua tu-a-nl-avet.*  
 work-cannot-IND.1sg. there-EX-be.at-CNNbc.2sg.  
 ‘I cannot work because you (sg.) are there.’ – cf. *tu-a-ni* LOC.
- (100) [*Kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub> ceni-inl-lutek*] *nulir-qe-lriik<sub>s</sub>*  
 river-EV-REL.sg. shore-be.at-APP.3du. Wi-have.as-VNrl-du  
*uita-ura-llini-lriik.*  
 stay-CNT-EVD-PTP.3du.  
 ‘There was a couple living by themselves right along the river.’  
 [QQLK 360–361]

In relative clauses:

- (101) *Qaneqliq* [*Kusquvi-i-m<sub>G</sub> pai-nganel-nguq*]  
 pl.n.ABS.sg. river-EV-REL.sg. mouth-3sg.be.at-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Qaneqliq that is at the mouth of the Kuskokwim River’. [PAIT 38]

- (102) [*Angut-e-m<sub>G</sub>* ≠ *angya-anel-ngur-mi* *wii*]<sub>(S)</sub>  
 man-EV-REL.sg. ≠ boat-3sg.be.at-VNrl-LOC.sg. 1sg.  
*kai-kapigt-ua.*  
 hungry-very-IND.3sg.  
 ‘I, in the man’s boat, am very hungry.’  
 – see § 27.4 for the locative-case reference to a first person argument.
- (103) [*Ene-mek* [*nuna-t<sub>G</sub>* *ya-a-ti-itnel-ngur-mek*]]  
 house-ABS.sg. land-REL.pl. over-EX-NN-3pl.be.at-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
*an’-uq.*  
 go.out-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He went out from a house on the outskirts of the village (lit. from a house that is on the outskirts of the village (land)).’  
 – cf. (86) for *ya-a-ti-itnel-ngur-mek*.

iv) In this connection with locative verbs, another kind of morphological anomaly would not be irrelevant. Similar to (83) *aci-an(e)t-uq* itself, the location noun |*aci-*| in the following is inflected for the third person possessor and is followed by the NN suffix |*+miu*| ‘dweller’ (with epenthetic /*ŷ*/) to form a word like (a) below. This word may in turn have an adjunct in G function as in (b), forming a bound phrase with the same kind of mismatch as (98a) *akert-e-m* ≠ *aci-a-n(e)t-uq*. This is an isolated case, however.

- (104) a. *aci-a-r-miu*  
 below-3sg.-EC-dweller.ABS.sg.  
 ‘(the place) below the sun’
- b. [*akert-e-m* ≠ *aci-a-r*]-*miu* /akíx|tím≠ác|ciáy|miu/  
 sun-EV-REL.sg. below-3sg.-EC-dweller.ABS.sg.  
 ‘a black person (lit. one who dwells beneath the sun)’ – nowadays meaning ‘a person from the warmer land’  
 – \*/akíx|tímá:|ciáy|miu/ and no permutation of \**aciarmiu akertem*.

## 9. Double case-marking

One of the morphosyntactically interesting peculiarities of the CAY case system concerns the two cases used to mark an NP for standard of comparison, that is, the locative (‘than’; § 27.3) and the equalis (‘as’; § 29.2). Sometimes called ‘case stacking’, they can follow a locative-case marker for location (location locative, § 27.1), resulting in the sequence of 1) location locative + comparison

locative ('than in/at') and 2) location locative + comparison equalis ('as in/at').<sup>6</sup> No double case-marking has been attested with a relative case NP (which serves as a standard of comparison of transitive comparative constructions, § 24.2.4).

These two are distinct from 3) temporal location locative, which is followed by the idiosyncratic (composite) ablative  $|+ni\dot{y}ni\dot{y}-|$  (§ 25.3).

### 9.1. Location locative + comparison locative

Case marker doubling may occur in different NPs as the standard in the locative case of comparative verbs, that is locatives for location and locatives for standards of comparison, which occur only in the singular form.

The comparative verb – for instance, *kiir(ce)te-nru-uq* (warm-CMP-IND.3sg.) 'it is warmer' – may occur with doubled locative cases with different subjects, such as *ene-ka* 'my house', *nuna-vut* 'our land', *ella* 'the weather', or an implicit impersonal subject:

- (105) a. *kiag-mi-mi* /kiáŷ|mimi/ ' (it is warmer) than last (usual) summer'  
 summer-LOC.sg.-CMP.LOC  
 cf. *kiag-mi=mi* /kiáŷ|mí·|mi/ 'how about the summer?'  
 summer-LOC.sg.=ENC – bound phrase
- b. *uksuar-mi-mi* *nengla-i-llru-uq*  
 autumn-LOC.sg.-CMP.LOC coldness-PRV-more-IND.3sg.  
 'it is less cold than the autumn time'

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6. The double case-marking is also attested in Greenlandic. Fortescue (1984: 170) writes, 'unlike other case inflections, "equalitive" *-tut* may follow another case marker', illustrating a sequence of ablative + equalitive, as in 'is as far from Nuuk as it is from Sisimiut'. On the other hand, Sadock (2003: 9) writes, 'the equalitive case ending (= *tut*) has a clitic use ... mainly found after the locative case', illustrating the sequence with 'like in Denmark'. Neither provides a sequence with the comparison locative. Apart from this, it is certainly tempting to solve the peculiarity by interpreting the comparison marker as an enclitic (as Sadock does), but it does not work as far as GCAY is concerned, as is shown in the contrast, repeated from § 8(16) as (a) and (b) below:

- a. *angya-gni-mi* /áŋ|yàŷ|ni.mi/ (<|aŋyaŷ[+yŋi+mi] boat-LOC.du.-LOC)  
 'than in the two boats'
- b. *angvagni=mi* /áŋ|yaŷ.ní·|mi/ (<|aŋyaŷ[+yŋi=mi] boat-ABS.3Rsg.du.=QST)  
 'how about his two boats?'

Note the case suffix for the standard of comparison in (a) has the accent regression (P18ii.b) while (b) features the enclitic (contrast question § 54.1) blocking the accent regression (P18ii.b).

- c. *ene-vet<sub>G</sub>*                      *ilu-ani-mi*  
house-REL.2sg.sg.    inside-LOC.3sg.sg.-CMP.LOC  
‘(it is warmer) than the inside of your house’
- d. *ma-á-ni-mi*                      ‘(it is warmer) than (around) here’  
here-EX-LOC-CMP.LOC  
cf. *má-a-ni=mi*                      ‘how about here?’  
here-EX-LOC=ENC                  – bound phrase
- e. *angyar-pag-mini-mi*              ‘than in his own big boat’  
boat-big-LOC.3Rsg.sg.-CMP.LOC.

However, locative case doubling does not occur with nominal demonstratives nor after a possessed locative, with one marker serving either function:

- (106) a. *mat’-u-mi*  
this-EX-LOC  
i. ‘than this one’ / ii. ‘in this one’ – but not \**mat’u-mi-ni*
- b. *ene-mni*  
house-LOC.1sg.sg.  
i. ‘than my house’ / ii. ‘in my house’ – but not \**ene-mni-mi*, cf. (110).

More adverbial demonstratives – like (105c), but not nominal demonstratives *ik’-u-mi-mi* and \**ak’-u-mi-mi* for the following:

- (107) *Ma-a-ggun*    *assi-nru-uq*                      *ik-a-ni-mi.*  
here-EX-PRL    good-CMP-IND.3sg.                  across-EX-LOC-CMP.LOC  
‘It is better on this way than across there.’
- (108) *Nuna-vut<sub>S</sub>*                      *nenglli-nru-uq*                      *akm-a-ni-mi.*  
land-ABS.1pl.sg.    cold-CMP-IND.3sg.                  across-EX-LOC-CMP.LOC  
‘Our land is colder than the lower 48 states (i.e. the other side).’

## 9.2. Location locative + comparison equalis

- (109) a. *qilag-mi-tun*                      ‘as (it is) in the Heaven’ [Lord’s Prayer]  
heaven-LOC.sg.-EQL
- b. *kiag-mi-tun*                      ‘like last summer’  
summer-LOC-EQL
- c. *kinguner-mi-tun*                      ‘like back home’.  
home-LOC.sg.-EQL.

This double marking, which may not be so common, is phonologically identical with the reflexive third person equalis, so the third example, above, also elicits the reading ‘like his own home village’ (EQL.3Rsg.sg. – Table 23).

With person inflection: Note by contrast *\*ene-mni-mi* for (106b) above:

- (110) *ene-mni-tun / ene-vni-tun* ‘like in *my/your* (sg.) house’  
house-LOC.1sg.sg.-EQL / LOC.2sg.sg.-EQL.  
– but see *\*ene-mni-mi* in (106b).
- (111) *qaya-m / -ma<sub>G</sub>* *ilu-ani-tun*  
kayak-REL.sg./-REL.1sg.sg. inside-LOC.3sg.sg.-EQL  
‘like in the/my kayak’.

While apparently very rare, triple marking is also attested, cf. (195b) and (109b):

- (112) *Uksuar-mi-mi-tun* *kiircet-uq.*  
fall-LOC-LOC-EQL warm-IND.3sg.  
‘It is as warm as it was in (that particular) fall.’ [EM.BH]

Adverbial demonstratives:

- (113) *ma-a-ni-tun* ‘like here’  
– but not the nominal demonstrative *\*ma-ku-mi-tun* ‘like in this one’  
(though *ma-ku-miu-tun* ‘like a dweller here’ is quite possible).
- (114) *akm-a-ni-(ce)tun* ‘like across there, like in the lower 48 states’. [HO]

The following, as it is narrated, is confusing but presents an interesting case of what may be called “word order crossing” between two nominal phrases (a kind of detached articulation; § 2.3.3). The word *kinguner-mi-tun* constitutes case marker doubling. The two nominal phrases, i.e. the adjunctive phrase of similarity, i.e. *kingunermitun ayuqelriamun*, and the attributive phrase, i.e. *Yupiat qasgiatun*, are crossed in word order, and the four-word phrase in turn constitutes an appositive phrase to the allative *qasgi-mun* preceding the word order crossed phrase [ ]:

- (115) *Tua=i* *qasgi-mun* [*Yupia-t<sub>G</sub>* *kinguner-mi-tun*  
and.then qasgi-ALL.sg. Y.-REL.pl. home-LOC-EQL.sg.  
*qasgi-atnun* *ayuqe-lria-mun*] *tekie-ameng ...*  
qasgi-ALL.3pl.sg. resemble-VNrl-ALL.sg.arrive-CNNwn.3Rpl.  
‘When they arrived at the *qasgi*, a Yupik *qasgi* that looked like at home ...’. [QQLK 38]

– which comes from a two-layered appositive phrase *qasgi-mun* [[*Yupia-t qasgi-atnun*] [*kinguner-mi-tun ayuqe-lria-mun*]], with *Yupia-t* and *kinguner-mi-tun* as adjuncts to the respective allative NP.

### 9.3. Temporal locative/ablative + composite ablative

As stated (§ 25.3), it remains a question whether this is either a kind of double-case marking of the locative or the (adverbial demonstrative) ablative followed by the composite ablative, or utterly distinct from it. The combination is illustrated below, with more examples in § 25.3.

- (116) *kiag-mi-nirnek* ‘ever since (when it was) the summer’ = § 25(56)  
*January 5-aar-mi-nirnek* ‘since January 5th’ = § 25(57).
- (117) *ma-a-ke-nirnek* ‘from now on’ = § 25(58), cf. ABL *ma-a-ken* (-a- EX).



## Chapter 28

### Perlative case

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The perlative case  $|-k*un|$  (Table 20; but see Table 23 for possessed) covers only oblique functions, chiefly indicating 1) location and 2) instrument and means. See § 12.3.1 for perlative marking of  $|+xun|$  for adverbial demonstratives.

#### 1. Location

This include a route, means, intermediary stretch, or the time through/during which some movement/change happens (‘along, via, or by way of, after’), as contrasted with location (‘at, in’) expressed by a locative-case NP.

##### i) *Spatial*:

- (1) [ *Kuig-pi-i-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *ceñi-ikun* ]                      *ayag-ciq-ukuk*.  
 river-big-EV-REL.sg.    bank-PRL.3sg.sg.                      go-FUT-IND.1du.  
 ‘We (du.) will go *along* the bank of the Yukon.’
- (2) a. *Wang-kun*    *qanr-ut-aa*.  
 1sg.-PRL                      speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He told her (something) through me.’
- b. *Erit-a-q-ai*    *erina-itgun*.  
 learn-VNrl-have.as-IND.3sg.3pl.    voice-PRL.3pl.pl.  
 ‘He recognized them by their voices.’ [BH]
- (3) [ *Ca*                      *im-na*    *ukveq-llr-at ~ ukveq-ki-it* ]<sub>s</sub>.  
 what.ABS.sg.    that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.                      believe-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.  
*alau-nani*    *ca-yara-itgun*.  
 visible-APP.3Rsg.    do.what-VNnm-PRL.3pl.sg.  
 ‘Whatever they believe is visible through their customs (ways of doing things).’ [CAUY 9]

Very often the location is accompanied by a nominal or adverbial demonstrative in the perlative, forming an appositive phrase:

- (4) *Igva-llru-uq* [*ik-a-ggun* *cingig-kun*].  
 appear-PST-IND.3sg. across-EX-PRL point-PRL.sg.  
 ‘He/it became visible through/by the point (across there).’
- (5) [*Ma-ku-gteggun* *ikamra-gkun*] *aya-ki-na*.  
 this-EX-PRL.du. sled-PRL.du. go-ASP-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘You may go using this sled.’
- (6) *Tua=llu* [*ca-kun* *tama-a-ggun* *kui-cuar-kun*]  
 there=and what-PRL.sg. there-EX-PRL river-small-PRL.sg.  
*iter-lua*.  
 enter-APP.1sg.  
 ‘I went through some river there.’
- (7) *tumyara-kun* *aya-kuvet* *ma-a-ggun*  
 road-PRL.sg. go-CNNif.2sg. here-EX-PRL  
 ‘if you (sg.) go *by* this road’  
 – detached appositive phrase.

A location noun (§ 11.2) very often occurs in the perlative case, typically forming an attributive phrase with its adjunct NP in G function:

- (8) *aata-ma<sub>G</sub>* *kingu-akun*  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. behind-PRL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘after my father (lit. through my father’s back part)’.

ii) *Temporal*:

- (9) *ciu-mteggun* *ner'-uq*  
 front-PRL.1pl.sg. eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he ate before us’.
- (10) *atauci-kun* *ayag-tukut*  
 one-PRL.sg. go-IND.1pl.  
 ‘we went at the same time’.

A perlative NP is often accompanied by a nominal clause as its adjunct in G function:

- (11) a. *upa-ll-ma<sub>G</sub>*                                    *kingu-akun*  
 move-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.    behind-PRL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘after I moved’
- b. *yu-urte-ll-ma<sub>G</sub>*                                    *kingu-akun*  
 person-become-INC-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.    behind-PRL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘after I was born’
- c. [*Ner’-ller-meng<sub>G</sub>*                                    *kingu-akun*]                                    *yura-liyar-luteng*.  
 eat-VNnm-REL.3Rsg.sg.    behind-PRL.3sg.sg.    dance-go.to-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘After their meal, they go dancing.’  
 – see VVm |+<sub>1</sub>cay-| ‘to go -ing’ (§ 43) for |-liyay-|.

The temporal use is related to the quasi-connective mood marker (‘after’; § 50.11.2). Example (12a) is quasi-equivalent to the attributive phrase (11b) in the perlocative case:

- (12) a. *yu-urr-nemkun*                                    *tuqu-llru-uq*  
 person-become-CNNqc.1sg.    die-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he died sometime after I was born’
- b. *yu-urte-llemkun*                                    *yu-u-gua*  
 person-become-CNNqc.1sg.    person-be-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘I am the way I was born’
- cf. *yu-urte-llemni*                                    ‘when I was born’  
 person-become-CNNwn.1sg.
- (13)    *naulluu-llr-a<sub>S</sub>*                                    *assir-i-nrakun*                                    = § 50(113)  
 sick-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.    good-INC-CNNqc.3sg.  
 ‘after he became well from his illness’.

See § 50.8 and § 50.11.2 for more examples.

iii) *Affected or damaged part* – typically with possessed (inalienable; § 22.5) body parts, in both transitive constructions (14), (15), and intransitive (16), (17a):

- (14)    *Ilunga-ma<sub>A</sub>*                                    *qiu-t-aanga*                                    *unate-mkun*.  
 cousin-REL.1sg.sg.    discolor-A-IND.3sg.1sg.    hand-PRL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My cousin (female cross) bruised me on my hand.’
- (15)    *Iru-vgun* ≠ *qaa*                                    *qimugte-m<sub>A</sub>*                                    *kegge-llru-aten?*  
 leg-PRL.2sg.sg.≠QST    dog-REL.sg.    bite-PST-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘Did the dog bite you on your (sg.) leg?’

- (16) a. *Umyua-mikun nangteq-uq.*  
 mind-PRL.3Rsg.sg. suffer-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is suffering in his (own) mind.’  
 b. *Umyua-mkun assike-nrit-aqa.*  
 mind-PRL.1sg.sg. like-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.

An affected portion NP in the perlative case is quasi-equivalent to an NP in S function (i.e. in the absolutive case), as in the following pair:

- (17) a. *Akn(g)irt-ua it'ga-mkun.*  
 hurt-IND.1sg. foot-PRL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I am hurt in my foot.’  
 b. *Akn(g)irt-uq it'ga-qa<sub>s</sub>.*  
 hurt-IND.3sg. foot-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My foot hurts.’

### 1.1. Perlative-derived verbalizations

There are two NV suffixes |+*kuay̆*-| and |+*xuiy̆*-| ~ |*kuiy̆*-| ‘to go (follow) by way of’ derived from the allative case marker |+*kun*| and |+*xun*|; post-inflectional derivation (§ 41.3.2). See § 12.3.3 and § 38.5 for illustrations.

## 2. Instruments, etc.

Instruments/tools/means of action, transportation, subsistence (24), language (25).

- (18) a. *Iinru-lar-tuq 'luuskaa-kun ataku-mi.*  
 take.medicine-REG-IND.3sg. spoon-PRL.sg. evening-LOC  
 ‘He takes medicine with a spoon in the evening.’  
 b. *Kaug-tur-aa murag-kun.*  
 hit-CNT-IND.3sg.3sg. wood-PRL.sg.  
 ‘He hit it with a stick.’
- (19) *Nallu-aqa [iga-neq/ca-neq*  
 not.know-IND.3sg.sg. write/do.what-VNm.ABS.sg.  
*iqsu-mkun]<sub>p</sub>.*  
 left.hand-PRL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I don’t know how to write/to do (something) with my left hand.’

- (20) *Angya-megteggun unuaqu tekic-iiq-ut.*  
 boat-PRL.3Rpl.sg./pl. tomorrow arrive-FUT-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They will arrive in their (own) boat(s) tomorrow.’
- (21) *Taic-iiq-aqa May’aq<sub>p</sub> car-a-kun.*  
 bring-FUT-IND.1sg.3sg. p.n.ABS.sg. car-LNK-PRL.sg.  
 ‘I will bring May’aq by car.’
- (22) *tuqu-t-a-u-guq nuteg-kun/qimugte-ggun*  
 die-A-VNrl-be-IND.3sg. gun/dog-PRL.sg.  
 ‘he/it was killed by a gun/dog’.  
 – cf. \**qimugte-mun* (ALL.sg.); § 17.4.2-ii for *-a-u-*.
- (23) *ukver-kun* ‘through faith’ [New Testament]  
 belief-PRL.sg.
- (24) [*Wangkuta Yup’ig-ni*]<sub>(s)</sub> *yuu-gukut neq-kun.*  
 1pl. Y.-LOC.pl. live-IND.1pl. fish-PRL.sg.  
 ‘We Yupiks live on fish.’
- (25) *Umyuar<sup>teq</sup>’-lar-cit [nali-atgun qaner-yara-t<sub>G</sub>]?]*  
 think-CUS-INT.2sg. which-PRL.3pl.sg. speak-VNnm-REL.pl.  
 ‘In which language do you (sg.) think?’  
 – see § 15.2.3.2 for ignorative |*naliy-*|.

With nominalizations (‘by doing’):

- (26) *Cali-ller-kun aki-nge-ciq-uten.*  
 work-VNnm-PRL.sg. money-get-FUT-IND.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) will earn money by working.’
- (27) *Uita-yuite-ller-mikun pinir-i-uq.*  
 stay-never-VNnm-PRL.3Rsg.sg. strong-INC-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is becoming strong by never being still/idle.’

Personal pronouns in the perlocative case imply ‘being alone, on one’s own, with no help from others’:

- (28) *Wang-kun yuu-gua.*  
 1sg.-PRL live-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I live on my own (without depending on others).’

- (29) [*Tama-a-ni tua=i nunapig-mi*] *wang-kun pi-lua,*  
 that-EX-LOC SFL tundra-LOC.sg. 1sg.-PRL do-APP.1sg.  
*aqum-lua=llu* [[*nunapik tama-na*]<sub>P</sub>  
 sit-APP.1sg.=and tundra.ABS.sg. that-EX.ABS.sg.  
*naangua-q-luku*.  
 toy-have.as-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Over there on the tundra I was doing things on my own, and sitting  
 and playing with that tundra.’

The case may be replaced by the locative case at least in:

- (30) *Niite-llru-aqa CB-kun ~ mi.*  
 here-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. CB-PRL/-LOC.sg.  
 ‘I heard him over/on the CB (radio).’

Particles from perlative pronoun:

- (31) a. *ellmi-kun*  
 ‘for no particular reason, to no particular purpose, inconsequentially’  
 – from reflexive third pronoun stem; often used as a reply to *waqaa?*  
 ‘hello, you are here?’
- b. *Elli-i tua=i ataunr-u-nri-ng’ermi elmikun*  
 3sg.-ABS SFL chief-be-NEG-CNNth.3Rsg. nothing  
*uita-ur-quni ca-ngait-ni-luni.*  
 stay-CNT-CNNif.3Rsg. what-will.not-A’.say-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He said that it would be okay if he wasn’t a leader any long and  
 didn’t work.’ [QQLK 394–395]

## Chapter 29

### Equalis case

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2. Comparison of equality..... 822
3. Manner and time..... 822

The equalis case, directly connected with comparison (§ 45), covers only peripheral functions of indicating equality and similarity. It is marked by *|+tun|* (Table 20 and Table 23) and *|+tin|* (adverbial demonstratives; § 12.3.1).

#### 1. Equality and similarity

A referent that is similar or in some way equivalent to another, possibly involving language/dialect, price, time, etc. The verb *|ayuqi-|* ‘to resemble, look like, be similar to’ (§ 45.9-ii) occurs very often as the predicate.

- (1) 

<i>[Akik’uq=gguq</i>	<i>[May’a-m<sub>G</sub></i>	<i>pani-a]]<sub>s</sub></i>
p.n.ABS.sg.=RPT	p.n.-REL.sg.	Da-ABS.3sg.sg.
<i>ata-mitun</i>	<i>ayuq-uq.</i>	
Fa-EQL.3Rsg.sg.	resemble-IND.3sg.	

‘(They say) Mayaq’s daughter Akik’uq looks like her (own) father.’
- (2) 

<i>Mikelnguq<sub>s</sub></i>	<i>[assi-lria-tun</i>	<i>aklu-tun]</i>
child.ABS.sg.	good-VNnm-EQL.sg.	clothing-EQL.sg.
<i>ayuq-uq.</i>		
resemble-IND.3sg.		

‘A child is a valued possession.’ [FA]

Often co-occurs with an ignorative word (‘what, how ...’; § 15.2):

- (3) 

<i>Ca-tun/Qaillun</i>	<i>ayuq-sit?</i>	<i>(ayuq-a?)</i>
do.what-EQL/how	resemble-INT.2sg. (-INT.3sg.)	

‘What are (sg.) you like? / How are you (sg.)? (What/How is he/it like?)’
- (4) 

*languages/dialects:*

<i>[Nali-at</i>	<i>kass’a-t<sub>G</sub>]s</i>	<i>Yup’ig-tun qan-tu-a?</i>
which-ABS.3pl.sg.	white-REL.pl.	Y.-EQL.sg. speak-GEN-INT.3sg.

‘Which one of the white men speaks (like a) Yupik Eskimo?’

- (5) *Mumigc-i-uq* [kass'a-**tun** qaner-yara-nek]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 turn.over-APS-IND.3sg. white-EQL.sg. speak-VNnm-ABM.pl.  
 'He is translating English words.'  
 – adjunctional phrase for the demoted P argument.
- (6) *Ma-ku-miu-tun* qaner-tuq.  
 this-EX-dweller-EQL.sg. speak-IND.3sg.  
 'He speaks the dialect here (i.e. like the inhabitants here).'  
 ≐ *ma-ku-miu-yaar-tuq* (see § 20.1.1 for NV |+miu-yaay-| 'to speak the dialect of').
- price:*
- (7) [*U-ku-k* pilugu-u-k]<sub>P</sub> tun-yug-agka  
 this-EX-ABS.du. boot-EV-ABS.du. sell-DES-IND.1sg.3sg.  
*qul-tun*.  
 ten-EQL.sg.  
 'I wish to sell this pair of boots for ten dollars.'  
 – see § 21.5 for the dual and § 14.6-vi for price and NN |+tuɣ-| for 'dollar'.
- i) Often with anaphoric demonstrative |imutun| 'like that' – from |im+u-|; § 12(9):
- (8) [[*Ma-n'a* tua=i nutaraq agayu-ma-ciq]<sub>S</sub>  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. and.so new.ABS.sg. pray-CNT-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
*teki-pailegmi*] [*im-u-tun* ciulia-ngqe-llria-tun  
 arrive-CNNbf.3Rsg. that-EX-EQL.sg. ancestor-have-VNnm-EQL.sg.  
*alla-mek*] *ayug-luni*.  
 different-ABM.sg. resemble-APP.3Rsg.  
 'Before this new religion arrived, it looks like it had its (different kind of) precedent.' [CAUY 9]
- (9) *Aren* tua=i nutaan anglica-llini-ak tau-ku-k<sub>P</sub>,  
 oh and.so happened raise-EVD-IND.3sg.3du. that-EX-ABS.du.  
 tua=i [*im-u-tun* irnia-qe-lria-tun].  
 and.so that-EX-EQL.sg. child-have.as-VNnm-EQL.sg.  
 'Oh! It happened (as I see) that he raised those two (and this) as if they(du.) were his own children.'  
 – The verb *anglicalliniak* is ambiguous; it can also mean 'they(du.) raised him' (-ak taken as IND.3du.3sg.), cf. § 34(7). The word order may, however, disambiguate.



ii) *After nominalization*: The equalis case occurs very often after  $|-l\dot{y}ia-$ , which is basically an intransitive participial relativizer that behaves like a nominalization (VNnm) with the equalis marking (§ 17.2.1-ix):

- (10) a. *Atu-lria-tun* *yurar-tuq.*  
sing-VNnm-EQL.sg. sing-IND.3sg.  
'Like singing, she is dancing; her dancing is like singing.'  
b. *naspaa-t-ngu-lria-tun* *ayuuq-uq*  
test-VNrl-be-VNnm-EQL.sg. resemble-IND.3sg.  
'it is like a testing/trial'.

The *-lria-* may be replaced by the nominalizer (VNnm)  $|-t\dot{y}-$ , at least. and (for some speakers) by the other nominalizers  $|+_1ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-$  and  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-$  but not  $*|-n\dot{y}-$ .

- (11) *naspaa-ma-lria-tun / naspaa-ma-ller-tun* *pi-la-llru-uq*  
test-CNT-VNnm-EQL.sg. do-CUS-PST-IND.3sg.  
'it was done like a testing / something tested'.

- (12) *Anchorage-aa-met-leqs* *ayuuqe-nrit-uq*  
pl.n.-LNK-be.at-VNnm.ABS.sg. resemble-NEG-IND.3sg.  
[*kingune-mni* *uita-lria-tun / uita-ller-tun*].  
back.home-LOC.1sg.sg. stay-VNnm-EQL.sg.  
'Living in Anchorage is not like staying at my home.'

- (13) *Yura-lleq / Yura-llr-a<sub>s</sub>* *ayuuq-uq*  
dance-VNnm.ABS.sg. /-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. resemble-IND.3sg.  
*atu-lria-cetun* (~ *atu-ller-cetun*).  
sing-VNnm-EQL  
'(His) dancing is like singing.'  
– see below for the equalis *-ller-* instead of *-lria-*.

- (14) *Atu-llr-a<sub>s</sub>* *atu-lle-mtun*  
sing-VNrl/VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. sing-VNnm/VNrl-EQL.1sg.sg.  
*ayuuq-uq.*  
resemble-IND.3sg.  
i. 'His singing is like my singing.'  
ii. 'What he sang is like what I sang.'  
– ambivalence comes from the homonymy of  $|-t\dot{y}-$  as nominalization and relative clause both of which can inflect for person.

iii) *With other verbs than |ayuqi-|:*

- (15) *Aani-in*<sub>A</sub>                      *eq'uke-llria-tun*                      *auluk-aa*.  
 Mo-REL.3sg.sg.                      dislike-VNnm-EQL.sg                      care-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘His mother took care of him as if she disliked him.’
- (16) [*Ta-u-m*                      *angute-m*]<sub>A</sub>                      *egelrute-llria-tun*  
 that-EX-REL.sg.                      man-REL.sg.                      lead-VNnm-EQL.sg.  
*pi-la-llru-i*                                      *mikelngu-u-t<sub>p</sub>*.  
 do-CUS-PST-IND.3sg.3pl.                      child-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘That man treated the children as if he were leading them, acted as if  
 he were leading the children (lit. acted on the children like leading).’

## 2. Comparison of equality

Equalitive comparison (§ 45.6) has its standard expressed by an equalis-case NP and the index by the VVc *|+ta-|* (‘as – as’; § 41.3.5):

- (17) *U-na/Ene-ka*<sub>S</sub>    *mik-ta-uq*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg./house-ABS.1sg.sg.                      small-as.as-IND.3sg.  
*ta-u-tun/pi-vtun<sub>p</sub>*.  
 that-EX-EQL.sg./thing-EQL.2sg.sg.  
 ‘This/My house is as small as that/yours.’  
 – *|pi-|* is used to avoid the repetition of the noun, thus *pi-vtun* for *ene-vtun*.
- (18) *Neqe-t<sub>S</sub>*                      *mikur-ta-ngir-tut*    *kiag-pag-tun*.  
 fish-ABS.pl.                      abundant-as.as-PRV-IND.3pl.                      summer-AUG-ALL.sg.  
 ‘Fish are now not as much as the long summer.’ – implying ‘when it  
 becomes the early fall’ (*uksuaryartu-an* CNNbc.3sg.). [EA]

It is interesting to note that an equalis-case marker may follow a locative marker (double case-marking; § 27.9.2) – e.g. *ene-mi-tun* ‘as in the house’ or even two locatives *kiag-mi-mi-tun* ‘it is as warm as its (particular) summer’.

More details of equalitive comparison available in § 45.6.

## 3. Manner and time

Nominalizations by VNnm *|+(u)ciy̆-|* (§ 18.2.1.1) in the equalis case express manner and time, very often attested with the neutral verb *|pi-|* ‘to do’ (§ 10.3.1).

- (19) a. *pi-ci-atun* ‘in any manner, anywhere, randomly’ (EQL.3sg.sg.)  
 b. *pi-ci-mtun* ‘(I) in any manner, anywhere (EQL.1sg.sg.).’

The first (a) with third person inflection is used as a particle as in (20) and the second with first person inflection is a person specific equalis NP as in (21), (22):

- (20) a. *piciatun iqvar-ciq-ua* ‘I will pick any berries’  
*piciatun ayag-yug-tua* ‘I want to go anywhere/wherever it is’  
*piciatun qalart-ukut* ‘we are talking about any topics (or nonsense)’  
*piciatun ner’-uq* ‘he is eating anything/whatever it is’  
 b. *piciatun pi-vke-nateng* ‘they following a schedule, not randomly’  
 do-NEG-APP.3Rpl.  
 c. *piciatun ayuqe-nril-ngur-nek* *naanguar-luteng*  
 any resemble-NEG-VNrl-ABM.pl. play-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘they play with any different things’.
- (21) a. *Pi-ci-mtun* *qalar-tua.*  
 do-VNnm-EQL.1sg.sg. speak-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I am speaking nonsense/anything/in any manner/anywhere.’  
 b. *Pi-ci-mtun* *naaq-i-unga.*  
 do-VNnm-EQL.1sg.sg. read-APS-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I am reading anyway (e.g. although I don’t know how).’
- (22) *Umyua-qa<sub>s</sub> =w’* *pi-ci-mtun*  
 mind-ABS.1sg.sg.=ENC do-VNnm-EQL.1sg.sg.  
*qan-e-ngssag-luni.*  
 speak-EV-all.kinds-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘My mind is speaking in any different manner, I am thinking about a lot of nonsense (of this and that); different thoughts are going through my mind.’ [AKKL 178–179] – an often heard saying.

Tense and other specifications may be made for *|pi-|* words in the equalis:

- (23) *pi-llru-ci-mtun* ‘in the same way that I did’ (PST)  
*pi-yu-uci-mtun* ‘as I wish’ (DES).
- (24) *utert-ua* *tai-llru-ci-mtun*  
 return-IND.1sg. come-PST-VNnm-EQL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I returned the same way as I came’ [BH].

The index of equality VVc *|+ta-|* (§ 41.3.5, § 45.6.1) co-occurs very often with this case, possibly with further modifications:

- (25) *pi-ta-ci-mtun* ‘as hard as I can’  
*pi-ta-ci-rra-mtun* ‘as hard as I could’ (|-*ɣay*-| ‘a little’; § 20.1.1)  
 – see (30) below  
*pi-yug-ta-ci-mtun* ‘as much as I want to, as I wish’ (VVm  
 |+*1cuy*-| DES)  
*pi-yug-ta-cir-mitun* ‘as much as he wants to, as he wishes’  
*pi-yugnga-ta-ci-mtun* ‘as much as I can’ (VVt |+*1cuyŋa*-| ‘to be  
 ready’).

i) *Verbs other than |pi-|:*

- (26) a. *Ayuq-uci-vtun* ~ *Ayuq-ucir-petun* *ayuq-uten.*  
 resemble-VNnm-EQL.2sg.sg. resemble-IND.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) are the same as usual.’  
 b. *Aana-mi* *ayuq-uci-atun* *ayuq-uq.*  
 Mo-3Rsg.sg. similar-VNnm-EQL3sg.sg. similar-IND.3sg.  
 ‘She is like the way her mother is.’ [EM]
- (27) *neq’ak-uci-mtun* *ili-i<sub>p</sub>* *an-t-aqa*  
 recall-VNnm-EQL.1sg.sg. part-ABS.3sg.sg. go.out-A-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I am telling you part of it (story) as I remember it’ [AKKL 164–165]
- (28) *qaya-li-yuk-uci-mtun* *qaya-li-llini-uten*  
 kayak-make-A’.think-VNnm-EQL.1sg.sg. kayak-make-EVD-IND.2sg.  
 ‘I see now you made a kayak as I assumed you were’  
 – concatenated relative adverb, owing to the complex transitive  
 involved.

A nominalization by VNnm |-*tɣ*-| (§ 18.2.2) may be replaced by one with VNnm |+(*u*)*ciɣ*-|:

- (29) *qanemci-lle-mtun* ‘as I mentioned earlier’  
 tell-VNnm-EQL.1sg.sg.
- (30) ... *nallu-nrit-nertu-ta-ci-rra-mtun*  
 not.know-NEG-HAB-as.as-VNnm-little-EQL.1sg.sg.  
*qanemci-k-qata’r-qa* *waniwa*  
 story-have.as-IMN-IND.1sg.3sg. here  
*niite-la-lle-mtun.*  
 hear-CUS-VNnm-EQL.1sg.sg.  
 ... ‘I shall tell the story as much as I know and as what I used to  
 hear.’ [QNMC 126]

The following, however, leads to the quasi-connective mood verb (§ 50.11.5):

- (31) *Tupa-uci-mitun* (egmian) *qan-ng-uq.*  
 wake-VNnm-EQL.3Rsg.sg. immediately speak-INC-IND.3sg.  
 ‘As soon as he woke up, he started to talk.’

ii) *Other equalis-related particles than |piciatun|*: (b) group below are from adverbial demonstrative stems (§ 12.3.1), thus with |+tin| instead of |+tun|:

- (32) a. *ellua-tun* ‘correctly’ – with the stem |itua-| ‘perfection, to be perfect’  
*qayu-tun* ‘how many/much’  
 b. *w-a-ten* ‘like this’  
*tu-a-ten* ‘like that, that’s the way, also, including’ – § 53.5-viii  
*ma-a-ten* ‘then/now (upon -ing)’ – § 53.5-ix.

## Chapter 30

### Case assignments

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In CAY, characterized by non-templatic suffixation and by very productive multi-valent verbs (§ 4.1.3), valency modifications (increase, decrease, and rearrangement) may be recursive within (morphologically) single verbs, and may thus be attested with a good number of valency-modifying VV<sub>cm</sub> or VV<sub>sm</sub> suffixes (§ 39, § 40), distinct from verb-elaborating VVa/t/m/n/c suffixes (§ 41 through § 45). Given the various combinations of arguments involved, however, the case alignment for them can never be static but necessarily has to be taken as the result of dynamic processes of case assignments instead.

This chapter summarizes information on case assignments of different constructions, described and illustrated in other chapters, by adding step-by-step representations of assignment processes. Exemplification is kept to the minimum.

## 1. Preliminaries

### 1.1. Seven cases – syntactic and oblique

CAY has seven cases, both syntactic and oblique, to be assigned to free NPs, as described in § 23 through § 29:

i) Syntactic cases – for core argument NPs that are subject to verbal indexing:

- (1) a. absolutive (ABS) – § 23
- b. relative (REL) – § 24.

The absolutive case is higher than the relative (i.e. ABS > REL, where > means ‘higher than’) for the argument hierarchy (accessibility to the absolutive-case status), as will be discussed in § 30.2.

ii) *Oblique cases* – for demoted arguments and (adverbial) adjuncts; the first group (a) is both for demoted ones and adjuncts, while the second (b) is only for adjuncts:

- (2) a. ablative-modalis (ABM) – § 25
- allative (ALL) – § 26
- locative (LOC) – § 27
- b. perlativ (PRL) – § 28
- equalis (EQL) – § 29.

It is the five cases in (1) and (2a) that are directly and indirectly related to core arguments.

According to the argument hierarchy (9) given below in § 30.2.1, the syntactic cases – absolutive and relative – are assigned to full NPs respectively in S or P function (and indirective T and secundative R as well) and in A (and G) function. See also Table 28 and Table 29 for its expansion.

Of the five cases that are syntactically relevant, the ablative-modalis is the case for demotion of an absolutive NP, called “type 1” or ablative-modalis demotion, while ALL is the case for demotion of a relative NP, “type 2” or allative demotion – § 30.3.1. The two are also relevant to the two kinds of ditransitives, to the morphological embedding in complex transitives and to the syntactical complementation of nominal clauses, each of which has the same two types (1 and 2). Secundative ditransitives will turn out to be relevant to type 1 and indirective ditransitives to type 2, e.g. (12). See § 30.6-v for the locative.

Oblique cases for adverbials are disregarded in this chapter for case assignments as they are described in the preceding chapters (§ 25 through § 29).

While this chapter deals with case alignments in clauses, the A function in CAY shows direct affinity with G. For instance, the subject of a transitive relational verb (§ 37.2, etc.) and the possessor of an attributive phrase (§ 16.4, § 24.1) both occur in the relative case. Likewise, while a standard NP of comparison (comparative, superlative, and equalitive) in the clause level is in A function (§ 5.1.1.3-ii, § 45.1.2), that in the phrase level is in G function (§ 45.4), both occurring in the relative case. The relative case covering the ergative or A function in transitive constructions and the genitive or G function in attributive phrases is also known cross-linguistically (Bickel and Nichols 2009: 317). This pattern in CAY may be simply tabulated as Table 24:<sup>1</sup>

*Table 24:* Four-category square

absolute	relative
S	A
P	G

The case system of West Greenlandic is represented in the proposed semantic map by Malchukov and Narrog (2008: 518–531, fig. 34.9), covering the four cases relevant to core arguments but excepting the locative (above), which is basically same with CAY. In GCAY the locative is neutrally relevant to S | P | T/R, A, and G as regards to a referent in the first and the second person, as discussed in § 27.4 and § 30.6-v.

As stated and shown (§ 4.1.4.1, § 21, Table 20), morphological distinction between the absolute and the relative is only made for unpossessed nominals in the singular, but not for ones in the dual and the plural. The same distinction does not occur either with free-standing pronouns of the first, second, and reflexive person, but only with ones of the third person, as stated and shown (§ 4.1.4.3, § 13.1).

## 1.2. Core arguments and valency modification

i) Primary arguments, i.e. S (intransitive subject), P (patient), T (theme), R (recipient), and A (agent, incl. impersonal  $A_{IMP}$ ) involved in primary stems in Table 25 are candidates for core status. S, P, T, R may be relegated or “demoted” (§ 25.2.1, § 34, § 35, etc.) to a non-core status, while A (incl.  $A_{IMP}$ ) may be

1. This follows the four-category pronominal square of Yasugi (1994, 1995: 133–151) based on his extensive survey of Native Middle American languages. His description shows that such as (3) for CAY is a typical ergative pattern for Middle America as seen in Mayan and Zoque.



“deleted” (§ 5.1.1.2, § 34, etc.). By contrast there is no deletion of S, P, T, and R, and no demotion of A (incl.  $A_{IMP}$ ).

Table 25: Primary (valency-unmodified) stems: monovalent, bivalent, and trivalent (ditransitive), cf. § 5.1.1.1:

S	monovalent (intransitive) incl. impersonal S ( $[S_{IMP}]$ )		§ 33
	bivalent (monotransitive)		
P A	agentive	$P \neq S = A$	§ 34.1
	patientive	$P = S \neq A$	§ 34.2
	impersonal patientive	$P = S \neq A_{IMP}$	§ 34.3
	trivalent (ditransitive)		
T R A	secundative	(T) R A	§ 35.1.1
	indirective	T (R) A	§ 35.1.2

Parenthesized T or R stand for obligatory demotion – obligatory since CAY verbs have only two core positions.

$S_{IMP}$  and  $A_{IMP}$  is some *natural process/force* and cannot be expressed externally by a free-standing NP, meaning that it is subject to verbal indexing as third person singular subject but not flagging (nominal case marking).

Each kind of primary stem – monovalent, bivalent, and trivalent – is exemplified:

- (3) |*tai-*| ‘to come over’, |*iqa-*| ‘to be dirty’.
- (4) a. agentive |*niyi-*| ‘to eat’  
 b. patientive |*atyi-*| ‘to tear’, (6a) |*tuqu-c-*| ‘to kill’ (die-A)  
 c. impersonal patientive |*ciku-*| ‘to freeze, cold’ – with  $A_{IMP}$ .
- (5) a. secundative |*cikiy-*| ‘to give (s.t.) to s.o.’  
 b. indirective |*tuni-*| ‘to sell/give s.t. (to s.o.)’.

In view of detransitivization, agentive bivalent verbs show underived antipassivization and (TAM-sensitive) passivization, while patientive ones are characterized by underived mediopassives but derived antipassives, though impersonal patientives cannot be medio-passive or antipassive (for a good reason). Passivization is also possible by means of a pseudo-passive suffix. See Table 27.

In addition, denominal verb stems are monovalent or bivalent, with one or two arguments supplied by the verbalizing suffix involved (§ 38). There are no ditransitive verb stems that are denominal.

ii) Verb stems may not only be primary but also non-primary or extended, that is, extended in valency or modified with valency-related (non-adverbial)

suffixes – increase, rearrangement, and decrease.

Valency-increasing suffixes are of the two kinds, responsible for simplex verbs and complex (transitive) verbs:

Table 26: Valency-increasing suffixes

simplex	A (causative)	+c- ,  +caŷ- ,  +ciŷ- ,  ŷqi-	§ 39.1.1	* occur only after mono-valents or roots * often lexicalized
	E (applicative) (means / T)	+(u)c-	§ 39.4.1	* wide range of roles incl. benefactive
	(place / R)	+(u)tiki-	§ 39.7.1	* rearranging as well as increasing
		+viki-	§ 39.7.2	
	E (adversative)	+yi <sub>1</sub> -	§ 39.5	* malefactive ‘on, to the disadvantage of’
A <sub>IMP</sub> (necessitative)	+naŷqi- ,  +naŷi- ,  +kixnaŷqi-	§ 39.2	* may also be modality marker	
complex	A' (causative)	+vkaŷ-  ~  +cic-	§ 40.2.1	‘to make, let s.o. –’; cf. simplex A
	A' (directive)	+sqi- ,  +squma-	§ 40.2.2	‘to ask/tell s.o. to –’
	A' (speculative)	+ <sub>1</sub> cuki- ,  +naŷuki-	§ 40.2.3	‘to think that s.o. –’
	A' (reportative)	+ni-	§ 40.2.4	‘to say that s.o. –’
	A' (ignorative)	+(u)cii- ,  (u)ciŷkait- ,  (u)iiŷ(ut)-	§ 40.2.5	‘not to know, be unsure that/whether s.o. (now, no longer)’
		+niŷciŷ-	§ 40.2.6	
A' (expectant)	+niŷciŷ-	§ 40.2.6	‘to wait until s.o. –’	

ii.a) The simplex verb suffixes, called VVsm, introduce one argument, as illustrated with external NPs in § 30.2.2:

- (6) a. causative A |+c-| |tuqu-c-| ‘to kill’ from |tuqu-| ‘to die’ – yielding patientive bivalent stem with P (< S) + A, cf. (4a)
- b. applicative E |+(u)c-| |aya-uc-| ‘to go with’ from |ayaŷ-| ‘to go, leave with/for/to’
- |+(u)tiki-| |ilitnaŷ-utki-| ‘to teach s.t. (to s.o.)’ from |ilitnaŷ-| ‘to teach s.o.’
- |+viki-| |kuvi-viki-| ‘to spill (s.t.) on s.o./s.t.’ from |kuvi-| ‘to spill s.t.’
- c. adversative E |+yi<sub>1</sub>-| |tuqu-i-| ‘to die on/to the detriment of’ from |tuqu-| ‘to die’
- d. impersonal agent |+naŷqi-| |niŷ-naŷqi-| ‘must eat, (it A<sub>IMP</sub>) behooves s.o. to eat (s.t.)’.

The causative A  $|+c-|$  (a) occurs with monovalent stems (with S becoming P) or roots, yielding (often lexicalized) monotransitive stems with P and A, while the three others (b, c, d) may occur with any of the three types of primary stems (mono-, bi- tri-valent).

The applicative  $E_{APL} |+ (u)c-|$  (b) have different roles like benefactive as well as companionship, addressee, recipient, etc.,<sup>2</sup> as opposed to the adversative  $E_{ADV} |+y\dot{i}_1-|$  (c), see § 39.4 for “experiencer” E extension: Only when added to monovalent stems, the  $E_{APL}$  and the  $E_{ADV}$  show one important difference from each other concerning case alignment, as will be seen in (14c) vs. (15), which comes from the difference in argument hierarchy in Table 12.

The applicative  $|+(u)tiki-|$  and  $|+viki-|$  are composite suffixes (§ 4.1.3.1-ii) and serve for valency rearranging for ditransitive stems as well as for increasing, as detailed in § 39.7.1 and § 39.7.2. They are derived from the transitive relational verb  $NV_{RV} |-ki-|$  ‘to have – as’ (§ 37.2) after the relativizer  $VN_{rl} |+_1viy-|$  (place) and  $|+(u)t-|$  (instrument) – § 17.6.

The impersonal agent  $A_{IMP} |+na\dot{y}qi-|$  (d) represents some necessity or destiny, while the  $A_{IMP}$  argument involved in impersonal patientive (bivalent) stems in Table 25 (§ 30.1.2) implies an uncontrollable natural or supernatural power or process. Either of these two kinds of  $A_{IMP}$  argument is coded in verb inflection as singular subject (glossed by italicized ‘it’) but never occurs as an external NP and accordingly is not relevant to case assignment – see § 30.2.1. However,  $|+na\dot{y}qi-|$  may not be valency-increasing but merely serves as a modality marker (i.e.  $VV_m$  rather than  $VV_{sm}$ ), possibly rendering case alignments confusing, depending upon  $A_{IMP}$  or A deletion, as will be detailed in § 39.2.1.

$A_{IMP} |+na\dot{y}qi-|$  does not occur with E except for patientive bivalents (P A) derived from  $E_{APL} < S$ .

In addition, many older speakers in general may have a zero-derived increase of locational P or of A /  $A_{IMP}$  on various monovalent stems. This is described as transitive use of monovalent (intransitive) stems in § 33.4.1, § 33.4.2.

ii.b) By contrast, a complex verb suffix (of six kinds), called  $VV_{cm}$ , occur after a simple verb stem to embed it into a “complex transitive” verb stem, yielding an upper-layer clause, as illustrated in § 30.2.3.

- (7) a. causative A'  $|+vkay-| \sim |-cic-|$   $|tuqu-vkay-|$   
           ‘to let s.o. die’, distinct from (6a)  
            $|atuy-cic-|$  ‘to make s.o. sing (s.t.); to  
           make (s.o.) sing s.t.’

---

2. The applicative  $E_{APL} |+ (u)c-|$  is attested after a complex transitive, but apparently by a small number of speakers and rejected by many people. I suspect that this is a new innovation (among younger or semi-speakers) rather than an archaism.

- b. reportative A' |+ni-|                    |niȳ-ni-| 'to say that s.o. eats (s.t.); to say that (s.o.) eats s.t.'

A complex may be recursive (A' < A" < A"', ..), e.g. (20) and (25).

All extended verb stems with these valency-increasing suffixes are patientive in view of detransitivization except for the reportative complex transitive |+ni-| (§ 40.2.4), which is agentive. Accordingly all the others than |+ni-| require suffix-derived antipassivization (8a) to be detransitivized, while |+ni-| shows zero-derived antipassivization.

iii) There are two kinds of suffixes that decrease by one argument for detransitivization (§ 30.3.2 below). CAY, however, has no solid suffix whose function is passivization like the 'unreservedly productive' -niqar- in West Greenlandic (Fortescue 1984: 266).

Table 27: Valency-decreasing suffixes

decreasing	antipassive (for patientive verbs)	+ȳi <sub>2</sub> -	§ 39.6.1	* vs. applicative E; most productive
		+(u)c-	§ 39.4.4	* cf. adversative E
		-kiŋi-	§ 39.6.2	
pseudo-passive		+sci(u)ȳ-	§ 39.3.1	* dynamic; generally adversative
		+ȳau-  / +ȳaqi-	§ 39.3.2	* stative (see also § 17.4.2)

The first antipassivizer |+ȳi<sub>2</sub>-| is very productive, while the two others are restricted to certain stems. They are for patientive bivalent stems, while an agentive bivalent stem is antipassivized by zero derivation (§ 34.1.1). |+ȳi<sub>2</sub>-| is possible with complex verbs (except for ones with VVsm |+ni-| which are agentive).

Most important to note is that the antipassive |+ȳi<sub>2</sub>-| and +(u)c-| are closely related with the valency-increasing E<sub>ADV</sub> |+ȳi<sub>1</sub>-| and E<sub>APL</sub> +(u)c-| in Table 26, as mentioned below and fully discussed in § 39.5.2.

The two pseudo-passives are composite suffixes (§ 4.1.3.1-ii) and lexically restricted.

- (8) a. antipassive |+ȳi<sub>2</sub>-|                    e.g. *allg-i-uq* 'he tears (s.t.)' from *allg-aa* 'he tears it' with (4b) |aȳ-| 'to tear'
- b. pseudo-passive |+(s)ci(u)ȳ-|            e.g. *nere-scir-tuq* 'it was eaten by s.o.' from *ner-aa* 'he ate it' with (4a) |niȳi-| 'to eat'.

## 2. Case assignment according to argument hierarchy

As will be illustrated just below, the arguments involved in “simplex” (§ 39) and “complex” verbs (§ 40), with or without valency extension, follow a hierarchy in terms of core argument accessibility to the absolutive and next to the relative (i.e. ABS > REL).

### 2.1. Primary (non-extended) simplex verbs

They show the argument hierarchy:

- |     |                 |   |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| (9) | a. monovalent   | S (no hierarchy, given the single argument) |
|     | b. bivalent     | P > A                                       |
|     | c. ditransitive | T > R > A                                   |

A argument presupposes P or T/R, but *not* vice versa. While A may be deleted, P or T/R can never be deleted in any constructions but may only be demoted. Their primacy over A necessarily correlates to the ergative nature of the language. Note the ordering of T > R > A instead of R > T > A. See also Table 28 and Table 29 for the expanded argument hierarchy.

Case assignment to explicit NP(s) is illustrated, with the alignment given at the right:

i) monovalent — no other way than the absolutive on the only argument S:

- |      |  |                |  |      |
|------|--|----------------|--|------|
| (10) | <i>angun<sub>s</sub></i>                       | <i>tai-guq</i> |  | Sabs |
|      | man.ABS.sg.                                    | come-IND.3sg.  |  |      |
|      | ‘the man is coming’ — more examples in § 33.1. |                |  |      |

ii) bivalent — e.g. a) agentive, b) patientive, c) impersonal patientive, all of which behave the same pattern as far as transitive constructions are concerned:

- |      |   |                              |                   |  |                             |
|------|---|------------------------------|-------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| (11) | a. <i>angute-m<sub>A</sub></i>  | <i>neq<sub>p</sub></i>       | <i>ner-aa</i>     |  | Pabs Arel                   |
|      | man-REL.sg.   | fish.ABS.sg.                 | eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  |  |                             |
|      | ‘the man is eating the fish’ — more examples in § 34.1                                  |                              |                   |  |                             |
|      | b. <i>angute-m<sub>A</sub></i>  | <i>‘lumarraq<sub>p</sub></i> | <i>allg-aa</i>    |  | Pabs Arel                   |
|      | man-REL.sg.   | shirt.ABS.sg.                | tear-IND.3sg.3sg. |  |                             |
|      | ‘the man tore the shirt’ — more examples in § 34.2                                      |                              |                   |  |                             |
|      | c. <i>neq<sub>p</sub></i>   | <i>ciku-a</i>                |                   |  | Pabs A <sub>IMP</sub> (rel) |
|      | fish.ABS.   | freeze-IND.3sg.3sg.          |                   |  |                             |
|      | ‘it (A <sub>IMP</sub> ) has frozen the fish, i.e. the fish is frozen’ — more in § 34.3. |                              |                   |  |                             |



abs    *all*    rel    demotion of relative to allative, followed by promotion of A to relative

Demotion of an absolutive argument (like T) to the ablative-modalis status, as in (a), is named “type 1” or ablative-modalis demotion, and that of a relative (like R) to allative, as in (b), is “type 2” or allative demotion (§ 30.3.1). This suggests the ordering of T higher than R. The type 2 demotion will also occur in other constructions later, i.e. applicative (17) and complex verbs (19b). Table 31 (§ 35.3) reflects the correspondence of these constructions.

The verb |*niŷqi-*| ‘to feed’ in the following example, repeated as § 39(49), is a lexicalized secundative ditransitive verb, with causative A |*-ŷqi-*| (§39.1.4), although it is obviously a secondary derivation with the stem (4)a |*niŷi-*| ‘to eat’ as mentioned therein. Hence only the case alignment of (12’a) but not (12’b).

- (13)    *Nerqe-ciq-anka*                      *qimugte-nka*<sub>R</sub>            (T)abm Rabs Arel  
           feed-FUT-IND.1sg.3pl.        dog-ABS.pl.  
           *neq-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
           fish-ABM.sg.  
           ‘I will feed my dogs fish.’  
           – compare this with the antipassive construction (29) below with two  
           ABM nouns.

## 2.2. Extended simplex verbs

Three kinds of primary verb stems (mono-, bi-, tri-valent; § 30.1.2-i) are combined with extended arguments (italicized) E and/or A<sub>IMP</sub> into the hierarchy. Note that the two kinds of E, applicative and adversative, behave differently concerning S:

Table 28: Extended simplex verbs with argument hierarchy:

S > <i>E</i> <sub>ADV</sub>	/	<i>E</i> <sub>APL</sub> > S	
P		> E > A	> A <sub>IMP</sub>
T > R			

An extended argument is given in italics, while a primary argument in non-italics.

Like primary A<sub>IMP</sub>, the extended A<sub>IMP</sub> is coded in verb inflection (as transitive subject) but is never expressed externally by NP, hence no relevance to case assignment.

The extended A<sub>IMP</sub> does not co-occur with primary A<sub>IMP</sub>, in other words, the former is not possible with an impersonal patientive stem. Hence no combination like \*P (> E) A<sub>IMP</sub> > A<sub>IMP</sub>.

The extended  $A_{IMP}$  does not co-occur with E, either applicative or adversative, except for  $E_{APL} > S$  which serves as patientive bivalent with P A, cf. (6)a. Hence no combination like  $*S > E_{ADV} > A_{IMP}$ ,  $*P > E > A > A_{IMP}$ , for instance.

Any argument in the Table is accessible to the absolutive status according to the hierarchy. The table is expanded into Table 29 (below) to encompass complex verbs.

i) Extended bivalent stems: Various argument combinations and the case assignment are given below in two groups (14) vs. (15), since, importantly, the applicative E behaves differently from other extended arguments like the adversative E when the primary stem is intransitive (monovalent with S).

- ABS > REL
- (14) a. P(S)abs A rel patientive (6a) |*tuqu-c-*| ‘to kill’ (die-A)  
*angute-m<sub>A</sub>* *tuqu-t-aa* *taqukaq<sub>P</sub>*  
 man-REL.sg. die-A-IND.3sg.3sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the man killed the bear’ – more examples in § 39.1.1 for |+c-|  
 cf. *tuqu-uu* *taqukaq<sub>S</sub>* ‘the bear is dead’  
 die-IND.3sg. bear.ABS.sg.
- b. P(S)abs  $A_{IMP}(\text{rel})$  impersonal (6d)  $A_{IMP}$ , inflectionally  
*ayag-narq-aaten* coded, never occurs as a free NP  
 leave- $A_{IMP}$ -IND.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘you (sg.) must go, lit. *it* behooves you [P] to go’  
 – more examples with necessitative |+*naŋqi-*| in § 39.2.1  
 cf. *ayag-tuten* ‘you (sg.) are going’  
 leave-IND.2sg.
- c. P(S)abs  $A(E_{ADV})\text{rel}$  adversative (6c)  
*tuqu-i-gaqa* *nulia-qa<sub>P=S</sub>*  
 die- $E_{ADV}$ -IND.1sg.3sg. Wi-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my wife died on me [ $A=E_{ADV}$ ], I lost my wife; I had the adversative  
 experience of my wife’s dying’  
 – more examples with  $E_{ADV}$  |+*ŋi-*| in § 39.5.1-i.

Note the contrast between (c) and the following (15) as reflecting the difference between  $E_{ADV}$  and  $E_{APL}$  in reference to monovalent stems with S (‘my wife’):

- ABS > REL
- (15) P( $E_{APL}$ )abs A(S) rel applicative (6b)  
*aya-ut-aanga* *nulia-ma<sub>A</sub>*  
 go- $E_{APL}$ -IND.3sg.1sg. Wi-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my wife [A(S)] went with me [P( $E_{APL}$ )]; my wife accompanied me’



- more examples with  $E_{APL} |+(u)c-$  in § 39.4.2 include not only comitative but also beneficiary, addressee of speech activity, recipient/direction with regard to monovalent.

where, by contrast with (14c) above, ‘my wife’ is the transitive subject and ‘1sg.’ is the transitive object, as if the argument status of S and applicative E is reversed in the hierarchy like  $S > E$  into  $E > S$  – i.e.  $P = E_{APL} > A = S$  in the general hierarchy Table 28. Note that ‘my wife’ who ‘died’ or ‘went’ are in P function in (14c) but in A function in (15) and that correspondingly ‘1sg.’ are the opposite in the function. Semantically, the reversal may be understandable, if the literal ‘she went with me’ could be reinterpreted as transitive ‘she accompanied me’. Incidentally, both the adversative and the applicative construction are highly productive.

ii) *Extended trivalent stems*: As is the case with primary trivalent, i.e. ditransitive, stems like (12) for ‘to give, sell’, extended trivalent stems require “reduction” (§ 30.3.1) by one argument, in order to be (transitively) inflected, thereby promoting the third (next highest) argument to fill the vacated slot for the relative. See also § 30.3.2 also for detransitivization related with the obligatory reduction.

In the case of the following (a), for instance, reduction is made from three arguments to two by demoting one argument so that the two fill the core positions as the object and the subject:

- (16) a. ABM ABS REL  
 (P) E A with beneficiary E extension (E = non-R)  
*kipuy-ut-aanga arna-m<sub>A</sub> kuvvia-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 ‘buy- $E_{APL}$ -IND.3sg.1sg. woman-REL.sg. coffee-ABM.sg.  
 ‘the woman bought coffee for me [E]’  
 – more examples in § 39.4.1
- b. (P) A  $A_{IMP}$  (rel) with impersonal agent extension  
*ner-narq-aanga neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 eat-must-IND.3sg.1sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I must eat fish (lit. it behoves me [A] to eat fish)’  
 – more examples in § 39.2.1.

The parenthesized (rel) in (b) means that  $A_{IMP}$  is not externally expressed by a relative-case NP, though coded in verb inflection as the transitive subject.

Case assignment process for (16)a may be represented step by step by the following:

- (16)'a
- |            |     |     |   |
|------------|-----|-----|---|
| P          | E   | A   |   |
| abs        |     |     | absolutive to the highest T   |
| abs        | rel |     | relative to the next higher R   |
| <i>abm</i> | abs | rel | demotion of absolutive to ablative-modalis, followed by promotion of E to absolutive and of A to relative |

which obviously shows the same pattern that (12'a) follows, that is, the type 1 or ablative-modalis demotion.

However, the applicative E can be a recipient (instead of benefactive, comitative, etc.), in which case a transitive construction follows the pattern of (12'b) instead, showing the type 2 or allative demotion, as in the following:

- (17) a. *kap-ut-aa* *murak<sub>p</sub>* Pabs (E)all Arel  
stab-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. wood.ABS.sg.  
*nuna-mun* (E=R)  
land-ALL.sg.  
‘he stabbed the wood into the ground’ [YED 189]  
cf. *kap-aa* ‘he stabbed it’.
- b. *imi-ut-aa* *pucka-mun* (E=R)  
fill-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. barrel-ALL.sg.  
‘he filled the barrel with it (e.g. water [P])’

– with the assignment pattern of:

- (17)'
- |     |            |     |  |
|-----|------------|-----|--|
| P   | E(=R)      | A   |  |
| abs |            |     | absolutive to the highest T  |
| abs | rel        |     | relative to the next higher R  |
| abs | <i>all</i> | rel | demotion of relative to allative, followed by promotion of A to relative |

See Table 31 (§ 35.3) for all kinds of extended trivalents (actually seven), which are interrelated with primary ditransitives in valency patterns and follow the same case assignment pattern following the argument hierarchy in Table 29 just below.

### 2.3. Complex verbs

These add an upper-layer clause and that often recursively, embedding a simplex verb clause, either primary or extended, or a lower-layer complex clause in accordance with the hierarchy of:

Table 29: Verb extension (simplex and complex) with argument hierarchy

simplex [lower]		complex [upper]
S > E <sub>ADV</sub> / E <sub>APL</sub>	} > A <sub>IMP</sub> > A' > A'' ...	
P > E > A		
T > R > E > A		

– which is an expansion of Table 28.

i) bivalent – with S > A' (S becoming P):

- (18) Sabs A'rel  
*arna-m*<sub>A'</sub>            *angun*<sub>P=S</sub> *ayag-yuk-aa*  
 woman-REL.sg. man.ABS.sg. leave-A'.think-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘the woman thinks the man left’.

ii) trivalent – with P > A > A', where the obligatory reduction by one argument may be made through either type of demotion, thereby yielding two types of complex verbs i.e. (a) type 1 (with ablative-modal NP) and (b) type 2 (with allative NP), with difference in focus. Note also that the different demotions yield the different verb inflections ‘3sg.1sg.’ vs. ‘3sg.3sg.’

- (19) a. (P)abm Aabs A'rel  
*angute-m*<sub>A'</sub>    *nere-vkar-aanga*                    *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 man-REL.sg. eat-A'.make-IND.3sg.1sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘the man made me [P=A] to eat a/the fish’
- b. Pabs (A)all A'rel  
*angute-m*<sub>A'</sub>    *nere-vkar-aa*                    *neqa*<sub>P</sub>            *wang-nun*<sub>(A)</sub>  
 man-REL.sg. eat-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg. fish.ABS.sg. 1sg.-ALL  
 ‘the man made me eat *the* fish’

– with the assignment pattern of:

- (19)'      P    A    A'
- a. abs                    absolutive to the highest A  
 abs rel                  relative to the next higher A  
 abm abs rel            demotion of absolutive to ablative-modal, followed by promotion of relative to absolutive, in turn followed by promotion of A' to relative
- b. abs                    absolutive to the highest T  
 abs rel                  relative to the next higher R  
 abs all rel              demotion of relative to allative, followed by promotion of A' to relative

(a) with type 1 demotion vs. (b) with type 2 demotion corresponding to (12'a) vs. (12'b) or to (16)' vs. (17)'.  
 A complex transitive may be recursive with  $S > A' > A''$ , as in the following trivalent (a) vs. (b), both from two upper-layered, but with different demotions:

- (20) a. (S)abm A'abs A''rel – with type 1 demotion  
*arna-m<sub>A''</sub>* *atur-cec-uk-aanga*  
 woman-REL.sg. sing-A'.cause-A''.think-IND.3sg.1sg.  
*irnia-mnek<sub>(S)</sub>*  
 child-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 'the woman thinks that I [A'] made my child sing'
- b. Sabs (A')all A''rel – with type 2 demotion  
*ayag-cet-ni-a* *ata-mnun<sub>(A')</sub>*.  
 go-A'.make-A''.say-IND.3sg.3sg. Fa-ALL.sg.  
 'he [A''] says that my father made her [P=S] leave'.

iii) Multi-valent verbs, either simplex or complex, with four or more arguments involved, require two or more reductions, as illustrated in § 30.3.1. A four-layered verb {{{{ simplex } A' } A'' } A''' } with three complex verb suffixes is rather rare, although multi-valent verbs with more than four arguments are not rare.

iv) Antipassive  $E_{APS}$  may occur for detransitivization of a complex verb – e.g. (28b), (30) through (32) below. But the applicative  $E_{APL}$  within a complex verb does not occur for the majority of speakers, though found to be used by a small number of speakers (fn. 2).

### 3. Argument reduction and detransitivization

As already seen with trivalent (primary or extended) stems, argument reduction is obligatory for multi-valent stems to be inflected as transitive verbs, since these have only two slots (subject and object), like  $3 \Rightarrow 2$ ,  $4 \Rightarrow (3 \Rightarrow) 2$ ,  $5 \Rightarrow (4 \Rightarrow 3 \Rightarrow) 2$ , and so on. A slot vacated through the reduction is filled by promoting the next higher argument. If stems are quadrivalent (or more), reduction is necessarily recursive until it has only two arguments to be assigned, the absolutive and the relative.

On top of this, detransitivization, i.e.  $2 \Rightarrow 1$ , is necessary for a verb to be inflected as intransitive – § 30.3.1. Detransitivization may also be recursive since a detransitivized stem may later be valency-increased and further be re-detransitivized.

## 3.1. Reduction – demotion (two types) and agent coreference

i) Demotion (two types): As already illustrated above, the most common process of argument reduction is demotion of a core argument NP of two types, namely “type 1” or ablative-modalis demotion (from the absolutive; i.e. ABS → ABM) and “type 2” or allative demotion (from the relative; i.e. REL → ALL). A demoted argument, being no longer a core, is not inflectionally indexed (as stated).

All the examples above confirm the correspondence of the two oblique cases with the three kinds of constructions:

- (21) a. ABM/type 1 demotion:
- |                     |                    |                           |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>ditransitive</i> | <i>applicative</i> | <i>complex transitive</i> |
| secundative         | E = non-recipient  | type 1                    |
- b. ALL/type 2 demotion:
- |                     |                    |                           |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>ditransitive</i> | <i>applicative</i> | <i>complex transitive</i> |
| indirective         | E = recipient      | type 2                    |

– substantially the same as Table 31 (§ 35.3) which compares various trivalent constructions.

However, type 1 is more general in use than type 2, which is restricted to fewer constructions. Each is summarized including those constructions above:

*type 1 demotion*: from absolutive to ablative-modalis

1. argument reduction of multi-valent stems in general (§ 30.3.1)
2. secundative ditransitive T (theme) or non-R like applicative E, e.g. (12a), (16)
3. antipassivization as a way of detransitivization (§ 30.3.2.1)
4. stranded NPs (§ 25.2.2, § 30.4)
5. complement clauses (§ 30.5.1).

This is not the result of demotion, however, when antipassives are viewed as accusative, e.g. by Kalmár 1979 for Inuktitut.

*type 2 demotion*: from relative to allative

1. indirective ditransitive R (recipient) and R-like applicative E, e.g. (12b), (17)
2. A and A' (only if there is A") in complex transitive constructions, e.g. (19b), (20b)
3. transitive complement clauses (§ 18.1.2.2 and § 30.5.1).

The two types of demotion may occur in one multi-valent verb:

- (22) (P)abm E<sub>APL</sub>abs (A)all A'rel from P > E<sub>APL</sub> > A > A'
- |   |                                  |                               |
|---|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>kipuy-ut-ni-a</i>                      | <i>aana-minun</i> <sub>(A)</sub> | <i>neq-mek</i> <sub>(P)</sub> |
| buy-E <sub>APL</sub> -A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg. | Mo-ALL.3Rsg.sg.                  | fish-ABM.sg.                  |
- ‘she says her mother bought fish for him [E]’

– compare with (24) characterized by A and A' arguments being identified.

This quadrivalent verb *kipuy-ut-ni-a* may be represented by case assignments step by step:

(22)'	P	E	A	A'	
	abs				
	abs	rel			
	<i>abm</i>	abs	rel		demotion of absolutive to ablative-modalis, followed by promotion of E to absolutive, followed in turn by promotion of A to relative
	<i>abm</i>	abs	<i>all</i>	rel	demotion of relative to allative, followed by promotion of A' to relative.

ii) Agent coreference: On top of demotion, there is another way of argument reduction, when two agents, at least one of which has to be a complex transitive A', are coreferential and represented by A-A', A'-A".<sup>3</sup>

(23)	S-A'abs	from S > A'
	<i>arna-u-ni-uq</i>	‘he <sub>i</sub> says he <sub>i</sub> is a woman’
	woman-be-A'.say-IND.3sg.	

(24)	(P)abm	E <sub>APL</sub> abs	A-A'rel	from P > E <sub>APL</sub> > A > A'
	<i>kipuy-ut-ni-a</i>			<i>neq-mek</i> <sub>(P)</sub>
	buy-E <sub>APL</sub> -A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.			fish-ABM.sg.
	‘she <sub>i</sub> says she <sub>i</sub> bought fish for him [E]’			
	– compare with (22) characterized by two demotions.			

(25)	Pabs	(A)all	A'-A"rel	from P > A > A' > A"
	<i>arna-m</i> <sub>A"/A'</sub>		<i>nere-vkar-ni-a</i>	
	woman.ABS.sg.		eat-A'.make-A".say-IND.3sg.3sg.	
	<i>qimugte-mun</i> <sub>(A)</sub>		<i>neqa</i> <sub>P</sub>	
	dog-ALL.sg.		fish.ABS.sg.	
	‘the woman <sub>i</sub> said she <sub>i</sub> made the dog to eat the fish’.			

The following example with six arguments is subject to two readings, depending upon whether agent coreference is involved or not:

3. This is, notably, distinct from the subject coreferentiality between a main-clause subject and an appositive-mood verb (cosubordinate clause), § 51.5.

- (26) Tabm Rall E<sub>APL</sub>abs Arel/all A<sub>IMP</sub>(Ø) A'rel  
 from T > R > E<sub>APL</sub> > A > A<sub>IMP</sub> > A'  
*Apy-ut-naq-ni-anga* *nulia-vnun*<sub>(R)</sub>  
 ask-E<sub>APL</sub>-A<sub>IMP</sub>.NEC-A'.say-IND.3sg.1sg. Wi-ALL.2sg.sg.  
*akuta-li-yara-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>. = § 39(84)  
 ice.cream-make-VNnm-ABM.sg.  
 i. 'she [A'] said that s.o. else [(A)] should ask your wife [(R)] for me [E<sub>APL</sub>] about how to make ice cream [(T)]'  
 ii. 'she<sub>i</sub> [A'] said that she<sub>i</sub> [A'-A] should ask your wife [(R)] for me [E<sub>APL</sub>] about how to make ice cream[(T)]'  
 – with secundative stem |*apic*-| 'to ask' as in *apt-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.) *T-mek* 'he asked me about T'.

- (26)' T R E<sub>APL</sub> A A<sub>IMP</sub> A'  
 abs  
 abs rel  
*abm* rel abs type 1 demotion followed by E<sub>APL</sub> promotion  
*abm all* abs rel type 2 demotion followed by A promotion  
 i. *abm all* abs *all* Ø rel type 2 demotion (allative A not explicit)  
 ii. *abm all* abs rel<sub>i</sub> Ø rel<sub>i</sub> coreferentiality  
 – A<sub>IMP</sub>, with no explicit NP, is irrelevant to case assignment, thus Ø.

### 3.2. Detransitivization

Transitive verbs generally have their corresponding intransitives, naturally with an absolutive argument only, which are derived through various detransitivizing (or intransitivizing) processes – i.e. antipassivization (either zero- or suffix-derived), passivization (A deletion), “medialization” (between P and A, between E<sub>ADV</sub> and A),<sup>4</sup> and reflexivization/reciprocalization that are sensitive to the verb

4. The term “medialize” was employed by Bergsland (1955: 108–109) when writing that the Greenlandic suffix *-Si-/si-/-i-* (a cognate with CAY antipassive/adversative |+yi-|) “medializes” a transitive verb, and may also, conversely, “transitivize” an intransitive verb thereby giving it the implication of '(unwillingly) get it to/for himself'. Obviously his medialization refers to antipassivization (traditional “half-transitivization” in Eskimo linguistics), and the relatedness of the marker with the transitive adversative construction is rightly recognized – see § 39.5.2. The CAY adversative suffix occurs also with intransitive inflection (§ 39.5.1), that is, yielding intransitive adversative constructions as well, and the

stem types and to pragmatic factors. The resulting single core argument is a derived S. Detransitivization (two arguments to one) is a special type of argument reduction.

### 3.2.1. Antipassive

i) antipassive by zero derivation: For agentive monotransitives, with the original object demoted (as parenthesized) to the ablative-modal status (§ 30.2.3.1-i; § 34.1.1):

- (27) a. (P)abm S=Aabs from P > A, with zero antipassivization  
*angun*<sub>S=A</sub> *ner'-uq* *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg. eat-IND.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 'the man is eating fish'  
 cf. *angute-m*<sub>A</sub> *ner-aa* *neqa*<sub>P</sub>  
 man-REL.sg. eat-IND.3sg.3sg. fish.ABS.sg.  
 'the man is eating the fish', with the agentive stem (6a); more examples in § 34.1.1
- b. (S) abm S=E<sub>ADV</sub> abs from S > E<sub>ADV</sub>  
*tuqu-i-gua* *nulia-mnek*<sub>(S)</sub>  
 die-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg. wife-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 'I [E] experienced my wife's dying'; antipassive from (14c); more examples in § 39.5.1.

– with the assignment pattern of:

- (27)' a. P A  
 b. S E<sub>ADV</sub>  
   abs  
   abs rel  
 abm abs zero-antipassivization; demotion of absolute,  
 followed by promotion of A.

ii) antipassives by suffixation (with antipassivizer E<sub>APS</sub>; Table 27) – for patientive monotransitives, with the original object demoted likewise to the ablative-modal status (cf. i above). Suffix-derived antipassivization may occur not only

term is used for CAY (since Miyaoka 1984) to cover medialization i) between P and A (for a detransitivization for patientive verb transitives; e.g. (4b-i and ii) between E<sub>ADV</sub> and A, the latter of which is actually responsible for antipassives (see the explanation for examples (4b, c below).



with bivalent stems within a simplex verb, or within a complex transitive, and this recursively:

ii.a) bivalent:

- (28) a. (P)abm S=Aabs from P > A, with antipassiv E<sub>APS</sub>  
*allg-i-**uq*** *'lumarra-**mek**<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 tear-APS-IND.3sg. shirt-ABM.sg.  
 'he tears a shirt [(P)]'  
 – antipassive from the transitive construction  
 cf. (11b) *allg-aa* with absolutive object (*'lumarraq*) – more examples in § 34.2.2
- b. (P=S)abm S=A'abs from S > A', with antipassive E<sub>APS</sub>  
*arna-u-yuk-i-**uq*** *yug-**mek**<sub>(P=S)</sub>*  
 woman-be-A'.think-E<sub>APS</sub>-IND.3sg. person-ABM.sg.  
 'he thinks the person is a woman'  
 – antipassive from the complex transitive verb  
 cf. P=Sabs A'rel from S > A'  
*arna-u-yuk-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 'he thinks her [P=S] (to be) a woman'  
 – bivalent *arna-u-yuk-* 'to think s.o. as a woman' from  
 denominal monovalent *arna-u-* 'to be a woman'.

ii.b) trivalent: ditransitive, complex verbs, etc.

- (29) (T)abm (R)abm Aabs from secundative ditransitive T / R > A,  
 with antipassive E<sub>APS</sub>  
*nerq-i-**uq*** *qimugte-**minek**<sub>(R)</sub>* *neq-**mek**<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 feed-APS-IND.3sg. dog-ABM.3Rsg.sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 'he is feeding fish to his (own) dogs'  
 – repeated as § 39(48c), cf. transitive (13)

– with the assignment pattern of:

- (29)' T R A  
 abs  
*abm* abs demotion of absolutive, followed by promotion of R  
*abm abm* abs demotion of absolutive (by antipassivization), followed by promotion of A.

The same alignment pattern with two ablative-modalis NPs also occurs in the following with two *-i-* suffixes, the first one of which is adversative and the second antipassive:

- (30) (S)abm (E)abm A'abs from  $S > E_{ADV} > A'$ , with antipassive  $E_{APS}$   
*an'-i-vkar-i-ug* *mikelngur-mek<sub>(E)</sub>* *kaviar-mek<sub>(S)</sub>*  
 go- $E_{ADV}$ -A'.make-APS-IND.3sg. child-ABM.sg. fox-ABM.sg.  
 'he [A'] let a/the fox go out on a/the child' ≙ § 39(232).

On the other hand, antipassivization of trivalent complex transitive construction may show a different pattern due to the two types of demotion:

- (31) (P)abm (A)all A'abs from  $P > A > A'$ , with antipassivization  
*nere-sq-i-unga* *allaner-mun<sub>(A)</sub>* *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 eat-A'.ask-APS-IND.1sg. stranger-ALL.sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 'I invite the stranger to eat fish', cf. (58)

– with the assignment pattern of:

- (31)' P A A'  
 abs  
 abs rel  
*abm all* abs ablative-modalis due to antipassivization together  
 with type 2 demotion of A to allative, followed by  
 promotion of A'.

The same alignment pattern with one ablative-modalis and another allative NP also occurs in the following example as well:

- (32) (S=P)abm (A)all A'abs  
 from  $S (P) > A > A'$ , with antipassive *-gi-* on A and on A'  
*tuqu-c-i-yuk-i-unga* *taquka-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
 die-A-APS-A'.think-APS-IND.1sg. bear-ALL.sg.  
*qimugte-mek<sub>(S)</sub>*  
 dog-ABM.sg.  
 'I [A'] thought the bear killed (made-die) a/the dog [(P=S)]'.

The following complex transitive verb with five arguments is illustrated with secundative ditransitive *|payuyc-|* 'to bring food' being antipassivized:

- (33) (T)abm (R)all  $E_{APL}$ abs (A)all A'rel  
 from  $T > R > E_{APL} > A > A'$ , with antipassivization  
*payuc-i-c-uk-aqa* = § 39(184)  
 bring.food-APS- $E_{APL}$ -A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I [A'] thought s.o.[(A)] brought s.t.[(T)] to s.o.[(R)] for her[ $E_{APL}$ ]'  
 – transitive verb with the subject 'I' and the object 'her' indexed as  
 1sg.3sg. in the inflection *-aqa*, and with the other three arguments

(demoted) in one of the oblique cases, ablative-modalis or allative; with the assignment pattern of:

- (33)' T R E<sub>APL</sub> A A' with antipassivization  
 abs  
 abs rel  
*abm* abs rel antipassivization followed by E promotion to relative  
*abm all* abs rel type 2 demotion followed by E promotion to absolutive and A to relative  
*abm all* abs *all* rel type 2 demotion followed by A' promotion to relative.

It should be clear that ablative-modalis demotion is not only relevant to antipassivization but, as mentioned (§ 30.3.1), it is generally the most common process of argument reduction before detransitivization.

### 3.2.2. Passive

In contrast to antipassivization — zero-derived for agentive bivalent verbs and suffix-derived by  $|+y_i2-|$  for patientive ones (excluding impersonal patientive), passivization is more varied, i.e. i) zero-derived but TAM-sensitive passive, ii) medio-passive for patientive ones, iii) and iv) suffix-derived pseudo-passive of two kinds:

i) TAM-sensitive passive (§ 34.1.2.1), with perfection/completion implied by a VVt suffix, a particle, or a cosubordinate clause. Compare (11) with:

- (34) a. *neqa*<sub>S=P</sub> *ner-uma-uq* S(=P)abs  
 fish.ABS.sg. eat-PRF-IND.3sg.  $\dot{=}$   
*neqa*<sub>S=P</sub> *ner'-uq* *ak'a*  $\dot{=}$  *nang-luku*  
 fish.ABS.sg. eat-IND.3sg. already/use.up-APP.3sg.  
 'the fish is/has been eaten (already, completedly)'  
 b. *navg-uma-uq* / *mumi-ngqa-uq*  
 break-PRF-IND.3sg. turn.over-PRF-IND.3sg.  
 'it is broken' / 'it is turned over'  
 — see § 42.2.3 for VVt  $|+(u)ma-| \sim |-nqa-|$ .

ii) A zero-derived detransitivization from a patientive verb is medio-passive (§ 30.3.2.3), with two readings (a) medial and (b) passive, which is rare, as illustrated by (39) *naveg-tuq*. See, by contrast, (37) in v) below for passive (*not* medial) of an impersonal patientive verb.

iii) Pseudo-passive marked by indicative  $|+ya-u-|$  / transitive  $|+ya-qi-|$  (stative); composites of the passive relativizer ( $|+yay\dot{-}|$ ; § 17.4.2) and intransitive and transitive relational verb  $|+\eta u-|$  /  $|-qi-|$ ; § 37.1 and § 37.2). Cf. English “passive of experience” construction (Curme 1935: 49-3-a [220]; 1931: 15-III-2-B [124]) for transitive (b):

- (35) a. *Qaya-qa*<sub>S=P</sub>                      *mingu-gau-guq*                      *assir-luku*.  
 kayak-ABS.1sg.sg.    paint-PPS-IND.3sg.                      good-APP.3sg.  
 ‘My kayak is painted well, lit. is (the one) painted it being good.’
- b. *Qaya-qa* <sub>P</sub>                      *mingu-gaq-aqa*                      *assir-luku*.  
 kayak-ABS.1sg.sg.    paint-PPS-IND.1sg.3sg.                      good-APP.3sg.  
 ‘I had my kayak painted well.’  
 – painter being either ‘I’ or ‘someone else’.

An A argument NP (‘by s.o.’) hardly shows up, though it sometimes may do so as a peripheral adjunct in the perlocative or ablative-modalis NP. The sentences can have the corresponding inchoative and future versions; see § 39(106).

iv) Pseudo-passives marked by  $|+(s)ci(u)\dot{y}-|$ : With superficial A demotion, notably, to the ablative-modalis or the allative (mainly depending upon the region and not two different derivations). This will turn out (§ 34.1.2.2-i, § 39.3.1) either to be an antipassive construction with ablative-modalis demotion of the original P argument or to possibly be a reinterpretation of the superficial A into the allative demotion:

- |      |                              |           |                                 |
|------|------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
|      | ABS                          | ABM / ALL |                                 |
| (36) | S=P                          | (A)       | from P > A                      |
|      | e.g. <i>nunur-ci(u)r-tuq</i> |           | <i>aata-minek /-minun</i>       |
|      | scold-PPS-IND.3sg.           |           | Fa-ABM/ALL.3Rsg.sg.             |
|      |                              |           | ‘he was scolded by his father’. |

As analyzed, this pseudo-passive with the apparently A demotion in *-mek* is actually parallel to the stranding from an appositive phrase (§ 30.4.1). As a matter of the fact, the composite suffixes  $|+(s)ci\dot{y}-|$  and  $|+(s)ciu\dot{y}-|$  are composed of two NV suffixes  $|-li\dot{y}-|$  ‘to supply’ and  $|-liu\dot{y}-|$  ‘to work with’ characterized by /V-l/ deletion (§ 38.3).

v) A zero-derived detransitivization with impersonal agent deletion: (37) primary vs. (38) extended. The  $A_{IMP}$  is never expressed by an external NP with any case marking, though coded in transitive inflection. No medialization, unlike (39-i):

- (37) ABS / Ø  
 S=P from P > A<sub>IMP</sub> – primary impersonal, cf. (4c)  
*ciku-ua* ‘it [S=P] is frozen, froze’ (§ 34.3.1)  
 freeze-IND.3sg.  
 – cf. (11c) *ciku-a* ‘it [A<sub>IMP</sub>] has frozen it, it is frozen’.
- (38) a. S from S > A<sub>IMP</sub> – extended impersonal, cf. transitive (14b)  
*ayag-narq-uten* ‘you(sg.) [S=P] have to go’ (§ 39.2.1)  
 go-A<sub>IMP</sub>.NEC-IND.2sg. – cf. (6d)
- b. (P)abm Aabs A<sub>IMP</sub>Ø from P > A > A<sub>IMP</sub>  
*ner-narq-ua* *neq-mek*  
 eat-must-IND.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I [S=A] must eat fish [(P)]’.
- (38)b' P A A<sub>IMP</sub>  
 abs  
 abs rel  
 abm abs Ø demotion of absolutive followed by promotion of  
 A to absolutive, with no case assignment to A<sub>IMP</sub>.

### 3.2.3. Medio-passive

For patientive bivalents, with two readings due to two different processes, i.e. (a) medialization (see fn.4 for the terminology; conventionally indicated by ∞; § 34.2.1) meaning that the contrast of A and P is nullified and is no longer distinct and (b) passivization through A deletion:

- (39) *sass'aq* *naveg-tuq*  
 watch.ABS.sg. break-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘the watch broke’ (medial)  
 S = P∞A from P > A through medialization  
 ii. ‘the watch was broken’ (passive) – rare.  
 S = P from P > A through A deletion  
 cf. transitive *navg-aa* (IND-3sg.3sg.) ‘he broke it’.

In (a), bivalent opposition (P vs. A) is medialized (or nullified) into a derived S. This reading, much more common than passivization (b), is consistent with the situation coming about spontaneously. In (b), A is deleted (hence no external NP), but the agency (person or thing) bringing about the situation is understood.

Verb stems differ as to which reading tends to be taken. Some stems may have both readings, in which case medialization is much more common than passive.

There are a limited extent of patientive stems (e.g. ‘to love, to help’) that may have A argument demoted to the allative status – see § 30.3.1-ii and § 34.2.1.

There is another case of medialization, with trivalent  $E_{ADV}$  vs. A ( $E_{ADV} \circ A$ ) accompanied by necessary P demotion, which actually yields suffix-derived antipassivization by  $E_{APS} | +\gamma i_2 - |$  (derived from  $E_{ADV} | +\gamma i_1 - |$ ; § 39.5.2; see also fn. 4).

### 3.2.4. *Reflexives and reciprocals*

By zero derivation; reflexive (a) indicated conventionally by  $\subset$  and reciprocal (b) by  $\circ$ . The former (a) is typically accompanied by a personal pronoun in the ablative-modal case, while (b) occurs with a dual or plural subject (§ 39.4.3-iv). Both are often accompanied by the applicative  $VV_{sm}$  (6b)  $| +(u)c - |$ :

- ABS
- (40) a. S = P  $\subset$  from P > A  
*qenr-ut-uq* *ellmi-nek* ‘he is angry at himself’  
 angry- $E_{APL}$ -IND.3sg. 3Rsg.-ABM
- b. S = P  $\circ$  A from P > A  
*qenr-ut-uk* ‘they(du.) are angry at each other’  
 angry- $E_{APL}$ -IND.3du.  
 –  $| qini\dot{y}c - |$  ‘to be angry’, with final apical deleting suffix  $| +(u)c - |$  (P5i.c).

So far we have seen all kinds of intransitives derived through various detransitivizing processes – antipassivization, passivization (A deletion), medialization (between P and A, between  $E_{ADV}$  and A), reflexivization/reciprocalization – in different ways for agentives and patientive verbs.

Given the possibly recursive reduction and detransitivization (particularly antipassivization) besides adverbial functions, multi-valent verb constructions may have two (or possibly more) arguments in the same oblique case, either ablative-modal or allative, as encountered above, but actually with little danger of ambiguity, due to the semantics or to the suffix order, which typically mirrors the hierarchy rank (like A and A' of complex verbs), e.g. four or five-layered (§ 40.3.2, § 40.3.3).

#### 4. Stranded NPs

In CAY which does not allow compounding (§ 2.3, § 4.1.1), any nominal phrase as a whole is not subject to denominalization or nominal elaboration by a suffix (NV or NN). Only one NP of an appositive or a coordinate phrase (with |=*lu*| ‘and’) is expanded by a suffix, with the other NP being stranded (thereby backgrounding) to the ablative-modal status (§ 25.2.2):

Suffixes concerned are:

- a) NV suffixes such as |=*ŋq̄x*-| ‘to have’, |=*taŋq̄x*-| ‘there be’, |=*ŋit*-| ‘to have no’, |=*ŋ\*i*-| ‘to get’, |=*tuŷ*-| ‘to eat’, |=*li*-| ‘to make (for)’, |=*liŷ*-| ‘to supply with’, |=*liuŷ*-| ‘to work on’, etc. (§ 38.3) – not including relational verbs NVrv (§ 37) and locative verbs (§ 27.8)
- b) NN |=*ly*-| ‘one having’ (§ 20.1.2).

The stranded NP in the ablative-modal status is given the status of (demoted) argument, which can be specified by its adjunct.

##### 4.1. From nominal phrases

In CAY, since a nominal phrase like the following (41) *nutaraq neqa* ‘fresh fish’ (appositive) or (42) *neqa neqerlluk=llu* ‘(fresh) fish and dried fish’ (coordinate) cannot be expanded as a whole by (a) denominalizing (e.g. ‘to have fresh fish’, ‘to have a fish and a dried fish’) or (b) nominal-elaborating suffix (e.g. ‘one having fresh fish’, ‘one having fish and dried fish’) above, stranding is obligatory. One nominal of *nutaraq neqa* or of *neqa neqerlluk=llu* is expanded with the NV or NN suffix and the other nominal is stranded to the ablative-modal status:

- (41) *nutaraq*                      *neqa*                                      ‘fresh fish’  
 new.ABS.sg.      fish.ABS.sg.
- a. [NP<sub>1</sub> NP<sub>2</sub>] – NV      ⇒      NP<sub>1</sub> – VN NP<sub>2</sub> (ABM)  
*nutara-mek*      *neqe-ngqer-tuq*      ‘he has fresh fish’  
 new-ABM.sg.      fish-have-IND.3sg.
  - b. [NP<sub>1</sub> NP<sub>2</sub>] – NN      ⇒      NP<sub>1</sub> – *lek* NP (ABM)  
*nutara-mek*      *neq’-lek*      ‘one who has fresh fish’  
 new-ABM.sg.      fish-one.having.ABS.3sg.
- (42) *neqa*                                      *neqerlluk=llu*  
 fish.ABS.sg.      dried.fish.ABS.sg.=and  
 ‘(fresh) fish and dried fish’

- a.  $[NP_1 NP_2=llu] - NV \Rightarrow NP_1 - NV NP_2 (ABM) =llu$   
*neqe-ngqer-tuq*      *neqerrlug-mek=llu*  
 fish-have-IND.3sg.    dried.fish-ABM.sg.=and  
 ‘he has (fresh) fish and dried fish’
- b.  $[NP_1 NP_2=llu] - lek \Rightarrow NP_1 - lek NP_2 (ABM) =llu$   
*neq-lek*      *neqerrlug-mek=llu*  
 fish-one.having.ABS.sg.    dried.fish-ABM.sg.=and  
 ‘one who has (fresh) fish and dried fish’

Two (or more) stranded NPs in the ablative-modalis may occur when the nominal clauses contain three (or more) nouns, as illustrated in § 25.2.2.

#### 4.2. |*pi-*| constructions

A nominal stem expanded with one of the NV or NN suffixes above may also be put into a periphrastic construction with the prop |*pi-*|, when the nominal stem is displaced, i.e. stranded, by |*pi-*| and occurs in the ablative-modalis case. The periphrastic constructions with |*pi-*| serve to focus the noun:

- (43)      N – NV                     $\Rightarrow$  NP (ABM) *pi* – NV  
*neq-mek*                    *pi-ngqer-tuq*                    ‘he has fish’  
 fish-ABM.sg.            PI-have-IND.3sg.
- (44)      N – NN                     $\Rightarrow$  NP (ABM) *pi* – *lek*  
*neq-mek*                    *pi-lek*                    ‘one who has fish’.  
 fish-ABM.3sg.            PI-one.having.ABS.sg.

Two (or more) NPs stranded in the ablative-modalis may occur when the nominal clauses containing three (or more) nouns are replaced by |*pi-*|, as illustrated in § 25.2.2.

### 5. Cases in nominalized clauses

#### 5.1. Nominal clauses (complementations)

A nominalization embedded in a main clause fills one argument slot (core or demoted) of the clause, requiring reduction, i.e. demotion, of one argument from the original clause.



i) Intransitive (one argument) nominalization – type 1 nominalization (§ 18.1.2.1): If a nominal clause fills a core argument slot of S, P, or indirective T of a main clause like *assir-tuq* ‘it [S] is good’, *nallu-aqa* ‘I do not know it [P]’, *nallunair-aqa* ‘I explain (s.o.) that [T]’, the nominalization head occurs with the absolutive singular marking, while the single argument S (or derived S) of the intransitive construction to be nominalized is genitivized (i.e. changed into the relative case). A nominal clause is not attested to fill the R slot of a main clause. Clausal nominalizers involved below include  $|-I\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.2.2) and  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.2.1).

- (45) a. { S VNnm }<sub>S/P/T</sub>  
           rel < abs      abs.3sg.sg.  
*aata-ma*<sub>G=S</sub>      *tekite-llr-a*      § 18(7)  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. arrive-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘that my father arrived’  
 – with the main clause, e.g. ‘it is good’, ‘I do not know’, ‘I explain’  
 cf. *aata-ka*<sub>S</sub>      *tekit-uq*      ‘my father arrived’  
           Fa-ABS.sg.      arrive-IND.3sg.
- b. { (P) S VNnm }<sub>S/P/T</sub>  
           *abm* rel < abs abs.3sg.sg.  
*angute-m*<sub>G=S</sub>      *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>      *ner-uci-a*      § 18(9a-i)  
 man-REL.sg.      fish-ABM.sg. eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘that the man eats fish’  
 cf. *angun*<sub>S</sub>      *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>      *ner'-uq*  
           man.ABS.sg.      fish-ABM.sg.      eat-IND.3sg.  
           ‘the man is eating fish’.

If a nominal clause fills a demoted argument slot of (P) or (T) of an intransitive main clause like *nallu-unga* ‘I don’t know [(P)]’, etc., the nominalization head is demoted to the ablative-modal status, while the single argument S (or derived S) of the intransitive construction to be nominalized may either remain with the absolutive marking, at least for some speakers, or may be genitivized (like the former) for many others:

- (46) a. { S VNnm }<sub>(P/T)</sub>  
           abs~rel      abm.3sg.sg.  
*aata-ka / -ma*      *aya-uci-anek*  
 Fa-ABS / -REL.1sg.sg. leave-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘that (whether) my father will leave’
- b. { (P) S=A VNnm }<sub>(P/T)</sub>  
           *abm*      abs~rel      abm.3sg.sg.  
*angun / angute-m*      *neq-mek*      *ner-uci-anek*  
 man.ABS / -REL.sg. fish-ABM.sg. eat-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.

The absolutive marking above (*aana-ka*, *angun*) may have some verbal force of the *-uci-* nominalization for those speakers. Compare with the corresponding type 1 complex verbs:

- (46)' a. ***aata-ka***<sub>P=S</sub>      *aya-sq-aa*      'he asked my father to go'  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. go-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 b. ***angun***<sub>P=S(A)</sub>      *neq-mek*      *nere-sq-aa*  
 man.ABS.sg. fish-ABM.sg. eat-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'he asked the man to eat fish'.

ii) *Transitive (two argument) nominalization* – type 2 nominalization (§ 18.1.2.2): Nominalizations of transitive clauses are only possible with VNnm |+(u)ciỵ-| and |-ṭỵ-| (among four nominalizers the language has). If the nominalization head is in the ablative-modalis and the main-clause predicate is intransitive, the A argument NP of the transitive construction is demoted to the allative case and the P argument remains in the absolutive case. The nominal clause fills the slot of demoted (P) or (T) of the intransitive main clause (§ 18.4.3):

- (47)      { P      A      VNnm }<sub>(P/T)</sub>  
             abs    all      abs.3sg.sg.  
             ***angut-mun***      *neqa*      *ner-uci-aneq*  
             man-ALL.sg.      fish.ABS.sg.      eat-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
             'that (if) the man eats the fish'  
             – may co-occur with *nallu-unga* (not.know-IND.1sg) 'I don't know',  
             cf. § 18(99b).

Compare type 2 complex verbs with the same allative demotion (§ 30.2.3):

- (47)'      ***angut-mun***<sub>(A)</sub>      *neqa*<sub>P</sub>      *nere-sq-aa*  
             man-ALL.sg.      fish.ABS.sg.      eat-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg.  
             'he asked a/the man to eat the fish'.

By contrast, if the nominalization head is in the absolutive and the main-clause predicate is transitive, typically the P argument NP of the transitive construction is demoted to the ablative-modalis and the A argument remains in the relative case. The nominal clause fills the slot of P or T of the transitive main clause (§ 18.4.1-ii):

- (48)      { P      A      VNnm }<sub>P/T</sub>  
             abm    rel      abs.3sg.sg.  
             ***neq-mek***      *angute-m*      *ner-uci-a*  
             fish-ABM.sg.      man-REL.sg.      eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
             'that/if the man eats the fish'

- may co-occur with *nallu-aqa* (not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I don’t know it’, cf. § 18(99a)<sup>5</sup>
- cf. *neqa<sub>P</sub>*                      *angute-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *ner-aa*  
 fish.ABS.sg.                      man-REL.sg.                      eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘the man is eating the fish’.

In the following, the argument S (‘I am loved’) to be genitivized is directly marked by the person (possessor) inflection of the nominalization:

- (49)            { S            A            VNnm }<sub>P/T</sub>  
 [rel]            all            abs.1sg.sg.  
*elpe-nun*                      *kenk-uci-qa*  
 2sg.-ALL                      love-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘that I am loved by you (sg.)’  
 – S rel corresponds to the first person possessor *-qa*.

Ditransitive verbs (which are patientive) are subject to A deletion to be nominalized. They behave differently in nominalization depending upon the indirective and secundative. Compare the following with (12ab):

- (50) a. { (T)    R            A            VNnm }  
           abm rel            Ø            abs  
           *neq-mek*                      *kass’a-t<sub>G</sub>*                      *ciki-llr-at*  
           fish-ABM.sg.                      white.man-REL.pl.                      give-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
           ‘that the fish was given to the white men’ – secundative
- b. { T            (R)            A            VNnm }  
           rel            all            Ø            abs.  
           *neqe-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *kass’a-nun*                      *tune-llr-a*  
           fish-REL.sg.                      white.man-ALL.pl.                      sell-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
           ‘that the fish was sold to the white men’ – indirective.

The A argument, being deleted, cannot be expressed.

## 5.2. Relative clauses

If an S argument is relativized, the relative clauses can have no person inflection, and both the head and the (participial) relativization in the following form

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5. However, this basic pattern of (47) vs. (48) may be intermingled, yielding a “hybrid construction” as noted by Jacobson (1995: 369). Some speakers use *nallu-unga* (IND.1sg.) instead with (48), though rejected by other people – see § 18 (99b).

an appositive clause, agreeing in case and number, whose case depends upon the slot it fills in the main clause.

- (51) { S                      VNrl            }
- head
- arnaq*                      *yura-lria*                      ‘woman who is dancing’
- woman.ABS.sg. dance-VNrl.ABS.sg.

If the P (T/R) argument is relativized as in the following (a), the A argument occurs in the relative case (in G function), while if A is relativized as in the following (b), the P argument occurs in the relative case, with the head NP inflected with third-person possessor, resulting in a relative clause with number agreement between A and person (possessor) of the relativization VNrl and between the head and VNrl. The following pair shows relativization of P vs. A argument from the compared clause (‘the woman cooked the fish’). Note the plural NP *neqe-t* has no distinction between the absolutive and the relative. The *-llr-* in (a) below relativizes absolutive NP (§ 17.3), while *-ti-* (from *|-st-|*) in (b) is an agentive/active relativizer (§ 17.5.1):

- (52) a. {P                      A                      VNrl }
- head                      *rel*                      person
- neqe-t*                      [*arna-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *keni-llr-i*]
- fish-ABS.pl.                      woman-REL.sg.                      cook-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.
- ‘the fish (P) which the woman cooked’
- b. {P                      VNrl                      A            }
- rel*                      person                      head
- [*neqe-t<sub>G</sub>*                      *kenir-ti-it*]                      *arnaq*
- fish-REL.pl.                      cook-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.                      woman.ABS.sg.
- ‘the woman (A) who is cooking fish’
- cf. *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *neqe-t<sub>P</sub>*                      *kenir-aa*
- woman-REL.sg.                      fish-ABS.pl.                      cook-IND.3sg.3sg.
- ‘the woman cooked the fish’.

## 6. Five syntactically relevant cases, with the locative included

All of the case assignments of core (and demoted) arguments summarized above concern two syntactic cases (absolutive and relative) and two oblique cases for demoted arguments (ablative-modalis and allative), and are exclusively for NPs that refer to the third person. This section includes the locative case in addition, as it is closely connected with the absolutive and the relative cases.

If the person inflectionally indexed – a subject or object (for verbs) or a possessor (for possessed nominals) – is either the first or the second person, the free

NP does not occur in the absolutive or the relative case but in the locative case, as discussed at full length in § 27.4. This means that the five cases other than the perlocative and the equalis may mark a core or demoted argument NP.

Illustrations below are all made with the NP for ‘the/a child’ (stem |*mikilŋuŋ*\*-) as an agent of ‘eating’ (stem |*niŋi-*):

i) Absolutive:

- (53) *Mikelŋuq*<sub>S=A</sub>      *ner'-uq*.  
 child.ABS.sg.      eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The child is eating (s.t. [(P)]; ABM).’, cf (57).
- (54) *Arna-m*<sub>A'</sub>      *mikelŋuq*<sub>P/A</sub>      *nere-vkar-aa*.  
 woman-REL.sg.      child.ABS.sg.      eat-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 i. ‘The woman made the child to eat (s.t. [(P)]; ABM).’  
 ii. ‘The woman made (s.o. [(A)]; ALL) to eat *the child*.’

ii) Relative:

- (55) *Mikelŋu-u-m*<sub>A</sub>      *ner-aa*.  
 child-EV-REL.sg.      eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The child is eating it [P].’
- (56) *mikelŋu-u-m*<sub>G</sub>      *atr-a*  
 child-EV-REL.sg.      name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the name of the child’.

iii) Ablative-modalis:

- (57) *Mikelŋuq*<sub>S=A</sub>      *ner'-uq*      *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 child.ABS.sg.      eat-IND.3sg.      fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The child is eating fish.’
- (58) *Arnaq*<sub>S=A'</sub>      *mikelŋur-mek*<sub>(P=A)/(P)</sub>      *nere-vkar-i-uq*.  
 woman.ABS.sg.      child.ABM.sg.      eat-A'.make-APS-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘The woman made *a/the child* to eat (s.t.; ABM).’  
 ii. ‘The woman made (s.o.; ALL) to eat *a/the child*.’, cf. (31).

iv) Allative:

- (59) *Arna-m*<sub>A'</sub>      *mikelŋur-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>      *nere-vkar-aa*.  
 woman-REL.sg.      child-ALL.sg.      eat-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The woman asks *a/the child* to eat it [P].’, cf. (19b).

v) Locative: Marks neutrally an NP in A, S, P, T, R, A and G, if the NP (incl. relative clause) refers to a first or second person (§ 27.4):

- (60) *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>*            *nere-vkar-aanga*,            *wii*    *mikelngur-mi<sub>A</sub>*.  
 woman-REL.sg. eat-A'.make-IND. 3sg.1sg. 1sg. child-LOC.sg.  
 'The woman made me (who is) a child [A] eat (s.t. [(P)]).'

Note that the first person singular ('me as a child') is verbally coded as transitive object (3sg.1sg.). In a way, this locative is "essive"-like (as 'John is good as a hunter') in a way, but restricted to the non-third person. If reference is to a third person (*nere-vkar-aa* IND.3sg.3sg.), it is natural to have the absolutive *mikelnguq*. See § 27.4 for possible interpretations of this locative case as a specialized relativizer.

Case alternations as illustrated above are conditioned not only by morpho-syntactical factors but also pragmatical factors (when there are alternatives). The alternation may also be viewed as a voice phenomenon in which a certain argument NP is foregrounded in the form of the absolutive case, thereby necessarily backgrounding the other NP (Miyooka 1987).

Finally, it would be interesting to note two contrastive case assignments between CAY and Greenlandic. In Greenlandic, reflexivization can be considered 'a process that puts objects which are coreferent with subject of the same clause in the allative case', but the underlying subject in a passive sentence is in the ablative (Sadock 1980: 305), while in GCAY, the former is characterized by the ablative-modal case pronoun (§ 30.3.2.4) but passivization, though possible only in a limited cases in the language, by the allative case (§ 30.5.1-ii, cf. also in pseudo-passives, § 30.3.2.2-iv).

# Chapter 31

## Vocatives

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In addition to locative-case NPs with a vocative function, which are more or less formal, there are a number of vocative forms for nominals – kinship terms (§ 11.4), names (§ 11.6.1), nominal demonstratives (§ 12.2), and some animate nouns. A vocative (addressing) word is typically followed by an optative or interrogative verb, but not by an indicative one, occurring as a single word by itself, followed by a pause. Cf. § 27.5 for locative-case vocatives.

### 1. Final vowel doubling

As mentioned in § 4.3-vi.c, doubling of a word-final vowel (single vowel) of an absolutive-case NP characterizes vocative forms that are used to address persons or objects at some distance or in an exaggerated way, and often used as a way of comforting babies or children.

- (1) *Piipi-i-q, tai-qa-a!*  
 baby-VOC-sg. come-POL-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘Baby, come!’ – *piipiq* (ABS.sg.).
- (2) *Aana-a, w-a-nt-ua!*  
 Mo-VOC-sg. here-EX-be.at-IND.1sg.  
 ‘Mother, I’m here!’ – *aana* (ABS.sg.).
- (3) a. *Nuka-a-q, tai-cua-qa-a!*  
 p.n.-VOC-sg. come-END-POL-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘Nuk’aq, come!’ – *Nuk’aq* (ABS.sg.)
- b. *Nuk’a-nku-u-t, tai-cua-qer-ci!*  
 p.n.-associate-VOC-pl. come-END-POL-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘Nuk’aq family, come!’ – *Nuk’a-nku-t* ‘Nukaq’s family’ (ABS.pl.),  
 with NN |+*nku*-| (§ 20.1.2).

If the final vowel is the schwa /i/ (which never occurs doubled by itself; § 3.2.2), it is doubled as /ii/. Compare the following pair:

- (4) a. *qengar-pa-li-i-k!*  
 nose-big-one.with-VOC  
 ‘You (sg.), big nose!’  
 – cf. *qengar-pa-lek* ‘(one with) big nose’ (ABS.sg.)  
 b. *arnar-pa-a-k!* ‘you (sg.), big woman!’; cf. §20(6).  
*uyaqur-pa-a-k!* ‘you (sg.), big neck!’ = §20(10b).

Final-vowel doubling may not be used to address an elder or a respected person. The phrase *qilag-mel-ngu-u-q* ‘you (sg.) who are in heaven!’ would be inappropriate (cf. *qilag-mel-nguq* heaven-be.at-VNrl.ABS.sg.), and the locative-case vocative form *qilag-mel-ngur-mi* should be used instead (§ 27.5). Cf. § 6.1-ii (hedging).

The vowel doubling may drop the final consonant, thereby implying ‘my’ (though without person inflection), hence the following contrast:

- (5) a. *Maurlu-u!* ‘My Grandmother!’  
 b. *Maurlu-u-q!* ‘Grandmother!’ (not ‘my’) – *maurluq* (ABS.sg.).
- (6) a. *Tutgara’-urlu-u!* My Grandchild! – endearing (HON) NN  
 |*-yuytuy-*| (§ 20.2)  
 b. *Tutgara’-urlu-u-q!* ‘Hey, Grandchild’ – *tutgara’-urluq* (ABS.sg.).

i) Nominal demonstratives have their own idiosyncracies (§ 12.2.1-iii). While the plural (b) in the following has the final doubling from ABS.pl. *u-ku-t* ‘these’, the singular (a) has a special vocative form with |*+suuy*| in place of the doubled \**u-na-a* from ABS.sg. *u-na* ‘this one’:

- (7) a. *Mak-ten ≠ am(pii)'* *u-suuq!* (~ *u-yuuq!*)  
 get.up-OPT.2sg.≠urging this-EX.VOC.sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) get up!’  
 b. *Mak-ci ≠ am(pii)'* *u-ku-u-t!*  
 get.up-OPT.2pl.≠urging this-EX-VOC-pl.  
 ‘You (pl.) get up!’

Another idiosyncrasy of the demonstrative singular vocative *-suuq* is that the vocative stem may be followed by a derivative suffix, as in (b) in the following, which then receives the final doubling. Used by at least some older people (though it reportedly, may sound like child- or infant-directed talk to some other speakers):



- (8) a. *ing-suu-q* ‘you(sg.) over there!’  
 cf. *ing-na* (ABS.sg.) with *|ij-|* ‘over there’  
 b. *ing-suu-cunga-a-q* ~ *ing-u-cunga-a-q*  
 cf. *ing'-u-cungaq* ‘you (sg.; dear) over there!’ (ABS.sg.)  
 – with honorific or attitudinal NN *|-cuŋay\*-|*.
- (9) *ing-suu-cuara-a-q* ~ *ing-u-cuara-a-q*  
 cf. *ing'-u-cuar* ‘you (sg.) little one over there’ (ABS.sg.)  
 – with NN *|-cuŋay\*-|* ‘small’  
*ing-na-cuar* also possible.

Note that the corresponding plural form *ing-ku-cuara-a-t* may be the vocative or the absolutive, cf. an epenthetic vowel (EV; P7i).

ii) Mainly in HBC, the nasal /ŋ/ may be heard after the final doubled vowel, taking the place of the final consonant if any:

- (10) *Aana-a-ng!* ‘Mother!’ – in place of (2) *Aana-a!*  
*Maurlu-u-ng!* ~ *Maurhuu!* ‘Grandmother!’ – in place of (5) *Maurlu-u-q!*

## 2. Possessor marker in the relative case

A possessed NP, mostly first-person possessor, may have the final vowel of the relative case (‘my, our – ’) doubled. Though this is rather rare in normal contexts, it is common in songs (especially songs in traditional stories) and in teasing or making fun of the person(s):

- (11) a. *Aata-ma-a!* ‘You (sg.), my father!’ – *aata-ma* (REL.1sg.sg.)  
 b. *Atata-gma-a!* ‘You (du.), my uncles!’ – *atata-gma* (REL.1sg.du.)  
 c. “*Uter-ten* (ma-a-vet) *aata-mta-a!*”  
 return-OPT.2st. this-EX-ALL Fa-REL.1pl.sg.-VOC  
 ‘Return (here), our father!’ [CAUY 140, Nelson 1989: 369]
- (12) a. *Tutgar-rlu-ma-a!*  
 GrCh-bad-REL.1pl.sg.-VOC  
 ‘You (sg.), my grandchild!’ – NN *|(j)luŋ-|* (§ 20.1.1)  
 b. *Iir-pa-ka qaterli-ma-a!*  
 eye-big-ABS.1sg.sg. white-REL.1sg.sg.-VOC  
 ‘My white big-eyed one!’ – not common or unusual if ever used  
 c. *Aipa-ur̄lu-ma-a* *nere-ur̄lu-a!*  
 companion-END-REL.1sg.sg.-VOC eat-END-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘My (poor) companion, eat!’

- (13) *alqa-maa!* ‘you, my sister’ – |*alqaỵ-*| ‘elSi’  
*angut-maa!* ‘you, my man’ – |*anjut-*| ‘man’  
*piipi-maa* ‘you, my baby’ – |*piipiỵ-*| ‘baby’  
*kass'a-maa!* ‘you, my white man’ – |*kàsaỵ-*| ‘white man’  
*ciul-va-maa!* ‘you, my big-eared one’ – |*ciul+vaỵ-*| ear-big.

i) Used together with a vocative form of nominal demonstratives above (*usuuq*, etc.; § 12.2.1-iii), the vowel-doubled form calls for more attention:

- (14) *Yu-ma-a usuuq!* ‘You (sg.), my child!’ – *yu-m'a* (REL.1sg.sg.)  
*Yu-ma-a ukuut!* ‘You (pl.), my children!’  
– *yu-m'a* (REL.1sg.pl.)  
*Yu-u-gma-a ukuuk!* ‘You (du.), my two children!’  
– *yu-u-gma* (REL.1sg.du. with EV).

ii) Again, HBC (in particular) has a final doubled vowel followed by the nasal /ŋ/, particularly among older people:

- (15) *Aata-maang!*, *Yu-maang!*, *Angut-maang!*, etc.  
(16) *Ilunga-cunga-maang!* ‘you (sg.), my cousin (endeared)!’  
cousin-END-REL.1sg.sg.-VOC  
– |*ilunḡaỵ\**-| ‘(female’s) female cross cousin’.

iii) Though much less common than the first person above, a third person relative-case form without vowel doubling can be vocative (in addition to its non-addressing use):

- (17) *Aani-ita!* ‘You (sg.), their mother!’ – |*aana[+ŋata]*| Mo-REL.3pl.sg.  
cf. *aani-ita<sub>G</sub> atr-a* ‘the name of their mother’ – *atr-a* name-ABS.3sg.sg.; note the disguised third person addressing a second party.

### 3. Final truncation

The truncated forms of nominals are commonly used, particularly in addressing a person relatively close to the speaker. Note that a word-medial voiced fricative is devoiced when it comes finally in truncation, with the exception that the voiced back velar *r* becomes *q* (20).

*Demonstratives* (§ 31.1-i above):

- (18) *us'* /us/ ~ *uy'* /uy/ [HBC] 'You (sg.) here!'  
 cf. (7a) *usuuq* ~ *uyuuq* [HBC]  
*inges'* /iŋis/ 'You (sg.) over there!'  
 cf. (8a) *ingsuuq*.

*Person Names*:

- (19) *Angall'* /aŋál/ ~ *Ang'* 'Angalgaq!' (|aŋalyay̆\*-|) – *Angalga-a-q*  
 (final doubling) also  
*Ayap'*, *Ay'* 'Ayaprun!' – *Ayapru-u-n* also.
- (20) *Anurall'* ~ *Anuq'* ~ *An'* 'Anuralria!'  
*Taryurall'* ~ *Taryuq'* ~ *Tar'* /taɣ/ 'Taryuralria!'
- (21) *Miis'* /miiz/ 'Miisa(a)q!' (|miisay̆\*-|) – *Miisa(-a)-q*  
*Cik'*, ~ *Cikig'*, ~ *Cikik'* 'Cikik'aq!' (|cikik'ay̆\*-|) – *Cikiga-a-q*  
*Kiki'ik* /kiki'k/ 'Kikikaq!' (|kikikay̆\*-|) – *Kikika-a-q* also.

The last shows that the truncation occurs after lengthening, as in /kiki·|kaq/.

- (22) *Cung'* 'Cungauyar!' (|cuŋauyay̆\*-|) – *Cungauyara-a-q* also.

*Common nouns (kinship terms)*:

- (23) *aat'* 'Dad, Father!' (|aata|) – *aata-a* also.
- (24) *Ca-ciq-sit* *unuaqu*, *ilu-ng'?*  
 do-FUT-INT.2sg. tomorrow cousin-VOC  
 'What will you (sg.) do tomorrow, (my) friend?'  
 – |ilu(y̆a)y̆\*| 'male's male cross cousin'.

See also (P 24i) for other types of final truncation.



## Part 6

### Verbs

Morphological constitution of CAY verbs is the same as for nominals, that is, they consist of one stem, derivational suffix(es), and an inflection (or an ‘ending’), occurring in that order. It is a verbal inflection that completes a verb morphologically. Since no derivational suffix is obligatory (unlike the stem and the inflection), a stem can be closed directly by an inflection. Some stems may consist of a root and a root expander (EX), a kind of derivational suffix. A root alone cannot be directly followed by an inflection.

A verb inflection is a combination (occasionally fused) of two inflectional suffixes coding its obligatory grammatical categories – person (for both subject and object) and mood, as opposed to nominals with case, number, and person (possessor). Inflected verbs are either intransitive with the subject marked or transitive with both the subject and object marked. Tense, aspect, modality, negation, and evidentiality belong to derivational morphology.

Verb-related derivational suffixes, which may optionally occur, have a very wide range of functions. They are responsible for:

- i. adverbial modification (VVa; § 41)
- ii. grammatical modification –tense and aspect (VVt; § 42), modality (VVm; § 43), evidentiality (VVe; § 43.2), negation (VVn; § 44), and comparison, § 45)
- iii. valency modification (VVsm, VVcm; § 39, § 40)
- iv. verbalization (NVrv, NV; § 37, § 38)
- v. nominalization (VNrl, VNnm, VV; § 17, § 18, § 19).



## Chapter 32

### Verb inflection

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#### 1. Valency and its modifications

Primary stems (with no valency modified) involve one, two, or three arguments:

(1)	intransitive (monovalent)	S (intransitive subject)
	monotransitive (bivalent)	P (patient) and A (agent)
	ditransitive (trivalent)	T (theme), R (recipient), and A

S may or may not be a volitional agent, that is, it may be ‘active’ or ‘inactive’.

P is the patient-like argument of a verbal event, while A is the one that initiates the event toward P and is the more active participant with higher control. A presupposes P but not *vice versa*. Monotransitive or bivalent stems can be “agentive” ( $P \neq S = A$ ) or “patientive” ( $P = S \neq A$ ), and A of some patientive bivalent stems is impersonal, i.e.  $A_{IMP}$ -, something like an uncontrollable natural or supernatural force: see Table 25.

Ditransitives, which indicate the transference of possession (‘to give T to R’), change of location (‘to throw T to R’), etc., are either “indirective” with T foregrounded or “secundative” with R foregrounded.

Each type of stem will be detailed in § 33 through § 35. However, the three-way classification of primary stems into intransitive, monotransitive, and ditransitive should not be taken as hard and fast. It is a common observation that a certain degree of variation or discrepancy occurs among individuals, generations, and dialects regarding how they handle a specific stem or a certain group of stems. It is sometimes the case that some kinds of stems are treated differently; for instance, as intransitive by some speakers but as monotransitive by oth-

ers, possibly with slightly different implications (e.g. *|kic-* ‘to sink’), and that a few bi- and trivalent stems may vary as well.

Some monovalent stems correspond semantically with the predicative adjectives of other languages, but in CAY it would be difficult to set up the category of adjectives as a separate word class. The parameter of comparison, for instance, could not be deemed a criterial property in this regard (§ 45.1.4).

Secondary stems, which have valency increase (A, E, A<sub>IMP</sub> or A' –VV<sub>sm</sub>, VV<sub>cm</sub>; § 32.1.1 below as well as § 38, § 39), may also be bivalent, trivalent, or multi-valent. A<sub>IMP</sub> argument as indicated by a valency-increasing suffix is distinct from that involved in primary (bivalent) stems (cf. above) and is something akin to necessity or destiny.

A verb stem may be denominal, consisting of a nominal stem followed by a verbalizing suffix NV (§ 37 and § 38). Denominal stems are mono- or bi-valent (except for the ditransitive-like *|pi-li-* ‘to make something for someone’, § 10.3.1, § 34.7).

The language does not have a “copula” stem with such arguments as CS (“copula subject”) or CC (“copula complement”); see Curnow (2001) and Dixon (2002) for the terms. CAY relational verbs (§ 4.2.1-ii, § 37 –e.g. ‘X is Y’) are not “copulas”, but can be transitive as well as intransitive and are not only stative, but can also be inchoative (e.g. ‘X becomes Y’ (§ 37.3, § 37.4).

In addition, CAY has a considerable number of roots that are a-valent and involve no argument (§ 36). They cannot be inflected unless expanded into stems by a root expander (EX) which supplies one argument or two. A root-expanded stem can thus be monovalent or bivalent depending upon the type of expander the root selects. It can be followed by an inflection without any intervening derivation (except for the expander).

### 1.1. Modifications

i) The valency inherent to primary stems, including both denominal and root-expanded stems, may be subject to valency modification – increase or decrease by one argument as well as rearrangement of one argument with another – by means of VV<sub>sm</sub> argumental suffixes (called “simplex verb” modifications; § 39) or VV<sub>cm</sub> suffixes (called “complex transitive”; § 40); see also § 4.1.3.1-iii. By way of valency increase, a monovalent stem becomes an modified or extended bivalent one, a bivalent one becomes a trivalent (distinct from a primary ditransitive), a ditransitive one becomes quadrivalent. As valency modifications can be recursive and cumulative, an extended (or secondary) stem may be multi-valent (with actually up to six or even seven arguments, as testified).

The valency increase in simplex verbs by VV<sub>sm</sub> concerns arguments such as, in particular, A (agent-adding, i.e. causative, monotransitivizer), E (applica-



tive or adversative extension – beneficiary, recipient/goal/location, company, item carried, as well as sufferer), and  $A_{IMP}$  (aside from the one inherent to primary impersonal verb stems). By contrast, valency increases by VVcm form a complex transitive stem with A', A", ... (agents for upper-layer verbs, e.g. causative, speculative, reportative, and so on), which may be cumulative.

Argumental suffixes VVsm and VVcm directly affect the ‘voice’ of a verb and the case assignment of core arguments (§ 30), thus constituting one of the most central aspects of CAY morphosyntax.

There are also a small number of VVsm suffixes that are responsible for valency decrease and rearrangement (§ 39.3, § 39.6).

ii) To give some idea of verb modification, a simple example is given with a monovalent stem |*uivi-*| ‘to circle’, with intransitive *-uq* (IND.3sg.) and transitive *-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.); valency-increasing suffixes are emphasized:

- (2)
- |    |                          |   |
|----|--------------------------|---|
| a. | <i>uiv-uq</i>            | ‘it is going around in circle’  |
| b. | <i>uiv-Ø-aa</i>          | ‘it is going around it (e.g. a house)’ – zero-derived locational P addition (§ 33.4.1)                |
|    | <i>uiv-t-aa</i>          | ‘he turns it (e.g. a cup) around’ – A adding (causative) VVsm  +c-  (§ 39.1.1)                        |
|    | <i>uiv-ut-aa</i>         | ‘he is taking it (with himself) as he goes around’ – E adding VVsm  +(u)c-  (§ 39.4)                  |
| c. | <i>uiv-ut-ni-a</i>       | ‘he says (s.o.) is taking it’ – with reportative VVcm  +ni-  (§ 40.2.4)                               |
| d. | <i>uiv-ut-ni-yuk-aqa</i> | ‘I think he says someone is taking (s.t.)’ – with speculative VVcm  + <sub>1</sub> cuki-  (§ 40.2.3). |

– in which a) is monovalent, b) bivalent, c) trivalent (with two valency-increasing suffixes) and d) quadrivalent (with three). Whatever the valency of a verb may be (or however multivalent a verb may be), core arguments coded in verb inflection are limited to two (transitive inflection with subject and object) or one (intransitive inflection with subject). All the other arguments are obligatorily subject to a process that may be called “argument reduction” (iii below and § 30.3). The inflection shows that only (a) above is an intransitive verb, while all the rest are transitive, and all in the indicative mood. Both (c) and (d) are complex transitives.

This comes with a caveat, however, that appositional-mood verbs have only one core argument (S or P) marked even if the verb is transitive, and the unmarked A argument is known by its coreferentiality with the main-clause subject (§ 51, § 51.1.4).

iii) The argument reduction (mentioned just above) is made by means of “demotion” (of two types) in particular so that an argument lower in the argument hierarchy for case marking can be promoted and foregrounded (§ 30.3.1). Two subjects in connection with a complex transitive A' (§ 45.2) may be subject to reduction by way of their “coreference” (§ 40.1-iii).

A transitively-inflected verb may be detransitivized or intransitivized, which is a particular case of argument reduction, by means of several processes: passivization, antipassivization (type 1 demotion), medialization, and reflexivization / reciprocalization (§ 34.1 and § 34.2).

iv) The subject and object arguments (i.e. core arguments) can be expressed externally with an NP marked with one of the syntactic cases, i.e. the absolutive case (S, P) or the relative case (A) on an ergative basis. But we have to add the important caveat that this is only the case when the argument refers to the third person (§ 23.1, § 24.2). An NP referring to a non-third person is marked neutrally (i.e. S = P = A) by the locative case (§ 27.4).

A demoted argument is expressed by an NP in the ablative-modalis (§ 25.2.1 – type 1) or allative cases (§ 26.2 – type 2 demotion).

An adverbial adjunct may be expressed overtly by an NP in one of the oblique cases (§ 25 ~ § 29) or in the absolutive case for time nouns (§ 23.2).

v) Finally, verbs may be subject to transcategorial conversion, i.e. nominalization, by a VN suffix (§ 17 through § 19). Together with verbalization by an NV suffix (§ 37 through § 38), the conversions of the two opposite directions are equally productive and may occur successively, and it is thus very commonly the case that a word changes its morphological status (verbal or nominal) a number of times in the course of word expansion, thereby increasing the degree of synthesis.

This category change implies that, whether the primary stem of a word is verbal or nominal, and no matter how many class-converting suffixes might follow the stem, the word is a verb only if the morpheme that immediately precedes the inflection is verbal – i.e. a (primary) verb stem, a verb-elaborating suffix (VV type), or a verbalizing or denominalizing suffix (NV type). The word is nominal, on the other hand, only if the morpheme that immediately precedes the inflection is nominal – i.e. a (primary) nominal stem, nominal-elaborating suffix (NN type), or a nominalizing or deverbaling suffix (VN type).

## 1.2. Intransitive vs. transitive

As mentioned (§ 2.1), a stem is a “pre-formal” unit of content and, as such, has to be inflected verbally (or nominally) in order to be realized (i.e. articulated) as a form (*articulus*) or a word.

i) Whether a stem is primary or extended (modified), and no matter how many arguments (the level of valency) a stem may have, only one or two arguments can be indexed as core argument(s) in an inflection, thereby forming an intransitive or transitive verb respectively, as stated above. While intransitive verbs index one core argument as the subject person in their inflection, transitive verbs have two core arguments as the subject and the object.

A so-called ‘second’ or ‘indirect’ object (of ditransitive verbs; § 35) is not marked inflectionally, as one of the arguments T or R being obligatorily demoted (i.e. CAY has no tri-personal inflection like Basque, for instance). This means that a tri- or multi-valent stem has to be subject to the argument reduction of one or two arguments, accompanied by obligatory case alternations for the NPs concerned.

To speak of an intransitive vs. transitive distinction, ditransitives and complex transitives (§ 40) may also be inflected intransitively or transitively, despite the terms. The antipassives (or “half-transitives”) are intransitively inflected verbs. Note also that, as stated in § 4.2.1-ii, CAY comparative verbs (§ 45) as well as relational (or equational) verbs (§ 37) may be either transitive or intransitive.

ii) The categories for which verbs are inflected are the “person” (combined with number distinction) of core arguments (§ 32.2) and “mood” (§ 32.4); see also § 4.2.4. Morphologically, a mood marker and a person (number) marker occur in that order, although there is a certain extent of fusion in the composition. Each mood has its own set of inflections as given in Tables 46 through 49. The indicative and the participial moods, however, share the same set of person markers (Table 46), though with distinct mood markers.

In CAY, either grammatical gender distinction or noun classification is alien – hence the conveniently used gloss ‘he/she/it’ for a third person singular, above. Alienability is not a grammatical category for the language, either.

## 2. Subject and object persons

CAY verbs, like nominals, distinguish in inflection among four persons, i.e. first, second, third, and reflexive third (1, 2, 3, and 3R) each in the singular, dual, or plural (sg., du., pl.) For verbs, the person refers to the core arguments

that syntactically function as the subject (e.g. ‘*he* arrived’) and the object (e.g. ‘we ate *it*’), whereas for nominals the person refers to possessor (e.g. ‘*my/their* house’; § 22).

The subject functions as the syntactic pivot, as in reflexivization and (clausal) subordination. The reflexive-third person refers back to the third-person subject of the main clause, indicating coreferentiality (‘he ... *himself*’), similar to the possessor of a noun (‘his *own*’), and also occurs in the connective and appositional moods (§ 50, § 51) and, marginally, in the participial mood (§ 47). It is this reflexive third person that distinguishes these three moods from the other three (§ 32.4).

A verb with plural subject may be used for a singular person out of respect (cf. § 6.1-ii), though it is interesting to note that this use is used reportedly (according to some consultant) by a male speaker to a male addressee (but not to a woman or by a woman to a woman [David Chanar, p.c.]):

- (3) a. *cangac-eci* (something.wrong-INT.2pl.)  
       ‘how are you (sg.)?’ for *cangac-it?* (INT2sg.)  
    b. *pi-ur-ci* (do-CNT-OPT.2pl.)  
       ‘goodbye!’ for *pi-ura-a* (OPT.2sg.)  
       – the plural forms, with *-ra-* deletion from *pi-urar-ci*, may be used literally for plural persons as well.

There are a limited number of “plural verbs” whose P/S arguments are always plural, typically signifying ‘to gather, collect’ (patientive stems) and ‘to do one after another’ (derived with one of a few VVa suffixes) – see § 34.2-iii.

## 2.1. Verbal person markers

The verbal person markers, which refer to the subject or the object along with the immediately preceding mood marker, are mostly the same as the markers for nominals, though for nominals they refer to the possessor instead. There is, however, one set of markers that occur only with verbs – iii) below and Table 10. The third person S/A is formally zero marking in terms of the person, with only the number marked.

i) In the independent moods (§ 32.4), the third person subject is marked by simple number suffixes, as with the absolutive case for nominals – sg. |+ Ø|, du. |+*y*|, and pl. |+*t*|.

ii) Most person markers for verbs use the absolutive or relative possessive-pronominal inflections for nouns – except for the verbal person markers below.

iii) Verbal person markers that occur with verbs are given in Table 30. They follow an ergative pattern (§ 4.1.4.1-iii), marking only intransitive subjects or transitive objects, but not transitive subjects. The italicized ones (second person plural / dual and reflexive third) occur with nouns as well. The variants with the wave (~) are differently selected by moods. There are a few person markers that show allomorphy (e.g. optative).

Table 30: Verbal person markers

1sg.   <i>+ŋa</i>	2sg.   <i>+t(în)</i>   ~   <i>+kîn</i>  (  <i>+yîn</i>  )	3sg.   <i>+ku</i>  (  <i>+y*u</i>  )	3Rsg.   <i>+ni</i>
1pl.   <i>+kut</i>   ~   <i>+ta</i>	2pl.   <i>+cî</i>	3pl.   <i>+kî</i>	3Rpl.   <i>+tîŋ</i>
1du.   <i>+kuy</i>   ~   <i>+nuy</i>  (  <i>+luy</i>  )	2du.   <i>+tîy</i>	3du.   <i>+kîy</i>	3Rdu.   <i>+tîy</i>

iv) The same set of markers (Table 46) is used for the indicative and the participial mood.

v) Indicative-participial transitive inflections with the object in the third person (Table 46) are substantially identical, with the possessed absolutive markers for the third person (Table 21).

vi) The connective-mood person markers (Table 49) are based on the possessed relative markers (Table 22); hence the occasional use of the term “relative mood” for the connective (§ 4-fn. 15, § 50-fn.1).

vii) Generally speaking, CAY person markers follow the ergative pattern in the appositional mood, but the accusative pattern in the connective mood. The other moods in the first- and second-person singular, as well as the indicative and participial moods in the first person dual and plural, follow the ergative pattern. Otherwise, they follow the accusative or neutral pattern. The ergative pattern is partial at most. Partial or “split” ergativity also applies with regard to the case assignments on core nominals.

### 3. Cross-reference/agreement

The subject and the object indexed in a verb inflection agree in number with the corresponding core NP (if externally expressed), showing a double-marking system (§ 4.1.4.2) (as is the case with attributive [genitive] phrases; § 16.4). Thus, the intransitive sentence:

- (4) *Mikelngu-u-t<sub>s</sub>*      *atur-tut.*  
 child-EV-ABS.pl.    sing-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The children are singing.’

– which has the plural subject NP *mikelngu-u-t* agreeing in number with the third-person plural subject marked in the verb *atur-tut*.

Likewise in the transitive sentence:

- (5) *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *assik-ai*                      *mikelngu-u-t<sub>P</sub>*.  
 woman-REL.sg.      like-IND.3sg.3pl.    child-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘The woman likes the children.’

– in which the third-person singular subject and plural object marked in the verb *assika-i* agree in number with the singular marked in the subject nominal *arna-m* and the plural marked in the object nominal *mikelngu-u-t*, respectively, thereby manifesting the ergative pattern. Number disagreement between a predicate verb and an NP is found to occur to a certain extent (as shown just below), however.

This cross-reference is a very general rule in CAY syntax, though with an important caveat as regards the first and second person referents (§ 27.4).

### 3.1. Disagreement

It is a rather commonly observed tendency that a singular verb form is used instead of the plural or dual appropriate to the subject or the object, or a plural form instead of the dual, when the subject or object of a transitive verb is externally expressed by an NP. This is also the case when the dual or plural reference is contextually clear.

The following examples of number disagreement are taken from verbs of different moods – indicative (6) and interrogative (7):

- (6) a. *Kiput-akek*                      *angya-k<sub>P</sub>*.  
 buy-IND.3du.3pl.      boats-ABS.du.  
 ‘They (du.) buy the boats (du.)’  
 – instead of IND.3du.3du. *kiput-agkek* ‘they (du.) buy them (du.)’
- b. *Piste-k<sub>P</sub>*                      *pairt-ait*.  
 servant-ABS.du.      encounter-IND.3pl.3pl.  
 ‘They went to see the servants (du.)’  
 – instead of IND.3pl.3du. *pairt-agket* ‘they went to see them (du.)’
- (7) *Qaillun*                      *yu-u-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *tanger-takut*.  
 how                      person-EV-REL.pl.      see-INT.3sg.1pl.  
 ‘How do the people see us?’

Number disagreement is attested also within subordinate clauses:

- (8) *Yuu-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *tangerr-ngakut*,                      *ane-llru-ukut*.  
 person-EV-REL.pl.    see-CNNbc.3sg.1pl.                      go.out-PST-IND.1pl.  
 ‘Because the people saw us, we went out’.  
 – instead of CNNbc.3pl.1pl. *tangerr-ngatkut* ‘because they saw us’.

Furthermore, number disagreement takes place across the main and subordinate clauses:

- (9) *Ungungssi-yaga-a-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *nar-kunegteki<sub>P</sub>*,  
 animal-small-EV-ABS.pl.    smell-CNNif-3Rpl.3pl.  
*ner-ciq-aat*.  
 eat-FUT-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘If the animals smell them (fish bones), they will eat it [them].’ [LL]  
 – The original speaker of this sentence prefers the IND.3pl.3pl. *ner-ciq-ait*, but for no reason yet discovered, a number of other speakers testify that they never use *-ait* despite the plural object in the subordinate clause.

The following is not a disagreement. Since two acts (nominalized ‘smelling’ and ‘eating’) are taken in this case as one, the predicate verb indexes the singular object:

- (10) [*Tepsarqe-llrii-m<sub>G=P</sub>*    [*nare-llr-a*  
 stink-VNrl-REL.sg.    smell-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nere-llr-a=llu*]]<sub>P</sub>                      *assik-aqa*.  
 eat-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.=and                      like-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I like smelling and eating fermented fish (stinky one).’  
 – \**assik-agka* (IND.1sg.3du.).

### 3.2. Disguised person

One of the devices employed by sophisticated speakers in particular for the effect of indirectness (§ 6.1) is what may be termed as the “disguised person”, which is the use of the third person in place of the first or the second. This is an important feature of the language as an aspect of the socially valued indirectness in speech, though it is far from unique in this language; we know of various

devices employed for indirect reference or addressing across the global spectrum of languages.<sup>1</sup>

This is a kind of circumlocutory address to the second person or reference to the first person in the guise of the third person, that is, by using a third-person pronominal form (as inflectionally indexed in the main verb). In the following example, in which the second person is addressed, the verb is indexed for the third person:

- (11) *ner'-uq=am! /niŋŋùqqam/*  
eat-IND.3sg.=again – § 54.2.1 for the enclitic  
'you (sg.) are eating (lit. he is eating) again!'

The nominal demonstrative *u-na* 'this one' (ABS.sg.) occurs with a third-person verb inflection to refer to a second person (§ 12.2.3.5).

There are also a few other devices in CAY for indirect addressing or reference; see § 6.1 in particular.

#### 4. Six moods and reflexive third person

CAY verbs distinguish six moods in their inflection – indicative (IND), participial (PTP), optative (OPT), interrogative (INT), appositional (APP), and connective (CNN). The connective (§ 50), the appositional (§ 51), and, marginally, the participial mood (§ 47) are inflected for the reflexive third person as well. Apart from this, the six moods (above) may be classified into three groups.

i) Four of them – indicative, participial, optative, and interrogative – which occur in main clauses are taken as independent moods (§ 46 through § 49).

In general, verbs in an independent mood form the predicate of a sentence. An indicative verb clause characteristically takes on a declarative role, while a participial verb clause is typically used reactively, as in conversations, and is less straightforward or certain and more expressive than the indicative. It is common when arguing about a topic already introduced, clarifying or confirming it (cf. Barnum 1901: 111–112).

Optative and interrogative verb clauses typically presuppose a hearer. The former generally expresses the speaker's wish (concerning oneself, the hearer,

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1. The Osaka dialect of Central Japan is well known for having a very frequent and deliberate use of disguised persons in terms of the person reference made in ditransitive verbs (for giving and receiving or *yarimorai*) that clearly indicate the direction in which an action is taken, implying the person, although the language has no person inflection as in CAY.



or a third party) to the hearer, while the latter is a content question (as contrasted with a binary or yes-or-no question) addressed to the hearer.

ii) The connective mood, which presupposes the main clause with a predicate verb on which it is syntactically dependent, marks a clause subordinate to another, i.e. main, clause, mostly in adverbial subordination. It has a fair number of markers that yield different functions (e.g. causal, precessive, conditional, etc.) independently or relative to the main clause. Except for the stative-connective mood (§ 50.10), it generally expresses a temporal setting or a causal relationship, depending upon the kind of the connective-mood marker that immediately precedes the person marker in the verb. A connective-mood clause and its superordinate main clause, each with its nominal argument(s), constitute a subordinate complex sentence (§ 5.2.1-ii). A stative-connective mood is functionally more of an adnominal (non-restrictive or dangling) clause referring to the S/P argument of the main clause, which is generally the case with the appositional mood as well (§ 51).

Although typically in a subordinate clause, a connective-mood clause may occur independently without or instead of an independent-mood clause verb, with the main clause implied, contextually understood, or abbreviated.

The CAY connective mood is particularly developed and semantically varied, which is assumedly related to the fact that the language simply has very few subordinate conjunctions (particles). The mood marker is apparently of nominal origin (or at least partly so, as it is still in a stage of transition), that is, developed from a nominalizer and a possessed case marker.

iii) Appositional-mood verbs generally form clauses that are cosubordinate (Michael Olson 1981 cited in Van Valin 1993) to another clause, thus constituting complex sentences (§ 5.2.1-iii). This has a wide range of ostensibly adverbial functions but is basically a (non-restrictive) adnominal verb (§ 51.5), basically coreferential to the subject of the main clause, a function that it shares with stative-connective verbs (as stated above). They may very often form independent clauses by themselves, however.

Appositional-mood clauses have subjects coreferential with another (main) clause – thus we encounter the reflexive third person when the latter has the third person subject. This same-subject principle is not shared by the connective-mood clause (as implied above).

Alone among the six moods, the appositional mood has the morphological idiosyncrasy of being “unipersonal”. It has only one person marked inflectionally – S or P argument – even when it is semantico- syntactically transitive. The other (unmarked) person, which is A in the case of transitives, is known by the same- subject principle (subject coreferentiality) of the mood.

iv) This three-way classification of moods (independent, subordinate, and cosubordinate), however, is not necessarily clear-cut. The participial mood can occur, though somewhat marginally, in dependent clauses and can accordingly inflect for the reflexive third person as well. The appositional mood, as mentioned above, occurs very frequently in independent use with a predicative function.

The six moods have their own distinctive mood markers and select their own set of person markers.

However, the indicative and the participial moods share the same set of markers – distinct from other moods (Table 46), as previously stated – and the peculiarity of using different mood markers for intransitive and transitive inflection. On the other hand, the interrogative and the optative moods use different mood markers depending upon the subject person (Table 47 and 48). Some moods select certain enclitics and verb-elaborating suffixes.

Each mood is fully illustrated and discussed in later chapters (§ 46 through § 51).

v) In CAY, either tense, aspect, modality, negation, or evidentiality is not an inflectional category and it may optionally be marked by a fair variety of VVt or VVm suffixes as part of derivation (§ 42 through § 44) made lexically explicit by certain particles (§ 53). The optional tense specification is morphologically made for the past and the future (§ 42.1), just like the contrast in nouns – e.g. ‘a past/deceased/former wife’ vs. ‘a future wife’ (§ 20.1.1).

## Chapter 33

### Monovalent (intransitive) stems

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Monovalent (intransitive) stems have one argument S (intransitive subject) involved, unless a valency increase is made, and, as such, they typically occur only with intransitive inflection. However, as stated in § 5.1.1.1, stem classification in terms of valency cannot be so clear-cut.

Monovalent stems include three morphological types:

- a. primary verbal – § 33.1
- b. denominal – § 33.2
- c. root-derived stems (with expander); to be described separately as root-derived stems – § 36.

Some monovalent stems are impersonal with  $S_{IMP}$  argument – § 33.3, like some bivalent stems with  $A_{IMP}$  argument (§ 34.3).

Monovalent stems may become bivalent by suffix-derived transitivization – § 33.5, while a considerable number of monovalent stems may behave like bivalent stems with zero-derived valency increase, possibly with different implications, at least for a portion of speakers – § 33.4. These latter should still be taken as monovalent stems, however, given some constructions that clearly distinguish between a primary bivalent stem and a zero-derived bivalent from a monovalent stem (§ 34.6), and because there are no speakers who apply only the zero-derived transitive use of those stems.

The single argument for monovalent stems may or may not be a volitional agent (either active or inactive). There is no split intransitivity in the language (§ 4.1.4.3), although  $S_A$  argument pertains to the agentive/active relativizer  $|+st-|$  ‘one who does’ (§ 17.5).

## 1. Primary monovalent stems

Primary monovalent stems are a large class covering a wide semantic range:

- (1) ‘Adjectival’ (incl. quality and quantity):
- a. |*aml̥y̆-*| ‘to be much/many’, |*mikŭy̆-*| ‘to be abundant’, |*aŋi-*| ‘to be big’, |*asiy̆-*| ‘to be good’, |*miki(t)-*| ‘to be small’, |*nanit-*| ‘to be short’, |*ikyit-*| ‘to be few’, |*iqa-*| ‘to be dirty’, |*maniy̆-*| ‘to be smooth’, |*munay̆-*| ‘to be skillful’, |*piniy̆-*| ‘to be strong, good’, |*puqiy̆-*| ‘to be intelligent, articulate’, |*qacu-*| ‘to be loose’, |*taki-*| ‘to be long’, |*tun̥u-*| ‘to be black’; root-derived (§ 36) |*iq-tu-*| ‘to be wide’, |*iq-kit-*| ‘to be narrow’, |*qas-tu-*| ‘to be loud, high in volume’, |*qas-kit-*| ‘to be quiet’, etc.
  - b. |*cuŋay(cic)-*| ‘to be green’, |*kiiy̆(cic)-*| ‘to be hot/warm (in the air)’, |*maniy̆(cic)-*| ‘to be smooth’, |*nalqiy̆(cic)-*| ‘to be straight’, |*tany̆y̆(cic)-*| ‘to be dark’, |*tanqiy̆(cic)-*| ‘to be light’.

The stem |*mikŭy̆-*| ‘to be abundant (of assorted or different kinds, e.g. of salmon, fish, etc.)’ in (a) has its S argument only in the plural (cf. plural verbs; § 34.2-iii), as contrasted with |*aml̥y̆-*| ‘to be much/many’ which has its S argument either in the singular or plural.

- (2) Stative: |*napa-*| ‘to be upright’, |*aya-*| ‘to be hanging’, |*kuma-*| ‘to be lit’, |*uita-*| ‘to stay, remain’, |*ay̆ula-*| ‘to be in motion’, |*yayay̆cic-*| ‘to be busy working’, etc., together with two (exhaustive) quantifiers |*tama(lku)y̆-*| ‘to be all, whole’ and |*kii-*| ‘to be alone, only’ (§ 14.10). – relevant to stative-connective mood verbs (§ 50.10). See also § 36.2 for postural (a-valent) roots.
- (3) Motion/mutative: |*akay-*| ‘to roll’, |*anay-*| ‘to escape’, |*aŋt̥uy̆-*| ‘to dive, submerge; be baptized’, |*aqumi-*| ‘to sit’, |*aqvi-*| ‘to run’, |*ay̆ula-*| ‘to be in motion’, |*ayay-*| ‘to go, leave, (motor) start, run’, |*ayu-*| ‘to progress, spread’, |*citu-*| ‘to go with current’, |*iyl̥iy̆c-*|/|*(i)y̆ily̆c-*| ‘to move, travel’, |*tai-*| ‘to come over’, |*tay-*| ‘to go up’, |*iyc-*| ‘to fall’, |*kuimi-*| ‘to (plunge into the water to) swim’, |*qicy-*| ‘to jump’, |*maq̆i-*| (liquid) to ooze, flow out, leak’ (cf. |*kuvi-*| ‘to spill’, § 35.1.2.2), |*mic-*| ‘to land’, |*piki-*| ‘to make a movement’, |*piyua-*| ‘to walk’, |*puti-*| ‘bend forward’, |*tikic-*| ‘to arrive, last’, |*tiŋi-*| ‘to fly’, |*tuti-*| ‘to step on, arrive (non-human)’, etc. See also § 12(1) for direction-particular stems in connection with demonstrative stems. – often accompanied by an adjunct, i.e. a locational NP in an adverbial case (locative, allative, ablative-modalis, perlative).

- (4) Change: |*añi-*| ‘to become loose’, |*aŷi-*| ‘to become pliable’, |*civi-*| ‘to get cut through (of land)’, |*cii-*| ‘to get smashed’, |*cupi-*| ‘to break up (ice)’, |*itumi-*| ‘to break into pieces’ (cf. § 34.2-iii), |*nau-*| ‘to grow’, |*nala-*| ‘to die (plant/fish/sun), become numb’, |*qata-*| ‘to boil’, |*qavaŷ-*| ‘to sleep’, |*nipi-*| ‘to go out, extinguish’, |*tuqu-*| ‘to die (human/animal)’, |*uki-*| ‘to get a hole’, |*uni-*| ‘to dissolve, disappear’, etc.
- (5) Color: |*qatŷ-*| ‘to be white’, |*tuŷu-*| ‘to be black, dark’, etc.; see § 33.4.2-i for more. Some other color terms are root-derived (§ 11.5).
- (6) a. Human/animal: |*qia-*| ‘to cry’, |*iñilay-*| ‘to laugh’, |*aqui-*| ‘to play’, |*tupay-*| ‘to wake up’, |*cikmi-*| ‘to close (eyes)’  
 b. Emotional: |*qinŷc-*| ‘to be angry’, |*pinayc-*| ‘to be conceited’, |*quya-*| ‘to be thankful’, |*tatami-*| ‘to get startled’  
 c. Verbal communication: |*qalayc-*|/|*qanaa-*| ‘to talk’ (cf. agentive |*qanŷ-*| ‘to say, speak’), |*qitivc-*| ‘to babble, speak in a non-Yupik language’, etc.

There is another small group of impersonal monovalent verbs of temporal change (season and day/week, e.g. ‘to become summer’) with S<sub>IMP</sub> involved, which will be discussed in § 33.4.3, together with meteorological denominal impersonal verbs (e.g. ‘to rain’).

Monovalent stems can be subject to expansion into bi- or multi-valent and may occur with transitive inflection (§ 33.5), but, they are, without valency increase by VV<sub>sm</sub> or VV<sub>cm</sub> suffixes, only intransitively inflected with the single argument S indexed as the subject.

The S argument NP of monovalent stems, if expressed externally, has the absolutive case assigned as indicated by Sabs at indicated at the case alignment at the right end, cf. § 30.2.1.

- (7) *Mikelngu-u-t<sub>s</sub>*                      *aqui-gut.*                                      Sabs  
 child-EV-ABS.pl.                      play-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The children are playing.’
- (8) [*U-na*                                      *qayaq*]<sub>s</sub>                                      *mik’-uq.*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.                      kayak.ABS.sg.                      small-IND.3sg.  
 ‘This kayak is small.’ – the subject NP is an appositive phrase (§ 16.1).

## 2. Denominal monovalent stems

Many monovalent stems are denominal with verbalizing suffixes (NV; § 37 and § 38). Most of the suffixes derive monovalent stems, but a small number of them derive bivalent stems (§ 33).

There are two groups of denominal monovalent stems. One important group consists of relational verbs (§ 5.1.1.3-i, § 37), as illustrated with the intransitive *-u-* in (a) below, while the second group of relational verbs in (b) is transitive with P involved as well as A (which substantially means a possessor):

- (9) a. *U-na<sub>S</sub>*                      *qaya-u-guq.*  
       this-EX.ABS.sg.            kayak-be-IND.3sg.  
       ‘This is a kayak.’
- b. *U-na<sub>P</sub>*                      *qaya-q-aqa.*  
       this-EX.ABS.sg.            kayak-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
       ‘This is my kayak (lit. I [A] have this [P] as a kayak).’

In contrast with *aqui-* ‘to play’ and *mik-* ‘to be small’ in (7) and (8), the stem *qaya-u-* and *qaya-q-* in (9) are denominal, forming relational (equational) verbs (§ 37.1) with the NVrv *|+ɲu-* ‘to be’ and the transitive suffix NVrv *|-ki-* ‘to have – as, to be someone’s –’ (§ 37.2). The latter is responsible for the transitive verb with the A argument as the possessor. Despite the glosses, (9) is not taken as a “copula” construction, and its *u-na* is not a “copula subject (CS)” and *qaya-* is not a “copula complement (CC)” but simply a predicate head. The relational verbs supply a comment for a topic NP (S/P) in the absolutive case. (9a) is not a detransitivization. It is important that (9b) is distinct from a possessive verb such as (10) below.

The other group of denominal monovalents, i.e. non-relational, includes verbs of existence/possession/privation, action verbs, etc. – § 38.1.

- (10) a. *Anga-ka<sub>S</sub>*                      *qaya-ngqer-tuq.*  
       MoBr-ABS.sg.                kayak-have-IND.3sg.  
       ‘My (maternal) uncle has a small kayak.’ – NV *|-ɲqɣx-* ‘to have’
- b. *ene-tangqer-tuq*  
       house-have-IND.3sg.  
       ‘there is a house / houses, it (land/place) has a house/houses’ – NV *|+tanqɣx-* ‘to exist (at)’.

In these two examples we are dealing with intransitive sentences, with ‘my uncle’ and ‘it’ in S function, and the word-initial *qaya-* and *ene-* are not core arguments (bivalent P) but simply predicate heads. As such, the number of the ‘kayak(s)’ and ‘house(s)’ are indefinite, although there is a device for specify-

ing the number (by way of a numeral in the ablative-modals case; § 25.2.2). They have no corresponding transitives. See also privative verbs like *qaya-it-uq* ‘he has no kayak’ (|+*ɲit*-|; § 11.2.3.2, § 38.1).

The following action verb is also intransitive but not transitive, and the ‘fish’ cannot be considered an object (nor taken as a noun incorporation):

- (11) *neq-tur-tua* ‘I am eating fish’ – NV |+*tuɣ*-| ‘to eat’ (§ 38.2).  
fish-eat-IND.1sg.<sup>1</sup>

The addition of an independent personal pronoun, e.g. *wii* / *wiinga* (1sg.) here, which is neither obligatory nor common, places more focus on the person.

Not a few ‘adjectival’ stems are found to be expanded by |+*cic*-| as in the case of some color terms (§ 11.1.2, § 34.2-i) – e.g. *tan’ger-cet-uq* ‘it is dark’ with |+*tanyɣ*-| ‘darkness’ – and by |-*kit*-| / |+*tu*-| ‘little/well endowed with’ for size, quantity, etc.

See verbalization of location nouns, e.g. *aci-qsig-tuq* ‘it is far down’ (§ 11.2.3.2), privative verbs, e.g. *kemeg-it-uq* ‘he is skinny’ (§ 11.2.3.2, § 38.1), and locative verbs, e.g. *aci-ant-uq* ‘it is under it’ from |+*aci*-| ‘area below’ (§ 11.2.3.2, § 27.8). The former can be transitive, while the latter is intransitive only.

### 3. Impersonal monovalent stems

CAY has a considerable number of impersonal stems, both monovalent with S<sub>IMP</sub> argument (this section) and bivalent with P and A<sub>IMP</sub> (§ 34.3). They mainly include verbs denoting changes in time or weather, changes of things caused by a natural or supernatural force, or process as an involuntary, uncontrollable, and invisible agent. The S<sub>IMP</sub> or A<sub>IMP</sub> arguments are never expressed externally by a free NP.

Impersonal monovalent stems in particular include verbs of temporal change (season and day/night) and of weather. Many of them are ambivalent and may also serve as nominal stems.

#### i) Temporal change (season and day/night):

- (12) |+*ɣyc*-| ‘to become morning (dawn)’, |+*kiay*-| ‘to become summer’, |+*unuy*-| ‘to become night’, |+*unuaquɣ*-| ‘to dawn, become tomorrow’, etc.

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1. See the contrast with the ‘Mosan’ lexical (nominal) suffix (for ‘he is hunting rabbits’) in § 4.1.1-ii.

The impersonal agent (S<sub>IMP</sub>) is indexed in a verb but is never expressed externally by a free-standing NP.

- (13) *Kiag-tuq*                      *Mamteriller-ni*  
 summer-IND.3sg.      pl.n.-LOC.pl.  
 ‘It is (has become) summer in Bethel.’

The verb, however, may have locational S, and it may be subject to transitive use with zero-derived A<sub>IMP</sub> (§ 33.4.3). Hence a) intransitive vs. b) transitive below, with quasi-equivalence, although the latter may have a somewhat limited acceptance among speakers:

- (14) a. *Kiag-tuq*                      [*ma-n’a*                      *nuna-vut*]<sub>S</sub>  
 summer-IND.3sg.      here-EX.ABS.sg.      land-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘Our village is the summer now.’  
 b. *Kiag-aa*                      [*ma-n’a*                      *nuna-vut*]<sub>P</sub>.  
 summer-IND.3sg.3sg.      here-EX.ABS.sg.      land-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘It has summered our village, our village is the summer now.’

Locational S may be dual or plural:

- (15) *Kiag-tuk*                      [*ma-n’a*                      *qag-na=llu*].  
 summer-IND.3du.      this-EX.ABS.sg.      outside-EX.ABS.sg.=and  
 ‘It is now in (has become) the summer here and in the north.’

Transitivization may be made more commonly by the applicative E<sub>APL</sub> |(u)c-| (§ 39.4) generally adding a beneficiary (or sufferer):

- (16) *kiag-ut-aakut*  
 summer-E-IND.3sg.1pl.  
 ‘it has become summer for us, the summer has come to us’.

ii) *Meteorological*: The stems are denominal and typically occur with intransitive inflection:

- (17) a. |*anug-liy-*|                      ‘to be windy’, with |*anugi-*| ‘wind’  
 |*anug-sa(y)ay-*|                      ‘to be breezy’, with NV/NN |*sa(y)ay-*| ‘slight(ly),  
 little, dear’  
 |*anug’-vay-*|                      ‘to be very windy’, with VVa |*+<sub>1</sub>vay-*| ‘intensely’  
 b. |*ivz-iy-*|                      ‘to rain, drizzle’, with |*ivzuy-*| ‘rain, drizzle’  
 |*ivzu-iy-*|                      ‘to begin to rain, drizzle’, with NV |*-iy-*| ‘to get’  
 c. |*kiiy-cic-*|                      ‘(air, weather) to be hot’, with |*kiiy-*| ‘heat’ – see  
 § 33.4.3 for the suffix  
 cf. |*kiiy-yuy-*|                      ‘(person) to be hot’.



Among these, *|anuq-liŷ-|* and *|ivz-iŷ-|* share the very productive verbalizing suffix NV *|-liŷ-|* ‘to have plenty of/to provide plenty of’. The suffix is bivalent (hence transitive (b) as well) as seen in the denominal verbs with noun stem *|atsay-|* ‘berry’:

- (18) a. *atsa-lir-tuq* ~ *ats-ir-tuq* (IND.3sg.) ‘it (e.g. ice cream) has lots of berries’  
 b. *atsa-lir-aa* ~ *ats-ir-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘she added lots of berries to it’.

The variance *-lir-* vs. *-ir-* shows a syncopation of a stem-final vowel and the suffix initial /l/ (together with velar deletion if any) that is an almost regular phonological adjustment idiosyncratic to the *|-li-|* group suffixes (§ 38.3), including NV suffixes *|-li-|* ‘to make’, *|-liŷ-|* ‘to have plenty of, supply with’, *|-liuŷ-|* ‘to deal with’, etc. as well as NN *|-linŷayŷ-|* ‘trace/evidence of’.

The suffix *|-liŷ-|*, as a matter of fact, occurs with a number of other impersonal stems besides the two above:

- (19)
- |   |                     |                                   |                    |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i> anuq-liŷ- </i>                        | ‘to be windy’       | <i> anuqi- </i>                   | ‘wind’             |
| <i> akiŷc-iŷ- </i>                        | ‘to be sunny’       | <i> akiŷt(i)- </i>                | ‘sun’              |
| <i> qan-iŷ- </i>                          | ‘to snow’           | <i> qanuy- </i>                   | ‘snow(flake)’      |
| <i> taic-iŷ- </i>                         | ‘to be foggy’       | <i> taituy- </i>                  | ‘fog’              |
| <i> (c)ilal-iŷ- </i>                      | ‘to be rainy’       | <i> (c)ilaluy- </i>               | ‘rain’             |
|   |                     | – from <i> (c)ilal-tuy- </i>      | (weather-bad)      |
| <i> ivz-iŷ- </i> ~ <i> ivyiyŷ- </i> [HBC] | ‘to rain’           | <i> ivzuy- </i> ~ <i> ivyuy- </i> | ‘rain, drizzle’    |
| <i> kaŷ-iŷ- </i>                          | ‘to thunder’        | <i> kaŷuy- </i>                   | ‘thunder’          |
| <i> amiŷl-i(iŷ)- </i>                     | ‘to be cloudy’      | <i> amiŷlu(iŷ)- </i>              | ‘cloud’            |
| <i> iŷal-iŷ- </i>                         | ‘(moon) to shine’   | <i> iŷaluyŷ- </i>                 | ‘moon’             |
| <i> tuyŷ-iŷ- </i>                         | ‘(tide) to come in’ | <i> tuyŷuyŷ- </i> [NUN]           | ‘(incoming) tide’. |

Many of these verbalized stems of weather are more commonly used with intransitive inflection or exclamative suffix:

- (20) a. *anuqlir-tuq* ‘it is windy’  
*anuqlir-paa!* ‘how windy (it is)!’  
 b. *ivsir-tuq* ‘it is raining’.
- (21) *Ellallir-tuq* ***qakem-na* / *Mamterilleqs.***  
 rain-IND.3sg. outside-EX.ABS.sg. / pl.n.ABS.sg.  
 ‘It is raining outside / at Bethel.’

– The S argument (location) can be in the locative case like Mamteriller-ni (LOC.pl.) ‘within Bethel’; see § 21.6 for the locative plural.

However, transitive forms of denominal weather verbs may also be encountered, with P argument:

- (22) *Ellallir-aa*                    *paltuu-k<sub>P</sub>*                    *ella-mi*.  
 rain-IND.3sg.3sg.    coat-ABS.1sg.sg.    outside-LOC.sg.  
 ‘It is raining on my coat outside.’
- (23) a. *qanir-aa*                    *nuna-ka<sub>P</sub>*  
 snow-IND.3sg.3sg.    land-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘it is snowing on my land (village)’  
 b. *qanir-tuq*                    *nuna-mini*  
 snow-IND.3sg.            land-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘it is snowing on/in my land (village)’.

The transitive (a) is quasi-equivalent to the intransitive (b), with ‘my land’ respectively marked with the absolutive (as transitive object) and the locative (as peripheral). The transitive object may be a person instead a place:

- (24) a. *qanir-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.) ‘it is snowing on me (after I have left)’  
 b. *kiircet-aakut* (IND.3sg.1pl.) ‘it is hot (air) for us’.

These transitive verbs, however, should probably be interpreted as a case of zero-derived transitives with locational P (§ 33.4.1).<sup>2</sup>

Meteorological verbs and time verbs are not possible with causative |+c-| (§ 39.1.1), but their transitivization may explicitly be made by the valency-increasing applicative E<sub>APL</sub> |+(u)c-| like a season word (16), but notably not by the adversative E<sub>ADV</sub> |+yi-|. See also § 11.3.4.

- (25) *qani-ut-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.) ‘it is snowing on me (after I have left)’  
*ivsi-ut-aa*                    (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘it is raining on him’.
- (26) a. *ivsu-ng-ut-aa*                    *angun<sub>P=E</sub>*  
 rain-get-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.    man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘it started to rain on the man (after his departure, etc.)’

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2. There is still a possibility that the transitive form reflects the original bivalency of a weather verb with the NV suffix, meaning something like ‘it is supplying it (e.g. tundra) with lots of snow’. If |*qaniy*-| is impersonal bivalent, the intransitive subject would be a place or a person.

- b. *ivsu-ng-ut-aanga*  
rain-get-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.  
'it started to rain on me'.
- (27) *unuaqu-uc-iiq-aaten*  
be.tomorrow-E<sub>APL</sub>-FUT-IND.3sg.2sg.  
'it will be tomorrow before you(sg.) are done (lit. *it* (the dawn) will come on you)'  
– from |*unuaquỵ*| in (12).

It is important that the applicative |+(*u*)*c*-| (when following a monovalent stem) has the peculiarity of valency rearrangement of  $S > E_{APL} \rightarrow E_{APL}abs > Arel$  that is alien to *any* other valency-increasing suffixes added to monovalent stems – including  $E_{ADV}$ , this as contrasted with the general pattern of  $Pabs > Arel$  for bivalent verbs in general (cf. argument hierarchy; § 30.2).

#### 4. Transitive use of monovalent stems (zero derivation)

Monovalent stems may be expanded by a valency-increasing suffix (VV<sub>sm</sub> and VV<sub>cm</sub> type; § 39 and § 40) to become bivalent and occur with transitive inflection. See § 33.5 for suffix-derived transitivization. But, without such valency increase, i.e. by zero derivation, a fair amount of monovalent stems are found to occur with transitive inflection (*qanir-aa* above, as if they were primarily bivalent stems). But this is the case among a more or less limited portion of speakers, apparently the elder generation in general and acceptability differs even among them. Younger speakers generally use only the intransitive construction, and the transitive use, which apparently features in the speech of the older generation, sounds more or less odd or unnatural to many or most speakers. Here is an interesting area of fluidity, obscurity, and fuzziness that will require extensive documentation and exploration.

The arguments added by zero derivation include:

- (a) locational P
- (b) impersonal and/or personal A.

One and the same transitive verb with zero derivation from a monovalent stem may have two different arguments supplied and have different interpretations by different speakers.

## 4.1. Locational P

A limited number of monovalent stems of motion may occur with transitive inflection, with zero-added locational P argument and with the primary S receding to the role of A – e.g. ‘to go up/down (a mountain)’, ‘to go out (a river)’, ‘to swim (a river in/across/through)’, ‘to walk (a trail)’, ‘to arrive (at a house, the spring)’, ‘to run (a river and back, a cross-country)’, ‘to land at (the sea)’, etc. Apparently this is not a new innovation, but is used by ‘conservative’ speakers. Locational P addition, however, is found in a much smaller range of verbs than is the (im)personal A addition (§ 33.4.2), behaving like patientive bivalent stems (§ 34.3).

- (28) *Angyar-pi-i-m<sub>A</sub>*      *kuik<sub>P</sub>*      *an-aa*. P(L)abs A(S)rel  
 boat-big-EV-REL.sg. river.ABS.sg. go.out-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The big boat made it out of the river (e.g. as at full tide).’  
 cf. *Angyar-pak<sub>S</sub>*      *kuig-mek*      *an’-uq*. Sabs  
 boat-big.ABS.sg. river-ABM.sg. go.out-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The big boat went out of the river.’
- (29) *Atrar-aa*      *ingriq<sub>P=L</sub>*.  
 go.down-IND.3sg.3sg. mountain.ABS.sg.  
 ‘He [A] is climbing down the mountain.’  
 cf. *Atrar-tuq*      *ingri-mek*.  
 go.down-IND.3sg. mountain-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He [S] is climbing down from the mountain.’
- (30) *kuik*      *kuime-ki-i*      *angute-m<sub>G=A</sub>*  
 river.ABS.sg. swim-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. man-REL.sg.  
 ‘the river the man is swimming’  
 cf. *kuim-aa* ‘it is swimming it’, *kuimar-aa* ‘he is swimming it (lake, river, a distance)’ [YED]  
 – note the transitive relativizer  $|-_1ki-$  (§ 17.2.2).
- (31) a. *qecg-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he jumped over it’  
       *qecg-tuq* (IND.3sg.) ‘he jumped’  
   b. *maq-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘it [liquid] is oozing, flows out on it’  
       *maq’-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘it flows out / leaks’.

While the transitive *maq-aa* with zero-added locational P is very limited in acceptance, the productive (causative) suffix VVs  $|+c-|$  (§ 39.1.1) can add personal A as below, hence with the antipassive:

- (32) a. *maq-t-aa* (A-IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 ‘he [A] is making it [P: liquid] flow out’  
 b. *maq-c-i-uq* (A-APS-IND.3sg.)  
 ‘he [S] is making something [(P)] flow out’ – antipassive.

In the following example with monovalent stem |*tikic-*| ‘to arrive’, (a) occurs with intransitive inflection and is accompanied by the allative NP as a goal, while (a) has a zero-added locational P, with its corresponding intransitive inflection accompanied by the demoted NP in the ablative-modalis.

- (33) a. *tekit-uq* (IND.3sg.) [u-u-**mun** ene-**mun**]  
 b. *tekit-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) [u-na ena]<sub>P</sub>  
 b’ *tekit-uq* (IND.3sg.) [u-u-**mek** ene-**mek**]<sub>(P)</sub>

(a) just means ‘he arrived at this house’, while (b) implies an arrival at ‘this house’ despite some ‘doubt/uncertainty/limit’ or connotes ‘accidentally, happen to’, and thus often may fit with *alqunaq* ‘suddenly’ or *aya-inanemini* (CNNwl.3Rsg.) ‘while I was going on my way’. (b’) is a detransitivization of (b) by way of demotion.

The zero-added locational P may be a time noun:

- (34) *up’nerkaq<sub>P</sub>* [qakm-u-m ella-m]<sub>A</sub>  
 spring.ABM.sg. outside-EX-REL.sg. weather-REL.sg.  
*tekit-aa*  
 arrive-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘the time (weather outside) became the spring’  
 – the agent NP may not be replaced by *yu-u-m* ‘the man’ (REL.sg.).

See also the common expression of the appositive *tekil-luku* (3sg.) ‘arriving, until’ accompanied by a time noun in the absolutive case, e.g. *Agayuneq* (sunday.ABS.sg.) ‘until Sunday’, as in § 51.2.2-v.b.

#### 4.2. Impersonal and personal A

Impersonal and/or personal A is supplied by zero derivation, thus zero causative, for a much wider range of verbs than the preceding locational P extension (§ 33.4.1), behaving like patientive stems (with A<sub>IMP</sub> or A; § 34.3, § 34.2). The primary S takes the role of P, i.e. with A<sub>IMP</sub>/A + P (< S). With impersonal A, transitive and intransitive verbs are semantically quasi-equivalent, as is the case with bivalent impersonal stems (§ 34.3.1).

But the acceptance of transitive forms with added  $A_{IMP}$  is obviously restricted again to the older generation and, even among them, may not be so high as the preceding locational P.

Some of the relatively few speakers who accept the transitive construction seem to perceive little or no difference from its intransitive counterpart, while other (rather few) speakers seem to feel that the transitive has the mirative implication of the speaker noticing or encountering some natural or supernatural change / force involved, or something that is unseen or unnoticed by the hearer ('here it is, look at!'). This leads to frequent co-occurrence of attention-calling particles like *atam*, as illustrated in the examples below. This may be the area where CAY speakers show one of the widest variations in handling individual stems, though with low acceptability.

Whether the zero-added argument is an impersonal  $A_{IMP}$  and/or personal A depends upon the semantics of stems, pragmatics, and perhaps speakers. The following verbs (of color terms in particular) can be both – (a) impersonal A and (b) personal A. As is the case with bivalent impersonal stems (§ 29.2.3), transitive and intransitive verbs are quasi-equivalent.

i) *Change of color:*

- (35) a. ***Tungu-a***  $\doteq$  ***tungu-uq*** *kelipaq*<sub>P/S</sub>. P(S)abs  $A_{IMP}$ rel  $\doteq$  Sabs  
 black-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg. bread.ABS.sg.  
 'It has blackened the bread, the bread is black.'
- b. ***Tungu-a*** *mingug-a-ni*<sub>P</sub>. P(S)abs Arel  
 black-IND.3sg.3sg. paint-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg. – personal agent  
 'He made his (own) painting (too) black.' ('his own painted one')  
 – the transitive verb may also mean 'he blackened (e.g. a boot) by polishing'.

The same stem *tungu-* with inchoative  $VVt$   $|-_1\dot{y}i-$   $\sim$   $|+li-$  (§ 42.2.1) in:

- (36) a. ***tungu-ri-a***  $\doteq$  ***tungu-ri-uq***  
 black-INC-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.  
 'it [ $A_{IMP}$ ] turned it [P]black / it [S=A] turned black'
- b. ***Tungu-ri-a*** ***akert-e-m***<sub>A</sub> *qai-nga*<sub>P</sub>.  
 black-INC-IND.3sg.3sg. sun-EV-REL.sg. surface-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'The sun blacked his skin.'
- (37) a. ***ella-anga*** (sun/tan-IND.3sg.1sg.)  $\doteq$  ***ella-unga***. (IND.1sg.)  
 'I'm tanned'
- b. ***Akerte-m***<sub>A</sub> ***ella-anga***.  
 sun-REL.sg. tan-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'I am tanned by the sun.'

- (38) a. **Qatr-aa**  $\hat{=}$  **qater-tuq** *keggina-a<sub>P/S</sub>*.  
 whiten-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg. face-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘Her face is white; it has whitened her face.’  
 b. **Qatr-an**  
 white-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) are making it white.’

The same stem |qaṭy-| occurs with augmentative |+pay-| (§ 41.3.2) and |-siyaay-| (§ 41.3.5) in:

- (39) a. **Qater-pag-taten!**  $\hat{=}$  **qater-pag-cit!**  
 whiten-AUG-INT.3sg.2sg./-INT.2sg.  
 ‘How white you (sg.) are! How white it [A<sub>IMP</sub>] has made you (sg.)!’  
 – exclamative use of interrogative-mood verbs (§ 48.4)  
 b. **Qat-siyaag-an**  
 white-too.much-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) are making it too white.’

The following (b), with adversative construction, shows that |qiu-| can have personal A also added, thus making the construction trivalent with necessary demotion of P argument:

- (40) a. **Qiu-gaa**  $\hat{=}$  **Qiu-guq** *qeggina-a<sub>P/S</sub>*.  
 discolor-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg. face-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘His face is (has become) bluish (lit. it has discolored his face).’  
 b. **Ilunga-ma<sub>A</sub>** **qiu-gi-anga** *unate-mnek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 cousin-REL.sg. discolor-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. hand-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 (P)abm E<sub>ADV</sub>abs Arel  
 ‘My (female cross) cousin bruised me (E<sub>ADV</sub>) on my hand.’
- (41) **Kavir-cet-aa**  $\hat{=}$  **Kavir-cet-uq** *qenga-a<sub>P/S</sub>*.  
 red-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg. nose-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘His nose is red.’

ii) *Adjectival stems* (size/quantity/quality/ability, etc.): Frequently accompanied by the relative-clausal *-li-(g)ar-* ‘one which is made’ (make-VNrl; § 17.4.2-iii), with mirative implication of expectation not being actualized and possibly with co-occurrence of a particle like *atam* (calling attention to the hearer about the discovery).

- (42) a. **Iqtu-a** *kuik<sub>P</sub>* **atam**.  
 wide-IND.3sg.3sg. river.ABS.sg. ATN  
 ‘Hey, the river is (has become) wide, lit. it has widened it [unnoticed by hearer]!’

- b. *Iqtu-an*                      *qasp-e-li-a-n<sub>p</sub>*.  
 wide-IND.2sg.3sg.    parka-EV-make-VNrl-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) made your parka (lit. your made parka) too wide.’  
 – see (44b) and (45b) also for *-li-a-*.

Some speakers, who do not feel the impersonal agency, much prefer the intransitive form *iqtu-uq* (3sg.) instead of (a) above.

- (43) a. *neqnir-i-a*                      ‘it (natural process) is making it tasty (i.e. it is becoming tasty)’ [YED 453]  
 b. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *neqnir-i-a*                      *akuta-ni<sub>p</sub>*.  
 woman-REL.sg.    tasty-INC-IND.3sg.3sg.    ice.cream-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘The woman is making her (own) ice cream more tasty.’

Acceptability of transitive verbs with zero-added impersonal A is generally very low (if ever) in acceptability, while personal A reading seems to be acceptable to more speakers, and in fact may be the only one that is accepted by them. For some stems, however, two readings may be possible. The question mark ? for (a)s below means limited acceptability, with its doubled ?? for extremely limited acceptability.

- (44) a. ?*Mik'-aa*                      *atam*                      *nacaq<sub>p</sub>!*  
 small-IND.3sg.3sg.    ATN                      cap.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The cap is small!’  
 cf. *Mik'-uq*                      *nacaq<sub>s</sub>*.  
 small-IND.3sg.                      cap.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The cap is small.’ – a mere statement  
 b. *Mik'-ak*                      *ikamra-li-a-gni<sub>p</sub>*.  
 small-IND.3sg.3du.    sled-make-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.du.  
 ‘He has made his own sled small, lit. he has made the one small (which he made – but actually small).’
- (45) a. ?*Ang-aa*                      *atam*                      [*im-na*                      *Nuk'aq*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 big-IND.3sg.3sg                      ATN                      that-EX.ABS.sg.    p.n.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Hey, that (ANP) Nuk'aq has grown, lit. it grows Nuk'aq.’  
 b. *Ang-aa*                      *pi-li-a-ni<sub>p</sub>*.  
 big-IND.3sg.3sg.                      thing-make-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He has made the thing big.’
- (46) a. ?*Nanit-aa*                      *mis-vi-at<sub>p</sub>*.  
 short-IND.3sg.3sg.    land-place-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘Their landing strip is short.’



- b. *Nanit-aa*                      *mis-vi-at<sub>p</sub>*  
 short-IND.3sg.3sg.    land-place-ABS.3pl.sg.  
*pi-li-a-qe-llerminiu.*  
 thing-make-ed-have.as-CNNwn.3Rsg.3sg.  
 ‘He made their landing strip short when he made it.’

Note that (b) has the cyclical derivation of *-li-a-qe-* < *-li-(g)ar-ke-* (make-VNrl-NVrv) instead of the straight *pi-li-llerminiu* ‘when he made it’.

The following, again, has limited acceptability:

- (47)     *?Puqig-aa*                      *atam*                      *Nace-aq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 articulate-IND.3sg.3sg.    ATN                      p.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.  
 ‘See, Nace is articulate (clever)!’

iii) *Non-adjectival monovalent stems of motion*: again the acceptability is very low:

- (48)     *Akag-aa*                      *angqa-a<sub>p</sub>*.  
 roll-IND.3sg.3sg.            ball-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘His ball is rolling (*it* rolls his ball).’  
 cf. *Akag-tuq* (IND.3sg.) *angqa-a<sub>s</sub>*. – much more common.

- (49)     *?Tang, qayaq<sub>p</sub>*                      *ayag-aa*                      *ava=i / ava-vet.*  
 ATN    kayak.ABS.sg.    go.away-IND.3sg.3sg.    there-INJ    there-ALL  
 ‘Look, the kayak has drifted away (*it* has drifted the kayak) over there!’

The verb here should be *ayag-tuq* (IND.3sg.) to most of speakers, and the transitive *ayag-aa* was accepted only by three (more or less aged) speakers of about a dozen consulted. As an impersonal verb, a personal A argument NP like *\*anuqe-m* (REL.sg.) ‘the wind’ cannot be added. However, again, there are some speakers who treat the stem *ayag-* as transitive (‘to push out’ – in the sense of causative *ayag-cet-aa*), which co-occurs naturally with agent nouns like *anuqe-m* and *angute-m* (‘man’).

- (50)     *?Tang*    *ava=i*                      *pek-aa*                      *yaqulek<sub>p</sub>*.  
 ATN    there-INJ    move-IND.3sg.3sg.    bird.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Look, the bird moved (it [A<sub>IMP</sub>] moved the bird) over there!’

The transitive verb *akag-aa* (48) cannot take a personal A argument like *\*angute-m* (intending ‘the man rolled the ball’), but the locational P may be added instead (‘the ball is rolling *on the floor*’). Likewise, the monovalent stem

|*ani*-| ‘to go out’ can be used transitively, at least by some speakers, with locational P added (28).

iv) A fair number of monovalent stems belonging to the adjectival group (ii above) have zero-derived extension of personal A, but apparently not of impersonal A:

- (51) ***Iqa-a*** *paltuu-ni<sub>p</sub>*.  
 dirty-IND.3sg.3sg. coat-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He dirtied his own coat.’  
 cf. *iqa-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘it is dirty’.
- (52) [*Saarralaq aya-ut-arka-qa*]<sub>P</sub>  
 sugar.ABS.sg. go-E<sub>APL</sub>.with-VNrl.FUT-ABS.1sg.sg.  
***ikget-aa***.  
 little-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She is making the sugar that I am going to take a little bit of.’  
 cf. *ikget-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘it is small in amount, few in number’.
- (53) ***Tegg-aa*** *arna-m<sub>A</sub>* *kelipar-kaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 hard-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg. bread-FUT.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The woman made the dough too hard.’  
 cf. *Kelipar-kaq<sub>s</sub>* *tegg’-uq*.  
 bread-FUT.ABS.sg. hard-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The dough is firm.’
- (54) ***Uqamait-aa / Uqigget-aa*** *angute-m<sub>A</sub>* *issrat-ka<sub>p</sub>*.  
 heavy-/light-IND.3sg.3sg. man-REL.sg. bag-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘The man made my grass bag heavy/light (by filling it too much/little).’
- (55) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>* ***cagni-a*** *cingi-ni<sub>p</sub>*.  
 man-REL.sg. taut-IND.3sg.3sg. lace-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘The man is making his lace taut.’  
 cf. *Cingi-a<sub>s</sub>* *cagni-uq*.  
 lace-ABS.3sg.sg. taut-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His lace is taut.’
- (56) *Ki-a<sub>A</sub>* ***mik-ta-aki*** *tua-ten?*  
 who-REL.sg. small-as.as-INT.3sg.3pl. there-EQL  
 ‘Who made them as small as that?’ – § 45.6.1 for equalitive VVc |+*ta*-|.

v) Finally, the transitive inflection (§ 37.3.1) of the inchoative intransitive relational  $|+\eta\upsilon\check{y}c-|$  (i.e. ‘to make into s.t.’ from ‘to become s.t.’) may also belong here, that is, with the case of zero-derived transitives.

#### 4.3. Denominal stems with impersonal A

Denominal verbs (monovalent) with different kinds of verbalizing suffixes (NV, NVry; § 39, § 38) may have a zero-added impersonal A argument responsible for impersonal patientive stems. The acceptability may vary among individual speakers, as well as for the stems concerned, but generally an intransitive form seems to be preferred.

##### i) Non-relational NV:

- (57) a.  $|-\text{liqi}-|$  ‘to catch a lot’ / ‘to be affected’ (§ 38.3)  
*neq’-liq-aa*  $\equiv$  *neq’-liq-uq* ‘he caught a lot of fish’  
 fish-catch-IND.3sg.3sg./ -IND.3sg.  
 b. *tep-liq-aa*  $\equiv$  *tep-liq-uq* *issuriq*<sub>P/S</sub>  
 smell-VN-IND.3sg.3sg./ -IND.3sg. seal.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The spotted seal smells bad.’

- (58)  $|+\text{cic}-|$  ‘to have the quality of’, cf. § 11.5  
*kiir-cet-uq* ‘it (air, weather) is hot, warm’  
 – cf. (17c) and (P13iv)  
*tan’ger-cet-uq* ‘it is dark’ –  $|tany\check{y}-|$  ‘darkness’  
*kavir-cet-aa*  $\equiv$  *kavir-cet-uq* ‘it is red’ (41).

- (59)  $|-\text{ki}\check{y}c(i)-|$  ‘to have a good N’ (§ 38.4)  
*tep-kegt-aanga*  
 smell-have.good-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I (my clothing) smell good (*it* makes me smell good)’  
*ella-kegci-vag-ta!*  
 weather-have.good-ITS-INT.3sg.  
 ‘how nice the weather is!’

- (60) a.  $|+\eta i(\check{y}a)\check{y}-|$  ‘to cold, to have a cold N’ (§ 38.1).  
*ciuta-irar-aanga* ‘my ears are cold (lit. it colds me in the ears)’  
 ear-cold-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 b. *ciuta-ir-tua* ‘my ears are cold; I am cold in the ears’  
 ear-cold-IND.1sg. – with / $\check{y}a$ / deletion before a consonant (P18v).

- |-(y)luy-c-|      ‘to cause soreness, sick, be in bad physical condition, worsen; bad, old’, cf. § 20.1.1 with A addition:  
 (61) *it’ga-rrlugt-aa* ≡ *-uq*  
 foot-worsen-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he has a sore foot; *it* [A<sub>IMP</sub>] causes a sore foot on him’.
- (62) a. *ayuuq-ucir-rlugt-uq* ≡ *ayuuq-ucir-rlugt-aa*  
 be.like-VNnm-worsen-IND.3sg./-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he feels sick; *it* [A<sub>IMP</sub>] caused bad condition on him’  
 b. *Ayuuq-ucir-rlugc-et-aa*  
 be.like-VNnm-worsen-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*mam-yuil-ngur-ya-an.* / *mam-yuil-ngu-an*  
 heal-never-VNrl-NN-REL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘His cancer (lit. something like that which never heals) causes him to be sick.’ – cf. YED 592 as to NN -*ya-*.

– while (a) has no explicit A<sub>IMP</sub>, addition of A argument NP (‘cancer’) in (b), in the relative case, is made possible by the causative -(c)*et-* (complex transitive) (§ 34.4-ii). Note the nominalizer (VNnm) being followed by an NN suffix in (a), which is at least the case with § 18(104) *nallu-nrit-nertu-ta-ci-rra-mtun* ‘as much as I know’.

- |-ŋ\*i-|      ‘to acquire’ (§ 38.1) – see also (26) *ivsu-ng-*  
 (63) *Nenglla-nge-ksait-aa*      [*qantaq*      *neq-ka*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 cold-get-not.yet-IND.3sg.3sg.      bowl.ABS.sg.      food-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My bowl of food is not cold yet; *it* has not got my bowl of food cold.’ [PA] ≡ *nenglli-qsait-aa* (impersonal [*ninŋliŋ-*] ‘to cold’).

ii) *Relational verbs* – intransitive stative and inchoative (NVrv; § 37.1, § 37.3):

- (64) *Ciul-va-u-gaa* ≡ *Ciul-va-u-guq*      *atam*      *Nace-aq*<sub>p/s</sub>.  
 ear-big-be-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.      ATN      p.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.  
 ‘See, Nace is big-eared.’ [PA]
- (65) *Ciru-ar-u-i* ≡ *Ciru-ar-u-ut*      [*kayangu-t*      *tua-ni*.  
 cover-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.3pl./IND.3pl.      egg-ABS.pl.      there-LOC  
*tuutangay(a-l)inra-a-t*]<sub>p/s</sub>.  
 goose-product-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘The Canadian goose eggs are covered (like a nest) over there.’  
 – with the very common deletion of /V-l/ mentioned concerning (18).

- (66) *Uksu-urte-ng-aa* ≡ *Uksu-urte-ng-uq*      *nuna-vut*<sub>P/S</sub>.  
 winter-become-INC-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.      land-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘Our village is beginning to become wintery.’

Zero derivation for transitivizing monovalent stems may present confusion with different kinds of bivalent stems with different detransitivizations (§ 34).

## 5. Transitivization (suffix-derived)

Monovalent stems may become bivalent stems by means of valency-increasing suffixes. They include:

- i) Simplex verbs (VVsm; § 39), with different arguments added:
  - a. causative (A) – |+c-|, etc.
  - b. applicative (E<sub>APL</sub>) – |+(u)c-|, etc.
  - c. adversative (E<sub>ADV</sub>) – |+yi<sub>1</sub>-|, etc.
  - d. impersonal (A<sub>IMP</sub>) – |+naŷqi-|, etc.  
and a few less productive ones.
  
- ii) Complex transitives (VVcm; § 40.2), with upper-clause agent (A', A'', ...):
  - a. causative – |-vkay̆-| ~ |+cic-|, |+citaay̆-|
  - b. directive – |+sqi-|, |+squma-|
  - c. speculative – |+<sub>1</sub>cuki-|, |+nayuki-|
  - d. reportative – |+ni-|
  - e. ignorative – |+(u)ciit-|, |+(u)ciŷkait-|
  - f. expectant – |-niŷciŷ-|

– which will be amply illustrated in the respective chapters. The two types of causatives (i.a and ii.a) are contrasted in § 34.4.

## Chapter 34

### Bivalent (monotransitive) stems

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#### Bivalent (monotransitive) stems

Bivalent stems with P and A arguments are basically ambi-transitive in that they occur with transitive inflection marking the two arguments and, without morphological modification, can also occur with transitive inflection marking. However, few bivalent (and ditransitive) stems are used with intransitive one. Such verbs are sometimes called “transitive-only” verbs (Jacobson 1984: 19, 1995: 116; Mithun 2000: 87). The apparently transitive-only stems, however, may be detransitivized and occur intransitively, at least in certain limited contexts or with some specifications. There are some that intrinsically can only be transitive, like transitive comparative |*nq̄i-*| (§ 45.1.2).

Morphologically, bivalent stems include not only (1) primarily bivalent stems but also (2) ones derived from monovalent stems or a-valent (argumentless) roots with a valency-increasing VVsm suffix (incl. root expander) and (3) denominal bivalent stems with an NV suffix.

The one or two core arguments may or may not be externally expressed with free-standing NPs, though the impersonal agent ( $A_{IMP}$ , just below) of impersonal patientive stems (§ 34.3) is never expressed.

Morphologically, transitive clauses have an absolutive-ergative system with S and P arguments marked in the same way, that is, in the absolutive case (§ 23.1), and A argument in the relative case (§ 24.3), though this comes with an important caveat with respect to the inflectionally marked core argument NP referring to a non-third person (§ 27.4). See § 30.2 for case assignments to core argument NPs.

In view of the syntactic-semantic relationship between their intransitive and transitive forms, as reflected in morphology, inflection, and case alignment, bivalent stems are classified into two types – agentive (5) vs. patientive (24). Some of the latter, called impersonal patientive with  $A_{IMP}$  (58–60), are distinguished from the rest. Although the classification is not necessarily clear-cut (given particularly the idiolectal differences), this basically results in three types:

- |     |                          |  |
|-----|--------------------------|--|
| (1) | a. agentive              | $P$ and [ $S =$ ] $A$ (accusative alignment) – e.g. ‘to eat, see’  |
|     | b. patientive            | $P$ [ $= S$ ] and $A$ (ergative alignment) – e.g. ‘to break, wash, kill’   |
|     | c. impersonal patientive | $P$ [ $= S$ ] and $A_{IMP}$ – e.g. ‘to freeze, dawn, rotten’ [impersonal $A$ like uncontrollable natural and supernatural force or process]. |

The distinction between agentive and patientive transitive verbs has important morphological and syntactic relevance to many aspects of the language. In this regard, T. Nagai (2006) based on his research on North Alaskan Iñupiaq (Upper Kobuk dialect), attempting a detailed semantic classification of the verbs, is an important contribution to Eskimo linguistics (cf. also § 4-fn. 6). In addition, the relative abundance of impersonal bivalent verbs, a portion of patientive bivalents, may be one of the more remarkable characteristics of the language.

The three types are contrasted below by way of illustrations, with transitive and intransitive forms. The two arguments P and A in the former are assigned the absolutive and the relative case, while the S argument for the latter is assigned the absolutive, and the demoted (indicated by bracketed P) argument for the antipassive has the ablative-modal case (§ 30.2.1). Case alignments are schematically given at the end.

*Agentive* |*niyi-*| ‘to eat’:

- |     |               |                                      |                         |                  |           |
|-----|---------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| (2) | a. transitive | <i>Angute-m<sub>A</sub></i>          | <i>neqa<sub>P</sub></i> | <i>ner-aa.</i>   | Pabs Arel |
|     |               | man-REL.sg.                          | fish.ABS.sg.            | eat-IND.3sg.3sg. |           |
|     |               | ‘The man is eating <i>the</i> fish.’ |                         |                  |           |

- b. intransitive (
- $\emptyset$
- derived antipassive)

*Angun<sub>S</sub> neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub> ner'-uq.* (P)abm S(A)abs  
 manABS.sg. fish-ABM.sg. eat-IND.3sg.  
 'The man is eating *a* fish.'

Note the contrast in definiteness of 'fish'. The parenthesized (P) means a demoted argument.

As far as transitive inflection is concerned, patientive verbs show the same case alignment:

*Patientive* |*navy-*| 'to break' – note the ambivalency of ([3b], [3c]):

- (3) a. transitive – same pattern as (2a):

*Angute-m<sub>A</sub> sass'aq<sub>P</sub> navg-aa.* Pabs Arel  
 man-REL.sg. watch.ABS.sg. break-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'The man broke *the* watch.'

- b. intransitive ("medio-passive") – two readings

*Sass'aq<sub>S</sub> naveg-tuq.*  
 watch.ABS.sg. break-IND.3sg.

- i. 'The watch broke.' (much more common)

– medialization between P and A

S( $P\infty$ A)abs

- ii. 'The watch was broken.'

– passivization or A deletion

S(P)abs  $A\emptyset$ 

- c. antipassive (suffix-derived; § 39.6) and "adversative" (§ 39.5 for transitive version)

*Angun<sub>S</sub> sass'a-mek<sub>(P)</sub> navg-i-uq.*  
 man.ABS.sg. watch-ABM.sg. break-E-IND.3sg.

- i. 'The man broke
- a*
- watch.' – antipassive, i.e. medialization between E and A, hence: Pabm S(
- $E\infty$
- A)abs

- ii. 'The man had
- a*
- watch broken.' (rare) – passivization or A deletion.

Pabm S(E)abs  $A\emptyset$ 

*Impersonal patientive* |*ciku-*| 'to freeze' – as stated, an A argument of impersonal patientives is not externally expressed by a free NP like the following (b):

- (4) a. transitive –
- $A_{IMP}$
- indexed as transitive subject

*Nanvaq<sub>P</sub> ciku-a.* Pabs  $A_{IMP}(\text{rel})$   
 lake.ABS.sg. freeze-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'It [ $A_{IMP}$ ] froze the lake, i.e. the lake is (now) frozen.'

- b. intransitive – passive with
- $A_{IMP}$
- deletion (neither medialization nor "antipassive" unlike [3c])

*Nanvaq<sub>S</sub> ciku-uq.* S(P)abs  $A_{IMP}\emptyset$   
 lake.ABS.sg. freeze-IND.3sg.  
 'The lake is (still) freezing.'



– the parenthesized (rel) in the alignment (a) at the right end indicate that the  $A_{IMP}$  argument can never be external, though it fills A slot.

See (68) for more semantic difference between (a) and (b).

In general, agentive transitive stems chiefly describe the process itself (rather than the result) of the agent's action upon a patient, whereas patientive transitive stems tend to focus on the result or the continuous state of the agent's action upon the patient, with the contrast distinctly revealed by a number of ways in CAY morphosyntax.

Most significant of all is that patientive stems have suffix-derived anti-passives, while agentive ones do not need morphological derivations (zero derivation) for anti-passives, since the subject of patientive verbs in intransitive inflection is not the A argument.

### 1. Agentive stems (S=A)

A representative sample of primary agentive (bivalent) stems is given below:

- (5) a. |*ulay-*| 'to approach, go up to', |*paịyc-*| 'to come across, meet', |*maliyc-*| 'to go with, follow', |*upc-*| 'to get ready to go', |*nạyuy-*| 'to meet, intercept', |*cinịyc-*| 'to visit', |*utaqa-*| 'to wait (for)', |*kituy-*| 'to pass', |*pịluy-*| 'to pass (time), happen',  
 b. |*amay-*| 'to carry (on back)', |*ạn̄aqi-*| 'to take along', |*tịyl̄-*| 'to steal', |*kipuc-*| 'to buy',  
 c. |*pai-*| 'to stay behind (with)', |*tuc-*| 'to sleep next to',  
 d. |*cịñi-*| 'to push', |*aytụy-*| 'to touch', |*cịñay-*| 'to kiss', |*akuqay-*| 'to catch, grab', |*yayc-*| 'to stretch arms, fight', |*caluy-*| 'to fight (with)',  
 e. |*ịvcuy-*| 'to shake off (snow/sand)', |*imy-*| 'to role up', |*kum̄-*| 'to scratch', |*suuyi-*| 'to scrub', |*mịñuy-*| 'to paint, spread', |*kayi-*| 'to sweep', |*ịlay-*| 'to dig', |*ịnịy-*| 'to press down', |*akayc-*| 'to roll', |*patu-*| 'to cover', |*avuy-*| 'to gather, collect (s.t. scattered)' (cf. § 34.2),  
 f. |*kinịy-*| / [Y] |*ịya-*| 'to cook', |*s/cịy-*| 'to cut open (abdominal cavity of fish)' (vs. patientive |*ulịyc-*| 'to cut fish for drying'; § 34.2), |*ịñqi-*| 'to cut', |*ukli-*| 'to dice/cut up (fish, bread)', |*ịỵitạy-*| 'to pluck (fowl)',  
 g. |*nuty-*| 'to shoot', |*qalu-*| 'to dipnet', |*manay-*| 'to hook (fish)', |*ạñu-*| 'to catch (after chasing)', |*iqvay-*| 'to pick berries',  
 h. |*mịñqi-*| 'to sew', |*qilay-*| 'to knit, weave', |*caki-*| 'to cut (out, e.g. wood)', |*kiliy-*| 'to scrape',

- i. |*ac-*| ‘to put on’, |*kam̄-uy-*| ‘to put on boots’ (from root |*kam̄-*|), |*īym̄i-*| ‘to wash (face)’, |*qulic-*| ‘to wash (hair)’, |*uq̄y-*| ‘to wipe (anal area)’, |*maqi-*| ‘to take/give a steam bath’,
- j. |*īyi-*| ‘to swallow’, |*im̄y-*| ‘to drink’, |*aam̄y-*| ‘to suckle’, |*nīyi-*| ‘to eat’, |*miluy-*| ‘to suck, smoke’, |*nāyi-*| ‘to smell’, |*paīy-*| ‘to lick’, |*paīy-*| ‘to lick’, |*tamu-*| ‘to chew’, |*uiy-*| ‘to taste, sample, try’, |*almi-*| [Y.HBC] ‘to lick, taste’, |*qiciy-*| ‘to spit’,
- k. |*tañx-*| ‘to see’, |*tanīyi-*| ‘to understand’, |*ilic-*| ‘to learn’, |*niq̄’ay-*| ‘to remember’, |*niic-*| ‘to hear, obey’, |*nālu-*| ‘not to know, to be ignorant’, |*yūyay-*| ‘to check (outside)’,
- l. |*akqi-*| ‘to promise’, |*añy-*| ‘to say yes to’, |*qan̄y-*| ‘to say, utter’, |*tuqlūy-*| ‘to call out’, |*nunuy-*| ‘to scold’, |*iyay-*| / [Y.HBC.NS] |*al̄hay-*| ‘to write’, |*iqlu-*| ‘to (tell a) lie’,
- m. |*pi-*| ‘to do, say’, |*atūy-*| ‘to use, follow, sing’, |*yūyay-*| ‘to dance’, |*yuāy-*| ‘to search’, |*cali-*| ‘to work, make (for)’,
- n. |*ayuqi-*| ‘to resemble’.

Intransitive verbs of self-directed activity such as ‘to wash (face, hair)’ and ‘to put on (boots)’ are reflexive by themselves and can occur intransitively without a reflexive pronoun (§ 13.2.2) in the ablative-modal case such as *ellmi-nek* – cf. reflexive verbs (§ 34.4.1):

- (6) a. *ermig-tuq* ‘he is washing (his own face)’ – agentive  
*ermig-aa* ‘he is washing her face’  
 cf. *erur-tuq* ‘it is washed’ (dish, body, skin) – patientive  
*erur-aa* ‘he is washing it’
- b. *qulil-lua* *an’-uq*  
 wash-APP.1sg. go.out-IND.3sg.  
 ‘as I was washing (hair), he went out’
- c. *kamgug-tuq* ‘he puts boots (on himself)’  
*kamgug-aa* ‘he puts boots on her’
- d. *kumeg-tuq* ‘he is scratching (himself)’  
*kumeg-aa* ‘he is scratching it (e.g. arm)’
- e. *kunegt-uq* ‘he is combing (himself)’  
*kunegt-aa* *nuya-ni / nuya-a / ena*  
 comb-IND.3sg.3sg. hair-ABS.3Rsg.sg. / -ABS.3sg.sg./house.ABS.sg.  
 ‘he is grooming his own / her hair / cleaning the house’.

Agentive verbs tend to be either continuous/progressive or perfective.

- (7) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>* *nayiq<sub>p</sub>* *ner-aa*.  
 man-REL.sg. seal.ABS.sg. eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man is eating / has (just) eaten the seal.’

There are a few verbalizing suffixes (NV) that are responsible for agentive bivalent stems, although most of denominal bivalent stems are patientive:

- (8) a. *|-li-|* ‘to make (for s.o.), appear (to s.o.)’ (§ 38.3):  
*qaya-li-anga* ‘he is making a kayak for me’  
 kayak-make.for-IND.3sg.1sg.  
*qaya-li-uq* ‘he is making a kayak’  
 kayak-make.for-IND.3sg. – zero-derived antipassive (just below)
- b. *|-liuỵ-|* ‘to deal with, play with’ (§ 38.3):  
*angya-liur-aat* (IND.3pl.3sg.)  
 ‘they are working on the boat for him’  
*angya-liur-tut* (IND.3pl.)  
 ‘they are working on / playing with a boat’  
 – though the transitive form is not as common.

The suffix (b) is exactly what is responsible for the pseudo-passive *|+sciuỵ-|* (§ 34.1.2.2-i).

### 1.1. Antipassives (zero-derived)

As a bivalent, an agentive stem may occur with transitive or intransitive inflection. The former indexes P and A arguments. The latter, i.e. de-transitivized without any suffixal modification, is “antipassive”, with P being demoted to the ablative-modalis (§ 25.2.1; hence no indexing in inflection) together with A being promoted to S (absolute status). The demoted P (as parenthesized below) is semantically an object, but not syntactically; antipassives are morphologically intransitive though semantically transitive. Transitive vs. antipassive (intransitive) pairs are illustrated with two stems *|niyi-|* ‘to eat’ and *|kipuc-|* ‘to buy’.

- (9) a. *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>    nayiq<sub>P</sub>    ner-aa.* = (7)  
 man-REL.sg.    seal.ABS.sg.    eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man is eating/has (just) eaten *the* seal.’
- b. *Angun<sub>S</sub>    nayir-mek<sub>(P)</sub>    ner'-uq.*  
 man-REL.sg.    seal-ABM.sg.    eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man is/has (just) eaten *a/the* seal.’

Bivalent stems such as *|niyi-|* are reasonably called “agentive”, for it is not the patient (‘seal’) but the agent (‘man’) that remains after de-transitivization as the core argument (a derived S) in intransitive verbs, with the patient being backgrounded (demoted to the oblique status). The absolute object is definite

(‘the’) in (a), but the ablative-modalis *nayir-mek* may be indefinite though not necessarily (may be either ‘a’ or ‘the’).

As a matter of fact, a demoted NP can be a person name or a possessed noun:

- (10) a. *Ene-kuci-n<sub>p</sub>*                      *kipuc-iiq-aqa*.  
           house-kind-ABS.2sg.sg.      buy-FUT-IND.1sg.3sg.  
           ‘I [A] shall buy *the* house of the same kind as yours.’
- b. *Ene-kuci-vnek<sub>(p)</sub>*                      *kipuc-iiq-ua*.  
           house-kind-ABM.2sg.sg.      buy-FUT-IND.1sg.  
           ‘I [S=A] shall buy *a/the* house of the same kind as your house.’  
           – |*-kuciŷ-*| ‘one of the same kind’ (§ 18.2.1.3).

As for the difference in the nominal case between (9a), (10a) vs. (9b), (10b) and in the glosses ‘the’ vs. ‘a/the’, the definiteness of the ‘fish eaten’ and the whereabouts of the ‘house to be bought’ are possibly known in the case of the transitive (a), but not necessarily in the intransitive or antipassive (b). The same kind of contrast between transitives and (suffix-derived) antipassives will be seen to obtain for patientive stems as well (§ 34.2.2).

## 1.2. Passives

In CAY passive constructions are restricted as mentioned in § 5.1.1.2 and there are no typical passives with a general pattern of A demotion. Passive readings are relevant to patientive verbs in intransitive inflection, as in medio-passives (§ 34.2.1). In addition, different constructions may carry passive-like functions, which are relevant to agentive or patientive verbs, though given in this section of agentive verbs for conveniences sake (but could be incorporated in § 34.4).

### 1.2.1. TAM-sensitive

Transitive verbs with agentive stems are detransitivized with no passivizer but with some TAM specification. An A argument NP is hardly expressed externally, but only marginally, by one of the oblique cases; the language has no specific case for demoted A, however.

The suffixes VVt |+(u)ma-| ~ |*-ŋqa-*| (§ 42.3) and VVm |*+yaŷkau-*| (§ 43), which emphasize perfection, yield two readings below by contrast with *ner'-uq* ‘he is eating, has [just] eaten’ above. Compare with patientive stems (§ 34.2.1):

- (11) *ner-uma-ug* (IND.3sg.)  
 i. ‘he is/has been eating (s.t.) for a long time’ (P demoted)  
 – e.g. with *angun* (man.ABS.sg.) and *akuta-mek* (ice.cream-ABM.sg.)  
 ii. ‘it has been eaten’ (A deleted)  
 – e.g. *akutaq* (ice.cream.ABS.sg.).
- (12) *ner'-arkau-guq*      *kumla-naku*  
 eat-VVm-IND.3sg.    cold-APP.3sg.  
 i. ‘he is supposed to eat (s.t.) when it is cold’  
 ii. ‘it should be eaten when it is cold’. = § 17(176)  
 cf. *ner'-arkau-gaa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he must eat it’.

See § 17.4.3 and § 43 also for the modality suffix VVm |+*yaykau*-| ‘to be supposed to, should, have to’, a composite suffix from of |+*yay+k\*ay+nu*-| (VNrl-NN.FUT-be) where the patientive nature of the relativizer |+*yay*| is attenuated by the following tense-aspectual |+*k\*ay*-|. Hence the compared transitive form.

See also (13) from patientive stems and § 39.2.1.1 for necessitative VVnm |+*nayqi*-| as a modality in (14), from § 39(61) and (62):

- (13) *navg-uma-ug* (break-PRF-IND.3sg.)      ‘it is broken’  
*mumi-ngqa-ug* (turn.over-PRF-IND.3sg.)      ‘it is turned over’ –  
 root-derived |*mumiy-c*-|.
- (14) a. *ner-narq-ug*      ‘it must be eaten (right away)’  
 b. *Qaillun*      *u-na*<sub>S=P</sub>      *atur-narq-a?*  
 how      this-EX.ABS.sg.      use-NEC-INT.3sg.  
 ‘How is this supposed to be used?’

TAM specification may not only be suffixal, but may be made by separate words, such as the particle *ak'a* ‘already’ in (a) below, and the cosubordinate clause with the patientive stem |*nayqi*-| ‘to finish, use up, be all’ in the appositional mood in (b), the two of which have no substantial difference:

- (15) a. *Akutaq*<sub>S(P)</sub> *ak'a*      *ner'-ug*.  
 ice.cream    already    eat-IND.3sg.  
 b. *Akutaq*<sub>S(P)</sub> *ner'-ug*      *nang-luku*.  
 ice.cream    eat-IND.3sg.    use.up-APP.3sg.  
 ‘The ice-cream was eaten already.’ – § 51.1.4.2-ii.a for *nang-luku*  
 cf. *akutar-tur-tuq*      *nang-luku*  
 ice.cream-eat-IND.3sg.    use.up-APP.3sg. – § 51.1.4.2-ii.c  
 ‘he ate ice-cream, finishing it’.

– but \**akutaq ner'-uq* without a TAM specification is not accepted.

In the following, the antipassive reading (ii) with the ‘seal’ as agent is possible, but the passive (i), equivalent to (15a), is more common:

- (16) *Nayiq<sub>S</sub> ak'a ner'-uq.*  
 i. ‘The seal[S=P] was eaten already.’  
 ii. ‘The seal[S=A] ate (s.t. [(P)]) already.’

In the following pair, the particle *ak'a* is not necessary in the antipassive (a) with S derived from A, but it is obligatory in (b) to render it passive:

- (17) a. *Arnaq<sub>S=A</sub> (ak'a) qemrar-tuq [akakiig-e-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 woman.ABS.sg. already mash-IND.3sg. white.fish-EV-REL.sg.  
*kemga-nek]<sub>(P)</sub>.*  
 meat-ABM.pl.  
 ‘The woman has already mashed whitefish meat (i.e. to be mixed into Eskimo ice cream).’  
 [Hayatsu 1994:17] – *qemrar-tuq*, to her consultant, may mean either ‘he is squeezed something’ or ‘it is smashed’ and [YED] gives *qemrar-i-ssuun* ‘wringer’, thus (24d) classified here as patientive
- b. *[Akakiig-e-m<sub>S</sub> kemg-a]<sub>S=P</sub> a'ka qemrar-tuq.*  
 white.fish-EV-REL.sg. meat-ABS.3sg.sg. already mash-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The whitefish meat has already been mashed.’

The specification may also be made by the future VVt  $|+_1ciqi-|$  for a passive reading (together with the particle *atata* ‘later’, for instance, though not obligatorily):

- (18) *[U-na akutaq]<sub>S=P</sub> ner-ci-q-ut (atata).*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. ice.cream.ABS.sg. eat-FUT-IND.3sg. later  
 ‘This ice cream will be eaten later.’
- (19) *[U-ku-t kalika-t]<sub>S=P</sub> taringe-ci-q-ut*  
 This-EX-ABS.pl. paper-ABS.pl. understand-FUT-IND.3pl.  
*(atata).*  
 later  
 ‘This book will be understood later on.’ – cf. *taringe-ut* ‘they understand’
- cf. *[U-ku-nek kalika-nek]<sub>(P)</sub> taringe-ci-q-ut*  
 this-EX-ABM.pl. paper-ABM.pl. understand-FUT-IND.3pl.  
*atata.*  
 later  
 ‘They will understand this book later on.’

Aspect-induced emphasis of passivity is also the case with patientive verbs, see, e.g. (47), (48).

### 1.2.2. Pseudo-passives

These are characterized by two composite passive-like VVsm suffixes i)  $|+(s)ci\dot{y}-|/|(s)ciu\dot{y}-|$  and ii)  $|+yau-|/|+yaqi-|$ .

i)  $|+(s)ci\dot{y}-|/|(s)ciu\dot{y}-|$  ‘to be –ed to the detriment of’ (dynamic; § 39.3.1) is originally composed of the agentive/active relativizer  $|+(s)t-|$  ‘one who does’ (§ 17.5.1) and the verbalizing  $|-liu\dot{y}-|$  ‘to work on, play with’ or  $|-li\dot{y}-|$  ‘to supply with’ (§ 38.3), and primarily by the ablative-modalis marking of an agent NP (§ 25.2.3). The  $|+(s)ci\dot{y}-|$  is more typical in Yukon area, according to Jacobson (1984: 446), who, not giving any special terminology, illustrates two verbs *neresciurtuq* ‘it got eaten’ and *teglegciurtuq* ‘it got stolen’. Mithun (2000: 90–91) uses the term “passive-like” with agent omission, adding two more verbs (cf. § 39-fn.2). See § 5.1.1-v.b for the term “pseudo-passives”. The pseudo-passive  $|+(s)ci\dot{y}-|/|(s)ciu\dot{y}-|$  can be deceptive and be confused with the causative VVsm  $|+ci\dot{y}-|$  (§ 39.1.3), as explained in § 39.3.1. The victim is typically a man or an animal (§ 39.3.1).

Though treated here, pseudo-passives occur also with some patientive stems, as given at the end of this section for convenience’ sake.

This pseudo-passive is a dynamic passive (by contrast with the stative  $|+yau-|/|+yaqi-|$  in ii) below; see also § 17.4, § 39.3.2) and the agent argument (to be passivized) is typically animate. As such, this is a construction entirely distinct from adversative verbs characterized by  $E_{ADV}$  adding  $|+y\dot{i}_1-|$  (§ 39.5). The suffix  $|+(s)ci(u)\dot{y}-|$  may be replaced with VVt  $|+(u)ma-|$  as in (22).

Notably, what seems to be the agent for pseudo-passives occurs in the ablative-modalis case (which is the case for P demotion), though the allative case appears to have come into more use by many speakers recently, perhaps more commonly outside of the Kuskokwim area. This may suggest that the oblique argument is not actually an A-argument, but should probably be a stranded argument in the ablative-modalis (§ 25.2.2) from a verbalization of an appositive phrase (an NP active- or agent-like NP plus active VNrl  $|+(s)t-|$ ) by one of the two NV suffixes  $|-li\dot{y}-|/|-liu\dot{y}-|$ .

- (20) *Carayag-mek* ~ *-mun*                      *maligce-sci(u)-llru-uq*  
 bear-ABM.sg. /-ALL.sg.                      follow-PPS-PST-IND.3sg.  
*nepa-u-nani.*  
 sound-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He was silently followed by the bear (lit. he was dealing with the bear that was following).’

- cf. *carayak maligce-sta*  
 bear.ABS.sg. follow-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the bear that is following’ (appositive phrase).

The ablative-modalis NP should not be originally from an agent argument but reflect a stranding by way of verbalization (by the NV suffix-(s)*ci(u)r-*) of the appositive phrase like *carayak maligce-sta* – see § 25.2.2. The agent-like ‘bear’ may be expressed by the allative NP among some speakers. Likewise:

- (21) *Aana-minek ~ -minun nunur-ci(u)r-tuq.*  
 Mo-ABM.3Rsg.sg. /-All.3Rsg.sg. scold-PPS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He was scolded by his (own) mother.’
- cf. a. *aana-ka nunur-ta*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg. scold-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘my mother who is scolding’ (appositive phrase)
- b. *aana-minek<sub>(P)</sub> nunur-tuq*  
 Mo-ABM.3Rsg.sg. scold-IND.3sg. – zero-derived antipassive  
 ‘he is scolding his (own) mother’.

The agent-like NP may occur in the perlocative as well:

- (22) *David-akun anirtur-ciur-tua taquka-mek.*  
 p.n.-LNK.ALL.sg. save-PPS-IND.1sg. bear-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I was saved from the bear (as a danger) by David.’ [EA]  
 ≙ *anirtu-uma-unga*, cf. (24h).

*relativized pseudo-passive construction:*

- (23) *Angun tegleg-ciu-lleq (sass’a-mek)*  
 man.ABS.sg. steal-be.ed-VVnm.ABS.sg. watch-ABM.sg.  
*kass’a-mek.*  
 white.man-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The man *who was robbed* of (a watch) by a white man.’

Other verbs attested with this pseudo-passive suffixes include the following: *qalarc-* ‘speak’ [monovalent]; *cave-* ‘to row’, *curukar-* ‘to attack’, *nutg-* ‘to shoot’, *nunur-* ‘to scold’, *qanr-* ‘to speak’, *qanruc-* ‘to talk to’, *nere-* ‘to eat’, *tangrr-* ‘to see’, *cali-* ‘to work’ [agentive]; *iqair-* ‘to wash’, *naaqe-* ‘to read’, *tuquc-* ‘to kill’, admonish’, *mumig-c-* ‘to turn over, translate’ [patientive]; *nau-* ‘grow’ [impersonal patientive]. See § 39.3 for examples.



ii) |+*yau-*|/|+*yaqi-*| ‘to be (the one) –ed’ / ‘to have –ed’ (stative; § 17.4.2, § 39.3.2) compounded of the passive relativizer and the relational verb (intransitive / transitive). See, e.g. § 30(41) and § 39(106), etc. As given in § 17.4.2-ii and § 17.4.3-ii, -iii, the two have the corresponding inchoative versions |+*yauȳc-*|/|+*yaqsayuc-*| ‘to become –ed’ / ‘to get –ed’) and the future versions |+*yaȳkau-*|/|+*ȳkauȳc-*| ‘will be –ed, to be supposed –ed’ / ‘will get –ed’.

## 2. Patientive stems

Patientive bivalent stems are, generally speaking, verbs that cause a change in state or nature. They denote events focusing on the result and its continuous state (rather than the process itself) caused by the agent’s action or on the change caused in the condition/quality of P argument. The patientive bivalent |*makic-*| ‘to stand up’, for instance, describes the result of something being moved or changed from a non-standing state to one of standing (*makt-aa* ‘he set it upright’, *makt-uq* ‘he got up’) while the monovalent |*mayuȳ-*| ‘to go, climb up’ describes a process of moving away from the center of the earth (*mayur-tuq* ‘he is going up’). As such, patientive bivalents – especially when inflected intransitively – tend to be perfective or continuous.

Patientive stems are semantically transitive with transitive inflection, but are medio-passive with intransitive inflection. Accordingly, the intransitive verbs may have either of the two readings, passive or medial, or both, although some of the patientive stems are more or less limited in intransitive use.

In the case of agentive verbs, the transitive subject and the intransitive (derived) subject are the same argument, namely A=S, while in the case of patientive verbs, the transitive object and the intransitive (derived) subject are the same argument, namely P=S, revealing the ergative pattern (P = S ≠ A). Lexical ergativity, as such, is far from being unique to CAY.

i) A representative sample of primary patientive (bivalent) stems includes:

- (24) a. |*aqfa-*| ‘to fetch’, |*tīyu-*| ‘to take, catch, adopt’, |*nuqc-*| ‘to pull’, |*qamuȳ-*| ‘to pull, drag behind’, |*amu-*| ‘to pull out, extract’, |*qicuy-*| ‘to pull out’, |*kuvī-*| ‘to spill’ (variable), |*īlc-*| ‘to deflate; (air) to leak’, |*īkī-*| ‘to put in’ (cf. agentive |*itȳ-*| ‘to come/go in’), |*īmīȳ-*| ‘to fill’, |*makic-*| ‘to stand up’, |*naluy-*| ‘to lift’, |*īli-*| ‘to put in place’, |*qilīȳc-*| ‘to tie (rope)’, |*pītuy-*| ‘to tie, fasten (thing)’, |*ulc-*| ‘to turn inside out’, |*mumīȳc-*| ‘to turn over, translate’, |*katay-*| ‘to fall out/off’, |*imȳ-*| ‘to roll up’,
- b. |*aytuȳ-*| ‘to touch’, |*kumayȳc-*| ‘to turn on, ignite’,

- c. |*capi-*| ‘to block (from view)’, |*iɣvaɣ-*| (~|*ivyaɣ-*|) ‘to get/come into view’, |*tamaɣ-*| ‘to lose’, |*iiɣ-*| ‘to hide’, |*paqɣic-*| ‘to find missing’, |*umy-*| ‘to close, shut’, |*patu-*| ‘to cover’, |*caqu-*| ‘to wrap’, |*kilucaɣ-*| ‘to lock’, |*nalki-*|/|*nalaqi-*| ‘to find, discover’,
- d. |*aɫy-*| ‘to tear’, |*azimc-*| ‘to break (stick-like long object)’, |*navy-*| ‘to break (dish, heart, etc.)’, |*kipi-*| ‘to sever’, |*putu-*| ‘to pierce/get through’, |*qupi-*| ‘to split’, |*afc-*| ‘to divide’, |*tumayc-*| ‘to fix, repair, assemble’, |*uyiɣc-*| ‘to cut fish for drying’ (vs. agentive |*siiɣ-*| ‘to cut open [abdominal cavity of fish]’; § 34.1), |*qipi-*| ‘to twist’, |*qimɣaɣ-*| ‘to squeeze, mash’ (cf. 17), |*akuc-*| ‘to mix’ (agentive also?), |*kapi-*| ‘to stab, poke in’,
- e. |*caluyc-*| ‘to tan (skin) by scraping’, |*iquc-*| ‘to scrape (to make pliable)’, |*uluy-*| ‘to flex (skin) to make pliable’ (agentive also), |*taliɣc-*| ‘to scratch’,
- f. |*iɣuy-*| ‘to wash (body, thing)’, |*iɣviɣ-*| ‘to wash (clothes)’, |*piɣiɣ-*| ‘to wipe’ (root |*piɣ-*| with PRV), |*wayaɣ-*| ‘to strip, undress’, |*caɣiɣ-*| ‘to clean (thing)’, |*ivcuɣ-*| ‘to shake off (snow/sand), (house) to shake’,
- g. |*miciiɣ-*| ‘to wet, soak’ (denominal from |*micuɣ-*| ‘liquid, juicy part’), |*kinɣ-*| ‘to dry’, |*ini-*| ‘to hang out to dry’,
- h. |*naɲc-*| ‘to torment, abuse; to be sick’, |*niɣaɣ-*| ‘to snare’, |*akɲiɣc-*| ‘to hurt’, |*taiɣiki-*| ‘to bother, tease’, |*aniɣtuɣ-*| ‘to save (from danger)’,<sup>1</sup> |*ikayuɣ-*| ‘to help’, |*nuliɣc-*| ‘to copulate’,
- i. |*asiki-*| ‘to like’, |*kamaki-*| ‘to suspect’ – root-derived, |*ilicay-*| ‘to teach’ (cf. agentive |*ilic-*| ‘to learn’), |*naaqi-*| ‘to count, read’ (vs. agentive |*iɣaɣ-*| / |*alɲaɣ-*| ‘to write’), |*cuqi-c-*| ‘to measure, judge’,
- j. |*naɲi-*| ‘to finish’ (vs. agentive/patientive |*taqi-*| ‘to quit’), |*inuɣ-*| ‘unable to reach; insufficient’, |*palayc-*| ‘to give/get insufficiently’,
- k. |*quyuɣc-*| / [Y] |*katuɣc-*| ‘to gather, collect’ – “plural verbs”; see (38).

Patientive verbs |*navy-*| ‘to break’ and |*aɫy-*| ‘to tear’ in the list above behave the same way as shown in (3) and (29), while the monovalent |*itumi-*| ‘to break into pieces’ requires the causative VVsm |+c-| for transitive verbs – *itum-uq* ‘it broke up, fell apart’ and *itum-t-aa* ‘he broke it up’; cf. agentive verbs |*inɣi-*| ‘to cut up, dice’, |*siiɣ-*| ‘to cut open (fish)’ listed in § 34.1.

Like |*mumiɣc-*| ‘to turn over’ above, there are a number of derived patientive stems from stative roots (§ 10.5) with |+c-| (§ 39.1.1), which have monovalent stems expanded by stative VVt |-ɲqa-|/|(u)ma-| (§ 42.2.3):

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1. The stem |*aniɣtuɣ-*| ‘to save (from danger, confrontation)’ may be an example of missionary translation in that it is used in the Moravian dictionary [DEED] in the sense of salvation by God, but the Savior as the agent for the stem may sound awkward to some Yupik speakers.

- (25) |*ikiỵ-c*| ‘to open’ (*iki-ngqa-*), |*mataỵ-c*| ‘to undress’ (*mata-ngqa-*), |*paluỵ-c*| ‘to lie face-down’ (*palu-ngqa-*), |*nanỵ-c*| ‘to stand up’ (*nanger-ma-*), |*qaqi-c*| ‘to finish, complete, do everything’, |*calaỵ-c*| ‘to be spread open’ (*calla-ngqa-*), cf. (44) with intransitive inflection.

See also v) below for the VVsm |+*c*-| responsible for producing patientive stems from monovalent ones.

In addition, there are a number of verbalizing (NV) suffixes which yield patientive stems, as given in iv) below, including relational verbs.

Patientive verbs with semantically implicit reflexivity/reciprocity, when intransitively inflected, are reflexive/reciprocal; see § 34.4.

- (26) *makt-uq* ‘he stands up’  
– addition of reflexive pronoun (§ 13.2.2, § 34.4.1) like *makt-uq* ***ellmi-nek*** would imply ‘he got himself up (e.g. to make a come-back)’; see (76).
- (27) *kamak-uq*      *ellmi-nek*      ‘he suspects himself’  
suspect-IND.3sg.      3Rsg.-ABM
- (28) *avvut-uk* ‘they(du.) got divorced’  
divorce-IND.3du.  
– the stem |*afuc-*| ‘to divorce’, however, actually contains |+*(u)c-*| (cf. |*av-c-*| ‘to divide’ with the A-adder from |*av-i-*| ‘half, to halve’).

The case alignment for patientive bivalent stems is the same as for agentive stems so far as transitive inflection is concerned:

- (29) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>*      *kuvya-ni<sub>P</sub>*      *allg-aa*.  
man-REL.sg.      net-ABS.3Rsg.sg.      tear-IND.3sg.3sg.  
‘The man [A] tears/tore his (own) net [P].’  
cf. *Kuvya-a*      *alleg-tuq*.  
net-ABS.3sg.sg.      tear-IND.3sg.  
‘His net tears.’ – see (3b-i).
- (30) [[*Aata-ma*]<sub>G</sub>      *qaya-a*]<sub>P</sub>      *assik-aqa*.  
Fa-REL.1sg.sg.      kayak-ABS.3sg.sg.      like-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘I like my father’s kayak.’
- (31) *Amirlu-m<sub>A</sub>*      *cap-aa*      *akerta<sub>P</sub>*.  
cloud-REL.sg.      block-IND.3sg.3sg.      sun.ABS.sg.  
‘The cloud blocked the sun (from view).’

- cf. *Akerta*<sub>S=P</sub>      *cap*'-uq.  
 sun.ABS.sg.      block-IND.3sg.  
 'The sun is blocked (from view).' – passive.

As regards the intransitive inflection in (b), patientive stems show different processes of detransitivization (§ 34.2.1, § 34.2.3) from agentive stems (§ 34.1.1, § 34.1.2).

ii) Some stems can either be agentive or patientive – partly depending upon the preference of speakers and upon a co-occurring suffix (cf. § 34.1.2.1):

- (32) |*uluy*-| 'to soften (skin)'  
*ulug-tuq*                    i. 'he is softening a skin', ii. 'it is wrinkled'  
 – cf. *ulug-aa*                'he is softening it'.
- (33) |*ikayu*ŷ-| 'to help'  
*ikayur-aa/ikayur-tuq* 'he is helping her / 'he is helping (s.o. -mek)'  
*ikayur-i-uq* ~ *ikayu-qng-uq*  
 'he is helping (s.o.)' – suffix-derived antipassives  
*ikayur-ta* ~ *ikayur-i-sta*      'helper'  
*ikayur-yug-tuq*                i. 'he wants to help (s.o.)'  
     ii. 'he wants to be helped'  
*ikayu-uma-uq*                'he is being/having been helped'.
- (34) |*kiniy*-| 'to cook':  
 a. *arnaq kenir-tuq*      'the woman is cooking (s.t.)'  
 b. *neqa kenir-tuq*      'the fish is being cooked'  
 – cf. *kenir-aa* 'she is cooking it'; APS ?\**kenir-i-uq*.

iii) *Plural verbs*: The two quasi-synonymous patientive stems |*quyu*ŷ-*c*-| and [Y] |*katu*ŷ-*c*-| 'to gather, meet, collect, put together' (root-derived with VVsm |*-c*-|) in the last group (24)k are called "plural verbs" where the P/S arguments involved is inherently plural. (The term plural verb must be distinguished from suppletive plural verbs or number suppletion in other languages [§ 4.3-iii] or from verbs merely with plural subject inflection).

- (35) a. *quyurt-ai*                    *aklu-u-t<sub>p</sub>*                    'he gathers the clothes'  
           gather-IND.3sg.3pl. clothing-EV-ABS.pl.  
 b. *quyurt-ut*                    *conference-a-mi*      'they met in the conference'  
           gather-IND.3pl.      c.-LNK-LOC.sg.  
           *quyu-ngqa-ut*                (IND.3pl.)                'they are gathered'.

On the other hand, the stem |*avuy̆-*| ‘to gather, collect’ is agentive, and its P argument is in the plural, but the S is not necessarily in the plural. It may imply gathering of ‘scattered things / from different places’:

- (36) a. *avur-ai*                      *aklu-ruga-ip*  
gather-IND.3sg.3pl. clothing-many-ABS.pl.  
‘he gathers the multitude of clothing’
- b. *Agayun<sub>s</sub>*              *avur-tuq*              *yu-gugar-nek*  
God.ABS.sg. collect-IND.3sg. person-many-ABM.pl.  
*Mamteriller-mek.*  
pl.n.-ABM.sg.  
‘God is taking people from Bethel, i.e. many people are dying at Bethel.’

Compare the two kinds of stems, and note the antipassive for the former (a) |*quyuy̆-c-*|:

- (37) a. *quyurc-i-uyq*                      *qimugte-ruga-minek*  
collect-APS-IND.3sg. dog-many-ABM.3sg.pl.  
‘he is collecting many dogs (from a confined place)’.
- b. *avur-tuq*                      *qimugte-ruga-minek.*  
collect-IND.3sg. dog-many-ABM.3sg.pl.  
‘he is collecting many dogs (from many places)’.

Other plural verb stems include:

- (38) |*muy̆c-*| ‘to stack (e.g. logs), |*qiŭy̆-*| ‘to shear (e.g. grass, hair)’,  
|*s/cayc-*| ‘to scatter around, spread out (e.g. nets)’.

In addition, the iterative VVt suffix |*-<sub>1</sub>y̆qi-*|/|*-qaqi-*| ‘one after another’ (§ 42.2.4) is responsible for patientive plural verb stems. E.g. *tuqu-rq-ai* (with |*tuqut-*| ‘to kill’; IND.3sg.3pl) ‘he killed them one after another’. See § 42(149) and (150).

See also the monovalent |*mikŭy̆-*| ‘to be abundant (of assorted or different kinds, e.g. of salmon, fish, etc.)’ with S argument in the plural, e.g. 38(31), versus |*amty̆-*| ‘to be a lot, numerous’ (14.10.2) with S argument which may either be in the singular or in the plural.

iv) While many denominalizing suffixes (§ 37, § 38) produce monovalent stems, there are also a fair number of suffixes (and their derived composite suffixes) that yield patientive bivalent stems (including impersonal patientive; § 34.3) – cf. (8), (9):

- (39) a.  $|-ki-|$  (relational verb)  
 ‘to have – as’, with many functions fully illustrated in § 37.2  
 $|-k(i)sayuc-|$  (inchoative relational verb)  
 ‘to come to have – as, to become’, § 37.4
- b.  $|-li\ddot{y}-|$   
 ‘to supply with, to have lots of’, e.g. *patu-lir-* ‘to cover’, *im-ir-*  
 ‘to fill’ from *ima(r)-lir-*; § 38.3  
 – as opposed to (8)  $|-li-|$  ‘to make (for s.o.), appear (to s.o.) and  
 $|-liu\ddot{y}-|$  ‘to deal with, play with’ (§ 38.3) which yield agentive stems
- c.  $|+\eta i\ddot{y}-|$   
 ‘to deprive’, e.g. *ami-ir-* ‘to skin’, *patu-ir-* ‘to uncover’; § 38.1.

Denominal patientive verbs with these suffixes may be detransitivized (passive, reflexive, reciprocal):

- (40) a. *ila-k-ut* ‘they are related to each other’ – from *ila-* ‘part, relative’; see § 37.2-ii for more
- b. *mec-ir-tuq* ‘it is soaked’ – from *mecur-lir-tuq* ‘liquid/juicy part-supply.with’
- c. *ami-ir-tuq* ‘it has been skinned’ – from *amir-* ‘skin’; some speakers take as this from agentive, i.e. ‘he is skinning’, however.

v) One of the most common transitivity suffixes is the A-adder  $VV_{sm} | +c-|$  (one-event causative; § 39.1.1). It has produced a great many patientive bivalent stems from monovalent stems or a-valent roots (§ 36). Contrasted with the causative complex transitive verbs in § 40.2.1 (see also § 34.5).

- (41)  $|tuqu-c-|$  ‘to kill’ from  $|tuqu-|$   
 ‘to die (of a person or animal but not a bird or plant)’  
 $|maq-c-|$  ‘to flow out’ from  $|maq-|$  ‘to flow out’.

The suffix has also the important function of replacing the agent ( $A_{IMP}$ ) of impersonal patientive stems with a personal agent. This topic is returned to in § 34.5; see (99) *pek-aa* vs. *pek-t-aa*, etc.

## 2.1. Medio-passives

Patientive bivalent stems with an intransitive inflection tend to be either medial or passive, though some of them can have both readings (as stated), largely depending upon their semantic content and particular speakers. In medial-

zation, the primary opposition between P and A is “nullified” (with the contrast lost), and a thing is conceived of as moving (having moved) without outside agency. See § 30.3.2.3 and § 30-fn. 4 for “medialization”. Incidentally, medialization is relevant not only between P and A, but also between E<sub>ADV</sub> and A, which is exactly the source for suffix-derived antipassives (§ 34.2.2), as discussed in § 39.5.2.

In passivization, the A argument is generally deleted (hence no verbal indexing) in simplex verbs, although its agency (‘by someone’) is clearly perceived by speakers. There are, however, a limited number of patientive verbs (like ‘to love’ below) that may have it externally expressed by a free NP in the allative-case.

For the following example (≡ [3b-i, -ii]), reading (a) is generally accepted, but some speakers also accept (b), although the agent is never expressed:

- (42) a. *Kuvya-a<sub>S</sub>*                      *alleg-tuq*.  
 net-ABS.3sg.sg.                      tear-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His net [S=P∞A] tears/tore (by itself).’ – medial
- b. *Kuvya-a<sub>S</sub>*                      *alleg-tuq*.  
 net-ABS.3sg.sg.                      tear-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His net [S=P] was torn (by someone/something).’ – passive (with A deleted).

Compare with the corresponding transitive (29) *allg-aa* and antipassive (55) *allg-i-uq*. Likewise:

- (43)     *iir-tuq* (IND.3sg.)                      ‘it is hidden; he/it hid’  
 cf. *iir-aa*                      *irnia-ni<sub>P</sub>*                      *carayag-mek*.  
 hide-IND.3sg.3sg.                      child-ABS.3Rsg.sg.                      bear-ABMsg.  
 ‘He hid his child from the bear’.
- (44)     *callar-te-llru-uq*  
 spread.open-A-PST-IND.3sg. – with physical root (25)  
 i. ‘it (e.g. *qanr-a* [sore in] his mouth) opened (by itself)’  
 ii. ‘it (e.g. box, seal) was opened (by someone/something)’  
       cf. *callar-c-i-uq* (APS-IND.3sg.) *yaassiig-nek* (ABM.sg.)  
       ‘he opened a box’.

*Passive:*

- (45) a. *nalaq-uq*    ‘it has been found’  
 find-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *nalaq-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.)                      ‘he found it’, and reflexive (77a)

- b. *yu(u)ngcar-tuq* ‘he is being treated medically’  
 medicate-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *yu(u)ngcar-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘she is treating him medically’, and  
 reflexive (77b)
- c. *tegu-uq* ‘he was caught’  
 cf. *tegu-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he took it (in his hands)’
- d. *nip-t-uq* ‘it (stove, fire) was extinguished’.  
 go.out-A-IND.3sg.
- (46) *ikayur-yug-tuq* ‘she needs help (to be helped)’, cf. (78c)  
 help-DES-IND.3sg.

Passive agent: An A argument (passive agent) may occur with the allative case assigned as a demoted NP, though it is very rare:

- (47) *Qantaqs erur-tuq (ak'a) irnia-mnun /*  
 plate.ABS.sg. wash-IND.3sg. already child-ALL.1sg.sg. /  
*dish-washer-mnun.*  
 d.w.-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The plate has been washed (already) by my child / by the dishwasher.’

See also § 42(76a) *angllu-ma-* (dive/baptize-VVt.PSV) with an allative NP (‘to/by Russians’).

Even though very rare within simplex verbs, the agent does occur in complementation or nominalization (§ 18.1.2.2) by an allative NP – see § 26.2 also.

- (48) *Elpe-nun kenk-uci-mnek<sub>(p)</sub> nallu-nrit-ua.*  
 2sg.-ALL love-VNnm-ABM.1sg.sg. ignorant-NEG-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I know that you (sg.) love me / that I am loved by me.’  
 cf. *kenk-ua* (love-IND.1sg.) ‘I am being loved’  
*kenk-arpenga* (love-IND.2sg.1sg.) ‘you (sg.) love me’.

Also occurs freely in complex verbs with intransitive inflection – type 2 complex transitives, see § 26.2, § 30.2.3, and § 40:

- (49) a. *Maqi-sq-uq aana-minun.*  
 bathe-A'.ask-IND.3sg. Mo-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He wants to be bathed by his (own) mother, lit. he wants his (own) mother to take a bathe.’ – reflexive
- b. *Ikayu-u-squma-uq irnia-mnun.*  
 help-EV-A'.ask.STT -IND.3sg. child-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He wants to be helped by my child.’



Passivity emphasized by TAM marking – as is the case with agentive stems, cf. § 34.1.2.1:

- (50) *Tuqu-te-llru-uq ak'a qimugta*<sub>S=P</sub>.  
die-A-PST-IND.3sg. already dog.ABS.sg.  
'The dog was already killed'.  
cf. (76) *tuqu-t-uq* 'he (was) choked' (medial) and *tuqu-t-uq ellmi-nek*  
'he killed himself' (reflexive).
- (51) a. *patu-ma-uq* 'it has been covered'  
*iir-uma-uq* 'it is hidden, he hid for a long time'  
cf. *iir-i-ma-uq* 'he has hidden (s.t.)' – ATP -i-  
*navg-uma-uq* 'it (thing, heart) is broken (a long time)'  
cf. *navg-i-ma-uq* 'he has broken (s.t.)' – ATP -i-  
b. *tuqu-c-ima-uq* 'he/it has been killed' – |*tuqu-c-*| 'to kill' (die-A)  
*pi-urc-ima-uq* 'it has been created' – § 3.7.3 for inchoative  
-urc-.

As opposed to agentive stems, e.g. (11) *ner-u-ma-uq* with two readings (a. 'it has been eaten' and b. 'he is eating (s.t.) a long time'), these have only one reading, i.e. passive, as in (a) *iir-uma-uq* above which does not mean \*'he is hiding s.t.'.

The aspectual suffix reveals the contrast between agentive (e.g. |*siy-*| 'to cut fish') and patientive stems (|*uliy-*| 'to cut fish for drying'). It triggers passivization for the former type of stems, while it only emphasizes the passivity for the latter:

- (52) a. *Neqa*<sub>S=P</sub> *seg(g)'*-*uma-uq*.  
fish.ABS.sg. cut-PRF-IND.3sg.  
'The fish is cut (ready for drying).'  
– not equivalent to *seg-tuq* 'she is cutting fish'  
b. *Neqa*<sub>S=P</sub> *ulligc-ima-uq*.  
fish.ABS.sg. cut-PRF-IND.3sg.  
'The fish is cut open.'  
– somewhat equivalent to *ulligt-uq* 'it is/has been cut (by someone)'.

## 2.2. Antipassives (suffix-derived)

Except for impersonal patientives, patientive stems are only medio-passive (apart from reflexive-reciprocal § 34.2.3) when intransitively inflected. Practically all of them have the very common device of becoming agentive in order to

be intransitively inflected, that is, suffix-derived antipassivization. There are three antipassive markers (VV<sub>sm</sub> for E<sub>APS</sub> or APS) selected by stems, i.e. a. |+*yi*₂-| (§ 39.6.1), b. |+(*u*)c-| (§ 39.4.3-i), c. |-*ki*ji-| (§ 39.6.2), the first of which is the most common while the second and the third are lexically restricted:

- (53) a. *iir-i-**uq*** ‘he is hiding (s.t.)’ – cf. (43) *iir-tuq* (passive)  
 b. *nalaq-**ut-**uq***** ‘he found (s.t.)’ – cf. (45a) *nalaq-**uq*** (passive)  
 c. *akngir-**keng-**uq***** ‘he hurt (s.o.)’ – cf. *akngirt-**uq*** ‘he got hurt’.

Some stems may take the second or the third along with the first marker.

Antipassives cannot occur with impersonal patientives (for the obvious reasons; § 39.5.2-ii), which can only be detransitivized with the impersonal agent deletion, i.e. passivization.

Such antipassives from (non-impersonal) patientive bivalent stems behave syntactically and pragmatically in the same way as agentive stems with intransitive inflection do (i.e. zero-derived antipassives; § 34.1.1). The same semantic difference in definiteness of the P argument obtains between a transitive form (definite; ‘the’) and an antipassive (neutral in definiteness; ‘a/the’). This means that the transitive vs. intransitive contrast between (2a) and (2b) with an agentive stem corresponds to the transitive vs. antipassive (intransitive) contrast between (3a) and (3c) or (55) or between (55b) and (55a) with patientive stems.

The suffix |+*yi*₂-| is used here to illustrate antipassives in this chapter (see § 39.4.3 and § 39.6 for full illustrations):

- (54) a. *Arnaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *assik-**i-**uq*****                      *mikelngur-**nek**<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 woman.ABS.sg.                      like-APS-IND.3sg.                      child-ABM.pl.  
 ‘The woman likes children.’  
 b. *Arna-**m<sub>A</sub>***                      *assik-**ai***                      *mikelngu-**u-**tp*****  
 woman-REL.sg.                      like-IND.3sg.3sg.                      child-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘The woman likes *the* children.’ – |*asiki*-| ‘to like’.

Additionally, however, suffix-derived antipassive verbs may often have an implication of accidentality/unintentionality:

- (55) *Angun<sub>S</sub>*                      *kuvya-**minek**<sub>(P)</sub>*                      *allg-**i-**uq*****  
 man.ABS.sg.                      net-abm.3Rsg.sg.                      tear-APS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man is tearing / has torn his (own) net.’

This was once translated by one consultant as ‘he accidentally/unintentionally *experiences* the tearing of his net’, which would suggest that antipassive verbs have the E (experiencer) argument involved as a subsystem of adversative verbs and that ‘the man’ is felt to be an adversative experiencer (sufferer). We will see

that antipassive verbs must be properly embedded in the structural matrix of E extended verbs. It would be safe to assume that the adversative verb system has deep roots in the history of the Eskimo language family – see § 39.5.2 and § 39.6.1. The antipassive construction seems to be very common in all Eskimo languages and dialects, both Western and Eastern, which generally abound in patientive stems (§ 4-fn. 6).

The nature of patientive stems as verbs focusing on the result (and its continuous state) of the action or on the change (physical, positional) caused in the condition/quality concerned reflects, for one thing, the fact that those stems need to be agentivized by an antipassive marker ( $|+y_{i2}-|$  in particular) when they are followed by nominalizing suffixes in order to derive agent-oriented nominals; see § 17.5.

### 3. Impersonal-patientive stems

A considerable number of patientive bivalent stems are impersonal in that the A argument is an impersonal item like a natural or supernatural force or process. As an involuntary, uncontrollable, or invisible agent, the argument is never expressed externally by a free-standing NP, as is the case with monovalent impersonal stems (§ 33.3), and no outside force is felt.

The stem-inherent agent is distinct from the suffix-derived (necessitative) impersonal agent by way of the productive VVsm  $|+na\dot{y}qi-|$  (§ 39.2), which is something akin to necessity, destiny, or obligation.

Unlike non-impersonal patientive stems proper (§ 34.2), they do not have antipassive forms at all (as mentioned above). The demarcation between the patientive proper and the impersonal, however, may be blurred for some stems. Stems that are typically impersonal may nevertheless be found to occur with a personal agent, behaving as an ordinary patientive stem proper, but *not* vice versa.

An intransitive form from impersonal stems, with  $A_{IMP}$  deleted, is quasi-equivalent to the corresponding transitive:

- (56) *Ampi murir-ru,* *kaminiaq<sub>P/S</sub>*  
 hurry put.wood-OPT.2sg.3sg. stove.ABS.sg.  
*nip-aa*  $\stackrel{\text{tr}}{=}$  *nip'-uq.*  
 extinguish-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.  
 'Hurry up you (sg.) and put wood in, the stove has gone off.'  
 – transitive *nip-aa* may have less acceptability. Cf. *murir-* <  
 $|mu\dot{y}a\dot{y}-li\dot{y}-|$  (wood-supply.with).

- (57) [Iga-uc-i-ssuuti-i=gguq *unati-i*]<sub>P</sub>  
 write-E<sub>APL</sub>-APS-INS-ABS.3sg.sg=RPR hand-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*ili-ini qercua-yarpia-la-llru-a.*  
 part-LOC.3sg.sg. frost-almost-HAB-PST-IND.3sg.3sg  
 ‘They say his writing hand (means) was nearly frostbitten.’ [JCIR 7]

The following list is representative of various semantic categories where P argument is a thing subject to the natural change or process concerned:

- (58) *Freezing/heating/burning, etc:* |ayu-| ‘to spread (of fire)’, |ciku-| ‘to ice, freeze’, |iki-| ‘to burn, be on fire’, |ila-| ‘to weather, tan (of skin)’, |ily-| ‘to singe’, |iyuy-| ‘to jell’, |kinȳ(c)-| ‘to dry’, |kumlac-| ‘to cool’, |niñliȳ-| ‘to be cold’, |nipi-| ‘to go off, extinguish (of fire, heat, sound, light)’, |puyuyqi-| ‘to smoke’ (from root |puyuy-|), |qami-| ‘(fire) to die down’, |qixu-| ‘to freeze to death’, |qiȳcua-| ‘to freeze’, |uȳi-| ‘to melt, resolve’, |uȳuy-| ‘to melt, thaw’, |uu-| ‘to cook’, etc.
- (59) *Change in body parts:* |cii-| ‘to get chapped’, |mami-| ‘to heal, close in’, |micuy-| ‘(wound) to get blood-poisoning’, |miqi-| ‘to shed hair, fur’, |pupiy-| ‘to get infected sores’, |qauȳ-| ‘to get head sores’, etc.
- (60) *Change in condition, shape, or position:* |aȳu-| ‘to ripen, rot’, |iqa-| ‘to get dirty’, |iqi-| ‘to shrink’, |kini-| ‘to soak to soften’, |kii-| ‘to come/peel off as a layer’, |kinȳ(c)-| ‘to dry’, |mak̄i-| ‘to ooze, flow out’, |niñi-| ‘to stretch’, |piki-| ‘to move, stir’, |piȳi-| ‘to bend’, |puvi-| ‘to swell’, |(k)inc-| ‘(tide/water) to recede, ebb’, |qacu-| ‘to loosen, wrinkle, less taut’, |qat̄ȳ-| ‘to get rusty’, |tiñi-| ‘to fly’, |uki-| ‘to get a hole’, |uli-| ‘to flood’, etc.

Impersonal patientive stems are often expanded by the causative VVsm |+c-| which supplies the stem with a personal A – see |mak-c-|, etc. in § 39.1.1-i.c:

- (61) a. *per-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ≡ *per'-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘it is bent’  
 – the former *per-aa* is literally ‘it (A<sub>IMP</sub>) bends it’ and cannot have an personal A like *angute-m* ‘the man’, while an expanded stem |piȳ-c-| with |+c-| (A-adder) can have one and occur with intransitive inflection:  
 b. *per-t-aa angute-m* (man-REL.sg.) ‘the man bends it’  
*per-t-uq* ‘it is bent (by s.o.)’  
 – with passivization (an agency is felt but no external A NP).
- (62) a. *kii-guq* (IND.3sg.) ‘it peeled off’  
 b. *kii-t-aa* (A-IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he peeled it off’.

- (63) a. *qacu-a*  $\doteq$  *qacu-uq* ‘it is loose, wrinkled, slacking’  
 b. *qacu-t-aa* ‘he makes it wrinkled, loose’  
 c. *qacu-ng-uq* ‘he makes it (e.g. rope, tent) saggy’  
 – |*-ŋi-*| ‘to get’.
- (64) a. *keni-a*  $\doteq$  *keni-uq* ‘it is soaked to soften’  
 b. *keni-t-aa* ‘he soaked it’  
 c. *neqa keni-t-aq* ‘fish soaked in water’(relativization)  
 d. *keni-cir-t-a-u-guq* ‘it is something soaked in water’  
 from *keni-cir-t-(g)a(r)-(ng)u-guq* (soak-A-VNrl-supply-A-VNrl-be-IND.3sg.).

### 3.1. Transitive vs. intransitive

Impersonal patientive verbs may occur with both transitive and intransitive inflections. They are “transitive impersonal” (or “transimpersonal” – Haas 1940, Malchukov 2008) and “impersonal passives” (since the latter is subject to deletion of the A argument, as with patientive stems proper; § 34.2).

An impersonal patientive cannot be antipassive, unless valency modification is made into a patientive bivalent proper (e.g. by |+c-|; § 34.2-iii).

i) *Quasi-equivalence*: An impersonal passive is semantically quasi-equivalent to a transitive impersonal. Example (4) is repeated here:

- (65) a. *transitive* – A<sub>IMP</sub> indexed as the transitive subject (only marked in inflection)  
*Nanvaq<sub>P</sub>*      *ciku-a.*      Pabs      A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
 lake.ABS.sg.      freeze-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘*It* [A<sub>IMP</sub>] froze the lake, i.e. the lake is (now) frozen.’
- b. *intransitive (passive)*  
*Nanvaq<sub>S</sub>*      *ciku-uq.*      S(P)abs      A<sub>IMP</sub> ∅  
 lake.ABS.sg.      freeze-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The lake is (still) freezing.’  
 – agent deletion but no medialization (hence no “antipassive”) unlike (3c-i).

The italicized ‘*it*’ in (a), above is meant to refer to an impersonal agent, i.e. some impersonal force or process of nature, as the transitive subject that can never be expressed by a free-standing NP (e.g. *nengle-m* coldness-REL.sg.). However, it is apparently perceived as such by some speakers who sometimes render it as ‘it is made *that way*’ or even ‘*someone* is causing it’ (perhaps rea-

sonably, as it is inflectionally marked). See (67a, b) below for a difference between (a) and (b) above. In addition, it is to be noted that the free-standing *nengle-m* may occur with a causative complex verb as in *nengle-m<sub>A</sub> neqe-t<sub>P</sub>* (fish-ABS.pl) *ciku-vkar-ai* (A'.make-3sg.3pl.) 'the coldness makes the fish freeze'.

The subject (A<sub>IMP</sub>) in transitive inflection is always indexed as the third person singular (but never dual or plural or in the first or second person), while the P argument may be in any number:

- (66) a. *ciku-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.)  
           'it/he is frozen / freezing; lit. *it* [A<sub>IMP</sub>] freezes it/him [P]'  
 b. *ciku-i* (IND.3sg.3pl.)  
           'they are frozen / freezing; lit. *it* [A<sub>IMP</sub>] freezes them [P]'.

Despite the English gloss 'they' in (b), this is actually a P argument that becomes S in the following (b. below, with A<sub>IMP</sub> ('it') deleted as the agent of patientive stems proper, i.e. as passives:

- (67) a. *ciku-uq* (IND.3sg.)            'it/he is (being) frozen'  
 b. *ciku-ut* (IND.3pl.)                'they are (being) frozen'.

Generally speaking, impersonal transitives vs. impersonal intransitives are semantically quasi-equivalent and are used interchangeably in most cases. As mentioned in § 33.4.2, transitive constructions may have mirative effect. They may also have some (mainly aspectual) differences. The differences may become more apparent with some particular stems and in some contexts than with others. This is the case in (68) where transitive verbs may denote either completion ('just frozen') or a process ('freezing') for at least some speakers, while the intransitive verbs are more likely to denote process. See the difference particularly characterized by different aspect suffixes VVt |*+nauỵ-*| '(therefore) now' vs. |*-niaỵ-*| '(therefore) later' (CSQ; § 42.2.6):

- (68) a. *Nanvaq<sub>P</sub>       ciku-a                       ayag-naur-tukuk.*  
           lake.ABS.sg. freeze-IND.3sg.3sg. go-now-IND.1du.  
           'The lake is (*just, already*) frozen, (so) let us(du.) go!'  
 b. *Nanvaq<sub>S</sub>       ciku-uq               cali ayag-niar-tukuk   unuaqu.*  
           lake.ABS.sg. freeze-IND.3sg. still go-later-IND.1du. tomorrow  
           'The lake is *still freezing*, (so) let us(du.) go tomorrow.'

It is more likely that the former is perfective and the latter durative, but, in (69) below, the distinction is neutralized since the perfective-continuous marker VVt

|+(u)ma-| (§ 42-iv; e.g. [51] above) emphasizes the completion, making the transitive *ciku-ma-a* and the intransitive *ciku-ma-uw* hardly different:

- (69) *Nanvaq<sub>P/S</sub> ciku-ma-a* ≡ *ciku-ma-uw*.  
 lake.ABS.sg. freeze-PRF-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The lake is frozen.’

An impersonal patientive stem can be extended by the causative VVcm, like |*ciku-vkay-*|, which, unlike primary *ciku-* by itself, may co-occur with an explicit agent NP, e.g. *nengle-m* ‘coldness’ (REL.sg.); see 40(26).

|*ciku-*| is one of most readily acceptable impersonal stems used either transitively or intransitively, while transitive forms of some (or many) other impersonal stems are not so well accepted, e.g. (70b) below. This may possibly be one of the areas where linguistic erosion has had a severe effect.

ii) *P argument with changeability*: P=S argument for impersonal patientives is something that is susceptible to – or has some inherent capability for – changing or moving, i.e. animate things, weather, time, etc. It cannot refer to inanimate things. Thus, the stem |*piki-*| ‘to move, stir’ in the following can be used in reference to a ‘bird’, as in the following examples, which are quasi-equivalent:

- (70) a. *pek’-uw* (IND.3sg.)      *yaqulek<sub>S</sub>* (ABS.sg.)  
 b. *pek’-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.)      *yaqulek<sub>P</sub>* (ABS.sg.)  
 a. ≡ b. ‘the bird stirred, made a movement (i.e. is hatching)’  
 – The transitive (b) often occurs more naturally, for instance, with attention-calling *tang yaa=i* (look, there!), though the transitive may not be accepted by some speakers.

If P is inanimate or unmovable, like *ena* ‘house’ instead of *yaqulek*, some causation is required by the agent adder |+c-| above (one event; § 34.2-v) or the upper clause agent A' |+vkay-|~|+cic-| (two events; § 40.2.1) – *pek-t-aa* or *pek-cet-aa*, which is repeated as (99c) in comparing different types of ‘causation’ in § 34.5.

Likewise, the following (a) is an intransitive construction that simply calls attention to the flying of the ‘bird’ itself, while (b) is a transitive construction with A<sub>IMP</sub>, which may initiate or trigger the flying. By contrast, (c) with |+c-| has the personal agent (‘wind’) added and the P argument is something that cannot move or fly by itself (‘boat, paper’).

- (71) a. *Tang ava=i, tengmiaq<sub>S</sub> teng’-uw*.  
 ATN there-INJ bird.ABS.sg. fly-IND.3sg.

- b. *Tang* *ava=i*, *tengmiaq<sub>P</sub>* *teng-aa*.  
 ATN there-INJ bird.ABS.sg. fly-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 a. ≡ b. ‘Look over there, the bird is flying!’
- c. *Anuqe-m<sub>A</sub>* *teng-t-aa* *angyaq<sub>P</sub> / kalikaq<sub>P</sub>*.  
 wind-REL.sg. fly-A-IND.3sg.3sg. boat/paper.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The wind blows the boat/paper away.’

An impersonal bivalent stem expanded by VVsm |+c-| (§ 34.3) replacing the impersonal A may have an antipassive form (*teng-c-i-uq*, but not \**teng-i-uq*).

iii) *Personal A argument*: Some impersonal transitives may occur with a weather-related NP in the relative case NP – e.g. *nengle-m* ‘coldness’, *kiir-e-m* ‘heat’ [-e- EV], *akerte-m* ‘sun’ – which functions as an A argument, somewhat like a causer. We do not know whether this reflects a recent change in use or not:

- (72) *Akerte-m<sub>A</sub>* *ella-anga*.  
 sun-REL.sg. weather-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I’m tanned.’
- cf. *ella-anga* ≡ *ella-unga* with ambivalent |(c)it̩a-| (§ 10.4); see also the more common *palir-t-aanga* (*palir-t-* ‘to get sun-tanned’, root-derived), which is also impersonal.

iv) *P arguments*: As partly exemplified above, various kinds of nominals may be P arguments, though this is chiefly the object or location in which the natural change or process occurs.

### 3.2. Impersonal verbs in summary

CAY has two types of impersonal verbs:

- a. primary or “stem-inherent” stems include:
  - i. monovalent stems with S<sub>IMP</sub> (including denominal) – § 33.3-ii
  - ii. bivalent stems with A<sub>IMP</sub> (and P) – § 34.3  
 – There are no primary ditransitive impersonal stems
- b. zero-derived bivalent stems with A<sub>IMP</sub> from monovalent, i.e. transitive use of monovalents – § 33.4.2
- c. “suffix-derived” stems by the necessitative suffix VVsm |+naŋqi-| (and its few composite suffixes) that add A<sub>IMP</sub> to primary or expanded stems – § 39.2. The same suffix may occur with no valency increase, serving as a modality marker for the verb stem.



Existence of bivalent impersonal stems implies (a-ii, b, c) that CAY has transimpersonal constructions (Haas 1940, Malchukov 2008). Impersonal transitive verbs, either (a-ii) primary or “stem-inherent”, or (b) suffix-derived, may be detransitivized by A deletion, just like any of the patientive verbs in the language, hence “impersonal passives”. In general, impersonal passives are more common than transimpersonal ones.

Impersonal argument S/A (S<sub>IMP</sub>/A<sub>IMP</sub>) in (a) and (b) is some *unidentifiable natural force or process*, while that in (c) is something like *necessity, destiny or obligation*. The impersonal argument, either natural force or necessity, is indexed in a verb inflection as the third-person singular subject, but is never expressed externally by a free-standing NP (including a free independent pronoun of the third person singular).

Impersonal verb constructions may be subject to nominalization, both nominal clauses (VNm; § 18) and relative clauses (VNrI; § 17):

- (73) [Allragni-*m<sub>G</sub>*                    *kia-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub>  
 last.year-REL.sg.    be.summer-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*cuka-nru-llru-uq*.  
 fast-CMP-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The last year’s (becoming) summer was faster.’  
 – nominalization of a clause with the monovalent impersonal verb § 33(14) *kiag-aa* ≡ *kiag-tuq* ‘it has become summer’.

In the following with the bivalent impersonal verb *[kinɣ(c)-]*, (a) has a relativized transitive clause, literally meaning ‘the ones that *it* [A<sub>IMP</sub>] has dried, the ones that have been dried’, while (b) has a relativized intransitive clause, meaning ‘the ones that are dry’ with no sense of an agency, although (a) and (b) substantially mean the same:

- (74) a. [Kinres-*ka-i*                    *atura-t*]<sub>P</sub>                    *itr-us-ki!*  
 dry-VNrI-ABS-3sg.pl.    clothes-ABS.pl.    enter-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 b. [Kinerte-*llrii-t*                    *atura-t*]<sub>P</sub>                    *itr-us-ki!*  
 dry-VNrI-ABS.pl.    clothes-ABS.pl.    enter-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘You (sg.) bring in the clothes that are dry!’

#### 4. Reflexives and reciprocals

The core argument P of bivalent stems, either agentive or patientive, may be the target of reflexivization and reciprocalization. That is, the derived intransitive subject is the antecedent, with the subject and the object of the transitive verb combined into a single “compound” subject.

A small number of agentive stems with intransitive inflection are reflexive by themselves (i.e. with no derivation), as illustrated in § 34.1, and a small number of patientive stems with intransitive inflection are reciprocal (§ 34.12).

#### 4.1. Reflexives

More often than not these co-occur with a reflexive pronoun (§ 13.2.2) in the ablative-modal case as the demotion of P argument NP (§ 25.2.1) and with the applicative VVsm  $|+(u)c-$  (§ 39.4) or the transitive relational stems with VNrv  $|-ki-$  (§ 37.2).

i) *From agentive stems:*

- (75) a. *Aana-ka<sub>S</sub> tanger-tuq ellmi-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*. (P)abm S(PCA)abs  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg. see-IND.3sg. 3Rsg.-ABM.  
 ‘My mother sees *herself* (as in the mirror).’  
 cf. *aana-ka<sub>S</sub> tanger-tuq* ‘my mother sees (s.t.)’
- b. *Img-ut-uq ellmi-nek*.  
 role.up-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. 3Rsg.-ABM  
 ‘he rolled himself up (in a blanket)’  
 cf. *imeg-tuq kuvya-mek* ‘he rolls up a net’  
 roll.up-IND.3sg. net-ABM.sg.
- c. *Qimugta<sub>S</sub> evcug-tuq ellmi-nek*.  
 dog.ABS.sg. shake-IND.3sg. 3Rsg.-ABM  
 ‘The dog is shaking/brushing himself (off snow).’

ii) *From patientive stems:* See the semantic difference between phrases with and without a reflexive pronoun (§ 13.2.2), in this case *ellminek*:

- (76) a. *makt-uq ellmi-nek* ‘he got himself up (e.g. to make a comeback)’  
 cf. (26) *makt-uq* ‘he stands up’
- b. *tuqu-t-uq ellmi-nek* ‘he killed himself’ –  $|tuqu-c-$  ‘to kill’  
 with A adding  $|+c-$   
 cf. *tuqu-t-uq* ‘he (was) choked’ – cf. (50)
- c. *iir-tuq ellmi-nek* ‘he hid himself’  
 cf. *iir-tuq* ‘he hid’
- d. *quuyurni-t-uq ellmi-nek*. ‘he is smiling at himself (in the mirror)’  
 – with E<sub>APL</sub> adding  $|+(u)c-$ ; see iii) below  
 cf. *quuyurni-uq* ‘he is smiling’.

- (77) a. *nalaq-uq*                      *ellmi-nek*  
 find-IND.3sg.                      3Rsg.-ABM  
 ‘he realized himself’ – cf. (45a) passive
- b. *yu(u)ngcar-tuq*                      *ellmi-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 medicate-IND.3sg.                      3Rsg.-ABM  
 ‘he is medicating (treating himself medically, esp. by taking medicine)’ – cf. (45b) passive
- c. *nalik-ua*                              *wang-nek*  
 considerate-IND.1sg. 1sg.-ABM  
 ‘I feel myself sorry’.
- (78) a. *assik-uq*                      *ellmi-nek*.  
 ‘he likes himself’ – see § 36 for root-expanded stems
- b. *ellmi-nek*                              *nerqe-lluni*  
 ‘(he) feeding himself’ (APP.3Rsg.) – cf. § 35(22) *ner-qe-*
- c. *ikayur-tuk*                      *ellme-gnek*                      ‘they(du.) help themselves’
- d. *akn(g)irte-llru-unga (wang-nek)*.                      ‘I hurt myself’.
- (79) *Wang-nek*                      *quyi-ke-nrit-ua*.  
 1sg.-ABM                      high-find-NEG-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I don’t consider myself in high position.’
- (80) *Angun*<sub>S</sub>                      *aa-q-uq*                              *ellmi-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg.                      danger-find-IND.3sg.                      3Rsg.-ABM.  
*kit-nayuk-luni*.  
 sink-A’.think.might-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘The man thinks himself in danger, assuming himself to sink.’
- cf. *Angute-m*<sub>A</sub>                      *aa-q-aa*                              *arnaq*  
 man.REL.sg.                      danger-find-IND.3sg.3sg.                      woman.ABS.sg.  
*kit-nayuk-luku*.  
 sink-A’.think.might-APP.3sg.  
 ‘The man thinks the woman in danger, assuming her to sink.’

iii) *Reflexive after applicative* |+(u)c-|: E addition; ‘to, for, with’ (§ 39.4) – suffix-initial *-u-* is deleted after stem-final single vowel, like in (82).

- (81) a. *Qenr-ut-uq*                              *ellmi-nek*<sub>(P=E)</sub>.  
 be.angry-E-IND.3sg.                      3Rsg.-ABM  
 ‘He is angry at himself.’
- b. *Qenr-ut-ua*                              *wang-nek*<sub>(P=E)</sub>.  
 be.angry-E-IND.1sg.                      1sg.-ABM.  
 ‘I am angry at myself.’
- cf. *qenr-ut-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.)                      ‘he is angry at her’.

- (82) *Maqi-t-uq* *ellmi-nek*.  
 take.bath-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.1sg. 3Rsg.-ABM  
 ‘He outdid himself (getting out of steam-bath).’  
 cf. *maqi-t-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) i. ‘I am taking a steam-bath *with* him’  
 ii. ‘I outdid/beat him (in steam-bath)’.<sup>2</sup>

While the subject of reflexive verbs can be in any number (singular, dual, plural), that of reciprocals should be only either in the dual or plural.

#### 4.2. Reciprocals

Reciprocals are not necessarily accompanied by a reflexive pronoun. A reciprocal and a reflexive verb, similar in that both have the “compound subject”, are expressed identically and may be ambiguous if without context, as is the case with many other languages. In (b) below, two readings are possible:

- (83) a. *Ikayur-tukuk* *wangkug-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>. (P)abm S(P∞A)abs  
 help-IND.1du. 1du-ABM  
 ‘We (du.) are helping each other.’  
 b. *Erur-tukuk* *wangkug-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 wash-IND.1du. 1du.-ABM.  
 ‘We(du.) are washing each other (REC)/ourselves (REF).’
- (84) *nulirt-uk* (IND.3du.)  
 ‘they(du.) are copulating’ – patientive |*nuliy-c-*|.

i) Typically with the applicative VVsm |+(u)c-|: E addition ‘to, for, with’ – § 39.4.1-iii; cf. also § 34.2.3:

- (85) a. *qenr-ut-uk*  
 angry-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3du.  
 ‘they (du.) are angry at each other’ – cf. reflexive (81)  
 b. *agtu-ut-uk*  
 ‘they (du.) are touching each other’ – |*caytuy-*|  
 c. *callug-tuk* ~ *callu-ut-uk*  
 fight-IND.3du. / -E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3du.  
 ‘they(du.) are fighting with each other’  
 d. *maqi-t-aar-tuk*  
 take.bath-E<sub>APL</sub>-RPT-IND.3du. – cf. reflexive (82)  
 ‘they (du.) repeatedly competed with each other (in the steambath)’.

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2. Enduring the extreme heat of a steam-bath/sweat-bath often becomes the occasion of good-natured competition among Yupik men.

- (86) a. [*Ca-m<sub>G</sub>*      *ili-ini*]                      *tangrr-uc-iiq-ukuk*.  
 some-REL.sg. part-LOC.3sg.3sg. see-E<sub>APL</sub>-FUT-IND.1du.  
 ‘We(du.) will see each other someday.’
- b. *Tua=i-ngu-nrit-ug*,                      *cali tangrr-uc-iiq-ukuk*  
 ended-be-NEG-IND.3sg3sg. still see-E<sub>APL</sub>-FUT-IND.1du.  
 [*egate-m<sub>G</sub>*      *ilu-ani*].  
 pot-REL.sg. inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 (Two geese, flying around, saw a man, with a gun. After a moment of  
 silence, one of them said to his partner.) ‘Goodbye (this is not the  
 end), we will still see each other inside the cooking pot.’ [John Mark]
- c. [*Aana-ka*              *kass’aq=llu*]<sub>S</sub>                      *tangrr-ut-uk*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg. white.man.ABS.sg.=and see-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3du.  
*ellmeg-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 3Rdu.-ABM.  
 ‘My mother and the white man see each other.’  
 – compare with the reflexive (75a).
- (87) *Yaaqsi-ut-uk*                      *May’a-nku-ks*.  
 distant-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3du.              p.n.-partner-ABS.du.  
 ‘Mayaq and his partner are far apart (from each other).’ – either  
 physically or with regard to kinship.
- (88) a. *ikayu-ut-uk*      ‘they (du.) help each other’ – *ikayaur-* ‘to help’  
*aryuq-ut-uk*  
 ‘they (du.) are glad to see each other’ – *aryuqe-* ‘to be glad to see’
- b. *Kenk-ut-uk*                      *atunem*.  
 love-VVsm-IND.3du. mutually  
 ‘There is mutual love between them (du.)’ – with mutuality particle  
 (‘matching, complementary’).
- (89) a. *tuqu-y-ut-uk*  
 ‘they (du.) killed each other’; -y- from -t- (A adding |+c-|)
- b. *tuqu-y-ut-ni-ak*  
 ‘he says they (du.) killed each other’ (-ak IND.3sg.3du.)  
 – with (a) embedded in (b) complex transitive with VVcm -ni- ‘A’ to say’
- c. *Nakleng*      [*tau-na*                      *angun*]<sub>S</sub>              *tuqu-te-llini-lria*  
 poor.PCL      that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. die-A-EVD-PTP.3sg.  
*ellmi-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 3Rsg.-ABM  
 ‘Oh, poor guy, that man killed himself (I now see).’  
 – The verb, if not accompanied by the pronoun, is more likely to  
 mean ‘(I now see) he (was) choked’.

ii) *Reciprocals after denominal transitive relational verbs* – VNrv *|-ki-|* or its related VV *|-k\*i-|* ('to have – as'; § 37.2, 37.2.1): Note by contrast that the intransitive relational *|+ηu-|* cannot be reciprocal, even with the dual subject, like the compared *aana-u-guk* in (a) below:

- (90) a. *aana-k-uk*  
 Mo-have.as-IND.1du.  
 'they (du.) are mother and daughter (or son); lit. they two are mutually mothers'  
 cf. *aana-u-guk* 'they(du.) are (two) mothers'
- b. *aipa-q-ukuk*.  
 companion-have.as-IND.1du.  
 i. 'we (du.) are (mutual) partners (lit., we have ourselves as partners)'  
 ii. 'we (du. children) are playing together'  
*aipa-qe-llriik* (VNrl.du.)  
 'a married couple' – reciprocal relative (§ 11.4.2)
- c. *ilunga-q-ukuk* 'we (du.) are cousins, girlfriends'  
 cousin-have.as-IND.1du. – *|ilunqay-|*  
 'female cross cousin (or friend) of a female'.

Denominal transitive relational stems are often followed by the applicative VVsm *|+(u)c-|* (meaning 'to mutually become') with intransitive inflection of non-singular subject:<sup>3</sup>

- (91) *ila-k-ut-ut*  
 part-have.as-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3pl.  
 'they are relatives, i.e. they have themselves as relatives'.

The *|-ki-|* may often follow the suffixes VN/NN *|-lyut-/-lyut-|* 'partner in (-ing)' (§ 19.2, § 20.1.2) and *|+ta-ti-|* (same.degree-VNrl; § 45.6):

- (92) *aya-llgut-k-uk* 'they(du.) are travelling companions'  
 go-partner-have.as-IND.3du.  
*ene-llgut-k-ukuk* 'we(du.) share a house'  
 house-partner-have.as-IND.1du.
- (93) *Ang-ta-t-k-uk* *angya-gka<sub>s</sub>*.  
 big-as.as-VNrl-have.as-IND.3du. boat-ABS.1sg.du.  
 'My two boats are of the same size.'

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3. Interestingly, the doubled use of the relational verb and the applicative as found in CAY is more common in CSY (Nagai Kayo, p.c.). Accordingly, (90b) *aipa-qe-llriik* corresponds to CSY *nulighqullghiik* from *nuligh-ke-ute-llghii-k* (Wi-NVrv-VVsm-ABS.pl.).

## 5. Causative verbs: simplex vs. complex

CAY has three agent-adding suffixes, with the A argument serving as the causer. The first two below derive simplex verbs (more or less lexicalized), while the third derives complex transitives (§ 40) with upper clauses having syntactic salience:

- a. VVsm |+c-|, etc.
- b. VVsm |-ȳqi-| – non-productive
- c. VVcm |-vkay̆-| (postvocalic) ~ |+cic-| (postconsonantal)

As briefly mentioned in § 34.2-v, the first suffix (a) (simplex verb modification) occurs with monovalent stems and impersonal patientive bivalent stems with the impersonal agent (A<sub>IMP</sub>) replaced by the personal agent (§ 39.1.1), both yielding bivalent stems. This is a causative transitivizer and is fairly productive, but with lexical restriction. It does not occur, however, with derived intransitive stems such as antipassives.

The second suffix occurs only with a limited number of stems. It yields lexicalized bivalent verbs and one secundative ditransitive verb (§ 39.1.4) – ‘to smoke (fish) by feeding fire to’, ‘to make someone cry (usu. child to child)’, and ‘to feed someone (baby, dog, invalid, etc.) with’, typically conveying the implication of being intentional or deliberate [YED 549].

The third is very productive of causative complex transitives with the upper clause agent (A'), occurring with any type of stem (barring a-valent roots), and yielding bi-, tri- or multi-valent verbs (§ 40.2.1). This is a biclausal causative (though morphologically a single verb). See § 39.1.4 for the difference between the secundative ditransitive |niȳqi-| ‘A to feed R with (T)’ and the complex transitive |niȳi-vkay̆-| ‘A' to let/make (A) eat P/A eat (P)’ with the bivalent stem |niȳi-| ‘to eat’, which never occurs with |+c-| (\*|niȳ(i)-c-|).

As each suffix is fully illustrated in the respective sections, only some comparisons of the first and the third are to be made here, i.e. A adder |+c-| vs. A' adder |-vkay̆-| ~ |+cic-|, together with impersonal patientive stems (with A<sub>IMP</sub>). The A' adder has a syntactic-like productive derivation and its derived verbs denote an event in which action upon the causee is an indirect ‘two-part’ event (a causation and an eating). The former |+c-|, on the other hand, is more of lexical derivation and denotes an event in which action upon P (= S) by A is a direct ‘one-part’ event. Compare (a) vs. (b) below, both from the intransitive stem |ani-| ‘to go out’:

- (94) a. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *ane-vkar-aanga*.  
           woman-REL.sg.                go.out-A'.let-IND.3sg.1sg.  
           ‘The woman allowed/caused (did s.t. to make) me to go out.’  
           – possibly according to the speaker’s wish

- b. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *an-t-aanga*.  
 woman-REL.sg.                      go.out-A-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘The woman kicked/put/brought me out.’  
 – possibly against the speaker’s will.

The two-part event of causation vs. a single event is further illustrated:

- (95) a. *tuqu-vkar-aa*                      ‘he let her die’  
 vs. *tuqu-t-aa*                      ‘he killed her/it’                      |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’  
 b. *tai-vkar-aa*                      ‘he let it come’  
 vs. *tai-t-aa*                      ‘he brought it here’                      |*tai-*| ‘to come’  
 cf. *tai-vkar-tuq*                      ‘it is stormy’ [YED]
- (96) a. *Eleg-cete-llru-i*                      *can’g-e-t<sub>p</sub>*.  
 scorch-A’.let-PST-IND.3sg.3pl.                      grass-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘He let someone [e.g. *aana-mnun<sub>(A)</sub>* (ALL.1sg.sg.) ‘my mother’]  
 singe the grass.’  
 b. *Eleg-te-llru-i*                      *can’g-e-t<sub>p</sub>*.  
 scorch-A-PST-IND.3sg.3pl.                      grass-EV-ABS.pl.  
 i. ‘He singed the grass.’ – deliberately, on purpose or by accident]  
 ii. ‘He allowed the grass to be singed.’ – accidentally, not on purpose,  
 by putting it too close to the fire.
- (97) a. *Mingu-ani*                      [*yug-ua-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *keggina-a*]<sub>p</sub>  
 paint-CNNbc.3Rsg.                      person-imitation-REL.sg.                      face-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*kavir-cet-aa*                      *aata-ma<sub>A</sub>*.  
 red-A’.make-IND.3sg.3sg.                      Fa-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My father made the figurine’s/mask’s face red when he was paint-  
 ing.’ – two-part event of ‘he has done s.t. to make it red, possibly  
 making a whole thing red’; a-valent root |*kaviy-*| ‘red’.  
 b. *Kavir-t-aa*                      *kegginaquq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 red-A-IND.3sg.3sg.                      face-ABS.sg.  
 ‘He is reddening the mask (by applying red paint on it).’ – possibly  
 by some speakers.
- (98) a. *Pupik<sub>s</sub>*                      *nau-guq*                      *qenga-akun*.  
 sore.ABS.sg.                      grown-IND.3sg.                      nose-PRL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘The sore is growing on his nose.’  
 cf. *?Pupik<sub>p(s)</sub>*                      *nau-gaa*. – impersonal (very rarely used)  
 sore.ABS.sg.                      grown-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 b. *Nau-t-aa*                      *irnia-si<sub>p(s)</sub>*                      *assir-luku*  
 grow-A-IND.3sg.3sg.                      child-ABS.2pl.3sg.                      good-APP.3sg.  
 ‘She raised your child properly.’



– *nau-t-aa* may also mean ‘he is *building* (tent, men’s house, steam-house, school, etc.)’

- b. *Nau-vkar-aa* *napaq<sub>P(S)</sub>*  
 grow-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg. tree.ABS.sg.  
*nala-yaaqe-llr-ani.*  
 die-but-VNnm-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He made the dying tree grow (e.g. by giving it fertilizer).’  
 – despite the vowel-final stem *nau-*, the suppletive variant *-cete-* is attested as in *nau-cet-aa*, whose P argument may be a plant or a building (EA), hence *naucetaaq* ‘plant, flower, blossom’.

Impersonal patientive stems may have the impersonal agent replaced by a personal one by way of  $|+c-|$ . In that case, as a patientive verb proper, the extended stem can have an antipassive form, as mentioned above. Thus we have at least the following forms from the impersonal patientive stem  $|piki-|$  (including idiolectal and dialectal ones):

- (99) a. *pek-aa* ‘it (bird, animal) moved; it ( $A_{IMP}$ ) moved it’  
*pek'-uq* ‘it (bird) moves, starts to fly (from its nest)’  
 b. *pek-t-aa* ‘he moved it (e.g. table); he is moving around /  
 all over it (place)’, with A-adding  $|+c-|$   
*pek-t-uq* ‘he is walking, it [bird/fish (caught), land] is moving’  
*pek-c-i-uq* ‘he moved (something)’ – antipassive  
 c. *pek-c-et-aa* ~ *pek-te-vkar-aa* ‘he made her/it move’  
*pek-c-et-uq* ‘he allowed himself to be moved’  
 – two variants of the complex transitive may occur after final  $/c/$   
 (§ 40.2.1).

The difference between (a) and (b), however, may not be so clear. Both (a) *pek-t-aa* and (b) *pek-c-et-aa* may be used with *estuluq* ‘table’ by some speakers, and the difference may reflect a dialect variance between (a)Yukon and (b)Kuskokwim, while other people may use *peksetaa* and *pekcete-vkar-aa*, respectively, instead of *pektaa* and *peksetaa* (70).

## 6. Contrast among various transitive verbs

Various transitive verbs result from different stems (monovalent; agentive, patientive, impersonal patientive; ditransitive), different arguments involved, different agents (personal, impersonal), and different valency modification, thereby presenting a possibly confusing array. One may naturally be inclined to question, for instance, whether the often-cited impersonal patientive bivalent  $|ciku-|$  ‘to freeze’ is not actually monovalent. It might appear possible that our

patientive stems are not primarily so, but are instead derived from monovalent ones through some kind of (zero-derived) causativization or A addition – like, for instance, ‘A to dry P’ (bivalent) as derived from ‘S to be dry’ (monovalent). If this were the case, one would expect patientive stems to be reduced to monovalent ones. There is incontestable evidence to the contrary, however, showing that patientive stems are primarily distinct from monovalent ones and that the former are inherently bivalent like agentive stems.

Various transitive verbs are shown here by contrastive examples, presented together with corresponding intransitive forms. Differences should be clear despite the uniform ergative pattern of the absolutive (P) / relative (A) for transitives and of the absolutive (S) for intransitives.

- (100) a. *ciku-**uq***  $\cong$  *ciku-**a*** impersonal patientive S(=P)abs  $\cong$  Pabs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
 freeze-IND.3sg. / -IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘it is freezing (frozen)’
- b. *kiag-**tuq*** impersonal monovalent S<sub>IMP</sub>(abs)  
 summer-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it is (has become) summer’  
*kiag- $\emptyset$ -**aakut*** zero-derived locational P Pabs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
 summer-P-IND.3sg.1pl.  
 ‘it is (has become) summer *on us*’
- c. *iqa-**uq*** monovalent Sabs  
 dirty-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it is dirty’  
*iqa- $\emptyset$ -**a*** zero-derived A P(=S)abs Arel  
 dirty-A-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he dirties it’ – see § 33.4.2-iv for zero-derived extension of A.
- (101) a. *maq’-**uq*** monovalent Sabs  
 flow-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it flows out’  
*maq- $\emptyset$ -**aa*** zero-derived locational P Pabs Arel  
 flow- $\emptyset$ -IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘it [liquid] flows out on it [e.g. floor]’  
*maq-**t-aa*** A-added patientive Pabs Arel  
 flow-A-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he flows it [liquid] out’
- b. *kuv’-**uq*** medio-passive S(P $\infty$ A)abs  
 spill-IND.3sg.  
 i) ‘it spills’, ii) ‘it is spilled’  
*kuv-**aa*** patientive bivalent Pabs Arel  
 spill-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he spills it’.

The monovalent vs. patientive bivalent contrast should also become clear by adversative constructions (§ 39.5.1) with VVsm |+y<sub>i</sub>-| ‘to the detriment of; on’, which is a good test of whether a stem is primarily monovalent or bivalent. The difference comes from the argument hierarchy (§ 30.2):

- (102) a. *ciku-i-gaanga* impersonal patientive  
 freeze-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. (P)abm E<sub>ADV</sub>vabs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
 ‘it (A<sub>IMP</sub>) froze (something) on me’
- b. *kuv’-i-llru-aqa* patientive  
 spill-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. (P)abm E<sub>ADV</sub>vabs Arel  
 ‘I spilled (something) on him’ (\*‘it spilled on me’)
- c. *maq’-i-llru-aqa* monovalent  
 flow-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. Sabs E<sub>ADV</sub>rel  
 ‘it leaked on me’ (\*‘I spilled s.t. on him’)
- b. *maq-c-i-llru-aqa*  
 flow-A-E<sub>APL</sub>-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. (P=S)abm E<sub>ADV</sub>vabs Arel  
 ‘I pour (s.t.) out on/for her’
- d. *an-i-aqa* monovalent  
 go.out-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg. Sabs E<sub>ADV</sub>rel  
 ‘it (e.g. fox) went out (somewhere) on me, escaped out from me’.

Impersonal patientive stems cannot have antipassive forms (§ 34.2.2) for the reason understood in reference to adversative verbs (§ 39.5).

Comparison is made among two stems that have some semantic similarity:

- patientive bivalent* – |*kuv-i-*| ‘to spill’, cf. (101b)
- (103) a. *kuv’-uq* (IND.3sg.)  
 ‘it [S=P] spills / is spilled’
- b. *kuv-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 ‘he [A] spills it [P]’
- c. *kuv-i-uq* (APS; IND.3sg.)  
 ‘he spills (s.t.)’
- d. *kuv-i-a* *arnaq*<sub>P=E</sub>.  
 spill-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘he [A] spills the woman’s (s.t. [(P)]), spills (s.t.) on the woman’.

- monovalent* – |*maq-i-*| ‘to flow out’, cf. (101a)
- (104) a. *maq’-uq* (IND.3sg.)  
 ‘it [S: liquid] flows out / leaks’
- b. *maq-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 ‘it [A=S] flows out on it [P: place]’  
 – with derived locational *P* (§ 33.4), very limited acceptability

- c. *maq-i-uq* (IND.3sg.)  
‘he is taking steambath’
- d. *maq-i-a* *arna-m*<sub>A=E</sub>.  
flow-E-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg.  
‘it [S] flows out/leaks on the woman [E]’.

*derived (patientive) bivalent from monovalent* – |maq-c-| < |maqi+c-|  
‘[A] to flow out’, cf. (41)

- (105) a. *maq-t-aa* (A-IND.3sg.3sg.)  
‘he [A] is making it [P: liquid] flow out’
- b. *maq-c-i-uq* (APS-IND.3sg.)  
‘he [S=A∞E] is making (s.t. [(P)]) flow out / he pours (s.t.) out’
- c. *maq-c-i-a* *arnaq*<sub>P=E</sub>  
flow-A-E-IND.3sg.3sg. woman.ABS.sg.  
‘he [A] pours (s.t. [(P)]) out on the woman [E]’.

## 7. |pi-| verbs

Special mention may be made concerning the versatile stem |pi-|, which is ambivalent (either nominal or verbal) and is semantically more or less neutral or expletive (§ 4.2.5.5.2-ii, § 10.3.1, etc.).

i) As a verb stem, it is chiefly an agentive bivalent (as seen in *pi-a* ‘he is doing it’ vs. *pi-uq* ‘he is doing’).

The semantic content is largely determined by other constituents with which it occurs. It may serve as a prop verb (just to fill a stem slot, glossed as PI), as a pro-verb (to replace a full verb), or as a full verb (commonly glossed as ‘to do, say,...’, but also, according to its context, ‘to call, realize, affect, happen ...’), which can be ditransitive (§ 35.1.1-v):

- (106) *Pi-yu-kuvet* *pi!*  
do-DES-CNNif.2sg. do.OPT.2sg.  
‘You (sg.) *do* it if you want to (*do*)!’
- (107) *Tua-ten#qaa* *pi-uq?*  
that-EQL#QST do-IND.3sg.  
‘Did he *do/say* so (like that)?’
- (108) [*Ma-n’a* *kuik*]<sub>R</sub> *Inraya-mek*<sub>(T)</sub> *pi-arput*.  
this-EX.ABS.sg. river.ABS.sg. pl.n.-ABM.sg. call-IND.1pl.3sg.  
‘We call this river *Inrayaq*.’  
– where it serves as a secundative ditransitive stem; see § 35.1.1-v.

In the sense of ‘saying’, the *pi-* verb may be more indirect than, and preferred to, the verb *qaner-tuq* (say-IND.3sg.) with the bivalent |qany̆-| ‘to say, speak’, etc.

Very often with an ignorative word (§ 16) and in the interrogative mood (§ 48):

- (109) a. *Ca<sub>S</sub>*                    *pi-a?*  
 what.ABS.sg. do-INT.3sg.  
 ‘What *happened/is happening?*’  
 b. *Ca-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*                *pi-a?*  
 what-ABM.sg. do-INT.3sg.  
 ‘What did he *say?*’
- (110) *Nat-mun=kiq*                    *pi-ciq-sia.*  
 where-ALL.sg.=RQC                do-FUT-INT.1sg.[3sg.]  
 i. ‘I wonder where I should *go.*’  
 ii. ‘I wonder where I should *put it.*’  
 – two readings due to the ambivalence of the interrogative-mood marker *sia* (< |+<sub>1</sub>ci+ηa| INT.1sg or INT.1sg.3sg.; § 48.1).
- (111) *qaill(un) ≠ pi-* ‘(to do) how?’ – followed by different inflections as illustrated in § 15.2.5.1.

As a full verb, it may replace a wide variety of verbs:

- (112) *Maaten pi-unga,*                *angut-e-m<sub>A</sub>*                *neqa<sub>P</sub>*  
 then do-IND.1sg. man-EV-REL.sg. fish.ABS.sg.  
*ner-ki-i.*  
 eat-PTP.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Then I *realized* that the man was eating the fish.’ – see § 53.5-ix for *maaten* construction.
- (113) *kiag-mi*                    *neqe-t<sub>S</sub>*                    *pi-aqata*  
 summer-LOC.sg. fish-ABS.pl. do-CNNwv.3pl.  
 ‘whenever fish *come* in summer’. [BL]

As a transitive verb, |pi-| ‘to do, affect’ occurs in the following example as a verb stem in A function, meaning a cause; see § 24.3.2 for more examples.

- (114) *Qimugta-ite-m<sub>A</sub>*                *pi-aci.*  
 dog-PRV-REL.sg. do-IND.3sg.2pl  
 ‘Lack of dogs is *affecting* you (pl.); because you have no dogs.’

ii) One of the important syntactic functions of *|pi-|* is to form a main-clause verb in periphrastic constructions with a cosubordinate clause with an appositional-mood verb, as a prop verb in splitting (§ 51.3.1):

- (115) *Na-ken tai-luni pi-a?*  
 where-ABL come-APP.3Rsg. PI-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Where has he come from (to do whatever he is doing)?’  
 The possibly has connotation of less directness (§ 51.6) than:  
 cf. *Na-ken tai-ga?*  
 where-ABL come-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Where has he come from?’
- (116) a. *Ener-pa-li-luni pi-vkar-yu-llru-anga.*  
 house-big-make-APP.3Rsg. PI-A'.make-DES-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 b. *Ener-pa-li-vkar-luni pi-yu-llru-anga.*  
 house-big-make-A'.let-APP.3Rsg. PI-DES-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘He wanted to have me make a big house.’

It also works as a pro verb for complex transitive verb constructions (§ 40.6, § 51.3.2):

- (117) a. *Kuingir-ngau-nii pi-unga.*  
 smoke-will.not-APP.1sg. do-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I *promised* not to smoke.’ with *-ngau-* from VVn *|+<sub>1</sub>ηait-*.  
 b. *Kuingir-ngau-nii pi-sq-ua.*  
 smoke-will.not-APP.1sg. do-A'.ask-IND.1sg.  
 (*/pi-sq-uma-unga*)  
 (do-A'.ask-CNT-IND.1sg.)  
 ‘I *am (have been)* told not to smoke.’  
 – see § 51.1.3 for negative appositional *-nii*.
- (118) *Ellii-nun<sub>(A)</sub> tuqu-te-llru-yuk-luku carayak<sub>p</sub> pi-unga.*  
 3sg.-ALL die-A-PST-A'.think-APP.3sg. bear.ABS.sg. do-IND.3sg.  
 ‘I *think/suspect* (thinking) that he killed the bear.’  
 – VVcm *|+<sub>1</sub>cukī-* > *-yuk-*.

iii) Very productively yields derivatives with various suffixes (VV and VN) that specify or narrow the content with more or less lexicalization:

- (119) a. *pi-vik* ‘place, time’ – VNrl *|+vij-*  
 b. *pi-ciq* ‘fact’ – VNnm *|+(u)ciy-*  
 c. *pi-ci-u-* ‘to be true, correct’ – NVrv *|+ηu-* ‘to be’.

- (120) *pi-sq-un* ‘rule, lit. s.t. [one is] told to do’  
do-A¹.ask-VNrl.ABS.sg. – VVcm |+sqi-|, VNrl |(u)t-|.
- (121) a. *pi-ta-uq* ‘it is a certain stage/size/age’  
do-as.as-IND.3sg – VV |-ta-|  
b. *pi-ta-ri-uq* ‘it reaches a certain size/age’  
do-as.as-INC-IND.3sg. – VV |-ri-|.
- (122) a. *pi-narq-aa* ≙ *pi-narq-uq*  
do-should-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.  
‘he has to do, deserves to be scolded (usu. in the negative sense)’  
b. *pi-nari-aqan*  
do-time.to-CNNwv.3sg.  
‘whenever it is time to do’  
– necessitative impersonal verbs with, respectively, VVsm |+nayqi-| and |+nayi-| (§ 39.2).

iv) An expletive nominal stem |pi-| may be verbalized into |pi-li-| with NV |-li-| ‘to make (something) N for someone’, in the same way as in any other denominal stems.

Compare the following pair (123) vs. (124): The expletive prop |pi-| can take place of the nominal head of a denominal verb |qaya-li-|, when the head (stem) is stranded or "discharged" (§ 25.2.1-i) into an ablative-modalis NP (§ 25.2.1):

- (123) a. *qaya-li-at* ‘they are making a kayak for him’  
kayak-make-IND.3pl.3sg.  
b. *qaya-li-ut* (IND.3pl.) ‘they are making a kayak’.

– which may occur in a periphrastic construction with an ablative-modalis NP as in:

- (124) a. *pi-li-at qaya-mek* (ABM.sg.) ‘they are making a kayak for him’  
b. *pi-li-uq qaya-mek* ‘they are making a kayak’.

– where the denominal stem |pi-li-| serves as a secundative ditransitive stem, with *qaya-mek* corresponding to a demoted T argument, while (123) *qaya-li-* is taken as an agentive bivalent stem. See for the ablative-modalis case.

v) See § 53.3.4-iv for lexicalized particles or set phrases with |pi-| – *piciatun* ‘(in) any (manner), anywhere’ (though apparently with the VNnm |(u)ciy-| (§ 18.2.2) and the equalis marking [§ 29]).

## Chapter 35

### Trivalent (ditransitive) stems

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#### 1. Two types of ditransitives

While CAY shows ergative alignment in the case marking of monotransitives (as seen in § 34), ditransitive stems with three arguments – T (theme), R (recipient), and A (agent) – show two patterns, secundative and indirective.

Ditransitives here include only primary trivalent stems and secondary denominal trivalent stems derived with NV suffixes. They do not include derived trivalent verbs with valency increasing suffixes, simplex (§ 39) or complex (§ 40), that is, P E A, P A A<sub>IMP</sub>, P A A' (from bivalent), S E<sub>ADV</sub> A', E<sub>APL</sub> S A', S A<sub>IMP</sub> A', or S A' A" (from monovalent).

The different alignment patterns of these different trivalent constructions – to be summarized in the table at the end of this chapter – result from the case assignments in accordance with the argument hierarchy (§ 30).

The two types of ditransitives with T, R, and A are:

- (1)
  1. secundative  
(T), [P=] R, A – e.g. ‘to provide with, answer, deprive of, ...’
  2. indirective  
T [=P], (R), A – e.g. ‘to sell (to), show (to), add (to), ...’.



For either type, the A argument NP is marked with the relative case, thereby with transitive inflection. The secundative type is recipient-oriented, with the absolutive case on the R argument NP but the ablative-modalis case on the demoted T argument NP (as parenthesized), while the indirective type is theme-oriented, with the absolutive case on the T argument NP but the allative case on the demoted R argument NP (as parenthesized).

As regards detransitivization, most ditransitive stems are ‘patientive’ (cf. monotransitives, § 34) and behave as such in that process, but there a few stems that show their own idiosyncrasies, see fn. 9 – e.g. |*apic*-| ‘to ask’.

The T and R argument NPs can be a relative clause (§ 17), a nominal clause (§ 18), or a nominal phrase (§ 16) as well as a single nominal, except that the R argument is not attested by a nominal clause.

The relative word order of the T, R, A, and the verb is little constrained, although a demoted T or R typically comes at the end. Special mention concerning question sentences will be found in § 35.2.4.

The two types are illustrated below by examples with contrastive verbs, both meaning ‘to give’ and ‘to show’:

i) *Secundative* – with *Tabm*, *Rabs*, and *Arel*:

- (2) *Cikir-ai*                      *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 give-IND.3sg.3pl.    woman-REL.sg.    ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
*angute-t<sub>R</sub>*  
 man-ABS.pl  
 ‘The woman gave ice cream to the men.’ – |*cikiy*-| ‘to give to’.

- (3) *Nasvit-aanga*                      *sass’a-minek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 show-IND.3sg.1sg.    watch-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He showed me [R] his (own) watch.’ – |*nasvic*-| ‘to show to’.

Each of the three argument NPs may be an appositive phrase in the following example:

- (4) [*tau-m*                      *nukalpiarta-yaga-a-m*]<sub>A</sub>                      [*tau-na*  
 that-REL.sg.    young.hunter-young-EV-REL.sg.    that-EX.ABS.sg.  
*tutgara’urluq*]<sub>R</sub>                      [*yaaruit-mek*                      *im-u-mek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 GrDa.ABS.sg.                      story.knife-ABM.sg.                      that.ANP.-EX-ABM.sg.  
*ciki-llini-aqe-kii*  
 give-EVD-CUS-PTP.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘this young hunter would give the granddaughter a story knife’.  
 [QNMC 288–289]  
 – *yaaruin* ‘a girl’s toy for sketching stylized story pictures on the  
 ground / in the snow’ (cf. Himmelheber 1938: 44–47, with photos).

ii) *Indirective* – Tabs, Rabm, and Arel:

- (5) ***Tun-aa***                      *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *akutaq<sub>T</sub>*  
 give-IND.3sg.3sg.      woman-REL.sg.      ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
*angut-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 man-ALL.pl.  
 ‘The woman gave/sold the ice cream to the men.’ – |*tuni-*| ‘to give, sell (to)’.
- (6) ***Nasvag-aa***                      *sass’a-ni<sub>T</sub>*                      *wang-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 show-IND.3sg.3sg.      knife-ABS.3Rsg.sg.      1sg.-ALL  
 ‘He showed his (own) knife to me.’ – |*nasvay-*| ‘to show (to)’.

Note the difference in the gloss, e.g. (3) secundative ‘show to’ vs. (6) indirective ‘to show (to)’.

As illustrated above, the verb of ‘giving (selling)’ has suppletive stems, i.e. secundative |*cikiy-*| and indirective |*tuni-*|, while all the other ditransitive verbs have only one primary stem (secundative or indirective) with the other one being derived from it or both of two stems derived from the same root (stem) with valency rearrangement (§ 35.1.3). The most common suffixes for this derivation are the applicative VVsm |+(*u*)*c-*|, |*utki-*|, and |*+<sub>1</sub>viki-*| shown in (22) and (37) below.

In addition to the secundative |*cikiy-*|, CAY has another secundative verb of ‘giving’, i.e. |*nakmi-c-*| ‘to give (something of one’s own)’ (§ 35.1.1-iii).

Primary trivalent stems are listed in (7), (12), (16), (22) for secundatives, while the indirectives are somewhat smaller in number as in (37) and (39).

A few ditransitives are ‘variable’, being either secundative or indirective, e.g. |*kuvi-*| ‘to spill’, for which there is a disambiguation device (67).

Based on these two types, the parallelism and difference among different trivalent verbs – applicatives (|+(*u*)*c-*|), ditransitives and complex verbs – may be summarized from the perspective of case alignment in Table 31 at the end of this chapter, provided with the bivalent verbs from which the trivalent ones are derived:

### 1.1. Secundative

Among the most common primary trivalent stems are:

- (7) a. |*akqi-*| ‘to promise’, |*apy-*| ‘to call (as)’, |*ayiva-*| ‘to call (person) as’, |*ayuqi-*| ‘to distribute to/among’, |*cikiy-*| ‘to supply (with), give to’, |*cimiy-*| ‘to replace (with)’, |*ciŋi-*| ‘to push (to/into)’, |*a(v)u-*| ‘to add

to, supplement (with)', |*ila-*| 'to add (part) to', |*imiy-*| 'to fill, put (contents) in' (see [25a], however), |*ini-*| 'to hang out (to dry) to', |*miñuy-*| 'to spread (with)', |*muiy-*| 'to fill (to the brim) with', |*naquyc-*| 'to put (belt, ribbon) on', |*navyic-*| 'to lend to', |*nazvic-*| 'to show to, |*patu-*| 'to cover (with)', |*payuyc-*| 'to bring (food) to', |*qamic-*| 'to give (s.t. to be taken along on a journey) to', |*qiviy-*| 'to add (s.t.) to, supplement (with)', |*tuyuy-*| 'to send to'; |*pi-*| 'to call, wish' (§ 35.1.1.5-v),

- b. |*aliyqua-*| 'to advise', |*apic-*| 'to ask', |*iyay-*| 'to write to', |*kiu-*| 'to answer'.

The stems in (b) group may have a nominalization in the demoted (T) function, e.g. (10) and (106) as well as:

- (8) *Iga-llru-anga*                      *qaillun*              *ayuq-uci-mnek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 write-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.    how                      resemble-VNnm-ABM.1sg.  
 'He wrote me [R] (asking) how I am.' / 'He (doctor) wrote (informing) me [R] how I am (e.g. after a medical check).'

In the following two examples, the R argument ('3sg' and '1sg') is only marked in inflection without a full NP, while T is expressed by a demoted full NP (in the ablative-modal case), as is the case with (3; '1sg.'): (9) has a relative clause in the demoted (T) function.

- (9) [*Tangerr-su-llr-anek*                      *cali-ssuute-mnek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 see-DES-VNrl-ABM.3sg.sg.    work-tool-ABM.1sg.sg.  
*nasvite-llru-aqa*.  
 show-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I showed him [R] my tool, which he wanted to see.'
- (10) *Kuingir-ngail-ucirka-mnek*<sub>(T)</sub>                      *alerqua-gaanga*.  
 smoke-will.not-VNnm-ABM.1sg.sg.    advise-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'He told me [R] not to smoke.'

In the following (b), a theme-like content is rendered verbally by a cosubordinate clause (complex transitive), though only roughly equivalent to (a) with a demoted T NP:

- (11) a. *Akq-aanga*                      *aki-mek*<sub>(T)</sub> / *nunuli-ut-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 promise-IND.3sg.1sg.              pay-ABM.sg. / reward-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 'He promised me payment/reward.'

- b. *Akq-aanga*                      *aki-lir-ciq-ni-lua.*  
 promise-IND.3sg.1sg.    pay-supply-FUT-A'.say-APP.1sg.  
 'He promised me (saying) that he would pay.'  
 – see § 40.6-iii.

Two small groups of stems may be of some interest with regard to their lexical properties:

i) First, the following two stems of 'to (over- or under-)supply' are of the secundative type:

- (12)     |*cipic-*|    'to oversupply (with), exceed (by)'  
           |*nuyc-*|    'to undersupply (with), fall short of (by)'

The former stem is the most common device for making non-round numbers (§ 14.3.1) as in (13), (14). The latter is employed in (15) with a number but not as an established numeral.

- (13)     *qula<sub>R</sub>*                      *atauci-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*                      *cip-luku*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    one-ABM.sg.                      oversupply-APP.3sg.  
 '(being) eleven, lit. oversupplying ten with one'.
- (14)     *yuinaq<sub>R</sub>*                      *cipte-ng-luku*                      *ui-ng-vailegmi*  
 20.ABS.sg.    oversupply-INC-APP.3sg.    Hu-get-CNNbf.3Rsg.  
 '(she) beginning to exceed twenty years before getting married'.  
 [FASM 76]
- (15)     *Nurt-aat*                      *Fairbanks-aaq<sub>R</sub>*                      [*qul-nek*  
 undersupply-IND.3pl.3sg.    pl.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.                      ten-ABM.pl.  
*mile-aa-nek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 m.-LNK-ABM.pl.  
 'They failed to reach Fairbanks by ten miles.'

With no T argument NP (for indicating the difference), the *-luku* appositional verbs of the two stems mean '(it being) more/less than' (§ 14.3.1.1.2).

ii) Second, the three deprivative/subtractive stems in (16) are secundative as exemplified in (17) through (18), just like the additive verb |*ila-*| 'to add (part) to' in (7a):

- (16)     |*ahuyc-*|    'to remove R (of T), take (T) from R'  
           |*wayayc-*|    'to strip, rob R (of T)'  
           |*ilanayc-*|    'to subtract, take away (T) from R, R to lose (T)'

- cf. |iiŷ-| ‘to hide P [ABS] from s.o. [ABM]’ – which is a patientive bivalent stem, cf. pair in (21).
- (17) a. *Allurt-aa*                      *qimugta<sub>R</sub>*                      *neqi-inek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 remove-IND.3sg.3sg.      dog.ABS.sg.                      food-AMB.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He took away the dog’s food (removed the dog of its food).’ [YED]
- b. *Allurt-uq*                      *qimugta<sub>S=R}</sub>*                      *neq-minek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 remove-IND.3sg.      dog.ABS.sg.                      food-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘The dog was removed of its food.’  
 – § 35.2.1.1 for the passivization by agent deletion. Note its resulting change of the person 3sg. vs. 3Rsg. for ‘food’ (T).
- (18) a. *Ilangart-aa*                      [*ur-yu-lria*  
 take.out-IND.3sg.3sg.      overflow-DES-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*qaltaq<sub>R</sub>*]                      (*e*)*mer-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 bucket.ABS.sg.                      water-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She took (some [not all]) water out of the overflowing bucket.’
- b. *Ilangart-ut*                      [*pingayu-nek*                      *yug-nek<sub>(T)</sub>*]  
 deplete-IND.3pl.                      three-ABM.pl.                      person-ABM.pl.  
*ila-nka<sub>S=R}</sub>*                      /                      *ma-ku-miu-t<sub>S=R}</sub>*.  
 relative-ABS.1sg.pl. /                      this-EX-dweller-ABS.pl.  
 ‘Our family/our village lost three people (lit. our family/village were depleted of three people).’  
 – detransitivization by agent deletion (e.g. ‘God’).
- (19) *Ūgayar-aanga*                      *atku-mnek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 rob-IND.3sg.1sg.                      parka-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He robbed me of my parka.’

See also denominal stems with |N-ŋiŷ-| ‘to deprive N’ in (25b).

These ditransitives of subtraction or removal are distinct from the bivalent stems |tiŷ/y-| ‘to steal’ (agentive), and |iiŷ-| ‘to hide’ (patientive) in (20) and (21) and are not ditransitive, as the case alignments show. The ablative-modal arguments in (20a) and (21a) are not demoted T, but adverbial. (20b) *tegleg-i-*, (21b) *iir-i-* are derived adversative trivalent stems with E<sub>ADV</sub> extended (§ 39.5.1), with alignment of P<sub>(ABM)</sub> E<sub>(ABS)</sub> A<sub>(REL)</sub>.

- (20) a. *Tegleg-aa*                      *nuussiq<sub>P</sub>*                      *arna-mek*.  
 steal-IND.3sg.3sg.      knife.ABS.sg.                      woman-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He stole the knife from the woman.’
- b. *Tegleg-i-a*                      *akiuta-inek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 steal-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.      money-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He stole money from (on) her [E<sub>ADV</sub>].’

- (21) a. *iir-aanga*                      *carayag-mek*.  
hide-IND.3sg.1sg.    bear-ABM.sg.  
'He hid me [P] from the bear.'
- b. *iir-i-a*  
hide-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'he is hiding something [(P)] of/from her [E]' = § 3(48), § 39(205).
- c. *iir-i-uq*    'he is hiding something' = § 34(53), antipassive.

iii) There are also a number of derived secundative stems:

- (22) |*ap-qauy-*| 'to question' (|*apic-*| 'to ask'), |*apiy̆tu-uc-*| 'to point out', |*ciy̆-viki-*| 'to push to', |*ilit-nauy̆-*| [K]~|*ili-cay̆-*| [Y.NI.HBC] 'to teach' (|*ilic-*| 'to learn'),<sup>1</sup> |*ili-viki-*| 'to put to, place on', |*kaiya-viki-*| 'to request (for s.t.)' (§ 35.1.3-ii.c), |*kuvi-viki-*| 'spill into', |*milqay̆-*| 'to throw at' (from the root |*mil-*| 'throwing'), |*nakmi-c-*| 'to give (one's own) to' (cf. § 13.4.2 for the root; § 13[55]), |*navy̆ic-*| 'to lend', |*navy̆ic-*| 'to exchange, trade' (cf. |*navy-*| 'to break'), |*nazvic-*| [Y] 'to show' (cf. indirective |*nazvay-*| 'to show' – with an unidentified root/stem), |*niy̆-qi-*| 'to feed (baby, invalid, or dog)' (|*niy̆i-*| 'to eat'), |*patu-*| 'to cover', |*pituy̆-viki-*| 'to tie to', |*qany̆-uc-*| 'to tell (s.t.) to' (|*qany̆-*| 'to say s.t.'), cf. (65b), |*qanimci-c-*| (~|*qanimci-*|) 'to tell (s.t.) to', |*tuy̆u-*| 'to send (s.t.) to'  
– see also denominal derivatives with (25) |*liy̆-*| 'to supply with' (§ 38.3), etc. below.

Although not all of these are transparent in derivation, the stem |*niy̆qi-*| is a lexicalized causative with an obsolete suffix |*-y̆qi-*| (from |*niy̆i-*| 'to eat'),<sup>2</sup> while *nerq-aa* is not the same as the causative complex transitive *nere-vkar-aa* (|*niy̆i-vka-*| 'eat-A.make'; § 40.2.1). The lexicalized causative is secundative with ablative-modal demotion (T) and is not indirective with allative demotion. Thus, example (23b) is ungrammatical.

- (23) a. *Nerqe-ciq-anka*                      *qimugte-nka<sub>R</sub>*                      *neq-nek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
feed-FUT-IND.1sg.3pl.    dog-ABS.1sg.pl.    fish-ABM.pl.  
'I will feed my dogs with fish'

1. The stems |*ilit-nauy̆-*| [K] ~ |*ili-cay̆-*| [Y] 'to teach' are from |*ilic-*| 'to learn', apparently expanded with the VVt |*-nauy̆-*| (consequential present; § 42.2.6) and the causative VVsm |*-cay̆-*| 'to try to induce'.

2. This obsolete suffix is otherwise attested only in a few bivalent stems, such as |*aya-y̆qi-*| 'to hang' (from a-valent |*aya-*| 'hanging'), |*qia-y̆qi-*| 'to make someone cry' (from monovalent |*qia-*| 'to cry'), and |*puy̆uy̆qi-*| 'to smoke fish by adding grass or other fuel' (from bivalent |*puy̆uy̆-*| 'to smoke') – § 39.1.4.

- b. \**Nerqe-ciq-anka*                      *neqe-t<sub>T</sub>*                      *qimugte-mnun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 feed-FUT-IND.1sg.3pl.              fish-ABS.pl.                      dog-ALL.1sg.pl.

Valency rearrangement is required to allow the *nerqe-* indirective to have the demoted *qimugte-mnun* – i.e. *nerq-utke- ciq-anka*, as in (64).

- (24)              [*Iqva-vi-llr-ata*                      *nalli-inek*]<sub>(T)</sub>              *apertuut-ai*  
 pick-VNrl-PST-REL.3pl.sg.      place-ABM.sg.              point.out-IND.3sg.3pl.  
*arna-m<sub>A</sub>*.  
 woman-REL.sg.  
 ‘The woman pointed out to (introduced) them the place they picked berries.’

The stems *|qanÿ-uc-|* and *|qani-mci-c-|* ‘to tell (s.t.) to’ in (22) contain E<sub>APL</sub> *|+(u)c-|* (§ 35.1.2.1), which adds an R argument, though it is more common to add a T argument (§ 35.1.2.1) and to rearrange valency (§ 35.1.3-i).

iv) A number of denominalizing suffixes (NV; § 38) derive secundative stems with the third argument occurring as an ablative-modalis NP:

- (25) a. *|liÿ-|*                      ‘to supply with N’; § 38(132–134)  
*|aki-liÿ-|*                      ‘to pay (money) to’  
*|uci-liÿ-|*                      ‘to load (with)’ – *|uci-|* ‘load’  
*|im-iÿ-|*                      ‘to put (contents) in’ (< *|imay-liÿ-|*); see § 38.3  
    for deletion of /N-l/ sequence  
*|ac-iÿ-|* ~ *|at-liÿ-|*              ‘to name’ (< *|atÿ-liÿ-|*)  
*|tap-iÿ-|*                      ‘to give (s.t.) along with’ – *|tapÿ-|* ‘thing given  
    along with’  
 – further expanded into the corresponding indirectives: *|aki-li-uc-|*,  
*|uci-li-uc-|*, *|im-i-uc-|*, *|ac-i-uc-|*  
 b. *|+ÿÿ-|*                      ‘to deprive N of’; see deprivative/subtractive  
    verbs (16) through (19)  
*|uci-iÿ-|*                      ‘to unload from R’ – cf. (a) *|uci-liÿ-|*  
*|ila-iÿ-|*                      ‘to remove T from R’ – *|ila-|* ‘part’  
 c. *|+li-|*                      ‘to make N for (s.o.)’  
    – which occurs exclusively after the expletive stem *|pi-|* for ditransi-  
    tive stems; see (35) below.

- (26) a. *Acir-aa*                      *tanqik<sub>R</sub>*                      *erner-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 name-IND.3sg.3sg.      light.ABS.sg.              day-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He (God) called the light “day”.’

- b. [*Aata-ll-ma<sub>G</sub>*            *atr-anek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 Fa-PST-REL.1sg.sg. name-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*acir-yug-yaaq-aqa*            *irnia-qa<sub>R</sub>*.  
 name-DES-but-IND.1sg.sg. child-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I would like to give my child my late father’s name.’  
 – cf. but not \*[*Aata-ll-ma atr-anek*] ***pi-lir-yug-yaaq-aqa irnia-qa***.
- (27) ***Akilir-aqa***            *qul-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 pay-IND.1sg.3sg. ten-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I paid him [R] ten dollars.’
- (28) ***Imir-aa***            *saaskaq<sub>R</sub>*            [*kuuvia-mek amler-mek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 fill-IND.3sg.3sg. cup.ABS.sg. coffee-ABM.sg. much-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She filled the cup with lots of coffee.’
- cf. indirective (57) *imi-ut-aa* with valency rearrangement (§ 35.1.3).
- (29) *Qanta-qa<sub>S=R</sub>*            ***tapi-llru-uq***            *akuta-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 plate.ABS.1sg.sg. give-PST-IND.3sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 ‘My plate was returned (given back to) with some ice cream.’
- (30) ***Ilair-aa***            *qaltaq<sub>R</sub>*            *emer-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 remove-IND.3sg.3sg. bucket.ABS.sg. water-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She removed part of the water from the bucket.’
- (31) ***Ene-li-at***            *nutara-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>  
 house-make-IND.3pl.3sg. new-ABM.sg.  
 (~ *pi-yug-yaaqe-llr-anek*<sub>(T)</sub>            *ak’anun*)  
 thing-DES-but-VNrl-ABM.3pl.sg. long.time  
 ‘They are building him a new house (~ a house that he had wanted for a long time)’.

– which could be considered a ditransitive construction with the stranded NP (from *ene nutaraq* ‘new house’) serving as secundative T, as if ‘they [A] are house-building him [R] a new one (~ one he had wanted for a long time) [(T)]’

v) Bivalent *|pi-|* (§ 10.3.1, 34.7-i, -iv) may be responsible for secundative ditransitive stems:

- (32) a. ***Pi-tu-arput***            *tau-na<sub>R</sub>*            *maklag-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 do-CNS-IND.1pl.3sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. seal-ABM.sg.  
 ‘We call that (animal) a “maklak” (bearded seal).’



- b. *Pi-tu-arput*                      *maklag-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>  
do-CNS-IND.1pl.3sg.    seal-ABM.sg.  
'We always give him [R] bearded seal.'
- (33) *kuik*                      [*linraya-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>    *pi-aq-luku*]  
river.ABS.sg.    pl.n.-ABM.sg.    do-CUS-APP.3sg.  
'(one/they) call the river "linrayaq"  
– see § 51(240).
- (34) [*Assi-lria-mek*                      *Allraku-kegtaar-mek*]<sub>(T)</sub>    *pi-amci!*  
good-VNrl-ABM.sg.    year-good-ABM.sgh.    do-IND.1sg.2pl.  
'(I wish) Happy New Year to you!'

The nominal *|pi-|* followed by a verbalizing suffix also serves as a secundative ditransitive suffix.

Compare the following with (31) consisting of the *ene-li-at* accompanied by ablative-modalis NP *nutara-mek*:

- (35) *Kass'a-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *Nuk'aq<sub>R</sub>*                      *pi-li-at*  
white.man-REL.pl.    p.n.ABS.pl.    PI-make-IND.3pl.3sg.  
*ene-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
house-ABM.sg.  
'The white men are building a house for Nuk'aq.'

However the *|pi-|* seems not to be responsible for ditransitive stems with such verbalizing suffixes as *|-liy-|* (25a) or *|+tuŷ-|* 'to eat' (§ 38.2). Thus, the following is ungrammatical or a baby talk:

- (36)        \*?*neqmek pi-tur-tuq* for *neq-tur-tuq* 'he is eating some fish'.

## 1.2. Indirective

The list below includes primary indirective stems:

- (37) a. *|akuŷc-|* 'to dip, put (into liquid)', *|apiŷtuŷ-|* 'to introduce (to), point out (to)', *|ciŷi-|* 'to give a push', *|iki-|* 'to put into (container, vehicle)', *|iŷi-|* 'to put, place (on)', *|iŷc-|* 'to throw away (to)', *|imy-|* 'to fold up into', *|ini-|* 'to hang (to)', *|kiŷ-|* 'to sharpen (a knife) on',

|*mani-*| [CK/T] ‘to show (to), put (on stove)’,<sup>3</sup> |*naivi-*| ‘to transfer (by pouring) (to)’, |*nazvay-*| ‘to show (to)’ (cf. secundative [Y] |*nazvic-*| ‘to show to’), |*nipic-*| ‘to stick (to)’, |*pituy-*| ‘to tie, fasten, chain (to)’, |*tuni-*|<sup>4</sup> ‘to give/sell (to)’,

b. |*nalunaiy-*| ‘to explain, show, instruct (to)’.

Two indirective stems |*tuni-*| ‘to give/sell (to)’ and |*nazvay-*| ‘to show (to)’ in (a) are illustrated in (5), (6) in comparison with the secundative ones (2), (4).

The stem |*nalunaiy-*| (from |*nalu-*| ‘not to know’) in (b) may have a nominal clause in the T function:

(38) *Nallunair-aa*                      *angut-mun*<sub>(R)</sub>                      [*qaillun*  
 explain-IND.3sg.3sg.man-ALL.sg.                      how  
*akuta-li-neq*]<sub>T</sub>  
 ice.cream-make.for-VNnm.ABS.sg.

‘She told the man how to make ice cream (for someone).’

cf. derived (valency-modified) secundative (58), (59) *nallunair-ut-aa* ‘she explained (s.t.) to him’.

If indirective R means a direction rather than a recipient or a beneficiary, the demoted R argument NP in the following may be replaced by an adverbial allative demonstrative as an adjunct like *pi-a-vet* (up-ALL) ‘up there’:

- 
3. The semantics of |*mani-*| in Greenlandic may be of help in understanding its content in CAY: compare the Greenlandic *mani-vaa sila-mut*<sub>(R)</sub> (show-IND.3sg.sg. air-ALL.sg.) ‘he airs it, spreads it out (to dry)’ (Schultz-Lorenzen 1927: 134).
4. It is interesting to note that Greenlandic |*tuni-*|, which corresponds with CAY indirective |*tuni-*|, is a secundative stem (Fortescue 1984 : 88–89) and that the applicative extended |*tunni-ut-*| is indirective (though, by contrast, the stem is indirective in Inuktitut, the neighboring Eastern dialect to Greenlandic, just as in CAY):

a. *Niisi*<sub>R</sub>                      *aningaasa-nik*<sub>(T)</sub>                      *tuni-vaa*.  
 p.n.ABS.sg.    money-INS.pl.                      give-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He gave money to Niisi.’

b. *aningaasa-t*<sub>T</sub>                      *Niisi-mut*<sub>(R)</sub>                      *tunni-up-pai*.  
 money-ABS.pl.    p.n.-ALL.sg.                      give-E-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘He gave the money to Niisi.’

This corresponds with CAY a. *cikir-(aa)* and b. *tun-(ai)* respectively. In CAY the corresponding applicative \*|*tun-ut-*| is not attested, while |*ciki-uc-*| has four arguments with an added beneficiary. The secundative CAY |*cikiy-*| seems not to be attested in Greenlandic nor, for that matter, in any other Eskimo languages (Fortescue et al. 1994), leaving a puzzle as to whether the CAY stem is an innovation or an archaic retention.

- (39) *Ellī-a* [kaminia-m<sub>G</sub> qai-nganun]<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 put-IND.3sg.3sg. stove-REL.sg. surface-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘She put it [T] on top of the stove.’

Derived indirective stems include the following, cf. derived secundatives in (22). Group (b) is denominal.

- (40) a. |aḡuq-utki-| ‘to distribute (to/among)’, |kaiḡa-tki-| ‘to request (to)’,  
 |kuvī-| ~ |kuv-utki-| ‘to spill (into)’, |qanḡ-utki-| ‘to tell (to)’, |milqa-uc-|  
 ‘to throw (at)’, |tuyū-qī-| ‘to send (to)’ / |tuyū-uc-| ‘to order for’,  
 |taḡiḡ-cīc-| ‘to show (to)  
 – see 35.1.2 and § 35.1.3-ii for more applicative extended inductive  
 stems, i.e. (43)  
 b. |īla-kī-| ‘to add (to)’ cf. (68) – see also (25a) for denominal |aki-li-uc-|  
 ‘to pay’, |uci-li-uc-| ‘to load’, |im-i-uc-| ‘to put in’, |aci-uc-| ‘to  
 name’.

The stem |taḡiḡ-cīc-| ‘to show (to)’ in (a) is obviously a derivative also, given that the |-cīc-| (~post-vocalic |-vkaḡ-| as in *nere-vkar-aa* above) is a productive causative (complex transitive; § 40.2.1) suffix. Thus *tanger-cet-* ‘A let A see P’, as with any causative complex transitives, has two readings (a) and (b) in (41) with two different demotions, named as transitive 1 and transitive 2 below, for convenience (§ 40), with two different demotions (a, b). However, |taḡiḡcīc-| may also be a lexicalized indirective stem meaning ‘A to show T (to R)’. Thus, it can only have (d) with allative demotion, but not (c) with the ablative-modalistic demotion:

- (41) a. *Tanger-cet-aa* arnaq<sub>R</sub> sass’sa-mek<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 see-A’.let-IND.3sg.3sg. woman.ABS.sg. watch.ABM.sg.  
 – transitive 1  
 b. *Tanger-cet-aa* arna-mun<sub>(R)</sub> sass’aq<sub>T</sub>.  
 see-A’.let-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-ALL.sg. watch.ABS.sg.  
 – transitive 2  
 ‘He let the woman see (a) *a* / (b) *the* watch.’  
 c. \**Tangercet-aa* arnaq sass’sa-mek.  
 d. *Tangercet-aa* arna-mun<sub>(R)</sub> sass’aq<sub>T</sub>.  
 show-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-ALL.sg. watch.ABS.sg.  
 ‘He showed the watch to the woman.’

1.2.1. *Applicative extended*

This involves a fair number of indirective stems that are derivatives with the applicative suffix  $|+(u)c-$  (§ 39.4), which adds  $E_{APL}$  argument, either with monovalent, bivalent, or trivalent primary verbs. The applicative suffix has a wide range of semantic functions covering the recipient, goal/destination, beneficiary, comitative, etc.,<sup>5</sup> and, importantly, shows different alignment patterns between recipient E and non-recipient roles. Extended trivalent stems (from bivalents) with recipient-like E behave like indirective ditransitives (with allative demotion), contrasted with ones in a non-recipient E role (with ablative-modal demotion). Thus, it is possible that, unless the E argument is explicit, there may be ambivalence, that is, between a recipient reading and a non-recipient one.

- (42) a.  $|aytu-uc-$  ‘to touch (to)’ –  $|aytuy-$  ‘to touch’  
 $|akuy-uc-$  ‘to mix (into)’ –  $|akuc-$  ‘to mix’  
 $|kap-uc-$  ‘to stick, stab (to)’ –  $|kapi-$  ‘to stab’  
 $|nip-uc-$  ‘to stick (to)’ –  $|nipic-$  ‘to stick’  
 $|uty-uc-$  ‘to return (to)’ –  $|utiyc-$  ‘to return’  
 b.  $|tai-c-$  ‘to bring (to)’ –  $|tai-$  ‘to come over’  
 $|patu-c-$  ‘to cover (on)’ –  $|patu-$  ‘to cover on’; see § 7-fn.3  
 for  $|paluc-$  ‘to close’  
 $|ciqi-c-$  ‘to damp, pour out (to)’ –  $|ciqi-$  ‘to bail, scoop out’  
 – note that  $/-c-/$  in (b) is not from the causative  $|c-$  but from applicative  $|+(u)c-$  with regular postvocalic  $/u/$  deletion.

Derived stems are indirective:

- (43) *Nep-ut-aqa* *kaliqaq<sub>T</sub>* *kalika-mun<sub>(R=E)</sub>*.  
 stick-E-IND.1sg.3sg. paper.ABS.sg. paper-ALL.sg.  
 ‘I stuck the paper to a/the paper.’  
 cf. *Kalikaq<sub>S=T</sub>* *nep-ut-uq* *kalika-mun<sub>(R=E)</sub>*.  
 paper.ABS.sg. stick-E-IND.3sg. paper-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The paper is stuck to the paper.’ – passive.
- (44) *Kap-ut-aa* *murak<sub>T</sub>* *nuna-mun<sub>(R=E)</sub>*.  
 stab-E-IND.3sg.3sg. wood.ABS.sg. ground-ALL.sg.  
 ‘He poked the stick into the ground.’ [YED 189]

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5. By contrast, the other very productive applicative  $E_{ADV} |+yi-$  (§ 39.5), which is only adversative (adding no recipient), does not derive ditransitive (indirective) stems.

- (45) *Akuy-ut-aa* *uquq<sub>T</sub>* *akuta-mun<sub>(R=E)</sub>*.  
 mix-E-IND.3sg.3sg. oil.ABS.sg. ice.cream-ALL.sg.  
 ‘She is mixing seal oil *into the ice cream*.’
- (46) *Tai-s-gu* *wang-nun<sub>(R=E)</sub>* *irnia-n<sub>T</sub>*.  
 bring-E-OPT.2sg.3sg. 1sg.-ALL child-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) bring your (sg.) child to me.’

By contrast, some derived stems have the E argument which is a beneficiary (or a company), with the P demoted to the ablative-modalis:

- (47) *Keni-ut-aa* / *Ner-ut-aa* *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 cook-for-IND.3sg.3sg. eat-with-IND.3sg.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*angun<sub>E</sub>*.  
 man.ABL.sg.  
 ‘She is cooking fish *for* the man / She is eating fish *with* the man.’<sup>6</sup>  
 cf. *kenir-aa* *neqa<sub>P</sub>*  
 cook-IND.3sg.3sg. fish.ABS.sg.  
 ‘she is cooking fish’.
- (48) *Aana-ni<sub>E</sub>* *iqva-ut-aa* *atsalugpia-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 Mo-ABS.3Rsg.sg. pick.berry-for-IND.3sg.3sg. cloudberry-ABM.pl.  
 ‘She is picking cloudberry *for* her mother.’
- (49) a. *Nalaq-ut-aanga* *irnia-ma<sub>A</sub>* *sass’a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 find-for-IND.3sg.1sg. child-REL.1sg.sg. watch-ABM.sg.  
 ‘My child found a watch *for me* [E].’  
 – see (55) with further (complex transitive) extension.  
 b. *Kipuy-ut-aa* *angva-mek<sub>(P)</sub>* *qetunra-ni<sub>E</sub>*.  
 buy-for-IND.3sg.3sg. boat-ABM.sg. So-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He bought his son a boat.’ [YED 208]

The  $|+(u)c-|$  suffix may also occur with impersonal patientive verbs (§ 34.3) to yield indirective ditransitives:

- (50)  $|ciku-c-|$  ‘to freeze to’ –  $|ciku-|$  ‘A<sub>IMP</sub> to freeze’  
 $|kinÿ-uc-|$  ‘to get dried and stuck to’ –  $|kinÿ-|$  ‘A<sub>IMP</sub> to dry’.

6. Note that this behaves exactly the same way as the adversative in that the P argument is demoted to ablative-modalis:

*Kaviar-e-m<sub>A</sub>* *ner-i-anga* *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 fox-EV-REL.sg. eat-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The fox ate fish of mine / from me (so I could not eat).’

The transitive verbs are quasi-equivalent to the intransitive with passivization by A<sub>IMP</sub> deletion (§ 35.2.1.1):

- (51) a. **Ciku-t-aa** *amiik<sub>T</sub>* *nater-mun<sub>(R=E)</sub>*.  
 freeze-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. door.ABS.sg. floor-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The door is frozen *to the floor*; it (impersonal) froze the door to the floor.’
- b. **Ciku-t-uq** *amiik<sub>S</sub>* *nater-mun<sub>(R=E)</sub>*.  
 freeze-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. door.ABS.sg. floor-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The door is frozen *to the floor*.’
- (52) a. **Kinru-ut-aa** *ciissiq<sub>T</sub>* *kalika-nun<sub>(R=E)</sub>*.  
 dry-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. bug.ABS.sg. paper-ALL.sg.  
 ‘It (impersonal) dried the bug and stuck it onto the paper.’
- b. **Kinr-ut-uq** *ciissiq<sub>S</sub>* *kalika-nun<sub>(E=R)</sub>*.  
 dry-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. bug.ABS.sg. paper-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The bug got dried and stuck onto the paper.’

Every valency increase requires a demotion: A quadrivalent applicative from a trivalent verb, for instance, requires two demotions.

- (53) **Apy-ut-aanga** *kass’a-mun<sub>(R)</sub>* *calissuut-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 ask-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. white.man-ALL.sg. tool-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He asked the white man for me about the tool.’
- (54) **muir-i-anga** *emer-mek<sub>(P)</sub>* *qalta-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 fill-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. water-ABM.sg. bucket-ALL.sg.  
 ‘She [A] filled water into the bucket *for me* (or *on me* depending upon the situation).’ – from secundative |*muiy̆*-| ‘to fill’.

This is also the case with the following complex transitive construction with (49) embedded, making it a quadrivalent verb, hence with the ALL demotion of the relative case *irnia-ma* as well.

- (55) **Nalaq-ut-ni-anga** *irnia-mnun<sub>(A)</sub>* *sass’a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 find-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.say-IND.3sg.1sg. child-ALL.1sg.sg. watch-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He said that my child found a watch for me.’

### 1.2.2. Variable stems

A few ditransitives may be either secundative or indirective, which is the case with (37a) |*kuvi-*| ‘to spill’, and possibly (to some speakers) (42b) |*tai-c-*| ‘to bring s.t. to s.o.’:

- (56) a. *Arnaq<sub>R</sub>*                      *emer-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*                      *kuv-aa*.  
 woman.ABS.sg.                      water-ABM.sg.                      spill-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He spilled water on the woman.’
- b. *Emeq<sub>T</sub>*                              *arna-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*                      *kuv-aa*.  
 water.ABS.sg.                      woman-ALL.sg.                      spill-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He spilled the water on a/the woman.’  
 – the latter may imply intention.

However, the ambiguity of a variable stem, as above, can be disambiguated with the argument-rearranging composite suffix VVsm, that is, by T promoting  $|+(u)iki-|$  or R promoting  $|+viki-|$  which follows (§ 35.1.3-ii; see also § 39.7).

### 1.3. Valency rearrangements

There are a few VVsm suffixes that rearrange the type of ditransitives, the most common of which is:

i) Applicative  $|+(u)c-|$  (§ 39.4): The suffix does valency rearrangement (as well as addition) as shown in § 35.1.1-iii and § 35.1.2.1:

- Indirectives from secundative:*
- (57)  $|ciki-uc-|$                       *ciki-ut-aa*                      ‘he gives it (to s.o.)’  
 cf. secundative (7a) *cikir-aa*                      ‘he supplies her (with s.t.); gives  
 (s.t.) to her’
- $|milqa-uc-|$                       *milqa-ut-aa*                      ‘he throws it (at)’  
 cf. secundative (22) *milqar-aa*                      ‘he throws (s.t.) at it’.
- (58) *Imi-ut-aa*                              [*kuuviaq*                      *amleq*]<sub>T</sub>  
 fill-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.                      coffee.ABS.sg.                      much.ABS.sg.  
*saaska-mun<sub>(R=E)</sub>*.  
 cup-ALL.3sg.  
 ‘She filled the cup with lots of coffee.’  
 cf. secundative (7a)/(25a) *imir-aa*.

- Secundatives from indirectives* – much less uncommon than the former:
- (59) a.  $|nallunaiy-uc-|$                       *nallunair-ut-aa*                      ‘she explained (s.t.) to him’  
 cf. *nallunair-aa*                              ‘she explained it (to s.o.)’
- b.  $|kipuy-uc-|$                               *kipuy-ut-aa*                      ‘she buys (s.t.) for him’  
 cf. *kiput-aa*                                      ‘she buys it (for s.o.)’.

The argument rearrangement may trigger the change of object number in the verb – e.g. 3pl. into 3sg., as below:

- (60) a. *Qivi-ut-ai* *tan'gerpi-i-t<sub>T</sub>* *akuta-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 add-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3pl. crowberry-EV-ABS.pl. ice.cream-ALL.sg.  
 'She added the crowberries to the ice cream.'
- b. *Qivir-aa* *akutaq<sub>R</sub>* *tan'gerpag-nek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 add-IND.3sg.3sg. ice.cream.ABS.sg. crowberry-ABM.pl.  
 'She added crowberries to the ice cream.'  
 – secundative stem |*qiviŷ-*| in (7a).

ii) This argument rearrangement, however, is more commonly made by the composite suffix (a) |+(*u*)*tiki-*| lit. 'to be an instrument for' and (b) |+<sub>1</sub>*viki-*| lit. 'to be a place for –ing' (§ 35.6.1, § 35.6.2, § 39.7); cf. the relativizer |+(*u*)*t-*| and |+*viŷ-*| (§ 17.6) and the transitive relational verb NVrv |<sub>-1</sub>*ki-*| 'have – as' (§ 37. 2). More details in § 39.7 and § 39.7.3 in particular.

These two composite suffixes are used for disambiguating variable stems.

ii-a) The first composite suffix |+(*u*)*tiki-*| is responsible for rearranging secundative stems into indirectives, promoting T argument, while the second |+<sub>1</sub>*viki-*| rearranges indirectives into secundatives, promoting the R argument. Thus secundative |*apic-*| 'to ask' vs. indirective |*apy-utki-*| and (57) |*ciki-uc-*| equivalent to |*ciki-utiki-*|.<sup>7</sup> Note that the recipient occurs in the allative case:

- (61) *Ciki-utek-aqa* [*qimugta tungu-lria*]<sub>T</sub>  
 give-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg. dog.ABS.sg. black-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*irnia-mnun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 child-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 'I gave the black dog to my child.'
- cf. *Cikir-aqa* *irnia-qa<sub>R</sub>* [*qimugte-mek*  
 give-IND.1sg.3sg. child-ABS.1sg.sg. dog-ABM.sg.  
*tungu-lria-mek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 black-VNrl.ABM.sg.  
 'I gave a black dog to my child.'
- (62) *Elitnaur-utk-aqa* *qaner-yaraq<sub>T</sub>* [*angute-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 teach-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg. speak-VNnm.ABS.sg. man-REL.sg.  
*pani-anun*]<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 Da-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 'I am teaching the language to the man's daughter.'

7. As a matter of fact, |*ciki-uc-*| with rearranged arguments may not be used by many speakers (in favour of |*ciki-utki-*|), but the derivation is certainly reflected in the word *cikir-tu-uc-araq* (< |*cikiŷ-tuŷ-uc-caŷaŷ-*| 'give-repeatedly-E<sub>APL</sub>-way' – 'time for reciprocal giving'), which refers to the traditional ceremony of *petugtaq* (referred to as 'asking festival'; § 13-fn.1).



cf. *Elitnaur-aqa*                      *qaner-yara-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>                      [*angute-m*<sub>G</sub>  
 teach-IND.1sg.3sg.    speak-VNnm-ABM.sg.    man-REL.sg.  
*pani-a*]<sub>R</sub>.  
 Da-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 'I am teaching a language to the man's daughter.'

(63) *Payug-utk-aa*    *arna-m*<sub>A</sub>  
 'bring(food)-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.    woman-REL.sg.  
*akutaq*<sub>T</sub>    *ui-minun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 ice.cream.ABS.sg.    Hu-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
 'The woman is bringing the ice cream to her husband.'

cf. *Payugt-aa*    *arna-m*<sub>A</sub>    *ui-ni*<sub>R</sub>  
 'bring(food)-IND.3sg.3sg.    woman-REL.sg.    Hu-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*akuta-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 'The woman is bringing ice cream to her husband.'

In opposition to the ungrammatical (23b), the valency arrangement makes the following into a grammatical sentence (with demoted R) beside (23a) with demoted T:

(64) *Nerq-utke-ciq-anka*    *neqe-t*<sub>T</sub>    *qimugte-mnun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 feed-VVsm-FUT-IND.1sg.3pl.    fish-ABS.pl.    dog-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 'I will feed the fish to my dog.'

The following example, starting with (a), has (b) where the applicative |+(u)c-| adds an R argument, and (c) where |+(u)tiki-| adds a T argument, with a difference in its (in)definiteness:

(65) a. *qanr-aa*    'he said it'  
 speak-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 b. *Qanr-ut-aanga*    [*tuntu-mek*    *tange-ll-minek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 speak-APL-IND.3sg.1sg.    moose-ABM.sg.    see-VNrl-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 'He told me [R] about a moose he saw [T]'  
 c. *Qanr-utk-aa*    [*tuntuq*    *tange-ll-ni*]<sub>T</sub>  
 tell-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.    moose.ABS.sg.    see-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*wang-nun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 1sg.-ALL  
 'He told me about *the* moose he saw.'

A derived stem with the compositive suffix may be detransitivized (reflexive) as in (84b).

ii-b) The other composite suffix |+viki-| rearranges indirective stems to secundative status by promoting R-argument. The following example, with indirective |*mani-*| 'to show; put it (on stove)', is used in the Coast [CK] and Tundra dialects:

- (66)     *Mani-vik-aa*                             *angun*                     *pani-minek*.  
           show-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.     man.ABS.sg.             Da-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
           'He showed his own daughter to the man.'  
       cf. indirective *mani-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.) 'he shows it/her (to s.o.)'.

The viable stems which may be either secundative or indirective (as stated), like (56) |*kuvi-*| 'to spill', are disambiguated with the argument rearranging composite suffix VVsm |+(u)tiki-| and |+viki-|:

- (67) a. *Kuve-vik-aa*                             *arnaq<sub>R</sub>*                     *mer-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.     for (56a)  
           spill-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.     woman.ABS.sg.     water-ABM.sg.  
           'He spilled water on the woman.'  
       b. *Kuv-utek-aa*                             *emeq<sub>T</sub>*                     *arna-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*.     for (56b)  
           spill-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.     water.ABS.sg.     woman-ALL.sg.  
           'He spilled the water on a/the woman.'  
       cf. *kuv-aa*                             *ca(a)askaq*  
           spill-IND.3sg.3sg.     cup.ABS.sg.

The transitive relational NVrv |-ki-| 'have – as' (§ 37.2) itself yields an indirective ditransitive beside a bivalent relational verb:

- (68) a. *ila-k-aa*                     i. 'he is related to her, she is his relative'  
   ii. 'he adds it (to s.o.)' – |*ila-*| 'part'  
       b. *paltuu-ni<sub>T</sub>*                     *iqair-a-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
           parka-ABS.3Rsg.sg.     wash-VNrl-laundry-ALL.pl.  
           *ila-k-luku*  
           part-have.as-APP.3sg.  
           '(he) adding his own parka to the laundry'.

#### 1.4. Valency increase (extension) of ditransitives

Like all other stems (monovalent, bivalent, whether primary or extended), trivalent stems may be subject to extension into multi-valent stems, one argument after another, by VVsm and/or VVcm (as stated). Different argument combinations of multi-valent (quadri-, penta-valent) verbs with (or without) ditransitive stems are illustrated in § 30.3.1.

The following is an example from the secundative ditransitive *|apic-|* ‘to ask’, which illustrates the extension of a rather synthetic word with grammatical complexity into a hexavalent verb with benefactive E, impersonal A, and complex-transitive A’:

- (69) *Apy-ut-narqe-ñi-llru-yugnarq-atnga* *nulia-vnun*<sub>(R)</sub>  
 ask-E<sub>BNF</sub>-A<sub>IMP</sub>-A’.say-PST-INF-IND.3pl.1sg. Wi-ALL.2sg.sg.  
*akuta-li-yara-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 ice.cream-make-VNm-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I guess they [A’] said that they (themselves [A’]) or someone [A]  
*should* [A<sub>IMP</sub>] ask your(sg.) wife for me [E] about how to make Eski-  
 mo ice cream [T].’  
 – with a nominal clause in demoted T function (cf. § 35.2.2).

With argument reduction, it is a transitive verb with two core arguments (A’ and E<sub>BNF</sub>; ‘they’ and ‘me’) marked in its inflection, despite its multivalency. The two readings – i) ‘they (themselves) or ii) someone’ – reflect different argument reductions:

- (69)’ i. (T) abm (R) all E abs A-A’ rel A<sub>IMP</sub> [rel]  
 ii. (T) abm (R) all E abs (A) all A<sub>IMP</sub> [all] A’ rel.

## 2. Syntactic properties

### 2.1. Detransitivization

Like practically all transitive verbs, ditransitives may be shifted into an intransitive inflection with only one argument indexed through the processes of argument reduction, i.e. suffix-derived antipassivisation (P demotion), passivization (but not medialization) as well as reflexive-reciprocalization (see § 34.1 and § 34.2).<sup>8</sup>

With a few exceptions, all ditransitive stems are patientive in matters of detransitivization, as is the case with patientive bivalent (monotransitive) stems (§ 34.2).<sup>9</sup>

8. Cf. Jacobson (1994: 115–116).

9. Some ditransitive stems – *|apic-|* ‘to ask’, *|iyay-|* ‘to write to’, *|kiu-|* ‘to answer’ – show an idiosyncrasy in their detransitivization in that they have allative demotion, but not passivization:

a. *apt-aa* *kass’aq*<sub>R</sub> *atr-ane*<sub>(T)</sub>  
 ask-IND.3sg.3sg.white.man.ABS.sg. name-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘he asks the white man his name’

2.1.1. *Passivization*

Passivization of ditransitive verbs is brought about by zero-derived A deletion, so the A argument can never be explicit with a full NP (in any of the nominal cases). The target of passivization is the absolutive argument, that is, the T in indirective constructions (70) through (72), and the R in secundative ones (73) through (77). The other argument, i.e. R or T, can occur in the respective oblique case. An inanimate T argument can be passivized.

- (70) *nallunair-tuq* 'it [T] has been explained'  
 explain-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *nallunair-aa* 'he [A] explained it [T] (to [(R)])' – see (37b).
- (71) *Neqerrluk aru-ma-lria egt-uq.*  
 dried.fish.ABS.sg. rotten-VNrl.ABS.sg. throw-IND.3sg.  
 'The rotten dried fish was thrown away.'
- (72) *Kalikaq<sub>S=T</sub> nep-ut-uq kalika-mun<sub>(R)</sub>.*  
 paper.ABS.sg. stick-E-IND.3sg. paper-ALL.sg.  
 'The paper is stuck to the paper.'  
 – derived indirective *[nip-uc-]* 'to stick s.t. (to)'  
 cf. *Nep-ut-aqa kaliqaq<sub>T</sub> kalika-mun<sub>(R)</sub>.*  
 stick-E-IND.1sg.3sg. paper.ABS.sg. paper-ALL.sg.  
 'I stuck the paper to a/the paper.'
- (73) a. *Mingug-tuq kelipaq<sub>S=R</sub> massla-mek<sub>(T)</sub>.*  
 paint-IND.3sg. bread.ABS.sg. butter-ABM.sg.  
 'The bread is spread with butter.'  
 cf. *mingug-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) *kelipaq<sub>R</sub> massla-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 'he buttered the bread'

- 
- ≡ *apt-uq* (IND.3sg.) *kass'a-mun<sub>(R)</sub>* (ALL.sg.) *atr-ane<sub>k(T)</sub>*
- b. *igar-aa tak-tua-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 write-IND.3sg.3sg. long-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 'he is writing her a long letter'
- c. *igar-tuq nulia-minun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 write-IND.3sg. Wi-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
 'he is writing to his wife'
- d. *kiu-gaa arnaq<sub>R</sub> apyut-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 answer-IND.3sg.3sg. woman.ABS.sg. question-ABM.sg.  
 'he answered the woman a question'  
 ≡ *kiu-guq* (IND.3sg.) *apyut-mek<sub>(T)</sub> arna-mun<sub>(R)</sub>* (ALL.sg.)

- b. *Mingug-tuq*     *angya-a<sub>S=R</sub>*     *ak'a*.  
 paint-IND.3sg. boat-ABS.3sg.sg. already  
 'His boat has been painted already.'
- (74) *Ak'a*     *angun<sub>S=R</sub>*     *ciki-llru-uq*     *neq-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 already man.ABS.sg. give-PST-IND.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 'The man was already given (s.t.)'  
 cf. (78) and (79) with the same secundative stem. The *ciki-llru-uq* is nearly equivalent to *tune-vike-llru-uq* 'he was given/sold' with argument rearrangement (§ 35.1.3-ii).
- (75) *May'a-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*     *apr-uma-lria*  
 p.n.-ABM.sg. call-PSV-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 'one who is called May'aq'  
 – relativization of the passivized ditransitive.
- (76) *Nerq-uq*     *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 feed-IND.3sg. ice.cream.ABM.sg.  
 'He [R] is being fed ice cream.'  
 cf. *nerq-aa akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*     'she [A] is feeding him [R] ice cream'  
*nerq-i-uq*     'she is feeding someone' (antipassive).
- (77) [*Nuk'a-nku-t<sub>S=R</sub>*     [*mikelngur-mek*     *ila-meggnek<sub>(T)</sub>*]  
 p.n.-family-REL.pl. child-ABM.sg. part-ABM.3Rpl.sg.  
*ilangart-ut*.  
 deplete-IND.3pl.  
 'Nukaq's family lost (lit. was depleted of) their one child.'  
 – deprivative stem (16).

Compare the following pair with two types of ditransitive verbs expanded with A<sub>IMP</sub> adding VVsm |*+nayqi-*| (§ 39.2, § 43).

- (78) a. *Cikir-narq-uq*     *angun<sub>S=R</sub>*     *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 give-should-IND.3sg. man.ABS.sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 'The man must be given some ice cream.'
- b. *Tune-narq-uq*     *akutaq<sub>S=T</sub>*     *angut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 give-should-IND.3sg. ice.cream.ABS.sg. man-ALL.sg.  
 'The ice cream must be given to the man.'

The same contrast is seen in the modal marker |*+(y)aykau-*|, which is a composite suffix with the passive relativizer |*+(y)ay-*| (§ 17.4.2, § 43):

- (79) a. *cikir-arkau-guq* 'he [R] is supposed to be given (s.t.)'  
 b. *tun'-arkau-guq* 'it [T] is supposed to be sold/given (to s.o.); it is something to be sold/given (to s.o.).'

The following with the indirective |*mani-*| 'to show, display, put (on, e.g. stove)' may have two readings, passive (a) and reflexive (b; § 35.2.1.3):

- (80) *mani-uq*  
 put.on-IND.3sg.  
 i. 'it has been put (on the stove)' – e.g. with *saanik* (kettle.ABS.sg.)  
*kener-mun* (fire-ALL.sg.)  
 ii. 'he shows himself' – with *ellmi-nek* (3Rsg.ABM.)  
 cf. *mani-a* 'he puts it (on to), shows it'  
 put.on-IND.3sg.3sg.

However, passivization (a) of the T argument of the indirective construction appears less frequently.

### 2.1.2. Antipassivization

Secundative and indirective ditransitives may be subject to suffix-derived antipassivization with VVsm |+*yi*<sub>2</sub>-| or |-*kiji-*|, which promotes the A and demotes the R and the T into (81a) and (81b) respectively, hence a neutral pattern with the same alignment of S(=A)abs Tabm Rabl:

- (81) a. *Nasvic-i-uq* *sass'a-minek*<sub>(T)</sub> *wang-nun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 b. *Nasvag-i-uq* *sass'a-minek*<sub>(T)</sub> *wang-nun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 show-APS-IND.3sg. clock-ABM.3Rsg.sg. 1sg.-ALL  
 'He showed his (own) clock to me.'

Likewise the pair (though with different antipassivizers) from secundative vs. indirective ditransitives, respectively:

- (82) a. *Ciki-qeng-ua* *irnia-mnun*<sub>(R)</sub> [*qimugt-e-mek*  
 give-APS-IND.1sg. child-ALL.1sg.sg. dog-EV-ABM.sg.  
*tungu-lria-mek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 black-PTP-ABM.sg.  
 'I gave a black dog to my child.'  
 b. *Tun-i-uq* *arnaq*<sub>S=A</sub> *akuta-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>  
 give-APS-IND.3sg. woman.ABS.sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
*angut-mun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 man-ALL.sg.  
 'The woman is selling (rather than giving) some ice cream to a/the man.'

- (83) *Naiv-aa* *iqva-ni<sub>T</sub>* *qalta-minun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 pour-IND.3sg.3sg. bicked-ABS.3Rsg.sg. bucket-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘She poured her picked berries into the bucket.’  
 a. *Naiv-i-**uq*** *iqva-minek<sub>(T)</sub>* *qalta-minun<sub>(R)</sub>*. [YED 244] – antipassive  
 b. *Iqva-a<sub>S=T</sub>* *ak’a* *naiv-uq*. – passive  
 ‘Her picked berry is already poured (into s.t.).’

### 2.1.3. Reflexivization

The core argument T or R (thus not secundative T or indirective R) is the target of the process. The derived intransitive subject is the anaphora. Reflexives are obligatorily accompanied by an independent person pronoun in the ablative-modal case:

- (84) a. *Tun-ua<sub>S=A</sub>* *wang-**nek**<sub>(T)</sub>* *Agayut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 give-IND.1sg. 1sg.-ABM. God-ALL.sg.  
 ‘I am giving (voluntarily surrender) *myself* to God.’  
 b. *Ciki-**utek**-ua* *wang-**nek**<sub>(T)</sub>* *Agayut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 give-VVsm-IND.1sg. 1sg.-ABM. God-ALL.sg.  
 ‘I am giving (voluntarily surrender) *myself* to God.’

(a) and (b) are equivalent, but note that (b) from secundative stem requires the valency rearrangement by VVsm |+(u)tiki-| (§ 35.1.3-ii). By contrast, the following is a reflexivization with R argument in the absolutive function, hence the ablative-modal *wang-nek*: The ablative-modal of the appositive phrase [ ] is the original demotion for the secundative:

- (85) *Cikir-**tua**<sub>S=A</sub>* *wang-**nek**<sub>(R)</sub>* [*qimugte-mek* *tungu-lria-mek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 give-IND.1sg. 1sg.-ABM dog-ABM.sg. black-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I gave a black dog to myself.’  
 cf. *cikir-aanga* (give-IND.3sg.1sg.) [*qimugte-**mek*** *tungu-lria-**mek***]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 ‘he gave me a black dog’.

### 2.1.4. Reciprocalization

Possible both with secundative R (86) and with indirective T (87), (88):

- (86) *Angute-k<sub>S=A</sub>* *ellmeg-nun<sub>(R)</sub>* *nasvit-uk*  
 man-ABS.du. 3Rdu-ALL show-IND.3du.  
*pit<sup>(c)</sup>-a-megnek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 catch-VNrl-ABM.3Rdu.pl.  
 ‘The (two) men showed their caught animals *to each other*.’

- (87) *Angute-k*<sub>S=A</sub> *apertur-tuk* *ellmeg-nek*<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 man-ABS.du. introduce-IND.3du. 3Rdu-ABM.  
 ‘The (two) men introduced *each other*.’
- (88) [*John-aa-nku-k* *Mary-a=llu*]<sub>S=A</sub>  
 p.n.-LNK-partner-ABS.du. p.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.=and  
*nasvagt-uk* *ellme-gnek*<sub>(T)</sub> *allaner-mun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 show-IND.3du. 3Rdu.-ABM. stranger-ALL.sg.  
 ‘John and Mary showed each other to the visitor.’

## 2.2. Nominalization

Nominalization is also possible with ditransitive verbs, both secundative and indirective, as with other types of verbs, by means of (VNm) *|-ṭỵ-* (also a relativizer), *|(u)ciỵ-*, and *|+<sub>1</sub>caraỵ-* (§ 18.2), as well as the abstract nominalizer *|-nỵ-* (§ 18.3), which has no person inflection.

In nominalizing ditransitive clauses, the intransitive (passive or anti-passivized) subject, which is to be marked with the absolutive case, occurs in G function (§ 18.1.2.1). It constitutes an attributive phrase with the nominalization head obligatorily inflected with a third person possessor that agrees in number – hence the neutral alignment of ditransitives.

- (89) a. [*Neqe-m*<sub>G=T</sub> *tune-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub> *assir-tuq*.  
 fish-REL.sg. give-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg. good-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Giving fish (to people) is a good thing.’
- b. [*Arrsi-i-m*<sub>G=R</sub> *ciki-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub> *assir-tuq*.  
 poor-EV-REL.sg. give-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg. good-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Giving (s.t.) to a poor (needy) person is a good thing.’
- (90) [*Neqe-m*<sub>G=T</sub> *tune-nia-qe-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub>  
 fish-REL.sg. sell-CSQ.FUT-have.as-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*assi-nrit-uq*.  
 good-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Selling fish is not a good thing.’
- (91) *Qaner-luni* [*ellua-nru-ni-luku*  
 say-APP.3Rsg. good-CMP-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
*ciki-qeng-yaraq*<sub>P=S</sub> *akurtu-ner-mi*]  
 give-APS-VNm-ABS.sg. receive-VNm-LOC.sg.  
 ‘We are told (lit. he says) that to give is better than to receive.’  
 [CAUY 27]



cf. *ellua-nru-uq* (good-CMP-APP.3sg.) *ciki-qeng-yaraq<sub>S</sub>* *akurtu-ner-mi*  
 ‘to give is better than to receive’ – see § 27.3 for the locative-case NP  
 as standard of comparison.

- (92) [*Nallunai-neq* *kass'a-nun<sub>(R)</sub>* [[*u-u-m*  
 explain-VNnm.ABS.sg. white.man-ALL.pl. this-EX-REL.sg.  
*qaner-yara-m*]<sub>G</sub> *qangi-anek<sub>(T)</sub>*]<sub>S</sub> *capernarq-uq*.  
 speak-VNnm-REL.sg. source-ABM.3sg.sg. difficult-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is difficult to explain the meaning of this word to white men.’  
 cf. *nallunair-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) [*u-u-m<sub>G</sub>* *qangi-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.)]<sub>T</sub>  
*kass'a-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 ‘he explained the meaning of this to white men’.

In the following, an antipassivized clause is nominalized with its subject S(=A) being in G function, and the nominal clause is in P function (a) or in demoted P (b) depending upon whether the main clause predicate is transitive or intransitive:

- (93) a. [*Arna-m<sub>G=S</sub>* *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>* *angut-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 woman-REL.sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg. man-ALL.pl.  
*ciki-qeng-uci-a*]<sub>P</sub> *nallu-aqa*.  
 give-APS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 b. [*Arna-m<sub>G=S</sub>* *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>* *angut-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 woman-REL.sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg. man-ALL.pl.  
*ciki-qeng-uci-anek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *nallu-unga*.  
 give-APS-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg. not.know-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I don’t know if/how the woman gave ice cream to the men.’

While all the above constitute cases of intransitive (one argument) nominalization, the following is a transitive (two argument) nominalization where the transitive A is demoted to the allative case (§ 18.1.2.2):

- (94) [*Arna-mun<sub>(A)</sub>* *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>* *angun<sub>R</sub>*  
 woman-ALL.sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg. man-ABS.sg.  
*ciki-uci-a*]<sub>P</sub> *nallu-aqa*.  
 give-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know if (it is) the woman (who) gave ice cream to the men.’

This particular type of nominalization by  $|(u)ci\dot{y}-|$ , as a complement clause for the predicate with  $|nahu-|$ , may have a morphologically embedded construction by means of the ignorative composite suffix  $VVcm$   $|(u)ciit-|$  ‘to be uncertain whether’ (§ 40.2.5):

- (95) *Arna-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>      *akuta-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>      *angun*<sub>R</sub>  
 woman-ALL.sg.    i.c.-ABM.sg.    man.ABS.sg.  
*ciki-uciit-aqa*.  
 give-A'.not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I [A'] don't know if (it is) the woman (who) gave ice cream to the man.'

Note that the A argument in the allative case is parallel to the demotion for the complex transitive 2 (§ 30.2.3, § 40).

The nominal clause of ditransitive verbs is in the G function when preceding a (temporal) location word as its head (and is thus an attributive phrase) to indicate '(after, before, ...) -ing':

- (96) [[*Tune-ll-mi*                      *ellmi-nek*<sub>(T)</sub>]<sub>G</sub>      *kingu-akun*]  
 give-VNnm-REL.3Rsg.sg.    3Rsg.-ABM.      behind-PRL.3sg.sg.  
*iter-t-a-urt-uq*.  
 enter-A-VNrl-INC-IND.3sg.  
 'After surrendering himself (to the police), he became a prisoner.'  
 cf. *tun-llr-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.) *ell-minek* 'his surrendering himself'.

See also (106) for nominalization of a ditransitive clause as complement to a content question by the verb |*apic-*| 'to ask (why)'.  
 See also (106) for nominalization of a ditransitive clause as complement to a content question by the verb |*apic-*| 'to ask (why)'.

### 2.3. Relativization

Example (2) as a secundative construction and its antipassive correspondent are relativized in the following by the (preterite) relativizer |*-l̥y-*| (§ 17.3), which relativizes an absolutive-case NP (S, P, or indirective T). Note that antipassivization in (97b) is necessary to relativize the derived S (from A):

- (97) a. [*arna-m*                      *akuta-mek*                      *ciki-llr-i*]  
 woman-REL.sg.    ice.cream-ABM.sg.    give-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
*angute-t*  
 man-ABS.pl.  
 'the men [R] to whom the woman gave (some) ice cream'  
 b. [*angut-mun*                      *akuta-mek*                      *cikir-i-lleq*]  
 woman-ALL.sg.    ice.cream-ABM.sg.    give-APS-VNrl.ABS.3sg.pl.  
*arnaq*  
 woman.ABS.sg.  
 'the woman [S=A] who gave (some) ice cream to the man'  
 cf. *arnaq cikir-i-llru-uq* (PST-IND.3sg.) *angut-mun akuta-mek*  
 'the woman gave (some) ice cream to the man'.

By contrast, the example (98) has an indirective construction and its antipassive correspondent is relativized by the same relativizer, with different targets of relativization for T ‘ice cream’ in (a) and R ‘woman’ in (b):

- (98) a. [*arna-m*            *angut-nun*            *tune-llr-a*]  
 woman-REL.sg. man-ALL.pl. give-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*akutaq*  
 ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the ice cream [T] that the woman gave/sold to the men’
- b. [*angut-nun*    *akuta-mek*            *tun-i-lleq*]  
 man-ALL.pl. ice.cream-ABM.sg. give-APS-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
*arnaq*  
 woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the woman [S=A] who is selling (rather than giving)<sup>10</sup> ice cream to the men’.

Valency rearrangement by  $|+(u)c-|$  (§ 35.1.3-i) is made on the secundative verb below, to relativize T argument ‘bearded seal’:

- (99) [*Ciki-ute-llr-a*                            *wang-nun*    *maklaar*]<sub>s</sub>  
 supply-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. 1sg.-ALL seal.ABS.sg.  
*tamalku-u-llru-uq.*  
 all-be-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The bearded seal [T] he gave me [R] was whole.’

Other relativizers than  $|-t\ddot{y}-|$  are illustrated, including the intransitive participial  $|-l\ddot{y}iay\ddot{-}|$ , passive relativizer  $|-yay\ddot{-}/-ki\ddot{-}/-ki\ddot{y}ay\ddot{-}|$ , agentive/active relativizer  $|+st-|$ , and oblique relativizers (instrumental)  $|+ut-|$  and (locational)  $|+vi\ddot{y}-|$  (§ 17):

- (100) a. *cikir-i-sta*                            ‘the one [A] who gives (s.t.)’  
 b. *cikir-i-ste-ka*                            ‘the one who gives (s.t.) to me [R]’.
- (101) [*arna-m*            *angut-mun*            *ciki-uti-i*]  
 woman-REL.sg. man-ALL.sg. supply-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*akutaq*  
 ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the ice cream (T) that the woman gave to the man’.

---

10. The antipassive form  $|tun\ddot{-}i-|$  is semantically specialized (‘to sell’).

- (102) a. [*arna-m*                    *akuta-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>                    *ciki-qi-i*]  
 woman-REL.sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg. supply-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
*angute-t*  
 man-ABS.pl.  
 ‘the men (R) to whom the woman is now giving ice cream’
- b. [*arna-m*                    *angut-nun*<sub>(R)</sub>                    *tun-ki-i*]  
 woman-REL.sg. man-ALL.pl. give-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
*akutaq*  
 ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the ice cream (T) that the woman gave to the man’.

#### 2.4. Questions

Any of the three arguments T, R, A (incl. demoted ones) can be transformed into a content question (103) through (106) with an ignorative word and an interrogative-mood verb which is required by that type of question. This stands in contrast to the polar question in (107) below, which is characterized by the interrogative particle *qaa*. See § 5.3.1 for questions in general.

- (103) a. ***Ki-a***<sub>A</sub>                    *cikir-tau*                    *angun*<sub>R</sub>  
 who-REL.sg. give-INT.3sg.3sg. man.ABS.sg.  
*akuta-mek*<sub>(T)?</sub>  
 ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Who gave ice cream to the man?’
- b. ***Ki-na***<sub>R</sub>                    *cikir-tau*                    *arna-m*<sub>A</sub>  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. give-INT.3sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg.  
*akuta-mek*<sub>(T)?</sub>  
 ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 ‘To whom did the woman give ice cream?’
- c. ***Ca-mek***<sub>(T)</sub>                    *cikir-tau*                    *arna-m*<sub>A</sub>                    *angun*<sub>R?</sub>  
 what-ABM.sg. give-INT.3sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘What did the woman give to the man?’
- d. [***Nali-at***                    *arna-t*<sub>G</sub>]<sub>A</sub>                    *cikir-tau*  
 which-REL.3pl.sg. woman-REL.pl. give-INT.3sg.3sg.  
*angun*<sub>R</sub>                    *akuta-mek*<sub>(T)?</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Which woman (which one of the women) gave ice cream to the man?’

Indirective verbs, by contrast, show a different alignment pattern from secundatives, as illustrated by the ignoraative word in the A function (corresponding to [103a]):

- (104) a. **Ki-a<sub>A</sub>**            *tun-au*                    *akutaq<sub>T</sub>*                    *angut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>?*  
 who-REL.sg.    give-INT.3sg.3sg.    ice.cream.ABS.sg.    man-ALL.sg.  
 ‘Who gave the ice cream to the man?’
- b. **Ki-tu-mun<sub>(R)</sub>**            *tun-au*                    *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                    *akutaq<sub>T</sub>?*  
 who-EX-ALL.sg.    give-INT.3sg.3sg.    woman-REL.sg.    ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
 ‘To whom did the woman give/sell ice cream?’
- c. **Ca<sub>T</sub>**                    *tun-au*                    *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                    *angut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>?*  
 what.ABS.sg.    give-INT.3sg.3sg.    woman-REL.sg.    man-ALL.sg.  
 ‘What did the woman give/sell to the man?’
- d. [**Nali-at**                    *arna-t<sub>G</sub>*]<sub>A</sub>                    *tun-au*  
 which-REL.3pl.sg.    woman-REL.pl.    give-INT.3sg.3sg.  
*akutaq<sub>T</sub>*                    *angut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>?*  
 ice.cream.ABS.sg.    man-ALL.sg.  
 ‘Which woman (which one of the women) gave/sold ice cream to the man?’
- (105) [**Na-ni ≠ qapiar**    *kuvya-llru-ci-anek*                    *May’a-m<sub>A</sub>*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 where-LOC≠ITS    net-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.    p.n.-REL.sg.  
**apt-aanga.**  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘He asked me [R] exactly where Mayaq drift-netted.’

A nominalization of an interrogative ditransitive construction (103a) is embedded into another ditransitive interrogative clause (as demoted T argument) in the following:

- (106) **Ciin**    *apt-atnga*                    [**ki-a**                    *angun*  
 why    ask-INT.3pl.1sg.    who-REL.sg.    man.ABS.sg.  
*akuta-mek*                    *ciki-llr-anek*]<sub>(T)</sub>?  
 ice.cream-ABM.sg.    give-VNnm-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Why did they ask me [R] who gave ice cream to the man.’

Interrogative words predominantly tend to appear in the sentence-initial position as seen above. However, they may occur in a different position, particularly in the second position (forming bound phases with the sentence-initial word), as in *Cikir-tau≠ki-na...?*, for instance, for (103b) *Ki-na cikir-tau...?*

On the other hand, polar questions are characterized by the second-position particle *qaa* ‘is it right?’ which forms a (non-enclitic) bound phrase ( $\neq$ ) with the sentence-initial word as the target of the question (which can be any argument – incl. peripheral NP, a verb, or a non-inflecting word). Note that the verb *cikir-aa* is in the indicative mood:

- (107) *Arna-m<sub>A</sub> ≠ qaa*                      *cikir-aa*                      *angun<sub>R</sub>*  
 woman-REL.sg. ≠ QST    give-IND.3sg.3sg.    man.ABS.sg.  
*akuta-mek<sub>(T)?</sub>*  
 ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Did the woman give the man ice cream? / Is it the woman that gave  
 the man ice cream?’

### 3. Ditransitives compared with extended trivalents

Ditransitive verbs, secundative vs. indirective, have been shown with case alignment of (T)<sub>ABM</sub> T<sub>ABS</sub> A<sub>REL</sub> by (2) and (3) vs. T<sub>ABS</sub> (R)<sub>ALL</sub> A<sub>REL</sub> by (5) and (6), etc. in this chapter and with step-by-step representation by § 30(12) and (12)ʹ.

In addition to ditransitives with arguments T R A, there are different kinds of (extended) trivalent stems, derived with one or two valency-increasing suffixes (italicized) as given in § 35.1: (to repeat) P E A, P A A<sub>IMP</sub>, P A Aʹ (derived from bivalent stems) and S E<sub>ADV</sub> Aʹ, E<sub>APL</sub> S Aʹ, S A<sub>IMP</sub> Aʹ, or S Aʹ Aʹʹ (from monovalent), each given in hierarchical order (§ 30.2.3(23)). They are illustrated in sections of simplex VVsm suffixes (§ 39), i.e. A |+c-|, E<sub>APL</sub> |+(u)c-|, E<sub>ADV</sub> |-y<sub>i</sub>1-|, and A<sub>IMP</sub> |+na<sub>y</sub>qi-|, and six VVcm suffixes (§ 40.2), e.g. directive Aʹ |+sqi-|, reportative Aʹ |+ni-|. These are all possible combinations of trivalents, given the constraint of no co-occurrence of VVsm E (applicative or adversative) with A<sub>IMP</sub> and of their non-occurrence after VVcm.

The seven combinations are to be classified in view of the pattern into (extended) simplex vs. complex verbs:

- (108) a. P E A, P A A<sub>IMP</sub> – simplex  
 b. S E<sub>ADV</sub> Aʹ, E<sub>APL</sub> S Aʹ, S A<sub>IMP</sub> Aʹ, S Aʹ Aʹʹ, P A Aʹ – complex

Each group of combination of the three arguments follows the same argument hierarchy for case assignment (i.e. accessibility to absolutive case) as simplex and complex verbs, with the only caveat related to E<sub>APL</sub> in connection with monovalent stems, given in Table 29 (verb extension and argument hierarchy).

The ditransitive T R A in comparison with complex and simplex verbs will reveal the parallelism (with difference) of trivalent verbs:

Table 31: Comparison between ditransitives and extended trivalents

	trivalents		bivalents	
ditransitives	<i>secundative:</i> (T) R A	<i>indirective:</i> T (R) A		
extended	<i>complex 1:</i> ( $E_{APL}$ ) S A'*, (S) $E_{ADV}$ A', (S) $A_{IMP}$ A', S A' A'', P A A'	<i>complex 2:</i> S ( $E_{APL}=R$ ) A'	<i>antipassive transitive</i> (P) A P A	
	<i>simplex:</i> (P) E A**, (P) A $A_{IMP}$	----		
case alignm.	ABM ABS REL	ABS ALL REL	ABM ABS	ABS REL

Extended arguments are shown in italics. \* Reflects the mentioned caveat, i.e. valency rearrangement. \*\* E here may be  $E_{APL}$  or  $E_{ADV}$ .

Comparison with bivalents (right column) shows that the two types of trivalents correspond to the antipassive (either coded or not) vs. transitives of bivalents. (T) and (P) in the ablative-modalis, while T and P in the absolutive.

As stated (§ 40.2), six types of VVcm complex transitives (causative, indirective, speculative, reportative, ignorative, and expectant) with different upper-layer agents A' added behave the same way in case assignment except that, in view of detransitivization, only the reportative |+ni-| (§ 40.2.4) is agentive while the other four types are patientive.

We are here only concerned with trivalent verbs, but quadrivalent and multi-valent verbs, with one or more additional arguments (E or/and A', ...) extended, all follow exactly the same hierarchy, necessarily accompanied by further reduction.

## Chapter 36

### Root-derived stems

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Roots are a-valent and largely indeterminate as to word class (either nominal or verb). They cannot be directly closed by an inflection, until derived with an expander (EX) – see § 10.5. A greater part of roots are expanded into an intransitive or a transitive stem (0→1 or 2) by one of a limited number of root expanders so that they may be subject to intransitive or transitive inflection. Root expanders are specific to roots (as given below), but certain ordinary derivative suffixes like (2), (10) below may also be employed as root expanders.

Some roots are fossilized secondary roots obviously susceptible to analysis.

Many roots are of an emotional or postural nature, both of which are stative (not active), while others cover various other semantic categories (§ 36.3).

#### 1. Emotional roots

These are roots that refer to an emotional state or attitude, or its cause or source. A small sample is provided:

- (1) |*aaŷ*-| ‘dangerous, wary’, |*akŋiŷ*-| ‘in pain, hurting’, |*ala*-| ‘attracted/liking to a member of the opposite sex’, |*alai*-| ~ |*alia*-| ‘lonesome’, |*ali*-| ‘fearful, afraid’, |*aŋla*-| ‘enjoyable, pleasant’, |*ayaŷi*-| ‘coveting, desirous’, |*capx*-| ‘difficult’, |*cikna*-| ‘envious’, |*cumaci*-| ‘repulsive, repellent’, |*kama*-| ‘suspicious’, |*kazŋu*-| ‘ashamed’, |*kiny*-| ‘love’, |*nakly*-| ‘compassionate’, |*naŋyaŷ*-| ‘afraid, frightful’, |*nika*-| ‘painful (feeling)’, |*paqna*-| ‘curious’ (perhaps related with bivalent |*paq-c*-| ‘(go to) check’), |*takaŷ*-| ‘respectable, shy’, |*takumcu*-| ‘pitiful’, |*timci*-| ‘funny’, |*tunŷiŷ*-| ‘embarrassed’, |*ucuy*-| ‘respect, praise’, |*uumi*-| ‘frustrated, infuriated’, etc.



The more common expanders selected by emotional roots (which belong to the common type of NV or VV derivational suffixes) are given below, with less frequent ones added as (b):

- (2) a.  $|-_1ki-|$ \* ‘to feel toward, have – as source of feeling, consider – as’ (§ 37.2.1); cf.  $|-ki-|$  (§ 37.2)  
 $|-ŋi-|$  ‘to (come to) feel, realize, get’ (§ 38.1)  
 $|+_1cuy-|$  ‘to (tend to) feel, wish’ (§ 43)  
 $|-_1cuit-|$  ‘never, to tend not to feel’ (§ 44)  
 $|+naŋqi-|$ \* ‘to cause to; should’;  $A_{IMP}$  increasing VVsm (§ 39.2)  
 $|+nait-|$  ‘to cause not to’ (§ 39.2)  
 $|+_1ciy-|$ \* ‘to let/wait – to’;  $A$  increasing VVsm (§ 39.1.3)  
 $|+ŋit-|$  ‘to lack’ (§ 38.1)
- b.  $|+tay-|$  ‘to tend to, feel (by nature)’ – mainly after roots (below); cf.  $|+tait-|$  ‘not to have (now), tend not to’; e.g. § 27(29)  
 $|-_1ksayuc-|$ \* ‘to come to feel’ – inchoative version of  $|-_1ki-|$  in (a) (§ 37.4.1).

The asterisked suffixes here yield patientive bivalent stems, and are thus susceptible of antipassivization, e.g. (4b), while the rest derive monovalent stems.

The root  $|aay-|$  ‘dangerous, wary’ is illustrated with some expanders:

- (3) ...  $aa-q-aa$  (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he considers/finds it dangerous, unsafe’  
 $aar-yug-tuq$  (IND.3sg.) ‘he is wary, afraid (toward something particular)’  
 $aar-yuit-ua$  (IND.1sg.) ‘I am not afraid’  
 $aar-yu-ut-aa$  (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he feels nervous on account of it (what might happen)’ – with applicative  $|+(u)c-|$  (§ 39.4.1)  
 $aar-narq-uq$  ‘it (e.g. ice) is (taken as) dangerous’  
 $aar-nait-uq$  ‘it is not dangerous’  
 $aar-cir-aa$  ‘he warns her of danger’  
 $aar-it-uq$  ‘he is acting in a reckless/foolhardy way’  
 $aar-tar-tuq$  ‘he tends to be wary, afraid, cautious (by nature)’  
 $aa-qsagut-aa/aar-yagut-aa$  ‘he now feels worried about it’.

Note that CAY emotional verbs can co-occur with a non-first person subject, which may not be acceptable in the straightforward use with no evidentiality specification in some other languages.

The first stem *aa-qe-* ‘to consider dangerous’ in (3a) is illustrated with the intransitive and antipassive forms:

- (4) a. *Angun*<sub>S=A</sub>’      ***aa-q-uq***      *ellmi-nek*<sub>(P=A)</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg. dangerous-think-IND.3sg. 3Rsg.-ABM  
*kit-nayuk-luni.*  
 sink-A’.think-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘The man thinks that he (himself) might sink.’
- b. *Angun*<sub>S=A</sub>’      ***aa-q-i-uq***      *arna-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg. dangerous-think-APS-IND.3sg. woman-ABM.sg.  
*kit-nayuk-luku.*  
 sink-A’.think-APP.3sg  
 ‘The man thinks that the woman might sink.’

By contrast, the derivative *aar-narqe-* with VVsm [+*naʔqi-*], which is also patientive, does not have an antipassive because an impersonal patientive can never have the A<sub>IMP</sub> medialized with P argument (§ 39.2).

The illustrations with |*aaʔ-*| above do not mean that any root may combine with any expander. Roots are individually selective – e.g. no \**aa-nge-* or \**aar-yuic-*.

Some other combinations of roots with expanders are given:

- (5) a. ***ala-k-aa***      ‘he is attracted to her (opposite sex)’  
 attraction-feel.toward-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*ala-ng-uq*      ‘he is attracted (to s.o. – opposite sex)’  
 attraction-feel-IND.3sg.
- b. ***nakle-k-aa***      ‘he pities her, is compassionate of her’  
 compassion-feel.toward-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*nakleg-yug-tuq*      ‘he feels compassion’  
 compassion-tend-IND.3sg.
- c. ***alai-yug-tuq***      ‘he is lonesome, depressed’  
*alai-narq-uq*      ‘it causes loneliness’
- d. ***paqna-yug-tuq***      ‘he is curious (about s.t.)’  
*paqna-k-aa*      ‘he is curious about it’  
*paqna-qsagut-aa/paqna-yagut-aa*  
 ‘he now became curious about it’
- e. ***ucu-q-aa***      ‘he praises, respects her’  
*ucur-yug-tuq*      ‘he is respectful’  
*ucur-narq-uq*      ‘he is worthy of respect’.
- (6) ***Kama-k-aqa***      *tegle-llru-yuk-luku*      *nutek<sub>p</sub>*  
 suspect-feel-IND.1sg.3sg. steal-PST-A’.think-APP.3sg. gun.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I suspect (thinking) that (s.o.) stole the gun.’

- (7) *Irnia-qa<sub>s</sub>*                      *ayari-yug-tuq*                      *ca-nek<sub>(p)</sub>*  
 child-ABS.1sg.sg.    desire-tend-IND.3sg.    some-ABM.pl.  
*kipus-vig-t-aqamta.*  
 buy-place-go.to-CNNwv.1pl.  
 ‘My child wants something when(ever) we go to the store.’

## 2. Postural roots

Postural roots denote spatial configuration or shape (in a wide sense), mainly with regard to the human body, but including some denotations that may not be taken as a shape (e.g. ‘undressed’, ‘smile’, etc.). Note also the different roots for ‘being open’ and ‘lying/sitting’, for instance, in the following list, which is far from exhaustive:

- (8) |*ayaỵ-*| ‘hanging’, |*aitaỵ-*| ‘agape, open (*mouth, bag, etc.*)’, |*alalaỵ-*| ‘mistaken, in error, misplaced’, |*alatakaỵ-*| ‘separate, independent’, |*alayuỵ-*| ‘unnatural, abnormal’, |*amay-*| ‘curved’, |*aṅpaṅ-*| ‘open (*door*)’, |*avlỵ-*| ‘with legs spread (standing or sitting)’, |*ayaluỵ-*| ‘leaning, tilted’, |*caṭaỵ-*| ‘open (*wound, crack, box or something wrapped*)’, |*caṅuỵ-*| ‘lopsided, making faces’, |*caqiỵ-*| ‘turned in a direction’, |*ciṭuỵ-*| ‘with legs stretched (sitting)’, |*ciliỵ-*| ‘out of line, not straight’, |*ciuỵ-*| ‘head tilted up’, |*cuqiỵ-*| ‘bent, crooked’, |*cuqluỵ-*| ‘bent, damaged out of shape’, |*ikiỵ-*| ‘open’ (*door, box, bottle, etc.*)’, |*inaỵ-*| ‘lying’, |*ixaỵ-*| ‘resting against, leaning on one’s side’, |*kanaỵ-*| ‘bent forward’, |*katuỵ-*| [NS.NUN] ‘gathered together’, |*kiipi(i)ỵ-*| ‘standing on tiptoe’, |*mataỵ-*| ‘undressed’, |*mumiỵ-*| ‘turned over’, |*naṅỵ-*| ‘standing (person), alive’, |*napaỵ-*| ‘standing upright (*tree, house*)’, |*niṿỵ-*| ‘on one’s back, turned over’, |*nun̄iỵc-*| ‘fastened (*belt, etc.*)’, |*paluỵ-*| ‘lying face down, on one’s belly’, |*qit̄ỵ-*| ‘lying on one’s back’, |*quyuỵ-*| ‘gathered together’, |*quuyuỵ-*| ‘smiling’, |*tali-*| ‘shelter, shade’, |*uti-*| ‘back home’, etc.

*secondary postural roots* – obviously derived from other roots or stems:

- (9) |*ciisqu-miỵ-*| ‘on one’s knees’ (cf. |*ciisquỵ-*| ‘knee’); e.g. (20) below, |*kam-il-aỵ-*| ‘barefoot’ (cf. |*kamỵ-*| ‘boot’ with privative NV |+ṅit-), |*kii-piỵ-*| ‘on tiptoes’ (cf. |*kii-*| ‘to peel off, come off’), |*makt-aỵ-*| ‘upright’ (cf. patientive bivalent |*makic-*| ‘to stand up, sit up’).

*a few other suffixes to be used as expanders* – which are selected by postural roots:

- (10) |*-ngqa-*| ~ |*+ng-*| (VVt; § 42) ‘to be in the state of’ (monovalent)  
 – often in stative-connective verbs  
 (§ 50.10), as in (14b)  
 |*+c-*| (VVsm; § 39.1) A adding (P argument from S typically  
 with no controllability) – susceptible of  
 antipassivization, e.g. (12d)  
 |*+patuŷ-*| ~ |*+valuŷ-*| (VVA; § 41.3.2) ‘mostly’.
- (11) a. *nange-ngqa-ug* ‘he is standing, alive’  
 standing-STT-IND.3sg.  
 b. *nanger-t-aa* ‘she stood him up’  
 standing-A-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 c. *nanger-t-ug* ‘he stood up’ – reflexive  
 standing-A-IND.3sg.  
 – (b) refers to an action upon someone who does not act by himself  
 (due to helplessness, reluctance, or the like), while (c), which is a  
 medialized detransitivization of (b), refers to an action (to create the  
 state) taken by oneself.
- (12) a. *iki-ngqa-ug* ‘it [S] is open’  
 open-STT-IND.3sg. (S indexed)  
 b. *ikir-t-aa* ‘he [A] opened it [P]’  
 open-A-IND.3sg.3sg. (P and A indexed)  
 c. *ikir-t-ug*  
 open-A-IND.3sg. (derived S indexed)  
 i. ‘it [S=P] is opened’ with A deletion  
 ii. ‘it [S(A $\curvearrowright$ P)] opened’ with medialization  
 d. *ikir-c-i-ug*  
 open-A-ATP-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he opens (s.t.)’ – antipassive.
- (13) a. *Aita-ngqa-ug mikelnguqs.*  
 open-STT-IND.3sg. child.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The child’s mouth is open; the child has an open mouth.’  
 b.  $[[\textit{Tau-m caqut-e-m}]_G \textit{pai-nga}]_P$   
 that-REL.sg. bag-EV-REL.sg. mouth-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*aitar-te-qer-ru!*  
 open-A-POL-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) please open the mouth/opening of that bag!’
- (14) a. *Alar-te-llru-llini-unga elpe-nek<sub>(P)</sub> ui-nge-lle-mni.*  
 error-A-PST-EVD-IND.1sg. 2sg.-ABM Hu-get-VNnm.ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘(So I see) I<sub>[S=A]</sub> made a mistake in getting married to you (sg.).’

- b. *Ala-ngqa-rma* ~ *ala-ngqe-rma*      *cali-a-q-aqa*.  
 error-STT-CNNst.1sg.      work-VNrl-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I made it wrong.’
- (15) *kana-ngqa-luni* ≡ *kanar-pallur-mi*  
 bent.forward-STT-APP.3Rsg. / -ITS-CNNst.3Rsg.  
*uita-lar-tuq*  
 stay-GEN-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he stays bent forward’.

Root-expanded stems may be further subject to valency increase, as adversative applicative (§ 39.5) in the following:

- (16) *Angpar-c-i-anga*      *anuqe-m<sub>A</sub>*      *amiig-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 open-A-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.      wind-REL.sg.      door-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The wind opened the door on me.’ – |*anpay-c-*| ‘to open’.

## 2.1. Direct inflection with no expander

Postural roots have one remarkable morphosyntactic peculiarity that is not shared with the other kinds of roots. They can be directly followed by inflection in the stative-connective mood (§ 50.10). Direct inflection of roots without expander is otherwise found only with appositional-mood verbs (§ 51.2) when they are expanded by the stative VVt |*-ŋqa-*| (above). They both function like non-restrictive adnominal verbs (§ 16.6):

- (17) *nanger-ma*      ≡      *nange-ngqa-lua*      ‘I standing’  
 standing-CNNst.1sg.      standing-STT-APP.1sg.  
 – see (11a) for *nange-ngqa-(uq)*      ‘(he is) standing’ (stative).
- (18) *Aitar-mi*      *qavar-tuq*      *mikelnguq<sub>s</sub>*.  
 mouth.open-CNNst.3Rsg.      sleep-IND.3sg.      child.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The child is sleeping with his mouth open.’
- (19) *Ene-mun*      *it-lini-uk,*      [*kii-mi=ll*’  
 house-ALL.sg.      enter-EVD-IND.3du.      be.alone-CNNst.3Rsg.=and  
*napar-mi*].  
 standing-CNNst.3Rsg.  
 ‘(So I see) they(du.) went into the house, and it (house) alone was standing (i.e. it was the only house that was still standing).’

– The stative-connective *napar-mi* may be replaced by the appositional *napa-ngqa-luni* (standing-STT-APP.3Rsg.) like (17). Note that the second clause after the comma has two stative-connective verbs in apposition, one of which is a (exhaustive) quantifier verb *|kii-|* ‘(to be) alone’, as in (24) below.

A secondary (derived) root listed in (9) is illustrated with the stative-connective mood verb:

- (20) *Ciisqu-mig-ma*                    *ner-ua*.  
 knee-EX-CNNst.1sg. eat-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I am eating (being) on my knees.’

Some postural stems may have metaphorical implications:

- (21) *Napa-ngqa-rmi*                    *yu-urt-uq*.  
 standing-STT-CNNst.3Rsg. person-become-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He alone became a survivor (lit. he became a person, (he) standing).’  
 – NVrv *|+ɲuyɕ-|*; *|napa-|* can be a stem by itself:

cf. *Napa-uq*                    *kii-mi*.  
 stand-IND.3sg. be.alone-CNNst.3Rsg.  
 ‘He is the only survivor (of the family), lit. he stands (being) alone.’  
 – see (19) for the quantifier *kii-*.

- (22) *Ciug-mi*                    ≐                    *Ciug-nga-luni*                    *yu-u-guq*.  
 head.up-CNNst.3Rsg. head.up-STT-APP.3Rsg. person-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is a person (he lives), with his head tilted upward; he lives in an arrogant way, ignoring others.’

See § 50.10 for more examples of postural roots in stative-connective mood sentences.

As discussed in § 14.10, the two quantifiers – *|tama(lku)ɣ̣-|* ‘to be whole, all together’ (§ 14.10.3.1) and *|kii-|* ‘to be alone, only’ (§ 14.10.4.1) – show the same behavior as postural roots and occur with verb inflection. The quantifiers denote the general disposition of their parts or members, i.e., togetherness or collectiveness, and occur as verbs only in the stative-connective mood, although, unlike postural stems, they do not take expanders. As this is treated in detail in § 14.10, only a few examples should suffice here:

- (23) CNNst.1sg. *tamar-ma*                    ‘I (being) all, whole of me’  
 CNNst.3Rpl. *tamar-meng*                    ‘they (being) all’.

- (24) CNNst.1sg. *kii-ma* 'I (being) alone'  
 CNNst.3pl. *kii-ngan* 'it (being) alone'.

### 3. Others

There remain some miscellaneous roots, which also require root expanders to become verb stems:

- (25) *|mil-|* 'throwing'  
*mil(eq)-pag-* 'to throw hard at'  
*mil-qar-* 'to throw (s.t.) at'  
 – secundative trivalent stem with the indirective correspondent of *mil-qa-uc-* 'to throw s.t. (at)'; § 35(22), (40).

- (26) a. *|qaciy-|* 'easy, not busy'  
*qacig-narq-uq* 'it is easy, requires little effort'  
*qacig-li-uq* 'he is finding, enjoying (s.t.) easy to do'  
*qacig-i-kanir-tuq* 'it has become easier'
- b. *Qaci-k-aa* *anirtur-i-lleq<sub>p</sub>*  
 easy-feel-IND.3sg.3sg. save-APS-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
*angalku-u-lrii-m<sub>A</sub>*.  
 shaman-be-VNrl-REL.sg.  
 'It is easy for (one who is) a shaman to cure people.'  
 – with the cyclical expansion of *-u-lrii-*.

- (27) a. *|iny-|* 'obedient'  
*iner-qur-aa* 'he admonished her'  
*iner-ciigat-uq* 'he is disobedient, rebellious'
- b. [*U-ku-t* *atsa-t*]<sub>p</sub> *nere-sqe-vke-naki*  
 this-EX-ABS.pl. berry-ABS.pl. eat-A'.ask-NEG-APP.3pl.  
*inerqur-aanga*.  
 warn-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'She admonishes me, [she] asking not to eat these berries; i.e., she forbids me to eat these berries.'

i) Miscellaneous roots include a group of basic color terms (§ 11.5), *|qatȳ-|* 'to be white' and *|tuŋu-|* 'to be black' which are primarily monovalent:

- (28) *qater-tuq* 'it is white'  
*tungu-uq* 'it is black'.

The other three, i.e. |*kaviy̆-*| ‘to be red’, |*cun̆gay-*| ‘to be green’, and |*qiŭy-*| ‘to be blue’, which are a-valent, may be expanded by the expander-like VV|+*cic-*| (cf. § 11.5).

- (29)     *kavir-cet-uq*           ‘it is red’  
           *cungag-cet-uq*       ‘it is green’  
           *qiŭg-cet-uq*        ‘it is blue’  
       cf. *qiu-guq*            ‘it is/has become blue/bluish’.

Some color-term stems may occur as impersonal transitive verbs. See § 34.3.1 for the impersonal use employed by a more or less limited number of speakers.

- (30)     *kavir-cet-aa*     ≡   *kavir-cet-uq*  
           *cungag-cet-aa*   ≡   *cungag-cet-uq*.

Personal A cannot be the subject of the transitive forms in (30): \**arna-m kavir-cet-aa* (intending \*‘the woman made it red’). But the (personal) A adder VVsm. |+*c-*| may occur with some color term stems, yielding patientive verbs with A deleted for detransitivization:

- (31)     *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>*           *kavir-t-aa*.  
           woman-REL.sg.    red-A-IND.3sg.3sg.  
           ‘The woman is painting it red (applying red color).’  
       cf. *kavir-t-uq*        ‘it is painted red’.
- (32)     *Qiu-t-aa*            *keggina-a<sub>p</sub>*.  
           blue-A-IND.3sg.3sg. face-ABS.3sg.3sg.  
           ‘She bruised his face.’  
       cf. *qiu-guq*           ‘it is blue, becomes blue/bluish’.



## Part 7

### Verbal derivation

Verbal derivation includes denominal verbalization ( $N \rightarrow V$ ) and verbal elaboration ( $V \rightarrow V$ ).

The former (NV type) includes formation of “relational verbs” (§ 37; NVrv), i.e. copula-like transcategorial (denominal) verbs, and of non-relational verbalizations (§ 38; NV). There are important syntactic differences between relational and non-relational denominalized verbs (§ 37.5) that should be clearly distinguished. Most of (denominal) verbal derivations are treated as incorporation by Sadock (1980), that is, object incorporation and non-object incorporation (of predicate nominals for relational verbs and of allative-case NPs).

The latter (VV type) includes valency modification (VVsm; § 39 for simplex verbs and VVcm § 40 for complex verbs), and non-valency elaboration with various verbal categories (grammatical or lexical) such as adverbial in a wide sense (VVA; § 41), tense-aspect (VVt; § 42), modality (VVm; § 43), polarity or negation (VVn; § 44), evidentiality (VVe; § 43), and comparison (VVc; § 45). As is generally the case with the functional classes of suffixes, many VV suffixes may also be NN, VN, or NV (as given after the slash).



## Chapter 37

### Relational (equational) verbs (NVrv)

CAY does not have the so-called “copula” construction with two arguments involved (“copula subject” and “copula complement”; Curnow 2001, Dixon 2002) which encodes equation, identity, or group membership between the two participants (e.g. ‘X is Y’).

The CAY copula-like transcategorial relational verbs are not only intransitive with S argument, but also transitive with A and P involved. The participant X is expressed by an NP in the S or P function, while Y is a referent of the head (noun stem) of the denominal verb. It is a possessor Z of Y that is referred by the A argument (like ‘X is Z’s Y’).

Relational verbs are distinguished from non-relational verbalizations (§ 38).

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### Relational (equational) verbs (NVrv)

CAY “relational” verbs express a relation of equation, identity, or group membership between two entities. They are copula-like, but are considerably different from what are generally called “copula” constructions, as stated in § 5.1.1.3.

CAY relational verb constructions are either stative ‘X is (someone’s) Y’, or inchoative ‘X becomes (someone’s) Y’, in which ‘Y’ is not a core argument or copula complement but simply the head (noun stem) of the predicate.

It is also important that CAY relational verbs are not only intransitive but may also be transitive (§ 37.2, § 37.4), which is indeed the case when the possessor ‘someone’ (Y) is involved.<sup>1</sup>

Two NPs put in equation like ‘X = Y’ or ‘X = someone’s Y’ (possessed Y) may form appositive (nominal) phrases (‘this = boat’, ‘this = my boat’; cf. § 16.1). The relational verbs may be interpreted as verbalizations (by NV suffixes) of the appositive phrases, that is, ‘this is a book’, ‘this is my boat’.

i) Starting from the three appositive phrases (§ 16.1):

- |     |    |             |                            |                         |
|-----|----|-------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>u-na</i> | <i>qayaq</i>               | ‘this kayak’            |
|     | b. | <i>u-na</i> | <i>qaya-qa</i>             | ‘this kayak of mine’    |
|     | c. | <i>u-na</i> | [ <i>angute-m qaya-a</i> ] | ‘this kayak of the man’ |

– where the nominal demonstrative *u-na* (ABS.sg.) ‘this’ is in apposition to *qayaq* (ABS.sg.) ‘kayak’, *qaya-qa* ‘my kayak’ (ABS.1sg.sg.), and *angute-m* (man-REL.sg.) *qaya-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘the man’s (his) kayak’, all in the absolutive singular. These appositive phrases, (a) vs. (b, c) may be verbalized with two kinds of relational verbs (NVrv), i.e. intransitive |+*ɲu*-| (§ 37.1) for an unpossessed phrase (a) and transitive |-*ki*-| (§ 37.2) for a possessed phrase (b, c). (c) places the possessor (‘man’) of the predicate head (‘kayak’), irrespective of alienability, into genitive NP. The S or P core argument (‘this’, i.e. ‘someone/thing to be identified’) serves as the topic. The denominal transitive relational verb is very often rendered as ‘to have – as/for’ in Eskimo linguistics. However, this is utterly distinct from the intransitive denominal possessive verb with |-*ɲqɣ*-| ‘to have something’ (§ 38.1) and should be associated instead with the intransitive relational verb |+*ɲu*-|.

- |     |    |                         |                            |  |
|-----|----|-------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| (2) | a. | <i>U-na<sub>S</sub></i> | <i>qaya-u-guq.</i>         | ‘This [S] is a kayak.’   |
|     |    | this-EX.ABS.sg.         | kayak-be-IND.3sg.          |  |
|     | b. | <i>U-na<sub>P</sub></i> | <i>qaya-q-qa.</i>          |  |
|     |    | this-EX.ABS.sg.         | kayak-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg. |  |
|     |    |                         |                            | ‘This is my kayak, lit. I [A] have this [P] as/for a kayak. / I always use it as my boat.’ |

---

1. The possessed equational relation is molded into a transitive construction also at least in Basque, though with an auxiliary verb instead of a suffix – see Hualde and de Urbina eds. (2003: 414, cf. also 213, 224):

- |    |                                       |                                 |   |
|----|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| a. | <i>Mikel bere anaia da.</i>           | (Mikel his brother is)          | ‘Mikel is his brother’, with the intransitive auxiliary <i>da</i> (indicative 3sg).   |
| b. | <i>Jonek Mikel (? bere) anaia du.</i> | (Jon.ERG Mikel his brother has) | ‘Mikel is Jon’s brother (= Jon has Mikel as a brother)’, in which the transitive auxiliary <i>du</i> (indicative.3sg.3sg.) agrees in person and number with both the subject possessor and the possessed. |

- c. *Angute-m<sub>A</sub> u-na<sub>P</sub> qaya-q-aa.*  
 man-REL.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. kayak-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘This is the man’s kayak, lit. the man [A] has this [P] as a kayak.’  
 cf. non-relational denominal verb of possession:  
*angun qaya-ngqer-tuq*  
 man.ABS.sg. kayak-have-IND.3sg.  
 ‘the man [S] has (some, unspecified) kayak’.

Note first that the relational verbs (a, b, c) are distinct from the compared non-relational possessive verb with NV |*ŋqɣ̣-*| ‘to have’ (§ 38.1), as is more fully discussed in § 37.5.1. They show that equation or identity exists between the noun stem (|*qayaỵ-*| ‘kayak’, representing Y) as the predicate head and the S or P argument (*u-na* ‘this’ in the absolutive, representing X) functioning as the topic, that is, X = Y (for intransitives) and X = someone’s Y (for transitives), literally ‘someone (I, the man) has X as Y. The relational verbs supply a comment to the topic NP in S/P function. Note that the A argument for the transitive construction (b, c) is *not* a typical agent but is semantically the “possessor” of Y.

This is also the case with (3b), while (3a) is its corresponding appositive phrase:

- (3) a. [*mikelngu-u-m<sub>G</sub> aati-i*] *wiinga*  
 child-EV-REL.sg. Fa-ABS.3sg.sg. 1sg.  
 ‘I as the child’s father’  
 b. *mikelngu-u-m<sub>A</sub> aata-k-aanga*  
 child-EV-REL.sg. Fa-have.as-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I am the child’s father, lit. the child [A] has me [P] as the father’.

ii) A judge of the equation or identity may be expressed by a person pronoun in the locative case (§ 27.3), as in (4a) corresponding to (2a), while the common case (absolutive/relative) in (4) is merely used to emphasize the first person subject in (2b):

- (4) a. *U-na<sub>S</sub> qaya-u-guq wang-ni.*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. kayak-be-IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 ‘To me, this [S] is a kayak.’ – implying ‘it is probably not a whale, a tree, but in my judgment / if I am to judge...’ (used, for example, in unclear situations)  
 b. *U-na<sub>P</sub> qaya-q-aqa wiinga.*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. kayak-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg. 1sg.  
 ‘This is *my* kayak.’

iii) In addition to being either intransitive or transitive, CAY relational verbs are not only “stative” (‘to be’) but also can be “inchoative” (‘to have entered into a state’, i.e. ‘to have become, be now’; § 37.3, § 37.4). Accordingly, CAY copula-like relational verbs are characterized by the four-way opposition:

Table 32: Relational verbs

	intransitive	transitive	
stative	+ɲu-	-kɪ-	‘to be (someone’s N)’ (§ 37.1, § 37.2)
inchoative	+ɲuỵc-	-k(i)saỵuc-	‘to become (someone’s) N’ (§ 37.3, § 37.4)

The inchoative |+ɲuỵc-| and |-k(i)saỵuc-| are composite suffixes which come from the stative with an aspectual element, i.e. obsolete |+ỵc-| and productive VVt |+<sub>1</sub>caỵuc-| ‘to become V’, as in *nallu-yagut-aa* ‘he forgot it’ from |*nalu-*| ‘not to know’. Transitive |-kɪ-| and |-k(i)saỵuc-| derive patientive bivalent stems.

Only inchoative verbs are illustrated: The following (a) is a repetition of (47b), while (b) of (59c):

- (5) a. *yu-urt-uq* (IND.3sg.)  
       ‘he is born (lit. he has become a person) – |yuỵ-| ‘person’  
 b. *yu-ksagut-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.)  
       ‘she adopted me (lit. I am *now* her person)’.

Such a four-item contrast (intransitive vs. transitive, stative vs. inchoative) exactly reflects itself also so in the stative pseudo-passives (§ 39.3.2) and in indicies of comparison, which include non-equalitive (comparative and superlative) and equalitive, yielding twelve markers (4×3; § 45.7). Obviously they are based on the four relational verb suffixes in (5), as shown in the following parallelism:

Table 33: Pseudo-passives and comparatives in parallel with relational verbs

	relational verbs		pseudo-passives		comparatives	
	intransitive	transitive	intransitive	transitive	intransitive	transitive
stative	+ɲu-	-kɪ-	+yau-	+yaqi-	-nyu-	-nqi-
inchoative	+ɲuỵc-	-k(i)saỵuc-	+yauỵc-	+yaqsaỵuc-	-nyuỵc-	-niqsaỵuc-

See § 45.7 for the corresponding superlative and equalitive markers (indicies) for comparative verbs, which are also in four-way opposition.

Only an intransitive stative pseudo-passive and comparative are illustrated: The following (a) is a repetition of § 39 (24) and the (b) of § 45 (1). Note the /u/ of the composite suffixes:

- (6) a. *tuqu-t-au-guq* (die-A-PPS-IND.3sg.) ‘he/it is killed’  
 b. *ange-nru-uq* (big-CMP-IND.3sg.) ‘he/it is bigger (than)’.

iv) The relational verbs are in fact the mainstay of the suffixal derivation (productive or lexicalized) characteristic of the language. They permeate in CAY morphosyntax, semantics (yielding subcategorization), and the lexicon (in large quantities).

The transitive stative relational verb |+ŋu-| and |-ki-| in particular has contributed greatly to deriving many basic stems, often by following a root as its root expander (cf. § 36.1):

- (7) a. |yuu-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to live’ – cf. |yuy-| ‘person’, see also (14)a  
 b. |naaqi-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to count, read’ – cf. |naa-| ‘to become complete in number’  
 |asiki-|<sub>V</sub> ‘to like’ – cf. |asiŋ-| ‘to be good’.

Diachronically, they also have left a fair number of more or less grammaticalized verbal suffixes, especially of valency increase/modification (§ 39), tense-aspect (e.g. past; § 42), and modality (e.g. necessity; § 43) as well as indices of comparison (e.g. ‘more’; § 45).

Synchronically they are not only responsible for formation of relational verbs. These may be nominalized (by VNmn or VNrl) and, in their turn, verbalized (i.e. reverbalized by NVrv) and further nominalized, and so on, showing cyclical and recursive transcategorial conversions, but this as a morphological process, that is, within a single word (§ 4.2.5.3, § 17.8, etc.). Illustrated in § 37.5 in particular as well as elsewhere.

## 1. Stative intransitive NVrv |+ŋu-| ‘to be’

This stative intransitive relational suffix indicates a relation of identity or equality between the predicate head (noun stem) and the S argument, which functions as a topic (‘X [topic] is Y’).

The verb in (2a) is repeated:

- (8) a. *qaya-u-guq* ‘it is a kayak’  
 kayak-be-IND.3sg.  
 – intervocalic verlar deletion (P10) for -u- from |+ŋu-|
- b. *qaya-u-guq* *ak’allaq<sub>s</sub>*  
 kayak-be-IND.3sg. old.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the old one (thing) is a kayak’ – but not \*‘it is an old kayak’
- c. [*u-na* *qayaq*]<sub>s</sub> *ak’alla-u-guq*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. kayak.ABS.sg. old-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘This kayak is old (an old one).’  
 – cf. appositional phrase *qayaq ak’allaq* ‘old kayak’ and see the relation between (1a) and (2a).

The augmentative suffix NN |+*pay-*| ‘big, great’ may mean owner (‘one with a big’), when standing before |+*ŋu-*|, hence bivalency:

- (9) *qayar-pa-u-guq*  
 i. ‘it is a big kayak’  
 ii. ‘he has (is an owner of) a big kayak’.

– but, importantly, with the difference that an external modifier, e.g. *nutara-mek* (new-ABM.sg.) may co-occur with (b) of indicating possession (‘he has a new big kayak’), but not with (a) as a relational verb (\*‘it is a new big kayak’); see (71) for this meaning.

- (10) a. [*tau-na angun*]<sub>s</sub>      *Yupi-u-guq*  
 that-EX.ABS.pl. man.ABS.sg. Y.-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘that person is a Yupik’  
 b. [*tau-na agayu-vik*]<sub>s</sub>      *Yup’ig-ta-u-guq*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. pray-place.ABS.sg. Y.-belonging-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘that church is a Yupik one (church)’.

An oblique NP may occur with relational verbs, as in the following, but it is not a stranded adnominal modifier (§ 25.2.2), nor it is a demotion (§ 25.2.1). See § 37.5.

- (11) *Yup’ig-mek qanemci-u-guq.*  
 Y.-ABM.sg. narrative-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is a narrative (originated) from/about an Eskimo.’

The nominal stem for Y (of X is Y) may mean a content:

- (12) *Peckaqs ellallu-u-guq.*  
 barrel.ABS.sg. rain-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The barrel has rain water in it, lit. the barrel [its content] is rain water.’  
 (13) [*Pissu-vi(g)-ma<sub>G</sub> nuni-i*]<sub>s</sub>      *emer-u-uq / can’g-u-uq.*  
 hunt-place-REL.1sg.sg. land-ABS.3sg.sg. water-/grass-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The place I hunt is watery/grassy (hard to walk).’

The stem for a relational verb is not necessarily a concrete noun (like ‘kayak’), but can be one of various kinds, including particles as in (e):

- (14) a. *ataugga-u-guq*      ‘it is a blessing’ – |*atawa-*| ‘benefit, blessing’  
*iki-u-guq*      ‘it is ugly’ – |*ikiy-*| ‘something ugly, bad’



- nutara-u-guq* 'it is new' – |*nutayay̆-*| 'something new'
- b. *pi-u-guq* 'it is right, important, something' – |*pi-*| 'thing'  
*pi-ci-u-guq* 'it is a reality, is true' – VNm |+(*u*)*ciy̆-*|
- c. *wang-u-uq* 'it is me'  
*wangku-u-gukut* 'we are we' (1pl.-be-IND.1pl.)  
*elpe-ngu-uq* 'it is you (sg.)'  
 cf. *elpe-ng-uq* 'he comes to his senses' – |*ɲi-*| 'to get'  
*elpeci-ngu-uq* 'it is you (pl.)'
- d. *atsa-linra-u-guq* 'it is a berry juice (product)' – NN |*linyay̆\*-*|  
 'product/part/evidence of a living thing' (§ 20.1.2)  
*iter-t-a-u-guq* 'he is a prisoner, is in jail; is (one who was) put in' (enter-A-VNrl-be-) – pseudo-passive composite suffix *-a-u-* (§ 37.5.3.1, § 39.3.2)
- f. *tua=i-ngu-nrit-uq* 'goodbye, it is not the end!' (*tua=i* 'that's all, stop!'; § 12.3.2.2) – common word of farewell.  
*ta=im-ngu-uq* 'he is gone, is elsewhere' – from *ta=im(a)* (§ 12.2.3.6; written as *ta-im*' or *tayim*' 'now there, elsewhere, not in sight'.

The suffix is subject to a wide variety of expansions like verbal elaboration (TAM, negation, etc.) and deverbalization (nominalization and relativization).

Besides the inchoative intransitive | +*ɲuy̆c-* | ('to become N') itself, the stative | +*ɲu-* | may be modified by the aspect marker.

- (15) a. *uksu-u-gur-luku* 'while it is still in winter'  
 winter-be-still-APP.3sg.  
 – VVt | +*yuy̆-* | 'to be still, to keep on –ing'  
 cf. *uksu-u-luku* 'while it is winter'
- b. *uksu-u-ma-luku*  
 'it being sometime during the winter' – continuative VVt |+(*u*)*ma-*|
- c. *nutara-u-gur(-cet)-luku* 'while it is still new'  
 – with the possible occurrence of the coreferential marker *-cet-* for a third person appositional verb (§ 51.1.4.3).

The relational verbs in the following example, followed by verb-elaborating VVa |*-qapiy̆c-* | / |*-qapia(y̆a)y̆-*|, meaning 'very important N' – repeated from § 41(64):

- (16) a. *inerqu-ut-ngu-qapigt-uq*  
 admonish-VNm.means-be-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 'it is a very important rule' [AKKL 42]

- b. *cayara-u-qapiar-tuq*  
 custom-be-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it is an *important* custom/festival’.

## 2. Stative transitive NVrv *|-ki-|*

This stative transitive relational suffix *|-ki-|* ‘to have – as, own, be someone’s –’ corresponds to one with the preceding intransitive stative *|+ɲu-|* ‘to be’. The A argument is semantically a possessor, while the P argument is the topic. A relational verb with this suffix is a patientive (bivalent) transitive.

The suffix may also stand after adjectival (monovalent) stems especially (emotional) roots as a VV suffix *|-ki-|* (‘to find – to be [contrary to expectation], feel, evaluate’) to yield bivalent stems – § 37.2.1.

i) *Transitively inflected* – A argument is a possessor:

- (17) a. *qayar-pa-k-aqa* ‘it is *my* big kayak’  
 kayak-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 b. *qayar-pa-k-aa* *angute-m<sub>A</sub>*  
 kayak-big-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg. man-REL.sg.  
 ‘*it is* the man’s *big* kayak’  
 – Just as with intransitive (9a) *qayar-pa-u-guq* ‘it is a big, kayak’ with no possessor, an external modifier, e.g. *nutara-mek* (new-ABM.sg.) does not co-occur with (17).

After the expletive *|pi-|*, the suffix forms a bivalent verb of possession (‘to own, possess’): cf. (63).

- (18) a. *pi-k-an*  
 thing-have.as-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘it is *yours*; you (sg.) own it’  
 b. *tua=i=llu tun-luku pi-ke-sti-inun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 then=and give-APP.3sg. thing-have.as-VNrl-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘then she gives it [T] to one who owns it’. [CAUY 22]

The transitive relational verb (instead of intransitive) is the most general device for expressing personal (kin or other) relations between people (A argument):

- (19) a. *aana-k-aqa* ‘she is my mother’  
 Mo-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
*aana-ke-nrit-aqa* (NEG) ‘she is not my mother’

- b. *aipa-q-aqa* ‘he is my partner; I play with him’  
partner-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg. – |*aipaỵ*-|.
- (20) a. *ila-k-aa*  
part-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
i. ‘he is related to her, she is his relative’  
ii. ‘he adds it (to something)’ – indirective ditransitive = § 35(40b)
- b. *Kin-ku-t<sub>A</sub>* *ila-k-atgen?*  
‘who-EX-REL.pl. relative-have.as-INT.3pl.2sg.’  
‘Who (pl.) are you (sg.) related to (who [A] has you [P] as relative)?’  
– a common question from older people upon meeting someone for the first time to establish her/him in their mind as a member of an extended family or social network.

The transitive relational verb is also a very common device for indicating relative location through locational nouns (italicized; § 11.2.3.2) as well as a part/whole relation of something (A):

- (21) *kingu-k-aa* ‘it (P) is in its (A) stern’ – |*kiŋu*-| ‘back part’  
*tung-k-aa* ‘it (P) is in its (A) direction’ – |*tunji*-| ‘direction’  
– with a location noun for which the A argument indicates point of reference, as is illustrated in examples of § 11(85, 86).
- (22) [[*Tau-na* *napa*]<sub>P</sub> *ngele-k-luku*]  
that-EX.ABS.sg. tree.ABS.sg. limit-own-APP.3sg.  
*can’g-e-t<sub>P</sub>* *qiur-ciq-anka*.  
grass-EV-ABS.pl. cut-FUT-IND.1sg.3pl.  
‘I will cut grass up to that tree (lit. having that tree as the limit).’
- (23) a. *nat-q-aa* ‘it is *its* flooring; it has it as a floor’ – |*natỵ*-| ‘floor’  
floor-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
b. *Kuvya-m<sub>A</sub>* *kis’-ut-k-aa*. ‘It is a net sinker.’  
net-REL.sg. sink-VNrl-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
c. *Kuvya-minun* *kis’-ut-ke-ni-a*. ‘He says it is his (own) net-sinker.’  
net-ALL.3sg.sg. sink-VNrl-have.as-A’.say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
– note 26.2-i for the allative demotion for the complex verb.
- (24) *Ella-m<sub>A</sub>=gguq* *ellalluk<sub>P</sub>* *aluvi-k<sup>(s)</sup>-lar-aa*.  
weather-REL.sg.=RPR rain.ABS.sg. tear-have.as-GEN-IND.3sg.3sg.  
‘It is said that the rain is the tears of *Ella* (lit. *Ella* has the rain as its tears).’ [AKKL 227]

- (25) [Nega kii-ngan]<sub>p</sub> yu-ute-**ke-llru-at**  
 food.ABS.sg. alone-CNNst.3sg. live-VNrl-have.as-PST-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 [im-u-mi tama-a-ni].  
 that.ANP-EX-LOC.sg. there-EX-LOC  
 ‘Their only way of life in the past was to gather food (lit. they had  
 food only as the way of living in the past).’

ii) *Intransitively inflected*

- reflexive* – commonly with a reflexive pronoun (§ 13.2.2):
- (26) *Aana-k-**uq** ellmi-**nek**.*  
 Mo-have.as-IND.3sg. 3Rsg.-ABM  
 ‘She mothers herself (figurative); takes care of herself.’  
 cf. (19a) transitive *aana-k-**aq*** (IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘she is my mother’.

See also below (37a) *mikel-k-**uq*** and (38) *ca-u-nril-k-**uq***.

- reciprocal* – with non-singular subjects (§ 21.1-ii), cf. § 34.4.2
- (27) a. *aana-k-**uk***  
 Mo-have.as-IND.3du.  
 ‘they (du.) are mother and daughter; they are their mothers’  
 – versus the reflexive (26) *aana-kuq* with 3sg. subject. See also  
 § 11.4.2 for reciprocal relatives like *aana-ke-llriik*, etc.
- b. *aki-qli-q-**uk***  
 opposite-located-have.as-IND.3du.  
 ‘they (du.) are sitting across from each other’
- c. *ila-k-**ut-uk***  
 relative-have.as-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3du.  
 ‘they (du.) are related’ – with applicative VVsm |+(u)c-|.

- passive*:
- (28) *nakmi-k-**uma-lria*** ‘the chosen/favoured one’  
 own-have.as-PAS-VNrl.ABS.sg. – see § 13.4 for the stem.

iii) *Composite suffixes*: The transitive relational verb forms a number of composite suffixes with its preceding nominal suffix NN/VN |*-lyut-|*~|*-lyut-*| ‘partner, associate in’ (§ 19.2), VNrl |*+<sub>1</sub>viç-*| ‘place’ (§ 17.6.1), and VNrl |*+(u)t-*| ‘means’ (§ 17.6.2). The composite suffixes with the last two may have the function of valency modification (increase and rearrangement; § 35.1.3):

VNV |*-lyut-ki-*~|*-lyut-ki-*| ‘to be partner/associate [with s.o.] in having’.  
 More examples in § 19.2.

- (29) a. *ate-llgut-k-aqa*  
name-partner-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘I am a namesake with him; he is my namesake’  
b. *ate-llgut-k-uk / -ut* (IND.1du./pl.)  
‘we two/we are namesakes’ – reciprocal.

- (30) *ene-llgut-k-uk* (IND.1du.)  
‘we (du.) share a house’ – reciprocal.

VNV |+<sub>1</sub>v<sub>iy</sub>-ki-|: cf. § 39.7.2 for VVsm |+<sub>1</sub>viki-| and its valency rearranging function.

- (31) *quya-vi-k-aa* ‘she is thankful to him’ – |*quya-*| ‘to be thankful’  
thank-place-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
– compare with (33) with the *-k(e)-* as VV type (below)  
cf. also (33) *quya-k-aa* ‘he appreciates it’, (46) *quya-yug-tuq* ‘he is thankful’.

VNV |+(u)t(i)-ki-| cf. § 39.7.1 and § 39.7.3 for VVsm |+(u)t(i)ki-| and its valency rearranging function.

- (32) *quya-te-k-aa* ‘he is thankful/glad because of it’  
thankful-means-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.

## 2.1. As VV suffix

The non-relational VV |-<sub>1</sub>k\*<sub>i</sub>-| means ‘to feel, find (contrary to expectation), consider, think – (to be)’, occurring only after many roots (mainly emotional; § 36.1), adjectival monominal stems (§ 33.1), and “negative” stems with final apical. A different phonological adjustment from the relational |-ki-| involves no assimilation of initial velar stop (cf. P3ii.a, thus with \*), but has final apical adjustment (i.e. fricativization; cf. P5i.b, thus with subscript <sub>1</sub>).

- (33) *quya-k-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I appreciate it / am thankful for it’  
*taka-q-aqa* ‘I am shy of, respectful toward him’  
*yaaqsi-k-aqa* ‘I think it (place/time) is far away for me’ – |*yaaqsiy-*| ‘to be distant’.
- (34) *assi-il-k-aa* ‘he finds it bad, dislikes it’ – |*asiy-*| ‘to be good’  
with PRV |+<sub>1</sub>nit-|  
*nengla-il-k-aa* ‘it is not cold for him’ – |*ninla-*| ‘cold’ with PRV  
– cf. (29) *-llgut-k-* with no fricativization as opposed to *-il-k-*.

- (35) *yug-niil-k-aqa*  
 person-unpleasant-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I consider him to be an unpleasant person’  
*nar-niil-k-aqa* ‘I hate its/his smell’  
 smell-bad-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg. – |*naŷ-*| ‘to smell’.

Like relational NV |*-ki-*|, intransitive inflection may be reflective and reciprocal.

- (36) a. *assi-k-aa* ‘he likes her/it’  
 b. *assi-k-ut-uk* ‘they(du.) like each other’ – with applicative VVsm.
- (37) a. *mikel-k-aat* ‘they think/say it is too small, it is small for them’  
 small-find-IND.3pl.3sg. – |*miki(t)-*| ‘to be small’  
 cf. *mike-lq-aat* ‘it is smaller than them, is the smallest of them’ (superlative, § 45.2.1)  
 b. *mikel-k-uq ell-minek* ‘he thinks himself to be small’, cf. (26).
- (38) a. *ca-u-nril-k-aanga* ‘he thinks little (worthless) of me’  
 something-be-NEG-consider-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 b. *ca-u-nril-k-uq* ‘he thinks little (worthless) of himself’  
 – where the stem itself is a (negated intransitive) relational verb *ca-u-nrit-* ‘not to be something, to be worthless’.

The title *Nunat Ercuilkat* of a Yupik story (*A Village Without Daylight* – in YSRA) should be a relative clause of an impersonal verb construction ‘the land which it [A<sub>IMP</sub>] never dawns upon’, being lexicalized as ‘netherworld’, while it is ambivalent with the compared ‘he thinks the sun never comes up on the village’, since the suffix |*-ki-*| is homonymous and can be a transitive participial relativizer (§ 17.2.2) as well as a transitive relational verb:

- (39) *nuna-t* *erc-uil-ka-i*  
 land-ABS.pl. dawn-never-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
 ‘the lands it never dawns upon; netherworld’  
 cf. *nuna-t<sub>P</sub>* *erc-uil-k-ai* (dawn-never-find-IND.3sg.3pl.)  
 ‘he thinks the sun never comes up on the village’.
- (40) *ciku-yuil-ke-knga-i* ‘the ones which he thinks never freeze’  
 freeze-never-think-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.

*antipassive* – as opposed with the relational NV |*-ki-*|, the derived verbs with this VV may be antipassivized by VVsm |+*y<sub>i2-</sub>*|:

- (41) a. *assi-il-k-i-uq*  
good-PRV-find-APS-IND.3sg. – cf. (36)  
‘he finds something to be bad, dislikes something’
- b. *mikel-k-i-unga* *ene-mnek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
small-find--APS--IND.1sg. house-ABM.1sg.sg.  
‘I find/feel my house to be too small’ – cf. (37).
- (42) [*Im-na* *arnaq*]<sub>S(A)</sub> *kenk-i-uq* *Nuk’a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
that-EX.ABS.sg. woman.ABS.sg. love-APS-IND.3sg. p.n.-ABM.sg.  
‘That (ANP) woman likes Nuk’aq.’
- (43) *Kama-k-i-uq* *nulia-minek.*  
suspicious-feel-APS-IND.3sg. Wi-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
‘He is suspecting his (own) wife.’
- cf. *Kama-k-aa* *nulia-ni.*  
suspicious-feel-IND.3sg.3sg. Wi-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
‘He suspects his (own) wife.’
- Kama-k-uq* (IND.3sg.) *ellmi-nek.*  
‘He is suspicious of his own behavior (e.g. after becoming sober).’

The first *-k-* in the following examples is relational NV, and the second *-k-* is non-relational VV:

- (44) *Anchorage-aaq<sub>P</sub>* *nuna-k-sunail-k-aqa.*  
pl.n.-LNK.ABS.sg. land-have.as-should.not-find-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘Anchorage is not a good place for me to live.’

The VV suffix can follow a comparative verb stem:

- (45) *unguva-yuumiirul-luni,* *tuqu-kuni* *taūgaam*  
live-lose.desire-APP.3Rsg. die-CNNif.APP.3Rsg. instead  
*assi-nru-k-luku.*  
good-CMP-consider-APP.3sg.  
‘she thought that she would be better off dead (she had no more desire to live, considering it better if she died instead’. [QQLK 68]

Emotional roots (§ 36.1) followed by the VV suffix are a frequent pattern of expansion for (patientive) monotransitives as in (33), while |+<sub>1</sub>cuy-| (‘to wish, tend’; § 43) occurs for intransitive stems:

- (46) *kama-yug-tuq* ‘he feels suspicious’  
*quya-yug-tuq* ‘he is thankful’  
*takar-yug-tuq* ‘he feels shy, respectful’.

3. **Inchoative intransitive NVrv |+ɲuɣc-|**

This inchoative intransitive suffix |+ɲuɣc-| ‘to become, be now, come into being’ (inchoative intransitive relational) is compared with the stative one:

- (47) a. *yu-urt-uq* ‘he is born’  
*yu-u-guq* i. ‘he is a person’, ii. ‘he lives, is alive’ – |yuy-|  
 ‘person’  
 b. *ak’alla-urt-uq* ‘it is now old, has become old’  
*ak’alla-u-guq* ‘it is old’ – |ak’aláy-| ‘something old’  
 c. *iki-urr-luni* ‘(he) growing ugly’ (APP.3Rsg.) – |ik’iy-| ‘ugly’  
*iki-u-luni* ‘(he) being ugly’.  
 d. *arnassaga-qapiara-urt-uq* ‘she has become a real old woman’ VVa  
 |-qapia(yá)ý-|  
*arnassaga-qapiara-u-guq* ‘she is a real old woman’ – |aynasayáy-|  
 ‘old.woman-ITS’

An inchoative relational is negated by |-nyíy-| ‘no longer’ (§ 44) instead of the general negator |-nyít-|, thus *yu-u-nrir-tuq* ‘he (has) died, is no longer’ for (a) above.

- (48) a. *Tanqik<sub>s</sub>=llu* *pi-urr-luni.*  
 light.ABS.sg.=and thing-become.APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘And there was light.’ [AYAG/Genesis 1: 3]  
 b. *tuqu-rraanr-aneq*, *allraku-ts* *pingayu-urt-ut.*  
 die-CNNqc-3sg. year-ABS.pl. three-become-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Three years have passed since he died.’

*within a complex verb*

- (49) *Ca-ur-cete-ngnaq-aa* *kuig-mek.*  
 some-become-A'.make-try-IND.3sg.3sg. river-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He is trying to creat something about the river.’ [EA]

The inchoative intransitive relational |+ɲuɣc-| ‘to become’ is illustrated below with the corresponding transitive NV |-k(ɪ)sayuc-| ‘to become someone’s’ (§ 37.4):

- (50) a. *Aata-urt-uq* *wiinga-nun.*  
 Fa-become-IND.3sg. 1sg.-ALL  
 ‘He has become father to me.’  
 b. *Aata-ksagut-aqa* (*wiinga*).  
 Fa-become-IND.1sg.3sg. 1sg.  
 ‘He has become/is now *my* father.’



Time nouns can often occur with this inchoative verb, instead of with a stative relational verb:

- (51) a. *aka-urt-uq*  
 long.time-become-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is now (has become) a long time ago.’  
 – but not \**aka-u-guq* (stative)
- b. *qangva-urt-a?*  
 when-become-INT.3sg.  
 ‘when was it?’ – but not the stative \**qangva-u-ga*.

After the comparative marker (‘to become –er, more’), the inchoative marker may occur with double vowel version (|+ɲuuɣc-|) implying reduced intensity (‘to become a little –er’; § 4.3-vi.b):

- (52) *Ange-nr-urt-uq* / *ange-nr-uurt-uq*      *aana-mini*.  
 big-CMP-INC(little).IND.3sg.      Mo-LOC.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘She has become (a little) bigger than her mother.’ / ‘She has become a little bigger than her mother.’

The inceptive VVt |-ɲi-| may follow the inchoative as in the following (b, c), and the transitive (c) shows that the suffix may add an impersonal agent:

- (53) a. *uksu-urt-uq*      ‘it is becoming winter’ – |*uksuɣ-*| ‘winter’  
 b. *uksu-urte-ng-uq*      ‘it is beginning to become winter’  
 c. *uksu-urte-ng-aakut* (IND.3sg.1pl.)  
 ‘we (pl.) are beginning to have winter (lit. it is beginning to winter on us)’; cf. § 37.3.1.

As VV type, though rather rare:

- (54) a. *ayu-urt-uq*  
 ‘he goes farther.’ – cf. |*ayu-*| ‘to progress, spread’.  
 b. *ner(‘)-qaina-urt-uq*  
 ‘he is ready to eat’ – VVa/NN |-*qainay-*| ‘just, merely’.

### 3.1. Transitive inflection

This intransitive relational verb, however, may also occur with transitive inflection, meaning ‘to make into s.t., make s.t. out of’, with A added. Note that, distinct from the relational NV, the A argument is not semantically a possessor.

This may be considered a zero-derived transitive use of monovalent verbs (§ 33.4.2).

- (55) *qaya-urt-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I made it (into) a kayak’  
*enr-urt-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I made it into bare bones (by removing the meat)’ – *|inȳ-|* ‘bone’  
*pici-urt-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he made it come true, made it a reality’ – *|pi+ciȳ-|* ‘reality’  
 cf. *pici-urt-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘it has become true’, cf. (14b) *pi-ci-u-guq* ‘it is true’.
- (56) *Kalika-urt-ai* *qanemci-put<sub>P</sub>*.  
 paper-make-IND.3sg.3pl. narrative-ABS.1pl.pl.  
 ‘He made a book out of our narratives.’  
 – plural for composite object (‘a book’; § 21.5).
- (57) *atur-arka-urte-lluki*  
 wear-VNrl.FUT-make-APP.3pl.  
 ‘(they) made a raincoat (out of them, i.e. seal gut)’ [ELLA 294]

Lexicalized after *|pi-|* stem, meaning ‘to create’:

- (58) *Agayute-m* [*cella* *ma-n’a*]<sub>P</sub>  
 God-REL.sg. world.ABS.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg.  
*pi-urte-llru-a*.  
 thing-make-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘God created this world.’ [Lonneux 41]

#### 4. Inchoative transitive NVrv *|-k(i)sayuc-|*

This inchoative transitive *|-k(i)sayuc-|* ‘to become (someone’s) N, acquire – as N’ is a suffix composite with transitive relational NVrv *|-ki-|* ‘to have – as N, own’ followed by the inceptive VVt *|+<sub>1</sub>cayuc-|* ‘to become, reach the state of’ (§ 42.2.1), in parallel to the intransitive relational *|+ηu-|* ‘to be N’ vs. *|+ηuȳc-|* ‘to make, become’.

The A argument is semantically the possessor, as is the case with stative transitives with *|-ki-|*:

- (59) a. *qaya-qsagut-aqa* ‘I got it as my kayak, it is *now* my kayak’  
 kayak-NVrv-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 cf. *qaya-q-aqa* ‘it is my kayak’

- b. *ene-ksagut-aat* ‘they *became* the owners of the house’  
house-NVrv-IND.3pl.3sg.  
cf. *ene-k-aat* ‘it is their house’
- c. *yu-ksagut-aanga* ‘she adopted me (lit. I am *now* her person)’  
person-NVrv-IND.3sg.1sg.  
cf. *yu-k-aanga* ‘I am her child’
- d. *nuli-qsaguc-iiq-amken*  
Wi-NVrv-FUT-IND.1sg.2sg.  
‘you (sg.) will become my wife (lit. I will now have you as a wife)’  
cf. *nuli-q-aamken* ‘you (sg.) are my wife’.

Intransitive forms are reciprocal: cf. § 37.2-ii:

- (60) a. *ila-ksagut-ukut* (IND.1pl.)  
‘we (pl.) have become related/companions’  
cf. *ila-k-ukut* ‘we (pl.) are relatives’
- b. *ila-ksagut-aakut* (IND.1pl.3sg.)  
‘she has become related to us, we adopted her’.
- (61) *umyua-llgute-ksagute-llrii-k* ‘two who are now with one mind’  
think-fellow.in-NVrv-VNrl-ABS.du. [YQYW 198 (Theresa Moses  
and David Martin)]  
– cf. § 20.4-i for the cyclical expansion and |*-kiłyiik/t-*|.
- (62) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub> angya-qsagut-aa* [*u-na*  
man-REL.sg. boat-become-IND.3sg.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg.  
*angya-cuar*]<sub>P</sub>.  
boat-small.ABS.sg.  
‘The man now owns this small boat as his (boat).’

After the expletive |*pi-*|, the suffix forms a bivalent verb of acquisition (‘to get’):

- (63) *Pi-ksagute-llru-aqa* [*kipus-vik nutaraq*]<sub>P</sub>.  
thing-become-PST-IND.3sg.3s. buy-place.ABS.sg. new.ABS.sg.  
‘I now have acquired the new store as mine; the new store is now  
mine.’ – cf. (18a).

4.1. As VV suffix  $|-_1k(i)sayuc-$ 

This suffix  $|-_1k(i)sayuc-$  ‘to come to feel’ corresponds to the stative transitive  $|-_1ki-$  ‘to feel forward’ (§ 37.2.1):

- (64) a. *paqna-ksagut-aa* (~ *paqna-yagut-aa*)  
 ‘he now became curious about it’ –  $|paqna-$  ‘curious’  
 cf. *paqna-k-aa* ‘he is curious about it’  
 b. *alia-ksagut-aa* (~ *alia-yagut-taa*)  
 ‘he now feels lonely’ –  $|alia-$  ‘lonely’  
 cf. *alia-(na)-k-aa* ‘he finds it lonely’.  
 c. *aa-qsagut-aa*  
 ‘she now feels worried about him/it’ –  $|aay-$  ‘worried, unsafe’.
- (65) *assiil-kessagut-amken*  
 dislike-become-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 ‘I have begun to dislike you (sg.)’ –  $|asiit-$  ‘to be bad’.
- (66) *Mikel-kessagut-aa*                      *atkuk<sub>p</sub>*                      *mikelngu-u-m<sub>A</sub>*  
 small-become-IND.3sg.3sg.    parka.ABS.sg.    child-EV-REL.sg.  
 ‘The child outgrew the parka.’

## 5. Morphosyntactic properties of relational verbs

The illustrations above of the four relational verbs show that they functionally correspond to the so-called copula constructions in many other languages, at least in parts, but that they are far from being so, revealing that the equational relation between two entities is differently conceptualized depending on whether a possessor (for one referent) is involved in the relation or not. This may be an example of how a linguistic articulation, taken for granted by speakers of one or many other languages, can be handled quite differently in another language.

### 5.1. Difference from non-relational denominal verbs

An important difference from other (i.e. non-relational) verbalizing NV suffixes (§ 38) – e.g. ‘to have, to get, to make’, to deal with’, etc. – or patientive bivalent verbs is that a nominal stem of a relational verb does not have its adnominal adjunct NP in the ablative-modalis case (stranded or demoted NP ; § 25.2.2, § 25.2.1).

From an appositive phrase, e.g. *qayaq nutaraq* ‘a new kayak’, we may have denominal possessive verb clauses like:

- (67) a. *qaya-ngqer-tua*                      *nutara-mek*      ‘I have a new kayak’  
          kayak-have-IND.1sg.              new-ABM.sg.  
       b. *qaya-li-anga*                         *nutara-mek*  
          kayak-make-IND.1sg.3sg. new-ABM.sg.  
          ‘he made me a new kayak’ (trivalent).

Likewise we can have:

- (68) a. *ui-ngqe-llru-uq*                      *kass'a-mek*  
          Hu-have-PST-IND.3sg.              white.man-ABM.sg.  
          ‘she had a white man husband’  
       b. *ui-nge-llru-uq*                         *kass'a-mek*  
          Hu-get-PST-IND.3sg.              white.man-ABM.sg.  
          ‘she got a white man husband’  
       c. *ui-liu-llru-uq*                         *kass'a-minek*  
          Hu-do.with-PST-IND.3sg.              white.man-ABM.sg.  
          ‘she gossiped about her white man husband’.

By contrast, relational verbs cannot have a stranded NP as oblique adjunct like (67) and (68), so the following is ungrammatical:

- (69) a. \**qaya-u-guq*    *nutara-mek*  
       b. \**qaya-q-aqa*    *nutara-mek*  
          – intending to mean ‘it is a/my new kayak’.

Instead, information about the newness of the kayak is furnished by an appositive-mood clause as in the following, which, however, is a bi-clausal construction with the cosubordinate clause supplying an additional explanation:

- (70) a. *qaya-u-guq*                      *nutara-u-luni*  
          kayak-be-IND.3sg.              new-be-APP.3Rsg.  
          ‘it is a kayak and is a new one’  
       b. *qaya-q-aqa*                         *nutara-u-luni* / *nutara-u-luku*.  
          kayak-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.              new-be-APP.3Rsg. / -APP.3sg.)  
          ‘I have a kayak and it is a new one. / I have a new kayak (have a kayak being new).’  
          – the second *nutara-u-luku* is the form with the coreferentializer deleted (§ 51.1.4.3).

One should not be deceived, however, in finding that such a construction as *qayar-pa-u-guq nutara-mek* with the NN *-pa-* ‘big’ and the oblique NP adjunct is acceptable as well as *qayar-pa-u-guq nutara-u-luni* with the appositional verb. In this case a peculiarity of the augmentative NN *|+pay-|* (§ 20.1.1) is involved, that is, the suffix is not only augmentative (‘big N’) but may also mean the possessor (‘one who has a big N’) – e.g. *qaner-pak* ‘a big mouth / one with a big mouth’; see (9). So *qayar-pa-u-* can be a relational verb and a possessive verb, in which latter case not only *nutara-u-luni* but *nutara-mek* can occur. Thus:

- (71) a. *qayar-pa-u-guq nutara-u-luni* (\**nutara-mek*) ‘it is a new big kayak’  
 b. *qayar-pa-u-guq nutara-u-luni / nutara-mek* ‘he has a new big kayak’

– which means that the suffix makes the denominal verb a possessive verb, suggesting in turn that a CAY relational verb is to be distinguished from other denominal verbs like *|-ŋqɣ-|* ‘to have’ (§ 38.1).

In the following example also, (b) is unacceptable or questionable while (a) is repeated in § 51(74):

- (72) a. *Can-lir-luni* *nuna-u-guq.*  
 grass-have.plenty-APP.3Rsg. land-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is a land with lots of grass.’  
 b. ?\**Can-leg-mek* *nuna-u-guq.*  
 grass-having-ABM.sg. land-be-IND.3sg.

## 5.2. Co-occurrence with deverbalized clauses

A topic for a relational verb clause is always an S or P argument, accordingly expressed by absolutive-case NP if external. The absolutive NP is very frequently a deverbalized clause, a complement clause, or a relative clause. See also § 18.4.1

- (73) a. [*Aata-ma*<sub>G</sub> *assir-i-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub> *atawa-u-guq*  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. good-INC-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. blessing-be-IND.3sg.  
*wang-ni / -nun.*  
 1sg.-LOC/ALL  
 b. [*Aata-ma*<sub>G</sub> *assir-i-llr-a*]<sub>P</sub>  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. good-INC-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*atawa-k-aqa.*  
 blessing-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘It is a blessing to me that my father got better (my father’s getting better is a blessing).’

- (74) [Ya-a-qva-ni tange-l-qa]<sub>p</sub>  
 over.there-EX-far-LOC see-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 qaya-qe-llini-a.  
 kayak-have.as-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘What I saw far away is (as I see now) his kayak.’

This co-occurrence of a relational verb with a deverbalized clause is akin to cyclical derivation in the next section (§ 37.5.3).

### 5.3. Cyclical verbal expansion

As stated in § 4.2.5.3, the relational verb NVrv, as well as the privative NVn |+ɲit-| ‘to have no N, lack N’ (§ 38.3), are the key morphemes on one side of transcategorial conversion (N→V) in CAY cyclical expansion, as opposed to deverbalizers (relativizing VNrl and nominalizing VNnm) on the other side (V→N). While nominal cyclical expansion represented by N→V→N (NVN) is discussed in § 20.4, this section deals with verbal cyclical expansion represented by V→N→V (VNV).

#### 5.3.1. Verbal markers

A VNrl or VNnm composed with an NVrv has produced a fair number of grammatical markers, more or less fixed, the most common of which are the past-tense marker and the index of comparison. Both of these markers distinguish the intransitive and transitive, naturally because an intransitive and a transitive relational verb are involved.

The past-tense marker is VVt |-tʃu-|, though in HBC dialect it retains the original distinction between intransitive |-tʃu-| and transitive |-tqi-| (§ 42), which are obviously fixed composite suffixes with VNnm |-tʃ-| (§ 18.2.2) coupled with the stative intransitive and transitive relational verbs. In GCAY, i.e. non-HBC, the intransitive vs. transitive contrast is merged. This is a typical example of well-established cyclical derivations for grammatical markers (V→N→V), together with the markers of comparison.

The comparative verb markers VVc |-nʃu-| / |-nqi-| ‘to be more than’ (§ 45.1) and (inchoative) |-nʃ-uʃc-| / |-ni-qsayuc-| ‘to become more than’ (§ 45.3), where the abstract nominalizer VVnm |-nʃ-| (§ 18.3.1.1) is followed by a relational verb, with the four constructions parallel to relational verbs. The same pattern of constitutions occur with the superlative (§ 45.2) and the equalitive (§ 45.6, with slight deviation for stative equalitive). See § 45.7 for the full list of parameter markers of comparison (a total of twelve; 4×3).

Other cyclically derived grammatical markers with nominalizers and relativizers include:

- (75) a.  $|-n(i)\dot{y}-u-|$  ‘to be always/constantly –ing’ (§ 18.3.1.1)  
 b.  $|+uci-u-|$  /  $|+uci-qi-|$  ‘to be like, in that state’ (simulative; § 18.2.1.3)  
 c.  $|+ca\dot{y}a-u-|$  /  $|+ca\dot{y}a-qi-|$  ‘to be the time/route for –ing’ (§ 18.2.3).
- (76) a.  $|+ya-u-|$  /  $|+ya-qi-|$   
 ‘to be/have –ed’ (stative passive)/ ‘to be –ing’ (§ 17.4.2)  
 a’.  $|+ya-u\dot{y}c-|$  /  $|+ya-qsayuc-|$  (inchoative)  
 b.  $|+ya\dot{y}ka-u-|$  ‘must be –ed’ (§ 17.4.3)  
 b’.  $|+ya\dot{y}ka-u\dot{y}c-|$  (inchoative)  
 c.  $|-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-u-|$  ‘kind of (compared with others)’ (§ 17.2.1)  
 d.  $|+na\dot{y}-qi-|$  ‘should, must’ (impersonal A addition) (§ 39.2.1)  
 e.  $|+vi-ki-|$  P/R addition (§ 39.7.2)  
 f.  $|+(u)ti-ki-|$  P/T addition (§ 39.7.1)

See also combinations  $|+ya-qi-|$  (§ 17.4.2),  $|-ki\eta a-u-|$  /  $|-ki\eta a-qi-|$  (§ 17.4.1), etc., illustrated in verbal expansion below (§ 37.5.3.2).

Another NV suffixes that contribute to creating verbal markers from a nominalizer or a relativizer is the privative  $|+(ta)\dot{\eta}it-|$  ‘to lack, have no’ (§ 38.1), as inVVn  $|-n\dot{y}it-|$  /  $|+tait-|$  ‘not’ (§ 44) and VV  $|-lriay+(ta)\dot{\eta}it-|$  (§ 17.2.1-xii) in particular.

### 5.3.2. Verbal cyclical expansion ( $V \rightarrow N \rightarrow V$ )

Cyclical expansion  $VN + NV \rightarrow VV$ , which is less fixed than grammatical markers, is also a very productive process, one that is like a syntactic expansion, as opposed to nominal cyclical expansion  $NV + VN \rightarrow NN$  (which are largely relativization of relational verbs; § 20.4). Since the successive conversions are not very tight, the two transcategorial conversions may have some modifier between (e.g. tense-aspect, evidentiality, negation). Verbal cyclical expansions also can be recursive as (78b) and (81a) below.

- (77) *tang*, *pissu-qenga-qe-tu-kenka*  
 see hunt-VNrl-have.as-HAB-PTP.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘see, they are the ones (kind) I always hunt’  
 cf. *tang*, *pissu-tu-kenka*  
 see hunt-HAB-PTP.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘see, I always hunt them’.



- (78) a. *tanger-kenga-u-nrir-luteng* ‘they are no longer to be seen’  
 see-VNrl-be-no.longer-APP.3Rpl.  
 b. *tanger-kenga-u-nrir-arka-urr-luteng*  
 see-VNrl-be-no.longer-VNrl.FUT-become-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘they (*as a type*) will no longer be seen’.
- (79) a. *niic-u-lriar-u-llru-nril-ama*  
 listen-tend-VNrl-be-PST-NEG-CNNbc.1sg. [AKKL 42]  
 ‘because I was not of the kind who tends to listen (not cautious)’  
 cf. *niic-u-llru-nril-ama* ‘because I did not tend to listen’  
 b. *agayu-ma-pia-lriar-u-llru-llini-lrii-t*  
 worship-CNT-ITS-VNrl-be-PST-EVD-PTP-3pl. [AKKL 20] = § 47(33).  
 ‘they are ones who (we find) were very religious people’.
- (80) *yaa-qva-nek pi-kar-t-a-u-ngate-llru-llini-uq ..*  
 far-area-ABL thing-FUT-get-VNrl-be-maybe-PST-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it seems like this was (something) brought [to the Kuskokwim] from afar’. [CIUL 12]

In the following example, (a) has two recursive VNV expansions, which are further embedded in complex transitive verb and is again relativized in (b):

- (81) a. *tekit-a-u-lriar-u-llru-uq*  
 arrive-VNrl-be-VNrl-be-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he was a guest, lit. the one who was in the category of having arrived  
 (in the inviting feast)’  
 cf. *tekite-llru-uq* ‘he arrived’  
 b. *tekit-a-u-lriar-u-llru-ni-la-qi-it*  
 arrive-VNrl-be-VNrl-be-PST-A'.say-CUS-VNrl-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘the one that they used to say was a guest’  
 – often used in story telling by elders.

## Chapter 38

### Non-relational verbalizations (NV)

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In addition to relational verbs (§ 37), there are a fair number of non-relational denominal verbs which are conveniently classified into five groups as below – § 38.1 through § 38.5. They are productive, but to varying degrees.

#### 1. Possession/existence/deprivation

Most of the verbs of possession/acquisition/existence/deprivation have pairs characterized by the presence/absence of *|+ta-|*. Derived stems that use them are monovalent with S argument involved, except for one bivalent *|+ñiy̆-|*.

*Table 34:* Verbs of possession/existence/deprivation

NV	<i> -ñq̆x- </i> / <i> +y̆- ~ +Ø- </i> (APP)	‘to have N, exist at [place]’
	<i> +tañq̆x- </i> / <i> +tay̆- </i> (APP)	‘to exist (at the time, temporarily) at [place]’
NV	<i> +ñit- </i>	‘to have no N, not exist, lack’; cf. VVn <i> -ñy̆it- </i> ‘not’
	<i> +tait- </i>	‘to have no N, not to exist, lack’
NV	<i> +ñiy̆uc- </i>	‘not to have any longer’
	<i> +taiy̆uc- </i>	‘not to have any longer (now)’
NV	<i> -ñ*i- </i>	‘to realize, acquire N’
	<i> +tañi- </i>	‘to realize (now), acquire N (now)’
NV	<i> +ñiy̆- </i> /	‘to de-N, deprive N, have N removed’ (bivalent)
	<i> +ñi(y̆a)y̆- </i>	‘to have a cold (body part)’
NV	<i> +ñicay̆- </i>	‘be in need of N, lack N’

The constituent *|+ta-|* in the pairs adds the connotation of some temporariness or indefiniteness (or tendency) rather than innate or essential existence, possession, etc. to the suffix and possibly suggests confirmedness or evidence (‘evidently, as I see, no doubt’).

These are among the most frequent suffixes in any genre of CAY utterances. The first two have suppletive variants, with the latter variant being selected by the appositional mood verbs (§ 51.1.2-ii).

The |+*ta*-| in the pairs is striking for CAY in that it semantically modifies the *following* suffix (like a prefix) in contrast with all the other derivational suffixes, which modify the *preceding* portion of the word. It also occurs within the NN |+*taly*-| ‘one having (now)’ corresponding with the NN |-*ly*-| (§ 20.1.1). This is the only one prefixal morpheme (§ 4.3.1) except for the isolated prefix |*ta*-| of the a naphoric nature for demonstrative stems (‘that’; § 12.2.3.6-ii). It may remind one also of VV |+*ta*-| ‘that much, to that extent’, although this modifies its preceding morpheme as a suffix.

An existential verb in this group is distinct from a “locative verb” – NV |+*mit*-| ~ |+*[person]nit*-| ‘to be at/in [someone’s]’ (§ 4.3-v, § 38.5) – which expresses the existence of someone / something at a certain location, whose reference by a locative-case nominal (-*mi*/*ni*) idiosyncratically forms a phrasal compound with an (obsolete) verb |*it*-|. It is discussed separately in connection with the locative case (§ 27.8) because of the morphological peculiarities.

NV |-*ngqx*-| ‘to have N, exist at [place]’

- (1) *Kuiks*                      *neqe-ngqer-tuq*.  
river.ABS.sg. fish-have-IND.3sg.  
‘The river *usually* has fish (*as its natural part or product*).’ – cf. (6) below.
- (2) *Enas*                      *yu-ngqer-tuq*.  
house ABS.sg. person-have-IND.3sg.  
‘The house is *occupied* (*whether or not someone is in it now*).’ – cf. (8a) below.  
cf. *?ena neqe-ngqer-tuq* ‘the house *usually* has fish’, which is rather odd.

In the following the ablative-modalis NP is a stranding from the appositive phrase (§ 25.2.2):

- (3) *Ila-ngqer-tua*                      *amller-nek*.  
relative-have-IND.1sg. many-ABM.pl.  
‘I have a lot of relatives.’  
cf. *ila-t*                      *amller-e-t*  
relative-ABS.pl. many-EV-ABS.pl.  
‘many relatives’.

See also § 38.4 for other ‘have’-verbs (‘to have a good/nice’, ‘to have a just right’, ‘to have much’, ‘to have little’).

NV |+ỵ-| ~ |+Ø-| ‘to exist at [N: place], have N’ – specific to appositional verbs, cf. variant |-ŋq̣x-|, immediately above.

- (4) a. *qaltar-Ø-lun’ malru-gnek*  
 pail-have-APP.3Rsg. two-ABM.du.  
 ‘he had two pails’ [QANM 82] – |*qaltaỵ-Ø-luni*|  
 b. [*atauci-mek qimugte-r-luni*] *anguns*  
 one-ABM.sg. dog-have-APP.3Rsg. man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the man having one dog’  
 – the phrase in [ ] is an adnominal clause (§ 16.6-i, § 51.5) with the suffix *-r-* in which the appositive phrase *atauciq* (ABS.sg.) *qimugta* (ABS.sg.) ‘one dog’ is embedded.
- (5) *Qanemci-kar-Ø-luni Tekit-narqe-lar-tuq*  
 story-FUT-have-APP.3Rsg arrive-NEC-GEN-IND.3sg.  
 ‘One must arrive with a story.’ – title of [QNMCM] (Orr and Orr 1995).

This suffix often occurs with the noun |*aipaỵ-*| ‘companion’, which expresses additional possession ‘to have N also, beside, together’:

- (6) *Ayagyuar-lua litnaur-vig-puts kii-mi*  
 young-APP.1sg. learn-place-ABS.1pl.sg. alone-CNNst.3Rsg.  
*ener-pa-u-la-llru-uq [agayu-vig-mek*  
 house-ITS-be-HAB-PST-IND.3sg. worship-place-ABM.sg.  
*aipar-Ø-luni]*  
 companion-have-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘When I was young, our school used to be the only big house *besides* the church.’  
 cf. indicative construction:  
*agayu-vig-mek aipa-ngqer-tuq* (IND.3sg.)  
 ‘It also has (lit. a companion of) a church’.
- (7) [*Kass’a-mek aipar-Ø-luni aya-llermini*  
 white.man-ABS.sg. companion-have-APP.3Rsg. go-CNNwn.3Rsg.  
*Mamteriller-mun.*  
 pl.n.-ALL.sg.  
 ‘(He) was with a white man while he was going / on the way to Bethel.’  
 [YQYL 6]

NV |+*taŋq̄x-*| ‘to have, exist (at the time, temporarily) at [place]’ – cf. NV |+*taŋ-*| below as variant for non-appositional verbs.

- (8) a. *Ena*<sub>S</sub>                      *yug-tangqer-tuq*.  
 house.ABS.sg.      person-have-IND.3sg.  
 ‘There is a person/persons in the house (*now, not necessarily living*).’  
 – cf. (2) above.
- b. [*Tau-na*                      *aqumlleq*]<sub>S</sub>      *yug-tangqer-tuq*.  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.      chair.ABS.sg.      person-have-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Someone *is sitting* on the chair (whether he is the owner or not).’  
 – *yu-ngqer-tuq* instead would imply ‘someone *owns* the chair (even though he is not sitting on it)’.
- (9) *Qanemci-tangqer-tuq=llu* [*angalku-t*<sub>G</sub>                      [*cam-a-vet*  
 story-have-IND.3sg.=and      shaman-REL.pl.      down-EV-ALL  
 [*imar-pi-i-m*<sub>G</sub>                      (*e*)*terr'-anun*]]  
 content-real-EV-REL.sg.      bottom-ALL.3sg.sg.  
*aya-la-llr-atnek*].  
 go-CUS-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘There is also a story about shamans going to the bottom of the sea.’  
 [CAUY 35]  
 – *aya-la-llr-atnek* to *qanemci-tangqer-tuq* is *amller-nek* to *ila-ngqer-tua* in (3).
- (10) *Kuik*<sub>S</sub> / *Kuig-mi*                                      *neq-tangqer-tuq*.  
 river.ABS.sg. / river-LOC.sg.                      fish-have-IND.3sg.  
 ‘There are fish in the river (*now*).’ – cf. (1) above.

NV |+*taŋ-*| ‘to exist (at the time, temporarily) at [place]’ – specific to appositional verbs vs. |+*taŋq̄x-*| immediately above.

- (11) [*Atauci-mek*      *qimugter-tar-luku*] [*elati-i*                      *qasgi-m*<sub>G</sub>]<sub>P</sub>  
 one-ABM.sg.      dog-have-APP.3sg.      out-ABS.3sg.sg.      q.-REL.sg.  
*tanger-ciq-an*.  
 see.FUT-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) will see the *qasgiq* with one dog outside of it (you will see the outside of the *qasgiq* having one dog).’  
 – [*atauci-mek qimugter-tar-luku*] as adnominal clause with the appositional verb, to be compared with non-appositional clause:  
 cf. *atauci-mek qimugte-tangqer-tuq* (IND.3sg.) ‘there is one dog’.

See also § 36(3) *aar-tar-tuq* ‘he tends to be wary, afraid, cautious (by nature)’ for the suffix as expander of a root.

NV |+*nit*-| ‘not to exist, lack, to have no N’ (privative: PRV).

- (12) *Ena*<sub>S</sub>                    *yu-it-uq*.  
house.ABS.sg. person-PRV-IND.3sg.  
‘The house is unoccupied.’ – cf. (2).

*With various nominal stems or roots* – including location nouns (15), cf. § 11.2.3.2.

- (13) a. *kemg-it-uq*            ‘it is skinny.’ – |*kimy*-| ‘flesh’  
      *pi-it-uq* [Y]            ‘he is gone’  
      *nalla-it-uq*            ‘he is gone, totally vanished, is unique’ – § 11(16a)  
                                  |*nali*-| ‘corresponding’  
      b. *uqama-it-uq*        i) ‘it is heavy’, ii) ‘it does not have any weight’ –  
                                  |*uqamay*-| ‘manageable weight’  
      *angni-it-uq*            ‘he is sad, unhappy’ – |*añniy*-| ‘happiness, be happy’.
- (14) *Ella*<sub>S</sub>                    *nengla-ite-kani-lar-tuq*.  
weather.ABS.sg. cold-PRV-more-CUS-IND.3sg. – |*ninla*-| ‘cold(ness)’  
‘The weather is getting warmer (not as cold).’
- (15) a. *nalla-it-uq*            ‘it has no limit, existence’ – cf. (13a)  
      b. *Tunga-u-naku*        *qanruc-iiq-aqa*.  
                                  space-PRV-APP.3sg. tell-FUT-IND.1sg.3sg.  
                                  ‘I will tell him directly, personally, i.e. having no intermediary in  
                                  between.’  
                                  – with change of /it/ into /u/, cf. § 51.1.3 (negative appositional).

Although the privative suffix is typically of the NV type, there are at least two cases where it would seem to be of the VV type suffix:

i) Following a number of monovalent (adjectival) stems:

- (16) a. *cuka-it-uq*            ‘it is slow’ – |*cuka*-| ‘(to run) fast’  
      b. *assi-it-uq*            ‘it is bad’ – |*asiy*-| ‘to be good’  
                                  *assi-it-qapigt-uq*        ‘it is very bad’ – VVa |*qapiyc*-| (ITS).

The privative suffix is illustrated with apical deletion triggered by the following suffix:

- (17) *nepa-i-pakar-tuq* ‘it is so quiet’ – |*napa-*| ‘sound’; see (P5i) concerning VVa |<sub>+1</sub>*pakay-*| (ITS).
- (18) *ma-n’a<sub>S</sub>*                      *tanger-kenga-u-nani*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.            see-VNrl-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘this place has nothing to see’ – § 51.1.3.
- (19) *Nuna<sub>S</sub>=llu* [*eluci-i-nani*                      *ima-u-nani=llu*].  
 land=and    shape-PRV-APP.3Rsg.    content-PRV-APP.3Rsg.=and  
 ‘And the earth was a formless void.’ [AYAG / Genesis 1:2]  
 – from |*iluciŷ+ŋit*[-<sub>1</sub>*nani*| and |*imay+ŋit*[-<sub>1</sub>*nani*| with deletion, but with *-u-* < *-i-* for the latter as (18).

Sequence of NV |*-ŋqx-*| and VV |*-nyit-*| as in (b) below is a composite suffix equivalent to the suffix |*+ŋit-*| in (a), although possibly less natural:

- (20) a. *ui-ngit-uq* (Hu-PRV-IND.3sg.) ‘she has no husband’  
 b. *ui-ngqe-nrit-uq* (Hu-have-NEG-IND.3sg.) ‘she does not have a husband’  
 – see the parallel pair (26a) and (b).

The privative NV suffix has yielded a number of productive (more or less fixed) composite suffixes of negations (VVn; § 44), including the most general VVn |*-nyit-*| ‘not’ (composed with the abstract nominalizer NN |*-ny-*|).

Examples of composite negative suffixes are given here, some of which are not so clear in compositions or are almost beyond analysis, with full list of seventeen being in § 44:

- (21) a. |*-nyit-*| ‘not’, with the most neutral nominalizing suffix VNnm  
           |*-ny-*|  
           |*-tŷ(u)it-*| ‘have never been; there was no such person/time/place’ (§ 44), with the past NN/VV  
           |*+ŋait-*| ‘will not’  
 b. |*-ksait-*| ‘not yet’  
       |*+(s)ciiyat-*| ‘cannot’.

Actually, more than half of the seventeen VVn (and VVcm) suffixes given in § 44 contains this privative component. As stated in § 4.2.5.3 and § 37.5.3.1, relational verbs VNrv and privative NVn |*+ŋit-*| are the key morphemes in producing grammatical markers by cyclical derivation.

The privative suffix occurs after a nominalizer, as in  $|+(u)ci-it-|$ ,  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}ka-it-|$  (§ 18.2.1) and  $|-li\dot{y}ka-it-|$  (§ 18.2.2.2):

- (22) *ca-llerka-it-uq* ‘he didn’t know what to do’  
do.what-VNnm.FUT-PRV-IND.3sg.
- (23) *na-nl-uciiit-aqa* ‘I don’t know where it is’  
where-be.at-not.sure-IND.1sg.3sg.  
*kangi-ngqerr-uciiit-uq*  
meaning-have-not.sure-IND.3sg. [CAUY 19]  
‘it is not known if it has meaning (source)’.

The derivatives involving  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  (/u/ deleted after V) in particular are very productive as ignorative complex transitives ‘A’ not to be sure / know whether S/A does s.t., to be unsure that/if’, as illustrated in § 40.2.5.

NV  $|+tait-|$  ‘not to exist, lack / to have no N (now, at the time) / tend not to have’ (privative).

- (24) a. *ca-tait-uq* ‘he/it is not here’ –  $|ca-|$  ‘something’  
b. *acag-tait-uq* ‘the aunt is not here (now)’ –  $|acay-|$  ‘paternal aunt’  
– compare with the counterpart without  $|+ta-|$ :  
cf. *aca-it-uq* ‘he has no aunt’; see also (20a).
- (25) a. *nallu-tait-ut* *cetua-t<sub>s</sub>*  
not.knowing-PRV-IND.3pl. beluga-ABS.pl.  
‘belugas are very sensitive (tend not to be ignorant)’.  
b. *avaur-tait-* ‘not to tend to forget’ in § 27(29).

Sequence of NV  $|+tanqx-|$  and VVn  $|-nyit-|$  as in (26b), (27) may be quasi-equivalent to the suffix  $|+tait-|$  (26a) and be used (or understood) by some speakers, although it is less common and less natural, with the same parallelism as in (20a) and (b):

- (26) a. *Agayuvik<sub>s</sub>* *yug-tait-uq.*  
church.ABS.sg. person-there.be.no-IND.3sg.  
‘There is nobody in the church (now).’  
b. *Agayuvik<sub>s</sub>* *yug-tangqe-nrit-uq.*  
church.ABS.sg. person-have-NEG-IND.3sg.  
‘There is nobody in the church (now).’
- (27) *murag-tangqe-nril-an* ‘because there is no wood’.  
wood-have-NEG-CNNbc.3sg.



NV |+*ɲiɣuc*-| (with intervocalic velar deletion of /*ɣ*/, cf. P10) ‘not to have N any longer’ – cf. VVn |-*ɬcuiɣuc*-| ‘no longer’; cf. NN |+*ɲiɣut*-| ‘deceased’ below (§ 20.1.1).

- (28) a. *aipa-irut-uq* ‘he does not have a companion/mate any longer’ – |*aipay̆*-| ‘partner’  
*ellalu-irut-uq* ‘it does not rain any longer’ – |*ilaluy̆*-| ‘rain’  
*angayuqa-irut-uq* ~ *angayuq-riut-uq* (*qar* > *qr* through *qer*; cf. P19)  
‘he has no more parents, lost his parents (through their death)’  
b. *nuliar-iut-uq* ‘he does not have a wife any longer’ – |*nuliaɣ̆*-| ‘wife’  
*kemg-iut-uq* ‘he has gotten skinny’ – |*kimy̆*-| ‘flesh, meat’  
c. *ui-ngiut-uq* ‘she does not have a husband any longer’ – |*ui*-| ‘husband’.
- (29) *mikelngu-u-t*                      *aci-irute-llr-e-t*  
child-EV-ABS.pl.                      below-no.longer-VNrl-EV-ABS.pl.  
‘children who have gone underground (not to return)’ (in time of *qaaritaq* festival; see § 11-fn. 3). [CAUY 44–45]
- (30) *Yu-u-ts*                              *taka-irut-ut*.  
person-EV-ABS.pl.                      shyness/respect-no.longer-IND.3pl.  
‘People are no longer respectful.’ – |*takay̆*-| emotional root (§ 36.1).
- (31) *Nutaan=am neqe-ts*                      *miku-irut-aqata*  
well=ENC                      fish-ABS.pl.                      abundant-no.longer-CNNbc.3pl.  
*kiag-u-ma-inanrani, ...*  
summer-be-CNT-CNNwl.3sg.  
‘Ah, when fish begin to reduce in numbers while it is still the summer, ...’ [FASM 24] – see § 34.2-iii for plural verb |*mikuɣ̆*-|.
- (32) *Agayu-la-llr-at<sub>s</sub>*    [*amllr-nek*                      *maa=i*  
worship-CUS-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.                      many-ABM.pl.                      today  
*yug-nek*]    *nallu-nrite-sta-irut-lini-uq*.  
person-ABM.pl.                      unknown-NEG-VNrl.-no.long-EVD-IND.3sg.  
‘There are no longer many people nowadays who know their worshipping.’ [CAUY 212]
- (33) *Imgayaga-irut-uten*  
cigarette-no.longer-IND.2sg.  
*kuingir-paka-avet* ~ [Y] *melug-paka-avet*.  
smoke-ITS-CNNbc.2sg.  
‘You (sg.) ran out of cigarettes because you smoke so much.’

As NN type: ‘deceased’

(34) *ui-**ngiute**-ka* (ABS.1sg.sg.)  
 ‘my late/deceased husband’ – |*ui-*| ‘husband’  
*aana-**irut**-ka* ‘my late mother’ – |*aana-*| ‘mother’.

(35) *angayuqa-**irute**-mta* (~ *angayuqr-**iute**-mta*)  
 parent-deceased-REL.1pl.sg.  
 ... *ite-llr-ani*  
 enter-VNnm-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘when our late parent came in’. [AKKL 108]

NV |*+taiyuc-*| ‘not to have any longer’:

(36) a. *ca-**tairut**-uq*  
 something-no.more-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is no more’ – euphemism for *tuqu-uq* ‘he has died’  
 b. *Ayumian tua=i tamar-mi ca-**tairut**-lini-uq*  
 then SFL all-CNNst.3Rsg. some-no.more-EVD-IND.3sg.  
*tayima (ta=ima)*.  
 there  
 ‘Then the ghost disappeared completely into the ground.’ [YQYL 10]

(37) *Cikur-**tairuc**-an qusuur-e-t<sub>s</sub> tekit-ut.*  
 ice-no.more-CNNbc.3sg. smelt-EV-ABS.pl. come-IND.3pl.  
 ‘When (because) the ice has gone (finally), smelt arrived.’

NV |*-ŋ\**i-**| ‘to acquire, to get N, to have N realized, to realize’. May add A<sub>IMP</sub> as in (39b-ii) and (40a). See aspectual VVt |*-ŋ\**i-**| ‘to begin to’ (§ 42.2.1).

(38) a. *ca-**ng**’-uq* ‘he caught fish’<sup>1</sup> (south of the Kuskokwim; Jacobson 1998: 15) – |*ca-*| ‘some’  
 b. *akerte-**ng**-uq* ‘it is sunny now’ – |*akiȳt(i)-*|  
 c. *ui-**ng**-uq* ‘she got a husband, married’ – |*ui-*| ‘husband’  
*ui-**nge**-llru-unga ellii-nek* ‘I got married to him’.  
 Hu-get-PST-IND.1sg. 3sg.-ABM

(39) a. *yu-**ng**’-uq*  
 i. ‘it (e.g. house) has people (occupied whether someone is in there or not)’, cf. *yug-**tang**-uq* ‘it (e.g. house) has people (as I see)’

1. Possibly a euphemism or a case of word taboo for *neq(e)-t-uq* (|*niqi+c-*| fish-catch).

- ii. ‘she got a child’ – |yuy-| ‘person’
- b. *yu-ng-aa*  
 i. ‘he got/found a person for it (e.g. house to occupy)’  
 ii. ‘it (house) is occupied now’ with A<sub>IMP</sub>.
- (40) a. *mecu-ng-aa* ⇌ *mecu-ng-uq* ‘it is wet’[YED 231] – |micuy-| ‘liquid part, juice’  
 b. *mecu-ng-t-aa* ‘he got it wet’ – VVsm |+c-| ‘to make – to’ (§ 39.1.1)  
*mecu-ng-t-uq* ‘he got soaked’ [YED 231]  
 c. *mecu-ng-cir-aa* ‘he is soaking it, getting it wet’ [EA]  
*mecu-ng-cir-tuq* ‘it is getting (being got) wet’ – VVsm |+ciy-| ‘to let/wait – to’ (§ 39.1.3).
- (41) *ataku-ng-luni* *tan’ger-i-luni*  
 evening-get-APP.3Rsg. dark-get-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘the evening is coming and it is getting dark’.
- (42) *Mamterilleq<sub>S</sub> yugya-ng-luni* *nep’-ng-uq.*  
 pl.n.ABS.sg. numerous-get-APP.3Rsg. noise-get-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Bethel has grown in population and has become noisy.’

Followed by a TAM suffix:

- (43) a. *patkalle-ng-ci-q-uq* ‘he will grow bald’ – |patkaty-| ‘bald spot’  
 b. *qimug-kauyara-ng-yug-tua* ‘I want to get a puppy’.  
 dog-small-get-DES-IND.1sg.

The derived stem (c)*ella-nge-* (from |cila-| ‘world, etc.’; § 12-fn.5) occurs very often, meaning ‘to gain cognizance, consciousness, realization of something in one’s surrounding in childhood; to come into a first awareness’:

- (44) a. *ella-ng-yarara-llru-uq* ‘he became aware of things early’  
 world-get-early-PST-IND.3sg.  
 b. *ella-ng-utk-anka* *can’giir-e-t*  
 world-get-VVsm-IND.1sg.3pl. blackfish-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘I became aware with the blackfish’ (as one’s first remembrance in life).

NV |+tanji-| ‘(it is noticed) N shows up there, there is N (now) there’. Typically co-occurs with a nominal demonstrative.

- (45) a. *Ma-n'a<sub>s</sub>*                      *angyar-tang-**uq***.  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.      boat-get-IND.3sg.  
 i. 'There is now a boat at this place.'  
 ii. '(You see) the boat is coming (now).'
- cf. *angya-ng-**uq*** 'he has acquired a boat' – with NV *|-ŋi-|* 'to get'
- b. *Qayar-tang-llini-luni*                      *cam-na<sub>s</sub>*                      *cama=i*.  
 kayak-realize-EVD-APP.3Rsg.      down-EX.ABS.sg.      down=INJ  
 '(They noticed) a kayak approaching far out on the ocean.' [CIUL 36–37]
- (46) a. [*Yug-tang-**uq***                      *akm-a*],                      [*aqva-u*  
 person-get-IND.3sg.      across-DEMad.INJ      fetch-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
*egan<sub>p</sub>*]!  
 pot.ABS.sg.  
 'There are people across there, you (sg.) go and get the pot!'  
 – coordinate complex clause (§ 5.2.1-i). See (39a) for *yu-ng'-uq*
- b. *Piqer-luni*,                      *aug-na<sub>s</sub>*  
 happen-APP.3Rsg.sg.                      over.there[coming.here]-EX.ABS.sg.  
*yug-tang-luni*.  
 person-get-APP.3Rsg.  
 'It happened (then) that a person came in to look over there.'

NV *|+ŋiŋ-|* 'to de(-N) [cf. Eng. *she de-boned the fish*], deprive N, have N removed (bivalent patientive); [after location noun stems] move through the area', cf. § 11.2.3.2. The nominal stems may be considered to be a part (in a broad sense) of an inalienable possession. The suffix may also be a verb-elaborating VV 'to un(do)'.

The derived stems are patientive monotransitives, so the intransitive form can be passive, medial, reflexive or antipassive with VVsm *|+y<sub>2</sub>-|*.

- (47) a. *acilqu-ir-aa* (IND.3sg.sg.) 'he dug its roots up' – *|acilquŋ-|* 'root'  
 b. *acilqu-ir-tuq* (IND.3sg.) 'it (root) was dug up'
- (48) a. *Naca-ir-aa*                      *arnaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 hood-deprive-IND.3sg.3sg.      woman.ABS.sg.  
 'He took off the woman's hood, lit., he removed a hood of the woman.'
- b. *Naca-ir-tuq*                      *arnaq<sub>s</sub>*.  
 hood-deprive-IND.3sg.      woman.ABS.sg.  
 'The woman took her hood off.' (reflexive)
- c. *Naca-ir-i-uq*                      *arna-mek<sub>(p)</sub>*.  
 hood-remove-APS-IND.3sg.      woman-ABM.sg. – antipassive  
 'He took off a woman's hood.'

- (49) a. *kelu-ir-aa* ‘he is taking its stitches out’ – |*kiluy-*| ‘stitch’  
 cf. homonymous *kelu-ir-aa* ‘it moves behind it’, from location noun  
*kelu-* with the same suffix; § 11(92)  
 b. *kelu-ir-tuq* ‘its stitches are (being) taken out’.
- (50) *ila-ir-aa* ‘she untangled it’ – |*ilay-*| ‘to be/get tangled’  
*ila-ir-tuq* ‘it got untangled’  
 cf. *ilag-t-aa* ‘he tangled it’  
*ilag-t-uq* ‘it is tangled’ – with A adder |+*c-*|.
- (51) a. *puva-ir-aa* ‘I caused the swelling to go down’ – |*puvi-*| ‘to swell’  
 b. *puva-ir-tuq* ‘its swelling went down’.
- (52) *nuna-ir-aa* ‘he took her/its place’ – |*nuna-*| ‘land’  
*nuna-ir-tuq* ‘it (mostly animal) suddenly took off’.
- (53) a. *erina-ir-aa* ‘he recorded her voice’ – |*iŷina -*| ‘voice’  
 b. *erina-ir-tuq* i. ‘his voice is recorded’  
 ii. ‘he (suddenly) lost his voice’  
 c. *erina-ir-i-ssuun* ‘tape recorder’ – with APS followed by VNrl  
 (instrument).
- (54) a. *ami-ir-aa* ‘he is skinning it’  
 b. *ami-ir-tuq* i. ‘it has been skinned’  
 ii. ‘he is skinning (s.t.)’ ≙ (c)  
 c. *ami-ir-i-uq* ‘he is skinning (s.t.)’.
- (55) *ner-vi-ir-tuq* ‘he has no more place to eat’  
 eat-place-lose-IND.3sg.  
 – occurs after the VN suffix.

Some derivatives may be ditransitive stems, with T (theme) in the ablative-modalis (§ 35.1.1):

- (56) |*uci-iŷ-*| ‘unload (something; T) from (someone/something; R)’  
 – |*uci-*| ‘load’  
 |*ila-iŷ-*| ‘remove (something; T) from (someone/something;  
 R)’ – |*ila-*| ‘part’.
- (57) a. *nalluna-ir-aa* ‘he explains, shows, instructs (s.o.)’ (indirective  
 ditransitive)  
 cf. *nalluna-it-uq* ‘it is obvious’  
*nallu-nrir-aa* ‘he realizes, finds out, investigates, shows it’

- b. *nalluna-ir-tur-luku* ‘making sure it is known’ (CNT-APP.3sg.)  
*nalluna-ir-ca-ngnaq-luku* ‘trying to make it known / to check that it  
 is known’ (induce-try-APP.3sg.).

A transitive form may not occur:

- (58) *mernu-ir-tuq* ‘he is resting, recovering from his tiredness’ –  
 |*miŋnuiŋ*-| ‘tiredness’.
- (59) *iru-ir-tuq* ‘he had his leg broken, he broke his leg’ – |*iŋu*-| ‘leg’  
*ii-ngir-tuq* ‘he lost an eye, has snow-blindness’ – |*ii*-| ‘eye’.

A-adder |+c-| may follow:

- (60) a. *arula-i-llru-uq* ‘it (e.g. motor) stopped running’  
 b. *arula-ir-te-llru-uq* ‘it stopped suddenly’  
*arula-ir-te-llru-a* ‘he stopped it’.  
 c. *arula-ir-i-ssunn* ‘brake’ – with APS followed by VNrl (instru-  
 ment).

Occurs in the negator VVn |-*nŋiŋ*-| ‘no longer’ composed with the abstract nominalizer VNnm |-*nŋ*-| (§ 18.3.1).

NV |+*ŋi(ŋa)ŋ*-| ‘to have a cold [body part]’ (with A<sub>IMP</sub>), cf. § 33.4.3-i

- (61) a. *unata-ir-tua* ≙ *unata-irar-aanga*  
 ‘my hands are cold’ – |*unat*-| ‘hand’  
 b. *ciuta-ir-tuq* ≙ *ciuta-irar-aa* ‘his ears are cold’ – |*ciut*-| ‘ear’  
*ciuta-ir-aanga* ‘my ears are cold’.

NV/VVn |+*ŋicay*-| ‘to be in need of N, to lack N’.

- (62) *neqa-icag-tuq* ‘he lacks food, it (river) lacks fish’ – |*niqi*-|  
*uqur-ka-icag-tuq* ‘it is in need of stove oil’ – |*uquŋ+kay*-| ‘oil-  
 supply/future’.
- (63) *cuka-icag-tuq* ‘it is going (unusually) slow’ – cf. (16a) *cuka-  
 it-uq* ‘it is slow’.

## 2. Action verbs

Verbs of doing some action concerning the nominal referent.

Table 35: Action verbs

NV	+tuŷ-	‘to use, wear, eat’ (with rather general or abstract content)
NV	+c-	‘to catch, gather [animal, fish, plant], obtain; to go to’
NV	+suŷ- ~ +cuŷ-	‘to hunt, look for, seek’
NV	+ci-	‘to get, buy’
NV	-lŷiŷ-	‘to take along (for)’
NV	+niaŷ-	‘to go to buy, get, exchange / to be in the act of’
NV	+k*ic-	‘to give someone N’ (monotransitive)
NV	+miŷ-	‘to use, do something with (particularly a body part)’

NV |+tuŷ-| ‘to use, wear, eat’.<sup>2</sup> It may sound odd to use this for a liquid (‘to drink’).

- (64) *neq-tur-tuq* ‘he is eating fish’  
*kasper-tur-tuq* ‘she is wearing a *kuspak* (hooded parka cover)’  
*kumla-tur-tuq* ‘he is eating frozen fish’  
*nulir-tur-tuq* ‘he got married’ – |*nulix-*| ‘wife’  
*umyugar-tur-tuq* [HBC] ‘he is thinking’ – |*umyu(y)aŷ-*| ‘mind’.

The nominal stem may be replaced by the expletive |*pi-*| (§ 10.3.1), with the nominal stem being stranded or “discharged” to ablative-modalis NP (§ 25.2.2). Thus, (64) *neq-tur-tuq* above, for instance, may be made periphrastic:

- (65) *neq-mek* *pi-tur-tuq*  
 fish-ABM.sg. PI-eat-IND.3sg.

NV |+c-| ‘to catch, gather (*animal, fish, plant*), obtain; to go to’ – cf. VVsm |+c-| A adder (causative).

- (66) *neq(e)-t-ut* ‘he caught fish’ – |*niqi-*| ‘fish, food’  
*nuta’ar-t-ut* ‘he got fresh fish’ – |*nutayaŷ-*| ‘new’, with /ŷa/ deletion  
*quagci-t-ut* ‘they are getting/collecting sourdocks’.
- (67) *kayangu-c-uk-lua* ~ [Y] *peksu-c-uk-lua* ‘thinking I found an egg’  
 egg-get-A’.think-APP.1sg. – |+c+<sub>1</sub>*cuki+lua*|.
- (68) *kipusvig-t-ut* ‘he has gone to the store’ – |*kipuc+<sub>1</sub>viŷ-*| ‘buy-place’

2. See § 4-fn.1.

*ceñar-t-uq* ‘he has gone to the coast’ – |*cinay-*| ‘shore’  
*nuna-t-uq* ‘he is visiting (another village/city)’ – |*nuna-*| ‘land, village’.

- (69) *Mamteriller-ce-sq-aanga* ‘he wants me to go to Bethel’  
 pl.n.-go.to-A'.ask-IND.3sg.1sg.

*transitive inflection as well:*

- (70) *nuna-t-aa* ‘he is visiting her (in another village/city)’.

*often relativized:*

- (71) *tuntu-t-a-i* ‘caribous that he caught’  
 caribou-get-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.  
*pi-kar-t-a-i* ‘his obtained possession’ – cf. § 17(146)  
 thing-FUT-get-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.
- (72) a. *neq-t-a-qa* ‘my fish (caught by a net or some instrument)’  
 fish-catch-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 cf. *neq-ka* ‘my food’
- b. *neq-t-a-ir-ru* (*kuyyaq<sub>P</sub>*)  
 fish-catch-deprive-OPT.2sg.3sg. net.ABS.sg.  
 ‘you (sg.) remove the fish (from the net)’  
 – as parenthesized, the P argument (‘net’) need not be expressed externally as the implication of *neq-t-aq* is obvious.  
 cf. *neqa-ir-ru* ‘you (sg.) take the food from him’.

NV |+*suŷ-*|~|+*cuŷ-*| ‘to hunt, seek out (not only game/fish/fowl but also plant and raw material), check’. The latter variant occasionally after a velar variant.

- (73) a. *neq-sur-tuq* ‘he is fishing’ – |*niqi-*| ‘fish’  
*neq-su-ut-aa* ‘he is fishing for/instead of her’ – with applicative VVsm |+(u)c-|
- b. *kapkaanar-cur-tuq* ‘he is checking (steel) animal traps’  
 – |*kapkaanay-*| from Russian *kapkán*  
*issurir-cur-tuq* ‘he is hunting seals’ – |*isuyŷ-*| ‘seal’.

These have no transitive (\**neq-sur-aa*), while the following, lexicalized with the empty stem |*pi-*|, may be used as bivalent:



- (74) a. *pi-ssur-tuq* 'he is hunting'  
*pi-ssur-aa* 'he is hunting it'  
 b. *tuntu-ssur-tuq* 'he is hunting (a reindeer, caribou, mouse)'  
*tuntu-mek pi-ssur-tuq* 'he is hunting a/the reindeer'  
 – with stranded NP in the ablative-modalis as in (65).

NV |+ci-| 'to get, buy'

- (75) a. *ciku-ci-uq* 'he is getting ice'.  
 b. *qayar-ci-yug-tua* 'I am getting (buying) a kayak'  
     ≡ *qaya-mek kipuc-ug-tua* [PA]  
     kayak-ABM.sg. buy-DES-IND.1sg.
- (76) *Kalikar-ci-rraar-lua* *alnga-llru-unga* [Y].  
 paper-buy-after-APP.1sg. write-PST-IND.1sg.  
 'After buying some paper, I wrote.'
- (77) a. *ikamrar-kar-ci-unga* 'I am getting materials for a sled'  
 sled-something.for-get-IND.1sg.  
 b. *ikamrar-kar-ci-anga* 'he is buying materials for a sled for me'  
 sled-something.for-get-IND.3sg.1sg.

NV |-lyiy-| 'to take along (for)' – possibly with NN. Clearly derived from NN |-ly-| 'one having' (§ 20.1.2). Voiceless variant |-lyiy-| may occur, e.g. § 51(73), just like |-lyut-|~|-lyut-| (§ 19.2).

- (78) *qimugte-lgi-qi-na* 'you (sg.) bring (your) dog (in the future)!'  
 dog-bring-FUT-OPT.2sg.
- (79) *Kegginaqu-lgi-yuu-nateng.*  
 mask-bring-NEG-APP.3Rpl. – VVn |-<sub>1</sub>cuit-| > -yuu-  
 'They (the guests in the festival) never bring masks with them.'  
 [AKKL 14].

NV |+niay-| 'to do something to get (later on)'. Perhaps related to future consequential VVt |+niay-| 'so that – will' and VVt |+niayay-| 'to be –ing soon' (§ 42.2.6).

- (80) a. *saarralar-niar-tuq*  
 'she has gone (somewhere) to buy sugar' – |saaxalay-| 'sugar'  
 b. *saarralar-niar-ut-aa*  
 'she is buying, is there to buy sugar for him' – E<sub>APL</sub> |(u)t-|.

Transitive inflection, at least in the following (b):

- (81) a. *nulirr-niar-tuq* ‘he is asking someone to be his wife’ – |*nulix-*| ‘wife’  
 b. *nulirr-niar-aa* ‘he is asking her to be his wife’.

This may be followed by a future marker:

- (82) *Waniku mileg-niar-ciq-uq.*  
 later milk-go.get-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘She will go (somewhere) and buy milk later on.’  
 cf. *mileg-niar-niar-tuq* ‘(so that) she will go and get milk’  
*mileg-niarar-tuq* ‘(so that) she is about to drink milk’.
- (83) *Nuteg-nia-lria<sub>s</sub> tai-guq.*  
 gun-get-VNrl.ABS.sg. come-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The one who wants (whose purpose is) to buy a gun is coming.’

The nominal use (NN) is also possible for some speakers, though it might imply kidding and teasing:

- (84) *Tua=ll' nuteg-niaq<sub>s</sub> tai-guq.*  
 and gun-getter.ABS.sg. come-IND.3sg.  
 ‘And, the one wanting to buy a gun is coming.’

NV |+*k\*ic-*| ‘to give someone N’ (monotransitive) – conceivably from |+*k\*ay-li+(u)c-*| (FUT-make-E<sub>APL</sub>), cf. ditransitive |*cikiy-*| and |*tuni-*| ‘to give’. Note that *nav-tuli-nek* in (85) is not a demoted T from a secundative ditransitive verb, unlike the compared *iinru-mek* in (86) for the ditransitive *cikir-*, but is a stranded NP from *nav-tuli qantaq* ‘breakable dish’:

- (85) *Nav-tuli-nek qantar-kit-aa.*  
 break-VN-ABM.pl. dish-give-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She gave him breakable dishes.’
- (86) *iinru-kit-aanga*  
 medicine-give-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘she gave me medicine to take’ – as a doctor/nurse to patients  
 cf. *iinru-mek<sub>(T)</sub> cikir-aanga*  
 ‘she gave me [P] medicine’ – can also be at home or in the family.

The expletive prop stem |*pi-*| followed by this suffix forms a secundative ditransitive verb:

- (87) a. *pi-kite-llru-anga* *iinru-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 PI-give-PST-IND.3sg.1sg. medicine-ABM.sg.  
 b. *pi-kite-llru-a* *iinruq<sub>T</sub>* *wang-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 PI-give-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. medicine-ABS.sg. 1sg.-ALL  
 ‘he gave me [R] medicine’.

NV/NN |+miy-| ‘(something) to do with (particularly a body part)’ – with final weak /y/ deletion by (P3i).

- (88) a. *cetug-mig-aa* ‘he is scratching it’ – |*cituy-*| ‘nail’  
 b. *iteg-mig-aa* ‘he kicked it’ – |*ity-*| ‘toe cap, top of foot’  
 c. *qecug-mig-aa* ‘he grasped with hands’ – |*qicuy-*| ‘to pull out’.
- (89) *malru-mig-tuq* ‘he is using/following both alternatives’  
 two-use-IND.3sg.
- (90) a. *tunu-mig-aa* ‘he is carrying her/it on his back’ – |*tunu-*| ‘back’  
 b. *pequ-mig-aa* ‘he is carrying it on his back’ – |*piquy-*| ‘upper back’  
*pequ-mi-i-k* ‘back load (du.)’ – EV -i-  
 c. *uner-mig-aa* ‘he put it under his arm’ – |*uny-*| ‘armpit’  
*uner-mik* / *uner-miaq* ‘something carried under the arm’ – cf. (92).

*Forms a postural root* – at least in the following case in which the expanded stem is inflected as a stative-connective verb (§ 50.10):

- (91) *ciisqu-mig-mi* ‘(he) kneeling, on his knees’  
 knee-do.with-CNNst.3Rsg.

*In the composite NN suffix:*

NN |+miaŷ-| ‘one held in’ (non-productive) – cf. passive relativizer VNrl |+yay-|:

- (92) a. *uner-miaq* ‘one held under the arm’ – |*uny-*| ‘armpit’  
 b. *qaner-miaq* ‘fire-bath smoke respirator, wood-chip ball held in the mouth’ [YEEM 314] – |*qany-*| ‘mouth’.
- (93) a. *Tegu-mia-qa* *igte-vkar-aa*.  
 take-held-ABS.1sg.sg. drop-A!.make-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He made me drop what I was holding.’ [DW] – |*tiyu-*| ‘to take in the hand’  
 b. *tegu-mia-k* [Y] ‘dance fans, finger masks, lit. two things held in the hand’ [YEEM 315].

### 3. **|-li-| group**

There are several suffixes that are characterized by a cross-boundary /V-l/ deletion (P15), that is, /-V<sub>1</sub>(C)-IV<sub>2</sub>- > -V<sub>2</sub>-/: The lateral /l/ together with a preceding vowel (with final consonant deleted) is, more often than not, deleted before a deleting suffix beginning with /li/:

Table 36: /-li-/ group verbs

NV	-li-	‘to realize, make (for, out of)’
NV	-lic-	‘to make/bring s.t. for, appear to s.o.’
NV	-liqi-	‘to catch a lot of (for)’
NV	-liqi-	‘to be afflicted in, (body part) be painful, experience’
NV	-liuy-	‘to deal with, play around, be occupied with, be cooking’
NV	-liy-	‘to supply with; to have plenty of’

The same kind of /V-l/ deletion occurs also with NN *|-linjāy\*-|* ‘product of’ (§ 20.1.2) and in the names of four days of the week (§ 11.3.5) – e.g. *Pingay-irin* ‘Wednesday’ from *pingayun* ‘three’.

See (P15iii) on the /t/ affrication involved in these suffixes, hence /c-i/ as in (94b) *pitegcauc-i-*, (100b) *unac-it-*, (108) *kegguc-iq-*, (132c) *akic-ir-*. The deletion or alternative non-deletion of /V-l/ may or may not make a semantic difference. Some speakers may prefer deletion to non-deletion or vice versa, depending on each word.

NV *|-li-|* ‘to realize, make (out of)’ (bivalent).

- (94) a. *yu-li-ug* ‘he is rearing an adopted child’ – |yuy-| ‘person’  
 b. *nun-i-ug* ‘he settled’ – |nuna-| ‘land’  
*angy-i-ug* ~ *angya-li-ug* ‘he is making a boat (for himself/s.o.)’ – |anyaŷ-| ‘boat’  
*pitegcauc-i-ug*. ‘he is making an arrow’ – |pitiycaut-| ‘arrow’.

P argument for transitives are the beneficiary or the source/material:

- (95) a. *angy-i-anga* ~ *angya-li-anga* ‘he is making *me* [P] a boat’  
 boat-make-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 b. *ene-li-llru-at* ‘they made *him* [P] a house’  
 house-make-PST-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 c. *kelip-i-a* / *kelip-i-ug*  
 ‘she is making bread (*for her* [P])’ – |kilipay-| ‘bread’  
 d. *ayuqe-li-a* / *ayuqe-li-ug*  
 ‘he made an image, a likeness (of it)’ – |ayuqi-| ‘to be alike, likeness’  
 e. *maq-i-a* ~ *maq-it-aa* / *maq-i-ug*  
 ‘he is giving him/taking a bath’ – see NV *|-li-c-|* below for the second.

- (96) *Qanta-li-llru-aqa* *murak*<sub>p</sub>.  
 bowl-make-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. wood.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I made the wood into a wooden bowl.’
- (97) *Atku-li-ciq-aa* [*issuriq allayuk*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 parka-make-FUT-IND.3sg.3sg. seal.ABS.sg. strange.ABS.sg.  
 ‘She will make a parka out of the rare spotted seal.’  
 cf. *Atku-li-ciq-uq* [*issuri-mek allayug-mek*]<sub>(p)</sub>. (antipassive).

The expletive stem |*pi-*| with this suffix brings about a secundative ditransitive stem: see also § 10.3.1, § 34.7-iv, § 35.1.1-v.

- (98) *Pi-li-anga* *qaya-mek* <sub>(T)</sub>.  
 PI-make-PST-IND.3pl.1sg. kayak-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He made me [R] a kayak.’  
 – but not an indirective: \**pi-li-a qayaq wang-nun*, considered baby talk, if anything.

This is very often followed by the applicative VVsm |+(*u*)*c-*|, forming a composite suffix with an explicit beneficiary implication:

NV |*li-c-*| from |*li+(u)c-*| ‘to make/bring something for, to appear to someone’ – from |*li-*| with applicative VVsm |+(*u*)*c-*| and /*u*/ deletion after V.

- (99) *angy-it-aanga* ~ *angya-lit-aanga*  
 boat-make.for-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he is making a boat for me / instead of me (as I can’t make it)’  
 – see also (95e) *maq-it-aa* ‘he is giving him a bath’.

This form, however, can also have the following two readings, though very rare. In one, the personal A is replaced with an impersonal one: ‘he brought a boat to me (e.g. as a gift in ceremony).’ In the other: ‘he finally appeared (by boat) to me, i.e. he came to me (by boat)’.

- (100) a. *uq-it-aanga*  
 ‘he gave me a part of the seal (in first-catch seal ceremony)’  
 – |*uquy-*| ‘seal oil’ but blubber or meat can also be used
- b. *unac-it-aanga*  
 ‘he shook hands with me, gave me his hand’ – |*unat-*| ‘hand’
- c. *gay-it-aat* ‘they gave a *qayaq* to him’.

- (101) *Uquvv'a-nku-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *paac-it-aat*  
 'p.n.-associate-REL.pl.              barge-actualize-IND.3pl.3sg.  
*Evon Azean-aaq<sub>P</sub>*.  
 p.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.  
 'Uquvv'aq and his crew arrived (by barge) where Evan Azean was.'

This sentence, uttered by Evan Azean from Kongiganak (mouth of the Kusokwim), literally means 'Uquvvaq and his crew gave a barge to him.' The stem *[paacay-]* is from English *barge*.

NV/VV *[-liqi-]* 'to catch a lot of'; § 33.4.3.

- (102) a. *neq'-liq-**uq*** ~ *neq-**iq**-uq* 'he caught a lot of fish' – *[niqi-]* 'fish'  
 b. *uq-**iq**-uq* 'he caught a lot of (seal) oil' – *[uquy-]* 'seal oil'.
- (103) *iqv-**iqe**-llru-ukut* 'we (pl.) got lots of berries'  
 berry-catch.lots-PST-IND.1pl. – *[iqvay-liqi-]*.
- (104) *taquka-nek*    *pi-**liqe**-ng-llini-luteng*  
 seal-ABM.pl.    PI-catch.lots-INC-EVD-APP.3pl.  
 'they had already gotten plenty of seals'. [QQLK 72]

*A transitive form with impersonal A added.* This is very rare, but possible for some speakers.

- (105) *Neq'-liq-aa* ≙ *Neq'-liq-**uq***                      *Uquvv'aq* <sub>P/S</sub>                      [*ug-aa-ni*  
 fish-catch.lot-IND.3sg.3sg./3sg.    p.n.ABS.sg.                      down-EX-LOC  
*fish-camp-a-mi*].  
 f.c.-LNK-LOC.sg.  
 'Uquvv'aq is catching lots of fish down at the fish camp down there.'

Very often followed by the applicative VVsm *[(u)c-]*:

NV *[-liq-uc-]*

- (106) *Neq'-liq-**ut**-aa*                                      *Uquvv'aq<sub>P</sub>*                                      [*ug-aa-ni*  
 fish-catch.lots-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.    p.n.ABS.sg.                                      down-EX-LOC  
*fish.camp-ami*.  
 f.c.-LNK.LOC.sg.  
 'He caught lots of fish *for* Uquvv'aq (helped Uquvv'aq to catch) at the fish camp down there.'

As if a VV suffix, this follows verb stems of ‘catching (game, fish)’ as *|pic-|* ‘to catch game’, *|ca-ŋi-|* ‘to catch fish (YED 483), and as in:

- (107) **unang-liq-siyaag-tut** ‘they got too much (game)’  
 obtain-catch.lot-too.much-IND. 3pl.

NV *|-liqi-|* ‘to be afflicted in, (body part) be painful, experience, have a bad’ – cf. NV *|-kiyc(i)-|* ‘to have good/nice’. See § 33.4.3.

- (108) *kegguc-iq-uw* (cf. P15iii) ~ *keggute-liq-uw*  
 ‘he has a toothache’ – *|kixut-|* ‘tooth’  
*usgun-iq-uw* ‘his joints are painful’ – *|usyuny-|*  
*taang-iq-uw* ‘he is drunk’ – *|taanay-|* ‘liquor’  
*pinial-liq-uw* ‘he experiences weakness’ – *|piniat-|* ‘weak’.

- (109) *[[Amller-nek atsa-nek]<sub>(P)</sub> ner-neq ≙ ner(r)-leq]<sub>s</sub>*  
 much-ABM.pl.berry-ABM.pl. eat-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
*ilu-liq-narq-uw*  
 inside-afflicted-NEC-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Eating many berries causes a stomach ache.’

*A transitive form with impersonal A added.* Possible for some speakers, though very rare.

- (110) *Nep-liq-aa ≙ Nep-liq-uw* *TV-iiq<sub>P/S</sub>*  
 sound-afflicted-IND.3sg.3sg. / 3sg. television-LNK.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The television has a poor sound.’

- (111) *tep-liq-uw ≙ -aa* ‘it smells bad’  
 smell-afflicted-IND.3sg./-IND.3sg.3sg.

NV *|-liuy-|* ‘to deal with, play around, gossip, be occupied with, be cooking’. Can be bivalent (though somewhat rare). Forms with non-deletion tend to imply ‘playing around’, while ones with deletion imply more seriousness. A semantically wide range of nouns are verbalized:

*natural world:* incl. elements, animals, geographical areas.

- (112) *qanikc-iur-* ‘to shovel snow’ – *|qanikcaŷ-|* ‘snow on the ground’  
*eq-iur-* ‘to chop wood’ – *|iquy-|* ‘wood’  
*nun-iur-* ‘to dig in the earth’ – *|nuna-|* ‘land’, cf. (94b) *nun-i-* ‘to settle’  
 cf. *nuna-liur-ta* ‘surveyor’ [YED] – with VNrl |+(s)t-|.

- (113) *angalkuq*                      *ella-liu-lria*  
 shaman.ABS.sg.            weather-deal.with-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the shaman who conjured the weather’. [ELLA 306]
- (114) *Iqa-ir-a-nka<sub>S</sub>*                      *anuaq-liu-piar-tut.*  
 dirt-remove-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.      wind-deal-ITS-IND.3pl. – |*anuaqi-*|  
 ‘My laundry is flapping in the strong wind.’
- (115) [*Tau-na*                      *mikelnguq*]<sub>S</sub>                      *eme-liur-tuq.*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.            child.ABS.sg.            water-work.on-IND.3sg.  
 ‘That child is messing/playing with water.’ – |*imȳ-*| ‘water’.
- (116) *yaqu-liur-tuq*            ‘she is cooking/working on a *wing*’  
           – |*yaquȳ-*| ‘wing’  
*yaqule-liur-tuq*            ‘she is cooking/working on a *bird*’  
           – |*yaquȳ-lȳ-*| ‘bird (wing-having)’, with /V-l/ dele-  
           tion blocked in the second, thereby distinguishing  
           from the first.
- (117) *issuri-liur-tuq*            ‘she is cooking spotted seal’ – |*isuȳiȳ-*| ‘seal’.
- (118) *Canin-iur-tuq*                      *tayima (ta=ima).*  
 pl.n.-work.on-IND.3sg.            now  
 ‘He is travelling on the Lower Coast (*Canineq*).’  
 – |*caninȳ-*| (from |*cani-*| ‘area beside’) commonly includes the vil-  
 lages of Chefornak, Kipnuk, Kwigillingok, and Kongiganak.

*human made objects:*

- (119) a. *qanc-iur-tuq*            ‘she is filling a bowl, is setting the table’  
           – |*qantayȳ-*| ‘bowl’  
       b. *tengsuuc-iur-ta*            ‘pilot’ – |*tiiȳ-suut-*| ‘airplane (fly-VNrl)’  
       c. *anguyag-cuute-k-iur-luteng* ‘(they) preparing for war’ [CIUL 22]  
           fight-tool-FUT-work.on-APP.3Rpl.
- (120) a. *Mikelnguq<sub>S</sub>*            *angya-liur-tuq.*  
 child.ABS.sg.            boat-work.on-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The child is playing with the boat.’  
       b. *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>*            *angya-liur-aanga.*  
 man-REL.sg.            boat-work.on-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘The man is working on a boat for me (cleaning, fixing it).’



*human beings and body parts:*

- (121) *nuliacung(a-l) iur-aa*  
 ‘he is teasing her (lit., he is playing with (her as) a cross cousin)’  
 – |*nuliacuŋay-*| ‘female cross cousin of male’.
- (122) *arn-iu-llerkaq* ‘sleeping with a woman’  
 woman-work.on-VNnm.FUT.ABS.sg. – |*ayŋay-*|.
- (123) *tutgar-iur-luni* ‘(he) (coming to) see a grandchild’  
 GrCh-work.on-APP.3Rsg. – |*tutyayay\**-|  
*ilur-iur-luni* ‘(he) teasing a cousin’  
 cousin-work.on-APP.3Rsg. – |*ilu(ya)y\**-| ‘a male cross cousin’.
- (124) a. *keggute-liur-tuq*  
 ‘he is playing around with teeth’ – |*kixut-*| ‘tooth’ vs.  
*kegguc-iur-tuq*  
 ‘he is brushing (his own) teeth / fixing teeth (working as a dentist)’ –  
 with deletion  
 b. *nuy-iur-tuq* ‘she is combing’ – |*nuyay-*| ‘hair’.
- (125) a. *Aluvi-liur-tuq* *irnia-minek<sub>(p)</sub>*  
 teardrop-work.on-IND.3sg. child-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 b. *Aluvi-liur-aa* *irnia-nip*  
 teardrop-work.on-IND.3sg.3sg. child-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘She is teary-eyed, crying over her (own) child.’

NV |-liy-| ‘to supply with; to have plenty of’. Composes the pseudo-passive marker VVsm |-(s)ciy-| (§ 39.3) as a (dialect) variation of |-(s)ciuy-| – see § 34.1.2.1 as well as i) just below.

- (126) a. *yu-l’ir-tuq* ‘he has many children’<sup>3</sup>  
 person-have.lots-IND.3sg.  
 – *\*?angyaq yu-lir’-tuq* (\*?the boat has many children).  
 b. *qai-lir-tuq* ‘it is wavy, rough’  
 wave-have.lots-IND.3sg.  
 c. *patu-lir-aa* ‘he puts a cover on it’  
 cover-supply-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 cf. *patu-ler-aa* ‘he puts a cover on it quickly’ – with  
 VVa (§ 41)

3. The stem |yuy-| ‘person’ commonly means ‘child’ if possession is implied, e.g. *u-na yu’-ka* (this-EX.ABS.sg. person-ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘this child of mine’.

- d. *nat'-li-uma-uq* *tuska-nek*  
 floor-supply-STT-IND.3sg. plank  
 'it is floored with planks'.
- (127) *napa-li-lria-nun* '(to) where there are many trees'  
 tree-plenty-VNrl-ALL.pl.
- (128) *Qaurtu-yaga-li-llini-uq* ~ [K] *Akakii-li-llini-uq*  
 white.fish-DIM-supply-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 [*tau-na* *kui-cua-ller*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. river-small-shabby.ABS.sg.  
 '(So I see) that small river has plenty of little whitefish.' – NNh  
 |-ti(ȳa)ȳ\*-| (§ 20.3) with /ȳa/ deletion.

The suffix is ambiguous with NV |-li-| 'to make' when followed by a deleting type suffix like VV |-ŋ\*ī-| 'to begin' in the following:

- (129) *ene-li-ŋg-ut*  
 i. 'they are beginning to make a house' < |ene-li-ŋ\*ī[+ȳut |  
 ii. 'they are getting many houses' < |ene-liȳ-ŋ\*ī[+ȳut |.

The /V-l/ deletion has yielded many derivatives with corresponding non-deleted forms used rarely or in less specialized meanings, particularly verbs concerning weather or other natural phenomena.

- (130) a. (c)ellall-ir-tuq 'it is raining' (impersonal patientive) – |(c)ila-tuȳ-|  
 'rain' with NN |-lhuȳ-| 'bad'  
*qiury-ir-tuq* 'there is an aurora' – |qiuȳyaȳ-| 'aurora'  
*akerc-ir-tuq* 'it is sunny' – |akiȳt-| 'sun' with /t/ affrication (*t* > *c*;  
 P15iii)  
 – see § 33(19) for more weather impersonal verbs derived from nominal stems with the /V-l/ deletion.
- b. *kuvy-ir-tuq* 'he is setting a fishnet' – |kuvyaȳ-| 'fishnet'  
*tengmi-ir-tuq* 'it (area) has many geese' – |tiŋmiaȳ-| 'goose'  
*caarrl-ir-tuq* 'it (e.g. floor) is dirty' – |caaxhuȳ-| 'dust, dirt'.
- (131) *aan-iq* 'a part of *Nakaciuq* (§ 11-fn.3)' [CAUY 51–54] – cf.  
*aanir-* 'to become a godmother' [YED]  
*aan-ir-yaraq* 'ceremony during which two men referred to as  
*aana* 'mother' visited house-to-house followed by  
 another man referred to as their *qimugta* 'dog', with  
 spirits of the deceased present to receive food and  
 gifts' [YEEM 306]; VNnm -yaraq (§ 18.2.3).

The suffix yields a secundative ditransitive verb:

- (132) a. *imir-aa* (*X-mek*)  
 ‘he fills it (with X)’ – |*imay-*| ‘content’ with /V-l/ deletion
- b. *aki-lir-aa*                      *atkuk<sub>R</sub>*                      *yuinar-nek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 price-supply-IND.3sg.3sg.    parka.ABS.sg.              20-ABM.pl.
- c. *akic-ir-luku*                      *ingle-ni<sub>R</sub>*                      *tep’ar-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 pillow-supply-APP.3sg.    bed-ABS.3Rsg.sg.              driftwood-ABM.sg.  
 ‘he put a driftwood barrier at the edge of his bunk (to prevent his falling off)’ [YED 51]  
 – |*akit-*| ‘pillow’ from |*aki-(u)t-*| with |*aki-*| ‘opposite/price/return’ followed by VN<sub>nm</sub> (means).
- (133) a. *acir-aa* (*X-mek*) ‘he names her/it (as X)’ – |*atÿ-*| ‘name?; with /c/ affrication from /t/, P15iii)  
 cf. *at-lir-aa* ‘he labels it (s.t.)’
- b. *ac-ir-tuq*                      *ellmi-nek*.  
 name-supply-IND.3sg.              3Rsg-ABM  
 ‘he names himself.’ – reflexive  
 cf. *at-lir-tuq*                      ‘he has lots of names’
- c. [*Aata-ll-ma<sub>G</sub>*                      *atr-anek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 father-PST-REL.1sg.sg.              name-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*acir-yug-yaaq-aqa*                      *irnia-qa<sub>R</sub>*.  
 name-DES-but-IND.1sg.3sg.              child-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I would like to name my child after my late father.’  
 – cf. not \**aata-ll-ma atr-anek pi-lir-yug-yaaq-aqa irnia-qa*.

Some more or less lexicalized stems may not be sensed to be secondary derivatives with /V-l/ deletion:

- (134) |*kinÿ-*| ‘to cook’ (cf. |*kinÿ-liÿ-*| fire-supply); may also literally mean ‘to make a fire’.

Four days of the week (§ 11.3.5) – ‘Tuesday’, ‘Wednesday’, ‘Thursday’, and ‘Friday’ – are presumably derivatives with this suffix also.

The suffix is very often followed by the applicative VV<sub>sm</sub>:

- (135) *Neq’-li-ut-aa*                      *tayima* (*ta=ima*)                      *Nuk’aq* <sub>P(E)</sub>.  
 fish-supply-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.    now                      person.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Fish are plentiful (many fish are available) for Nuk’aq now.’

Like the preceding suffix  $|-liu\dot{y}-|$ , this suffix is responsible for the  $|+(s)ci\dot{y}-|$  version of the pseudo-passive.  $|+(s)ci(u)\dot{y}-|$  (§ 39.3.1)

The derivatives may be Type 1 ditransitives.

i) *Composite pseudo-passive VVsm*:  $|+(s)ci(u)\dot{y}-|$  ‘to be –ed (to the detriment of) by’ – with the active relative clause VNrl (§ 17.5), i.e. from  $|+(s)t(i)-liu\dot{y}-|$  /  $|+(s)t(i)-li\dot{y}-|$  as explained in § 34.1.2.2-i and § 39.3.1, with /V-l/ deletion. See § 26.2-iv for the case assignment for the ‘agent’-like argument (in the ablative-modalis or in the allative case).

- (136) *Qimugte-ka<sub>S</sub> nere-sc-iur-tuq carayag-mek~carayag-mun<sub>(P)</sub>.*  
 dog-ABS.1sg.sg. eat-PPS-IND.3sg. bear-ABM.sg./ALL.sg.  
 ‘My dog is being eaten by a bear.’

The origin of this pseudo-passive suffix from the relativizer  $|+(s)t-|$  and the NV suffix should be obvious, when compared with the following homonymous verb *neresc-iur-tuq* derived from the lexicalized *neresta* ‘louse’ (i.e. ‘eater’):

- (137) a. *Qimugte-ka<sub>S</sub> neresc-iur-tuq carayag-mek<sub>(P)</sub>.*  
 dog-ABS.1sg.sg. louse-work.on-IND.3sg. bear-ABM.sg.  
 ‘My dog is picking out lice from a bear (from its head).’  
 b. *Qimugte-ma<sub>A</sub> neresc-iur-aa carayak<sub>P</sub>.*  
 dog-REL.1sg.sg. louse-work.on-IND.3sg.3sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘My dog is picking out lice from the bear (from its head).’

The ablative-modalis case *carayag-mek* in the intransitive (a) is the agent-like demotion of the absolutive *carayak* in the transitive (b). It is this case of demotion that reflects the case of the pseudo-passive argument NP in the preceding construction.

ii) *Composite NV*:  $|+ni(u)\dot{y}-|$  ‘to come to experience’ – from  $|-n\dot{y}-li(u)\dot{y}-|$  with the nominalizing VN  $|+n\dot{y}-|$  ‘area of’ (?; § 18.3.1.2); cf. the same /V-l/ deletion as the preceding i): cf. non-productive suffix  $\%niur-$  [sic; YED 524] ‘to endure the difficulty involved with V –ing or with N’.

- (138) *kingu-niur-tuq*  
 ‘he is following’ [YED] – *kingu-neq* ‘area behind, home, time past’  
*ciu-ni(u)r-tuq*  
 ‘he is arriving (s.o.) ([YED] as a guest)’ – *ciu-neq* ‘what lies ahead, destination’  
*puqla-ni(u)r-tuq*  
 ‘he/it is being hot (now) (from the sun, clothing, etc.)’ – *puqla-neq*  
 ‘sun’ [NUN]

*nang-ni(u)r-ci-q-uq*

‘he will be no w finishing, is towards the end’ – *nang-neq* ‘end’

*akngir-niur-tuq*

‘he is physically pained’ [YED] – *akngir-* (root) ‘pain’

*umyuar-niur-tuq*

‘he regrets, is worried’ [YED] – *umyuar-* ‘mind, thought’

cf. (112) *nun-iur-* ‘to dig in the earth’ – *nuna-* ‘land’.

- (139) a. *wang-kugnun*                      *ciu-ni(u)r-ci-q-luni*  
 Idu.-ALL                                  ahead-come.to-FUT-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘she will come to our house (as the first place)’ [QNMC 392]
- b. *nang-ni(u)r-ci-q-uq*                      *June-a-mi*  
 end-come.to-FUT-IND.3sg.    month-LNK-LOC.sg.  
 ‘we will be finishing in June’.  
 – while it is not certain enough whether the following is also the case:
- c. *neryu-niur-ci-q-quq*  
 expect-come.to(?)FUT-IND.3sg.  
*iqva-llerka-minek*  
 pick.berry-VNrl.FUT-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘she will be expecting to go berry-picking’  
 – *neryuniur-* / [NS] *nersuniur-* ‘to eagerly expect something good’  
 [YED 264].  
 cf. *neryu-k-aqa* [EA] ‘I expect him’; cf. *ner-yuk-aqa* ‘I thought he is eating’.

iii) *Composite VV*: |+ciỵ-| ‘because, to have as a reason’ and |+niỵ-| ‘since, starting from’. The same NV suffix |-liỵ-| ‘to supply with’, characterized by /V-l/ deletion, is also responsible for two VV composite suffixes |+ciỵ-| and |+niỵ-| with the same function but from different VN suffixes, that is, instrumental VNrl |+(u)t-| ‘means, reason’ (§ 17.6.2) and VNnm |+<sub>1</sub>nỵ-| ‘result’ (§ 18.3.12). This implies that the former must be distinguished from the pseudo-passive |+(s)ciỵ-| above and that the latter VV |+niỵ-| is distinct from the preceding (ii) |+ni(u)ỵ-| from NN |+nỵ-|. The two typically occur in appositional forms:

- (140) a. *pi-cir-luni*                      ‘having (s.t.; ABM) as a reason, because of’  
 – |pi-ciŷ-| < |pi-ti-liŷ-| < |pi-t(i)-liŷ-| < |pi-ut-liŷ-|; see also (132c)
- b. *ayag-nir-luni*                      ‘having (s.t.; ABM) as a start, since’.

It is to be noted that these two intransitive forms have their corresponding transitive ones from the same transitive relational NVrv |-<sub>1</sub>ki-| ‘to have – as’:

- (140)' a. *pi-te-k-luku*                      ‘having it (ABS) as a reason, because of it’  
 b. *ayag-ne-q-luku*                      ‘having it (ABS) as a start, starting from it’.

These composite suffixes  $|+ci\dot{y}-|$  and  $|+ni\dot{y}-|$  with both intransitive and transitive (appositional-mood) inflections are illustrated by § 51(106, 125).

iv) Accordingly, the sequence  $-c(-)ir-$  in the following two examples may be deceptive. It is not from the pseudo-passive  $+scir-$  (§ 34.1.2.2-i), but is derived from two different sources though by the same by zero-derived passivization of patientive stems (§ 34.2.1):

- (141) a. *yuku-c-ir-tuq* ‘it gets moldy’  
 – from *yukuta(r)-lir-* ‘moisture-supply.with’. The *yukutar-* is an ambivalent stem (noun and impersonal patientive), given Drebert’s *yukūta'rā* (*yukutaraa*) ‘has become moist’ (undated 192)
- b. *mecu-ng-cir-tuq* ‘it gets wet’  
 – from *mecu(r)-ng(e)-cir-* ‘liquid-get-let/wait’;  $|mucuy-|$  ‘liquid’, NV  $|-\eta i-|$  ‘to get’ (§ 38.1) and VVsm  $|+ci\dot{y}-|$  ‘to let / wait – to’ (§ 39.1.3). See also intransitive forms of  $|+ci\dot{y}-|$  in § 39(39) ~ (41).

#### 4. Quantity/quality/size

Table 37: Verbs of quantity/quantity/size

NV	$  -kiyc(i) -  $	‘to have a good/nice’
NV	$  -cki\dot{y} -  $	‘to have a very, just right’
NV	$  +ni\dot{y} -  $	‘to be a good, strong’
NV/VV	$  +niki -  $	‘to consider to be pleasant (to)’
NV/VV	$  +niit -   \sim   +niat -  $	‘to be bad, unpleasant’
NV/VV	$  +niyqi -  $	‘to be good, pleasant’
NV	$  +tu -  $	‘to be great in dimension, have much’
NV	$  +k^*it -  $	‘to be small in dimension, have little’

NV  $| -kiyc(i) - |$  ‘to have a good/nice’. Occurs both in intransitive and transitive forms. Probably related to VVa  $| +nqix - |$  ‘well, in a good way’ (§ 41.1).

- (142) a. *tep-kegt-uq* ‘it smells good’  
 smell-have.good-IND.3sg.  
*tep-kegt-aanga*  
 smell-have.good-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘it (A<sub>IMP</sub>) is making me (my clothing) smell good’  
 cf. *tep-liq-uq / -aa* ‘it smells bad’ (§ 38.3)
- b. *nuna-kegt-uq* ‘it is a nice place’  
*nuna-kegt-aa* ‘he made room for, arranged it well’  
 land-have.good-IND.3sg.3sg.

- (143) *atura-qegci-luteng* ‘they were wearing nice new clothes’  
*pilugu-kegci-luteng* ‘they were wearing nice new skin boots’  
 [ELLA 436]
- (144) *Umyua-qegci-nrite-llru-llini-uw ...* [*tau-mek*  
 thought-have.good-NEG-PST-EVD-IND.3sg. that-ABM.sg.  
*tan’gurrar-mek*].  
 boy-ABM.sg.  
 ‘(So I see) he had ill feelings toward that boy.’
- (145) *ella-kegt-uw ~ ella-kegci-uw*  
 weather-have.good-IND.3sg.  
 ‘the weather is calm, not raining, not windy; it is a nice day’  
*ella-kegt-ua* ‘I am feeling well’ (-*ua* IND.1sg.)  
*ella-kegt-aa* ‘it is a nice day’ – with an impersonal A argument  
*ella-kegci-t-aa* ‘it is good weather for him’ – with E<sub>APL</sub>-(*u*)*t-*  
*ella-kegg-ir-niar-tuq* ‘(so that) the weather would be good again’  
 weather-have.good-become-CSQ-IND.3sg.

After equalitive |+*ta-*| ‘as – as’ (§ 45.6):

- (146) *mik-ta-l-qegt-uw* ‘it is perfectly small’  
 small-as.as-VNnm-nice-IND.3sg.  
 – see § 51(152) *pi-ta-l-qegg-luni* ‘absolutely’  
 Also occurs in a few color terms (§ 11.5) and composite suffixes.

NV |-*ckiy-*| ‘to be very, just right’, attested after color terms (intensifier as in ‘very white’ § 11.5) and a limited number of noun stems: see § 11(211).

- (147) *tungu-cke-llru-uw* ‘it is very black’ – |*tunju-*| ‘to be black’  
*cingi-cke-llru-uw* ‘it (point) is sharp’ – |*cinjy-*| ‘point’.

NV/NN |+*niy-*| ‘(to be) a good, strong’. Occurs after a limited number of stems (or roots).

- (148) *nuna-niq* ‘pleasantness, joy’, a notion of being connected  
 with *nuna* ‘land’  
*nuna-nir-yug-tuq* ‘she is happy’ – VVm |+*cuy-*| (§ 43)  
*nuna-nir-q-uw* ‘it is pleasant, it gives pleasure or happiness’  
 cf. (153) *nuna-nirq-uw* and (156) *nuna-niat-uw*.
- (149) *pi-nir-tuq* ‘he is strong or good’  
*pi-ni-un* ‘energy’ – with VNrl |+(*u*)*t-*| (§ 17.6.2).

- (150) [*Pi-ni-llr-a* *umyua-mi<sub>G</sub>]*<sub>P</sub>  
 thing-goodness-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. mind-REL.3Rsg.sg.  
*naspaa-gaa.*  
 try-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is trying his mental strength.’

*stem-final /x/deletion:*

- (151) *tang-nir-car-aa* ‘she is decorating it, is making it look good’  
 see-good-induce-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 – |*taŋx-*| ‘to see’, VVsm |*+caŋ-*| (§ 39.1.2).

This suffix occurs along with another suffix in a few productive composite suffixes, including the following two, apparently with the transitive relational verb NV |*-ki-*| and the third with the privative NV |*+ŋit-*|.

NV/VV |*+niŋqi-*| ‘to be a good, pleasant –’.

- (152) a. *yug-nirq-uw* ‘he is a pleasant person’ – |*yuy-*| ‘person’  
 b. *tang-nirq-uw* ‘it is pleasant to see’.
- (153) *Nuna-nirq-uw* *neq-li-lleq<sub>s</sub>.*  
 place-good-IND.3sg. fish-make-VNnm. ABS.sg.  
 ‘The fishing camp is a pleasant place.’ – cf. (148).

NV/VV |*+niki-*| NV and VV type: ‘to consider pleasant; consider to be pleasant to’ (bivalent) – cf. NVrv |*-ki-*|.

- (154) a. *yug-nik-aa* ‘she considers him a pleasant person’  
 b. *ner-nik-aa* ‘she considers it pleasant to eat’  
*tang-nik-aa* ‘she finds it good to look at’.

NV/VV |*+niit-*|~|*+niat-*| ‘to be a bad, unpleasant –’.

- (155) *pi-niat-tuq* ~ *pi-niit-uw*  
 ‘it is (physically) weak’ – |*pi-niŋ-*| ‘to be strong’ (149).  
*neq-niat-uw* ~ *neq-niit-uw*  
 ‘it does not taste good’ – |*niqu-*| ‘fish, food’.

- (156) [*Tau-na* *angun*]<sub>s</sub> *nuna-niat-uw*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. place-unpleasant-IND.3sg.  
 ‘That person is not pleasant (to be with).’ – see (148) *nuna-nir-*  
 above.



- (157) *yug-niit-uq* ‘he is an unpleasant person’ – |yuy-| ‘person’  
*yug-niil-k-aqa* ‘I consider him an unpleasant person’  
 person-unpleasant-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg. – see NVrv for *-k-* after VV  
 stem like (154b).
- (158) *nuna-kar-nii-nani* ‘it was not a good place (to build on)’ [FASM 4]  
 land-FUT-not.good-APP.3Rsg.

As a VV suffix:

- (159) *tang-niit-uq* ‘it is not good to see’ – |taŋx-| ‘to see’  
*nar-niil-k-aqa* ‘I hate its/his smell’ – |naŋi-| ‘to smell’  
 smell-bad-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.
- (160) [[*Cuka-luku atu-qi-i*] *yuarun*]<sub>s</sub>  
 fast-APP.3sg. sing-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. song.ABS.sg.  
*niit-niit-uq*.  
 hear-unpleasant-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The song which he is singing fast is not pleasant to listen to.’

NV |+tu-| ‘to be great in dimension, have much’; antonymous to NV  
 |+k\*it-|. Very often occurs after a dimensional root (§ 10.5-iii). Cf. VVt |-tu-|  
 ‘regularly, to the fullest extent’ (§ 42.2.5), VN |-tuli-| ‘one that is capable of,  
 one that usually does’ (§ 19.1).

- (161) a. *iq-tu-uq* ‘it is wide’ – |iqi-| ‘width’  
 cf. *iq-kit-uq* ‘it is narrow’  
 b. *sug-tu-uq* ‘he is tall’ – |yuy-| ‘person’  
 cf. *sug-kit-uq* ‘he is short’.

Antonyms may be characterized by another suffix, i.e. privative NV |+ŋit-|  
 (§ 11.2.3.2).

- (162) *usvi-tu-uq* ‘he is wise, aware of what makes sense’ – |usvi-| ‘in-  
 telligence, awareness’  
 cf. *usvi-it-uq* ‘he is crazy, insane’.

Verbalized stems with |-tu-| are monovalent. Although the second of (163)  
 below is transitive, it should be understood as a deletion of the coreferential  
 marker that binominalizes the stem, as shown by the variant with *-vkar-*.

- (163) *aki-tu-uq* ‘it is expensive’ – |*aki-*| ‘cost, equivalent, opposite’  
*aki-tu-anka* ~ *aki-tu-vkar-anka*  
 price-have.much-(A'.make-)IND.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘I am putting a high price on them’ – with or without deletion of the  
 coreferential marker (§ 51.1.4.3).
- (164) *Kuik<sub>s</sub>* *qulig-tu-uq*.  
 river.ABS.sg. crack-have.much-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The river has a wide crack.’

*After a deverbal stem:*

- (165) *assi-il-ngur-tu-ukut* ‘we have lots of faults’  
 good-PRV-VNrl-have.much-IND.1pl.
- (166) *pi-cirkar-tu-yar-tuq*  
 do-VNnm.FUT-have.much-easily-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he does many different (bad, unsavory, foolish) things’.

The suffix may occur in *ang-tu-aq* ‘big thing’ (cf. VNrl |+*yay-*|).  
 It also seems to be part of the relativizer |+*tuli*| (§ 19.1):

- (167) *apqa-ner-tu-li* ‘one who always asks questions’  
 ask-VNnm-have.much-one.who.ABS.sg.

NV |+*k\*it-*| ‘to be small in dimension, have little’ – antonymous to NV  
 |+*tu-*|.

- (168) *caces-kit-uq* ‘he is timid, lacks fortitude’ – |*cacic-*| ‘to be strong’  
 cf. *cace-tu-uq* ‘he is brave’.
- (169) *imar-kit-uq* ‘it has not much content, is a low tide’  
 cf. *ima-it-uq* ‘it is empty’ – |*imay-*| ‘content (often liquid)’ as in  
*imar-pik* ‘sea, (conceivably lit.) genuine content’,  
 hence ‘low tide’ above.

Occurs very often after a dimensional root as illustrated in § 10.5-iii.

## 5. Miscellaneous

Table 38: Miscellaneous verbs

NV	+tuuma-	‘(to be) in the state of being together with, unseparated’
NV	-lkic-	‘(suddenly) to appear, occur as’ (with sensory evidence)
NV	+m(i)t-  ~  [person]n(i)t-	‘to be at/in [someone’s]’ (locative verb)
NV	+(t)muyc-  ~  +viyc-	‘to go to/toward’
NV	+kua(y)-  /  +kuiy-  ~  +xuiy-	‘to go (follow) by way of’

NV |+tuuma-| ‘(to be) in the state of being together with, unseparated’ – composite suffix with continuative VVt |+(u)ma-| (§ 42.2.3). Mostly used in the Kuskokwim River mouth area. Emphasizes temporary togetherness, attachedness, or accompaniment by something/someone that is typically or possibly separated. It can be of VV type to a very limited extent.

- (170) *Neqa<sub>s</sub> qamiqur-tuuma-uq.*  
 fish.ABS.sg. head-together-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The fish has its head (not yet cut off).’  
 – The following sounds very odd since a human head is not something just temporarily attached to a person:  
 \**angun qamiqur-tuuma-uq*  
 ‘the man has the head’, which sounds strange (though possible).

Typically, these derived verbs occur in the stative-connective mood (§ 50.10), functioning as an adnominal clause referring to the S/P argument of the main clause predicate:

- (171) *Nere-llru-aqa neqa<sub>p</sub> ii-tuuma-an.*  
 eat-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. fish ABS.sg. eye-together-CNNst.3sg.  
 ‘I ate the fish, including the eye.’  
 – By contrast, the following is not acceptable since ‘fish’ is not something affiliated with ‘ice-cream’:  
 \**nere-llru-aqa neqa<sub>p</sub> akutar-tuuma-an*  
 ‘I ate the fish with ice-cream’.
- (172) *Annga-an<sub>A</sub> qavar-cet-lini-i*  
 elBr-REL.3sg.sg. sleep-A’.let-EVD-IND.3sg.3pl.  
*cap’akir-tuuma-ita.*  
 shoe-together-CNNst.3pl.  
 ‘(I see) his elder brother let them sleep with their shoes on.’

- (173) [*Pik-a-ggun=ll'* [*qaygi-m<sub>G</sub> egalr-akun*]]  
 up-EX-PRL=and q.-REL.sg. window-PRL.3sg.sg.  
*kener-tuuma-an an-l-luku.*  
 fire-together-CNNst.3sg. go.out-A-APP.3sg.  
 'He put the torch out through the smoke window of the men's house  
 (*qasgiq*).' [CQQL 32] – causative |+c-| into /-l-/ in *an-l-luku*.
- (174) ... *pitegcaute-tuuma-ng'e'rmi* [*kuig-e-m ceni-inun*]  
 arrow-together-CNNth.3Rsg. river-EV-REL.sg. shore-ALL.3sg.sg.  
*atrar-yaaq-luni*  
 go.down-but-APP.3Rsg.  
 '... although wounded by the arrow, he had tried to go down to the  
 river, but to no avail'. [QNMC 122–123]
- (175) *Egan<sub>p</sub> imar-tuuma-an tais-gu!*  
 pot.ABS.sg. content-together-CNNst.3sg. bring-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 'You (sg.) bring the pot, filled with something.'

The nominal stem expanded by the suffix may be a (human) company instead of a thing for the action:

- (176) *Ner-luteng tua=i im-ku-t mikelngur-tuumar-meng*  
 eat-APP.3Rpl. SFL that-EX-ABS.pl. child-together-CNNst.3Rpl.  
*aata-t aana-t-llu.*  
 Fa-ABS.pl. Mo-ABS.pl.=and  
 'They (ANP) would eat along with their children, mothers and fathers.' [ELLA 436–437]

i) On the contrary, a connotation of non-togetherness and separateness is emphasized by the preceding NN |+k\*aỵ-| 'something which is unrealized or belongs to the future'. Compare the preceding example with the following:

- (177) *Egan<sub>p</sub> imar-kar-tuuma-an*  
 pot.ABS.sg. content-FUT-together-CNNst.3sg.  
*tai-s-gu!*  
 come-with-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 'You (sg.) bring the pot alone, the content separately.'

Accordingly *neqka-* in (a) below, with the NN suffix |+k\*aỵ-| (§ 20.1.1), is 'something to eat (for future)', as contrasted with (b) 'fish separately' (since a 'fish' is not 'something that can be a part of a person):

- (178) a. *Neq-kar-tuuma-rmi*                      *tai-guq.*  
 food-FUR-together-CNNst.3Rsg.    come-IND.3sg.  
 ‘She came/moved here with something to eat.’  
 b. *Neq-tuuma-rmi*                              *ta-iguq.*  
 ‘She came along with fish/food’.

ii) The suffix may be of the VV type, but apparently limited to stative (adjectival) stems:

- (179) *Iluteq-tuuma-rma*                      *ullag-amken.*  
 sorrowful-together-CNNst.1sg.    come-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 ‘I have come to you (sg.), (I being) in great sadness.’

As an adnominal adjunct, it may be replaced with an appositional mood verb like *iluteq-lua* (APP.1sg.).

- (180) *Kuma-tuuma-an* ( $\hat{=} kuma-an$ )    *qasgi<sub>p</sub>*    *unit-aa.*  
 lit-(together-)CNNst.3sg.    q.ABS.sg.    leave-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He left the community house lit.’

Finally it may be added that the *-tuuma-* form may be ambiguous as it also derives from either the NV  $|+tu\dot{y}-|$  ‘to use, eat’ or the NV  $|+tu-|$  ‘to have much’ followed by the very common aspectual suffix VV  $|+(u)ma-|$  (CNT/PRF). For instance, *cap’akir-tuuma-ata* (172) and *ii-tuuma-an* (171) can also mean ‘as they are using shoes’ (*cap’akir-tu-uma-ata* use-CNT-CNNbc.3pl.; with intervocalic deletion of /y/) and ‘as it has many eyes’ (*ii-tu-uma-an* have.much-PRF-CNNbc.3sg.) respectively.

NV/VV  $|-lkic-|$  ‘(suddenly) to appear, occur as; suddenly, apparently’ (the speaker now noticing something with sensory evidence) – cf. § 38.5.

- (181) *yu-lkit-uq*  
 ‘a person came into view, appeared (though still unrecognizable)’  
*evcu-lkit-uq*  
 ‘it (e.g. house) suddenly shook!’ – patientive  $|ivcu\dot{y}-|$  ‘to shake/brush off (snow/dust)’, cf. § 40(90)  
*nepe-lkit-uq*                      ‘he is making a noise’ –  $|nipi-|$  ‘noise’  
*qane-lkit-uq*                      ‘he is making a noise (with his mouth)’.

There is a morphologically unique, but very productive, composite suffix responsible for “locative verbs” (§ 4.3.5) which is derived from the locative case marker:

NV  $|+m(i)t-|$  /  $|+[\text{person}]n(i)t-|$  ‘to be at/in [someone’s]’ – forming a locative verb (monovalent) of existence (cf. § 28.1) as a “phrasal compound” (locative-case nominal and existence verb), which is a single word despite the peculiarity of two inflections involved, as fully discussed and illustrated in § 27.8.

While locative verbs just above are very productive, CAY has a few NV suffixes derived by a case marker, that is, allative  $+mun$  (§ 26) or perlative  $|-k*un|$  (§ 28) that are responsible for a limited number of verbs meaning ‘to go toward’ or ‘to go by way of’.

NV  $|+(t)mu\dot{y}c-|$  ~  $|+vi\dot{y}c-|$  ‘to go to/toward’ (allative). The second variant illustrated in § 12.4.

- (182) a. *ciu-tmurt-**uq*** ‘he is going forward’;  $|ciu-|$  ‘front’  
*ciut-tmuara-luni* ‘he constantly moving forward’ [MM]  
 cf. *ciu-muar-* ‘to go forward, be persistent/determined to’ [YED]
- b. *iqhu-tmurt-**uq*** ‘he is goin the wrong way’;  $|iqhu-|$  ‘wrong, lie’  
*atauci-murt-ut* ‘they assemble, concentrate’ [Hinz 91], i.e. ‘they go toward one ( $|atauci\dot{y}-|$ )’
- c. *uk-a-tmurt-**uq*** ‘he is coming toward here’;  $|uk-a-|$  (adverbial demonstrative) ‘approaching’  
*ki-a-tmurte-qatar-tua* ‘I am about to go unriver/inside’ [PA];  $|ki-a-|$  (adverbial demonstrative) from  $|kiu\dot{y}-|$  § 39(181) *na-tmur-uc-et-agnegu* ‘to where have they him to take (s.o.)?’

NV  $|+kua\dot{y}-|$  /  $|+kui\dot{y}-|$  ~  $|+xui\dot{y}-|$  ‘to go through (follow) by way of’ (perlative  $|-*kun|$  /  $|-xun|$ ). See § 12.3.1, § 12.4.

- (183) a. *nuna-kuar-tuq* ‘he is going by land’ –  $|nuna-|$  ‘land’  
*nuna-kuar-cuun* ‘automobile’ – with VNrl (instrument)
- b. *imapig-kuar-tuq* ‘he is going by sea’ –  $|ima\dot{y}pi\dot{y}-|$  ‘sea’
- c. *nanva-kuar-tuq* ‘he is going by the lake’ –  $|nanva\dot{y}-|$  ‘lake’.

Perhaps not so commonly, the *-kuar-* verb, basically monovalent, is attested with transitive inflection as in the following which corresponds to the intransitive (a) above:

- (184) *Nuna-kuar-aa* *angyaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 land-go.by-IND.3sg.3sg. boat.ABS.sg.  
 ‘He is following the boat himself by (walking or running on) land.’

This is most likely to be a zero-derived transitivization by addition of locational P (§ 33.4.1), with the ‘boat’, though moving, taken as a location or target of his ‘going by land’.

CAY also has at least two NV suffixes apparently derived by case markers for adverbial demonstrative, thus responsible for verbal demonstratives, i.e. |+viȳc-| ‘to go to/toward’ (allative) and |+xuiȳ-| ~ |+kuiȳ-| ‘to go through, by way of’ (perlative), as illustrated in § 12.4.

There is one suffix that is clearly derived from an English noun: see § 14.6 for NV |-klaay-| ‘(to be) o’clock’ which is used uniquely as a suffix (but not as a stem) – see § 4-fn. 1 and § 11.3.6

The other NV (verbalizing) suffixes are generally specific to certain kinds of nominals, such as location nouns (§ 11.2.3.2), and are given in respective chapters/sections.

## Chapter 39

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#### Simplex verb modifications

CAY has a fair number of valency-modifying suffixes with a wide range of morphosyntactically important functions. They increase, decrease, or rearrange



the valency structure of verbs, directly affecting case alignments (§ 30) on the nominal arguments. See Table 26 and 27 (§ 30.1.2) for the list.

On the other hand, the language has many verb-elaborating suffixes (incl. adverbial, tense-aspect, modality, evidentiality, polarity), to be introduced in § 41-§ 45, which do not commonly yield valency modification, though some of them entail a valency change, like the VVa  $|_{-1}cu-$  ‘skillfully, to be good at’ (§ 41.1), which deletes the P argument of bivalent stems.

Valency-modifying suffixes yield two types, as given in Table 26:

- a. VVsm suffixes for valency-modified simplex verbs (§ 39)
- b. VVcm suffixes for multi-layered complex transitives (§ 40).

A VVsm suffix yields a simplex verb, while a VVcm, immediately standing after a simplex verb stem, yields a complex verb embedding the lower-clause simplex verb. A simplex verb may be more or less lexically restricted, even though it may contain many verb-elaborating VV suffixes of various categories (mentioned above). It remains to be extensively explored which kinds of stems undergo the most common and productive types of simplex verb modifications. Even the applicative  $|+(u)c-$  (§ 39.4) and the antipassive  $|+y_{i2}-$  (§ 39.6.1), probably the most productive VVsm suffixes, are nevertheless not totally predictable (i.e. devoid of lexical restriction).

A complex verb formed by a VVcm, however, is practically all-productive, as if it were a syntactic extension. It may be recursive. It also can be expanded by a sequence of verb-elaborating VV suffixes, but cannot be expanded by a VVsm, except for the antipassive  $|+y_{i2}-$ .

There are a number of suffixes that have valency-decreasing effect, that is, antipassive and pseudo-passive (§ 39.3). For that matter, the two productive antipassivizers (of three) in CAY (§ 39.4.4, § 39.6.1) are actually derived from valency-increasing suffixes.

Two simplex verbs (1) and (2) below, with a sequence of VV suffixes, are compared with a complex transitive (3) with two arguments expanded by the VVcm suffixes  $|+sqi-$  (A'.ask/want) and  $|+_{1}cuki-$  (A'.think) – see § 40. Example (1) has six VV type suffixes occurring with the expanded denominal verb stem (*qaya-cuara-li-* ‘to make a small kayak’ consisting of the nominal stem *qayar-* followed by the NN  $|_{-}cua(ya)ŷ*_{-}$  ‘small’ and the NV suffix  $|_{-}li-$  ‘to make’) and the word-final verb inflection (*-aanga*):

- (1) *qaya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-sugnarq-aanga* cf. § 4(81)  
 N NN NV VV VV VV VV VV VV V  
 kayak-small-make-DES-ITS-PST-NEG-but-CNJ-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he probably did not want to make me a small kayak so much (but actually made it)’.

Depending upon the semantic scope of suffixes, the intensifier VV *|-qapiyc-* may change the relative order, triggering a difference from the above, as in the following:

- (2) *qaya-cuara-li-yu-llru-nrit-qapigc-aaq-sugnarq-aanga*  
 N NN NV VV VV VV VV VV VV V  
 kayak-small-make-DES-PST-NEG-ITS-EVD-CNJ-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I thought he did *not* want to make me a small kayak *at all* (but actually made it)’.

In contrast with these two simplex verbs, the following example (3) is a ‘doubly’ complex transitive with two upper layer clauses (with respective agents A' and A" embedding its own lower clause). The complex-transitive verbs such as VVcm *|+<sub>1</sub>cuki-* ‘A' to think that (s.o.) do (s.t.)’ and *|+sqi-* ‘A' to wish/ask (s.o.) to do (s.t.)’ are described in the next chapter (§ 40). In the following, the upper verb *-sqe-* contains the same four verbal categories as in (2) except INF:

- (3) *Qaya-cuara-li-sqe-llru-nrit-qapigc-aaqe-ssuk-aqa.*  
 kayak-small-make-A'.ask-PST-NEG-ITS-but-A".think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I [A"] think that *she* [A'] did not ask (s.o. [A]) to make a small kayak at all (but actually [A] made it)’.

Note that the desiderative VVm *-yu-* in (1), (2) belongs to a different type of suffix from the directive VVcm *-sqe-* in (3), and the conjectural Vm *-sugnarqe-* in (1), (2) are also distinct from the speculative *-ssuk-* in (3) with regard to the suffix types.

Valency modifications within simplex verbs are made with a number of VVsm suffixes whose productivity is more or less restricted lexically, except for the antipassive *|+ $\dot{y}$ <sub>2</sub>-* (§ 39.6.1), which may occur after a VVcm too (as stated above).

Valency modification includes root expanders (EX) since they expand a-valent roots into mono- or bi-valent verb stems – see § 10.5 and § 36.

Also valency related are the verbalizing suffixes (NV) discussed in the preceding chapters (§ 37, § 38), which change a nominal stem into a verb stem by adding one (S) or two arguments (P, A), such as the relational verb suffixes (NVrv) that thoroughly permeate the CAY grammar.

## 1. Agent

There are at least four VVsm suffixes (a) through (d) below (see Table 26, and § 39.1.1 through § 39.1.4) that add an A argument, thus all being causative in the broader sense. The suffix (a) is most productive, (b) and (c) are more or less lexically restricted, and (d) is restricted to a limited number of stems:

- a. |+c-| highly productive though with some lexical restriction
- b. |+caỵ-| / |+caa(ȳa)ȳ-| rather selective
- c. |+ciȳ-| rather selective
- d. |-ȳqi-| a small number of lexicalized causative transitive verbs.

CAY has another causative suffix, i.e. |-vkaȳ-| ~ |+cic-| (§ 40.2.1), which is an A' adding complex transitive suffix (VVcm).

These causative suffixes are patientive, so all the derivatives may be subject to suffix-derived antipassivization (§ 39.6.1).

### 1.1. |+c-|

As a transitivizer, the suffix:

- a. adds A and P to an (a-valent) root into a monotransitive (bivalent) stem
- b. adds A to a monovalent stem into a bivalent stem with A and P, with the underlying S rearranged into P function
- c. replaces the impersonal A of impersonal patientive bivalent stems with personal A (thus A and P).

An extended stem, serving as patientive bivalent stem with P and A, can not only take transitive but also intransitive inflection by way of detransitivization with argument reduction (passivization, antipassivization, medialization, etc.).

The suffix does not occur with bivalent stems (except for i.c below), ditransitives, or with complex transitives.

i) *With different roots/stems:*

i.a) *With postural roots* (cf. § 10.5-i):

- (4) *nanger-t-aa*  
 ‘he [A] stood him/her/it [P] up, helped him/her/it to stand up’ –  
 |nanȳ-| ‘standing’  
*nanger-t-uq*  
 i. ‘he/it was helped to stand (by s.o.)’ – passivization with A deleted  
 ii. ‘he/it stood up’ – medialization  
*nanger-c-i-uq*  
 ‘he stands (s.o.) up, helps (s.o.) to stand up’ – antipassivization.

- (5) *aitar-t-aa* ‘he spread it [mouth] open’  
 – |*aitay-*| ‘(gapingly) open [mouth]’  
*aitar-t-uq* ‘it [mouth] is gapingly open’ – passivization.

A small sample of derivatives from an a-valent root with A-adding |+c-| includes:

- (6) |*calay-c-*| ‘to open [wound, crack]’, |*ciuy-c-*| ‘to tilt up [head]’,  
 |*ikiy-c-*| ‘to open [door, box, bottle]’, |*inay-c-*| ‘to lay down’,  
 |*kamilay-c-*| ‘to remove (someone’s) footwear’, |*kanay-c-*| ‘to bend  
 forward’, |*kaviy-c-*| ‘to redden’, |*qitiy-c-*| ‘to lay on one’s back’,  
 |*matay-c-*| ‘to undress’, |*mumiy-c-*| ‘to turn over’, etc.

i.b) *With monovalent stems*: particularly of state/change (inanimate) or movement (animate). The suffix is most typical and productive with this class of stems.

- (7) a. *tuqu-t-aa* ‘he killed it/her’ – |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’  
*tuqu-t-uq* [K] ‘he choked (e.g. on bones)’ – medial  
*tuqu-t-uq ak’a* ‘he is already killed’ – TAM-sensitive passive  
*tuqu-t-uq ellmi-nek* ‘he killed himself’ – reflexive (§ 34.4.1)  
*tuqu-c-i-uq* ‘he kills (s.o.)’ – antipassive  
 b. *neng-t-aa* ‘he stretched it’ – |*nij-*| ‘to stretch’  
*neng-t-uq* ‘it is stretched (by s.o.)’ – passive  
 cf. *neng’-uq* ‘it stretched (by itself)’.

- (8) *Nuk’a-m<sub>A</sub>* *pek-t-aa* *nuna<sub>P</sub>*  
 p.n.-REL.sg. move-A-IND.3sg.3sg. land.ABS.sg.  
*pav-a-ni* / *Anchorage-a-mi*.  
 up-EX-LOC.sg. / pl.n.-LNK-LOC.sg.  
 ‘Nuk’aq moved around the land up there/in Anchorage.’ – |*piki-*| ‘to  
 make a movement’.

- (9) *An-t-aa* *caaskaq<sub>P</sub>* *ella-mun*.  
 go.out-A-IND.3sg.3sg. cup.ABS.sg. outside-ALL.sg.  
 ‘She put the cup out(side).’ – |*ani-*| ‘to go out’  
 – compare with applicative (E<sub>APL</sub>) VVsm |+*(u)c-*| (§ 39.4.1):  
 cf. *an-ut-aa ella-mun* ‘she took it/him out’.

An A<sub>IMP</sub> may also be added; see also § 10(39) |*paliy-*| ‘sun-tanned’.

- (10) *Qayaq<sub>P</sub> =am ~ Qayàr<sub>P</sub> =am ater-t-aa.*  
 kayak.ABS.sg.=again go.down-A<sub>IMP</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The kayak is drifting with the current again (lit. *it* is drifting the kayak with the current again).’ – |atīy-| ‘to get down’.
- (11) [*ciku-mi pugta-lria-mi*] *qaya-a<sub>P</sub>*  
 ice-LOC.sg. float-VNrl.LOC.sg. kayak-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*teng-l-luku*  
 fly-A<sub>IMP</sub>-APP.3sg.  
 ‘his kayak was blown when it was on floating ice’ [PAIT 18]  
 – |tīji-c-| ‘to blow away’.
- (12) *atataku-t-aa aya-llerka-ni* .  
 after.while-A-IND.3sg.3sg. leave-VNnm.FUT-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘he postponed his departure’; cf. § 11(115)  
 – |atataku-| ‘(to be) after a while’.

A small sample of derivatives from monovalent stems:

- (13) |*aqum-c-*| ‘to seat’, |*aji-c-*| ‘to loosen, untie’, |*āyi-c-*| ‘to cause to become pliable’, |*atyaȳ-c-*| ‘to lower, take/put down’ (|*atyaȳ-*| ‘to go down’), |*ayu-c-*| ‘to let progress, enlarge’ (|*ayu-*| ‘to be active, progress’), |*maliy-c-*| ‘to follow’ (|*maliy-*| ‘to bring along’), |*nau-c-*| ‘to build’ (|*nau-*| ‘to grow’), |*mayuȳ-c-*| ‘to put up high’ (|*mayuȳ-*| ‘to go up, climb’: see just below), |*pik-c-*| ‘to move, walk’ (|*piki-*| ‘to make a movement’), |*piȳ-c-*| ‘to bend’ (|*piȳ-*| ‘to be bent’), |*qia-c-*| ‘to make cry’, |*tatam-c-*| ‘to startle’, |*uita-c-*| ‘to leave undisturbed, alone’ (|*uita-*| ‘to stay’), |*uni-c-*| ‘to leave behind’ (|*uni-*| ‘to resolve’), |*tay-c-*| ‘to pull up’ (|*tay-*| ‘to go up’; cf. |*tay-ciȳ-*| ‘to motion to come up’ [YED 352], with VVsm, § 39.1.3), etc.
- (14) *mayur-t-aa* ‘he is putting it up higher’  
 – cf. *mayu-ut-aa* ‘he is taking it up with him’ versus with applicative VVc |+(u)c-| (§ 39.4.1).

Occurs after a limited number of expanded stems:

- (15) *arula-ir-t-aa* ‘he stopped it’ – |*āyula-iȳ-*| ‘to stop moving’ (NV |+ȳiȳ-|)  
 cf. *arula-t-aa* ‘he is shaking/stirring it’ – |*āyula-*| ‘to move’.

- (16) *qul-var-t-aa* 'he put it up' – |*qul-var-*| 'to go up' (|*quli-*| 'area above' and NV|-(*q*)*vay-*|)  
*qul-var-e-s-gu* 'you (sg.) put it up!' – EV-*e-* and -*s-* from -*t-* before OPT.2sg.3sg. -*gu*.
- (17) *akag-e-nqeg-t-aa* 'he is making it round' – |*akay-*| 'to roll', EV -*e-*, |*-nqix-*| 'well, good way'.

The suffix never occurs, however, after antipassive stems (§ 34.2.2) – thus, *\*tamar-i-c-* 'to make s.o. lose things', *\*tuqu-c-i-c-* 'to make s.o. kill' (although *tuqu-c-i-c-* may mean 'to kill for s.o. from *tuquc-i-uc-* with the benefactive applicative suffix; e.g. [128]); nor, naturally, with a pseudo-passive stem (§ 34.1.2.2-i) – *\*nere-sci(u)r-c-* 'to have s.o. eaten'.

i.c) *With impersonal (patientive) bivalent stems*: Replacing impersonal A with a personal A. Like the (primary) impersonal patientive stems (§ 34.3), the derived stems relate to natural phenomena such as freezing/heating, changes in shape and condition, colors, and body changes (but not to necessity or destiny for extended impersonals, § 39.2.1).

While impersonal patientive stems cannot have antipassive verbs with good reason (§ 39.5.2-ii), their expanded stems with |+c-| can have them, as shown in the following two examples, which is reasonable since the impersonal agent is replaced with a personal one:

- (18) |*maqi-*| '(A<sub>IMP</sub>) to spill, flow out'  
*maq-t-taa* 'he is making it (e.g. boil) flow out'  
*maq-t-uq* 'it is made to flow out (by s.o.)'  
*maq-c-i-uq* 'he is making (s.t.) flow out' (antipassive; e.g. with *uqu-ut-minek* 'oil supply')  
 cf. *maq-aa* 'it (A<sub>IMP</sub>) is oozing it (e.g. boil) out'  
 ≡ *maq'-uq* 'it is oozing out' (A<sub>IMP</sub> deletion), but with no antipassive such as *\*maq-i-uq*.
- (19) |*qami-*| '(A<sub>IMP</sub>) to turn (fire, stove) out, go out, extinguish'  
*qam-t-aa* 'he turned it down'  
*qam-t-uq* 'it is turned out, extinguished (by s.o.)'  
*qam-c-i-uq* 'he is turning (s.t.) out'  
 cf. *qam-aa* ≡ *qam'-uq* 'it (fire) gradually died down; fig., he is panicked, depressed (by fear, surprise)'.
- (20) |*uu-*| '(A<sub>IMP</sub>) to cook, burn'  
*uu-t-aa* 'she cooked/burned it' – see (26)

- uu-t-uq* ‘she burned herself’  
*uu-c-i-uq* ‘she cooks (s.t.)’  
 cf. *uu-gaa* = *uu-guq* ‘it is cooked’.
- (21) |*ily-*| ‘to singe, scorch, burn’  
 a. *Eleg-te-llru-i* *kelipa-t<sub>p</sub>*.  
 burn-A-PST-IND.3sg.3pl. bread-ABS.pl.  
 ‘She burned, blackened the breads.’  
 b. *Eleg-te-llru-ut* *kelipa-t<sub>p</sub>*.  
 burn-A-PST-IND.3pl. bread-ABS.pl.  
 ‘The breads became black.’ – passivization, with the necessary  
 change of subject number  
 c. *Eleg-c-i-llru-uq* *kelipa-nek<sub>(p)</sub>*  
 burn-A-APS-PST-IND.3sg. bread-ABM.pl.  
 ‘She burned bread.’

The following is to be compared with (193), which has an impersonal A:

- (22) |*nipi-*| ‘to extinguish’  
 a. *Nip-t-aa* *kaminiaq<sub>p</sub>* *angut-e-m<sub>A</sub>*.  
 extinguish-A-IND.3sg.3sg. stove.ABS.sg. man-EV-REL.sg.  
 ‘The man extinguished the stove.’  
 b. *Nip-t-uq* *kaminiaq<sub>s</sub>*.  
 ‘The stove was extinguished (by s.o.)’ – passive  
 c. *Nip-c-i-uq* *kaminia-mek<sub>(p)</sub>* *angun<sub>s</sub>*.  
 ‘The man extinguished a stove.’ – antipassive  
 cf. *Nip-aa* = *nip’-uq* *kaminiaq<sub>p/s</sub>*. ‘The stove was extinguished.’  
 – primary impersonal but not \**nip-i-uq*.

A small sample of derivatives is added: (b) has a particle expanded by the suffix.

- (23) a. |*uyuy-c-*| ‘to melt’ (< |*uyuy-*| ‘to melt’), |*kiniy-c-*| ‘to dry’ (< |*kiny-*| ‘to dry’), |*iyum-c-*| ‘to undo (knitting)’ (< |*iyumi-*| ‘to come apart/undone’), |*uki-c-*| ‘to make a hole’ (< |*uki-*| ‘to get a hole’), |*piy-c-*| ‘to bend’ (< |*piyi-*| ‘to bend’), |*qiu-c-*| ‘to make (s.t.) bluish (e.g. by bruising)’ (< |*qiu-*| ‘to become blue’; cf. |*qiu-yqi-*| with the obsolete causative, § 39.1.4), |*miqi-c-*| ‘to remove [hair/fur]’ (< |*miqi-*| ‘to shed’),  
 b. |*atataku-c-*| ‘to postpone’ (< |*atata-ku-*| ‘after a while’; later.on-FUT); see § 11(115).

An  $|+c-|$  extended form is possible with the pseudo-passive VVsm  $|+yau-|$  (§ 17.4.2, § 39.3.2), as is the case with the other causative  $|+ciy-|$  (§ 39.1.3):

- (24) *kiner-t-**au**-guq* ‘it is dried (usually referring to food)’  
*tuqu-t-**au**-guq* ‘he/it is killed’.

At least in the following, with impersonal (patientive) bivalent stem, the suffix yields a slightly different impersonal stem:

- (25)  $|qixu-|$  ‘to freeze to death’  
 a. *qerru-a*  $\rightleftharpoons$  *qerru-uq* ‘he froze to death’  
 b. *qerru-t-aa*  $\rightleftharpoons$  *qerru-t-uq* ‘he is cold’.

ii) *With VVsm  $|+c-|$  followed by VVcm  $|+vka\dot{y}-| \sim |+_1cic-|$  (§ 40.2.1) – but not vice versa:*

- (26) a. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>* *uu-t-aanga.*  
 woman-REL.sg. burn-A-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘The woman burned me.’ – directly; see (20)  
 b. *Arna-m<sub>A(=A)</sub>* *uu-te-vkar-aanga.*  
 woman-REL.sg. burn-A-A'.make-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 i. ‘The woman made me burn (s.t.; ABM), did s.t. to cause me to burn (s.t.).’, with type 1 demotion  
 ii. ‘The woman made (s.o.; ALL) burn me.’ – with type 2 demotion.
- (27) *tuqu-te-vkar-aa*  
 die-A-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he let (s.o.) kill it / he let her kill (s.o.) / he let her choke (on s.t.)’  
 – but not *\*tuqu-vkar-t-aa*<sup>1</sup> nor *\*tuqu-vka-ut-aa* with applicative  $|+(u)c-|$ .

The other suppletive variant  $|+_1cic-|$  may also occur after  $|+c/$ .

- (28) a. *mumig-t-aa* ‘he turns it over’  
*mumig-c-et-aa* ‘he is doing s.t./s.o. to cause it to turn over’; *-et-*  
 from VVcm  $|+_1cic-|$   
 b. *pek-t-aa* ‘he moves it’ (s.t. immovable by itself) –  $|pik-c-|$   
*pek-c-et-aa* ‘he makes it move’ (s.t. movable by itself).

1. So there is no “causative of causative” such as *\*igte-vkar-t-aanga* (‘we have no word’; DW), though *igte-vkar-aanga* ‘he made me drop (s.t.)’ is a good word, cf. (29).



There may be homophony between derivatives with |+c-| and |+<sub>1</sub>cic-|, since the latter deletes stem-final /c/:

- (29) |iyc-| ‘to drop’:  
 a. |iyc+c-|: *igcetaa* ‘he dropped it’  
 b. |iyc+cic-|: *igcetaa* ‘he caused, allowed it to drop’  
 cf. |iyc+(u)c-|: *igutaa* ‘he fell with it/her’  
 – see § 39.4 for the applicative suffix.

### 1.2. |+caɣ-| / |+caa(ɣa)ɣ-|

A (personal agent) adder: ‘to make s.t. -er’. Yields patientive transitives from an intransitive stem by changing its S argument into P and adding A; cf. impersonal A adder (§ 39.2). The second suffix implies less speed or concentration (‘taking time, carefully, gradually, feebly, weakly’) than the first, and the two occur in the composite suffixes VVa |-qcaɣ-| ‘not quite as it normally is’ and |+qcaa(ɣa)ɣ-| ‘taking time, feebly, weakly’.

The suffix may be replaced by the complex transitive VVcm |-niɣciɣ-| ‘to wait until (s.o.) does (s.t.)’; see, e.g. § 40(102b) for *mernu-ir-car-tuq* ≙ *mernu-i-nercir-tuq* ‘he is taking a rest’.

- (30) a. *qater-car-aa* ‘he is making it white’  
*qater-car-tuq* ‘he is making himself white’ – |qatɣ-| ‘to be white’  
 b. *assir-car-aa* ‘he is making it better, fixing it, improving it, treating it/her well/carefully’  
*assir-car-tuq* ‘it is (being) fixed’ – |asiɣ-| ‘to be good’  
 c. *kiner-car-aa* ‘she is drying it’ – |kinɣ-| ‘to dry’ (impersonal patientive)  
 cf. *kiner-cet-aa* ‘it (e.g. sun) is drying it’, with complex causative |+cic-| (§ 40.2.1)  
 d. *yu(u)ng-car-aa* ‘he is treating her medically’  
 treat-A-IND.3sg.3sg. cf. (37b)  
*yu(u)ng-car-aq*  
 treat-A-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘patient; one who is ministered to and given life by a shaman’ [YEEM 317]  
 – |yu(u)ŋi-| ‘to treat medically’ from |yu-u-ŋi-| (person-be-INC).
- (31) a. *Iqtu-car-aa* *kui-cuar*<sub>p</sub>.  
 wide-A-IND.3sg.3sg. river-small.ABS.sg.  
 ‘He is making the small river wide.’

- b. *Munar-caar-luku* *elitnaur-aa*.  
 skillful-A-APP.3sg. teach-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is teaching her skills.’ – |*munay-*| ‘to be skillful’.

The second suffix shows /*ya*/ deletion:

- (32) a. *qater-caarar-aa* ‘he is making it white (more slowly)’  
*qater-caar-tuq* ‘he is making himself white (more slowly)’ –  
 with /*ya*/ deletion (P18v)
- b. *assir-caarar-aa* ‘he is making (trying) it better, fixing it’  
*assir-caar-tuq* ‘he is behaving himself’  
*assir-caar-luku* *mingq-aa*  
 good-make-APP.3sg. sew-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘she is trying to sew it very carefully (treating it well)’.
- c. *pinir-caar-qi-na* ‘you (sg.) do things to make yourself strong!’  
 strong-make-ASP-OPT.2sg.

*after expanded stems:*

- (33) a. *mernu-ir-caara-a* ‘you (sg.) recover from being tired!’  
 tired-PRV-A.more-OPT.2sg.
- b. *qava-ng-caar-luku* ‘getting him to sleep’  
 sleep-INC-A.more-APP.3sg.  
 cf. *qava-ng-caar-ru* (OPT.2sg.3sg.)
- c. *Niicugni-nqeg-caar-tura-a-sqe-lluki* *taugaam*  
 listen-well-A.more-CNT-EV-A'.ask-APP.3pl. but  
*pi-tu-llru-ka-it*.  
 do-GEN-PST-PTP-3pl.3pl.  
 ‘They always told them to listen thoroughly and attentively.’ [QQLK  
 302]  
 – splitting by means of prop |*pi-*| (§ 51.3.1). See § 41(6) for *-nqeg-*  
*caar-*.

*irregular final apical adjustments* – by the suffix-initial /*c*/, with  
 fricativization and deletion – see (P5i.c)

- (34) a. *nepa-il-caar-luta* ‘(we) being quiet, quietly’  
 sound-PRV-A.more-APP.1pl.
- b. *kuci-nril-caar-luni* ‘(he) trying not to drip’  
 drip-NEG-A.more-APP.3Rsg.

*deletion of final /c/* – after a vowel (35), but with defricativization  
 of its preceding velar consonant (36):

- (35) *eli-car-aa* ‘he teaches her (is making her learned)’  
 learn-A.more-IND.3sg.3sg. – from |*ilic*-| ‘to learn’.  
*eli-car-tuq* ‘she is studying’  
*eli-car-i-uq* ‘he is teaching (s.o.)’ – antipassive  
 – They are replaced in [K.BB] by forms with a different suffix, i.e. consequential VVt |+*nauy*-| (§ 42.2.6), with the final apical retained, thus *elit-naur-aa*, *elit-naur-tuq*, *elit-naur-i-uq*.
- (36) a. *kituk-car-aa* ‘he is trying to fix it’ – |*kituyc*-| ‘to fix’  
 b. *elluaq-car-aa* ‘he is correcting it’ – |*ihuayc*-| ‘to be correct’.
- antipassivized:*
- (37) a. *cuka-car-i-ssuun* ‘something to make things go faster, accelator’  
 go.fast-A-APS-INS.ABS.sg.  
 cf. *cuka-car-aa* ‘he is making it (e.g. outboard motor) go faster’  
 – |*cuka*-| ‘to be/go fast’
- b. *yu-u-ng-car-i-sta*  
 person-be-INC-A-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 ‘doctor (lit. one who make [person] begin to live)’; cf. (30d).

Just like VVs |+*c*-|, this A adding suffix can be followed by a complex transitive A'; cf. § 39.1.1-ii.

- (38) a. *Assir-caar-cel-luku* *May'a-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
 good-A.more-A'.make-APP.3sg. p.n.-ALL.sg.  
*mingqe-vkar-aa* *atkuk<sub>p</sub>*.  
 sew-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg. parka.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Having him make an effort to do a good job, she is making Mayaq sew the parka.’
- b. *Qavar-caar-yuk-aanga* *May'a-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*.  
 sleep-A.more-A'.think-IND.3sg.1sg. p.n.-All.sg.  
 ‘He thinks Mayaq is trying to make me sleep.’

### 1.3. |+*ciy*-|

The suffix adds an A (incl. A<sub>IMP</sub>) argument ‘to let, wait – (to)’ to non-active monovalent or impersonal patientive bivalent stems, yielding patientive bivalent stems (“causation without direct effort” – Mithun 2000: 100). Probably a constituent of the expectant complex verb |-*niyciy*-| ‘to wait until (s.o.) does (s.t.)’ (§ 40.2.6).

- (39) a. *Neqa*<sub>S</sub> *urug-cir-tuq*.  
fish.ABS.sg. melt-A-IND.3sg.  
'The fish is being thawed.'
- b. *Arnaq*<sub>S</sub> *urug-cir-tuq* [*kaminia-m<sub>G</sub> cani-ani*].  
woman.ABS.sg. melt-A-IND.3sg. stove-REL.sg. side-LOC.3sg.sg.  
'The woman is warming up (herself) beside the stove.'  
– impersonal |*uɣuy-*| as in *urug-tuq* ≡ *urug-aa* 'it is thawing, melting'.
- (40) a. *kiner-cir-aa* 'she is letting it dry' – |*kiniɣc-*| 'to be dry'  
cf. *kiner-cet-aa* 'it (e.g. sun) is drying it' – causative complex transitive
- b. *kumla-cir-aa* 'she is cooling it, making it cold' – |*kumlac-*| 'to be cold'  
*kumla-cir-tuq* 'it is being cooled'
- c. *nau-cir-aa* 'he is waiting for it to grow' – |*nau-*| 'to grow'  
*nau-cir-i-uq* 'he is waiting for s.t. to grow' – antipassive
- d. *tepe-ng-cir-aa* 'she is letting it ferment' – |*tipi-ŋi-*| 'odor-get'
- e. *mecu-ng-cir-aa* 'he is soaking it, getting it wet' [EA]  
*mecu-ng-cir-tuq* 'it is getting (being got) wet'
- f. *keni-cir-aqa* ~ *keni-cir-qa* 'I am soaking' – |*kini-*| 'to soak to soften'  
cf. *keni-cir-cet-aqa* 'I'm letting (s.o.) soak it'  
– two causatives, i.e. VVsm followed by VVcm
- g. *pi-cir-aanga* 'he is telling me to do, shows me how to do' (IND.3sg.1sg.)  
*pi-cir-tua* 'I am being told to do' (IND.1sg.)  
cf. *picir-yaraq* 'manner, custom, accepted way'  
– VNnm |+<sub>1</sub>*caray-*|.

May be followed by the pseudo-passive |+*yau-*| (§ 17.4.2, § 39.3.2), as is the case with VVsm |+*c-*|:

- (41) a. *kiner-cir-au-guq* 'it is one that is being dried' (IND.3sg.1sg.)  
cf. *kiner-t-au-guq* 'it is one dried' (IND.1sg.)
- b. *tuqu-cir-au-guq* 'he is being kept dying'  
cf. *tuqu-t-au-guq* 'he is (one that was) killed'
- c. *keni-cir-au-guq* 'it is the soaking one'
- d. *kumla-cir-au-guq* / *urug-cir-au-guq* / *nau-cir-au-guq* 'it is (one that is) being cooled/melted/grown'.

But |+*ciɣ-*| cannot be followed by the other causative |+*c-*|: \**kiner-cir-t-au-guq*, \**tuqu-cir-t-au-guq*, \**keni-cir-t-au-guq*.

The following example contains three causative suffixes – two VVsm |+c-| (> -l- in *aqum-l-luku*) and |+ciỵ-|, and one VVcm |+vkaɣ̣-| – with differences. On top, it contains another valency-increasing VVsm |+viki-| (§ 39.7.2):

- (42) *Tuqu-aqan=gguq*      *ki-na<sub>S</sub>*  
 die-CNNwv.3sg.=RPT    who-EX.ABS.sg.  
*upte-la-llru-at*                      *ila-ita<sub>A</sub>*                      *aqum-l-luku*  
 prepare-CUS-PST-IND.3pl.3sg.    part-REL.3pl.pl.            sit-A-APP.3sg.  
*makt-a-vkar-luku,*                      *muri-i-gnek=llu*  
 sit.up-STT-A'.make-APP.3sg.      wood-EV-ABM.du.=and  
*nati-ikun*                      *elli-vi-k-luku*  
 part-PRL.3sg.sg.      put-VNrl-have.as-APP.3sg.  
*makt-a-cir-luku.*  
 sit.up-STT-A-APP.3sg.  
 ‘When one (someone) dies, they (some people) prepared him and sat him up to be upright, and they used wood to put him sitting up.’  
 [CAUY 122]

#### 1.4. |-ỵqi-|

Lexically very limited, yielding just a few bivalent stems (from monovalent) and one secundative ditransitive stem (from bivalent), and utterly distinct from the very highly productive causative complex transitive VVcm |-vkaɣ̣-|~|+<sub>1</sub>cic-| ‘A’ to let/make/cause A to –’. Repetative/continuous causation. Jacobson glosses this as ‘to intentionally or deliberately cause one to V’ (1984: 549) and ‘to V as a group, all together or one right after another’ (1995: 425).

With monovalent or impersonal monovalent stems:

- (43) |*qia-ỵqi-*| ‘to make s.o. cry’ (usually child to child) – |*qia-*| ‘to cry’  
 |*qiu-ỵqi-*| ‘to bruise s.t.’ – |*qiu-*| ‘to become bluish’ (impersonal).  
 Can also occur with |+c-| causative (|*qiu-c-*|)  
 |*tuqu-ỵqi-*| ‘to make s.o. die, to kill s.o.’ – |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’, cf.  
 |*tuqu-c-*| ‘to kill’  
 |*puyuỵ-qi-*| ‘to smoke’ – root |*puyuỵ-*| ‘smoke’  
 |*tupay-qi-*| ‘to wake s.o. up (intentionally or unintentionally)’ –  
 |*tupay-*| ‘to wake up’.
- (44) *puyur-q-ai* (IND.3sg.3pl.) ‘he is feeding the fire to smoke them (fish)’  
*puyur-q-ut* (IND.3pl.) ‘they are being smoked’.

- (45) *Tama-a-ni* [yu-u-t amller-e-t]<sub>P</sub> *tiipii-m<sub>A</sub>*  
 that-EX-LOC person-EV-ABS.pl. many-EV-ABS.pl. TB-REL.sg.  
*tuqu-rqe-la-llru-i.*  
 die-make-GEN-PST-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘In those days TB was killing many people.’ [LL]

/y/ may be deleted before /qC/, which comes from final /i/ deletion by (P8ii), as illustrated with appositional forms (e.g. APP.3sg.), the same way as the encessitative impersonal |+nayqi-| (§ 39.2), see also § 51.1.1-iv.

- (46) *qia-q-luku* ~ *qia-rqe-lluku* ‘making her cry’ (intentionally)  
*tupa-q-luku* ~ *tupag-qe-lluku* ‘making her up’.

Since the derived stems are patientive, they may occur in antipassive forms:

- (47) *qia-rq-i-ug* *mikelngur-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 cry-make-APS-IND.3sg. child-ABM.sg.  
 ‘he is intentionally making/made a child cry’  
 cf. *qia-rq-aa mikelnguq* (ABS.sg.) ‘he intentionally made the child cry’  
 – child-to-child action, which is not necessarily the case with complex transitives.

The only secundative ditransitive attested with this obsolete suffix (on a bivalent stem) is |niyqi-| from |niyi-| ‘to eat’:

- (48) a. *nerq-aa* ‘she [A] is feeding him [R] (s.t. [(T)])’  
 b. *nerq-ug* ‘he is being fed’  
 c. *nerq-i-ug* *qimugte-minek<sub>(R)</sub>* *neq-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 feed-APS-IND.3sg. dog-ABM.3Rsg.sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘he is feeding fish to his (own) dog’. (T)abm (R)abm Arel  
 – note the difference in case alignment from (49a) and § 30(29).

The transitive (a) is a lexicalized secundative ditransitive and is not like a complex transitive with |-vkaŷ-|, the latter of which may have two readings, as do any complex transitives (transitive 1 and transitive 2 – see § 35.3 and § 40), i.e. *nere-vkar-aa* i) ‘she is letting him eat (s.t.)’ and ii) ‘she is letting it be eaten (by s.o.)’. Thus, (49) has only one reading (a), and not (b):

- (49) a. *Nerqe-ciq-anka* *qimugte-nka<sub>R</sub>* *neq-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 feed-FUT-IND.1sg.3pl. dog-ABS.1sg.pl. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I will feed my dogs fish.’ = § 30(13) (T)abm Rabs Arel  
 b. \**Nerqe-ciq-anka* *neqe-t<sub>T</sub>* (ABS.pl.) *qimugte-mnun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 (ALL.1sg.pl.).

More minor or restricted A adding VVsm suffixes include |*+<sub>1</sub>tasiaŷ-*| ~ |*+<sub>1</sub>taciaŷ-*| ‘to check/test how (it is...)’ (§ 45.6.1-vi), etc.

## 2. Necessitative impersonal agent |*+naŷqi-*|

While the  $A_{IMP}$  argument inherent to primary impersonal patientive verbs is some natural power or process, as in § 34(66a) *ciku-a* ‘it ( $A_{IMP}$ ) froze it (e.g. ice), i.e. it is frozen’ (with |*ciku-*|), as described in § 34.3, the extended impersonal agent by means of a VVsm |*+naŷqi-*| group suffixes listed in (51) below, indicates necessity or destiny (beyond personal or human control). No outside force seems to be felt. It is highly plausible that we have here a compositie suffix of VN/VV |*+naŷ-*| ‘one that causes; to cause’ (§ 19.2) with the transitive relational verb NV |*-ki-*| ‘to have – as’, cf. *tuqu-naq* ‘poison’ from |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’, *aling-naq* ‘hazardous thing’ from |*aliŷi-*| ‘afraid, scared’ – see (74) for comparison with *tuqu-narq-uq* ‘it is deadly, poisonou’, etc.

Just as with primary impersonal (§ 34.3), extended impersonal verbs are patientive and occur with either transitive or intransitive inflection (by way of detransitivization), i.e. “transimpersonal” and “impersonal passive”. As a matter of fact, however, intransitive inflection (as will be given below) is more commonly encountered than transitive.

The extended impersonal A argument is inflectionally indexed as the transitive subject only in the *third person singular*, but never occurs externally as a full NP, hence no case assignment involved.

The following example (50) comes from (a) monovalent and (b) (agentive) bivalent stems, both with transitive inflection:

- (50) a. *ayag-narq-aaten*  
 go-NEC-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘you (sg.) [P] have to hurry up and go, i.e. it [ $A_{IMP}$ ] behooves you [P=S] to hurry up and go’.
- b. *ner-narq-aanga*                      *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 eat-NEC-IND.3sg.1sg.                  fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I [P] have to eat fish, i.e. it [ $A_{IMP}$ ] behooves me [P=S] to eat [(P)]’.  
 – see (55a) and (59a) respectively for case alignment. The ‘fish’ is not a transitive object.

Note that, despite the English glosses, the second person singular ‘you’ in (a) and the first person singular ‘I’ in (b) are actually the patient but from original S and that both (a) and (b) have the third person singular transitive subject (impersonal A).

The three  $A_{IMP}$  adders are:

- (51) a. |*+naŷqi-*| ‘to behoove – to, to be necessary to’  
 b. |*+naŷi-*| ‘to be time to’  
 c. |*-kixnaŷqi-*| ‘to be a good time to’ (rather rare).

The necessitative suffix (a) |*+naŷqi-*| is incidentally one of the most productive and extensive derivative suffixes in CAY. The suffix (b) is composite with inchoative VVt |*-ŷi-*| ‘to become (more)’ (§ 42.2.1) functioning like tense-aspect suffix, and (c) is composed with |*-kiŷc(i)-*| ‘to have good’ (§ 33.4.3, § 38.4). Illustrations for discussion and illustration here are mainly made of |*+naŷqi-*|, which occurs most frequently of the three.

The preceding (b) and (c) have further composite suffixes:

- (51)' a. |*-<sub>1</sub>cunaŷqi-*| ‘to be good to be –ed, be easy to’ (§ 43)  
 b. |*-<sub>1</sub>cunaŷi-*| ‘to be proper time to’.

Phonologically, the /*ŷ*/ in the suffix is deleted before /*qC*/ – triggered by final /*i*/ deletion by (P8ii), before consonant-initial suffixes:

- (52) *aling-naq-luni*  
 ‘(he/it) frightening’ (APP.3Rsg.) – |*ali+ŷi-*| ‘fearful-get’  
*aling-naq-sugnarq-uq*  
 ‘(he/it) is maybe frightening’ – VVm |*-<sub>1</sub>cuynaŷqi-*| (§ 43)  
*aling-naq-vaa(=lli)*  
 ‘how frightening, frustrating, annoying!’ – exclamative VPc |*+<sub>1</sub>paa*|  
*aling-naq-vakar-ta?*  
 ‘is it so frightening?’ – VVa |*+<sub>1</sub>pakaŷ-*| (§ 41.3.2), INT.3sg.
- (53) *kitur-naq-saaq-uq*  
 ‘it could be passed (if you would)’ – |*kituŷ-*| ‘to pass’, -*saaq*- POL  
*auluk-u’ur-naq-lar-tuq*  
 ‘it has to be constantly taken care of’ – |*auluk-i*-CNT-CUS|.

But no final /*i*/ deletion before a consonant cluster is permitted:

- (54) *tag-narqe-nril-ami* ‘as it was not far to go up’.  
 go.up-NEC-NEG-CNNbc.3Rsg.

The effect of impersonal agency introduced by the suffix is closely interwoven with modality (Miyaoka 2011). It is important to note that the suffixes |*+naŷqi-*|, etc. are not only valency-increasing (adding impersonal A of necessity/destiny; § 39.2.1) but may also behave merely like a modality marker (VVm; ‘should, must’), which does not increase valency and has implication of imper-



sonal agency being lost. This is especially the case when the  $A_{IMP}$  is deleted (like in passives, especially in relation to patientive stems). However, it may often occur as a modal marker in transitive forms (§ 39.2.1.1). Depending upon whether impersonal or modal and whether A or  $A_{IMP}$  deletion is involved, impersonal verb construction may be complicated in case alignment, though assignments follow the general pattern (§ 30.1.2).

While the extended impersonal A is indexed as the transitive subject in the third person singular (as stated), the verb may occur with any person and number (first and second, dual and plural as well) of the primary S or A when the suffix is a modal marker. Accordingly, it often happens that verbs with third person singular inflection may have ambivalent readings (A ‘he’ or  $A_{IMP}$  ‘it’), as illustrated mainly in § 39.2.1.1. The two can be distinguished by means of case assignment to external NP(s) involved.

The necessitative impersonal suffixes may occur not only with primary stems (mono-, bi-, tri-valent) but also with expanded multi-valent stems.

## 2.1. Impersonal

Illustrations below are made of impersonal transitives and detransitivizations, with case alignment shown on the right. A transimpersonal from which an impersonal passive is derived with A deletion is generally the case with any impersonal verb. The transitive subject is always in the third person singular and never external, as stated (while the transitive object can be in any person and number), and an impersonal passive is generally passive.

i) *Monovalent stems*: The suffix occurs with a monovalent stem (‘to go’) in the following, yielding a bivalent stem (a) with  $A_{IMP}$  (to be in the relative case but with no explicit NP, thus being parenthesized), which, in detransitivization (b), is deleted (thus indicated by  $\emptyset$ ):

- (55) a. *ampi ayag-narq-aaten* = (50a) P(=S)abs  $A_{IMP}(\text{rel})$   
 hurry go-NEC-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘you (sg.) have to hurry up and go (lit. *it* behaves you to hurry up and go)’
- b. *ampi ayag-narq-uten* Sabs  $A_{IMP}\emptyset$   
 hurry go-NEC-IND.2sg.  
 ‘you (sg.) should hurry up and go’ – with  $A_{IMP}$  deletion.

The same transitive pattern as (a) above, is observed in (56) below, with the same third person singular subject, and as the intransitive pattern in (b) is observed in (57) with the same  $A_{IMP}$  deletion:

- (56) a. *apiatar-narq-aakuk* 'we (du.) have to eat our noon meal'  
eat.lunch-NEC-IND.3sg.1du.  
b. *uterr-nari-anga* 'it is the time for me to go back'
- (57) *ayag-nari-unga* 'it is the time for me to go; I am ready to go'  
go-NEC.time.to-IND.1sg.  
cf. *ayag-ci-q-ua / aya-llru-unga* 'I will go / I went'.
- (58) *mingqe-llriani atku-gnek*  
sew-CNV parka-ABM.du .  
*munar-caar-narq-aakut* (P)abm Aabs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
skillful-A.more-NEC-IND.3sg.1pl.  
'whenever one sews parkas we need do very carefully' – see § 39.1.2  
for *-caar-*.

ii) *Agentive bivalent stems*: The A<sub>IMP</sub> suffix, occurring with a bivalent stem, derives a trivalent stem in the following (a), which has argument reduction by demoting P (as parenthesized), thereby the alignment (P)abm Aabs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel). In the following example where the stem ('to eat') is agentive, the reduction is made by demoting P argument into the ablative-modal status, thereby promoting A into the absolutive case and promoting A<sub>IMP</sub> into the relative case (but with no full NP, thus parenthesized (rel)). The 'eater (I)' in (a) is the transitive object, which is less acceptable than the intransitive (b), in which the impersonal A is deleted, since the suffix itself is patientive, hence serving as a modality marker:

- (59) a. *Ner-narq-aanga neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>* (P)abm Aabs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
eat-NEC-IND.3sg.1sg. fish-ABM.sg. = (50b), § 30(16b)  
'I have to eat fish.'  
– compare the contrastive person relation: *ner'-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.)  
'I am eating it' vs. *ner-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.) 'he is eating me'
- b. *Ner-narq-ua neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>* (P)abm S(=A)abs A<sub>IMP</sub>Ø  
eat-NEC-IND.1sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
'I should eat fish.' – with A<sub>IMP</sub> deleted in detransitivization.
- (59)' a. P A A<sub>IMP</sub>  
abs  
abs rel  
*abm* abs (rel)
- b. abs  
abs rel  
*abm* abs Ø



- (64) a. *ikayur-narq-aaten* ‘you (sg.) have to be helped, need help’  
 help-NEC-IND.3sg.2sg. Pabs AØ A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
 cf. *ikayur-aaten* ‘he is helping you (sg.)’
- b. *ikayur-narq-uten* ‘you (sg.) should be helped, need help’  
 help-NEC-IND.2sg. S=Pabs AØ A<sub>IMP</sub>Ø
- (65) *Pissur-yar-pailemta* *casku-put<sub>P</sub>*  
 hunt-go.to-CNNbc.1pl. weapon-ABS.1pl.pl.  
*kitugg-narqe-ciq-apat.* Pabs Arel A<sub>IMP</sub>Ø  
 fix-NEC-FUT-IND.1pl.3pl.  
 Before we go out hunting we will have to fix our weapons.’
- (66) *ellet-narq-uq* (~ [Y] *ell'-narq-uq*)  
 ‘it (air) must be squeezed out’  
 – patientive |*ilc-*| ‘to deflate, squeeze’, with both A and A<sub>IMP</sub> deleted.

By contrast with (64) above, the following two examples have the patientive stem antipassivized (with E<sub>APS</sub> |*-yi-*|), with P demotied:

- (67) a. *Ikayur-i-narq-aanga* *naulluu-lria-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 help-APS-NEC-IND.3sg.1sg. sick-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I have to help a patient.’ (P)abm A(∞E)abs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
 – with primary P demoted, which is quasi-equivalent to:
- b. *Ikayur-i-narq-ua* *naulluu-lria-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 help-APS-NEC-IND.1sg. sick-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I must help a patient.’ (P)abm S(=A∞E)abs A<sub>IMP</sub>Ø  
 – together with A<sub>IMP</sub> deletion.
- (68) a. *Iqa-ir-i-keggnarq-aaten* *unuamek.*  
 dirt-PRV-APS-good.time.to-IND.3sg.2sg. today  
 ‘Today is a nice day for you (sg.) to wash.’ – e.g. with *aklu-nek*  
 ‘clothes’ (P)abm Aabs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)
- b. *Iqa-ir-i-keggnarq-ut-aaten* *unuamek.*  
 ‘Today is a nice day to wash (clothes) for you (sg.)’ – with bene-  
 factive E<sub>APL</sub> |*+(u)c-*| (P)abm Eabs AØ A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)
- c. *Iqa-ir-i-keggnarq-uq* (IND.3sg.) *unuamek.* (P)abm AØ A<sub>IMP</sub>(abs)  
 ‘Today is a nice day for washing (clothes).’

The following (69), as a patientive stem |*tuqu-c-*| *tuqu-t-* ‘to kill’ (with the causative A |*+c-*| on |*tuqu-*|, § 39.1.1), also shows bivalency depending upon which of the two As involved is deleted, the impersonal A<sub>IMP</sub> or personal A argument.



Since an applicative stem derived from a bivalent is trivalent, the following with bivalent *|iqvay̆-|* ‘to pick berries’ shows the same pattern as the secundative type (70 a-i), rather than the indirective (71):

- (72) *Iqva-ut-narq-aa* [arnaq  
pick.berry-E<sub>APL</sub>-A<sub>IMP</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. woman.ABS.sg.  
*naulluu-lria*]<sub>R</sub> (P)abm E<sub>APL</sub>abs AØ A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
sick-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
‘The sick woman (E) has to be picked berries for (by s.o.).’

v) *More or less lexicalized*: according to different types of roots and stems:

- from a-valent roots* (§ 36):
- (73) *caperr-narq-uq* ‘it is difficult’ – *|capx̆-|* ‘difficult’  
*uumi-narq-uq* ‘it is infuriating’ – *|uumi-|* ‘irritate’  
*takar-narq-uq* ‘he is intimidating, makes one (respectfully) shy’  
– *|takay̆-|* ‘shy’  
*akngir-narq-uq* ‘it (body part) hurts’ – *|akñiy̆-|* ‘in pain’  
*akngir-r-narq-uq* ‘(it; A<sub>IMP</sub>) causes him to get hurt, he can hurt’  
– *|akñiy̆-c-|* with A adder |+c-|.
- from monovalent stems* (§ 33):
- (74) *tuqu-narq-uq* ‘it is deadly, poisonous’ – *|tuqu-|* ‘to die’  
*aling-naq-luni* ‘it being frightening’(APP.3Rsg.)  
– *|ali-ñi-|* (fearful-get)  
*cakner-narq-uq* ‘it is difficult, makes it hard (on you)’  
– *|cakñy̆-|* ‘to struggle to, have a hard time’  
*nallu-narq-uq* ‘it is hard to know, understand’  
– *|nalu-|* ‘not to know’  
*cange-narq-uq* ‘it has lots of fish’  
– *|ca-ñi-|* ‘to catch fish/game’ (some-get).

vi) A<sub>IMP</sub> does not co-occur with E, except with a patientive bivalent from E<sub>APL</sub> + S like *tuqu-t-* ‘to kill’ (die-A) (§ 39.4.1-ii.a).

### 2.1.1. Modality

The necessitative suffix may not serve for valency increase (VVcm), but may simply be a modality marker (‘should, must’; VVm). As such, it may co-occur with any person and number of primary S or A argument (as opposed to the

impersonal third person singular for the former; § 39.2.1) – cf. modal VVm |*+yaykau-*| ‘must, to be supposed to’ (§ 43).

Compare with (59a) the following (75), which has the reversed personal relation inflection of 1sg.3sg (*-aqa*) with personal A instead of 3sg.1sg. (*-aanga*) with impersonal A. Both have ‘I’ as the expected eater. But the latter has simply a modality marker, not extending  $A_{IMP}$ , and it behaves just like the compared transitive *ner'-aqa* and its antipassive *ner'-ua*.

- (75) a. *Ner-narq-aqa*                      *neqa<sub>P</sub>*.                      Pabs      Arel  
eat-VVm-IND.1sg.3sg.    fish.ABS.sg.  
‘I should eat the fish (e.g. before it is eaten by a dog).’
- b. *Ner-narq-ua*                      *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.                      (P)abm    S(=A)abs  
eat-VVm-IND.1sg.          fish.ABM.sg.  
‘I should eat fish (right away).’  
cf. *ner'-aqa*    *neqa*                      ‘I am eating the fish’ vs.  
      *ner'-ua*    *neq-mek*                      ‘I am eating fish’ (zero-derived antipassive).

Note, however, that (75b) happens to be the same as (59b) with  $A_{IMP}$  deletion. Note also that the following (76) is ambivalent, depending upon whether it is used as (a)  $A_{IMP}$  adder or (b) not (i.e. used as modality marker for personal A):

- (76)    *Ner-narq-uaq*                      *neqa*.  
eat-NEC-IND.3sg.    fish.ABS.sg.  
i. ‘The fish [S=P] has to be eaten.’                      S(=P)abs    AØ       $A_{IMP}Ø$   
ii. ‘The fish [S=A] should eat (s.t.).’                      (P)abm      S(=A)abs

Likewise, the transitive subject in the third person singular in the following (77) may either be primary A with modal sense (a-i; bivalent) or impersonal  $A_{IMP}$  (a-ii; trivalent), while (b; trivalent) shows P demotion followed by A promotion and  $A_{IMP}$  deletion:

- (77) a. *ner-narq-aa*                      *neqa<sub>P/S</sub>*  
eat-VVm/VVsm.NEC-IND.3sg.3sg.    fish.ABS.sg.  
i. ‘he [A] should eat the fish’                      Pabs      Arel  
ii. ‘the fish [S=P] has to be eaten’                      S(=P)abs    AØ       $A_{IMP}(\text{rel})$   
– cf. (75a) which cannot be ambivalent
- b. *ner-narq-aa*                      *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
eat-VVm-IND.3sg.3sg.    fish-ABM.sg. (P)abm    Aabs     $A_{IMP}Ø$   
‘he [A] must eat a fish’.

|+nayı-| ‘to be time to’ is also illustrated with modality:

- (78) a. *Wii ermig-nari-anga aana-ma<sub>A</sub>.* Pabs Arel  
 1sg. wash-time.to-IND.3sg.1sg. Mo-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My mother [A] is ready to wash me [P].’ – modal
- b. *Wang-nek ermig-nari-anga.* (P)abm Aabs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel)  
 1sg.-ABM wash-time.to-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I [S=A ⊂ P] am ready to wash myself (my face).’  
 – with A<sub>IMP</sub> as transitive subject and with demoted reflexive P.
- (79) a. *Ner-nari-anga carayi-i-m<sub>A</sub>.* Pabs Arel  
 eat-time.to-IND.3sg.1sg. monster-EV-REL.sg.  
 ‘It is time for the monster to eat me.’  
 cf. *ner-ci<sub>q</sub>-aanga carayi-i-m<sub>A</sub>* same  
 ‘the monster will eat me’
- b. *Wii ner-nari-unga akuta-mek<sub>(P)</sub>.* (P)abm Aabs  
 1sg. eat-time.to-IND.1sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 ‘It is time for me (S=A) to eat ice cream.’  
 cf. *wii ner-ua* (IND.1sg.) *akuta-mek<sub>(P)</sub>* same  
 ‘I am eating ice cream’.

If (79a) has no external A NP, the verb *ner-nari-anga* itself (then possibly with A<sub>IMP</sub> as the subject) may mean ‘it is time for me to eat (s.t.)’, with alignment of (P)abm Aabs A<sub>IMP</sub>(rel).

## 2.2. Further expansions

Suffix-derived impersonal verbs may be followed by different verb-elaborating suffixes – intensifier, negation, time-aspect, modality (80) through (86) as well as complex transitive (87) and (88) – as given below:

- (80) *cakner-naq-piar-tuq* ‘it is very difficult’  
 struggle-NEC-ITS-IND.3sg.
- (81) *Pissur-yar-pailemta casku-put<sub>p</sub>*  
 hunt-go.to-CNNbc.1pl. weapon-ABS.1pl.pl.  
*kitugg-narqe-ci<sub>q</sub>-aput.*  
 fix-NEC-FUT-IND.1pl.3pl.  
 ‘Before we go out hunting we will have to fix our weapons.’



- (82) a. *Ane-narqe-nrit-uten* *quser-luten.*  
 go.out-NEC-NEG-IND.2sg. have.cold-APP.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) should not go out when you have a cold.’  
 ≡ *ane-nait-uten* ‘it is not good for you to go out’
- b. [*Kass’a-t<sub>G</sub>* *yu-u-llr-at*]<sub>S</sub>  
 white.man-REL.pl. person-be-VNm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
*qacig-narqe-nrit-uq.*  
 easy-NEC-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘White people do not live easy lives.’ [QQLK 340]
- c. *Taring-uma-narqe-nrit-ut* *wangkut-ngu-lria-ni*  
 understand-PSV-NEC-NEG-IND.3pl. 1pl.-be-VNrl-LOC.pl.  
*angalku-u-vke-nata.*  
 shaman-be-NEG-APP.1pl.  
 ‘They are not known to those us who are not shamans.’  
 – cf. § 27.4 for the locative NP (relativization).
- (83) a. *ayag-nari-ngait-ua* ‘it will not be the time for me to go’  
 b. *pissur-nari-niarar-qan* ‘if it will soon be the time for hunting’  
 c. *Pitgar-nari-qatar-qani*=*ggug* *ayakar-naur-tuq.*  
 shoot-NEC.time.to-IMN-CNNif.3sg.3Rsg.=RPT flee-would-IND.3sg.  
 ‘When he was about to shoot (it), it is said, it would fly.’ [YSRA 27]
- (84) *Massiinaq<sub>S=P</sub>* *atam ayag-cel-luku* *atur-naq-lar-tuq.*  
 machine.ABS.sg. see go-A’.let-APP.3sg. use-NEC-CUS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The machine is (usually) to be used, see, by starting it.’
- (85) *Apy-ut-naq-sugnarq-erpenge* / *-avnga* *nulia-vnun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 ask-E<sub>APL</sub>-NEC-probably-IND.2sg.1sg. Wi-ALL.2sg.sg.  
*akuta-li-yara-mek<sub>(T)</sub>.*  
 cream-make-VNm.way-ABM.sg.  
 ‘It seems (I think) you (sg.) should ask your wife how to make ice cream for me [E].’

The necessitative impersonal suffixes are very often followed by VVm | +<sub>1</sub>caaʔi-| (‘but, without success, in vain’) possibly to imply ‘it is possible to –’:

- (86) a. *pi-naq-saaq-uq*  
 do-NEC-but-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it should be done, it could be done (if you would)’  
 cf. *pi-narq-uq* ‘it needs to be done, he deserves to be scolded’
- b. *ayag-naq-saaq-ua* ‘it is possible for me to go’ – IND.1sg.  
*ayag-naq-saaq-aanga*  
 ‘it (A<sub>IMP</sub>) makes it possible for me to go’ – IND.3sg.1sg.

- c. *aling-naq-saaq-vaa(=lli)*  
 afraid-NEC-but-EXC=ENC  
 ‘how frightening, frustrating, annoying (but still...)!’.

Necessitative impersonal verbs may be put into a complex transitive verb:

- (87) *akngir-naq-ni-a* ‘he says it hurts’  
 hurt-NEC-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.

The following example has a six-argument complex transitive verb but has two readings according to the coreferential arguments involved (italicized) – see § 30(26)' for case assignment process.

- (88) a. *Apy-ut-naq-ni-anga* *nulia-vnun*  
 ask-E<sub>APL</sub>-NEC-A'.say-3sg.1sg. Wi-ALL.2sg.sg.  
*akuta-li-yara-mek.*  
 ice.cream-make-VNn-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She<sub>i</sub> said that she<sub>i</sub> herself must ask your wife for me about how to make ice cream.’  
 – (T)abm (R)all Eabs *Arel<sub>i</sub>* A<sub>IMP</sub>∅ *A'rel<sub>i</sub>*  
 b. ‘She said s.o. else should ask your wife for himself about how to make ice cream.’  
 – (T)abm (R)all Eabs<sub>i</sub> Aabs<sub>i</sub> A<sub>IMP</sub>∅ A'rel

### 3. Pseudo-passive

There are two “pseudo-passives”,  $|+(s)ci(u)\dot{y}-|$  (dynamic) and  $|+yau-| / |+yaqi-|$  (stative), both being composite suffixes derived with relativizer  $|+(s)t-|$ , that decrease valency by one argument. See § 34.1.2.2.

#### 3.1. $|+(s)ci(u)\dot{y}-|$

Dynamic pseudo-passive (mostly adversative) ‘to be –ed by s.o. to the detriment of’: see § 34.1.2.2-i. The shorter  $|+(s)cij\dot{y}-|$  typically occurs in the Yukon area, while the longer  $|+(s)ciuj\dot{y}-|$  in the non-Yukon (Jacobson 1984: 445–446). Unlike zero-derived or uncoded TAM-sensitive passives and (medio-)passive characterized by A deletion, they may have the agent expressed either by an ablative-modalis NP (§ 25.2.3) or an allative (as expected in demotion of A argument; § 26.2-iii). While the suffix also has adversative meaning, it is distinct from the much more productive adversative suffix E<sub>ADV</sub>  $|+yi_1-|$  (§ 39.5).

The pseudo-passive  $|+(s)ci\dot{y}-|$  /  $|+(s)ciu\dot{y}-|$  can be deceptive and be confused with the causative VVsm  $|+ci\dot{y}-|$  (§ 39.1.3).<sup>2</sup> It is important to see that the suffix is composed of the agentive / active relativizer  $|+(s)t-|$  (§ 17.5.1) followed by the NV  $|-liu\dot{y}-|$  ‘to supply with’ or  $|-li\dot{y}-|$  ‘to deal with’ (with /V-l/ demotion characteristic of  $|-li-|$  group NV suffixes; § 38.3). The suffix-initial /s/ is deleted after velar by (P14iii), as is the case with the relativizer  $|+(s)t-|$ . The semantic difference between  $|-liu\dot{y}-|$  ‘to supply with’ and  $|-li\dot{y}-|$  does not seem relevant to the composite suffixes concerned. This original derivation of the composite suffix from the agentive / active relativizer with NV suffixes is corroborated by (92) below, which has the intact composition of  $|+(s)t-|$  and an ablative-modal NP (not an allative).

Given that the (agentive / active)relativizer is involved, the suffix expectedly occurs with agentive bivalent stems, but actually some patientive ones as well, not surprisingly given that  $|+st-|$  itself may occur with some patientive stems without antipassivization (§ 17.5.1-ii, -vii).

The apparent ‘agent demotion’ of the pseudo-passive construction is made either to the allative status – as is the case with some constructions – by some speakers or to the ablative-modal by other speakers. Jacobson (1998: § 5.2) notes that the ablative-modal is particularly preferred by a portion of Kuskokwim speakers.

The subject of the derived intransitives seems typically to be a man or an animal with the negative connotation (‘to the detriment/disadvantage, to one’s dislike, unfortunately’), so ‘a dog was eaten by a bear’, but not \*‘the boat was broken by s.o.’ or \*‘the ice cream was eaten by the boy’ (not acceptable, or funny at best), though this does not seem to be a completely rigid rule, since I found some speakers (e.g. [AP] says ‘the fish, the ice cream’ can be the subject – cf. composite suffix  $|+(s)ci(u)\dot{y}yay-|$  ‘to be easily –ed’ (next page) below, with (102).

The adversative reading is certainly much more common, but the suffixes may occur with stems which naturally yield benefactive reading.

- (89) *Tuqce-* / *Maligte-sci(u)r-tuq*      *yug-mek* / *yug-mun*.  
 kill- / follow-PPS-IND.3sg.      person-ABM.sg./-ALL.sg.  
 ‘She was killed/followed by a (the) person.’  
 – note that the first verb has the patientive stem  $|tuquc-|$  ‘to kill’, while the second the agentive  $|maliyc-|$  ‘to follow’.

2. For instance, if *mecu-ng-cir-tuq* ‘it was caused to get wet’ (§ 38[40c]) and *yuku-cir-tuq* ‘it got mouldy’, both with VVsm  $|+ci\dot{y}-|$  (§ 39.1.3), are not pseudo-passive. If so, the phonological pattern would cause us to expect \**mecunge-scir-tuq* (if ever!) and either \**yukug-cir-tuq*, \**yukur-cir-tuq*, or \**yuku-scir-tuq* with a hypothetical stem and a phantom suffix. See also Fortescue et al. (1994: 394).

- (90) *aana-mnek / aana-mnun*                      *nunur-cir-tua*  
 Mo-ABM.1sg.sg./-ALL.1sg.sg.    scold-PPS-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I was scolded by my mother’.
- (91) *nau-ma-scir-luteng*                      *caneg-nek*  
 grow-STT-PPS-APP.3Rpl.    grass-ABM.pl.  
 ‘(they [living ‘souls’ in the place of the dead]) with the grass growing/stuck [on their flesh]’ [CAUY 107]

By contrast, the verb with the original composition of |+(s)ti-liy-| intact in the following has the positive meaning, but not the suffering expressed above:

- (92) [*ma-n’a*                      *nuna-lleq*]<sub>s</sub>  
 this-EV.ABS.sg.    land-shabby.ABS.sg.  
*nau-ma-ste-lir-tuq*                      *naunra-a-nek*  
 grow-STT-VNrl-have.lots-IND.3sg.    plant-EV-ABM.pl.  
 ‘this old land has plant (salmonberry) growing’ (as it often occurs on an abandoned old site).

Non-adversative reading of a pseudo-passive construction is not necessarily rare:

- (93) *iqa-ir-ciur-ciq-uq*                      ‘he will be washed/cleaned’  
 dirt-deprive-PPS-FUT-IND.3sg.

The following two examples contain the applicative |+(u)c-| (addressee, beneficiary):

- (94) a. *Ellua-tun*                      *qanr-uce-sciur-tuq.*  
 correct-EQL                      speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-PPS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He was talked to / admonished in a good (beneficial) way.’
- b. *Qalar-uce-sciur-tukuk*                      *allaner-mek / -mun* [HBC]  
 speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-PPS-IND.1du.    stranger-ABM.sg./-ALL.sg.  
*uterr-nginanermegruk.*  
 return-CNNwl.1du.  
 ‘We (du.) were talked to by a stranger on our way home.’
- (95) *Mumig-ute-scir-tuq*                      *ayagyua-mek.*  
 turn.over-E<sub>APL</sub>-PPS-IND.3sg.    young-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He had a young interpreter/translator (lit. he was translated by a young person).’

A pseudo-passive clause may be embedded into complex transitives:

- (96) a. *nuteg-yaaqe-sciur-ni-luni=ll'*  
 shoot-CTR-PPS-A'.say-APP.3Rsg.=and.  
 'and he said he (himself) got shot (though in vain)' [QQLK 172]
- b. *Carayag-mun curukar-ci-llru-ni-luni*  
 bear-ALL.sg. attack-PPS-PST-A'.say-APP.3Rsg.  
*qanrute-llru-anga.*  
 tell-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'He told me that he was attacked by the/a bear.'

It may be relativized or nominalized:

- (97) [*angun tegleg-ciu-lleq*] (*sass'amek*)  
 man.ABS.sg. steal-PPS-VNrl.ABS.sg. watch-ABM.sg.  
*kass'a-mek / kass'a-mun.*  
 white.man-ABM.sg./-ALL.sg.  
 'the man who was robbed of (a watch) by a white man'.
- (98) a. *tanger-ciu-llr-a* *carayag-mun / -mek*  
 see-PPS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. bear-ALL/-ABM.sg.  
 'his being seen by the bear'
- b. [*Tupa-kar-raar-luni qan-lera-sciu-neq*]<sub>s</sub>  
 wake-ITS-first-APP.3Rsg. speak-angrily-PPS-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
*assiit-uq.*  
 bad-IND.3sg.  
 'Being talked to angrily/loudly as soon as one wakes up is not good.'

That the construction NV  $|-li(u)\dot{y}-|$  is hardly considered a passive one may be better understood by the following two examples:

- (99) *cali-scir-tuq* *kass'a-mek*  
 work-VVsm-IND.3sg. white.man-ABM.sg.  
 'he has a white man work for him. hired a white man for him'  
 – which is to be interpreted originally as a verbalization of the appositive phrase *cali-sta* (work-VNrl.sg.) *kass'aq* (white man.ABS.sg.) by the NV  $|-liu\dot{y}-|$ , with a stranded NP *kass'a-mek* in the ablative-modalis.
- (100) *Tekit-ukut ma-a-vet* [*cave-scir-lua irnia-mnek*].  
 arrive-IND.1pl. this-EX-ALL row-VVsm-APP.1sg. child-ABM.sg.  
 'We arrived here, with my child rowing for me.'

The pseudo-passive suffix occurs at least in the following further expanded composite suffix:

VVsm |+(s)ci(u)jyay-| ‘to be easily to be – ed’, composed with VVm |+<sub>1</sub>caɣ-|:

- (101) *Pi-sciuryar-tuq*                      *pi-sqe-kuni*  
do-PPS.easily-IND.3sg.      do-A'.ask-CNNif.3Rsg.  
*aana-minek / -minun.*  
Mo-ABM.3Rsg.sg./ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
‘He could be done by his mother, if he asks to do (s.t).’

As stated, inanimate S seem to be possible:<sup>3</sup>

- (102) [*Ma-kuciq*                      *igar-yaraq*]<sub>s</sub>                      *naaqe-sciuryar-tuq*  
this-kind.ABS.sg.      write-VNnm.ABS.sg.      read-PPS.easily-IND.3sg.  
*Yupig-nek / -mun.*  
Y.-ABM.pl./-ABL.pl.  
‘This kind of writing (orthography) could be easily read by Yupik people.’

It is to be noted that the ablative-modalis has the same demotion (§ 25.2.2) as is also the case with another composite suffix from the same agentive/active relativizer with possessive NV ‘to have’, which may also be glossed as passive.

VVsm |+(s)tiŋqɣx-| Embedding of the appositive phrase *ikayur-ta Evon-aq* ‘Evon (who is) a helper’ into the NV |-ŋqɣx-| ‘to have’ (§ 38.1) results in stranding of the person name to the ablative-modalis. As such, the following sentence with the composite suffix has no allative marking attested and substantially means the same as the compared transitive construction with relational verb |-ki-| (§ 37.2):

- (103) *Ikayur-tengqer-tua*                      *Evon-a-mek*<sub>(p)</sub>                      *Yup'ig-tun.*  
help-PPS-IND.1sg.      p.n.-LNK-ABM.sg.      Y.-EQL.sg.  
‘I am helped in Yupik by Evon.’  
– but not \**Evon-a-mun.*
- cf. *Ikayur-te-k-aanga*                      *Evan*<sub>p</sub>                      *Yup'ig-tun.*  
help-VNrl-have.as-IND.3sg.1sg.      p.n.ABS.sg.      Y.-EQL.sg.  
‘I have Evon help me in Yupik, have Evon as one who helps me, i.e. I am helped by Evon in Yupik.’

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3. Jacobson (1984: 445) also gives another instance of inanimate P: *iqair-cir-yar-tut* ‘they are easily washed’ (with denominal patientive bivalent |*iqā-iŷ*-| ‘to wash, remove dirt’).

- (104) [*u-na*                      *wani=wa*    *qanik-ciur-un*]<sub>s</sub>  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.        here=REA    snow-work.with-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*pi-ke-stengqe-llr-uq*                      [*yu-u-t*  
 thing-have.as-PPS-PST-IND.3sg.    person-EV-REL.pl.  
*ili-itnek*]  
 part-ABM.3pl.sg.  
 ‘this shovel definitely was owned by one of the people in a  
 community’ [CIUL 162]
- (105) *kitu-mek*<sub>(p)</sub>            *nakleke-stengqer-paka-nrir-luni...*  
 who-ABM.sg.        pity-PPS-ITS.much-no.longer-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘she had no one showing compassion towards her / was not pitied by  
 anybody any longer’. [QLK 66–68]

### 3.2. |+*yau-*| / |+*yaqi-*|

Stative passive ‘to be (the one) – ed’ / ‘to have (s.t./s.o.) – ed’ (stative; intransitive/transitive): see § 34.1.2.2-ii. The suffix may have the agent expressed, but not commonly.

The suffix is composed of the passive relativizer |+*yaŷ-*| (§ 17.4.2) and the relational verb NVrv |+*ŋu-*| and |-*ki-*| (§ 37.1, § 37.2). As is the case with the relational verb itself, the intransitive and the transitive pair has their inchoative versions |+*yauŷc-*| / |+*yaqsayuc-*| as (b) below. And as is the case with the passive relativizer, the pair has also its future version as (c). The intransitive one is shown by IND.3sg. form, and the transitive by IND.1sg.3sg.:

- (106) a. *mingug-au-guq*        ‘it is (the one) painted’  
*mingug-aq-aqa*        ‘I have it painted’ (either by me or someone else)  
 – see § 17(153) and § 30 (35a, b), cf. English “passive of experience”  
 (Curme 1935: 49-3-a [220]; 1931: 15-III-2-B [124])
- b. *mingug-aurt-uq*        ‘it got/became (the one) painted’  
*mingug-aqsagut-aqa*    ‘I got it painted’
- c. *mingug-arkau-guq*        ‘it is supposed to be painted’  
*mingug-arka-aqa*        ‘I will (am supposed to) have it painted’  
 cf. § 33(35) *mingug-a-ni* ‘his (own) painted one, painting’ (VNrl-  
 ABM.3Rsg.sg.).

See § 17.4.2-ii and § 17.4.3 for the mutual correspondence to the inchoative and the future.

The sequence *-au-* in particular should not be confused with nominal stem final *a(ŷ, y)* followed by the intransitive relational verb *u* (|+*ŋu-*|), e.g. *nuna-u-*

*guq* ‘it is a land’, *qulira-u-guq* ‘it is a myth/tale’, *pi-yara-u-guq* ‘it is a custom’, *nanvar-pa-u-guq* ‘it is a big lake’, *Kass’ar-ta-u-guq* ‘it is something pertaining to white men, is in the time of white men’, and so on. See § 37.1 for more.

#### 4. Applicative experiencer

CAY has primarily two suffixes which extend an E argument, i.e. applicative  $E_{APL} |+(u)c-$  (§ 39.4) and adversative  $E_{ADV} |+\gamma i_1-$  (§ 39.5). E is an extended argument with semantic role of “experiencer”, not in the more common sense of a recipient of a sensory impression or a psychic state,<sup>4</sup> but in its wider sense such as an indirectly affected participant of some event or activity (cf. Payne 1997: 50). Both are highly productive, the former perhaps more so than the latter, which may be on the wane to some extent.

The former  $E_{APL} |+(u)c-$  is a general “applicative” with a range of semantic roles, including recipient, addressee, goal, accompaniment, etc., and can also be benefactive (beneficiary). The latter  $E_{ADV} |+\gamma i_1-$  is typically adversative (maleficiary experiencer), though it can also be benefactive depending upon semantic properties of verb stems and the context concerned. A benefactive construction is conveniently glossed as ‘for someone’ and an adversative one as ‘on someone’ (like English ‘my car broke down *on* me’, ‘it rained *on* me’) rather than ‘to the detriment/disadvantage of someone’, etc.’

Given the variety of roles, two E’s –  $E_{APL} + E_{APL}$  or  $E_{APL} + E_{ADV}$  – may occur within a single verb.

There are two composite suffix  $|+(u)tiki-$  and  $|+\gamma i_1viki-$  which are also applicative as illustrated in § 39.7, responsible for P increase and rearrangement.

Very importantly,  $|+(u)c-$  can function as a valency-decreasing antipassivizer (one of three antipassivizers; Table 27, § 39.4.4, § 39.6) for a limited group of patientive stems, and  $|+\gamma i_1-$  is directly related with the most common antipassivizer  $|+\gamma i_2-$ , which will turn out to be of the same origin with the adversative  $E_{ADV} |+\gamma i_1-$  (§ 39.6.1). The  $|+(u)c-$  and  $|+\gamma i_1-$  with their antipassive function may occur recursively, as attested in various combinations (§ 39.6.3).

There is a third antipassivizer  $|-kiji-$  (§ 39.6.2), and the three antipassivizers are mutually related, with considerable variation depending on the stems and the speakers. E extending  $|+(u)c-$  and  $|+\gamma i_1-$  with their antipassive function may occur recursively, with at least three attested in various combinations (§ 39.6.3).

E comes in the argument hierarchy (§ 30.2.2) between non-A (i.e. S, P, T, R) and A in the sense that once a non-A is demoted, E is assigned the absolutive in

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4. CAY treats recipient of a sensory impression or a psychic state as A or S for purposes of grammatical expression.



preference to A. There is apparently one caveat, however, concerning  $E_{APL}$   $|+(u)c-$ , but not  $E_{ADV}$ , only when occurring with a monovalent stem;  $S > E_{ADV}$  but  $E_{APL} > S$  (§ 30.2.2, § 39.4.1-ii).

A simplex verb extended with one or more E suffixes can be embedded into complex transitives (§ 40), e.g. in § 39.4.5-iv, etc.  $E_{APL}$  suffix is rarely attested after a complex transitive suffix, although an example is given below to the contrary that seems to be accepted by at least some (probably younger) speakers; see (123).

#### 4.1. Applicative $|+(u)c-$

The suffix extends  $E_{APL}$  to any type of verb stem – monovalent, bivalent, or trivalent. A  $|+(u)c-$  derived stem is patientive.

As a very productive suffix, the applicative suffix is not only responsible for a wide range of derivations but is susceptible to further expansion, whether verbal elaboration (a full range of verbal categories, incl. argumental modification) or deverbalization (nominalization and relativization). It very often combines with another (or more) valency-related suffix (including reduplicated  $|+(u)c-$ ; § 39.4.5-i below), with more or less lexicalization, to bring out differences or nuances that are too subtle to be necessarily agreed upon by speakers.

The  $|+(u)c-$  expanded stems are:

i) *Characterized by various semantic roles* – which include the following, with two groups of roles distinguished; non-recipient (a through c) and recipient (d):

- a. comitative (company, partner, another party, or things being carried)
- b. beneficiary (‘for’) or, less often, maleficiary (‘on, to the disadvantage of’) – cf. adversative VVsm  $|+yi-$  (§ 39.5)
- c. addressee of speech activity
- d. recipient, goal, destination (ditransitive R-like).

One and the same derivative may allow for two readings:

- (107) *an-ut-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 i. ‘he took it/her out’  
 ii. ‘he went out *for* her’ –  $|ani-$  ‘to go out’  
*maqi-t-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.)  
 i. ‘I am taking a steam bath *with* him’  
 ii. ‘I outdid/beat him (in the steam bath)’  
 –  $|maqi-$  ‘to take a bath’;  $-ut-$  >  $-t-$  after single full vowel (phonological adjustment in iii below)

- keni-**ul**-luku* (APP.3sg.)  
 i. '(she) adding it (to s.t. cooked)'  
 ii. '(she) cooking *for* him' – |*kiniy-*| 'to cook'  
*teki(y)-**ut**-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.)  
 i. 'she brought me (to *-mun*)'  
 ii. 'she brought (s.t.) for me'.

See § 39.4.2 for full illustrations of the different roles.

ii) *Case alignment concerned*: Extension of  $E_{APL}$  |+(u)c-| to a monovalent stem triggers an idiosyncratic valency rearrangement of its S argument into A, unique to this suffix (caveat as mentioned above; § 39.4), thus deriving bivalent stems with its own argument structure:

ii.a)  $S > E_{APL} \rightarrow$  (rearranged into)  $E_{APL} > S$ , yielding patientive bivalent stems, with case alignment of:  $P(=E_{APL})abs$   $A(=S)rel$  – e.g. (111) through (118). This argument rearrangement, unique to |+(u)c-|, is not shared by the other experiencer suffix  $E_{ADV}$  |+y<sub>1</sub>-| (§ 39.5), which follow the regular pattern of the general hierarchy (§ 30.2) like:

ii.b)  $S > E_{ADV}$ , with case alignment of:  $P(=S)abs$   $A(=E)rel$  – e.g. (192) through (194). See Table 28 where ii.a) and ii.b) above are given with the other valency-increasing suffix, i.e. for  $A_{IMP}$ .

Derived trivalent stems with  $E_{APL}$ , i.e. bivalent P, A with  $E_{APL}$  (and quadrivalent stems, i.e. ditransitive T, R, A with  $E_{APL}$  below) have no such rearrangement as ii.a, hence no contrast between  $E_{APL}$  and  $E_{APL}$ :

ii.c)  $P > E > A$ , with alignment of: (P)abm E abs A rel, with P demotion – e.g. (132) through (135) for P,  $E_{APL}$ , A – in which E argument is a non-recipient behaving like a secundative ditransitive, while recipient-like E behaves differently, i.e. like an indirective ditransitive:

ii.d)  $P > E(=R) > A$ , with alignment of: (E)all Pabs Arel, with recipient-like E demotion – e.g. (142) through (145).

In exact parallel with ii.c and ii.d, trivalent complex transitives (§ 40-ii; also § 35.1.1 vs. § 35.1.2) show the alignment of: two types: cf. Table 29 also.

ii.e)  $P > A > A'$ , with alignment of: (P)abm Aabs A'rel [complex transitive 1], Pabs (A)all A'rel [complex transitive 2].

Quadrivalents from ditransitives (either secundative or indirective) neutrally have:

ii.f) T | R > E > A, with alignment of: (T)abm (R)all E abs Arel, with two demotions – e.g. (136).

Thus, if three or more arguments are involved in  $|+(u)c-|$  derivatives, argument reduction is made in the general pattern of argument hierarchy and case assignment (with ablative-modalis and allative demotion involved), as illustrated with transitive (§ 39.4.2) and intransitive (§ 39.4.3) inflection.

iii) *Phonological adjustments*: Change of post-vocalic stem-final /c/ to /y/ (through /z/) as well as /u/ deletion after stem-final single full vowel, specific to suffix-initial /(u)/ (cf. P5i.c) are illustrated mainly with transitive inflection (IND.3sg.3sg.):

- (108) a.  $|aqui-|$  ‘to play’                       $|aqui-c-|$  ‘to play with’ –  $aqui-t-aa$   
 $|maqi-|$  ‘to bathe’                               $|maqi-c-|$  ‘to bathe with’ –  $maqi-t-aa$ ;  
 cf.  $maqi-a$  ‘he is bathing her’ – with /u/ deletion after full vowel (cf. b below), meaning this is not the case of A adder  $|+c-|$
- b.  $|ani-|$  ‘to go out’                               $|an-uc-|$  ‘to go out with, to take out; to go out for’ –  $an-ut-aa$ ; cf.  $an-t-aa$  ‘to put it out(side)’ from  $|an-c-|$  with A adder (causative)  $|+c-|$   
 $|tiŋi-|$  ‘to fly’                                       $|tiŋ-uc-|$  –  $teng-ut-aa$  ‘he flys with it’.
- (109)  $|ayay-|$  ‘to go’                               $|aya-uc-|$  ‘to go with’ –  $aya-ut-aa$   
 $|qanÿ-|$  ‘to say, speak’                       $|qanÿ-uc-|$  ‘to tell (about)’ –  $qanr-ut-aa$   
 $|itÿ-|$  ‘to enter’                                       $|itÿ-uc-|$  ‘to bring in’ –  $itr-ut-aa$ .

Postvocalic /c/ changes to /y/ as in (a) in the following examples but postconsonantal /c/ is deleted as in (b):

- (110) a.  $|nunac-|$  ‘to visit’                       $|nunay-uc-|$  ( $\sim|nunaz-uc-|$ ) ‘to go for a visit with’ –  $nunay-ut-aa$   
 $|tuquc-|$  ‘to kill’                                       $|tuquce-t-|$  ‘to kill for’  
 –  $tuquce-t-aa$  ‘he killed s.t. for her’, cf. (7)  
 $tuqu-t-aa$  ‘he killed it/her’  
 $|upc-|$  ‘to prepare’                               $|upy-uc-|$  ( $\sim|upz-uc-|$ ) ‘to prepare for’  
 –  $upy-ut-aa$
- b.  $|+(u)c-|$  reduplicated                       $|+(u)y-uc-|$  ( $\sim|uz-uc-|$ ) – see § 39.4.5-i  
 $|maliyc-|$  ‘to follow’                               $|maliy-uc-|$  ‘to go/bring along’  
 –  $malig-ut-aa$  ‘he brings it along’  
 $|ikiÿ-c-|$  ‘to open’                                       $|ikiÿ-uc-|$  ‘to open for’ (A adder  $|+c-|$  to root  $|ikiÿ-|$  ‘open’) –  $iki-ut-aa$   
 $|afc-|$  ‘to divide’                                       $|af-uc-|$  ‘to divide with’  
 –  $avvut-aa$  ‘he divided s.t. to share with her’.

## 4.2. Various roles with transitive inflection

Owing to the above-mentioned argument hierarchy, the E argument may be a transitive object (absolutive case) or subject (relative case), depending upon the original stem (monovalent vs. other).

i) *Comitative* ('with'; company/partner/thing carried):

After monovalent stems – comitative especially with monovalent stems of motion:

- (111) a. *kis'-ul-aanga*  
 sink-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'it (e.g. anchor) [A=S] sank with me [P=E<sub>APL</sub>]' – rearrangement  
 cf. *kicaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *kit'-uq*                      'the anchor sank'  
    anchor.ABS.sg.    sink-IND.3sg.  
 – compare with the adversative suffix:  
 (191) *kic-i-aqa* (sink-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg.)  
 'it (e.g. anchor) [P=S] sank on me [A=E<sub>ADV</sub>]',  
 showing the contrast between E<sub>APL</sub> and E<sub>ADV</sub> mentioned in the case  
 assignment ii.a) vs. ii.b) in § 39.4.1, though this latter may be less  
 likely accepted.
- b. *Angun<sub>P(=E)</sub>=llu*                      *kis'-ul-luku*                      *kica-m<sub>A=S</sub>*.  
 man.ABS.sg.=and    sink-E<sub>APL</sub>-APP.3sg.    anchor-REL.sg.  
 'The man sank along with the anchor, i.e. the anchor sank along with  
 the man (entangled).'

Note the argument rearrangement of monovalent stems with E<sub>APL</sub> (S > E into P(E) > A(S) according to which S argument ('anchor') of the monovalent |*kic-*| 'to sink' becomes the transitive subject of A function, which is also the case with all transitive verbs below.

- (112) *An-us-gu*    *mikelnguq<sub>P=E</sub>!*  
 go.out-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.2sg.3sg.    child.ABS.sg.  
 'You (sg.) take the child out!' – cf. (108b).
- (113) *Aana-ka<sub>P(=E)</sub>=tuq*    *manar-ya-ul-liu*.  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=wish                      fish-go.to-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.3sg.3sg.  
 'I wish he [A=S] would take my mother [P=E] ice-fishing with him.'  
 – after the expanded stem with |+<sub>1</sub>*cay-*| (§ 43), cf. § 54(25) *manar-*  
*yar-li* (OPT.3sg.).

- (114) *Aqum-ut-aa* *mikelnguq<sub>P(=E)</sub>* *aqumller-mun.*  
 sit-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. child.ABS.sg. chair-ALL.sg.  
 ‘He sat with the child in the same chair, sat and shared the chair with  
 the child.’  
 cf. *aqum-uq aqumller-mun* ‘he sat in the chair’.
- (115) *Malru-u-l-luku* *aya-ut-aat* *qunguq<sub>P(=E)</sub>*  
 two-be-E<sub>APL</sub>-APP.3sg. go-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3pl.3sg. coffin.ABS.sg.  
 ‘They [A=S], being two groups (one each side), took away the coffin.’
- (116) *Yugya-ut-aat* *kass’aq<sub>P(=E)</sub>*  
 be.lots-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3pl.3sg. white.man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘They, being lots, acted upon (e.g. fought) the white man; lots of  
 people fought the white man.’  
 – |yuyyay-| ‘to have lots of people’
- (117) *qar-ut-aa*  
 ‘she calms/pacifies him [angry, crying, sad] down, cheers him up,  
 changes his negative attitude to positive (by acting physically, speak-  
 ing kindly to him)’  
 – *qart-uq* ‘he is talking (anything, a lot, nonsense)’, a rather archaic  
 word.
- (118) *Alar-ut-aqa* *aata-k-suk-luku.*  
 mistaken-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg. Fa-have.as-A’.think-APP.3sg.  
 ‘I was mistaken about him [E] thinking he is (I mistook him for) my  
 or s.o. else’s father.’  
 cf. |alay-c-| ‘to be in error’ (with root expander |+c-|) as in *alart-uq* ‘he  
 makes a mistake’.

After bivalent stems:

- (119) a. *tunuy-ut-aa* ‘he [A] is back to back with her [P=E]’ – |tunu-c-|  
 ‘to turn back on’  
 cf. *tunu-t-aa* ‘he turned his back on her?’  
 b. *qecu-ut-aa* ‘he pull it out with others’  
 – patientive |qicuy-| ‘to pull out’.
- (120) *img-ut-uq* *ellmi-nek* ‘he rolled himself up’ (reflexive)  
 roll.up-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. 3Rsg.-ABM  
 cf. *img-aa* ‘he rolls it up’ – agentive |imy-|  
*imeg-tuq* *kuvya-mek* ‘he rolled up a net’.  
 roll.up-IND.3sg. net-ABM.sg.

- (121) *apertu-ut-aanga*                      *aana-minek<sub>(P)</sub>*                      (P)abm Eabs A rel  
point-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. Mo-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
'he [A] pointed out his mother to me [E]'  
cf. *apertur-aa*                      *aana-ni<sub>P</sub>*                      'he pointed out his mother'  
point-IND.3sg.3sg. Mo-ABS.3Rsg.sg.
- (122) a. *arnaq*                      *ner-us-kenga-a*                      *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
woman.ABS.sg. eat-E<sub>APL</sub>-VNrl-ABS.3sg.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
'the woman he is eating fish *with* (out of the same bowl)'  
b. *kelga-anga*                      *ner-uc-ug-lua*  
invite-IND.3sg.1sg. eat-E<sub>APL</sub>-DES-APP.1sg.  
'he invited me to eat with him' [EM]  
c. *Ner-ute-vka-llru-anga*                      *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
eat-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.let-PST-IND.3sg.1sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*irnia-minun<sub>(A)</sub>*.                      (P)abm E abs (A)all A' rel  
child-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
'He [A'] had his (own) child eat fish *with* me [E].'  
– cf. *ner-ut-ut* 'they are sharing food with one another'.

As stated above, although the applicative generally does not occur after a complex transitive suffix, I have come across a few speakers who testify that the following (123) with E transposed after the suffix is as acceptable as (122b). This remains another topic that certainly needs further inquiry, given many speakers who react to the contrary:

- (123) *Nere-vka-ute-llru-anga*                      *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
eat-A'.let-E<sub>APL</sub>-PST-IND.3sg.1sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*irnia-minun<sub>(A)</sub>*.  
child-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
'He [A'] had his (own) child eat fish *with* me [E].'

ii) *Beneficiary/maleficiary* ('for'/'on, to the disadvantage of'): Semantic content of a stem may lead to maleficiary readings, e.g. 'breaking' verbs and meteoverbs:

After monovalent stems – with argument rearrangement of § 39.4.1-ii.a:

- (124) *Ella-m<sub>A=S}</sub>* / *Ui-ma<sub>A=S}</sub>*                      *assi-ut-aanga*.  
weather-REL.sg. / Hu-REL.1sg.sg. good-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.  
'The weather is nice *for* me [E].' / 'My husband is being nice *to* me  
(treats me well).'  
cf. *ella<sub>S}</sub>* / *ui-ka<sub>S}</sub>*                      *assir-tuq*  
weather.ABS.sg. / Hu-ABS.1sg.sg. good-IND.3sg.

- (125) *Muri-i-m<sub>A=S</sub> asm-ut-aanga.*  
 wood-EV-REL.sg. break-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘The wood broke *on* me [E].’ – |*azmi-*| ‘to break (in two)’.

After impersonal monovalent stems (§ 33.3) – verbs denoting atmospheric phenomena occur with the applicative suffix |+(u)c-| as below, but apparently not with the adversative |+y<sub>i1</sub>-| (§ 39.5.1):

- (126) a. *qani-ut-aanga* ‘it is snowing on me (e.g. after I have left)’  
 snow-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 – |*qaniy-*| ‘to snow’, cf. \**qani-ut-ua* (IND.1sg.)
- b. *ivsu-ng-ut-aanga*  
 rain-INC-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. – |*ivsuḃ-*| ‘to rain’  
 ‘it started to rain on me (e.g. to my disappointment)’
- c. *ellalli-(ng-)-ut-aanga* ‘it rained (started to rain) on me’  
 rain-(INC-)E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 – |*ḃlaliy-*| ‘to rain’, cf. \**ellalli-ut-ua* (IND.1sg.)
- d. *er-ut-aanga*  
 ‘dawn came upon me’ – |*iḃc-*| ‘(it) to dawn’  
 cf. § 39.4.5-i below for reduplication which adds implication of unexpectedness.
- (127) *unuaqu-uc-iq-aaten*  
 be.tomorrow-E<sub>APL</sub>-FUT-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘it will be tomorrow before you (sg.) are done, lit. it (the dawn) will come *on* you’ (adversative) – from |*unuaquḃ-*|.

It is to be noted that these impersonal verbs, often with |+(u)c-| (meaning ‘on me’, etc.), do not seem to occur with the adversative E<sub>ADV</sub> |+y<sub>i1</sub>-| (§ 39.5.1).

After antipassivized stems with |+y<sub>i2</sub>-|:

- (128) *Tuqu-c-i-t-aa* *angun<sub>E</sub>* *qimugte-mek<sub>(P)</sub>.*  
 die-A-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. man.ABS.sg. dog-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He killed a dog *for/instead of* the man.’
- (129) a. *Mani-i-t-aa* *arnaq<sub>E</sub>* *kalika-mek<sub>(P)</sub>.*  
 show-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. woman.ABS.sg. paper-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He showed a paper *to* the woman.’  
 – with patientive |*mani-*| (‘to show’) as seen in:  
 cf. *mani-i-guq kalika-mek* ‘he shows a paper’ (antipassive)  
*mani-uq* ‘he shows himself; it has been put out (on the stove)’

- b. *Imir-i-s-nga* *kuuvia-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 fill-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.2sg.1sg. coffee-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Fill (my cup) with coffee for me!’ – with *imir-* from *|imiy-liy-|* (content-supply).
- (130) a. *cikir-tur-i-t-aqa* ‘I give her (things) many times’  
 give-ITR-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg.
- b. *Tun'-i-t-aqa* *atkug-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*. Tabs Rall Eabs Arel  
 give-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg. parka-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I am selling a parka (to s.o. [ (R) ]) for her [E]’.

After an antipassivized complex transitive:

- (131) *Nere-vkar-i-t-aa* *qetunra-ni<sub>P=E</sub>*  
 eat- A'.let-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. So-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He had a feast for his (own) son.’  
 – lexicalized complex transitive (‘to have a feast’ < ‘to let s.o. eat, to feed s.o.’), cf. see § 39.6.1 and § 39(250b).

After bivalent stems – yielding secundative ditransitives (though it may yield antipassives as well; § 39.4.4):

- (132) a. *Keni-ut-aa* *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>* *angun<sub>E</sub>*  
 cook-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. fish-ABM.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘She cooked fish for the man.’
- b. *keni-ut-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.) ‘she cooks (s.t.) for me’  
 cf. *kenir-aa* ‘she is cooking it’ / *kenir-tuq* ‘she is cooking (s.t.) / it is being cooked’.
- (133) a. *Kipuy-ut-aanga* *car-a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 buy-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. car-LNK-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He bought a car for me.’  
 – from *|kipuc-|* ‘to buy’ as in *kiput-aa* ‘he bought it’ / *kiput-uq* ‘he bought (s.t.)’.
- b. *Atu-ut-aanga* *yuarut-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 sing-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. song-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He is singing a song for me.’ – cf. (202).
- (134) *Nalaq-ut-aanga* *irnia-ma<sub>A</sub>* *sass'a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 find-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. child-REL.1sg.sg. watch-ABM.sg.  
 ‘My child found a watch for me.’  
 – from the patientive *|nalaqi-|* as in *nalaq-aa* ‘he found it’ / *nalaq-uq* ‘it has been found’.



Applicatives may have an adversative sense:

- (135) *Nang-ut-aa* *aata-ka<sub>E</sub>* *uqu-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 use.up-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. oil-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He used up my father’s oil (*on* my father).’  
 – patientive |*nani-*| ‘to use up’.

After ditransitive verbs – with the two types being neutralized:

Tabm Rall Eabs Arel

- (136) a. *nasva-ut-aanga* ‘he showed (s.t.) (to s.o.) *for me*’  
 show-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. – from indirective |*nazvay-*|.  
 b. *payug-ut-aa* ‘he brought (s.t.) (to s.o.) *for her*’  
 bring-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. – from secundative |*payuyç-*| ‘to bring (food)’.

iii) Addressee of the speech activity (‘to’) – with monovalent stems:

- (137) *Qanr-ut-aanga* [*tuntu-mek tange-ll-minek*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 say-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. moose-ABM.sg. see-VNrl-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He told me [E<sub>APL</sub>] about a moose that he saw.’

In the following example with the monovalent stem |*qitivç-*| ‘to babble, speak non-Yupik’, the transitive (a) has valency rearrangement specific to |+(u)c| (§ 39.4.1-ii.a), while (b) is antipassivization of (a), and (c) has another E<sub>APL</sub> (beneficiary/ comitative) added to (b):

- (138) a. *qit’v-ut-aa* P=E<sub>APL</sub>abs A=Srel  
 speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he [A=S] speaks English to her [P=E]’  
 b. *qit’v-uc-i-llru-uk* *kass’a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>* (P=E<sub>APL</sub>)abm S=Aabs  
 speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-APS-PST-IND.3du. white.man-ABM.sg.  
 ‘they(du; S) spoke English to the white man’  
 c. *qit’v-uc-i-te-llru-agnga* (P=E<sub>APL</sub><sup>1</sup>)abm P=E<sub>APL</sub><sup>2</sup>abs A=Srel  
 speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-PST-IND.3du.1sg.  
 ‘they (du.) spoke English (to s.o.) *for/with me*’.

v) Goal/direction/recipient (‘to/at/for’):

After monovalent stems:

- (139) *quuyurni-t-aa* ‘he is smiling at her’ – |*quuyuyñi-*| ‘to smile’  
*qenr-ut-aa* ‘he is angry at her’ – |*qinÿç-*| ‘to be angry’.

- (140) *Uksuaq*<sub>P=E</sub> *upy-ut-la-ut*. P=E<sub>APL</sub> abs A=S rel < S E<sub>APL</sub> rearranged  
fall.ABS.sg. prepare-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT-1pl.3sg.  
'Let's prepare for the fall.'  
– from *|upc-|* 'to prepare' as in *uksuar-mun* (ALL.sg.) *upt-ukut* 'we  
are preparing for the fall'.
- (141) *Qanemci-t-amken* [*qaillun* *naulluu-vig-mi*  
tell-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.1sg.2sg. how sick-place-LOC.sg.  
*ayuq-uci-lle-mnek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
similar-VNnm-PST-ABM.1sg.sg.  
'I will tell you (sg.; [P=E]) how I was in the hospital.'  
– like secundative ditransitive.

After bivalent stems – recipient-like E is demoted into the allative position, as in the following, thus showing the same case alignment as indirective ditransitives (see § 39.4.1-ii.d):

- (142) *Akuy-ut-aa* *uquq*<sub>P=T</sub> *akuta-mun*<sub>(E=R)</sub>.  
mix-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. oil.ABS.sg. ice.cream-ALL.sg.  
'She is mixing seal oil *into* the ice-cream.' – *|akuc-|* 'to mix', *akut-aq*  
(VNrl) 'one mixed'. Pabs E(=R)all Arel
- (143) *Kalika-mun*<sub>(E=R)</sub> *at-qa*<sub>P=T</sub> *iga-ut-aqa* ~ *alnga-ut-aqa*.  
paper-ALL.sg. name-ABS.1sg.sg. write.down-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'I am writing my name *on* the paper.'  
– with *|iyay-|* ~ [Y/HBC] *|ahay-|* 'to write to'.
- (144) *Imi-ut-aa* *emeq*<sub>T=P</sub> *qalta-mun*<sub>(R=E)</sub>.  
fill-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. water.ABS.sg. pail-ALL.sg.  
'She poured the water into the pail.'  
cf. *imir-aa qaltaq* (ABS.sg.) *emer-mek* (ABM.sg.)  
'she filled the pail with water'.
- (145) *ulla-ut-ng-uq* *angut-mun*  
approach-E<sub>APL</sub>-INC-IND.3sg. man-ALL.sg.  
'he began to approach a/the man'  
cf. *ullag-aa* 'he approaches her'  
*ulag-tuq angut-mek* 'he approach a/the man'.

After impersonal bivalent verbs:

- (146) *Ciku-t-aa* *amiik*<sub>T=P</sub> *nater-mun*<sub>(R=E)</sub>.  
freeze-E-IND.3sg.3sg. door.ABS.sg. floor-ALL.sg.  
'The door is frozen to the floor; lit. *it* froze the door to the floor.'  
≡ intransitive *ciku-t-uq* (IND.3sg.).

Note that this is parallel to the primary impersonal patientive *|ciku-|* ‘it (A<sub>IMP</sub>) to cold’ as in the quasi-equivalent transitive *amiik ciku-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.) vs. intransitive *amiik ciku-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘the door is frozen’. Likewise:

- (147) *Kinr-ut-aa*                      *ciissiq<sub>P=T</sub>*                      *kalika-nun<sub>(E=R)</sub>*.  
 dry-E-IND.3sg.3sg.    bug.ABS.sg.                      paper-ALL.sg.  
 ‘It (A<sub>IMP</sub>) got the bug dried and stuck onto the paper; the bug is dried and stuck onto the paper.’  
 ≡ intransitive *kinr-ut-uq* (IND.3sg.).

v) *Argument rearrangement*: As shown above, the applicative suffix may have the function of forming ditransitives from some monotransitives (bivalents) by adding T or R, but the suffix may also change the type of ditransitives, backgrounding either R or T in favor of the other. See § 39.7 for valency increase and argument rearrangement in more general terms.

The following three examples have the secundative stems expanded by *|+(u)c-|* into indirective stems:

- (148) *Qivi-ut-ai*                      *tan'gerpi-i-t<sub>T</sub>*                      *akuta-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 add-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3pl.    crowberry-EV-ABS.pl.    ice.cream-ALL.sg.  
 ‘she added cranberries to the ice cream’  
 cf. *Qivir-aa*                      *akutaq<sub>R</sub>*                      *tan'gerpag-nek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 add-IND.3sg.3sg.    ice.cream.ABS.sg.                      crowberry-ABM.pl.  
 – note that the argument rearrangement triggers the change of the object number (sg. *akutaq* vs. pl. *tan'gerpiit*) in the predicate.
- (149) *U-na<sub>T</sub>*                      *cimi-uc-ug-aqa*                      *tau-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 this-ABS.sg.    change-E<sub>APL</sub>-DES-IND.1sg.3sg.    that-ALL.sg.  
 ‘I want to change this for that.’  
 cf. *U-na<sub>R</sub>*                      *cimir-yug-aqa*                      *tau-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 this-ABS.sg.    change-DES-IND.1sg.3sg.    that-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I want to change this with that.’
- (150) *Aci-ut-aat*                      [*aata-ma<sub>G</sub>*                      *atr-a*]<sub>T</sub>  
 name-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3pl.3sg.    Fa-REL.1sg.sg.    name-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*pani-mnun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 daughter-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘They gave my father’s name to my daughter.’  
 – *|aciŷ-|* ‘to name’ < *|atŷ-liŷ-|* (name-supply)  
 cf. *Acir-aat*                      [*aata-ma*                      *atr-ane<sub>k</sub>*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 name-IND.3pl.3sg.    Fa-REL.1sg.sg.    name-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*pani-ka<sub>R</sub>*.  
 daughter-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 – cf. antipassive (168) *cimi-ut-uq* / *cimir-i-uq*.

The following illustrates argument rearrangements of (a) indirectives from secundatives and (b) secundatives from indirectives. Note that (a) features type 2 ditransitives while (b) is type 1, with the argument rearranged from the primary stems:

- (151) a. |*ciki-uc-*| ‘to give s.t. for s.o.’ – |*cikiy-*| ‘to supply s.o. (with s.t.)’  
 |*miju-uc-*| ‘to spread s.t. (onto s.t.)’  
 – |*mijuy-*| ‘to spread (s.t.) onto s.t.’  
 |*imi-uc-*| ‘to fill s.t. [e.g. water] (into s.t. [e.g. cup])’  
 – from |*imiy-*| ‘to fill (s.t.) into s.t.’ with |*imay-*|  
 ‘content’ with NV |*liy-*| ‘to supply with (s.t.)’  
 b. |*kipuy-uc-*| ‘to buy s.o. (s.t.)’ – |*kipuc-*| ‘to buy s.t.’

This type of argument rearrangement is, however, more commonly the function of the composite suffixes VVsm |+(u)tiki-| and |+\_viki-| below (§ 39.7).

#### 4.3. Detransitivization of |+(u)c-| derived stems

This includes antipassivization, passivization, and reflexivization/reciprocalization. Note that |+(u)c-| derived stems are patientive.

i) *As antipassives*: |+(u)c-|-derived bivalents from certain monovalents, possibly with rearrangement (§ 39.4.1-ii.a), may be antipassive, when intransitively inflected, as shown by (152) and (153) below: They are restricted to a relatively small number of derived bivalents and suffix-derived antipassives with |+\_yi-| are more general.

- (152) a. *tai-t-uq*                                      *qanta-mek* / *ellmi-n<sub>(P)</sub>ek*  
 come-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. bowl-ABM.sg. / 3sg.-ABM  
 ‘he brought over a dish / himself’      (P=E)abm    S=Aabs ← S > E  
 – |*tai-*| ‘to come’  
 b. *Angun*      *tai-t-uq*                                      *ene-mnun*                                      *neq-m<sub>(P)</sub>ek*  
 man.ABS.sg. come-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. house-ALL.1sg.sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The man brought fish to my house.’  
 cf. *Angute-m* *tai-t-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) *neq<sub>P</sub>* (ABS.sg.) *ene-mnun*.  
 ‘The man brought the fish to my house.’

- (153) a. *atra-ut-uq*      ‘he brings (s.t./s.o.) down’ – |*at<sub>y</sub>ay-*| ‘to go down’  
*aya-ut-uq*      ‘he takes along (s.t./s.o.)’ – |*ayay-*| ‘to go’  
*itr-ut-uq*      ‘he brings in (s.t.); – |*it<sub>y</sub>-*| ‘to enter’  
*mayu-ut-uq*      ‘he takes (s.t.) up’ – |*mayuy-*| ‘to go up’

- b. *aqva-t-**uq*** ‘he is getting (s.t.)’ – patientive |*aqfa-*| ‘to fetch’, with *-t-* from *-ut-* after stem-final vowel, cf. (153); from *aqva-t-**aa*** ‘he is getting (s.t.) for her’  
 ≡ *aqva-i-**guq*** ‘he is getting things (from, e.g. fishing camp); from *aqva-a* ‘he is getting (s.t.)’.

See more in § 39.4.4.

ii) |+(u)c-|-derived bivalents may be antipassivized by |+*y*<sub>2</sub>-| (§ 39.6.1), e.g. *-uc-i-**uq*** (IND.3sg.), or by VVsm |*-<sub>1</sub>kɨŋi-*| (§ 39.6.2), e.g. *-us-keng-**uq*** (IND.3sg.):

- (154) *qenr-uc-i-**uq*** ‘he is angry at (s.o.)’  
*pissurya-uc-i-**uq*** ‘he is going hunting for (s.o.)’  
*qanr-uc-i-**uq*** ‘he is speaking for (s.o.)’  
*qalar-uc-i-**uq*** ‘he is talking to/for (s.o.)’  
*aya-uc-i-**uq*** ‘he takes (s.o.) somewhere’  
 – cf. (153) *aya-ut-**uq*** and (155) *aya-us-keng-**uq***.  
*atu-uc-i-**uq*** ‘he is singing for (s.o.)’ ≡ *atu-ut-**uq***.
- (155) a. *pissurya-us-keng-**uq*** ‘he is going hunting for (s.o.)’  
 ≡ *pissurya-uc-i-**uq***  
*qanr-us-keng-**uq*** ‘he is speaking for (s.o.)’ ≡ (154) *qanr-uc-i-**uq***  
*aya-us-keng-**uq*** ‘he takes (s.o.) somewhere’ ≡ (154) *aya-uc-i-**uq***  
*ner-us-keng-**uq*** ‘he eats (s.t.) with (s.o.)’ ≡ *ner-uc-i-**uq***  
*qalar-us-keng-**uq*** ~ [Y] *qanaa-s-keng-**uq*** ‘he is talking to (s.o.)’ ≡  
*qalar-uc-i-**uq*** ~ *qanaa-c-i-**uq***
- b. *cali-s-keng-**uq*** ‘he works for (s.o.)’ ≡ *cali-c-i-**uq***  
 cf. *cali-t-**aa*** (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he works for her’  
*cali-t-**uq*** *ellmi-**nek*** ‘he works for himself’  
 – reflexive instead of antipassive like iv) below.

iii) *Passive*: Since applicative transitives are patientive (S = P), there can be argument reduction:

- (156) *qalar-**ut-**uq***** ‘he is being talked to’  
*iga-us-nga-**uq*** ‘it is written down’ – |*iyay-*| with stative VVt |*+<sub>1</sub>ŋ(q)a-*|.

- (157) *Ak’a* *iqva-**ute-llru-**uq*****.  
 already pick.berry-E<sub>APL</sub>-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘She was already (berry-)picked for.’  
 cf. *iqva-**ut-**aa***** *aana-ni<sub>p</sub>*  
 pick.berry-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. Mo-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘she picks (berries) for her mother’.

- (158) *Kalika*<sub>S=P</sub> *nep-ut-uq* *kalika-mun*<sub>(R=E)</sub>.  
 paper.ABS.sg. stick-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. paper-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The paper stuck onto a/the paper (e.g. in closing an envelope).’

iv) *Reflexive/reciprocal*: Inflected with a dual or plural subject. The suffix is a main provider of reflexive and reciprocal verbs in addition to the transitive relational NV<sub>rv</sub> *|-ki-* (§ 37.2):

Reflexives co-occur with reflexive pronouns (§ 13.2.2) – e.g. *ellmi-nek* (3Rsg.-ABM; cf. § 34.2.2):

- (159) *quuyurni-t-uq ellmi-nek*. ‘she is smiling at herself (in the mirror)’;  
 cf. (139)  
*qenr-ut-uq ellmi-nek* ‘he is angry at himself’; cf. (139)  
*maqi-t-uq ellmi-nek* ‘he outdid himself (in getting out of the  
 steam bath); cf. (107).
- (160) *keni-ut-uq suupa-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 cook-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. soup-ABM.sg.  
 ‘she cooked soup *herself*’; – *|kini(ȳ)-uc-* ‘to cook (s.t.) for/with s.o.’  
 cf. *keni-ut-aa aana-ka* (Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.)  
 ‘she cooked (s.t.) *for* my mother’.
- (161) [*Angut-mi wiinga*]<sub>S</sub> *ikayu-ut-la-llru-unga wang-nek*.  
 man-LOC.sg.1sg. help-E<sub>APL</sub>-CUS-PST-IND.1sg.1sg.-ABM  
 ‘I, (as a) man, used to help myself.’  
 – see § 27.4 for the locative *angut-mi*.

Reciprocals with the optional addition of reflexive pronouns:

- (162) a. *kipuy-ut-ukuk* ‘we (du.) buy (s.t.) for each other’  
 cf. *kipuy-ut-uq* ‘he buys (s.t.) for himself’ – see also (133a)  
*qit’v-ut-uk* ‘they(du.) speak English to each other’  
*qenr-ut-uk* ‘they(du.) are angry at each other’  
 – root *|qinȳ-*; cf. (139)  
*atar-ut-uk* ‘they (du.: e.g. dogs) are copulating’ – *|ataȳc-*  
*aryuq-ut-uk* ‘they (du.) are glad to see each other’  
 cf. *aryuq-aa* ‘he is glad to see her after not having seen her for a  
 long time’  
*iir-ut-uk* ‘they (du.) hid from each other’  
 cf. *iir-ut-aa* ‘he hid with him’.

- b. *tuqu-y-ut-uk* ‘they (du.) kill each other’ – |*tuqu-c-*|  
 cf. *tuquy-ut-aa* ‘he kills (s.t.) for her’ ≙ (128) *tuquc-i-t-aa*  
*tunu-y-ut-uk* ‘they(du.) turn back to back’ – |*tunu-c-*| (back-A)  
*uni-y-ut-uk* ‘they(du.) are separated’ – |*uni-c-*| ‘to leave behind’ (|*uni-*| ‘to dissolve, disappear’)
- c. *nallu-nril-ut-uk* ‘they know each other’  
 – |*nalu-nyit-*| (not.know-NEG).
- (163) *maqi-t-aar-tuk* ‘they(du.) repeatedly competed with each other in the steam bath’ – RPT *-aar-* (§ 42.2.4).

Very commonly after the relational verb – NVrv |*-ki-*| ‘to have – as’:

- (164) *ila-k-ut-uk* ‘they(du.) are related’  
 relative-have.as-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3du.  
 cf. *ila-k-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he is related to her’.

Detransitivization as such may yield two readings:

- (165) *qalar-ut-ukuk* (IND.1du.)  
 i. ‘we (du.) are conversing *with each other, among ourselves*’ (reciprocal)  
 ii. ‘we(du.) are *being talked to*’ (passive) – |*qalaɣc-*|.

#### 4.4. |+(u)c-| antipassives

This detransitivizes some patientive transitives. Many of them also have the general antipassives with |*+y<sub>i2-</sub>*| (§ 39.6.1), but speakers differ as to which is used. The following are distinct from the *-ut-uq* in § 39.4.3-i:

- (166) a. *nang-ut-uq* ‘he used (s.t.) up’; |*nani-*| ‘to use up’ ≙ *nang-i-uq*  
 – cf. (135)  
*nucu-ut-uq* ‘he pulled (s.t.) out’; |*nucuy-*| ‘to pull out’ ≙ *nucug-i-uq*  
*qaqiy-ut-uq* ‘he has finished (s.t.); |*qaqi-c-*| ‘to finish’ ≙ *qaqic-i-uq*  
*tuquy-ut-uq* ‘he killed (s.t.); |*tuqu-c-*| ‘to kill’ ≙ *tuquc-i-uq*  
*nalaq-ut-uq* ‘he found (s.t.); |*nalaqi-*| ‘to find’ ≙ *nalaq-i-uq*  
*nalk-ut-uq* ‘he found (s.t.); |*nalki-*| ‘to find’  
*iqva-ut-uq* ‘she picks (berries)’; |*iqvaɣ-*| ‘to pick (berries) for s.o.’  
*atu-ut-uq* ‘he is singing (s.t. / for s.o.) ≙ *atur-i-uq*  
*ikayu-ut-uq* ‘he helps (s.o.); |*ikayuɣ-*| ‘to help (s.o.) for s.o.’  
 ≙ *ikayur-i-uq*

- b. *tegu-t-**uq*** ‘he is taking (s.t.)’; |*tīyu-*| ‘to take (in hand)’ ≡ *tegu-i-guq*  
 cf. *tegu-t-aa* ‘he took (s.t.) for her’  
*tegu-c-i-**uq*** ‘he took (s.t.) (for s.o.)’.
- (167) *Aqva-t-**uq*** [*qanta-mek (unit-a-minek)*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 fetch-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. pail-ABM.sg. leave.behind-VNrl-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘She is fetching a dish/plate (that she left behind).’ – patientive  
 |*aqfa-*| *aqva-* ‘to fetch’, cf. (153)  
 cf. *Aqva-t-aa qanta-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> *angun*<sub>E</sub> (ABS.sg.).  
 ‘She is fetching/getting a dish for the man.’  
*aqva-a* ‘she fetched it’ – cf. \**aqva-uq*.

A demoted NP may occur with the allative case as well as with the ablative-modalis. However, the allative demotion never occurs with |+*y*<sub>2</sub>-| antipassives.

- (168) *cimi-**ut-uq*** *alla-mek ~ alla-mun*  
 exchange-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. another-ABM.sg./ALL.sg.  
 ‘he changed/traded off with another’  
 ≡ *cimir-i-**uq** alla-mek* (but not \**alla-mun*) – |*cimiy-*| ‘to exchange’.
- (169) a. *ikayu-**ut-uq*** *ene-li-lria-**nek** ~ ene-li-lria-**nun***  
 help-E-IND.3sg. house-make-VNrl-ABM.pl./ALL.pl.  
 ‘he is helping ones who are making houses’ – patientive |*ikayuḃ-*|  
 b. *ikayu-**ut-ukuk*** (IND.1du.)  
 i. ‘we (du.) are helping (s.o.)’ – with *cali-lria-mek ~ cali-lria-mun*  
 ii. ‘we (du.) are helping each other’ – with *ellme-gnek ~ -gnun* (self-  
 ABM./-ALL.du.)  
 c. *ikayu-**ut-nari-anga***  
 help-E-NEC.time.to-IND.3sg.1sg.  
*ne-l’i-lria-mek ~ ne-l’i-lria-mun* (or *ene-li-lria-mek*)  
 house-make-VNrl-ABM.sg./ALL.sg.  
 ‘it is time for me to help the one who is building a house’.

The two kinds of antipassive form, *-(u)t-**uq*** and *-i-**uq***, if any, may not be equally common. Some speakers prefer one to the other. If both are used, there may be some appreciable differences: In the following pair (a) is more benefactive and (b) may be more adversative:

- (170) a. *Nalaq-**ut-uq*** *pi-yu-llr-**anek***<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 find-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg. thing-wish-VNrl-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He found what she wanted.’



- b. *Nalaq-i-uq* [ii-lle-mnek taanga-mnek]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 find-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg. hide-VNrl-ABM.1sg.sg. liquor-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘He found my liquor I had hidden.’

The implication of (a) vs. (b) reflects the different E added by the two suffixes, i.e. (a) beneficiary and (b) maleficiary, reflecting the transitive *nalaq-ut-aa* vs. *nalaq-i-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.).

This fact that (at least some) intransitively inflected  $|+(u)c-|$  function as antipassives is fully understandable, since the suffix and the  $|+y_1-|$  (§ 39.5) are both applicatives that extends E (experiencer) either as a beneficiary or maleficiary, and that both, as patientives, may medialize E with an A argument, merely indicating the verbal action while the agent vs. beneficiary/maleficiary relation is neutralized. Viewed another way, the antipassive use of intransitively inflected  $|+(u)c-|$  itself serves as supporting evidence for the interpretation that the most productive antipassive forms with VVsm  $|+y_2-|$  are actually special (medialization) cases of adversative verbs with VVsm  $|+y_1-|$  (§ 39.5.2, § 39.6.1, cf. Miyaoka 1984b).

#### 4.5. Various derivations

Applicative verbs involve a variety of derivations, including reduplication of  $|+(u)c-|$ :

i) A reduplicated form  $|+(u)y+uc-|$  is sometimes encountered (/y/ due to the second  $|+uc-|$ ).

- (171) *aqva-uy-ut-aa* ‘he is racing against him’  
 run-E<sub>APL</sub>-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 cf. *aqva-ut-uq* ‘he is running in a race’ – from  $|aqfay/y(?)-|$ .

The second suffix may imply a beneficiary or a company. A reduplicated form as a whole, however, may often have some implication of being ‘unintentional, by accident, without knowing’:

- (172) *An-uy-ute-llini-a* [paltuu-ni  
 go.out-E<sub>APL</sub>-E<sub>APL</sub>-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg. parka-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*iqair-a-nun ilak-luku*].  
 wash-VNrl-ALL.pl. add-APP.3sg.  
 ‘(I find) he took it out, adding his own parka to the laundry (s.t. washed) by mistake, incidentally, without knowing.’  
 cf. *an-ut-aa* ‘he went out with her/it, took it out (with him)’.

- (173) *Itr-uy-ut-aqa* *qantaq<sub>P</sub>* (*nallu-mni*).  
 enter-E<sub>APL</sub>-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg. bowl.ABS.sg. ignorance-LOC.1sg.  
 ‘I brought the bowl in (unintentionally by mistake, without knowing).’  
 cf. *itr-uy-ut-aqa qanta-mek<sub>(P)</sub>* (ABM.sg.)  
 ‘I brought the bowl in *for* her (intentionally)’ – |*itÿ-*|.
- (174) *ut’r-uy-ut-aa* ‘he brings it back for/with her by accident (unintentionally)’  
 cf. *ut’r-ut-aa* ‘he brings it back’ – |*utiÿc-*| ‘to return’.

On the other hand, reduplication may just be a matter of preference by some speakers for some verbs, with little semantic difference:

- (175) *tegu-y-ut-aa* ~ *tegu-t-aa* ‘he takes (s.t.) for her’ – |*tiÿu-*|  
*nalaq-uy-ut-aa* ~ *nalaq-ut-aa* ‘he finds (s.t.) for her’ – |*nalaqi-*|.

ii) Reduplicated forms may have the antipassivizer |*+yi<sub>2-</sub>*| inserted, that is, yielding a composite suffix of |*+(u)c-i-c-*| (< |*+(u)c+yi<sub>1</sub>(u)c-*|). The second |*+(u)c-*| provides the meaning of ‘instead of, in one’s place’ to the composition rather than the beneficiary (‘for’) of a single |*+(u)c-*|. Some speakers may not make semantic distinctions by using either one or the other, however:

- (176) *iqva-ucit-aanga* ‘she is picking berries instead of me’  
 pick.berry-instead.of-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 cf. *iqva-ut-aanga* ‘she is picking berries for me’.
- (177) *Atku-li-cit-aa* *arna-m<sub>A</sub>* *May’aq<sub>P=E</sub>*.  
 parka-make-instead.of-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg. p.n.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The woman is making a paka *instead of* Mayaq.’  
 cf. *atku-li-t-aa* ‘she is making a parka *for* him’.
- (178) *Mingq-ucit-aa* *aana-ni<sub>E</sub>* *atkug-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 sew-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. Mo-ABS.3Rsg.sg. parka-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She is sewing a parka for (in place of) her mother.’  
 – may be preferred to *mingq-ut-aa* by some speakers.

iii) *VV expansion* – with a wide range of verbal categories:

- (179) *nataqe-ngnaq-uc-aaqe-rraar-lutek*  
 find-CNA-E<sub>APL</sub>.but-after-APP.3Rdu.  
 ‘they (du.) tried to find each other a while (but...)? [VBER 5]

The suffix order is relevant:

- (180) a. *itr-ut-aar-luku*                      *ene-nun*  
 enter-E<sub>APL</sub>-RPT-APP.3sg. house-ALL.pl.  
 ‘(s.o.) bringing it into houses here and there’ (distributive)
- b. *iter-taar-ul-luku*                      *ene-nun*  
 enter-RPT-E<sub>APL</sub>-APP.3sg. house-ALL.pl.  
 ‘entering with him into different houses’  
 cf. *iter-taar-luni* (enter-RPT-APP.3Rsg.) ‘(he) entering here and there’.

iv) *Embedded into complex transitives:*

- (181) *Na-tmur-uc-et-agnegu*                      *angut-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>  
 where-go.to-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.make-INT.3du.1sg. man-ALL.sg.  
*irnia-qa<sub>p</sub>?*  
 child-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Where are they (du.) having the man take my child away to (lit. causing the man to go *with* the child)?’  
 – cf. *nat-mur-uc-* ‘[A] to take [P] away’, with A argument demoted to the allative status.
- (182) *Ner-ute-sqe-llru-anga*                      *pani-minun*<sub>(A)</sub>                      *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 eat-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.ask-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.Da-ALL.3Rsg.sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She asked her (own) daughter to eat fish with me [E].’
- (183) *tuquy-ut-ni-ak*                      ‘he says they (du.) killed each other’  
 kill-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.say-IND.3sg.3du.  
 cf. *tuquy-ut-uk*                      ‘they (du.) killed each other’.
- (184) *payugc-i-c-uk-aqa*                      ‘I thought s.o. brought s.t. to s.o. for her’  
 bring.food-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 (T)abm (R)all E<sub>APL</sub>abs (A)all A'rel, with E<sub>APS</sub>  
 cf. *payugc-i-t-aa*                      ‘he brought s.t. to s.o. for her’  
 (T)abm (R)all E<sub>APL</sub>abs Arel, with E<sub>APS</sub>.

v) Applicative |+uc-| may stand after the NV |-li-| ‘to make’ and |-liy-| ‘to supply; to have plenty of’ (with /V-l/ deletion; § 38.3), respectively as in |-li-t-| and |-li-ut-|, with some semantic specialization ‘to arrive for/at, make it to’:

- (185) *Angy-i-t-aat*                      *Arna-nku-t<sub>s</sub>*  
 boat-make-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3pl.3sg. p.n.-company-ABS.3pl.  
*Qangirnarmiu-t<sub>p</sub> unuamek tayima.*  
 pl.n.-ABS.pl. today then  
 ‘Arnaq and her family made it by boat (i.e. have boated) to Kongirnak (finally, unexpectedly).’

- (186) *paac-i-t-ai(t)* (IND.3sg[pl].3pl.)  
 ‘the barge(s) arrived for them’ – |*paacaŷ-*| ‘barge’  
*allan-i-t-aa(t)nga* (IND.3sg[pl].1sg.)  
 ‘the guest(s)/stranger(s) arrived at his location’  
 – |*atanyŷ-*| ‘guest, stranger’; with either a singular or plural subject.
- (187) *angya-li-ut-aatkut* ‘the boats arrived at our location’  
 boat-make-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3pl.1pl.  
 – with the plural subject implying ‘many boats’.

vi) *Nominalizations*:

- (188) *cikir-tu-uc-ara-u-luni*  
 ‘it is a reciprocal giving (for Asking Festival or *petugtaq*)’.  
 |*cikiŷ+tuŷ+uc+<sub>1</sub>carayŷ+ŋu[+luni]*  
 give-RPT-E<sub>APL</sub>-VNnm-be-APP.3Rsg. [CAUY 19]  
 – see § 13-fn. 1 for *petugtaq*.
- (189) *ikayu-uy-uci-mnek* *ellii-nun*  
 help-E<sub>APL</sub>-VNnm-ABM.1sg.sg. 3sg.-ALL  
 ‘my being helpful to him’.

**5. Adversative experiencer |+yi-|**

VVsm |+yi<sub>1</sub>-| extends an E<sub>ADV</sub> (adversative experiencer) – a participant distinct from the P argument and E<sub>APL</sub> – that encodes, generally speaking, a maleficiary or sufferer (‘*on* someone, to one’s disadvantage’), denoting an event or a process that negatively affects the experiencer in a manner that is usually disappointing, victimizing, or causing a loss. The added argument can, however, sometimes be a beneficiary as well, mainly depending upon the semantic content. In contrast, the applicative suffix VVsm E<sub>APL</sub> |(u)c-| above (§ 39.4) adds a beneficiary (‘*for* someone’) to a rather limited number of stems.

The pattern of use and semantic interpretation of the verb shows general consistency among speakers, with the whole picture rather hazy however, presumably because of extensive lexicalization as well as gradual attrition/disuse. My survey in the early 1980s suggested the use of adversative construction is obviously on the decline in general, and some consultants (then middle-aged) testified that it is already somewhat archaic or not used by (or unknown to) themselves.

It is important to mention beforehand that the most common type of CAY antipassive verbs (agentive intransitive verbs from patientive bivalent stems)

with |+yi<sub>2</sub>-| (§ 39.6.1) is to be regarded as a specialized subtype of adversative verbs with |+yi<sub>1</sub>-| (§ 39.5.1).

Adversative stems ('on s.o.') are formed as follows:

- (190) a. |tai-yi-| from |tai-| 'to come' – with the velar retained only after VV, cf. (P10)
- b. |tuqu-i-| |tuqu-| 'to die'  
|an'-i-| |ani-| 'to go out'
- c. |kic'-i-| |kic-| 'to sink'  
|kipuc-i-| |kipuc-| 'to buy'  
|inayc-i-| |inayc-| 'to lie down'
- d. |anay-i-| |anay-| 'to escape'  
|nuty-i-| |nuty-| 'to shoot'.

The case assignment follows the general argument hierarchy of S/P > E<sub>ADV</sub> > A, with the necessary demotion (§ 30.3). As previously stated, the valency rearrangement of monovalent S into A specific to the applicative E<sub>APL</sub> |+(u)c-| (§ 39.4.1-ii.a) is not relevant to the adversative E<sub>ADV</sub> |+yi<sub>1</sub>-|.

As adversative verbs are at least bivalent, they can take both transitive and intransitive inflection. Detransitivization demotes the highest argument, i.e. in the absolutive case, to the ablative-modalis.

Use with the transitive inflection is actually more common than one with the intransitive (as, interestingly, compared with comparative verbs and necessitative impersonal verbs – § 5.1.1.3-v). Use of the intransitive may vary according to the types of verb stems and, at the same time, apparently seems to have fallen into disuse in some areas (and among many speakers), while other areas still retain the productive use of both (as confirmed at my classes for bilingual teacher programs in early 1980s). As will be seen in the following illustrations (§ 39.5.1), intransitive verbs may sometimes have two readings, which is of great significance in understanding the nature of the |+yi-| suffix (§ 39.5.2, § 39.6.1).

### 5.1. Transitive vs. intransitive inflection

i) *With intransitive stems* – with alignment of: Subs E<sub>ADV</sub>rel from S > E:

- (191) a. *Kic-i-aqa* *maklaar-t-a-qa*<sub>p=S</sub>  
sink-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg. young.seal-catch-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
'The young (bearded) seal I caught sank *on me* (to my disadvantage)  
(lit. I [E<sub>ADV</sub>] had my caught seal sunk).'

- |*kic-*| ‘to sink’. Compare with (111) *kis’-ut-aanga* (3sg.1sg.) ‘it sank with me’ having the same stem |*kic-*| extended with E<sub>APL</sub> |*+(u)c-*| and note the opposite person relation (1sg.3sg. vs. 3sg.1sg.).
- b. *Kic-i-unga* *maklaar-t-a-mnek*<sub>(P=S)</sub>.  
 sink-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg. young.seal-catch-VNrl-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘The young (bearded) seal I caught sank *on me* (to my disadvantage).’

The pair (a, b) is equivalent. Detransitivization from transitive (a) into intransitive (b) triggers the demotion of the P=S argument (‘seal’; absolutive to ablative-modalis) and promotion of A=E (‘I’) to fill the vacated slot as the intransitive subject S.

It is important to note, in advance, a difference between adversative verbs with intransitive stems like (191a) *kic-i-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) and ones with bivalent stems, like (207) *allg-i-anga* ‘he tore (s.t.) on me’ (IND.3sg.1sg.). These show the opposite subject-object relation. The same experiencer or maleficiary, i.e. ‘I’ (1sg.), is the intransitive subject in (191a) but is the transitive object in (207a). This is the consequence of the argument hierarchy connected with the case assignments of each type of verb stem (monovalent vs bivalent).

Likewise, in the transitive sentence (a) below, the experiencer (again ‘I’) is the subject and ‘my husband (who died)’ is the object (originally intransitive subject), while the object is demoted to the ablative-modalis case in the intransitive (b):

- (192) a. *Tuqu-i-gaqa* *ui-ka*<sub>P=S</sub>. P=Sabs A=Erel  
 die-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg. Hu-ABS.1sg.sg. – |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’  
 ‘My husband [P=S] died *on me* [A=E], i.e. I lost my husband.’
- b. *Tuqu-i-gua* *ui-mnek*<sub>(P=S)</sub>. (P=S)abm S=A=Eabs  
 die-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg. Hu-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I had my husband die, i.e. I experienced my husband dying.’
- (193) a. *Nip-i-aqa* *kaminiaq*<sub>P=S</sub>.  
 extinguish-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg. stove.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The stove [P=S] went out *on me* [A=E].’ – (22) |*nipi-*| ‘to extinguish’
- b. *Kaminia-mek* *nip-i-unga*.  
 stove-ABM.sg. extinguish-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg.  
 ‘The stove went out *on me*.’
- (194) a. *An-i-aqa* *kaviaq*<sub>P</sub> *igti-inek*  
 go.out-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg. fox.ABS.sg. den-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘I let the fox [P=S] out *on me* [A=E] from his hole, the fox got out *on* (got away from) me from the hole.’

- b. *Kaviar-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> ***an-i-ug*** *angun*<sub>S</sub>  
 fox.ABM.sg. go.out-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg. man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘A fox got out *on* the man.’

Compare the following transitive construction (a) of monovalent stem |*maq-i-*| ‘to flow out’ with bivalent (trivalent) |*kuvi-*| ‘to spill’ and see the opposite person relation. (b) is an intransitive construction with the same stem as (a):

- (195) a. *maq'-i-llru-aqa* ‘it leaked *on me*’  
 flow-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. – cf. *maq'-ug* ‘it flows out’  
 compare with:  
 cf. *kuv'-i-llru-aqa* ‘I spilled (s.t.) *on him*’ = (214a)  
 spill-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.
- b. *Maq'-i-llru-ut*<sub>S=E</sub> *Valdez-ami* *uqu-mek*<sub>(P=S)</sub>  
 spill-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.3pl. pl.n.-LNK.LOC.sg. oil-AMB.sg.  
 ‘They [S=E] had an accidental oil spill at Valdez.’  
 – referring to 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill in Prince William Sound, Alaska.

As mentioned in § 39.4.2-ii, verbs denoting atmospheric phenomena occur with the applicative suffix |(u)c-|, as in (126), while they apparently do not with the adversative |+yi-|. Thus, ?\**qanir-i-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) as opposed to (126a) *qani-ut-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.) ‘it is snowing on me’.

Two transitive constructions are illustrated with opposite person relationships:

- (196) a. *Teng'-i-llru-aqa* *yaqulek*<sub>P=S</sub>  
 fly-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. bird.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The bird flew away from me [A=E].’ – as when looking for eggs, or it could refer to a bird once/almost caught
- b. *teng'-i-llru-anga*  
 fly-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I [P=S] took off before he [A=E] came.’ – ‘he’ as sufferer.

Adversative on an antipassive – though pragmatically benefactive:

- (197) *Ini-i-gi-anga* *neqerrlug-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 hang-APS-E<sub>ADV</sub>/BNF-IND.3sg.1sg. dried.fish-ABM.pl.  
 ‘She [A] is hanging out dried fish [(P)] *on/for* me [P=E].’  
 – |*ini-*| ‘to hang out to dry’.





- (200) a. *Tegleg-i-a*                      *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *angun<sub>P=E</sub>*  
 stole-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
*sass'a-/cass'a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 watch-ABM.sg.  
 'The woman stole a watch *on (off)* the man, i.e., she stole the man's watch.'
- b. *Tegleg-i-**uq***                      *arnaq<sub>S=A</sub>*                      *angut-mek<sub>(E)</sub>*  
 stole-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg. woman.ABS.sg. man-ABM.sg.  
*sass'a-/cass'a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
 watch-ABM.sg.  
 'The woman stole a watch *on (off)* a man; i.e., she stole a man's watch.' – (245).
- (201) *Ilunga-ma<sub>A</sub>*                      *qiu-gi-anga*                      (*unite-mnek*)<sub>(P)</sub>  
 cousin-REL.1sg.sg. discolor-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. hand-ABM.1sg.sg.  
*ilangciar-paka-amku*.  
 tease-ITS-CNNbc.1sg.3sg.  
 'Since I teased her a lot, my (female cross) cousin bruised me (E) (on my hand).'  
 – cf. [Y] *ilung-iur-paka-amku* (cousin-deal.with-ITS-CNNbc.1sg.3sg.).

Conditioned by the stem content, the following more likely would be benefactive:

- (202) *atur-i-anga* (sing-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.)  
 'he is singing a song for me (which I should).'

The following illustrates an expanded agentive bivalent with the adversative suffix – cf. *aya-ut-aa* 'he went with it, took it away' / *aya-ut-uq* 'he took away (s.t.)':

- 
- (b) *tegleg-tuq*                      *arnaq<sub>S=A</sub>*                      *May'a-mek*                      *sass'amek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 steal-IND.3sg. woman.ABS.sg. p.n.-ABM.sg. watch-ABM.sg.  
 'the woman [A] stole a watch from Mayaq'.

It is, nevertheless, to be noted that there are also some other speakers who, while viewing the intransitive subject as an agent, retain some of the sufferer (or beneficiary) implication at least for some verbs (stems). This is, for example, the case for *kipuc-i-uq* 'he bought s.t. (from s.o.)', *kiu-gi-uq* 'he answers (for s.o.)', *maligc-i-uq* 'he follows in spite of s.o.'s wish', as well as the following:

- (c) *ner-i-uq*                      *angun<sub>S=A</sub>*                      *arna-mek<sub>(E)</sub>*  
 eat-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg. man.ABS.sg. woman-ABM.sg.  
 'the man eats something of (on) a woman'

– which obviously shows the type 1 demotion instead of A deletion.



- b. *Allg-i-unga*                      *'lumarra-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 tear-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg. shirt-ABM.sg.  
 i. 'I [E<sub>ADV</sub>] had (s.o. [(A)]) tear a/the shirt] *on me*; a/the shirt was torn  
*on me* (by s.o.)'  
 ii. 'I [A<sub>∞</sub>E] tore a shirt.' – more common than (i); cf. (222).
- (208) *pi-k-sug-i-anga*    *angya-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 thing-have.as-wish-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. boat-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 'he wants to have my boat *on me*'.
- (209) *Nulia-ni*<sub>P=S</sub>                      *tamar-i-luku*                      [*tau-m*  
 wife-ABS.3Rsg.sg. lose-E<sub>ADV</sub>-APP.3sg. that-REL.sg.  
*nukalpiarta-m*]<sub>A=E</sub>.  
 hunter-REL.sg.  
 'That great hunter had his (own) wife disappear (on him).'  
 – |*tamay-*| 'to lose' [AKKL102]

An E<sub>ADV</sub> verb can sometimes be benefactive:

- (210) *Nalaq-i-a*    *aana-ka*<sub>P=E</sub>    *sass'a-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 find-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. Mo-ABS.1sg.sg. watch-ABM.sg.  
 'He found a watch *for* my mother.'
- cf. *Nalaq-i-a*    *yaqulek*<sub>P=E</sub>    *kayangu-inek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 find-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. bird.ABS. sg. egg-ABM.3sg.pl.  
 'He found the bird eggs (broods) *on* it (bird).'
- (211) *Iqair-i-anga*    *qerrulli-i-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub> ~ *qerrulliig-e-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 wash-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. pant-EV-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 'She washed my pants *for* me.'  
 – |*iqaiy-*| 'to wash' from |*iqa+niy-*| (dirt-remove)  
 cf. *iqair-aa qeruuli-i-gka*<sub>P</sub> (EV-ABS.1sg.sg.) 'she washed my pants'.

Not surprisingly, however, the benefactive reading is rather rare, given that the beneficiary experiencer is typically added by the applicative VVsm |+(u)c-|.

iv) *With impersonal patientive stems:*

- (212) a. *Ciku-i-gaanga*    *kuvya-mnek* <sub>(P)</sub>.  
 freeze-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. net-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 'My net froze *on* me, lit. *it* (A<sub>IMP</sub>) froze a net *on* me.'  
 – |*ciku-*| '(A<sub>IMP</sub>) to freeze P'
- b. *Ciku-i-gua* (IND.1sg.)    *kuvya-mnek*.  
 'I had my net frozen *on* me.' – A<sub>IMP</sub> deletion.

iv) *With ditransitive stems:*

- (213) *muir-i-anga*                      *emer-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*                      *caaska-mun<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 fill-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.      water-ABM.sg.      cup-ALL.sg.  
 ‘she filled water into the cup *on/for* me’  
 cf. *muir-i-unga* ‘I filled’.

Note the opposite person relation between (a) and (b) in the following example, with different sufferers (‘my mother’ vs. ‘me’):

- (214) a. *Kuv'-i-llru-aqa*                      *yuurqa-anek<sub>(T)</sub>*      *saaska-anun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 spill-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.      tea-ABM.3sg.sg.      cup-ALL.3sg.sg.  
*aana-ka<sub>E</sub>*.  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I accidentally spilled tea onto my mother’s cup (i.e. spilled *on* my mother [E]).’
- b. *Kuv'-i-llru-anga*                      *qalta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 spill-E<sub>ADV</sub>-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.      pail-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She spilled a pail *on* me [E].’  
 – see § 35.1.2.2 for variable stem *|kuvi-|* ‘spill (s.t.) to s.o.’ (secundative) or ‘spill s.t. (to s.o.)’ (indirective).

It is important to note that the following intransitive verb, detransitived from (b), may be taken either as adversative (‘on myself’) or simply antipassive with no sense of accident:

- (215) *kuv-i-llru-unga*                      ‘I spilled, emptied (s.t.) (accidentally)’  
 spill-E-PST-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *kuve-llru-aqa*                      ‘I spilled it’.

This example actually suggests the continuity or identity of adversative *|+yi<sub>1</sub>-|* and antipassive *|+yi<sub>2</sub>-|*, which is the topic of § 39.5.2:

v) *Embedded into complex transitives:*

- (216) *ner'-i-vkar-aanga*                      ‘he causes (s.o.) to eat (s.t.) *on* me’  
 eat-E<sub>ADV</sub>-A'.cause-IND.3sg.1sg.      (P)abm      E<sub>ADV</sub>abs      (A)all      A'rel

## 5.2. Two ways |+yi-| is detransitivized

i) *Adversatives and antipassives* As stated above, adversative verbs with VVsm |+yi<sub>1</sub>-| are more common with transitive inflection than with intransitive inflection, while the intransitive adversative verbs with |+yi<sub>1</sub>-| are homonymous with |+yi<sub>2</sub>-| antipassives. As a matter of fact, it may be more correct to say that |+yi-| verbs with intransitive inflection take on the antipassive function (i.e. non-adversative interpretation), and that only some may have an additional interpretation as adversative verbs. The two interpretations are apparently available only for a rather limited portion of GCAY speakers, largely depending upon the patientive verbs concerned. The adversative reading of intransitive |+yi-| verbs may be alien to some (or many) speakers who may or may not use transitive adversative verbs.

Nevertheless, it should be properly understood that adversative VVsm |+yi<sub>1</sub>-| is directly related to the antipassive |+yi<sub>2</sub>-| for patientive transitives, apart from impersonal patientive ones that have no adversatives for the natural reason to be mentioned later (ii).

The syntactico-semantic relation between (adversative) |+yi<sub>1</sub>-| and (anti-passive) |+yi<sub>2</sub>-| verbs needs to be considered. As seen above, the former is not selective of the type of stems, occurring with either mono-, bi- or trivalent stems, while the latter is only concerned with patientive stems (which are distinct from agentive ones in the detransitivizing pattern; § 34.2): Apart from reflexive-reciprocal intransitives, patientive verbs with transitive inflection are detransitivized either by way of medialization (P∞A) or by way of agent deletion, i.e. passivization (A→Ø). This is what leads to the ambivalence of the intransitive (b) in the following example, which is repeated from (§ 34(3a, b) with the patientive |navy-| ‘to break’:

- (217) a. *Angute-m<sub>A</sub> sass’aq<sub>p</sub> navg-aa.*  
 man-REL.sg. watch.ABS.sg. break-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man broke the watch.’ Pabs Arel
- b. *Sass’aq<sub>s</sub> naveg-tuq.*  
 watch.ABS.sg. break-IND.3sg.  
 i ‘The watch broke.’ (much common) S(P∞A)abs  
 ii. ‘The watch was broken.’ Sabs AØ

The agent (‘man’) is never expressed in the intransitive construction (b). It is precisely this double pattern of detransitivization of patientive stems that is responsible for the antipassive vs. adversative verbs characterized by |+yi-|, as in the following example, repeated from § 34(3c):

- (218) *Angun<sub>S</sub> sass 'a-mek<sub>(P)</sub> navg-i-*uq*.*  
 man.ABS.sg. watch-ABM.sg. break-E-IND.3sg.  
 i. 'The man broke *a watch*.' – antipassive (P)abm S(E∞A)abs  
 ii. 'The man had *a watch* broken.' – adversative (rare) (P)abm Eabs A∅
- cf. *Angute-m<sub>A</sub> arnaq<sub>E</sub> sass 'a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 man-REL.sg. woman.ABS.sg. watch-ABM.sg.  
*navg-i-a.* (P)abm Eabs Arel  
 break-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'The man broke a watch *on* the woman.'

It is clear that (i) has the contrast between A and E semantically “nullified” by way of medialization (A∞E) and that the adversative reading (ii) is due to agent deletion (passivization; A→∅). In the former, the adversative relation is lost. The ablative-modalis *sass 'a-mek* is a regular demotion following the hierarchy P > E > A (§ 30.3.1).

Two readings of an adversative and an antipassive for intransitively inflected E verbs are further illustrated in (219) with the patientive stem |*tiyu-*| ‘to take by hands/arms, catch’, which, with no E addition, may occur either with transitive or intransitive inflection (204):

- (219) a. *Tegu-i-gukut yug-mek.*  
 take-E-IND.1pl. person-ABM.sg.  
 i. 'We (village) lost, were deprived of a person (relative or stranger).'  
 – adversative  
 ii. 'We took a person.' – antipassive (less common); see (204).
- b. *Agayun/taangaq tegu-i-guq*  
 God/liquor.ABS.sg. take-APS-IND.3sg.  
 'God/liquor took (s.o.)' – antipassive
- cf. *tegu-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.) 'he took it' vs.  
*tegu-uq* (IND.3sg.) 'he was caught' (with A deletion).

The antipassive |+*yi*<sub>2</sub>-| is highly productive and occurs with the great majority of patientive stems (including complex transitives). By contrast, use of the adversative |+*yi*<sub>1</sub>-| varies widely among speakers, generations, and (possibly) dialect areas, as well as depending on the verb stems concerned and according to whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. It thus comes as no surprise if at least some (or many) of the adversative verbs cited below should be unheard of, taken as strange, or (almost or totally) unacceptable, by many speakers especially younger speakers. It happens, however, that even these speakers may use some lexicalized remnants. For all this, the general pattern illustrated above is uniform.

To sum, medialization of P and A for i) patientive monotransitive verbs is obviously parallel to that of E<sub>ADV</sub> and A (with demoted P) for ii) adversative trivalent verbs, the former being responsible for (medial) intransitives and the latter for antipassives, while deletion of A may also occur, responsible for passives (thus “medio-passives”) with the former and intransitive adversatives, as is summarized by:

(220)		<i>medialization</i>	<i>A deletion</i>
	patientive monotransitives with P A	medial	passive
	adversative trivalents with (P) E <sub>ADV</sub> A	antipassive	intransitive adversative

ii) *No antipassives for impersonal stems*: It should be easy to see now why impersonal patientive bivalent stems cannot have antipassive verbs (as mentioned). The verb *ciku-i-gua* with the impersonal patientive |*ciku-*| ‘(A<sub>IMP</sub>) to freeze (P)’ only has the adversative meaning ‘(s.t.) froze on me’ (like [212b], where P is demoted and E is promoted as the intransitive subject), but not the antipassive \*‘I froze (s.t.)’. This is not surprising, given that intransitively inflected impersonal patientives cannot have medialization (nullification) between something impersonal (e.g. agent like coldness or freezing process) and a P argument (either thing or person), but only have passivization (with A deletion, i.e. A<sub>IMP</sub> deletion), i.e. ‘I am (being) frozen’.

iii) *Background of the adversative construction*: Suffixal antipassive derivation is apparently one of the most important features of Eskimo languages, either Western or Eastern, and the term “half-transitive” itself was first invented for Greenlandic, where many bivalent stems are patientive like in CAY. By contrast, the adversative construction as described above in CAY is hardly known of or has hardly been documented in most of the other Eskimo languages, at least except in CSY and a few Eastern Eskimo dialects, as mentioned in § 39.5.3.

Even though the productivity of adversative verbs seems to have been lost in many or all Eskimo languages perhaps except CAY, it is argued here that the apparently Pan-Eskimo status of antipassive verbs are properly to be grasped only against the background of adversative verbs. If we are right in regarding the antipassive verbs as a subtype of the adversative verb system, it seems more reasonable to assume that some adversative construction, as described above for CAY, was a historical base on which the Eskimo antipassive verbs were rooted, rather than that the construction was a secondary development or innovation in CAY from the antipassive.

## 5.3. A brief comparative note

i) Central Siberian Yupik (at St. Lawrence Island) has been confirmed to have a relic of adversative verbs at least in:<sup>7</sup>

- (221) [CSY] *ifli-i-gamken* *savig-meng*  
 lose-E<sub>ADV</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg. knife-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I lost your (sg.) knife, i.e., I lost a knife on you’  
 – from my fieldwork in 1980 at Gambell [Abraham Kaningok, born  
 circa 1911]  
 cf. [GCAY] *tamar-i-amken cavig-mek* – |*tamay-*| ‘to lose’; § 34(24c).

Note in the above that CSY exactly corresponds to GCAY with cognates, except for the CSY stem |*ifla-*| ‘to lose’:<sup>8</sup> In CSY the antipassive use of the same marker *-i-* (Jacobson 2008) is very productive, as it is not only in CAY, but also in other Eskimo languages.

ii) *Eastern Eskimo* According to M. Fortescue (p.c.), Iñupiaq, an Eastern Eskimo dialect in North Alaska, has a ‘semi’-productive adversative verb system, while Greenlandic, another Eastern dialect, retains just some traces of the system. As a matter of fact, Greenlandic has a vestige of a suffix cognate to CAY |*+yi*| in a number of lexicalized transitives that are adversative or benefactive and that morphologically and functionally correspond to CAY adversative verbs.

Bergsland (1955: 108–109) remarks that the Greenlandic suffix *-Si-/si-/i-*, (S for retracted sibilant, Kleinschmidt’s *ss*) which “medializes” a transitive verb, may also, conversely, “transitivize” an intransitive verb, thereby giving it the implication of ‘(unwillingly) get it to – for himself’. The latter function obviously corresponds to GCAY transitive adversative verbs, and the relatedness of the marker seems to be clear enough.

Although restricted in verb stem types, unlike in GCAY, Schultz-Lorentzen (1927) actually gives several transitive verbs apparently with adversative implication of the type derived from monovalent verbs, cited here with corresponding GCAY verbs: *tingi-ssi-vara* ‘it flew away from me’ (GCAY *teng-i-aqa*, cf. [196]), *kivi-ssi-vaa* ‘he has had it sunk (against his will)’ (GCAY *kic-i-a*, cf.

7. Concerning the Chaplinky dialect (Russian side) of CSY, N. B. Vakhtin (p.c.), noticing its occurrence in CAY in a preliminary version of Miyaoka (1996), informed me that nothing of the same sort could be found.

8. *ifla-i-* > *ifli-i-*, with regular vowel adjustment in GSY – cf. antipassive *ifli-i-gug* ‘he loses (something) and *ifla-amken* ‘I lost you (sg.)’, corresponding GCAY *tamar-i-uq* and *tamar-amken*.



[191]), *anna-i-vaat* ‘he escaped from them’ (GCAY *anag-i-at*, with *|anay-|* ‘to escape’).

Schultz-Lorentzen also gives at least a few transitive benefactive verbs derived from bivalent verbs, although the late Knut Bergsland (p.c.) pointed out that they are not found in other older sources (like Otho Fabricius, Samuel Kleinschmidt, and Jonathan Petersen): (with benefactive implications as well) *kui-ssi-vaa* ‘he pours out for him’ (but GCAY *kuv-i-a* ‘he spills [something] on him’; cf. [215]), *pilag-si-vaa* ‘he cuts off a piece for him’ (but GCAY *pilag-i-a* ‘he cuts up [something] on him; cf. *|pilay-|* ‘to cut into, slit’). The intransitively inflected forms of these are, as is expected, antipassive: *kui-ssi-voq* ‘he pours something out’ (GCAY *kuv-i-uoq*), *pilag-si-voq* ‘he cuts off a piece’ (GCAY *pilag-i-uoq*). Bergsland (1997a: 346) gives a Greenlandic transitive adversative verb from a monovlant verb, *arna(a-n)i tuqu-ši-va-a* ‘he lost his (3R) mother by death’, cf. *arna-a tuqu-vuq* ‘his mother died’; see GCAY (192). It is not known whether Greenlandic has ever had the other types of adversative/benefactive verbs, namely intransitives from bivalent verbs like GCAY *allg-i-unga* (206b), and *ciku-i-gut* (212). See Miyaoka (1984b: 214–17, 1996: 343) also.

In a recent work on North Alaska Iñupiaq (Upper Kobuk) agentive and patientive verbs, T. Nagai (2006: 162–164; cf. also 129–135) noted that, the two adversative postbases *+sî-* and *:î-* [sic] in the dialect, though ‘very unproductive’ ‘and ‘found only with a dozen or so verb bases’), are one and the same as two of the four ‘half-transitive’ postbases, giving two (transitive) adversative clauses, one with intransitive *qia-* ‘to cry’ (for ‘people were adversely affected by Tulugaq’s crying’) and the other transitive *tiglik-* ‘to steal’ (for ‘the man stole a pen from the woman’).

## 6. Antipassives (suffix-derived)

As stated (§ 34.1.1), agentive bivalent verbs are intrinsically antipassive, that is, their zero-derived intransitives themselves are antipassive. By contrast, patientive bivalents (except for impersonal patientive) require derived antipassives with one of the three antipassivizers in order to be agentivized. It is these suffix-derived antipassives from (non-impersonal) patientive verbs that have been commonly called “half-transitive” (§ 4.1.4.1-vi). CAY antipassivizers include VVsm *|+yî₂-* (§ 39.6.1), *|-kiñi-* (§ 39.6.2), and *|+(u)c-* (§ 39.4.4), the last two of which are lexically very much restricted.

Although *|+(u)c-* is primarily applicative with a wide range of roles, including a beneficiary experiencer (§ 39.4.1), its intransitive form by itself (e.g. *-t-uoq* IND.3sg.) may also serve as an antipassive for a rather limited number of stems instead of or alongside *|+yî₂-* or *|-kiñi-* antipassives. The use of its intransitive form as an antipassivizer strongly suggests the same pattern of argument reduc-

tion involving the medialization of E<sub>APL</sub> and A arguments that lead to the antipassive |+y<sub>i2</sub>-|.

As stated, the antipassive construction seems to be very common in all Eskimo languages and dialects, both Western and Eastern.

### 6.1. |+y<sub>i2</sub>-| (cf. P15iii)

This is the most common “agentivizer” or antipassivizer of patientive stems. The function of the suffix clearly lies in changing an intransitive form with patientive stem into agentive (S=A), as seen in § 34.2.2. It would be somewhat misleading, however, to take “agentivization” or antipassivization as the primary function of the suffix. The suffix in relation to antipassive constructions could better be discussed in direct connection with VV<sub>sm</sub> |+y<sub>i1</sub>-|, as done in § 39.5.2, which means that agentivization is little more than a secondary function of the suffix and that antipassive verbs are a specialized subtype of adversative experiencer verbs.

Derived antipassive stems with |+y<sub>i2</sub>-| are exactly the same as (190) adversative stems.

Antipassive verbs with this suffix (though largely depending upon the semantic features) may still have the implication of accidentality/unintentionality (easily leading to adversativity). Concerning the following:

- (222) *Angun*<sub>S(=A)</sub> *kuvyami-nek*<sub>(P)</sub> *allg-i-uq*.  
 man.ABS.sg. net-ABM.3Rsg.sg. tear-APS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man is tearing / has torn his (own) net.’ – cf. (206b.ii)  
 cf. *angute-m*<sub>A</sub> *kuvya-ni*<sub>P</sub> *allg-aa*  
 man-REL.sg. net-ABS.3Rsg.sg. tear-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘the man is tearing his (own) net’ – patientive bivalent |at<sub>ŷ</sub>-| ‘to tear’.

which one consultant translated as ‘he *accidentally/unintentionally* “experiences” the tearing of his net’ [PA], implying that antipassive verbs are, assumedly, taken to involve E (experiencer) argument as a subsystem of adversative verbs and that ‘the man’ may still be seen as an adversative experiencer, although the implication is not always the case, particularly as in the second examples below:

- (223) *Tamar-i-unga* *nuteg-mek*.  
 lose-APS-IND.1sg. gun-ABM.sg. – |tama<sub>ŷ</sub>-| ‘to lose’  
 ‘I lost a gun.’  
 cf. *tamar-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) *nutek* (ABS.sg.) ‘I lost *the* gun’ vs.  
*tamar-tuq* (IND.3sg.) *nutek* (ABS.sg.) ‘the gun is lost’.

- (224) *Arnaq* *assik-i-uq* ~ *assike-k'ng-uq* *mikelngur-nek.*  
 woman.ABS.sg. like-APS-IND.3sg. child-ABM.pl.  
 ‘The woman likes children.’  
 – |*asiki-*| ‘to like’; see § 39.6.2 for *-k'ng-* from |*-|kɪŋi-*|, one of the two other antipassivizers  
 cf. *arna-m* (REL.sg.) *assik-ai* (IND.3sg.3pl.) *mikelngu-u-t* (ABS.pl.)  
 ‘the woman likes *the* children’.

The *-gi-* form shows up only after stem-final two vowels:

- (225) *ekua-gi-uq* *kalika-nek*  
 burn-APS-IND.3sg. paper-ABM.pl.  
 ‘he is burning papers’ – |*ikua-*| ‘to burn’, *ekua-gaa* ‘he is burning it’,  
*ekua-guq* ‘it is burning’.

Derived patientive bivalent stems with intransitive inflection, i.e. antipassive construction, are further illustrated:

- |*tuquc-*| ‘to kill’ – from monovalent |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’ with A-adder VVsm |*+c-*|:
- (226) *Angun* *tuquc-i-uq* *qimugte-mek.*  
 man.ABS.sg. kill-APS-IND.3sg. dog-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The man killed *a* dog.’  
 cf. *angute-m* (REL.sg.) *tuqut-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) *qimugta* (ABS.sg.)  
 ‘the man killed *the* dog’ vs.  
*tuqute-llru-uq* (PST-IND.3sg.) *ak'a* (already) *qimugta* (ABS.sg.)  
 ‘the dog was already killed’.
- |*anuc-*| ‘to take out’ – from |*ani-*| ‘to go out’ with E<sub>APL</sub> adder VVsm |*+(u)c-*|:
- (227) *Anuc-i-uq* *neq-mek.*  
 take.out-APS-IND.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She took fish out (with her).’
- |*kamaki-*| ‘to suspect’ – from the a-valent root |*kama-*| ‘suspicion’ with VV |*-|k\*i-*| (§ 37.2.1):
- (228) *Kamak-i-uq* *nulia-minek.*  
 suspect-APS-IND.3sg. wife-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He suspects his (own) wife.’  
 cf. *kamak-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) *nulia-ni* (ABS.3Rsg.sg.)  
 ‘he suspects his (own) wife’

– note the person change into reflexive third triggered by the valency modification (§ 22.2).

Antipassive verbs from various derived stems are added:

- (229) *nau-cir-i-ug* ‘he is waiting (for s.t.) to grow (*nau-*)’  
 – |+ciỵ-| ‘let, wait – to’ (§ 39.1.3)  
*tupag-q-i-ug* ‘he wakes (s.o.) up’  
 – |tupaỵ-ỵqi-| ‘to cause to wake up (intentionally or not)’  
*ami-ir-i-ug* ‘he is skinning (s.t.)’ – |amiỵ+ñiỵ-| ‘to remove skin’  
*ug-ir-i-ug* ~ *uqu-lir-i-ug* ‘he refills oil (e.g. in car)’  
 – |uquỵ-liỵ-| ‘to supply oil’.

In striking contrast with the two other antipassivizers |+*(u)c-*| (§ 39.4.4) and |-*kiñi-*| (§ 39.6.2):

i) |+*y<sub>2</sub>-*| can occur after a complex transitive (i.e. except one with reportative |+*ni-*|, which is agentive; § 40):

- (230) *tegleg-yuk-i-ug* ‘he thinks (s.o.) stole (s.t.)’  
*tekit-nercir-i-ug* ‘he is waiting for (s.o.) to arrive’  
*tai-vkar-i-lar-tut* ‘they would invite (another village)’ (come-make-CUS) – lexicalized.

- (231) *Inar-c-ec-i-ug* *mikelngur-mek*.  
 lie-A-A'.let-APS-IND.3sg. child-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She made a child lie down.’ – with stem |*inañ-c-*| from a-valent root |*inañ-*| expanded by A adder |+*c-*|.

A simplex verb preceding the complex verb may also contain the adversative |+*y<sub>1</sub>-*|, hence showing two -(*g*)*i-* with two ablative-modalis demotions:

- (232) *Angun*<sub>S=A'</sub> *an'-i-vkar-i-ug* *pissurte-mek*<sub>(E)</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg. go.out-E<sub>ADV</sub>-A'.let-APS-IND.3sg. hunter-ABM.sg.  
*kaviar-mek*<sub>(P=S)</sub>.  
 fox-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The man let a fox out *on* a hunter.’

ii) The antipassive |+*y<sub>2</sub>-*| can occur twice, i.e. within a simplex verb and within a complex transitive, again showing two -(*g*)*i-*, but with one ablative-modalis and one allative demotion:

- (233) *auluk-i-sq-i-unga*  
 take.care-APS-A'.ask-APS-IND.1sg. – cf. § 40(46)  
 ‘I asked (s.o: ALL) to take care of (s.o: ABM)’  
 cf. *auluk-i-sq-aqa*  
 take.care-APS-A'.ask-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I asked him (ABS) to take care of (s.o: ABM)’  
*auluke-sq-aqa*  
 ‘I asked (s.o: ALL) to take care of him (ABS)’.

iii) The antipassive  $|-y_i2-|$  can occur twice within a simplex verb, when an antipassivized stem is followed by valency increase into a bivalent one, which again is antipassivized. In the following example, the antipassive *aqva-i-* expanded by  $E_{APL} |+(u)c-|$  and is again antipassivized:

- (234) *aqva-i-c-i-ug*  
 fetch-APS- $E_{APL}$ -APS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is getting s.t. for s.o.’  
 – with valency increase by  $-c-$  from  $E_{APL} |+(u)c-|$   
 cf. *aqva-i-t-aanga* ‘he is getting s.t. for me’.

iv) Antipassivization is basically required in deverbalization (relativization and nominalization) of patientive verbs, some of which select one of the other antipassivizers  $|+(u)c-|$  and  $|-kiri-|$ :

- (235) *elitnaur-i-sta* / [Y] *elicar-i-sta* ‘teacher’ –  $|ilicay-|$  ‘to teach’  
*iqair-i-sta* ‘laundry (wo)man’  
 –  $|iqa+niy-|$  (dirt-remove, wash clothing).  
 – see § 17.5.1 for VNrl  $|+st-|$ ; cf. *cali-sta* ‘worker’ from an agentive bivalent stem.
- (236) a. *kitugc-i-yuli* ‘one good at repairing’ –  $|kituyc-|$   
*ipegcar-i-yuli* ‘good sharpener’ –  $|ipy+cay-|$  (sharp-make.er; VVsm)  
 – see § 19.1 for VNrl  $|-_1culi-|$  ‘one good at –ing’  
 cf. *kuima-yuli* ‘one good at swimming’ – from monovalent  
*iga-yuli* ‘one good at writing’ – from agentive bivalent
- b. *naaq-i-yaraq* ‘how to read’ –  $|naaqi-|$   
*kitugc-i-yaraq* ‘how to repair’  
 – see § 18.2.3 for VNnm  $|+_1cayay-|$   
 cf. *igar-yaraq* ‘how to write’ – from agentive bivalent stems  
*yurar-yaraq* ‘how to dance’ – *ibid.*
- c. *ini-i-ssuun* ‘clothespin (thing to hang with)’ –  $|ini-|$  ‘to hang’  
*ipegcar-i-ssuun* ‘something to sharpen with, sharpener’

<i>iqair-i-ssuun</i>	‘washtub, washing machine’ –  <i>iqaiy̆-</i>   (above) – see § 17.6.2 for VNrl  +s/ <i>cuut-</i>
cf. <i>iqvar-cuun</i>	‘bucket or any other thing used for berry-picking’ – from agentive bivalent
<i>igar-cuun</i>	‘something to write with’.

- (237) [*Aya-a-sq-i-llr-a* *yug-nek*<sub>(p=s)</sub><sub>s</sub>  
 leave-EV-A'.ask-APS-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. person-ABM.pl.  
*canganarq-uq.*  
 objectionable-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His telling people to leave is considered awkward, (emotionally) objectionable.’

6.2. |<sub>-1</sub>*kiŋi-*|

As another antipassivizer E<sub>APS</sub>, this occurs after a very limited number of primary stems in place of the preceding |+*y*<sub>2</sub>-|. After an expanded stem with applicative |+*(u)c-*|, however, it occurs most productively. This suffix does not occur with transitive inflection – e.g. *ciki-qeng-uq* ‘he gives (s.t.)’ but \**ciki-qeng-aa*.

Possibly this may originate from the relativizer VNrl |<sub>-1</sub>*ki-*| followed by NV |*-ŋi-*| ‘to get’.

My corpus contains the following:

- (238) a. *tenglu-keng-uq* ‘he happens to punch (s.o./s.t.) with his fist’ –  
 |*tiŋluy-*| ‘to punch’  
*nut-keng-uq* ‘he shoots (e.g. a bird)’ – |*nuty-*| ‘to shoot’  
 b. *ciki-qeng-uq* ‘he gave (s.t.)’  
 – ditransitive |*cikiy̆-*| ‘supply; give’; see (239)  
*kitu-qeng-uq* ‘he passed (s.o./s.t.)’ – |*kituy̆-*| ‘to pass (by)’  
*pissu-qeng-uq* ‘he got (what he hunted for)’  
 – |*pisuy̆-*| ‘to hunt’  
*ikayu-qng-uq* ‘he is helping (s.o.)’ – |*ikayŭ-*| ‘to help’  
 – front velar assimilation by (P3ii)  
 c. *akngir-keng-uq* ‘he hurts (s.o.)’ – |*akŋiy̆c-*| ‘to hurt’  
*pair-keng-uq* ‘he comes across (s.o.)’ – |*paiy̆c-*| ‘to meet, encounter’  
 – velar assimilation blocked by stem-final /c/  
 d. *qacus-keng-uq* ‘he refuses (s.o.)’ – root derived |*qacu-c-*|  
 – final apical /s/ from /c/ by (P5i.b)  
 e. *ag-keng-ut (arna-mek)* ‘they gang-raped (a woman)’ – |*ayi-*| ‘to go over’ (*ag-aa, ag-luku*)  
*ag-keng-yaraq* ‘gang rape’ [MKTB 36].

- (239) a. *Ciki-qeng-ua*            *irnia-mnun*<sub>(R)</sub>            [*qimugt-e-mek*  
 give-APS-IND.1sg. son-ALL.1sg.sg. dog-EV-ABM.sg.  
*tungu-lria-mek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 black-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I gave a black dog away to my child.’
- b. *Elriq*<sub>S</sub>=*gguq*            *ciki-qeng-yara-u-guq*  
 e.ABS.sg.=RPT            give-APS-VNnm-be-IND.3sg.  
 [*tuqu-llr-e-m<sub>G</sub>*            *atr-anun*].  
 die-VNrl-EV-REL.sg. name-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘*Elriq* (memorial feast) is the time/custom of giving to the namesake  
 of the dead one.’ [CAUY 105]  
 – see § 11-fn.5 also.

The ‘indefinite object’ (‘s.o./s.t.’) occurs as a demoted P in the ablative-modalis case, typically with the connotation of accidentality (‘happen to’):

- (240) *pupsu-keng-uq*            *ulluva-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 pinch-APS-IND.3sg. cheek-ABM.1sg.sg. – |*pupsuy*-| ‘to pinch’  
 ‘He pinched (tried to pinch somewhere and happened to catch) my  
 cheek.’
- (241) *Nall’ar-keng-uq*            [*tengmia-t*            *ili-itnek*]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 meet-APS-IND.3sg. goose-REL.pl. part-ABM.3pl.sg.  
 ‘He hit (happened to meet) one of the geese.’ – |*nàłajc*-| ‘to meet’.
- (242) *Curuka-qeng-lar-tut*            *yug-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 attack-APS-CUS-IND.3pl. person-ABM.pl.  
 ‘They (bears) attack people.’ [YQYL 142]  
 – |*cuḃukay*-| ‘to (go/come over to) attack’.
- (243) *qacus-keng-yuumiil-ami*            *anngar-minek*.  
 refuse-APS-no.desire-CNNbc.3Rsg.            brother-ABM.3Rsg.pl.  
 ‘because she did not want to refuse/discourage her brothers’.  
 [FASM 77]

Although many |+(u)c-| applicative verbs take the VVsm |+y<sub>2</sub>-| for antipassive forms – apart from a limited number of intransitive forms without any further extensions, as mentioned immediately above – the |<sub>-1</sub>*kiḃi*-| often occurs after |+(u)c-|:

- (244) a. *neq’-li-s-keng-uq*            ‘she is making food for (s.o.)’ ≡ *neq’-li-c-i-uq*

- b. *neq'-liq-us-keng-uq*  
 'he catches lots of fish for (s.o.)'  $\cong$  *neq'-liq-uc-i-uq*  
 – with NV  $|-li-|$  vs.  $|-liqi-|$  (§ 38.3).

The  $|-_1kij-i-|$  antipassive has an alternative form with the general antipassivizer  $|+yi_2-|$ . In such cases, the latter seems to be more common among young speakers:

- (245) *tegle-k'ng-uq* ~ *teleg-i-uq* from  $|tiyly-|$  'steal' 'he steals (s.t.)'  
*kenke-k'ng-uq* ~ *kenk-i-uq* from  $|kinki-|$  'love' 'he loves (s.o.)'  
*assike-k'ng-uq* ~ *assik-i-uq* from  $|asiki-|$  'like' 'he likes (s.o./s.t.)'  
*mana-qeng-uq* [*neq-nek amller-nek*] 'he hooked (lots of fish)'  
 ~ *manar-i-uq* from  $|manay-|$  'hook [fish]' 'he hooks (s.t.)'.
- (246) *Arnaq<sub>S</sub>* *assik-i-uq* ~ *assike-k'ng-uq* *mikelngur-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 woman.ABS.sg. like-APS-IND.3sg. child-ABM.pl.  
 'The woman likes children.'
- cf. *Arna-m<sub>A</sub>* *assik-ai* *mikelngu-u-t<sub>P</sub>*  
 woman-RELsg. like-IND.3sg.3pl. child-EV-ABS.pl.  
 'The woman likes *the* children.'

The  $E_{APS}$   $|+(u)c-|$  may also occur alternatively with  $|-_1kij-i-|$ , although it is much less common than  $|+yi_2-|$ , with or without some difference (depending upon speakers):

- (247) a. *nalke-keng-uq* ~ *nalk-ut-uq* (from  $|nalki-|$  'find')  
 'he finds/comes across (s.o./s.t.)'
- b. *kipu(s)-keng-uq*  
 'he is buying something (for s.o.)'  
*kipuy-ut-uq*  
 'he bought something for himself'  
 cf. *kiput-uq* 'he has bought something'.

It is remarkable that the  $|-_1kij-i-|$  occurs productively after the applicative  $|+(u)c-|$  in the form of  $|+(u)s-kij-i-|$  with the final /c/ being fricativized. The  $|+(u)c-|$  derivatives are patientive and its intransitive form (e.g. *-ut-uq*) is generally passive (though a medialized reading in a limited number of stems), thereby requiring an antipassivizing suffix. See § 39.4.3 for detransitivizations of  $|+(u)c-|$ .

The antipassive  $|-_1kij-i-|$  is nominalized in:

- (248) a. *tegu-keng-yaraq* 'arresting' [MKTB 50]  
 cf. *tegu-uq* 'he was caught'



- b. *atur-i-qeng-yaraq* ‘custom of clothing (s.o.)’ [CAUY],  
 with VNnm |+<sub>1</sub>ca $\dot{y}$ a $\dot{y}$ -| ‘way’  
 – from *atur-i-qeng-uq* ‘she clothes (s.o.)’, where *-i-* is not an E<sub>APS</sub>  
 but is from denominal patientive |atu $\dot{y}$ a $\dot{y}$ -  
*li $\dot{y}$ -| (clothing-provide; § 38.3).*

### 6.3. Recursive modifications by E extensions

As stated at the beginning of § 39.4, there are three kinds of mutually related E extending -adding suffixes:

- (249) a. applicative (E<sub>APL</sub>; § 39.4) |+*(u)c-*|  
 b. adversative (E<sub>ADV</sub>; § 39.5) |*- $\dot{y}$ i<sub>1</sub>-*|  
 c. antipassive (E<sub>APS</sub>; § 39.6, § 39.4.3) |*- $\dot{y}$ i<sub>2</sub>-*|, |+*(u)c-*|, |*-ki $\eta$ i-*|.

These E adders, with various roles and functions, may occur recursively, yielding a variety of valency (and semantic) modifications, one after another as in the following, where two or three E adders reoccur, possibly involving complex transitive VVcm A' (another productive valency increase), but not (lexically restricted) VVsm A adder (VVsm):

- (250) a. E<sub>APS</sub>-E<sub>ADV</sub> (197)  
 E<sub>APS</sub>-E<sub>APL</sub> (128)–(131), (184)  
 E<sub>APL</sub>-E<sub>ADV</sub> (203)  
 E<sub>APL</sub>-E<sub>APS</sub> (138b), (154)  
 E<sub>APL</sub>-E<sub>APS</sub> (*-kenge-*) (155), (244)  
 E<sub>APL</sub>-E<sub>APL</sub> (171)–(175)  
 b. A'-E<sub>APS</sub>-E<sub>APL</sub> (131)  
 c. E<sub>ADV</sub>-A'-E<sub>APS</sub> (232)  
 E<sub>APS</sub>-A'-E<sub>APS</sub> (233)  
 d. E<sub>APS</sub>-E<sub>APL</sub>-E<sub>APS</sub> (234)  
 E<sub>APL</sub>-E<sub>APS</sub>-E<sub>APL</sub> (138c).

Examples in this chapter also include sequences of E adders followed by complex transitive A'; e.g. (184) with E<sub>APS</sub>-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.

The antipassive *-gi<sub>2</sub>-* alone of E adders can also follow a complex transitive (§ 39.6.1-ii); e.g. (230) through (233).

## 7. Valency increase and rearrangement:

Valency modification in general is one of the important functions of the transitive relational verb by NVrv  $|_{-1}ki-$  ‘A have P as –’. As described in § 37.2, the suffix supplies a nominal stem (251a) or a root (251b) with two arguments A and P:

- (251) a. *qaya-q-aqa*  
 ‘it is my kayak, lit. I [A] have/own it [P] as a kayak’  
 – nominal stem  $|qaya\dot{y}-|$  ‘kayak’  
 b. *ken-k-aqa*  
 ‘I love her’ – root  $|kin\dot{y}-|$  ‘love’; § 10(34).

Moreover, the suffix adds one argument to adjectival (intransitive) stems, yielding bivalent stems:

- (252) *mikel-k-aqa* ‘it is too small for me, lit. I find it small’  
 – verbal stem  $|mik(\dot{i})t-|$  ‘be small’.

The following pair has a relativizer before the valency modification:

- (253) a. *pi-ut-k-aa* ‘he uses it’  
*pi-un* ‘instrument’ (do-VNrl.means; § 17.6.2)  
 b. *pi-vi-k-aa* ‘he goes to it (fishing site, etc.)’  
*pi-vik* ‘place, space, time’ (do-VNrl.place; § 17.6.1).

- (254) *Caskaq<sub>T</sub>* *elii-nun<sub>(R)</sub>* *umyuaq-ut-k-aqa*.  
 cup.ABS.sg. 3sg.-ALL think-VNrl-have.as-IND.1sg3sg.  
 ‘The cup is something I remember her by, it is my reminder of her.’ –  
 $|umyuaqi-$  ‘to think about’.

- (255) *Yuar-ut-k-aat* ~ *Atu-ut-k-aat* *May’aq<sub>P</sub>*.  
 sing-VNrl-have.as-IND.3pl.3sg. p.n.ABS.sg.  
 ‘They are singing about Mayaq (as in festival dancing), Mayaq is the object of their singing.’<sup>9</sup>

The suffix composites  $|+(u)ti-ki-$  and  $|+_{1}vi-ki-$  in the three examples above come from the relativizers  $|+(u)t-$  ‘means to’ and  $|+_{1}vi\dot{y}-|$  ‘place where’ followed by the transitive relational verb NV  $|_{-1}ki-$  ‘have s.t. as’ – see the suffixes in § 18 and § 17 as well as § 39.7.3. The VNr  $|+(u)t-$  is most probably related

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9. Derogatory or derisive songs are a well-known method of social sanction in many Eskimo groups (known in Greenland as *nith* songs – Norse *nith* ‘contention’).

to the applicative VVsm  $|+(u)c-$ . They are actually applicative suffixes ( $E_{APL}$ ) of P increase/rearrangement, i.e. responsible for valency increase for intransitive and monotransitives and rearrangement for ditransitive stems (§ 39.4.2). The two suffixes are compared in advance by illustrating a few cases with increase to be discussed in the next sections (§ 39.7.1 and § 39.7.2).

Monovalent into bivalent – addition of (a) instrumental-like P and (b) locational or recipient-like P, with S into A:

- (256) a. *quya-tek-aqa* ‘I am thankful/glad of *it*’  
 b. *quya-vik-aqa* ‘I am thankful/glad for *him*’; see (266) below  
 –  $|quya-$  ‘to be thankful, glad’.

Bivalent into trivalent – addition of (a) T and (b) R, with original P demoted into R and T respectively:

- (257) a. *kaiga-tk-aqa*                      *akiq*                      *aana-mnun*  
 ask-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg.    money.ABS.sg.    Mo-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I request money [T] from my mother’ (indirective)  
 b. *kaiga-vik-aqa*                      *aana-ka*                      *ice.cream-mek*  
 ask-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg.    Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.    i.c.-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I am asking my mother [R] for ice cream’ (secundative).

Valency increase and rearrangements are illustrated in each section.

### 7.1. $|+(u)tiki-$

This is a composite suffix with the VNrl  $|+(u)t-$  ‘means to’; see § 17.6.2-iv. In addition to making monovalents to bivalent as just above (*quya-*, *kaiga-*), the suffix is:

i) Responsible for indirective ditransitive stems by adding T argument (to bivalent stems)’. Compare the corresponding secundative with applicative suffix VVsm  $|+(u)t-$ :

- (258) *Qanr-utk-aa*                       $[tuntuq$                        $tange-ll-ni]_T$   
 tell-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.    moose.ABS.sg.    see-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*wang-nun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 1sg.-ALL  
 ‘He told me about the moose he saw.’ – indirective  
 – agentive bivalent  $|qany-$  ‘to speak, utter’ as in *qanr-aa* ‘he said it’  
 and *qaner-tuq* ‘he speaks’

- cf. *Qanr-ut-aanga* [ *tuntu-mek* *tange-ll-minek* ]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 tell-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. moose-ABM.sg. see-VNrl-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He told me [R] about a moose he saw.’ – secundative.
- (259) *Qalar-utk-aat* *kass’a-llgut-ka<sub>T</sub>*.  
 talk-VVsm-IND.3pl.3sg. white.man-associate-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘They are talking about my fellow *kassaq*.’ – |*qalaɣc-*| ‘to talk’  
 cf. *qalar-ut-aat* ‘they are talking to him’.
- ii) responsible for valency rearrangement by promoting T argument of secundative ditransitives and demoting R argument instead, that is, by changing secundatives into indirectives:
- (260) *Elitnaur-utk-aqa* *qaner-yaraq<sub>T</sub>* *angut-mun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 teach-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg. speak-VNnm.ABS.sg. man-ALL.sg.  
 ‘I am teaching the language to a/the man.’  
 cf. *Elitnaur-aqa* *qaner-yara-mek<sub>(T)</sub>* *angun<sub>R</sub>*.  
 teach-IND.1sg.3sg. speak-VNnm-ABM.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I am teaching language to a/the man.’ – [K] |*elit-nauɣ-*| ‘to teach’.
- (261) *Ciki-utek-aqa* [ *qimugta* *tungu-lria* ]<sub>T</sub>  
 give-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg. dog.ABS.sg. black-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*irnia-mnun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 child-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I [A] gave the black dog to my child (it is the black dog I gave away to my child).’  
 – compare this indirective ditransitive verb with the secundative:  
 cf. *Cikir-aqa* [ *tungu-lria-mek* *qimugte-mek* ]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 give-IND.1sg.3sg. black-VNrl-ABM.sg. dog-ABM.sg.  
*irnia-qa<sub>R</sub>*.  
 child-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I [A] gave the black dog to my child.’
- (262) a. *Payug-utk-aa* *arna-m<sub>A</sub>* *akutaq<sub>T</sub>*  
 bring-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg. ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
*angut-mun<sub>R</sub>*  
 man-ALL.sg.  
 ‘The woman is bringing (lit. has it as s.t. to bring to s.o.) the ice cream to the man.’ – indirective  
 cf. *payug-un* ‘food taken over’, with VNrl |+(u)t-| ‘means to’

- b. *Payug-ut-aa* *angun<sub>E</sub>* *akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 bring.food-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. man.ABS.sg. ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
*irnia-minun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 child-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘She brought ice cream to the child *for* the man.’ – applicative
- c. *Payugt-aa* *arna-m<sub>A</sub>* *angun<sub>R</sub>*  
 bring-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
*akuta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The woman is bringing some ice cream to the man.’ – secundative.
- (263) a. *Apy-utk-aqa* [*angute-m* *nuliar-a*]<sub>T</sub>  
 ask-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg. man-REL.sg. wife-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*irniar-amun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 child-ALL.3sg.sg.  
 ‘I asked about the man’s wife to her son.’ – |*apic-*| ‘to ask’  
 cf. *apt-aanga* (ask-IND.3sg.1sg.) *ate-mnek<sub>(T)</sub>* (name-ABM.1sg.sg.)  
 ‘he asks me about my name’
- b. [*Aata-ma<sub>G</sub>* *aya-llru-ci-a*]<sub>T</sub>  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. leave-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*apy-uteke-llru-a*  
 ask-VVsm-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She asked s.o. whether my father left.’  
 cf. [*Aata-ka* *aya-llru-ci-anek*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. leave-PST-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*apte-llru-anga*  
 ask-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘She asked me [R] whether my father left.’

See also § 39.7.1 for |*utiki-*| which rearranges the valency to its opposite.

iii) The suffix disambiguates the mixed type of ditransitive verbs into indirective by explicitly promoting the T argument and demoting the R:

- (264) *Kuv-utek-aa* *emeq<sub>T</sub>* *ellmi-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 spill-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg. water.ABS.sg. 3Rsg.-ALL  
*maqi-vig-mi*  
 bathe-place-LOC.sg.  
 ‘He pours water on himself in the fire-bath.’  
 cf. *kuv’-aa* which is ambivalent, meaning either:  
 i. ‘he pours (s.t.) on her’ – secundative  
 ii. ‘he pours it (on s.o.)’ – indirective.

iv) The composite suffix |+*utiki*-| also may be an equalitive marker ‘to be of the same degree’ after VVsm |+*ta*-| ‘to that degree’ – see § 45.1.

## 7.2. |+*viki*-|

This is a composite suffix with VNr |+*viy*-| ‘place where’ followed by the transitive relational verb NVrv – see § 17.6.1.

i) It makes monovalent stems bivalent, with the meaning ‘it is the place for –ing’:

(265) *kiu-vik-aanga* ‘I [R] am the one she [A] answers’  
 answer-VVsm-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 – with more focus on R (‘I’) than *kiu-gaanga* ‘she answers me (about s.t.)’ from secundative |+*kiu*-| ‘to answer’.

(266) *Quya-vik-aqa* *cikiuti-inek.*  
 thank-VVsm-IND.1sg.3sg. gift-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘I am thankful to him for his gift’  
 – *quya-a* may be used instead by some speakers.

(267) a. *Nuk’a-m<sub>A</sub>* *nanvaq<sub>P</sub>* *kuimar-vik-aa.*  
 p.n.-REL.sg. lake.ABS.sg. swim-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The lake is Nuk’aq’s wimming place.’ [DW]  
 b. *Nuk’a-m<sub>G</sub>* *nanvaq* *kuimar-vik-llr-a*  
 p.n.-REL.sg. lake.ABS.sg. swim-VVsm-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘the lake where Nuk’aq swam’ [DW] – relativization  
 cf. *Nuk’aq* *nanva-mek* *kuimar-vi-ngger-tuq.*  
 p.n.-REL.sg. lake-ABM.sg. swim-VNrl-have-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Nuk’aq has a lake to swim in.’ – rather than *kuimar-vik-i-iuq.*

(268) *Kaiga-vik-aanga* [*emer-mek* *ciki-sqe-lluni*].  
 ask.for-VVsm-IND.3sg.1sg. water-ABM.sg. give-A'.ask-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He asked me to ask to give water (to s.o).’  
 – cf. *kaiga-tk-aa* ‘he requested it’  
*kaiga-uq emer-mek arna-mun* ‘he asks the woman for water’.

(269) *alair-vik’-lar-ai* ‘he (always) appears to them’ [New Testament]  
 appear-VVsm-CUS-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 – |+*alaiy*-| ‘to appear, come into view’.

ii) It produces secundative stems when added to bivalent stems:

- (270) *Tutgara-ni<sub>R</sub>*                      *pi-yug-vik-luku*                      *ca-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*.  
 GrCh-ABS.3Rsg.sg. thing-DES-VVsm-APP.3sg.      some-ABM.sg.  
 ‘(He) asking his own grandchild for s.t.; asking for s.t. through his  
 own grandchild.’ [CAUY 27]  
 – cf. *pi-yug-aa* ‘he wants it’. See also *elli-vik-luku* ‘putting s.t. on  
 him’ in (42).

iii) The suffix disambiguates the mixed type of ditransitive verbs into secundative by explicitly promoting the R and demoting the T argument – cf. § 39.7.1 for the opposite.

- (271) a. *Kuve-vik-aa*                      *May’aq*                      *emer-mek*  
 spill-VVsm-IND.3sg.3sg. p.n.ABS.sg. water-ABM.sg.  
*maqi-vig-mi*.  
 bathe-place-LOC.sg.  
 ‘He pours water on Mayaq himself in the fire-bath.’  
 b. *Kuve-vik-uq*                      *ellmi-nek*                      *emer-mek*.  
 spill-VVsm-IND.3sg. 3Rsg.-ABM                      water-ABM.sg.  
 ‘He pours water on himself.’  
 – see § 39.7.1 for ambivalent *kuv-aa*.

iv) The suffix may be detransitivized, as is the case with (271b):

- (272) *nuug-a*                      *tugkar-mek*                      *kapus-vik-uma-uq*  
 tip-ABS.3sg.sg. tusk-ABM.sg. poke-VVsm-STT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it (e.g. paddle) had a walrus tusk poked at its end’, cf. [QQLK 612]

### 7.3. Valency rearrangement derived from suffix composite

As stated (§ 39.7), the two VVsm suffixes for valency increase and rearrangement, i.e.  $|+(u)тики-|$  (T adding, secundative into indirective; § 39.7.1) and  $|+viki-|$  (R adding, indirective into secundative; § 39.7.2), are composed of the relativizing  $|+(u)t-|$  (means; § 17.6.2) and  $|+_1viγ-|$  followed by the transitive relational verb  $|-ki-|$  (§ 37.2). This will be clearly shown by analyzing a detransitivized causative complex verb construction (§ 40.2.1), e.g. with  $|+(u)тики-|$ . The following example to be analyzed here, which has the secundative ditransitive stem  $|cikiγ-|$  ‘to give’, is a repetition of § 40(34), and the ditransitive stem is rearranged into indirective by means of VVsm *-uteke-*:

- (273) *Ciki-uteke-vkar-tuq* *yug-nun*<sub>(R)</sub>.  
 give-VVsm-VVcm.A'.make-IND.3sg. person-ALL.pl.  
 'He lets himself be given away to the people.' [PA].

– where, as a rearranged indirective ditransitive verb, the R argument NP ('people') is demoted to the allative case, cf. § 35.1.2 – see also § 35.2.1.3 for reflexivization. Case alignment for an indirective verb is: T abs *R all* A rel, cf. § 30(12'b).

This detransitivized ditransitive verb can be reanalyzed as the original construction with VNrl plus VNrv:

- (273)' *Ciki-ute-ke-vkar-tuq* *yug-nun*<sub>(A')</sub>.  
 give-VNrl.means-VNrv.have.as-A'.make-IND.3sg. person-ALL.pl.  
 'He lets himself be given away to the people, *lit.* he lets himself be had as a gift by the people.'

This may be taken as a detransitivized construction of a causative ditransitive verb with the bivalent *ciki-ute-ke-* 'A to have P as a gift (means to give)', with extension of A' ('he') triggering the bivalent A ('person') to be demoted to the allative case as if 'P [he] to be had as a gift by A [people]'. Hence the natural difference in case alignment of *yug-nun* between (273) and (273)'.

This suggests the two functions of the allative case have derived from the same source, i.e. demoted R of indirective ditransitive verbs (273) and demoted A (bivalent embedded) in complex transitive verbs (273)', respectively corresponding to two demotions of (ii) and (i) in § 26.2.



## Chapter 40

### Complex transitives (VVcm)

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### Complex transitives (VVcm)

Morphologically, a CAY complex transitive verb is a single verb (a primary or derived stem with or without valency modification(s) by VVsm; § 39) extended by one (or more) valency-increasing complex transitive suffix VVcm and completed by inflection. This means that the simplex verb (stem) is embedded into an upper-layer verb with its own agent (A') expressed by a VVcm suffix (§ 39) – a) causative, b) directive, c) speculative, d) reportative, e) ignorative, f) expectant (Table 26; § 30.1.2). A complex verb may be intransitive, with different types of detransitivization.

A modified simplex verb verb stem contains one (or more) VVsm suffix, which is followed by a complex transitive VVcm, while a complex transitive VVcm is followed rarely (if ever) by a VVsm suffix except for the antipassive |+y<sub>i2</sub>-| (needed to detransitivize the complex verb; § 39.6.1). A complex verb may also increase the valency of a verb if it is followed by another complex verb VVcm with its own “upper-clause agent”, yielding multi-layered (three or more) construction (hence “complex” instead of “double” transitive; see § 4-fn.3 for the terminology).

Just like a simplex verb, a complex transitive verb may be subject to verbal elaboration (by VV suffixes; § 41–§ 45) and nominalization (relative clause by VNrl and nominal clause by VNnm; § 17–§ 18).

Complex transitive suffixes belong to the most freely productive type of CAY derivational suffixes, without lexical restrictions or idiosyncracies. As such, these are much easier to get a hold of than those simplex verb suffixes (VVcm) of the preceding chapter which are buried among lots of less productive patterns.

i) There are six kinds of complex transitives as listed below. They are repeated from Table 26 below: (1a) has positional suppletive forms (as one of the very few instances in CAY – § 4.3-iii). Except for (d) and (f), they have one or more secondary or composite suffixes, accompanied generally by some TAM qualification, as is shown by the composing suffixes on the right (<).

- |     |    |             |                                    |   |
|-----|----|-------------|------------------------------------|---|
| (1) | a. | causative   | -vkaŷ-  ~ (postconsonantal)  +cic- | A' = causer   |
|     |    |             | +citaay-                           | A' = one who tries to cause <  +cic+aaŷ-                            |
|     | b. | directive   | +sqi-                              | A' = one who asks/tells someone to do something                     |
|     |    |             | +squma-                            | A' = one who is wishing/wishes <                                    |
|     |    |             | +sqi+(u)ma-                        |   |
|     | c. | speculative | + <sub>1</sub> cuki-               | A' = one who thinks / presumes that                                 |
|     |    |             | +nazuki-                           | A' = one who expects/thinks that – might <  +na+ <sub>1</sub> cuki- |
|     | d. | reportative | +ni-                               | A' = one who says/reports that                                      |
|     | e. | ignorative  | +(u)ciit-                          | A' = one who does not know if/that <  + (u)ciŷ+ŋit-                 |
|     |    |             | +(u)ciŷkait-                       | A' = one who does not know if/that (will) <  + (u)ciŷ+kaŷ+ŋit-      |
|     |    |             | +(u)ciiŷuc-                        | A' = one who no longer knows, get confused <  + (u)ciŷ+ŋiŷuc-       |
|     | f. | expectant   | -niŷciŷ-                           | A' = one who waits <  -niŷ+ciŷ-  (?).                               |

Of the six kinds, complex transitives with (d) |+ni-| (A'.say) are agentive (hence zero-derived antipassivization), while all the other are patientive, thus

requiring  $|+yi_2-|$  for antipassives as is exactly the case with simplex verbs; § 40.1-ii.

A complex transitive verb, with one upper-layer verb with A', may be (a) bi-valent with a monovalent simplex verb, (b) trivalent with a bivalent simplex verb, or (c) quadrivalent with a trivalent simplex verb, and so on. The following illustration is made with the causative (1a)  $|-vka\dot{y}-| \sim |+cic-|$ :

- (2) a.  $|ani-vka\dot{y}-|$      *ane-vkar-*     ‘A' to let/have S go out’ (rearranged as A and P)  
            $|ayag+cic-|$      *ayag-cet-*     ‘A' to cause S to leave’  
 b.  $|ni\dot{y}i-vka\dot{y}-|$      *nere-vkar-*     ‘A' to let/have A eat P’  
            $|atu\dot{y}+cic-|$      *atur-cet-*     ‘A' to let/cause A to sing P’  
 c.  $|ciki\dot{y}-vka\dot{y}-|$      *ciki-vkar-*     ‘A' to let/have A supply R with T’.

Although the extended stems (2) are trivalent (P, A, A'), they does not behave in exactly the same way as a (primary) ditransitive (T, R, A) or other trivalent (P, E, A), as contrasted in Table 31 (end of § 35).

Quadrivalent complex transitives like (2c) are far from rare, and, as extensions of complex transitive suffixes may be recursive, there can be further multi-valent transitive constructions (though morphologically still mono-clausal), as seen in § 40.3.3.

ii) *Type 1 and 2 complex transitive constructions*: The trivalent complex transitive stem (2b) above, for instance, is illustrated in the following with transitive inflection but with two different case alignments, i.e. (a) with type 1 or ablative-modalis demotion (§ 25.2.1) and (b) with type 2 allative demotion (§ 26.2-i); see also § 30.2.3 and below). Note that (a) has the “causee” but (b) the patient in the absolutive status:

- (3) a. *Nere-vkar-aa*                             *tuntuq*<sub>P=S(=A)</sub>                     *caneg-**nek***<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 eat-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg.     moose.ABS.sg.     grass-ABM.pl.  
 ‘He [A'] *made* the moose eat grass.’  
 b. *Nere-vkar-aa*                             *cang-e-t*<sub>P</sub>                             *tuntu-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>.  
 eat-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg.     grass-EV-ABS.pl.     moose-ALL.sg.  
 ‘He [A'] *made* the moose eat the grass, had the grass eaten by the moose.’

which respectively correspond to simplex verbs: (a') intransitive or (zero-derived) antipassive, and (b') transitive:

- (3)' a'. *ner'-uq*                             *tuntuq*<sub>S(A)</sub>                             *caneg-**nek***<sub>(P)</sub>  
 eat-IND.3sg.                             moose.ABS.sg.                             grass-ABM.pl.  
 ‘the moose ate grass’

- b'. *ner-aa*                      *can'g-e-t<sub>p</sub>*                      *tuntu-m<sub>A</sub>*  
 eat-IND.3sg.3sg.      grass-EV-ABS.pl.      moose-REL.sg.  
 'the moose ate the grass'.

where (a') is a detransitivization (antipassivization) from the transitive (b'), with the P demoted *caneg-nek*, which is retained as such in the complex verb (a), while the *tuntu-mun* in (b) is an A demotion in the complex verb (b) from *tuntu-m* in the simplex (b').

Complex transitive constructions like (3a) above with ablative-modalis demotion are called "type 1 complex transitive", while ones like (3b) with allative demotion are called "type 2 complex transitive". Given (a') and (b'), this implies that the former embeds an intransitive (antipassive) simplex verb, while the latter embeds a transitive simplex verb. See § 35.3 (109) for the correspondence.

The type 1 complex transitive verbs have the affected person A (causee, directee, reportee, etc.) promoted to the absolutive status, while the type 2 ones have the patient P stands in the same status. Thus, without external NPs, one and the same transitive verb may be ambivalent, due to two different demotions:

- (4) a. *atur-cet-aa* (sing/use-A'.let-IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 i. 'he let her sing/use (something)'  
 ii. 'he let (someone) sing/use it' – cf. *atur-aa* 'she is singing/using it'
- b. *tuquc-et-aa*  
 i. 'he lets her kill (something)'  
 ii. 'he lets (someone) kill it' – from  $|tuquc+cic-|$  (kill-A') <  $|tuqu+c+cic-|$  (die-A-A'.let).

The two types of complex transitive with different case alignments show an exact parallelism with secundative vs. indirective ditransitives and also with two types of applicative verbs (E≠R vs. E=R), each characterized by an ablative-modalis vs. an allative case marking. See particularly § 35(109) as well as § 39.4.2.

iii) *Transitive vs. intransitive*: However many arguments may be involved in complex transitives, only one or two core arguments may be indexed in inflection, the valency is reduced to two argument, thus thus being inflected transitively, and thereafter detransitivized, thus being inflected intransitively.

Each kind of complex transitive is contrasted with its corresponding intransitive as follows, which shows that only (d)  $|+ni-|$  is agentive (as stated above):

- (5) a. causative      *pi-vkar-aa*      'he makes/has her do'  
                          *pi-vkar-tuq*      'he is made to do, makes himself be done (by s.o.)'

b. directive	<i>pi-sq-aa</i>	‘he asks/tells her to do, takes care of himself’
	<i>pi-sq-uq</i>	‘he is told to do’; e.g. (6) below
c. speculative	<i>pi-yuk-aa</i>	‘he thinks she is doing (s.t.)’
	<i>pi-yuk-uq</i>	‘he thinks he is doing, thinks (s.t.) is being done (to him by s.o.)’
d. reportative	<i>pi-ni-a</i>	‘he says she is doing’
	<i>pi-ni-uq</i>	‘he says he is doing’
e. ignorative	<i>pi-ciit-aa</i>	‘he isn’t sure / doesn’t know what she is doing’
	<i>pi-ciit-uq</i>	‘he isn’t sure what he is doing’
f. expectant	<i>pi-nercir-aa</i>	‘he is waiting until she does’
	<i>pi-nercir-tuq</i>	‘he is waiting until he is done (s.t.)’.

### 1. Intransitive inflections

In order for a multi-valent verb to be transitively inflected, argument reduction has to be made up to two arguments (by ablative-modalis demotion, etc.), and for a transitive verb to be intransitive, detransitivization has to be made as described for bivalent verbs (§ 34) – passive, medio-passive, (suffix-derived) antipassive, reflexive/reciprocal.

Any reduction is directly connected with case assignments of the argument NP concerned (§ 30).

i) *Passivization* – by agent deletion:

- (6) *pi-sq-uq* *kuingir-ngau-nani*  
 say-A'.ask-IND.3sg. smoke-will.not-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘he [S] is told not to smoke’
- cf. *pi-sq-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) *kuingir-ngau-naku* (APP.3sg.)  
 ‘she [A'] asks/tells him [P=S] not to smoke; she says asking him not to smoke’  
 – see § 51.1.4.2 for the alternation in the appositional-mood person 3sg. vs. 3Rsg. (from *kuingir-nait-uq* IND.3sg. ‘he [S] will not smoke’).
- (7) *aana-mnun* *atku-li-vkar-ciq-ua*  
 Mo-ALL.1sg.sg. parka-make.for-A'.let-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I’ll have my mother to make (me) a parka’ [EM]
- cf. *atku-li-vkar-ciq-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.) ‘he’ll have (s.o.) make a parka for me’.

In the following (8), the trivalent verb *tuqute-vkar-* ‘to let (s.o) kill (s.t./s.o.)’ gets the transitive inflection in (b), and the upper-layer A’, i.e. *X-m*, is deleted in (a) by passivization, and the allative NP *taquka-mun* is a demoted A argument (§ 26.2-i):

- (8) a. *Qimugta<sub>S</sub> taquka-mun<sub>(A)</sub> tuqute-vkar-tuq.*  
 dog.ABS.sg. bear-ALL.sg. kill-A'.make-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The dog let itself be killed by the bear.’
- b. *X-m<sub>A'</sub> taquka-mun<sub>(A)</sub> qimugta<sub>P</sub> tuqute-vkar-aa*  
 X-REL.sg. bear-ALL.sg. dog.ABS.sg. kill-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘X let the bear kill the dog.’  
 cf. *Taquka-m<sub>A</sub> (REL.sg.) qimugta<sub>P</sub> (ABS.sg.) tuqut-aa*  
 ‘The bear killed the dog.’
- (9) a. *yungcariste-mun<sub>(A)</sub> kape-vkar-tuq*  
 doctor-ALL.sg. stab-A'.make-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he let himself be given a shot by a/the doctor’  
 cf. *kape-vkar-aa yungcariste-mun.*
- b. *tanger-cet-uq arna-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
 see-A'.make-IND.3sg. woman-ALL.sg.  
 ‘he let himself be seen by the woman’.

ii) *Antipassivization* – by VVsm [+yi<sub>2</sub>-]: The antipassivizer works for complex transitives as well, since they are patientive except for [+ni-], as stated above, in contrast with the other valency-modifying VVsm suffixes that are very much limited (or rarely occur) after a complex transitive:

- (10) *Angun<sub>S=A'</sub> arna-mek<sub>(P)</sub> tuqu-vkar-i-ug.*  
 man.ABS.sg. woman-ABM.sg. die-A'.make-APS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man causes/allows a woman to die.’ – \**tuqu-vkar-tuq*  
 cf. *Angute-m<sub>A'</sub> arnaq<sub>P=S</sub> tuqu-vkar-aa.*  
 man-REL.sg. woman.ABS.sg. die-A'.make-APS-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The man causes/allows the woman to die.’
- (11) *nere-vkar-i-ug kass'aq<sub>S</sub>*  
 eat-A'.make-APS-IND.3sg. white.man.ABS.sg.  
 i. ‘the white man is letting (someone; -mek) eat’  
 ii. ‘the white man is giving a potlatch’ (figuratively).
- (12) *Angun<sub>S=A'</sub> aya-a-sq-i-ug yug-nek<sub>P</sub>.*  
 man.ABS.sg. leave-EV-APS-IND.3sg. person-ABM.pl.  
 ‘The man told people to leave.’

- cf. *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>*    *aya-a-sq-ai*                            *yu-u-t<sub>P=S</sub>*  
 man-REL.sg.    leave-EV-APS-IND.3sg.3pl.    person-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘The man told the people to leave.’
- (13)    *Kass’aq<sub>S=A</sub>*                    *keni-i-sq-i-uq*  
 white.man.ABS.sg.    cook-EV-A'.ask-APS-IND.3sg.  
*arna-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*                    *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 woman-ABM.sg.    fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The white man asked a woman to cook fish.’
- cf. *Kass’a-m<sub>A</sub>*                    *arnaq<sub>P=S</sub>*                    *keni-i-sq-aa*  
 white.man-REL.sg.    woman.ABS.sg.    cook-EV-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 fish-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The white man asked the woman to cook (the) fish.’  
*kass’aq keni-i-sq-uq* (IND.3sg.) *arna-mun* ‘the white man wants the  
 woman to cook him’(!)
- (14) a. *ikayu-u-sq-i-luni*                    ‘(she) asking someone to help (s.o.)’  
 help-EV-A'.ask-APS-APP.3Rsg.  
 b. *ikayu-u-sqe-lluni*  
 help-EV-A'.ask-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(she) asking herself to be helped (by s.o.)’  
 cf. *ikayu-u-sqe-lluku* (APP. 3sg.)  
 ‘(she) asking (s.o.) to help her / asking him to help (s.o.)’.
- (15)    *angun<sub>S=A</sub>*                    *qaya-u-yuk-i-lria*  
 man.ABS.sg.    kayak-be-A'.think-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*u-u-mek<sub>(P=S)</sub>*  
 this-EX-ABM.sg.  
 ‘the man who thinks this to be a kayak’ [MT]
- cf. *angute-m<sub>A</sub>*    *qaya-u-yuk-aa*                            *u-na<sub>P</sub>*  
 man-REL.sg.    kayak-be-A'.think-IND.3sg.3sg.    this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the man thinks this to be a kayak’  
 – S argument (‘this’) of the underlying clause, which is in P function  
 of the complex transitive, is demoted to the ablative-modalis NP (*u-u-*  
*mek*) in connection with antipassivization.
- (16)    *tegleg-yuk-i-uq*  
 steal-A'.think-APS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he thinks (someone) stole (something) (from someone)’  
 cf. *tegleg-yuk-ai* (IND.3sg.3pl.)                    ‘he thinks they stole (something)’.

It may happen that a complex verb contains two antipassivizers – i.e. one for the embedded patientive verb (*tuqu-c-* ‘to kill’) and another for the upper-layer verb (with *-sq-* ‘to ask’):

- (17) *tuqu-c-i-sq-i-uq*  
 die-A-APS-A'.ask-APS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘she told (someone) to kill (something)’  
 cf. *tuqu-c-i-uq* (die-A-APS-IND.3sg.) ‘he kills (something)’  
*tuqu-c-i-sq-aa* (die-A-APS-A'.ask-APS-IND.3sg.)  
 ‘she wants him to kill (something)’.

iii) *Coreferential agents*: Complex transitive verbs may have the subjects coreferential between lower and upper subjects, e.g. S/A and A', A' and A", S/A and A", etc.

- (18) *Ayag-ni-uq* *kass'aq<sub>S=A'</sub>*.  
 leave-A'.say-IND.3sg. white.man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The white man said he (himself) left.’  
 cf. *ayag-ni-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.) *kass'aq<sub>P=S</sub>* ‘she said the white man left’.
- (19) *Angun<sub>S=A'</sub>* *naulluu-ni-uq*.  
 man.ABS.sg. sick-A'.say-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man says that *he* (*himself*) is sick.’  
 cf. *angute-m* (man-REL.sg.) *naulluu-ni-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.) *arnaq<sub>P=S</sub>*  
 ‘the man says that the woman is sick’.

Due to coreference, the intransitive forms of the reportative *-ni-* in the two examples above, refer to the logophoric person.

- (20) *tuqu-llru-yuk-ua* *qavangu-mni*  
 die-PST-A'.think-IND.1sg. dream-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I [S=A'] thought I died in my dream’  
 cf. *tuqu-llru-yuk-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I thought he died’.

It is to be noted that coreference of complex transitive subjects is distinct from coreferentiality or “coreferential marker” (§ 40.2.1.1) in cosubordinate clauses that are served by the causative complex transitive  $|-vka\ddot{y}-| \sim |+cic-$  below.



## 2. Six kinds

The six kinds of complex transitives, including some secondary or composite ones, are given in detail:

### 2.1. Causative (causing/having) $|-vka\dot{y}-| \sim |+cic-|$

This VVcm suffix for two-event causation ‘A' to cause/make/let/allow/have (s.o.) to do (s.t.)’ has the postvocalic and the postconsonantal variants. The postconsonantal, i.e.  $|+cic-|$ , shows the change  $/i/ > /i/$  by P13-iv and  $|-c-cic-|$  contracted to  $|-cic-|$ ). As mentioned in § 4.3-iii, this causative suffix is one of the few cases that have suppletive variants depending upon the preceding morpheme or its final segment.

Distinct from the causative VVsm  $|+c-|$  (one-event causation; § 39.1.1), which is possible only with a monovalent stem or a root, this VVcm suffix adds A', which is a causer – not necessarily human or animate – to form a complex transitive as the nucleus of causative constructions. This is not limited to coercive causation but can also simply imply a permission, admission (willing or reluctant), non-interference, or mistake, depending upon the controllability and the nature of events concerned.

However, the causative suffix has another very important function, that is, as the “coreferential marker” (‘A' to have’; glossed as CRF or A'.have), which is separately described in § 40.2.1.1 below. See also § 51.2.8 (adjunct to inalienably possessed nominals).

The suppletive variants of the suffix are first illustrated:

- (21) a. *qia-vkar-aa* ‘he [A'] let her [P=S] cry’  
 cry-A'.let-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 – with two arguments P=S and A' being indexed respectively as the object and the subject  
 cf. *qia-guq* (IND.3sg.) ‘she [S] is crying’
- b. *ayag-cet-aa* ‘he [A] let her [P=S] leave, he started it (e.g. motor)’  
*ayag-cet-uq* ‘it has already started’  
 cf. *ayag-tuq* (IND.3sg.) ‘she [S] is leaving’.

A stem with final  $/c/$ , however, may occur not only with  $|+cic-|$  but also with  $|-vka\dot{y}-|$  (i.e., after  $/i/$  addition by P5iii), which is apparently an innovation among younger speakers:

- (22) a. *mumigc-et-aa* ~ *mumigte-vkar-aa*  
 ‘he is helping her to turn (s.t.) over’ – from root derived  $|mumiy-c-|$

- b. *nugtarc-et-aa* ~ *nugtarte-vkar-aa*  
 ‘he caused her to move (s.t.)’ – |*nuytayc-*|  
 c. *nauc-et-aanga* ~ *naute-vkar-aanga* ‘he made me grow’  
 – *nauc-et-* is reflected in the word *naucetaaq* ‘plant’; cf. (32a).

It is also a new general tendency among younger speakers to replace the marker |+*cic-*| with |-*vkay-*|. But the following with the latter may sound child-like to many elder speakers:

- (23) a. *aya-vkar-aa* ‘he lets her go’ – in place of *ayag-cet-aa*; |*ayay-*|  
*aya-vkar-luku* ‘having her go’ – in place of (39) *ayag-cel-luku* or  
*ayag-tel-luku*  
 b. *ciki-vkar-aa* ‘he lets her give’ – in place of *cikir-cet-aa*; |*cikiy-*|  
*ciki-vkar-luku* ‘having her give’ – in place of *cikir-cel-luku*; cf.,  
 however, *payugc-et-aa* ‘he caused her to bring’.

The two types due to different argument reductions are illustrated with the causative complex transitive:

- (24) a. *Neq'er-cet-aanga* *ca-u-llr-anek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 remember-A'.make-IND.3sg.1sg. what-be-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He reminded me [R] of what it was.’  
 b. *Neq'er-cet-aa* *wang-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 remember-A'.make-IND.3sg.3sg. 1sg.-ALL  
*ca-u-llr-a<sub>T</sub>*  
 what-be-VNnm-ABS.sg.  
 ‘He made me remember what it was [T].’

The causer A' can be non-human:

- (25) [*Neq-ma* *kass'a-m*]<sub>A'</sub> *iluliqe-vkar-aanga*.  
 fish-REL.1sg.sg. raw-REL.sg. sick-A'.make-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘My raw fish made my stomach upset.’

As already described, the impersonal patientive bivalent |*ciku-*| ‘to freeze’ (§ 34.3) |*ciku-*| cannot have an explicit subject, thus (a) but not (b). But is interesting to note that, if the stem is expanded by the causative VVcm |-*vkay-*| as in the following (c), the A' (coldness) co-occurs as personal subject.

- (26) a. *ciku-i* ≙ *ciku-ut*  
 freeze-IND.3sg.3pl. freeze-IND.3pl.  
 b. \**nengle-m* *ciku-i*  
 c. *nengle-m* *ciku-vkar-ai*. ‘The coldness has frozen them.’  
 cold-REL.sg. freeze-make.A'.IND.3sg.3pl.

The causer can be a nominal clause (§ 18.4.2-i). In (28), the demoted causer is from a multi-layered complex transitive (§ 40.5), with the reportative |+ni-| added:

- (27) [*Cali-vakar-lua mernu-qapigte-ll-ma*]<sub>A'</sub>  
 work-hard-APP.1sg. tired-ITS-VNnm-REL.1sg.sg.  
*manar-yar-cete-nrit-aanga*.  
 fish-go-A'.make-NEG-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'My great fatigue from working hard for so long prevented me [P=S]  
 from going (hook-)fishing.'
- (28) *Naulluu-vkar-ni-a* [*kumlaci-llr-anun*  
 sick-A'.make-A".say-IND.3sg.3sg. cool-VNnm-ALL.3sg.sg.  
*ella-mi*]<sub>(A')</sub>.  
 outside-LOC.sg.  
 'She said he got sick from staying outside in the cold; i.e. she [A"]  
 says that being cooled in the outside [(A')] made him [P] sick.'

Causative complex transitives may be detransitivized:

- (29) a. *maqar-cet'-lar-tut* 'they (e.g. skin) feel soft' [YED 63]  
 soft-A'.make-GEN-IND.3pl.  
 b. *niic-et-ua* 'I let myself be heard, let (someone) hear/obey'  
 cf. *niic-et-aqa* 'I let him hear (me)'  
 c. *atku-li-vkar-tua* 'I made (s.o.) to make me a parka'  
 parka-make-A'.make-IND.1sg. [EM]  
 ≡ (7); with the 'someone' to be in the allative NP as, e.g. (34).
- (30) a. *niic-ec-i-unga* 'I let (someone) hear/obey'  
 b. *inarc-ec-i-uq* *mikelngur-mek*<sub>(P=S)</sub>  
 lie-A'.make-APS-IND.3sg. child-ABM.sg.  
 'he has made a child lie down' – |ina+ỵ-| with root expander.
- (31) *Sarah*<sub>S=llu</sub> *Niic-ete-vke-nani*  
 p.n.ABS.sg.=and hear-A'.make-NEG-APP.3Rsg.  
*engelar-tuq* (*ngel'ar-tuq*).  
 laugh-IND.3sg.  
 'And Sarah laughed within herself, i.e., not letting herself be heard.'  
 [AYAG 18: 12]

Complex transitive verbs compared with simplex causative verbs (with A adder VVsm |+c-|):

- (32) a. *nau-vkar-aa* 'he grows it (plant)' ('he did something for it grow'; two-event causation) vs.  
*nau-t-aa* 'he builds (as one-event causation) it (e.g. steam bath or *qasgiq*)'  
 b. *tuqu-vkar-aa* 'he let her/it die' vs.  
*tuqu-t-aa* 'he killed it'.

Valency-increasing VVsm suffixes may occur before a complex transitive VVcm, as below, but not vice versa (e.g. not \*|+vkaŷ+c-|):

- (33) *Arna-m<sub>A'</sub>* *uu-te-vkar-aanga* *kaminiar-mun*  
 woman-REL.sg. burn-A-A'.make-IND.3sg.1sg. stove-ALL.sg.  
 'The woman *made* me [A] burn (myself) on the stove.'  
 cf. *Arna-m* *uu-t-aanga* *puqla-mek.*  
 woman-REL.sg. burn-A-IND.3sg.1sg. heat-ABM.sg.  
 'The woman burned me with hot water.'
- (34) *Ciki-uteke-vkar-tuq* *yug-nun<sub>(R)</sub>*.  
 give-VVsm-A'.make-IND.3sg. person-ALL.pl.  
 'He lets himself be given away to the people.' [PA]  
 – See § 39.7.3 for the valency rearranging VVsm |+(u)tiki-| (secundative into indirective) which are from suffix composition, i.e. relativizing |+(u)t-| (§ 17.6) and transitive relational verb |-ki-| (§ 37.2), revealing a mutual relation between two functions of R argument.
- (35) *Arnaq<sub>S=A'</sub>* *pani-minun<sub>(A)</sub>* *atur-a-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 woman.ABS.sg. Da-ALL.3Rsg.sg. wear-VNrl-ABM.pl.  
*iqa-ir-i-te-vkar-tuq.*  
 dirt-PRV-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.make-IND.3sg.  
 'The woman let her daughter wash clothes for her (woman).'

Lexicalized complex transitives: including a relativization.

- (36) a. *ayag-cet-aa* 'he started it (e.g. motor)' – cf. (21b)  
*ayg-cec-i-ssuun* 'starter'  
 – with E<sub>APS</sub> followed by VNrl -*ssuun* 'instrument'  
 b. *ac'-et-aa* 'he dressed her (with something)  
 – secundative ditransitive

- c. *tanger-cet-aa* ‘he showed it (to someone)’  
 – indirective ditransitive (§ 35.1.2), although this form can also be a causative complex transitive with two readings owing to different reductions, i.e. ‘he let (s.o.) see it’ and ‘he let her see (s.t.)’.
- (37) a. *tai-vkar-tuq* ‘stormy weather is closing in’  
 – |*tai*-| ‘to come over’  
*tai-vkar-i-uq* ‘he invites (another village)’ – with E<sub>APS</sub>
- b. *nere-vkar-tuq* ‘he is letting himself be eaten’  
*nere-vkar-i-uq* ‘he is letting (s.o.) to eat, is serving (food), giving a potlatch’ (11b) – with E<sub>APS</sub>
- cf. *nere-vkar-i-a* ‘he is giving food for her’  
 – with E<sub>ADV/BEN</sub>, acceptable to some speakers
- c. *anerte-vkar-tuq* ‘he is gasping’  
 – |*aniḡ-c*-| ‘to breathe’ with root expander.
- d. *uni-vkar-aq* [Y] ‘legend passed down from generation to generation, thing of the past’ [YED 397]  
 – |*uni*-| ‘to dissolve, disappear’ (monovalent)  
*uni-vkar-i-uq* ‘he is recounting the past, telling a traditional story’.

### 2.1.1. Coreferential marker (CRF)

As briefly mentioned above, the causative complex transitive suffix has an important function as the coreferential marker for cosubordinate clauses with an appositional-mood verb, i.e. appositional “subject coreferentiality” (§ 51.1.4.3), besides its primary function as the causative marker. This is called a ‘subject adjuster’ by Fortescue et al. (1994) and Jacobson (1995) and is distinct from “agent coreferentiality” (§ 40.1-iii) between lower and upper clauses of complex transitive verbs.

It adds a non-causative argument, one devoid of causative connotation, to coreferentialize the subject of a non-reflexive-third appositional verb to the main clause subject (idiosyncrasy of the mood). In terms of controllability, a causative construction shades into a non-causative one. The suffix as a coreferential marker is glossed as A'.*have* (instead of A'.*make/cause/let*).

Thus the following sentence can have two readings (a) causative and (b) coreferential (non-causative):

- (38) *Pissur-ya-llru-uq*            *irnia-ni<sub>p</sub>*  
 hunt-go-PST-IND.3sg.    child-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*pai-vkar-luku.*  
 stay-A'.make/have-APP.3sg.

- i. 'He went hunting [he] *making* (~ *allowing*) his (own) child stay at home.'
- ii. 'He went hunting while/as his (own) child stayed at home; i.e. [he] *having* his (own) child stay at home.'

In (a) 'he' is taken to be exercising 'his' control over 'his (own) child' but not in (b). Examples abound in § 51.2, in particular.

In order to differentiate between the two, there are speakers who make a distinction in surface (phonemic) realizations such as (a) causative /cɪt/ and (b) coreferentializing /tit/ in the case of the postconsonantal variant |+cic-|:

- (39) a. *ayag-cel-luku* (go-A'.*make*-APP.3sg.) '(he making/letting) her go'  
 b. *ayag-tel-luku* (go-A'.*have*-APP.3sg.) '(he having) her go'  
 cf. *ayag-cet-aa* (go-A'.*cause*-IND.3sg.3sg.) 'he caused her go'.
- (40) a. *Irnia-ni*<sub>p=S</sub> *qavar-cel-luku* *mingq-ug*.  
 child-ABS.3Rsg.sg. sleep-A'.*make*-APP.3sg. sew-IND.3sg.  
 'She is sewing, letting her child (to) sleep (without disturbing him) (lit. [she] letting him sleep).'
- b. *Irnia-ni*<sub>p=S</sub> *qavar-tel-luku* *mingq-ug*.  
 child-ABS.3Rsg.sg. sleep-A'.*have*-APP.3sg. sew-IND.3sg.  
 'She is sewing while/as her child is sleeping (lit. [she] having him sleep).'

The latter simply denotes the state of the 'child' when 'she is sewing' without a causative connotation (of noninterference).

This functional distinction in surface realizations, however, is only the case with the variant |+cic-| and is not attested for the postvocalic variant |-vkaɣ̣-|.

See also § 51.2.8 about "adjunct to inalienably possessed nominals" in relation to the coreferential marker.

### 2.1.2. Secondary: |+citaɣ̣-|

This suffix for 'A' to try to cause/make/induce (by taking time) (s.o.) to do (s.t.)' has no suppletive variants unlike the preceding |-vkaɣ̣-| ~ |+cic-| (§ 40.2.1). It is composed with an aspect marker into the secondary, i.e. composite, suffix, but with /i/ > /i/ by (P13iv) and with stem-final /c/ deletion by (P5i) as is the case with |+cic-|.

- (41) *Pi-cetaar-aa* *angut-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>.  
 do-VVcm-IND.3sg.3sg. man-ALL.sg.  
 'He is trying to have the man do something / take action.'  
 cf. *pi-vkar-aa* 'he lets her to do something'.

- (42) *Angu-aqamikut nunu-la-llru-akut*  
 catch-CNNwv.3Rsg.1pl. scold-CUS-PST-IND.3sg.1pl.  
*wall'u aling-cetaar-luta.*  
 or afraid-VVcm-APP.1pl.  
 ‘Whenever she caught us, she [A] used to scold us or to try to get us [P=S] scared.’ [LL]

The following describes a scene at the *petugtaq* or Aasking Festival (cf. § 13(38) and fn.1), when the women danced (passing time) while *waiting* for the gift to be brought by the men, thus *-cetaar-luteng* instead of *-cel-luteng*:

- (43) *Ellme-ggnek cauyar-luteng marlag-cetaar-luteng*  
 3Rpl-ABM dance-APP.3pl. bring-VVcm-APP.3pl.  
*angut-meggnum<sub>(A)</sub>. Cikir-cetaar-luteng*  
 man-ALL.3R.pl. give-VVcm-APP.3pl.  
*im-ku-nun<sub>(A)</sub> [tegute-ller-nek petug-t-a-nek]<sub>(T)</sub>.*  
 that(ANP)-EX-ALL.pl. take-VNrl-ABM.pl. tie-A-VNrl-ABM.pl.  
 ‘They (women) danced, asking (those) men to give them what they wanted, what he had taken from the string.’ [CAUY 24]

*with lexicalization:*

- (44) *aru-cetaar-aa*  
 ‘he is chewing on a dried fish skin (is trying to make it soft)’ – *|ayū-|*  
 ‘to rot’.

*nominalization:*

- (45) a. *tuqu-ceta-aq* ‘poison’ (*tuqu-* ‘to die’)  
 cf. (37d) *uni-vkar-aq* (disappear-A'.make-VNrl) ‘legend’  
 b. *tanger-cetaar-vig-mi* ‘in the movie theater’  
 see-A'.make-VNrl.place-LOC.sg.  
 c. [*u-u-mek taring-cetaar-ut-mek*]<sub>p</sub> *atur-tuq*  
 this-EV-ABM.sg. understand-VVcm-VNrl-ABM.sg. use-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is using this (as something) to make (s.o.) understood’.

## 2.2. Directive (asking): *|+sqi-|*

This suffix for ‘A’ to ask/tell/want (s.o.) to do (s.t.)’ has (P6i) blocked before it:

- (46) *Qimugte-ka<sub>p</sub> qetunra-mnun<sub>(A)</sub> auluke-sqe-ssaaq-aqa.*  
 dog-ABS.1sg.sg. son-ALL.1sg.sg. take.care-A'.ask-but-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I [A] wanted my son to take care of my dog (but...).’

- cf. *auluk-i-sq-aqa* (take.care-APS-A'.ask-IND.1sg.3sg.)  
 i. 'I asked him to take care of (s.o.)'  
 ii. 'I asked (s.o.) to take care of him'  
*auluk-i-sq-i-unga* (take.care-APS-A'.ask-APS-IND.1sg.)  
 'I asked (s.o.) to take care of (s.o.)'.
- (47) *Qivi-i-sq-aqa* *akutaq<sub>R</sub>* *aana-mnun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
 add-EV-A'.ask-IND.1sg.3sg. ice.cream.ABS.sg. Mo-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 'I [A'] asked my mother to add (berries [(T)]) to the ice cream.'
- (48) *Angi-i-gma<sub>A'</sub>* *tai-sq-aagnga*.  
 MoBr-EV-REL.1sg.du. come-A'.ask-IND.3du.1sg.  
 'My two maternal uncles asked me [P=S] to come.'
- (49) *angya-cuara-li-sq-aanga* 'he asks/wants me to make a small boat'  
 boat-small-make-A'.ask-IND.3sg.1sg.
- (50) *aya-a-sqe-llag-aa* 'he suddenly asked her to leave'  
 go-EV-A'.ask-MOM-IND.3sg.3sg.

In purposive clauses with an appositional-mood verb (cosubordinate; § 51.2.3):

- (51) *uite-sqe-lluki*  
 wake.up-A'.ask-APP.3pl.  
 'so that they might awaken (lit. wanting them to awaken)' [New Testament]

In intransitive inflection:

- (52) a. *ermi-i-sq-ug* *aana-minun*  
 wash.face-EV-A'.ask-IND.3sg. Mo-ALL.3Rsg.  
 'he wants to be washed by his mother' [EM]
- b. *auluke-sqe-saaq-ua* *qetunra-mnun<sub>(R)</sub>*  
 take.care-A'.ask-but-IND.1sg. So-ALL.1sg.sg.  
 'I asked my son to take care of me (but...)' – cf. (46).
- (53) *aya-ute-nrit-qa-a-sqe-lluni*  
 go-APL-NEG-POL-EV-A'.ask-APP.3Rsg.  
 '(he) asking not to be taken away'.



In relation to a negator: The complex transitive *-sq(e)-* may be attracted to the stem. While the lower clause contains the negator in the following (a), as is the case with the preceding (53), the *-sq-* ‘leap-frogs’ over the negator to become attached to the stem in (b.i), with the same meaning as (a):

- (54) a. *nere-nrite-sq-aa* ‘she told him not to eat (s.t.)’  
eat-NEG-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg.  
– less preferred to the following (b-i) with the negation coming after the VVcm, although (b) is ambivalent:
- b. *nere-sqe-nrit-aa*  
eat-A'.ask-NEG-IND.3sg.3sg.  
i. ‘she told him not to eat (s.t.)’ – which is a much more natural reading than:  
ii. ‘she did not tell him to eat (s.t.)’  
– this ambivalence may be disambiguated if used with independent verb |*qanyuc-*| ‘to tell’, i.e. periphrastic complex transitive with the full verb in the main clause (§ 40.6-ii):
- c. *qanrute-llru-nrit-aa* *nere-sqe-lluku*  
tell-PST-NEG-IND.3sg.3sg. eat-A'.ask-APP.3sg.  
‘she did not tell him to eat it’.

In the following example as well, the complex transitive *-sqe-* is attracted to the stem (*tai-*), with its elaborating sequence of verbal modifications (*-ksait'-lar-yaaqe-*) detached from the stem:

- (55) “*Tua=i=wa ata-ma<sub>A'</sub> maa-vet*  
and.then Fa-REL.1sg.sg. here-ALL  
*tai-sqe-ksait'-lar-yaaqe-kiinga tua=i wiinga!*”  
come-A'.ask-not.yet-REG-but-PTP.3sg.1sg. SFL 1sg.  
“So my father has told me [P=S] never to come here; so he would not like me to come.” [QNMC 228]

This attracted form seems to be a tendency, although it could be accepted immediately before the inflection. This kind of attraction of a complex transitive seems to be unique to a directive |*+sqi-*| verb.

It is to be added that the directive complex transitive is totally distinct from the desiderative VVm |*+<sub>1</sub>cuy-*| ‘to wish to’ whose expanded verb is a simplex verb where the stem and the suffix have the same subject:

- (56) a. *Qanrut-ai auluke-sqe-llua.*  
tell-IND.3sg.3pl. take.care-A'.ask-APP.1sg.  
‘He tells them to take care of me.’

- b. *Qanrut-ai*                      *auluk-sug-lua*.  
 tell-IND.3sg.3pl.      take.care-DES-APP.1sg.  
 ‘He tells them he wishes to take care of me.’

2.2.1. *Secondary: |+squma-|*

This suffix for ‘to be wishing, wish repeatedly/continuously (s.o.) to do (s.t.)’, with |+sqi-| followed by the aspectual VVt |(u)ma-|, is very productive (continuative/stative):

- (57) a. *nere-squma-at*  
 eat-A'.wish-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘they [A'] are asking him [P=A] to eat (something [(P)])’  
 b. *nere-squma-uq* (IND.3sg.) – with A' deleted  
 i. ‘he is being asked to eat (dried fish [*neqerllug-mek* ABM.sg.])  
 – with P demoted vs.  
 ii. ‘(the dried fish [*neqerlluk* ABS.sg.]) should (is asked to) be eaten’  
 – with A deleted.

By contrast, *nere-sq-aat* instead of (57a) would be more like ‘they told him to eat’.

- (58) a. *Angute-m<sub>A'</sub>*      *ane-squma-a*                      *arnaq<sub>P=S</sub>*.  
 man-REL.sg.      go.out-A'.wish-IND.3sg.3sg.      woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The woman wanted the woman to get out.’  
 b. *Ane-squma-uq*                      *arnaq<sub>S</sub>*.  
 go.out-A'.wish-IND.3sg.      woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘The woman was wanted/told to get out.’ – with A deleted.
- (59) *Kenke-squma-uq*                      [*tamalku-itnun*      *yug-nun*]<sub>(A)</sub>.  
 love-A'.wish-IND.3sg.      all-ALL.3pl.      person-ALL.pl.  
 ‘She is anxious to be loved by all the persons.’

The appositional verb below with -*squma-* is cosubordinate to the lower clause of the complex transitive (§ 51.2.5):

- (60) *Pissu-u-squma-luku*                      *qan-qa-llru-yuk-aqa*.  
 hunt-EV-A'.wish-CNT-APP.3sg.      say-just-PST-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I thought he briefly mentioned that he/someone wanted someone to go hunting.’

2.3. Speculative (or jussive; thinking) |<sub>+1</sub>*cuki*-|

A complex transitive suffix for ‘A’ to think that (s.o./s.t.) do (s.t.)’

- (61) *Arna-t<sub>p=s</sub>*                      *tekic-uk-ai*                      *angut-e-m<sub>A</sub>*.  
 woman-ABS.pl.    arrive-A'.think-IND.3sg.pl.    man-EV-REL.sg.  
 ‘The man thinks that the women arrived.’  
 cf. *arna-t<sub>s</sub>* *tekit-ut* (IND.3pl.)                      ‘the women arrived’.
- (62) a. *angut-ngu-yuk-aa*                      ‘she thinks it is a man’  
 man-be-A'.think-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 b. *angut-ngu-yuk-uq*                      ‘she thinks she (herself) is a man’  
 man-be-A'.think-IND.3sg.  
 c. *angut-ngu-yuke-llru-yaaq-aa*  
 man-be-A'.think-PST-but-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘she thought it was a man, but apparently not’ [LL].
- (63) *Nuk'a-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *angut-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*                      *kipuc-uk-aa*  
 p.n.-REL.sg.    man-ALL.sg.    buy-A'.think-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*kelipaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
 bread.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Nuk’aq thinks that the man bought the bread.’
- (64) *Tegu-ler-luku=am*                      *tua=i*                      *peksu-c-uk-lua*,  
 take-MOM-APP.3sg.=EMP    SFL                      egg-get-A'.think-APP.1sg.  
 [*ma-ku-nun*                      *yaquleg-nun*                      *uuteka-nun*]<sub>(A)</sub>  
 this-EX-ALL.pl.                      bird-ALL.pl.                      duck-ALL.pl.  
*peksu-k-suk-luku*.  
 egg-own-A'.think-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Quickly picking it up, I [A'=S] thought I found an egg, and thought  
 it [P] was the egg of those ducks (lit. assuming those ducks have  
 it as an egg).’ – cf. |*peksu+c+<sub>+1</sub>cuki+lua*| [AKKL 176]

Periphrastic appositional construction with expletive |*pi*-| clause (§ 51.3.1):

- (65) *Nere-llru-yuk-luki*                      *elpe-nun<sub>(A)</sub>*                      *pi-anka*.  
 eat-PST-A'.think-APP.3pl.    2sg.-ALL                      PI-IND.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘I think you (sg.) ate them (lit. thinking that you ate them [P]; I do  
 them).’  
 cf. quasi-equivalent *nere-llru-yuk-anka* (IND.1sg.3pl.) *elpe-nun*.

The speculative suffix may often be followed by a VV suffix |*lukuaŷ*-| in the Coast area, but its significance has not been clarified:

- (66)
- ayag-yuk-lukuar-aa*
- 'he thought she (probably) left'.

2.3.1. *Secondary: |+nayuki-|*

This suffix for 'A to think/expect that (s.o.) might do (s.t.)' (with less certainty than preceding |+*cuki-*|, thus not used for events in the past) may perhaps be a composite with the purposive |+*na-*| (future, purpose, intention; § 51.2.3-iii). Cf. also the bivalent stem |+*niyuki-*| 'to expect' [EA] and *neryuniur-* 'to eagerly expect, hope' [YED 264, Hinz 173].

- (67) a. *Tai-nayuk-aqa* *arnaq<sub>P=S</sub>*.  
 come-A'.expect-IND.1sg.3sg. woman.ABS.sg.  
 'I think the woman might come.'  
 cf. *Tai-yuk-aqa* *arnaq*.  
 'I thought the woman came.'
- b. *Tai-nayuk-aa* [*neq-su-nri-qan*  
 come-A'.expect-IND.3sg.3sg. fish-get-NEG-CNNbc.3sg.  
*yaaliaku*].  
 day.after  
 'She thinks he will come back when he is done fishing the day after tomorrow.'
- c. [*Tai-nayuk-luku* *arnaq<sub>P=S</sub>*] *kamak-aqa*.  
 come-A'.think-APP.3sg. woman.ABS.sg. suspect-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I suspect (thinking) the woman might come.'  
 – periphrastic complex transitive (§ 40.6-ii) with the full verb *kamak-*; see (178).
- (68) *tange-nrrit-nayuk-aqa* 'I think I might not see him'  
 see-NEG-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ≐ *tangerr-ngait-cuk-aqa* 'I thought I would not see him'  
 see-will.not-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.

*intransitive:*

- (69) a. *Tai-nayuk-ua* *wang-nek* *alular-lua*  
 come-A'.think-IND.3sg. 1sg.-ABM steer-APP.1sg.  
 'I think I might come by driving/steering myself.'
- b. *atli-u-nayuk-uq*  
 bottom-be-A'.think-IND.3sg.  
 'he thinks himself to be one (socially) at the bottom'.

## 2.4. Reportative (saying): |+ni-|

This suffix for 'A' to say/consider/suspect that (s.o.) do (s.t.) (reportative: RPR) derives an agentive stem, unlike the other complex transitives. Note the intransitive forms in the following, which are zero-derived antipassive:

- (70) a. *assir-ni-aqa* 'I [A'] say it [P=S] is good / he is doing well'  
good-A'.say-IND.1sg.3sg.  
b. *assir-ni-uq* 'he says he (himself) is doing well'  
good-A'.say-IND.3sg.
- (71) *eme-nqigg-ngait-ni-uq*  
drink-again-will.not-A'.say-IND.3sg.  
'he says he (himself) *will not* drink *again*'.

See § 54.4 for the difference from the reportative enclitic |=xuy|, which marks a message delivered through an intermediary, as in *assir-tuq=gguq* (a) 'he is doing well (tell her/him!)' and (b) 'he is doing well (he says)'.

- (72) a. *Tangerr-sug-ni-a* *arna-m<sub>A'</sub>* *angun<sub>P=S</sub>*  
see-DES-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg. woman-REL.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
*Nuk'a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
p.n.-ABM.sg.  
'The woman says that the man wants to see Nuk'aq.'
- b. *Tangerr-sug-ni-uq* *arnaq<sub>S=A</sub>* *Nuk'a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*.  
see-DES-IND.3sg. woman.ABS.sg. p.n.-ABM.sg.  
'The woman says that she wants to see Nuk'aq.'
- (73) *Aqvaqur-tar-luni* *tuntu-t*  
run-tend-APP.3Rsg. reindeer-ABS.pl.  
*malig-cua-la-llru-ni-llru-i*.  
follow-little-CUS-PST-A'.say-PST-IND.3sg.3pl.  
'she said he used to follow reindeer by constantly running'. [LL]
- (74) *Tama-ku-t<sub>A'</sub>* *ella<sub>P=S</sub>* *alla-mek*  
that-EX-REL.pl. world.ABS.sg. different-ABM.sg.  
*yu-it-ni-lar-aat*.  
person-PRV-A'.say-CUS-IND.3pl.3sg.  
'They (those ones) say that people in the world are the same, lit., the world has no different person.'
- cf. *Ella alla-mek yu-it-uq* (IND.3sg.).  
'People in the world are the same.'

The ablative-modalis *alla-mek* is a stranded NP from an appositive phrase *alla yuk* ‘a different person’ (§ 25.2.2-i).

A reportive complex transitive clause is very often cosubordinate to the main clause with the expletive *|pi-|* or a full verb *|qanȳ-|* ‘to say’ or the like, forming a periphrastic construction – § 40.6.1 for more examples:

- (75) *Evon-aa-m<sub>A</sub>*            *pi-llru-anga*            [*im-u-mun*  
 p.n.-LNK-REL.sg. do-PST-IND.3sg.1sg. that-EX-ALL.sg.  
*kass'a-mun*]<sub>(A)</sub>        *assik-ni-luku*            [*ing-na*  
 white.man-ALL.sg. like-A'.say-APP.3sg. that-EX.ABS.sg.  
*arnaq*]<sub>P</sub>.  
 woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Evon told me that that (ANP) white man likes the woman over there.’

The suffix *|+ni-|* is not simply reportative (‘to say’), but may be translated as ‘to admit, consider’, etc.:

- (76) a. *Aana-ma<sub>A</sub>*            *ner-ni-lua*  
 Mo-REL.1sg.sg. eat-A'.consider-APP.1sg.  
*eruri-sqe-nrit-aanga*.  
 wash-A'.ask-NEG-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘Considering that I am eating (considering me [P] to eat), my mother does *not* ask me to do the dishes.’
- b. *Aana-ma<sub>A</sub>*            *ner-ni-vke-nii*  
 Mo-REL.1sg.sg. eat-A'.consider-NEG-APP.1sg.  
*eruri-sq-aanga*.  
 wash-A'.ask-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘Not considering that (although) I am eating, my mother asks me to do the dishes.’
- (77) a. *Ak'a*    *aya-llru-ni-vke-nii*            *ataam*  
 already go-PST-A'.consider-NEG-APP.1sg. again  
*aya-uc-ug-aanga*.  
 go-E<sub>APL</sub>[company]-DES-IND.3sg.sg.  
 ‘Not considering that (although) I went already, he wants to take me over again.’
- b. *Kenir-ni-vke-nii=am*            *waniwa*  
 cook-A'.consider-NEG-APP.1sg.= frustrated now  
*aqva-sq-uq*                            *misvig-mek*.  
 pick.up-A'.ask-IND.3sg. airport-ABL.sg.  
 ‘She wants to be picked up right now from the airport, not considering that (although) I am cooking.’

## 2.5. Ignorative (not sure/known): |+(u)ciit-|

This suffix for ‘A’ not to know/be sure that/what/who/etc. (s.o.) do (s.t.)’ has /u/ deleted after V. This is a composite suffix from the nominalizer VN<sub>nm</sub> |+(u)ciỵ-| (§ 18.2.1.1) expanded with the privative NV |+ɲit-| ‘not to have’ (§ 38.1). As illustrated in § 18.2.1.3, this is a unique case of morphological complementation where a nominalization is embedded into a complex transitive verb. The morphological composition in the suffix reflects the fact that the nominalization (nominal clause) by |+(u)ciỵ-| has an ignorative meaning when it is syntactically complemented with negative connotation.

i) As a patientive verb, detransitivization is performed by agent deletion, thus meaning ‘it is not known/sure that/what/who/etc.’.

- (78) a. *elitnaur-i-ciit-aqa* ‘I don’t know if he is teaching or not’  
learn-APS-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.3sg.  
b. *elitnaur-i-ciit-uq* ‘it doesn’t look as if he is teaching’  
learn-APS-A'.IGN-IND.3sg.  
– [Y] *elicar-* for *elitnaur-*.
- (79) *Naaq-i-ciit-uq* *kalika-nek*<sub>(p)</sub>.  
read-APS-A'.IGN-IND.3sg. paper-ABM.pl.  
‘He doesn’t seem to be reading a book.’ (speaker’s impression).
- (80) *kangi-ngqerr-uciit-uq* ‘it is not known if it has meaning’  
source-have-A'.not.know-IND.3sg.
- (81) *ila-k-uy-uciit-ukut*  
relative-have.as-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.IGN-IND.1pl.  
‘we do not seem to be related, it is not known whether we are related’  
– complex verb after E<sub>APL</sub> (§ 39.4.5-iv).

ii) Different verb categories are shown here to occur inside lower verbs – tense, aspect, negation, etc. as well as valency modification:

- (82) a. *murag-te-llru-ciit-uq*  
wood-get-PST-A'.IGN -IND.3sg.  
‘it looks like he did *not* collect wood’  
b. *qayar-pa-li-sciigal-uciit-uq*  
kayak-big-make-cannot-A'.IGN-IND.3sg.  
‘it is not known that he cannot make a big kayak’  
c. *kuyya-la-uciit-uq*  
fish-CUS-A'.IGN-IND.3sg.  
‘he doesn’t seem to (net-)fish, it is not known whether he net-fishes’.

iii) Ignorative complex verbs very often co-occur with an ignorative word:

- (83) *Na-ken tai-luku pi-ciit-aqa.*  
 where-ABL come-APP.3sg. PI-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I don't know where he has come from.'  
 ≐ *Na-ken tai-ciit-aqa.*
- (84) a. *Na-ni ≠ qapiar kuvya-llru-ciit-aqa May'aq<sub>p=s</sub>.*  
 where-LOC≠ITS net-PST-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.3sg. p.n.ABS.sg.  
 'I [A'] do not know exactly where May'aq drift-netted.'  
 b. *Na-ni ≠ qapiar kuvya-llru-ciit-uq May'aq<sub>s=A'</sub>.*  
 where-LOC≠ITS net-PST-A'.IGN-IND.3sg. p.n.ABS.sg.  
 'Mayaq does not know exactly where he (= May'aq) drift-netted.'
- (85) a. *Ca<sub>s</sub> pi-ciit-uq.*  
 what.ABS.sg. happen-A'.IGN-IND.3sg.  
 'It is not known what happened.'  
 cf. *Ca<sub>p</sub> pi-ciit-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) 'I do not know what happened.'  
 b. *Petugtaq<sub>s=A'</sub> ca-mek kangi-ngqerr-uciit-uq.*  
 festival.ABS.sg. what-ABM.sg. source-have-A'.IGN-IND.3sg.  
 'It is not known why the Asking Festival is done.' [CAUY 19]  
 – cf. (43).
- (86) a. *Qaillun ayuq-uciit-aqa.*  
 how resemble-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I don't know how/what he/it is (like); I am confused about him/it.'  
 b. *Qaillun ayuq-uciit-ua.* (IND.1sg.).  
 'I am confused/puzzled about what I am doing.'
- (87) a. *Ki-na<sub>p=s</sub> nere-llru-ciit-aqa neq-mek<sub>(p)</sub>.*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. eat-PST-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
 'I don't know who ate a fish.'  
 b. *Kitu-mun<sub>(A)</sub> nere-llru-ciit-aqa neq<sub>p</sub>.*  
 who-EX-ALL.sg. eat-PST-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.3sg. fish.ABS.sg.  
 'I don't know who ate the fish.'  
 c. [*Carayak<sub>s</sub> kitu-mek / yug-mek<sub>(p)</sub>]<sub>p</sub>  
 bear.ABS.sg. who-/person-ABM.sg.  
*nere-llru-ciit-aqa.*  
 eat-PST-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I don't know (am confused) if the bear ate a person / whom the bear ate.'*



iv) This composite complex transitive is unique to VNnm  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$ , and composition of any other VNnm suffix does not occur with the privative NV  $|+\eta it-|$ :

- (88) a. *elitnaur-i-ciit-uaq* ‘it doesn’t look as if / is not known if he is teaching’  
 b. \**elitnaur-i-yara-it-uaq* (with VNnm  $|+_1ca\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$ ).

v) Appositional forms *ca picii-naku* (APP.3sg.) and *ca-mek picii-nani* (APP.3Rsg.) in the following are very often used as set phrases for ‘not knowing why’, with a slight difference (as glossed):

- (89) *U-na<sub>s</sub>*                      *tai-guaq*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.              come-IND.3sg.  
 a. [*ca pi-cii-naku*] ~ b. [*ca-mek pi-cii-nani*].  
     what.ABS/ABM.sg.              PI-A'.IGN-APP.3sg. /-APP.3Rsg.  
 a. ‘This (person) is here, (he, they, I) without knowing what is the reason.’  
 b. ‘This (person) is here, (he) without knowing what is the reason.’
- (90) *Uita-inanragni=gguq*              [*ca*                      *pi-cii-naku*]  
 stay-CNNw1.3du.=RPT              what.ABS.sg.      PI-A'.not.know-APP.3sg.  
*alqunaq*              [*ena*                      *ma-n'a*]<sub>s</sub>  
 suddenly              house.ABS.sg.              this-EX.ABS.sg.  
*evcu-lkit-uaq* (cf. § 38.5).  
 shake-apparently-IND.3sg.  
 ‘While they (du.) were staying there, it is said, *for no apparent reason* (i.e. *not knowing what happened*), this house suddenly shook.’  
 – cf. [YQYL 8]
- (91) [*Ca-mek*                      ~ *Qaillun pi-cii-nii*]                      *aayalngu-unga*.  
 what-ABM.sg.              how              PI-A'.IGN-APP.1sg.      dizzy-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I am dizzy for no apparent reason.’

### 2.5.1. Other ignoratives

The nominal clausal  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  also occurs in a few other compositive complex transitive suffixes with negative suffixes that behave the same as VVcm  $|+(u)ciit-|$  above (§ 18.2.1.3):

- (92) a.  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}kait-|$  ‘not to know that – will’ (FUT)  
 b.  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  ‘now not to know, to be now confused’  
 c.  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}ut-|$  ‘not to know any longer, to get confused’.

- (93) a. *aya-ucirkait-aqa* ‘I don’t know if he will come’  
go-A'.IGN.FUT-IND.1sg.3sg.  
b. *aya-ucirkait-ua* *wiinga*  
go-A'.IGN.FUT-IND.1sg. 1sg.  
‘there is no knowing if I might go; I don’t think I will go’.
- (94) a. *nere-llru-ciirut-ua*  
eat-PST-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.  
‘I am not feeling I have fully eaten (e.g. being disturbed many times in eating)’  
b. *u-u-ngu-ciirut-ua* ‘I am *getting* confused by what it is’  
this-EX-be-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.  
cf. *u-u-ngu-ciit-ua* ‘I am confused (right now) by what this is’.
- accompanied by ignorative words:*
- (95) *Qaillun ca-cirkaic-ar-tua* [*ene-ka<sub>s</sub>*  
How do-A'.IGN-would-IND.1sg. house-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*im-kan*].  
collapse-CNNif.3sg.  
‘I wouldn’t know what (lit. how) to do if my house collapses.’
- (96) *na-nl-uciirut-aqa* ‘I no longer know where it is’  
where-be.at-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.3sg.

2.6. Expectant VVcm *|-niȳciȳ-*

This suffix for ‘to wait until (s.o.) does (s.t.)’<sup>1</sup> is probably a composite of VNnm *|-nȳ-* plus VV *|+ciȳ-* (§ 39.1.3), though not without doubt, given the (apparently mismatched) combination of VN and VV; cf. Fortescue et al. (1994: 394–95) and Jacobson (2008: 2–651) for CSY cognate. Used commonly at least in the Coast area and Nelson Island, but perhaps dialectally and lexically much limited in productivity.

After monovalent verbs:

- (97) a. *aya-nercir-luku* ‘(she) waiting for him to leave/take off’  
b. (*ella*)<sub>p=s</sub> *assir-i-nercir-luku*  
weather.ABS.sg. good-INC-A'.wait-APP.3sg.  
‘(he) waiting for the weather to clear up’

1. This is not treated as a complex transitive (or “compound verbal postbase”) by Jacobson (1984), but cf. Woodbury (1985: 273–277).

- c. *kiar-nari-nercir-tuq*  
look.around-time.to-A'.wait-IND.3sg. [QQLK 716–717]  
'it (e.g. plane) is waiting for the weather to clear up'.
- (98) *Igva-nercir-luku*                      *tua=i*                      *pi-inanermini*  
appear-A'.wait-APP.3sg.      SFL                      PI-CNNwl.3Rsg.  
*igva-llini-uq*                      *pingayu-nek*                      *yug-luni*.  
appear-EVD-IND.3sg.      three-ABM.pl.      person-have-APP.3Rsg.  
'He waited for it [noise of a boat] to come into view. Soon it came into view, and three people were in it.'. [QQLK 189–190]  
– lit. 'while he was waiting until it came into view, it did'. A periphrastic complex transitive construction with the pro verb *|pi-|* (§ 40.6), which is put into subordination as a connective-mood (adverbial) clause.

With intransitive inflection:

- (99) *enet-nercir-luni*    '(he) waiting for the tide to recede'  
– impersonal patientive *|(k)inc-|*      '(water, tide) to recede'.
- (100) *pi-nercir-pek'-nii*                      *tua-ten*                      *pi-ur-lua*  
do-A'.wait-NEG-APP.1sg.      there-EQL      do-CNT-APP.1sg.  
'I do things without waiting for (s.o.) to say that (to me)'. [QQLK 346]
- with *|-yi<sub>2</sub>-|* antipassive:
- (101) *tekit-nercir-i-uq*    *allaner-mek<sub>(p=s)</sub>*  
arrive-A'.wait-APS-IND.3sg.      stranger-ABM.sg.  
'he is waiting for a stranger to arrive'
- cf. *tekit-nercir-aa*    *allaneq<sub>p</sub>*  
arrive-A'.wait-IND.3sg.3sg.      stranger.ABS.sg.  
'he is waiting for the stranger to arrive'.

This VVcm suffix *|-niȳciȳ-|* may be replaced by A adding VVsm *|+caȳ-|* 'to make s.t. –er' (§ 39.1.2), as is the case with:

- (102) a. *mernu-i-nercir-luni*  
tired-PRV-A'.wait-APP.Rsg. – reflexive  
'(he) resting, waiting to recover (himself) from being tired'
- b. *mernu-i-nercir-tuq*  
≡ *meru-ir-car-tuq*      'he is taking a rest'.

Trivalent use, with a demoted argument, seems to be rare in occurrence, but the following pair show perfectly good construction. The complex transitive *tuqut-nercir-aa* with derived bivalent stem *tuqu-t-* ('to kill' from 'to die-

causative’) itself is ambiguous, but the explicit NPs supplied make the pair distinct, with the killer vs. the killed being reversed:

- (103) a. *tuntuq<sub>P</sub>*                      *qimugte-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*      *tuqu-t-nercir-aa*  
 caribou.ABS.sg.      dog-ALL.sg.      die-A-A'.wait-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he [A'] waited until the/a dog killed the caribou’
- b. *tuntuq<sub>P=S(A)</sub>*                      *qimugte-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*      *tuqu-t-nercir-aa*  
 caribou.ABS.sg.      dog-ABM.sg.      die-A-A'.wait-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he [A'] waited until the caribou killed a dog’.

### 3. Derivations of complex verbs

A complex transitive verb can be a very heavy one by means of the verb-elaborating suffixes (VV) of various categories – in addition to one (or more) VVcm extension – which form double or multi-layered complex transitives (§ 40.3.2-3). But a VVsm suffix hardly occurs inside a complex transitive verb, except for the most common antipassivizer  $E_{APS} | +Y_2 - |$  (§ 39.6.1, § 40.1-ii). The applicative  $E_{APL}$  adder  $| + (u)c - |$  (§ 39.4.1), for instance, does not come after a VVcm (although it seems that a small number of speakers – mainly of the younger generation – may have come to deviate in this regard).

A complex transitive may also be nominalized into a nominal or a relative clause, i.e. by a VNnm or a VNrl suffix (§ 40.4).

A variety of verbal categories – manner, degree, tense-aspect, modality, polarity, and evidence – are illustrated that modify a complex transitive verb, as italicized:

- (104) a. *pi-yuke-ng-uq*  
 do-A'.think-INC-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is starting to think he is being done (e.g. talked about) (by s.o.)’
- b. *Neq'-li-sqe-ng-uq*                      *arna-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*,  
 food-make-A'.ask-INC-IND.3sg.      woman-ALL.sg.  
*tua=i=llu*      *elli-in<sub>A</sub>*                      *neq'-li-t-aa*.  
 then                      3sg.-REL                      food-make- $E_{APL}$ -IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He began to ask the woman to prepare food, then she did it for him.’
- c. *Ak'alla-urr-ni-ng-llru-uq=am*                      *May'aq<sub>S=A(S)</sub>*.  
 old-become-A'.say-INC-PST-IND.3sg.=again      p.n.ABS.sg.  
 ‘May’aq began to say he is getting old (again).’
- (105) a. *alinge-vkar-yug-luku*                      ‘(someone) tending to make him afraid’  
 afraid-A'.make-TND-APP.3sg.  
 –  $| +_1cuy - |$  ‘to wish, tend to’ does not add an argument (the same subject remaining), unlike VVcm  $| +sqi - |$  ‘to wish, ask’ (§ 40.2.2).

- b. *nere-vka-ngnaq-aa*  
 eat-A'.make-try-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'she is trying to let (s.o.) eat it / to let him eat (s.t.)'
- (106) a. *Nunamiuta-a-t<sub>p</sub> kuig-mun egce-squma-lar-ait*  
 land.animal-EV-ABS.pl. river-ALL.sg. throw-wish-CUS-IND.3pl.pl.  
*[yu-u-t ak'alla-a-t]<sub>A'</sub>*  
 person-EV-ABS.pl. old-EV-ABS.pl.  
 'The old men usually want the land animals to be thrown away into  
 the river.' [LL]
- b. *nange-ngqa-vka-la-llru-akut* 'he used to have us stand'  
 stand-STT-A'.make-GEN-PST-IND.3sg.1pl.
- (107) *kitugce-sqe-ssaaqe-llru-aqa*  
 fix-A'.ask-but-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I *did* tell him to clean up (but)' – politeness.
- (108) *pissur-ni-ngua-ingu-unga*  
 hunt-A'.say-pretend-tired.of-IND.1sg.  
 'I am tired of pretending (to say) that I go hunting'.
- (109) *qayar-pa-li-ciite-kapigte-llini-uten*  
 kayak-big-make-A'.IGN-ITS-EVD-IND.2sg..  
 '(I found) it is not at all known if you (sg.) are making a big kayak'.
- (110) *Maurlurlu-ni<sub>p=S</sub> ayag-a-vka-nrite-ng-llini-a.*  
 GrMo-ABS.3Rsg.sg. go-CNT-A'.make-NEG-INC-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 '(Now I see) he would let his grandmother stay home (lit. come not to  
 let her go).'
- (111) *Kitaki, atrar-luta*  
 now go.down-APP.1pl.  
*ayuq-uci-ir-ut-nari-vkar-naur-put*  
 resemble-VNm.no.longer-E<sub>APL</sub>-time.to-A'.make-CSQ-IND.1pl.3sg.  
*taring-uce-sciigal-i'irr-niar-tut.*  
 understand-E<sub>APL</sub>-cannot-suddenly-CSQ-IND.3pl.  
 'Now, let us go down, and there confound it (it = language [not ex-  
 pressed]), that they may not understand one another's speech.'  
 [AYAG 11:7]
- (112) (*e*)*mer-ngait-ni-ur̂lu-lar-yaaqe-llini-uq=ggem*  
 drink-will.not-A'.say-HNR-CUS-but-EVD-IND.3sg.=CTR  
 'that guy, he would say he would not drink (but I realized he did)'.

- (113) *issuri-ssur-ciq-ni-nqigte-llru-nric-ugnarq-uq*  
 seal-hunt-FUT-A'.say-again-PST-NEG-INF-IND.3sg.  
 ‘maybe he did not say *again* he (himself) will go spotted-seal hunting again’ – see § 4.2.5.2 for the suffix order of VVa *|-nqiyɔc-|* ‘again’ (§ 42.2.4).
- (114) *Mamteriller-te-squma-nrite-llru-yaaq-sugnarq-aaten*  
 pl.n.-go.to-wish-NEG-PST-but-CNJ-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘I think he didn’t want you to go to Bethel (but you did go anyway).’

By contrast, a complex transitive verb is seldom followed by a VVsm, except for the antipassivizer *|-yi<sub>2</sub>-|*, unless it is more or less lexicalized, like *|niyi(-vkaɣ-|* ‘to share, entertain, do a potlatch’:

- (115) *Nere-vka-ute-llru-anga* *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 eat-V'.make-E<sub>APL</sub>-PST-IND.3sg.1sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*irnia-minun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
 child-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He had his (own) child eat fish with me.’  
 cf. \*? *atu-vka-ut-aanga* intending to mean ‘he is letting (s.o.) to sing for me’  
 \*? *tune-vka-ut-aqa* intending to mean ‘I let (s.o.) sell (s.t.) to (s.o.) for her’.

### 3.1. Suffix orders

Since the scope of a derivational suffix is, in general, the immediately preceding portion (either the stem, the suffix, or the whole) of the word, different suffix orders inside a complex transitive verb yield semantic and (internal-)syntactic relationships.

Between two VVcm suffixes – cf. § 40.3.2:

- (116) a. *naulluu-vkar-ni-luku*  
 sick-A'.make-A".say-APP.3sg.  
 ‘[A"] saying/hearing that he [A'] is causing (s.o. [(S)]) to be sick’  
 – *|naulluu-|*
- b. *naulluu-ni-vkar-luku*  
 sick-A'.say-A".make-APP.3sg.  
 ‘[A"] letting him [A'] say that (s.o. [(S)]) is sick’.

– each with another reading of A' being demoted and of ‘someone’ being in the absolutive.

- (117) *Pissu-qa-ni-llru-yuk-aqa* *arna-mun*<sub>(A)</sub>  
 go.hunt-just-A'.say-PST-A".think-IND.1sg.3sg. woman-ALL.sg.  
*angun*<sub>P=S</sub>.  
 man.ABS.sg.  
 'I thought that the woman mentioned that the man briefly went spotted seal hunting.'

– if *arnamun* is not expressed, A' would more naturally be identical with S (i.e. 'the man briefly mentioned that *he himself* went').

Between VVcm and VV:

- (118) a. *ayag-ni-nrit-aa* 'he didn't say she left' (A'.say-NEG)  
 b. *aya-nrit-ni-a* 'he said she didn't go' (NEG-A'.say)  
 c. *aya-nrit-ni-nrit-aa* 'he didn't say she didn't go' (NEG-A'.say-NEG).
- (119) a. *assir-ni-llru-aqa* 'I said it was good' (A'.say-PST)  
 b. *assi-llru-ni-aqa* 'I said it was good' (PST-A'.say).
- (120) a. *pissur-ni-nguar-tuq*  
 hunt-A'.say-pretend-IND.3sg.  
 'he lied that he (himself) went hunting'  
 b. *pissur-uar-ni-uq*  
 hunt-pretend-A'.say-IND.3sg.  
 'he says he (himself) is pretending to be hunting'.
- (121) *ayag-ni-qatar-tuq*  
 go-A'.say-IMN-IND.3sg.  
 'he is going/about to say that he (himself) is leaving/left'  
 cf. *ayagni-qatar-tuq*  
 'he is going/about to begin'; |*ayayniy*-| 'to begin' – not a complex verb.
- (122) a. *ayag-ni-ksait-uq* 'he has not said that he (himself) leaves'  
 go-A'.say-not.yet-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *ayag-ni-luni* (go-A'.say-APP.3R.sg.)  
*qane-qsait-tuq* (speak-not.yet-IND.3sg.)  
 b. *aya-ksai-ni-uq* ~ *aya-ksait-ni-uq* 'he says he has not left'  
 go-not.yet-A'.say-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *aya-ksau-nani* ~ *aya-ksait-ni-luni* (go-NEG-A'.say-APP.3R.sg.)  
*qaner-tuq* (speak-IND.3sg.).

- (123) *Aya-ksai-ñi-nril-gu* ~ *aya-kasait-ni-nril-gu* *ak'a*  
 leave-not.yet-A'.say-NEG-OPT.2sg.3sg. already  
*aya-llru-uq.*  
 leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'Don't say he has not left, he left already.'

It is interesting to note that a negation maker in an embedded clause tends to skip after [+sqi-].

- (124) *aya-nqigce-sqe-vke-naku*  
 go-again-A'.ask-NEG-APP.3sg.  
 'asking him not to go again'  
 – not meaning \*'not asking him to go again'  
 cf. *aya-nqigce-sqe-lluku* 'asking him to go again'  
 go-again-A'.ask-APP.3sg.

- (125) [*ma-kuci-mek neq-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *nere-nqigce-sqe-vke-naku*  
 this-kind-ABM.sg. fish-ABM.sg. eat-again-A'.ask-NEG-APP.3sg.  
 'telling him not to eat again this kind of fish'.

An appositional form with the negative marker before *-sqe-*, i.e. *nere-nqigte-nrite-sqe-lluku*, seems hard to interpret.

Compare, however, the pair below as well:

- (126) a. *Mamteriller-ce-squma-llru-nric-aaq-sugnarq-aaten*  
 pl.n.-go.to-A'.wish- PST-NEG-but-INF-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 'it seems she did not want you (sg.) to go to Bethel (but)'  
 – NV [+c-] > -ce-.
- b. *Mamteriller-ce-squma-nrite-llru-yaaqe-sugnarq-aaten* ~ *-llini-aten*  
 pl.n.-go.to-A'.wish- NEG-PST-but-INF-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 'it seems ~ so I see she would not like you (sg.) to go to Bethel (but you did go anyway)'.
- (127) (*e*)*mer-ngait-ni-ur̃lu-la-yaaqe-llini-uq*  
 drink-will.not-A'.say-ATD-CUS-but-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 '(but I realized [criticism]) he (poor) would say he will not drink (but)'.

Reverse order generally entails semantic or functional change as is illustrated with three suffixes, including two VV suffixes besides a complex transitive:

- (128) a. *pissu-nqigg-ni-llru-a* 'she (had) said he went hunting again'  
 go.hunt-again-A'.say-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.



- b. *pissu-nqigte-llru-ni-a* 'she says he went hunting again'  
go.hunt-again-PST-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.
- c. *pissu-llru-ni-nqigt-aa* 'she says again he went hunting'  
go.hunt-PST-A'.say-again-IND.3sg.3sg.
- d. *pissu-llru-nqigg-ni-a*  $\doteq$  b. or c.  
go.hunt-PST-again-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.
- e. *pissur-ni-nqigte-llru-a* 'she (had) said again he went hunting'  
go.hunt-A'.say-again-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.
- f. *\*/?? pissur-ni-llru-nqigt-aa*  
go.hunt-A'.say-PST-again-IND.3sg.3sg.  
– though *pissur-ni-nqigt-aa* is fully acceptable.

Polarity may produce alternative scopes in complex verbs. The following from (a) above are ambivalent:

- (129) *pissu-nqigg-ni-llru-nrit-aa*  
go.hunt-again-A'.say-PST-NEG-IND.3sg.3sg.  
i. 'she did not say he went hunting again'  
ii. 'she said he did not go hunting again'.

But in (130a) through (132a), the polarity and the aspect suffix is an adjunct to the complex transitive, while in (130b) through (132b) the same suffixes modify the embedded simplex verb:

- (130) a. *ayag-ni-nrit-aa* 'he didn't say she left' (A'.say-NEG)  
b. *aya-nrit-ni-a* 'he said she didn't go' (NEG-A'.say).
- (131) a. *Iqlu-llru-yuke-nrit-aqa.*  
lie-PST-A'.think-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'I am *not* thinking (I don't accuse) / I did *not* think that he lied.'  
b. *Iqlu-llru-nric-uk-aqa.* 'I think/thought he did *not* lie.'  
lie-PST-NEG-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.
- (132) a. *naaqi-vka-ng-luku* *neq-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
count- A'.make-INC-APP.3sg. fish-ABM.pl.  
'(she) starting to let him count fish'  
b. *naaqi-nge-vkar-luku* *neq-nek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
count-INC-A'.make-APP.3sg. fish-ABM.pl.  
'(she) letting him start counting fish'.

Some suffixes, however, tend to come after a complex transitive suffix, in spite of semantically modifying the embedded simplex verb, hence some ambiguity. But in the following two examples concerning VV *|-qay-* and VV *|-nyit-*,

the a) reading may be (much) more common:

- (133) *issuri-ssur-ni-qa-llru-i* (seal-hunt-A'.say-briefly-PST-IND.3sg.3pl.)  
 i. 'he said they *briefly* went spotted-seal hunting' (= *pissu-ger-ni-llru-uq*)  
 ii. ?'he *briefly* mentioned they went spotted-seal hunting'.
- (134) *pissur-ni-nrite-llru-uq* (hunt-A'.say-NEG-PST-IND.3sg.)  
 i. 'he said he (himself) did *not go* hunting' (= *pissu-nrit-ni-llru-uq*)  
 ii. 'he did *not say* he (himself) went hunting'.
- (135) *pissu-qatar-ni-ksaite-nqiggt-ut*  
 hunt-IMN-A'.say-not.yet-again-IND.3pl.  
 'they have not yet again said that they (themselves) are about to go hunting'.
- (136) a. *pissu-qata-qsait-ni-nqigt-ut*  
 hunt-IMN-not.yet-A'.say-again-IND.3pl.  
 'they again said they will not go hunting'  
 b. *pissu-nqigg-ngait-ni-ut*  
 hunt-again-not.yet-A'.say-IND.3pl.  
 'they say they will not go hunting again'.

### 3.2. Double complex transitives

One and the same complex ditransitive can be recursive within a single verb. Only the repetition of causative VVcm  $[-vka\acute{y}-] \sim [+cic-]$  (also  $[+cita\acute{y}-]$ ) and reportative VVcm  $[+ni-]$  are attested in my data, but not of the other kinds, i.e. directive, speculative, etc.:

i) *Double causatives:*

- (137) *Teggalquq* / [Y] *Qiuq*<sub>P=S</sub> *irniami-nun*<sub>(A')</sub>  
 stone.ABS.sg. child-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
*ig-cite-vka-llru-a.*  
 drop-A'.make-A".make.PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'He let his (own) child drop the stone.'
- cf. *Teggalquq* / *Qiuq* *irniami-nun*  
 stone.ABS.sg. child-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
*ig-cite-llru-a.*  
 drop-A'.make-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'He dropped the stone onto his (own) child.'

Note the two suppletive variants next to each other. The reverse order (-*vkar-cet-*) of the two variants in the following does not have semantic relevance, simply being conditioned by the verb final vowel (vs. consonant) of the simplex verb stem:

- (138) a. *Angute-m*<sub>A"</sub> *pani-minun*<sub>(A')</sub> *nere-vkar-cet-ai*  
 man-REL.sg. Da-ALL.3Rsg.sg. eat-A'.make-A".make-IND.3sg.3pl.  
*qimugte-mun*<sub>(A)</sub> *neqe-t*<sub>P</sub>.  
 dog-ALL.sg. fish-ABS.pl.  
 'The man let his (own) daughter let the dog eat the fish.'
- b. *Angute-m* *pani-minun*<sub>(A)</sub> *nere-vkar-cet-aa*  
 man-REL.sg. Da-ALL.3Rsg.sg. eat-A'.make-A".make-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*qimugta*<sub>P=A</sub> *neq-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 fish-ABM.pl. do.ABS.sg.  
 'The man let his (own) daughter let the dog eat fish.'  
 – Note the differences in the person inflection (number) of the predicate and in the definiteness of the 'fish'. No difference as to the degree of reluctance or unwillingness seems to be implied.

A double causative of |+*vkay-*| followed by the secondary |+*citaay-*| is also attested:

- (139) *pi-vkar-cetaar-aa*  
 do-A'.make-A" make-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'he is trying her to enforce (s.o.) to do (s.t.)/(s.o.) to enforce her to do (s.t.)'

ii) *Double reportatives*: The following three examples have two *-ni-* reporter verb, but each in different ways: the same reporters in the upper and lower clauses in (140), different reporters in (141), while the same reporters in the main and its embedded relative clause in (142)

- (140) *ner-u-cu-kapigg-ni-llru-ni-yaaqe-llru-yugnarq-aanga*  
 eat-E<sub>APL</sub>-DES-ITS-A'.say-PST-A".say-but-PST-INF-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 'it seems that he said she says she wanted to eat with me very much (but her saying is not true).'
- (141) *Ayag-yu-kapigg-ni<sub>1</sub>-llru-ni<sub>2</sub>-a* *yuilqu-mun*  
 go-DES-ITS-A'.say-PST-A".say-IND.3sg.3sg. tundra-ALL.sg.  
*arna-m*<sub>A"</sub> *ui-ni*<sub>P=S</sub>.  
 woman-REL.sg. Hu-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 'The woman says that her husband said that he (himself) wanted very much to go away to the tundra.'

- (142) *iga-y<sup>(s)</sup>u-ni-lriar-u-ni-luni*  
 write-well-A'.say-VNrl-be-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(he) saying that he is one who brags he is a good writer’  
 – cf. § 17(59) *iga-y<sup>(s)</sup>u-ni-lria*  
 ‘one who says (brags) he is a good writer’.

### 3.3. Multi-layered complex transitives

Complex transitives are recursive (as stated), that is, one (or more) upper-layer complex transitive suffix(es) may follow another (A', A'', A'''...), yielding multi-valent complex transitive constructions, though still forming up a (morphologically) single verb with the two or more agents involved. In other words, a complex transitive may be embedded into an upper-layer complex transitive with its own argument, which may in turn be further embedded into a further upper complex transitive with A' and so on.

With a simplex verb, i.e. with S (monovalent) | P A (bivalent) | T/R, A (ditransitive), a multi-layered complex transitive is structured as [(simplex verb) > A' > A'' > A''' ...] (see § 30.1.2, § 40.7). As such, it may easily come to have three or more external argument NPs that need case assignment.

- (143) a. |*ani-vkay-ni-*| A'' says that A' let S go out (trivalent)  
 b. |*niyi-vkay-cuki-*| A'' think A' let A eat P (quadrivalent)  
 c. |*ciki-vkay-cuki-*| A'' says that A' let A supply R with T (pentavalent).

The example (143b) above may be illustrated with two transitive constructions with different case assignments and with three layered clauses involved:

- (144) a. *Nuk'a-m<sub>A''</sub>*      *arna-mun<sub>(A')</sub>*      *angun<sub>P=S(A)</sub>*      *navir-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 p.n.-REL.sg.    woman-ALL.sg.    man.ABS.sg.      seal-ABM.sg.  
*nere-vkar-yuk-aa.*  
 eat-A'.make-A''.think-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Nukaq thinks that the woman let the man eat *the* seal (meat).’
- b. *Nuk'a-m<sub>A''</sub>*      *arnaq<sub>P=A'</sub>*      *angute-mun<sub>(A=S[A])</sub>*  
 p.n.-REL.sg.    woman.ABS.sg.    man-ALL.sg.  
*navir-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*    *nere-vkar-yuk-aa.*  
 seal-ABM.sg.    eat-A'.make-A''.think-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Nukaq thinks that the woman let the man eat *some* seal (meat).’

Various combinations are attested of multi-layered constructions.

i) *Three-layered constructions*: Most of the combinations possible of the five kinds (except the expectant) in two opposite orders – excluding identical or double ones, i.e. 20 (= 5×5–5) – are attested, but only partially illustrated below:

*trivalent constructions*:

- (145) a. *ivsu-ng-cetaar-e-sqe-lluku*  
rain-INC-A'.induce-EV-A".ask-APP.3sg.  
'(s.o. [A"]) asking him [shaman; A'] to induce it (weather [S]) to (begin to) rain'. [ELLA 306]
- b. *Ayag-cetaar-nayuk-aa* *yungeariste-m<sub>A</sub>*  
go-A'.make-A".think-IND.3sg.3sg. doctor-REL.sg.  
*mikelnguq<sub>P=S</sub>* *arna-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
child.ABS.sg. woman-ALL.sg.  
'The doctor thinks the woman might compel the child to go.'
- (146) *Angut-mun<sub>(A)</sub> naulluu-vkar-ni-luku* *niit-aqa.*  
man-ALL.sg. sick-A'.make-A".say-APP.3sg. hear-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'I heard his sickness was caused by the man.' [MA]
- (147) *pissur-ni-qa-llru-yuk-anka*  
hunt-A'.say-just-PST-A".think-IND.1sg.3pl.  
'I [A"] think they [P=A'] mentioned that (s.o. [(S)]) went hunting?'
- (148) *Erur-i-ni-sq-iu* *angut-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
wash-APS-A'.say-A".ask-OPT.2sg.3sg. man-ALL.sg.  
'(You [A"]) ask her [P=A'] to say that the man is washing dishes!'

*quadrivalent constructions*:

- (149) *Tai-t-ni-vkar-ru* *ellii-nun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
come-E<sub>APL</sub>-A'.say-A".make-OPT.2sg.3sg. 3sg.-ALL  
*arnaq<sub>P=S(A)</sub>* *qanta-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
woman.ABS.sg. bowl-ABM.sg.  
'(You [A"]) tell him [(A')] to say that the woman brings a bowl.'

*pentavalent constructions*:

- (150) *Tegleg-i-vka-a-sq-aa* *Nuk'a-m<sub>A</sub>*  
steal-E<sub>ADV</sub>-A'.make-EV-A"-ask-IND.3sg.3sg. p.n.-REL.sg.  
*arnaq<sub>A</sub>* *piste-mun<sub>(A)</sub>* *angut-mek<sub>(E)</sub>* *sass'a-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
woman.ABS.sg. servant-ALL.sg. man-ABM.sg. watch-ABM.sg.  
'Nukaq asked the servant to let the woman steal the man's watch (i.e. steal a watch on the man).'

which is a three-layered construction where the embedded simplex verb is a trivalent adversative construction with the case alignment of: (P)abm (E)abm Aabs (A')all A"rel.

Multi-layered constructions tend to occur with some argument coreference where two arguments are taken as one and the same. Absence of external argument NPs would cause ambiguity.

- (151) *pissu-u-sq-uma-qa-llru-yuk-aqa*  
 hunt-EV-A'.ask-CNT-just-PST-A".think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 i. 'I [A"] thought he [P=A'] just wanted (s.o. [(S): ABM]) to go hunting'  
 ii. 'I [A"] thought I [A'] just wanted him [P=S] to go hunting'.

ii) *Four-layered constructions* – attested combinations include:

- quadrivalent:*  
 (152) *pissu-u-sq-uma-ni-qa-llru-yuk-aqa*  
 hunt-EV-A'.ask-CNT-A".say-just-PST-A"".think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 i. 'I [A""'] thought someone [A"] said s.o. [(A')] just wanted him [P=S] to go hunting'  
 ii. 'I thought [A""'] he [A"] just mentioned that s.o. [(A')] wanted s.o. [(P=S)] to go hunting'  
 – A" and A' more likely identified as in (a).

- pentavalent:*  
 (153) *nere-llru-uciic-uk-ni-a*  
 eat-PST-A'.not.know-A".think-A"".say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'he says she thinks someone is not sure if s.o. ate (s.t. [(P)])'  
 – which can be ambiguous by itself without explicit agent NPs (A and A') as to whether it involves four parties or three (with two 'some-ones' being identified).

In the following pentavalent construction, two argument NPs are both with the allative case:

- (154) *nere-vka-a-sqe-ssuk-aqa* *Nuk'a-mun<sub>(A")</sub>*  
 eat-A'.make-EV-A".ask-A"".think-IND.1sg.3sg.p.n.-ALL.sg.  
*arna-mun<sub>(A')</sub>* *mikelnguq<sub>P=S(A)</sub>* *nayir-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 woman-ALL.sg. child.ABS.sg. seal-ABM.sg.  
 'I [A""'] think Nukaq asked the woman to let the child eat a seal.'

Here, nevertheless, the word order of the two *-mun* words helps avoid any possible ambiguity as it bears a "mirror image" relation to the suffix order con-

cerned: i.e. *Nuk'a-mun* for 'asker/orderer' preceding *arna-mun* for 'causer/allower' just opposite to the suffix *-vka(r)-A'* preceding the suffix *-sqe-* for *A''*. See also Woodbury (1985c: 275).

A periphrastic construction (§ 40.6, § 51.3) may be one of the devices to avoid the ambiguity, but even a multi-layer construction with five arguments may occur without much ambiguity or confusion if each party is explicit with a free NP.

It is true that such complexity as illustrated above can indeed be too confusing to be properly understood by many speakers. But there are consultants who testify that this degree of complexity is not in fact beyond the point of tolerance and it may sometimes be used in daily contexts with no sense of unnaturalness.

iii) *Five-layered constructions*: A few consultants went further to supply me with such six argument sentences as the following (i.e. bivalent agentive stem *nere-* 'to eat' with four VVcm). This is surely very confusing to many speakers who are asked to interpret, unless each of the parties is expressed by independent nouns – except for the first person singular ('I'), which is marked in the verb inflection:

- (155) *May'a-mun*<sub>(A''')</sub> *nere-vka-a-sqe-ssuk-ni-agka*  
 p.n.-ALL.sg. eat-A'.make-EV-A''.ask-A'''.think-A'''.say-IND.1sg.3du.  
*nuliar-anun*<sub>(A'')</sub> *kass'a-mun*<sub>(A')</sub> *irnia-kek*<sub>p=S(A)</sub>  
 Wi-ALL.3sg.sg. white.man-ALL.sg. child-ABS.3sg.du.  
*nayir-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 seal-ABM.sg.  
 'I [A'''] said Mayaq thought *his* wife asked the white man to let *their* two children eat a seal.' [DW, MB]

One of the consultants let it slip that the final *-ssuk-ni-* is more acceptable than the reverse *-ni-ssuke-* (for what reason she says she knows), and also confessed that a six-layered *nere-vka-a-sqe-ssuk-ni-yuk-* with another speculative (A''') added would be the limit.

#### 4. Nominalizations of complex transitives

Nominalization – relative clauses (§ 17) and nominal clauses (§ 18) – may occur with complex transitives.

## 4.1. Relative clauses

A relative clause from a complex transitive functions as a “concatenated relative clause” (§ 4.1.3.1-iii, § 17.7) as long as it has person inflection. The following is illustrated with the relativizer  $|\text{-}t\acute{y}\text{-}|$ ,  $|\text{+}(u)t\text{-}|$ , and the agent nominal  $|\text{+st-}|$  (§ 17.3, § 17.6.2, § 17.5.1):

- (156) [*Tai-nayuke-I-qa*                      *arnaq*]<sub>S</sub>                      *tai-nrit-uq*.  
 come-A'-VNrl.-ABS.1sg.sg. woman.ABS.sg. come-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The woman *I thought* might come did not come.’  
 cf. *Tai-nayuk-aqa*                      *arnaq*<sub>P=S</sub>.  
 come-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg. woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I thought the woman might come.’
- (157) [*Im-na*                      *qaya-li-yuke-I-qa*  
 that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg. kayak-make-A'.think-VNrl.-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*angun*]<sub>S</sub>                      *Yupi-u-nrit-lini-uq*.  
 man.ABS.sg. Y.-be-NEG-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘That man *who I thought* had made a kayak was not a Yupik.’
- (158) *Ayag-yuk-le-mni*                      *aya-ksaite-llini-uten*.  
 go-A'.think-VNrl-LOC.1sg.sg. go-not.yet-EVD-IND.2sg.  
 ‘I see now you (sg.) (*who I thought* had left) haven’t left yet.’  
 – see § 27.4 for the locative marking on the relative clause that refers to the second person.

Relativization is attested with the demoted allative-case NP:

- (159) *aata-ma*<sub>G</sub>                      *mikelngur-mun*                      *pi-sq-uti-i*  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. child-ALL.sg. do-A'.ask-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘what my father wants the child to do’  
 cf. *aata-ma*<sub>A</sub>                      *mikelnguq*<sub>P=S</sub>                      *pi-sq-aa*  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. child.ABS.sg. do-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘my father wants the child to do’.
- (160) *iga-yu-ni-sta* ~ *igay'u-ni-sta*                      ‘one *who brags* that he writes well’  
 write-well-A'.say-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 – with a derisive connotation (cf. VN  $|\text{-tuli-}|$ ).

A periphrastic complex transitive (§ 40.6) may also be relativized:

- (161) *angun*                      [*qan-lleq*                      *carayag-tait-ni-luku*]  
 man.ABS.sg. say-VNrl.ABS.sg. ghost-there.be.no-A'.say-APP.3sg  
 ‘the man who had said there was (*it* has) no ghost’.





### 5. Adjuncts to complex transitives

A verbal adjunct – either an adverbial particle or an oblique nominal – may yield ambiguity because it may modify an upper-layer verb or the embedded lower verb. The locative-case noun *Maqiner-mi* in the following can modify either (a) the embedded *aya(g)*- ‘to leave’ or the upper verb (b) *-sqe*- ‘ask’:

- (167) *Aya-a-sqe-llru-anga*                      *Maqiner-mi*.  
 go-EV-A'.ask-PST-IND.3sg.1sg. Saturday-LOC.sg.  
 i. ‘He asked me to leave on Saturday.’  
 ii. ‘On Saturday he asked me to leave.’

On the other hand, the locative noun *ene-mini* in the following, which is likewise an adverbial adjunct, is not ambiguous. This is because the CAY reflexive-third person as indexed in *ene-mini* can refer back to nothing but the sentence subject, i.e. ‘she’, but not ‘the man’. In the latter case, it must be *eni-ini* (LOC.3sg.sg.) ‘in his (the man’s) house’.

- (168) *Uita-qa-a-sq-aa*                              *angun<sub>p=s</sub>*  
 wait-little-EV-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg. man.ABS.sg.  
*ene-mini*.  
 house-LOC.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘She asked the man to wait a while in her (own) house.’

The following particle *ataam* only modifies the complex transitive, but not the embedded verb:

- (169) *(E)mer-ngait-ni-uq=am*                      *ataam*.  
 drink-will.not-A'.say-IND.3sg.=as.usual again  
 ‘He says *again* he will not drink (as usual).’  
 – but not \*‘He says he will not drink *again* (as usual).’

An appositional verb as adjunct to the embedded verb *iter-*, as in the following, is reasonably inflected for the third (not the reflexive third) person:

- (170) *nepa-il-caar-luku*                              *iter-ni-at*  
 sound-PRIV-make.er-APP.3sg. enter-A'.say-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘they say she came in quietly’  
 cf. *nepa-il-caar-luni* (APP.3Rsg.) *iter-tuq* (IND.3sg.) ‘she came in quietly’  
 – see also (83) *tai-luku*.

## 6. Periphrastic complex transitives

A complex transitive verb may often occur in a periphrastic construction consisting of two clauses. The complex verb occurs with appositional mood inflection as a cosubordinate clause, while the main clause has one of a limited number of verbs semantically related with, or selected by, the kind of complex verbs (e.g. ‘to think/suspect; say, tell, hear’, etc.), except for the causative  $[-vka\dot{y}-]$  ~  $[+cic-]$  (§ 40.2.1), which co-occurs with the widest variety of main-clause verbs and serves as the coreferential marker (§ 51.1.4.3) as well as the causative suffix.

As Woodbury (rev.) raises, however, the question remains whether the complex suffix might be considered as a kind of repetition or as a kind of complementizer of the appositional clause.

Either clause may stand before or after the other.

i) *Directive*  $[+sqi-]$  and  $[+squma-]$  (§ 40.2.2): with stems  $[i\dot{q}uqu\dot{y}-]$  ‘to urge, encourage’,  $[i\dot{h}im\dot{y}-]$  ‘to ask, order’,  $[qan\dot{y}-]$  ‘to say, speak’,  $[qan\dot{y}-uc-]$  ‘to tell’,  $[qayaypay-]$  ‘to shout’,  $[kai\dot{y}a-]$  ‘to request, ask for’,  $[kai\dot{y}a-viki-]$  ‘to request s.o. (for s.t.)’ (secundative),  $[ini\dot{y}qu\dot{y}-]$  ‘to admonish’, etc., in addition to the pro  $[pi-]$  ‘to do’ for avoiding repetition (§ 10.3.1) as in (175, 176, 190):

- (171) a. *Kegginaq-ir-luteng*                      *kaiga-la-llru-ut*  
 mask-supply-APP.3Rpl.                      request-CUS-PST-IND.3pl.  
 $[pit-arka-tp$                                        $pai-vnga-squma-luki$   
 catch-VNrl.FUT-ABS.pl.                      available-STT-A'.ask-APP.pl.  
*pissu-quneng]*.  
 hunt-CNNif.3Rpl.  
 ‘Wearing masks, they request the catches to be available when they hunt.’ [AKKL 3]
- b. *Kaiga-vik-aanga*                               $[(e)mer-mek_{(p)}$   
 ask.for-VVsm-IND.3sg.1sg.                      water-ABM.sg.  
*ciki-i-sqe-lluni]*.  
 give-APS-A'.ask-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He asked me to give water.’ – with R added by VVsm  $[+viki-]$ .
- (172) a. *Qanrute-llru-nrit-aa*                      *nere-sqe-vke-naku*.  
 tell-PST-NEG-IND.3sg3sg.                      eat-A'.ask-NEG-APP.3sg.  
 ‘She did not tell him not to eat.’ – syntactic double negation (§ 44.1-iii)
- b. *Nere-squma-luku*                              *qanrute-llru-yaaq-aqa*  
 eat-A'.ask-APP.3sg.                              tell-PST-but-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I told / have told him to eat (but...).’

- (173) [[*U-ku-t*                    *atsa-t*]<sub>P</sub>                    *nere-sqe-vke-naki*  
 this-EX-ABS.pl.      berry-ABS.pl.      eat-A'.ask-NEG-APP.3pl.  
*inerqur-aanga*.  
 admonish-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘She admonishes me, [she] asking not to eat these berries; i.e. forbids me to eat these berries.’
- (174) *Eguaqur-aanga*      *maligte-sqe-lluni*.  
 urge-IND.3sg.1sg.      follow-A'.ask-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He urged me to go with him.’ [YED 136]
- (175) *Qivi-i-sqe-lluku*                    *pi-aqa*.  
 berry-EV-A'.tell-APP.3sg.      do-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I’m telling her to put berries (in the ice cream).’

ii) *Speculative* [+*cuki-*] ‘to think that’ and [+*nazuki-*] ‘to think that will’ (§ 40.2.3.1): with stems |*umyuaỵtiqi-*| ‘to think’, |*kama-ki-*| / |*kama-yuy-*| ‘to suspect’, |*kama-naỵqi-*| ‘to be suspected’ (root |*kama-*|), |*alaỵc-*| / |*alaỵut-*| ‘to mistake’, |*aaqi-*| ‘to find dangerous’, |*aạỵyuy-*| ‘to be afraid’ (the last two from root |*aạỵ-*|), etc., in addition to the pro verb |*pi-*|:

- (176) a. [*Ellii-nun*<sub>(A)</sub>      *tuqute-llru-yuk-luku*                    *carayak*<sub>P</sub>]  
 3sg.-ALL      kill-PST-A'.think-APP.3sg.      bear.ABS.sg.  
*kamayug-tua* / *pi-unga*.  
 suspect-/PI-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I suspect (thinking) that he killed the bear.’  
 cf. *Ellii-n* (3sg.-REL) *tuqute-llru-a* (IND.3sg.3sg.) *carayak*.  
 ‘He killed the bear.’
- b. [*Ellii*      *tuquc-i-llru-yuk-luku*                    *carayag-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>]  
 3sg.ABS      kill-APS-PST-A'.think-APP.3sg.      bear-ABM.sg.  
*kamayug-tua* / *pi-unga*.  
 suspect-/PI-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I suspect (thinking) that he killed a bear.’  
 cf. *Ellii tuquc-i-llru-uq* (IND.3sg.) *carayag-mek*. ‘He killed a bear.’
- (177) a. *Kamayug-tua*                    *ellallu-ng-nayuk-luku*.  
 suspect-IND.1sg.      rain-INC-A'.think-APP.3sg.  
 ‘I’m suspecting it might start to rain.’
- b. *Tua=i* [[*tau-na*                    *mikelnguq*]<sub>P=S</sub>  
 then      that-EX.ABS.sg.      child.ABS.sg.  
*pic-uli-urr-nayuk-luku*]                    *kamayug-tua*.  
 hunt-good.at-become-A'.think-APP.3sg.      suspect-IND.1sg.  
 ‘Well then I suspect that the child will become a good hunter.’

- (178) **Kamak-aqa**                      *tai-nayuk-luku*.  
 suspect-IND.1sg.3sg.    come-A'.think-APP.3sg.  
 'I suspect she will come ([I] thinking that she will come).' – cf. (67).
- (179) *Paug-na<sub>S</sub>*                      *naunra-ngqerr-nayuk-luni*  
 back.there-EX.ABS.sg.    berry-have-A'.think-APP.3Rsg.  
*aipaagnikama-narq-uq*.  
 perhaps    suspect-NEC-IND.3sg.  
 'It may be suspected that the land back there could perhaps have  
 cloudberrries.' – see § 6.1-vii for *aipaagni*.
- (180) a. *Ayag-nayuk-luni*                      *umyuar<sub>teq</sub>-uq*.  
 go-A'.expect-APP.3Rsg.    think-IND.3sg.  
 'He thinks (he is thinking) he might go.'  
 b. [*Wiinga tan'gurra-u-lua*]  
 1sg.                      boy-be-APP.1sg.  
*Agayu<sub>ce</sub>-tai-cuk-luku*                      *umyuar<sub>teq</sub>-tu-llru-yaaq-ua*.  
 god-not.exist-A'.think-APP.3sg.    think-HAB-PST-but-IND.1sg.  
 'When I was (lit., I being) a boy (§ 51.2.2[1]), I used to think that  
 there is no God.'
- (181) **alar-ut-aqa**                      [*ui-n<sub>p</sub>*  
 mistake-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.1sg.3sg.    Hu-ABS.2sg.sg.  
*ui-k-suk-luku*                      *wang-nun<sub>(A)</sub>*]  
 Hu-have.as-A'.think-APP.3sg.    1sg.-LOC  
 'I mistook your (sg.) husband for mine' – cf. § 51(182) with *alarc-*.
- (182) a. **Aaryug-tuq**                      *kit-nayuk-luni*.  
 apprehensive-IND.3sg.    sink-A'.think-APP.3Rsg.  
 'She is afraid of falling into the water.'  
 b. *Arna-m<sub>G</sub>*                      **aaq-aa**                      ~                      *Arnaq<sub>S</sub>*  
 woman-REL.sg.    find.dangerous-IND.3sg.3sg. / woman.ABS.sg.  
**aaryug-tuq**                      [*mikelnguq<sub>p=s</sub>* *kit-nayuk-luku*].  
 apprehensive-IND.3sg.    child.ABS.sg.    sink-A'.expect-APP.3sg.  
 'The woman thinks the child to be in danger of falling into the water  
 ([she] thinking him to sink).'

iii) *Reportative* |+ni-| (§ 40.2.4): with |qanỵ-| 'to say, speak', |qanỵ-uc-| 'to tell s.o.' (with E<sub>APL</sub>), |aniqlaa-| 'to curse' [YED 73], |niic-| 'to hear', |iqtu-| 'to tell a lie', |iniỵquỵ-| 'to admonish, warn' (root |inỵ-| 'obey'; § 36.3), |akqi-| 'to promise'; etc., in addition to the prop |pi-|:

- (183) a. *Tuqu-ciq-ni-luni* / *Tuqu-ngait-luni*      *qaner-tuq*.  
die-FUT/will.not-A'.say-APP.3Rsg.      speak-IND.3sg.  
'He says (he saying) he (himself) will / will not die.'
- b. *Tuqu-ciq-ni-luku* / *Tuqu-ngait-ni-luku* (APP.3sg.)      *qaner-tuq*.  
'He says ([he] saying) she will/will not die.'
- (184) a. *Carayag-g-ni-luni*      *qanrute-llru-anga*.  
bear-catch-A'.say-APP.3Rsg.      tell-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
'He told me, (he) saying that he (himself) caught a bear; i.e. he told me he (himself) caught a bear.' – *carayag-g-* from *|cayayay+c-|*.
- b. *Cagayag-g-ni-luku* (APP.3sg.)      *qanrute-llru-anga*.  
'He told me, ([he]) saying that he (another) caught a bear, i.e., he told me he (another) caught a bear.'
- (185) *Qanrut-aanga*      [*ayag-ciq-ni-luni*      *waniku*].  
tell-IND.3sg.1sg.      go-FUT-A'.say-APP.3Rsg.      later  
'He told me (he saying) that he will be leaving later.'
- (186) *Ak'a akqe-llru-anka*  
already promise-PST-IND.1sg.3pl.  
[*kiag-i-yartur-ciq-ni-luta*      *tama-a-ni*].  
summer-spend-go.to-FUT-A'.say-APP.1pl.      that-EX-LOC.  
'I already promised them we will go and spend the summer there.'  
[PA]
- (187) [*Naaqe-llru-ni-vke-naku*      [*u-na*  
read-PST-A'.consider/say-NEG-APP.3sg.      this-EX.ABS.sg.  
*kalikaq*]<sub>p</sub>]      *kiu-llru-anga*.  
paper.ABS.sg.      answer-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
'Although he says (i.e. not considering) he had not read this paper, he answered me.'
- (188) *Tang inerqur-yaaqe-kemken ayakar-ciq-ni-luku*.  
see      warn-but-PTP.1sg.2sg.      run-FUT-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
'See, I warned you (sg.) ([I] saying) that he might run off (but).'
- [PAUQ 5]
- (189) *Niite-lar-tuq*      [*carayag-nun*<sub>(A)</sub>      *sasku-t<sub>p</sub>*  
hear-GEN-IND.3sg.      ghost-ALL.pl.      weapon-ABS.pl.  
*aliki-ni-luki*].  
fear-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
'He used to hear that ghosts are afraid of weapons.'

- cf. *Carayi-i-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *sasku-t<sub>P</sub>*                      *alík-ait*.  
ghost-EV-REL.pl.    weapon-ABS.pl.    fear-IND.3pl.3pl.  
‘The ghosts are afraid of weapons.’

Two complex-transitive verbs are involved in the following multi-layered complex transitive. In (a) the causer for *-vkar-* is explicit (‘the man’), while the *-vkar-* in (b) is a coreferential marker for the appositional verb and may accordingly be deleted. While the suffix has the sense of there being a reporter, its deletion would simply imply the fact of reporting.

- (190) a. [*Angut-mun<sub>(A')</sub>*    *naulluu-vkar-ni-luku*]                      *niit-aqa*.  
man-ALL.sg.    sick-A'.cause-A".say-APP.3sg.    hear-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘I heard (I having) her [P=A"] say that the man caused her [P=S] to be sick.’
- b. *Naulluu-ni-(vkar-)luku*                      *niite-ksai-taqa*.  
sick-A'.say(-A".have)-APP.3sg.    hear.not.yet-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘I haven’t heard it said that she is sick ([I] having [s.o.] say that she is sick).’
- (191) *Pi-llru-atnga*                      [*Nuk’a-mun<sub>(A')</sub>*    *tan’gurrar-nun<sub>(A)</sub>*]  
do-PST-IND.3pl.1sg. p.n.-ALL.sg.    boy-ALL.pl.  
*tegu-vkar-ni-luku*                      *angya-qa<sub>P</sub>*.  
take-A'.make-A".say-APP.3sg.    boat-ABS.1sg.sg.  
‘They [A"] told me that Nuk’aq let the boys take my boat.’ [EA] –  
cf. Woodbury (1985c: 275).

## 7. Case alignments of complex transitive constructions

Though not exhaustively, case alignments of complex transitive constructions have been explicitly illustrated above, starting from the lower (embedded) clause, followed by the upper clause(s) with a complex transitive verb, which rigidly follows the argument hierarchy as given in Table 29, repeated as (192):

- (192)    simplex [lower]    complex [upper]  
S > *E<sub>ADV</sub>* / *E<sub>APL</sub>* > S  
P                      > *E* > A                      > *A<sub>IMP</sub>*                      > *A'* > *A''* ...  
T > R                      > *E* > A

\* non-primary (extended) arguments in italics

– where an argument to the left is higher than the one to the right in hierarchy, and the absolutive and relative cases are presented in order from the highest (leftmost) argument, with the necessary reduction:

If a simplex verb is bi- or multi-valent, a complex transitive has three or more arguments and argument reduction is obligatory by way of demotion or deletion in connection with the upper-clause agent (A'). The case assignment particularly concerned with complex transitives is allative demotion (from the relative case; demotion 2) but the general ablative-modalis demotion (from the absolutive case; demotion 1) may also occur with complex verbs. Accordingly, unless an argument NP is explicit, a complex verb by itself may be ambivalent (Type 1 and 2). See § 30.2.3 for more details and examples.



## Part 8

### Verb elaboration

Verb-elaborating suffixes (VV; § 41 through § 44), other than valency-modifying ones (VVsm and VVcm; § 39 and § 40), cover a wide variety of semantic and grammatical functions and are highly instrumental in CAY verbal expansion. The general classification here is thus made tentatively, as follows:

- i. adverbial (VVa); § 41 – manner, time/speed, intensity (degree/extent)
- ii. tense-aspect (VVt); § 42
- iii. modality (VVm); § 43 – including (dis)honorific (VVh) and evidentiality (VVe)
- iv. negation (VVn); § 44
- v. comparison (VVc); § 45

Many suffixes have two grammatical categories syncretized, with semantic increments. Some tense-aspect and modality suffixes in particular are largely fused with negation (§ 44). Modality and negation suffixes are partly fused with inflection. Accordingly most of VV suffixes may not fit univocally into single verbal categories.

(Dis)honorific suffixes (VVh), which express an attitude or evaluation of the speaker towards the subject (S or A argument), are given in § 43.1, together with the nominal (dis)honorific NNh (primarily given in § 20.2).



# Chapter 41

## Adverbial (VVa)

1.	Manner.....	1175
2.	Time (speed/precedence).....	1181
3.	Intensity (degree/extent).....	1184
3.1.	Group 1  -piȳc-  ~  -piaȳ- , etc.....	1185
3.2.	Group 2  +pay- , etc.....	1193
3.3.	Group 3  +ŋ*inaȳ- , etc.....	1199
3.4.	Group 4  -qay-  .....	1202
3.5.	Group 5 miscellaneous .....	1204

CAY adverbials are mostly suffixal except for a rather limited number of adverbial particles (§ 53.4). Adverbial or clausal subordination is expressed by a variety of connective-mood verbs (§ 50), which are mainly temporal, causal, or conditional. Appositional-mood verbs can be rendered adverbially in many cases (e.g. ‘slowly, nicely, secretly, without fail’, etc.), but essentially they are “cosubordinate” – see § 51.2.3 in particular.

More or less productive adverbial verb-elaborating VVa suffixes are presented here in three groups: manner (§ 41.1), time (§ 41.2), and intensity (§ 41.3).

Indices for comparison (VVc; comparative, superlative, equalitive – all intransitive vs. transitive and stative vs. inchoative in four-way opposition) are given in § 45.7.

### 1. Manner

Table 39: VV suffixes of manner

VVa	- <sub>1</sub> cu-	‘skillfully, (knowing how to do) well’
VVa	+nqiy(c <i>i</i> )-	‘well, in a good way’
VVa	+ŋiy-	‘(can) easily’
VVa/NV	+ŋuaȳ-	‘pretending to – , not seriously, mentally’
VVa	- <i>tay</i> -	‘to – in imitation (after someone else does)’
VVa	+ <sub>1</sub> t/yaayuc-	‘reciprocally, each other’
VVa	-qcaȳ-	‘not quite as it normally is, kind of’
VVa	-qca(a <i>ȳ</i> a)ȳ-	‘taking time, feebly, weakly, sickly’

VVa  $|_{-1}cu-$  ‘skillfully, (knowing how to do) well’. See (P2.iii) for the fricativization of /c/ into /z/, (P5i.a) for apical deletion due to subscript<sub>1</sub>, and (P8-iiB) for the deletion of stem-final /i/. Derived stems are monovalent, whether the primary stem is mono- or bi-valent (with P deleted): e.g. intransitive *kegg-su-uq* in (1) and *iga-y<sup>(1)</sup>-u-uq* in (2) below from the bivalent stems, but not transitive *\*keg-su-a* and *\*iga-yu-a*:

- (1) *pic-u-uq* ‘he is good at hunting’ –  $|pic-$  ‘to hunt’ (monovalent)  
*kegg-su-uq* ‘it tends to bite, is ferocious with its teeth [YED]’ –  
 $|kixi-$  ‘to bite’ (bivalent)  
*nut-yu-uq* ‘he is good at shooting’ –  $|nutɣ-$  ‘to shoot’ (bivalent).

See a suffix composition in  $|_{-1}culi-$  ‘one that does well, best –er’ (§ 19.1).

This suffix may trigger a disturbance of prosody, that is, the rhythmic accentuation on the preceding vowel may often be replaced by a regressive one (cf. P18vii.a):

- (2) *qila-y’u-uq* /qilày|yuuq/ (not *\*qila-yu-uq* /qilá|yuuq/)  
‘she is good at weaving’ –  $|qilay-$  ‘to weave’  
*atu-y’u-uq* /atùy|yuuq/ (not *\*atu-yu-uq* /atú|yuuq/)  
‘he is good at singing’ –  $|atuɣ-$  ‘to sing’  
*agngua-y’u-uq* /áɣ|ŋuày|yuuq/  
‘he is good at dancing (non-Native)’ –  $|ayi-ŋuay-$  ‘move-pretend’  
*iga-y’u-uq* /iyày|yuuq/ ~ *iga-yu-uq* /iyá|yuuq/  
‘he writes well’ –  $|iyay-$  ‘to write’  
*angya-li-y’u-uq* /ánj|yalìy|yuuq/ ~ *angya-li-yu-uq* /ánj|yalí|yuuq/  
‘he is good at making boats’ –  $|anya-li-$  ‘boat-make’.

Two derived verbs above are given with further derivation – a) aspect, and b) complex transitive:

- (3) a. *nut-yu-la-ama* ‘because I am a good shot’  
shoot-well-GEN-CNNbc.1sg.  
b. *iga-y’u-ni-uq* ~ *iga-yu-ni-uq* ‘he says/brags that he writes well’  
write-well-A<sup>1</sup>.say-IND.3sg.

VVa  $|+nqix-$  ‘well, in a good way’ (not so productive). The derived stem is monovalent. Negated by VVn  $|+at-$  as in (7b) instead of the general negator VVn  $|nɣít-$ . Probably related to NV  $|kixc(i)-$  ‘to have a good’ (§ 38.4).

- (4) *qava-nqeg-tuq* ‘he sleeps well, is a good sleeper’  
*nere-nqegg-luni* ‘he enjoys eating, likes to eat’ – APP.3Rsg. *-luni*  
*eke-nqegg-luni* ‘it is burning fast’ –  $|iki-$  ‘to burn’.

- (5) *qanr-e-nqeg-tuq* ‘he speaks well, eloquently’ – with EV *-e*  
*qanr-e-nqeg-kuvet* ‘if he speaks well’  
 – note the suffix final *g* being retained, which suggests the underlying  
 /x/.
- (6) a. *elitnauri-lria=wa* *pi-nqeg-caar-luni*  
 teach-PTP.3sg.=REA do-well-A.more-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘he is teaching, trying to be thoroughly’  
 b. *niicugni-nqeg-caar-tura-a-sqe-lluki*  
 listen-well-A.more-CNT-EV-A'.ask-APP3pl.  
 ‘asking them to listen thoroughly/attentively’ [QQLK 302]  
 – see § 39(33c) also for *-nqeg-caar-*.

May come after the desiderative VVm |+<sub>1</sub>cuy-| ‘to love to’:

- (7) a. *ner-yu-nqeg-tuq* ‘he likes to eat very much’  
 b. *ner-yu-nqi-at-uq* ‘he does not like to eat very much’  
 – see § 44 for negative VVn |+at-|.

Transitive inflection is possible with the impersonal A added (zero-derived;  
 § 33.4.2) or causative A adder VVsm /-c-/ (§ 39.1.1):

- (8) a. *akage-nqegg-aa* ‘it has (already) been made spherical’ or ‘he  
 made it round’ (with personal A)  
*akage-nqeg-t-aa* ‘he is making it round’ – |*akay-*| ‘to roll’  
*akage-nqeg-t-uq* ‘it is round, spherical’ – with A deletion  
 b. *uive-nqeg-t-uq* ‘it is round’ [YED] – |*uivi-*| ‘to circle, rotate’  
*uive-nqeg-t-aa* ‘he is making it round’ [EA]
- (9) a. *makta-nqegg-aa* ‘it has (already) been made upright’  
 – |*makta-*| ‘to be upright’.  
 b. *makta-nqeg-t-aa* (*angute-m<sub>A</sub>*) ‘(the man) made it upright’  
*makta-nqeg-t-uq* ‘it is standing upright’.
- (10) *Uita-nqeg-c-i-ki-na* *ene-mni.*  
 stay-good-A-APS-ASP-OPT.FUT-2sg. house-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Have a good stay here at my house!’

VVa |+<sub>1</sub>giy-| ‘(can) easily’. Negated by VVn |+at-| (§ 44) as with the  
 preceding |+nqix-| in (7).

- (11) a. *elis-ngig-tuq* ‘he learns easily’

- b. *qava-qer-ngig-tuq* ‘he falls asleep easily’  
 – |*qavay-qay-*| with intensifier  
*qava-qer-ngi-at-uq* ‘he does not fall asleep easily’.

VVa/NN |*+nyay-*| ‘imaginarily, only mentally (not actually), briefly; imitation of (§ 20.1)’.

- (12) *qavar-uur-tuq* ‘he pretends to be asleep’ – |*qavay-*| ‘(to) sleep’  
*ag-nguar -tuq* ‘he is dancing (non-Native); is pretending to move’ – |*ayi-*| ‘to go over’  
*pi-nguar-tuq* ‘he is pretending, is mask-dancing’  
 – during the inviting-in feast (*kelek*) in the hope that something danced about can happen.<sup>1</sup>
- (13) *nallu-ngua-llru-aqa* ‘I pretended not to know him/it’  
 not.know-pretend-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.
- (14) a. *pissur-ni-nguar-tuq* ‘he pretends to say he went hunting’  
 – |*pisuy-*| ‘to hunt’, VVcm |*+ni-*| A’.say  
 b. *pissur-uur-ni-uq* ‘he says he is pretending to be hunting’.

Often follows the intransitive relational verb NVrv |*+nyu-*| ‘to be’:

- (15) a. *angya-u-nguar-tuq* ‘it depicts (i.e. pretends to be) a boat’  
 – |*anyay-*| ‘boat’  
 b. *paraluruar-u-nguar-tut* ‘they depict rice’  
 rice-be-pretend-IND.3pl.  
 – lexicalized stem *paralur-uaq* ‘rice (imitation of maggot)’ itself has the same NN suffix.
- (16) a. *angut-nguar-luku* ‘(he) having her look like a boy’  
 – with deletion of no coreferential marker specific to appositional verbs (§ 51.1.4.3)  
 b. *angut-ngu-nguar-cet-aanga*  
 man-be-pretend-A’.make-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he is letting me [female] look like a man (after my namesake)’  
 – This traditional practice was reportedly observed in particular by cutting the hair round and by wearing a *qaspeq* (parka) without ruffles.

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1. Cf. “homeopathic or imitative magic” (Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 1922).

Lexicalized:

- (17) *qan-nguar-ut-aa* ‘he gossips to her’. [YED 312]  
 speak-pretend-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.

VVa *|-lay-|* ‘imitatively, to do something after someone else does’. Appears to be extremely limited. Compare with the homonymous (aspect) suffix VVt *|-lây-|* ‘suddenly’ (§ 42.2-ii), which may trigger the disturbance of general prosodic pattern.

- (18) *atu-llag-tuq* ‘he is singing after someone’ – *|atuy-|* ‘to sing’  
 cf. *at’u-llag-tuq* ~ *atu-llag-tuq* ‘he is suddenly singing’.
- (19) *qilu-llag-tuq* ‘it (dog) is barking (after another)’  
 cf. *qil’u-llag-tuq* ‘it (dog) is suddenly barking’.
- (20) *ûgaqaa-llag-tuq* ‘he retches imitatively’ – *|uaqaay-|* ‘to retch’  
 cf. *uqaq’a-llag-tuq* ‘he retches suddenly’.

VVa *|+<sub>1</sub>t/yaayuc-|* (after consonant/vowel) ‘reciprocally, each other’. Mono-valent and requires a dual or plural subject in intransitive forms. Reasonably enough, this is often preceded by the applicative VVsm E<sub>APL</sub>*|+(u)c-|* as in:

- (21) *ikayu-ut-aagul-luteng* *mingu-ut-aagul-luteng*  
 help-E<sub>APL</sub>-REC-APP.3Rpl. paint-E<sub>APL</sub>-REC-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘they helping each other to paint on it’ [CAUY 48]

But this is far from always the case:

- (22) *cikir-taagut-uk* ‘they(du.) exchange gifts’  
 give-REC-IND.3du.  
*cikir-taaguc-araq*  
 give-REC-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 ‘reciprocal gift-exchange (in *kelek* [inviting-in-feast])’. [CAUY 28]
- (23) *assir-taagut-ut* ‘they compete in beauty’  
 good-REC-IND.3pl.  
*pinir-taagut-ut*  
 strong-REC-IND.3pl.  
 ‘they compete in strength (but not \**pinir-taagut-aa*).

The following two suffixes are supposedly related with the agent-adding VVsm *|+cay-|* / *|+caa(ÿa)ÿ-|* ‘to make (something) –er’ (the latter implying less

speed or concentration), as in *qater-car-tuq* / *qater-caarar-tuq* ‘he is making it white (more slowly)’; see § 39.1.2.

VVa |<sub>-1</sub>*qcaŷ*-| ‘not quite as it normally is, kind of, without putting full effort into it’

- (24) *kitu-kcar-aa* ‘he is (kind of) fixing it (but not so well)’  
 – |*kituyc*-| ‘fixed’  
*kitu-kcar-tuq* ‘he is fixing himself; it is fixed’  
 cf. *kitugt-aa* ‘he is fixing it (definitely, well)’  
*kitugt-uq* ‘it is fixed’.

VVa |<sub>-1</sub>*qcaa(ŷa)ŷ*-| ‘to keep on –ing (taking time) feebly, weakly, sickly’ – with /*ŷa*/ rarely retained before /*ŷC*/.

- (25) *kitu-kcaa(ra)r-tuq*  
 fix-slowly-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is fixing himself more slowly (weakly, sickly)’  
*kitu-kcaara-a* ‘you (sg.) fix (more slowly, leisurely)!’ – OPT.2sg.

- (26) a. *iqva-qcaara-lar-tuq* ‘he picks berries leisurely’  
 pick.berry-slowly-HAB-IND.3sg.  
 b. *Aya-kcaara-ur̄lu-llini-luni* *tua=i*.  
 go-keep.on-HNR-EVD-APP.3Rsg. SFL  
 ‘So the poor thing continued on his way.’ [QNMC 92–93]

VVa |*-li-*| ‘to enjoy –ing, to find – good’, with no transitive inflection.

- (27) *ner-li-uq* ‘he is enjoying eating very much’  
*neqni-li-uq* ‘he is enjoying food, finding good/tasty’  
 – |*niqniŷqi*-| ‘to be sweet/tasty’  
*assi-li-uq* ‘he is finding good, enjoying’  
*qacig-li-uq* ‘he is finding it easy to do’ [EM]

- (28) a. *manig-li-luni* *ayag-tuq*  
 smooth-enjoy-APP.3Rsg. go-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is going, finding (trail) smooth’  
 – with no external *tuma* (‘trail’), for instance  
 b. *cuka-li-luni* *iqvar-tuq*  
 fast-enjoy-APP.3Rsg. pick.berry-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is berrypicking very fast.’



## 2. Time (speed/precedence)

Table 40: VV suffixes of time

VVa	+( <i>yā</i> ) <i>ẏc</i> -	‘quickly, fast’
VVa	- <i>lqiiẏ</i> -	‘fast’
VVa	+ <sub>1</sub> <i>ca</i> <i>yāẏ</i> -  ~  + <sub>1</sub> <i>ca</i> <i>yā</i> ( <i>yā</i> ) <i>ẏ</i> -	‘early’ ~ ‘very early, earlier than expected’
VVa	+ <i>naciiẏ</i> -	‘late in -ing’
VVa	+ <sub>1</sub> <i>caqliẏ</i> -	‘finally’
VVa	- <i>xaa</i> <i>ẏ</i> -	‘after -ing, first -ing’
VVa	+ <i>yaa</i> ( <i>yā</i> ) <i>ẏ</i> -	‘just -ing, early’

VVa |+(*yā*)*ẏc*-| ‘quickly, fast, suddenly’ – cf. (P18v) for syllable contraction and with apical deletion as in (30) *eli(c)*- and (31) *malig(c)*- below.

- (29) *ullag-art-aa* ‘he rushes up to her’ – |*u**lay*-| ‘to approach’  
*kitu* ‘*u*-*rt-aa* ‘he passed it quickly’  
 – from *kitur-(ga)rt-aa* with |*kitu**ẏ*-| ‘to pass’.

- (30) *tai-garte-llru-uq* ‘he came running’  
*eli-gart-uq* / -*aa* ‘he learns (it) quickly’ – |*i**lic*-| ‘to learn’.

Followed by applicative |+(*u*)*c*-|:

- (31) a. *malig-ar-ut-aa*  
 follow-quickly-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘she quickly consented, willingly did what he told (her to do)’  
 – |*maliẏc*-| ‘to go with’  
 b. *Ayag-ar-ut-aa* *Anchorage-aa-mun.*  
 go-quickly-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg. pl.n.-LNK-ALL.sg.  
 ‘He brought her quickly to Anchorage (e.g. hospital).’

VVa |-*lqiiẏ*-| ‘fast’.

- (32) *iqva-lqiiir-luni* ‘(he) picking berries fast’ – |*i**qvaẏ*-| ‘to pick berries’.  
 (33) *naaq-i-lqiiir-tuq* ‘he is reading (s.t.) fast’ – with antipassive -*i*- for patientive |*naaqi*-| ‘to read’.

VVa |+<sub>1</sub>*ca*(*yā*)*ẏ*-| / |+<sub>1</sub>*ca**yā*(*yā*)*ẏ*-| ‘early, earlier than expected’. Note the difference in accentuation triggered by /*yā*/ deletion (P18v).

- (34) a. *tengsuun* *pi-yá’ar-tuq=llú=gguq*  
 airplane.ABS.sg. do-early-IND.3sg.=RPT  
 ‘the airplane also did (came) early, they say’

- b. *tengssuun*                      *pi-yárar-túq=llu=gguq*      same  
 c. *tengssuun*                      *pi-yára'ár-tuq=llú=gguq*      same.
- (35) a. *tekic-ara'ár-tuq*            'he arrived early'  
       – *tekic-ararar-tuq* without /ʃa/ deletion is rare  
 b. *tekic-arárà-llru-uq*          'he arrived very early (earlier than expected)'.
- (36) a. *elíc-ará'ar-tuq*  
 b. *elíc-aráràr-aa*                'he is learning it early (earlier than expected)'.
- (37)     *Unua-ku*                      *ayág-yará'ar-yùg-tua.*  
           this.morning-FUT      go-early-DES-IND.1sg.  
           'I want to go early tomorrow morning.'

Compare with the verb stem |*cuka-*| 'to be fast, come rapidly (not necessarily early)':

- (38) a. *Kiág-yarára-llru-uq*                      *allragni.*  
           be.summer-early-PST-IND.3sg.      last.year  
           'Last year the summer came *early*.'  
 b. [*Allragni-m<sub>G</sub>*            *kia-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub>  
           last.year-REL.sg.      be.summer-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
           *cuka-llru-uq.*  
           rapid-PST-IND.3sg.  
           'Last year the summer came *rapidly*.'
- as NN type* – though very rare:
- (39) *unuakua-jaar-qu*  
       'early tomorrow morning' / 'very early in the morning'.

VVa |+*naciay-*| 'to be late in –ing'.

- (40) a. *Aata-ka<sub>S</sub>*                      *tai-nacia-llru-uq.*  
           'Fa-ABS.1sg.sg.      come-late-PST-IND.3sg.  
           'My father was late in coming.'  
 b. *S/Cura-t<sub>S</sub>*                      *qiu-naciar-tut*            *maa=i-rpak.*  
           blueberry-ABS.pl.      ripe-late-IND.3pl.      this.time  
           'Blueberries are late in ripening this year.'

VVa |+*caqliy-*| 'finally'.

- (41) a. *ayag-yaqli-llini-uq*                      '(now I see) he has finally left'.  
           leave-finally-EVD-IND.3sg.

- b. *niic-aqlir-paa!* ‘It is great to hear (from you) at last!  
hear-finally-EXC – § 52.4.1 for the vocative VPc |+<sub>1</sub>paa|.

VVa |-xaay-| ‘after –ing, first –ing’. Typically occurs in appositional verbs (§ 51.2.2-iii), indicating a precedence to the event/state expressed by the main clause. Optionally, a stem-final /c/ and an initial /x/ are fused into /q/ as in the second form of (42a); see also (49) through (51):

- (42) a. *tuqute-rraar-luku ~ tuquq-aar-luku* ‘after killing it  
kill-first-APP.3sg.
- b. *qava-rraar-luta* ‘after we sleep’  
sleep-first-APP.1pl.
- c. *ner-ura-rraar-luni* ‘after eating a while’  
eat-CNT-first-APP.3Rsg.
- d. *aya-ggaar-luni*  
leave-first-APP.3Rsg.  
‘after leaving’ – |ayay-| with velar assimilation (P3.ii).
- (43) *Ui-ka<sub>s</sub> kipuc-u-llru-uq alla-mek,*  
Hu-ABS.1sg.sg. buy-DES-PST-IND.3sg. different-ABM.sg.  
*kuvya-rraar-luni kia-ku.*  
net.fish-first-APP.3Rsg. summer-FUT  
‘My husband wanted to buy another [net] after fishing next summer.’

The suffix *-rraar-* may be followed by nominalization:

- (44) *yu-ng’e-qa-rraa-llr-a* ‘how it (place) first got its people’  
person-get-ITS-first-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.
- (45) *aya-ka-rraa-qacaga-l-qa yuilqu-mun*  
go-ITS-first-ITS-VNm-IND.1sg.sg. tundra-ALL.sg.  
‘the very first time that I went to the tundra’  
– with two intensifiers VVa |-qay-| (§ 41.3.4, § 51.2.2-iii) and VVa  
|-k\*ac(c)a(y)ay-| (§ 41.3.5).

The nominalization by |-ny-|, followed by a possessed ablative-modalis inflection, is now a quasi-connective marker meaning ‘since’, as fully illustrated in § 50.11.3:

- (46) *mik-raar-nr-anek* ‘since he was small’  
small-first-VNm-ABM.3sg. / small-CNNsince-3sg.

The suffix, however, may occur in a simplex sentence as well, at least in the optative mood:

- (47) *eme-rraar-a* ‘you (sg.) eat first’ – OPT.2sg.  
*eme-rraar-lii* ‘let me drink first’ – OPT.1sg.; |*imȳ-*| ‘to drink’.

This suffix may possibly be related to VVa|t/NN |*+yaa(ȳa)ȳ-*| ‘early, just -ing, starting to’ and NN ‘early’ in (51b):

- (48) *nau-gaar-tuq* ‘it just starts to grow (early growth)’  
 – |*nau-*| ‘(plant) to grow, put out’.

With stem-final /c/ fused into /q/ – see also (42a):

- (49) *enq-aar-tuq* ‘it is receding now/early’  
 – |*inc-*| ‘(water) to go down, ebb’  
*enq-aara-llru-uq* ‘the tide receded early’.

- (50) *Akerta<sub>s</sub> piq-aara-llru-uq* [arvinleg-*nek*  
 sun.ABS.sg. rise-just.start-PST-IND.3sg. six-ABM.pl.  
*kau-llr-ani*].  
 strike-PST-CNNwn.3sg.  
 ‘The sun started to rise at six o’clock.’ – |*pic-*| ‘(sun) to rise’.

- (51) a. *ul-qaar-tuq*  
 ‘the tide is early coming’ – |*uli-*| ‘to rise, flood; high tide’  
 b. *ul-qaara-a-m kingu-akun*  
 high.time-early-EV-REL.sg. behind-PRL.3sg.  
 ‘after the early incoming tide’.

### 3. Intensity (degree/extent)

A considerable number of VVa suffixes intensify the content of primary or derived verbal stems (incl. adjectival stems). Many of them are apparently composite, although they mostly defy any clear morphological analysis. They comprise three groups of suffixes that also may occur as intensifiers of the NN type – 1) |*-piȳ-*| ~ |*-piaȳ-*| ‘genuine’, etc. (§ 41.3.1), 2) |*+pay-*| ‘big’, etc. (§ 41.3.2), 3) |*+ȳinaȳ-*| ‘merely, nothing more’, etc. (§ 41.3.3) – as well as 4) |*-qayȳ-*| (§ 41.3.4), whose function is hard to identify and the fifth group 5) that comprises a number of miscellaneous intensifiers (§ 41.3.5) each taken as primary.

Complete or partial reduplication, two (or more) times, may occur with some group 1) suffixes, as is the case with aspectual VVt  $|+(u)ma-|$  ‘to be –ing for a long time / have been –ed’ (§ 42). The process emphasizes the degree, size, length of time, and intensity of the verbal action or state, but it may sound somewhat playful or informal and is not usually found in the speech of elders. The partial reduplication only adds the suffix-initial CVC to the suffix. See relevant sections for examples.

Some suffixes often trigger a disturbance of the general prosodic pattern (in the form of a regressive accent; cf. P18vii) or a segmental truncation of a preceding stem. A few intensifiers, e.g.  $|-qapia(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}|$ ,  $|+pay-|$ ,  $|-xlainay^*-|$ , show a morphological anomaly, that is, postinflectional derivation (§ 4.1.3.2).

### 3.1. Group 1 $|-piyc-| \sim |-pia\dot{y}-|$ , etc.

Table 41a: VV suffixes of intensity – group 1

VVa/VN	$ -piyc-  \sim  -pia\dot{y}- $	‘really, genuinely’
VVa	$ -qapicyc-  \sim  -qapia(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}- $	‘very (much), at all, just, exactly, really, in earnest’
VVa	$ +_1ca\dot{y}pia\dot{y}- $	‘almost (finished)’

VVa  $|-piyc-| \sim |-pia\dot{y}-|$  ‘really, genuinely’. See § 20.1 for NN/VN  $|-piy-| \sim |-pia\dot{y}-|$ .

- (52)  $ner^{[1]}$ -**pigg-luni** /  $ner^{[1]}$ -**piar-luni** ‘he is really eating, eating enough’  
eat-really-APP.3Rsg.
- (53) **assi-piar-tuq** ~ **as-piar-tuq** ~ **assi-pigt-uq** ‘it is very good’  
good-really-IND.3sg.  
– the second, with shortened stem, is somewhat more emphatic.
- (54) a. **assike-piar-qa** ‘I like it very much’  
like-really-IND.1sg.3sg. – see § 46.1 for the shortened inflection
- b. **ecu-ite-pia-lria** *nanvaq*  
murky-PRV-really-VNrl.ABS.sg. lake.ABS.sg.  
‘very clear/transparent lake’
- c. **niicugni-pia-llru-unga** ‘I listened with great interest’  
listen-really-PST-IND.1sg.
- d. **tupi-piar-uma-lrii-k**  
weave-really-PSV-VNrl-ABS.du.  
‘grass socks, lit. the two that are genuinely woven’ [YEEM 316]

With reduplication – generally for emphasis, though some people may think this childish:

- (55) *quya-pia.(...)piar-tuq* ‘he is very very (...) glad/thankful’  
 thankful-ITS.RPT-IND.1sg.  
*ang-pia.(...)piar-tuq* ‘it is very very (...) big!’
- (56) *iki-u-pia.piaq* ‘someone/something extremely ugly’  
 ugly-be-ITS.RPT.ABS.sg.  
 – interpretation of *-u-* as relational verb is at best tentative.

The variant *-piar-* in particular may be replaced with another intensifier *-qapig(c)-* (just below) perhaps more commonly by older speakers:

- (57) *qaya-li-yu-pia-llru-nric-aaq-aanga*  
 kayak-make-wish-really-PST-NEG-but-IND.3sg.1sg  
 ‘he did not really wish to make me a kayak (but...)’  
 cf. *qaya-li-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-aanga*.

The following three suffixes can emphasize negation:

VVa *|-qapiyc-|* / *|-qapia(ȳa)ȳ-|* ‘just, exactly, very (much), at all, really, intently, in earnest, with a strong will, with one’s strength’ – spotlighting, adding a higher degree of focus, concentration, or emphasis.

Deletion of /ȳa/ (P18v) for the latter variant would seem almost obligatory (sometimes with prosodic disturbances).

The first syllable /qa/ may possibly reflect the *|+qay-|* (§ 41.3.4), which functions as a spotlights (SPL).

The suffix has some idiosyncracies not shared by any other suffixes.

*|-qapiyc-|*:

- (58) a. *ner<sup>(c)</sup>-qapigt-ua* ‘I just ate (hungrily, not drinking, ...)’  
 b. *tai-qapigt-ua* ‘I came for nothing, in vain, just came, empty-handed (e.g. in potlatch)’  
 c. *(e)meqsu-kapigt-ua* ‘I am very thirsty’ – negativized in (76).
- (59) a. *mingqe-qapigt-uq* ‘she is sewing (with much enthusiasm)’ – *|miŋqi-|* ‘to sew’  
 b. *alinge-qápigt-uq* ‘he is very much afraid’ – *|aliŋi-|*  
 c. *alike-qápigt-aa* ‘he is very much afraid of it’ – *|aliki-|*  
 – *aling-qapigt-uq* and *alík-qapigt-aa* with *e* deleted are stronger (‘extremely’).

- (60) a. *tanger-qapigt-aanga* ‘he looked at me intensely / stared at me’  
 see-ITS-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ≙ *tangrr-inar-aanga* [K] ~ *tangerr-nginar-aanga* [Y] (§ 41.3.3)
- b. *Tua=i tang, [u-u-m Nuk’a-m]<sub>A</sub>*  
 so see this-EX-REL.sg. p.n.-REL. sg.  
*tangerr-su-kapiges-kiinga.*  
 see-DES-ITS-OPT.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘See, this person Nukaq wants to see me very much.’
- (61) *Drive-qapigt-luni ava=i kitur-tuq.*  
 drive-ITS-APP.3Rsg. there pass-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He just passed by, driving busily.’
- (62) [*Piipi-m<sub>G</sub> aqumler-a*]<sub>S</sub> *pitalqe-kapigg-luni.*  
 baby-REL.sg. chair-ABS.3sg.sg. fit-ITS-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘The baby fits into her/his (another’s) chair just right.’  
 – cf. *pi-tateke-* ‘to be of the same degree/size’, cf. § 45.6.2.
- (63) *Tang yaa=i paiv-nga-qapigt-luni.*  
 ATN there put.out-STT-ITS-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Look, there it is, right out in the open!’ [PA]

after relational verb NVrv |+ɲu-| ‘to be’ – meaning ‘important’:

- (64) a. *inerqu-ut-ngu-qapigt-uq* ‘it is a very important rule’ [AKKL 42]  
 admonish-means-be-ITS-IND.3sg
- b. *cayara-u-qapiar-tuq* ‘it is a very important custom/festival’  
 custom-be-ITS-IND.3sg.

As is often the case with emphatic suffixes, this can trigger vowel deletion or a regressive accent in the stem for the sake of expressiveness – see § 9.5 (P 23) for more examples.

- (65) *nanite-qapigt-uq* ~ *nanit-qapigt-uq* ‘it is very short – |nanit-|.
- (66) a. *assi-qapigt-uq* ~ *assi-q’apigt-uq* ‘it is very good’  
 good-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 – second form being more exclamatory, emotional, or strong
- b. *kanáqla-lí-qapigt-uq* ~ *kanáqla-lì-q’apigt-uq*  
 muskrat-lots.of-ITS-IND.3sg.
- c. ‘there are a lot of muskrats’.

- (67) a. *ca-qápiǵt-aqáma* ~ *ca-qàp'igt-aqáma* 'I very seldom do ...'  
do.something-ITS-CNNwv.1sg.  
b. *Ca-qápiǵl-luni* *tuqú-llru-a?*  
do.something-ITS-APP.3Rsg. die-PST-INT.3sg.  
'Just how did he die?'

VVa/VN/NN |-qapia(ǵa)ǵ-|:

- (68) a. *assi-qapiar-tuq* /así|qàp|piáx|tuq/ 'it is very good'  
cf. *ausi-qapiar-tuq* /á|siqá|piáx|tuq/ – in a relaxed mood as when the  
speaker is full; see (P18iv.e)  
b. *as-qapiar-tuq* 'it is very good!'  
– with /i/ of the stem deleted  
cf. *assi-qapiar* ~ *as-qapiar* 'very good!'  
– particle-like; see iv) below.
- (69) a. *atu-qapiarar-aa* 'he is using it exactly, to its full extent'  
use-ITS-IND.3sg.3sg.  
b. *atu-qapia(ra)r-tuq* (IND.3sg.) 'he is using (s.t.) exactly, to full extent'  
– much more common with deletion.
- (70) *anglanake-qapiarar-ait*  
enjoy-ITS-IND.3pl.3pl.  
'they enjoy them very much, just love or find interest in them' [LL]

Partial reduplication may occur, though rare:

- (71) *ang-qap-qapiar-tuq* 'it is very very big!' [EM]

Often in the connective moods (§ 50):

- (72) a. *tama-q'apiar-ma* 'absolutely all of me' (CNNst.1sg.)  
b. *tama-q'apiar-an* 'absolutely all of it' (CNNst.3sg.)  
c. *tama-q'apiara-amta* 'absolutely all of us' (CNNbc.1pl.)  
– verbal quantifier |tamaǵ-| 'to be all' (§ 14.10.3.1).

A final /ǵa/ followed by /a/ may become /ǵii/ by (P6-ii) – see also (89):

- (73) *sugtu-qapiari-ima* 'as I was very tall', cf. |suytu-| 'to be tall'  
– see (P6ii) for /ii/ from /aa/ in |-qapiaǵaǵ+ηama| (CNNbc.1sg.).



## Deverbalization – nominalization and relativization:

- (74) (e)*me-qapiara-lleq* ‘really drinking, in earnest’  
 cf. (e)*mer-ua-lleq* ‘play at drinking, not in earnest’ – VVa |+*ɲuaỵ*-|.
- (75) *qerru-qata-qapiara-lria-mek*  
 freeze-IMN-ITS-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
 ‘one who is definitely freezing to death’ [YQYL 138]

i) Negation – by the general negator VVn |-*nyit*-|:

- (76) a. (e)*meqsu-kapigte-nrit-uq* ‘he is not very/that thirsty’  
 be.thirsty-ITS-NEG-IND.3sg. – cf. (78)  
 b. *angya-li-yu-kapigte-nrit-aanga*  
 boat-make-wish-ITS-NEG-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he is not as enthusiastic to make me a boat’.
- (77) a. *kangi-ng-uma-qapiara-nrit-uq* ‘it is not clearly understood’  
 source-get-STT-ITS-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 b. *nallu-nri-qapiara-uma-nrit-aput*  
 not.know-NEG-ITS-STT-NEG-IND.1pl.3pl.  
 ‘we don’t really know much about them’  
 – /t/ deleted of lexicalized stem *nallu-nrit*.

Conversely before the intensifier, various negators (incl. NV) are attested (‘not at all’):

- (78) a. (e)*meqsu-nrit-qapigt-uq* ‘he’s not at all thirsty’  
 be.thirsty-not-ITS-IND.3sg. cf. (76a)  
 b. *nallu-nrit-qapiara-uma-nrit-aput*  
 ignorant-not-ITS-STT-IND.1pl.3pl.  
 ‘we don’t really know much about it’ [VBER 2]
- (79) *qaya-li-ciite-kapigte-llini-uten*  
 kayak-make-A’.IGN-ITS-EVD-IND.2sg.  
 ‘you (sg.) don’t know (at all) if you’re making a kayak’.
- (80) a. *melug- / [K] kuingir-ngait-qapigt-ua*  
 smoke-will.not-ITS-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I will not smoke at all’ – VVn -*ngait*- ‘will not’  
 b. *melug- / [K] kuingir-yuumiite-qapigt-ua*  
 smoke-have.no.desire-ITS-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I don’t wish to smoke at all’.

(81) *ca-it(e)-qapigt-uq* 'he has absolutely *nothing*'  
 some-PRV-ITS-IND.3sg.

(82) *niic-uit-qapiar-tuq* 'he hardly listens'  
 hear-cannot-ITS-IND.3sg.

ii) *As nominal suffixes – VN or NN:*

(83) a. *ang-qapiara-a-k* *arna-k*  
 big-very-EV-ABS.du. woman-ABS.du.  
 'two very big women'

b. *ang-qapik* ~ *ang-qapiar* *arnaq*  
 big-ITS.ABS.sg. woman.ABS.sg.  
 'very big woman!' – cf. NN *-pig-*, *-piar-*.

Note that (b) is more exclamative and the dual form *\*ang-qapiik arna-k* 'two very big women' is hardly acceptable, unlike (a). By contrast, the relativized *ang-qapigte-llria* 'one that is very big' may occur as a dual *ang-qapigte-llriik*, which is not an exclamation, but only a description. Likewise:

(84) *qat-qapik* *qanikcaq*  
 white-ITS snow.ABS.sg. – |qatɣ̣-| 'to be white'  
 'very white snow!' [SK]

cf. *qat-qapigte-llria* *qanikcaq*  
 white-ITS-VNrl.ABS.sg. snow.ABS.sg.  
 'very white snow'.

(85) *assi-qapiar* ~ *as-qapia(ra)r* 'very good!' ≡ *assir-paa*

cf. *assi-qapiar-tuq* ~ *as-qapiar-tuq* 'it is very good!'  
*assi-qapiara-llru-uq* [PST].

(86) a. *menu-it-qapiar* 'very clean!' – |m̄inu+ɣit-|  
 blemish-PRV-ITS

b. *Pite-ksait-ua* *ca-it-qapik* *erner-pak.*  
 catch-not.yet-IND.1sg. some-PRV-ITS.ABS.sg. day-ABS.sg.  
 'I have not yet caught anything at all today.'

cf. (81) *ca-it-qapigt-uq*.

(87) a. *àk'allá-qàpiar* *pi-li-nguaq*  
 old-ITS.ABS.sg. thing-make-imitation.ABS.sg.  
 'very old (ancient) artifact'

b. *àk'allá-qàpiára-á-t* *pi-lí-nguat* (pl.).

- (88) *arnassaga-qapiara-u-guq / -urt-uq*  
old.woman-ITS-be/become-IND.3sg.  
'she is/has become a very old woman'.
- (89) a. *nal-qapiari-i* 'exact time of it'  
correspond-ITS-ABS.3sg.sg.  
– |*nali-*| 'corresponding in time or place' (§ 11.2.1)  
b. *nal-qapiari-ikun* 'through the exact place/time of it'  
what.part-ITS-ABS.3sg.sg.

iii) *After ignoratives and particles:*

- (90) a. *na-t-qapiar* 'exactly where'  
– see § 12.3.3 for |+*t-*| 'part, side' (after adverbial demonstratives)  
*na-t-qapiara-ani* 'at the exact location of it' (LOC.3sg.sg.)  
b. *na-te-qva-qapig-ni /-mi* 'just exactly where' (*-qva-* advanced; LOC)  
cf. *na-te-qva-ni* 'just where'  
c. *na-nte-qapiar-ta?* 'where exactly it is?' (locative verb).

A remarkable anomaly in the following two is that the suffixes occur after inflection; they are not bound phrases and have no preboundary accent regression, that is, they are not articulated as \*/*kinà(q)qàppiax/* or \*/*nani(q)qàppiax/*:

- (91) *ki-na-qapiar* /*kiná·qàppiax/* 'exactly who?'  
who-EX.ABS.sg.-ITS
- (92) a. *Na-ni-qapiar pi-a?* /*nani·qàppiax/*  
where-LOC-ITS do-INT.3sg.  
'Where is he exactly?'  
b. [*Na-ni-qapiar pi-llru-ci-a*]<sub>p</sub>  
where-LOC-ITS do-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*nallu-aqa.*  
not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'I don't know exactly where he did it.' [MM]

This cannot inflect, hence \**nani-qapiar-ta* (INT.3sg.) for (92a) above is not grammatical.

The following are likewise not bound phrases (e.g. \*/*qakù(q)qàppiax/*):

- (93) a. *qaku-qapiar* /*qakù·qàppiax/* 'exactly when (in the future)'  
*qangva-qapiar* /*qanvaqá·piax/* 'exactly when (in the past)'  
b. *qaill-qapik* 'exactly how' – *qaill* as truncation of [*qaitun*].

- (94) *angú* ≠ *qàpiar* ‘absolutely not!’ – *angu* ‘no!’  
*wát* ≠ *qàpiar* ~ *qapiaq* ‘never, at all; just like this’  
 – EQL *wa-ten* ‘like this’.

iv) *Comparisons with other intensifiers* – VVa (group 2) |+*pay*-|, |+*pakay*-|, and particle |*cakny*-|:

- (95) suck-DES-ITS-IND.1sg.  
 a. *melug-yug-pag-tua* ‘I want to eat fish eggs *in a big way, voraciously*’  
 b. *melugyug-pakar-tua* ‘I want to eat fish eggs *often, repeatedly*’  
 c. *melug-yu-kapigt-ua* ‘I *very much* want to eat fish eggs’  
 ≡ *melug-yug-tua cakneq* (ITS) perhaps stronger desire than (c).
- (96) a. *ange-nru-vakar-tuq*  
 i. ‘how delightful!’ / ii. ‘it is bigger (so...)’  
*ange-nru-vakar* ≡ *ange-nru-vag-ta*  
 i. ‘how exciting!’ / ii. ‘how much bigger it is (than this *uu-mi*)’  
 b. *ange-nru-piar-tuq*  
 ‘it is very much bigger (than this one *uu-mi*)’.
- (97) a. *uci-p’ag-tuq* ‘it is loaded down, has a great load’  
 load-ITS-IND.3sg.  
 b. *uci-p’a-kapigt-luni* ‘it being loaded heavily!’  
 – *uci-* < |*uci-liy*-| ‘load-supply.with’  
 c. *ucia-qapigt-luni* / *ucia-pag-tuq*  
 heavily.laden-ITS-APP.3Rsg. / IND.3sg.

VVa |+*caypiay*-| ‘almost’

- (98) *ayuq-sarpiar-aa* ‘it is almost like it (another)’ – |*ayuqi*-| ‘to resemble’  
 cf. *ayuq-aa* ‘it resembles it (another)’.
- (99) *Neqe-t<sub>p</sub>*      *nere-llru-it*      *nang-yarpiar-luki*.  
 fish-ABS.pl.    eat-PST-IND.3pl.3pl.    use-almost-APP.3pl.  
 ‘They finished eating almost all the fish.’  
 – cf. also § 14 (139) *nang-yapiar-lua* ‘finishing me also’.
- (100) *Allrakurc-arpiar-lua*      *malru-gnek*      *tange-qsait-anka*.  
 year.pass-almost-APP.1sg.    two-ABM.du.    see-not.yet-IND.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘I haven’t seen them for almost two years.’

## 3.2. Group 2 |+pay-|, etc.

Initial /p/ may be intervocalically fricativized to /v/ (P2.i), and often delete stem-final apical /t/ or /c/ (thus with /+<sub>1</sub>p/; P5i.a). See also other *p/v*-initial suffixes in § 20.1 (NN type) and in § 52.4.1 (VPc type).

Table 41b: VV suffixes of intensity – group 2

VVa/NN + <sub>1</sub> pay-	‘greatly, intensely, a lot’
VVa  + <sub>1</sub> paayay-	‘steadily’ – less intensity and more duration than above
VVa  + <sub>1</sub> pakay-  /  + <sub>1</sub> piiy-	‘so much, frequently, all the time’
VVa  + <sub>1</sub> palay-	‘intensely, a lot, suddenly’
VVa  + <sub>1</sub> paluy-	‘most, mostly’

VVa/NV |+<sub>1</sub>pay-| ‘greatly, intensely, a lot’: Very often with more or less lexically conditioned disturbances such as a regressive accent (P18vii), syllable syncopation, and other phonological peculiarities, as is also the case with NN type (given separately in § 20.1). The selection of /v/ variant is lexically conditioned. The exclamative particlerizer |+*paal*| (§ 52.4.1) should most likely come from this suffix. See (P2i) for initial fricative.

- (101) *tanqig-pag-tuq* ‘it is very bright’  
 cf. *tanqig-pak* ~ *tanqig-pak* (NN) ‘great brightness’.
- (102) *kegge-pag-aa* /kixip̄p̄ayaa/ ~ *keg-pag-aa* ‘it bit her/him hard’.
- (103) *kit’e(r)-pag-tuq* ~ *ki-p’ag-tuq*  
 ‘he/it sank/fell strongly’ – |*kic-*| ‘to drop’.
- (104) *angnir-pag-tuq* /áŋnixp̄áxtuq/ ~ *angni’r-pag-tuq* /áŋnixp̄axtuq/  
 ‘he is very happy’.
- (105) *cingqu’r-vag-tuq*  
 ‘it (e.g. balloon) pops, cracks violently’ – |*cingqi-*| ‘to crack’.
- (106) *iqa-p’a-lria* ‘one that is very dirty’ (-*lria* VNrl.ABS.sg.)  
*iqar-pa-lriit* *atur-a-nka* ‘my very dirty clothes’  
 dirt-big-VNrl.ABS.pl. wear-VNrl.ABS.1sg.pl.

With stem-final segment deletion:

- (107) *nut-pag-aa* ‘she blasted him (with a gun)’ – |*nuty-*| ‘to shoot’  
*qe-p’ag-aa* ‘he hugs her hard’ – |*qic-*| ‘to embrace’  
*uci-p’ag-tuq* ‘it is loaded down, has a great load’  
 – *ucir-* < |*uci-liy-*| ‘load, supply.with’

- qaca-p'ag-aa* ~ *qac-pag-aa* 'he slapped/hit it hard'  
 – |*qacay̅c-*| 'to slap'  
*pit-pag-tuq* 'he shot (with an arrow with much force)'  
 – |*pity-*| 'to shoot'  
*tuk-pag-luni* 'it (e.g. gun) kicking' – |*tuky-*| 'to push against'.

- (108) *amel-pag-tuq* ~ *amel-vag-tuq*  
 'he took a big step' – |*amliy-*| 'to step over'  
*ayak-pag-luni*  
 'he is taking off – |*ayakay-*| 'very fast'.
- (109) *arug-pag-tuq* 'it is fully of smoke' – *aruvak* 'smoke'.

Often with postvocalic epenthesis of /y̅/:

- (110) *cali-r-pag-tuq* ~ *cali-p'ag-tuq*  
 'he is working very hard' (-*r-* EC, -*tuq* IND.3sg.)  
 cf. (111) *cali-pag-tuq* 'he says "cali" (more) loudly'  
*nere-r-pag-tuq* 'he is eating huge amounts'  
 cf. *nere-pag-tuq* 'he is eating a lot'  
*qalla-r-vag-tuq* 'it is really boiling'  
*tuqute-r-pag-aa* 'he killed it in a big way'.

May stand after a particle, meaning 'to say loudly':

- (111) *tua=i-pag-tuq* (INT-ITS-IND.3sg.)  
 'he says "tua=i" (stop) loudly'  
*atata-pag-tuq* 'he says "atata" (later) loudly'  
*tai=tai-pag-tuq* 'he says "tai=tai" (come) loudly'  
*wall'u-pag-tuq* 'he says "wall'u" (or) loudly'  
*cali-pag-tuq* 'he says "cali" (more) loudly'.

By contrast, the verb *qan-pag-tuq* (|*qany-*| 'to say') is used to cite an inflecting word:

- (112) *qan-pag-tuq*      *ner-i*      'he says "eat!" loudly'.  
 speak-ITS-IND.3sg.    eat-OPT.2sg.

Various suffixes following:

- (113) *maqi-r-pa-yuit-uq*      'he never takes an intense steam bath'  
 bathe-EC-ITS-never-IND.3sg.

- (114) a. *mangel-pag-a-uq*  
 ‘he is having a big sob’ – |*manŋɬy-*| ‘to sob’, -*a*- STT
- b. [*Kiug-na*                      *angun*                      *taluya-li-lria*]<sub>s</sub>  
 inside-EX-ABS.sg.    man.ABS.sg.    trap-make-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*atur-pag-a-uq*.  
 sing-ITS-STT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man making a fish trap inside is singing loudly.’
- (115) a. *iqu-r-va-ut-aa*                                      ‘he had a big fall with it’  
 fall-EC-ITS-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.
- b. *mileq-pa-ut-aa* ~ *mil-pa-ut-aa*  
 fling-ITS-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he flung it away’ – root |*mil-*|, |*milqaŋ-*| ‘throw’, E<sub>APL</sub> |+(u)c-|.
- (116) *ekur-pag-cet’-la-llru-a*  
 burn-ITS-A’.let-HAB-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he used to let it burn intensely’.
- (117) *uci-p’a-kapigl-luni*                                      ‘it is being heavily loaded!’  
 – cf. (97) *uci-p’ag-tuq* above.

*Exclamative:* For interrogative-mood verbs, see § 48.4-i for more examples. See also VVa |*+pakay-*| below.

- (118) a. *ca-vag-cit!*                                      ‘you (sg.) are lucky!’ – INT.2sg.  
*pinir-pag-cit!*                                      ‘you (sg.) are strong!’
- b. *cali-vag-cia!*                                      ‘how I am working!’ – INT.1sg.
- c. *cali-vag-ta!*                                      ‘how he is working!’ – INT.3sg.  
 cf. (*ciin*) *cali-vakar-ta?*                      ‘(why) is he working so much?’
- (119) (*c*)*ella-kegci-vag-ta!*                                      ‘what a beautiful day!’  
 weather-have.good-ITS-INT.3sg.  
 ≡ (*c*)*ella-kegci-vaa!* – with exclamative particle VPc |*+paa*| (§ 52.4.1).
- (120) [*ene-ma<sub>G</sub>*                      *ilu-a*]<sub>s</sub>                                      *kiirce-pag-ta!*  
 house-REL.1sg.sg.    inside-ABS.3sg.sg.    hot-ITS-INT.3sg.  
 ‘how hot my house is!’
- (121) *neq-ka-i-pag-ceta!*                                      ‘we have no food!’  
 fish-FUT-PRV-ITS-INT.1pl.

Various suffixes preceding the intensifier:

- (122) *uita-vig-ka-ite-qata-**urlur-pag**-cia=lli*  
 stay-place-FUT-PRV-IMN-END-ITS-INT.1sg.=ENC  
 ‘how sad there will be no place for me to stay!’
- (123) *kai-**llini-vag**-cit!* ‘(so I see) you (sg.) are very hungry!’  
 hungry-EVD-ITS-INT.2sg.  
 cf. \**kaig-pa-llini-cit!*
- (124) *maqi-yug-**yaaq-vag**-cia!*  
 bathe-DES-CTR-ITS-INT.1sg.  
 ‘how I’d like to take a steam-bath!’
- As NV type – see § 20.1:*
- (125) *qanug-pag-tuq* ‘it is snowing hard’  
*anug<sup>1</sup>-vag-tuq* ‘it is very windy’.

VVa |+<sub>1</sub>*paayaŋ*-| ‘quite a bit’. Implies less intensity but longer duration than the preceding VVa |+*pay*-|.

- (126) a. *nere-**paagar**-tuq* ‘he is eating quite a bit’ – eating more than  
*nere-**pag**-tuq*  
 b. *qanug-**paagar**-tuq* ‘it is snowing’ – longer duration (or more than  
 usual) than *qanug-**pag**-tuq*  
 c. *kiir-**paagar**-tuq* ‘it is hot’ – steadily hotter than *kiir-**pag**-tuq*  
*qava-p’**aagar**-tuq* vs. *qava-p’**ag**-tuq*.
- (127) a. *nengel-**vaagartuq*** vs. *nengel-**vag**-tuq*  
 b. *Nengel-**vaaga**-ng-kan* *uksuaqu tai-ciŋ-ua.*  
 cold-ITS-INC-CNNif.3sg. winter.FUT come-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 ‘When it starts to stay cold in the fall, I will come.’
- (128) a. *Tegum-**paagar**-luni iter-tuq* *eqia-nek.*  
 have-ITS-APP.3Rsg. enter-IND.3sg. wood-ABM.pl.  
 ‘He came in with a lot of chopped wood.’  
 – *tegumig-* ‘to put/carry (s.t.) in hands/arms’  
 b. *tegum-**pag**-luni* – implies more wood.

VVa |+<sub>1</sub>*pakay*-| / |+<sub>1</sub>*piiy*-| ‘so much, all the time, consistently, repeatedly, frequently’.

- (129) *neplir-**paka**-lria* ‘one making so much noise’  
 noisy-ITS-VNrl.ABS.sg.



- (130) *cali-vaka-llru-ut* ‘they worked steadily’  
 work-ITS-PST-IND.3pl.  
 – *cali-ura-llru-ut* with VVa/t |*+t/γ/₁qu(ȳa)ȳ-*| ‘to keep on – ing; repeatedly’ (§ 41.3.5, § 42.2.3) may be preferred by some speakers.
- (131) [*Ki-na qakem-na*]<sub>s</sub> *kaug-tuar-pakar-ta?*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. outside-EX.ABS.sg. strike-CNT-ITS-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Who is outside beating (something) all the time?’

The suffix may expect another clause to follow.

- (132) a. *Ang-vakar-tuq, u-na<sub>p</sub> pi-yuumiit-aqa.*  
 big-ITS-IND.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. do-not.wish-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘(Because) it is too big, (so) I don’t want this.’ – |*aŋi-*|
- b. *Ange-nru-vakar-tuq*  
 i. ‘(because) it is bigger, it is bigger (so...)’  
 ii. ‘how delightful!’
- (133) *Ner-vakar-tuq taqe-sq-i-u.*  
 eat-much-IND.3sg. finish-A’.ask-FUT-2sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is eating too much, you (sg.) tell him to stop.’ – |*niȳi-*|.
- (134) *naulluu-vakar-ni-luku*  
 sick-ITS-A’.say-APP.3sg.  
 ‘(he is) saying that she has been sick *for a long time*’.

Stem-final apical deletion often occurs:

- (135) a. *nii-pakar-luku* ‘listening to it repeatedly’  
 hear-ITS-APP.3sg. – |*niic-*|
- b. *Kass’a-t<sub>s</sub> teki-paka-yuite-llru-ut.*  
 white.man.ABS.pl arrive-ITS-never-PST-IND.3pl. – |*tekic-*|.  
 ‘White men did not often come.’
- c. *cella-me-paka-ama* ‘as I was outdoors so long’  
 ourdoors-be.at-ITS-CNNbc.1sg. – locative verb |*+m(i)t-*|.

To intensify a negation or another intensifier:

- (136) *niite-ksai-paka-amken*  
 hear-not.yet-ITS-CNNbc.1sg.2sg.  
 ‘since I have not heard from you (sg.) for so long’.

- (137) *Ciin an-yuumii-paka-lar-cit?*  
 why go.out-not.care-ITS-CUS-INT.2sg.  
 ‘Why are you (sg.) always reluctant to go out at all?’  
 – VVn |+<sub>1</sub>cuumiit-|.
- (138) *unang-liq-siyaag-paka-llr-it* ‘that they caught too much (game)’  
 obtain-catch.lot-too.much-ITS-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 – see § 38.3 for NV *-liqe-* ‘to catch lots’, although occurring after verb stems.

Exclamative – in interrogative-mood verbs (§ 48.4-ii) or with the particlizer VPc |+<sub>1</sub>paa| (§ 52.4.1):

- (139) *it-yui-pakar-cit!*  
 enter-never-ITS-INT.2sg.  
 ‘why haven’t you (sg.) come in all this time!’ – VVn |-<sub>1</sub>cuuit-|.
- (140) *uuminqe-ur̄lur-yaaq-vakar-paa(=lli)=tanem* ‘how terribly bad!’  
 infuriating-END-CTR-ITS-EXC=EXC=ENC [perplexity].

*Somewhat lexicalized:*

- (141) *pi-vakar-luni*  
 do-ITS-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(it happened finally) afterwards, after many attempts’  
 – see § 51.2.7 and (159), (160) for examples.

VVa |+<sub>1</sub>püīy-| a dialectal or possibly somewhat archaic variant of |+<sub>1</sub>pakāy-|, distinct from |+<sub>1</sub>püiq-| (future prohibitive optative, § 49.6.2).

- (142) *neplir-pii-lria* ‘one making so much noise’  
 noisy-ITS-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 – *neplir-pa-lria* and *nepli-pia-lria* elsewhere.
- (143) *iqvar-piir-luni* ‘(he is) picking berries so long’  
 pick-ITS-APP.3Rsg.  
 ≙ *iqva-uma-luni* with stative *-uma-*.

VVa |+<sub>1</sub>palay-| ‘intensely, a lot, suddenly’. Lexically limited.

- (144) a. *cingqur-pallag-tuq* ‘it cracked, banged sharply’ – |*ciŋquy-*|  
 b. *kallag-pallag-tuq* ‘it rattled, thumped intensely’ – |*kalayc-*|  
 c. *nuq-pallag-tuq* ‘he pulls (something) too hard’ – |*nuqic-*|

- d. *teng-vallag-tuq* ‘it flew away suddenly’ – |*tijɪ*-|  
 e. *ner-vallag-tuq* ‘he ate a lot’.

VVa |<sub>1</sub>*patuɣ*-| ‘most, mostly’:

- (145) a. *atur-pallur-aa* ‘he uses it the most’  
 b. *cali-vallur-tuq* ‘mostly, he works’.

Often in stative-connective forms of postural roots (§ 36.2):

- (146) *kamilar-pallur-meng*      *kiag-mi*      *pekt-aq-luteng*  
 barefoot-ITS-CNNst-3Rpl.    summer-LOC.sg.    move-REG-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘they mostly walked around barefoot in the summertime’.

### 3.3. Group 3 |<sub>1</sub>*inaɣ*-|, etc.

Table 41c: VV suffixes of intensity – group 3

VVa	<sub>1</sub> <i>inaɣ</i> -	‘only, just, for no particular purpose’
VVa	<sub>1</sub> <i>iinaɣ</i> -	‘further and further away (than expected/scheduled)’
VVa	<i>xlainay</i> *-	‘always, nothing but’
VVa	<i>qainay</i> -	‘only, merely’

VVa/NN |<sub>1</sub>*inaɣ*-| sometimes with postconsonantal /*ɲ*\*/ deletion particularly in Kuskokwim: ‘only, just, for no particular purpose’; ‘only, totality of’. This occurs in the nominalized |<sub>1</sub>*inaɣ*-|, which is a marker of a simultaneous-connective mood (‘while’; § 50.9) and in VV/NN |*xlainay*-| ‘(to do) nothing but, all’ (below).

- (147) *melug-(ng)inar-tuq* [Y] ‘he is just smoking’  
*yuu-nginar-tuq* ‘he leads an ordinary life’ – *yu-u-* (person-be)  
 ‘to live’.

- (148) *tangrr-inar-aanga* ~ *tangerr-nginar-aanga*  
 see-only-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he just sees me (but does nothing further)’  
 – a caution against remaining aloof or oblivious to the needs of others, an attitude that one is not supposed to have in Yupik society.  
 ≡ *tanger-qapigt-aanga*.

Very marginally as an NN type |<sub>1</sub>*inaɣ*\*-|:

- (149) *pai-nginar-mun* ‘only to the (river) mouth’ – |pai-|.
- (150) *yu-inaq* ‘twenty’ – probably from |yuy-| ‘person’ (Table 10).
- (151) *ellii-nginaq* ‘all by himself; in vain’ – particlized from the personal pronoun 3sg. *ellii-*; cf. \**ellmi-nginaq*.

VVa |+<sub>1</sub>η\**iinaŷ-*| ‘further and further away, slowly (than expected or scheduled), more incessantly’.

- (152) *cali-ngiinar-tuq* ‘he is working more and more’  
*ayag-iinar-tuq* ‘he is going further and further’.
- (153) *qanr-iina-sciiga-nii* ‘I can't say any more’  
 speak-further-cannot-APP.1sg.

Also as a part of a quasi-connective marker (CNNqc; § 50.11.2) :

- (154) *Tua=i* *utuma-luni tua-ten*  
 then better-APP.3R.sg. that-EX-EQL  
 |pi-llr-a *im-na=wa*  
 do-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg. that[ANP]-EX.ABS.sg.  
*tarenraq*<sub>s</sub> *ca-tairus-ngiina-nrakun* *unug-mun...*  
 image.ABS.sg. what-no.more-further-CNNqc-3sg. night-ALL.sg.  
 ‘And that was a good thing like that (after) that image she made slowly faded and disappeared into the night...’ [IRES 20–21, 22]

VVa/NN |-*qainaŷ-*| ‘just, merely’ – with little if any difference from the preceding |+η\**inaŷ-*| without |-*qay-*|.

- (155) a. *aya-kainar-tuq* (≡ *ayag-nginar-tuq*) ‘he is just going’.  
 b. *ner(’)-qainar-tuq* ‘he is just eating’  
*ner(’)-qaina-urt-uq* ‘he is ready to eat’  
 – The (inchoative) relational verb suffix NV |+ηuȳc-| may occur after a verb stem as in this last example, though very rare (cf. § 37.3).
- (156) *niite-qaina-lria* ‘one who just listens superficially’ – VNrl.ABS.sg.
- As NN suffix:*
- (157) *yu-kainaq* ‘only a person’, cf. (150).

VV/NN |*-xlainay\**-| ‘to always do, nothing but’ – possibly also related to |*+ŋ\*inay*-| above.

- (158) a. *Tua=i nere-rrlainar-tuten.*  
 then eat-nothing.but-IND.2sg.  
 ‘Stop, you (sg.) are always eating.’ (exclamative complaint)
- b. *Tua=i nere-rrlainaq (elpet)!*  
 then eat-nothing.but.ABS.sg. 2sg.  
 ‘Oh my, you (sg.) are always eating!’  
 – this may be addressed to a third or a first person as well, without the pronoun *elpet*.
- (159) a. *Tua=i nere-rrlainar-luten.*  
 and eat-nothing.but-APP.2sg.  
 ‘And, you (sg.) eat all the time (encouraging).’
- b. *pite-rrlainar-pek’-nani* ‘he does *not always* catch game’  
 catch-always-NEG-APP.3Rsg.  
 – note the negative appositional, forming a partial negative.
- (160) *umyua-ns assir-rlainar-ngait-uq*  
 mind-ABS.2sg.sg. good-always-will.not-IND.3sg.  
 [*ca-m ili-ini*]  
 some-REL.sg. part-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘you won’t always be well-disposed’ [ELLA 88–89]

As NN suffix – ‘nothing but, all’, used without inflection, but with a predicative or a vocative force. See § 5.3.4 for predicate-less sentences:

- (161) a. *(n)ene-rrlainaq / (n)ene-rrlaina-a-t* (pl.)  
 ‘skeleton, skinny’ – |(n)*iny*-| ‘bone’
- b. *qaugyar-rlainaq* ‘desert, all sand’ [YED] – |*qawyaŋ*-| ‘sand’.
- (162) *ii-rrlainaq!* ‘(you) big eyes!’  
*qane-rrlainaq!* ‘(you) big mouth!’
- (163) *Maaten tangrr-aqa qai-nga aug-glainaq*  
 then see-IND.1sg.3sg. surface-ABS.3sg.sg. blood-ITS.ABS.sg.  
 ≙ *augg-laina-u-luni!*  
 blood-ITS-be-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘I saw it, and its surface is all bloody!’ [EM]

The suffix is found to occur to emphasize an equalis word:

- (164) a. *kass'a-tu-rrlainaq* 'all in English'  
 white.man-EQL-nothing.but  
 cf. *kass'a-tun* 'in English'  
 – see |-qapiy~qapia(ȳa)ȳ-| 'just, exactly,...' above, which share the same idiosyncrasies as (92), etc.
- b. *tuatē-rrlainaq* 'always like that'  
 cf. *tua-tēn* 'like that' – adverbial demonstrative (EQL).

It also may emphasize regularity, when used in a constantive-connective verb – see § 50.3 for examples.

### 3.4. Group 4 |-qay-|

VV |-qay-| 'just, merely' (cf. P19) – intensifies a verbal action, with wide range of implications: 'just, for a second, a short while, exactly, instantly, suddenly, as soon as'. See also |-qainay-| above (§ 41.3.3). Very often with some politeness implied (illustrated below). This may conceivably constitute an element of |-qapiyc-| ~ |-qapia(ȳa)ȳ-| (§ 41.3.1).

- (165) *qava-quer-tuq* 'he fell asleep (for a second)' – |-qavay-| 'to sleep'  
*patu-quer-aa* 'he is just covering it' – |-patu-| 'to cover'  
 – note the -*quer-* with /a/ raising by (P19).
- (166) *ermi-kar-tuq* 'he washes his face quickly (without being noticed)' –  
 |-iȳmiȳ-| 'to wash'  
*aya-kar-tuq* 'he went briefly; he ran away'.
- (167) a. *kev-kar-tuq* 'it (rope) snapped breaks (accidentally)' – |-kipi-| 'to break', with /p/ fricativized.  
 b. *kev-kar-tuq* 'it is slightly raised – |-kivy-| 'to lift'.
- (168) *nallu-qa-uma-uq* 'he has lost consciousness (suddenly)'  
*tuqu-qa-uma-uq* 'he suddenly died (e.g. heart attack)'  
 – VVt |+(u)ma-| (CNT/PRF).
- (169) *neq'a-qa'a-rqa* 'I remembered it right away' – |-niqay-| 'to remember'  
 – from *neq'a-qar-arqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) with /ȳa/; see § 46.1.
- (170) *Aya-ka-lleqs* *yuilqu-mun* *assir-tuq*.  
 go-just-VNnm.ABS.sg. tundra-ALL.sg. good-IND.3sg.  
 'Just going out (with no particular purpose for a short period) to the tundra is good.'

Different scopes yield the contrast in the following, with both upper-layered complex transitives:

- (171) a. *issuri-ssu-**qer-ni**-llru-yuk-aqa*  
 seal-hunt-just-A'.say-PST-A".think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I thought he said he went (spotted) seal-hunting briefly'  
 b. *issuri-ssur-**ni-qa**-llru-yuk-aqa*  
 seal-hunt-A'.say-just-PST-A".think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I thought he said briefly that he went (spotted) seal-hunting'

This suffix is the most common conveyer of politeness/indirectness (typically in optative-mood verbs but in appositional-mood as well; more examples in § 49.4.3):

- (172) a. *tai-qer-**li*** 'let him come!' – OPT.3sg. *-li*  
 b. *tai-qèr-**lii*** 'let me come!' – OPT.1sg. *-lii*
- (173) a. *aya-kar-**li*** 'let me go (briefly)!'  
 b. *aya-kàr-**lii*** 'let me run away!'
- (174) *Ata-ka<sub>p</sub> qanrut-**qa**-qi-u*  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. tell-POL-FUT-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
*ayag-yug-tua=gguq.*  
 go-DES-IND.1sg.=RPR  
 'Please tell my dad that I want to go.'

See § 49(80) for future prohibition with *-qer-yaqu-*.

It can also be used for a small degree:

- (175) a. *ciki-qer-ru* 'give me a little!' (polite)  
 b. *ciki-qer-rú* 'give him a little!' (pushy) – with high tone on *-ru*.

*emphatically* ('ever'): before VVn *|-ksait-|* 'not yet' (§ 44).

- (176) *Tanger-**qa**-qsait-ua tiger-aa-mek<sub>(p)</sub>*  
 see-EMP-NEG-IND.1sg. tiger-LNK-ABM.sg.  
 'I have never seen a tiger.'

This may imply temporal immediacy before or after ('as soon as, on *-ing*' / 'just after') in appositional-mood verbs. See § 51.2.2-iv.

*|-qay-|* is also used in somewhat lexicalized appositional verbs with *|pi-|* 'to do' and *|ca-|* 'do something'. See § 51.2.7 for pragmatic functions and sentence examples:

- (177) a. *pi-qer-luni* ‘it happened (suddenly), it came to be noticed’  
 – APP.3Rsg. -*luni*  
 – which is somewhat more usual or general than the following:  
 b. *ca-qer-luni* ‘it happened on one occasion/day’  
 – which is probably something unusual or somewhat different from preceding events. It can also mean literally ‘just as he was doing (something)’. See § 10(10) also.

As NN suffix: ‘exact’– occurs with some location nouns like |*cani-*| ‘beside’ and |*ciu-*| ‘front’, e.g. § 11(91).

### 3.5. Group 5 miscellaneous

*Table 41d: Miscellaneous VV suffixes*

VVa/NN	<i>-k*ac(a)(y)ay-</i>	‘very, to a high degree’
VVa	<i>-siyaay-</i>	‘too (much, many)’
VVa	<i>+t/y<sub>1</sub>qu(ya)y-</i>	‘a little’
VVa/NN	<i>-cua(ya)y-</i>	‘a little’
VVa	<i>-ysi-/y<sub>1</sub>say-</i>	‘just, to no particular end’
VVa	<i>+kaniy-</i>	‘more, further, intensely’
VVa	<i>+vsiaay-</i>	‘more toward (completely)’
VVa	<i>+<sub>1</sub>ta-</i>	‘to be that degree, as – as’
VVa	<i>+<sub>1</sub>mi-</i>	‘also, including’

VVa/NN |*-k\*ac(a)(y)ay-*| ‘very, to a high degree; utmost’. Perhaps limited to a small area (like Nelson Island and the Kuskokwim coast). See NNh/VVh |*-ya(y)ay-|~|ya(y)a(ya)y-*| (§ 20.3) for prosodically conditioned intervocalic /y/ deletion. Foot-medially it is deleted in general, as seen in the pair of the following example:

- (178) a. *qavárni-kácaár-tuq* ‘he is very sleepy’  
 b. *pini-kacágar-tuq*  
 ‘he is very strong’; |*piniy-*| ‘to be physically strong, good’  
 cf. *pini-kacágà-llru-uq*  
*qess-ít-kacágar-tuq* ‘he is very industrious’  
 lazy-PRV-ITS-IND.3sg.
- (179) a. *quya-kacagar-luni* /quyá·kacá·yày̆luni/ ~  
*quya-k’acagar-luni* /quyàkkacá·yày̆luni/  
 thank-ITS-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(he is) being really thankful’



- b. *iqv-iq-kacagar-lua*  
berry-get.lots-very.much-APP.1sg.  
'I really picked a lot!' – *iqv-iq-* from *|iqvay-liqi-|*.
- (180) *iki-u-kacaga-lrii-t*                      *tengmia-t*  
ugly-be-ITS-VNrl-ABS.pl. bird-ABS.pl.  
'very ugly birds'.
- (181) *ang-kac(a)gar-tuq*                      'it is very big'  
*assi-kac(a)gar-tuq*                      'it is very good'  
*cukait-kac(a)gar-tuq*                      'it is very slow'.

Susceptible to partial reduplication:

- (182) a. *kai-kac(a)gar-tuq*                      'he is very hungry'  
hungry-ITS-IND.3sg.  
– somewhat more emphatic than *kai-kapigt-uq*.  
b. *kai-kac.(...)kacagar-tuq*                      'he is very (...) very hungry!'
- (183) a. *angli-kaca(g)ar-tuq*                      'he has become very big' – *angli-* 'to grow'  
b. *angli-k'ac.kacagar-tuq*                      'he has become very very big'.
- (184) *kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *cen-kacaga-ani*  
river-EV-REL.sg.                      bank-ITS-LOC.3sg.sg.  
'right at the river bank'.

An important function of this suffix is its use as an index of the superlative (§ 45.2.2-i) – i) after NN *|(q)liy-|* 'one located in' (§ 11.2.3.1), or ii) comparative nominalization VNnm *|-ny-|* (§ 18.3.2), often with third person plural possessor, forming clausal superlatives when expanded by relational verbs:

- (185) a. *qule-qli-kacaar* / *aci-qli-kacaar* / *kingu-qli-kacaar*  
top/bottom/back-one.located-ITS.ABS.sg.  
'the highest one / lowest one / the very youngest sibling'  
– *|(q)li-k\*ac(a)(y)ay-|*  
b. *Qule-qli-kacaar-mi*                      *uita-uq*.  
top-one.located-ITS.ABS.sg.                      stay-IND.3sg.  
'He stays at the top.'
- (186) a. *ange-n-kacagaq* ~ *ang-ne-qli-kacaar* (stronger)  
big-CMP-ITS.ABS.  
'the biggest one'

- b. *ange-n-kacagi-it*  
‘the biggest one of them’ (|+*ɲat*| ABS.3pl.sg.) – see (P6i) for /i-i/  
c. *ange-n-kacaga-u-guq* ‘it is the biggest one’.  
big-CMP-ITS-be-IND.3sg.
- (187) *quya-n-kacagaq*  
‘thank you very much’ (informal), cf. more formal than *quyana*.

VVa |-*siyaay*-| ~ [Y] |-*saay*-| ‘too (much, many)’

- (188) a. *mik-siyaag-tuq* ‘it is too small’  
b. *mik-siyaa-nrit-uq* ‘it is not too small’.

*often followed by a negator:*

- (189) a. *kuingi-ssiyaa-la-nril-u* ‘(you) don’t smoke too much!’  
smoke-too-CUS-NEG-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
*ciu-qva-u-ssiyaa-nrit-uq* ‘he was not from the ancient times’  
fore-area-be-too-NEG-IND.3sg.  
*neq-ssu-ssiyaag-yu-nrit-lar-tuq*  
fish-see-too-wish-NEG-CUS-IND.3sg.  
‘he usually does not wish to get too much fish’  
b. *anglani-ssiyaa-ksait-ua* ‘I have not enjoyed (s.t.) so much’  
c. *ner’-ssiyaag-yuumiit-uq* ‘he doesn’t care to eat too much’  
eat-too-DES.NEG-IND.3sg.  
– contrast with the reverse order:  
*ner-yuumiite-ssiyaag-tuq* ‘he is not hungry at all, is just not hungry’.

*followed by another intensifier:*

- (190) a. *mik-siyaag-pakag-tuq* ‘it is *too* small’  
b. *mik-siyaa-kapiar-tuq* ‘it is *just* too small’.
- (191) *akitu-ssiyaa-kapiara-llru-yaaq-uq* ‘it was so expensive (but...)’  
expensive-ITS-ITS-PST-CTR-IND.3sg.

*with an alltative (‘for’):*

- (192) [*U-na gaspeq*]<sub>P</sub> *ang-ssiyaag-tuq wang-nun.*  
this-EX.ABS.sg. parka.ABS.sg. big-too-IND.3sg. 1sg.-ALL  
‘This (cloth) parka cover is too big for me.’

VVa |+*t/y/iqu(ya)y-*| ‘a little’ (after adjectival stems) – see § 42.2.3 for the use of aspect marker (CNT). Often used as a modification of a comparative marker.

- (193) a. *ang'-u'r-tuq* 'it is a *little* big'  
 b. *amlle-nru-ur-tuq* 'it is a *little* more (than)'.  
 (194) *Ange-nru-ur-tuq / ange-nru-ura-llru-uq* *wang-ni.*  
 big-more-little-IND.3sg. / big-more-little-PST-IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 'He is / was a little bit bigger than I.'  
 – see § 45.3 for comparative clauses.

VVa/NN |-*cua*(*y*ā)*y*\*-| 'a little' – modifying a comparative marker, just like the preceding.

- (195) *ange-nru-cuar-tuq* 'she is a little bigger (than)'.

VVa |-*ηsi-* / -*ηsay-*| 'just, not concentratedly, to no particular end'

- (196) *aya-ngssi-lar-yaaq-ua*  
 go-just-CUS-CTR-IND.1sg.  
 'I used to just go out (e.g. hunt without much expectation), but now...'  
 (197) *peksu-te-ngssag-lar-yaaq-ua*  
 egg-find-just-CUS-CTR-IND.1sg.  
 'I used to find all kinds of eggs (but now...)'.  
 (198) *Umyua-qa=w's* *pi-ci-mtun* *qane-ngssag-luni.*  
 mind-ABS.1sg.sg.=ENC do-VNnm-EQL.1sg. speak-just-APP.3Rsg.  
 'Different thoughts were randomly going through my mind.' [AKKL 178] – cf. *qane-ngssak* 'chattering'.

VVa |-*kaniy-*| 'more (intensely)'

- (199) a. *ulla-kanir-aa* 'he is moving closer to it' – |-*ulay-*| 'to approach'  
 approach-more-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 b. *gam-te-kanir-aa* 'he turned it [e.g. stove] down'  
 die.down-A-more-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 (200) *ki-a-(q)va-qanir-luni* '(he is) going further upriver'  
 upriver-EX-go.to-more-APP.3ARsg.

VVa |+*vsiaj-*| 'more toward (to complete)'

- (201) *Aren, tua=i unu-an* *teki-vsiar-lutek.*  
 well then night-CNNbc.3sg. arrive-completely-APP.3Rdu.  
 'Well, when night fell, they went to the village.' [QLK 242–243].

May occur after an adverbial demonstrative stem (though rare):

- (202) *pak'm-a-vyia-llru-keka*  
 up-EX-toward-PST-PTP.1sg.3sg.  
 'I addressed it up there' [QNMC 244] – with HBC-variant *-vyia(r)-*.

VVa |+<sub>1</sub>ta-| 'to be that degree, as – as' – typically with an equalis-case adjunct of equality or similarity (e.g. *u-u-tun* 'like this one', *tua-ten* 'like that', *qaillun* 'how'). Can have transitive inflection. See § 45.6.1 for the index for an equalitive construction.

- (203) a. *iqtu-ta-ug* 'it is that wide, as wide as'  
*iqkil-ta-ug* 'it is that narrow' – |*iqkit-*|  
 b. *wang-tun pi-ta-ug*  
 1sg.-EQL do-as.as-IND.3sg.  
 'he is of the same age as I'.
- (204) *Angute-m tua-ten pi-ta-a*  
 man-REL.sg. that-EQL do-as.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*qane-ll-ni<sub>p</sub>*  
 talk-VNrl.ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 'The man ended his talk that way.' – cf. § 45(89) for the transitive  
 cf. *tua-ten pi-ta-ug qane-llr-a<sub>s</sub>* 'his talk ended that way'.
- (205) *qaillun yaaqsig-ta-a?*  
 how far-as.as-INT.3sg.  
 'how far is it (from ABL)?'

The conceivable connection of this index with the |+<sub>1</sub>ta-| initial NV suffixes of existence/acquisition/deprivation (§ 38) and the uniquely prefix-like anaphoric |*ta-*| in demonstrative stems (§ 12.2.3.6-ii) remains an intriguing question.

VVa |+<sub>1</sub>mi-| 'also, including' (possibly implying 'one may think otherwise') – cf. (P5i). Refers only to the subject. On the other hand the enclitic |=*lu*| 'also' may be ambiguous, referring either to the subject, the object, or the verbal content. Note the apical adjustments in the first two examples due to the subscript <sub>1</sub> in |+<sub>1</sub>mi-|:

- (206) a. *nallu-nril-mi-aqa* 'I also know it'  
 not.know-NEG-also-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 cf. *nallu-nrit-aqa=llu* 'I also know it' ~ 'I know *it* as well'.

- b. *Nallu-nril-mi-ug*                      *mingqe-ner-mek.*  
 not.know-NEG-also-IND.3sg.      sew-VNnm-ABM.sg.  
 ‘She also knows (although you might think not) how to sew.’  
 – *|-nyit-|* ‘not’.
- (207)    *kipus-mi-unga*                      ‘I am buying also’ – *|kipuc-|* ‘to buy’.
- (208)    [*Gladys-aa-m<sub>A</sub>=llu*                      *tangerr-mi-ni-agu=llu*  
 p.n.-LNK-REL.sg.=and      see-also-A'.say-CNNbc.3sg.3sg.  
*tau-na<sub>p</sub>]*,                      *Iitarua-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *ellimer-luku*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.      p.n.-REL.sg.                      ask-APP.3sg.  
*tarenra-a<sub>p</sub>*                      *pili-sqe-lluku*  
 image-ABS.3sg.sg.      make-A'.ask-APP.3sg.  
 ‘When Gladys (Dart) said she also saw the same image, Irene (Reed) asked her if she could sketch it.’ [IRES 21]
- (209)    *Aya-katar-mi-ama*                      *upt-ua.*  
 leave-IMN-also-CNNbc.1sg.      ready-IND.1sg.  
 ‘Because I am also leaving, I am getting ready.’  
 cf. *Aya-kata-ama=llu*                      *upt-ua.*  
 ‘Because I am *leaving* (as well as doing something else) ~ I am also leaving, I am getting ready.’

Some old people from the Yukon area in particular occasionally insert *|mi|* before the connective mood marker (§ 50.1) with hardly any sense of ‘also’.

## Chapter 42

### Tense and aspect (VVt)

1.	Tense.....	1211
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Tense and aspect are not verbal categories indexed in CAY inflection, but instead are optionally marked derivational categories. The basic temporal distinction (corresponding to nominal) is given:

Table 42a: VVt suffixes of tense (vs. NN)

VVt past $ -t\dot{y}u- $ ( $\sim  -tqi- $ ) § 42.1-i – two variants in NUN	NN $ -t\dot{y}- $ ‘past, deceased, former’
VVt future $ +{}_1ciqi- $ § 42.1-ii – probability also	NN $ -ka\dot{y}- $ ‘future’

With no tense-aspect marking, the time frame is implicitly the present or immediately past (‘be –ing, has just –ed’).

NN  $|+k^*a\dot{y}-|$  (§ 20.1.1) occurs in future relativizers  $|+ya\dot{y}ka\dot{y}-|$ ,  $|+(s)ti\dot{ka}\dot{y}-|$  (§ 17.4.3., § 17.5.3) and future nominalizers  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}ka\dot{y}-|$ ,  $|+h\dot{y}ka\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.2.1.2, § 18.2.2.2).

The past marker  $|-t\dot{y}u-|$  ( $\sim |-tqi-|$ ) is a composite suffix from the nominalizer VNnm (and NN)  $|-t\dot{y}-|$  (realized event or fact) and intransitive and transitive relational verbs  $|+\eta u-|$  and  $|-ki-|$  ‘to be (one’s) N’ (§ 37.1, § 37.2), and the future marker  $|+{}_1ciqi-|$  is most likely related to the nominalizer VNnm  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}-|$  (implied uncertainty / non-definiteness). These are incidentally the only two nominalizers that are responsible for nominal clauses (§ 18.2.1, § 18.2.2) and can be followed by the future NN  $|+ka\dot{y}-|$ , properties not shared by the other nominalizers (§ 18.2.3, § 18.3).

i) The two tense markers are illustrated.

- (1) *alleg-tuq* (*issrat-ka*)  
 tear-IND.3sg. bag-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘it (e.g. my bag) (just) tore’ – patientive bivalent |aṭỵ-| ‘to tear’
- a. *alle-llru-uq* ‘it tore’  
 b. *alleg-ci-q-uq* ‘it will tear’.

ii) Markers other than the two above (Table 42b below) are generally aspectual:

- (2) a. *allg-uma-uq* ‘it has been torn’ (perfective)  
 b. *all-ng-uq* ‘it is beginning to tear’ (inceptive)  
 c. *al-qatar-tuq* ‘it is about to tear’(inchoative, imminent).

Some aspect markers may be followed by tense marking, but others are not:

- (3) *allg-uma-llru-uq* ‘it was torn (but is not any more / justifying why s.t. was lost)’.

## 1. Tense

A non-past (recent past and present) and non-future verb is unmarked, apart from derivational aspect specification(s). Depending upon the stem and the context, it can be perfective, resultative, progressive, stative, but not habitual/customary. The deictic center for tense reference is not necessarily the moment of speaking/writing, but may be established within the discourse, e.g. by the priority of an event within a narrative. CAY verbs with no such specification, which is glossed by the English present tense here for the sake of convenience, are actually either in the present or immediate past.

- (4) *Angun<sub>s</sub>* *tai-guq*.  
 man.ABS.sg. come-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘The man has (just) come.’  
 ii. ‘The man is coming (on the way).’

Explicit specification of the past by an adverbial adjunct may co-occur with no tense marking in a verb:

- (5) *Unuaq* *tangrr-aqa*.  
 this.morning see-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I saw him this morning.’

- (6) a. **Qangvaq**     *tekic-it?*     /     *tekite-llru-sit?*  
 when.PST     arrive-INT.2sg.     arrive-PST-INT.2sg.  
 ‘When did you (sg.) arrive?’
- b. **Akwaugaq**     *tekit-ua*     /     *tekite-llru-unga.*  
 yesterday     arrive-IND.1sg.     arrive-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I arrived yesterday.’

For future reference, by contrast, the use of a future suffix is obligatory:

- (7) a. **Qaku**     *ayag-ciq-sit?*  
 when.FUT     leave-FUT-INT.2sg.  
 ‘When will you (sg.) leave?’
- b. **Unuaqu**     *ayag-ciq-ua.*  
 tomorrow     leave-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I will leave tomorrow.’

i) *past*: VVt  $|-t\dot{y}u-| \sim [NUN/HBC]$  intransitive  $|-t\dot{y}u-|$  / transitive  $|-tqi-|$  ‘did (PST)’. This is clearly related to the past nominalization VNnm  $|-t\dot{y}-|$  with relational NVrv  $|+n\dot{y}u-|$  (and transitive  $|-ki-|$ ). In GCAY the marker  $|-t\dot{y}u-|$  occurs both with intransitive and transitive inflections, while the distinction is held in the Nunivak dialect and by some speakers in Chevak (Woodbury, rev.) and in Tununak (Jacobson 1995: 133).

Use with the suffix is probably more common than without it when reference to the past is made independently by temporal adjuncts which include time nouns and particles as well as connective-mood verbs:

- (8) **Akwaugaq**     *tekite-llru-unga.*  
 yesterday     arrive-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I arrived yesterday.’
- cf. *tekit-ua*     ‘I arrived (very recently), have just arrived.’

The past marker occurs not only occur with indicative verbs, but also with any other mood than optative:

- (9) a. *ner-yu-llru-luku=wa, ...*     ‘he said he would eat it ...’  
 eat-DES-PST-APP.3sg.=response
- b. **akwaugaq**     *tange-llru-keka=wa*     ‘I saw him yesterday’.  
 yesterday     see-PST-PTP.1sg.3sg.=REA

The past marker may be used with another clause having no such marker, functioning like a pluperfect tense, as is illustrated in § 12(54), which is repeated below:



- (10) *Ene-meggnun maaten iter-tut* [ki-na  
 house-ALL.3Rpl.sg. then enter-IND.3pl. who-EX.ABS.sg.  
*im-na*]<sub>s</sub> *ite-llru-llini-lria*.  
 that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg. enter-PST-EVD-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘They entered (the house) and (found that) someone had (already) entered.’ [KPLT 31]

The suffix may be followed by the common negator VVn |-nyit-|.

- (11) *kai-llru-nrit-uq*  
 hungry-PST-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it was not the case that he was hungry / he didn’t say he was hungry’  
 cf. *kai-nrite-llru-uq* ‘he was not hungry (but full instead)’.
- (12) *tekite-llru-nrit-ua* ‘I did not arrive’  
 arrive-PST-NEG-IND.1sg.  
 cf. ? *tekite-nrite-llru-uunga* – rarely used.
- (13) *nallu-llru-nrit-aqa* ‘I was not ignorant of it’  
 not.know-PST-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 cf. *nallu-nrite-llru-aqa* ‘I knew it’  
 – with lexicalized *nallu-nrite-* ‘to know’.

Little difference may result from using the reversed order, unless it is lexicalized:

- (14) *qane-llru-nrite-uq* ≐ *qane-nrit-llru-uq* ‘he did not say’.

The first, however, would be typical and natural, e.g. as a reply to a polar question *qane-llru-uq#qaa?* (and may sound sophisticated to some speakers), and the second may sound clumsy.

See § 43(70a) vs. (b) for (non)co-occurrence of |-tyu-| with suffixes of modality.

See § 44 for the composite negative suffix VVn |-ty(u)it-| ‘to have never been’ with the privative NV |-nyit-|.

The past marker may not necessarily have a past time reference, but instead indicate non-actuality (hypothetical or imaginary) when a conditional-connective verb (‘if’) co-occurs with a main-clause verb in which the conditional marker is preceded by VVm |+caŷ-| (§ 43, § 50.6).

As is abundantly illustrated, there are many VV suffixes that come after tense (VVa, VVm, VVn, and VVcm in particular) or only after it (evidential

|-*lini*-| among them). The past tense |-*lyu*-| may occur twice within a single verb, that is, within a simplex and its embedding complex verb, e.g. § 40 (73, 140).

Note that the past marker is homonymous with the post-apical variant of the comparative marker (§ 45.1.1-ii), as in *pinia-llru-uq* ‘he is weaker (than)’ with |-*pini-at*-| ‘to be weak, not to be strong’.

ii) *future*: *VVt* |+*ciqi*-| ‘will (future FUT; inference INF)’ – with the apical deletion of (P5i.a) accompanied by idiosyncratic doubling of /i/. The suffix may sound more blunt than the consequential future *VVt* |+*niay*-| (§ 42.2.6).

(15) *ner*<sup>l.ɰ</sup>-*ciq-aqa*            ‘I will eat it’  
eat-FUT-IND.1sg.3sg. – see (P21) for the voiced/voiceless fricative.

(16) a. *Qaku*            *tekic-iiq-a?*  
when.FUT       arrive-FUT-INT.3sg.  
‘When will he arrive?’ – |-*tikic+ciqi*[+*ya*] with doubling of /i/  
b. *Ki-na*            *tai-ciq-a?*  
who-EX.ABS.sg.    arrive-FUT-INT.3sg.  
‘Who is coming?’ – |-*tai+ciqi*[+*ya*].

The future marker may occur also with other moods than the optative, which selects the future (perfective) marker |-*ki*-| instead of |+*ciqi*-| – see § 49.5 for examples.

In ordinary talk among Yupiks there is hardly any such thing as certainty or ‘absolute’ future, except in sermons, hence the abundant occurrence in statements about something in the future of modal suffixes such as |-*cunayqi*-| ‘to be good to be – ed, be easy to’, |+*cunayqi*-| ‘presumably, I think’, |+*niyat*-| ‘it looks like, maybe’, |-*ti*-| ‘perhaps, I wonder, maybe (but uncertain)’ (§ 43). Necessity, destiny, or duty is largely taken care of by the suffix-derived impersonal verbs with *VVcm* |+*niyqi*-| (§ 39.2) or by *VVm* |+*yayau*-| (§ 43).

The following *-ciq(e)-* is more modal (inference/conjecture) than temporal:

(17) *pegc-unaic-aaqe-llru-ciq-uq*  
drop-should.not-but-PST-INF-IND.3sg.  
‘it will not be wise to be given up / dropped though it was’.

(18) *Tua=i=llu*    *tau-na<sub>s</sub>*            *iqvar-yaaqe-llru-ciq-luni*.  
then=and       that-EX.ABS.sg.    pick-but-PST-INF-APP.3Rsg.  
‘Then that one will be the one who picked berries (but in vain).’

A negative marker standing before the future may possibly have implication of worrisomeness:

- (19) *aya-nric-iiqe-llria* ‘he may not go’  
 go-NEG-FUT-PTP.3sg.  
*tai-nric-iiq-uq=llam*  
 go-NEG-FUT-IND.3sg.=as.usual’  
 ‘he may not come as usual; what if he didn’t come again?’.

A negative marker can follow the future. Although the negative future is typically indicated by VVn |+<sub>1</sub>η\*ait-| ‘will not’ (§ 44), the future suffix may occur immediately preceding the negative |-nyit-| ‘not’ to indicate stronger or more emphatic negation:

- (20) *ayag-ciqe-nrit-ua* ‘I will *not* go’  
 ≙ *ayag-ngait-qapigt-ua*, with the typical negative future followed by the intensifier |-qapiyc-| (§ 41.3.1).

Not only the negative, however, but there are many other VV suffixes also (VVcm in particular) that come after |+<sub>1</sub>ciqi-|, though not so extensively as after the past tense |-tju-|. The future (and modal) may occur before the past, e.g. § 42(17, 18), § 43(59, 61e) or after, e.g. § 43 (110c, 111).

In general, CAY use of a tense marker is far from obligatory but actually may be very rare. This fact itself may suggest some possible discourse functions of tense markers in CAY (cf. Comrie 1985a: 26–35).

The following short narrative contains four indicative-mood sentences, with only the first having the past tense marker for setting the scene in the first sentence, the following two having no tense marking (*tanger-tuk*, *pi-a*), and the last having the ‘absolute’ future with no modal specification:

- (21) *Tuallu=gguq yaquleg-tangqe-llru-llini-uq malrug-nek.*  
 and.then=RPT goose-there.be-PST-EVD-IND.3sg. two-ABM.pl.  
*Teng-aur-inanermeggnek tanger-tuk yug-mek<sub>(p)</sub>*  
 fly-around-CNNwl.3Rdu. see-IND.3pl. person-ABM.sg.  
*nuteg-Ø-luni. Uita-qa-rraar-luni aipa-an<sub>A</sub>*  
 gun-have-APP.3Rsg.stay-briefly-first-APP.3Rsg. partner-REL.3sg.sg.  
*aipa-ni<sub>p</sub> pi-a. “Tua=i-ngu-nrit-uq,*  
 partner-ABS.3Rsg.sg. say-IND.3sg.3sg. end-be-NEG-IND.3sg.  
*cali tangrr-uc-iiq-ukuk egat-e-m<sub>G</sub> ilu-ani.”*  
 still see-E<sub>APL</sub>-FUT-IND.1du. pot-EV-REL.sg. inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘And once, it is said, evidently there were two geese. While flying around, they (du.) saw a person; he had a gun. After a moment of silence, his partner said to his own partner, “Goodbye, we will still see each other inside the pot.” [JM]

Narratives, consisting mainly of sequential events, may indeed be one special category in which occurrence of tense marking tends to be very rare. See, just for one instance, the text by Frank Amadeus [FASM] contains one hundred and two predicate verbs, with only one marked with *-llru-* [31] and three with *-ciqe-* [68, 69, 88].

Snyder (1996), analyzing six narratives by two consultants (brother and sister) that contain 252 verbs (8% of which are tense-marked), presents an interesting conclusion that ‘in narratives there is a strong tendency for it [tense marking] to appear when the narrator is speaking directly to the audience and appears to be contextually motivated, as when speaking about a character in the story who already appeared or about something that will happen later in the story.

But other categories are the opposite, where not only the kinds of utterance are involved, but generational and or areal differences. Incidentally, the possibility of some areal difference concerning the very two clausal nominalizers above is mentioned in § 18.2.1.1-ii. Given, furthermore, the problem of neat generalizations on fluctuating and the rapidly changing linguistic things mentioned in the Foreword, one may be inclined not to venture on discourse function(s) in particular (other than non-discourse or more sentence-internal matters), at least until receiving further documentation and elucidation.

## 2. Aspect

Aspectual markers are tentatively grouped as below. One aspect marker may be followed by another.

- i) inceptive/inchoative
- ii) momentaneous
- iii) continuous/stative/perfective
- iv) iterative
- v) customary
- vi) consequential

Some of the aspect markers are apparently composite, though not all of them may be analyzable.

Some aspectual suffixes tend to select a verb mood – e.g. appositional with  $|+qa(\dot{y}a)qi-$  ‘intermittently, once in a while’ (§ 51.2.1), optative with  $|-_1ki-$  (§ 49.5, § 49.7) – but others may occur in verbs of any mood.

## 2.1. Inceptive/inchoative (INC)

Table 42b: Inceptive/inchoative suffixes:

VVt	<i>-ŋ*<sup>i</sup>-</i>	‘to begin to’
VVt	<i>-qataŋ-</i>	‘to be about to, soon, imminently’
VVt	<i>-qata(ŋa)ŋ-</i>	‘to be gradually going to’
VVt	<i>-kuŋc-</i>	‘to be about to, plan to’
VVt	<i>-<sub>1</sub>ŋi- ~ +li-</i>	‘to become (more)’
VVt	<i>+<sub>1</sub>caŋuc-</i>	‘to become, reach the state of’

VVt |*-ŋ\*<sup>i</sup>-*| ‘to begin to’. Probably the same with NV |*-ŋ\*<sup>i</sup>-*| ‘to acquire’ (§ 38.1), cf. (27) below. Occurs very often immediately before the aspectual |*+ŋa(ŋa)ŋc-*| ‘suddenly’ (§ 42.2.2) below. Inflects both intransitively and transitively. May derive impersonal patientive verbs, as in (24).

- (22) *qii-li-**ng-*uq**** ‘he begins to have lots of grey hair’  
 grey.hair-have.lots-INC-IND.3sg. – NV|*-liŋ-*|.  
*qalla-**ng-*uq**** ‘it is boiling’  
 boil-INC-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *qalla-**ma-*uq**** ‘it has already boiled’ (|*+(u)ma-*|; § 42.2.3).
- (23) *ner-**ng-*aa**** ‘he is beginning to eat it’  
*yaaqsi-*k*’-**ng-*aa****  
 far-have.as-INC-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he is beginning to consider it [place/time] far for him’  
 – |*niŋi-*| ‘to eat’, *-k’-* NVrv (transitive relational verb).
- (24) *uksuurte-**ng-*uq****  $\doteq$  *uksuurte-**ng-*aa**** ‘it is beginning to become winter’  
 winter-become-INC-IND.3sg./3sg.3sg. – impersonal patientive verb.
- (25) *aka-urt-*uq*<sub>s</sub>* *maa-nte-**ng-*uci-*qa*****<sub>s</sub>  
 long.time-become-IND.3sg. here-be.at-INC-VNmn-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I’ve been here for a long time (lit. my starting to be here became a long time)’  
 – cf. *maa-nl-uci-*qa** (here-be.at-VNmn-ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘my being here’.
- (26) *naaqi-**nge-*vkar-luku**** *neq-*nek*<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 count-INC-A’.let-APP.3sg. fish-ABM.pl.  
 ‘(she) letting him to start counting fish’.

- (27) *Allraku-ng-luni ta=ima yuinaq=llu cipte-ng-luku*  
 year-get-APP.3Rsg. there 20.ABS.sg.=and exceed-INC-APP.3sg.  
*ui-ng-vailleg-mi.*  
 Hu-get-CNNbf-3Rsg.  
 ‘She became old and came around to the age of twenty, before she  
 got married.’ [FASM 75]

VVt *|-qataỵ-* ‘to be about to, soon, imminently’ (IMN) – implies that the ac-  
 tion has been decided upon to take place in the very near future.

- (28) *aqume-qatar-tuq* ‘he is/were about to sit’ – *|aqumi-*  
*an-qatar-tuq* ‘he is about to go out’ – *|ani-*, cf. (31) *an-qata’ar-*  
*tuq* and *an-qatara-llru-uq*  
*tanger-qatar-tuq* ‘he is about to see (s.t.)’ – *|tanx-* ‘to see’, with the  
 final voiceless fricative retained by blocking (P9).
- (29) *Iqva-llag-tuq pi-qata-nric-aaqe-rraar-luni.*  
 pick.berry-MOM-IND.3sg. do-IMN-VVn-CTR-after-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘She suddenly went berry picking even though she had not planned to  
 at first.’
- (30) *Ava=i=ggem it-qatar-luci ane-llru-uq!*  
 away=but enter-IMN-APP.2pl. go.out-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Why, just before you came in, he left!’ [QNMC 146–147]  
 – i.e. ‘when you were about to come in’.

VVt *|-qata(ya)ỵ-* ‘to be gradually/slowly going to’

- (31) *an-qata’ar-tuq* ‘he is slowly going out’ – *|ani-*  
*an-qatara-llru-uq* ‘he slowly went out’.
- (32) a. *atu-qata’ar-tuq*  
 ‘he is singing slowly (as in initiating a song)’ – *|atuỵ-*  
 b. *Teki-qata’ar-luteng yurar-tut.*  
 arrive-gradually-APP.3Rpl. dance-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Slowly arriving, they are dancing (e.g. in messenger feasts).’  
*teki-qata’ar-cuun* (VNrl.sg.)  
 ‘arrival or entrance dance (lit. thing for gradually arriving)’.
- as VN suffix:*
- (33) *aya-kata’ar*  
 ‘slow start at the beginning of a dance before the main movement’

***an-qata'ar***

'one who is slow in doing' (somewhat idiomatic) – see (28) above

***teki-qata'ar***

'arrival dance at the Messenger Feast'. [YEEM 315]

VVt |-*kuyc*-| 'to be about to, plan to' – with no assimilation of (P3ii).

- (34) *aya-kugt-uq* 'he is planning to go'.
- (35) *Unuku ma-a-ni qava-kugt-ua.*  
tonight this-EX-LOC sleep-plan-IND.1sg.  
'I am planning to sleep here tonight.'

VVt |-*yi*-| ~ |+*li*-| 'to (cause to) become, to become/make (more)' – bivalent: The first variant has initial /*y*/ deleted after stem-final velar but is retained with (P10) being blocked, and the second variant occurs after /*i*/.

- (36) a. *cuka-ri-uq* 'it is speeding up'  
*cuka-ri-a* 'he is speeding it up'  
b. *ukaqsig-i-uq* 'it is becoming near' – |-*ukaqsiy*-|  
c. *assir-i-uq* 'it is becoming better' – |-*asiy*-|.
- (37) *neqnir-i-a* 'he/it is making it tasty'  
cf. *neqnirq-uq* 'it is tasty' – |-*niqniyqi*-|.
- (38) *Naulluu-llr-as utuma-ri-uq*  
sick-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. be.better-INC-IND.3sg.  
*akwauga-mi*  
yesterday-LOC.sg.  
'he/it is getting better' – |-*utuma*-| 'to be better'.
- (39) *Neqe-ts mikur-i-ut kiag-u-an.*  
fish-ABS.pl. abundant-INC-IND.3pl. summer-be-CNNbc.3sg.  
'Fish (different kinds) have become abundant as it is summer.'
- (40) [*Tengssuute-m<sub>G</sub> aya-llr-a*]<sub>p</sub> *cuka-ri-a*  
airplane-REL.sg. go-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. fast-INC-IND.3sg.3sg.  
***anuqe-m<sub>A</sub>***  
wind-REL.sg.  
'The wind is speeding up the flight of the plane.'

- (41) *Yugyag-i-ut*                      *nuna-t<sub>s</sub>*                      *ikget-raar-luteng.*  
 numerous-INC-IND.3pl.    land-ABS.pl.                      few-first-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘The village became more populated, though it was small before.’

- (42) *Assir-i-llr-ap*                      *atawa-k-aa*  
 good-INC-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg.    blessing-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*aana-ma<sub>A</sub>.*  
 Mo-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘It is a blessing [in relation] to my mother that he became well.’

- (43) *ang-li-uq*                      ‘it is becoming big’ – |*an<sub>i</sub>*-|  
*ang-li-ri-uq*                      ‘it is becoming bigger and bigger’ – reduplication.

*after perfective/continuous VVt* |+(u)ma-| – ‘to have finished –ing’  
 (§ 42.2.3):

- (44) *taq-uma-ri-kuma*                      ‘if/when I have finished’  
 finish-PRF-INC-CNNif.1sg. – |*taqi-*| ‘to finish’.

- (45) *Kamgu-uma-ri-uq*                      *tua=i an-us-gu!*  
 put.on.boot-PRF-INC-IND.3sg.    SFL    go.out-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘He has put on his boots already, so you (sg.) take him out!’

*after equalitive comparison VV* |+ta-| – responsible for the intransitive inchoative equalitive construction ‘to become as – as’ (§ 45.6.1), instead of |+<sub>1</sub>cayuc-| just below (47) for the corresponding transitive.

- (46) *ang-ta-ri-uq*                      *wa-ten*  
 big-as.as-INC-IND.3sg.    here-EQL  
 ‘it has become that big, big like that’.

VVt |+<sub>1</sub>cayuc-| ‘to become, reach the state of’ (INC)

- (47) *nallu-yagut-aq*                      ‘I forgot it’ – *nallu-* ‘not to know’  
*aliku-sagut-amken*                      ‘I had begun to fear you’ – *ali-ke-* ‘to fear’.

- (48) *Pani-ma<sub>A</sub>*                      *ayuy-sagut-aa*                      *aana-ni<sub>p</sub>.*  
 Da-REL.1sg.sg.    similar-become-IND.3sg.3sg.    Mo-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘My daughter is now more similar to / resembling her mother (in look, manner, behavior).’



- (49) *keneg-yagu-arte-llini-luku*  
 like-become-suddenly-EVD-APP.3sg.  
 ‘suddenly beginning to be fond of him’ [ELLA 64]

The suffix forms the composite transitive relational verb NVrv  $|_{-1}kīsayuc-$  ‘to become someone’s –’ (§ 37.4), occurs after an adjectival stem or a root in the sense of ‘to become’, and also in the transitive inchoative comparative  $|-(ni-)q-sayuc-$  (‘to become more – than’; § 45.3).

- (50) *ene-k-sagut-aat*  
 ‘they became the owners of the house’ (-aat IND.3pl.3sg.).
- (51) a. *assii-ke-ssagut-amken*  
 ‘I have begun to dislike you (sg.)’ – *assii-* ‘to be bad’  
 b. *Mikel-ke-ssagut-aa*                      *atkuk<sub>P</sub>*                      *mikelngu-u-m<sub>A</sub>*.  
 small-find-INC-IND.3sg.3sg.      parka.ABS.sg.      child-EV-REL.sg.  
 ‘The child outgrew the parka.’ –  $|miki(t)-$  ‘to be small.’
- (52) *paqna-ksagut-aa* (~ *paqna-yagut-aa*)  
 ‘he has become curious about it’ – root  $|paqna-$  ‘curious’.

## 2.2. Momentaneous (MOM)

Table 42c: Momentaneous suffixes

VVt	$ +ya(ya)ȳc-$	‘suddenly, immediately, momentarily, unexpectedly, a little’
VVt	$ -qāȳc-$	‘suddenly’
VVt	$ -lāȳ-$	‘suddenly’
VVt	$ -kaŋȳ-$	‘suddenly’

VVt  $|+ya(ya)ȳc-$  (with stem-final /c/ deletion) ‘suddenly, immediately, momentarily, unexpectedly, a little’. May trigger disturbances of the prosodic pattern (P18vii.b). Inflects both intransitive and transitive.

- (53) *ami-i(r-a)rt-uq*                      ‘it suddenly lost its skin’ –  $|amiȳ-ŋiȳ-$  (skin-PRV)  
*ila-ng’-art-uq*                      ‘it suddenly became more/multiplied’ –  $|ila-ŋi-$   
 (part-get)  
 cf. *ilangart-uq*                      ‘some of it has been subtracted’  
*cip’-arr-luku*                      ‘exceeding a little more than’ – § 14(17);  $|cipic-$   
 for phrasal numerals.

- (54) *cau-ga'rt-**uq*** ~ *cau-gart-**uq*** 'he suddenly faced (something)'  
 – |*cau-*| 'to face'  
*cau-gart-**aa*** 'he suddenly faced her'.
- (55) *eli-gart-**aa*** 'he (now) got/understood it' – |*ilic-*| 'to learn'  
*eli-gart-**ul-luku*** 'getting into the habit of it (e.g. smoking)'  
 – VVsm |+(u)c-|, APP.3sg.
- (56) *Unug-pag-**mi*** *ui-gart-**uq***.  
 night-big-LOC.sg. wake-suddenly-IND.3sg.  
 'He woke up suddenly in the middle of the night.'  
 – with consonant deletion of |*uic-*|.
- (57) *mumig-ar-uc-i-yaraq*  
 turn.over-MOM-E<sub>APL</sub>-APS-VNnm.way.ABS.sg.  
 'immediate reciprocation in Inviting Feast (*kelek*)'.
- often preceded immediately by | $\eta$ \*i-* – inceptive; § 42.2.1:
- (58) *qavarni-ng-a'art-**ua*** 'I suddenly got sleepy'  
 sleepy-INC-MOM-IND.3sg.
- (59) *nerura-ng-a'arte-llru-**uq*** ~ *ner'ura-ng-a'rte-llru-**uq***  
 eat-begin-INC-MOM-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'he suddenly started to eat'.
- (60) *kit'e-ng-a'arte-llini-**uq*** '(I found) it is starting to sink suddenly'  
 sink-INC-MOM-EVD-IND.3sg'.
- (61) *Tai-yu-ng-a'arte-llini-uten,* *quyanaq-vaa.*  
 come-DES-INC-MOM-EVD-IND.2sg. be.thankful-EXC  
 '(I see) you (sg.) suddenly wanted to come, and I am glad.'

VVt |*qàÿc-*| 'suddenly, quickly' With an inherent accent that triggers the regressive accent (P18vii) in both intransitive and transitive inflection.

- (62) *qec-kart-**uq*** 'he suddenly jumps' – |*qicÿ-*| 'to jump'.
- (63) *ner'-qe'rt-**uq*** ~ [K] *ner-qe'rt-**uq***  
 'he is eating suddenly, quickly' – |*niÿi-*| 'to eat'; cf. (P21) for [K] form.
- (64) *may'u-qe'rt-**uq***  
 'he is suddenly going up fast' – |*mayuÿ-*| 'to go up', with /a/ raising by (P19).  
 cf. *mayu-qer-tuq* 'he is going up a short while'  
 – VVa |*qay-*| (intensity; § 41.3.4).

- (65) *pa-q'ert-aa* 'he just went to check on it (and will be right back)'  
 – |*paqic-*| 'to check' with contraction.
- (66) a. *an-qe'rte-llini-uq* '(evidently) he dashed out'  
 go.out-MOM-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 b. *Qurr-suute-n an-qe'rte-qatar-tuq.*  
 urinate-VNrl.INS-ABS.sg. come.out-MOM-IMN-IND.3sg.  
 'Your (sg.) cock is about to pop out.' – to a little boy.
- (67) *Tuall' ma-n'a mig-pallar-a-nri-qerr-luni.*  
 and this-EX.ABS.sg. noise-ITS-STT-no.longer-MOM-APP.3Rsg.  
 'And the noise suddenly stopped here.' [QNMC 312]

VVt |*-lây-*| 'suddenly'. With inherent accent that triggers regressive accent (§ 8.7-ii; P18vii). Cf. VVa |*-lay-*| 'imitatively'.

- (68) *at'u-llag-tuq* 'he is suddenly singing – |*atuy-*| 'to sing'.

When a double vowel precedes the suffix, the accent regression is accompanied by the contraction of a double vowel into a single vowel to make the syllable preceding the suffix weak (unaccented):

- (69) a. *ûgaq'a-llag-tuq* /wàqqałáxtuq/  
 'he suddenly gags' – |*uaqaay-*| with /aa/ into /a/  
 cf. *ûgaqaa-llag-tuq* /wàqqaáłaxtuq/  
 'he retches imitatively' – VVa |*-lay-*|  
 b. *ûgaq'a-llag-a-uq*  
 'he is repeatedly gagging suddenly' – RPT -a-.
- (70) *'levi-llag-tuq ~ 'leva-llag-tuq*  
 'it [outboard motor] is buzzing' – |*livaay-*|; contraction of *aa* into *a/i*  
 cf. *'levaa-llag-tuq* 'the outboard motor started imitatively'.
- (71) *'lall'a-llag-tuq* 'it [dog] is suddenly barking'  
 – |*lalaay-*| 'to say |*lat-*|'; contraction of *aa* into *a*  
 cf. *'lallaar-tuq* 'he is saying "'*lall*"; it is barking'.
- (72) a. *ayag-ni-llag-tuq*  
 'he suddenly said he left' – complex transitive |+ni-| (A'.say)  
 b. *ayag-llag-ni-uq*  
 'he says he suddenly decided to go / is suddenly going (also)'.

VVt |*-kaɫay-*| ‘suddenly’. Lexically limited.

- (73) *qet-qallag-tuq* ‘he suddenly fell backwards’ – |*qitɣ-*| (postural root)  
*aqum-kallag-tuq* ‘he fell back on buttocks’ – |*aqumi-*| ‘to sit’.

### 2.3. Continuous/stative/perfective

Table 42d: Continuous/stative/perfective suffixes

VVt	+(u)ma-  /   <sub>+1</sub> ɲ(q)a-	‘to be –ing for a long time / have been –ed’
VVt/a	+t/y/ <sub>1</sub> qu(ɣa)ɣ̣-	‘to keep on –ing, to do leisurely/lazily, taking a lot of time’; ‘a little’
VVt/VN	<i>-niɣa(ɣa)ɣ̣*-</i>	‘(to have) just/newly –ed’

VVt |+(u)ma-| / |<sub>+1</sub>ɲ(q)a-| (lexically restricted). The initial (u) of the former is deleted after stem-final full vowel like (74b) as is generally the case with |+(u)| suffixes – cf. (P5i.c), and becomes /i/ after stem-final apical like (74e), (80). Most typically with intransitive inflection, though transitive also as given in (90) through (92). Basically, continuous / stative on S or A argument (‘to be –ing for a long time’; CNT) and perfective (passive) on S (=P) ‘to be / have been –ed’; PRF’. The perfective sense easily leads to a passive sense (PSV). See § 34.2.2. The suffix shows up with the central vowel adjustment before a suffix-initial weak velar nasal (P6i), thus with /umi-i/, as exemplified in (74d).

i) *monovalent stems*:

- (74) a. *aya-uma-luni* ‘(he) being gone, having left (to *-mun*)’ – |*ayay-*| ‘to go’  
*qava-uma-luni* ‘(he) sleeping a long time’ – |*qavay-*| ‘to sleep’  
*kica-uma-luni* ‘(it) being anchored’ – |*kicay-*| ‘to anchor’
- b. *an-uma-luni* ‘(river) flowing out (to *-mun*)’  
– |*ani-*| ‘to go out’; *-luni* APP.3sg.  
*nip-uma-luni* ‘(fire) being extinguished’  
– |*nipi-*| ‘to go out, extinguish’
- c. *cikm-uma-luni* ‘(his eyes) being closed’ – |*cikmi-*| ‘to close eyes’  
*nallu-ma-luni* ‘(he) being ignorant, in a state of ignorance’  
– |*natu-*| ‘not to know’  
*tuqu-ma-luni* ‘(he) being dead’ – |*tuqu-*| ‘to die’  
*passi-ma-luni* ‘(it) being crushed, flattened’  
– |*pasi-*| ‘to get smashed’; not with \**N-mun* ‘by X’  
*qalla-ma-luni* ‘(it) having already boiled’

- cf. *qalla-ng-luni* ‘(it) boiling’ – see (22)
- d. *itr-umi-imi* ‘as it (e.g. river) enters (a mountain: -mun)’  
– |*ity-uma*[+*ηami*] (enter-STT-CNNst.3Rsg.) with  
*ii* < *aa*
- cf. *itr-uma-uq* ‘he is in / is now going into (e.g. hospital)’; cf.  
§ 17(22)
- iter-c-i-ma-uq* ‘he is putting (s.o.)’  
– *-c-i-* A-E<sub>APS</sub>; *iter-t-aa* ‘he puts it in’
- e. *ca-taic-ima-uq* ‘it/he is gone for ever’  
cf. *ca-tait-uq* ‘he is not there’ with |*ca-taic-*| ‘some-there.be.no’
- f. *quya-narq-uma-uk* ‘we are eternally grateful to them two (i.e.  
Michael Krauss and Irene Reed)’ [MT]  
– |*quya-nayqi-*| (thankful-should).
- (75) *nallu-qa-uma-uq* ‘he has lost consciousness (suddenly)’  
*tuqu-qa-uma-uq* ‘he suddenly died (e.g. heartattack)’  
– VVa |*-qay-*| ‘just, suddenly’.
- (76) a. *kass'alugpia-nun angllu-uma-ut*  
Russian-ALL.pl. dive-CNT/PAS-IND.3pl.  
‘they have submerged in, i.e. been baptized into/by, the Russians  
(Orthodox church)’  
– patientive bivalent |*anluy-*| ‘to dive, submerge, be baptized’ and see  
§ 26.2-iv for the allative NP and § 34(47), cf. also *agayu-ma-ut* ‘they  
live a religious life’ (|*ayayu-*| ‘to pray’)
- b. *angllu-uma-uq issuriq ak'anun*  
dive-CNT-IND.3pl. seal.ABS.sg. long.time  
‘the spotted seal has submerged a long time’.
- (77) *Kiag-pak neq-su-uma-uq.*  
summer-big.ABS.sg. fish-hunt-CNT-IND.3sg.  
‘He fished all summer.’  
– note the co-occurrence with the time word of duration, character-  
ized by NN |*+pay-*| ‘big, whole’.

ii) *denominal intransitive relational verbs:*

- (78) *uksu-u-ma-inanrani* ‘while it was (sometime during the) winter’  
*uumi-u-ma-inanrani* ‘while it is this time, i.e. recently’  
– denominal relational *uksu-u-* ‘winter-be’ and *uumi-u-* ‘not.distant-  
be’ (particle-derived) followed by simultaneous-connective CNNwl  
*-inanrani* (3sg. [+*ηinanȳ+ηani*]), as often the case, cf. § 4.1.3.2.

iii) *patientive stems*:

- (79) a. *kinr-uma-luni* ‘(it) being dry’  
 – |*kinÿ-*| ‘to dry’; but not meaning \*‘he is drying’  
*ikayu-uma-luni* ‘(he) having been helped (by *-mek*)’  
 – |*ikayuÿ-*| ‘to help’  
*anertu-uma-luni* ‘(it) having been saved’ (from *-mek*)  
 – |*aniÿtuÿ-*| ‘to save (from danger, conflict)’  
*asrurtu-uma-luni* ‘(he/it) being blessed’ – |*asyuÿtuÿ-*| ‘to bless’
- b. *muir-uma-uw* ‘it (e.g. cup, airplane) is full’ – |*muiÿ-*| ‘to fill’  
*navg-uma-uw* ‘it is broken’  
*keluca-uma-uw* ‘it (e.g. door) is locked – |*kilucaÿ-*| ‘to lock’  
*iir-uma-uw* ‘it is hidden, he hid (s.t.) for a long time’  
 – but not \*‘he is hiding (s.t.)’
- cf. *sass’a-qa<sub>S</sub>* (ABS.1sg.sg.) ‘my watch is hidden’  
*sass’a-mnek<sub>(P)</sub>* (ABM.1sg.sg.) ‘he hid my watch for a long time’
- c. *kenk-uma-lria* ‘one who is loved’ (by God *Agayut-mek*)  
 – VNrl.sg.  
 cf. *kenk-i-lria* ‘one who loves (someone ABM)’ – antipassive *-i-*  
*naklek-uma-unga* ‘I am pitied, compassionated; am loved’ [Barnum 1901: 194] – IND.1sg.
- d. *patu-li-uma-luni* ‘it is floored (with)’  
 – denominal |*patu-liÿ-*| ‘floor-supply’
- e. *tegu-ma-luni* ‘(it) being taken/arrested (from *-mek/-kun*)’ – |*tiÿu-*|  
 ‘to take’  
*in-ma-luni* ‘(it) being hung’ – |*ini-*| ‘to hang’.
- (80) a. *usc-ima-uw* ‘it is eroded, chipped; e.g. dirt or rock from the cliff or an erosion’ – |*usc-*|  
*caqc-ima-uw* ‘it has been chipped’ – |*caqc-*|  
*qillerc-ima-uw* ‘it (rope) is tied’ – |*qitxc-*| ‘to tie’  
*makc-ima-luni* ‘(it) having risen, being upright’  
 – |*makc-*| ‘to rise, set up’
- b. *tuqu-c-ima-uw* ‘it has been killed (by *-kun/?-mek*)’ – |*tuqu-c-*| ‘to kill’ with causative VVcm  
*kitug-c-ima-uw* ‘it is fixed’ – |*kituÿ-c-*| root-derived  
*pair-c-ima-uw* ‘he is tanned’ – root |*paiÿ-*| with A<sub>IMP</sub> |+c-|  
*asem-c-ima-uw* / *ayem-c-ima-uw* ‘(it) being broken’  
 – |*asmi-*| < |*aymi-*| ‘to break’
- c. *pi-urc-ima-uw* ‘it has been created’  
 – |*pi-uÿc-*| ‘to create’ (thing-INC) [Hinz].

An A argument seems to occur rarely but may be added by a perlativ or an ablative-modalis NP (not an allative) by some speakers – see also (89):

- (81) *kegg-uma-uq*      *qimugte-ggun*  
 bite-PSV-IND.3sg.    dog-PRL.sg.  
 ‘he has been killed by the dog’ – but not \**qimugte-mun*.

iv) *complex transitive stems* – e.g. with causative VVcm |+cic-| (§ 40.2.1), which is patientive:

- (82) *ayag-cec-ima-luni*    ‘(he) having been sent out’  
 cf. *ayag-cet-uq*        ‘he let himself go; it has already started’.

v) *impersonal patientive stems*:

- (83) a. *neqa ciku-ma-uq* ‘the fish has been frozen’ – impersonal patientive  
 b. *qercua-ma-uq*    ‘it is frostbitten’ – |*qiȳcua-*| ‘to frostbite’.
- (84) *naa-ma-ut* ‘they have become complete; all of the people/things are together/present’  
 – |*naa-*| ‘to become complete in number’; *naa-gai* (IND.3sg.3pl.)  
 ‘they are now complete’ (with A<sub>IMP</sub>).

vi) *agentive stems* – possibly ambivalent:

- (85) *neqa ner-uma-uq*  
 i. ‘the fish is eating a lot / for a long time’  
 ii. ‘the (cooked) fish has been eaten’; cf. § 34.1.2.1. – |*niȳi-*| ‘to eat’.
- (86) *qera-ma-uq*  
 i. ‘he is taking long time to cross’  
 ii. ‘he has crossed over to the other side (and is there)’  
 cf. *qerar-tuq* / *qerar-aa* ‘he is crossing (it)’ – |*qiȳay-*| ‘to cross over’.
- (87) *Taqukaq<sub>S</sub>*      *tangva-uma-uq*      *yug-mek*.  
 bear.ABS.sg.    watch-CNT-IND.3sg.    person-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The bear keeps watching a man.’
- (88) *Irniar-a<sub>S</sub>*      *ama-uma-uq*.  
 child-ABS.3sg.sg.    carry-PSV-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His child is carried on back.’

- (89) *Angun<sub>s</sub>*            *keggma-ma-**uq***  
 man.ABS.sg.    bite.more-PSV-IND.3sg.  
*qimugte-mek* (ALL \**qimuge-mun*)  
 dog-ABM.sg.  
 ‘The man has been bitten more than once by a/the dog.’  
 – also *ari-c-ima-**uq*** ‘he is entangled (with ropes) by a/the dog’  
 (\**qimuge-mun*).

vii) *transitive inflection* – rarely, if ever, continuous on A, with agentive, patientive, and secundative ditransitive as illustrated:

- (90) a. *taring-**uma-i***            ‘he understands them *fully*’  
       cf. *taring-ai*            ‘he understands them (*now, one time*)’  
       b. *elpek-**uma-a***            ‘he feels/senses it (physically or mentally)’  
       cf. *elpek-**uma-**uq*****        ‘it is felt/sensed/understood/noticed/predicted’  
           *elpe-**ng-**uq*****            ‘he came to his senses’ – § 13(43a).

- (91) *pi-k-**uma-a***            ‘he has possessed it’  
       cf. *pi-k-**aa***            ‘it is his’ – with a transitive relational verb.

- (92) [*Tau-na*            *pi-yulir-teng*]<sub>R</sub>  
       that-EX.ABS.sg.    do-good.at-ABS.3Rpl.sg.  
       *aci-**uma-llini-luku***            *nukalpiarta-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
       name-STT-EVD-APP.3sg.    good.hunter-ABM.sg.  
       ‘(I see) they used to call that (their) expert a good hunter.’  
       cf. *aci-**uma-**uq*****        ‘he is named after (someone; *-mek*)’  
       – secundative |*aciỵ-*| ‘to name’ (< |*aṭỵ-liỵ-*| name- supply).

viii) *reduplication (multiplication)* – the continuous suffix can be reduplicated for emphasis, but the euphony of the reduplicated syllables with a short and a lengthened vowel alternating may also be used for fun or for a humorous effect:

- (93) *Arnaq<sub>s</sub>*            *iqva-**uma.ma-qatar-luni***  
       woman.ABS.sg.        pick.berry-CNT.RDP-IMN -APP.3Rsg.  
       *ayag-tuq.*  
       leave-IND.3sg.  
       ‘The man left to pick berries for a long, long time (will not come back soon).’  
       cf. *iqva-**uma-**uq*****    (|*iqvaỵ-*| ‘to pick berries’)  
       i. ‘he is picking berries for a long time’, e.g. with *iqvar-yugcali-luni*  
           (heartily-APP.3Rsg.) ‘enjoying’  
       ii. ‘he is gone to pick berries’, e.g. with *Caniner-mun* (ALL.sg.) ‘to the Lower Coast’.



- (94) *qava-uma.ma.ma(.ma.ma...)-luni!* /qàv|vaú|mamá|(mamá)...|luni/  
 sleep-CNT.RDP-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘he is sleeping and sleeping for a long, long time!’  
 – also *ner-uma.ma...* ‘eating, eating...’.

ix) various verbal categories following:

- (95) a. *maqi-ma-llru-unga* *akwaugaq*  
 bathe-CNT-PST-IND.1sg. yesterday  
 ‘I took a bath for a long time yesterday’.
- b. *Busy-uma-llru-unga,* *taugaam* *cali-ma-llru-nga*  
 b.-CNT-PST-IND.1sg. but work-CNT-PST-APP.1sg.  
*ellma Yug-tun* *mumigc-i-lua.*  
 little person-EQL.sg. turn.over-APS-APP.1sg.  
 ‘I was busy, but was working a little, making Yupik translation.’
- (96) a. *arula-ma-la-lriit* (CNT-GEN-PPL.3PL.), cf. § 53(66)  
 b. *arula-ma-naur-tut* (CNT-CSQ.would-IND.3pl.), cf. § 42(185)  
 cf. *arula-ur-naur-tut* (CNT-CSQ.would-IND.3pl.)  
 – all in [AKKL (Mary Mike) 14]; |*ayula-*| ‘(to do) motion dance (ac-  
 companied by songs with verses)’.
- (97) a. *taring-uma-narqe-nrit-ut* ‘they are not to be known (to)’  
 understand-PSV-A<sub>IMP</sub>-NEG-IND.3pl.  
 – cf. transitive (90)
- b. *Ca-qapiara-llr-at* [*qaariitaa-mek*  
 what-ITS-VNrl-ABS.3pl.3sg. q.-ABM.sg.  
*apr-uma-llr-a*]<sub>s</sub> *taring-uma-nrit-uq.*  
 call-STT-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. understand-PRF-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is not really understood what it is the people called Qaariitaaq.’  
 [CAUY 80] – § 11-fn. 3 for *Qaariitaaq*.
- (98) *tangva-uma-qer-yaaqe-llini-a*  
 watch-CNT-while-CTR-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he watched it for a while in vain’ [YSRA 2]  
 – VVa |*-qay-*| ‘a short while, merely’.
- (99) *tekite-saag-uma-yaaqe-llru-yugnarq-uci*  
 arrive-try-CNT-but-PST-CNJ-IND.2pl.  
 ‘you all probably tried to arrive’.

x) composite suffix |+*umayi-*| ‘(after) having –ed’ (PRF), with the inchoative |*-yi-*| ‘to become (more)’ (§ 42.2.1). Frequently used with transitive inflection as well:

- (100) a. *tekic-**imari**-luteng* ‘they have (already) arrived’  
 b. *qanruc-**imari**-aqa* ‘I have (already) told him’  
 c. *yura-**umari**-luteng* *ner-yaqlir-tut*  
 dance-PRF.INC-APP.3pl. eat-finally-IND.3pl.  
 ‘(after) they were through dancing, they finally ate’.
- (101) *Kamgu-**umari**-uq* *tua=i* *anus-gu!*  
 put.boot-PRF.INC -IND.3sg. then go.out-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘He has boots on now, and then bring him out!’
- (102) *Ciir-e-t ~ Cii-t<sub>S</sub>=llu* *pi-**mari**-ata* *nutaan,*  
 sheefish-(EV-)-ABS.pl.=and do-PRF-CNNbc.3pl. fine  
*qusuur-e-t<sub>S</sub>* *iter-luteng.*  
 smelt-EV-ABS.pl. enter-APP.3pl.  
 ‘And, now that sheefish (inconnu) finish, then smelts come up river.’
- xi) *composite suffix* VVcm |+squma-| ‘A’ to be wishing’ (continuative/stative; § 40.2.2.1) – from the directive complex transitive VVcm |+sqi-| ‘A’ to tell’. Very productive, being a pragmatic cushion to avoid abruptness or pushiness:
- (103) *aya-a-**squma**-aten* ‘he would like you (sg.) to go’  
 go-EV-A'.wish.CNT-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 cf. *aya-**sq**-aaten* ‘he told you (sg.) to go’ without the suffix, which is more blunt than the example above.
- (104) *naspa-a-**squma**-aqa* *alqer-penun*  
 try-EV-A'.wish.STT-IND.1sg.3sg. elSi-ALL.2sg.sg.  
 ‘I want your elder sister to try it’ [YEO 92]  
 – with allative demotion of A argument NP.
- (105) [*Wangkuta* *wa-ten* *pi-ta-ri-lria-ni*]  
 1pl. here-EQL do-degree-INC-VNrl-LOC.pl.  
 [*ma-kut* *maa=i* *ak’a* *ciulia-mta<sub>G</sub>*]  
 this-EX.ABS.pl. now already ancestor-REL.1pl.pl.  
*atu-llri-t*]<sub>p</sub> *tangrr-e-**squma**-aput.*  
 use-VNrl-ABS.3pl.pl. see-EV-A'.wish.CNT-IND.1pl.3pl.  
 ‘We who have reached this age (like this) now wish them (the younger generations) to see these things our ancestors used a long time ago.’ [AKKL 10 (Paul John)]  
 – The verb *tangrr-e-**sq**-aput* without *-uma-* is more abrupt.

More examples in § 40.2.2.1.

xii) *composite suffix* NV |+*tuuma-*| ‘to be in the state of (being together with)’, though its use as VV suffix is rather limited – see § 38.5.

VVt |+*ŋa-*| (after final /c/) / |-*ŋqa-*| (mainly after roots) as a variant:

- (106) a. *elis-nga-ug* ‘he is knowledgeable, learned’ – |-*ilic-*| ‘to learn’  
*iga-us-nga-ug* ‘it is written down’ – E<sub>APL</sub> |+*(u)c-*|  
 b. *Qavaraq<sub>s</sub>* *paiv-nga-ug.*  
 sleep.ABS.sg. be.set-PRF-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Sleepiness is here/present.’ – |-*paivc-*| ‘to set in’.
- (107) a. *ina-ngqa-* ‘to be lying’ – |-*inay-*|  
*palu-ngqa-* ‘to be lying face-down’ – |-*paluy-*|  
*ute-ngqa-* ‘to be back home’ – |-*uti-*|  
*mata-ngqa-* ‘to be naked’ – |-*matay-*|  
*tuma-ngqa-* ‘to be altogether’ – |-*tumayc-*| ‘to be fixed, assemble’  
*mumi-ngqa-* ‘it is turned over’ – |-*mumiy-*| ‘to turn over, reverse’  
 cf. *mumig-nga-ug* [Hinz]  
 b. *ite-ngqa-ug* ‘he is shut in, is jailed’ – |-*ity-*| ‘to enter’.
- (108) *tuqu-t-a-u-guq* *ina-ngqa-luni*  
 die-A-VNrl-be-IND.3sg. lie-STT-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘he was killed while lying’  
*qavar-tuq* *nange-ngqa-luni*  
 sleep-IND.3sg. stand-STT-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘he is sleeping while standing’.

VV |+*t/ɣ/ɪqu(ɣa)ɣ-*| (after velar/vowel/apical) ‘to keep on –ing, continuously; iteratively’ (CNT/ITR). Often implies ‘doing leisurely/lazily, taking a lot of time’. May modify an ‘adjectival’ and a comparative verb (‘a little’). Somewhat restricted lexically.

The initial /t/ and /ɣ/variants have the same distribution as the indicative (intransitive) marker |+*t/ɣuɣ-*| (§ 46.1), while the postapical variant |+*qu(ɣa)ɣ-*| deletes the apical instead of fricativizing it (cf. P5i). See (P11) for |+*ɣu(ɣa)ɣ-*| and (P19.v) for /ɣa/ deletion.

i) *-tu(rar)-* variant:

- (109) a. *qulig-tu’r-tuq* ‘it [ice] is cracking (repeatedly)’  
*qulig-tura-llru-ug* ‘it cracked (repeatedly)’  
 cf. *qulig-tuq* ‘it [ice] cracked’ (one action).

- b. *asaur-tu'r-tuq* 'he is keeping on (boat-)poling' – |*azauy-*|  
*asaur-turar-aa* 'he is keeping on poling it (boat).'
- (110) *ulug-tura-lria*  
 'morning star, one that twinkles' [YEEM 316] – |*uluy-*| 'to twinkle'.
- (111) [*Ug-na* [*kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub>* *pai-nga*]]<sub>s</sub>  
 down-EX.ABS.sg. river-EV-REL.sg. mouth-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*neqe-ngqer-tura-lria*.  
 fish-have-CNT-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 'The mouth of the river down there where there happens to be (some  
 but not much) fish (found nowhere else).'

ii) **-gu(ra)r-** variant:

- (112) *tai-gu'r-tuq* 'he is still coming, keeps coming'.
- (113) *Kantuuuvilaq<sub>s</sub> nau-gura-llru-uq kiag-pak*.  
 potato.ABS.sg. grow-CNT-IND.3sg. summer-AUG-ABS.sg.  
 The potato became gradually rotten (kept on growing) this long  
 summer.'
- (114) a. *uksu-u-gu(ra)r-luku* '(it) continuing to be winter'  
 winter-be-CNT-APP.3sg.
- b. *Uksu-u-gura-tu-uq Arctic-aa-mi*.  
 winter-be-CNT-always-IND.3sg. pl.n.-LNK-LOC.sg.  
 'It is always winter in the Arctic.'

With /y/ deleted due to (P10) after a single full vowel, but due to (P8, P11)  
 after /i/:

- (115) *pi-ura-a / pi-ur-ci* 'goodbye! (lit., you [sg./pl.] keep doing')  
 – |*pi-*|, |+a| / |+ci| OPT.2sg./2pl.
- cf. *pi-ura-urlu-llini-aqe-lria tua=i*  
 do-CNT-dear-EVD-CUS-PTP.3sg. there  
 'that is how he survived' [QQLK 508]
- issrac-i-ura-llru-unga* 'I spent time making a bag (possibly lazily)'  
 – |*li-*| 'to make'
- ella-kegci-ura-llr-ani* 'while the weather is great' [QQLK 246]  
 weather-have.good-CNT-VNnm-LOC.3sg.sg.

- (116) *ner-urur-tuq ~ ner-u'ur-tuq ~ ner'-u'r-tuq*  
 'he keeps eating' – |niyi-|  
*kep-ur-atek*  
 'you (du.) are cutting it' – |kipi-|, -atek IND.2du.3sg.  
*maurlu-q-ura-lrii-k*  
 'grandmother and grandchild (continuous); lit. ones who have each other as grandmother' – NVrv |-ki-|  
 cf. *maurlu-qe-llrii-k* 'grandmother and son (current state)'.

iii) **-qurar-** variant after apical:

- (117) *pi-qu'ur-tuq ~ pi-q'ur-tuq* 'he keeps catching' – |pic-|.
- (118) *ap-qurar-aa* 'he keeps asking him/her (questions)' – |apic-|  
 cf. *ap-qaur-aa* 'he is asking him/her (questions)'.
- (119) *kavir-qura-uma-luni* '(it) being a little red'  
 red-a.little-STT-APP.3Rsg.
- (120) *Kiiki kipunvig-qura-a!*  
 go.ahead store.go-CNT-OPT.2sg.  
 'Go ahead, and you (sg.) go to the store!' – with possible connotation of 'though I am not going' [PA]  
 – |kipuzvig-c-| store-go.to.

iv) further expansions – with VVa/t/m/n, VVsm, VVcm:

- (121) *ellallu-iru-qura-inar-tuq*  
 rain-no.more-CNT-only-IND.3sg.  
 'it is finally no longer raining, quits raining'.
- (122) [*Sass'a-ni arvinleg-ni*] *kuyya-ura-llru-ukuk.*  
 clock-LOC.pl. six-LOC.pl. net.fish-CNT-PST-IND.1du.  
 'We (du.) (net-)fished, kept fishing for six hours.'
- (123) *qavár-tù'r-yugnárq-uq=llú=gguq*  
 sleep-CNT-INF-IND.3sg.=and=RPT  
 'they say he presumably kept sleeping also'.
- (124) *uita-vig-ka-i-tura-nrit-ukut*  
 stay-place-FUT-PRV-CNT-NEG-IND.1pl.  
 'we are not continuously lacking a place to stay'.

- (125) *cikir-tur-i-t-aanga*  
 give-CNT-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. – cf. § 39.4.2.  
 ‘he gives me (things) repeatedly / many times’.

Very often with  $|-lay\dot{y}-| \sim |+lay\dot{y}-|$  [Y] | VV  $|-tu-$  [HBC.NUN] (§ 42.2.5), meaning ‘generally, usually, habitually, customarily, always’.

- (126) a. *pissu-tura-la-qenka=wa ~ pisur-tura-tu-kenka=wa*  
 hunt-always-PTP.1sg.3pl.=ENC  
 ‘I always hunt them’.  
 b. *cuya-tur-tura-la-llru-uq*  
 leaf.tobacco-use-CNT-CUS-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he used to chew tobacco all the time’.
- (127) *naulluu-gura-lar-ni-lua* ‘(someone) saying that I am always sick’  
 sick-CNT-CUS-A'.say-APP.1sg.

As VVa suffix (‘a little’) to modify an adjective or a comparative stem; see § 41.3.5.

VVt/VN  $|-ni\dot{x}a(\dot{y}a)\dot{y}^*|-$  ‘to have newly/just –ed’. Relatedness with NN  $|-xay\dot{y}^*|-$  is not certain.

- (128) *iqai-nerra-llru-a* *atku-ka*  
 wash-just-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. parka-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘she has just washed my parka’ –  $|iqa+\eta i\dot{y}-|$  dirt-deprive  
*iqair-i-nrra-llru-uq* *atku-mnek*  
 wash-APS-APS-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. parka-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘she has just washed my parka’.
- (129) *tang-nerrar-aa* ‘he has just seen it, does not recognize’  
 see-just-IND.3sg.3sg. –  $|tayx-$  ‘to see’.
- (130) *Tuulkessaaq nuna-urr-nerra-llru-uq.*  
 pl.n.ABS.sg. village-become-newly-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Tuluksak became a village not long ago.’ [LL]

As VN type:

- (131) *iqai-i-nerraaq* ‘thing which has just been washed’ (NV  $|+\eta i\dot{y}-|$  ‘to deprive’)  
*iqai-ir-i-nrraaq* ‘one who has just washed’ (VVsm  $|+yi-$  antipassive).

- (132) *neq-li-nrraq*  
fish-prepare-just.ABS.sg.  
'fish freshly cut (for drying), food that is served just now'.
- (133) *agle-nrra-a-t* 'ones who have just reached puberty'  
menstruate-just-EV-ABS.pl. – |*ayly-*|.

#### 2.4. Iterative (ITR)

Table 42e: Iterative suffixes

VVt   <i>-nqiy-</i>	'again'
VVt   <i>+<sub>1</sub>taay-</i>   /   <i>+ya(a)(y)-</i>	'repeatedly, continuously, here and there'
VVt   <i>+qa(ya)qi-</i>	'intermittently, now and then, once in a while'
VVt   <i>+<sub>1</sub>yqi-</i>   /   <i>-<sub>1</sub>qaqi-</i>	'one after another'

These can be distributive.

VVt |*-nqiy-*| 'again' – compare with particles *ataam* 'again' (§ 54.4-ii) and *pelungtaq* 'many times' (§ 52.2) as in (189) belows.

- (134) *atu-nqigt-uq* 'he is singing again' – |*atuy-*|  
*nere-nqigt-uq* 'he is eating again'.
- (135) *kiu-nqigte-vkenaku* 'not answering him again'  
answer-RPT-NEG.APP.3sg.
- (136) (*e*)*me-nqigg-ngait-ni-uq* 'he says he will not drink *again*'  
drink-RPT-will.not-A'-say-IND.3sg.  
cf. (*e*)*mer-ngait-ni-uq=am* *ataam*  
drink-will.not-A'.say-IND.3sg.=as.usual again  
'he says *again* he will not drink (as usual).'
- see § 4.2.5.2 for the suffix ordering in relation to *-ni-*.
- (137) a. *issurir-cu-nqigc-u-llru-uq*  
seal-hunt-again-DES-PST-IND.3sg.  
'he wanted to hunt a seal again'
- b. *issurir-cur-yu-nqigte-llru-uq*  
seal-hunt-DES-again-PST-IND.3sg.  
'he again wanted to hunt a seal' [PA]

- (138) *Nere-nqig-paa=lli u-u-mi!*  
 eat-RPT-EXC=EXC this-EX-LOC.sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) have been eating and eating!’  
 – see § 52.4.1 for the exclamative VPc |+<sub>1</sub>paa|.

VVt |±ya(a)(ỵ)-| ~ |+<sub>1</sub>taaỵ-| ‘repeatedly, continuously, here and there (distributive)’. Final velar deletion (P9) or the blocking thereof as well as the occurrence of /a/ or /ỵ/ is lexically determined.

- (139) *atur-a-luni* ‘(he) singing repeatedly, various songs’  
*ayag-a-luni* ‘he is travelling’  
*anuqlir-a-luni* ‘blowing repeatedly’  
*‘lallaar-a-uq* ‘he is repeatedly saying “‘*lall*”; it is repeatedly barking’ – RPT -a-  
*qavar-a-uq* ‘he dozes off repeatedly’  
*ikayu-a-guq* ‘he keeps helping (s.o.)’  
*aqvaqu-a-guq* ‘he is running’ – |aqvaquỵ-| ‘to run’  
*nut’g-a-uq* ‘he is shooting repeatedly’ – § 7-fn. 4  
*aqum-ga-uq* ‘he is sitting’  
*qan-aa-guq* ‘he is talking’ – |qanỵ-| ‘to speak’.
- (140) *qaugtu-ar-aa*  
 ‘he is striking it (dog) repeatedly’ – |qauytụỵ-| ‘strike’.
- (141) *itr-ar-tuq*  
 ‘he is going farther in, going inland (e.g. to Bethel from the coast)’ – |itỵ-| ‘to go in’.
- (142) *iter-taar-luni* *ene-nun*  
 enter-RPT-APP.3Rsg. house-ALL.pl.  
 ‘(he) entering repeatedly into (different) houses’  
*itr-ut-aa-luku* *ene-nun*  
 enter-E<sub>APL</sub>-RPT-APP.3sg. house-ALL.pl.  
 ‘(someone) bringing it into (different) houses’  
*iter-taar-ul-luku* *ene-nun*  
 come.in-RPT-E<sub>APL</sub>-APP.3sg. house-ALL.pl.  
 ‘entering with him into different houses’.
- (143) *maqi-t-aa-tuk*  
 bath-E<sub>APL</sub>-RPT-IND.3du.  
 ‘they (du.) are repeatedly competing with each other in steam bath’.



- (144) *aya-kugt-aar-tuq*  
‘he is going to go, keeps planning to go’ (inchoative *-kugt-*; § 42.2.1).

VVt *|-qa(ya)qi-* ‘intermittently, now and then, once in a while’ (ITM) – cf. (P18v). Mostly in appositional-mood verbs (§ 51.2.1). Indicative forms seem to be rare.

- (145) *iqva-qaraq-luni ~ iqva-qa’aq-luni*  
‘he is picking berries intermittently’ – *|iqvaŷ-*  
*iqva-qaraq-uq ~ iqva-qa’arq-uq (~ iqva-qerq-uq* though rare).
- (146) *eme-q’aq-luni*            ‘(he) drinking now and then’ – *|imŷ-*.
- (147) *aya-karaq-luni ~ aya-kaq-luni*    ‘he is moving now and then’.
- (148) *Ner<sup>l ʔ</sup>-qeraq-luni ~ Ner<sup>l ʔ</sup>-qaq-luni*    *cali-uq.*  
eat-now.then-APP.3Rsg.                    work-IND.3sg.  
‘He is working, eating now and then.’  
– with /a/ raising (P19) in the first variant.
- (149) *pi-qaq-ura-lrii-t*  
do-now.then-CNT-VNrl-ABS.pl.  
‘ones who constantly do (catch games now and then)’ [FASM 25]  
– cf. VVt *|+yu(ŷa)ŷ-* (§ 42.2.3).

VVt *|-ŷqi-* / *|-1qaqi-* ‘one after another’. The latter variant has a stem-final /c/ deleted between two consonants (fricative and /q/). This suffix is responsible for patientive “plural verb” stems (§ 34.2-iii), where P/S argument is plural. Cf. frequency numeral *|-ŷquŷ-* (§ 14.8).

- (150) a. *tuqu-rq-ai* (IND.3sg.3pl.)    ‘he killed *them* one after another’  
          – *|tuqu-c-* ‘to kill’ (die-A)  
          *ane-rq-ai*                            ‘he is taking them out one after another’  
          – *|an(i)-c-* ‘to put out’  
          *ciqi-rq-ai*                           ‘he dumped *them* one after another’  
          – *|ciqi-* ‘to throw/damp (things)’
- b. *eg-qaq-ai*                            ‘he threw *them* one after another’  
          – *|iyc-* ‘to throw’
- c. *mumig-qaq-ai* (IND.3sg.3pl.) ‘he turned *them* over one after another’  
          – *|mumiŷ-c-*  
          *mumig-qaq-ut* (IND.3pl.)    ‘*they* are turning over one after another’.

- (151) *Tag-luten qurrut-nek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 go.up-APP.2sg. chamber.pot-ABM.pl.  
*ciqi-rq-i-ste-ngu(-Ø) taugaam.*  
 dump-RPT-APS-VNrl-be-OPT.2sg. instead  
*Pis-ngait-uten.*  
 catch-will.not-IND.2sg.  
 ‘Go back up and become a urine-bucket dumper. You will not catch anything.’ [PAIT 304–305]  
 – ridiculing one who is timid about going out by a kayak for the first time.

## 2.5. Customary (CUS)

Table 42f: Customary suffixes

VVt  -laȳ-  ~ [Y]  +laȳ-	‘regularly, habitually, customarily’
VVt  +yaqi-	‘regularly, habitually’ – mainly with appositional mood verbs
VVt  -tu-	‘regularly, usually; to the fullest extent’

VVt |-laȳ-| ~ [Y] |+laȳ-| ‘generally, usually, habitually, customarily’ (GEN/HAB/CUS). The deleting type occurs mainly south of the Kuskokwim, and the retaining one mainly in the Yukon. Corresponds to the negative VVn |+<sub>1</sub>cuít-| ‘never’. However, VVt |-tu-| (below) is used instead in HBC and NUN.

- (152) *ceñirte-l(D)ar-tuq* ‘he does visit’ – |*ciniȳc-*|  
 cf. *ceñirc-uit-uq* ‘he never visits’.
- (153) *yurang(e)-lar-tut*  
 INC-GEN-IND.3pl.  
 ‘they usually begin to dance, they usually start dancing’  
*yurangelartut / yuȳá ȳiláxtut/ ~ [Y] yuranglartut / yuȳáŋlaȳtut/.*
- (154) *assik(e)-lar-ait* ‘they generally like them’ (-ait IND.3pl.3pl.)  
*assikelarait / así: |kilá |ȳait/ ~ [Y] assiklarait / asik|táȳ|ȳait/.*
- (155) ‘*Luuska-kun ~ [Y] Uilu-kun ner-lar-aqa.*  
 spoon-PRL.sg. eat-CUS-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I (usually) eat it with a spoon.’
- (156) *Arula-lar-tuq ataku-mi.*  
 dance-GEN-IND.3sg. evening-LOC.sg.  
 ‘They normally dance at night.’

Usually replaced by *|+yaqi-|* in appositional verbs (§ 51.1.2-iv), though it may occur in non-appositional verbs as well – see below.

VVt *|-tu-|* ‘regularly, commonly, to the fullest extent’ – cf. NV *|+tu-|* ‘to be great in dimension, have a lot’. Used in place of VVt *|-lay-|* ~ *|+lay-|* (just above) in HBC and NUN.

- (157) *kiir-tu-uq* ‘it is (generally) warm’  
cf. *kiir-cet-uq* ‘it is warm (now)’.
- (158) *qan-tu-uq* ‘he can speak’ – *|qany-|* ‘to speak; mouth’  
*usvi-tu-uq* ‘he is wise, aware of what makes sense’  
– *|uzvi-|* ‘intelligence, awareness’.
- (159) *Cali-ura-tu-llru-ami* *akiuc-ir-tuq.*  
work-CNT- PST-CNNbc.3Rsg. money-have.lots-IND.3sg.  
‘As he always worked, he had lots of money (in the past).’  
– *|-liy-|* (§ 38.3) > *-ir-*  
cf. *cali-ura-llru-ami*, which would refer to more recent past.
- (160) *Ayuqe-vke-nateng* *cali-tu-ut.*  
resemble-POL-APP-3Rpl. work-GEN-IND.3pl.  
‘They have different jobs (lit. they (generally) work, not being similar).’
- (161) *Kumlacir-tur-luku* *emeq<sub>P</sub>* *eme-tu-aqa.*  
cool-CNT-APP.3sg. water.ABS.sg. drink-GEN-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘I always drink water cooled.’

VN *|+tu-li-|* ‘one that usually/habitually is/does’; with *|-li-|* (§ 19.1).

- (162) *neqe-ngqe-tuli* ‘the one (place) where there usually is fish’  
– *|-ηqχ-|* ‘to have’.
- (163) *ner-tuli* *kumlaner-mek*  
eat-HAB.ABS.sg. frozen-ABM.sg.  
‘eater of frozen food’.

VVt *|-niy-tu-|* ‘can, to know how to, habitually’; with VNnm *|-ny-|*.

- (164) *Aya-nertu-uq* *ella-rpag-mi.*  
go-HAB-IND.3sg. world-AUG-LOC.sg.  
‘He knows how to go around the world.’

- (165) *Uci-**nertu**-llini-ut* [ *ma-ku-t* *qaya-t* ].  
load-can-EVD-IND.pl. this-EX.ABS.pl. kayak-ABS.pl.  
'(I now see) these kayaks can carry a lot.' [PAIT 308]
- (166) *Elisnga-**nertu**-uq* *akuc-i-yara-mek*.  
learned-HAB-IND.3sg. ice.cream-make-VNnm-ABS.sg.  
She knows very well, is a good learner about, how to make ice-cream.'

VVt |+*yaqi*-| 'regularly, consistently, habitually' (REG/HAB). Used more commonly than VV |-*lay*-| ~ |+*lay*-| in appositional verbs, but occurring in other moods as well. Denotes action done more consistently or frequently and for a longer period of time with the habituality emphasized, or describes an established way of acting (often followed by resulting situations 'that is why...; and so...').

To some speakers the |+*yaqi*-| form may sound like a more sophisticated or older form than |*qlay*-|.

- (167) *Assir-**aq**-uq* (≡ *assi-lar-tuq*) *ella<sub>s</sub>* *uumirpak*.  
good-IND.3sg. weather.ABS.sg. these.days.ABS.sg.  
'The weather has been good these days.'

Typically occurs in appositional and participial verbs:

- (168) *qavar-a-**aq**-luni* '(he) sleeping (involuntarily) now and then'  
sleep-RPT-REG-APP.3Rsg.
- (169) *Pi-nari-aqan* *iqvar-**aq**-luni* *taumek*  
do-time.to-CNNwn.3sg. pick-REG-APP.3Rsg. therefore  
*atsa-uta-i-cuil-nguut* *ila-i*.  
berry-supply-PRV-never-PTP.3pl. relative-ABS.3sg.pl.  
'Whenever it is the time (for berries), she always goes picking, so her family never lacks berries.'
- (170) *maqi-**aqe**-llrianga* (≡ *maqi-la-lrianga*) 'I take a steam bath'.  
bathe-REG-PTP.1sg.
- (171) *Cunawa=gguq* *ayagneq-luku* *tua=i* [*tau-na*  
so.that=RPT start.from-APP.3sg. then that-EX.ABS.sg.  
*tan'gurraq*]<sub>s</sub> *tua=i* *pit-**aqe**-llria*.  
boy.ABS.sg. then catch-REG-PTP.3sg.  
'Gee, they say, since that time that boy would always get something.'  
[QNMC 18]

Different verb moods may yield slight differences:

- (172) a. *maqi-aq-luni* ‘he regularly takes a steam bath’  
 bathe-REG-APP.3Rsg.  
 ≙ *maqi-lar-luni*.
- b. *maqi-aqe-llria=wa unuaqu-aqan*  
 bathe-REG-PTP.3sg.=REA tomorrow-CNNwn.3sg.  
 ‘he take a bath every day’ (possibly sarcastic)
- cf. *maqi-lar-tuq* (IND.3sg.) ‘he (usually) takes a bath’  
 – mere statement
- maqi-aq-uq* ‘he (regularly) takes a bath’  
 – more often than *-lar-*.

It is to be noted that, especially in narratives, the suffix tends to follow the evidential VV *|-lini-|*:

- (173) [*Qertu-lrii-m qai-ngani* *uita-llini-aq-ut*.  
 high-VNrl-REL.sg. top-LOC.3sg.sg. stay-EVD-REG-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They would stay on a high land.’ [FASM]

The past marker VVt *|-ṭỵu-|* and the future VVt *|+ciqi-|* do not co-occur with this suffix.

- (174) *Tai-gaq-uq ili-ini* ‘He sometimes comes.’  
 come-REG-IND.3sg. part-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 cf. \**tai-gaqe-llru-uq* or \**tai-gaq-ci-q-uq*.

VVt *|+(u)ciỵki-|* ‘to make it a rule to’ – see § 18.2.1.2.

## 2.6. Consequential (future/present) (CSQ)

Table 42g: Consequential suffixes

VVt/m	<i> +nauỵ- </i>	‘then, so that (now)’; ‘would, usually, always’; ‘might, looks like’
VVt	<i> +niaỵ- </i>	‘(if...) then, so that (later, soon)’
VVt	<i> +niaỵaỵ- </i>	‘to be –ing soon, be almost time to’

The two suffixes VVt *|+nauỵ-|* (present-oriented) and *|+niaỵ-|* (future-oriented) presuppose some preceding fact or event, which may be expressed by another clause. Either of them can make a milder or less direct command than an optative verb, possibly because the implication of a preceding event works as a sort of pragmatic cushion.

VVt |+*nauỵ*-| basically consequential, but with wide functions. A /*ya*/ deletion (P18v) may occur when this suffix is followed by the indicative (transitive) marker |+*yaỵ*-|, as shown by the following – cf. c), below, and the suffix |+*niuỵ*-|.

- (175) *an-ut-naur-aqa* ~ *an-ut-naur-qa*            ‘(then) let me take it out’  
 go.out-APL-CSQ-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 – see e.g. (179) with the same verb stem for some precedence; the second form with the /*ya*/ deletion.
- (176) *aki-nau(-ra)-mken* / *aki-naa-mken*  
 pay-CSQ-IND-1sg.2sg.  
 ‘I will/let me return the favor/insult to you (sg.)’  
 – with some explicit or implicit precedence (‘since you did that...’). The first form *aki-naura-mken* without *ra* deletion from |+*aki+nauỵ*[+*yaq-mkin*]|; with /*ya*/ may sound like a retaliation. See (181) below for the second form with *-naa-* as a rare variant:

i) ‘*consequently, accordingly, then, so that (now)*’ (CSQ) – with something preceding, realized or to be realized and explicit or implicit. A verb with this suffix occurs as the main-clause predicate in the indicative mood, with some explicit precedence of various constructions typically standing before it:

- Preceded by an optative verb* – see § 49.8:
- (177) *Peges-gu*                      *kit-naur-tuq!*  
 release-OPT.2sg.1sg.      sink-CSQ-IND.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) release it so/then it sinks (soon, more definite)!’
- (178) *Ner-i,*                      *taq-kuvet*                      *yuurqer-naur-tukut.*  
 eat-OPT.2sg.      finish-CNNif.2sg.      drink-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
 ‘You (sg.) eat (now), and when you finish, let us have tea.’
- (179) *Maliges-nga*                      *ayag-naur-tukut.*  
 follow-OPT.2sg.1sg.      go-CSQ-IND.1du.  
 ‘Follow me, let us(du.) go.’

- Preceded by an appositional verb:*
- (180) *Ya-a-vet*                      *aqum-luten*                      *ner-naur-tuten.*  
 over-EX-ALL      sit-APP.2sg.      eat-CSQ-IND.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) sit over there so you can eat (now)!’  
 – softer than the imperative *ner-i* (OPT.2sg.). See a contrastive example with |+*niaỵ*-|.

- (181) *Preceded by another person's utterance – as a reply:*  
 'An-ut-arkau-llru-arpenga=ggem!  
 go.out-APL-supposed-PST-IND.2sg.3sg.=CTR  
*Qaku tua=i=ll' waniw' an-ute-qatar-cia?...'*  
 when then now go.out-APL-IMN-INT.2sg.1sg.  
 'Kitak=wa tua=i an-ut-naa-mken.'  
 all.right SFL go.out-APL-CSQ-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 'I thought you were going to take me out! Well, when are you going to take me out? (with complaint/criticism) ...' 'All right, I'll take you out now.' [QNMC 246–249]

The sentence adverbial *kitaki(=wa)* 'all right, well then' above (§ 53.3-ii), which implies some preceding suggestion or question, by itself may lead to a consequential clause, as in the following:

- (182) *Kitak ner-naur-tukuk qanta-n<sub>p</sub> pi-luku.*  
 all.right eat-CSQ-IND.1du. bowl-ABS.2sg.sg. do-APP.3sg.  
 'Get your bowl and we'll eat.' [AKKL 188]

*Precedent implied by an NP:*

- (183) a. [*Arnaq iqva-tura-lria*]<sub>p</sub>  
 woman.ABS.sg. pick.berry-CNT-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*ullag-naur-arput.*  
 go.to-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
 'Let's go to the woman who is picking berries.'
- b. *Ua-vet [[kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub> pai-nganun]*  
 down-ALL river-EV-REL.sg. mouth-ALL.3sg.sg.  
*neqe-ngqer-tura-lria-mun] ayag-naur-tu-kut.*  
 fish-have-VVt-CNT-VNrl-ALL.sg. go-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
 'Let's go to the mouth of the river there, where there happen to be fish (not much, found nowhere else).'
- (184) *Tua=i=gguq piqerluni [im-na tau-na*  
 then=RPR suddenly that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg. that-EX.ABS.sg.  
*kass'ar-pa-ll'er] qalri-llag-naur-tuq.*  
 white.man-big-shabby.ABS.sg. cry-suddenly-CSQ-IND.3sg.  
 'And then (they say) it happened that the big white man would burst out crying.' [YQYL 8]  
 – The sentence-initial particle *tua=i* ('and then') implies some precedence.

On the other hand, a consequential main clause may stand before another clause as its cause or explanation:

- (185) *Amci kenir-naur-tukuk, allanr-e-ts kaig-tut.*  
 hurry cook-CSQ-IND.1du. visitor-EV-ABS.pl. hungry-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Hurry up, let us(du.) cook, the visitors are hungry.’

ii) *Habituality or constancy* (‘would, usually’) – in the narrative style when a precedent is supplied particularly by a constantive-connective verb (‘whenever’; § 50.3). Thus the suffix is similar to VVt [ $\pm la\ddot{y}$ -], which is a mere statement, but this could be accompanied by some connotation of unexpectedness or unusualness on the speaker’s part. An adverbial adjunct of repetition is sometimes found to co-occur as in (189):

- (186) *Unuaqu-aqan tua=i ak’a-nun*  
 tomorrow-CNNwv.3sg. then long.time-ALL  
*arula-ma-naur-tut* [Y.NI].  
 play-CNT-CUS-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They would dance for a long time every day (whenever it ‘tomorrows’).’

- (187) *Piicag-aqamta nepsarr-luta piicag-naur-tukut.*  
 pray-CNNwv.1pl. loud-APP.1pl. pray-CUS-IND.1pl.  
 ‘We would pray loudly when(ever) we prayed.’ (pragmatically somewhat unusual).

- (188) *Maurlu-ni=gguq tua=i, waten*  
 GrMo-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=RPT SFL like.this  
*negar-cuar-aqan aqesgi-rrar-nek,*  
 set.snare-little-CNNwv.3sg. ptarmigan-bit-ABM.pl.  
*malig-qur-naur-aa.*  
 follow-RPT-CUS-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘When(ever) his grandmother went out to set snares for ptarmigans, he always went with her.’ [AKKL 164]

- (189) *Pulengtaq qanemci-naur-aat* [[*tau-na angun*]  
 RPT tell-CUS-IND.3pl.3sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
*imarpig-mi qaya-i-lleq*]<sub>P</sub> [[*ciku-mi pugta-lria-mi*]  
 sea-LOC.sg. kayak-PRV-ABS.sg. ice-LOC.sg. float-VNrl-LOC.sg.  
*qaya-a<sub>P</sub> teng-l-luku*].  
 kayak-ABS.3sg.sg. fly-A<sub>IMP</sub>-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Many times they told about a man who lost his kayak down on the ocean; his kayak was blown when it was on floating ice’ [PAIT 18];  
 [*tijji-c-*] ‘to blow away’.  
 – the last part [[*ciku-mi ... teng-l-luku*] is an adnominal clause modifying its preceding relative clause [[*ta-u-na ...*]...*qaya-i-lleq*].



iii) ‘*might, looks like*’ – with deviated accentuation, apparently restricted to some speakers (Elsie Mather, p.c.). /*ya*/ deletion of (P18v) may occur in connection with the suffix followed by the indicative (transitive) marker |+*yaŷ*-|. Compare the following pair (a, b), the first being pronounced in the general prosodic pattern and the second with deviation:

- (190) a. *igg-naur-tuq* /ix|*naúx*|tuq/ – pronounced with the greatest prominence on the second syllable.  
 i) ‘so that it falls (now)’; ii) ‘let it fall!’ (mild command); iii) ‘it would fall’ (constancy).  
 b. *igg-naur-tuq* /ix|*naúx*|tuq/ – pronounced with a markedly slow tempo with a higher tone on the first syllable than on the second.  
 ‘(it looks like) it might fall’.

iv) *As VN*:

- (191) *tait-nauq* / *tait-naur-aaq*  
 ‘song sung to request something to be brought into a *qasgiq* as a contribution or gift’ [AKKL 232] / ‘song of solicitation’ [TKDF xiv, 114]  
 cf. *tait-naur-luteng* ‘they are singing *taitnauq* song’ from |*tai-c*-| ‘to bring over’.

VVt |+*niay*-| ‘then, so that (in future, soon)’ – in contrast to the present-oriented VVt |+*nauy*-|. Generally occurs in an indicative-mood verb, indicating a consequential action or event in the future. A precedent is often supplied by an optative, an appositional, or a future connective verb.

i) *Future* – close to VVt |+*ciqi*-| and VV |-*ki*-| (§ 49.5), but less blunt. It can, however, be devoid of a future sense and be used as a softer form of |+*nauy*-|:

- (192) *cikir-nia(r-a)mken*  
 give-CSQ-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘(so that) I will give you (sg.) (something) in the future’.
- (193) *nulirr-niar-tuq* / -*raa*  
 ‘so he can find a wife (for her), he is asking (her) for wife’  
*nuteg-niar-tuq* / -*raa* ‘so he can shoot (it)’.
- (194) *tune-niar-tuq* (*akuta-mek* ABM.sg.)  
 ‘so he can sell, is selling (ice cream to s.o.)’  
*tune-niar-aa* (*akutaq* ABS.sg. *angut-mun* ALLsg.)  
 ‘so he is selling (the *akutaq* to the man)’.

See § 34(68) for a contrasting example with  $|+nau\dot{y}-|$  (now) vs.  $|+nia\dot{y}-|$  (future), which are triggered by a transitive vs. an intransitive inflection of an impersonal verb ( $|ciku-|$  ‘to freeze’).

ii) *In reference to precedent* – clauses in various moods, at least optative (§ 49.8), connective (§ 50.6), and appositional (§ 51.2):

- (195) *Peges-gu*                      *kit-niar-tuq.*  
 release-OPT.2sg.1sg. sink-CSQ-IND.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) release it so it sinks.’  
 – implying ‘gradually, taking more time’ than:  
 cf. *Peges-gu*                      *kit-naur-tuq.* = (177)  
 release-OPT.2sg.1sg. sink-CSQ-IND.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) release it so it sinks (soon, more definite)!’
- (196) *Taq-kuvet*                      *yuurqer-niar-tukut.*  
 finish-CNNif.2sg. FUT-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
 ‘When you (sg.) have finished, let us have tea (in future).’  
 cf. *Ner-i,*                      *taq-kuvet*                      *yuurqer-naur-tukut.* = (178)  
 OPT.2sg. finish-CNNif.2sg. now-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
 ‘You (sg.) eat (now), and when you finish let us have tea.’  
 – The addition of the optative *neri* to the first sentence may sound odd.
- (197) *Ya-a-vet*                      *aqum-luten*                      *ner-niar-tuten.*  
 there-EX-ALL sit-APP.2sg. eat-CSQ-IND.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) sit over there and eat!’  
 – a softer and kinder invitation to eat than the optative *ner(‘)-ki-na* (FUT-OPT.2sg.).

*A precedent may stand after:*

- (198) *Atam taugaam tekit-niar-tuq*                      *ataku-us-kan.*  
 look but arrive-CSQ-IND.3sg. evening-E<sub>APL</sub>-CNNif.3sg.3Rsg.  
 ‘He will arrive when the evening falls.’ – possibly sarcastic.

In an interrogative sentence of future time: often with enclitic  $|=ki\dot{y}|$  (§ 54.2-iii)

- (199) *Aana-ka=kiq*                      *qaku*                      *manar-yar-niar-ta?*  
 Mo-1sg.sg.=RQC FUT fish-go.to-CSQ-INT.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder when my mother will go ice fishing?’  
 – much less blunt than *qaku manar-yar-ciq-a* (FUT-INT.3sg.)?

- (200) *Qaku=kig ikayur-niar-tanga?*  
 when=RQC help-CSQ-INT.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I wonder when he will help me?’

With no explicit precedent:

- (201) *Kitak(i) yuurqer-niar-tukut.*  
 reinforcing drink-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
 ‘Let us have tea.’  
 – rather than *yuurqer-naur-tukut.*

Particularly in a formal setting (such as in a church), *|+niay-|* is often used with the force of *|+nauy-|* (‘now’):

- (202) *Nangerr-luta piicag-niar-tukut.*  
 stand-APP.1pl. pray-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
 ‘Let us stand and (so we) pray (now)!’ (in church service)  
 – rather than *piicag-naur-tukut*, which may sound too direct.

- (203) [*Wa-ni atur-yu-lrii-t*] *atur-niar-tukut.*  
 here-LOC sing-DES-VNrl. ABS.pl. sing-CSQ-IND.1pl.  
 ‘Those who want to sing will do so now at this time.’

May occur together with consequential present *|+nauy-|*, which works as a preceding condition for future *|+niay-|*:

- (204) *Kitaki, atrar-luta*  
 now go.downAPP.1pl.  
*ayuy-uci-ir-ut-nari-vkar-naur-put*  
 resemble-VNnm-no.longer-E<sub>APL</sub>-time.to-A'.make-CSQ-IND.1pl.3sg.  
*taring-uce-sciigal-i'irr-niar-tut.*  
 understand-E<sub>APL</sub>-cannot-suddenly-CSQ-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Now, let us go down, and there confound it (it = language [not expressed]), that they may not understand one another’s speech.’  
 – cf. [AYAG 11: 7].

iii) *As NV / NN*: ‘to do something so as to get, buy (FUT)’ – see § 38.2:

- (205) a. *nuteg-niar-tuq*  
 ‘he is going (somewhere) / is here to buy / is in the act of buying a gun’  
 – cf. *nuteg-niar-aa* ‘(so that) he can shoot it (later on)’  
 b. *uteg-niar-luni* (APP.3Rsg.) *tai-guq* ‘he is coming to buy a gun’

- c. *nuteg-nia-lria* (VNrl.ABS.sg.) *tai-guq* ‘the one (who) is buying (whose purpose is to buy) a gun is coming’  
 ≐ *nuteg-niaq* (NN.ABS.sg.) *tai-guq* (less acceptable).
- (206) a. *nulirr-niar-tuq* ‘he is asking for wives’ – |*nulix*| ‘wife’  
 b. *nulirr-niar-aa* [*Nuk'a-nku-k<sub>G</sub>* *pani-ak*]<sub>P</sub>  
 Wi-get-IND.3sg.3sg. p.n.-company-REL.du. Da-ABS.2du.sg.  
 ‘he is asking Nuk’aq’s daughter for wife / to be his wife; he went to Nukaq’s to ask to have their daughter as wife’.
- (207) a. *saarralar-niar-ut-aa*  
 sugar-get-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he is buying / is there to buy sugar for her’  
 b. *tua=ll' saarralar-niaq<sub>S</sub>* (≐ *saarralar-nia-lria<sub>S</sub>*)  
 then sugar-get.ABS.sg. sugar-get-VNrl.ABS.sg.  
*iter-tuq*  
 come.in-IND.3sg.  
 ‘and then the one getting sugar came in’.  
 – the NN or VNrl forms may imply kidding, annoyance, teasing, while the appositive *saarrar-niar-luni* (NV) *iter-tuq* would not have this implication.
- (208) a. *tune-niaq* ‘what one is selling; one who is selling’  
*tune-nia-nka* ‘what I’m selling’  
*tune-niar-u-uq* ‘it is for sale’  
 b. [*Neqe-m<sub>G</sub>* *tune-nia-qe-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub>  
 fish-REL.sg. sell-FUT-have.as-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*assi-nrit-uq*.  
 good-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Selling fish is not good.’
- VVt |*+niaɣaɣ-*| ‘to be -ing soon, be almost time to’.
- (209) a. *unug-niarar-tuq* ‘it is going to become night’  
 become.night-soon-IND.3sg.  
 b. *tekit-niarar-tukuk* ‘we (du.) are almost home’  
 arrive-soon-IND.1du.
- (210) *cikir-niarar-amken* ‘I will give you (sg.) (something) soon’  
 give-soon-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 – /ɣa/ deletion would cause ambiguity with *cikir-nia(r-a)mken* ‘I will give you(sg.) (something) in future’ with VV above. Compare with a connective-mood form:

cf. *cikir-niarar-qamken* ~ *cikir-niarar-aqamken*  
 give-soon-CNNwv.1sg.3sg. – first variant with /ɣa/ deletion.  
 ‘whenever it is soon the time for me to give you (sg.)’.

- (211) *Uterte-qatar-yaaq-ua* [akerta<sub>s</sub> tevir-*niara-an*].  
 return-IMN-CTR-IND.1sg. sun.ABS.sg. disappear-soon-CNNbc.3sg.  
 ‘I was about to go back, as the sun will set.’

Preceded by necessitative impersonal VVsm | +*naȳi*-| ‘to be time to’:

- (212) a. *pissur-nari-niarar-qan*  
 hunt-time.to-soon-CNNif.3sg.  
 ‘if (when) it will soon to be the time for hunting’
- b. *pissur-yar-nari-niarar-lutek*  
 hunt-go-time.to-soon-APP.3Rdu.  
 ‘when it was nearly hunting time (for them two)’ [QQLK 454–455].

## Chapter 43

### Modality (VVm)

1. (Dis)honorifics (VVh/NNh) ..... 1265
2. Evidentiality (VVe) ..... 1265

#### Modality

Modal suffixes are concerned with the subjective specification of an utterance, such as desire, possibility, or necessity. Some of them seem to be morphologically fused with aspect (§ 42) and with negation (§ 44), others are obviously compositive, and the rest are beyond analysis. It seems very hard to get a sense of mutual exclusivity among modal markers.

Table 43a: VV suffixes of modality

VVm/NV	+ <sub>1</sub> cuŷ-	‘to wish (to), tend to’
VVm/NV	+ <sub>1</sub> cuumiŷ-	‘to desire to’
VVm	+ <sub>1</sub> cunqiy-	‘to love very much to, tend to’
VVm	-k*una-	‘to intend to, think about –ing’
VVm	-ŋnaqŋi-	‘to try to’
VVm	-saay-	‘to try to’
VVm	-lŋu-	‘to be tired of –ing’
VVm	+ <sub>1</sub> caŷ-  /  + <sub>1</sub> caŷtuŷ-	‘to go –ing, to go in order to’
VVm	+ <sub>1</sub> caŷ-  <sub>vi</sub>	‘would, could’
VVm	+ <sub>1</sub> cuŷŋa-  ~  + <sub>1</sub> cuuma-	‘can, be ready to, be already waiting to’
VVm	- <sub>1</sub> cunaŷqi-  <sub>vi</sub>	‘to be good, to be –ed, be easy to’
VVm	+ <sub>1</sub> cuŷnaŷqi-  <sub>vi</sub>	‘presumably, I think/guess’
VVm/NV	+ <sub>1</sub> ŋ*at-  <sub>vi</sub> (cf. P5i)	‘it looks like, maybe’
VVm	-ti-  /  -tikiay-	‘perhaps, I wonder, maybe (but uncertain)’
VVm	+ŷaŷkau-  /  +ŷaŷkauŷc-	‘to be supposed to, have to, should’
VVm/VVsm	+naŷqi-	‘to behoove – to [A <sub>IMP</sub> ], should [A]’
VVm	+ <sub>1</sub> cuay-	‘lest – should’ (caution against)

See also § 44 in particular for modality of negation.

Semantically correlated, some of the suffixes (indicated by subscript <sub>vi</sub>) occur only with intransitive inflection, even if the stem is bivalent.

VVm/NN |+<sub>1</sub>cuŷ-| This suffix has at least three uses including tempo-aspectual and adverbial. See (P2iii) for the initial consonant.

- i. ‘to want to, (to say) to want to’ (DES) – most common of the three readings
- ii. ‘to tend (to become)’ (TND) – commonly physical or natural change
- iii. ‘to do deeply’ – cf. reduplicative use of an appositional verb (§ 51.2.6).

i) ‘to want to’: Clearly distinct from the complex transitive VVcm |+sqi-| ‘A’ to ask/want s.o. to do’ (§ 40.2.2). Compare the following pair:

- (1) a. *maligc-ug-amken*  
follow-DES-IND.1sg.2sg.  
‘I [A] want to go with you (sg.) [P] (right now)’
- b. *maligce-sq-amken*  
follow-A’.ask-IND.1sg.2sg.  
‘I [A] want/ask (s.o. [A]) to go with you (sg.) [P]’.

– the first of which has the agent coreference in the simplex verb (‘I wish for me to go’), while the second has the two different agents in the complex verb, for which A argument (‘someone’) may be expressed by an allative NP.

Ambivalence often occurs:

- (2) *taq-sug-tuq* i. ‘he wants to quit’  
ii. ‘it keeps quitting’ – |taqi-| ‘to quit’.

ii) ‘to tend to’:

- (3) *Ellas* *atanr-u-yug-tuq.*  
weather.ABS.sg. boss-be-TND-IND.3sg.  
‘The weather is the determining factor (lit. tends to be the boss).’ [EM]
- (4) a. *naulluu-yu-lar-tuq* ‘he is sickly’  
sick-TND-GEN-IND.3sg.
- b. *Qava-qer-yu(g)-lar-tuq* *nere-rraar-luni.*  
sleep-ITS-TND-GEN-IND.3sg. eat-first-APP.3Rsg.  
‘He tends to fall asleep after eating.’
- (5) *urug-yu-ng-aqan* ‘when(ever) it (snow) begins to melt’  
melt-TND-INC-CNNwv.3sg.

Compared with VVt |±lay-| (§ 42.2.5):

- (6) a. *ciku-nru-yug-tuq*  
‘it freezes more easily / tends to freeze more (than)’

- b. *ciku-nru-lar-tuq*  
 ‘it is commonly more frozen (than)’  
 – with intransitive comparative *-nru-* (§ 45.1.1).

May co-occur with a converb 2 (‘whenever’; § 47.6.2):

- (7) *Yagarcete-llriani uamc-ug-aanga.*  
 busy-CNV waste.time-TND-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘Whenever busy, he tends to bother me.’

Often accompanied by the implication of ‘(usually) doing *despite* (bad condition concerned)’. Thus the following has the second reading in addition to the first:

- (8) *angya-mni qavar-yug-tuq*  
 boat-LOC.1sg.sg. sleep-DES-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘he wants to sleep in my boat (right now)’  
 ii. ‘he (usually, repeatedly) sleeps in my boat (*despite* poor conditions, although I forbid him to, etc.)’  
 cf. *qavar-yug-tuq mak-nari-aqan*  
 sleep-DES-IND.3sg. get.up-time.to-CNNwv.3sg.  
 ‘he usually sleeps when it is time to get up’.

As such, a concessive-connective verb may often co-occur:

- (9) *Qavar-yu-llru-uq ma-a-ni [mikelngu-u-ts  
 sleep-ITS-PST-IND.3sg. this-EX-LOC child-EV-ABS.pl.  
 nepli-ngraata].*  
 noisy-CNNth.3pl.  
 ‘He was sleeping *deeply* here even though the children were noisy.’
- (10) *Merner-yug-tua ataku-mi cali-rpa-nril-ngerma.*  
 tired-TND-IND.3sg. evening-LOC.sg. work-ITS-NEG-CNNth.1sg.  
 ‘I generally get tired in the evening *even though* I am not working hard.’

VVm |+<sub>1</sub>cuynayqi-| (later) in the following (c) may be a grammaticalized composition with the necessity VVsm |+nayqi-| (§ 39.2; cf. VVm below), as in (b):

- (11) a. *ner-yug-tuq* (above) ‘he wants to eat’ – |niyi-| ‘to eat’  
 b. *ner-yug-narq-uq*  
 eat-DES-A’.cause-IND.3sg. – A<sub>IMP</sub> adder VVsm |+nayqi-|  
 ‘he is a good eating companion, is one (I like) to eat with’



- c. *ner-yugnarq-uuq* ‘I think he is eating’ = (58a)  
eat-INF-IND.3sg.

As NV type:

- (12) a. *atkug-yug-tuq* ‘he wants a parka’ – |*atkuy-*|  
b. *qimugte-r-yug-tuq* ‘he wants a dog’ – |*qimuyt-*|  
c. *kuuvviar-yug-tuten ≠ qaa* ‘do you (sg.) want coffee?’  
coffee-DES-IND.2sg.≠QST

The suffix may not delete a noun stem final /i/ or insert /y/ (cf. VNrl |+<sub>1</sub>v<sub>iy-</sub>|):

- (13) a. *tep'-yug-tuq ~ tepe-r-yug-tuq*  
‘he wants aged fish heads’ – |*tīpi-*| ‘fish head’  
b. *neq-yug-tuq ~ neqe-r-yug-tuq*  
‘he wants fish’ – |*niqi-*| ‘fish’, cf. § 7-fn.6 (not \**neq-sug-tuq*)  
– Some speakers sense the latter variant with the epenthetic *-r-* to be more than a single fish. Cf. (11a) *ner-yug-tuq* ‘he wants to eat’.

The two ambivalent stems (V and N) |*imȳ-*| ‘to drink; water’ and |*anay-*| ‘to defecate; feces’ yield three different meanings. Each verb stem has two readings and the noun stem has the defricativized form (with *-q*), triggering the initial *y/s* (from *c*) of the suffix |+<sub>1</sub>cuy-|:

- (14) a. (*e*)*mer-yug-tuq* i. ‘he wants to drink’  
ii. ‘he wants water’ – |*imȳ-*| ‘to drink; water’  
(*e*)*meq-sug-tuq* ‘he is thirsty’ – cf. ABS.sg. (*e*)*meq* ‘water’  
b. *anar-yug-tuq* i. ‘he wants/tends to defecate (e.g. *ella-mi*  
‘outdoors’; LOC.sg.)’  
ii. ‘he wants feces’  
*anaq-sug-tuq* ‘he needs to defecate’.

The suffix serves as a root expander for monovalent stems from emotional roots: ‘to feel, find –’, as contrasted with |<sub>-1</sub>*ki-*| for bivalent ones – § 10.5, § 36.1, and § 37.2.1:

- (15) *alai-yug-tuq ~ alia-yug-tuq* ‘he is lonesome’  
*amru-yug-tuq* ‘he feels overwhelmed’ – *amru-k-aa* ‘he is overwhelmed by it’  
*caperr-sug-tuq* ‘he is hesitant’ – *caper-q-aa* ‘he finds it difficult’  
*takar-yug-tuq* ‘he feels shy’ – *taka-q-aa* ‘he is shy of it’  
*quya-yug-tuq* ‘he is thankful’ – *quay-k-aa* ‘he appreciates it’  
*aar-yug-tuq* ‘he is afraid’ – *aa-q-aa* ‘he finds it dangerous’.

iii) ‘*deeply*’: The suffix is attested in stem repetition (in main and appositional verbs; § 51.2.6):

- (16) ***Qavar-yug-luten***                      ***qava-llru-llini-uten.***  
 sleep-deeply-APP.2sg.      sleep-PST-EVD-IND.2sg.  
 ‘It looked like you (sg.) were sleeping very deeply.’

The same construction may occur with the derived suffixes  $|-_1cu\dot{y}tu\dot{y}-|$  and (somewhat lexically limited)  $|-_1cu\dot{y}cali-|$  as in the following, which are repeated as § 51(154, 155):

- (17) a. ***Ner-yugtur-luni***                      ***ner'-uq.***  
 eat-really-APP.3Rsg.      eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is heartily enjoying eating.’  
 b. ***Iqvar-yugcali-luni***      *ta=ima*      *Mary<sub>S</sub>*                      *Golovin-aa-mi*  
 pick-really-APP.3Rsg.      there      p.n.ABS.sg.      pl.n.-LNK-LOC.sg.  
***iqva-uma-uq.***  
 pick-CNT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Mary is really enjoying picking berries there (elsewhere) at Golovin.’

VVm/NV  $|+_1cuumi\dot{y}-|$  ‘to desire (to)’. See § 44 for the corresponding negative VVn/NV  $|+_1cuumiit-|$  ‘to have no desire (to)’.

- (18) ***cikir-yuumir-aq-luki***                      ‘(by) giving them gifts’  
 give-DES-CUS-APP.3pl. [CAUY 148]
- (19) ***neqerrlug-tur-yuumir-tua***                      ‘I yearn to eat dried fish’  
 dried.fish-eat-DES-IND.1sg.

Followed by  $A_{IMP}$  adding VVsm  $|+na\dot{y}qi-|$  ‘to cause’, it yields to the compositive suffix  $|+_1cuumi\dot{y}na\dot{y}qi-|$  ‘to be desirable to’.

As NV type:

- (20) ***tep-yuumir-tua*** ~ ***tepe-r-yuumir-tua***  
 ‘I yearn for aged fish heads’ –  $|tipi-|$   
 – epenthetic *-r-* after stem-final /i/ as in (13).

VVm  $|+_1cunq\dot{i}yc-|$  ‘to love very much to, to tend to’. Probably a compositive suffix with nominalization VNnm  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  and NV  $|-ki\dot{y}c(i)-|$  ‘to have a good –’ (§ 38.4).

- (21) *ner-yunqegg-ai* (IND.3sg.3pl.) ‘he loves to eat them’  
*ner-yunqegt-uq* ‘he loves to eat’  
*ner-yunqeggiat-uq* ‘he does not love to eat’ = § 44(10b)  
 – see § 44 for the corresponding negative VVn |+*cunqixiat*-].
- (22) *iqvar-yunqegt-uq*  
 ‘he really loves to pick berries’ – |+*iqvaỵ*-| ‘to pick berries’.
- (23) [*Tama-ku-t*                    *uru-mi*                    *nau-ma-lrii-t*  
 that-EX-ABS.pl.            moss-LOC.sg.            grow-STT-VNrl-ABS.pl.  
*atsa-t*]<sub>s</sub>                    *aru-ma-yunqegg-luteng*.  
 berry-ABS.pl.    ripe-STT-DES-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘Those berries that grow on the moss are always ripe.’ [AKKL 176]
- VVm |-*k\*una*-| ‘to intend to (giving some indications), think about –ing (with evidence)’. Very often followed by the contrafactual VVe |+*caaqi*-| ‘but ..., without success/results, in vain’ (§ 43.2):
- (24) *yura-kuna-uq*            ‘he's talking about dancing’  
*yura-kuna-yaaq-uq*    ‘he did say about dancing, but...’ [MM]
- (25) a. *aya-kuna-na-luni=am*  
 go-think-PPS-APP.3Rsg.=again – see § 34.3-iii for purposive -*na*-  
 ‘probably he intends to go again (giving some indications)’  
 b. *aya-kuna-luni=am*                    *qaner-tuq* (say-IND.3sg.)  
 ‘he's saying again he is going’ [EM]  
 c. *aya-kuna-ni-luni=am*                    *qaner-tuq*  
 ‘he said (perhaps unfortunately) he is going’.
- (26) *qava-ng-ca-kuna-llru-yaaq-aqa*  
 sleep-INC-let-intend-PST-but-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘she intended to let him sleep, but...’ [MM]
- (27) *Ca-kuna-sit?*                    –                    *Iqva-kuna-unga*.  
 what.do-intend-INT.2sg.            pick.berry-intend-IND.1sg.  
 ‘What are you (sg.) intending to do?’ – ‘I am intending to pick berries (e.g. showing the plan).’
- (28) a. *Manar-ya-kuna-llru-uten ≠ qaa?*  
 hook.fish-go.to-think-PST-IND.2sg.≠QST  
 ‘Did you (sg.) intend to go fishing?’

- b. *manar-ya-kuna-llru-yaaqe-llini-uq*  
hook.fish-go.to-think-PST-but-EVD-IND.3sg.  
'(so I see) he did think about going to fish (giving some indications), but...'

VVm *|-ɲnaqi-* 'to try to' (conative); cf. the negative VVn *|-nyil-kuyc-* 'to try not to' (negative conative; § 44). Possible with a complex verb as in (31). A composite suffix *|-ɲnaqtuy-* (emphatic) 'to try hard to' is illustrated in (34) below.

- (29) *pitaqe-ngnaq-luku* ' (he) trying to catch it' – *|-pitaqi-* 'to catch'  
*pitaqe-ngnaqe-llru-luku* ' (he) having tried to catch it'.
- (30) *yu-u-ngnaqe-llr-atgun*  
person-be-CNA-VNnm-PRL.3pl.sg.  
'by how they make a living (in a traditional way)', cf. § 18 (235)
- (31) *Kui-ni* *atur-cete-ngnaq-aa.*  
river-ABS.3Rsg.sg. use-A'.make-try-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'He is trying to make his (own) river usable (by cleaning, digging deeper, etc.).'
- (32) *(e)me-nqigte-ngnaq-sugnarq-uq*  
drink-again-CNA-INF-IND.3sg.  
'he is probably trying to drink again'.

Followed by the contrafactual VVe *|+1caaqi-* 'but ..., without success, in vain' (§ 43.2):

- (33) a. *nayir-cu-ngnaq-saaq-uq*  
seal-hunt-CNA-but-IND.3sg.  
'he tried to hunt a seal (but without success)'
- b. *Qulig-tu-nrakun* *kuik<sub>p</sub>*  
crack-have.much-CNNqs.3sg. river.ABS.sg.  
*qera-ngnaq-saaq-aa.*  
cross-CNA-but-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'After the river already had wide cracks, he tried to cross it (but in vain).' [EM]
- (34) *mangel-pag-a-nrite-ngnaqtug-urlu-llru-yaaq-sugnarq-utek*  
sob-bigly-CNT-NEG-CNA-HNR-PST-but-INF-IND.2du.  
'I think you(du.), poor guys, were trying to suppress your big sob (though in vain)' [PA]— cf. 41(114a).

VVm |-*saay*-| ‘to try to’. May be followed by the contrafactual VVe [+*caaqi*-], as is the case with the preceding suffix |-*ynaqi*-|:

- (35) a. *angu-ssaag-tuq* ‘he is hunting’ – |-*aju*-| ‘to catch something for food’  
           *angu-ssaag-aa* ‘he is hunting it’  
       b. *angu-ssaag-ta* ‘one who tries to provide edible items’ [PA] or  
           ‘man or male teenager hunter who takes care of his relatives by hunting’.<sup>1</sup>
- (36) a. *kipu-ssaag-luni* ‘(he) trying to buy’ – |-*kipuc*-| ‘to buy’  
       b. *kitugte-ssaag-aa* ‘he is trying to fix it’ [YED 558] – |-*kituyc*-| ‘to fix’. Note that deletion of stem-final /c/ depends upon its preceding vowel or consonant.
- (37) *tang-ssaag-yaaqe-llini-a*  
 see-CNT-but-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he tried in vain to see her’ – |-*tanx*-| ‘to see’.

VVm |-*lju*-| ‘to be tired of -ing’.

- (38) *nute-**lngu**-uq* ‘he is tired of shooting’ – |-*nuty*-| ‘to shoot’  
       *qia-**lngu**-uq* ‘he is choked up with tears’ – |-*qia*-| ‘to cry’.
- (39) *Niite-**lngu**-amken*                    *merta-a-sq-aqavet*.  
 hear-tired-IND.1sg.2sg.      fetch.water-EV-A'.ask-CNNwv.2sg.  
 ‘I am tired of obeying you (sg.) whenever you ask (me) to fetch water.’

Very often followed by inchoative VVt |-*η*\**i*-| and necessitative VVm/sm [+*naŷqi*-| (below):

- (40) *pi-**lngu-**ng****-luni* ‘he is getting irritated’  
       *cali-**lngu-**ng****-uq* ‘he is getting tired of working’  
       *angut-ngu-ngua-**lngu-**ng****-uq*  
       man-be-pretend-tired-get-IND.3sg.  
       ‘she is beginning to get tired of pretending to be a man’.

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1. Originally:

<i>angun</i>	<i>wall'u</i>	<i>yun'erraq</i>	<i>pissurta</i>
man.ABS.sg.	or	youth.ABS.sg.	hunter.ABS.sg.
<i>pissu-ll-mikun</i>		<i>ila-minek</i>	<i>auluk-i-lria</i>
hunt-VNnm-PRL.3Rsg.sg.		relative-ABM.pl.	care-APS-VNrl.ABS.sg. [CAUY 99]

- (41) *niic-u-ingu-narq-uq*  
hear-DES-tired-A<sub>IMP</sub>-IND.3sg.  
'he makes one tired of listening/hearing'.

VVm |+<sub>1</sub>caŷ-| / |+<sub>1</sub>caŷtuŷ-| 'to go -ing' / 'to go in order to' – cf. VVsm |+caŷ-| 'to make -er' (§ 39.1.2).

i) |+<sub>1</sub>caŷ-| 'to go -ing; easily, early, receptively, agreeably':

- (42) *pissur-yar-tuq* 'he is going hunting' – |*pisuŷ-*|  
*manar-yar-tuq* 'she is going ice-fishing' – |*manāŷ-*|.
- (43) *pi-cir-yar-luku* 'making him receptive to do it (as told)'  
*pi-cir-yar-luni* '(he) being receptive to do (as told)'.

Occurs after the pseudo-passive (§ 34.1.2.2-i) as |+*sciŷ-yaŷ-*| 'to be easily -ed'.

ii) |-*liyaŷ-*| 'to go (to join in)' – a compositive suffix with |+<sub>1</sub>caŷ-|:

- (44) [*ner'-lles-meng<sub>G</sub>*                      *tua=llu*                      *kingu-akun*]  
eat-VNnm-REL.3Rpl.sg.    then                      behind-PRL.3sg.sg.  
*yura-liyar-luteng*  
dance-go-APP.3pl.  
'and then after their meal they go for dancing'.

iii) |+<sub>1</sub>caŷtuŷ-| 'to go (in order) to':

- (45) a. [*Qag-na*                      *qimugta*]<sub>p</sub>                      *petug-yartur-ru!*  
outside-EX.ABS.sg.    dog.ABS.sg.                      tie-go-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
'Go and tie the dog out there (in motion, visible)!'
- b. *iinr-iur-ta*    *tanger-sartur-ru!*  
medicin-work.on-VNrl.ABS.sg.                      see-go.to-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
'Go and see the nurse!' [PA]
- c. *inarc-artur-aqa-mi*                      'on his way to bed' [EM]  
lying-EX-go-CNNwv-3sg.

As NN 'early':

- (46) *uksuar-yartu-mi*  
fall-early-LOC.sg.  
'at the beginning of, in the early fall' (when fish become less abundant).

VVm |+<sub>1</sub>caŷ-| ‘would, could’ – with conditional or hypothetical situation, co-occurring with a subordinate clause in the conditional-connective mood (§ 50.6).

- (47) *Malike-kumegnuk assi-nru-yar-tuq.*  
take.along-CNNif.1du. good-CMP-would-IND.3sg.  
‘If we(du.) went together, it would be better.’ [YQSC]
- (48) *Qaya-li-yar-tukut, pi-ka-ngqer-qumta.*  
kayak-make-would-IND.1pl. thing-FUT-have-CNNif.1pl.  
‘If we had material, we would make a kayak.’

This marker may possibly be related with the preceding VVm |+<sub>1</sub>caŷ-| (‘to go to’) and its compositive suffixes (with underlying action toward or momentum), as YED regards the two as the same suffix, and perhaps also with VVsm |+<sub>1</sub>caŷ-| (‘to maker s.t. –er’; § 39.1.2).

VVm/NV |+<sub>1</sub>cuyŋa-| ~ |+<sub>1</sub>cuuma-| ‘can, be ready to, already be waiting to’ – compositive suffix from |+<sub>1</sub>cuy-| followed by the stative |+ŋa-| / |+uma-| (§ 42.2.3).

- (49) *kiparc-uuma-uq ~ piyua-cugnga-uq*  
‘he can walk around (kiparc- | piyua-)’.
- (50) *uterc-uuma-Ø* ‘you (sg.) be ready to return!’ – OPT.2sg.
- (51) *atur-yugnga-a* ‘he can use it’ – |atuŷ-|, IND.3sg.3sg.  
*atur-yugnga-ci-a* ‘whether he can use’ – VNm. ABS.3sg.sg.
- (52) *ellmegg-nek auluk-sugnga-luteng*  
3Rpl.-ABM watch-can-APP.3Rpl.  
‘they being independent, able to take care of themselves’.
- (53) [*Yu-u-k malru-k wall' atauciq*]<sub>s</sub>  
person-EV-ABS.du. two-ABS.du. or one.ABS.sg.  
*uita-yugnga-luni tu-a-ni ene-mi.*  
stay-can-APP.3Rsg. that-EV-LOC.sg. house-LOC.sg.  
‘One or two persons could live in that house.’ [LL]
- followed by inchoative |+<sub>1</sub>ŷi-|:*
- (54) a. *pi-yuuma-ri-kuvet* (CNNif.2sg.) ‘when you become able, adept’  
b. *tuqu-c-i-yugnga-ri-aqami*  
die-A-APS-can-INC-CNNwv.3Rsg.  
‘when he was capable of killing (a man)’ [YQYL 16]

The negative suffix |+*sciiyat*-| ‘cannot’ (§ 44) takes the place of the general negation, e.g. *-yuuma-nrit-*, which is clumsy.

VVm |-*1cunayqi*-| ‘to be good to be –ed, be easy to’.

(55) a. *Ner-yunarq-uw* *neqa<sub>s</sub>* ‘The fish is good to eat, tasty.’  
eat-good-IND.3sg. fish.ABS.sg.

b. *Aya-yunarq-uw* *ella<sub>s</sub>* *pissu-lle-mteni*.  
go-good-IND.3sg. weather.ABS.sg. hunt-VNm-LOC.1pl.sg.  
‘The weather is good for our going hunting.’

(56) *uita-yunarqe-nrit-ukut*  
stay-good-NEG-IND.1pl.  
‘we cannot stay’ (here as our enemy is coming after us) [QNMC 134]

VVm |+*1cuynayqi*-| ‘probably, I think’ – inference (INF) or judgment based on indirect evidence, implication of wondering or not being uncertain. /y/ is deleted before /qC/, which comes from final /i/ deletion by (P8ii.a), as illustrated with the third form of the following:

(57) a. *ner-yugnarq-uw* ‘I think he is eating’  
eat-INF-IND.3sg.  
cf. *ner-yug-narq-uw* ‘it is always good to eat’  
eat-TND/DES-NEC (§ 39.2)

b. *ner(‘)-ciq-sugnarq-uw* ‘I think that he will go’  
eat-FUT-INF-IND.3sg.

(58) a. *ayag-yugnarq-uw* ‘(I guess) he has left’  
b. *yag-ciq-sugnarq-ua* ‘I think I’m to go’  
*ayag-ciq-ngaic-ugnarq-ua* ‘I don’t think I’m going to go’  
c. *aya-llru-yugnarq-uw* ‘(I guess) he left’  
*aya-llru-yugnaq-luni* ‘(I guess) he is leaving’  
cf. *aya-llru-nga-nani* ‘(it appears) he left’ [EM]

The suffix may come within complex clauses also:

(59) *ayag-ciq-ni-llru-yugnarq-uw* ‘he probably said that he would go’  
cf. *ayag-ciq-sugnaq-ni-llru-uw* ‘he said that he would probably go’.

It may co-occur with VVm |+*1η\*at*-| (just below) in the speech of some speakers, although very rarely, implying very little assurance:



- (60) *unguva-ngaic-ugnaq-ngat-ug* ‘he may not live too long’  
live-will.not-INF-INF-IND.3sg.

VVm/NV  $|+_{1\eta}*\text{at-}|$  (cf. P5i) ‘it looks like, maybe, to look like N’. The speaker’s own inference (INF) or judgment (INF) based on more observation or appearance, with a little more assuredness than the preceding VVm  $|+_{1\text{cuy}\text{nay}\text{qi-}|}$ .

Note the relative order with tense-aspect marker:

- (61) a. *ayag-ngat-ug*  
‘it looks like he is going’ (possibly more of a question)  
b. *ayag-ciq-ngat-ug* ‘maybe he will go’  
*aya-llru-ngat-ug* ‘he may/must have left (e.g. as his bag is gone)’  
– not much difference from (or with less evidence than [MM]):  
c. *ayag-ngate-llru-ug*  
‘it looked like he was leaving, he must have left (as I saw him)’  
– with PST *-llru-*, which does not come after VVm *\*-yugnarqe-llru-*,  
VVe *\*-llini-llru-*  
d. *ayag-ngate-llru-llini-ug* ‘(he found that) it looked like he was going’  
[EM]  
e. *qaya-li-ciq-ni-ngate-llru-yaaq-sugnarq-aanga*  
kayak-make-FUT-A’.say-INF-PST-but-INF-IND.3sg.1sg.  
‘I think he might have told me that he would make me a kayak’ [EM]

- (62) *Kuima-lriani egturya-ts amler-ngat’-lar-tut.*  
swim-CNV mosquito-ABS.pl. much-INF-REG-IND.3pl.  
‘Whenever (I/we) swim, there seem to be more mosquitoes.’

As an NV type: See VNrl  $|+_{1\text{viy-}|}$  for  $/\text{y}/$  insertion after noun-stem final  $/\text{t}(\text{i})/$ :

- (63) *kuiq-ngat-ug* ‘it is like a river (*kuiq-*)’  
*angyar-ngat-ug* i. ‘it is like a boat’  
ii. ‘he may be using a boat’; cf. § 11(1–2).  
(64) *qusngir-ngal-nguq* ‘goat’  
reindeer-INF-VNrl.ABS.3sg.sg.

VVm  $|-\text{ti-}|$  /  $|-\text{tikia}\text{y-}|$  ‘perhaps, I wonder, maybe (but uncertain)’ (conjunctural).

i)  $|-\text{ti-}|$

- (65) *kai-lli-ug* ‘perhaps (I wonder) he is hungry’  
– more of a question or inquiring, compared with:

cf. *aya-llini-uq* ‘(I see) he is hungry’, with some evidence (even indirect); § 43.2 for *|-lini-|*.

- (66) *Na-n-ta* *im-nas?* –  
 where-be.at-INT.3sg. that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.  
*Merta-lli-uq*.  
 fetch.water-CNJ-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Where is that person?’ – ‘He must be fetching water.’

Very often as a mild question or statement:

- (67) a. *ner-yu-lli-uten*  
 eat-DES-CNJ-IND.2sg.  
 ‘would you (sg.) like to eat?, perhaps you want to eat’  
 b. *kii-met-lli-uten*  
 alone-be.at-CNJ-IND.2sg.  
 ‘are you (sg.) alone? you must be alone’.

Often with participial-mood verbs, possibly accompanied by the reactive enclitic *|=wa|* (§ 47.2.1.1, § 54.1-i):

- (68) *maqi-vi-ngqe-lli-lria-ten=wa*  
 bathe-place-have-CNJ-PTP-2sg.=ENC  
 ‘perhaps you (sg.) are having a steam bath’ (inquiring)  
 – compare with the indicative:  
 cf. *maqi-vi-ngqe-lli-uten*  
 bathe-place-have-CNJ-IND.2sg.  
 ‘perhaps you(sg.) are having a steam bath’  
 – expecting an answer.

To emphasize the conditionality of conditional-connective verbs (§ 50.6):

- (69) *elite-lli-kumku* ‘if I learn it (by the remote chance)’ (CNNif.1sg.3sg.)  
 cf. *elis-kumku* ‘when I learn it’.

The suffix is compared with other suffixes of modality, with the last two examples preceded by the contrafactive VVe *|+<sub>1</sub>caaqi-|* (below):

- (70) a. *pi-llru-lli-uq* ‘I think he did, he might have done (not sure, inquiring)’  
*pi-llru-ngat-uq* ‘I think he did (rather sure)’  
*pi-llru-yugnarq-uq* ‘I guess he did (not sure, wondering)’

	<i>pi-llru-yaaq-ngat-uq</i>	‘it seems like he did (rather uncertain)’
	<i>pi-llru-yaaq-sugnarq-uq</i>	‘maybe he did (more uncertain)’
b.	*? <i>pi-llru-yug-tuq</i>	§ 43
	*? <i>pi-llru-yuuma-uq</i>	§ 43
	*? <i>pi-llru-yuumiit-uq</i>	§ 44
	*? <i>pi-llru-narq-uq</i>	§ 39.2
	*? <i>pi-llru-nait-uq</i>	§ 44

ii) *|-tikiaŷ-|* ‘to be uncertain, wondering’. Composition with the preceding *|-ti-|* remains a mere possibility since the identity of *-kiar-* is not determined:

- (71) a. *pini-llikiar-aanga*  
 ‘he is wondering/suspecting if I am strong’ – *|piniŷ-|* ‘to be strong’  
 b. *assi-llikiar-tua*  
 ‘I am wondering if I am doing well’.

May occur after an ignorative word:

- (72) a. *na-ni-llikiar-tuq* ‘he wonders where he is’ (IND.3sg.)  
*na-ni-llikiar-aanga* ‘he wonders where I am’ (IND.3sg.1sg.)  
 b. *ki-na-llikiar-tua* ‘I am wondering who he is’ (IND.1sg.).

VVm *|+yaŷkau-|* (inchoative) *|+yaŷkauŷc-|* ‘to be/become supposed to, should, have to’. Fixed compositive suffixes of modality from the passive relative clause VNrl *|+yaŷkaŷ-|* (<*|+yaŷ+kaŷ-|*) and intransitive relational verb NVrv *|+ŷu-|* and (inchoative) *|+ŷuŷc-|* – VNrl.FUT-be ‘to be/become s.t. to be – ed’ (§ 17.4.3-ii, iii). Despite the original passive relativizer, the suffix attenuates passivity and may be used for monovalent as well as bivalent stems, that is, the originally intransitive nature of the relational verb is lost and the suffix may occur with transitive inflection as well. See also *|+naŷqi-|* ‘should, must [with A]; to behave to [with A<sub>IMP</sub>]’, fully described in § 39.2.1, which is not as strong as *|+yaŷkau-|*.

The following example (repeated from § 17[175]) illustrates each mono-, bi-, and trivalent (secundative and indirective) stems:

- (73) a. *ayag-arkau-guq* ‘he is supposed to go’  
 b. *tangrr-arkau-guq* ‘I am supposed to see s.t./s.o.’  
 c. *cikir-arkau-guq* ‘he [R] is supposed to be given’ (secundative)  
*tun<sup>?</sup>-arkau-guq* ‘it [T] is supposed to be given/sold’ (indirective).

- (74) *at<sup>?</sup>-arkau-guq*  
 i. ‘it is something to put on, it should be put on’ – A deletion  
 ii. ‘he is supposed to put on (s.t.)’ – P demotion; *|ac-|* ‘to put on’.

*transitive inflection:*

- (75) a. *pi-arkau-gaci* (IND.2pl.3sg.)  
 ‘you (pl.) are supposed to do it’  
 b. *tangrr-arkau-garput* (IND.1pl.3sg.)  
 ‘we will (are supposed to) see him’.

Polarity and TAM specification may co-occur:

- (76) a. *ner'-arkau-nric-aaq-ug*  
 eat-should-NEG-but-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he should not eat (but he does)’  
 b. *nere-llru-arkau-gug*  
 eat-PST-should-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he should have eaten’ – with *ak'a* ‘already’  
 c. *ner-uma-arkau-nric-aaq-ug*  
 eat-PRF/CNT-should-NEG-but-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘it should not be eaten for long (but)’  
 ii. ‘he should not keep eating (but)’ – *|niyi-* ‘to eat’.
- (77) *anerteqe-vkar-arkau-vke-naku*  
 breathe-A'.let-should-NEG-APP.3sg.  
 ‘(so that) she will never live and breathe; (so that he) should not let  
 her breathe (live again)’ [QNMC 74]

The expanded verbs with the modality *-arkau-* are not as forceful as *A<sub>IMP</sub>* adding *VVsm* *|+nayqi-*, as in *pi-narq-aci* ‘you (pl.) are supposed to/should do it’.

In complex sentences; either subordinate (78) or main (79) clauses:

- (78) *Pi-arkau-llru-ama* *uterte-llru-unga.*  
 do-supposed-PST-CNNbc.1sg. go.home-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I went home since I was supposed to.’
- (79) *Taqner-urc-avet* *nallu-nrit-arkau-gan.*  
 adult-become-CNNbc.2sg. not.know-supposed-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Since you’ve become an adult, you (sg.) are supposed to know it;  
 you’re old enough to know it.’ [MT]

The second version *|+yaykauyc-* ‘to become supposed to, should, have to’ has obviously the inchoative relational *VNrl* *|+nyuyc-* ‘to have become’ relational verb instead of the stative *VNrl* *|+nyu-* ‘to be’:

- (80) *Iitaruaq tua=i Alaska-mi uita-ur-kaurr-luni.*  
 p.n.ABS.sg. SFL pl.n.-LOC.sg. stay-CNT-should-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Iitaruaq (Irene Reed) was here in Alaska to stay.’ [IRES 24-25]  
 – apparently a rare case of repeated /ȳa/ | /ȳa/ deletion (P18v), with  
 the continuative |+ȳu(ȳa)ȳ| (§ 42.2.3) involved.

See also 17 (178) *kassuut-arkaurte-llini-aqata* ‘when they are now certainly scheduled to get married’.

VVm |+<sub>1</sub>cuayȳ-| ‘lest – should, so as not to’ (caution against) – within an indicative-mood verb, often co-occurring with an optative (imperative) verb.

- (81) *Ayi-i ciqpag-yua(r-a)mken / tuqu-c-ua(r-a)mken.*  
 go-OPT.2sg. splash-lest-IND.1sg.2sg. die-A-lest-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 ‘Go away lest I should splash (throw water) on you / Lest I should  
 kill you.’ – /ȳa/ deletion of (P18v.b-iii).

VVm/VVsm |+<sub>naȳqi-</sub>| ‘should, must [A], to behoove, destine – to [A<sub>IMP</sub>]’; fully described in § 39.2.1.

## 1. (Dis)honorifics (VVh/NNh)

There is a group of modal suffixes called “(dis)honorifics” (or “attitudinals”) which generally express the speaker’s attitude toward or evaluation of person(s) or thing(s). Characteristically, they can “float” among nominals, verbs, and particles. When occurring in verbs, the VVh suffixes do not modify the preceding stem, but express an attitude toward or evaluation of the subject of the verb.

VVh (dis)honorific are given in Table 19 and illustrated together with nominal uses (NNh) in § 20.3.

## 2. Evidentiality (VVe)

Apart from epistemic modality (speaker’s evaluation), evidentiality as the source of a statement is not well subject to grammatical treatment in CAY, either suffixal or lexical, although there are a very common suffix of VV |-*lini-*| (finding or confirmation – just below) and also a very common evidential (quotative) enclitic |=*xuȳ*| (§ 54.4) which is basically an indirect delivery of a message through an addressee (‘tell/ask him/her that’ or ‘he/she/they tell/ask that’; ‘it is said’).

See also § 38.5 NV/VV |-*lkic-*| ‘(suddenly) to appear, realize, occur as’.

Table 43b: VV suffixes of evidentiality

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VVe	- <i>lini</i> -	‘evidently, now I see...’
VVe	- <i>luuyɔc</i> -	‘after all, as it actually turned out, I found indeed’
VVe	+ <i>caaqi</i> -	‘I found to the contrary, but actually, but in vain’

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VVe |-*lini*-| finding or confirmation (by not specifying the kind of evidence) – ‘evidently, now I see (though I was unaware), it is a fact that, definitely (on good evidence), it is a fact that...’, possibly with an implication of surprise or unexpectedness. See § 54.4 for the reportative enclitic [=xuy]. Typically immediately preceding an inflection.

- (82) a. *aya-llini-uq*  
‘he left’ (on either direct or indirect evidence rather than hearsay)  
b. *ayag-yaaqe-llini-uq*  
‘I see that he left (but...)’.
- (83) a. *kai-llru-llini-uq* ‘evidently he was hungry’  
hungry-PST-EVD-IND.3sg.  
cf. \**kai-llini-llru-uq*  
b. *naulluu-rpa-llru-llini-luni* ‘evidently he was very sick’  
sick-ITS-PST-EVD-APP.3Rsg.
- (84) *ukusuar-mi taugaam pi-lar-ngate-llru-llini-ut*  
fall-LOC.sg. but do-CUS-maybe-PST-EVD-IND.3pl.  
‘But it seems it (*petugtaq*) was done in the fall.’ [CAUY 19]
- (85) a. *nere-pa-llini-uten* /niy̨ip|paʔi|niú|tin/  
eat-ITS-EVD-IND.2sg.  
‘(I see) you (sg.) are eating a lot’  
b. *cani-met-qapigte-llini-uq* ‘I see it is very near’  
side-be.at-ITS-EVD-IND.3sg.  
c. *up'nerka-llini-uq*  
be.spring-EVD.3sg.  
‘I see it is now spring (there)’ [EM] – more likely of other place.
- (86) a. *Aata-ma<sub>A</sub> kiu-llru-a,*  
Fa-REL.1sg.sg. answer-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*pi-ngaitte-llini-amku.*  
do-will.not-EVD-CNNbc.1sg.3sg.  
‘My father answered him since (he realized) I would not answer him.’  
b. *Aya-ksaite-llini-lriaten ≠ cunaw*.  
leave-not.yet-EVD-PTP.2sg.≠gosh  
‘I see you haven't left.’ [MM]

While the suffix in the preceding stands immediately before the inflection, it may be followed by another suffix intervening, which is at least the case with (exclamative) intensifier VVa *|+pay-|* (§ 41.3.2), as well as aspectual VVt *|+nauy-|*, *|+niuŷ-|* ‘so that’ (consequential; § 42.2.6) and *|+yaqi-|* (ITR/ITM; § 42.2.4):

- (87) a. *kai-llini-vag-cit* (INT.2sg.) ‘(I see) how you (sg.) are hungry!’  
 – § 48.4 for exclamations with interrogative-mood verbs  
 cf. *kai-kapigte-llini-uq* ‘I see he is very hungry’
- b. *Tua=i=lli ihmun atauci-mek*  
 then truly one-ABM.sg.  
*taqe-ste-ngqe-llini-vag-ceta wangkuta.*  
 complete-VNrl-have-EVD-bigly-INT.1pl. 1pl.  
 ‘We trully have one Creator!’ [AKKL (Paul John) 94]
- (88) *unak-llini-naur-ait*  
 obtain-EVD-VVt-IND.3pl.3pl.  
 ‘they would/used to catch (seals)’ [FASM 14]
- (89) *Atampani-mini=llu umyuga-ani*  
 look daughter-LOC.3Rsg.sg.=and mind-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*ilu-qsi-nrurte-llini-niar-tuq.*  
 inside-far.into-become.more-EVD-VVt-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Look! (They say) she would become more cherished than even one’s own daughter.’ [YQYW (Theresa Moses) 194–195], cf. § 45(55)

*|+yaqi-|* is abundantly attested between *-llini-* and an inflection in the indicative, participial, connective, and appositional moods, e.g.:

- (90) [*Qertu-lrii-m<sub>G</sub> qai-ngani*] *uita-llini-aq-ut.*  
 high-VNrl-REL.sg. top-LOC.3sg.sg. stay-EVD-REG-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They would stay on a high land.’ [FASM 3]

See § 18(68) for nominalization *qaya-li-sciigat-llini-ci-a* ‘how (I found, definitely) he cannot make a kayak’ of *|-llini-|*. See Sellman (1996) for the narrative functions of *-llini-*.

VVe *|-luuyc-|* ‘after all, as it actually turned out, I found indeed’

- (91) *aya-luugt-uq*  
 ‘he left after all, ended up in leaving, was convinced to go, actually left (though he had not wanted/planned/expected to)’.

- (92) *ila-k-ut'-luugte-llini-ukut*  
 part-have.as-APL-turn.out-EVD-IND.1pl.  
 'we turned out to be related to each other'.

Sensory evidence is involved in the NV suffix *|-lki-* '(suddenly) to appear, occur as' (now the speaker noticed) – see § 38.5.

VVe *|+<sub>1</sub>caaqi-* 'I found to the contrary, but actually/definitely, without success/results, in vain, to no avail. A very commonly used suffix which implies contrafactuality (CTR) or non-realization of an expected event. Very often conveys indirectness or politeness (POL). Glossed as 'but'.

- (93) a. *ayuq-saaq-uk*  
 resemble-but-IND.3du.  
 'they (du.) are similar (e.g. but have difference)'  
 b. *naklek-saaq-amken*  
 compassionate-but-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 'I am sorry for you (sg.) (but, e.g. I don't want to be bothered)'.

Very often stands after the tense marker *|-l̥y̥u-* (past) or *|-ciqi-* (future) – with reverse order below:

- (94) a. *tai-llru-yaaq-uq*  
 i. 'he was (supposedly) coming (but has not shown up yet)'  
 ii. 'he came (but not fulfilling his purpose)'  
 b. *ner-ngau-nii*                      *pi-llru-yaaq-ua*  
 eat-will.not-APP.1sg.      do-PST-but-IND.1sg.  
 'I decided not to eat/to diet, but ate.' [MM]
- (95) *Qaya-li-la-llru-yaaq-ukut*                      *up'nerka-mi.*  
 kayak-make-CUS-PST-but-IND.1pl.      spring-LOC.sg.  
 'We used to make kayaks in the spring (but no longer).'

*followed by evidential |-lini-*

- (96) a. *manarya-kuna-llru-yaaqe-llini-uq*  
 hook.fish-go.to-think-PST-but-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 '(so I see) he did think about going to fish (giving some indication), but...'  
 b. *tuquc-i-ngnaqe-llru-yaaqe-llini-uq=llu=gguq*  
 kill-APS-CAN-PST-but-EVD-IND.3sg.=and=RPR  
 'it is said that he was also trying to kill (s.t.)' [PA]

Compare with the reverse order:



- (97) a. *ceñirte-llru-yaaq-amken* ‘I visited you(sg.)’  
 visit-PST-POL-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 cf. *ceñirte-llru-amken* ‘I visited you(sg.)’ – more blunt  
 b. *ceñirc-aaqe-llru-amken* ‘I visited you(sg.) (but...)’.
- (98) *an-yaaqe-llru-llini-luni* ‘he tried to go out (but to no avail)’  
 go.out-but-PST-EVD-APP.3Rsg.
- (99) *ayag-ci-q-saaq-ua*  
 go-but/POL-IND.1sg.  
 i. ‘I am (still) going to go (e.g., but it depends; I do not know when)’  
 ii. ‘I would like to go’ (indirect)  
 – cf. reverse order *-aaqe-ci-qe-* below.

After different VV suffixes:

- (100) *akutar-tur-yug-yaaq-ua* ‘I would like to eat ice cream’  
 ice.cream-eat-DES-but-IND.1sg.
- (101) a. *ayag-ngaic-aaq-ua*  
 leave-will.not-but-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I am not thinking about going’ (but some unpredictability or chance)  
 b. *nallu-nric-aaq-uq*  
 not.know-not-but-IND.3sg.  
 ‘she knows (but actually behaves otherwise, etc.)’.

Often co-occurs with the particle *taūgaam* ‘but’ to emphasize the contra-factuality:

- (102) *Taanga-neq<sub>s</sub>* *ca-nric-aaq-uq,* *taūgaam*  
 drink-VNnm.ABS.sg. do.some-NEG-but-IND.3sg. but  
*taanga-lleq<sub>s</sub>* *unuaqu-aqan*  
 drink-VNnm.ABS.sg. tomorrow-CNNwv.3sg.  
*atawa-u-nrit-uq.*  
 blessing-be-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Drinking is fine (nothing), but drinking everyday is not good.’
- (103) *Qauḡ-ku-miu-ngu-yaaq-uq,* *taūgaam*  
 upriver-EX-dweller be-but-IND.3sg. but  
*ma-ku-miu-tun* *qalar-tuq.*  
 this-EX-dweller-EQL.sg. speak.IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is from the upriver/tundra but speaks the dialect (like the people) here.’

The suffix may often follow VVm *|-k\*una-|* ‘to think about –ing’ and VVm *|-ɣnaqi-|* ‘to try to’, as illustrated with the respective suffix, above.

The suffix may give some sense of uncertainty to an inferential suffix:

- (104) *pi-llru-yaaq-ngat-uw*  
do-PST-but-INF-IND.3sg.  
‘it seems like he did’ (rather uncertain)  
cf. *pillru-ngat-uw* ‘I think he did’, which has more assuredness.
- (105) *pi-llru-yaaq-sugnarq-uw* ‘maybe he did’ (more uncertain)
- (106) *nallu-yaaqe-rraar-luki* ‘after not being aware of them’  
not.know-but-first-APP.3pl.
- (107) *Iqva-llag-tuq* *pi-qata-nric-aaqe-rraar-luni.*  
pick.berry-MOM-IND.3sg. do-IMN-NEG-but-first-APP.3Rsg.  
‘She suddenly went berry picking even though she had not planned to.’

Followed by tense-aspect and other VV suffixes – cf. reverse order above.

- (108) a. *kitugte-qa-a-sqe-ssaaqe-llru-aqa*  
fix-ITS-EV-A'.ask-but-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘I did tell him to clean up for once’  
– mostly impolite, disappointed, negative attitude
- b. *Naulluu-ngami ner-yunaic-aaqe-llru-luni*  
sick-CNNbc.3Rsg. eat-should.not-but-PST-APP.3Rsg.  
*taugaam ner'-llini-luni.*  
but eat-EVD-APP.3Rsg. = § 51(145)  
‘He should not have eaten as he was sick, but apparently he ate.’
- (109) *assiic-aaqe-ci-q-uw*  
‘it might be wrong’ – *asiit-|* ‘to be wrong’.
- (110) a. *aya-yunaic-aaqe-ci-q-uw*  
‘it would not be proper for her/him to leave (but...)’ (*-ciq(e)-* FUT)
- b. *aya-yunaic-aaqe-llru-uw*  
‘it was not proper for (wise of) him to leave (but...)’  
– VVn *|-1cunait-|* ‘not to be proper, wise’
- c. *aya-yunaic-aaqe-llru-ci-q-uw*  
go-should.not-but-PST-FUT-IND.3sg.  
‘it would not be proper to leave but she/he actually did’ (emphasis on actually having left).

- (111) *Tama-na tua=i pegc-unaic-aaqe-llru-ciq-lun(i)*  
 that-EX.ABS.pl. SFL give.up-not.proper-but-PST-FUT-APP.3Rsg.  
*wangkuta-u-lria-ni.*  
 1pl.-be-VNrl-LOC  
 ‘Those (customs) should not have been abandoned for us (cyclical  
 derivation) (although they were).’ [AKKL 92]

The suffix  $|-_1caa\dot{q}-|$  ‘but (actually)’ may stand before the concessive-  
 connective marker  $|-_1\eta\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$  (§ 50.5):

- (112) *amlherr-saaqe-ng’ermeng* ‘although they are plenty’  
 plenty-but-CNNth.3Rpl.

Deverbalized – relativization and nominalization:

- (113) a. *pi-k-arkau-yaaqe-l-qa*  
 thing-own-supposed-but-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘what I should have owned (but...)’  
 b. *qayar-pa-li-sqe-ssaaqe-l-qa*  
 kayak-big-make-A’.ask-but-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘one whom I asked to make a big kayak for me (though in vain)’.
- (114) *aata-ma<sub>G</sub> uterc-aaqe-llr-a tama-a-ni*  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. return-but-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. that-EX-LOC  
 ‘the time back then when my father came back (but left again)’.

# Chapter 44

## Negation (VVn)

1. Double and partial negation..... 1285

### Negation

Negation in CAY is mostly clausal with a verb-elaborating VVn suffix involved, except for a few privative verbalizing NV suffixes like NV *|+ɲit-|* ‘to lack, have no N, there be no N’ (§ 38.1) and apart from for one negative sentence word (particle) *|qa(a)ɲ| ~ |qàŋa|* ‘no’ (§ 53.2). There are no affixes for word negation (like English *un-*, *im-*, *-less*). Ignorative stems (§ 15.3.2) may be contextually negative as well as interrogative and indefinite. See also (§ 40.2.5) for the ignorative complex transitive VVcm suffixes.

A fair number of VVn suffixes are listed below, many of which have some fusion with tense-aspect or modality. The most general and common negator is VVn *|nɲit-|* ‘not’ and its variant *|+<sub>1</sub>piki~+viki-|* (first in the list below), the latter of which is selected by appositional-mood verbs characterized by the mood marker *|na-|* (instead of *|lu-|*) – see § 51.1.3.

Except for *|at-|* (second in the list below) which is very much limited to a small group of stems and suffixes, all VVn suffixes are composites, with two or more morphemes fused together. Even the most general and neutral negator VVn *|nɲit-|* is a composition of the abstract nominalizer VNnm *|nɲ-|* (§ 18.3.1.1) followed by the privative NV *|+ɲit-|* (just above), while VVn *|nɲiɲ-|* ‘no longer’ is of the same nominalizer followed by the privative NV *|+ɲiɲ-|* ‘to have N removed’ (§ 38.1). All the others also contain the negative element *|+ɲit-|*, although the exact morphological and semantic relationships with positive counterparts (if any) may hardly be obvious.

There are a few valency-modifying suffixes, that is, two that add A<sub>IMP</sub> (VVsm) and one with a complex transitive (VVcm) at the end.

Table 44: VV suffixes of negation

VVn	<i> nɲit-  /  +<sub>1</sub>piki- </i>	‘not’
VVn	<i> at- </i>	‘not’
VVn	<i> nɲiɲ- </i>	‘no longer’
VVn	<i> nɲil-kuɲc- </i>	‘to try not to, keep oneself from –ing’
VVn	<i> tɲ(u)it- </i>	‘to have never been; there was no such person/time/place’
VVn	<i> +<sub>1</sub>ɲ*ait- </i>	‘will not’
VVn	<i> ksait- </i>	‘not yet’

VVn	+(s)ciiyat-	‘cannot’
VVn	+(s)ciiyali-	‘cannot any longer’
VVn	+ <sub>1</sub> cuumiit-	‘to have no desire to’
VVn	+ <sub>1</sub> cunqixiat-	‘not to love’
VVn	+ <sub>1</sub> cuynait-	‘definitely not’
VVn	- <sub>1</sub> cuiit-	‘never, generally not’
VVn	- <sub>1</sub> cuiyuc-	‘no longer, no more’
VVn	- <sub>1</sub> cunait-	‘(A <sub>IMP</sub> ) should not, cannot, not wise/right to’
VVn	+nait-	‘(A <sub>IMP</sub> ) not to cause/enable one to –’
VVcm	+(u)ciit-	‘(A’) not to know that, to be unsure if/whether’ – see § 40.2.5

As mentioned in § 4.2.2.1-i.b, morpheme-final apical /t/ is limited to negative suffixes (VVn; above) and privative (NV; § 38.1) as well as a number of adjectival verb stems. A peculiarity of these /t/-final negative suffixes is that they are adjectival and often followed by VV |-<sub>1</sub>k\*i-| ‘to consider’, which fricativizes the negative-final consonant (§ 37.2.1).

- (1) *ca-u-nril-k-aanga* ‘he thinks little/worthless of me’  
something-be-VVn-consider-IND.3sg.1sg.  
– see also (57b,c) *-yuil-ke-*, (65) *-sunail-k-*, just like (28) *-nel-ki-* (with optative future |-<sub>1</sub>ki-|; § 49.5, § 49.7).

VVn |-*n̄yit-*| / |+<sub>1</sub>*piki-*| (second variant for appositional verbs; § 51.1.2-i) ‘not’ (NEG). This is the most neutral or general negator. The former is in all probability originally a suffix composite from the abstract nominalization VNnm |-*n̄y-*| (§ 18.3.1.1) and the privative NV |+*nit-*|, that is, forming a fixed cyclical expansion (VNV; § 37.5.3.1).

- (2) *kiu-nrit-uq* ‘he did not answer’ (IND.3sg.) – |*kiu-*| ‘to answer’  
*kiu-nrit-a (ciin)?* ‘(why) did he not answer?’ (INT.3sg.).
- (3) *tange-nrrit-uq* ‘he did not see’  
– |-*n̄xit-*| with voiceless due to deleted final voiceless of the stem |*taŋx-*| ‘to see?’; see (P9).
- (4) *pitsaqe-nrit-amken*  
do.intentionally-NEG-IND.1sg.2sg.  
‘excuse me; I am not acting on purpose on you (sg.)’

The second variant |+<sub>1</sub>*piki-*| / |+*viki-*| (subject to P2i) pertaining to the appositional mood is followed in the following by the (negative) appositional inflection, e.g. *-nani* (NEG.APP.3Rsg.; § 51.1.3) instead of *-luni*, etc.

- (5) *kaig-pek'-nani* ' (he) not being hungry'  
*kiu-vke-nani* ' (he) not answering' – versus (2)  
 cf. *kiu-luni* ' (he is) answering'.

Compare the grammaticalized general negator with its homonymous negated comparative (§ 45.5), which consists of the abstract (comparative) VNnm *|-nỵ-* and the privative NV *|+ɲit-*:

- (6) a. *ange-nrit-ua* /aŋin|ỵituq/ 'he/it is not big'  
 b. *ange-nr-it-ua* ~ *ang-ner-it-ua* /áŋ|niỵí|tuq/  
 'there is none bigger than it'.

Some speakers differentiate by inserting (or retaining) the schwa in the second (b). The negative (a) is ambiguous as it is homonymy with a separate verb stem *|aŋỵ-* 'to say yes', i.e. *ange-nrit-ua* 'he did not say yes'.

The scope of negation (i.e., that portion of a sentence affected) by the suffix in the two sentences below is different as indicated by the italics in translations: The adverbial adjunct (with a connective-mood verb) is outside the scope of negation in reading (a), but falls within the scope in reading (b).

- (7) *Ane-llru-nrit-ua* *kai-gama.*  
 go.out-PST-NEG-IND.1sg. hungry-CNNbc.1sg.  
 i. 'I did *not* go out because I was hungry.'  
 ii. 'I went out, but it was *not* because I was hungry.'

No phonological or prosodic differences have been observed that distinguish the two sentences above. Note, however, that the following is not bivalent:

- (8) *Ane-llru-nrit-ua* *pi-yuumiil-ama.*  
 go.out-PST-NEG-IND.1sg. do-no.desire-CNNbc.1sg.  
 'I did not go out because I did not want to.'

See also § 42.1 for the general ordering of PST/FUT-NEG.

The other neutral negator is the following (mentioned above), which is limited to a number of mostly adjectival stems or suffixes:

VVn *|-at-* 'not'. Restricted to a limited number of stems ('to lack the quality of being V'; YED 436), by contrast the preceding general *|-nỵit-*, with some lexical specific irregularities:

- (9) a. *pini-at-ua* 'he is weak' – *pinir-* 'to be strong'  
*puqi-at-ua* 'he is stupid' – *puqig-* 'to be intelligent'

- arenqi-at-uq* 'it is uncomfortable' – *arenqig-* 'to be comfortable'  
*neqni-at-uq* 'it is bitter, unpleasant tasting'  
*takvi-at-uq* 'he has poor eyesight'  
 b. *ipgi-at-uq* 'it is dull' – *ipeg-* 'to be sharp'  
 c. *etg-at-uq* 'it is shallow' – cf. *et'u-* 'to be deep'.
- (10) a. *qava-qer-**ngi-at-uq*** 'he does not fall asleep easily'  
 sleep-just-easily-NEG-IND.3sg. – VVa | -*qay-*-, VVa | +*ɲiy-* | 'easily'  
 b. *ner-yunq(egg)**i-at-uq*** 'he does not love to eat', see (50)  
 cf. *ner-yunqegt-uq* 'he loves to eat'; VVm | +*cunqiy-*-.
- VVn | -*nyiy-* | 'no longer'. Inchoative version of the general negator. As VVn | -*nyit-* | 'not' is to the abstract nominalizer VNnm | -*ny-* | followed by privative NV | -*ɲit-* | 'to lack, have no N', so VVn | -*nyiy-* | is to the same | -*ny-* | followed by the inchoative privative NV | +*ɲiy-* | 'to have N removed' (§ 38.1). See 37.3 for inchoative relational verb NVrv | +*ɲuy-* | 'to become' as in the compared in (11).
- (11) *yu-u-**nrir-tuq*** 'he (has) died, lit. he stops being a person'  
 person-be-no.longer-IND.3sg.  
 – one of word taboos for *tuqu-uq* 'he (has) died' (§ 6.3-i)  
 cf. *yu-u-guq* 'he lives, he is a person'  
*yu-urt-uq* 'he is born'.
- (12) a. *neq-su-**nrir-tuq*** 'he is no longer fishing (this summer)'  
 cf. *neq-su-**nrít-uq*** 'he is not fishing (now)' – VVn | -*nyit-* | 'not'  
 b. *nallu-**nrir-tuq*** 'he has come to know, be aware, investigate',  
 but not \**nallu-nril-ngurt-uq*  
 cf. *nallu-**nrít-uq*** 'he knows, lit. he is not unaware/ignorant'  
 c. *tangrruu-**nrir-tuq*** 'he/it is no longer seen'  
 – |*taɲxu-* | 'to be visible'  
 cf. *tangrruu-**nrít-uq*** 'he/it is/was not seen'.
- (13) *pi-u-**nrir-ciq-aa*** 'he will destroy it'  
 thing-be-no.longer-FUT-IND.3sg.3sg.
- (14) *qanikcaq<sub>s</sub> uru-**nrir-luni***  
 snow.ABS.sg. melt-no.longer-APP.3Rsg.  
 'the snow is no longer melting'.
- (15) *ayagyua-**nri(r-ng)ama***  
 'as I am no longer young' – |*ayagyua-* | 'to be young' (CNNbc.1sg.).

In the following example, the negation intervenes between two cyclical expansions of relative clause plus relational verb:

- (16) *tanger-kenga-u-nrir-arka-urr-luteng*  
 see-VNrl-be-no.longer-VNrl.FUT-become-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘(before the winter sets in, salmonberries) they will no longer be seen’ [ELLA 130] – cf. VVm |+*yaykauyc-*| ‘to become supposed to’  
 cf. *tanger-kenga-u-nrir-luteng* ‘they are no longer to be seen’.

VVn |-*nyilkuyc-*| ‘to try (to be careful) not to, to keep oneself from –ing’ (negative conative). A composite suffix, apparently with no affiliation with the conative VVm |-*ηnaqi-*| and |-*saay-*| ‘to try to’ (§ 43), perhaps comes from the general negator |-*nyit-*| and inchoative |+*ηuyc-*| ‘to become’, though with the intervening *-k-* difficult to determine.

- (17) *qane-nrilkurt-uq*  
 ‘he is trying not to speak; (being angry) he is not speaking to’ –  
 |*qanȳ-*| ‘to speak’  
*qava-nrilkurt-uq*  
 ‘he is (possibly sleepy but) refusing to sleep’ – |*qavay-*| ‘to sleep’  
*tange-nrrilkurt-uq*  
 ‘he is trying not to see’ – |*tanx-*| ‘to see’, with the negative *-nrril-* reflecting the stem final voiceless back velar.

- (18) *nere-nrilkurt-aa* ‘he is trying not to eat it’.

May be replaced by contrafactual VVe |+*1caay-*| ‘but (actually), instead’. There is little difference in the following pair:

- (19) a. *Kuci-nrilkurr-luten* *ner-i!*  
 drip-try.not-APP.2sg. eat-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) eat, trying not to drip (careful not to drip)!’  
 b. *Kuci-nril-caar-luten* *ner-i!*  
 ‘You (sg.) eat, trying not to drip!’

VVn |-*tȳ(u)it-*| ‘to have never been; there was no such person/time/place’. Co-occurs with an ignorative word. Composite of the nominalizer VNnm |-*tȳ-*| and the privative NV |+*ηit-*|, while the variant with *u*, probably used more in the Yukon dialect, perhaps due to influence by the verbal VVt |-*tȳu-*| (past).

- (20) a. *Ki-na<sub>S</sub>* *assi-llr[u]it-uq.*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. good-never-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Nobody has ever been good; nobody is perfect.’



- ≙ *ki-tu-mek*                      *assiil-lriar-tait-uq*  
 who-EX-ABM.sg.      bad-VNrl-PRV-IND.3sg.  
 – § 17.2.1-xii for *|-l̥yiaŋ+tait-|*
- b. *Ki-na<sub>S</sub>*                      *assi-llru-nrit-uq*.  
 who-EX.ABS.sg.      good-PST-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Nobody was good.’
- cf. *assi-nrit-uq*                      ‘it is not good’  
*assi-nrite-llru-uq*                      ‘it was not good’.
- (21) a. *Na-ni*                      *assi-llru-it-uq*  
 where-LOC      good-PST-lack-IND.3sg.  
 ‘there never was a time/place he was good (in his personal history)’
- b. *Na-ni*                      *nepa-ite-llr[u]it-uq*  
 where-LOC      noise-PRV-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It has never been quiet anywhere; there is no place where it is more quiet.’
- (22) *Qangvaq*                      *kemg-ite-llruit-uq*.  
 when.PST      flesh-PRV-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He was never slender.’  
 – more descriptive and sophisticated way of expression than (29b).
- VVn *|+<sub>1</sub>ŋ\*ait-|* (cf. P5i) ‘will not’. This is the future negative corresponding to the general negator *|-n̥yit-|*.
- (23)      *kipus-ngait-aa*                      ‘he will not buy it’ – *|kipuc-|*  
             *nanil-ngait-uq*                      ‘it won’t be short’ – *|nanit-|*  
             *cali-ngait-uq*                      ‘he will not work’ – *|cali-|*.
- followed by different VV suffixes*
- (24) a. *ayag-ngait-ua*                      ‘I will not go’ – which is more direct than:  
 b. *ayag-ngaic-aaq-ua*                      ‘I’m not thinking about going (but it depends)’ – VVe *|+<sub>1</sub>caaŋi-|* CTR  
 c. *ayag-ngaic-ugnarq-ua*                      ‘I don’t think I’m going to go’  
             – VVm *|+<sub>1</sub>cuyŋaŋqi-|* INF  
 d. *ayag-ngail-ngat-ua*                      ‘maybe I’ll not go’ – VVm *|+<sub>1</sub>ŋ\*at-|* INF.
- (25) *ki-a<sub>A</sub>*                      *auluk-ngaite-la-aki*                      *tua=i*  
 who-EX.REL.sg.      take.care-will.not-CUS-CNNbc.3sg.3pl.      SFL  
*amller-i-vke-naki*                      *tua pi-tu-uq ...*  
 many-INC-NEG-APP.3pl.      SFL      PI-REG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘since he had nobody to take care of (his catches), he didn’t get too many’ [ELLA 182] – § 15.3.2 for the negative ignorative.

Although the suffix  $|+*ηait-|$  ‘will not’ is the most common negative future, the general negator may follow VVt  $|+_1ciqi-|$ , which is a stronger or more emphatic negation than  $|+_1η*ait-|$ :

(26) *ayag-ciqe-nrit-ua* ‘I will *not* go!’, equivalent to the following:  
cf. *ayag-ngait-qapigt-ua* – with intensifier VVa *-qapigt-*.

(27) *cagmar-ciqe-nrit-uq*  
lose-FUT-NEG-IND.3sg.  
‘it is not to be lost, misplaced’ [Barnum 1901]

VVn  $|_kksait-|$  ‘not yet’. Occurs frequently in place of  $|_kn̄yit-|$  or its appositional variant  $|+_1piki-|$ , possibly with an added nuance of repeatedness.

(28) *Cali-ksau-naci* ≐ *Cali-vke-naci* *maa-nel-ki-ci*.  
working-NEG-APP.2pl. here-be.at-ASP-OPT.2pl.  
‘You (pl.) stay here without working!’  
– the former implies ‘not working repeatedly, with interval’, while the latter implies ‘not working now, one time’.

(29) a. *tange-qsait-aqa* ‘I have not seen him/it since’ –  $|tanx-|$  ‘to see’  
b. *kemgite-ksait-uq* ‘he has not been (so) slender (himself)’ – cf. (22).

(30) *imarpig-te-ksail-ngu-u-luni*  
sea-go.to-NEG-VNrl-be-APP.3Rsg.  
‘she has never gone hunting out in the ocean; (she) being one who has never gone hunting’.

(31) *Qangvar-pak* *tua-ten* *pi-ksait-uq*.  
when-AUG there-EQL do-not.yet-IND.3sg.  
‘He has never done like that for a long time.’

(32) *Nuk’aq ≠ qaa* *tekite-llru-uq?*  
name.ABS.sg.≠QST arrive-PST-IND.3sg.  
‘Did Nuk’aq arrive?’  
a. *Tekite-ksait-uq*. ‘He has not arrived yet (not.yet-IND.3sg.).’  
b. *Tekite-ksait-ni-nril-gu*. – *Ak’a* *tekite-llru-uq*.  
not.yet-A'.say-NEG-OPT.2sg.3sg. already arrive-PST-IND.3sg.  
‘Don’t say he has not arrived yet.’ ‘He arrived already.’  
– negators in complex transitive verbs (§ 44.1-i).

Often used with the intensifier VVa  $|_kqay-|$  ‘ever’:

- (33) *Tanger-qa-qsait-ua*                      *tiger-aamek.*  
 see-ITS-NEG-IND.1sg.                      t.-LNK.ABM.sg.  
 ‘I have never seen a tiger.’
- (34) (*E*)*mer-mun ≠ qaa*                      *kit’e-qa-qsait-uten?*  
 water-ALL.sg.≠QST                      sink-ITS-NEG-IND.2sg.  
 ‘Have you(sg.) ever fallen into the water?’

Followed by aspectual VVt  $|+lay-|$  and  $|+ima-|$  ( $|+(u)ma-|$ ):

- (35) *tai-ksait’-lar-tuq*                                      ‘he never comes’  
*nere-ksait’-lar-tuq akuta-mek<sub>p</sub>*                      ‘he never eats ice-cream’.
- (36) a. *cali-ksaic-ima-uq*                                      ‘he has not worked for a long time’  
 work-not.yet-CNT-IND.3sg.
- b. *Nutaan waniwa cali-a-mnun*                                      *yagte-qatar-tua*  
 finally now work-VNrl-ALL.1sg.sg. reach.out-IMN-IND.3sg.  
*cali-ksaic-ima-rraar-lua.*  
 work-not.yet-CNT-after-APP.1sg.  
 ‘I am finally about to resume my work after not working for a long time.’

The following two composite suffixes presumably have come from the active/agentive relativizer VNrl  $|+st-|$  (§ 17. 5.1), characterized by /s/ deletion after velar (P14iii):

VVn  $|+(s)ciiyat-|$  ‘cannot’

- (37) *atkug-ciigat-uq*  
 ‘he cannot put on a parka’ –  $|atkuy-|$  ‘(to put on) parka’  
*cali-sciigat-uq*  
 ‘he cannot work’ –  $|cali-|$  ‘to work’.
- (38) *ut’ruce-sciiat-ni-luki*  
 bring.back-cannot-A’.say-APP.3pl.  
 ‘(he) saying they could not take them home’.
- (39) *Ukveqe-sciigat-uq*                                      [*Mamterillr-e-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 belief-have.as-cannot-IND.3sg.                      pl.n.-EV-REL.sg.  
*ang-li-llr-a*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 big-become-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘One cannot believe the growth of Bethel.’

- (40) *Uqamail-luni murak<sub>s</sub> nalug-ciigat-uq.*  
 heavy-APP.3Rsg. wood.ABS.sg. lift-cannot-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Being heavy, the wood cannot be lifted up.’

VVn |+(s)ciiyali-| ‘cannot any longer’ – possibly with the inchoative marker |*-ȳi-*| (§ 42.2.1).

- (41) *cali-sciigali-unga qavari-ima*  
 work-cannot-IND.1sg. sleepily-CNNbc.1sg.  
 ‘I can’t work any more because I am sleepy’ [PA]  
 – cf. (P6ii) for *i-i* in the second word.
- (42) *umyuarteqe-sciigali-nemnun* ‘until I cannot think any longer’.  
 I think-cannot-CNNqc.1sg.

The following six suffixes with initial <sub>1</sub>*c* are subject to its fricativization (P2iii) and apical deletion (P5i.a).

VVn/NV |*+1cuumiit-*| ‘to have no desire (to)’. Perhaps contains the continuative |*+(u)ma-*| (§ 42.2.3).

- (43) *melug-yuumiit-ua*  
 ‘I don’t wish to smoke’ – |*miluy-*| ‘to smoke, suck (fish eggs)’.
- (44) *ca-yuumiit-ua* ‘I don’t wish (to do) anything’  
*kuuvviar-yuumiit-ua* ‘I don’t want coffee’  
*emer-yuumiit-uq* ‘he does not want water, want to drink’.
- (45) [*Im-ku-t kass’a-t*]<sub>s</sub>  
 that-EX-ABS.pl. white.man-ABS.pl.  
*tep(e-r)-yuumiit-ut.*  
 fish.head-(EC-)DES.NEG-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Those (aforementioned) white men don’t wish to have fermented fish heads.’

Followed by another negator, intensifier, etc.:

- (46) *melug-yuumiite-nrit-ua* ‘it is not that I don’t wish to smoke at all’  
*melug-yuumiite-ksait-ua* ‘there was no time I did not want to smoke’.
- (47) *melug-yuumiite-qapigt-ua* ‘I don’t wish to smoke at all’.

- (48) *unic-uumiic-aaq-luki*  
*unic-uumiite-piar-yaaq-luki*  
 leave-not.wish-(ITS-)but-APP.3pl.  
 ‘(someone) didn’t (really) wish to leave them behind (but...)’  
 – very often heard when women have to go back home (unwillingly),  
 leaving lots of berries behind.

VVn |+*cuumiïyut*-| ‘to have no desire any more (to)’ – with NV |+*ñiyuc*-| ‘not to have any longer’ (§ 38.1).

- (49) *unguva-yuumiirul-luni* ‘she had no more desire to live’  
 live-lose.desire-APP.3Rsg.

VVn |+*cunqixiat*-| ‘not to love’ – see VVm |+*cunqiyç*-| ‘well, very much’,  
 NV |-*kiyc(i)*-| ‘to have a good’, VVn |-*at*-| ‘not’.

- (50) *ner-yunqeggiat-uq* ‘he does not love to eat’ = (10b).

VVn |+*cuynait*-| ‘definitely not’ – cf. VVm |+*cuynayqi*-| ‘probably’.

- (51) *ayag-yugnait-uq*  
 i. ‘he will definitely not go’ – |-*ayayç*-| ‘to leave’  
 ii. ‘he is not leaving right away, but very much delayed’  
 – The second reading is more common, at least for some speakers.

- (52) *Ceñirc-ugnau-nani=am* *May’a-mun akwaugaq,*  
 visit-NEG-APP.3Rsg.=annoyance p.n.-ALL.sg. yesterday  
*ta=ima aya-llru-uq iqvar-yar-luni.*  
 there.invisible go-PST-IND.3sg. pick.berries-go-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Without visiting Mayaq yesterday she went out and picked berries.’

- (53) *Nasaurlu-llra-u-lua* *aunrar-yugnau-nii=llu.*  
 young.girl-shabby-be-APP.1sg. bleed-NEG-APP.1sg.=and  
 ‘I was still a young girl, and it was long before I had my first men-  
 struation.’ [AKKL 174]

VVn |-*cuït*-| ‘never, generally not’. See the corresponding VVt |±*layç*-| (§ 42.2.5).

- (54) *qan-yuit-uq* ‘he does not speak’  
 cf. *qane-nrit-uq* ‘he did not speak’.

- (55) *kegg-suit-uq* ‘it never bites’ – |*kixi-*| ‘to bite’.
- (56) *niic-uit-uq* ‘he never listens, obeys; he does not hear well’  
*niic-uit-arpenga* ‘you (sg.) never hear, listen, obey me’  
 (IND.2sg.3sg.).
- (57) a. *ciku-yuit-ai* ‘they never freeze (lit. *it* never freezes)’  
 b. *nanva-t<sub>p</sub> ciku-yuil-k-ai*  
 lake-ABS.pl. freeze-never-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl  
 ‘the lakes that never freeze’ – relativized impersonal transitive construction (with *nanva-t* as the object)  
 c. *ciku-yuil-ke-knga-i* ‘the lakes he thinks that never freeze’  
 freeze-never-consider-VNrl-ABS.3sg.pl.
- (58) *ceñirc-uit-uq* ‘he never visits’ – |*ciniyc-*| ‘to visit’  
 cf. *ceñirte-l(I)ar-tuq* ‘he does visit’ – with CUS -|*l*|*ar-*.
- (59) *Piipi-t<sub>s</sub> aqsi-aqameng qia-yuit-ut.*  
 baby-ABS.pl. full-CNNwv.3Rpl. cry-never-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The babies never cry when they are full.’

VVn |*-<sub>1</sub>cuiyuc-*| ‘no longer, no more’ – cf. NV |*+ñiyuc-*| ‘not to have any longer’.

- (60) *atur-yuirut-apat* ‘we no longer use it’.  
 use-no.longer-IND.1pl.3sg.
- (61) *cuka-luni atur-yuiruy-uci-a*  
 fast-APP.3Rsg. sing-no.longer-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘that he does not sing fast any more’.
- (62) *Ca<sub>p</sub> pite-k-luku ulla-yuiruc-ia?*  
 what.ABS.sg. reason-have.as-APP.3sg. come-no.longer-INT.2sg.  
 ‘What is the reason for your (sg.) not coming to see me any longer?’

The following two composite suffixes contain VN/VV |*+nay-*| ‘one that causes / to cause’ (§ 19.2) from which the necessitative VVm/sm |*+nayqi-*| ‘to behoove, destine, should’ is derived.

VVn |*-<sub>1</sub>cunait-*| ‘should not, cannot, to be not wise/right to’. Can be transitively inflected as in (63a), (64), and (65).

- (63) a. *tang-ssunait-aat (~tang-yunait-aat)* ‘they cannot see it’  
 see-not.cause-IND.3pl.3sg.

- b. *tang-ssunait-ut* ‘they are awful to look at, they cannot see’  
*tang-ssunaite-nrit-ut* ‘they are not awful to look at’
- c. *ner-yunait-uq* ‘it is not good to eat’  
 eat-not.cause-IND.3sg.
- d. *asmuur-i-yunait-uq* ‘one ought not disobey’.  
 break.rule-APS-should.not-IND.3sg.
- (64) *Imarpik<sub>P</sub> qavanqu-u-luni*  
 sea.ABS.sg. sleepy.head-be-APP.3Rsg.  
*uita-vi-k-sunait-aa.*  
 stay-VNrl.place-have.as-never-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The sea isn’t (the place for staying) for the sleepy head!’ [EM]  
 – see § 51.5 for the adnominal *qavanqu-u-luni*, which is quasi-equivalent to relative clause *qavanqu-u-lriim<sub>A</sub>* (be-VNrl.REL.sg.).
- (65) *Anchorage-aaq<sub>SP</sub>*  
 pl.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.  
*nuna-k-sunait-uq / -k-sunail-k-aqa.*  
 place-have.as-should.not-IND.3sg./-should.not-consider-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘Anchorage is not a good place to live / for me to live.’  
 – with two *-k-*’s in the second, i.e. NVrv and VV.
- (66) *Ki-na<sub>S</sub> ella-kegg-luku?*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. weather-have.good-APP.3sg.  
*uita-ura-yunait-uq.*  
 stay-CNT-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘While the weather is nice, nobody (who/someone) may stay at home.’
- (67) *Ner-yunaic-aaqe-llru-luni, taugaam ner’-llini-luni.*  
 eat-NEG-but-PST-APP.3Rsg. but eat-EVD-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He was not in the condition to eat, but (I see) he ate.’
- (68) a. *tama-yunaic-aaqe-llru-lli-uq*  
 lose-NEG-but-PST-perhaps-IND.3sg.  
 ‘perhaps it should not have been abandoned/lost (but...)’  
 b. *ayag-yunaic-aaqe-llru-ciq-luni*  
 Leave-NEG-but-PST-FUT-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘it will not be a right condition for leaving, but he did’.

VVn |+nait-| ‘not to cause/enable one to –’. See the corresponding VVe/sm |+nayq̄i-| ‘must; destined to’, cf. privative NV |+nit-| (§ 38.1).

- (69) *taring-nait-uw* ‘it is not understandable’ – |*taʔiŋi*-| ‘to understand’  
*ukver-nait-uw* ‘it is hard to believe’ – |*ukvʔ*-| ‘to believe’  
*ca-ng-nait-uw* ‘it has no fish’ – |*ca-ŋi*-| ‘something-get’  
*nallu-nait-uw* ‘it is obvious, clear’ – |*nalu*-| ‘not to know’  
 cf. *nallu-nair-aa* ‘he explains it’ – NV |*ŋiʔ*-| ‘to deprive’ (§ 38.1).
- (70) *ane-nait-uten* ‘it is not good for you to go out’ – |*ani*-| ‘to go out’  
 cf. *ane-narqe-nrit-uten* ‘you must not go out’.
- (71) *pi-nqigg-nait-ni-lutek*  
 do-again-not.cause-A'.say-APP.3Rdu.  
 ‘they (du.) are saying [it] will not bother them again’.

Followed by the general negator:

- (72) *Ukver-naite-nrit-uw* *pissur-ni-llr-as*  
 believe-not.cause-NEG-IND.3sg. hunt-A'.say-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘It is not hard to believe that he went hunting (lit. his saying that he went hunting is not hard to believe).’ – |*ukvʔ*-| ‘to believe’.

It may occur with some emotional roots (§ 34.1):

- (73) *aling-nait-uw*  
 ‘it is not frightening’ – |*alini*-| ‘to be afraid’ from root |*ali*-|  
 cf. *aling-narq-uw*  
 ‘it is frightening’ – necessitative VVsm |*naʔiqi*-|.
- (74) *paqna-nait-uw*  
 curious-not.cause-IND.3sg.  
 ‘it is not interesting, does not cause interest’  
*caperr-nait-uw* ‘it is not difficult’  
 difficult-not.cause-IND.3sg.

VVcm |*(u)ciit*-| ‘not to know, to be unsure’. This is clearly a composite of the nominalizer VNnm |*(u)ciʔ*-| (§ 18.2.1) followed by the privative NV |*ŋit*-|, which serves as an ignorative complex transitive suffix, as is amply illustrated in § 40.2.5. It is a morphologization of |*nalu*-| ‘not to know, be uncertain’ with the nominal clause.

- (75) *Ki-na<sub>p</sub> ≠ qaa* *atu-uciit-an*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg.=QST use-A'.not.know-INT.2sg.3sg.  
*ciku-liur-ute-mnek?*  
 ice-work.on-means-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Don’t you (sg.) know who is using my icepick?’



- cf. *Nallu-nrit-an* ≠ *qaa* [followed by a. or b. below]  
 not.know-NEG-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 a. [*ki-na*                    *atu-uci-mek*  
    who-EX.ABS.sg. use-VNnm-ABM.sg.  
    *ciku-liur-ute-mnek*]?  
    ice-work.on-means-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 b. [*ki-tu-mun*                *atu-uci-mek*  
    who-EX-ALL.sg. use-VNnm-INT.2sg.3sg.  
    *ciku-liur-ut-ka*]?  
    ice-work.on-means-ABM.1sg.sg.  
    ‘Do you (sg.) know who is using my icepick?’

## 1. Double and partial negation

i) *Double negation* – often attested where two negators occur within a single verb, one of which at least is the general negator  $|-nyit-|$  or its appositional variant  $|+_{1}piki-|$ . This is not a construction that “involves two simultaneous morphemes, one preceding the verb or verb stem, the other following” as in French *ne – pas* (Dryer 2008), but a verb in which one negation is cycled back to a positive (emphatic) affirmation or some semantic modification:

- (76)     *pi-nrite-vke-nani*                                    ‘(he) doing without fail’.  
           do-NEG-NEG-APP.3Rsg.  
 (77)     *nallu-nri-qapiara-uma-nrit-aput*  
           unknown-NEG-ITS-STT-NEG-IND.1pl.3sg.  
           ‘we do not really understand (i.e. not-unknown) it very much’.

The two negators occur in various combinations:

- (78) a. *niite-nrite-ksau-naku*  
       ‘not disregarding it’ –  $|-ksait-|$  ‘not (yet)’ [QNMC 336]  
    b. *aya-nril-ngait-ua*  
       ‘I will go for sure’ –  $|+_{1}ngait-|$  ‘will not’.  
 (79) a. *ceñirc-uite-nrit-uq*  
       ‘it is not that he never visits, he does still visit’ –  $|+_{1}cuit-|$  ‘never’  
    b. *cali-yuirute-nrit-ua*  
       ‘I am still working’ –  $|+_{1}cuiyut-|$  ‘no longer’  
    c. *cali-sciigate-nrit-uq*  
       ‘it is not that he cannot work’ –  $|+(s)ciiyat-|$  ‘cannot’.

- (80) *taanga-nrir-ciigal-nguq*  
 ‘alcoholic’ [MKTB 11]  
 – |*taañaỵ-*| ‘(to drink) liquor’, |*-nỵiỵ-*| ‘no longer’.

Reverse order of two negators yields a semantic difference:

- (81) a. *ayag-ciigate-nrit-ua* ‘I am not hampered in going, can go’  
 b. *aya-nrite-sciigat-ua* ‘I never stay, always go’ – |+(s)*ciiyat-*|  
 ‘cannot’.
- (82) a. *ayag-yuumiite-nrit-ua*  
 ‘I am not in the state of not wanting to go, am willing to go’  
 b. *aya-nric-uumiit-ua*  
 ‘I don’t want not to go, want to go’ – |+<sub>1</sub>*cuumit-*| ‘to have no desire’.

They occur in two layered, i.e. complex, verbs:

- (83) *aya-nrit-ni-nrit-aa*  
 ‘he didn’t say she didn’t go’ – VVcm |+*ni-*| ‘A’ to say’.
- (84) *ca-ciite-nrit-uq* ‘he knows what he is doing’  
 do.what-A’.not.know-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 – VVcm |+*uciiit-*| ‘A’ not to know’  
 cf. *ca-ciit-tuq* ‘he has no idea what he is doing’.

See also (32b) with *-ksait-ni-nril-*.

ii) *Partial negation* – expressed by means of VVt |*-x̣lainaỵ\**-| ‘to do always, nothing but’ with a negative marker:

- (85) *pi-liqe-rrlainar-pek’-nateng*  
 thing-catch.lots-always-NEG.APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘they do *not always* catch game’ [FASM 13].

iii) *Syntactic double negation* – may occur in periphrastic complex transitive verb constructions (§ 40.6). The following example is a repetition from § 40 (172a):

- (86) *Qanrute-llru-nrit-aa* *nere-sqe-vke-naku.*  
 tell-PST-NEG-IND.3sg3sg. eat-A’.ask-NEG-APP.3sg.  
 ‘She did not tell him not to eat.’



that is, intransitive/transitive and the stative/inchoative distinguished by the composite suffixes as indices which are all morphologically related with each other.

The comparative index is based upon the person-inflected abstract nominalization by VNnm  $|-n\dot{y}-| \sim |-t\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.3.2), while the equalitive index is based on the equalitive VVc  $|+ta-|$  (§ 45.6.1) and its deverbalized VN  $|+ta+(u)t-|$ . As partly described in § 18.3.2, the indices are a kind of relational verb construction, either intransitive or transitive (§ 37), which reverbilizes comparative and equalitive phrases. In addition, a few isolated lexical expressions of comparison will be mentioned:  $|anayc-|$  ‘to surpass’,  $|ayuyqi-|$  ‘to resemble, be similar to’ (§ 45.9), e.g. (37).

As the pattern above implies, CAY comparative constructions are not so-called “conjoined” comparatives that consist of one clause containing the comparee NP and the other containing the standard NP, cf. a very rare construction like (24), however. Furthermore, the transitive constructions are utterly distinct from those types known in many languages that employ (free) transitive verbs meaning ‘to exceed’ or ‘to surpass’ for their index, and from the type that uses a valency-increasing affix such as ‘from’ or ‘in opposition to’. Note, however, that the secundative ditransitive stem for ‘to exceed, surpass’ (i.e.  $|cipic-|$ ) is the most productive device for non-round numerals in CAY (§ 14.3.1). See Stassen (1985, 2008) and Dixon (2008) for cross-linguistic typology of comparison constructions.

## 1. Comparative degree

Clauses of comparative degree or comparative clauses – like ‘your boat is bigger than mine/my boat’ – are expressed with a comparee NP (‘your boat’) in the absolutive case and by a standard of comparison NP (‘mine’ or ‘my boat’) either i) in the locative (for intransitive constructions – § 45.1.1), or ii) in the relative case (for transitive constructions – § 45.1.2). The parameter (‘big’) is expressed by the verb stem of a predicate, which is expanded by a VVc suffix for the index (‘more, –er’).<sup>1</sup>

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1. It is interesting to note that a standard NP of comparison in CAY is expressed by the locative case, instead of the ablative case in many (or all?) other Eskimo languages, including Central Siberian Yupik (K. Nagai, p.c.) of Western Eskimo and the Eastern dialects of Iñupiaq (MacLean 1986), Inuktitut (Spalding 1979), Labrador Inuttut (Smith 1977), and West Greenlandic (Fortescue 1984), thus classification of Eskimo as the “separative comparative” by Stassen (1985), while his “locative comparative” type notably includes Chukchi (1985: 39–40).

## 1.1. Intransitive constructions

Intransitive constructions of the comparative degree are illustrated in (1) and (2) below in which the comparee is in the absolutive case (i.e. in S function) and the standard in the locative case and the index *|-nyu-|* is followed by an intransitive inflection. The index is actually a compositiv suffix from the abstract nominalization VNnm *|-ny-|* (§ 18.3.2) followed by the intransitive relational verb NVrv *|+yu-|* ‘to be’ (§ 37.1). See § 45.1.2 for the index *|-nqi-|* of transitive constructions, which also contains the same VNnm suffix followed by a transitive relational NVrv *|-ki-|* (§ 37.2). See § 45.3 for the inchoative comparatives marked by the further expanded NVrv *|-nyuyc-|* and *|-niqsayuc-|*.

The index *|-nyu-|* has a variant *|-tyu-|* that is actually a fusion with a stem-final apical as illustrated in ii) below. The same kind of fusion occurs also with the transitive index (§ 45.1.2).

i) *|-nyu-|* with intransitive inflection: The following comparative clauses come from the respective “comparative phrases” given for comparison (cf. § 45.4). The relative word order of the predicate and the two NPs is not relevant.

- (1) *Angyaq<sub>S</sub> ange-nru-uq pi-mni (~ angya-mni)*.  
boat.ABS.sg. big-more-IND.3sg. thing(boat)-LOC.1sg.sg.  
‘The boat is bigger than mine (my boat).’  
– the pro-noun *pi-mni* is more common here than *angya-mni* with the stem repeated (§ 10.3-i), though the full form can also be used  
cf. *ange-nr-a angya-ma<sub>G</sub>*  
big-VNnm.CMP-ABS.3sg.sg. boat-REL.3sg.  
‘the boat bigger than my boat’ (lit. ‘its bigger one, of my boat’).

– note that the compared comparative phrase is an attributive phrase in constitution.

- (2) *Akwauga-mi (c)ellas assi-nru-uq.*  
yesterday-REL.sg. weather.ABS.sg. good-more-IND.3sg.  
‘The weather (today) is better than yesterday.’
- (3) [*Ene-vut<sub>G</sub> ilu-a<sub>S</sub> ‘laaturra-mi*  
house-REL.2sg.sg. inside-ABS.3sg.sg. porch-LOC.sg.  
*kiircete-nru-uq.*  
hot-more-IND.3sg.  
‘Inside of your (sg.) house is hotter than the porch.’

- (4) *qat'-neru-uq* ~ *qate-nru-uq* (*wang-ni*)  
 white-more-IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 'he is paler (than I)'  
 – speakers differ concerning /i/ insertion (P7ii) in the underlying  
 |*qaṭỵ-ṇỵu*-|.

ii) The post-apical index |*-ṭỵu*-|, with the stem-final /t/ fused with the index initial /n/, is illustrated by a number of stems:

- (5) a. *assii-llru-uq* 'it is worse than' – |*asiit*-| 'to be bad'  
 cf. *assi-nru-uq* 'it is better than' – |*asiỵ*-| 'to be good'  
 b. *mike-llru-uq* 'it is smaller than' – |*miki(t)*-| 'to be small' as in  
*mikt-uq* (HBC and NI) as well as *mik'-uq*  
 (elsewhere) 'it is small'. Cf. (6).  
 c. *cani-me-llru-uq* 'it is closer than' – |*cani*-| 'side' with locative  
 verb NV |*+mit*-| 'to be at/in' (§ 27.8)  
 d. *pini-a-llru-uq* 'he is weaker than' – |*piniỵ*-| 'to be strong',  
 VVn |*-at*-| 'not' (§ 44)  
 e. *ikge-llru-* (39) from |*ikyit*-| 'to be small in amount/number'.

– in which the index could be better represented by *-l-lru-* (like *assiil-lru-uq* because of *assiit*-) but conveniently by *-llru-* in parallel with the other variant *-nru-*.

- (6) *Qaluyaar-mi mike-llru-uq* [*ka-n'a*  
 pl.n.-LOC.sg. small-more-IND.3sg. down-EX.ABS.sg.  
*qikertaq*]s.  
 island.ABS.sg.  
 'That island down there is smaller than Nelson Island.'

– note that the variant index is ambivalent with the past marker VVt |*-ṭỵu*-|: *mike-llru-uq* 'it was small'.

- (7) *Cali-nri-llru-uq* *wang-ni*.  
 |*cali-ṇỵit-ṇỵu*[+*yuỵ*] > /*caliṇ|ỵiṭ|x̣uuq*/  
 work-NEG-more-IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 'He is working less than I (lit. he is not working itself to me / as far as I am concerned).'  
 – the verb in which is ambivalent with the following (a), to be compared with negative (b):  
 a. *cali-nri-llru-uq* |*cali-ṇỵiỵ-ṭỵu*[+*yuỵ*] > /*caliṇ|ỵiṭ|x̣uuq*/  
 work-no.more-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'he quit working'

- b. *cali-nrite-llru-uq* |*cali-nÿit-tÿu*[+*yuÿ*] > /*calín|ÿitíł|ÿuuq*/  
 work-NEG-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he did not work’.

The post-apical variant is also used with transitive and inchoative markers, as will be seen later – |*-tqi-*| and |*-tÿuÿc-*|.

iii) The degree of comparative degree may be modified (like ‘a little [bit] -er’) by the suffixes VVt |*+t/y/1qu(ÿa)ÿ-*| (§ 42.2.3) and VVa |*-cua(ÿa)ÿ-*| (§ 41.3.5):

- (8) a. *ange-nru-cuar-tuq* ‘she is a little bigger (than)’  
 – cf. (1) *ange-nru-uq* above  
 b. *amlle-nru-ur-tuq* ‘it is a little bit more (than)’  
 – both with /ÿa/ deletion.
- (9) *Ange-nru-ur-tuq* *allragni-mi.*  
 big-more-little-IND.3sg. last.year-LOC  
 ‘She is a little bit bigger than last year.’  
 – compare with inchoative (54b) *ange-nrurt-uq* ‘she has become bigger’.

## 1.2. Transitive constructions

It is notable that CAY constructions of comparative degree (as well as superlative and equalitive) may not only be intransitive but also transitive, although the latter seems to have been rarely reported or documented in other Eskimo languages and dialects – apart from what is superficially transitive (§ 45.1.2.1).<sup>2</sup>

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2. Of all Eskimo languages and dialects other than CAY, West Greenlandic at least is known to have instances of transitive comparative verbs, but only of the superlative degree with a standard plural (of the type in § 45.2.1). Schlutz-Lorentzen (1927: 141) reports a transitive verb of the superlative degree – *ming-ner-paa-raat* ‘it is the very least of them’, and Fortescue (1984: 168) reports at least one “special construction” that is obviously a transitive sentence of the superlative degree:

[*uumasu-t imar-miu-t*]<sub>A</sub> *arviq<sub>P</sub>* *an-nirsa-r-aat*  
 living.thing-REL.pl. sea-dweller-REL.pl. whale-ABS.sg. big-most-have.as-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘the whale is the biggest sea animal’ [glossing mine]

– about which he wrote to me ‘West Greenlandic has simply lost the singular subject equivalent’ (p.c. – April 2007), i.e. a transitive construction of the comparative degree.

Transitive constructions are far from uncommon in CAY, though not so common as intransitive ones.

The transitive comparison is characterized by *|-nqi-|* (~ post-apical *|-<sub>1</sub>lqi-|* with the same fusion of stem-final apical), and is obviously composed of the abstract (comparative) nominal *|-nŷ-|* (§ 18.3.2) and a transitive relational verb NVrv *|-ki-|* (§ 37.2). This means that the duality in CAY of the transitive vs. intransitive relational verb is carried over to clausal comparatives. (It is also to be noted that the suffix composition for comparative clauses is morphologically parallel to the past-tense marker VVt *|-tŷu-|* and *|-<sub>1</sub>lqi-|* (HBC transitive) from the nominalization *|-tŷ-|* (past; § 18.2.2).

While a full NP for standard of comparison is marked in the locative case (§ 27.3) in intransitive comparative constructions, it is expressed with a relative-case NP (like a possessor) in A function in transitive ones. Note that A argument for a *|-ki-|* transitive verb can indicate point of reference (§ 11.2.3.2, § 24.2). The comparee on the other hand is invariably expressed by an NP in the absolutive case, in S and P function respectively.

i) *|-nqi-|* with transitive inflection only: The following transitive sentences (10) and (11) are substantially equivalent to (1) and (2), above:

- (10) *Angyaq<sub>P</sub>*      *ange-nq-aa* (~ *ang-neq-aa*)      *pi-ma<sub>A</sub>*.  
 boat.ABS.sg.    big-more-IND.3sg.3sg.      thing-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘The boat is bigger than mine (my boat) (lit. mine has the boat for the big(ger) one).’  
 – variation concerning the /i/ insertion (P7ii) depends on the speakers.  
 See also § 45.5 for the same concerning the general negator VVn *|-nŷit-|*.

- (11) *Akwauga-m<sub>A</sub>*      (*c*)*ella<sub>P</sub>*      *assi-nq-aa*.  
 yesterday-REL.sg.    weather.ABS.sg.    good-more-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The weather (today) is better than yesterday (lit. yesterday has the weather as its better one).’

A time word in the relative case like *akwauga-m* frequently occurs as the standard of comparison (§ 24.2.4); see also (31), (57), and (59) below.

Compare the comparative clause in the following example with the comparative phrase (which is appositive in construction), both having the relative case *napa-t*:

- (12) *Ing-na<sub>P</sub>*      *napa-t<sub>A</sub>*      *sugtu-nq-aat*.  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.    tree-REL.pl.      tall-more-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘That one over there is the tallest of the trees (lit. the trees have that one over there as the taller one).’



- cf. *ing-na* [ *napa-t<sub>A</sub>* *sugtu-nr-at* ]  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. tree-REL.pl. tall-more-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 ‘that one over there that is the tallest of the trees’.

Compare the following (13a) and (b), which show opposite person inflections in their comparative verbs:

- (13) a. *Aata-ma<sub>A</sub>* *ang-neq-aanga.*  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. big-more-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I am bigger than my father (in stature); my father has me as the big(ger) one’  
 = *Ange-nru-unga* (IND.1sg.) *aata-mni* (LOC.1sg.sg.)  
 b. *Aata-ka<sub>P</sub>* *ang-neq-aqa.*  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. big-more-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘My father is bigger than I; I have my father as the big(ger) one.’  
 = *Aata-ka<sub>S</sub>* *ange-nru-uq* (IND.3sg.) *wang-ni* (1sg.-LOC).

Note the parallelism with the “passive-like” construction, e.g. § 17(151), that the A argument is the possessor.

ii) The post-apical form  $|-_1tqi-$  with fusion as the index (from  $|-t-n\dot{y}-ki-$ ) is illustrated:

- (14) *sugki-lq-aqa*  
 short-more-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘she is shorter than I (lit. I have her as a shorter one)’.  
 – representation *sugkil-q-aqa* is avoided like (5);  $|suykit-|$ , cf. (12)  $|suytu-|$   
 cf. *sugkil-k-aqa* ‘I found him to be short (contrary to my expectation)’  
 short-find-IND.1sg.3sg.with stem final apical fricativized due to the following suffix (§ 37.2.1).

- (15) *Angya-qa<sub>P</sub>* *mike-lq-aa* [*u-u-m*  
 boat-ABS.1sg.sg. small-more-IND.3sg.3sg. this-EX-REL.sg.  
*angya-m*]<sub>A</sub>.  
 boat-REL.sg.  
 ‘My boat is smaller than this boat.’

iii) Many speakers nowadays of GCAY seem to use only the intransitive construction for comparative degrees, while some others (mostly elders) quite commonly use the transitive one as well (though perhaps somewhat less than the intransitive). Most of younger speakers rarely use the transitive one.

The transitive construction seems to be generally viewed as old-fashioned, though some transitive sentences seem even to be preferred to intransitive ones.

It has been obviously declining in use, and it is now difficult to see the functional difference from the intransitive that may have existed. It would be conceivable that the role of the transitive subject NP as standard of comparison, which is semantically not agentive, may have been perceived out of the function of the relative case. The problem could also be seen in view of discourse factors, and there are cases where a transitive construction may be preferred pragmatically.<sup>3</sup> The extent and the factors of possible transitive comparatives certainly need to be explored further.

Aside from the use of transitive construction, it is interesting to note in advance that intransitive vs. transitive distinction also obtains with inchoatives (§ 45.3) and with equalitive comparison, both stative and inchoative (§ 45.6).

### 1.2.1. *Superficial transitive comparatives*

It is important here to distinguish the transitive constructions discussed above from another type of (ostensibly) transitive comparative, as in the following:

- (16) *Angyaq<sub>P</sub>*      *ange-ke-nru-aqa*      *pi-mni*.  
 boat.ABS.sg.    big-find-more-IND.1sg.3sg.    thing-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘The boat seems bigger to me than mine (my boat).’

Inflectionally, this also is transitive just like the examples (10) through (15) in the preceding section. But it is actually a derivation from the intransitive construction discussed in § 45.1.1.<sup>4</sup> Compare this with the two below (a, b), cited from above, which are equivalent:

- (17) a. *Angyaq<sub>P</sub>*      *ange-nq-aa* (~ *ang-neq-aa*)      *pi-ma<sub>A</sub>*      = (10)  
 boat.ABS.sg.    big-more-IND.3sg.3sg.      thing-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘The boat is bigger than mine (my boat) (lit. mine has the boat for the big(ger) one).’

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3. The subjecthood of the relative-case akwauga-m in the case of the transitive (11) instead of the intransitive subject (*c*)*ella* in (2) may be pragmatically relevant, given that one consultant mentioned in this context that the noun *c**ella*, commonly translated as ‘nature, weather, world, outdoors, awareness’ refers to an entity which, deeply imbedded in the Yupik culture, is commonly viewed as having its own personality, mind, and will, and is perceived as something to be treated with great awe and fear (§ 12-fn.5).

4. This type of transitive construction is mentioned by Jacobson (1995: 257) who gives two examples with the verbs |*asiki-*| ‘to like’ and |*aliki-*| ‘to be afraid of’, adding ‘this suffix can be used with transitive inflections when used on certain transitive-only verbs’. Note that the first verb is from |*asiy-ki-*| and the second from |*aliki-*| (a root-expanded stem).

- b. *Angyaqs*      *ange-nru-uq*      *pi-mni.*      = (1)  
 boat.ABS.sg. big-more-IND.3sg. thing-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘The boat is bigger than mine (my boat).’

The sentences (16) and (17a) are both transitive, but they are obviously different constructions. Note the NP for ‘mine (my boat)’ in different cases (LOC vs. REL), the difference in the transitive-subject person (1sg. vs. 3sg.) and the index (*-nru-* vs. *-nq-*), as well as the valency-increasing VVsm suffix *-ke-* (‘A to find/consider that P [ $<$  S]; § 37.2.1) in (16). It should be clear that (16) is derived from the intransitive (1) or (17b) through the VVsm suffix. The *angyaq* as S argument in (17b) is now in P function in (16) because of the added A argument. The valency-increasing suffix *-ke-* ( $[-_1k^*i-]$  ‘to find’; § 37.2.1) is related to the bivalent relational verb NVrv *-ke-* ( $[-ki-]$  ‘to have – as/for’; § 37.2).

Another example of this superficial type of transitive sentence derived from an intransitive one of comparative degree is shown here:

- (18) *Takaqe-nru-at*      [*tau-na*      *angun*]<sub>P</sub>  
 respect-more-IND.3pl.3sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
*aata-mni.*  
 Fa-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘They are more respectful/shy of that man than of my father.’  
 – The bivalent stem *takaqe-* is expanded from the root  $|takay-|$  ‘shy’ with the same VVsm suffix as *-ke-* as in (16) above, cf. monovalent (root-expanded) stem *takar-yug-* ‘to be self-effacing, respectful toward, feel shy of’.
- (19) [*Anchorage-aa-mun*      *aya-llerka-qa*]<sub>P</sub>  
 pl.n.-LNK-ALL.sg. go-VNnm.FUT-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*cucuke-nru-aqa.*  
 choose-more-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I would rather go (prefer going) to Anchorage.’ [YED 126]  
 – with no explicit standard of comparison; *cucuke-* ‘to choose, prefer’ with  $|cucu-|$  ‘to want, ask’.
- cf. *cucuk-aa*      *kuuvviaq*      *saayu-mek*  
 prefer-IND.3sg.3sg. coffee.ABS.sg. tea-ABM.sg.  
 ‘he prefers coffee to tea’ [YED 126]

The superficial transitive construction as above due to valency increase is not only the case for *-ke-* but also for another type of valency increase, i.e. complex transitives (§ 40), characterized by upper-layer A'-adding, e.g. VVcm *-ni-* ‘A' to say, report’, in the following:

- (20) *Ange-nru-ni-at* *angyaq<sub>p=S</sub>* *pi-mni*.  
big-more-A'.say-IND.3pl.3sg. boat.ABS.sg. thing-LOC.1sg.sg.  
'They [A'] say his boat is bigger than mine.'

It is to be noted that the index is *-nru-* for this superficial transitive comparative construction but not *-nqe-* and that the A argument is the upper clause agent (A' 'they') instead of being a standard of comparison, which occurs in the locative case (like an intransitive comparative). It is also very important to note, as compared with (16) above, that with regard to the suffix ordering, the index precedes the VVcm suffix of A' adder.<sup>5</sup> Again:

- (21) *ellua-nru-ni-luku* *ciki-qeng-yaraq<sub>p=S</sub>*  
correct-more-A'.say-APP.3sg. give-APS-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
*akurtu-ner-mi*  
receive-VNnm-LOC.sg.  
'saying (we are told) that it is better to give than to receive' [CAUY 27]  
– where the appositional third person shows that the construction is a transitive one.

### 1.3. Various NPs for comparee and for standard

A comparee in S or P function can be a nominal clause as in (22), (23), where only (23b) is a transitive construction:

- (22) *Akwauga-mi* *naulluu-llr-a<sub>S</sub>* *assi-nru-uq*.  
yesterday-LOC sick-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. good-more-IND.3sg.  
'His illness (being sick) is better than yesterday.'
- (23) a. *Cuka-nru-llru-uq* [*allragni-m*  
fast-more-PST-IND.3sg. last.year-REL.sg.  
*kia-llr-a*]<sub>S</sub> *mat'-u-mi*.  
summer-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. this-EX-LOC.sg.
- b. *Cuka-nqe-llru-a* [*allragni-m<sub>G</sub>*  
fast-more-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. last.year-REL.sg.  
*kia-llr-a*]<sub>P</sub> *mat'-u-m<sub>A</sub>*.  
summer-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. this-EX-REL.sg.  
'Last year's summer was faster than this year.'

5. It is interesting to compare the West Greenlandic superficial transitive construction, which employs the valency-increasing suffix *|-tip-|* 'to think that it -': *ming-neru-tipp-aa* (small-more-think-IND.3sg.3sg.) 'he considers it less important' (cf. Schultz-Lorentzen 1927: 141).

A standard can be a relative clause with *[pi-]* pro-verb, thus forming a kind of “conjoined comparative”:

- (24) *Ak'alla-u-nru-llini-uq*                      *pi-yuke-knga-mni*.  
 old-be-more-EVD-IND.3sg.                      do-A'.think-VNrl-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘(I see now / find) he is older than I thought (him to be).’

– compare with a “concatenated comparative clause” *ak'alla-u-nru-yuke-l-qa* ‘the one I thought is older’ (§ 17.7).

A standard may not be expressed as in the following, just as it is absent in (19):

- (25) *Cakviur-narqe-nru-uq*                      [*kii-mi*  
 have.hard.time-should-more-IND.3sg.                      be.alone-CNNst.3Rsg.  
*pi-ngnaqe-lleq*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 do-try-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 ‘It is more difficult to try to do (things) alone.’

Presence or absence of a standard can, however, bring about an important semantic difference. In the following, (a) has three items compared including a standard, but (b), with no standard NP, has only two compared:

- (26) a. *Nalia-k<sub>s</sub>*                      *ange-nru-a*                      *u-u-mi?*  
 which-ABS.3du.sg.                      big-more-INT.3sg.                      this-EX-LOC.sg.  
 ‘Which one of the two is bigger than this one (third party)?’  
 b. *Nalia-k<sub>s</sub>*                      *ange-nru-a?*  
 which-ABS.3du.sg.                      big-more-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Which one is bigger (than the other; of the two parties)?’

Note, however, that in the following transitive clause the presence or absence of the NP *u-u-m* does not matter. Either way, it means that two are being compared with the third (i.e. three parties), just like (a) in the preceding:

- (27) (*U-u-m<sub>A</sub>*)                      *nalia-k<sub>p</sub>*                      *ange-nq-au?*  
 this-EX-REL.sg.                      which-ABS.3du.sg.                      big-more-INT.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Which one of the two is bigger than this one (it)?’

#### 1.4. Various parameters

Many verb stems that serve as a parameter of comparison are adjectival (e.g. ‘to be big’), but they also can be either non-adjectival monovalent (‘to work’, ‘to speak’, ‘to go’, ‘to be far’) or bivalent (‘to eat’; impersonal patientive ‘to freeze’). Illustrations are made of both (a) intransitive and (b) transitive sen-

tences, since comparison cannot only be made for a state, quality, quantity, etc. ('to be more'), but also for an action ('to do more'):

- (28) *Cali-nru-uq*                      *wang-ni*. 'He is working more than I (do).'  
work-more-IND.3sg. 1sg.-LOC
- (29) a. *Yup'ig-tun*      *qane-nru-uq*                      *irnia-mni*.  
Y.-EQL.sg. speak-more-IND.3sg. child-LOC.1sg.sg.  
b. *Yup'ig-tun*      *qane-nq-aa*                      *irnia-ma<sub>A</sub>*.  
Y.-EQL.sg. speak-more-IND.3sg.3sg. child-REL.1sg.sg.  
'He speaks more Yupik than my child.'
- (30) *Aya-nru-uq*                      *ui-mini*.  
go-more-IND.3sg. Hu-LOC.3Rsg.sg.  
'She goes further/longer than her husband.'
- (31) a. *Nere-nru-uq*                      *neqerrlug-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*                      *aata-mini*                      /  
eat-more-IND.3sg. dried.fish-ABM.sg. Fa-LOC.3Rsg.sg.  
*akwauga-mi*.  
yesterday-LOC  
b. *Nere-nq-aa*                      *neqerrlug-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*                      *aati-in<sub>A</sub>*                      /  
eat-more-IND.3sg.3sg. dried.fish-ABM.sg. Fa-REL.3sg.sg.  
*akwauga-m<sub>A</sub>*.  
yesterday-REL.sg.  
'She is eating more dried fish than her father / than yesterday.'  
– Note the difference in the possessor of the 'father', a) reflexive third vs. b) third.
- (32) *Nanvaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *ciku-nru-yug-tuq*                      *kuig-mi*.  
lake.ABS.sg. freeze-more-TND-IND.3sg. river-LOC.sg.  
'The lake freezes more easily (tends to freeze more) than a river.'  
cf. *ciku-nru-lar-tuq* 'it is commonly more frozen (than)' – with GEN *-lar-*.
- (33) *Caqer-luni*                      *aani-it<sub>S</sub>*                      *pi-uq*,                      *Elnguq<sub>P</sub>*  
happen-APP.3pl. Mo-ABS.3pl.sg. do-IND.3sg. p.n.ABS.sg.  
*utuma-nru-llru-ni-luku*                      *Irr'a-mi* ...  
better-more-A'.say-APP.3sg. p.n.-LOC.sg.  
'Then their mother said Elnguq was (behaving) a lot better than Irr'aq.' [ELNG 31]  
– superficial transitive like (20) and (21) with the same *-nru-ni-*.

A parameter verb can be a derived one with a VVm suffix (like 'to wish') or a denominal verb with a NV suffix (like 'to be a big boat'):

- (34) a. *Ayag-yu-nru-uq*                      *wang-ni*.  
 go-wish-more-IND.3sg.      1sg.-LOC
- b. *Ayag-yu-nq-aqa*                      *wii~wiinga*.  
 go-wish-more-IND.1sg.3sg. 1sg.  
 ‘He is more eager to go than I.’  
 – note that the first (or a non-third) person pronoun has no specific form for the relative (§ 13.1).
- (35) a. *Angyar-pa-u-nru-uq*                      *u-u-mi*.  
 boat-big-be-more-IND.3sg.      this-EX-LOC.sg.
- b. *Angyar-pa-u-nq-aa*                      *u-u-m<sub>A</sub>*.  
 boat-big-be-more-IND.3sg.3sg.      this-EX-REL.sg.  
 – both with two readings:  
 i. ‘It is a bigger boat than this.’  
 ii. ‘He has a bigger boat than this (person has).’  
 – See § 20.1.1 for NN ‘big’, which may have the reading of ‘have a big N’ as well, when followed by the relational verb.

“Adverbial” parameters (like ‘faster, more slowly’) may be expressed by a cosubordinate clause with an appositional verb (§ 51.2.3-i):

- (36) [*Tau-na*                      *mikelnguq*]<sub>s</sub>                      *atu-llru-uq*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.      child.ABS.sg.                      sing-PST-IND.3sg.  
 [*cuka-nru-luni*                      *wangkut-ni*].  
 fast-more-APP.3Rsg. 1pl.-LOC  
 ‘That child sang faster than us.’  
 cf. equalitive *cuka-ta-luni* ‘as fast as’ in (83).

There are a few stems with comparative significance (§ 45.9), e.g. |*anayc-*| ‘to surpass’, that do not take an index and a standard in the locative or the relative case:

- (37) *Ner'-llini-luni*                      [*ner-la-ll'-ni<sub>p</sub>*                      *anagl-luku*].  
 eat-EVD-APP.3Rsg.      eat-GEN-VNrl-ABS.3Rsg.sg.      surpass-APP.3sg.  
 ‘He ate more than he usually does.’ [YED 65]

### 1.5. Numerals of ‘more than X’

Non-round numbers are generally expressed as a remainder in counting by means of the appositional-mood verb (APP.3sg.) of *cip-luku* (from secundative ditransitive |*cipic-*| ‘to oversupply, exceed (by)’) meaning ‘more than’. An adnominal clause as such (§ 16.6-i) can modify an NP or a nominal stem.

- (38) *qula<sub>R</sub>*            *malrug-nek<sub>(T)</sub>*            *cip-luku*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    two-ABM            exceed-APP.3sg.  
 ‘twelve (lit. exceeding ten by two, two more than ten)’.
- (39) [*100-aaq*            *cip-luku*            *yu-u-t*]<sub>S</sub>  
 100-LNK.ABS.sg.    exceed-APP.3sg.    person-EV-ABS.pl.  
*nuna-mteni*]            *uita-lar-tut.*            *ikge-llru-llru-yaaq-ut.*  
 land-LOC.1pl.pl.    stay-CUS-IND.3pl.    little-more-PST-but-IND.3pl.  
 ‘More than 100 people live in our village. They (the number) were  
 (formerly) smaller, though.’ [LL]  
 – cf. (5e) for the post-apical index *-llru-* in *ikge-llru-yaaq-ut*.

On the other hand, the appositional *nurr-luku* (from secundative ditransitive *|nuɣc-|* ‘not to reach’) means ‘less than X’ as below, with the same construction as *cip-luku*. But it is not used for numerals (like ‘eight’ as ‘two less than ten’).

- (40) [*qula<sub>P</sub>*            *nurr-luku*]            *pit-uq*  
 ten.ABS.sg.    not.reaching-APP.3sg.    catch-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he caught less than ten (lit. not reaching ten)’.

See § 35.1.1-i for the two secundative ditransitive stems concerned and § 14.3.1.1.2, § 14.3.1.2 for numeral constructions for ‘more/less than’.

## 1.6. Relative clauses of comparative constructions

As stated in § 17.1.1, it is possible to relativize a comparee of intransitive and transitive comparative clauses (that is, respectively as S and P argument NP), and a standard of transitive comparative clauses (that is, A argument NP), but not a standard of intransitive ones (because it is an oblique, i.e. locative-case NP), although their relativization, that of P in particular, is rarely used. The relativizers employed are respectively the intransitive *|-lɣiaɣ-*, passive *|-<sub>1</sub>kijay-*, and agentive-active *|+st-*.

As explained in § 45.1.1, a comparative phrase like (a) in the following example is made into an intransitive (b) and a transitive (c) construction:

- (41) a. *angya-n*            *mike-nr-a*  
 boat-ABS.2sg.sg.    small-VNnm.CMP-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*angya-ma<sub>G</sub>* (~ *pi-ma*)  
 boat-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘your (sg.) boat smaller than my boat/mine’
- b. *angya-n<sub>S</sub>*            *mike-nru-uq*            *angya-mni*  
 boat-ABS.2sg.sg.    small-more-IND.3sg.    boat-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘your (sg.) boat is smaller than mine’



- c. *angya-n<sub>p</sub>*                      *mike-nq-aa*                      *angya-ma<sub>A</sub>*  
 boat-ABS.2sg.sg.    small-more-IND.3sg.3sg.    boat-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘your (sg.) boat is smaller than mine, i.e. mine has your boat as smaller one’.

Of the comparative clauses (b, c), the three core argument NPs in S and P (comparee), and A (standard) can be relativized like (42) from (41b), (43) and (44) from (41c):

- (42)      *angya-n*                      [*mike-nru-lria*                      *angya-mni*]  
 boat-ABS.2sg.sg.    small-more-VNrl.ABS.sg.    boat-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘your (sg.) boat that is smaller than mine’.
- (43)      *angya-n*                      [*mike-nqe-knga-a*  
 boat-ABS.2sg.sg.    small-more-VNrl.ABS.3sg.sg.  
*angya-ma<sub>G=A</sub>*]  
 boat-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘your (sg.) boat that is smaller than mine (lit. your boat that mine has as smaller one)’.

Note that these two above are relativizations of the comparee NP and are cyclically expanded versions of (41a) with possible difference inherent to transcategorial changes – ‘your boat smaller than mine’ vs. ‘your boat (*of the kind*) that is smaller than mine’ with secondary categorization. See § 20.4 for nominal cyclical expansion.

By contrast, the following is a relativization of the standard of comparison NP:

- (44)      [*angya-vet<sub>G=P</sub>*                      *mike-nqe-sti-i*]                      *angya-qa*  
 boat-REL.2sg.sg.    small-more-VNrl.ABS.3sg.sg.    boat-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my boat that has your boat as smaller, than which your boat is smaller’.

## 2. Superlative degree

Superlative comparison in CAY is also made with both intransitive and transitive constructions. There are two types.

### 2.1. With plural standard of comparison

First, the same construction as the comparative degree with the same index *|-nyu-* and *|-nqi-* is superlative if the standard occurs in the plural. In § 45.4-ii, it will turn out to be a reverbalization of a comparative phrase with plural possessor – see (67) in particular.

- (45) a. *Sugtu-nru-uq* *annga-qe-llria-ni*.  
tall-more-IND.3sg. eIBr-have.as-VNrl-LOC.pl.  
b. *Sugtu-nq-aat* *annga-qe-llrii-t<sub>A</sub>*.  
tall-more-IND.3pl.3sg. eIBr-have.as-VNrl-REL.pl.  
'He is taller than (the rest) of the brothers, is the tallest of the brothers.'

Note the singular comparee (S and P) vs. the plural standard; cf. § 11.4.2 for reciprocal relatives with VNrl.

- (46) a. [*U-ku-ni* *tallima-ni* *angya-ni*] *angya-qa<sub>S</sub>*  
this-EX-LOC.pl. five-LOC.pl. boat-LOC.pl. boat-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*ange-nru-uq*.  
big-more-IND.3sg.  
b. [*U-ku-t* *talliman* *angya-t*]<sub>A</sub> *angya-qa<sub>P</sub>*  
this-EX-REL.pl. five.REL. boat-REL.pl. boat-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*ange-nq-aat*.  
big-more-IND.3pl.3sg.  
'My boat is the biggest of these five boats.'  
cf. *mike-llru-uq* / *mike-lq-aat* 'is the smallest  
– (a) would probably be used by more speakers than (b), but at least some speakers prefer (b).

## 2.2. With intensifier in index

Second, NN/VVa suffix  $|-k^*ac(a)(y)a\dot{y}-|$  (§ 41.3.5) and NN  $|-qu\dot{x}a\dot{y}-|$  of high degree and intensity may intervene within the composite suffixes  $|-n\dot{y}u-|$  (<  $|-n\dot{y}+ju-|$ ) /  $|-nq\dot{i}-|$  (<  $|-n\dot{y}-ki-|$ ) to serve as indices of the superlative degree, i.e.  $|-n-k^*ac(a)(y)a\dot{y}-u-|$  /  $|-n-k^*ac(a)(y)a-ki-|$  and  $|-n-qu\dot{x}a-u-|$  /  $|-n-qu\dot{x}a-ki-|$ .

Importantly, by contrast with the first type with plural standard (§ 45.2.1), a locative NP that occurs both in the intransitive and in the transitive serves merely as a range ('among') rather than a standard of comparison:

i)  $|-k^*ac(a)(y)a\dot{y}-|$ : The same type of prosodic-related intervocalic /y/ deletion as in NN/VVcm  $|-ya(y)a\dot{y}-|$  (§ 20.3), e.g. (50), (51).

- (47) a. *Angé-n-kacága-ú-guq* *u-na<sub>S</sub>* [*neq'-ni*  
big-VNnm-ITS-be-IND.3.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. fish-LOC.pl.  
*kuyya-lle-mni*].  
net-VNrl-LOC.1sg.pl.  
'This is the biggest one of the fish(pl.) in my net catch (i.e. the fish I [net-]caught).'  
– *ang-kac(a)gar-tuq* (big-ITS-IND.3sg.) 'it is very big'

- b. *Angé-n-kacága-q-aqa* *irnia-mni.*  
big-VNnm-ITS-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg. child-LOC.1sg.pl.  
'He is the biggest of my children (lit. I have him as biggest of my children).'
- (48) a. *mikel-kacaga-u-guq* *irnia-mni.*  
small-ITS-be-IND.3sg. child-LOC.1sg.pl.  
'he is the smallest of my children'
- b. *mikel-kacaga-a-t* *irnia-ma<sub>G</sub>*  
small-VN-ITS-EV-ABS.3pl.sg. child-REL.1sg.pl.  
'the smallest of my children'.
- (49) [*Tau-na* *tua=i potlatch-aq*]<sub>S</sub> *qulli-k'acagar-tuq*  
that-EX.ABS.sg. SFL p.-EX.ABS.sg. come.top-ITS-IND.3sg.  
[*ca-t<sub>G</sub>* *tama-itni*].  
what-REL.pl. all-LOC.3pl.pl.  
'That potlatch was the most important of them all.' [TKDF 3]  
– *qulli-k'acagar-tuq* can be replaced by *ange-nru-uq* [TKDF 2] with  
the comparative *-nru-* ('it is bigger than'; § 45.2.1).

The intensifier *|-kac(a)(y)aỵ-* also occurs after the locational NN *|-(q)liỵ\*-|* 'one located in' (§ 11.2.3.1) to produce a superlative form, i.e. NN *|-(q)li-kac(a)(y)aỵ-* / NV *|-(q)li-kac(a)(y)a-u-*:

- (50) a. *qule-qli-kacaar* /qulíq|híká·|caax̣/  
above-located-ITS.ABS.sg.  
'the very top one, the highest one'
- b. *qule-qli-kacaga-u-guq* /qulíq|híká·|càŷ|yáú|yúq/  
'it is the highest one'
- c. *qule-qli-kaca'ar-q-aat* /qulíq|híká·|cà·x̣|qaat/  
'it is the highest one of them'  
– transitive (IND.3pl.3sg.).
- (51) *nang-ne-qli-kacaar* 'very last one, lastborn child' [YED 248]  
use.up-VNnm-located-ITS.ABS.sg.

ii) NN *|-quxaỵ-*: intensifier. This may perhaps be a composite suffix with *|-quỵ-* (ix) in § 19.2.

- (52) a. [*U-ku-t* *angya-t*]<sub>A</sub>  
this-EX-REL.pl. boat-REL.pl.  
*ange-n-qurra-q-aat* *angya-qa<sub>p</sub>*.  
big-VNnm-ITS-have.as-IND.3pl.3sg. boat-ABS.1sg.sg.

- b. [*U-ku-ni*                      *angya-ni*]                      *ange-n-qurra-u-guq*  
 this-EX-LOC.pl.              boat-LOC.pl.              big-VNnm-ITS-be-IND.3sg.  
*angya-qa<sub>s</sub>*.  
 boat-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My boat is the biggest of these boats.’
- (53) *nukalpia-ne-qurra-q-ni-luku*  
 hunter-VN?-ITS-have.as-VV'.say-APP.3sg.  
 ‘saying that he was the best young hunter’ [QQLK 628]  
 – identity of *-ne-* is hard to determine, given the nominal stem.

### 3. Inchoative comparison (‘to become more than’)

Just as relational verbs (NVrv) may not only be stative (‘to be’) but also inchoative (entering into the state; ‘to become, to be now’) – NVrv |+*nyūc-*| (intransitive) and |-*k(i)sayuc-*| (transitive); § 37.3, § 37.4, so CAY comparative clauses can also be inchoative (‘to become more, be now more’) as well as intransitive, again both in (a) intransitive and (b) transitive constructions, by means of the composite suffixes of VN comparative nominalization |-*nȳ-*| followed by the inchoative relational verb itself (immediately above), that is: VVc |-*nȳūc-*| (intransitive) and |-*nīqsayuc-*| (transitive) ‘to become more’. The inchoatives contain the aspectual |+*ȳc-*| and |-*sayuc-*| (from |+*cayuc-*| ‘to reach the state of –ing’; § 42.2).

i) Inchoative (vs. stative):

- (54) a. *ange-nru-uq*                      *irnia-mni*  
 big-more-IND.3sg.              child-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘he is bigger than my child’
- b. *ange-nrurt-uq*                      *irnia-mni*  
 big-more.INC-IND.3sg.              child-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘he has become bigger than my child’  
 – cf. (9) *ange-nru-ur-tuq* ‘he is a little bit bigger’.
- (55) *ilu-qsi-nrurte-llini-niar-tuq*  
 inside-far-more.INC-EVD-soon-IND.3sg.  
 ‘she would become more cherished (than)’ , cf. § 43(89).

The transitive inchoative seems to occur less commonly than the intransitive, though with some intriguing problems concerning inchoative equalitive constructions to be explored; see fn. 8. If used as below, however, as is the case with stative comparison, the standard of comparison is in the locative or relative

case depending upon whether it is intransitive or transitive, respectively. The transitive subject is the standard of comparison in the following (56) and (57):

(56) *ang-neqsagut-aat* [im-ku-t mikelngu-u-t]<sub>A</sub>  
big-more.INC-IND.3pl.3sg. that.ANP-EX-REL.pl. child-EV-REL.pl.  
'he is now bigger than those children (you know).'

(57) *Uumi-m<sub>A</sub>* *kiircet-neqsagut-aa.*  
few.day.before-REL.sg. hot-more.INC-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'It has become warmer than a few days ago.'  
– see (11) for the time word.

ii) Derivations before the index:

(58) *arna-u-nrurt-uq* *elpe-ni*  
woman-be-more.INC-IND.3sg. 2sg.-LOC  
'she became more aged a woman than you (sg).'

(59) *Yaaliagni-m<sub>A</sub>* *kiir-pa-neqsagut-aa.*  
day.before.yesterday-REL.sg. hot-ITS-more.INC-IND.3sg.sg.  
'It has become much warmer than the day before yesterday.'  
cf. *kiir-pa-nq-aa* 'it is much warmer (than).'

Modification of degree may be added after the index, as in § 45.1.1-iii above:

(60) *ange-nrurce-cuar-tuq* 'she has become a little bigger (than).'

iii) In contrast with *|-nyũc-* for increasing degree, the suffix  *|+kili-* indicates a decreasing degree, though only for a small number of dimensional roots (§ 10.5-iii):

(61) a. *qer-kelli-uq*  
'it is getting lower (in elevation)' – *|qiÿ-kit-* 'to be low'  
*qer-tu-nrurt-uq*  
'it is getting higher (in elevation)' – *|qiÿ-tu-* 'to be high'  
b. *tuner-kelli-uq* 'it is getting less powerful'  
*tuner-tu-nrurt-uq* 'it is getting more powerful'.

The contrast of intransitive vs. transitive and stative vs. inchoative comparatives also occurs with superlative comparatives (iv, just below) and equalitive comparatives (§ 45.6.1 and § 45.6.2).

iv) Inchoative version of the superlative:

- (62) a. *ange-nkacaga-urt-uq*  
 ‘it has become the biggest’ (intransitive)  
 b. *ange-nkacaga-qsagut-aqa*  
 ‘it has become the biggest of mine’ (transitive)  
 – compare with (47a, b).

#### 4. Comparative clauses from comparative phrases

CAY comparative clauses (with the comparative verb ‘to be more – than’) above, both intransitive and transitive, are properly regarded as reverbalizations of comparative nominal phrases (‘one [which is] more than’) using the relational verbs ‘to be N / be one’s N (have something as/for N)’ (§ 18.3.2.2).

As stated, the abstract nominalization VNnm *|-ny-* (§ 18.3) emphasizes the abstractness of verbal concepts as in (63a) (cf. Comrie and Thompson 1985: 384). When inflected for person (63b, c), it takes on a sense of comparison by serving as the index of comparative phrases, with the added participant (possessor) functioning as the standard of comparison with or without its external NP (‘my boat’), which constitutes a comparative phrase as in (63c).

i) An comparative phrase is an attributive phrase (with head NP being modified by an NP in G function) in syntactic constitution, like (c) in the following example, from the possessed (b) accompanied by the external possessor NP in the relative case:

- (63) a. *ang-neq* (ABS.sg.) ‘being big, bigness’  
 b. *ange-nr-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.) ‘one bigger than he/it’  
 c. *ange-nr-a angya-ma<sub>G</sub>* (REL.1sg.sg.) ‘one bigger than my boat’.

- (64) [*Ange-nr-a* *u-u-m<sub>G</sub>*]<sub>P</sub>  
 big-VNnm.CMP-ABS.3sg.sg. this-EX-REL.sg.  
*engelqa-q-an.*  
 fit-have.as-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘The one bigger than this fits you (sg.).’  
 – literally rendered as ‘you (sg.) have the one bigger than this [this bigger one] as something that fits (you)’.

Without an external possessor:

- (65) [*Ten-aa-mun*            *ange-nr-a*<sub>S</sub>  
 ten-LNK-ALL.sg.    big-VNnm.CMP-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*tekis-kan*]            *ut'ris-ki-lii*.  
 arrive-CNNif.3sg.    return-ASP-OPT.1sg.  
 ‘May I go back when the longer (hand) comes to ten minutes, i.e. ten  
 before an hour?’  
 – the possessor (‘clock’s’) for *ange-nr-a* is implicit.

Post-apical variant (cf. § 45.1.1-ii; § 18.3.2) is illustrated by stem |*asiit-*| ‘to be bad’:

- (66) a. *assii-llr-a*            (ABS.3sg.sg.)            ‘one worse than he’ = § 18(226)  
 b. *assii-llr-a*    *u-u-m*<sub>G</sub> (REL.sg.)            ‘one worse than this’.

ii) Plural possessor in comparative phrases leads to the superlative (§ 45.2.1):

- (67) a. *ange-nr-at*            (ABS.3pl.sg.)  
 ‘their bigness, i.e. the one *biggest* of them’  
 b. *ange-nr-at*    *angya-mta*<sub>G</sub> (REL.1pl.sg.)  
 ‘the *biggest* of our boats’  
 c. *angyaq*            [*ange-nr-at* *angya-mta*<sub>G</sub>]  
 ‘the *biggest* boat of ours’.

iii) A non-adjectival verb stem behaves the same way, with person inflection adding the implication of comparison:

- (68) a. *ner-neq* (ABS.sg.)            ‘eating’  
 b. *ner-nr-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.)            ‘one eating *more than* he (lit. his more eating)’.

Likewise, denominal verbs (*arna-u-* ‘to be a woman, *angut-ngu-* ‘to be a man’ with relational verb |+*ɲu-*| ‘to be’) are nominalized by the suffix *-nr-* (*-neq*) under discussion here, and the inflected person adds an implication of comparison (‘one older than X’):

- (69) a. *arna-u-neq*            (ABS.sg.)            ‘being a woman’  
*arna-u-nr-a*            (ABS.3sg.sg.)  
 ‘*his* older sister’ (lit. being a woman older *than he*)

- b. *angut-ngu-neq* (ABS.sg.) 'being a man'  
*angut-ngu-nr-a* (ABS.3sg.sg.)  
 'her older brother' (lit. being a man older *than she*).

It is clear that *arnauneq* and *angutnguneq* are not primarily kinships but (comparative) nominalizations.

The inflected person (with *-a*) may be made explicit by a relative-case NP:

- (70) a. *arna-u-nr-a* *Nuk'a-m<sub>G</sub>* (p.n.-REL.sg.)  
 'Nuk'aq's older sister'  
 b. *angyar-pa-u-nr-a* *u-u-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 boat-big-be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg. this-EX-REL.sg.  
 'the boat bigger than this'.

Going back to (63) *ange-neq* 'being big' and *ange-nr-a* 'his/its bigness, i.e. being bigger than he/it', the nominalizations may be reverbalized by the relational verb into comparative clauses (71b, c), and (72b) with another participant added (which functions as the standard):

- (71) a. *ange-nr-u-uq* (*wang-ni*)  
 'it is bigness itself, [more commonly] exciting to me'<sup>6</sup>  
 b. *ange-nr-u-uq* *aana-mni*  
 'he is bigger than my mother'<sup>7</sup>  
 c. *ange-n-q-aa* *aana-ma<sub>A</sub>* same.
- (72) a. *nere-nr-u-uq*  
 'he is eating and eating, always eating'  
 b. *nere-nr-u-uq* *aana-mni*  
 'he is eating more than my mother'.

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6. The verb may be heard when the speaker is elated or very delighted, for instance, at the sight (or news) of hundreds of caribou approaching or a multitude of salmonberries growing.

7. An additional example with *ange-nru-* occurs with the intensifier *VVa* |+<sub>1</sub>*pay*-| ~ |+<sub>1</sub>*vay*-| ('bigly, intensely', § 41.3.1) with the interrogative-mood inflection, serving as an exclamation.

- a. *Ange-nr-u-vag-ta* *yura-lleq<sub>S</sub>!*  
 big-VNnm-be-ITS-INT.3sg. dance-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
 'How exciting the dancing is!'  
 b. *Ange-nru-vag-ta* *u-u-mi* *tau-na<sub>S</sub>!*  
 big-more-ITS-INT.3sg. this-EX-LOC.sg. that-EX.ABS.sg.  
 'How bigger that is than this!'



The comparee NP as the topic is assigned the absolutive-case status, with the standard of comparison NP assigned a non-absolutive, i.e. locative or relative, case. Thus, the comparative phrase *angyaq* [*ange-nr-a angya-ma<sub>G</sub>*] (cf. 63c) ‘boat, my boat’s bigger one; boat bigger than mine’ (appositive phrase) is verbalized into a comparative sentence as below – either (a) intransitive or (b) transitive – with the standard NP of comparison in a non-absolutive case, i.e. (a) locative and (b) relative:

- (73) a. *angyaq<sub>S</sub>*      *ange-nru-uq*      *angya-mni*  
 boat.ABS.sg.    big-more-IND.3sg.      boat-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 b. *angyaq<sub>P</sub>*      *ange-nq-aa* (~*ang-neq-aa*)      *angya-ma<sub>A</sub>* ≐ (10)  
 boat.ABS.sg.    big-more-IND.3sg.3sg.      boat-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘the boat is bigger than my boat’.  
 – cf. relative case *angya-ma* in A function in (b) as compared with *angya-ma* in G function in the comparative phrase above.

Likewise the superlative may be considered to be a reverbalization: see (67b) for the following:

- (74)      *Ange-nq-aat*      *angya-mta<sub>A</sub>*.  
 big-more-IND.3pl.3sg.      boat-REL.1pl.pl.  
 ‘It is the biggest boat of ours (our boats).’

It can now be confirmed that the indices *|-nyu-|* and *|-nqi-|* are suffix composites through the cyclical expansion of the abstract nominalization VNnm *|-ny-|* (§ 18.3.2) plus the relational verb NVrv *|+nyu-|* and *|-ki-|* (§ 37.1, § 37.3), that is, *|-nyu-|* from *|-ny+nyu-|* and *|-nqi-|* from *|-ny-ki-|*.

## 5. Negative comparison

A comparison is negated by the general negator VVn *|-nyit-|* ‘not’ (§ 44):

- (75)      *Angya-n<sub>S</sub>*      *ange-nru-nrit-uq*      *pi-mni*.  
 boat-ABS.2sg.sg.    big-more-NEG-IND.3sg.    thing-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Your (sg.) boat is not bigger than mine.’  
 – the replacement with *pi-mteni* (LOC.1pl.sg. or 1pl.pl.) means ‘not bigger than our boat’ or ‘not the biggest of our boats’.
- (76) a. *sugtu-nru-nrit-uq*      ‘he is not taller (than)’  
 tall-more-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 b. *sugkil-lru-nrit-uq*      ‘he is not shorter (than)’ – cf. (14)  
 short-more-NEG-IND.3sg.

Apart from this fixed composite negator  $|-n\dot{y}it-|$ , the comparative nominal may be followed by the privative suffix NV  $|+yit-|$  ‘to lack’ as VV  $|-n\dot{y}it-| \sim |-n(i)\dot{y}it-|$  ‘to have no (other) more – than’. To avoid the ambiguity with the latter, some speakers carefully use the second variant with /i/ as in:

- (77) *Angya-n<sub>s</sub>*            *alla-mek*            *ang-nerit-uq. ~ ange-nrit-uq.*  
 boat-ABS.2sg.sg. different-ABM.sg. big-VNnm.PRV-IND.3sg.  
 ‘There is no other boat bigger than yours (sg.) (lit. your boat has no other bigger one).’  
 – Although the  $|-n\dot{y}it-|$  variant seems to be preferred, the latter variant  $|-n(i)\dot{y}it-|$ , is also possible although ambiguous with the negative *ange-nrit-uq* ‘it is not big’.

Negativization also occurs with the equalitive constructions below (§ 45.6), as in (81) *ang-ta-nrit-uq*.

## 6. Equalitive

CAY comparison of equality – as in ‘your house is as big as mine (my house)’ – is expressed through a comparee NP (‘your house’) in the absolutive case while a standard (‘mine, my house’) may be expressed in the relative or the oblique, i.e. equalis, implying that equality construction may also either be performed with intransitive or transitive constructions.

### 6.1. Intransitive VVa $|+_{1}ta-|$

This suffix  $|+_{1}ta-|$  ‘as – as, to that degree’ – equality/similarity (§ 41.3.5) serves as the parameter for equalitives is contrasted with the composite marker  $|-n\dot{y}-u-|$  for comparatives.

i) Intransitive equalitive constructions feature a standard of comparison expressed by an equalis-case NP. A verb stem as the parameter is particularly adjectival as in (78), though not necessarily:

- (78) *ang-ta-uq* ‘it is as big as; is of the same size’ (whether big or small)  
*mik-ta-uq* ‘it is as small as’  
*assir-ta-uq* ‘it is as good as’  
*igkil-ta-uq* ‘it is as narrow as’.

- (79) *Sugtu-ta-uten*            *aata-vtun.* ‘You (sg.) are as tall as your father.’  
 tall-as.as-IND.2sg. Fa-EQL.2sg.sg.





But the suffix |+ta-| itself may also have an A argument added by zero derivation, e.g. § 41(204), with the S (comparee) becoming P, hence the transitive inflection again:

- (89) a. *Ki-a<sub>A</sub> mik-ta-aki tau-tun?*  
 who-REL.sg. small-as.as-INT.3sg.3pl. that-EQL.sg.  
 ‘Who made them as small as that?’
- b. *Ki-a<sub>A</sub> tua-ten ang-ta-agu*  
 who-REL.sg. there-EQL big-as.as-INT.3sg.3sg.  
*ene-n<sub>p</sub>?*  
 house-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘Who made your (sg.) house that big?’  
 – Some speakers may prefer the periphrastic appositional construction *ang-ta-luku* (APP.3sg.) *pi-llru-agu* (§ 51.3.1) to *ang-ta-gu*.

See also 14 (123) *amller-ta-a* (much-as.as-IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he filled it (with s.t.)’, with quantifier as stem.

Though they are transitive constructions, the embedded comparative clauses themselves are intransitive – cf. superficial transitive comparatives (§ 45.1.2.1) for inequality comparisons. Note that the monovalent verb |*aŋi-*| ‘to be big’ is used here as a bivalent with the A argument (‘who’) zero-added, which does not however function as a standard.

iii) As is the case with transitive comparatives, complex transitive verbs (with VVcm) may yield superficial transitive equalitive constructions (§ 45.1.2.1). Note the standard of comparison in the equalis:

- (90) *Ang-ta-vkar-aa u-u-tun.*  
 big-as.as-A'.let-IND.3sg.3sg. this-EX-EQL.sg.  
 ‘He made (someone) make it as big as this.’  
 cf. *ang-ta-uq u-u-tun* ‘it is as big as this’.

iv) The reduplication of |+ta-|, which emphasizes equality (‘precisely same as’) is much more frequent with some adjectival stems like |*aŋi-*| ‘to be big’ (but possibly a more or less isolated case with some other stems):

- (91) *Ang-ta.ta-uq aata-mitun.*  
 big-as.as.RPT-IND.3sg. Fa-EQL.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘He is as big as his (own) father.’

The other stems of size – e.g. |*miki(t)-*| ‘to be small’, |*iqtu-*| ‘to be wide’ – may not occur with reduplication, however.

Also, the reduplication may be a dialectal or personal preference and may not be heard as frequently in some areas (e.g. on the coast near the mouth of the Kuskokwim).

v) An equalitive clause with  $|+{}_1ta-|$  is very commonly nominalized using VNnm  $|+(u)ciy̆-|$  (§ 18.2.2), in which case the subject is obligatorily relegated to be in G function since the nominal clause is morphologically an attributive phrase:

- (92) *assir-ta-uq* ‘it is that good, is as good as’  
 a. *assir-ta-ci-a* ‘its goodness, how it is good’ (ABS.3sg.sg.)  
 b. [*Qaya-an*<sub>G=S</sub> *assir-ta-ci-a*]<sub>S</sub>  
 kayak-REL.3sg.sg. good-as.as-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*pi-mtun* *ayuy-uq*.  
 thing-EQL.1sg.sg. similar-IND.3sg.  
 ‘How good his kayak is like mine.’

The composite suffix with nominalization is illustrated further in § 18.3.2.1 (badness, width, depth, length, etc.).

In (93) below, note the relative case *ene-vet* instead of the absolutive *ene-n* above and the nominalization in (demoted) T function of the secundative ditransitive verb  $|apic-|$  ‘to ask’:

- (93) *Apt-aanga* [*qaillun* *ene-vet*]<sub>G=S</sub>  
 ask-IND.3sg.1sg. how house-REL.2sg.sg.  
*ang-ta-ci-anek*]<sub>(T)</sub>.  
 big-as.as-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He [A] asks me [R] how big your (sg.) house [T] is.’

- (94) *Pi-ta-ci-mtun* *cali-a-qe-llru-yaaq-aqa*.  
 do-as.as-VNnm-EQL.1sg.sg. work-VNrl-have.as-PST-but-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I worked on it as hard as I could / with all my strength (but).’  
 – Compare with *pi-ci-mtun* ‘(I) in any manner, anywhere’ having no *-ta-*.

vi)  $|+{}_1tasiay̆-|$  ~  $|+{}_1tasiy̆-|$  ~  $|+{}_1taciay̆-|$  ‘to check (the degree), to test if/how’ (A addition; § 39.1). This might perhaps be related to the composite suffix  $|+{}_1ta+ciy̆-|$ , above (v), with nominalization:

- (95) a. *tak-tassiar-aa*  
 ‘he is measuring/comparing its length’ –  $|taki-|$  ‘to be long’  
*tak-tassiar-cuun*  
 ‘tape measure, ruler’ – instrumental VNrl  $|+cuut-|$   
 cf. *tak-ta-ci-a* ‘its length’

- b. *uqamail-tassiir-aa* ‘he is weighing it’ – |*uqamait-*| ‘to be heavy’  
*uqamail-tassiir-tuq* ‘he is weighing himself’  
 cf. *uqamail-ta-ci-a* ‘its weight’.

The suffix is most common with adjectival stems, as above, but not necessarily; note the verb of existence below:

- (96) *merrlug-tangqer-tassiar-aa*  
 watery.place-there.be-check-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he is checking to see if it has watery places’.

vii) The equalitive comparison with VVa |+*ta-*| ‘as – as’ may be relativized:

- (97) *ene-n* [*ang-ta-lria* / *ang-ta-lleq* *pi-mtun*]  
 house-ABS.2sg.sg. big-as.as-VNrl.ABS.sg. thing-EQL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘your (sg.) house (one that is / was) the same size as mine’  
 – usually implies bigness but may also imply smallness.

- (98) a. *ang-ta-t-ka* *aata-ka*  
 big-as.as-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg. Fa-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my father (who is) as big as I’  
 – with VNrl |+*(u)t-*| (§ 17.6.2); appositive phrase  
 b. *ang-ta-ti-i* *aata-ma<sub>G</sub>*  
 big-as.as-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg. Fa-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘one (who is) as big as my father’ – attributive phrase.

Compare this *-ta-t-* with the following, which will show that the resulting equalitive (composite) |+*ta-t-*| (VVa-VNrl) corresponds to the comparative |-*ny-*| (VNnm):

- (99) a. *ange-n-qa* *aata-ka*  
 big-VNnm.CMP-ABS.1sg.sg. Fa-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘my father (who is) bigger than I’  
 b. *ange-nr-a* *aata-ma<sub>G</sub>*  
 big-VNnm.CMP-ABS.3sg.sg. Fa-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘one (who is) bigger than my father’.

## 6.2. Transitive constructions

While the equalitive VVa |+*ta-*| ‘as – as’ serves by itself as the intransitive equalitive marker, the corresponding transitive typically employs the composite

index *|+tatiki-|* despite (89) above, which has the same *|+ta-|* relativized by VNrl *|+(u)t-|* (§ 17.6.2) instead of VNnm *|-nỵ-|*, in order to stand before VNrv *|-ki-|* (/inchoative *|-k(i)sayuc-|*) like comparative and superlative indices.

- (100) *|+tatiki-|* ‘to be (the same size/extent) as – as X’ (stative)  
*|+tatiksayuc-|* ‘to reach (the same size/extent) as – as X, to be now as – as X’ (inchoative)

– which are clearly in parallel to the transitive comparative: *|-nqi-|* / *|-niqsayuc-|* ‘to be / to be now more – than’.

Compare the following with the appositive phrase, which is the basis for the transitive equalitive clause:

- (101) *Eni-in<sub>A</sub>* *assir-tatk-aa* *ene-ka<sub>P</sub>*  
 house-REL.3sg.sg. good-as.as-IND.3sg.3sg. house-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘His house is as good as my house.’  
 cf. *eni-i* *assir-ta-t-ka*  
 house-ABS.3sg.sg. good-as.as-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘his house (which is) as good as mine’.

Note that the standard of equalitive comparison is again in A function just like the transitive comparatives (§ 45.1.2).

Likewise in the following two – stative (positive vs. negative) and inchoative:

- (102) a. [*Kass’a-m<sub>G</sub>* *eni-i*]<sub>P</sub> *ang-tatk-aa*  
 white.man-REL.sg. house-ABS.3sg.sg. big-as.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*agayuvi-mta<sub>A</sub>*  
 church-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘The white man’s house is as big as our church.’  
 b. [*ma-ku-t* *pitegcaute-t*]<sub>S</sub> ... *ang-tatke-vke-nateng*  
 this-EX-ABS.pl. arrow-ABS.pl. big-as.as-NEG-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘these arrows being of different sizes (not equally big)’ [CIUL 30]
- (103) a. *ang-tateksagut-aat* [*im-ku-t* *mikelngu-u-t*]<sub>A</sub>  
 big-as.as.INC-IND.3pl.3sg. that.ANP-EX-REL.pl. child-EV-REL.pl.  
 ‘he is now as big as those children (you know)’  
 b. *nequ-tu-tateksagul-luki*  
 width-much-as.as.INC-APP.3pl.  
 ‘they being now as wide as (it; i.e. cockpit of the kayak)’ [ELLA 296]



However, here comes a caveat that still remains to be explored: Despite the rule of A argument as comparee, the following, which has the different object (1sg.) from (103), seems to be rarely interpreted as ‘I am now as big as him’, even by fluent speakers, but generally the P argument (‘I’) is taken as comparee:<sup>8</sup>

- (104) *ang-tateksagut-aanga* ‘he is now as big as I’.  
big-as.as.INC-IND.3sg.1sg.

ii) Since the relational verb is patientive, the detransitivization of transitive equalitive verbs results in reciprocal verbs (§ 34.4.2), inflecting for dual or plural, and can be inchoative as well as stative:

- (105) a. *ang-tatk-uk* ‘they (du.) are of the same size’  
big-as.as-IND.3du.  
– the opposite, *mik-tatk-uk* (*|miki-* ‘to be small’), is not used since (a) *ang-tatk-uk* may cover it.  
b. *ang-tateksagut-uk* ‘they (du.) have become the same size’  
cf. *ang-ta-uk* ‘they (du.) are as big as (someone else; -*tun*)’.

This *|+tatiki-* may be relativized:

- (106) a. *ang-tatke-llrii-k* ‘ones(du.) of the same age’.  
b. *yuungcariste-t kayu-tatke-nril-ngu-u-t*  
doctor-ABS.pl. strong-as.as-NEG-VNrl-EV-ABS.pl.  
‘different doctors (lit. doctors who have different levels of strength/ talent)’ [AKKL 48]

The whole set of indices of comparison can be summarized below in the next section.

---

8. One insightful consultant, while admitting some confusion involved herself, still takes ‘he is now as big as I’ as the more natural interpretation of (104), saying that ‘he’ (A argument) is not a comparee but an active participant (‘one who is getting big’) and using this verb with *getunra-ma* (REL.1sg.sg.) ‘my son’ but not *aata-ma* (REL.1sg.sg.) ‘my father’. Here we might consider a kind of reinterpretation concerning the verbal person relation (subject vs. object) for motivation(s) still to be explored. An inchoative comparative construction (§ 45.3) seems to have the same problem, though some speakers appear to fluctuate in their interpretations: i.e. *ang-neqsagut-aanga*, for which some speakers (incl. the consultant herself) may fluctuate between ‘I am now bigger than him’ and ‘he is now bigger than me’.

## 7. Indices of comparisons summarized

Composition of the comparative indices – comparative, superlative, equalitive – should be obvious. Except for intransitive equalitive with VV |+<sub>1</sub>ta-| ‘as – as’ followed by inchoative VVt |+<sub>1</sub>ȳi-|), VNnm |-nȳ-| or |+ti-| (< |(u)c-|) will be followed by the relational NVrv |+(*η*)u-| or |-ki-| or their inchoative versions (with aspectual suffix). The |+sayuc-| for inchoative transitive is from aspectual VVt | +<sub>1</sub>cayuc-| ‘to reach the state of –ing’. Note that |+ti-| for transitive equalitive is necessary as |+<sub>1</sub>ta-| is a VV suffix.

Table 45: Indices of comparisons

	intransitive	transitive	
comparative	stat.  -nȳ-u-	-n-qi-	‘to be more – than’ (§ 45.1, § 45.2)
	inch.  -nȳ-uȳc-	-ni-q+sayuc-	‘to become/be now more – than’ (§ 45.3)
superlative	stat.  -n-kacaya-u-	-n-kacaya-qi-	‘to become the –est one’ (§ 45.2.2-i)
	inch.  -n-kacaya-uȳc-	-n-kacaya-q+sayuc-	‘to become/be now the –est one’
equalitive	stat.  + <sub>1</sub> ta-	+ <sub>1</sub> ta+ti-ki-	‘to be as – as, to that degree’ (§ 45.6.1/2)
	inch.  + <sub>1</sub> ta+ȳi-	+ <sub>1</sub> ta+ti-k+sayuc-	‘to become/be now as – as’ (§ 42.2.1)

Comparison with Tables 32 (§ 37), repeated as (107), will show the exact parallelism with four relations verbs:

(107)		intransitive	transitive	
	stative	+ <i>η</i> u-	-ki-	‘to be (someone’s) N’ (§ 37.1, § 37.2)
	inchoative	+ <i>η</i> uȳc-	-k(i)sayuc-	‘to become (someone’s) N’ (§ 37.3, § 37.4)

## 8. Peculiarity of case markers |+mi| and |+tun| as standard of comparison

The markers of the standard of comparison, i.e. equalis |+tun| (equalitive; § 45.6) and locative |+mi| (intransitive comparative; § 45.1.1), which are obviously case suffixes (equalis and locative), are peculiar in that they can stand after a locative case suffix (possessed or unpossessed) of location (“double case marking”; § 27.9).

- (108) *Uksuar-mi-mi* *nengla-i-llru-uq.*  
 autumn-LOC.sg.-LOC.sg. coldness-PRV-more-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is less cold (warmer) than in the autumn.’  
 – with privative NV |+*ɲit*-|.
- (109) *Ene-n<sub>S</sub>* *tamar-mi* *sagt-uq*  
 house-ABS.2sg.sg. whole-CNNst.3Rsg. scatter-IND.3sg.  
 [*ene-ma<sub>G</sub>* *ilu-ani-tun*].  
 house-REL.1sg.sg. inside-LOC.3sg.-EQL.sg.  
 ‘Your (sg.) whole house is as messy as the inside of my house.’

Concerning the ‘obviously case markers’, Anthony Woodbury (rev.) suggests a possibility, very interesting and worthy of reconsideration, that ‘they are really more like markers of elements of the comparative constructions that are capable of marking not only NP’s (i.e. un-case-marked nouns) but also adverbial obliques of various kinds.’

## 9. Lexical comparison

There are some verbs that are comparative in themselves:

i) *comparative*: |*utuma*-| ‘to be better’ – stative with comparative *-nr-* (§ 45.1.1) and inceptive with *-ri-* as in equalitive *-ta-ri-* (§ 45.6.1), but both with a standard NP in the locative case:

- (110) *Naulluu-llr-a* *utuma-nr-uq / utuma-ri-uq*  
 sick-VNm-ABS.3sg.sg. better-more/get-IND.3sg.  
*akwauga-mi.*  
 yesterday-LOC.sg.  
 ‘His sickness is / has got better than yesterday.’  
 – the latter same as § 42(38).

See also: |*cucuki*-| ‘to prefer (to)’ – e.g. (19), |*anayc*-| ‘to surpass’ – e.g. (37).

ii) *equalitive* |*ayuqi*-| ‘to resemble, be similar’ (simulative) – with a standard NP in the equalis NP just like the equalitive comparison:

- (111) a. *Anchorage-aa-met-leq<sub>S</sub>* *ayuqe-nrit-uq*  
 pl.n.-LNK-be.at-VNm.ABS.sg. similar-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 [*kingun-e-mni* *uita-ller-tun*].  
 stay-VNm-EQL.sg. home-EV-LOC.sg.  
 ‘To live in Anchorage is not like staying at my home.’

- b. *Ak'a-tun*      *ayuqe-nrir-tuq*      *nuna-put<sub>s</sub>*.  
 ago-EQL.sg.    similar-no.longer-IND.3sg.    land-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘Our home is not like (it used to be) a long time ago.’ [LL]
- (112) *Ila-liur-luki*      [*taqner-e-t*      *mikelngu-u-t=llu*]<sub>P</sub>  
 part-occupied-APP.3pl.    adult-EV-ABS.pl.    child-EV-ABS.pl.=and  
*ayuq-luki*.  
 similar-APP.3pl.  
 ‘(One has to) be sociable/friendly with adults and children alike.’
- (113) [*u-u-cetun*      *ayuqe-llrii-t*]      *kegginaqu-t*  
 this-EX-EQL.pl.    resemble-VNrl-ABS.pl.    mask-ABS.pl.  
 ‘masks of this kind (lit. masks that look like these)’ [AKKL 33]

The verb *ayuqe-*, which is monovalent, occurs nonetheless in a transitive construction of similarity/equality (where the comparee and standard are A and P respectively) by adding |+uci-qi-| (< |+uciy-ki-| VNnm and transitive relational verb). Note that this has the same construction as the index of a transitive comparative of superiority |-nqi-| from |-ny-| plus the transitive relational verb. In the following, the appositive phrase as comparee occurs with the relative case marking:

- (114) [*Mat'-u-m*      *ceñā-m*]<sub>A</sub>      *ayuq-uci-q-aa*.  
 this-EX-REL.sg.    shore-REL.sg.    similar-VNnm-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘This is how this shore always is; it is always like this shore (i.e. unchanged).’  
 cf. *ayuq-uci-a*      ‘the way / how it looks like’.

## Part 9

### Verb moods

CAY has six verb moods as inflectional categories aside from person (subject and object) – § 5.1.1:

- i. four independent (main-clause) moods: *indicative* (§ 46), *participial* (§ 47), *interrogative* (§ 48), *optative* (§ 49)
- ii. one cosubordinate mood: *appositional* mood (§ 51; cf. § 4-fn.16 for terminology)
- iii. one subordinate (adverbial) mood: *connective* mood (§ 50; cf. § 4-fn.15), with eleven (or fourteen) sub-moods

Although the appositional mood verbs are most dominant in frequency as sentence predicates, aside from the indicative, any mood can occur apart from noun sentences and sentence words. The ratio of occurrence differs widely in genres of texts. With her classification of the six CAY moods, Mithun (2008: 85–96) gives an analysis of a 29-sentence narrative [*qanemciq*; cf. § 12-fn.6] (from a speaker originally from Bethel) about a moose hunt, showing the ratio of:

a. indicative	5
b. participial	2
c. interrogative	1
d. subordinative (for appositional)	20
e. concessive (a kind of subordinate)	1

which may be compared with a 102-sentence tale [*quliraq*] – incidentally a famous pan-Eskimo story ‘Sun and Moon (brother and sister)’,<sup>1</sup> – recorded from the late Frank Amadeus, Nelson Island [FASM]:

a. indicative	41
b. participial	6
c. interrogative	4
d. optative	1
e. appositional	42
f. subordinate (causal-connective only; § 50.2)	6
g. nominal predicate	2

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1. ‘In a legend which is common to all the Eskimo dialects, it is told that Sun and Moon were brother and sister.’ (Boas 1949 [1904]: 505).



# Chapter 46

## Indicative mood

1. Inflection.....	1323
2. Declarative role.....	1327
3. Non-declarative role .....	1328

Indicative-verb clauses are typically declarative constructions with a degree of commitment on the part of the speaker to whatever event or state he is addressing.

### 1. Inflection

The intransitive inflections of indicative verbs consist of the mood marker  $|+_{1}tu\dot{y}\dot{-}|$  (post-consonantal, i.e. stem-final /y, ȳ, c, t/) ~  $|+yu\dot{y}\dot{-}|$  (post-vocal) followed by a subject person marker: Transitive inflections consist of the mood marker  $|+ya\dot{y}\dot{-}|$  followed by a subject-object person marker, as listed in Table 46.

Apart from the mood marker, the person markers that follow the mood marker in the Table apply to participial-mood verbs as well (§ 47), although some regular phonological adjustments specific to the respective mood marker do occur.

i) A comparison of Table 46 with Table 21 (§ 23) will show that the indicative / participial inflections with a third person object are completely identical with the absolutive inflections for possessed nouns (except for the reflexive third person) – given in the shaded portions in both the Tables; e.g.

- |     |                        |                   |                         |
|-----|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) | $ +n $ (IND2sg.3sg.)   | <i>assik-a-n</i>  | ‘you (sg.) like/him/it’ |
|     | (ABS.2sg.sg.)          | <i>angya-n</i>    | ‘your (sg.) boat’.      |
| (2) | $ +ka $ (IND-1sg.3sg.) | <i>assik-a-qa</i> | ‘I like her/him/it’     |
|     | (ABS.1sg.sg.)          | <i>angya-qa</i>   | ‘my boat’               |
- with the phonological /k/ surfacing as the phonemic /q/ due to the phonological rules involved; cf. (P3ii) and e.g. (13) below.

Intransitive and transitive forms are exemplified with different (mood marker) variants and adjustments:

- (3) a. |*ayay*[+*tuŷ-tin*]| (go-IND-2sg.; P13i)  
> *ayag-tuten* ‘you (sg.) go/went’  
b. |*atuŷ*[+*tuŷ*+Ø]| (use-IND-3sg.; P13i,17i)  
> *atur-tuq* ‘he is using/singing’  
|*atuŷ*[+*yay*+*ŋa*]| (use-IND-3sg.3sg.; P3i,10,11)  
> *atur-aa* ‘he is using/singing it’.
- (4) a. |*pi*[+*yuy*-*tin*]| (do-IND-2sg.; P9, 10)  
> *pi-uten* ‘you (sg.) do/did’  
b. |*pai*[+*yuy*+*t*]| (stay.behind-IND-3pl.; P4)  
> *pai-gut* ‘they stay behind’  
|*pai*[+*yay*+*ŋana*]| (stay.behind-IND-3sg.1sg.; P4, 10)  
> *pai-gaanga* ‘he stays behind with me’.
- (5) |*pai*[+*yuy*+Ø]| (stay.home-IND-3sg; P17i)  
> *pai-guq* ‘he is staying at home’  
|*pai*[+*yay*+*ŋa*]| (stay.home-IND-3sg.3sg.; P3i,10)  
> *pai-gaa* ‘he is baby-sitting him’.

ii) By contrast, the /*aŷ*/ (transitive mood marker) is deleted in the sequence /CV<sub>1</sub>+*aŷ*V<sub>2</sub>/ (< /CV<sub>1</sub>+*yay*V<sub>2</sub>/, cf. P10 < /CV<sub>1</sub>[+*yay*+*ŋ*V<sub>2</sub>/, cf. P3i), which results from suffixing a third person subject transitive inflections with initial /*ŋ*/ if a stem ends in a single full vowel:

- (6) |*pi*[+*yay*+*ŋa*]| (do-IND-3sg.3sg.; P10)  
> *pi-a* ‘he is doing it’.

This deletion process produces a homonymous pair after a stem-final CV:

- (7) |*pi*[+*yay*+*ŋay*]| (IND-3du.3sg.; P10, ii, P3i)  
> |*pi*+*yay*]| (P10,..) > *pi-ak* ‘they (du.) are doing it’  
|*pi*[+*yay*+*y*]| (IND-3sg.3du.; P4i.a)  
> |*pi*+*yay*]| (P10,..) > *pi-ak* ‘he is doing them(du.)’.
- (8) |*naŷu*[+*yay*+*ŋatin*]| (IND-3sg.2sg.; P10, P3i, P10)  
> *nallu-aten* ‘he does not know you (sg.)’  
|*naŷu*[+*yay*-*tin*]| (IND-2sg.3pl.; P10, P9)  
> *nallu-aten* ‘you do not know them’.

This homophony can be disambiguated if the core arguments are overtly expressed with independent NPs:



Table 46: Inflections for indicative/participial verbs

intransitive			transitive object							
mood marker			third		first		second			
sg.	pl.	du.	sg.	pl.	du.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	du.
IND	+Ø	IND	+ŋa	+ŋi	+y	+ŋaŋa	+ŋakut	+ŋatin	+ŋaci	+ŋaiy
+tuŋ-	+t	+yaŋ-	+ŋat	+ŋit	+yki	+ŋatŋa	+ŋitkut	+ŋatŋin	+ŋitci	+ŋit(t)iy
~	+y		+ŋay	-kay	+ykiy	+ŋay(ni)ŋa	+ŋay(t+)kut	+ŋayŋin	+ŋayci	+ŋaytiy
+yuŋ-	-ŋa		-ka	+nka	+yka			-mkān	-mci	-miy
-kut			+put	-put	+yput			-mt+yin	-mici	-mitiy
PTP	-kuy	PTP	+puy	-puy	+ypuy			-miyŋin	-miyci	-miytiy
-iyiay-	-tin	-ki-	+n	-tin	+ykin	+piŋa	+pikut	+pikuy		
~	-ci		+ci	-ci	+yci	+pici+ŋa	+picikut	+picikuy		
+ŋuŋ*-	-tiy		+tiy	-tiy	+ytiy	+pitiy(ni)ŋa	+pitiykut	+pitiyuy		

In the sequence /V<sub>1</sub>[+yaŋV<sub>2</sub>/ (</CV<sub>1</sub>[+yaŋ+ŋV<sub>2</sub>/, cf. P3i, ii), which results from suffixing third-person subject transitive markers with initial /ŋ/ to stems that end in a single full vowel, the /aŋ/ is deleted. However, the /ŋV<sub>2</sub>/, is deleted instead in '1pl.', '3pl. – 2pl.', and '3pl. – 2du.' markers.

The second-person subject and the first-person object forms have the initial /-vi/ instead of /-pi/ for some Kuskokwim speakers. See (P14i) for /i/ insertion at /Ct\_C/ and (P15ii) for /t/ > /c/.

- (9) a. *Neqa<sub>p</sub> ega-ak.*  
 fish.ABS.sg. cook-IND.3du.3sg.  
 ‘They(du.) are cooking the fish.’  
 b. *Neqe-k<sub>p</sub> ega-ak.*  
 fish-ABS.du. cook-IND.3sg.3du.  
 ‘She is cooking two fish.’

However, /*yV*/ is deleted instead for ‘3pl.1pl.’, ‘3pl.2pl.’, and ‘3pl.2du.’ markers:

- (10) |*pi*[+*yay*+*nitkut*] (do-IND.VT-3pl.1pl.; P10, P3i)  
 > |*pi+yatkut*] > *pi-**atkut*** ‘they are acting on us’.

iii) The second-person subject and the first-person object forms have an initial /-*vi*/ instead of /+*pi*/ for some Kuskokwim speakers, cf. (P2i):

- (11) |*pi*[+*yay*+*piŋa*] ~ |*pi*[+*yay*-*viŋa*] (do-IND.VT-2sg.1sg.; P10)  
 > *pi-arpenga* ~ *pi-avnga* ‘you (sg.) are acting on me’.

Some speakers, however, see a semantic difference between the alternatives:

- (12) a. *ikayur-arpenga* ‘you (sg.) are helping me’ (currently)  
 b. *ikayu-avnga* ‘you (sg.) have helped me’ (already done)  
 – |*ikayuŋ-*| ‘to help’.

iv) The /*ya*/ and /*ya*/ deletion (P18v) occurs very often in connection with the transitive marker |+*yay-*|; see § 8.5.1-i.

- (13) |*amay*[+*yay*-*ka*] (backpack-IND-1sg.3sg.)  
 > *amaraqa* (cf. P3ii, 9) ~ *ama’arqa* (P9 blocked, P18v.a)  
 ‘I backpack it’.

- (14) |*pi*+<sub>1</sub>*cuy*[+*yay*-*ka*] (get-DES-IND-1sg.3sg.)  
 > *piyugaqa* ~ *piyu’ugqa* (P9 blocked, P18v.a)  
 ‘I want to get it’.

The second forms with deletion may sound somewhat emphatic. The blocking of (P9) may be alternatively interpreted by viewing the person marker as a retaining type |+*ka*|; cf. note in Table 21.

v) The deletion of the mood-marker initial /*y*/ by (P11) is accompanied by strengthening (gemination) on the preceding stem if it is (C)VC:

- (15) |niÿi[+yukut| (eat-IND.VI.1pl.)  
 > |niÿ[+yukut| (P8) > /niÿÿukut/ *ner'ukut* 'we are eating'.

vi) Duals are losing ground among (younger) speakers, so it is common to notice that, for instance, *ceñirt-aagkut* (visit-IND.3du.1pl.) and *ceñirt-aakuk* (visit-IND.3sg.1du.) are not differentiated.

## 2. Declarative role

An indicative-verb clause has the primary role of making more or less straightforward statements on an event or state.

- (16) [*Ella-m<sub>G</sub>*      *yu-an*]<sub>A</sub>                      *tangva-gaakut*.  
 world-REL.sg. person-ABS.3sg.sg. watch-IND.3sg.1pl.  
 'The keeper of this world is watching us.'  
 – see § 12-fn. 5 for *ella-m yu-a*.<sup>1</sup>

The four independent moods overlap in their functions to a certain degree. The indicative mood is closest to the participial with which it shares its set of person markers. Since the two moods are fully illustrated for comparison in § 47, one contrastive example should suffice here:

- (17) a. *Ilangciar-paka-avni*                      *qenerte-ng-uq*.  
 tease-ITS-CNNbc.2sg.3Rsg.                      angry-INC-IND.3sg.  
 'Because you (sg.) teased him so much, he got angry.'  
 b. *Ilangciar-paka-avni* ≠ *tang*                      *qenerte-nge-lria*.  
 tease-ITS-CNNbc.2sg.3Rsg. ≠ look                      angry-INC-PTP.3sg.  
 'Because you (sg.) teased him so much, you see he got angry.'

While (a) is a mere statement, (b) with a participial head-clause verb is more expressive (possibly implying '[you] shouldn't tease her/him *anymore!*') and is made confirmatory with |*tan*| (§ 53.3-v), one of the non-inflecting words that typically co-occur with participial verbs.

An indicative-verb clause is often used to provide provisional background information or establish a new scene for a narration to follow. It is very common that a narration, once started in this way, is commonly set forth in a sequence of appositional-verb clauses (§ 51.4, etc.).

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1. Kanaqlak (2011: 24, cf. also 30–34, etc.) writes that, according to elders, it was *Ellam Yua* (The Person of the Universe) who gave the power to the speech to the *Yup'ik* when he created the first man and woman.

Two indicative-verb clauses, linked by a coordinating particle, may form a coordinate complex sentence (§ 5.2.1):

- (18) *Neq*<sup>[1]</sup>-*li-sqe-ng-uq*                      *arna-mun,*                      *tua=i=llu*  
 food-make-A'.ask-INC-IND.3sg.    woman-ALL.sg.    then=and  
*elli-in<sub>G</sub>*                      *neq*'-*li-t-aa*.  
 3sg.-REL                      food-make-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'He began to ask to the woman to prepare food, then she did (made) it for him.'

### 3. Non-declarative role

Finally, indicative verbs with VVt *|-nauȳ-* 'so that now' (consequential; § 42.2.6) and VVsm *|+nayıqi-* 'must, should' (necessitative A<sub>IMP</sub> adder; § 39.2.1) often constitute indirect commands, especially for a third person, despite its indicative construction.

- (19) *Ampi kumla-tur-naur-tukut.*  
 hurry    cold.thing-eat-now-IND.1pl.  
 'Hurry, let us eat frozen fish (now)!'

 (20) *Ampi ayag-narq-aaten.*  
 hurry    go-NEC-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 'You (sg.) must hurry up and go!'  
 – with the 3sg. subject as an impersonal agent ('it behooves you to go').

## Chapter 47

### Participial mood

1.	Inflection.....	1330
2.	With a non-inflecting word .....	1331
2.1.	=wa  (~  ≠ wa ).....	1331
2.1.1.	Occurrence with  - <i>ti</i> -  .....	1333
2.2.	<i>ima</i>   ‘you know’ .....	1334
2.3.	<i>taŋ</i>   ‘to see (as it’s a fact)!’ .....	1335
2.4.	Miscellaneous particles.....	1336
3.	Without a non-inflecting word .....	1337
4.	In bi-clausal sentences .....	1338
5.	With reflexive third inflection (‘when, because’).....	1342
6.	Converbs.....	1344
6.1.	Converb 1  - <i>lyiim</i>   ‘when, as’ .....	1345
6.2.	Converb 2  - <i>lyiani</i>   ‘whenever’ .....	1346

A CAY participle is a word that may function either nominally or verbally. It is marked by:

- a. intransitive: |-*lyiaŋ*-| ~ |+*nyuŋ*\*-| (suppletive variant after stem-final /t/ but not /c/)
- b. transitive: |-*ki*-|.

The same markers may be followed either non-predicatively by a nominal inflection (marking case and number) serving as relativizers (§ 17.2), or predicatively by a verbal one (indexing subject with or without object) serving as main-clause verbs, cf. Woodbury (1985:76–78), however, as to how the noun phrase and clause functions of participle constructions are kept distinct.

As a verb mood, the participial shows a few idiosyncrasies. It shares the person markers with the indicative mood as stated above (with only the first, second, and third person subject and object) – cf. Table 46 (§ 46.1), but it also has a reflexive third inflection, just like the connective (subordinate) mood (§ 50.1). Despite this, it is taken as one of the independent moods and generally functions as such.

Contrasted with indicative verbs (§ 46), predicative participles are less straightforward, more expressive or exclamative. Unlike indicative verbs, they are typically used in responses (or in a succession) to what precedes in discourse, arguing, clarifying, confirming, or contesting it.

## 1. Inflection

In participial verbs an intransitive inflection consists of the mood marker  $|-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-| \sim |+_{1}\eta u\dot{y}*-|$  followed by a subject person marker; a transitive inflection consists of the mood marker  $|-_{1}ki-|$  followed by a subject-object person marker. Despite sharing the same set of person markers with indicative verbs (Table 46), the different mood markers lead to different phonological adjustments. The initial /p/ of second-person subject and first-person object markers is replaced by /v/ after the transitive  $|-_{1}ki-|$  (P2i; initial fricativization). Note also the vowel change involved in third person forms of  $|-l\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-|$  as (2) *-lriit* below.

As is the case with an indicative verb, a participial-mood verb can take various verbal categories including polarity, temporal/aspectual, and modal before the mood marker (as italicized in the examples).

Reflexive-third markers may occur with participial inflection, being the same as those in the connective mood (Table 49; § 50). But participial verbs in this person may not be as common, seem to be archaic rather than a new innovation (as judged by a number of consultants), and occur when used in subordinate clauses. See § 47.5 for examples.

### i) *Intransitive inflection:*

- |     |                |  |  |
|-----|----------------|--|--|
| (1) | 2pl.           | <i>cuka-lria-ci</i><br><i>assi-lria-ci</i><br><i>assiil-ngu-ci</i> | ‘you (pl.) are fast’ – $ cuka- $<br>‘you (pl.) are good’ – $ asi\dot{y}- $<br>‘you (pl.) are bad’ – $ asiit- $ .   |
| (2) | 3Rsg.<br>3Rpl. | <i>pi-lria-mi</i><br><i>pi-lria-meng</i>                           | ‘he (himself) is doing’ – $ pi- $<br>‘they (themselves) are doing’.  |
| (3) | 3pl.           | <i>tekite-llrii-t</i><br><i>nallu-nril-ngu-u-t</i>                 | ‘they arrived’ – $ tikic- $<br>‘they don’t know’<br>– $ natu-n\dot{y}it+\eta u\dot{y}+t $ , with EV <i>-u-</i> .   |
| (4) | 3sg.           | <i>aya-lria</i><br><i>pi-lli-lria</i><br><br><i>aya-ksail-nguq</i> | ‘he left’ – $ ayay- $ , with 3sg. $ +\emptyset $<br>‘perhaps he did’<br>– § 47.2.1.1 for inferential VVm $ -ti- $<br>‘he hasn’t left’ – VVn $ -ksait- $ ‘not yet’. |
| (5) | 1sg.<br>2sg.   | <i>pi-lli-lria-nga</i><br><i>pi-lli-lria-ten</i>                   | ‘perhaps I did’ – cf. (4)<br>‘perhaps you (sg.) did’.  |

### ii) *Transitive inflection:*

- |     |          |                 |  |
|-----|----------|-----------------|--|
| (6) | 3sg.3sg. | <i>atu-qi-i</i> | ‘he is using it’ – $ atu\dot{y}- $ and $ -_{1}kii $ (< $ -_{1}ki+\eta a $ , cf. P3ii,6i, 9,10) |
|-----|----------|-----------------|--|

- 3sg.3pl. *elis-ka-i* ‘he is learning them’ – |*ilic-*| and |*-kai*| (< |*-ki+ɲi*|, cf. P3ii, 5i.b, 6iii, 10).
- (7) 1sg.3sg. *tange-llru-ke-ka* ‘I saw it’ – |*-tɣu-*| PST and |*-kika*| (< |*-ki-ka*|) /ta.ɲɪ.χu.kik.ka/ with (P18 ii.c) blocked for the accent on *ke*
- 1pl.3sg. *assike-k-vut* ‘we like it’ – |*asiki-*| and |*-kvut*| (< |*-ki+vut*|, cf. P5i.b, P8i, P13i).
- (8) 2pl.1sg. *ner-nguil-ke-vcia* ‘you (pl.) will not eat me’ – |*niyi-*|, |*+ɲait-*| (will.not), |*-kivcia*| (< |*-ki+vici+ɲa*|, cf. P5i.b, 8i, 10, 13i); e.g. (33).
- (9) 3sg.3Rsg. *pi-kiini* ‘he did it’; e.g. (56), (57)  
3sg.1sg. *pi-kiinga* ‘he did (to) me’.

## 2. With a non-inflecting word

A participial verb usually occurs with a small set of reactive or attention-calling words (enclitics or particles) like |*=wa*| ~ |*≠wa*|, |*ima*|, |*taɲ*| (§ 47.2.1 through § 47.2.3), which typically occur immediately after a sentence-initial word, forming an enclitic or non-enclitic bound phrase. A few other particles may occur at the initial-position of a sentence (§ 47.2.4).

### 2.1. |*=wa*| (~ |*≠wa*|)

This reactive (REA) particle is perhaps the most frequently used particles selected by participial verbs. See § 54.1-i and (P18iv.a) for pre-boundary regressive accents before the latter (dialectal) variant.

*intransitive:*

- (10) *Qaya-li-lria-nga=wa*. ‘(Yes,) I’m making a kayak.’  
kayak-make-PTP-1sg.=REA  
– used more often in contrast with the indicative verb, indicating a mere statement irrespective of the addressee:  
cf. *qaya-li-unga* ‘I’m making a kayak’  
kayak-make-IND.1sg.

- (11) a. *Qangvaq=wa*            *aya-llru-lria*.  
 when-PST=REA      leave-PST-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘He left some time ago.’ – non-interrogative but indefinite use of the  
 ignorative particle *qangvaq* (§ 15.2.4.1)
- b. *Icivaqu=wa*            *ayag-ciqe-llria*  
 recently=REA          leave-FUT-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘he will leave a few days/week from now’ [EM]  
 – Note the tense marked (§ 42.1) in both.

*transitive:*

- (12) a. *tua-ten=wa*            *pi-llru-ke-n / pi-llru-k-ci*  
 there-EQL=REA      do-PST-PTP-2sg.3sg./-2pl.3pl.  
 ‘that’s the way you (sg.) did/said it / you did/said them’ (expressing  
 frustration to a precedent)
- b. *tua-ten=wa*            *pi-ki-ikut*  
 there-AQL=REA      do-PTP-3sg.1pl.  
 ‘that’s the way they did to us’ (confirmation)
- cf. *tua-ten*            *pi-ki-likut* (ASP-OPT.3sg.1pl.)  
 ‘that’s the way they should do to us’ (command).

- (13) a. *Atsa-t<sub>p</sub>=wa*            *ner<sup>(<sup>o</sup>)</sup>-ka-i*.  
 berry-ABS.pl.=REA    eat-PTP-3sg.3pl.  
 ‘He is eating the berries.’
- b. *Atsa-t<sub>p</sub>=wa*            *nere-llru-ke-nka*.  
 berry-ABS.pl.=REA    eat-PST-PTP-1sg.3pl.  
 ‘I ate the berries.’  
 – a response (reply or confirmation) or with implication of some  
 reaction (surprise or contrast) even if the precedent is not externally  
 given, as contrasted with the indicative *ner-ai* (3sg.3pl.) and *nere-  
 llru-anka* (1sg.3pl.). Also compare with optative, without the enclitic  
 =*wa*:
- cf. *atsa-t*            *ner<sup>(<sup>o</sup>)</sup>-ki-laki*  
 berry-ABS.pl.=REA    eat-ASP-OPT.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘let me eat the berries (in some future)’.

- (14) *pi-yuuma-ri-kuvet*            *unic-iiqe-lli-ke-vnga!*  
 do-able-INC-CNNif.2sg.    leave-FUT-CNJ-PTP-2sg.1sg.  
 ‘when you (grow up and) are able, you might leave me’ [QNMC 12]

- (15) *Phyllis-aq<sub>p</sub>=wa*            *tange-llru-ke-ka*.  
 p.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.=REA    see-PST-PTP-1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I saw Phyllis’ – in response to ‘whom did you see?’



- (16) *Ner-yu-llru-luku=wa*                      *aata-vet<sub>A</sub>*  
 eat-DES-PST-APP.3sg.=REA      Fa-REL.2sg.sg.  
*tekis-kuni,*                      *pi-yaaqe-llru-ki-i.*  
 come-CNNif.3Rsg.      do-but-PST-PTP-3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Your (sg.) father *did* say he would eat it when he arrived, but he did not eat it (so you/anybody may eat).’

*response to a question* – intransitive and transitive:

- (17) *Qaku*                      *uterc-iiq-sit?*                      –  
 when.FUT      return-FUT-INT.2sg.  
*Unuaqu=wa*                      *uterc-iiqe-llria-nga.*  
 tomorrow=REA      return-FUT-PTP-1sg.  
 ‘When will you (sg.) be back?’ – ‘I will be back tomorrow.’

- (18) *Ki-a<sub>A</sub>*                      *atur-tau?*                      –  
 who-REL.sg.      use-INT.3sg.3sg.  
*Angute-m<sub>A</sub>=wa*                      *atu-qi-i.*  
 man-REL.sg.=REA      use-PTP-3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Who is using it?’ – ‘The man is using it.’  
 – For a response, the participial verb *atu-qi-i* is more natural than *angute-m atur-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.), which is also the case with:

- (19) *Tua-ten=qaa*                      *pi-llru-aten?*                      –  
 there-EQL=QST      do-PST-IND.2sg.3pl.  
*Tua-ten=wa*                      *pi-llru-ke-nka.*  
 there-EQL=REA      do-PST-PTP-1sg.3pl  
 ‘Did you (sg.) do them like that?’ – ‘I did them like that.’ (confirmation)

### 2.1.1. Occurrence with |-ti-|

A participial-mood sentence with |=wa| often contains the conjectural suffix VVm |-ti-| (CNJ, ‘maybe, perhaps’; § 43), which makes it less direct and weaker, thus softening the question or response, although the suffix may also occur in indicative-mood verbs as well:

- (20) *maqi-vi-ngqe-lli-lria-ten=wa*      ‘perhaps you (sg.) have a fire-bath’  
 bathe-place-have-CNJ-PTP-2sg.=ENC  
 – reacting to the addressee, with the enclitic =wa  
 cf. *maqi-vi-ngqe-lli-uten*                      ‘perhaps you(sg.) have a fire-bath’  
 bathe-place-have-perhaps-IND.2sg.  
 – an indirect or mild question, expecting an answer.

- transitive:*
- (21) a. *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>=wa, pi-yu-kuni,*  
 man-REL.sg.=REA do-DES-CNNif.3Rsg.  
*atur-ciq-li-ki-i.*  
 use-FUT-CNJ-PTP-3sg.3sg.  
 ‘If the man wants to, he can maybe use it.’
- b. *Mernu-ng-lli-uten.* –  
 tired-INC-CNJ-IND.2sg.  
*Ella-m<sub>A</sub>=wa pi-lli-ki-inga.*  
 weather-REL.sg.=REA do-CNJ-PTP-3sg.1sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) have perhaps got tired.’ – ‘Perhaps because of the weather  
 (the weather is affecting me).’

The following *|pi-|* verb with the suffix *|-ti-|* is a very common expression of indirect response and it may be the matrix for the English phrase frequently heard among Yupik speakers, *if you say so*:

- (22) *Pi-lli-lria=wa.* ‘It may be so.’  
 do-CNJ-PTP.3sg.=REA

## 2.2. *|ima|* ‘you know’

In a second position (of a non-enclitic bound phrase), it forms a content question (§ 5.3.1) with an ignorative word (like an interrogative verb). The particle may be shortend to *|im|* (§ 53.3-vii). The particle, however, cannot occur in an interrogative-mood sentence.

- (23) *Qavci-lria-ten ≠ ima?*  
 how.many-PTP.2sg.≠QST  
 ‘How old are you (sg.) (again, as I forget)?’
- (24) a. *Qangvaq ≠ im(a) aya-llru-lria?*  
 when-PST≠QST leave-PST-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘When was it that he left, again?’ (It is known to the addressee and the speaker that he left.)
- b. *Qaku ≠ im(a) aya-kata-lria-ci?*  
 when.FUT≠QST leave-IMN-PTP-2pl.  
 ‘When are you (pl.) leaving (again, as I forgot)?’
- cf. *Qaku aya-katar-ceci?*  
 when.FUT leave-IMN-INT.2pl.  
 ‘When are you (pl.) leaving?’ – as a simple question.

- (25) *Ca-u-lria-ten* ≠ *ima*?  
 what-be-PTP-2sg.≠QST  
 ‘What are you (sg.) (again, as I forgot)?’
- (26) *Na-nel-nguq* ≠ *im(a)*      *ene-n<sub>s</sub>*?  
 where-be.at-PTP.3sg. QST house-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘(Tell me again as I forgot) where is your (sg.) house?’  
 – |*na-nit*-| (where-be.at) as locative verb (§ 27.8).

2.3. |*tan*| ‘to see (as it’s a fact)!’

See § 53.3-v for more.

- (27) *Ange-lria-nga* ≠ *tang* ≠ *wii*.  
 big-PTP-1sg.≠ATN≠1sg.  
 ‘See (it’s a fact), I’m big (instead of average size)!’
- (28) *Aqui-nril-u*      *angun<sub>s</sub>* ≠ *tang*      *angniil-nguq*.  
 play-NEG-OPT.2sg. man.ABS.sg. ≠ATN      unhappy-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) don’t play, the man is sad!’
- transitive:*
- (29) ***Tang*** *inerqur-yaaqe-kemken*      *ayakar-ciq-ni-luku*.  
 see warn-but-PTP-1sg.2sg. run.off-FUT-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
 ‘(You see) I warned you (sg.) (saying) that he might run off.’  
 [UQUM 5]; cf. § 40.6-iii.
- (30) a. ***Tang***, *pissu-qenga-qe-tu-kenka*.  
 ATN hunt-VNrl-have.as-REG-PTP.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘See, they are the kind I usually got when I hunt. – cf. § 17 (268a)
- b. *Wii tang waniw’ atur-tura-lriar-u(-vkar)-luki*  
 1sg. ATN here sing-CNT-VNrl-PTP-be[-A'.have]-APP.3pl.  
*niis-kenga-qe-tu-kenka*,      *waniwa=ll’*  
 hear-VNrl-have-HAB-PTP.1sg.3pl.      and  
*yuarut-ait*      *qema-ngqa-luki*.  
 song-ABS.3pl.pl.      stored-STT-APP.3pl.  
 ‘See, here it is, I can hear them [grasses] (lit. I can have them as something heard) singing constantly (lit. [having] them be something that are singing constantly), and [I] have their songs in me.’ [AKKL 108]

– see § 17(136) and § 17.4.1-ii for cyclical expansion *niis-kenga-qe-*. Note also that the other cyclical expansion (first line) may be replaced by the following, which may have /ɣa/ deletion and the other (postconsonantal) coreferential marker:

cf. *atur-tu'r-tel-luki* ‘(having) them singing constantly’  
 |*atuɣ̣+tuɣ̣aɣ̣+cic-luki*| – with P18v  
 sing-CNT[-CRF]-APP.3pl.

#### 2.4. Miscellaneous particles

- (31) a. **Tuarpiaq** *nuna-il-ngu-ten.*  
 seems place-PRV-PTP-2sg.  
 ‘It seems you (sg.) have no place (to stay).’ – NV |+*ɲit*-| (§ 38.1)
- b. *Qalria-gura-ngraan* *tua-ten,* **tuarpiaq**  
 make.noise-CNT-CNNth.3sg. there-EQL seems  
*maurlu-u-m<sub>A</sub>* *niite-ksail-ki-i.*  
 GrMo-EV-REL.sg. hear-not.yet-PTP-3sg.3sg. = § 53(67)  
 ‘Although he kept on making noises like that, it seemed that the grandmother did not hear him.’
- (32) **Nutaan** [*tama-ku-t* *ciulia-t*]<sub>s</sub>  
 thus that-EX-ABS.pl. ancestor-ABS.pl.  
*agayu-ma-pia-lriar-u-llru-llini-lrii-t,*  
 worship-CNT-ITS-VNrl-be-PST-EVD-PTP-3pl.  
 [*Agayut-mek* *nallu-ni-la-ngraiceteng*].  
 God-ABM.sg. ignorant-A'.say-CUS-CNNth.3pl.3Rpl.  
 ‘Consequently those ancestors were [ones who we find] very religious people, although they [others] used to say they did not know God.’ [AKKL 20]  
 – The head-clause predicate with the participial verb contains a cyclical expansion, i.e. ‘ones who [we find] were very religious’.
- transitive:*
- (33) a. **Akleng** *pit-a-q-lua* *ner-ngail-ke-vcia.*  
 poor catch-VNrl-have.as-APP.1sg. eat-will.not-PTP-2sg.1sg.  
 ‘Poor guys, you (pl.) won’t catch and eat me.’ [UQUM 7]
- b. **ta=ima** *unis-ki-inga*  
 there.gone leave-PTP-3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he left me (*he is gone*)’.

Other particles that commonly occur with a participial verb include:

- (34) |*atam*| 'look, I see' (possibly with the connotation of unexpectedness) – § 53.1-iii  
 |*iciwa*|~|*icugg*'| 'you know, remember' – § 53.3-vi  
 |*cunaw(a)*| 'I see, notably, so that's how' – § 53.3-iv.

### 3. Without a non-inflecting word

There are a few cases in which participial verbs occur without non-inflecting words. They are not responses, but are characterized by different verbal modifications.

- (35) *Igc-iige-llria-ten.* 'You (sg.) might fall!' (warning)  
 fall-FUT-PTP-2sg.  
 – more indirect than the following with =*wa* which has no connotation of annoyance.  
 cf. *Igc-iige-llria-ten=wa.* 'You (sg.) will (no doubt) fall!'  
 fall-FUT-PTP-2sg.=REA  
 – the speaker may be annoyed. It may be a way of expressing the speaker's instinct or response to the situation (e.g. the child is climbing).
- (36) *Ca-u-ciic-ug-paka-la-lria-ci.*  
 what-be-A'.not.to.know-TND-ITS-CUS-PTP-2pl.  
 'You (pl.) always don't know/understand what things are!'
- (37) *Auga-qatar-yaaqe-ke-ka.* 'I was just going to remove it.'  
 remove-IMN-but-PTP-1sg.3sg.
- (38) a. *nere-sqe-llru-ki-ikut* 'he told us to eat'  
 eat-A'.ask-PST-PTP-3sg.1pl.  
 b. *ingri-mun mayu-ute-llru-ki-inga*  
 mountain-ALL.sg. go.up-E<sub>APL</sub>-PST-PTP-3sg.1sg.  
 [*aug'-u-m tuntu-cuara-a-m*]<sub>A</sub>  
 that.leaving-EV-REL.sg. caribou-small-EV-REL.sg.  
 'the young caribou took me up on to the mountain'. [QNMC 270]

As a verbal ignorative word (§ 15.2.1.1) in connection with an interrogative-mood verb:

- (39) *Ca-lria-ten pata-ngnaq-vakar-cit?*  
 do.what-PTP-2sg. hurry-CNA-ITS-INT.2sg.  
 'Why (you doing what) are you (sg.) in such a hurry?'

Without a non-inflecting word, a participle may be ambiguous as to whether it is nominal (relative clause) or verbal:

- (40) *Iqva-lria*                      *cuka-luni*  
 pick.berry-VNrl/PTP      fast-APP.3Rsg.  
*aug-na*.  
 one.going.away-EX.ABS.sg.  
 a. nominal: ‘That one (going away) who is quickly picking berries.’ – VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 b. verbal: ‘That one (going away) is picking berries quickly.’ – PTP.3sg.  
 – In (a) the nominal participle forms an appositive phrase with the demonstrative *augna*, while in (b) it is a predicate, while the first person *iqva-lrianga* (PTP.1sg.) ‘(when) I went berry-picking’ cannot be nominal.
- (41) *Tangrr-aqa*              *angun*              *nere-lria*              *neq-mek<sub>(p)</sub>*.  
 see-IND.1sg.3sg.      man.ABS.sg.      eat-VNrl/PTP              fish-ABM.sg.  
 a. nominal: ‘I saw the man who is eating fish.’ – VNrl.ABS.sg.  
 b. verbal: ‘I saw the man eating fish.’ – PTP.3sg.

#### 4. In bi-clausal sentences

Different types of clause linking are attested (cf. § 5.2) that involve a participial clause, with or without a conjunctive word (enclitic or particle):

i) *indicative + participle*:

- (42) [*Arna-t<sub>s</sub>*              *iqva-llru-ut*],  
 woman-ABS.pl.      pick.berry-PST-IND.3pl.  
 [*ui-ngit<sub>s</sub>=wa* ~ *ui-ngit<sub>s</sub> ≠ wa*      *kuvya-lriit*].  
 husband-ABS.3pl.pl.=/≠while      net.fish-PTP.3pl.  
 ‘The women were picking berries while their (own) husbands were net-fishing.’  
 – The third person possessor of *ui-ngit* (‘their husbands’) instead of the reflexive third (‘their own’) shows that the second clause (after the comma) is syntactically independent, forming a coordinate clause with the first.
- (43) [*Iter-lun(i)*              *pi-llini-ug*],  
 enter-APP.3Rsg.      PI-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 [*maarruga-q-ura-lriar-u-llini-lrii-k*]  
 GrMo-have.as-CNT-VNrl-be-EVD-PTP-3du.

[[*tau-ku-k*                    *im-ku-k*]                    [[*ene-m*  
 that-EX-ABS.du.            that.ANP-EX-ABS.du.    house-REL.sg.  
*tamat-u-m*]<sub>G</sub>            *yu-u-k*]]<sub>s</sub>].  
 that-EX-REL.sg.            person-EV-ABS.3sg.du.  
 ‘He went in and (seeing that) those occupants of that house were a  
 grandmother and a grandchild.’ [QQLK 154]  
 – cf. § 20 (290b) *maurlu-q-ura-lrii-k* (cyclical expansion); [HBC.  
 NUN] *maarrlugar-* = [elsewhere] *maurlur-*.

The participial-verb clause standing after an indicative-mood clause below may rather be taken as an adjunct to the latter instead of forming a complex sentence:

- (44) *Unukqavangur-tua*            *aya-llini-lria-nga*  
 night dream-IND.1sg.    leave-EVD-PTP-1sg.  
 [*ikamrar-Ø-lua*            *yuilqu-mun*].  
 sled-have-APP.1sg.    tundra-ALL.sg.  
 ‘At night I dreamt that I went on a sled journey to the wilderness.’  
 [YED 318]

The second clause often occurs with the particle [*taumik*] ‘so, hence, that’s why’ (§ 53.5-v), indicating a consequence of the event expressed by the first clause. See § 52.2 for constitution.

- (45) *Assiilk-ai*                    *neq-ni<sub>P</sub>*,                    *taumek*  
 dislike-IND.3sg.3pl.    food-ABS.3Rsg.pl.    so  
*nere-nril-nguq*.  
 eat-NEG-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘He doesn’t like his (own) food, so he doesn’t eat.’
- (46) *Tep-liq-aa*                    *issuriq<sub>P</sub>*,                    *taumek*  
 smell-bad-IND.3sg.3sg.    seal.ABS.sg.            so  
*aya-lria*.  
 leave-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘The spotted seal smelled bad (lit., it [<sub>A<sub>IMP</sub></sub>] smelled bad on the seal),  
 that’s why he went away.’ [PA]  
 cf. § 33.4.3 for denominal stem with impersonal agent.
- (47) *Tau<sup>h</sup>gaam*                    [*Alaska-m<sub>G</sub>*                    *ceñi-i*]<sub>P</sub>  
 however                    pl.n.-REL.sg.            coast-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*tange-llru-nrit-lini-at*,                    *taumek*  
 see-PST-NEG-EVD-IND.3pl.3sg.    so

*nallu-llru-llini-ki-it*                      *ma-a-ni*  
 not.know-PST-EVD-PTP-3pl.3sg.    this-EX-LOC  
*nuna-rpag-tangqerr-uci-a<sub>p</sub>*.  
 land-big-there.be-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘However, they (Bering’s expedition in 1741) did not see any part of  
 the coast of Alaska, so they did not yet know that this great land was  
 here.’ [VBER 4]

ii) |*maat̄in*| *indicative/appositional* + *participial*: ‘and then (it happened that ... only to realize, discover, lo and behold, or find that...)’ – “observational constructions” (Jacobson 1995: 382-383; § 53.5-viii). See § 51.4.1-iv, § 53.5-v) The first clause with the particle typically occurs with indicative- or appositional-mood verbs, and the second with participial-mood verbs.

(48) *Maaten iter-tua,*                      *nere-lrii-t*                      *angute-t<sub>s</sub>*.  
 and.then    enter-IND.1sg.    eat-PTP-3pl.    man-ABS.pl.  
 ‘Then I entered only to discover that the men were eating.’

(49) *Kuul’tilakessaaq<sub>s</sub> maaten uit-uq,*  
 p.n.ABS.sg.                      and.then    open.eye-IND.3sg.  
 [*tau-ku-t*                      *pingayu-n*                      *taquka-t*]<sub>s</sub>                      *tangva-ki-it*.  
 that-EX-ABS.pl.    three-ABS.pl.    bear-ABS.pl.    watch-PTP-3pl.3sg.  
 ‘When Goldilocks opened her eyes, those three bears were looking at  
 her.’ [KPLT 43]  
 – The first clause with *maaten* may often be followed by an appositional construction instead – cf. § 51(209), (210).

iii) *participial* + *participial*: The first clause in the following seems to have a predicative force, forming thus a coordinate (i.e. compound) sentence rather than a relative clause.

(50) [*Atam u-na<sub>s</sub> kai-lria*],  
 ATN.seethis-EX.ABS.sg.    hungry-PTP.3sg.  
 [*neq(e)-ka-li-lria=wa*].  
 food-FUT-have.lots-PTP.3sg.=while  
 ‘See, this person is hungry, *yet* he has lots of food.’ – NV |*liȳ-*|.

iv) *optative* + *participial* :

(51) *Iqva-lria-nga,*                      *carrar-nek<sub>(p)</sub>* [Y]                      *unange-ki-lii*.  
 pick.berry-PTP-1sg.    little-ABM.pl.                      get-ASP-OPT.1sg.  
 ‘When I went berry-picking, I got only a little.’



- (52) *Aling, aana-vut ima=ll' tatam-li,*  
 afraid Mo-ABS.1pl.sg. you.know=and startled-OPT.3sg.  
*yu-u-luta tange-qsail-ki-ikut*  
 person-be-APP.1pl. see-not.yet-ASP-OPT.3sg.1pl.  
*ciu-ngani.*  
 front-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘Gee, our mother might be shocked. She hasn’t seen us as humans before.’ [QNMC 606–607]

v) *connective + participial:*

- (53) *Kuvya-nip=wa paqc-u-amiu,*  
 net-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=REA check-DES-CNNbc.3Rsg.3sg.  
*egmian uterte-llria.*  
 immediately come.back-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘He is coming back so quickly because he wants to check his (own) net.’
- (54) ... “*arenqial-ngua=w' tua=i*  
 unfortunate-PTP.1sg.=REA SFL  
*unic-uumiic-aaqe-ngramken, nav-kata-llini-ki-inga*  
 leave-no.desire-but-CNNth.1sg.2sg. break-IMN-EVD-PTP-3sg.1sg.  
*qakm-u-mA. Yu-u-t=ll' ayuqe-nril-nguut,*  
 one.out-EX-REL.sg. person-EX-ABS.pl. similar-NEG-PTP.3pl.  
*paqnanarqe-lriit ila-itS.*  
 curious-PTP.3pl. part-ABS.3pl.pl.  
*Aipiar-yug-yaaqe-ngramken, arenqial-ngua,*  
 accompany-DES-but-CNNth.1sg.2sg. unfortunate-PTP.1sg.  
*nav-kata-lli-ki-inga.”*  
 break-INC-CJT-PTP-3sg.1sg.  
 ‘(After that she looked at him and said,) “it sure is a pity (for me), even if I don’t want to leave you, but the one out there is probably going to break me. People are not the same. Some are causes for suspicion (you have to be careful/watchful). Even though I want to be with you, he will probably break me.”’ [QLK 148–149]

In addition, as given in § 47.5 just below, there is a type of linking where the participial mood verb is inflected for a reflexive third person,, with the main clause being in the optative, appositional, or interrogative mood.

### 5. With reflexive third inflection ('when, because')

A participial verb may be used dependently by the older generation, somewhat like causal- or contemporative-connective verbs meaning 'because, when' (which are marked respectively by CNNbc  $|+_{1}\eta^{*}a-$  and CNNwh $|-\dot{t}\dot{y}-$ , § 50.2 and § 50.8).

As such, the participial marker  $|-\dot{y}ia\dot{y}-$  can be followed by a reflexive-third person subject marker:

3Rsg.	<i>pi-lria-mi</i>	cf.	3sg.	<i>pi-lria</i>
3Rpl.	<i>pi-lria-meng</i>		3pl.	<i>pi-lriit</i>
3Rdu.	<i>pi-lria-mek</i>		3du.	<i>pi-lriik</i>

– although a reflexive-third person in dependently used participial verbs (at least intransitive ones) can be replaced by a third person form. Thus the above can be replaced respectively by 3sg. *pi-lria*, 3pl. *pi-lriit*, and 3du. *pi-lriik* – cf. Jacobson (1995: 383 [fn. 1]) and Hinz (1944: 70). See also Bergsland (1989: 31–32). See iv) below for the transitive  $|-\dot{1}ki-$ .

i) *Optative head clause*: the head-clause verb most commonly in the optative mood (though with no optative meaning), with aspectual (completive)  $|-\dot{1}ki-$  specification (§ 49.7).

- (55) *Aya-lria-mi*, *mayu-qi-li* *ingri-mun.*  
 leave-PTP-3Rsg. climb-ASP-OPT.3sg. mountain-ALL.sg.  
 '(As) he went, and he climbed the mountain.' [MM]  
 – *\*?mayu-llru-uq* (PST-IND.3sg.).

The participial verb has much the same force as a connective verb with a reflexive-third person subject such as:

- (55)' *Ayi-imi* / *aya-llermi* *mayu-qi-li*  
 leave-CNNbc. / leave-CNNwn.3Rsg. climb-ASP-OPT.3sg.  
*ingri-mun.*  
 mountain-ALL.sg.  
 'When he left, he climbed the mountain.'

- (56) a. *Nere-lria-meng*, *neq-teng<sub>P</sub>* *nange-nril-ki-litki.*  
 eat-PTP-3Rpl. food-ABS.3Rpl.pl. finish-NEG-ASP-OPT.3pl.3pl.  
 'When they ate, they didn't finish their food.'

- b. [tau-ku-t                      angute-t]                      aya-lria-meng  
 that-EX-ABS.pl.              man-ABS.pl.              leave-PTP-3Rpl.  
 im-ku-t                                      ta=ima  
 that(ANP)-EX-ABS.pl.              unseen  
 '(once) they left, and they are gone (haven't returned)' [MM]

ii) *Interrogative or appositional head clause*: The head clause, however, can have an interrogative or an appositional verb (below), but not an indicative verb:

- (57) Nuk'aq<sub>s</sub>              unuk                      ane-llru-uq.  
 p.n.ABS.sg.              night.ABS.sg.              go.out-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'Nukaq left last night.'  
 Qaill' ≠ pi-lria-mi,  
 how              do-PTP-3Rsg.  
 ca-taic-ima-luni ~ ca-taic-ima-a?  
 anything-there.not.be-CNT-APP.3Rsg./-INT.3sg.  
 'For what reason (what did he do) is he gone (a long time)?'  
 – The bound phrase *qaill(un) ≠ pi-lria-mi* occurs frequently for asking about reasons (§ 15.2.5.1) with some concern implied.

In the following two examples, a reflexive-third person is involved in the transitive participle, i.e., *-kiini* < |-ki[+ŋa+ni| (PTP-3sg.-3Rsg.; cf. P6):

- (58) Tua=i=ll' imumek              ullag-arte-qatar-yaaqe-kiini  
 then=and              you.know              approach-quickly-IMN-but-PTP.3sg.3Rsg.  
 inerqu-llini-luku              uita-ura-a-sqe-lluku                      tua-ni.  
 warn-EVD-APP.3sg.              stay-CNT-EV-A'.ask-APP.3sg.              there-LOC  
 'Then, you know that just as he was about to rush to her, she warned him to stay put.' [QNMC 116]

- (59) Pek-cet-saag-yaaqe-kiini  
 move-A'.make-try-but-PTP.3sg.3Rsg.  
 pekc-ug-nau-nani.  
 move-DES-unable-NEG.APP.3Rsg.  
 'He tried to move it [frozen door], but it wouldn't move.' [QNMC 184–185]

Although the reflexive form is deemed better, it can be replaced by a third person participial or a converb (§ 47.6.1 below):

- (60) *Qaill' ≠ pi-lriami ~ pi-lria ~ pi-lriim*      *ila-vut<sub>s</sub>*  
 how      do-PTP.3Rsg. / PTP.3sg. / CNV      relative-ABS.1pl.sg.  
*tai-nrit-a?*  
 come-NEG-INT.3sg.  
 'For what reason has our relative not arrived? What's wrong with our  
 relative that he hasn't arrived?'  
 – implies concern about the 'relative' (something happening, misfor-  
 tune, etc.).
- (61) *Iqvar-yaaqe-lriami=gguq ~ Iqvar-yaaqe-lria=gguq ~*  
*Iqvar-yaaqe-lriim=gguq*  
 pick.berry-but-PTP.3Rsg. / PTP.3sg. / CNV=RPR  
*carrar-nek      unange-ki-li.*  
 little-ABM.pl. obtain-ASP-OPT.3sg.  
 'She is telling me she picked berries but got a little (lit., when she  
 picked berries (but...), she says, she got a little).' [EM]

The third person form with *-lria*, however, may be ambiguous, whereas a reflexive-third person form with *-lriami* is not, since the former may also mean 'he is telling me she picked berries but got a little'. Not surprisingly some speakers feel the reflexive-third person participial verb to be more closely linked with the head-clause optative verb than the third person participial verb is (so that a reflexive-third person refers back to the head-clause subject).

As mentioned above, a dependently used participial verb functions somewhat like an adverbial adjunct such as causal- or a contemporative-connective verbs (§ 50.2, § 50.8) meaning 'as, when', but it seems much closer in force to the converb *[-lyiim]* (just below) than to connective verbs.

A participial verb with a reflexive third person is attested to stand by itself with no main clause:

- (62) *Aya-lria-meng*      *im-ku-t<sub>s</sub>*      *tayima (ta=ima).*  
 leave-PTP-3Rpl.      that.ANP-EX.ABS.pl.      there.unseen  
 '(Once they have) left, they are gone (haven't returned).'

## 6. Converbs

There are two kinds of what may be called "converbs" that are apparently related to the intransitive participial marker. They do not inflect for person and have nearly no verb elaborations (including TAM). They typically stand before a main verb, but a few examples to the contrary are found; see § 47.6.2-i.

6.1. Converb 1 *|-lyiim|* ‘when, as’

This converb *|-lyiim|* form, though not inflecting for person and number, can equivalently replace the reflexive-third person participial verbs as given in § 47.5:

- (63) *Aya-lriim* / *aya-lria-mi*    *mayu-qi-li*                    *ingri-mun*.  
 leave-CNV / -PTP-3Rsg.    climb-ASP-OPT.3sg.    mountain-ALL.sg.  
 ‘When (he) left, he climbed the mountain.’

Thus, the three expressions below are quasi-equivalent ‘what’s the matter that, why, doing what, for what reason?’:

- (64) a. *qaill’ ≠ pi-lriim*            ~    *ca-lriim*            (CNV)  
 b. *qaill’ ≠ pi-lriami*            ~    *ca-lriami*            (PTP.3Rsg.) – e.g. (57)  
 c. *qaill’ ≠ pi-ami*                ~    *ca-ami*                (CNNbc.3Rsg.)  
 ‘why?’  
 – which may all be used as ignorative words together with an interrogative-mood verb, e.g. *an-yug-ta* (go.out-DES-INT.3sg.) ‘Does he want to go out?’

- (65) *Qaill’ ≠ pi-lriim ~ Ca-lriim an-yug-cit* (go.out-DES-INT.2sg.)?  
 ‘What is the matter with you (sg.) that you want to go out?’  
 – equivalent to the more frequent person-inflected *qaill’ pi-lriaten ~ ca-lriaten* (PTP.2sg.) and similar to connective *qaill’ ≠ pi-avet ~ ca-avet* (CNNbc.2sg.).

The converb *|-lyiim|* seem to be a feature of the speech of the older generation, just like the dependently used participial verbs in § 47.5, and may perhaps be heard somewhat more frequently than the participial. As it is person-free, the head-clause verb can have a subject other than the third person. It can be used for a second or a first person as well, but then the participial form would be more common.

- (66) *pi-lriim ~ pi-lriakut* (PTP.1pl.) ~ *pi-amta* (CNNbc.1pl.).

It is not certain whether the person-number free *|-lyiim|* form may have derived from a relative-case nominal participial (relative clause), or if it may be a truncated form in which the number distinction at the end is lost in reflexive-third person participial (intransitive) inflections (3Rsg. *pi-lria-mi*, 3Rpl. *pi-lria-meng*, and 3Rdu. *pi-lria-mek*), so that it has been extended to the other persons as well, so as to function as a converb.

6.2. Converb 2 *|-l̥yiani|* ‘whenever’

This converb *|-l̥yiani|*, inflectionless as well, is glossed as ‘whenever’ and it functions as the adverbial adjunct to a predicate verb. It is thus somewhat similar to constantive-connective verbs marked by *|+yaq(a)-|* (§ 50.3). (It probably is not related to the nominal participle with locative-case marking.) As such, the *|-l̥yiani|* form and the constantive-connective form share the characteristic that the predicate verb with which they work as an adverbial adjunct is frequently marked by regularity (VV *|\pm lay-|*, VV *|-tu-|*), tendency (VV *|+1cuy-|*), or negative tendency (VV *|+1cuit-|*). A predicate verb of a one-time event cannot function with this type of converb. Various moods are attested to occur in the predicate verbs – indicative, optative, and interrogative at least:

- (67) a. *Kai-lriani it'-lar-tuq.*  
 hungry-CNV enter-REG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Whenever hungry, he comes in.’  
 b. *Kai-lriani ner-ki-na / ner-ki-ci wa-ken.*  
 hungry-CNV eat-ASP-OPT.2sg. / -OPT.2pl. here-ABL  
 ‘Whenever hungry, (you) eat (from) here!’
- (68) a. *Mingqe-lriani uamuc-ug-aakut!*  
 sew-CNV waste.time-TND-IND.3sg.1pl.  
 ‘Whenever sewing, he bothers us!’ [EM]  
 b. *Mingqe-lriani uamuc-u-nril-nga!*  
 sew-CNV waste.time-TND-NEG-OPT.2sg.1sg.  
 ‘Whenever sewing, you (sg.) don’t bother me!’  
 – TND *-u(g)-* is from VVm *|+1cuy-|* (‘to tend to; wish to’) like the preceding, without which, the verb *uamute-nril-nga* [EM] would denote a one-time event and would not fit well with the converb.
- (69) *Qavarni-lriani ciin nep-li-ng-yug-ta?*  
 sleepy-CNV why noise-make-INC-TND-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Why does he (tend to) start making noises whenever (I/we am/are) sleepy?’  
 – quasi-equivalent to the constantive-connective: 1sg. *qavarni-aqama* / 1pl. *qavarni-aqa-mta* ‘whenever I am/we are sleepy’.
- (70) *Na-ni=kiq aya-lriani qanemci-ka-u-nani*  
 where-LOC=wonder leave-CNV story-FUT-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
*teki-narqe-lar-ta nuna-nun?*  
 arrive-should-CUS-INT.3sg. village-ALL.pl.  
 ‘Whenever going, when, I wonder, would anyone not have a story to tell after returning?’ [QTAS 24–26]

i) *Sentence-final converbs*: In the following two examples, the converbs come sentence-final, perhaps as afterthoughts:

(71) *Tepe-t<sub>s</sub>*                      *ner-yunaic-aaqe-ciq-ut*                      *naulluu-lriani*.  
 fish.head-ABS.pl.    eat-should.not-but-FUT-IND.3pl.    sick-CNV  
 ‘(Aged) fish-heads should not be eaten, when one is sick.’

(72) *Tan’gurrau-lriani*    *tua=i*    *mernur-naq-suit-uq*  
 boy-be-CNV                      then                      tired-NEC-never-IND.3sg.  
*ayagyua-lriani*.  
 young-CNV  
 ‘When one is a boy, one is tireless, when one is young.’ [QNMC 346]

ii) *Person reference*: A converb *[-lriani]* form, which does not inflect for person and number and does not refer to a core argument (‘one who is hungry/sleepy/is sewing’), usually (though not necessarily) implies a first or a second person. The alternative gloss ‘whenever there is hunger’ for *kai-lriani* in (67) above would be more likely to imply that someone other than the ‘one who comes in’ is ‘hungry’. Thus the reflexive-third person constantive-connective verb *kaig-aqameng* as below could not be replaced by *kai-lriani*:

(73) *Kaig-aqameng* (\*? *Kai-lriani*)    *qia-yug-tut* ~ *qia-tu-ut* ~ *qia-lar-tut*.  
 hungry-CNNwv.3Rpl.                      cry-TND/REG-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Whenever they get hungry, they cry.’ – \*? ‘when I/we/you get hungry, they cry’.

Also interesting, on the other hand, is the fact that the subject of the predicate verb has to be in either the second or the third person – cf. (74) and (75). But, if the subject is in the first person, a constantive-connective verb is used instead, as shown by the compared sentences below:

(74) *Nere-sqe-lriani*                      *qessa-lar-tuq* / *qessa-lar-tuten*.  
 eat-A'.ask-CNV                      disinclined-REG-IND.3sg./2sg.  
 ‘Whenever asked to eat, he doesn’t / you don’t feel like eating.’

cf. *Nere-sq-aqanga*                      *qessa-lar-tua*.  
 eat-A'.ask-CNNwv.3sg.1sg. disinclined-REG-IND.1sg.  
 ‘Whenever he asks me to eat, I don’t feel like eating.’

(75) *Ca-arka-li-lriani=ggem*                      *tai-li*.  
 do-VNrl.FUT-have.lots-CNV=ENC                      come-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘He comes whenever there is much to do.’ [EM]  
 – sounds more critical/resigned in tone than indicative *tai-lar-tuq* (REG-IND.3sg.). See § 49.4.1 for the optative and § 54.3.iv for the co-occurring enclitic =*ggem* and also compare with:

- cf. *Ca-arka-lir-aqavet=ggem* *tai-lii.*  
do-RCL.FUT-have.lots-CNNwn.2sg.=ENC come-OPT.1sg.  
‘I come whenever you(sg.) have much to do (the time I come is always when you have much to do).’

iii) *Distinct from relativizer*: This constantive  $|-l\dot{y}iani|$  is formally identical to a participial relative clause (VNrl) in the locative plural, as stated above, e.g. *kai-lria-ni* ‘in/with ones who are hungry’ (LOC.pl.; § 17.2.1), tempting one to directly relate the two with each other and to gloss it as a locative form (‘in/with/for/to ones who are hungry’) rather than ‘when(ever) one is hungry/whenever there is a hunger’. But I am inclined to think that the converb is distinct, in terms of actual force, from a locative-case plural relative clause. A relative clause should have a corresponding singular form (*kai-lria-mi*), whereas the converb *-lriani* in question never has  $*|-l\dot{y}iami|$ . See Miyaoka (1994a) for more discussion.

Lastly, it should be added that, while participial verbs and nominals have the suppletive variant  $|+_{1}\eta y\ddot{u}y|$  (after /t/), the converb  $|-l\dot{y}iani|$  does not ( $*|+_{1}\eta y\ddot{u}y|$ );  $|-l\dot{y}iani|$  is the only form for this converb and occurs also after stem-final /t/. Compare the converbs (76) with the participial nominals in the locative plural (77):

- (76) *assi-lriani* ‘whenever good’ –  $|asi\ddot{y}-|$  ‘to be good’ vs.  
*assiite-llriani* ‘whenever bad’ –  $|asiit-|$  ‘to be bad’; cf. *\*assiil-ngurni*.
- (77) *assi-lria-ni* ‘(at) ones who are good’ – LOC.sg. *assi-lria-mi* vs.  
*assiil-ngur-ni* ‘(at) ones who are bad’ – LOC.sg. *assiil-ngur-mi*.
- (78) *ilumun celli-naq-lar-tuq* *kesianek atu-llriani,*  
surely sharpen-NEC-REG-IND.3sg. always use-CNV  
*wa-ten kelig-luku* [*ca-mun ciima-nun=llu*]  
here-EQL scrape-APP.3sg. what-ALL.sg. stone-ALL.sg.=and  
‘surely it (knife) has to be sharpened all the time whenever using  
(being used), scraping it on something and a stone also’ [MT]

All this seems to imply that  $|-l\dot{y}iani|$ , which is verbal rather than nominal, is to be taken as a special converb with no inflection. This would not exclude the possibility, however, that the converb form, despite its now fully endowed verbal force, is not related with the nominal participle, considering that some types of the connective-mood verbs (quasi-connectives; § 50.11) have evidently come (or are partly still in the stage of transition) from deverbal nominals with a case suffix, and that a Yupik participle is, at any rate, a word sharing two functions (cf. ‘participate’).



# Chapter 48

## Interrogative mood

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There are a number of types of questions as stated (§ 5.3.1), in particular, content or informational questions (‘*wh*’-) and binary questions (‘*yes-no*’), both of which are typically characterized by a sentence-final (highest) tone rapidly falling, displaying the same intonation as declarative sentences. While binary questions are characterized by the rhetorical question |=*qaa*| (‘is that right?’ – sentence adverbial, § 53.2) and no interrogative-mood verb, content questions obligatorily contain an interrogative word (§ 15.2) and a verb that is generally in the interrogative mood (this chapter). Content questions are also possible with verbs in other moods than the interrogative – the participial (§ 47), optative (§ 49), and appositional (§ 51).

### 1. Inflection

The inflection for interrogative verbs consists of a mood marker followed by a subject person marker (intransitive), or a subject-object marker (transitive). As with the optative, the mood marker has different variants depending upon the subject person, i.e. |=*ta*-| (postconsonantal) ~ |=*ya*-| (postvocalic) for the third person and |=*ci*-| for the first and the second person, as indicated by the shaded portions in Table 47.

The third person marker is illustrated, with an interrogative word implied (‘why, when,...’):

(1)	3sg.	<i>niic</i> [+ <i>ta</i> +Ø]	>	<i>niita</i>	‘he hears?’ (e.g. with <i>ciin</i> ‘why’)
		<i>niŷi</i> [+ <i>ya</i> +Ø]	>	<i>ner’a</i>	‘he eats?’
	3pl.	<i>niic</i> [+ <i>ta</i> + <i>t</i> ]	>	<i>niitat</i>	‘they hear?’
		<i>niŷi</i> [+ <i>ya</i> + <i>t</i> ]	>	<i>ner’at</i>	‘they eat?’

The deletion of the (third-person) mood-marker initial /y/ by (P11) is accompanied by strengthening (geminating) the preceding stem, if it takes the shape of (C)VC: 3pl. |niÿi[+ya+t] > |niÿ[+yat] (P8ii.a) > |niÿyat/ *ner'at*.

- (2) 3sg.3sg. |niic[+*ta*+yu] > *niitau* 'he hears it?'  
 |niic-*tÿu*[+*ya*+yu] > *niitellruagu* 'he ate it?'

For the first and the second person markers, the /ci/-plus-apical adjustment (P13iv) applies as the non-third person mood marker |+*ci*-|: e.g.

- (3) 1pl. |niÿi[+*ci*+*ta*] > *ner'ceta* 'we (pl.) eat?'  
 2pl. |niÿi[+*ci*+*ci*] > *ner'ceci* 'you (pl.) eat?'

The initial /c/ of the marker is fricativized to /z/ (cf. P2ii.b) after a vowel if the subject is singular and, though with some fluctuation, after stems that end in a stop plus /i/ if the subject is non-singular: e.g.

- (4) 1sg. |niÿi[+*ci*+*ŋa*] > *nersia* 'I eat?'  
 2sg. |niÿi[+*ci*+*t*] > *nersit* 'you (sg.) eat?'  
 1pl. |*taqi*[+*ci*+*ta*] > *taqseta* / *taqceta* 'we(pl.) finish?'  
 2pl. |*taqi*[+*ci*+*ci*] > *taqseci* / *taqceci* 'you (pl.) finish?'

The /i/ deletion by (P8i) is blocked within the 2du.3sg. inflection |+*tÿyu*|: e.g.

- (5) 2du.3sg. |niÿi[+*ci*+*tÿyu*] > *ner'cet'gu* 'you (du.) eat it?'

The interrogative mood has no first-person subject transitive markers except for 1sg.2sg. |+*ci*+*kin*|:

- (6) *Qangvaq tange-llru-si-ken?*  
 when.PST see-PST-INT-1sg.2sg.  
 'When did I see you (sg.)?'

The gaps in the paradigm are filled with an intransitive person marker, which is extended to transitive use, without distinguishing the object number: e.g. 1sg. |+*ci*+*ŋa*| for 1sg.3sg., 1sg.3pl., and 1sg.3du.

- (7) [*Nali-at naca-t<sub>G</sub>*]<sub>P</sub> *kipuc-iiq-si-a?*  
 which-ABS.3pl.sg. hat-REL.pl. buy-FUT-INT-1sg.[3sg.]  
 'Which hat (lit., which one of the hats) shall I buy?'

Note that the interrogative [*nali-at naca-t*] is an attributive phrase with the first word (ABS.3pl.sg.) as the head, just like (26b). Although the verb *kipuc-iiq-si-a*

marks only one person, this is a transitive construction with the phrase as the object. The same verb could also be used with the plural object *nali-it* (ABS.3pl.pl.) ‘which ones (e.g. of the hats)’.

Likewise:

- (8) *Ciin kipute-llru-si-a* *nacaq / naca-k / naca-t<sub>p</sub>?*  
 why buy-PST-INT-1sg.[3sg./3du./3pl.] hat.ABS.sg./-du./-pl.  
 ‘Why did I buy the hat/hats (du.)/hats?’

The *-si-a* verb below is unmistakably intransitive, occurring with an ablative-modalis noun in the singular, dual, or plural.

- (9) *Ciin kipute-llru-si-a naca-mek / naca-gnek / naca-nek<sub>(p)</sub>?*  
 why buy-PST-INT-1sg. hat-ABM.sg./du./pl.  
 ‘Why did I buy a hat / hats(du.) / hats?’

See also § 34(110) *pi-ciq-sia*.

## 2. Content questions

In content questions, an interrogative word (phrase or clause) typically occurs in the sentence-initial position and a verb, if any, is typically in the interrogative mood, as in (10a), but can also be in the appositional – (10b), as well as (21), (22), (23) – or participial – (24b). As with other moods, tempo-aspectual specification is optional, and an interrogative-mood verb unmarked in this respect is taken as perfective or continuative.

- (10) a. *Ki-na<sub>s</sub>* *tai-ga?*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. come-INT.3sg.  
 i. ‘Who is coming (on his way)?’  
 ii. ‘Who came (and is here)?’  
 b. *Ki-na<sub>s</sub>* *tai-luni?*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. come-APP.3Rsg.  
 i. ‘Who is coming (on the way/planning)?’  
 ii. ‘Who came (and, e.g. left)?’
- (11) *Ki-na<sub>s</sub>* *tekit-a?*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. arrive-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Who has arrived?’

Table 47: Inflections for interrogative verbs

		intransitive			transitive							
		mood marker	third	sg.	pl.	du.	sg.	pl.	du.	sg.	pl.	du.
third	sg.	+ <sub>1</sub> ta-	+∅	+yu	+k̄i	+k̄y	+ŋa	+kut	+kay	+t̄in	+ci	+t̄iy
	pl.	~	+t	+tyu	+tk̄i	+tk̄y	+ŋa	+tkut	+tkay	+tȳin	+tci	+t̄t̄iy
	du.	+ya-	+y	+yn̄iyu	+yn̄iki	+yn̄ik̄y	+yŋa	+ykut	+yk+kay	+ȳȳin	+ȳtci	+ȳt̄t̄iy
subject	sg.		+ŋa									
	pl.		+ta									
	du.	+ <sub>1</sub> ci-	+nuy									+kin
second	sg.		+t	+yu	+k̄i	+k̄y	+ŋa	+kut	+kay			
	pl.		+ci	+ci+yu	+ciki	+cik̄y	+ci+ŋa	+cikut	+cikay			
	du.		+t̄y	+t̄iyu	+tiki	+tk̄y	+t̄iyŋa	+t̄iykut	+t̄iykay			

Notes on Table 47:

First person subject intransitive forms may be used for the first person subject and the third person object with no distinction in numbers.

The initial /c/ of the first- and second-person mood markers is fricativized to /z/ after a vowel if the subject is singular and, if the subject is non-singular, (though with some variance) after a stem that ends in a stop plus /i/.

See (P8i-fn. 5) for the '2du.-3sg.' marker.

See (P11) for the mood marker |+<sub>1</sub>ci-|.

See (P14i) for /i/ insertion at /Ct\_C/ and (P15ii) for /t/ > /c/.

A typical reply for this, for instance, *Nuk'aq arrived*, is made either with (a) a participial-mood verb accompanied by the reactive enclitic =*wa* (§ 54.1-i), (b) declaratively with an indicative-mood verb, or (c) with just a noun alone:

- (12) a. *Nuk'aq<sub>S</sub>=wa*            *tekite-llria*.  
           p.n.ABS.sg.=REA    arrive-PTP.3sg.  
       b. *Nuk'aq<sub>S</sub>*                *tekit-uq*.  
           p.n.ABS.sg.            arrive-IND.3sg.  
       c. *Nuk'aq(=wa)*.  
           p.n.ABS.sg.=REA.

Another type of reply to a question (13) is made without repeating a verb, that is, (14a) only by a noun or (14b) with the relational verb ('to be') instead of repeating the possessive suffix *-ngqer-* 'to have' (like *pi-ngqer-tua* IND.1sg. 'I have fish'):

- (13)    *Ca-mek*            *pi-ngqer-cit*            *tu-a-ni?*  
           what-ABM.sg. thing-have-INT.2sg. that-EX-LOC.sg.  
           'What do you (sg.) have over there?'  
  
 (14) a. *Neq-mek*.                            'Fish.'  
           fish-ABM.sg.  
       b. *Neq-ngu-uq*.                        'It is a fish.'  
           fish-be-IND.3sg.

The interrogative word in content questions may either be an adverbial adjunct ('why', 'when', 'where' – particles or not) or a core or demoted argument ('what', 'who[m]', 'which'); see § 15.2. In the latter case, not only intransitive S and monotransitive P and A, but any ditransitive T, R, or A can be put into a question with an interrogative word (with the appropriate case marking) and an interrogative-mood verb. It will be seen that a question can be made not only of various elements within a simplex-verb clause ([15]–[18]), but also within an upper-layer clause of complex transitive verb constructions with the upper-clause agent A, A',... (§ 48.2.1).

In the following example, the interrogative words are illustrated in S and P function (a) and (b), and in A and G function (c) and (d):

- (15) a. *Ki-na<sub>S</sub>*            *qaya-li-a*            *ya-a-ni?*  
           who-EX.ABS.sg. kayak-make-INT.3sg. there-EX-LOC  
           'Who is making a kayak over there?' – demonstrative root |*ij-*|  
       b. *Ki-na<sub>P</sub>*            *tange-llru-si-u*            *ya-a-ni?*  
           who-ABS.sg. see-PST-INT-2sg.3sg. there-EX-LOC  
           'Who did you (sg.) see over there?'

- c. **Ki-a<sub>A</sub>**      *qayaq-a-u*      *ma-n'a<sub>p</sub>?*  
 who-REL.sg. kayak-have.as-INT-3sg.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 'Whose kayak is this (lit., who has this as a kayak)?'
- d. [**Ki-a<sub>G</sub>**      *qaya-a*]<sub>s</sub>      *tamar-ta?*  
 who-REL.sg. kayak-ABS.3sg.sg. lost-INT.3sg.  
 'Whose kayak is lost?'

Interrogative words as demoted arguments (16) and as adverbial adjuncts (17a, b) and (18):

- (16) **Qavci-nek**      *imarmiutar-te-llru-a-t?*  
 how.many-ABM.pl. mink-catch-PST-INT-3pl.  
 'How many minks did they catch?'
- (17) a. **Qangvaq**      *nulia-n<sub>p</sub>*      *tange-llru-si-u?*  
 when.PST      wife-ABS.2sg.sg. see-PST-INT-2sg.3sg.  
 'When did you (sg.) see your wife?'
- b. **Qaku**      *ner<sup>1</sup>-ciq-se-ta?*  
 when.FUT      eat-FUT-INT-1pl.  
 'When will we eat?'
- (18) **Na-ni**      *uita-a?* ≐ *Na-ni*      *uita-luni* ≠ **pi-a?**  
 where-LOC stay-INT.3sg. where-LOC stay-APP.3Rsg. do-INT.3sg.  
 'Where does he stay?'  
 – The second is a periphrastic appositional verb (a bound phrase) articulated as /u|talú·|nìp|pia/.

An appositional-mood question may have some difference from an interrogative: a more serious vs. casual.

- (19) a. *qavci-nek*      *qimugte-r-luni?*  
 how.many-ABM.pl. dog-have-APP.3Rsg.  
 'how many dogs does he have?' – more precise (right now) or serious question, hence followed by, e.g.  
*qavci-nek=wa*      *qimugter-luni*, *tallima-nek* (five-ABM.pl.)  
 'it could be five' (a certain number as a reply)
- b. *qavci-nek*      *qimugte-ngqer-ta?* (dog-have-INT.3sg.)  
 – casual (anytime) or not so important (just for) question, hence followed by an answer with uncertainty, e.g. *qavcinek=wa*  
*qimugtengqer-ta* [MM]

The interrogative word that is obligatory in content questions may be a verb instead of a nominal or a particle, which should be in the interrogative mood:

- (20) **Ca-avet** *pata-ngnaq-vakar-cit?*  
do.what-CNNbc.2sg. hurry-CNA-ITS-INT.2sg.  
'Why are you (sg.) (trying to be) in such a hurry?'  
– § 15.2.1.1 for the verbal interrogative word.

A periphrastic construction with the prop verb *|pi-|* in the interrogative mood can replace an interrogative full verb where the content verb occurs in the appositional mood (§ 51):

- (21) **Na-ken** *tai-ga?* ≡ **Na-ken** *tai-luni* ≠  
where-ABL come-INT.3sg. where-ABL come-APP.3Rsg.  
**pi-a?**  
do-INT.3sg.  
'Where did he come from?'

The *pi-* verb forms a bound phrase with the preceding word, being articulated as /táiluni(p)pia/ in the latter.

This does not mean that an appositional interrogative verb always occurs in cosubordination with *pi-* verb, but can be independent:

- (22) *Kit-u-u-luni* 'who is he?' (who-sg.EX-be-APP.3sg.)  
*kin-ku-u-luteng* 'who are they?' (who-pl.EX-be-APP.3pl.)

Likewise, the interrogative word *|qaill(un)|* 'how' below also forms a bound phrase with the following *pi-a* ('what's wrong, what happens') serving as a marker for indirect questions ('I wonder why') – see also § 48.3:

- (23) a. **Qaill(un) ≠ pi-a** *tai-luni?*  
why≠do-INT.3sg. come-APP.3Rsg.  
'I wonder why he came over.' – articulated as /qáil|ùn|pia/ ~ /qáil|pia/  
b. **Qaill(un) ≠ pi-sit** *tai-luten?*  
why≠do-INT.2sg. come-APP.2sg.  
'I wonder why you (sg.) came over.'

The relative word order of the interrogative bound phrase (with *pi-*) 'I wonder' to the other words in a sentence does not matter: (23a) can also be *tai-luni qaill(un) ≠ pi-a?* See § 48.2.3, however.

In addition to blunt questions such as *ki-na* (who-EX.ABS.sg.) and direct ones such as *kit-u-u-sit?* (who-sg.EX-be-INT.2sg.) 'who (are you)?', the third

person may instead be used together with the nominal demonstrative *u-na* (*(u-)*) ‘this one’ to code the content question to the second person (e.g. one behind a door or over the phone). This is referred to as a “disguised person” (§ 12.2.3.5, § 32.3.2) or pretended use of the third person and may sound formal or polite:

- (24) a. *kit-u-u-ga*                      *u-na*<sub>S</sub>?  
           who-EX-be-INT.3sg.            this-EX.ABS.sg.  
       b. *kit-u-u-lria=wa*                *u-na*<sub>S</sub>?  
           who-EX-be-PTP.3sg.=REA    this-EX.ABS.sg.

Content questions may be illustrated with ditransitive verbs:

- (25) a. *Ki-a*<sub>A</sub>            *cikir-tau*            *angun*<sub>R</sub>            *akuta-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>?  
           who-REL.sg.    give-INT.3sg.3sg.    man.ABS.sg.    ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
           ‘Who gave ice cream to the man?’  
       b. *Ki-na*<sub>R</sub>            *cikir-tau*            *arna-m*<sub>A</sub>            *akuta-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>?  
           whom-EX.ABS.sg.    give-INT.3sg.3sg.    woman-REL.sg.    ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
           ‘To whom did the woman give ice cream?’  
       c. *Ca-mek*<sub>(T)</sub>        *cikir-tau*            *arna-m*<sub>A</sub>            *angun*<sub>R</sub>?  
           what-ABM.sg.    give-INT.3sg.3sg.    woman-REL.sg.    man.ABS.sg.  
           ‘What did the woman give to the man?’

An interrogative word for content questions may occur in nominal phrases – Note (a) appositive and (b) attributive phrase in the following, despite the same *kass’a-t*:

- (26) a. [*Qavcin*            *kass’a-t*]<sub>S</sub>            *tekit-a-t*?  
           how.many.ABS.pl.    white.man-ABS.pl.    arrive-INT-3pl.  
           ‘How many white men arrived?’  
       b. [*Nali-at*            *kass’a-t*]<sub>G</sub>            *aya-llru-a*?  
           which-ABS.3pl.sg.    white.man-REL.pl.    leave-PST-INT3sg.  
           ‘Which white man (i.e. which of the white men) left?’  
           – note the different functions of *kass’at* in (a) vs. (b). The construction (26b) is the same as (7).

One constituent in coordinate nominal phrases (with =*llu* ‘and’) may be a target for questioning – e.g. *X and my mother*:

- (27) *Ki-na*<sub>P</sub>=*llu*                      *tanger-sikek*            *aana-ka*<sub>P</sub>?  
           who-EX.ABS.sg.=and        see-INT.2du.3sg.    Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.  
           ‘With whom did you (du.) see my mother?’



Multiple interrogative words (e.g. ‘when and where?’) can be formed in a single question:

- (28) [**Qangvaq na-ni=llu**]      *aana-ka<sub>p</sub>*      *tange-llru-siu?*  
 when      where-LOC=and      Mo-ABS.1sg.sg. see-PST-INT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘When and where did you (sg.) see my mother?’  
 cf. *Tange-llru-aqa*      *allragni Mamteriller-mi.*  
 see-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. last.year pl.n.-LOC.sg.  
 ‘I saw her last year at Bethel.’

Co-occurrence with exclamative particle ‘I don’t know’:

- (29) *Naamell’*      **qaillun**=*wa*      *uterc-iiq-a.*  
 I.don’t.know how=REA return-FUT-INT.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know how he is coming back.’

## 2.1. In complex transitive constructions

Content questions may be formed with regard to an element in an embedded clause in complex verbs (§ 40), which cannot be done with binary questions, and with regard to a core argument or an adjunct.

Questions are formed with regard to an element in the lower (embedded) clause in (30), (31a), (32), (33b), but also in the upper clause in (31b), (33a), cf. “concatenated interrogative clauses” (§ 4.1.3.1-iii):

- (30) *Na-ni*      *uita-ni-atgu?*  
 where-LOC stay-A'.say-INT.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘Where do they [A'] say he [P=S] is staying?’  
 cf. *Na-ni*      *uita-a?*  
 where-LOC stay-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Where does he stay?’
- (31) a. **Ki-na**<sub>P=S</sub>      *tai-yuk-siu?*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg. come-A'.think-INT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Who do you (sg. [A']) think has arrived?’  
 b. **Ki-a**<sub>A'</sub>      *tai-sqe-llru-aten?*  
 who-REL.sg. come-A'.ask-INT.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘Who asked you (sg.; P=S) to come?’
- (32) *Natmur-uc-et-agnegu*      *angut-mun*<sub>(A)</sub> *irnia-qa<sub>p</sub>?*  
 where-go.to-A'.make-INT.3du.3sg. man-ALL.sg. child-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘Where do they (du.; [A']) have the man taking my child to?’

- (33) a. **Ki-a<sub>A</sub>**                    *keni-vkar-tau ~ kenir-cet-au*                    *u-na<sub>p</sub>*  
 who-REL.sg.    cook-A'.make-INT.3sg.3sg.                    this-EX.ABS.sg.  
*elpe-nun<sub>(A)</sub>?*  
 2sg.-ALL  
 'Who made you (sg.) cook this?'
- b. **Kit-u-mun<sub>(A)</sub>**                    *keni-vkar-ciu ~ kenir-cec-iu*                    *u-na<sub>p</sub>?*  
 who-EX-ALL.sg.    cook-A'.make-INT.2sg.3sg.                    this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 'Who(m) did you (sg.[A']) let cook this?'

By contrast, the following example may be ambivalent as in the translated English as to whether the question ('when') is made about the time of 'cooking' or 'making':

- (34)                    **Qangvaq**                    *keni-vka-llru-siu*                    *u-na<sub>p</sub>*  
 when.PST    cook-A'.make-PST-INT.2sg.3sg.                    this-EX.ABS.sg.  
*pani-vnun<sub>(A)</sub>?*  
 Da-ALL.2sg.sg.  
 'When did you (sg.[A']) make your (sg.) daughter cook this?'

## 2.2. Nominal clauses

A content question may be deverbalized to be embedded into a main clause with a verb 'asking', 'not knowing', etc.:

- (35)                    [*Alqa-ak*                    *na-nte-llr-ane<sub>(T)</sub>k*]<sub>(T)</sub>  
 Si-ABS.3du.sg.    where-be.at-VNnm-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*apte-llru-agpuk.*  
 ask-PST-IND.1du.3du.  
 'We (du.) asked them (du.) where their (du.) elder sister was.'
- (36) a. **Nallu-aqa**                    [*na-ken*                    *tekite-llru-llr-at*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.    where-ABM    come-PST-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.  
 'I do not know where they came from.'  
 cf. **Na-ken**                    *tekit-llru-at* (INT.3pl.)?  
 'Where did they come from?'
- by contrast, the main clause is also a question with its interrogative word in the following:
- b. **Ciin** *apt-atnga*                    [*na-ken*                    *tekite-llru-lle-mnek*]<sub>(T)</sub>?  
 why    ask-INT.3pl.1sg.    where-ABM    come-PST-VNnm-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 'Why are they asking me where I came from?'
- cf. **Na-ken** *tekite-llru-sia?* (INT.1sg.)  
 'Where did I come from?'

This kind of indirect interrogative clause may use the other nominalizer |+(u)ciŷ-| as often as |-ŷ-| – see § 18.1.5.

### 2.3. Word order

An interrogative word in content questions tends to come in the sentence-initial position, as seen above. It may, however, occur elsewhere, particularly in the second position as in the following examples:

- (37) *Kass 'a-tun*                      *ki-na<sub>s</sub>*                      *qaner-yuumiit-a?*  
 white.man-EQL.sg.    who-EX.ABS.sg.    speak-reluctant-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Who doesn’t want to speak English?’  
 – with the Russian loanword *kass 'aq* ‘white men’ means ‘English language’ with the equalis case marking.
- (38) *Ui-ma<sub>A</sub>*                      *ciin*    *Anchorage-aa-mun*                      *qetunra-qa<sub>p=s</sub>*  
 Hu-REL.1sg.sg.                      why    pl.n.-LNK-ALL.sg.                      So-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*aya-a-sq-a-u?*  
 go-EV-A'.tell-INT.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Why does my husband want my son to go to Anchorage?’
- (39) *Qimugte-m<sub>A</sub>*    [*qaill' pi-luku*]                      [*kaviar-e-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 dog-REL.sg.    how    do-APP.3sg.    fox-EV-REL.sg.  
*pamyu-a*]<sub>P</sub>                      *kep-a-u?*  
 tail-ABS.3sg.sg.                      cut.off-INT-3sg.3sg.  
 ‘How (lit. how doing on it) did the dog cut off the fox’s tail?’

### 3. Indirect (rhetorical) questions ‘I wonder’: |=kiŷ|

One type of content question is an “indirect” or “rhetorical” question characterized by the co-occurrence of the enclitic |=kiŷ| ‘I wonder’ (§ 54.2-iii) attached to the clause-initial word. It may be a kind of a soliloquy or a question of idle curiosity that need not be answered by the hearer, although it can also be a milder and less direct question to which a response is expected. See also (23) with *qaillun* ‘how’.

The enclitic |=kiŷ| ‘I wonder’ is typically added to the sentence-initial word of a content question:

- (40) [*Ca=kiq*                      *aug-na*]<sub>s</sub>                      *uqila-vakar-ta.*  
 what.ABS.sg.=RQ    go.away-DEM.EX.ABS.sg.    foot-ITS-INT.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder what is that one over there going away so fast on foot.’

- (41) *Pakem-na<sub>s</sub>=kiq*                      *kitu-u-ga*  
 up.there-EX.ABS.sg.=RQC    who-be-INT.3sg.  
*neplir-paka-lria<sub>s</sub>*.  
 make.noise-ITS-PTP.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I wonder who it could be that is making so much noise up there.’
- (42) *Nate-qva-qapig-ni=kiq*                      *tayima (ta=ima)*  
 what.part-far-ITS-LOC.sg.=RQC    existence.there  
 [*tau-na*                      *tuntuvak*]<sub>p</sub>                      *tange-llru-atgu*.  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.    moose.ABS.sg.    see-PST-INT.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder just exactly where they saw that moose.’
- (43) *Ca-mek=kiq*                      *pi-ngqer-cit*                      *tu-a-ni*.  
 what-ABM.sg.=RQC    PI-have-INT.2sg.    that-EX-LOC.sg.  
 ‘I wonder what you (sg.) have over there.’
- (44) *Qaillun=kiq*    *tai-ga*.                      ‘I wonder how he came over.’  
 how =RQC    come-IND.3sg.

#### 4. Exclamations by interrogative-mood verbs

An interrogative-mood verb expanded by the intensifying suffixes VVa (§ 41.3.2) – |+<sub>1</sub>pay-| and |+<sub>1</sub>pakay-| (cf. P2i) each with postvocalic variant |+vay-| and |+vakay-| – has an exclamative force when accompanied by an interrogative word (§ 15). The two suffixes seem to be quasi-equivalent with little difference if any.

Addition of an interrogative word, e.g. *ciin* ‘why’, to an exclamative construction as below, would make it a content question asking for a reason, e.g. ‘why have you been eating and eating?’, ‘why are you an early riser?’, etc.

i) |+<sub>1</sub>pay-|:

- (45) *nere-nqeg-pag-cit / -cia / -ta!*  
 eat-again-ITS-INT.2sg./1sg./3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) have / I have / she has been eating and eating!’
- (46) *ella-kegci-vag-ta!*                      ‘What a beautiful day!’  
 weather-have.good-ITS-INT.3sg.
- (47) *Tupag-yara-tu-vag-cit*                      *elpets!*  
 wake-early-REG-ITS-INT.2sg.    2sg.  
 ‘What an early riser you (sg.) are!’



## Chapter 49

### Optative mood

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The optative mood chiefly expresses the speaker's wish, request, or suggestion, although it also has a non-optative use (§ 49.7) with a declarative force, like the indicative (§ 46) and the participial (§ 47) moods.

A third or a first person subject optative-mood verb is used to ask for permission or consent from the addressee concerning the person, possibly with a reply, either positive or negative, being expected.

The second person optative can specifically be regarded as an imperative verb for command or prohibition. The subject should be an A or Sa argument, which typically has controllability.

Negative optatives are prohibitional.

An optative verb by itself generally sounds too direct, strong, or impolite to be used except in limited situations. A number of devices can, however, soften the effect:

a) the third person is used instead of the first or the second person (disguised person § 12.2.3.5, § 32.3.2)

b) periphrastic constructions with  $|pi-|$  verb are used (§ 49.4.2, § 51.3)

c) a number of non-inflecting words and suffixes tend to be selected by the optative mood that give different connotations to the verb, like enclitic  $=tuq$ ,

=*kin*, =*ggem*, =*gguq* (§ 54), and particle *qaa*, *ampi*, *atak(i)*, *atek*, *ikik*, *kitak(i)*, etc. (§ 53). See also |-*ki*-| (§ 49.5, § 49.7).

Inflectional morphology of the optative mood is more fluctuating and varied than the other moods, and this is partly due to personal preferences, so the full spectrum of nuances and details is beyond covering in this chapter.

### 1. Inflection

The inflection of an optative-mood verb consists of a mood marker followed either by a subject person marker if intransitive, or a subject-object marker if transitive. The mood marker differs depending upon the subject person, as is the case with the interrogative mood.

i) *Mood-marker:*

- |     |               |  |
|-----|---------------|--|
| (1) | +li-          | third person                           |
|     | +la-          | first person                           |
|     | +yi-  ~  +na- | second person – see Notes on Table 48. |

As noted in (P5ii), the stem-final apical and the initial prevocalic /l/ of the third- and first-person optative markers are reduced to voiceless /l̥/ after (P1) (as with the appositional-mood marker |+lu-|, § 51.1.1), either as an intransitive (2) or a transitive (3) – Table 48 and (P5ii.a): e.g.

- |     |          |          |                   |   |
|-----|----------|----------|-------------------|---|
| (2) | 3sg.     | +li+Ø :  | <i>tekilli</i>    | ‘may he arrive!’ –   <i>tikic</i> - .                     |
|     |          |          | <i>nerli</i>      | ‘may he eat, he should eat’ –   <i>niyi</i> - .           |
| (3) | 1sg.3sg. | +la+ku : | <i>pinrillaku</i> | ‘I’d better not do it’<br>–   <i>pi-nyit</i> -  (do-NEG). |

ii) *First-person markers.* The first-person subject intransitive inflections, 1sg. |+*lii*|, 1pl. |+*lta*|, and 1du. |+*luɣ*|, which are parenthesized in Table 48, derive from |+*la+ŋa*|, |+*la+ta*|, and |+*la+nuy*| with regular phonological adjustments (P6i, 10) or specific fusions. For the first person plural, some speakers use the deleting type |-*lta*| instead of the retaining |+*lta*|: e.g.

- |     |      |  |   |  |
|-----|------|--|---|--|
| (4) | 1pl. | <i>manay</i> + <i>lta</i>   ~   <i>manay</i> [- <i>lta</i> ] | > | <i>manaalta</i> (P4ii, P10) ~ <i>manalta</i> (P9) ‘let us fish (by hooking)’                   |
|     |      | <i>imɣ</i> + <i>lta</i>   ~   <i>imɣ</i> [- <i>lta</i> ]     | > | <i>emerelta</i> (P4ii) ~ <i>emelta</i> (P9) ‘let us drink!’                                    |
|     |      | <i>ayay</i> + <i>lta</i>   ~   <i>ayay</i> [- <i>lta</i> ]   | > | <i>ayiilta</i> (P4ii, P6i, P10) / <i>ayaalta</i> (P4ii, P10) ~ <i>ayalta</i> (P9) ‘let us go!’ |

Table 48: Optative-mood suffixes

mood marker		intransitive			transitive object								
		sg.	pl.	third	sg.	pl.	du.	sg.	pl.	du.	sg.	pl.	du.
third	sg.	+Ø	+yu	+ki	+ηa	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay
	pl.	+li-	+tyu	+tki	+ηa	+tkay	+tkay	+tkay	+tkay	+tkay	+tkay	+tkay	+tkay
	du.	+y	+yniyu	+yniki	+yηa	+ynikay	+ytkay	+ytkay	+ytkay	+ytkay	+ytkay	+ytkay	+ytkay
first	sg.	(+lii)	+ku	+ki		+kay							
	pl.	+la-	(+lta)	-put		+yput							
	du.	(+luγ)	(+ypuy)	-puy		+ypuy							
subject	sg.	+a											
		(+yi-)	+nyu	+ki	+ηa	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay	+kay
		+yu											
second	pl.	+Ø / +yi	+ci+yu	+ci+ki	+ci+ηa	+ci+kay	+ci+kay	+ci+kay	+ci+kay	+ci+kay	+ci+kay	+ci+kay	+ci+kay
	du.	+ici	+ityu	+itiki	+ityηa	+itikay	+itykay	+itykay	+itykay	+itykay	+itykay	+itykay	+itykay
		+itiy											

## Notes on Table 48

- Intransitive first person inflections given in parentheses (+lii, etc.) have the mood and person markers fused.
- See (P5ii.a) for the reduction of stem-final apical with the mood marker initial /l/ (third and first person, including fused ones) into /h/.
- The variants for '2sg.' include: |+n| after stem-final /c/, |+u| after /t/, |+a| after velar C, |+Ø| after V, |+yi| after VV – see e.g. (I1).
- The initial /y/ of '2sg – 3sg.' inflection and a stem-final velar fricative are reduced to a voiceless fricative after (P3iii).
- The '2du – 3sg.' inflection has the /i/ deletion blocked (P81-fn. 5).
- The '1pl – 3sg.' and '1du – 3sg.' are |+ypu| and |+ypuy| respectively, for some speakers.
- See § 49.1-iii for mood marker (+yi-) for second person.
- See (P14i) for /i/ insertion at /Ct C/ and (P15ii) for /t/ > /c/.



Some speakers prefer the variant without / $\dot{y}p$ / for 1pl.3sg.  $|+(\dot{y}p)ut|$  and 1du.3sg.  $|+(\dot{y}p)uy|$ : e.g.

- (5) 1pl.3sg.  $|tan\dot{x}[+la+(\dot{y}p)ut|$  > *tangerrlaut* ~ *tangerrlarput*  
 ‘let us(pl.) see it!’  
 $|pi-n\dot{y}it[+la+(\dot{y}p)ut|$  > *pinrillaut* ~ *pinrillarput*  
 ‘let’s not do it!’

Some speakers prefer the variant without / $m$ / for 1sg.2sg.  $|+(m)kin|$ :

- (6) 1sg.2sg.  $|tan\dot{x}[+la+(m)kin|$  > *tangerrlaken* ~ *tangerrlamken*  
 ‘may I see you (sg.)?’

iii) *Second-person mood marker  $|+yi-|$  and person markers*: The mood marker  $|+yi-|$  for the second-person subject occurs optionally after stems that end in a double vowel or / $i$ /, but obligatorily before 2sg.  $|+\emptyset|$  and (2sg.)3sg.  $|+_1y^*u|$  person markers. The accentuation on (C)VC stem (P11) is blocked before the second-person mood marker  $|+yi-|$ .

- (7) 2sg.  $|pai[+yi|$  > *paigi* ‘you (sg.) stay!’  
 2sg.3sg.  $|pai[+yi+_1y^*u|$  > *paigiu* ‘you (sg.) stay with him!’  
 2sg.3pl.  $|pai[(+_1y)ki|$  > *pai(gi)ki* ‘you (sg.) stay with them!’

- (8) 2sg.  $|ni\dot{y}i[+yi|$  > *neri* ‘you (sg.) eat!’ (not *\*ner’i*)  
 2sg.3sg.  $|ni\dot{y}i[+yi+_1y^*u|$  > *neriu* ‘you (sg.) eat it!’  
 cf. (18) below  
 2sg.3pl.  $|ni\dot{y}i[(+_1y)ki|$  > *neriki* ~ *ner’ki* ‘you (sg.) eat them!’  
 – with or without *yi*  
 2sg.1sg.  $|ni\dot{y}i[(+_1y)+\eta^*a|$  > *neria* ~ *nernga* ‘you (sg.) eat me!’  
 cf. P8ii, 10, 11.

- (9) 2sg.  $|pi[+\emptyset|$  > *pi* ~ *pii* ‘you (sg.) do!’  
 – often with the vowel doubled  
 2sg.3pl.  $|pi[+ki|$  > *piki* ‘you (sg.) do to them!’  
 2sg.3sg.  $|pi[+_1y^*u|$  > *piu* ‘you (sg.) do to him!’

- (10) 2sg.3sg.  $|tan\dot{x}-y\dot{i}[+_1y^*u|$  > *tangrriu* ‘you (sg.) look at him!’

Of the five variants for the intransitive second singular (2sg.) marker,  $|+n|$  occurs after stem-final / $c$ /,  $|+_1u|$  after / $t$ /,  $|+a|$  after velar consonant,  $|+\emptyset|$  after single vowel, and  $|+yi|$  after double vowel.

- (11) 2sg. a.  $|makic[+n|$  > *makten* ‘you (sg.) get up!’

- b.  $|iqlu-n\dot{y}\dot{i}t[+1u]| > iqlunrilu$  (~[HBC]  $iqlunriten$ ) ‘you (sg.) don’t lie!’
- c.  $|mayu\dot{y}[+a]| > mayua$  ‘you (sg.) climb!’  
 $|i\dot{l}ay[+a]| > elii$  ‘you (sg.) dig!’ – cf. (P6i)
- d.  $|kay\dot{i}[+\emptyset]| > kagi$  ‘you (sg.) sweep!’  
 $|ni\dot{y}\dot{i}[+\emptyset]| > neri$  ‘you (sg.) eat!’ (above)  
 – with /i/ from /i/
- e.  $|pai[+yi]| > paigi$  ‘you (sg.) stay!’ (above).

In addition, optative forms characterized by  $|-1ki-$  (perfective; § 49.5),  $|+1caqu-$  (future prohibition; § 49.6.2), and  $|+1pii-q-$  (continuative prohibition; § 49.6.3) require  $|+na-$  before a second-person subject marker: e.g.

- (12) 2sg.  $|tai+ki[+na+\emptyset]| > taikina$  ‘you (sg.) come!’  
 2pl.3pl.  $|ni\dot{y}\dot{i}+caqu[+na+ciki]| > neryaquaciki$  ‘you (pl.) don’t eat them (in future)!’

Initial /y\*/ of 2sg.3sg.  $|+1Y^*u|$  and a stem-final velar fricative are reduced to a voiceless fricative (/x/ or /x̥/) after (P3ii): e.g.

- (13) 2sg.3sg.  $|i\dot{l}ay[+Y^*u]| > elaggu$  ‘you (sg.) dig it!’  
 $|ama\dot{y}[+Y^*u]| > amarru$  ‘you (sg.) backpack it!’  
 cf.  $|ama\dot{y}-n\dot{y}\dot{i}t[+1Y^*u]| > amanrilgu$  ‘you (sg.) don’t back pack it!’

For 2du.3sg.  $|+1tiyu|$ , /i/ deletion (P8i-fn. 5) is blocked: e.g.

- (14) 2du.3sg.  $|tiyu+tiyu| > tegutegu$  ‘you (sg.) take it!’ (not \**tegutgu*).

Intervocalic velar deletion of (P10) is not blocked for /ŋ\*/ of 2sg.1sg.,  $|+1ŋ^*a|$  after the mood marker  $|+yi-$ , or after the future marker  $|-ki-$ :

- (15) 2sg.1sg.  $|mal\dot{i}yc-1ki[+ŋa]| > maligeskia$  ‘you (sg.) come with me!’  
 $|pai[(+yi)+ŋa]| > paigia$  (P10) ~ *painga* (w.o. *yi*)  
 ‘you (sg.) stay with me!’  
 cf.  $|pi[(+yi)+ŋ a]| > pinga$  ‘you (sg.) do (s.t.) to me!’

It should be noted that the intervocalic /ŋ/ is retained as in *pinga* above, thereby presumably avoiding homonymy, i.e., merging, with the IND.3sg.3sg. form from a stem with final CV̄ (see § 46.1). Compare the following pairs where the first word is repeated from just above:

- (16) OPT.2sg.1sg. |*pi*[(+*yi*)+*ηa*] >*pinga* ‘you (sg.) do (s.t.) to me!’  
 IND.3sg.3sg. |*pi*[+*yaŷ*+*ηa*] >*pia* ‘he is doing it’.
- (17) OPT.2sg.1sg. |*utaqa*[+*η*\**a*] >*utaqanga* ‘you (sg.) wait for me!’  
 IND.3sg.3sg. |*utaqa*[+*yaŷ*+*ηa*] >*utaqaa* ‘he is waiting for her’.

The 3sg. object marker |*yu*| may occur with final /*η*/ [HBC] or /*γ*/ [NS]:

- (18) 2sg.3sg. |*niŷi*[+*yi*+*y*\**u*(*η*/*γ*)]| > *neriu~neriung~neriug*  
 ‘you (sg.) eat it!’, cf. (8).

## 2. Third-person optatives

A third-person subject optative verb is used to ask for permission or consent from the addressee concerning a third person, with some reply expected, either positive or negative, or to merely express the speaker’s wish concerning the person.

- (19) a. *Irnia-qa<sub>S</sub>* *ciumek ner-li?* ‘May my child eat first?’  
 child-ABS.1sg.sg. first eat-OPT.3sg.  
 b. *Irnia-ma<sub>A</sub>* *pai-lia?* ‘May my child stay with me?’  
 child-REL.1sg.sg. stay-OPT.3sg.1sg.
- (20) *Kuv-litki* *qalta-teng<sub>P</sub>* *naparta-mun?*  
 spill-OPT.3pl.3pl. pail-ABS.3Rpl.pl. barrel-ALL.sg.  
 ‘May they spill their (own) pails into the barrel?’
- (21) *Elpet wall’u wii, un’ges-ki-li.*  
 2sg. or 1sg. remain-ASP-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘Either you or I, let *him* stay.’  
 – note the third person inflection despite the fact that the first or second person is meant to be the one who stays. See § 49.5 for *-ki-*.

### 2.1. With non-inflecting words

Some particles and enclitics occur most frequently with a third-person subject optative verb:

- (22) a. *Ikik’ tau-na<sub>S</sub>* *kaig-li!*  
 wonder that-EX.ABS.sg. hungry-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder if that one (person) is hungry!’

- b. *Ca-mek atek ner'-qer-li?*  
 what-ABM.sg. well.then eat-POL-OPT.3sg.  
 'I wonder what he should eat?'

|=*tuŷ*| 'I hope' (§ 54.2-i):

- (23) *Up'nerkar-li =tuq tamaa.*  
 spring.come-OPT.3sg.=hope soon  
 'I hope that spring comes soon.'
- (24) *Taring-litnga=tuq yug-tun*  
 understand-OPT.3pl.1sg.=hope person-EQL.sg.  
*qanr-us-kumki.*  
 speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-CNNif.1sg.3pl.  
 'I hope they understand me if I speak Eskimo to them.'  
 – The applicative VVsm |+(u)c-| > -us- and -ul- (25) below:
- (25) *Aana-ka<sub>P</sub> =tuq manar-ya-ul-liu.*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=hope fish-go.to-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.3sg.3sg.  
 'I wish he would take my mother fishing with him.'
- (26) *Maa=i=tuq tangerr-litki [aug-ku-t*  
 today=hope see-OPT.3pl.3pl. gone-EX-ABS.pl.  
*ciulia-t]<sub>P</sub> [ma-ku-t nutara-t]<sub>A</sub>.*  
 ancestor-ABS.pl. this-EX-REL.pl. new-REL.pl.  
 'I wish now these new generation people (would) learn (about) those  
 ancestors.' [FASM 32]  
 – with P argument NP standing before ANP.

The enclitic occurs also in first-person optative verbs (§ 49.3.1).

|=*yuy*| *reportative* (§ 54.4): A speaker's wish expressed by an optative verb may be delivered to the person(s) concerned by an intermediary through the use of this particle ('tell her/him/them'). Since the particle has something of a disguised person, the optative construction may be an indirect expression of the speaker's wish or hope.

- (27) a. *tai-li =gguq* ' (You) tell him to come over!  
 come-OPT.3sg.=RPR  
 b. *tai-qer-li =gguq* ' (You) tell him to come over!  
 come-ITS-OPT.3sg.=RPR

– the latter of which can imply a more specific purpose or urgency being requested than the first without the suffix VVa |=*qay*-|. See § 49.4.3.

- (28) *nere-nril-ki-li =gguq.*  
 eat-NEG-ASP-OPT.3sg.=RPR  
 ‘(You) tell him that he should not eat (in the future)!’

See § 49.6.1 below for prohibitional optatives.

### 3. First-person optatives

The first-person optative may merely express the speaker’s wishes regarding himself or ask for permission or consent from the addressee, with an answer (positive or negative) expected.

- (29) a. *Ca-lii?* ‘What shall I do?’  
 do-OPT.1sg.  
 b. *Pissu-qi-lii unuaqu?*  
 hunt-ASP-OPT.1sg.sg. tomorrow  
 ‘May I go hunting tomorrow?’  
 – see § 49.5 for the aspectual *-qi-*. Addition of the interrogative particle *qaa* to *pissu-qi-lii* conveys stronger wish for confirmation.
- (30) *Maligl-la-mtek?* ‘May I go with you (du.)?’  
 go-OPT-1sg.2du.  
 – |*maliyc-*|, cf. (P5ii.a) and Notes on Table 48 for voiceless /h/ from final apical plus mood marker initial /l/.

The dual or plural form of the first-person optative is cohortative (‘let us...’):

- (31) *Tu-a-vet arulai-!ta!* ‘Let us stop there!’  
 there-EX-ALL stop-OPT.1pl.
- (32) *Agarr-la-put neqe-tp qer’a-nun.*  
 hang-OPT-1pl.3pl. fish-ABS.pl. rack-ALL.pl.  
 ‘Let’s hang the fish on the racks!’

#### 3.1. With a non-inflecting word

|=*kin*|~ |≠ *kin*| ~ [Y] |*kina*| ‘I hope’: The enclitic/particle, with phonological difference (§ 54.2-ii), occurs mainly in a construction with a first-person subject optative verb, though it can occur with a third-person subject as well. See § 53.1.5 for the phonological difference between the variants.

- (33) a. *Aana-ka<sub>S</sub>=llu ≠ kin*                      *manar-yar-luk.*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.≠wish              fish-go.to-OPT.1du.  
 ‘I wish my mother and I could go ice fishing.’
- b. *Aana-ka<sub>P</sub>≠ kin*                      *manar-ya-ul-liu.*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.≠wish              fish-go.to-E<sub>APL</sub>-OPT.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘I wish I could take my mother ice-fishing with me.’
- (34) *Atku-u-n<sub>P</sub>≠ kin*                      *pi-k-la-ku.*  
 parka-EV-ABS.2sg.sg.≠wish              thing-have.as-OPT-1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I wish I could have your (sg.) parka.’ [YEO 132]

An optative verb with this non-inflecting word is used as a disguised request (as stated), that is, a third person subject form is used to make the reference to the first person vague or obscure, as if the speaker were referring to someone other than himself and the addressee. Compare the following pairs:

- (35) *ayag-li ≠ kin*                      /ayáyli(k)kin/              ‘I wish/hope I could go’  
 go-OPT.3sg. ≠wish

Contrastively, the enclitic  $|=tu\acute{y}|$  (§ 54.2-i), which also means ‘I hope’, does not have this disguised usage:

- (35)' *ayag-l=tuq*                      /ayáylituq/              ‘I wish/hope he goes’.  
 go-OPT.3sg.=wish

Compare the pair likewise:

- (36) a. *Patu-liu ≠ kin*                      *egaleq<sub>P</sub>.*  
 close-OPT.3sg.3sg.≠wish              window.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I wish I could close the window.’
- b. *Patu-liu=tuq*                      *egaleq<sub>P</sub>.*  
 close-OPT.3sg.3sg.=wish              window.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I hope he closes the window.’
- Patu-laku=tuq*                      *egaleq<sub>P</sub>.*  
 close-OPT.1sg.3sg.=wish              window.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I hope I will close the window.’
- (37) a. *Manar-li ≠ kin.* /manáyli(k)kin/ ~ *Manar-li (≠)kina.*  
 fish-OPT.3sg.≠wish  
 ‘I wish I could fish.’
- b. *Manar-lii=tuq.*                      ‘I hope I will fish.’  
 fish-OPT.1sg.=wish

The two are substantially the same, but (b) is a mere expression of ‘my hope’, while (a) with the disguised third person may imply that there is a lesser chance of fishing:

It could be assumed that this non-inflecting word originates from the ignorative pronoun *|ki-na|* (ABS.sg.) ‘who, someone’ (§ 15.2.2) as partly suggested by the disguised usage, although the identification is far from certain.

*|atik|* ~ *|atak|* ‘I hope’: has the same effect as *|=kin|* ~ *|≠kin(a)|* and may form an indirect question. See § 53.3-i for more examples.

- (38) *Paluqtar-mek<sub>(p)</sub> ≠ atak tangerr-luk.*  
 beaver-ABM.sg. ≠hope see-OPT.1du.  
 ‘I hope we (du.) could see a beaver.’

*|=kiy̆|* ‘I wonder’: while being used very often in interrogative-mood constructions, this enclitic can also occur in optative constructions, mainly with a first-person subject. Such a construction in an optative-mood verb, below, acts as a kind of soliloquy (‘I wonder’) and can be an indirect question, much less directly asking or addressing than an interrogative-mood verb, as in the compared:

- (39) a. *Nat-mun=kiq pi-ger-lii.*  
 where-ALL=RQC do-ITS-OPT.1sg.  
 ‘I wonder where I should go.’  
 b. *Nat-mun=kiq pi-ci-q-sia.*  
 where-ALL=RQC do-FUT-INT.1sg.[3sg.]  
 ‘I wonder where I should go [~do/put it].’

The compared sentence (b) with an interrogative verb may rather have the connotation of addressing (asking) someone, while the optative (a) implies an action mostly confined to the speaker. See § 48.3 for the indirect question with an interrogative-mood verb.

#### 4. Second-person optatives

The second-person optative is conative (‘let us –’) or imperative, requesting the addressee to initiate or control some activity (i.e., command, instruction) or not to do so (i.e., prohibition; see § 49.6 below).

- (40) *pi-ura-a / pi-ur-ci / pi-ur-tek*  
 do-CNT-OPT.2sg./2pl./2du.  
 ‘goodbye!’, lit. ‘(you [sg./pl./du.]) keep doing!’

– with VVt  $|+yuyay-|$  ‘to keep on –ing’ (§ 42.2-iii) for the phonological adjustments involved in  $|pi-yuyay-a / -ci / -tiy|$ . The most commonly used farewell. The plural form may be preferably used by some men (rather women) in uttering to a single person.

- (41) *Elic-iki*                       $[ma-ku-t$                       *tamalku-ita*  
learn-OPT.2pl.3pl.    this-EX-ABS.pl.    all-CNNst.3pl.  
*qaner-yara-t*                      *Yup'ig-ta-a-t]*<sub>p!</sub>  
speak-VVnm-ABS.pl.    Y.-pertaining-EV-ABS.pl.  
‘(You [pl.]) learn all these Yupik things (rules, saying, words)!’ –  
 $|i\text{lic}+_1\text{ciki}|$ .

Commands or prohibitions are very often expressed by appositional verbs (§ 51.4.4).

It is not common in the Yupik culture to give actual verbal commands to dogs or to call dogs by their names. The optative forms (2sg.) *aqum-i* ‘sit down!’ and *nangert-en* ‘stand up!’ might be used by some people, but probably not *ner-i* ‘eat!’ or *aq'v-i* ‘run!’, while there is a special verb  $|qalmay-|$  to refer to addressing a dog (team), as in *wa=gguq qalmar-luku qimugta<sub>p</sub>* ‘he is calling the dog by so-called *qalmaq-ing*’.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.1. With non-inflecting words

Certain enclitics and particles occur with second-person subject optative verbs to variously color commands, instructions, or prohibitions.

- (42) a. *Maqi=wa!*                       $/maqí:x^w a/$   
bathe.OPT.2sg.=ENC  
‘Well, (you [sg.]) go ahead and take a steam bath.’  
b. *Maqi ≠ taugaam!*                       $/maqi(t)tà^w y^w aam/$   
bathe.OPT.2sg.≠but  
‘(You [sg.]) take a steam bath instead!’

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1. In fact, several commands to dogs are known from some Yupik regions. The Russian priest Lonneux (undated: 40) recorded two forms as “interjections” for the Yukon dialect – *chi* ‘go to the right!’ and *haw* ‘go to the left!’, though, in my fieldnotes from the Nelson Island and the Coast area, they are for the opposite direction – *ji*  $[d̥zi]$  ~ *ci*  $[t̥si]$  ‘to the left!’ and *ha* ‘to the right!’. However, most likely these commands are loans from English teamster terms ‘gee’ (right) and ‘haw’ (left), which in turn have Northern Athabaskan origin (as some people say though Michael Krauss [p.c.] does not commit). No Native consultants have agreed that there were some set of traditionally established commands.



- (43) *Tau-na<sub>p</sub> ≠ tang*                      *taitē-ger-ru!*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg.=look              bring-ITS-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) bring that!’ – § 49.4.3 for *-ger-*  
 More natural with the attention-calling [*≠ tan*] than without.

[*≠yim*]: An optative verb construction frequently with the enclitic [*≠yim*] (§ 54.3-iv) implies that the speaker does not wish the event concerned to happen (contrary to the addressee), possibly with a tone of warning or threatening, fearing, anger, criticism, or resignation.

- (44) *Tai-qa-a=ggem ≠ atak.*                      ‘You (sg.) had better not come!’  
 come-ITS-OPT.2sg.=CTR≠hope  
 – commonly with the particle *atak*.

The enclitic may also occur with a third-person optative verb. At least for some speakers, the third person can be disguised and implicitly refer to the second person, for the effect of indirectness (§ 32.3.2). Compare the above with the following.

- (45) *Tai-ger-li=ggem ≠ atak.*                      ‘He had better not come!’  
 come-ITS-OPT.3sg.=CTR≠hope  
 – some speakers may use as a threat to a second person as well [EM].
- (46) *Ca-arka-li-lriani=ggem*                      *tai-li!*  
 do.some-VNrl.FUT-have.lots-CNV=CTR              come-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘He (~ You [sg.]) come(s) whenever there is much to do!’  
 – § 47.6.2 for converbs.

By contrast with the preceding, the following with an indicative verb cannot be used for disguised persons or any negative connotation (e.g. criticism, resignation):

- (47) *Ca-arka-li-lriani*                                      *tai-lar-tuq.*  
 do.some-VNrl-have.lots-CNV.whenever              come-REG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He comes whenever there is much to do.’

#### 4.2. Periphrastic optatives with [*pi-*]

The devices employed to make an utterance (command, instruction, or prohibition) with an optative verb softer or more indirect include a periphrastic construction consisting of an appositional verb (§ 51.3.1) and a second-person optative [*pi-*] (expletive) verb, which typically comes at the end of a sentence:

- (48) *Yug-tun*                    *atam*    *qanr-aq-luten*                    *pi-la-a!*  
 person-EQL.sg.    listen    speak-REG-APP.2sg.    PI-REG-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.], listen) speak Eskimo (regularly)!’
- (49) a. *Pissu-qi-lii*                    *unuaqu?*                    = (29b)  
 hunt-ASP-OPT.1sg.sg.                    tomorrow  
 ‘May I go hunting?’
- b. *Pissur-yu-kuvet*                    *pi-ki-na.*  
 hunt-DES-CNNif.2sg.                    PI-ASP-OPT.2sg.  
 (OR *pi-yu-kuvet*                    *pi-Ø*)  
 do-DES-CNNif.2sg.                    do-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘If you (sg.) wish to go hunting, you could go!’
- (50) *Nuya-ten<sub>p</sub>*                    *kitugg-luki*                    *pi-ki!*  
 hair-ABS.2sg.pl.                    fix-APP.3pl.                    PI-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) fix your hair!’
- (51) *Tai-gaqavet*                    *naqugg-luku*                    *irnia-n<sub>p</sub>*  
 come-CNNwn.2sg.                    put.belt-APP.3sg.                    child-ABS.2sg.sg.  
*pi-lar-ru!*  
 PI-GEN-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) put a belt on your child whenever you come!’  
 – Compare with (40) with *pi-* verb.

#### 4.3. *|-qaŷ-* optatives

An optative verb occurs very often with the intensifying suffix VVa *|-qaŷ-* for a verbal action (§ 41.3.4) (though an appositional verb as well). As such it can convey a gentler, warmer, or more polite way of asking something, but also a stronger way of issuing commands, all depending upon the context, accompanying words, or intonation. Often occurs with particles *tang*, *kitek*, *ampi* in particular.

- (52) a. *Aqume-qa-a*                    *wa-vet!*  
 sit-ITS-OPT.2sg.                    here-ALL  
 ‘(You [sg.]) sit down here!’  
 – more polite than *aqum-i* (OPT.2sg.) without the ITS suffix.
- b. *ane-nrit-qa-a*  
 go.out-NEG-ITS-OPT.2sg.  
 i. ‘please don’t go out (polite)’  
 ii. ‘don’t go out now (I have something)’  
 iii. ‘don’t go this time (as you always go)’.

- (53) a. *Ampi tai-qa-a!*  
 hurry come-ITS-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) hurry up, come!’  
 – can be a stronger request after long waiting *ampi tai-gi!* (OPT.2sg.) without the suffix. See § 53.1-i for the urging particle *ampi*.
- b. *Ampi tai-qer-ci!* (OPT.2pl.) / *tai-qer-tek!* (OPT.2du.)  
 – (a) |*tai-qay*[+a] with (P10) intervocalic velar deletion, and (b) |*tai-qay*[+ci] / |*tai-qay*[+tiy] with (P19) /a/ raising (into /i/).
- (54) *Naqugte-qer-ru irnia-np!*  
 put.belt-ITS-OPT.2sg.3sg. child-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) put a belt on your child.’  
 – see (P19) for /a/ raising for *-qer-*.

The intensifier |-qay-| may occur also in a third-person optative verb. As noted, it denotes a polite asking. However, when addressed to a second person, the form may imply the negative sense of threat or warning (‘not to V’):

- (55) *tai-qer-li an-qer-li ...*  
 come-ITS-OPT.3sg. go.out-ITS-OPT.3sg.  
 i. polite asking in comparison with *tai-li an-li* ‘may he come!’ ‘may he go out!’  
 ii. ‘(you [sg.]) better not come!’, ‘better not go out!’
- (56) *Ner-qer-liu (atak) u-na.*  
 eat-ITS-OPT.3sg.3sg. let’s.see this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 i. ‘may he eat this?’, ‘he should eat this!’  
 ii. ‘(you [sg.]) better not eat this!’ – with the enclitic =*ggem* of criticism (§ 54.3-iv).

## 5. Future optatives: |-ki-| (1)

A speaker’s wish for accomplishment or completion of a situation in (some near) future is strengthened by the aspectual suffix |-<sub>1</sub>ki-| immediately preceding an optative inflection, as illustrated in this section.

The suffix, however, also occurs in non-optative (and non-future) contexts, simply implying accomplishment, as below, and as illustrated later in this chapter (§ 49.7).

The morphological peculiarities of the suffix |-<sub>1</sub>ki-| include:

- i) The suffix occurring before different inflections:

- (57) a. 2sg. |*ayay-ki*[+na] > *ayakina* ‘(you [sg.]) leave’  
 – special ‘2sg.’ form with the mood marker, i.e. |+na|  
 (§ 49.1) followed by |+Ø|  
 2sg.3sg. |*naaqi-ki*[+yu] > *naaqekiu* ‘(you [sg.]) read it’ (cf. P10)
- b. 1pl. |*ayay-ki*[+lta] > *ayakilta* ‘let’s leave’  
 |*ayay-n̄yit-ki*[+lta] > *ayanrilkilta* ‘let’s not leave’
- c. 3pl. |*pi-ki-lit* > *pikilit* ‘they should do’  
 3sg.1sg. |*pi-ki-liŋa* > *pikilia* ‘he should do/say to me’  
 3sg.1pl. |*pi-ki-likut* > *pikilikut* ‘he should do/say to us’.

ii) Before the suffix, a morpheme-final /i/ is often deleted despite its suffix type (cf. P7ii), particularly in the Yukon:

- (58) 3sg. |*aqumi-ki*[+li+Ø] > *aqumekili* ~ *aqumkili* ‘may he sit?!’  
 |*ui-ŋi-ki*[+li+Ø] > *uingekili* ~ *uingkili*  
 ‘(I wish) she will get married!’
- 2sg. |*pi-liqi-ki*[+na] > *piliqekina* ~ *piliqkina*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) be sure to catch lots!’

iii) The postprosodic adjustment of fricative devoicing tends to occur before |-ki-|, especially among the Kuskokwim speakers:

- (59) 2sg. |*niyi-ki*[+na] > *ner’kina* ~ [K] *nerkina*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) eat!’ – (P18ii.c, 21) and § 9(11).

Future optatives are illustrated with |-<sub>1</sub>ki-|:

*first person subject:*

- (60) a. *aqum-ki-lii* ‘may I sit?’  
 sit-ASP-OPT.1sg. vs. (58) *aqum-ki-li* above  
 cf. *aqum-lii* ‘may I sit (now)?’
- b. *tuqu-ki-lii* (*ca-nrit-uq*) ‘I might as well die’  
 die-ASP-OPT.1sg. do.what-NEG-IND.3sg.
- (61) *nere-nrit-ki-lauk* ‘let’s s not eat (in future)’  
 eat-NEG-ASP-OPT.1du.3sg.
- (62) *Keni-qi-la-ku* *waniku*.  
 cook-ASP-OPT-1sg.3sg. later  
 i. ‘Let me / Can I cook it later?’  
 ii. ‘(I decided) I will cook it later (though I had not planned to).’  
 – The second reading may be characterized by a high tone on the word-initial syllable -ke-.

- (63) *Maliges-ki-la-ken?* – *Ii=i (Iiyi), maliges-ki-a.*  
 follow-ASP-OPT-1sg.2sg. yes come-ASP-OPT.2sg.1sg.  
 ‘May I go with you (sg.)?’ – ‘Yes, come with me!’
- second person subject:*
- (64) *Aqsi-luten ner-ki-na [K] / ner'-ki-na [Y].*  
 full-APP.2sg. eat-ASP-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) eat hearty!’
- (65) a. *Enr-e-tp kuig-mun eges-kuvki*  
 bone-EV-ABS.pl. river-ALL.sg. throw-CNNif.2sg.3pl.  
*wa-ten qan-qi-na, “amller-i-luci*  
 here-EQL say-ASP-OPT.2sg. be.many-INC-APP.2pl.  
*tai-ki-ci.”*  
 come-ASP-OPT.2pl.  
 ‘If you throw bones into the river, you (sg.) should say “come back in great quantities”.’ [LL] – cf. (80)
- b. *Nayir-cu-lriar-u-lria-ni murilke-ki-ci!*  
 seal-hunt-VNrl-be-VNrl-LOC.pl. alert-ASP-OPT.2pl.  
 ‘You (pl.) who are (ones who are) hunting seals should be alert!’  
 – § 27.5 for the vocative locative.
- (66) a. *tua-ten pi-ki-ki*  
 there-EQL=REA do-ASP-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘that’s the way you did them, you should do them like that!’
- b. *pi-ki-u / pi-ki-ciki pi-ci-mtun*  
 do-ASP-OPT.2sg.3sg. / 2pl.3pl. do-VNnm-EQL.1sg.  
 ‘you (sg.) should do it / you (pl.) should do them as I do!’.
- (67) *qaya-li-ki-cia wa-ten*  
 kayak-make-ASP-OPT.2pl.1sg. here-AQL  
 ‘you should make me a kayak like this!’ – |+ciŋa| with intervocalic /ŋ/ deletion.
- third person subject:*
- (68) *Uter-cu-kuni egmian aqvaqu-qi-li.*  
 return-DES-CNN if.3Rsg. immediately run-ASP-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘If he wants (to) return soon, he should run.’ (suggestion)  
 – |utiŋc+<sub>1</sub>cuy[+m]. See § 24.3.1 for the use of a relative-case form with *ugaani* and the same sentence, though with an indicative verb.
- (69) a. *tua-ten pi-ki-lia*  
 there-EQL do-ASP-OPT.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he should do to me that way’

- b. *ataam unis-ki-lia*  
 again leave-OPT.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘he should leave me *again*’ (suggestion)
- c. *tua-ten pi-ki-liki / pi-ki-litgu*  
 there-EQL do-ASP-OPT.3sg.3pl. / -OPT.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘he should do them that way’ / ‘that’s the way they should do it’
- d. *ner-ki-liu u-na<sub>p</sub>*  
 eat-ASP-OPT.3sg.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘he can eat this, this is for him to eat (nobody care)’ [EM]
- (70) *tengssuute-ngqer-ces-ki-lignegu*  
 airplane-have-A'.let-ASP-OPT.3du.3sg.  
 ‘May they(du.) let him have an airplane (in the future)!’ [YEO 27]

The aspectual marker  $|-_1ki-|$  may occur after a complex transitive suffix with the upper-layer agent:

- (71) a. *nere-vka-qi-a* ‘let me eat’  
 eat-A'.make-ASP-OPT.2sg.1sg.
- b. *angyaq<sub>S=P</sub> ceña-mec-es-ki-li*  
 boat.ABS.sg. shore-be.at-A'.make-ASP-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘can the boat (let itself) stay on shore?’ – detransitivized (reflexive) complex transitive.

See also § 47(38a) for the non-optative  $|-_1ki-|$  in a complex transitive verb.

## 6. Prohibitional optatives

The negative form of an optative verb expresses a ban or prohibition.

### 6.1. General prohibition

A second-person optative form with the general negative suffix VVn  $|-nyit-|$  expresses the prohibition of an action.

- (72) *Wa-ni aqum-ga-nril-u!*  
 here-LOC sit-STT-NEG-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘(You [2sg.]) don’t sit here!’

The negative suffix can occur before the aspectual  $|-_1ki-|$  (§ 49.5), but in first-person subject forms only:

- (73) a. *aya-nril-ki-lta* ‘let us (pl.) not go (in the future)!’  
 go-NEG-ASP-OPT.1pl.  
 b. *Nere-nril-ki-la-uk* *tepsarqe-kan.*  
 eat-NEG-ASP-OPT-1du.3sg. stink-CNNif.3sg.  
 ‘Let us (du.) not eat it (in the future) if it stinks!’

The optatives in the next two sections – “future prohibition” (§ 49.6.2) and “continuative prohibition” (§ 49.6.3) – share some morphological peculiarities. They occur only in second-person subject forms and select the mood marker |+<sub>1</sub>na-| instead of |+<sub>1</sub>y-|, followed by specific person markers of 2sg. |+<sub>1</sub>γ| and 2sg.3sg. |+<sub>1</sub>ku|, i.e. /-nak/ and /-naku/. They are partly similar to negative appositional verbs (§ 51.1.3), which are also marked by |+<sub>1</sub>na-|.

## 6.2. Future prohibition

The prohibition against future actions is marked by the suffix VV |+<sub>1</sub>caqu-|, which immediately precedes an inflection consisting of the mood marker |+<sub>1</sub>na-| plus a second-person subject marker in Table 48:

- (74) a. 2pl. |*iqlu+caqu*[+*na+ci*| *iqlu-yaqu-naci*  
 ‘(you [pl.]) don’t tell a lie (in the future)!’  
 2sg. |*iqlu+caqu*[+*na+γ*|*iqlu-yaqu-nak*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) don’t tell a lie (in the future)!’  
 2sg.1sg. |*niŷi+caqu*[+*na+ŋa*| *ner-yaqu-nii*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) don’t eat me (in the future)!’  
 2pl.3pl. |*niŷi+caqu*[+*na+ciki*| *ner-yaqu-naciki*  
 ‘(you [pl.]) don’t eat them (in the future)!’  
 2pl.3sg. |*niŷi+caqu*[+*na+ciu*| *ner-yaqu-naciu*  
 ‘(you [pl.]) don’t eat it!’  
 b. 2sg. |*ayay+piiqi+na+γ*| > /ayáxpííqṇak/ *ayag-piiq-nak*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) quit leaving!’  
 1sg. |*ayay+piiqi+na+ŋa*| > /ayáxpííqṇii/ *ayag-piiq-nii*  
 ‘I must quit going’.
- (75) 2sg.3sg. |*niŷi+caqu*[+*na+ku*| *ner-yaqu-naku*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) don’t eat it (in the future)!’  
 |*niŷi+píiq*[+*na+ku*| *ner-víiq-naku*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) don’t be eating it!’

This inflection *-naku* is identical with the one for negative APP.3sg., as in the following, formally distinguished only by the negative marker:

- (76) a. *nere-ksau-naku* (OPT.2sg.3sg.)  
 ‘(you [sg.]) not eating it [yet]; don’t eat it [repeatedly]!’  
 b. *nere-vke-naku* (APP.NEG.3sg.)  
 ‘not eating it; don’t eat it [now]!’ – cf. *ner-luku* ‘eating it’.

Both are formally distinguished by the negative marker, while the *-naku* in (a) marks the two arguments as transitive optative, while that in (b) marks the P argument as an appositional verb and is indifferent to the subject, which can be either the first, second, or reflexive-third person depending upon the head-clause subject.

The following examples contain *-naku* for the negative appositional and the future prohibition optative:

- (77) *Nutg-u-naku ayag-cec-aqu-naku!* ≙ § 51(227)  
 gun-PRV-APP.3sg. go-A'.let-PRH-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Don’t let him go (in future) without his gun!’

The following transitive (bipersonal) optative inflection of OPT.2pl.3sg. is not generally shared by the appositional, since the appositional marking is generally monopersonal:

- (78) *ner-yaqu-naciu* ‘(you [pl.]) don’t eat it [in the future]!’  
*ner-viiq-naciu* ‘(you [pl.]) don’t be eating it!’

However, some speakers, though certainly very rare, may be found to use such appositional forms as 2pl.3sg. *nere-vke-naciu* (like optative *nere-ksau-naciu*).

Future prohibition illustrated:

- (79) *Nalluyaguc-aqu-nak pingayirit-mi*  
 forget-PRH-OPT.2sg. Wednesday-LOC.sg.  
*cali-llerkar-penek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 work-VVrl.FUT-ABM.2sg.  
 ‘Don’t forget to work on Wednesday.’
- (80) [*Neqe-t enr-e-t*]<sub>P</sub> *watqapiar kuig-mun*  
 fish-ABS.pl. bone-EV-ABS.pl. never river-ALL.sg.  
*egte-qer-yaqu-naki!*  
 throw-ITS-PRH-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘You (sg.) should not throw fish bones into the river!’ [LL]



## 6.3. Continuative prohibition

Prohibitions against continuous action are marked by the suffix VV  $|+_{1}pii\dot{q}i-|$  (P2i for initial /p/), which shares the morphological peculiarities with the optative of future prohibition (§ 49.6.2): e.g.

- (81) 2pl.  $|i\eta\lambda\dot{y}+pii\dot{q}i[+na+ci|$  > *engelar-piiq-naci*  
 ‘(you [pl.]) don’t be laughing, stop laughing!’  
 2pl.3pl.  $|ni\ddot{y}i+pii\dot{q}i[+na+ciki|$  > *ner-viiq-naciki*  
 ‘(you [pl.]) quit eating them!’
- (82) 2sg.  $|i\eta\lambda\dot{y}+pii\dot{q}i[+na+y|$  > *engelar-piiq-nak*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) don’t be laughing, stop laughing!’  
 2sg.3sg.  $|ni\ddot{y}i+pii\dot{q}i[+na+ku|$  > *ner-viiq-naku*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) stop eating it!’

Continuative prohibition illustrated:

- (83) *Ataki* ( $\neq$  *tang*) *qavar-piiq-na-ci!*  
 well.then look sleep-PRH-OPT-2pl.  
 ‘(You) don’t be sleeping!, stop sleeping!’ (with some emphasis and irritation).
- (84) *Ceñā-liur-piiq-na-k* *pav-a-vet*  
 shore-deal.with-PRH-OPT-2sg. back-EX-ALL  
*nuna-mun* *tag-i!*  
 land-EX.ALL.sg. go.up-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) stop playing at the shore (that’s enough), and go back up to the land!’

Prohibitional forms marked by  $|+pii\dot{q}i-|$  may occur with first-person subjects as well (prohibition for the speaker himself):

- (85) *Tua=i* *ayag-piiq-nii.*  
 then go-PRH-OPT.1sg.  
 ‘I must stop going (as I have been going too much).’
- (86) *Ner-viiq-nii* *uquri-ng-ssiyaa-katar-tua.*  
 eat-PRH-OPT.1sg. fat-INC-too.much-IMN-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I must stop eating (since) I am going to get too fat.’

7. **Non-optative use: |-ki-| (2)**

As stated in § 49.5, an optative verb with the aspectual marker |-*ki*-| may often occur without any optative implication of wishes or commands, but rather as a narrative statement of some unexpected or unordinary situation in place of an indicative or a participial verb, and conveys some emotive increment (e.g. surprise, blaming). Often occurs with the enclitic |=*wa*| (as contrasted with the optative use).

Jacobson (1995: 403) described the function as ‘stage direction’ in stories.

*first person subject:*

- (87) a. *Aya-inanemni tanger-qi-lii yaquleg-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 way-CNNwl.1sg. see-ASP-OPT.1sg. bird-ABM.sg.  
 ‘While I was on my way, I saw a bird.’ – narrative (with a little bit of surprise)  
 – indicative *tange-llru-unga* (PST-IND.1sg.) instead would be a mere statement, while participial *tange-llru-lrianga=wa* (PTP.1sg.) is emphatic (to make the questioner believe) as a reply, e.g. to *ca-mek* (what-ABM.sg.) *pi-llru-sit* (do-PST-IND.2sg.)? ‘what did you see?’
- b. *iqva-lrianga carrar-nek unange-ke-lii*  
 pick.berry-PTP.1sg. little-ABM.pl. get-ASP-OPT.1sg.  
 ‘when I went berry picking, I got a little’ [EM]  
 cf. *iqva-lriami ... unange-ki-li* (third person).

*third person subject:*

- (88) [*Tulukaru-u-nku-k angyayagaq=llu*]<sub>s</sub>  
 raven-EV-associate-ABS.du. shrew.ABS.sg.=and  
*kainiq’-ngermek qan-qa-qsau-natek*  
 starve-CNNth.3du. speak-ITS-not.yet-APP.3Rdu.  
*uita-ura-ur̄lu-qi-lik.*  
 stay-CNT-poor-ASP-OPT.3du.  
 ‘The raven and the shrew, although they were hungry, never uttered a sound, they (poor) just sat there.’ [MTQA 14]
- (89) *Tua=i=llu=gguq amiig-mek, [ma-n’a*  
 and=RPR door-ABM.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg.  
*aurneq]<sub>s</sub> akag-luni it-qi-li.*  
 vapor.ABS.sg. roll-APP.3Rsg. enter-ASP-OPT.3sg.  
 [*Ene-m<sub>G</sub> ilu-a*]<sub>p</sub> *uiv-luku*  
 house-REL.sg. inside-ABS.3sg.sg. circle-APP.3sg.  
*avati-ikun, reach-APP.3du.=and*  
 around-PRL.3sg.sg. *tekil-lukek=llu.*  
 ‘And then a fog began creeping in from the door. It crept around the house until it reached them (the two men).’ [YQYL 8]

## 8. In bi-clausal sentences

i) *independent + optative*: An optative-mood clause is often immediately preceded by an independent-mood clause, which serves as a background for an optative expression.

- (90) *Assir-pakar-tuq* [qakem-na ella]<sub>s</sub>,  
 good-EMP-IND.3sg. outside-EX.ABS.sg. weather.ABS.sg.  
*kitab* *pissu-qer-luk*.  
 reinforcement hunt-ITS-OPT.1du.  
 ‘The weather outside is very good, *well/so* let us (du.) go hunting.’
- (91) *Ner-vakar-tua*, *u-na<sub>p</sub>* *ayag-cess-gu*.  
 eat-ITS-IND.3sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. go-let-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘(Because) I am eating too much, (so) take this away!’

ii) *optative + indicative*: with consequential |+*nauy̆*-| / |+*niay̆*-|. An optative-verb clause may often be followed by an indicative-mood clause with VVt |+*nauy̆*-| ‘so that (now)’ or |+*niay̆*-| ‘then, so that (soon, in future)’ (§ 42.2.6), expressing a desired effect or accomplishment. Of the two suffixes, the former implies more immediacy or definiteness.

- (92) *Cauyar-ciu*, *yurar-naur-tuq*.  
 drum-OPT.2pl.3sg. dance-CSQ-IND.3sg.  
 ‘(You [pl.]) drum for her, *so now* she can dance / *and now* let her dance.’
- (93) *Tais-ki-na* *cura-mek*,  
 bring-FUT-OPT.2sg. blueberry-ABM.sg.  
*akuta-li-niar-tua*.  
 ice.cream-make-CSQ-IND.1sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) bring some blueberries (in the future), *then / so that* I can make ice cream.’

See the suffixes in § 42.2 for more illustrations of the construction.

An optative-mood clause also often occurs with an appositional-mood clause (§ 51.4.4, etc.).

iii) *participial + optative*: ‘because, when’ by the participial clause with reflexive-third person subject, while the second clause (head) is characterized by non-optative |-*ki*-|, as illustrated in § 47.5.

## Chapter 50

### Connective mood

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### Connective mood

The connective mood comprises different dependent moods which, except for one (i.e. stative-connective § 50.10), are syntactically subordinate to a head clause characterized by an independent-mood verb. With the above exception, a connective-mood clause functions as an adverbial adjunct to the head clause, constituting a complex sentence with it.

The mood is contrasted in § 51-ii with the appositional mood, which is chiefly responsible for a cosubordinate clause.

The adverbial adjuncts involved can be temporal, causal, conditional, concessive proper, concessive conditional, etc., depending upon the kind of the connective-mood marker that immediately precedes the person marker (Table 49) in the verb. Use of adverbial clauses is highly productive in CAY, which is presumably correlated with the lack of subordinate conjunctions in the language such as ‘when’, ‘if’, ‘because’, etc. (as opposed to coordinate particles and enclitics; § 53.5, § 54.5).

A comparison of Table 49 with Table 22 (§ 24) will show that the intransitive connective-mood markers are exactly identical with the relative-case inflections for possessed nouns – the shaded portions in both the Tables.<sup>1</sup>

Considered to be a connective mood here for morphological reasons, the stative-connective (§ 50.10 – or “independent relative” below) is functionally closer to an appositional verb (§ 51) with its function of adnominal verbs. (§ 16.6, § 51.5).

The relative order of a connective-mood clause and its main clause is not fixed. It may stand before or after the main clause.

Due to the inflectional distinction between the third and the reflexive third person, the subject of a connective-mood (adverbial) clause may or may not be identical to that of the main clause. The object can also be shown to be identical to the main-clause subject if it is the reflexive third.

In complex sentences with a subordinate clause characterized by a connective-mood verb, the head-clause verb cannot only be in the indicative, participial, interrogative, or optative moods, but also in the appositional mood.

Connective verb clauses may occur independently without the head clause, which is, pragmatically speaking, most naturally the case. The indirective-connective (§ 50.7) has only independent use despite the fact that it is morphologically characterized by the connective person markers.

i) *Mood markers:*

causal	+ <sub>1</sub> ŋ <sup>[*]</sup> (a)-	‘because, when’ (CNNbc)
constative	+yaq(a)-	‘whenever’ (CNNwv)
precessive	+ <sub>1</sub> paiy-	‘before’ (CNNbf)
concessive	- <sub>1</sub> ŋyāy-	‘although, even if’ (CNNth)
conditional	- <sub>1</sub> k(u)-	‘if’ (CNNif)
indirective	+ <sub>1</sub> cu(a)-	‘indirectness’ (CNNid)
contemporative	-tŷ-	‘when’ (CNNwn)
simultaneous	+ŋ*inanŷ-	‘while’ (CNNwl)
stative	+Ø-	‘being in the state of’ (CNNst)
quasi-connective (CNNqs)		
1	-tŷ-  (~  -nŷ-  ~  + <sub>1</sub> vīy- ) + ALL	‘until’
2	-nŷ-  (~  -tŷ- ) + PRL / LOC	‘after’
3	-xaanŷ-  + ABM	‘since’
4	+ut-  + LOC	‘as soon as’ (1)
5	+uciŷ-  + EQL	‘as soon as’ (2)

1. This is the reason why the connective mood was once called the relative mood by some grammarians, as mentioned in § 4-fn.16.

It is obvious that many of the markers contain traces of nominal suffixes, and all of the quasi-connective markers have a deverbalization (VNrl or VNnm) followed by one of the five oblique case markers. This suggests their nominal origins, or at least that they are still in an intermediate stage from original nominals.

ii) *Reflexive third person*: Table 49 shows that a connective verb as a dependent mood has a reflexive third-person coreferential with the third-person subject of the head clause. The distinction between the third and the reflexive-third person of connective clauses is illustrated in the following examples of causal-connective verbs (CNNbc) marked by *-nga-*, with the comma (,) indicating the boundary between a subordinate and a head clause:

- 1sg.3pl. / 1sg.3Rpl.*
- (1) a. *Cikir-nga-mki*                      *mikelngu-u-t<sub>R</sub>*                      *ata-it<sub>S</sub>*  
 provide-CNNbc-1sg.3pl.    child-EV-ABS.pl.                      Fa-ABS.3pl.pl.  
*quya-ut.*  
 thankful-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Because I gave presents to the children, *their* [children’s] *fathers* are glad.’
- b. *Cikir-nga-mteng*,                      *mikelngu-u-t<sub>S</sub>*                      *quya-ut.*  
 give-CNNbc-1sg.3Rpl.    child-EV-ABS.pl.                      thankful-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Because I gave presents to the children, *they* ([children] *themselves*) are glad.’
- 3Rsg.3sg. / 3sg.3Rsg. / 3sg.3sg.*
- (2) a. *Angute-m<sub>G</sub>*    *tangrr-amiu* [K] ~ *tangerr-ngamiu* [Y]  
 man-REL.sg.    see-CNNbc.3Rsg.3sg.  
*tuntuvak<sub>P</sub>*,                      *aya-llru-uq.*  
 moose.ABS.sg.                      leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Because the man saw the moose, *he* went away.’
- b. *Angute-m<sub>G</sub>*    *tangrr-ani* [K] ~ *tangerr-ngani* [Y]    *tuntuvak<sub>P</sub>*,  
 man-REL.sg.    see-CNNbc.3sg.3Rsg.                      moose.ABS.sg.  
*aya-llru-uq.*  
 leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Because the man saw the moose, *it* went away.’
- c. *Angute-m<sub>G</sub>*    *tangrr-aku* [K] ~ *tangerr-ngaku* [Y]    *tuntuvak<sub>P</sub>*,  
 man-REL.sg.    see-CNNbc.3sg.3sg.                      moose.ABS.sg.  
*arnaq<sub>S</sub>*                      *aya-llru-uq.*  
 woman.ABS.sg.                      leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Because the man saw the moose, *the woman* went away.’

These two kinds of third person forms, the reflexive and the non-reflexive, are sometimes confused in daily speech, particularly by young bilingual speakers, not only in the causal-connective but in any connective mood, with the third person usually taking the place of the reflexive third, but not vice versa.

### 1. Inflection

The parenthesized final vowel (/a/ or /u/) of the markers – causal  $|+_{1\eta}{}^{[*]}(a)-|$ , constantive  $|+yaq(a)-|$ , conditional  $|-_1k(u)-|$ , and indirective  $|+_1cu(a)-|$  – indicates that it is deleted (together with the causal initial / $\eta$ /) before a third-person subject markers.

Intransitive person markers of this connective mood are notably identical to those of the relative-case markings (singular) for possessed nominals (Table 22). Because of this, the term “relative mood” has sometimes been used for this in Eskimo linguistics, while the stative-connective, in particular, was once referred to as “independent relative”.

It should also be mentioned that the person markers for a connective-mood verb (Table 49) are not necessarily uniform in GCY. A somewhat different set of markers could be obtained from some speakers. It also happens that one and the same person marker may have slightly different variants depending upon the kind of connective mood involved. For example, the 3pl.3Rpl. marker  $|+_{\eta}a(t)ti\eta|$  / $+_{\eta}a(c\dot{i})ti\eta|$  has as a variant  $|+_{\eta}aitt\eta|$  / $+_{\eta}aiciti\eta|$ . Some speakers, for example, may use  $|+_{\eta}aiciti\eta|$  for the concessive,  $|+_{\eta}a(c\dot{i})ti\eta|$  for the causal, constantive and conditional, and  $|+_{\eta}ati\eta|$  for the precessive connective mood.

Some markers may have two different realizations because of a different splitting of three-consonant clusters by / $\dot{i}$ / (cf. P7ii):

CNNbc.3Rdu.3sg.:  $|+mi\dot{y}niyu| \sim |+mi\dot{y}inyu|$

- (3) *kiu-nga-megnegu* ~ *kiu-nga-mgen'gu*  
 ‘because they(du.) answered him’ –  $|kiu-|$  ‘to answer’.

It was noticed among some older speakers, particularly from the Yukon, that an obscure syllable /mi/ is inserted between the verb stem and some connective markers (and sporadically elsewhere). It is likely that the syllable possesses a function that still remains to be ascertained, though a speaker suggested some focus on the subject (‘sorting it out’, ‘not others but’). Its relatedness with the suffix VVt  $|+mi-|$  ‘also, including’ (§ 41.3.5) is far from certain.

Table 49: Connective-mood person markers

	intransitive			transitive object								
	sg.	pl.	du.	sg.	pl.	du.	sg.	pl.	du.	sg.	pl.	du.
third	sg. + <i>nan</i>	+ <i>naki</i>	+ <i>nakay</i>	+ <i>nana</i>	+ <i>naka</i>	+ <i>nakut</i>	+ <i>natin</i>	+ <i>naci</i>	+ <i>natiy</i>	+ <i>nani</i>	+ <i>natin</i>	+ <i>natiy</i>
	pl. + <i>nana</i>	+ <i>naki</i>	+ <i>nakay</i>	+ <i>nana</i>	+ <i>naka</i>	+ <i>nakut</i>	+ <i>natin</i>	+ <i>naci</i>	+ <i>natiy</i>	+ <i>nani</i>	+ <i>natin</i>	+ <i>natiy</i>
	du. + <i>nayniy</i>	+ <i>nayku</i>	+ <i>naykay</i>	+ <i>nayna</i>	+ <i>nayka</i>	+ <i>naykut</i>	+ <i>naytin</i>	+ <i>nayci</i>	+ <i>naytiy</i>	+ <i>nayni</i>	+ <i>naytin</i>	+ <i>naytiy</i>
first	sg. + <i>na</i>	- <i>mki</i>	- <i>mkiy</i>				- <i>mkin</i>	- <i>mci</i>	- <i>miy</i>	- <i>mni</i>	- <i>mitij</i>	- <i>miy</i>
	pl. + <i>mta</i>	- <i>mti</i>	- <i>mtiy</i>				- <i>myin</i>	- <i>mici</i>	- <i>mitiy</i>	- <i>mtni</i>	- <i>mtitij</i>	- <i>mtiy</i>
	du. + <i>miyny</i>	+ <i>miyniyu</i>	+ <i>miynikay</i>				+ <i>miyniyin</i>	+ <i>miyici</i>	+ <i>miyitiy</i>	+ <i>miyni</i>	+ <i>miyitiy</i>	+ <i>miyitiy</i>
second	sg. + <i>pit</i>	+ <i>piki</i>	+ <i>pikay</i>	+ <i>piya</i>	+ <i>pikut</i>	+ <i>pikay</i>				+ <i>pini</i>	+ <i>pitij</i>	+ <i>pikay</i>
	pl. + <i>pici</i>	+ <i>pici+yu</i>	+ <i>picalay</i>	+ <i>pici+ya</i>	+ <i>piciikut</i>	+ <i>picalay</i>				+ <i>picipi</i>	+ <i>picitij</i>	+ <i>piciy</i>
	du. + <i>pitiy</i>	+ <i>pitiyu</i>	+ <i>pitiykay</i>	+ <i>pitiyya</i>	+ <i>pitiykut</i>	+ <i>pitiykay</i>				+ <i>pitiyini</i>	+ <i>pitiyitij</i>	+ <i>pitiykay</i>
reflexive third	sg. + <i>mi</i>	+ <i>mi+yu</i>	+ <i>mikay</i>	+ <i>mi+ya</i>	+ <i>mikut</i>	+ <i>mikay</i>	+ <i>mitin</i>	+ <i>mici</i>	+ <i>mitiy</i>			
	pl. + <i>mitij</i>	+ <i>miytyu</i>	+ <i>miytkay</i>	+ <i>miytya</i>	+ <i>miytkut</i>	+ <i>miytkay</i>	+ <i>miytyin</i>	+ <i>miyici</i>	+ <i>miyitiy</i>			
	du. + <i>miy</i>	+ <i>miyniyu</i>	+ <i>miynikay</i>	+ <i>miyniya</i>	+ <i>miynikut</i>	+ <i>miynikay</i>	+ <i>miyniyin</i>	+ <i>miynici</i>	+ <i>miynitiy</i>			

Notes to Table 49

The initial *m* of reflexive third person subject marker is replaced with *n* after the mood marker | +|*ku*-|. (P2i.b) applies to all second-person subject forms beginning with /+pi/.

See (P11) for the second-person plural marker |+*pici*-|.

See (P14i) for /i/insertion at /Ct\_C/ and (P15ii) for /t/ affrication, which is blocked in '1pl. – 3Rsg.' and '3Rpl. – 1sg.' inflections.



- (4) a. *nangnii-qatar-mi-ameng* ‘because they are about to end’  
end-IMN-??-CNNbc.3Rpl. – |*nayniit*-| ‘to end’  
b. *nangnii-qatar-mi-aqa-meng*  
‘whenever they are about to end’ – CNNwv.3Rpl.  
c. *nangnii-qatar-mi-ku-neng*  
‘if they are about to end’ – CNNif.3Rpl. See § 50.6 as to *-neng*  
(for *-meng*)  
d. *nangnii-qatar-mi-ngrer-meng*  
‘though they are about to end’ – CNNth.3Rpl.

Each mood marker shows additional peculiarities that can have slight dialect differences. They will be given at the beginning of each section.

## 2. Causal (CNNbc): ‘because, when’

A causal-connective verb marked by  $|+_{1\eta}*(a)-|$  (with no *a* for third person subject) indicates cause, reason, time (‘because, when’) for what is predicated by the head clause.

While the mood marker is  $|+_{1\eta}*(a)-|$  in the Yukon dialect, it tends to be  $|+_{1\eta}(a)-|$  in the Kuskokwim dialect. The sequence [K] / $\eta+\eta/\sim$ [Y] / $\eta^*+\eta/$  of the mood marker (with final vowel deletion plus the initial / $\eta/$  of the third-person subject marker) tends to become / $\eta/$  in the Kuskokwim dialect and / $\eta^*/$  in the Yukon):

- 3sg.
- (5) a. [K] |*cali*[ $+_{1\eta}+\eta an$ ] > |*cali*+ $\eta an$ ] > *calian* (P10) ~  
[Y] |*cali*[ $+_{1\eta^*}+\eta an$ ] > |*cali*+ $\eta^* an$ ] > *calingan* (P10-fn.7)  
‘because he worked’  
b. [K] |*paiy*[ $+_{1\eta}+\eta an$ ] > |*paiy*+ $\eta an$ ] > *pairan* (P11) ~  
[Y] |*paiy*[ $+_{1\eta^*}+\eta an$ ] > |*paiy*+ $\eta^* an$ ] > *pairngan*  
‘because he licked’  
c. [K] |*ayay*[ $+_{1\eta}+\eta an$ ] > |*ayay*+ $\eta an$ ] > *ayiin* (P6i, P10) ~  
[Y] |*ayay*[ $+_{1\eta^*}+\eta an$ ] > |*ayay*+ $\eta^* an$ ] > *ayagngan*  
‘because he left’.

3sg. 1sg.

|*pi*[ $+_{1\eta}+\eta a\eta a$ ] > |*pi*[ $+_{\eta a\eta a}$ ] > *pianga* (P10)

‘because he did (s.t.) to me’

– homonymous with indicative ‘he did (s.t.) to me’.

1sg.

- (6) [K] |*tupay*[ $+_{1\eta a}+ma$ ] > |*tupay*+ $\eta a ma$ ] (P3i) > *tupiima*

(P6i, P10) ~  
 [Y] |*tupay*[+*ɲ*\**a*+*ma*] > |*tupay*+*ɲ*\**ama*] > *tupangama*  
 ‘because I woke up’.

The mood marker (with subscript<sub>1</sub>), as in the following, fricativizes the stem-final apical but, in the Kuskokwim dialect, only the postvocalic /t/ – (c). In Yukon, the fricativized apical is deleted interconsonantly, as in (a). The weak nasal /ɲ/ is deleted, while the strong /ɲ\*/ in Yukon is retained except after a fricativized /l/ – (c):

- 3sg.
- (7) a. [K] |*ciniȳc*[+*ɲ*+*ɲan*] > |*ciniȳc*[+*ɲan*] > *ceñircan* (P11, P13iv) ~  
 [Y] |*ciniȳc*[+*ɲ*\*+*ɲan*] > |*ciniȳc*[+*ɲ*\**an*] > *ceñirngan* (P13iv, P14i) ‘because he visited’
- b. [K] |*ilic*[+*ɲ*+*ɲan*] > |*ilic*[+*ɲan*] > *elican* (P11) ~  
 [Y] |*ilic*[+*ɲ*\*+*ɲan*] > |*ilic*[+*ɲ*\**an*] > *elisngan* (P5i.b)  
 ‘because he learned’
- c. [K] |*asiit*[+*ɲ*+*ɲan*] > |*asiit*[+*ɲan*] > *assiilan* (P5i.b, P11) ~  
 [Y] |*asiit*[+*ɲ*\*+*ɲan*] > |*asiil*+*ɲ*\**an*] > *assiilngan* (P5i.b)  
 ‘because it is bad’.

Between a stem (or an expanded stem) with final /ɲi/ and the inflection-initial /ɲ/ (from mood marker and person-marker initial /ɲ/ coalesced), the schwa is strengthened by blocking of (P18ii.c) syncope (or may be deleted):

- 3pl.
- (8) a. |*aɲi*[+*ɲ*+*ɲata*]  
 big- CNNbc.3pl.  
 > |*aɲi*[+*ɲata*] > /aɲiɲ|ɲata/ *angengata* (~ /aɲ|ɲata/ *ang’ata*)  
 ‘because they are big’
- b. |*qayaȳ-li*(ȳ)-*ɲ*\**i*[+*ɲ*+*ɲata*]  
 kayak-make/have.lot-INC-CNNbc.3pl.  
 > |*qaya-li-ɲ*\**i*[+*ɲata*] > /qayá·|liɲiɲ|ɲata/ *qayalingengata*  
 (~ /qayá·|liɲá·|ta/ *qayalingata*)
- i. ‘because they are beginning to make a kayak’ – NV |-li-| ‘to make’  
 ii. ‘because they are getting many kayaks’ – NV |-liȳ-| ‘to have lots’.

An aspectual marker may occur immediately before the mood marker.

- (9) *Kamgu-umar-i-a-mi* [Y] *ane-llru-uq.*  
 put.boot-PRF-INC-CNNbc-3Rsg. go.out-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Now that he was in boots, he went out.’
- (10) *Quya-uq,* *aata-nis* *uterr-niar-a-an.*  
 thankful-IND.3sg. Fa-ABS.3Rsg.sg. return-FUT-CNNbc-3sg.

‘She is thankful since her father is coming back soon.’

A causal-connective (‘because’) mood is compared with other constructions with similar functions – a) contemporative-connective (‘when’), b) constantive-connective (‘whenever’), c) converb (§ 47.6.2), and d) appositional (§ 51.2.2-iv) – which select for different tense-aspect specifications:

- (11) *Kai-nge-nga-mi* *nere-llru-uq.*  
 hungry-INC-CNNbc-3Rsg. eat-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Because he got hungry, he ate.’
- a. *Kai-nge-ller-mini* *nere-llru-uq.*  
 hungry-INC-CNNwn-3Rsg. eat-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘When he got hungry, he ate.’
- b. *Kai-ng-aqa-mi* *ner-lar-tuq.*  
 hungry-INC-CNNwv-3Rsg. eat-CUS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Whenever he gets hungry, he eats.’
- c. *Kai-nge-iriani* *ner-lar-tuq.*  
 hungry-INC-CNV eat-CUS-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Whenever he gets hungry, he eats.’
- d. *Kai-nge-qer-luni* *ner-lar-tuq / nere-llru-uq.*  
 hungry-INC-ITS-APP.3Rsg. eat-CUS/PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Just when/as soon as he gets hungry, he eats/ate.’
- e. *Kai-ng-qan* *ner-ciq-uq.*  
 hungry-INC-CNNif.3sg. eat-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘When he gets hungry, he will eat.’

Causal-connective clauses are illustrated with a main clause in different moods, very often the appositional (14) and (15) as well as the indicative:

- (12) *Allaci-a-ma* [*ene-mek nutara-mek*],  
 be.stranger-CNNbc-1sg. house-ABM.sg. new-ABM.sg.  
*qavar-ciigat-ua unug-pak.*  
 sleep-cannot-IND.1sg. night-all.ABS.sg.  
 ‘As I am a stranger in a new house, I cannot sleep at night.’
- (13) *Maqi-yu-a-vet ≠ qaa,* *tai-guten?*  
 bathe-DES-CNNbc-2sg. ≠ QST come-IND.2sg.  
 ‘Are you (sg.) here because you (sg.) want to steam bathe?’
- (14) *Cikur-tairuc-a-n* *nutaan,* *kanaqlag-nek*  
 ice-no.longer-CNNbc-3sg. finally muskrat-ABM.pl.

*pissu-ng-luteng.*

hunting-INC-APP.3Rpl.

‘When the ice has finally gone, they begin to hunt muskrats.’

– |*nutaan*| (§ 53.4-viii).

- (15) *Tua=llu elauc-ima-ri-a-megteki aklu-it<sub>p</sub>*  
 then=and bury-PRF-INC-CNNbc-3Rpl.3pl. clothing-ABS.3pl.pl.  
*naparc-ir-luki agar-qe-lluki wall'u tama-a-vet*  
 pole-supply-APP.3pl. hang-let-APP.3pl. or that-EX-ALL  
*elaute-llr-ata qai-nganun elli-luki.*  
 bury-VNnm-REL.3pl.sg. top-ALL.3sg.sg. put-APP.3pl.  
 ‘And then when they've already buried them, they made poles and  
 hung their belongings or they put them on top of where they buried  
 (where they did the burying).’ [LL]

A causal-connective form of ignorative verb |*ca-*| ‘to do what/some’ may function as an interrogative word to inquire about reasons, as may |*pi-*| ‘to do’ used with the interrogative particle |*qaitun*| ‘how’:

- (16) *Ca-a-mi=wa* (~ *qaillun=wa pi-a-mi*)  
 do.what-CNNbc-3Rsg.=and (~ how=and do-CNNbc-3Rsg.)  
*qia-ga?*  
 cry-INT.3sg.  
 ‘And (yes, I wonder) why is she crying?’

### 3. Constantive (CNNwv): ‘whenever’

A constantive-connective verb marked by |+*yaq(a)*-| indicates constancy (‘whenever’) for what is predicated by the head clause. See § 47.6.2 for the constantive converb |*lyiani*|, which is similar in function to this connective-mood verb.

Verb-stem final /aʏ/ or /ay/ with |+*yaq(a)*-| produce two alternative forms:

- 3sg.  
 (17) a. |*atyaʏ*[+*yaq(a)*+*ʔan*] (with mood-marker-final vowel deletion) >  
*atraraqan ~ atrarqan* ‘whenever it goes down’  
 b. |*miki-siyaay*[+*yaq(a)*+*ʔan*] > *miksiyaagaqan ~ miksiyaagqan*  
 ‘whenever it is too small’ – VVa |*siyaay-*| ‘too’ (§ 41.3.5).

The second variant, characterized by the syllable contraction with /ya/ or /ya/ deletion (P18v), seems to suggest the mood marker |+*yaq(a)*-| is originally from |+*yaʏ-*|



- (24) *Upag-niarar-qa-meng* *yaqulg-e-t<sub>s</sub>* *uquri-ng-lar-tut.*  
 move-FUT-CNNwv-3Rpl. bird-EV-ABS.pl. fat-INC-REG-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Birds start getting fat soon before they begin to move south.’
- (25) *Cikuq* *aar-nari-aqa-n* *kuig-mun*  
 ice.ABS.sg. dangerous-time.to-CNNwv-3sg. river-ALL.sg.  
*atarar-cec-uite-llru-akut.*  
 go.down-A'.let-never-PST-IND.3sg.1pl.  
 ‘Whenever the ice becomes dangerous, she never lets us go down  
 toward the river.’
- (26) *En'a-ni* *wall'u* [*kuig-e-t<sub>G</sub>* *pai-ngatni*]  
 sandbars-LOC.pl. or river-EV-REL.pl. mouth-LOC.3pl.sg.  
*tekite-qa-rraar-q-ata* *yaqulg-e-t<sub>s</sub>* *yu-u-t<sub>s</sub>*  
 arrive-ITS-after-CNNwv-3pl. bird-ABS.pl. person-EV-ABS.pl.  
*pissu-lar-tut.*  
 hunt-REG-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Whenever birds first arrive on sandbars or at the river mouth, people  
 go hunt.’

Constantive |*pi-*| and |*ca-*| forms:

- (27) a. *ca-aqa-mi* ‘sometimes, whenever he/it (self; 3R.sg.) (does  
 s.t.)’  
*ca-aqa-mta iliini* ‘there are sometimes when we (do s.t.)’  
 – § 11.4.3-i) for *ili-ini* (part-LOC.3sg.sg.)
- b. *ca-qapigt-aqa-mta* ‘we very seldom’ – VVa |*-qapiyc-*|.
- (28) *pi-aq-an* ‘he/it whenever (3sg.)’  
*pi-narq-aq-an* ‘he/it whenever possible’  
 – VVsm |*-nayqi-*| (*A<sub>IMP</sub>* extension).

The following connective clause is adjunctional:

- (29) *piciryara-it* [*qaya-tgun* *atra-qatar-q-ameng*]  
 ceremony-ABS.3pl.pl. kayak-PRL.pl. descend-IMN-CNNwv-3Rpl.  
 ‘kayak launching ceremony’ [PAIT 300–301]

## 4. Precessive (CNNbf): 'before'

A precessive-connective verb marked by  $|+{}_1\text{pail}\dot{y}-|$  (P2i) indicates temporal precedence ('before') of that which is predicated by the head clause.

Phonological adjustments, more or less specific to the mood marker, include:

- (30)  $|tikic[+{}_1\text{pail}\dot{y}+\eta\text{an}] > \text{tekipailgan}$  'before he/it arrived' ( $|tikic-$ )  
 – with final apical deleted before the subscript  $_1$  (P5i)  
 $|cali[+{}_1\text{pail}\dot{y}+\eta\text{an}] > \text{calivailgan}$  'before he works' ( $|cali-$ )  
 – with mood-marker initial /p/ fricativized (P2i).
- (31) a.  $|kassay(+ta)-\eta q\dot{x}[+{}_1\text{pail}\dot{y}+\eta\text{an}] > \text{kass'a(rta)ngvailgan}$   
 'before there were white men (there)'  
 b.  $|kassay(+ta)-\eta i[+{}_1\text{pail}\dot{y}+\eta\text{an}] > \text{kass'a(rta)ngvailgan}$   
 'before the white men appeared'.

The final /q $\dot{x}$ / of suffixes NVe  $|(+ta)-\eta q\dot{x}-|$  'to have, to be there (at the time)' (§ 38.1) is commonly deleted before the mood marker and is accompanied by /p/ fricativization, albeit postconsonantly, thereby resulting in homonymy with NVe  $|(+ta)\eta^*i-$  'get (now)'.

Intransitive vs. transitive precessive-connective clauses – (32), (33) vs. (34), (35):

- (32) *Angute-t<sub>S</sub> maqi-llru-ut, ner-vaileg-meng.*  
 man-ABS.pl. bathe-PST-IND.3pl. eat-CNNbf-3Rpl.  
 'The men took a bath before they ate.'
- (33) *Yuur-paileg-ma, aata-ma<sub>A</sub> kipusvik<sub>P</sub>*  
 born-CNNbf-1sg. Fa-REL.1sg.sg. store.ABS.sg.  
*pi-ksagute-llru-a.*  
 thing-acquire-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'Before I was born, my father owned the store.'
- (34) *[Ella-m<sub>G</sub> yu-an]<sub>A</sub> nuna<sub>P</sub>*  
 world-REL.sg. person-REL.3sg.sg. land.ABS.sg.  
*patu-vailg-aku unat-minek.*  
 cover-CNNbf-3sg.3sg. hand-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
 'before the Owner of the Universe covers the land (everything – animals, fish, berries, etc.) with his hand (i.e. before the winter comes).'
- (35) *Tais-gu, ikir-paileg-pegu!*  
 bring-OPT.2sg.3sg. open-CNNbf-2sg.3sg.  
 'Bring it to me before you (sg.) open it!'  
 –  $|taiz-$  from  $|tai-c-$  'to come' with A-adding VVsm  $|+c-$  (§ 39.1.1).

## 4.1. Starting point ('since before')

Notably, the precessive marker  $|+{}_1\text{pail}\dot{y}-|$  can take what originally seems to be the case maker  $|+(\eta)\text{any}\dot{y}|$  (ABM.3sg.sg.), meaning 'since before', which occurs with the appositional verb *ayag-luni* 'starting' (3Rsg. from  $|ayay\dot{y}-|$  'to go'), just like *unug-mek* (night-ABM.sg.) *ayag-luni* 'starting from last night' – see § 25.1 and § 51.2.2-v). The form has a verbal force, however, given that in (36) the absolutive *aana-ka* occurs instead of the relative *aana-ma*, and that in (37) *igvaupailgatnek* occurs with the A argument *agayulirtet makut* and the P argument *agayumaciq* – unlike *unug-mek ayag-luni*:

- (36) [*aana-ka*<sub>S</sub>            *maqi-vailg-ane**k*]    *ayag-luni*  
Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.    bathe-CNNbf-3sg.    start-APP.3Rsg.  
'since (starting) before my mother took a bath'.
- (37) [[*Agayulirte-t*            *ma-ku-t*]<sub>A</sub>            *agayu-ma-ciq*<sub>P</sub>  
missionary-REL.pl.    this-EX-REL.pl.    worship-CNT-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
*igva-u-pailg-atnek*]                            *ayag-luni*,            *qanemci-u-gaqami*  
appear-E<sub>APP</sub>-CNNbf-ABM.3pl.sg.    go-APP.3Rsg.    talk-CNNwv-3Rsg.  
*tua=i*,    *agayu-llr-atnek*                            *qaner-naur-tut*.  
SPL    worship-VNnm-ABM.3pl.sg.    speak-CUS-IND.3pl.  
'Since before these missionaries brought Christianity, whenever there  
was story-telling, they would mention the religious ceremony.'  
[AKKL 26 (Paul John)] – § 12-fn.6 for *qanemciq*.

As such, this construction is close to the quasi-connective  $|-\dot{x}aan\dot{y}-|$  (§ 50.11.3) in particular, which may co-occur with *ayag-luni*.

## 5. Concessive (CNNth): 'though, even if'

A concessive-connective verb marked by  $|-\dot{1}\eta\dot{y}a\dot{y}-|$  indicates concession – 'although' or 'even though' – depending upon the tense-aspect of the head clause. The subscript<sub>1</sub> of the mood marker deletes or fricativizes the final /t/ but not /c/.

Compare the following:

- (38) *1pl.3sg*  
 $|apic[-\dot{1}\eta\dot{y}a\dot{y}-m\dot{t}y\dot{u}] > /\acute{a}p|t\dot{i}\eta\dot{y}\acute{a}m|t\dot{i}x\dot{u}/$  *aptengramtegg\dot{u}*  
'even though we asked him' –  $|apic-$  'to ask'  
 $|pi+{}_1cuumiit[-\dot{1}\eta\dot{y}a\dot{y}-m\dot{t}y\dot{u}] > /pi|y\dot{u}u|mi\acute{i}|li\eta\dot{y}\acute{a}m|t\dot{i}x\dot{u}/$   
*Piyuumiilengramtegg\dot{u}* 'even though we don't want to do it'  
– VVn  $|+{}_1cuumiit-$ .



The sequence /ŋyay/ of the marker becomes /ŋi/ before a consonant, with a regressive accent assigned to the preceding syllable if it is unaccented. Compare the following:

- (39) *Isg.* |niyi[-ŋyay+ma| > /niyiŋi|ma/ *nernge'rma* 'even if I eat'.  
 |igc[-ŋyay+ma| > /ix|tiŋ|ŋi|ma/ *igteng'e'rma* 'even if I fall'.
- (40) *3Rsg.* |pi[-ŋyay+mi| > /piŋ|ŋi|mi/ *ping'e'rmi* 'even if he does'.  
 |atany-u-nyi-ŋyay-mi| > /atán|yùn|yŋŋi|mi/ *atanrunring'ermi*  
 'even if he is not a chief'.

The shift of /ŋyay/ into /ŋi/ is an isolated change in GCAY particular to this concessive-connective mood, though reminiscent of the syllable contraction that is normal in the Nunivak dialect. See (P18v) with the following example:

- (41) [NUN] *átèrluni* /át|tiy|luni/ vs.  
 [GCAY] *atràrluni* /át|xày|luni/  
 – from |atxay[+luni| (go.down-APP.3Rsg.) 'he going down'.
- (42) *Cali-yuumiile-ng'e'r-ma,* *cali-ngnaq-ua.*  
 work-no.desire-CNNth-1sg. work-CNA-IND.1sg.  
 'Even if I don't want to work, I'm trying to work.'
- (43) (C)*ella-kegci-qapigte-ngra-an,* *ene-met-ukuk.*  
 weather-have.good-ITS-CNNth-3sg. house-be.at-IND.1du.  
 'Even if the weather is so beautiful, we(du.) are staying home.'
- (44) *Apte-ng'er-penga,* *kiu-sciigat-amken.*  
 ask-CNNth-2sg.1sg. answer-cannot-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 'Even if you (sg.) ask me, I cannot answer you.'
- (45) *Wangu-u-ngra-mta* *Alaska-mi,* *banana-r-tu-lar-tukut.*  
 1pl.-be-CNNth-1pl. pl.n.-LOC.sg. b.-have-GEN-IND.1pl.  
 'Even we (lit. although we are we) in Alaska eat bananas.'

VVm |+1caaqi-| 'but (actually)' may stand before the connective marker |<sub>-1</sub>ŋyay-|:

- (46) *amllerr-saaqe-ng'er-meng* 'although they are plenty'  
 plenty-but-CNNth-3Rpl.

See [FASM s17 and s24] also.

Concessive |pi-| and |ca-| forms:

- (47) *Pi-ngra-an*                      *alík-aqa*.  
do-CNNth-3sg.                      fear-IND.1sg.3sg.  
'I'm afraid of him *nevertheless* (lit. although it is).' [PAYQ]
- (48) *Ca-ngra-an*                      *pi-ngra-an*  
do.what-CNNth-3sg.                      do-CNNth-3sg.  
'whatever the case, no matter what' – cf. § 10.3.2 for the pair.

## 6. Conditional (CNNif): 'if'

A conditional-connective verb marked by  $|-_1k(u)-|$  (cf. P9) has somewhat different functions, as given below. Like the English conditional clauses (i.e., those introduced by *if*), a distinction between the conditional, hypothetical, and counterfactual situations (*see, saw, had seen*) can be made. The condition can be emphasized by the suffix VVm  $|-_1ti-$ . Other aspectual specifications can also be added by a suffix that immediately precedes the mood marker.

One peculiarity of conditional-connective verbs is that the initial /m/ of the person markers (Table 49) is replaced with /n/ if the subject is the reflexive-third person:

- (49) 3sg.  $|asiy[-_1k(u)-an| > assiqa$                       'if he/it is good'  
 $|niqi-suy-niy[-_1k(u)-an| > neqsunriqa$   
'when he is done fishing' –  $|niqi-suy-$  'fish-seek', VVn  
 $|-niy-$  'no more'.
- (50) 3Rsg.  $|ayay[-_1ku-ni| > ayakuni$                       'when/if he leaves' –  $|ayay-$   
 $|ayay-ti[-_1ku-ni| > aya-ti-kuni$   
'in case he leaves' – with VVm  $|-_1ti-$  'perhaps'  
 $|uita-uyay[-_1ku-ni| > uitaurquni$   
'if he stays' –  $|uita-$ , VVa.CNT  $|+t/y/yu(ya)y-$ .
- (51) 3Rsg.3sg.  $|atuy[-_1ku-ni+yu| > atuquniu$  'when/if he uses it' –  $|atuy-$   
 $|atuy-ti[-_1ku-ni+yu| > atu-ti-kuniu$   
'if he uses it (by the remote chance)'  
 $|uivinqix[-ku+ni|$  'if it is round'  
> a. /uivinqixkuni/ *uivenqegkuni* ~  
b. /uivinqikú ni/ *uivenqekuni*.

Phonological adjustments more or less specific to the mood marker include:

- (52) 1sg.3sg.  $|ilic[-_1ku-mku| > eliskumku$  'when/if I learn it' –  $|ilic-$   
fricativization of stem-final apical.

- (53) 3sg.3sg. |*ilic*[-<sub>1</sub>*k*+*ηaku*] > *eliskaku* 'when/if he learns it'  
 |*ilic-n̄yit*[-<sub>1</sub>*k*+*ηaku*] > *elitenrilkaku*  
 'when/if he does not learn it'  
 – VVn |*-n̄yit-*|; with deletion of final vowel /u/ of the mood marker before a third-person subject marker; see § 50.1.
- (54) 1sg. |*tayx*[-<sub>1</sub>*ku*+*ma*] > *tangerquma* ~ *tangerkuma*  
 'when/if I see' – |*tayx-*|  
 – without stem-final velar deletion (P9). Velar assimilation of (P3ii) may be blocked after final |*x*|, hence the second variant (cf. Jakobson 1998: 168).

An event or a state as the condition for that which is predicated by the head clause:

- (55) *Amik* *ciku-s-k-ani*  
 door.ABS.sg. freeze-E<sub>APL</sub>-CNNif-3sg.3Rsg.  
*ikirce-sciigac-iiq-uq.*  
 open-unable-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 'If the door freezes (if it [A<sub>IMP</sub>] freezes the door with – § 34.3), it will not open.'
- (56) *Unuaqu* (c)*ella*<sub>S</sub> *assi-qan,*  
 tomorrow weather.ABS.sg. good-CNNif-3sg.  
*arna-ts* *tamar-meng*  
 woman-ABS.pl. all-CNNst.3Rpl.  
*peksu-ssur-ciq-ut* [*angute-ts=llu* *tengmiar-cur-luteng*].  
 egg-hunt-FUT-IND.3pl. man-ABS.pl.=and bird-hunt-APP.3Rpl.  
 'If the weather is good tomorrow, all the women will go hunting for eggs, and the men will hunt for birds.'  
 – subordinate clause (connective-mood) preceding two clauses in cosubordination.

The particle |*tawaam*| modifies a conditional-connective verb, restricting the condition ('only if'):

- (57) *Taq-uma-ri-ku-ma* *taūgaam*  
 finish-PRF-become-CNNif-1sg. only  
*ullag-ciq-amken.*  
 approach-FUT-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 'I will come to you (sg.) only if (when) I finish.'  
 – Note the aspectual *-uma-ri-*.

- (58) *Maqi-ku-vet* ≠ *qaa*                      *taugaam*  
 bathe-CNNif-2sg.≠QST                      only  
*iqva-uc-iiq-erpenga?*  
 pick.berry-E<sub>APL</sub>-FUT-IND.2sg.1sg.  
 ‘Only if you (sg.) take a steam bath, will you take me berry-picking?’

A conditional-mood verb may also be used independently, implying indirectness as a means of expressing the speaker’s wish, request, or suggestion: ‘maybe/perhaps ... should, had better’, in connection with the non-inflecting word *tawaam* ‘only, but, instead’ and/or reactive  $|=wa|$  ( $\sim |≠ wa|$ ; § 54.1-i). This construction may possibly derive from an abbreviation of a word like the comparative *assi-nru-yar-tuq* ‘it would be better’ (good-CMP-would-IND.3sg.) with the same  $|+{}_1ca\dot{y}-|$ , just below.

- (59) a. *Maqi-ku-vet =wa*.  
 bathe-CNNif-2sg.=REA  
 ‘Perhaps you(sg.) had better take a steam bath (a tone of response [e.g., to an asking for permission]).’  
 b. *Maqi-ku-vet* ≠ *taugaam*.  
 ‘You (sg.) should take a steam bath.’  
 – Both are very polite means of recommendation or suggestion, possibly with the connotation of the person being undecided, although (b) may sound stronger and can also be a mere suggestion with no such connotation.

The wish may be addressed to a third person also:

- (60) *maqi-k-an* ≠ *maqi-ku-ni* *taugaam*  
 bathe-CNNif-3sg./3Rsg.                      only  
 ‘maybe he should take a steam bath’.
- (61) [*Tuma-i=wa*                      *taugaam*                      *ava-ni*]<sub>p</sub>  
 Track-ABS.3sg.pl.=REA                      but                      over.there-LOC  
*paqte-rraar-luki*                      *pi-ku-megnuk*.  
 check-first-APP.3pl.                      PI-CNNif-1du.  
 ‘Perhaps we (du.) had better go and check for its tracks over there.’  
 – periphrastic construction with  $|pi-|$  (§ 51.3.1).

The VVm suffix  $|+{}_1ca\dot{y}-|$  (§ 43) in the main-clause indicative verb refers to non-actuality (hypothetical or imaginary situation):

- (62) *Kingune-mni*                      *uita-ku-ma*,                      *ak’a*                      *pissur-yar-tua*.  
 home-LOC.1sg.sg.                      stay-CNNif-1sg.                      already                      hunt-would-IND.1sg.  
 ‘If I were staying back home, I would already be hunting.’

- (63) *Ikayu-uma-nril-ku-ma, tuquc-ar-aanga.*  
 help-PRF-NEG-CNNif.1sg. kill-would-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘If I had not been helped, he would have killed me.’
- (64) *Iga-lar-yar-an, ca-tail-q-an.*  
 write-CUS-would-IND.2sg. what-lack-CNNif.3sg.  
 ‘You would write to him if he were gone.’ [EM]

VV |+<sub>1</sub>caɣ-| preceded by VVt |-Iɣu-| (PST) in the main-clause indicative verb indicates counterfactuality or unreality at some previous time:

- (65) [*Nallu-llru-nril-kumku*  
 not.know-PST-NEG-CNNif.1sg.3sg.  
*tama-n(e)te-llr-e-n] ceñirte-llruyar-amken.*  
 there-be.at-VVnm-EV-ABS.2sg.sg. visit-would.have-IND.1sg.2sg.  
 ‘If I had known that you (sg.) were there (your being there), I would have visited you.’

## 7. Indirective (CNNid)

An indirective-connective verb marked by VV |+<sub>1</sub>cu(a)-| is unique in that it occurs only independently with no head clause of its own. It can be a mild and indirect suggestion, decision, admonishment, or – possibly – an order. The construction requires the second-position enclitic |=lu| or (for some speakers) |=li| (§ 54.2-iv).

In the Kuskokwim dialect an indirective-connective verb becomes homonymous with a causal-connective verb (marked by |+<sub>1</sub>ɲa|) with the suffix VVm |+<sub>1</sub>cuy-| ‘to wish to’.

- (66) *CNNid.2sg.* |*ani*[+*cua*+*vit*] > *anyuavet*  
 ‘could you (sg.) go out?’  
*CNNbc.2sg.* |*ani*+*cuy*[+<sub>1</sub>*ɲa*+*vit*] [K] > *anyuavet*  
 (~ |*ani*+*cuy*[+<sub>1</sub>*ɲ*\**a*+*vit*] [Y] > *anyugngavet*)  
 ‘because you (sg.) wish to go out’.

*A first or second person subject:* (66a) above is clearly more polite and indirect than, for instance, an optative verb (2sg.) *ani* ‘(you [sg.]) go out!’ often followed by attention-calling *tang*. In addition, the indirective-connective form may have the implication that there is some concern on the side of the speaker, who may be worried about a possible dispute, violence, or adversity (such as a

dying or very sick person who feels the presence of a certain person or persons to be an annoyance).

- (67) a. *Ner-yua-vgu=llu*                      *tau-na<sub>p</sub>*.  
 eat-CNNid-2sg.3sg.=ENC    that-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Why don’t you (sg.) eat that (instead)?’  
 – By contrast, the optative construction *neri-u* (OPT.2sg.3sg.) *tau-na* is too direct.
- b. *Ner-yua-mku=llu*                      *tau-na<sub>p</sub>*.  
 eat-CNNid-1sg.3sg.=ENC    that-EX.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I should eat that.’
- (68) *Amci=llu*                      *ayag-yua-mta / -vet*.  
 hurry                      leave.now-CNNid-1pl./2sg.  
 ‘Hurry (impatience), we/you (sg.) should leave now.’

An indirect suggestion or invitation through an intermediary who might deliver the message to the person concerned can be made with the reportative enclitic  $|=xuy|$  (§ 54.4):

- (69) *maqi-yu-kuvet=gguq*                      ‘they said, if you (sg.) wish to take a bath’  
 bathe-DES-CNNif-2sg.=RPR.

*A third person subject:* The indirective-connective verb may serve as the main clause verb on which another connective verb is dependent. In the following two, the indirective-connective clauses are accompanied by a subordinate clause with connective-mood verb, conditional and precessive:

- (70) *Aya-ku-neng=llu*                      *malik-su-atnga*.  
 go-CNNif-3Rpl.=ENC                      take.along-CNNid-3pl.1sg.  
 ‘If they go, I hope they take me.’ – deletion of mood-marker final /a/ before a third person subject marker.
- (71) *Maqi-yu-an=llu*                      *Nuk’aq<sub>s</sub>*,                      *unug-pailg-an*.  
 steam.bath-CNNid-3sg.=ENC                      p.n.ABS.sg.                      come-CNNbf-3sg.  
 ‘Nuk’aq also should take a steam bath before night comes.’

It is remarkable that a reflexive-third person subject form is used by some speakers to refer to a third person (just below).

*A reflexive-third person subject:*

- (72) a. *maqi-yua-mi=llu* (3Rsg.) – for (71) *maqi-yu-an=llu* (3sg.)  
 ‘He should take a steam bath’.

- b. *maqi-yua-miu=llu* (3Rsg.3sg.) – for *maqi-yu-aku=llu* (3sg.3sg.)  
‘She should give him a steam bath’.

It is at least conceivable that this use of a reflexive-third person subject form may reflect a primarily dependent use of this mood, as with other connective moods. It also is to be remembered in this connection that a conditional-connective verb, used independently, indicates indirectness in the expression of a speaker’s wish, request, or suggestion (§ 50.5).

## 8. Contemporative (CNNwn): ‘when’

A contemporative-connective verb form marked by  $|-t\dot{y}\text{-}|\sim|n\dot{y}\text{-}|$  ‘when’ indicates an event or a state at the time that the head-clause predicate occurs. The mood marker is clearly nothing other than the two nominalization markers (§ 18.2.2 and § 18.3.1.1) with interchangeability to a certain extent, though the latter as abstract nominalizer implies an unspecified action or event.

The contemporative markers  $|-t\dot{y}\text{-}|\sim|n\dot{y}\text{-}|$  in this section and the simultaneous  $|+,\eta^*inany\text{-}|$  in the following share the following morphological peculiarities:

1. Intransitive forms take a locative case inflection for possessed nouns (Table 23) as the person marker, though with some changes in suffix type.
2. Transitive forms take the connective-mood person markers (Table 49) with /ni/ inserted after /mi/ for reflexive-third person singular subject markers, though possibly with some changes.

The first peculiarity is similar to the characteristic of the quasi-connective moods (§ 50.11), possibly suggesting the nominal origin of the contemporative mood in general.

Inflected forms are illustrated by  $|-t\dot{y}\text{-}|$  with intransitive  $|ayay\text{-}|$  ‘to leave’ and monotransitive  $|tan\eta\chi\text{-}|$  ‘to see’:

- |      |                 |   |   |                                  |                               |
|------|-----------------|---|---|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (73) | <i>1sg.</i>     | $ ayay\text{-}t\dot{y}\text{-}mni $                 | > | <i>ayallemni</i>                 | ‘when I left’                 |
|      | <i>3sg.</i>     | $ ayay\text{-}t\dot{y}\text{-}\eta ani $            | > | <i>ayallrani</i>                 | ‘when he left’                |
|      | <i>3Rsg.</i>    | $ ayay\text{-}t\dot{y}\text{-}mini $                | > | <i>ayallermini</i>               | ‘when he (her/him self) left’ |
|      | <i>2sg.</i>     | $ ayay\text{-}t\dot{y}\text{-}pini $                | > | <i>ayallerpeni</i>               | ‘when you (sg.) left’.        |
| (74) | <i>1sg.3sg.</i> | $ tan\eta\chi\text{-}t\dot{y}\text{-}mku $          | > | <i>tangllemku</i>                | ‘when I saw it’               |
|      | <i>3sg.3sg.</i> | $ tan\eta\chi\text{-}t\dot{y}\text{-}\eta aku $     | > | <i>tangellraku ~ tangellragu</i> | ‘when he saw it’              |
|      |                 | $ tan\eta\chi\text{-}t\dot{y}\text{-}\eta ani+y u $ | > | <i>tangellraniu</i> [HBC.NUN.NS] | cf. 3sg. form in (73) above   |

- 3sg.1sg. |*tanx[-tj+ɲaŋa]* > *tangellranga* ‘when he saw me’  
 |*tanx[-tj+ɲani+ɲa]* > *tangellrania*  
 3sg.3Rsg. |*tanx[-tj+ɲani]* > *tangellrani*  
 ‘when he saw it (himself)’  
 3Rsg.3sg. |*tanx[-tj+mi+ni+yu]* > *tangllerminiu*  
 ‘when he (himself) saw it’  
 – some people may use 3sg.3sg. *tangellranu* (above) instead.

- (75) a. *Aya-kata-ne-mni iter-tuq.*  
 go-IMN-CNNwn-1sg. enter-IND.3sg.  
 ‘As I was about to go, he came in.’  
 b. *Aya-kata-ner-mini iru-ir-tuq.*  
 go-IMN-CNNwn-3Rsg. leg-remove-IND.3sg.  
 ‘As she was about to go, she broke her leg.’
- (76) a. *Aata-ka<sub>S</sub> nere-llr-ani, aya-llru-unga.*  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. eat-CNNwn-3sg. leave-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘When my father ate, I left.’  
 b. *Aata-ma<sub>A</sub> nere-llr-aku, aya-llru-unga.*  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. eat-CNNwn-3sg.3sg. leave-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘When my father ate it, I left.’
- (77) *Iqair-i-te-sqe-lle-mken arna-mun<sub>(A)</sub>,*  
 wash-APS-E<sub>APL</sub>-A<sup>!</sup>.ask-CNNwn-1sg.2sg. woman-ALL.sg.  
*qessa-llru-uq.*  
 lazy-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘When I asked the woman to wash for you (sg.), she didn’t want to.’

Note that the following (a and b) are connective verbs but not nominalizations (VNm in the locative), given that the *ella* is in the absolutive (instead of the relative *ella-m*):

- (78) a. *ella<sub>S</sub> yagte-llr-ani*  
 earth.ABS.sg. extend-CNNwn-3sg.  
 ‘when the earth extended its arms’ (implying bad weather) [YEEM 310]  
 b. *Im-u-mi [Tupugga-a-nku-k Iitaruaq=llu]<sub>S</sub>*  
 ANP-EX-LOC.sg. p.n.-partner-EV-ABS.du. p.n.ABS.sg.=and  
*cali-llgutke-llr-megni UAF-aami,*  
 work-partner-have.as-CNNwn-3du. p.n.-EX.LOC.sg.  
 ‘At that time Tupuggaq (Martha Teeluk) and Iitaruaq (Irene Reed) worked together at University of Alaska Fairbanks...’ [MT]



A contemporative-connective verb does not necessarily indicate the past:

- (79) *Aata-ka<sub>s</sub> quya-ug, nerr-ler-miniu ~ ner'-ller-miniu.*  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. happy-IND.3sg. eat-CNNwn-3Rsg.3sg.  
 'My father is happy when he is eating it.'
- (80) *Ner-narq-ukut piciatun pi-yu-lle-mteni.*  
 eat-must-IND.1pl. any do-DES-CNNwn-1pl.  
 'We must eat anything when we want.' [EM]
- (81) *Tuntu-t<sub>s</sub>=gguq amller-i-llr-atni*  
 reindeer-ABS.pl.=RPT many-INC-CNNwn-3pl.  
*keglunr-e-t<sub>s</sub>=llu amller-i-llru-ut.*  
 wolf-EV-ABS.pl.=and many-INC-PST-IND.3pl.  
 'When there are more reindeer, they say, there are also more wolves.'

Some people may use  $|-nỵ-|$  with the perlocative case instead of the locative:

- (82) *yu-urr-ne-mkun* 'when/at the time I was born'  
 person-become-CNNwn-1sg.  
 cf. *yu-urr-ne-mni ~ yuurte-lle-mni.*

It is not clarified at this writing what semantic difference, if any, exists between the two markers  $|-ṭỵ-|$  and  $|-nỵ-|$  of the contemporative-connective mood.<sup>2</sup>

The contemporative connective mood is sometimes found to occur as in (a) below in place of periphrastic constructions consisting of an appositional-mood verb with the  $|pi-|$  verb (b) – § 51.3.1. The following example is a slightly more expanded version of the compared single word:

- (83) a. *angya-cuara-li-ller-minia*  
 boat-small-make-CNNwn-3Rsg.1sg.  
*pi-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-sugnarqe-llru-yugnarq-aanga*  
 PI-DES-ITS-PST-NEG-but-INF-PST-INF-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 '(I'm questioning if / there is a question as to whether) he really wanted to make me a small boat (though he actually made one)'  
 – which is quasi-equivalent to:

2. It may be interesting to note, however, that CSY also has two contemporatives marked by  $|-ṭỵ-|$  and  $|-nỵ-|$ , which respectively mean 'when' and 'whenever' (Kayo Nagai, p.c.), and to remember that CAY has a separate constative-connective marked by  $|+yaq(a)-|$  'whenever' (§ 50.3). The semantic difference in CSY presumably corresponds with that between the CAY nominalizer  $|-ṭỵ-|$  (VNm – § 18.2.1) and  $|-nỵ-|$  (VNm – § 18.3.1), the latter of which implies an unspecified action or event.

- b. *angya-cuara-li-luni*  
boat-small-make-APP.3Rsg.  
*pi-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-sugnarqe-llru-yugnarq-aanga*  
do-DES-ITS-PST-NEG-CTR-INF-PST-INF-IND.3sg.1sg.
- cf. *angya-cuara-li-yu-kapigte-llru-nric-aaq-sugnarqe-llru-yugnarq-aanga*  
boat-small-make-DES-ITS-PST-NEG-CTR-INF-PST-INF-IND.3sg.1sg.  
'I'm doubtful, but actually he didn't really want to make me a small boat (but he did)' = § 4(83).

### 9. Simultaneous (CNNwl): 'while'

A simultaneous-connective verb form marked by  $|+_{1}\eta^* \text{inan}\dot{y}-|$  'while' indicates a continuative action or state during the time interval over which the head-clause predicate occurs. The marker is presumably a composite suffix from VVa  $|+_{1}\eta^* \text{inan}\dot{y}-|$  'only, just' (§ 41.3.3) and the nominalizer VNnm  $|-n\dot{y}-|$  (§ 18.3.1). The marker has an emphatic variant characterized by the doubled vowel /ii/ (below).

See § 50.8 for morphological peculiarities shared with the contemporative-connective mood.

- (84) 1sg.  $|\text{ni}\dot{y}\text{i}[+_{1}\eta^* \text{inan}\dot{y}-\text{mni}]|$  > *nernginanemni*  
'while I was eating' –  $|\text{ni}\dot{y}\text{i}-|$
- 3sg.  $|\text{ni}\dot{y}\text{i}[+_{1}\eta^* \text{inan}\dot{y}+\eta\text{ani}]|$  > *nernginanrani*  
'while he was eating'
- 1sg.3sg.  $|\text{ni}\dot{y}\text{i}[+_{1}\eta^* \text{inan}\dot{y}-\text{mku}]|$  > *nernginanemku*  
'when I was eating it'
- 3Rsg.3sg.  $|\text{ni}\dot{y}\text{i}[+_{1}\eta^* \text{inan}\dot{y}+\text{mi}+\text{ni}+\text{yu}]|$  > *nernginanerminiu*  
'when he (himself) was eating it'.

The subscript<sub>1</sub> of the mood marker fricativizes only the postvocalic apical /t/ or /c/, as illustrated with 3sg. forms:

- (85) a.  $|\text{qavay}\dot{-}n\dot{y}\text{i}\text{t}[+_{1}\eta^* \text{inan}\dot{y}+\eta\text{ani}]|$  > *qavanrilnginanrani*  
'while he was not sleeping' – VVn  $|-n\dot{y}\text{i}\text{t}-|$
- b.  $|\text{i}\text{lic}[+_{1}\eta^* \text{inan}\dot{y}+\eta\text{ani}]|$  > *elisnginanrani*  
'while he was learning'
- c.  $|\text{c}\text{ini}\dot{y}\text{c}[+_{1}\eta^* \text{inan}\dot{y}+\eta\text{ani}]|$  > *ceñirnginanrani*  
'while he was visiting' – (P5ii,iii, P8, P13iv, P14i).

The / $\eta^*$ / of the mood marker tends to become / $\eta$ / particularly in the Kuskokwim area, like causal-connective marker  $|+_{1}(a)-|$  (§ 50.2), hence the variations:

- (86) 1sg. |*ayay*[+<sub>1</sub>ŋ\*/*ŋinan*ŷ-*mni*] > *ayagnginanemni* ~ *ayainanemni*  
 ‘while I was going’  
 3sg. |*yuyay*[+<sub>1</sub>ŋ\*/*ŋinan*ŷ+*ŋani*] > *yurarnginanrani* ~ *yurainanrani*  
 ‘while he was dancing’.
- (87) *Qanaa-t-aanga* *ner-nginaner-miniu.*  
 speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg. eat-CNNwl-3Rsg.3sg.  
 ‘He is talking to me while he is eating it.’

Continuity may be emphasized by vowel doubling in the marker |+<sub>1</sub>ŋ\**iinan*ŷ-| (§ 41.3.3). Compare with (84) *nernginanrani* with single -i-:

- (88) *ner-ngiinanr-ani* ‘while he kept on eating’.

Emphasis may be further added with the VVt |+*yu*(*ya*)ŷ-| (CNT) or |(u)*ma*-| (CNT), § 42.2.3:

- (89) *ner-ura-inanr-ani* ‘while he kept on eating (and eating)’.
- (90) *ataku-qva-u-ma-inanr-ani*  
 evening-toward-be-CNT-CNNwl-3sg.  
 ‘some time toward the late evening; while it is moving toward evening’  
 – cf. NN |-(*q*)*vay*-| ‘advanced in direction or time’ (§ 11.2.3.1).

## 10. Stative (CNNst): ‘being in the state of’

As stated earlier, this connective-mood clause is not subordinate, unlike the other connective-moods that are adverbial adjuncts, and the verb functions as a non-restrictive clause only semantically, modifying to a NP in the main clause at the time of the occurrence of the clause predicates. So it is functionally closer to the appositional-mood clause verb (see § 16.6 and § 51.5 in particular) whose basic function is cosubordination. As such it can be replaced by an appositional verb (as shown in the examples below).

Stative-connective verbs are morphologically peculiar in that they have a |+Ø| mood marker, but with the same person markers as the other connective-mood verbs, and in that they do not inflect transitively, that is, the (expanded) stem is directly followed by an intransitive person marker with /ŷ/ inserted after the stem-final vowel.

The stative-connective mood occurs only with stems/roots or suffixes of a stative nature, called “independent relative bases” by Woodbury (1981: 244–249), which include:

- (91) a. postural roots: |*nay̆*-| ‘standing’, |*ikiy̆*-| ‘open’, |*inay̆*-| ‘lying’, |*quuyuy̆*-| ‘smiling’, etc. (§ 36.2)  
 b. monovalent stems (stative): |*aya*-| ‘to be hanging’, |*alakay̆*-| ‘to be separate, singled out’, |*kuma*-| ‘to be lit’, |*qavay̆*-| ‘to sleep’, etc. (§ 33.1)  
 c. suffixes (stative): VVt |*+ya*-|, |*+(u)ma*-|~|*+η(q)a*-| (§ 42.2.3), NV |*+tuuma*-| ‘together with’ (§ 38.5)  
 d. quantifiers (exhaustive): |*tama(lku)y̆*-| ‘to be all, whole’ (§ 14.10.3.1), |*kii*-| ‘to be alone, only’ (§ 14.10.4.1).

The following illustrations are given with the first person singular form:

- (92) a. *nanger-ma* ‘(while) I (am) standing’  
 b. *kii-ma* ‘I being alone’ (with no postvocalic /*y̆*/ insertion required)  
     *kii-rrar-ma* ‘just I being alone (EMP)’ – NN |*-ḡa(ya)y̆\**-|  
 c. *pilu’ug-tuuma-rma* ~ *pilugug-tuuma-rma* ‘I with boots on’ – |*piluy̆*-| ‘boot’  
     *aqum-ga-rma* ‘I sitting’ – |*aqumi*-| ‘to sit down’  
     *agtu-uma-rma* ‘I being touched’ – |*aytuḡ*-| ‘to touch’  
     *uis-nga-rma* ‘I with eyes open’ – |*uic*-| ‘to open eyes’.

*First or second person forms* – refers to the intransitive subject or the transitive object:

- (93) a. *Nere-llru-unga*      *nanger-ma*.  
 eat-PST-IND.1sg.      stand-CNNst.1sg.  
 ‘I ate, (I) standing.’  
 – equivalent to the appositional verb *nange-ngqa-lua* (APP.1sg.) with the stative suffix VVt |*-ηqa*-|  
 b. *Nere-llru-atnga*      *egturya-t<sub>A</sub>*  
 eat-PST-IND.3pl.1sg.      mosquito-REL.pl.  
*nang-yarpiar-lua*      *tamar-ma*.  
 finish-almost-APP.1sg.      all-CNNst.1sg.  
 ‘The mosquitoes ate almost all of me.’
- (94) *Allakar-pet*      *inar-e-s-ki-na*      [*kan-a-ni*  
 separate-CNNst.2sg.      lie-EV-A-ASP-OPT.2sg.      down-EX-LOC  
*nater-mi*]!  
 floor-LOC.sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) lie down apart (from the others) (postural) down on the floor!’

- (95) *Kii-vet* [ma-a-ni [ene-m<sub>G</sub> ilu-ani]]  
 alone-CNNst.2sg. this-EX-LOC house-REL.sg. inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
*pai-gi atakur-pak.*  
 stay-OPT.2sg. evening-big  
 '(You [sg.]) stay here inside the house alone all evening!'

*Third person forms* – refers to the object:

- (96) *Ina-an tarenra-ir-aqa.*  
 lie-CNNst.3sg. image-PRV-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I took his picture as he lay.'  
 cf. *ina-ngqa-luku* (APP.3sg.).
- (97) *Allayu-an tange-llru-aqa akwaugaq.*  
 unusual-CNNst.3sg. see-PST-IND.1sg.3sg. yesterday  
 'I saw him abnormal (not himself) yesterday.'  
 cf. *allay*<sup>f</sup> *uu-luku* (APP.3sg.) – |a<sub>l</sub>ayu-u-|.
- (98) *Neqa<sub>p</sub> ii-tuuma-an ner-aa.*  
 fish.ABS.sg. eye-together-CNNst.3sg. eat-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'He is eating the fish including the eye.'
- (99) *Tangrr-aat=gguq akwaugaq kii-ngan.*  
 see-IND.3pl.3sg.=RPT yesterday only-CNNst.3sg.  
 i. 'They saw him only yesterday, they say.'  
 ii. 'He was the only one they saw, they say.'  
 cf. *kii-me-naku* (alone-be.at-APP.3sg.), with locative verb NV  
 |-mit-| (§ 27.8).  
 – By contrast the 3Rsg. *kii-mi* is used independently in the following,  
 where the comma reflects the functional similarity with appositional  
 verb.  
 cf. *Tangrr-aat=gguq akwaugaq, kii-mi.*  
 see-IND.3pl.3sg.=RPT yesterday alone-CNNst.3Rsg.  
 'They saw him (and he was) alone yesterday, they say.'  
 cf. *kiime-nani* (APP.3Rsg.).
- (100) *Neqe-t<sub>p</sub> kii-ngita ner-ai.*  
 fish-ABS.pl. only-CNNst.3pl. eat-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 'He ate the fish(pl.) only.'

*Reflexive-third person form* – refers to the subject of the head clause:

- (101) a. *Quuyur-mi*                      *tangvag-aanga*.  
 smile-CNNst.3Rsg.    see-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘(He) smiling, he is looking at me.’
- b. *Ciug-mi*                              *yu-u-guq*.  
 head.up-CNNst.3Rsg.    person-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He lives with his head tilted up (in an arrogant way, ignoring others).’  
 cf. *ciug-nga-luni* (STT-APP.3Rsg.).
- (102) *Kamilar-pallur-meng*              *kiag-mi*  
 barefoot-mostly-CNNst.3Rpl.    summer-LOC.sg.  
*pekt-aq-luteng*                              *yu-u-ts*                      *tua=i*.  
 move.around-GEN-APP.3Rpl.    person-EV-ABS.pl    SPL  
 ‘The people moved around mostly barefoot in the summertime.’ [EM]

The two exhaustive quantifiers in this mood are adnominal verbs (§ 16.6), as is the case with phrasal numerals (with *-luku* appositional verbs; § 14.3.1).

## 11. Quasi-connectives (CNNqs)

The following five “quasi-connective” mood verbs function as adverbial adjuncts to the main clause (‘until, after, since, as soon as’). The verbs seem to reflect a transition or a still intermediate stage from nominals in oblique cases to verbs in the dependent mood. They are marked by primarily relative or nominal clause suffixes, followed by an oblique-case inflection for possessed nouns (Table 23) instead of the person markings for the main connective-mood verbs (Table 49).

As already seen, the contemporative- and simultaneous-connective moods (§ 50.8 and § 50.9) employ the possessed locative-case inflections for intransitive forms, but employ the main connective-mood person markers for transitive ones. Unlike these two connective moods, the quasi-connective mood uses only intransitive forms, for which different oblique-case inflections are employed.

Variation among speakers with regard to the case assignment of the arguments may serve as further evidence that quasi-connectives are still halfway between typical nominals and verbs, i.e. in a transitional stage to becoming verbs.

- (103) *Aata-ka* ~ *Aata-ma*                      *tekite-llr-anun*  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg./-REL.1sg.sg.    arrive-CNNqc-3sg.  
*ene-mnun*,                              *cali-llru-unga*.  
 house-ALL.1sg.sg.    work-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I worked until my father arrived at my house.’

The fluctuation between the absolutive *aata-ka* and the relative *aata-ma* should depend upon whether *tekitellranun* is construed as a verb (quasi-connective) or a nominal (allative noun). If it is taken as a nominal ('to his arriv-ing'), it would require the relative *aata-ma*, constituting an attributive phrase along with the nominalization *tekite-llr-anun* in the allative case (3sg.sg.). But if it is taken as a verb ('until [to the time that] he arrived'), it would require the absolutive *aata-ka* as the intransitive subject. There is, moreover, a homonymous *-llranun*, which is a relative-clausal nominal. But even those speakers who use *aataka* in the sentence above would use *aata-ma* (but never *aata-ka*) in the following sentence in which *aya-llra-nun* is a relative clause:

- (103) *Aata-ma* (\**Aata-ka*)            *aya-llr-anun*            *tekit-ukut*.  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg.                    go-VNrl-ALL.3sg.sg.    arrive-IND.1pl.  
 'We arrived *at the place* my father went.'

The five kinds of quasi-connectives ('until, after, since, as soon as, whether; § 50.11.1 through § 50.11.5) differ from one another in the nominalizing suffix and the oblique case that they employ.

#### 11.1. $|-t\dot{y}-| \sim |-n\dot{y}-| \sim |+_1vi\dot{y}-|$ with the allative marker ('until')

This derives from the two VNnm suffixes and the VNrl  $|+_1vi\dot{y}-|$ . The former is replaced by the latter in some areas, including the mouth of the Kuskokwim: e.g. *tekis-vi-anun* for *tekite-llr-anun* in the example above. For speakers in other areas, however, the  $|+_1vi\dot{y}-|$  form would sound only spatial ('to the place where') and not temporal ('until'). Further examples:

- (104) *Umyuarteqe-sciigali-lle-mnun* ~ *-vi-mnun*    *ap-qaur-tuq*.  
 think-can.no.longer-CNNqc-1sg.            ask-CNT-IND.3sg.  
 'He asked questions until I could no longer think.'
- (105) *Agayune-llr-anun* ~ *Agayuner-vi-anun*  
 sunday.come-CNNqc-3sg.  
 'until Sunday (the time Sunday comes).'

Like the nominalization  $|-t\dot{y}-|$  itself, this connective marker may specify the future by the composite suffix VNnm  $|-ti\dot{y}kay-|$  ( $\sim |+natkay-|$ ) – § 18.2.2.2.

- (106) *Ma-a-nt-aur-ciq-ua*                    *kiag-e-m* ~ *kiak*  
 this-EX-be.at-CNT-FUT-IND.1sg.    summer-EV-REL.sg./ABS.sg.  
*iquklit-lerka-an* ~ *iquklis-vi-anun*.  
 end-CNNqc-3sg.  
 'I shall stay here until the summer is over.'

The future reference may have a purposive connotation:

- (108) *puqig-i-llerka-anun*  
articulate-INC-CNNqc-3sg.  
'until he becomes a good speaker; so that he can speak well'.
- (109) *ana-ngnaq-lerka-anun*    *elit-nau-qiu*  
escape-CNA-CNNqc-3sg.    teach-FUT-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
'you (sg.) should teach him so that he can survive'.

### 11.2. *|-nỵ-|* (~ *|-l̥ỵ-|*) with perlative or locative marker ('after')

This derives from the nominalizing VNnm *|-nỵ-|*. Some speakers use the locative case as well as the perlative, but others use the perlative only. See § 28.1-ii for the use of the perlative case for time.

- (110) *ella-ng-ne-mkun* ~ *ella-nge-ne-mni* ~ *ella-nge-lle-mkun*  
awareness-get-CNNqc-1sg.  
'after I reached the awareness'.
- (111) *Yuurr-ne-mkun*    *aya-llru-uq.*  
born-CNNqc-1sg.    leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
'It was sometime after I was born that he left.'
- (112) *Qulig-tu-nr-akun*    *kuiks,*  
crack-have.much-CNNqc-3sg.    river.ABS.sg.  
*qera-ngnaq-saaq-aa.*  
cross-CNA-but-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'After the river already had wide cracks, he tried to cross it.'
- (113) *Naulluu-llr-a<sub>s</sub>*    *assir-i-nr-akun,*  
sick-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.    good-INC-CNNqc-3sg.  
*iinru-kit-aa.*  
medicine-give-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'He gave her medicine after she had recovered from her illness (after her illness was gone).'

### 11.3. *|-xaanỵ-|* with the ablative marker ('since')

The marker is clearly composed of VVa *|-xaaỵ-|* 'after -ing, first -ing something' (§ 41.2) and the nominalization VNnm *|-nỵ-|* as in § 50.11.2. Stem-final /c/ may optionally coalesce into /q/ with the initial /x/: cf. *igte-rraar-luni* / *igqaar-luni* '(it) after dropping' (*|iỵc-|* 'to drop').





- (120) a. [*Uksu-m<sub>G</sub>*            *nalli-ini*]            *aya-llru-uq.*  
 winter-REL.sg.    time-LOC.3sg.sg.    leave-PST-IND.3sg  
 ‘He left during the winter.’
- b. [*Uksu-llr-an<sub>G</sub>*            *nalli-ini*]  
 winter.come-VNm-REL.3sg.sg.    time.LOC.3sg.sg.  
*aya-llru-uq.*  
 leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘When the winter came, he left.’
- (121) a. *An-uti-ini*            *tegu-le-qi-u!*  
 come.out-CNNqc-3sg.    take-suddenly-ASP-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘As soon as it comes out, (you [sg.]) grab it!’
- b. *Ella-ng-ute-mni*            *angllur-cete-llru-atnga.*  
 awareness-get-CNNqc-1sg.    dive-A'.cause-PST-IND.3pl.1sg.  
 ‘As soon as I reached the awareness, they baptized me.’ – cf. (110).
- (122) *Arnaq ~ Arna-m*            *tekiy-uti-ini*            *aya-llru-uq.*  
 woman.ABS.sg./-REL.sg.    arrive-CNNqc-3sg.    leave-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘As soon as the woman arrived, he left.’  
 – Note that the absolutive *arnaq* is ambiguous since the sentence may also mean ‘as soon as he arrived, the woman left’. See (123) in the next section.

11.5.  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}\text{-}|$  with the equalis marker (‘as soon as’)

This derives from the nominalization  $|+(u)ci\dot{y}\text{-}|$  (§ 18.2.1.1). Quasi-equivalent with § 50.11.5. See also § 29.3-i (equalis of manner).

- (123) *Arnaq ~ Arna-m*            *tekiy-uci-atun*            *aya-llru-uq.*  
 woman.ABS.sg./-REL.sg.    arrive-CNNqc-3sg.    go-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘As soon as the woman arrived, he left.’ – see (122).
- (124) *Tai-ni-luku*            *niiy-uci-mtun*            *kenir-tua.*  
 come-A'.say-APP.3sg.    hear-CNNqc-1sg.    cook-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I cooked as soon as I heard he was coming.’

Finally, it is to be recalled that the nominalizers  $|-\dot{y}\text{-}| \sim |+(u)ci\dot{y}\text{-}|$  (§ 18.2.1, § 18.2.2) very often occur with an oblique case inflection, e.g. ablative-modalis marker, but they are complemented clauses (‘whether, if, that’), and that they are distinct from quasi-connective mood verb clauses, which are adverbial.

# Chapter 51

## Appositional mood

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## Appositional mood

Appositional-mood verbs are characterized by the mood marker  $|+lu-|$  /  $|+na-|$  (referred to as “negative” and occurring after a stem-final /t/) followed by a single person marker (idiosyncrasies below; § 51.1.1-i). They have a wide functional and semantic range. This is the most versatile of all six moods and most frequent in the utterances and texts of perhaps any genre. Its wide variety of usages may remind us of English participles with *-ing* (e.g. *walking* down, he saw the baby / he saw the baby *walking* / *walking* down, it snowed [“dangling” or absolute construction] / the *walking* baby [adnominal], etc.). As a matter of the fact, many appositional verbs in CAY are glossed with *-ing*.

CAY appositional-mood verbs serve as:

- a. cosubordinate (§ 51.2, § 51.3) / coordinate (§ 51.2.4) / independent clauses (§ 51.4)
- b. adnominal clauses (§ 51.5)
- c. quasi-nominal clauses (§ 51.6).

The fundamental function of appositionals, however, is to yield a cosubordinate clause. It can be subordinate to a main clause, like as a connective-mood clause (§ 50), though there are fundamental differences.<sup>1</sup>

As opposed to the connective-mood clauses, which are responsible for adverbial clauses (apart from one subtype called stative-connective; § 50.10), the appositional mood is not adverbial in nature, although it may indeed be rendered adverbially very often. As with a subordinate clause by means of the connective, a cosubordinate clause by means of the appositional mood verb is syntactically and semantically dependent upon the main clause; but unlike the subordinate clause, a cosubordinate clause is not embedded within a main clause as it is not part of it.

While a connective-mood verb can be used in switch-reference construction with its own major-clause subject (third person), an appositional-mood verb is essentially used in coreferential (i.e. same-subject) constructions. See iii) below for contrastive illustrations.

A cosubordinate clause may occur in coordinate constructions with a main clause or may stand independently as a main clause (§ 51.4) with a full range of tense/aspect/modality and evidentiality specification. An appositional-mood clause may fill a position more or less equivalent to independent moods and may occur in succession, supplying additional information on connected events

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1. Jacobson (1995: 327) writes, “These dependent moods are used to express a connection – such as of simultaneity, purpose, cause, etc. – between two events,” while suggesting that “Yup’ik verbs in the appositional correspond roughly to the English verb forms inflection in ‘-ing,’ used adverbially [sic].”

with the same subject. It is very commonly observed that most predicates, particularly in narratives, occur in the appositional mood, much more than in the indicative (§ 46) or participial (§ 47) moods. As given in the preface of Chapter 46, Frank Amadeus' *quliraq* or tale about the sun and the moon (FASM) counts forty-two appositional-mood predicates vs. forty-one indicatives, while Mithun (2008: 93) gives a ratio of twenty 'subordinatives' (for appositionals) to five indicatives in a *qanemciq* or narrative text.

i) *The term "appositional"*: The appositional mood has been given various labels in Eskimo linguistics (as noted in § 4-fn.16) – subordinative, conjunctive, contemporative, as well as appositional – each of which captures one quality of the mood. But the term "appositional" is employed in this grammar (instead of "subordinative" in Miyaoka 1996, 1997), following its use by Woodbury (1981) to emphasize the notion of apposition in terms of coreferentiality (though the terminology itself had been used by Schultz-Lorentzen in 1945). The term is distinct from "appositive" nominal phrases (§ 16.1), but the two are certainly related in terms of apposition.

The appositive nature of the mood should become quite clear when one compares (a) an appositive phrase in the following example, which consists of two nominals with case and number agreement, with (b) an appositional-mood construction where both of the two clauses have the same intransitive relational verb (*-u-* 'to be'; § 37.1):

- (1) a. *qayaq*                                    *nutaraq*  
 kayak.ABS.sg.                    new.one.ABS.sg.  
 'a new kayak (lit. kayak, i.e., new one)'  
 b. *qaya-u-guq*                    *nutara-u-luni*  
 kayak-be-IND.3sg.    new-be-APP.3Rsg.  
 'it is a new kayak (lit. it is a kayak, (being) a new one)'.

– where the appositive phrase (a) is verbalized or put into the clause (b) by the relational verb *-u-*. Unlike other verbalizing suffixes (e.g. possessive, deprivative), the relational verb *qaya-u-guq* cannot have an oblique (stranded) NP *nutara-mek*, as mentioned in § 37.5.1. Likewise:

- (2) a. *can-li-lria*                                    *nuna*  
 grass-provided-VNrl.ABS.sg.    land.ABS.sg.  
 'the land with lots of grass'  
 b. *Can-li-lriar-u-luni*                                    *nuna-u-guq.*                    cf. (55a)  
 grass-provided-VNrl-be-APP.3Rsg.    land-be-IND.3sg.  
 'It is a land with lots of grass (being the one which is well provided with grass).'

It should also be noted that coordinate nominal phrases (combined with =*llu* ‘and’, *wall’u* ‘or’, *taugaam* ‘but’, *tuaten* ‘like that, as well’; § 53, § 54 as well as § 16.2) show parallelism with appositional-mood coordinate clauses (§ 51.2.4), suggesting the “co”-subordinate nature of the latter.

A cosubordinate clause links the predicate basically to the subject (S or A argument) of the main clause and describes miscellaneous situations with regard to the argument. They are not necessarily rendered predicatively.

- (3) *Unite-llru-a*                      *qetunra-ni<sub>p</sub>*                      *mik-luku.*  
 leave-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.      So-ABS.3Rsg.sg.                      small-APP.3sg.  
 ‘She left her (own) son (as) a small boy (lit. [she] having him small).’  
 = (36).

- (4) *Qutegg-luni*                      *iter-tuq.*  
 boast-APP.3Rsg.                      enter-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He came in, arrogant.’

- (5) *Ayag-tuq*                      *cuka-luni.*  
 run-IND.3sg.                      fast-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He went / It [e.g. engine] ran fast (lit. and he/it was fast).’  
 – can be replaced by the adverbial particle *cukamek* ‘fast’.

ii) *Idiosyncrasies*: The appositional mood has many features that are not shared by any other mood (to be illustrated more fully in § 51.1):

- a. a different mood marker (“negative”; § 51.1.1, § 51.1.3) for polarity and certain stem-final consonants
- b. a number of suffixes (§ 51.1.2) selected by the mood – the others below (c. ~ f.) are mutually related (§ 51.1.4)
- c. morphologically monopersonal, i.e. marking only one argument, that is, S or P
- d. uniqueness of the third person (referring to P, etc.) as opposed to the reflexive third person (referring to the main-clause subject)
- e. the subject argument S or A being coreferential with the main clause subject
- f. the valency increase operation being basically required by means of the “coreferential marker”, whose function is served by the causative complex transitive suffix *-vkar-* ~ *-cic-* (glossed as CRF or A'have; § 40.2.1), when an appositional verb refers to the P argument of the main clause (§ 51.1.4.3).

iii) *Compared with the connective mood*: The following examples may give some idea of the difference between two modes. In the first (a) below, the appo-

sitional *piyua-luni* is a cosubordinate clause to the main clause *tai-ciq-uq* with the reflexive third person referring to the main-clause subject ('he'), while the connective *tai-kuni* in the second (b) is an adverbial or subordinate clause to the main clause *piyua-ciq-uq*:

- (6) a. *Piyua-luni*                      *tai-ciq-uq*.  
 walk-APP.3Rsg.              come-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 '(By) walking, he will come; it is by walking that he will come.'
- b. *Piyua-ciq-uq*                      *tai-kuni*.  
 walk-FUT-IND.3sg.      come-CNNif.3Rsg.  
 'He will walk when/if he comes.'

The focus is given on '(his) walking' by the appositional verb *piyua-luni* in (a), typically pronounced with the greatest prominence on *-yua-*.

Different connective verbs (b – causal, constantive, and durative) in (7), (8), (9) below may also help to see the difference from appositional clauses (a):

- (7) a. *Angni-i-nani*                      *tai-guq*.  
 happiness-PRV-APP.3Rsg.              come-IND.3sg.  
 'He is coming, being sad (sadly).'
- b. *Angni-il-ami*                      *tai-guq*.  
 happiness-PRV-CNNbc.3Rsg.              come-IND.3sg.  
 'Because he is sad, he is coming.'
- privative NV  $|+_{\eta}it-|$  has final /t/ deleted in (a) before "negative" appositional marker  $|_{-}na-|$  (§ 51.1.1), but has it fricativized into *l* in (b) before the causal-connective marker  $|+_{\eta}a-|$  (§ 50.2); see (P5i.a, i.b).

The former (a) is a cosubordinate clause to the main clause (with subject 'he'), with the focus being on the state of '(his) being sad', while the latter (b) constitutes an adverbial clause of reason ('because') subordinate to the main-clause predicate. Likewise:

- (8) a. *Nulirr-a=gguq*                      *ayagyuar-luni*                      *ui-nge-llru-uq*.  
 Wi-ABS.3sg.sg.=RPR      young-APP.3Rsg.              Hu-get-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'They say his wife got married (as a) young (person); i.e. she was young when she got married.'
- b. *Nulirr-a=gguq*                      *ayagyua-llermi*                      *ui-nge-llru-uq*.  
 Wi-ABS.3sg.sg.=RPR      young-CNNwn.3Rsg.              Hu-get-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'They say his wife got married when she was young.'

On the other hand, the appositional (a) in the following pair contains the coreferential marker (CRF) *-vkar-* mentioned in idiosyncrasy (f) above and explained in § 51.1.4.3, while (b) contains an adverbial clause (‘while’):

- (9) a. *Tangrr-aqa nere-vkar-luku.*  
 see-IND.1sg.3sg. eat-CRF-APP.3sg.  
 ‘I saw her eating (I having her eat); when I saw her, she was eating.’  
 b. *Tangrr-aqa ner-nginanrani.*  
 see-IND.1sg.3sg. eat-CNNwl.3sg.  
 ‘I saw her while she was eating.’

It is important to note that, of all the connective moods, the stative-connective mood (‘to be in the state of’; § 50.10) – like *ina-an* in the following – is uniquely different from the other connective verbs, being functionally adnominal (instead of adverbial) and describing a state (of ‘him’) like *ina-ngqa-luku* with an appositional verb (see § 16.6-i and e.g. (67) *palur-ma* also):

- (10) *Paqte-llemni tange-llru-aqa*  
 check-CNNwn.1sg. see-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
*ina-ngqa-luku* ≙ *ina-an*.  
 lie-STT-APP.3sg./-CNNst.3sg.  
 ‘When I checked (on him), I saw him (*and he was*) lying down ≙ (*he being in the state of*) lying down.’  
 – though the second *ina-an* may be less common.

As a matter of fact, a CAY appositional verb does not remain solely as a cosubordinate clause. On one hand, it may function more like an adnominal clause (§ 16.6-i, § 51.5), as just above and, though less frequently, like a quasinominal clause (§ 51.6); on the other hand (as mentioned), it may be used independently like a coordinate clause or a main clause by itself (§ 51.4), supplying a connected new piece of information (like an afterthought, emphasis, affirmation, or statement of something contrary to what is supposed by another speaker). Particularly in narratives, a more or less connected sequence of events is frequently expressed through a series of verbs in the appositional rather than the independent mood, sometimes even with changes of the subject, to such an extent that appositional verbs function as main clauses.

In the following sections, the basic morpho-syntactic characters of the appositional mood are outlined in § 51.1, and an attempt is made to classify the functional and semantic diversity of the mood in the rest (§ 51.2 through § 51.7).



## 1. Morphological and syntactic characteristics

Morphological characteristics are given in § 51.1.1 through § 51.1.3, and morpho-syntactic idiosyncrasies in § 51.1.4.

Table 50: Appositional Inflections

		negative (after underlying /t/)
third	sg.   <i>+luku</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>naku</i>
	pl.   <i>+luki</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>naki</i>
	du.   <i>+lukiy</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>nakiy</i>
first	sg.   <i>+lua</i>   (<   <i>+lu+ŋa</i>  , P10)	<i>-<sub>1</sub>nii</i>   (<   <i>-<sub>1</sub>na+ŋa</i>  , P6i, P10)
	pl.   <i>+luta</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>nata</i>
	du.   <i>+lunuy</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>nanuy</i>
second	sg.   <i>+lutin</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>nay</i>
	pl.   <i>+luci</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>naci</i>
	du.   <i>+luty</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>natiy</i>
reflexive third	sg.   <i>+luni</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>nani</i>
	pl.   <i>+lutij</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>natiŋ</i>
	du.   <i>+luty</i>	<i>-<sub>1</sub>natiy</i>

### 1.1. Mood marker

The most important morphological characteristic of CAY appositional verbs is that their inflection has the suppletive mood marker |*+lu-*|<sup>2</sup> ~ |*-<sub>1</sub>na-*| (called “negative appositional”, § 51.1.3) followed by a single person, i.e. “mono-personal”, marker (just below).

The monopersonality here means that, even when it is semantico-syntactically transitive, an appositional verb marks only one person, as opposed to a transitive verb in any other mood, which marks a bipersonal relationship (such as IND.3pl.1sg. |*(+yay)+ŋatŋa*| ‘they – me’). More details in § 51.1.4.

Verbal person markers (Table 30; § 32.2.1) are employed to mark the single person for appositional verbs. Table 50, above, gives the complete paradigm of appositional inflections. This can be compared with the inflectional paradigms for the other five moods (Tables 46 through 49), which are bipersonal for transitives.

While the two 1sg. appositional markers (|*+lua*| and |*-<sub>1</sub>nii*|) are formed by regular phonological adjustments, the only morphological idiosyncrasy is the negative 2sg. |*-<sub>1</sub>nay*| instead of \*|*-<sub>1</sub>natin*|.

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2. The recent rapprochement of this mood marker (Mithun 2008: 98–99) with the obsolete anatomical suffix *-lu* in Eskimo, cf. |*-lu(y)-*| (§ 19.2) may be of some interest, but I feel myself far from qualified to comment on it.

The suffixation of these markers to verb stems is subject to phonological adjustments that are either more or less general or morpheme-specific.

i) As noted in (P5ii.a), stem-final apicals and the initial /l/ of mood markers are reduced to voiceless /ʎ/ ll. Illustrations below are made of reflexive-third forms:

- (11) a. |*tikic*[+luni] > /tíkí|ʎuni/ *tekilluni* ‘(he) arriving’  
 |*inaɣc*[+luni] > /ináx|ʎuni/ *inarrluni* ‘(he) lying down’  
 |*ulc*[+luni] > /uʎí|ʎuni/ *ullelluni*  
 ‘(it) being turned inside out’ – with /i/ insertion for avoiding homophonic collision; § 8.2.3.1-i  
 b. |*aqum*+c[+luku] > /aqúm|ʎuku/ *aqumlluku* ‘sitting him down’.

Note the stem-final /c/ is represented, but not /t/, the latter of which would select the suppletive mood marker |-*na*-| (§ 51.1.3).

The reduction to voiceless /ʎ/ ll, however, occurs after gemination on a (C)VC stem (P1):

- (12) |*ac*[+luni] > /àl|ʎuni/ *all'uni* ‘(he) putting on (something)’  
 |*mic*[+luni] > /mi|ʎuni/ *mill'uni* ‘(he) landing’.

ii) A morpheme-final /i/ is deleted before the initial /l/ of the marker (P8ii.a):

- (13) |*ani*[+luni] > /án|ʎuni/ *anluni* ‘(he) going out’  
 |*miki*[+luni] > /mik|ʎuni/ *mikluni* ‘(he) being small’.

Three-consonant clusters resulting from the suffixation of the marker are avoided in two ways, one general and the other morpheme-specific:

ii.a) by inserting /i/ (P7i):

- (14) |*taŋx*[+luni] > /taŋíx|ʎuni/ *tangerrluni* ‘(he) seeing’  
 |*miŋqi*[+luni] > /miŋíq|ʎuni/ *mingeqluni* ~  
 /miŋ|qíhú|ni/ *mingqelluni* ‘(she) sewing’.

ii.b) by deleting one consonant, which is the case with the impersonal agent (A<sub>IMP</sub>) adder VVsm |+*naɣqi*-| ‘should’ (§ 39.2.1) and VVm |+*cuɣnaɣqi*-| ‘probably’ (§ 43):

- (15) |*alij-naɣqi*[+luni] > /alíŋ|nàq|ʎuni/ *alingnaqluni*  
 ‘(it) being frightening’  
 |*pi*+*cuɣnaɣqi*[+luni] > /piyúɣ|nàq|ʎuni/ *piyugnaqluni*  
 ‘(he) probably doing’.



There seems to be no restriction upon the kinds of verbal category that can be contained in appositional moods, including modality (e.g. *pi-yugnaq-luni* ‘he probably doing s.t.’) and evidentiality (e.g. *pi-llini-luku* ‘evidently doing it’), etc.

### 1.3. Negative appositionals

The “negative” appositional mood marker  $|-_1na-$  occurs in place of  $|+lu-$  after (generally) negative suffixes and a few non-negative ones. The subscript <sub>1</sub> deletes a stem-final apical if (P5i) applies (with some caveats below):

i) *Negative suffixes* – include a) verbal elaborating suffixes of negation (VVn; § 44) and b) a few verbalizing privative suffixes (NV; § 38.1). Except for one VVn suffix  $|-at-$ , all of them end in /it/, and the /i/ is replaced by /u/ in many dialect areas.

i.a) *VV negative suffixes* – include  $|+_1\eta^*ait-$  ‘will not’,  $|-ksait-$  ‘not yet’,  $|+cuit-$  ‘never’,  $|+_1cuynait-$  ‘definitely not’,  $|+nait-$  ‘not to cause one to’,  $|+_1cunait-$  ‘cannot’,  $|+_1cuumiit-$  ‘not to care to’, etc. (VVn; § 44) as well as extended stems with negative suffixes like  $|asiit-$  ‘to be bad’ (from  $|asiy-$  ‘to be good’), but excluding the general negator  $|-n\dot{y}it-$  ‘not’ (composite suffix with VNnm  $|-n\dot{y}-$ ) in (c) below:

- (17) a.  $|aya\gamma-ksait[-_1nani]$  ‘he not leaving yet’  
 leave-not.yet-APP.3Rsg.  
 > /ayák|sáú|nani/ (~ /ayák|sáú|nani/) *ayaksaunani*.  
 b.  $|pi-ksait[-_1nani]$  ‘he not doing yet’  
 do-not.yet-APP.3Rsg.  
 > /pík|sáú|nani/ (~ /pík|sáú|nani/) *piksaunani*.

i.b) *NV suffixes* – include privative  $|+\eta it-$  ‘not to have’(NV; § 38.1):

- (18) a.  $|nut\gamma+\eta it[-_1nani]$  ‘he lacking a gun, without a gun’  
 gun-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
 > *nutgunani* (~ *nutginani*)  
 b.  $|a\eta i-n\dot{y}+\eta it[-_1nani]$   
 big-more-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘it having nothing else bigger than it(self), it being the only big one’  
 > *angenrunani* (~ *angenrinani*).  
 c.  $|i\pi pi\gamma|+\eta it[-_1nani]$  ‘he being numb, insensitive’  
 sense-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
 > *elpegunani* ~[HBC] *elpeginani*.

- (19) *tanger-kenga-u-nata* ~ *tanger-qenga-u-nata* *ma-a-ni*  
 see-VNrl-PRV-APP.1pl. here-EX-LOC  
 ‘there is nothing for us to see here, we not having anything to see’  
 – note that the compared one below is not a negative appositional but  
 contains the intransitive relational verb, thus *-luta*:  
 cf. *tanger-kenga-u-luta* ~ *tanger-qenga-u-luta*  
 see-VNrl-be-APP.1pl.  
 ‘we are in need of being helped (lit. we are [ones] being seen)’  
 – the literal reading only by young speakers.

Interestingly, the final vowel (-oo) of the loan word *skidoo* ‘snowmobile’<sup>3</sup> takes the place of the /u/ from the negative appositional by analogy with the replaced /u/ (from /i(t)/, cf. i), above, even though a negative suffix with final /t/ is not involved:

- (20) *skidoo-nata* (APP.1pl.)  
 ‘we having no snow-machines’ [ELLA 348]

The replacement by /u/ is usually blocked if the /i/ is immediately preceded by another /i/:

- (21)  $|pi+{}_1cuumiit[-{}_1nani|$  (do-not.care-APP.3Rsg.) *piyuumiinani*  
 ‘he not wanting to’  
 $|pi+{}_{jit}[-{}_1nani|$  (thing-PRV-APP.3Rsg.) *piinani*  
 ‘he not owning’  
 $|uci\dot{y}+{}_{jit}[-{}_1nani|$  (load-PRV-APR.3Rsg.) *uciinani* ~ *uciunani*  
 ‘it having no load’.
- (22)  $|il-uci\dot{y}+{}_{jit}[-{}_1nani|$  (be-VNnm-PRV-APP.3Rsg.) *eluciinani*  
 ‘(it) having no form’  
 cf.  $|ima\dot{y}+{}_{jit}[-{}_1nani|$  (content-PRV-APP.3Rsg.) *imaunani*  
 ‘(it) having no content’  
 – two words which occur in the Book of Genesis [AYAG 1:2]; see (202).

i.c) *Negation marker*  $|+{}_1piki-$  (~HBC.NI  $|+{}_1piyi-$ ) (§ 51.1.2-i) – instead of the general negator VVn  $|n\dot{y}it-$  ‘not’ (§ 44, § 51.1.3-i), this occurs before a negative appositional. The initial /p/ with the subscript <sub>1</sub> deletes a stem-final /c/ if present, but it is fricativized to /v/ intervocally (P2i.b, P5.a).

3. From the trademarked name of an early mass-produced tracked snow machine, the Ski-Doo, introduced by the Bombardier company of Canada in 1959 (Michael Dunham, p.c.).

Compare with the negation in the indicative mood:

- (23) a. |*ayay+**piki**[-nani]* (leave-NEG-APP.3Rsg.)  
 > /ayáx|pík|nani/ ~ /ayáx|pìy|nani/ *ayagpek'nani* ~ *ayagpegnani*  
 'he not leaving'
- cf. |*ayay-nyit*[+*1tuq*] (leave-NEG-IND.3sg.) > *ayanrituq*  
 'he has not left'
- b. |*pi+**piki**[-nani]* (do-NEG-APP.3Rsg.) 'he not doing'  
 > /píf|kiná:|ni/ *pivkenani*
- cf. |*pi-nyit*[+*1tuq*] (do-NEG-IND.3sg.) > *pinrituq*  
 'he is not doing'.

See (224) for other persons, particularly second, to be used for prohibition (§ 51.4.4-ii).

ii) *Non-negative stems and suffixes*: A limited number of stems, though with no negative connotation, which are generally 'adjectival' stems and end in /cic/ or /t/:

- (24) a. |*kiiyçic*[-*1nani*] (APP.3Rsg.) > /kiíx|çiṅá:|ni/ *kiirceñani*  
 'it [air] being hot'
- cf. *kiircet-uq* (IND.3sg.) 'it is hot'  
 – see (26) *maa-ñani* for the voiceless *ñ* as well as *manigce-ñani* 'it being smooth' and *kavirce-ñaku* 'it being red'
- b. |*kumlac*[-*1naku*] (APP.3sg.) > *kumlañaku*  
 'while it is cold'
- cf. *kumlat-uq* (IND.3sg.) 'it is cold'
- c. |*mikit*[-*1nani*] (APP.3RSG.) > *mik'nani* [QQLK 522]  
 'when he was small', alternative for |*miki*[+*luni*].

The following contains the locative verb |+*m(i)t*-| (§ 27.8, etc.):

- (25) |*cani-mit*[-*1nani*] (be.at-APP.3Rsg.) > /caní:|miṅá:|ni/ *canimeñani*  
 'it being near'
- cf. *cani-met-uq* (IND.3sg.) 'it is near'
- |*kii+mit*[-*1nii*] (alone-be.at-APP.1sg.) > /kii|miṅṅ|ṅii / *kiimeñii*  
 'I being alone'.

Nevertheless, locative verbs more commonly may take |+*lu*-| instead of |-*1na*-|, the latter of which is rare:

- (26) |*maa-nt*[+*luni*] ~ |*maa-nt*[-*1nani*] > *maanlluni* ~ *maañani*  
 'he being here (*ma-a*)'.

cf. *maa-nt-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘he is here’ – voiceless nasal of the latter represents a merger of three phonemes:  $\bar{n} > n + t + n$ .

Negative appositionals may occur in “double negation” (§ 44.1) together with the general negative  $| -n\dot{y}it - |$  (§ 44). Compare with (17b):

- (27) *pi-nrite-vke-nani* ‘(he) doing without fail’  
 $|pi-n\dot{y}it + piki[-nani]|$   
 do-NEG-NEG-APP.3Rsg.

iii) The negative mood marker  $| -_1na - |$  is also found to occur in the “future” and “continuative” prohibitional optatives (‘not to do’, ‘not to be –ing’) marked respectively by  $| +_1caqu(na) - |$  (§ 49.6.2) and  $| +_1pii\dot{q}i(na) - |$  (§ 49.6.3), thereby showing some resemblance to negative appositionals. Comparison with Table 48 shows that 2sg.  $| -_1na\dot{y} |$ , 1sg.  $| -_1nii |$ , and OPT.2sg.3sg./APP.3sg.  $| -_1naku |$  are shared by both optative and appositional moods (see below).

#### 1.4. Morpho-syntactic idiosyncracies

The monopersonal marking of an appositional verb (§ 51-ii.c, § 51.1.1) – i.e. indexing of only one argument (even if the verb is syntactically transitive), namely S or P – is directly responsible for those morphosyntactic idiosyncracies not shared by any of the five other moods that have bipersonal markings on transitive verbs (P and A). The A argument for transitive appositional verbs is not marked, but it is coreferential with the subject of the main clause (either intransitive S or transitive A).

There are cases where a “coreferential marker” is employed (§ 51.1.4.3), a topic treated subsequent to the following idiosyncrasy, which is connected with the monopersonal marking and concerns the different persons (§ 51.1.4.1 and § 51.1.4.2).

This monopersonal marking has the effect that the S or P argument (or the absolutive-case NP if explicit) is focused by the cosubordinate clause with an appositional-mood verb.

##### 1.4.1. First- and second person

The one argument marked in these two persons can either be S or P, as opposed to the third and the reflexive third person (§ 51.1.4.2):

i) *first person argument* – marked, e.g. by 1sg.  $| +lua |$  or 1du.  $| +lunu\dot{y} |$  below for S and P functions. The intransitive subject S and the unmarked A are coreferential with the subject of the main clause:

- (28) *Qia-lunuk*                      *nere-llru-ukuk.*  
 cry-APP.1du.                      eat-PST-IND.1du.  
 ‘We(du.) ate, crying, i.e. we ate, we [S] crying.’  
 – with its focus on ‘our crying’ during the time when ‘we ate’.

Compare the following (a) and (b) – (a) has the first person subject main verband (b) the third person subject main verb. Each is compared with the third person appositional verb:

- (29) a. *Nere-rraar-lua*              *ane-llru-unga.*  
 eat-first-APP.1sg.              go.out-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I went out after I ate (s.t.); i.e. I went out, I [S] first eating (s.t.).’  
 – § 51.2.2-iii for |-*xaay*-| ‘after -ing’.  
 cf. *Nere-rraar-luku*              *ane-llru-unga.*  
 eat-first-APP.3sg.              go.out-PST-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I went out after I ate it; i.e. I went out, first eating *it* [P].’
- b. *Nere-rraar-lua*              *ane-llru-uq.*  
 eat-first-APP.1sg.              go.out-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It (e.g. bear) went out after it ate me; i.e. it went out, (it) first eating *me* [P].’  
 cf. *Nere-rraar-luku*              *ane-llru-uq.*  
 eat-first-APP.3sg.              go.out-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He went out after he ate it; i.e. he went out, first eating *it* [P].’

– in (b) of which the first person *-lua* refers to P argument (‘me’ as something eaten by A argument ‘bear’, which is coreferential to the main-clause subject ‘he’).

*second person argument* – which is marked by 2sg. |+*lutin*| (/|+*nay*|; \*|+*natin*| § 51.1.1 above) or 2pl. |+*luci*| (/|+*naci*|) below, for S and P functions, behaves exactly in the same way as the first, as illustrated by the second person singular:

- (30) *Aya-ksaite-llini-uten*              *pissur-yar-luten.*  
 leave-not.yet-EVD-IND.2sg.              hunt-go-APP.2sg.  
 ‘(So I see) you (sg.) have not yet left to go hunting, i.e. you have not yet left, *you* [S] going hunting.’
- (31) *Pissur-yug-tua*                      *maligng-luci.*  
 hunt-DES-IND.1sg.                      follow-APP.2pl.  
 ‘I want to go hunting with you (pl.), i.e. I want to go hunting, (I) following *you* [P].’  
 – *maligng-* from |*maliy-c-*| (‘to along’ with A addition), cf. (198).



Thus, appositional verbs with a first or the second person marked are for either intransitive S or transitive P, which is not the case with the third or the reflexive third.

In the following example, containing two appositional-mood (coordinate) clauses, note that they have different persons indexed (2sg. S and 3sg. P), the latter of which refers to the transitive object:

- (32)      [[*U-ku-t*                      *kalika-t*]<sub>G</sub>                      *ima-itnek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
           this-EX-REL.pl.            paper-REL.pl.            content-ABM.3pl.pl.  
           *naaq-i-kuvet*                      *anglani-ki-na,*                      *elite-kanir-luten,*  
           read-APS-CNNif.2sg. enjoy-ASP-OPT.2sg. learn-further-APP.2sg.  
           *taringe-kanir-luku=llu*                      [*Yup'ig-tun*  
           understand-further-APP.3sg.=and      Y.-EQL.sg.  
           *qaner-yaraq*]<sub>P</sub>.  
           speak-VNnm.ABS.sg.  
           ‘When you (sg.) read the content of this book, enjoy, learn more, and  
           understand the Yupik language more.’ [MM]

#### 1.4.2. Third vs. reflexive third person

The reflexive third person of an appositional (cosubordinate) clause refers back to the subject, i.e. S or A argument, of the main clause (§ 32.2) or refers to the subject, S or A, of an independently used appositional verb, where S includes an antipassivized but not a passivized P. By contrast, the third person marked in an appositional verb refers to the object, P [or T/R] argument and also has a number of marginal, but common, uses (ii).

##### i) basic difference:

- (33) a. *Qia-luni*                      *ner'-uq*                      /                      *ner-ai*.  
           cry-APP.3Rsg.                      eat-IND.3sg.                      eat-IND.3sg.3pl.  
           ‘(He himself) crying, he is eating / he is eating them.’  
       b. *Nere-rraar-luni*                      *an-ci-q-uq*.  
           eat-first-APP.3Rsg.                      go.out-FUT-IND.3sg.  
           ‘He [S] will go out after he eats (s.t.), i.e. *he himself* first eating.’

– of which the reflexive third person with *-luni* in (a) refers to the subject (‘one who eats’) of the main clause, i.e. S (zero-antipassivized A) or A argument, while that in (b) refers to the subject (‘one who goes out’), i.e. S argument ‘one who goes out’.

By contrast, the third person with *-luku* in (34) refers to the transitive P argument (‘it’ or ‘thing eaten’), while its A (‘eater’), though unmarked (due to

monopersonal idiosyncrasy, § 51-ii.c), is coreferential with the main-clause subject, i.e. (a) third person and (b) first person:

- (34) a. *Nere-rraar-luku an-ciq-uq.*  
 eat-first-APP.3sg. go.out-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He will go out after he eats *it* (lit. (he) first eating *it* [P], he will go out).’  
 b. *Nere-rraar-luku an-ciq-ua.*  
 eat-first-APP.3sg. go.out-FUT-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I will go out after I eat *it* (lit. (I) first eating *it* [P], I will go out).’

For both (a) and (b), the P argument can be expressed by an absolutive-case NP, e.g. *neqa* ‘the fish’, while it cannot occur with (33b) of the reflexive third person.

The following pair with appositional verbs of |*alajc-*| ‘to make a mistake’ should show the contrast between the third and the reflexive third person well:

- (35) a. *Naaq-ai alarr-luki kalika-tp.*  
 read-IND.3sg.3pl. mistake-APP.3pl. book-ABS.pl.  
 ‘He read the book incorrectly (making mistakes), i.e. he misread the book.’  
 b. *Naaq-ai alarr-luni kalika-tp.*  
 read-IND.3sg.3pl. mistake-APP.3Rsg. book-ABS.pl.  
 ‘By mistake, he read the book, i.e. it was a mistake that he read the book.’

– where the appositional verb in (a) refers to the object ‘book’ (A), while that in (b) to the reader as the subject (A). See (120) for a similar contrast.

A first-person or a second person, with no distinction as for the third, can refer to any core argument S, P / T | R, or A. See (29a) and b.

All what has been said above about third-person appositional verbs may seem to imply that they only occurs with transitive verbs. But this is far from the case, as illustrated by (3) *mik-luku*, which is repeated here:

- (36) *Unite-llru-a qetunra-ni<sub>p</sub> mik-luku.*  
 leave-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. So-ABS.3Rsg.sg. small-APP.3sg.  
 ‘She left her (own) son (as) a small boy (lit. [she] *having him small*).’

– where the appositional verb *mik-luku* ‘he being small’ has the monovalent |*miki-*| ‘to be small’. See also (10) *ina-ngqa-luku* ‘he lying down’, again with the monovalent |*ina-ŋqa-*| ‘to be lying’ (root-STT). These two words, *mik-luku* and *ina-ngqa-luku*, though not so marked, involve a process of valency increase (into bivalent) so that the subject can be coreferential. A “coreferential marker”

(glossed CRF or A'.have) may be explicit like *mike-vkar-luku*, as illustrated in the following section (§ 51.1.4.3-i). But before moving to that section, it would be proper to consider marginal uses.

ii) *marginal uses of the third person*: Reference to a core argument is the most fundamental and common use of appositional verbs both in the reflexive third and the third person, as shown in i) above. But the latter has other much less common uses as well, referring to a) S from A in passivization, b) demoted (P), (T), (R), and, dangleingly, to a c) nominal stem of a denominal verb, and modifying d) a NP as phrasal numeral with *-luku*.

ii.a) S as passivized P: note the TAM specific passive (§ 34.1.2.1).

- (37) *ak'a neqa<sub>S=P</sub> ner'-uq / ner-uma-uq ciku-ma-luku*  
 already fish.ABS.sg. eat-(PSV-)IND.3sg. freeze-STT-APP.3sg.  
 'the fish has already been eaten while frozen'  
 – cf. § 34 (11b) and (13) and see § 42.2.3 for  $|+(u)ma-|$   
 – the main verb may be replaced by *ner'-arkau-guq* meaning 'it must be eaten' – see § 17.4.3-ii and (39) also for VVm  $|+yaykau-|$  'be supposed to, should'. The third person appositional verb refers to the 'fish', as is the case with the following:

- cf. *neqa<sub>P</sub> ner'-aa ciku-ma-luku*  
 fish.ABS.sg. eat-IND.3sg. freeze-STT-APP.3sg.  
 'he is eating the fish while frozen'.  
 – while the reflexive third person *qia-luni* refers back to the agent 'eater' in (33a) *qia-luni ner'-uq* 'he is eating, crying' (antipassive S from A).

Compare the third person *ciku-ma-luku* above, with the reflexive third *aveg-luni / nepa-u-nani* for the following intransitive verb from the patientive stem  $|navy-|$  'to break' whose S is not a passivized P:

- (37)' *massiinaq<sub>S</sub> naveg-tuq aveg-luni /*  
 machine.ABS.sg. break-IND.3sg. halve-APP.3Rsg.  
*nepa-u-nani*  
 sound-PRV-NEG.APP.3Rsg.  
 'the machine broke into two / silently'.  
 cf. *massiinaq<sub>P</sub> navg-aa aveg-luku*  
 machine.ABS.sg. break-IND.3sg.3sg. halve-APP.3sg.  
 'he breaks the machine into two'.

ii.b) demoted P / T / R in valency reduction (antipassivization, etc.):

- (38) a. *angun*<sub>S=A</sub>      *ner'-uq* / *ner-uma-uq*      *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg. eat-(CNT-)IND.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*ciku-ma-luku*  
 freeze-STT-APP.3sg.  
 'the man is/has been eating a fish for a long time while frozen'  
 – cf. § 34 (11-i)
- b. *angun*<sub>P=A</sub>      *ner-narq-aa*      *neq-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg. eat-NEC-IND.3sg.3sg. fish-ABM.sg.  
*ciku-ma-luku*  
 freeze-STT-APP.3sg.  
 'the man has to eat a fish while frozen (lit. *it* behoves the man to eat a fish)'  
 – trivalent verb *ner-narq-* with impersonal A addition like P > A > A' from which the original P argument is obligatorily demoted to the ablative-modalis, just like in § 39 (55a), thus being accompanied by the third person appositional verb.

A demoted NP agrees in number with the third person appositional verb. Compare (38a) above with the following:

- (39) *angun*<sub>S=A</sub>      *ner'-arkau-guq*      *neq-nek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg. eat-should-IND.3sg. fish-ABM.pl.  
*ciku-ma-luki*.  
 freeze-STT-APP.3pl.  
 'the man should eat fish for a long time while frozen'.

ii.c) nominal stem:

- (40) *angun*<sub>S</sub>      *kumlaner-tur-tuq*      *ciku-ma-luku*  
 man.ABS.sg. frozen.fish-eat-IND.3sg. freeze-STT-APP.3sg.  
 'the man is eating frozen fish while frozen'  
 – which is parallel to the following phrasal numeral in (41).

ii.d) phrasal numeral with *-luku*; see § 14.3.1.1 for construction with the trivalent stem *|cipic-|* 'to oversupply, exceed':

- (41) *angun*<sub>S</sub>      *kumlane-ngqer-tuq*      [*qula*<sub>R</sub>  
 man.ABS.sg. frozen.fish-have-IND.3sg. ten.ABS.sg.  
*malru-gnek*<sub>(T)</sub>      *cip-luku*]  
 two-ABM.du. oversupply-APP.3sg.  
 'the man has twelve frozen fish'.

1.4.3. Coreferential marker – |*-vkaŷ-*| ~ |*+cic-*|

The first variant is postvocalic, while the second postconsonantal. The translation ‘she left her (own) son (as) a small boy (lit. [she] having him small)’ for (36) *mik-luku* or *mike-vkar-luku* above implies by its italicized gloss ‘having’ that the valency is increased to make the verb bivalent, thereby making ‘him’ into the P argument, and rendering the added A argument coreferential with the main-clause subject (‘she’). The subject coreferential marker is also found in (9a) *nere-vkar-luku*.

The suppletive marker |*-vkaŷ-*| ~ |*+cic-*| for coreferentiality is, as a matter of fact, one important function of the causative complex transitive with the same suppletion (§ 40.2.1). Jacobson (1995: 333) calls this a “subject adjuster”.

The reason for the coreferential marker is further explained in (i) just below, along with its very frequent deletion (ii):

i) *necessity of the marker* (CRF): In cases where the absolutive argument (S or P) of an appositional verb is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause, basically the marker occurs to make it coreferential as a special morpho-syntactic device.

For instance, (9a) is repeated here as (42a) below, for comparison with (42b). In (b), with the reflexive third person appositional, the ‘eater’ should be ‘he’ because of its coreferentiality with the main-clause subject. But, if the ‘eater’ is meant not to be ‘he’ but someone else, like ‘she’, the appositional verb would require a valency increase so as to make the (added) subject coreferential with the main clause subject ‘he’, like (a) *nere-vkar-luku*, ‘(he) *having her eat*’, where the original causative meaning is being neutralized:

- (42) a. *Tangrr-aa*                      *nere-vkar-luku*.  
 see-IND.3sg.3sg.      eat-CRF-APP.3sg.  
 ‘He saw her eating; when he saw her, she was eating (lit. he saw her, (he) *having her eat*).’
- b. *Tangrr-aa*                      *ner-luni*  
 see-IND.3sg.3sg.      eat-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He saw her, (*he*) eating.’

– which comes with the caveat that (a) has another reading where the third person does not refer to the eater ‘she’, i.e. the A argument of the bivalent *nere-*, but to ‘something eaten’, that is, the P argument – see (83)-ii.

If the main clause predicate in (42) had *tangrr-aqa* (IND.1sg.3sg.) ‘I saw him’ with first person subject (instead of *tangrr-aa*), *ner-luni* in (b) would have to be replaced by *ner-lua* (APP.1sg.), but the *nere-vkar-luku* for (a) remains intact as ‘(I) *having her eat*’.

Incidentally, the appositional *nere-vkar-luku* can still have permissive-causative readings either of ‘letting (someone) eat *it*’ or ‘letting *her* eat (some-

thing)’. This functions as a complex transitive with *-luku* referring to ‘it’ or ‘her’ and ‘(someone)’ or ‘(something)’ being able to be expressed by an oblique (allative or ablative-modalis) NP – see § 40.2.1 (type 1 and 2 complex transitives).

Likewise, in the following example, the same verb *tangrr-* is used for the main clause, while the appositional verb stem *|qia-|* ‘to cry’ is monovalent (instead of the bivalent *|niyi-|* ‘to eat’, above). Since ‘the one crying’ is ‘he’ in (b), the appositional verb *qia-luni* has the reflexive third person marked, as it is meant to identify the one crying with the “possessor” of ‘his wife’, while the coreferential marker is required in (a), and *qia-vkar-* (glossed as ‘to have someone cry’), now an extended bivalent verb, occurs with the third person inflection:

- (43) a. *Arna-ni<sub>P</sub>*                      *tangrr-aa*                      *qia-vkar-luku*.  
 woman-ABS.3Rsg.sg.            see-IND.3sg.3sg.            cry-CRF-APP.3sg.  
 ‘He saw his (own) wife, [he] having her cry (she crying).’
- b. *Arna-ni<sub>P</sub>*                      *tangrr-aa*                      *qia-luni*.  
 woman-ABS.3Rsg.sg.            see-IND.3sg.3sg.            cry-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He saw his (own) wife, (he) crying.’

(43b) comes with the caveat that, if with prosody (and potential pause after *tangr-aa*) involved, it may mean ‘she is crying’ as an independent use (§ 51.4).

It should be clear, however, that the CAY causative complex transitive marker *|-vkaŷ-|* ~ *|+cic-|*, like the English verb *to have*,<sup>4</sup> has the function of increasing valency without a causative meaning beside the causative function and that the function is utilized in CAY to supply an appositional verb with an argument that is to be coreferential with the main-clause subject. Hence *|+cic-|* ~ *|-vkaŷ-|* as the coreferential marker, though devoid of causative connotation, structurally retains the property of a complex verb with increased valency and shows the same case marking, as will be seen later. Since the same suffix has the two functions, causative and coreferential, ambiguity may sometimes arise between the causative and coreferential uses:

- (44) *Pissur-ya-llru-uq*            *irnia-ni<sub>P</sub>*                      *pai-vkar-luku*.  
 hunt-go-PST-IND.3sg.    child-ABS.3Rsg.sg.            stay-A'.let/have-APP.3sg.  
 i. ‘He went hunting [he] *letting* his (own) child stay at home.’  
 ii. ‘He went hunting [he] *having* his (own) child stay at home; he went hunting as/while his (own) child stayed at home.’

4. In S + have + O construction such as *I have never had that happen to me* (= *that has never happened to me*); *I had a number of students skip class (on me)*; *the bus had few seats taken* (vs. causative *Have him call me, if you happen to talk to him!*).

The Japanese causative suffix *|(sa)se-|* may also have much the same function, particularly as an adjunct to inalienably possessed nominals (§ 51.2.8; esp. fn. 6).

There are also the cases in which the use is chiefly coreferential, although causative connotation is not totally absent.

The coreferential marker of the same function together with its deletion (just below) occurs also in CSY, as exemplified in annotated texts in K. Nagai (2001).

ii) *Deletion of coreferential markers*: Despite this syntactic necessity of the coreferential marker (CRF) in appositional verbs, appositional verbs more often than not occur without CRF where it would be syntactically expected (that is, when the subject is not coreferential with that of a main clause verb); (43), repeated as (45), may have the *-vkar-* in (a) deleted or not, with little if any difference:

- (45) a. *Arna-ni<sub>p</sub>*                      *tangrr-aa*                      *qia-(vkar-)luku.*  
 woman-ABS.3Rsg.sg.              see-IND.3sg.3sg.      cry-(CRF-)APP.3sg.  
 ‘He saw his (own) wife, [he] having her cry (she crying).’
- b. *Arna-ni<sub>p</sub>*                      *tangrr-aa*                      *qia-luni.*  
 woman-ABS.3Rsg.sg.              see-IND.3sg.3sg.      cry-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He saw his (own) wife, (he) crying.’

– where *qia-luku* without the marker in (a) would not cause any ambiguity only due to the contrast from the reflexive (since only the two arguments – ‘he’ and ‘his wife’ – are involved and *|qia-|* is monovalent). Third person appositional verbs with a monovalent stem are actually far from rare, being abundant in § 51.4, etc.

Certainly, it seems that deletion or retention of the coreferential marker is correlated with the possibility of a resulting ambiguity but that the CRF is more liable to be deleted (or retained) in some cases than others. It may be even more obligatory or preferable, or its deletion may be more natural. In (45a), as a matter of fact, the construction without CRF is probably much more common than the one with CRF retained.

The latter with retention does occur, nevertheless, and may even be preferred to the former by some speakers. This may imply that ambiguity is not the sole factor in the retention of the marker.

There are cases where the retention or deletion of a coreferential marker seems to depend upon the semantic features of the verb stems and nominals concerned – animacy, controllability, etc. As the marker is primarily a causative suffix, it is much less common in those types of verbs, denoting an action or a state in which the referent of the main-clause subject no longer has any control.

- (46) a. *Yungcar-i-ste-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *tuqu-vkar-luku*  
 medicate-APS-VNrl-REL.sg. die-CRF-APP.3sg.  
*tangva-llru-a.*  
 watch-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The doctor was watching her die ([he] having her now dying).’

- b. *Yungcar-i-ste-m<sub>A</sub>*                      *tuqu-ma-luku*  
 medicate-APS-VNrl-REL.sg.    die-STT-APP.3sg.  
*tangrr-aa.*  
 see-IND.3sg.3sg  
 ‘The doctor saw her (already) dead.’

The first (a) may have a causative connotation (though one of noninterference), possibly implying that there may have been some treatment that ‘the doctor’ could have given ‘her’ when still alive; there was indeed a certain amount of controllability. But the second (b) contains the stative marker *-ma-* implying that ‘she’ was already dead. The occurrence of the causative marker there, i.e., *\*tuqu-ma-vkar-luku*, would not be acceptable because of the causative implication.

In the following (a) the ‘fishing’ on the part of the ‘wife’ and the ‘hunting’ on the part of ‘he’ take place simultaneously. The third-person marker *-luku* indicates that the referent ‘one fishing’ is different from the head-clause subject ‘he’. Some speakers feel *manar-tel-luku* to be too causative, preferring *manar-luku*, while others think that *manar-luku* may imply ‘fishing his wife’ (by taking the stem *manar-* as transitive), preferring *manar-tel-luku* (with no connotation of causation). To the speakers of the latter group, however, either *manar-luku* or *manar-tel-luku* would be acceptable in (b):

- (47) a. *Arna-ni*                      *manar-(tel-)luku*                      *pissu-llru-uq.*  
 woman-ABS.3Rsg.sg.    fish-(CRF-)APP.3sg.    hunt-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He went hunting, while his wife was fishing (by hooking).’  
 b. *Manar-(tel)-luku*                      *tangrr-amiu*                      *nunur-aa.*  
 fish-(CRF-)APP.3sg.    see-CNNbc.3Rsg.3sg.    scold-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘She scolded him as she saw him fishing (by hooking).’

Likewise, note in the following example without CRF that the buyers (‘they’) cannot control the price:

- (48) *Aki-tu-luki*                      *kiput(e)-lar-ait.*  
 price-have.much-APP.3pl.    buy-GEN-IND.3pl.3pl.  
 ‘They buy them at a high price.’

In this connection, it should be noted that the causative marker may be omitted in (independent) main clauses as well. The denominalized verb *aki-tu-* ‘to be expensive’ below, which is typically monovalent, is made bivalent by the causative suffix, as in the following, to be susceptible to transitive inflection, but the second form without the marker may also be used:

- (49) *aki-tu-vkar-anka* ≙ *aki-tu-anka*    ‘I am putting a high price on them.’  
 price-have.much-(A'.make-)IND.1sg.3sg.



By the same token, appositional verbs denoting weather condition, time, day/night, season, and the like do not typically have CRF (though some speakers use one, at least with some verbs). This is presumably because these are phenomena that are beyond human control.

- (50) *Qiu-ma-vke-naki* (~ *qiu-ma-vkar-pek'-naki*)    *sura-t<sub>p</sub>*  
 unripe-STT-(CRF-)NEG.APP.3pl.                      blueberry-ABS.pl.  
*iqvar-ai*.  
 pick.berry-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘She is picking blueberries *while* they are still unripe.’  
 – It is nature, beyond human control, that is responsible for berries ripening day after day, but at the same time it depends upon each picker to decide whether to wait another day (impatiently) before picking. (It would be hardly understandable to outsiders how Yupik women are impatient when the time is approaching.)
- (51) *Arnaqs*                      *manar-yartu-llru-uq*                      [*irnia-ni<sub>p</sub>*  
 woman.ABS.sg.                      fish-go.to-PST-IND.3sg.                      child-ABS.3Rsg.pl.  
*tupa-uma-ri-(vkar-)**luki***].<sup>5</sup>  
 awaken-PRF-INC-(CRF-)APP.3pl.  
 ‘The woman went out fishing after her children had awakened.’

On the other hand, there are cases where the deletion of CRF may possibly entail a difference. The sentence (a) below, without the marker, is preferred to the retained marker, which would produce ambiguity:

- (52) a. *Ina-ngqa-luku*                      *unit-aqa*.  
 lie-STT-APP.3sg.                      leave-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I left him behind, lying down.’
- b. *Ina-ngqa-vkar-luku*                      *unit-aqa*.  
 lie-STT-A'.have/make-APP.3sg.                      leave-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 i. ‘I left him behind, (he) lying down.’ – coreferential  
 ii. ‘I left him behind, letting him lie down.’ – causative.

See also the contrast below, where the clause *yuarun atullrua* is just a statement, but the focus of interest in (b) is on *cuka-luku* (without CRF *-vkar-*), i.e. on the speed of the song, whereas that in (a) is on *cuka-luni*, i.e. the singer (his speed):

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5. It is possible to add the coreferential marker here. It may be questioned whether or not the non-occurrence here has a relationship with the characteristic of the perfective suffix – cf. Jacobson (1995: 375) and Miyaoka (1994: fn. 4).

- (53) a. *Cuka-luni*                      *yuarun<sub>P</sub>*                      *atu-llru-a*.  
 fast-APP.3Rsg.                      song.ABS.sg.                      sing-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He sang the song fast.’
- b. *Cuka-luku*                      *yuarun<sub>P</sub>*                      *atu-llru-a*.  
 fast-APP.3sg.                      song.ABS.sg.                      sing-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He sang *the song* fast; the song was sung fast by him.’
- (54) *Cuka-luni*                      *atu-neq<sub>P</sub>*                      *elit-aa*.  
 fast-APP.3Rsg.                      sing-VNnm.ABS.sg.                      learn-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 i. ‘He learned fast (way of) singing.’ – adnominal  
 ii. ‘He fast learned to sing.’ – cosubordinate.

As implied above, we are aware that the retention or deletion of coreferential markers depends to a considerable extent upon the speakers, with some of them evidently showing greater preference or tolerance for retention than others.

Since complex verbs naturally increase valency (due to the addition of A'), serving as a coreferential marker, the coreferential marker may not be needed: e.g. (55b), with the complex verb *-yuk-*, has no coreferential marker, while (55a) is a repeated (2b):

- (55) a. *Can-li-lriar-u-luni*    *tama-na<sub>S</sub>*  
 grass-well.provided-VNrl-be-APP.3Rsg.                      that-EX.ABS.sg.  
*nuna-u-guq*.  
 land-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘That is a land with lots of grass (being the one which is well provided with grass).’
- b. *Can-li-lriar-u-luku*    *tama-na<sub>P</sub>*  
 grass-well.provided-VNrl-be APP.3sg.                      that-EX.ABS.sg.  
*nuna-u-yuk-saaq-aqa*.  
 land-be-A'.think-but-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I had thought that was a land with lots of grass.’

Note that in the first sentence (a), the noun *nuna* is verbalized by the relational verb suffix together with the appositional verb, which derives from an intransitive verb whose subject is *tamana* – as the head of *canlilriaruluni* – thus with no change in the person. The second sentence (b), on the other hand, has the complex-verbal *-yuk-* (VVcm |+<sub>1</sub>*cuki-*), which adds an A' argument as a subject, so that *tamana* becomes the object, thereby changing the person in the appositional verb.

See also the pair below and note that (b) has no coreferential marker:

- (56) a. *Tuqu-ngait-ni-luni* *qaner-tuq.*  
 die-will.not-A'.say-APP.3Rsg. say-IND.3sg.  
 'He says (he saying) *he (himself)* will not die.'
- b. *Tuqu-ngait-ni-luku* *qanr-a.*  
 die-will.not-A'.say-APP.3sg. say-OPT.2 sg.  
 'Say *he* will not die!'

In any case, the retention or deletion of a coreferential marker would not necessarily be a free choice, but is indeed conditioned by a number of factors that remain to be explored.

Keep in mind that a CAY absolutive-case NP, i.e. the intransitive subject or the transitive object, is the element generally focused in a sentence (Miyaoaka 1987).

## 2. Cosubordinate clauses

An appositional verb, which is syntactically dependent upon the main clause, primarily serves as a cosubordinate clause and has the S or P argument marked in its inflection, with the subjects of the two clauses being coreferential. If the argument is overtly expressed by a free NP, it occurs with the absolutive case (except for the first and second person referent with the locative case; § 27.4).

Semantically, appositional verbs show a wide variety and range, primarily depending upon the stem and the suffix(es) involved. The following subclassification of usages (§ 51.2.1 through § 51.2.6) is admittedly arbitrary.

### 2.1. Concomitant circumstances

An appositional verb can describe a circumstance concomitant with the situation expressed by the main clause.

#### i) *Simultaneous state or action:*

- (57) a. *Nakleg-naq-luku* *tangerr-suummit-aqa.*  
 compassion-NEC-APP.3sg. see-not.care-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I don't like to see her in her poor (physical, mental) condition.'
- b. *Nakleg-naq-lua* (APP.1sg.) *tangerr-suummit-aqa.*  
 'I, in poor condition, don't like to see her.'
- c. *Nakleg-naq-luten* (APP.2sg.) *tangerr-suummit-amken* (IND.1sg.2sg.).  
 'I don't like to see you(sg.) in your poor condition.'

- (58) [*Yuar-luni*                    *irnia-minek<sub>(p)</sub>*]                    *ceñirt-ai*  
 look.for-APP.3Rsg. child-ABM.3Rsg.sg. visit-IND.3sg.3pl.  
*nuna-t<sub>p</sub>*.  
 village-ABS.pl.  
 ‘He is going through the village, looking for his (own) child.’
- (59) [*Tau-na*                    *angun*]<sub>s</sub>                    *pissu(r)-lar-tuq*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg. hunt-HAB-IND.3sg.  
 [*arna-ni<sub>p</sub>*                    *manar-tel-luku*].  
 Wi-ABS.3Rsg.sg. fish-CRF-APP.3sg.  
 ‘That man goes hunting with his (own) wife fishing (by hooking).’
- (60) *Naulluu-(vkar)-luku*                    *unic-uumiit-aqa*.  
 sick-(CRF-)APP.3sg. leave-not.care-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t want to leave him sick.’
- (61) *Assir-luku*                    *auluke-llru-a*                    *aata-ka<sub>p</sub>*  
 do.well-APP.3sg. care-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. Fa-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*nulia-ma<sub>A</sub>*.  
 Wi-REL.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My wife took good care of my father.’  
 – with focus on the wellness of the father.
- (62) *Qimugta<sub>p</sub>*                    *mik-luku*                    *pi-ksagute-llru-aqa*.  
 dog.ABS.sg. small-APP.3sg. thing-acquire.as-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I got the dog when it was small.’

Negative appositionals (§ 51.1.3) are also frequent:

- (63) a. *Pelatekar-Ø-pek'-nanuk*                    *unug-i-ki-luk*.  
 tent-have-NEG-APP.1du. night-INC-ASP-OPT.1du.  
 ‘Let us(du.) spend the night without setting up a tent.’  
 b. *Teng-au-llru-uq*                    *qule-qsig-pek'-nani*.  
 fly-CNT-PST-IND.3sg. high-far-NEG-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘It was flying around not high.’
- (64) a. *Iter-tuq*                    *angni-i-nani*.  
 enter-IND.3sg. happy-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He came in sadly.’ – NV |+*ñit*-| ‘to lack’  
 b. *Arenqi-a-nani*                    *qanr-ut-aanga*.  
 appropriate-not-APP.3Rsg. say-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘He told me with excitement.’ – VVn |-*at*-| as in § 44 (9).

With stative suffixes, particularly postural:

- (65) *Cali-sciigat-ua*                      *makt-a-(vkar-)luten*  
 work-cannot-IND.1sg.              get.up-STT-(CRF-)APP.2sg.  
 (/makt-i-ivet)    *tu-a-ni*.  
 /-CNNbc.2sg.    that-EX-LOC  
 ‘I cannot work with you (sg.) sitting up there.’  
 – the latter *makt-i-ivet* from |*makta+ɲavit*| (P6i).
- (66) *Angyaqs*              *kis-nga-luni*                      *agiirt-uq*.  
 boat.ABS.sg.    sink-STT-APP.3Rsg.              approach-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The boat is coming, barely floating out of the water (because of a heavy load).’  
 – the appositional cannot be replaced by connective (3Rsg.) \**kit-mi* since |*kic-*| is not a postural stem.

A stative appositional with |*ɲqa-*| (§ 42.2.3) is equivalent to a stative-connective verb (§ 50.10). See also (10):

- (67) *Palu-ngqa-lua* ≡ *palur-ma*                      *qava-llru-llini-unga*.  
 face.down-STT-APP.1sg./-CNNst.1sg.              sleep-PST-EVD-IND.1sg.  
 ‘(So I see) I slept, lying face down.’  
 – with postural root |*paluɣ-*| (§ 36.2).

*Intermittency with VVt* |*-qa(ɣa)qi-*| ‘*-ing now and then*’ (§ 42.2.4) – the /*ɣa*/ may be deleted by (P18v), possibly implying involuntariness for some speakers.

- (68) *Qava-cua-qaq-luni* / *Qava-cua-qeraq-luni*              *cali-uq*.  
 sleep-little-ITM-APP.3Rsg.                      work-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is working, taking short naps (involuntarily) now and then.’  
 – /a/ > /i/ in *-qeraq-* by (P19).
- (69) *Yura-qaq-lutek*                      *ner'-uk*.  
 dance-ITM-APP.3Rdu.              eat-IND.3du.  
 ‘They(du.) are eating, dancing now and then.’
- (70) *Atam*    [*ik-na*                      *tuntuq*  
 look    one.across-EX.ABS.sg.              caribou.ABS.sg.  
*ungaguar-tu-lria*]<sub>s</sub>                      *eme-q'aq-luni*.  
 moss-eat-VNrl.ABS.sg.              drink-ITM-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Look, that caribou eating moss across the way is drinking now and then.’ – gemination of *-q'aq-* by (P18ii.c).

*Accompaniment/carrying/possession:*

a) stems with *|maliy-|* ‘to bring along; wave’:

- (71) [*Irnia-minek*<sub>(P)</sub>            *malig-luni*]                    *pissu-llru-uq.*  
 child-ABM.3Rsg.sg. take.along-APP.3Rsg.    hunt-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He went (he) hunting, taking along his (own) child.’

While this has the monovalent *|maliy-|* ‘to bring along; wave’ with *-luni*, the following has the bivalent *|maliki-|* ‘to take along’ (wave-have.as) or *|maliy-|* ‘to accompany’ (with A adder *|+c-|*), hence with the third person *-luku*. This difference is reflected in the case marking of the P argument (‘his own child’) – ablative-modalis above, and absolutive below:

- (72) [*Irnia-ni*<sub>P</sub>                    *malik-luku*            /    *maligg-luku*]  
 child-ABS.3Rsg.sg. take.along-APP.3sg. / go.with-APP.3sg.  
*pissu-llru-uq.*  
 hunt-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He went hunting (he) taking along / accompanying (with) his (own) child.’

b) Denominalizing suffixes NV *|-lyiy-|* (~ *|-lyiy-|*) ‘to take along’ and *|-liy-|* ‘to supply with, have plenty of’ (§ 38.2, § 38.3), the former of which at least is presumably related to NN *|-ly-|* ‘one having’ (§ 20.1.2):

- (73) *Nute-l(l)gīr-lua*                    *aya-llru-unga.*                    ‘I left with a gun.’  
 gun-provided-APP.1sg. leave-PST-IND.1sg.
- (74) *Can-lir-luni*                            *nuna-u-guq.* ‘It is a land with lots of grass.’  
 grass-have.lots-APP.3Rsg. land-be-IND.3sg.  
 cf. *can-lek* (grass-having.ABS.sg.) *nuna* (ABS.sg.) ‘the land with grass’.

c) Denominalizing suffixes of possession, existence, privative – NV *|+y-|* (postvocalic) ~ *|+Ø-|* (postconsonantal) ‘to have’, *|+tay-|* ‘to have (temporarily at that time)’ (§ 51.1.2-ii), NV *|+nit-|* ‘not to have’, *|+tait-|* ‘not to have (temporarily at that time)’ (§ 51.1.3) – the first two of which are suffixes specific to the appositional mood that occur in place of the general NV *|-ηqx-|* and *|+tanqx-|* ‘to have (temporarily):

- (75) a. [*Atauci-mek*                    *qimugte-r-luni*]                    *ayag-tuq.*  
 one-ABM.sg.                    dog-have-APP.3Rsg.                    leave-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He left with one dog.’

- cf. *atauci-mek qimugte-ngqer-tuq* (IND.3sg.) ‘he has one dog’
- b. [*Atauci-mek qimugte-tar-luku*] [*elati-i*  
 one-ABM.sg. dog-have-APP.3sg. outside-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*qasgi-m* <sub>G</sub>] *tanger-ciq-an*.  
 q.-REL.sg. see-FUT-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) will see the *qasgiq* [men’s house] with one dog outside of  
 it.’
- cf. *atauci-mek qimugte-tangqer-tuq* (IND.3sg.) ‘there is one dog’.
- (76) *Qayar-Ø-luni nayir-cu-lriar-u-ngat-uq*.  
 kayak-have-APP.3Rsg. seal-hunt-VNrl-be-INF-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He might be the one who is hunting hair seals while paddling!’  
 – with cyclically expanded or reverbalized *-lriar-u-* (§ 17.2.1).
- (77) [*Nutg-u-nii aya-llru-ama*]  
 gun-PRV-APP.1sg. go-PST-CNNbc.1sg.  
 [*pit-arka-k tau-ku-k*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 catch-VNrl.FUT-ABS.du. that-EX-ABS.du.  
*pissu-llru-nrit-agka*.  
 hunt-PST-NEG-IND.1sg.3du. – PRV |+*nit*-| > *u-*  
 ‘Because I went without a gun, I didn’t hunt those animals (du.).’

The |+*y*-| (~ |+*Ø*-|) ‘to have’ often occurs with the noun |*aipay*-| ‘companion’ (§ 11.4.3-ii), see also (233):

- (78) a. *Kass'a-mek aipar-Ø-luni*  
 white.man-ABM.sg. companion-have-APP.3Rsg.  
 [*aya-llermegni Mamteriller-mun*].  
 go-CNNwn.3du. pl.n.-ALL.sg.  
 ‘He being with a white man when they [du.] were going to Bethel.’
- b. *Ayagyuar-lua 'litnaur-vig-puts kii-mi*  
 young-APP.1sg. learn-place-ABS.1pl.sg. alone-CNNst.3Rsg.  
*ene-rpa-u-la-llru-uq* [*agayu-vig-mek*  
 house-big-be-HAB-PST-IND.3sg. worship-place-ABM.sg.  
*aipar-Ø-luni*].  
 companion-have-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘When I was young, our school used to be the only big house beside  
 the church.’ [LL]
- cf. *agayu-vig-mek aipa-ngqer-tuq* (IND.3sg.) ‘it has a church as  
 well; the other (one) is a church’.

ii) *Quantity*: Numerals and a few other quantifiers, typically with a relational verb suffix or with a few other suffixes, quantify the referent of the head-clause subject (§ 14.3.1.3 and § 14.3.1.4).

- (79) a. ***Malru-u-lutek***                      *ayag-tuk*.  
 two-be-APP.3Rdu.                      left-IND.3du.  
 ‘They two left, i.e. they [du.] being two, they left.’
- b. ***Tallima-urr-luteng***                      *tai-gut*.  
 five-become-APP.3Rpl.                      came-IND.3pl.  
 ‘They, having become five, came.’  
 – inchoative intransitive relational NVrv |+ɲuɣc-|.

Group numerals formed by |-i-| (§ 14.7):

- (80) ***Malru-i-ngu-luteng*** / ***Malru-i-rr-luteng***                      *yu-u-t<sub>s</sub>*  
 two-group-be/become-APP.3Rpl.                      person-EV-ABS.pl.  
*ayag-tut*.  
 go-IND.3pl.  
 ‘People went in two groups, two groups of people went.’  
 – The first appositional *malru-i-ngu-luteng*, which is interchangeable with the nominal *malru-i-n* (ABS) ‘two groups’, is close to an adnominal clause (§ 51.5).
- (81) ***Cetama-i-ngu-(vkar-)luki***                      *atsa-t<sub>p</sub>*                      *caqu-i*.  
 four-group-be-(CRF-)APP.3pl.                      berry-ABS.pl.                      wrap-IND.3sg.3pl.  
 ‘She wrapped the berries in four (having them be in four groups).’  
 – Use of the coreferential marker in *cetamaingu-vkar-luki* may, however, sound clumsy to some speakers, reportedly because causation is too strongly implied. Without the main-clause verb, *cetama-i-ngu-luteng atsa-t* ‘four groups of berries’ (different kinds or just different bags – with necessary person change into the reflexive third) is an adnominal clause (§ 16.6-i).

These two suggest the direct connection of a cosubordinate clause and the adnominal use of the appositional-mood verb. See also § 14.3.1 and § 51.5 for phrasal numerals (for odd numbers), which are actually adnominal clauses.

- (82) a. *Yu-u-t<sub>s</sub>*                      *Napaskiar-nun*                      *tekit-ut*  
 person-EV-ABS.pl.                      pl.n.-ALL.pl.                      arrive-IND.3pl.  
***yugyag-luteng***.  
 numerous-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘People arrived at Napaskiak in great numbers.’



- b. *Yugya-ul-luku*                      *aya-ut-aat*.  
 numerous-E<sub>APL</sub>-APP.3sg.    leave-E<sub>APL</sub>-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 ‘They, many people, are taking him on a journey.’  
 – the focus on the ‘people (arriving)’ in (a), and on ‘him (being accompanied by many people)’ in (b).

iii) *Complements to perception verbs*: Appositional verb clauses often occur with a main clause that features “perception verbs” such as |*tayx-*| ‘to see’, |*muylki-*| ‘to watch’, |*niic-*| ‘to hear’, and |*alaki-*| ‘to notice’. Only a P argument occurs, and thus no reflexive third person.

- (83)      *Tangrr-aqa*                      *nere-vkar-luku*.  
 see-IND.1sg.3sg.    eat-A'.have/make-APP.3sg.  
 i. ‘I saw her eating [something] ([I] having her eat).’  
 – coreferential as (b)  
 ii. ‘I saw it being eaten [by someone].’ – causative as (c):
- a. *Tangrr-aqa*                      *nere-(vkar-)luku*      *neq-mek<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 see-IND.1sg.3sg.    eat-(CRF-)APP.3sg.    fish-ABM.sg.  
*arnaq<sub>P=A</sub>*.  
 woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I saw the woman eating a fish.’
- b. *Tangrr-aqa*                      *nere-vkar-luku*      *arna-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*  
 see-IND.1sg.3sg.    eat-CRF-APP.3sg.    woman-ALL.sg.  
*neqa<sub>P</sub>*.  
 fish.ABS.sg.  
 ‘I saw a/the woman eating the fish.’
- c. *Tangrr-aqa*                      *ner-luku*                      *neqa*.  
 ‘I saw (someone) eating the fish.’  
 cf. CNNwn *ner-lle-mni* / CNNwl *ner-nginane-mni tangrr-aqa neqa*  
 ‘when/while eating, I saw the fish’.

The appositional verb *nere-vkar-luku*, which has the bivalent stem (|*niyi-*|) followed by CRF, is trivalent: A' to have A eat P. A' is the subject of the appositional verb and is coreferential with the main-clause subject ('I'). The choice between readings i) and ii) depends upon whether the A or the P argument is the object. The remaining argument is demoted to an oblique case. The two arguments A and P are explicitly expressed in (a) and (b), which respectively correspond with readings i) and ii). While A in (a) and P in (b) are objects in the absolutive case, P in (a) and A in (b) are in an oblique case. (a), with type 1 complex transitive embedded, seems more common with *-vkar-*, though it can be deleted without yielding ambiguity since the arguments involved are explicitly expressed by the nouns in their appropriate cases. In (b), with complex tran-

sitive 2 embedded, the agent ('woman') is expressed by the allative *arna-mun*, which blocks the deletion of the coreferential marker. Thus, deletion of the agent noun together with CRF, as in (c), would make it ambiguous.

- (84) [ *Kuik<sub>R</sub>*            *Iinraya-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*    *pi-vkar-luku* ]  
 river.ABS.sg.    pl.n.-ABM.sg.    call-CRF-APP.3sg.  
*niic-uit-aqa ~ niic-uit-ua.*  
 hear-never-IND.1sg.3sg./-IND.1sg.  
 'I haven't heard the river called Iinrayaq.'  
 cf. *pi-arput* (IND.1pl.3sg.) *kuik<sub>R</sub>* *Iinraya-mek<sub>(T)</sub>*  
 'we call the river Iinrayaq' – secundative.

## 2.2. Temporal settings

An appositional verb may describe a temporal setting concerning the action or state expressed by the head-clause verb.

### i) *When/while*:

- (85) *Irnia-qa<sub>P</sub>*                    *ma-a-nl-luku ~ ma-a-nte-vkar-luku ~ ma-a-ñā*  
 child-ABS.1sg.sg.    this-EX-be.at-(CRF-)APP.3sg.  
*ayag-yuumiit-ua.*  
 go-not.care-IND.1sg.  
 'While my child is here, I don't care to go.'  
 – locative verb |*maa-nt-*| ('here-be'); see (26) for *ñaku*.
- (86) [ *Ak'a*                    *im-u-mi*    *yuurc-ugnau-nii*  
 long.ago                    that.ANP-EX-LOC.sg.    born-never-APP.1sg.  
*teggli-tang-vailgan* ]                    *yu-u-t<sub>S</sub>*  
 metal-there.be-CNNbf.3sg.    people-EV-ABS.pl.  
*atu-la-llru-ut*                                    [ *ma-kuci-nek*                    *ulua-nek*  
 use-GEN-PST-IND.3pl.    this-kind-ABM.pl.    knife-ABM.pl.  
*teggalqu-nek* ]<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 stone-ABM.pl.  
 'Long before I was born and there was no metal, people used to use this kind of stone knives.'

Despite the remark about controllability, CRF does occur, though rarely, when weather/season verbs are concerned, as if an impersonal *A<sub>IMP</sub>* is involved. Forms without it may be much more common:

- (87) *Uksu-u-gur-(tel-)luku*                      *angun<sub>s</sub>*                      *aya-llru-uq*  
 winter-be-CNT-(CRF-)APP.3sg.    man.ABS.sg.    go-PST-IND.3sg.  
*pissur-vi-minun.*  
 hunt-place-ALL.3Rsg.sg.  
 ‘When it was still winter, the man went to his hunting ground.’
- (88) [*Kiag-u-luku*                      *up'nerka-u-luku=llu*]  
 summer-be-APP.3sg.    spring-be-APP.3sg.=and  
*neq-t-a-l-teng<sub>p</sub>*                                      *ner-ura-llini-aq-ait*  
 fish-catch-VNrl-PST-ABS.3pl.pl.    eat-CNT-EVD-HAB-IND.3pl.3pl.  
*arcaqer-luku.*  
 cherish-APP.3sg.  
 ‘They would keep eating (in winter) the (fish) they caught in the summer and in the spring, cherishing them.’ [FA];  
 cf. *-luku* [sic] for APP.3pl. *arcaqer-luki*; see [FASM 7]. The appositional coordinate phrase as adnominal adjunct to *neq-t-a-* (§ 16.6-i, § 51.5).
- (89) *Akwaugaq kiirce-ñaku* (~ *kiir-cel-luku*)                      *iqva-llru-ukut.*  
 yesterday    hot-APP.3sg.(hot-CRF-APP.3sg.)    berry-PST-IND.1pl.  
 ‘We picked berries yesterday when it was hot.’
- (90) [*Aya-llemteñi*                      *ella<sub>p</sub>*                      *assir-(tel-)luku*]  
 go-CNNwn.1pl.                      weather.ABS.sg.    good-(CRF-)APP.3sg.  
*iqv-iqe-llru-ukut.*  
 berry-get.lots-PST-IND.1pl.  
 ‘When we went the weather was good and we got lots of berries.’  
 – NV *|-liqi-* ‘to get lots’ (§ 38.3).
- (91) *Aata-ka<sub>p</sub>*                      *ciugli-u-(vkar-)luku*                      *ayag-tukut.*  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg.    front-be-(CRF-)APP.3sg.    go-IND.1pl.  
 ‘We are going, (letting) my father to the front.’

ii) *Sequence*: An appositional verb denotes an event that precedes the event predicated by the main clause. The word order reflects the sequence of the events. This important use of appositional verbs fits the classic definition of “narrative” (Labov 1972).

- (92) a. *Iter-luci*                                      *kamgu-ir-ci!*  
 enter-APP.2pl.                      boot-remove-OPT.2pl.  
 ‘(You [pl.]) *come in* and take off your boots!’
- b. *Kamgu-ir-luci*                                      *iter-ci!*  
 boot-remove-APP.2pl.                      come.in-OPT.2pl.  
 ‘(You [pl.]) *take off your boots* and come in!’

- (93) *Uterr-lua* *tua=i upc-artu-qatar-tua.*  
 go.home-APP.1sg. SFL ready-go.to-IMN-IND.1sg.  
 ‘I’ll go home now and get ready.’

The following example has the main clause with three appositional verbs with *-luta*, which indicate sequential actions. The third one contains the aspectual *-aq-* from *|+yaqi-|* (§ 51.1.2-iii). It corresponds to the constantive-connective verb *tupagt-aqakut* in the dependent clause. See § 27.4 for the locative case of *tan'gaurhur-ni*, which refers to the first person (plural).

- (94) *Akleng [wangkuta tan'gaurhur-ni]<sub>p</sub> tupag-t-aqakut,*  
 poor 1pl. boy-LOC.pl. wake.up-A-CNNwv-3pl.1pl.  
*egmian qavarni-ngramta [mak-luta*  
 immediately sleepy-CNNth.1pl. get.up-APP.1pl.  
*ayalua-luta ella-mun an'-aq-luta].*  
 stagger-APP.1pl. outside-ALL.sg. go.out-REG-APP.1pl.  
 ‘When they woke us poor boys up, we would get up right away no matter how sleepy we were and stagger outside.’ [YQYL 80]

iii) *Precedence* – VVa *|-xaay-|* (‘first –ing , after –ing’; § 51.1.2-iii): Stem-final /c/ may optionally coalesce with the initial /x/ into /q/: e.g. *igte-rraar-luni ~ ig-qaar-luni* ‘(it) after dropping’; (*|iy-|* ‘to drop’).

In (a) and (b) in the following, the difference reflects the difference in the person (3Rsg. vs. 3sg.). In (c) and (d) the suffix either precedes or immediately follows the coreferential or causative marker in an appositional verb, depending upon which there can be variation in causativity:

- (95) a. *Ane-llru-ug nere-rraar-luni.*  
 went.out-PST-IND.3sg. eat-first-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘After eating (s.t.), he went out.’  
 b. *Ane-llru-ug nere-rraar-luku* (eat-first-APP.3sg.)  
 ‘After eating it, he went out.’  
 c. *Ane-llru-ug nere-rraar-tel-luku* (first-CRF-APP.3sg.)  
 ‘After she ate, he went out.’  
 d. *Ane-llru-ug nere-vkar-raar-luku* (eat-A'.let/have-first-APP.3sg.).  
 i. ‘After he fed her (let her eat), he went out.’  
 ii. ? ‘After she ate, he went out.’
- (96) *Yu-urte-llru-ug [aata-ni]<sub>p</sub>*  
 person-become-PST-IND.3sg. Fa-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*tuqu-rraar-(tel-)luku].*  
 die-first-(CRF-)APP.3sg.  
 ‘He was born after his father died.’

– Deletion of the coreferential marker is possible, but its retention seems to be much more acceptable, at least to some speakers.

The suffix  $|-x̣aaɣ̣-|$  can be preceded by the intensifier  $VVa |-qaɣ̣-|$  (§ 41.3.4), which occurs by itself, as in (iv.b) below, to particularly indicate immediacy:

- (97) a. *Tupa-kar-raar-lua*                      *qalar-ut'-ng-aanga*.  
wake.up-ITS-first-APP.1sg. speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-INC-IND.3sg.1sg.  
'Just after I wake up (cf. iv. immediacy just below), he starts to talk to me.'
- b. *Tupa-kar-raar-luni*                      *kuingir-yu-lar-tuq*.  
wake.up-ITS-first-APP.3Rsg. smoke-DES-HAB-IND.3sg.  
'He wants to smoke just after he wakes up.'

Precedence can be implied by the adverbial particle  $|ak'a|$  with or without the co-occurring suffix  $|-x̣aaɣ̣-|$ :

- (98) *Ak'a*                      *yura-uma-ri-luki*                      *itr-anka*.  
long.time dance-PRF-INC-APP.3pl. enter-IND.1sg.3pl.  
'After they were through dancing, I went to the place that they were.'

iv) *Immediacy* – 'as soon as, on -ing':

a. with  $|iymian|$ : The particle makes the immediacy explicit, at the same time giving a narrative tone to a sentence that would otherwise be a mere statement of temporal sequence.

- (99) a. *Tupag-luni*                      *egmian*                      *qan-ng-uq*.  
woke.up-APP.3Rsg. as.soon.as speak-INC-IND.3sg.  
'As soon as *he* woke up, he started speaking.'
- b. *Tupag-(tel-)luku*                      *egmian*                      *qalar-ut'-ng-aa*.  
woke.up-(CRF-)-APP.3sg. as.soon.as speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-INC-IND.3sg.3sg.  
'As soon as *she* woke up, he started talking to her.'

b. with  $VVa |-qaɣ̣-|$ : The suffix, which is an intensifying marker ('just, instantly, for a moment'; § 41.3.4), is used to denote immediate precedence. See (P19) for  $|-qaɣ̣-| > -qer-$ . The stem  $|tikic-|$  'to arrive (at)' in the following is bivalent (thus 100b.i, c.ii, d):

- (100) a. *Tekite-qer-luni*                      *qia-guq*.  
arrive-ITS-APP.3Rsg. cry-IND.3sg.  
'He cried as soon as/just when he (himself) arrived.'

- b. [*Aipa-ni*                      *tekite-qer-luku*]              *qia-guq*.  
 partner-ABS.3Rsg.sg.    arrive-ITS-APP.3sg.    cry-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘He cried as soon as he (himself) arrived to where his (own) wife was.’  
 ii. ‘He cried as soon as his (own) wife arrived.’
- c. *Aipa-ni*                      *tekite-qer-tel-luku*              *qia-guq*.  
 partner-ABS.3Rsg.sg.    arrive-ITS-CRF-APP.3sg.    cry-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘He cried as soon as his (own) wife arrived.’ = b-ii  
 ii. ‘He cried as soon as someone else arrived at his [the man's] wife.’
- d. *Mikelngur-mun*    *tekite-qer-tel-luku*              *aipa-ni<sub>p</sub>*  
 child-ALL.sg.    arrive-ITS-CRF-APP.3sg.    partner-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*qia-guq*.  
 cry-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He cried as soon as the child arrived at where his [the man's] wife was.’ – the allative *mikelngur-mun*, above, is a demoted subject of the A of the bivalent |*tikic-*| as it is embedded in the complex transitive clause. But neither A nor P is indexed in the head-clause verb.  
 – cf. *mikelngu-u-m tekit-aa* ‘the child arrived at her’.

- (101) *Piyua-ng-arte-qer-luku*              *alake-llru-a*.  
 walk-INC-IMD-ITS-APP.3sg.    notice-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Just as soon as he started walking, she noticed him.’

The suffix |*-qay-*| either precedes or immediately follows the causative/coreferential marker, but the marker preceding the suffix makes the sentence more causative than would otherwise be the case with |*-xaay-*| ‘first –ing’ in the preceding section.

See § 51.2.7 for the intensifier VVa |*-qay-*| with the stems |*ca-*| ‘to do what’ and |*pi-*| ‘to do’ occurring in lexicalized *pi-qer-luni* ‘it happened (suddenly)’ and *ca-qer-luni* ‘it happened (somewhat differently)’ (§ 10.3.2).

v) *Starting point and goal/extent*: Non-temporal settings/settings are included here as well.

v.a) *starting point* – with monovalent |*ayay-*| ‘to start’:

- (102) [*Uksu-mek*                      *ayag-luteng*] *yura-ng(e)-lar-tut*  
 winter-ABM.sg.    start-APP.3Rpl.    dance-INC-GEN-IND.3pl.  
*Kuigpag-mi*              [*up'nerkaq<sub>p</sub>*              *tekil-luku*].  
 Yukon-LOC.sg.    spring.ABS.sg.    reach-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Starting in winter they usually begin to dance in the Yukon (lit. ‘big river’) until [reaching] spring ([they] reaching spring [goal/extent]).’  
 – the goal (‘until the time of’) is expressed by the appositional verb with |*tikic-*| ‘to reach’.

- (103) *ena* *ite-qsail-kenga-qa*  
 house.ABS.sg. enter-not.yet-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 [yuurte-lle-mnek *ayag-lua*]  
 born-VNnm-ABM.1sg.sg. depart-APP.1sg.  
 ‘the house which I haven’t entered since I was born’.
- (104) [*Kuigpi-i-m<sub>G</sub>* [*pag-aa-ken nuni-inek*]]  
 pl.n.-EV-REL.sg. up-EX-ABM land-ABM.3sg.sg.  
*ayag-luku*.  
 depart-APP.3sg.  
 ‘(It started) beginning from the Yukon area up there.’ [CIUL 22]

The precessive-connective mood with |+<sub>1</sub>*paily-*| (§ 50.4.1) as the starting point:

- (105) [[*Ca-nek* *iinru-ka-minek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 some-ABM.pl. medicine-FUT-ABM.3Rsg.sg.  
*teki-u-pailganek*] *ayag-luni*, *naulluu-guq*.  
 arrive-E<sub>APL</sub>-CNNbf.3sg. leave-APP.3Rsg. sick-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He was (already) sick (starting from) before she brought him (arrive him with) some medicine.’

The derived stems |*ayayniy-*| ‘to begin’ (with the composite |+<sub>1</sub>*ny-liy-*| VNnm-supply) and bivalent |*ayayniqi-*| (with |*-ny-ki-*| VNnm-have.as) may also be used as a starting point – see § 38.3 under NV |*-liy-*|:

- (106) a. [*Yuurte-ller-minek* *ayagnir-luni*]  
 born-VNnm-ABM.3Rsg.sg. begin-APP.3Rsg.  
*tuatna-lar-tuq*.  
 do.that.way-HAB-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is that way since he was born (from his being born).’
- b. [*Yuurte-ll-ni<sub>P</sub>* *ayagneq-luku*]  
 born-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg. begin-APP.3sg.  
*tuatna-lar-tuq*.  
 do.that.way-HAB-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is that way since (having it as a start) he was born (his being born).’

Compare also (125) *picir-luni* vs. *pitek-luku* ‘having as reason’, with the same pattern of suffix composition.





They include manner, attitude, way, means, purpose, wish, and so on.

i) *Manner/attitude*:

- (111) a. *Allraku-ts ellug-tut cuka-luteng.*  
 years-ABS.pl. pass-IND.3pl. fast-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘Years are going (*by their being*) fast / (*and they are*) fast.’
- b. *Kitek cuka-u-nanuk nepa-il-caar-lunuk*  
 now fast-PRV-APP.1du. sound-PRV-try-APP.1du.  
*ullag-naur-puk.*  
 approach-now-IND.1du.3sg.  
 ‘Now, slowly and quietly we(du.) will go to it.’  
 – with *-u-* and *-il-* from the same privative NV/VVn |*+nit-*| (§ 38.1).
- (112) *Utaqa-lar-tut uita-sciiga-nateng*  
 wait-GEN-IND.3pl. wait-cannot-APP.3Rpl.  
*pissur-nari-niarar-qan.*  
 hunt-time.to-soon-CNNwv.3sg.  
 ‘They wait impatiently when it is almost time to hunt.’
- (113) *Aassaq-luni melug-lar-tuq.* ‘He usually smokes secretly.’  
 secretly-APP.3Rsg. smoke-HAB-IND.3sg.

ii) *Means/method/process*:

- (114) *Piyua-luta tekite-llru-ukut.* ‘We came on foot.’  
 walk-APP.1pl. come-PST-IND.1pl.
- (115) *Ayag-a-luni nuna-nun cali-uq.*  
 go-RPT-APP.3Rsg. land-ALL.pl. work-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is working by traveling to villages (from one place to another).’
- (116) *Ella<sub>p</sub> ~ [Akerte-m<sub>G</sub> aya-llr-a]<sub>p</sub>*  
 world.ABS.sg. sun-REL.sg. go-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*maligg-luku uiv-uq [qasgi-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 follow-APP.3sg. circle-IND.3sg. q.-REL.sg.  
*ilu-ani].*  
 inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He circled inside the *qasgiq* [men’s house] by following Nature / the natural course of the sun.’  
 – This depicts a scene in the Bladder Feast after the seal bladders are sent back. See § 12-fn.5 for the notion of (c)*ella* |(c)*ila*| (< |*cila-*|) and §16-fn.2 for *qasgiq*.

With *[atuy-]* ‘to use’: The verb occurs with an ablative-modalis NP denoting a means or an instrument:

- (117) a. [*Ca-kuci-nek*            *kuvya-nek*]<sub>(P)</sub>    **atur-luci**  
 what-kind-ABM.pl.    net-ABM.pl.    use-APP.2pl.  
*iqalluar-cur-lar-ceci?*  
 herring-catch-GEN-INT.2pl.  
 ‘What kind of nets do you usually use to fish herring?’
- b. *Kiu-llru-anga*                            [*atauci-mek*    *qaner-yara-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>  
 answer-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.    one-ABM.sg.    speak-VNm-ABM.sg.  
**atur-luni.**  
 use-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He answered me using one word.’

iii) *Reason /purpose/cause/wish/result, etc.:*

- (118) *Quya-unga*                            *tangerr-lua*                            *irnia-mnek*<sub>(P)</sub>.  
 thankful-IND.1sg.    see-APP.1sg.                            child-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I am glad to see my child.’  
 – the verb can be replaced by the exclamative word *quya-naq-va*  
 ‘how thankful!’ (thank-NEC-EXC) with VPC *|+<sub>1</sub>paa|* (§ 52.4.1).
- (119) *U-na<sub>S</sub>*                                    *tai-guq*                                    [*ca<sub>P</sub>*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.                            come-IND.3sg.                            what.ABS.sg.  
*pi-cii-naku*].  
 do-not.know-APP.3sg.  
 ‘He is here (has come), not knowing for what reason.’  
 – see § 18.2.1.3 for *pi-cii-*.
- (120) a. *Alarr-lua*                                    *iga-ute-llini-aqa.*  
 wrong-APP.1sg.                            write-E<sub>APL</sub>-EVD-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘(So I see) I by mistake wrote it down.’  
 – with focus on the mistake of the writer (‘I’)
- b. *Alarr-luku*                                    *iga-ute-llini-aqa.*  
 mistake-APP.3sg.                            write-E<sub>APL</sub>-EVD-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘(So I see) I wrote it mistaken.’  
 – with focus on the thing miswritten, cf. (35) for a similar contrast.
- (121) *Qater-(tel-)luku*                            *angya-ni<sub>P</sub>*                                    *mingug-aa*  
 white-(CRF-)APP.3sg.    boat-ABS.3Rsg.sg.                            paint-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*angute-m<sub>A</sub>.*  
 man-REL.sg.  
 ‘The man painted his boat white (result).’

- (122) [*Ta-u-mi* *erner-mi*] *nat-murte-llru-uq*  
 that-EX-LOC.sg. day-LOC.sg. somewhere-go-PST-IND.3sg.  
*tamar-luni*.  
 lose-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He went somewhere on that day and got lost.’  
 – which may be articulated as two coordinate clauses (§ 51.4.1), con-  
 joined by the enclitic like *tamar-luni=llu* (lose-APP.3Rsg.=and) after  
 potential pause.

Often with the NV |+*suŷ*-| (postvocalic) ~ |+*cuy*-| ‘to hunt, seek’ (§ 38.2):

- (123) *Ca-ssur-luten* *tai-sit?*  
 what-seek-APP.2sg. come-INT.2sg.  
 ‘What did you (sg.) come for?’
- (124) *Angute-t<sub>s</sub>* *tamar-meng* *aya-llru-ut*  
 man-ABS.pl. all-CNNst.3Rpl. go.out-PST-IND.3pl.  
*nayir-cur-luteng*.  
 seal-hunt-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘All of the men went out to hunt hair seal.’  
 with adnominal verb *tamar-meng*.

With more specific stems or suffixes:

*Reason* – with |*piciŷ*-| or |*pitiki*-| ‘to have reason’: The former is a monova-  
 lent and the latter a bivalent stem. The two are expanded respectively from the  
 stem |*pi-t*-| ‘reason urpose’ (from the prop verb |*pi*-| ‘to do’ and the VNnmm  
 |+*ŋut*-| ‘condition/act/time/reason’) with the verbalizing suffix NV |*-liŷ*-| ‘to be  
 supplied with’ (§ 38.3) and the transitive relational NVrv |*-ki*-| ‘to have – as’.  
 See (106) above with the same pattern of suffix composition.

- (125) a. [*Quse-ll-minek*<sub>(p)</sub> *picir-luni*]  
 have.cold-VNnm-ABM.3Rsg.sg. have.reason-APP.3Rsg.  
*cali-yuumiit-uq*.  
 work-not.care-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He doesn't care to work because of his cold.’
- b. [*Qusell-ni*<sub>p</sub> *pittek-luku*]  
 have.cold-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg. have.reason-APP.3sg.  
*cali-yuumiit-uq*.  
 work-not.care-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He doesn't care to work because of his cold.’  
 – cf. (106) *ayagnir-luni* vs. *ayagneq-luku* ‘having as a beginning’.

- (126) [[*Tan'ger-mel-ngur-mi*                      *uita-lria-mi*]  
 darkness-be.at-VNrl-LOC.sg.              stay-VNrl-LOC.sg.  
*pitek-lua*                                      *tuqu-llru-uq*.  
 have.reason-APP.1sg.                      die-PST-IND.3sg.  
 'He died because of me, (one) who is in the darkness.' [EM]  
 – locative NP referring to the first person (§ 27.4).

*Purpose* – |+na-|:

- (127) *Ca-na-luten*                              *tai-sit?*  
 do.what-PUR-APP.2sg.              come-INT.2sg.  
 'For what purpose / With what (future) intention have you (sg.)  
 come?'  
 – may possibly have a negative connotation ('you are not welcome')  
 cf. *ca-luten* (do.what-APP.2sg.) *tai-sit?* 'Why did you (sg.) come?'
- (128) a. *Ca-k-na-luku*                              *qunuk-au?*  
 what-have.as-PUR-APP.3sg.              reluctant.part.with-INT.3sg.3sg.  
 'For what purpose is he reluctant to part with it?'
- b. *Ca-k-na-luni*                                      *qunu-narq-a?*  
 what-have.as-PUR-APP.3Rsg.              reluctant.part.with-NEC-INT.3sg.  
 'What is the reason that he is reluctant to part with (stingy about) it?'

The suffix |+na-|, which implies the future attainment of a purpose, may 'shade off', shifting somewhat into a mere future marker in independently used appositional verbs (§ 51.1.2-iii, § 51.4) instead of the general future marker VVt |+ciqi-| (§ 42.1-ii). The suffix also seem to occur in the speculative complex transitive VVcm |+nayuki-| (§ 40.2.3.1) 'A' to think that (s.o.) might do (s.t.)'.

- (129) *Taangiq-na-luni=am*                              *ui-ka<sub>s</sub>*  
 drink-PUR-APP.3Rsg.=ENC              Hu-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*Anchorage-aa-mun*                      *aya-kuni*.  
 pl.n.-LNK-ALL.sg.                      go-CNNif.3Rsg.  
 'My husband will get drunk if he goes to Anchorage (darn it).'  
 – enclitic =am 'again' (frustration implied, § 54.3-i).

The appositional verb, except for the expressiveness, has much the same force as the indicative *taangiq-ciq-uq* (IND.3sg.) with the general future marker. The use of |+ciqi-| here instead, however, would be somewhat awkward: *?taangiq-ciq-luni(=am)*.

- (130) *Qava-ng-caar-na-luku*                      *atur-tu'r-tuq.*  
 sleep-INC-A.more-PUR-APP.3sg.    sing-CNT-IND.3sg.  
 'She keeps on singing in order to (so that she) put him to sleep.'  
 – may imply singing for a future purpose.
- cf. *Qava-ng-caar-luku*                      *atur-tu'r-tuq.*  
 sleep-INC-A.more-APP.3sg.    sing-CNT-IND.3sg.  
 'She keeps on singing to put him to sleep.'  
 – /atúxtú xtuq/ from |atuý+tuýay[+tuq| with /ýa/ deletion (P18v).

*Cause* – |+nayqi-| 'to behoove' (VVsm A<sub>IMP</sub> adder; § 39.2.1):

- (131) a. *Mecig-naq-luku*                      *yaa-qva-nek*                      *napar-t-aa*  
 visible-NEC-APP.3sg.    yonder-far-ABL    stand-A-IND.3sg.3sg.  
*anguarun<sub>p</sub>.*  
 paddle.ABS.sg.  
 'He put up the paddle so that it could be seen from far away.'
- b.. *Mecig-naq-luni*                      *yaa-qva-nek*                      *napa-ngqa-uq*  
 visible-NEC-APP.3Rsg.    yonder-far-ABL    stand-STT-IND.3sg.  
*anguarun<sub>s</sub>.*  
 paddle.ABS.sg.  
 'The paddle is standing so that it can be seen from far away.'  
 – *mecig-naq-luni* ≙ *tanger-naq-luni* (visible-A<sub>IMP</sub>-APP.3Rsg.).
- (132) *Piyua-ngnaq-uq*                      *nakleg-naq-luni.*  
 walk-CNA-IND.3sg.    feel.compassion-NEC-APP.3Rsg.  
 'He is trying to walk pitifully.'

*Wish, desire* – VVm |+<sub>1</sub>cuy-| (§ 43), VVn |+<sub>1</sub>cuumiy-| (§ 44):

- (133) *Tua=i piica-la-llru-llini-ut,*                      *pit-ar-ka-mek*  
 so                      pray-CUS-PST-EVD-IND.3pl.    catch-VNrl-FUT-ABM.sg.  
*unang-yug-luteng,*                      *caarrhu-ir-yuumir-luteng.*  
 obtain-DES-APP.3Rpl.    dirt-deprive-desire-APP.3Rpl.  
 'So (now I see) they [hunters], wishing to hunt game, used to pray  
 (desiring) that they would be purified.' [AKKL 94]

Appositional verbs with the desiderative |+<sub>1</sub>cuy-| very often occur in connection with the verb |apic-| 'to ask' in the main clause:

- (134) *Apt-aqa ~ Apt-ua*                      *ner-yug-lua*                      *akuta-mek<sub>(p)</sub>.*  
 ask-IND.1sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.    eat-DES-APP.1sg.    ice.cream-ABM.sg.  
 'I asked her ~ I asked, wanting to eat ice cream.'

An adverbial expression of reason ('because') can be made more explicit by using a causal-connective verb (§ 50.2): e.g., *angniil-ami* (sad-CNNbc.3Rsg.) 'because he is sad'.

#### 2.4. Coordinate clauses

One or more appositional verbs may supplement the content expressed by the preceding main clause with additional new information of a coordinate nature by using a coordinating-conjunctive enclitic |=*lu*| 'and' (§ 54.5), or particles |*wātu*| 'or', |*tawaam*| 'or/but', and |*tuatin*| 'including' (§ 53.5). They basically denote concomitant circumstances (§ 51.2.1).

i) |=*lu*| 'and':

(135) a. *qayaq*                      *angyaq=llu*  
kayak.ABS.sg.    boat.ABS.sg.=and  
'a kayak and a boat'

b. *Qaya-ngqer-tuq*              *angyar-Ø-luni=llu*.  
kayak-have-IND.3sg.    boat-have-APP.3Rsg.=and  
'He has a kayak and a boat.'  
≡ *qaya-ngqer-tuq*    *angya-mek=llu* (boat-ABM.sg.=and).

The example (b) corresponds to the coordinate nominal phrase (a) with =*llu*, showing a parallelism with the appositive phrase (1a) denominalized into an appositional construction (1b) given at the beginning of this chapter. This again reveals the "co"-subordinate nature of the appositional mood. Note that |+*y*-| 'to have' (§ 51.1.2-ii) occurs in the appositional verb of (b) instead of |-*ŋqɣx*-| in the main clause. Likewise:

(136) [*Cayara-t*                      *tamar-meng*]<sub>s</sub>    *kangi-ngqer-tut*  
festival-ABS.pl.    all-CNNst.3Rpl.    source-have-IND.3pl.  
*ciuliste-r-luteng=llu*.  
leader-have-APP.3Rpl.  
'All the festivals have meaning and the one who started [them] as well.'

The coordinate sentence below has the enclitic attached to the initial word of the second clause in the appositional-mood verb according to the regular pattern of an enclitic:

- (137) [[*Nunapi-i-m<sub>G</sub>* *ili-i*]<sub>S</sub> *uru-ara-u-lar-tuq*]  
 tundra-EV-REL.sg. part-ABS.3sg.sg. moss-just-be-GEN-IND.3sg.  
 [*atsa-t<sub>S</sub>=ll'* *nau-luku*].  
 berry-ABS.pl=and grow-APP.3sg.  
 'Some of the tundra is usually mossy, and the salmonberries grow over it.'  
 cf. *uruara-t atsa-t=llu* '(little) moss and salmonberries'.

They are fully distinct from the two appositional verbs combined by *-llu*, as the following, repeated in (202):

- (138) *Nuna<sub>S</sub>=llu* [*el-uci-i-nani*]  
 land.ABS.sg.=and be-VNm-PRV-NEG.APP.3Rsg.  
*ima-u-nani=llu*.  
 content-PRV-NEG.APP.3Rsg.=and  
 'And the earth was without form and void; the earth was a formless wasteland.' [AYAG 1:2]

As opposed to (136) through (138) above, and despite coordinating-conjunctive  $|=lu|$ , the appositional clauses in the following two examples are cosubordinate to the lower (embedded) clause in complex-verb constructions (as discussed in the following section of § 51.2.5). Some speakers, however, prefer a reflexive-third person instead of the third, as the variation given shows:

- (139) *Qaya-ngqerr-suk-aqa*  
 kayak-have-A'.think-IND.1sg.3sg.  
*angyar-Ø-luku=llu ~ angyar-Ø-luni=llu*.  
 boat-have-APP.3sg. / APP.3Rsg.=and  
 'I think he has a kayak and a boat.'  
 cf. *qaya-ngqer-tuq* (IND.3sg.) *angya-r-luni=llu*.  
 'He has a kayak and a boat.' = (135).
- (140) *Cayara-t<sub>S</sub>* *tamalku-ita* *kangi-ngqerr-ni-lar-ait*  
 festival-ABS.pl. all-CNNst.3pl. source-have-A'.say-REG-IND.3pl.3pl.  
*ayagnir-te-r-luteng=llu*  
 start-VNrl-have-APP.3Rpl.=and  
 'They would say that all the festivals have the meaning and they have the beginner (one who originates the festival).' [CAUY 19]  
 cf. *Cayara-t<sub>S</sub>* *tamar-meng* *kangi-ngqer-tut*  
 festival-ABS.pl. all-CNNst.3Rpl. source-have-IND.3pl.  
*ayagnirte-r-luteng=llu*.  
 start-have-APP.3Rpl.=and  
 'All the festivals have the source/meaning and have the beginner.' – cf. (136).

Appositional verbs are cosubordinate to a dependent (subordinate) clause with a connective-mood verb, as in the following:

- (141) *Yu-u-t<sub>A</sub>*                      *taryaqvi-i-t<sub>P</sub>*                      *assik(e)-lar-ait*  
 person-EV-ABS.pl.   salmon-EV-ABS.pl.   like-GEN-IND.3pl.3pl.  
 [*ang'-ata*                      *neqniq-luteng=llu*].  
 big-CNNbc.3pl.              tasty-APP.3Rpl.=and  
 'People like king salmon because they are big and tasty.'  
 cf. *ang'-ut* (IND.3pl.) *neqniq-luteng=llu* 'they are big and tasty'.

ii) |*wallu*| 'or': The indicative-mood main clause in the following (142) is coordinate with the appositional verb after the particle, while the two (negative) appositional verbs combined by the particle in (143) are cosubordinate to the main clause.

- (142) *Angua-qamikut*                      *nunu-la-llru-akut*                      *wall'u*  
 caught-CNNwv.3Rsg.1pl.   scold-REG-PST-IND.3sg.1pl.   or  
*aling-cetaar-luta*.  
 scared-A'.make-APP.1pl.  
 'Whenever she caught us, she used to scold us or to try to scare us.'  
 [LL]

- (143) [*Mikte-ssiyaag-peg-nani*              *wall'u*              *ang-ssiyaag-peg-nani*]  
 small-too-NEG-APP.3Rsg.   or              big-too-NEG-APP.3Rsg.  
*pi-ta-ckeg-tuq*.  
 PI-as.as-very-IND.3sg.  
 'It is just right, neither too small or too big.'

iii) |*tawaam*| 'but':

- (144) *Yu-u-t<sub>S</sub>*                      *Kass'a-tun*  
 person-EV-ABS.pl.   white.man-EQL.sg.  
*qan-yuit-qapiara-llru-ut*                      *watqapiar*  
 speak-never-ITS-PST-IND.3pl.              absolutely  
*tama-a-ni*,              *Yupia-tun*              *taugaam*  
 that-EX-LOC   Y.-EQL.sg.   but  
*kii-ngan*                      *qalarte-tu-llru-luteng*.  
 only-CNNst.3sg.              speak-HAB-PST-APP.3Rpl.  
 'Absolutely nobody spoke English in those days, (instead) speaking only Yupik.' [JCIR 7]



- (145) *Naulluu-ngami*      *ner-yunaic-aaqe-llru-luni*      *taúgaam*  
 sick-CNNbc.3Rsg.    eat-should.not-but-PST-APP.3Rsg.    but  
*ner'-llini-luni*. = §43(108)  
 eat-EVD-APP.3Rsg.  
 'He should not have eaten as he was sick, but apparently he ate.'

iv) |*tuatin*| 'including, also':

- (146) *Teggenr-e-t*      *tama-a-ni*      *yug-pa-u-la-llru-ut*  
 elder-EV-ABS.pl.    that-EX-LOC    person-big-be-HAB-PST-IND.3sg.  
 [*angayuq'er-pa-u-luteng*,    *atanr-u-luteng*,  
 boss-big-be-APP.3Rpl.    chief-be-APP.3Rsg.  
*angalku-u-luteng*      *tuaten*].  
 medicine.man-be-APP.3Rsg.    including  
 'The old folks in those times used to be big people, they used to be  
 bosses, dictators and also medicine men.' [PA]

## 2.5. Cosubordination to lower clauses of complex transitives

As mentioned in reference to (139) and (140) in the preceding section, an appositional verb clause may be in cosubordination to an embedded lower clause of complex transitives with an (upper) A' argument, referring to the P argument of the complex transitive (thus *-luku* or *-naku* below in the third person). Because of the valency-increasing suffix, the coreferential marker does not occur. Some speakers, however, prefer a reflexive-third person instead of the third. For these speakers it is possible that the appositional verb is close to attaining independent use.

Note, in the following (147) for instance, the change in the person of the appositional verb from the reflexive third (S) for the compared simplex clause to the third (P) for the complex transitive construction – see also (151):

- (147) a. *Nepa-il-caar-luku*      *iter-ni-at*.  
 noise-lack-A.more-APP.3sg.    enter-A'.say-IND.3pl.3sg.  
 'They say he came in quietly.'  
 cf. *nepa-il-caar-luni* (APP.3Rsg.)    *iter-tuq* (IND.3sg.)  
 'he came in quietly'
- b. *Teng-au-llru-ni-at*      *qule-qsig-pek'-naku*.  
 fly-CNT-PST-A'.say-IND.3pl.3sg.    high-far-NEG-APP.3sg.  
 'They say it was flying around, not high.'  
 cf. *teng-au-llru-uq* (IND.3sg.)    *quleqsigpek'-nani* (APP.3Rsg.)  
 'it was flying around, not high'.

- (148) *Aqum-ga-luku qalarte-sq-aa.*  
 sit-CNT-APP.3sg. talk-A'.ask-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 'He asked her to talk, with her sitting.'  
 cf. *aqumga-luni* (APP.3Rsg.) *qalarte-sq-aa*  
 'he, sitting down, asked her to talk'  
*aqumga-luni qalart-uq* (IND.3sg.)  
 'she, sitting down, is talking'.
- (149) *Nutg-u-naku ayag-cec-aqu-naku!*  
 gun-PRV-APP.3sg. go-A'.let-PRH-OPT.3sg.  
 '(You [sg.]) don't let him go (in the future) without his gun!'  
 – privative NV |+*nit*-| into *-u-*.
- (150) *Na-ken tai-luku pi-ciit-aqa.*  
 where-ABL come-APP.3sg. PI-A'.not.know-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 'I don't know where he has come from.'  
 cf. *Na-ken tai-luni* (APP.3Rsg.) *pi-a* (INT.3sg.)?  
 'Where has he come from?'  
*Na-ken tai-ciit-aqa.*  
 'I don't know where he has come from.'

Note that this is the *|pi-|* periphrastic complex transitive (ignorative with VVcm |+*(u)ciit-*|), as shown by the second compared sentence – see § 40.2.5 and § 51.3.1.

A complex transitive verb can be detransitivized (§ 40.1), necessarily accompanied by a change in the person of the appositional verb, cf. (147).

- (151) a. *Ayag-ni-a cuka-luku.*  
 go-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg. fast-APP.3sg.  
 'He said it [e.g. engine] ran fast.'  
 b. *Ayag-ni-uq cuka-luni.*  
 go-A'.say-IND.3sg. fast-APP.3Rsg.  
 'He said he [himself] went fast.'  
 cf. *ayag-tuq* (IND.3sg.) *cuka-luni* 'he went / it ran fast'.

Note that the complex verb in (b) is an intransitive verb in which A' (subject) and P (< S) (object) are identified, hence the reflexive-third person appositional verb.

## 2.6. Reduplicative use

Although not so commonly encountered as morphological reduplication within a word (§ 4.3-iv), the same derived stem may, for intensity or emphasis, appear both in a main clause and in its cosubordinate appositional:

- (152) *Pi-ta-l-qegg-luni*                      *pi-ta-l-qegt-uq.*  
do-as.as-VNnm-nice-APP.3Rsg.      do-as.as-VNnm-nice-IND.3sg.  
'It is absolutely a perfect fit.'

– where the reduplication concerns the whole derived stem *pi-ta-l-qegt-* (*|-kiyc(i)-|* 'to have a good/nice', § 38.4).

But more typically, this kind of reduplication occurs in connection with the desiderative suffix VVm *|+<sub>1</sub>cuy-|* 'deeply' and its derived *|+<sub>1</sub>cuycali-|* or *|+<sub>1</sub>cuytuý-|* (somewhat restricted lexically) 'deeply –ing, really enjoying', §43(17).

- (153) *Qavar-yug-luten*                      *qava-llru-llini-uten.*  
sleep-deeply-APP.2sg.      sleep-PST-EVD-IND.2sg.  
'It looked like you (sg.) were sleeping very deeply.'

- (154) *Ner-yugtur-luni*                      *ner'-uq.*  
eat-really-APP.3Rsg.      eat-IND.3sg.  
'He is heartily enjoying eating.'

- (155) *Iqvar-yugcali-luni*                      *ta=ima*      *Mary<sub>s</sub>*  
pick-really-APP.3Rsg.      there      p.n.ABS.sg.  
*Golovin-aa-mi*      *iqva-uma-uq.*  
pl.n.-LNK-LOC.sg.      pick-CNT-IND.3sg.  
'Mary is really enjoying picking berries there (elsewhere) at Golovin.' [SN]

As shown, the appositional clause concerned typically seems to precede the main clause (in the indicative).

2.7. *|ca-|* and *|pi-|*

The appositional forms of the ignoraative stem *|ca-|* 'to do what/something' and the expletive *|pi-|* 'to do' (cf. § 10.3) expanded by intensifying suffixes like VVa *|-qay-|*, *|+pakay-|* are used for temporal introduction ('then', 'one day') with person specification. They frequently occur as a signal of a shift or a

change in narrative sequence (cf. [QNMC xvii]). See also § 51.2.2-iv for the intensifier *|-qay-|* ('as soon as').

- (156) a. ***Ca-qer-luni***                      *aya-llermi*                      *ayag-cet-aa*  
do.what-ITS-APP.3Rsg.      go-CNNwn.3Rsg.      go-A'.let-IND.3sg.3sg  
*massiinaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
machine.ABS.sg.  
'One day (it did) when he went away (as was his routine), he started  
(which he did not usually do) the machine.'
- b. ***Ca-qer-lua***                      *aya-llemni*                      *ayag-cet-aqa*  
do.what-ITS-APP.1sg.      go-CNNwn.1sg.      go-A'.let-IND.1sg.3sg.  
*massiinaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
machine.ABS.sg.  
'One day (it did) when I went away, I started the machine.'
- (157) a. ***Pi-qer-luni***      *aug-na<sub>s</sub>*                                      *yug-tang-luni*.  
do-ITS-3Rsg.      coming.here-EX.ABS.sg      person-get-APP.3Rsg.  
'Then it happened that a person came in to look over there.'
- b. Maaten ***pi-qer-lua***                      *pi-unga*                      *ak'a*  
then      do-ITS-APP.1sg.      do-IND.1sg.      already  
*aya-llini-lria*.  
leave-EVD-PTP.3sg.  
'Then it happened to me that I noticed he left already.'  
– potential pause after *pi-unga*.
- (158) *Tua=i=ll'*      *pi-ura-qer-luni*                      *ella<sub>s</sub>*  
then=and      do-CNT-ITS-APP.3Rsg.      weather.ABS.sg.  
*ivsu-ng-luni*.  
rain-INC-APP.3Rsg.  
'After a while it began to rain.'
- cf. (157a) *pi-qer-luni*.
- (159) a. ***Pi-vakar-luni***                      *ayag-cet-aa*                      *massiinaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
do-ITS-APP.3Rsg.      go-let-IND.3sg.3sg.      machine.ABS.sg.  
'Finally (doing so long) he started the machine.'
- b. *Tua=i=ll'*      ***pi-vakar-luni***                      [*nulirr-a*  
then                      do-ITS-APP.3Rsg.      Wi-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*im-na*]<sub>s</sub>                      *tayim'*                      *tamar-luni*.  
that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg.      there                      lose-APP.3Rsg.  
'Then one day his wife (that you know) disappeared.' [QNMC 102–  
103]

- (160) *Ella-mi pi-vakar-lua tangrr-aqa.*  
 outdoor-LOC.sg. do-ITS-APP.3Rsg. see-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘As I remained outdoors, I saw him.’

## 2.8. Adjunct to inalienably possessed nominals

When used as an adjunct to the NP concerned, often with the coreferential marker, an appositional verb can describe a state or movement of a body or a part of something inalienable being involuntary or difficult to control. Lack of control is generally implied of the action, though there might be an element of volition (‘on purpose, intentionally’).<sup>6</sup>

- (161) *Aqvaqu-llru-uq nuya-ni<sub>P</sub> teng-aur-(tel-)luki.*  
 run-PST-IND.3sg. hair-ABS.3Rsg.pl. fly-STT-(CRF-)APP.3pl.  
 ‘She ran with her hair flying around.’
- (162) *Talli-ni<sub>P</sub> pek-c-i-llag-a-(vkar-)luku*  
 arm-ABS.3Rsg.sg. move-A-APS-suddenly-RPT-(CRF-)APP.3sg.  
*cali-uq.*  
 work-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is working with his own arm jerking.’
- (163) *Qatli-(vkar-)lukek ii-gni<sub>P</sub>*  
 sting-(CRF-)APP.3du. eye-ABS.3Rsg.du.  
*tangva-ngnaq-aanga qasgi-mi.*  
 look-CNA-IND.3sg.1sg.q.-LOC.sg.  
 ‘He tried to look at me in the *qasgiq* with his eyes burning (from smoke).’

In all the preceding examples the NPs denoting an inalienable or inseparable (body) part are naturally marked with the reflexive-third person possessor, which refers back to the head-clause subject.

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6. The causative marker in this construction bears a striking parallel to the Japanese construction which Hayatsu (1991, 2006: 285–304) specified and discussed to full length under the term “causative of a possessor subject”. All the CAY examples above in this section would most naturally be translated in the Japanese concomitance construction of  $[N=o V-(sa)se-nagara]$  (‘letting N V’). This may suggest that the function of the Japanese causative suffix  $[-(sa)se-]$  in this construction does nothing beyond serving to “coreferentialize” the subject of the clause to the head-clause subject.

Some other things besides body parts, nonetheless viewed as if a part of a person and yet uncontrollable, also occur in this construction.

- (164) [*Angya-mini pelak*]<sub>P</sub> *anuq-liur-(tel-)luku*  
 boat-LOC.3Rsg.sg. flag.ABS.sg. wind-occupied-(CRF-)APP.3sg.  
*ayag-tuq.*  
 go.away-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He went away with the flag in his boat flying in the wind.’

- (165) *Emer-mun ciqertar-tel-luku*  
 water-ALL.sg. splash.repeatedly-CRF-APP.3sg.  
*angya-ni*<sub>P</sub> *qairte-ggun ayag-tuq.*  
 boat-ABS.3Rsg.sg. wave-PRL.pl. leave-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He went away through the waves, letting the water splash on his boat.’

In spite of the above, there may occur another construction in which a third person possessor (instead of reflexive third) occurs, as the following (b) below. In such a case, the appositional verb takes the reflexive-third person marking and is instead used independently or syntactically, aloof from the main-clause verb (§ 51.4), with therefore no reason for the coreferential marker or for a reflexive-third person possessor:

- (166) a. *Unat-ni*<sub>P</sub> *qiiv-luki ~ qiive-vkar-luki iga-ngnaq-uq.*  
 hand-ABS.3Rsg.pl. shake-(CRF-)APP.3pl. write-CNA-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is trying to write with his hands shaking.’  
 b. *Unat-ai*<sub>S</sub> *qiiv-luteng iga-ngnaq-uq.*  
 hand-ABS.3sg.pl. shake-APP.3Rpl. write-CNA-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is trying to write with his hands shaking.’  
 – No wonder it is ungrammatical to say \**unat-ni qiiv-luteng igangnaquq.*
- (167) a. *Pelateka-ni*<sub>P</sub> *anuq-liur-(tel-)luku*  
 tent-ABS.3Rsg.sg. wind-occupied-(CRF-)APP.3sg.  
*uita-ura-llru-uq ilu-ani.*  
 stay-CNT-PST-IND.3sg. inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He kept on staying inside with his tent moving in the wind.’  
 b. *Pelateka-a*<sub>P</sub> *anuq-liur-luni*  
 tent-ABS.3sg.sg. wind-occupied-APP.3Rsg.  
*uita-ura-llru-uq ilu-ani.*  
 stay-CNT-PST-IND.3sg. inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘He kept on staying inside with his tent moving in the wind.’  
 – \**pelateka-ni anuqliur-luni uitaurallruuq iluani.*

Both constructions are also possible when the possessor is either in the first or the second person:

- (168) a. *Pelatekar-put<sub>P</sub>*      *anuq-liur-(tel-)luku*  
 tent-ABS.1pl.sg.      wind-occupied-(CRF-)APP.3sg.  
*uita-ura-llru-ukut*      *ilu-ani.*  
 stay-CNT-PST-IND.1pl.      inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘We remained inside with our tent moving in the wind.’
- b. *Pelatekar-put<sub>S</sub>*      *anuq-liur-luni*  
 tent-ABS.1pl.sg.      wind-occupied-APP.3Rsg.  
*uita-ura-llru-ukut*      *ilu-ani.*  
 stay-CNT-PST-IND.1pl.      inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘With our tent moving in the wind, we remained inside.’

### 3. Periphrasis with appositionals

A single verb construction or a single clause may become periphrastic (analytic) by being split into a cosubordinate clause (with an appositional-mood verb) and a main clause featuring an expletive prop verb *|pi-|* predicate (§ 4.2.5.5.2, § 34.7). The single verb may be either a simplex verb or a complex transitive verb (§ 40, § 51.3.2). Woodbury (p.c.) once named this as a “split APO construction” (appositional construction).

A periphrastic construction divides between the two clauses (cosubordinate and main) the functional burden that a polysynthetic string of suffixes would cast on a single verb (simplex or complex). The stem (ST) of the single verb stays at the cosubordinate clause with an appositional verb, while the inflection (INF) is assigned to the *|pi-|* main clause verb. Intermediate derivative suffixes (SF) may either belong to the former or the latter, depending upon focusing by splitting of the original single verb; see § 51.3.1.1. The focus brought about by the appositional verb is effectively intensified through its greater concentration upon one salient point of the event or state concerned.

The *|pi-|* periphrastic construction, which in general has some additional implication of ‘while doing something else’, may reasonably come to have (obviously depending upon the context) a ‘shading-off’ function of keeping an utterance from sounding too concrete, forward, or authoritative, thereby becoming become a pragmatic cushion to directness or harshness (§ 6.1). A periphrastic construction may be preferred in speaking to or about persons or entities for indirectness and respect, particularly in sophisticated speech.

3.1. Cosubordination to expletive *|pi-|* clauses

An appositional clause occurs very frequently in subordination to a *|pi-|* verb main clause, constituting a periphrastic construction that takes the place of a single verb construction. Here we deal with “splitting”, or suspension of a single verb, by means of an appositional-mood verb, followed by “resetting” of the verb by means of the prop verb *|pi-|*, which takes care of the remaining part of the verb.

- (169) a. *Aqum-ga-luni pi-uq.*  
sit-STT-APP.3Rsg. PI-IND.3sg.  
‘He is sitting (lit. he sitting, he is doing).’  
cf. *aqum-ga-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘he is sitting’
- b. *Elicar-i-luni pi-uq.*  
teach-APS-APP.3Rsg. PI-IND.3sg.  
‘He is teaching (sometimes, while doing something else).’  
cf. *elicar-i-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘he is teaching’
- c. *Unuamek kiirce-ñani ella<sub>S</sub> pi-uq.*  
today hot-APP.3Rsg. weather.ABS.sg. PI-IND.3sg.  
‘The weather is hot today.’  
cf. *unuamek kiircet-uq* (IND.3sg.) *ella*  
‘the weather is hot today’

where the *pi-* verb only takes care of the prediate verb inflection.

- (170) a. *elitnaur-i-luku pi-ciit-aqa*  
learn-APS-APP.3sg. PI-A'.IGN-IND.1sg.3sg.  
‘I don’t know whether he is learning or not’  
cf. *elitnaur-i-ciit-aqa*
- b. *elitnaur-i-luni pi-ciit-uq*  
learn-APS-APP.3Rsg. PI-A'.IGN-IND.3sg.  
‘it doesn’t look like he is learning’  
cf. *elitnaur-i-ciit-uq*  
– note the change in person (3sg. *-luku* into 3Rsg. *-luni*) of the appositional verb, which is triggered by the detransitivization in (b) from (a).
- (171) *Tai-luni ma-a-vet pi-llru-uq.*  
come-APP.3Rsg. this-EX-ALL PI-PST-IND.3sg.  
‘He came over here (*and did something*).’  
cf. *ma-a-vet tai-llru-uq* (IND.3sg.) ‘he came over here’.



A single (synthetic) verb and its corresponding periphrastic (analytic) construction with an appositional verb and a *[pi-]* main clause are not totally equivalent, although the difference is usually vague and subtle. A periphrastic construction with *[pi-]* may often have the implication of ‘also doing something else’. See § 49.4.2 also for periphrastic optative-mood verbs with *[pi-]* for indirectness and respect.

i) The *[pi-]* verb as the head can occur in any mood, including a dependent mood, depending upon the wider scope of utterance:

*indicative:*

- (172) *Manar-ya-kuna-luten*=*ggem pi-llru-uten*.  
 fish-go-consider-APP.2sg.=ENC PI-PST-IND.2sg.  
 ‘I thought you (sg.) intended to go fishing.’  
 – with a tone of criticism from the enclitic =*ggem*  
 cf. *manar-ya-kuna-llru-uten*.

- (173) [*Ila-it angalku-t*]<sub>A</sub> *wagg'uq* [*neqe-m*]<sub>G</sub>  
 part-ABS.3pl.pl. shaman-REL.pl. so.called fish-REL.sg.  
*tumyara-a*]<sub>P</sub> *tua=i caliaq-aq-luku*  
 path-ABS.3sg.sg. then work-REG-APP.3sg.  
*pi-tu-llru-lini-at* ~ *-ut*.  
 PI-HAB-PST-EVD-IND.3pl.3sg./3pl.  
 ‘Some shamans were working on the path of the fish as they called.’  
 [AKKL 28] – see § 51.1.2-iii for aspectual *-aq*.

- (174) ...*tua=i unange-ngnaq-luteng pi-tu-llru-ut*...  
 so acquire-try-APP.3Rpl. PI-HAB-PST-IND.3pl.  
 ‘...so they used to try to acquire...’ [AKKL 32]  
 cf. *unange-ngnaq-tu-llru-luteng* (HAB-PST-APP.3Rpl.).

*appositional:*

- (175) *Kaugpag-nek=llu kegginaqur-Ø-luteng*  
 walrus-ABM.pl.=and mask-have-APP.3Rpl.  
*pi-aq-luteng*.  
 PI-HAB-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘And they would have walrus masks. (i.e. masks having walrus).’  
 [AKKL 32]  
 cf. *kegginaqu-r-aq-luteng* (HAB-APP.3Rpl.).

*optative:* Since CAY optative verbs alone, if without a softening device, generally sound too direct, strong, or impolite to be used except in limited situations, one tactful device commonly used in ordinary situations to make wishes

or requests sound indirect is this periphrastic construction consisting of an appositional verb and an optative form of *|pi-|* (§ 49.4.2).

- (176) *Aqum-luten* ≠ *pi-i!* = § 4(95b)  
 sit-APP.2sg. PI-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) sit down and...!’  
 cf. *aqum-i!* (sit-OPT.2sg.) ‘(you [sg.]) sit down!’

As opposed to the single verb in the above example, which constitutes a direct demand, the connotation added by the periphrasis (‘sit and continue on, doing whatever’) makes it less direct, although the periphrasis itself it not necessarily a device for indirectness or politeness. Likewise:

- (177) *Nanva-nun arulair-aq-lunuk pi-ki-luk.*  
 lake-ALL.pl. stop-REP-APP.1du. PI-ASP-OPT.1du.  
 ‘Let’s stop at the lakes here and there.’
- (178) *Amik<sub>p</sub> iki-ngqa-luku pi-nril-u!*  
 door.ABS.sg. open.keep-STT-APP.3sg. PI-NEG-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Don’t keep the door open!’  
 cf. single verb *iki-ngqa-(vka-)nril-u*.
- (179) [*Elpeci mikelngur-ni*], *alík-luku*  
 2pl. child-LOC.pl. afraid-APP.3sg.  
*pi-yaquna-ciu* [*tau-na angun*]<sub>p</sub>!  
 PI-FUT.PRH-OPT.2pl.3sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. man.ABS.sg.  
 ‘(You [pl.]) children, don’t be afraid of that man!’  
 – see § 27.4 for the locative NP *mikelngur-ni*.

The following is another device for indirectness by means of a conditional-connective form (§ 50.6) of *|pi-|* following an appositional verb:

- (180) *Tuma-i=wa taugaam ava-ni*  
 track-ABS.3sg.pl.=ENC only there-LOC  
*paqte-rraar-luki pi-kumegneki ~ pi-kumegnuk.*  
 check-first-APP.3pl. PI-CNNif.1du.3pl./1du.  
 ‘Perhaps we(du.) had better go and check (only if we check first) for its tracks beyond that area.’  
 cf. *paqte-rraa-qumegnuki* (CNNif.1du.3pl.).

The *|pi-|* verb may be in the intransitive *pi-kumegnuk*, as the transitivity is provided by the preceding appositional verb. The transitive *pikumeg-neki*, however,

gives more prominence to the topic *tuma-i*. The single verb *paqte-rraa-qumegnu*k would, however, require the ablative-modalis noun *tuma-inek* (ABM.3sg.pl.).

ii) *|pi-|* periphrastic construction may have its own main clause, as a (co)subordinate clause:

- (181) [*Neq-ka<sub>p</sub>*                    *ner-luku*            *pi-llemni*]  
 food-ABS.1sg.sg.    eat-APP.3sg.    PI-CNNwn.1sg.  
*tangrr-aqa.*  
 see-IND.1sg.3sg.

‘I saw him when I was eating my food.’

– implies some action going on besides ‘eating’, as opposed to:

- cf. [*Neqe-mnek*                    *ner'-llemni*]            *tangrr-aqa.*  
 food-ABS.1sg.sg.    eat-CNNwn.1sg.    see-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I saw him when I was eating my food.’

- (182) [*Tai-nayuk-luku*                    *pi-llemni*]            *alart-ua.*  
 come-A'.think-APP.3sg.    PI-CNNwn.1sg.    mistaken-IND.3sg.  
 ‘I was wrong in thinking (when I thought) she might come.’

iii) *|pi-|* periphrastic construction may be nominalized as will be seen in § 51.7.1.

iv) *Relative order*: As the preceding examples clearly illustrate, it is most commonly the case that a cosubordinate clause comes before the main clause with a *|pi-|* verb. However, if the periphrastic construction is a yes-no question marked by  $\neq qaa$  (which is a second-position particle like enclitics), the *pi*-verb tends to be attracted to the sentence initial position and is followed by the particle, with the cosubordinate appositional clause following:

- (183) a. *Pi-uq  $\neq$  qaa*                    *ner-luni?*  
 PI-IND.3sg. $\neq$ QST    eat-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Did he eat (already)?’  
 b. *Pi-uq  $\neq$  qaa*                    *ner-luku?*  
 PI-IND.3sg. $\neq$ QST    eat-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Did he eat it (already) ([he] eating it)?’

– which are periphrases respectively corresponding to the intransitive a) *ner'-uq $\neq$ qaa?* (IND.3sg.) and the transitive b) *ner-aa $\neq$ qaa?* (IND.3sg.3sg.). Likewise:

- (184) a. *Pi-yug-tuq ≠ qaa ayag-luni?*  
 PI-DES-IND.3sg.≠QST leave-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Did he want to *do something* by leaving / while he is on the way?’  
 – full verb rather than the resetting pro-verb.
- b. *Pi-uq ≠ qaa ayag-yug-luni?*  
 PI-IND.3sg.≠ QST leave-DES-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Did he *say (something)* to indicate) he wants to leave?’

These are periphrases with a different splitting of *ayag-yug-tuq≠qaa?*, which can be a more direct way of asking (with desiderative *-yug-* emphasized) than the two examples in (184).

### 3.1.1. Different splitting

If the original single verb is a heavy one, containing two or more verbal categories, it may be schematically depicted as below where ST stands for stem, SF for verbal suffix (NV or VV), and INF for inflection with the appositional *-luni* (3Rsg.) splitting the sequence and the expletive prop verb *|pi-|* resetting the verb to be completed by the inflection:

- (185) ST-SF<sub>1</sub>-SF<sub>2</sub>-SF<sub>3</sub>-SF<sub>4</sub>-SF<sub>5</sub>-...SF<sub>n</sub>-INF  
 ⇒ ST-SF<sub>1</sub>-SF<sub>2</sub>-SF<sub>3</sub>-***luni*** ≠ ***pi-***SF<sub>4</sub>-SF<sub>5</sub>-...SF<sub>n</sub>-INF

Splitting may come after any SF with nearly no restrictions, with the SF that is split by the appositional inflection receiving the focus.

The following single verb contains five verbal suffixes *-li-vkar-yug-yaaq-sugnarq-* between the (expanded) nominal stem *ene-rpa(g)-* and the inflection *-aaten*, and it may be susceptible to suspension after any verbal suffix (NV or VV) into (a) through (d):

- (186) *ene-rpa-li-vkar-yug-yaaq-sugnarq-aaten*  
 house-big-make-A'.make-DES-but-seem-IND.3sg.2sg.  
 ‘it seems he wanted to have someone [A'] make a big house for you  
 (but in vain)’
- a. *ene-rpa-li-luni ≠ pi-vkar-yug-yaaq-sugnarq-aaten*  
 b. *ene-rpa-li-vkar-luni ≠ pi-yug-yaaq-sugnarq-aaten*  
 c. *ene-rpa-li-vkar-yug-luni ≠ pi-yaaq-sugnarq-aaten*  
 d. *ene-rpa-li-vkar-yug-yaaq-luni ≠ pi-sugnarq-aaten*  
 e. *ener-pa-li-vkar-yug-yaaq-sugnaq-luni ≠ pi-aten.*

This kind of periphrastic construction with *|pi-|* has a rigid word order (with the *pi-* verb coming after the appositional) and is typically articulated as (non-enclitic) bound phrases, indicated by ≠ between the two words, with a regressive accent on the last syllable of the appositional word, as *-luni* (with a high level tone unlike before a pause).

See § 39(33c) which contains six SF, four in the appositional word and two in *pi-* verb (participial).

This is in notable contrast to free phrases (of cosubordinate constructions), like the following, which, unlike a *pi-* periphrastic construction, allow permutations:

- (187) *ene-rpa-li-luni*                      *atur-tuq* ~ *atur-tuq ener-pa-li-luni*  
 house-big-make-APP.3Rsg.    sing-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he is singing, (while) making a big house’.

The two words constitute two *articuli*, that is, with potential pause and with no regressive accent on the final syllable of the first word *-luni* or *-tuq*.

### 3.2. Periphrastic complex transitives – *|pi-|* and full verbs

A complex verb construction (§ 40) may also be periphrastic, with the complex verb occurring as the cosubordinate (appositional) clause, and a pro-verb *|pi-|* or a full verb as the main clause which is semantically related to the complex verb (§ 40.6).

Note that this is distinct from cosubordination to the lower clause of complex transitives (§ 51.2.5).

*|pi-| verb*: cf. also § 40(175)

- (188) a. *Nere-sqe-lluku*                      *akutaq<sub>P</sub>*                      *pi-aqa*.  
 eat-A'.ask-APP.3sg.    ice.cream.ABS.sg.    do-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I asked (s.o.) to eat the ice cream (lit. asking (s.o.) to eat the ice cream, I did (asked) it).’  
 ≙ *nere-sq-aqa akutaq*  
 – The A argument (‘eater’) for *nere-* may be expressed by an allative NP (demotion 2; § 26.2), which is the case with the following:
- b. *Tange-llru-ni-luku*                      *elpe-nun<sub>(A)</sub>*    *pi-llru-unga*.  
 see-PST-A'.say-APP.3sg.    2sg.-ALL    do-PST-1sg.  
 ‘I suspected [PA] / said [EM] that you (sg.) saw him.’

*full verbs*: The main clauses for periphrastic complex verbs have very frequently a full verb (rather than *|pi-|*), which depends upon the type of complex verb – e.g. the reportative complex transitive with *|+ni-|* ‘A’ to say that (s.o.) does (s.t.)’ (§ 40.2.4), for instance, co-occurs with such full verbs as ‘to say’, ‘to tell’, ‘to admonish’, ‘to curse’, ‘to hear’, ‘to promise’, etc. The verbs common to each kind of complex verb, and examples, are given in § 40.6. See e.g. (182) above and § 40.6-ii for speculative *|+nayuki-|* (A’ to think that – will’) with *|alayc-|* ‘to mistake’.

#### 4. As independent clauses

Unlike the connective-mood verb, which occurs in subordinate or adverbial clauses (§ 50), an appositional verb is cosubordinate, yielding a coordinate or independent clause that is syntactically aloof from its preceding clause, although the degree of aloofness is not uniform. Some appositional verbs, though syntactically aloof, may still be connected with another clause, while others are fully independent. Compare the following sentences:

- (189) a. *Piipiq<sub>P</sub> tangrr-aqa qia-lua.*  
 baby.ABS.sg. see-IND.1sg.3sg. cry-APP.1sg.  
 ‘I, crying, saw (I saw him) the baby.’
- b. *Piipiq<sub>P</sub> tangrr-aqa qia-(vkar-)luku.*  
 baby.ABS.sg. see-IND.1sg.3sg. cry-(CRF-)APP.3sg.  
 ‘I saw the baby crying.’
- c. *Piipiq<sub>P</sub> tangrr-aqa qia-luni.*  
 baby.ABS.sg. see-IND.1sg.3sg. cry-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘I saw the baby, *and* she [baby] was crying.’
- d. *Piipiq<sub>P</sub> tangrr-aa qia-luni.*  
 baby.ABS.sg. see-IND.3sg.3sg. cry-APP.3Rsg.  
 i. ‘He, crying, saw the baby.’  
 ii. ‘He saw the baby, *and* she [baby] was crying.’

The sentences (a) and (b) are cosubordinate, and the coreferential marker may or may not occur in (b) (§ 51.1.4.3).

(c) is coordinate (as a compound sentence; § 5.2.1-i), as the reflexive third appositional *qia-luni* cannot refer to the main clause subject ‘I’ and is independent from it, hence the use of the reflexive-third person as its own subject. It may occur as two articuli – as separate intonation groups here in particular, with a pause possibly intervening after the verb and the second clause pronounced at a slower tempo, occurring in a sequential statement. Actually, some Yupik writers are inclined to place a comma in writings here, as in: *Piipiq tangrraa, qialuni*.

(d) is ambivalent with two possible readings: (d-i) is cosubordinate, with the reflexive third subject *qia-luni* coreferential with the main-clause subject ('he'), while (d-ii) is coordinate, like (c), standing aloof from the preceding clause *piipiq tangrraa*. Another difference between the second and the third will be seen in the *|maatin|* construction below (§ 51.4.1.3). The (d-i) and (d-ii) are structurally parallel to (a) and (c) respectively.

Most frequently an appositional construction is independent. Syntactically aloof from the preceding clause, it is very often accompanied by the conjunctive particle (e.g., *|tua=i=lu|* 'and [then]') and enclitic (*=lu|* 'and') after another independent clause to indicate a succeeding event/state as an additional piece of information. The preceding clause is not necessarily in the independent mood, but two or more appositional verbs may occur successively. In such a case, the principle of subject coreferentiality (§ 51.1.4.3) does not hold and the subject may be switched.

Demarcation of clause linking may not, however, be so distinct among cosubordinate, subordinate and independent clauses.

#### 4.1. Declarative

A clause with an indicative-mood predicate is often followed by one with an appositional verb, with the two clauses linked by a conjunction, or not.

i) *With no conjunction – A..., B...:* The following appositional constructions after the comma (,) are taken to be coordinate without any conjunction (forming compound sentences), that is, without subject coreferentiality given the reflexive third person marking. The second clause after the comma typically indicates an addition, contrast, result, etc. The comma represents a potential pause and separate intonational groups, and the second clause may be articulated at a slower tempo to focus the clause.

(190) *Teng-aur-inanermeggnek tanger-tuk yug-mek<sub>(p)</sub>,*  
 fly-around-CNNwl.3Rdu. see-IND.3du. person-ABM.sg.  
*nuteg-Ø-luni.*  
 gun-have-APP.3Rsg.  
 'While they (du.) were flying around, they saw a person, (and) he had a gun.'

(191) [*Ma-n'a ceñaq*]<sub>s</sub> *waten ayuq-uq,*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. shore.ABS.sg. this.way resemble-IND.3sg.  
*cimi-yuu-nani.*  
 change-never-APP.3Rsg.  
 'This is the way the shore is, (and it is) unchanged.'

- (192) *Mik-lemni ene-tangqe-la-llru-uq*  
 small-CNNwn.1sg. house-there.be-REG-PST-IND.3sg.  
*atauci-mek, qasgi-u-luni.*  
 one-ABM.sg. q.-be-IND.3Rsg.  
 ‘When I was small there was one house, which (and it) was a *qasgiq* [men’s house (117)].’

An appositional verb in independent use can have its own subject NP or adjunct(s) expressed:

- (193) *Aana-ka<sub>S</sub> manar-yar-ciq-uq, Nuk’aq<sub>S</sub> uita-luni.*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg. fish-go-FUT-IND.3sg. p.n.ABS.sg. stay-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘My mother will go ice-fishing, (*and/while*) Nuk’aq will stay.’  
 – Use of the contrastive particle *taugaam* ‘but’ before Nuk’aq sounds less natural.
- (194) *Pi-llini-uq tuqmig- ~ qaltar-tangqe-llini-lria,*  
 do-EVD-IND.3sg. bucket-there.be-EVD-PTP.3sg.  
*emer-mek ima-Ø-luni.*  
 water-ABM.3sg. content-have-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘He observed that there was a bucket, (*and*) it was full of water.’ [YSRA 3] – The first clause is followed by its subordinate participial verb.
- (195) *Wii kingune-mni kegginaqu-nek*  
 1sg. home-LOC.1sg.sg. mask-ABM.pl.  
*tang-la-llru-unga, ayuqe-vke-nateng*  
 see-HAB-PST-IND.1sg. similar-NEG-APP.3Rpl.  
*ca-u-nguar-aq-luteng.*  
 something-be-pretend-REG-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘I saw masks back in my home (hometown); they depict many different things.’ [AKKL 20] – with the first appositional verb in *-nateng* subordinate to the second in *-luteng*.

ii) *With a conjunctive enclitic |=lu|* – *A...*, *B=llu...*: The second clause may contain the coordinating enclitic *=llu* ‘and’ attached to its clause-initial word:

- (196) *Arna-t<sub>S</sub> iqva-llru-ut, ui-ngit<sub>S</sub>=llu*  
 woman-ABS.pl. berry.pick-PST-IND.3pl. Hu-ABS.3pl.pl.=and  
*kuyya-luteng.*  
 net.fish-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘The women were berry-picking, and their husbands were net-fishing.’



The second clause is not subordinate but coordinate as its subject *ui-ngit* has the third person possessor (instead of reflexive third) as a separate clause. The second clause predicate *kuvya-luteng* in the appositional mood, with the subject *ui-ngit* but not *arna-t*, has a marked reflexive-third person since it is intransitive.

- (197) [Unuaqu cella<sub>s</sub> assi-qan] arna-t<sub>s</sub>  
 tomorrow weather.ABS.sg. good-CNNif.3sg. woman-ABS.pl.  
*tamar-meng peksu-ssar-ciq-ut, angute-t<sub>s</sub>=llu*  
 all-CNNst.3Rpl. egg-hunt-FUT-IND.3pl. man-ABS.pl.=and  
*tengmiar-cur-luteng.*  
 bird-hunt-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘Tomorrow if the weather is good, all the women will go hunting for eggs, and the men will go hunting for birds.’ [PA]

An independently used transitive appositional verb may have its own subject NP in A function:

- (198) *Pissu-llru-unga, irnia-ma<sub>A</sub>=llu maligg-lua.*  
 hunt-PST-IND.1sg. child-REL.1sg.sg.=and follow-APP.1sg.  
 ‘I went hunting, and my child went with me.’  
 – cf. (31) *maligg-luci* ‘following you’ whose subject is coreferential with the preceding main clause.
- (199) *Ui-ka<sub>s</sub> pissu(r)-lar-tuq, [wiinga=llu*  
 Hu-ABS.1sg.sg. hunt-HAB-IND.3sg. 1sg.=and  
*arna-mi / arna-ani (~ arni-ini)] manar-lua.*  
 woman-LOC.sg./-LOC.3sg.sg. fish-APP.1sg.  
 ‘My husband goes hunting, and (while) I, the wife / his wife, am fishing (with a hook).’ – see § 27.4 for the locative NP, which refers to the first person subject of the second clause.

Note that the possessor of *arna-ani* ‘his wife’ is in the third person but not the reflexive third (*\*arna-mini*), showing that the appositional clause is syntactically independent from the first clause but that ‘his’ contextually refers to the first clause subject *ui-ka*.

In contrast, the following is ambivalent:

- (200) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub> tange-llru-a taqukaq<sub>p</sub>,*  
 man-REL.sg. see-PST-IND.3sg.3sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
*ayag-luni=llu.*  
 go.away-IND.3Rsg.=and  
 ‘The man saw the bear, and *he* went away.’

The one who ‘went away’ may either be taken as the ‘man’ or the ‘bear’ (as is also the case with some other languages).

The first clause predicate is not necessarily in the indicative mood (as illustrated above), but at least the participial mood is attested:

- (201) *Arna-t<sub>s</sub>                      qam-a-ni                      quagci-te-llriit,*  
 woman-ABS.pl.    up-EX-LOC                      sourdock-get-PTP.3pl.  
*iqvar-luteng=llu.*  
 pick.berry-APP.3Rpl.=and  
 ‘The women were gathering sourdocks, and they were picking berries.’

iii) *With sentence-initial (second-position) enclitic |=lu| or particle |tua(=i)=lu| – (A.) B-llu... or (A.) Tua(=)i=llu B...: It begins an independent sentence with an appositional construction, as opposed to ii) above, which forms a compound sentence, in a sequence of connected events:*

- (202) *Nuna<sub>s</sub>=llu                      [el-uci-i-nani*  
 land.ABS.sg.=and    be-VNnm-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
*ima-u-nani=llu].*  
 content-PRV-APP.3Rsg.=and  
 ‘And the earth was without form and void; the earth was a formless wasteland.’ [AYAG 1:1] – *el* from nearly obsolete stem *|it-|*.

– which forms an independent clause after a preceding clause, with the coordinate clause as the prelate – see § 51.1.3 for the privative /i/ vs. /u/ before the mood marker *|+na-|*.

- (203) *Na-ni=llu=gguq                      cali    angute-t<sub>s</sub>                      yurar-luteng*  
 where-LOC=and=RPR    also    man-ABS.pl.    dance-APP.3Rpl.  
*arna-u-nguar-luteng.*  
 woman-be-pretend-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘And it is told also in some places the men danced (pretending to be) like women.’ [CAUY 23]  
 – where the first appositional verb *yurarluteng* is of independent use as the main-clause predicate with the second *arna-u-nguar-luten* cosubordinate.

- (204) *Ak'ani-vke-nata=llu    [tallima-nek    keggssuli-nek]<sub>(P)</sub>*  
 take.long.time-NEG-APP.1pl.=and    five-ABM.pl.    pike-ABM.pl.  
*pil-l'uta.*  
 catch-APP.1pl.  
 ‘And shortly after (i.e. we having not done [hooked] so long) we caught five pikes.’ – *|pic-|* ‘to catch’  
 cf. *ak'ani-vke-naku* (APP.3sg.) ‘it (time) not being so long!.’

- (205) *Pi-nari-aqan* *iqvar-aq-uq*  
do-time.to-CNNwv.3sg. pick.berry-REG-IND.3sg.  
[*tau-na* *nasaurluq*].  
that-EX.ABS.sg. girl.ABS.sg.  
***Tua=i=ll'*** *caqerluni* *iqvar-piir-luni* ~ *iqvar-pakar-luni*  
so=and one.time pick.berry-ITS-APP.3Rsg  
*uterte-vke-nani*.  
come.back-NEG-APP.3Rsg.  
'That girl always went berry-picking whenever it is the time. And one time (§ 51.2.7) at one of her repeated picking trips she did not come back.' [EM]
- (206) ***Tua=llu*** *angute-t<sub>s</sub>* *taq-kata* *maqi-ner-mek*  
so=and man-ABS.pl. finish-CNNif.3pl. bathe-VNnm-ABM.sg.  
*tamar-meng* *ner-luteng*, [*ner'-l<sub>ler</sub>-meng*  
all-CNNst.3Rpl. eat-APP.3Rpl eating-VNnm-REL.3Rpl.  
***tua=llu*** *kingu-akun*] *yura-liar-luteng*.  
SFL back-PRL.3sg.sg. dance-go-APP.3Rpl.  
'And when the men finish their bath, all of them will eat. And then after they eat they will go dance.'
- (207) ***Tua=i=llu*** *aata-ma<sub>A</sub>* *tangerr-luku* *tuntuq<sub>p</sub>*.  
so=and Fa-REL.1sg.sg. see-APP.3sg. caribou.ABS.sg.  
'And then my father saw the caribou.'

iv) *maaten construction*: An appositional-mood clause is very frequently encountered after an indicative-verb clause characterized by its sentence-initial particle |*maatin*| 'then, when..., lo and behold (it was found, noticed)' (§ 53.5-ix), presenting a (sometimes surprising or unexpected) fact as a piece of new information, or "observational construction" (Jacobson 1995).

- (208) ***Maaten*** *piipiq<sub>p</sub>* *tangrr-aqa* *qia-luni*.  
then baby.ABS.sg. see-IND.1sg.3sg. cry-APP.3Rsg.  
'I saw the baby and (found) he was crying.'

The appositional verb, with a possible pause after *tangrraqa*, is of independent use, hence no replacement with \**qia-luku* (APP.3sg.).

- (209) ***Maaten*** *paqc-aaq-aa* *kuik<sub>p</sub>*,  
then check-CTR-IND.3sg.3sg. river.ABS.sg.  
*ciku-ma-luni*.  
freeze-STT-APP.3Rsg.  
'He checked the river, but (found) it was frozen.'

- (210) *Maaten*=*ggug* *tang* *pi-ut* [*arna-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>  
 then=RPT look do-IND.3pl. woman-ABM.sg.  
*ila-luteng*]. *Arna-u-luni* *tua=i*  
 add-APP.3Rpl. woman-be-APP.3Rsg. SFL  
*ciu-ngani=ll'* *imarpig-te-ksail-ngu-u-luni*  
 fore-LOC.3sg.sg.=and sea-go.to-not.yet-VNrl-be-APP.3Rsg.  
*tua=i*.  
 SFL  
 'It is said they realized that one of them was (they having s.o added) a  
 woman. She was a woman and one who had never gone hunting out  
 in the ocean before.' [AKKL 196]

A new (discovered) information in *maaten* constructions may be expressed by an NP instead of an appositional verb:

- (211) *Maaten tangrr-aqa*, *tanqig-pak* ~ *tanqig-pag-luni*.  
 then see-IND.1sg.3sg. bright-big.ABS.sg. bright-big-APP.3Rsg.  
 'I saw it, and it was something very bright.'

Independently used appositional verbs have a number of different functions that, in force, are more or less equivalent to, or also complementary to, those of independent-mood verbs (indicative, participial, interrogative, and optative).

#### 4.2. Reply

Independently used appositional verbs very often occur as answers to questions, which may possibly imply something contrary to that which is supposed by the questioner:

- (212) *Aana-n<sub>s</sub> ≠ qaa* *ayag-tuq?* –  
 Mo-ABS.2sg.sg.≠QST leave-IND.3sg.  
*Aya-ksau-nani*.  
 leave-not.yet-APP.3Rsg. (instead of *aya-ksait-uq* IND.3sg.)  
 'Has your (sg.) mother left?' –  
 'She has not left.'
- (213) *Tuallu ≠ qaa unang-uten* *iqva-llerpeni?* –  
 then≠QST obtain-IND.2sg. pick.berry-CNNwn.2sg.  
*Iqv-iq-kacagar-lua!*  
 berry-get.lots-ITS-APP.1sg.  
 'Did you (sg.) then get anything when you went berry-picking?' –  
 'I really picked a lot!'; cf. *iqv-iq-* from *|iqvaj-liqi-*.

- (214) *Ak'a ≠ qaa nere-llru-an?* – *Ner-lukú.*  
 already≠QST eat-PST-IND.2sg.3sg. eat-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Did you eat it already?’ – ‘I did (ate) it.’

The most neutral and natural answer to the question would simply be the common particle (sentence word) of approval/agreement *ii=i* ‘yes’ (§ 53.2). An indicative verb *nere-llru-aqa* (eat-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.), with or without the preceding particle, is a flat answer given as a mere fact, while the appositional verb *ner-luku*, usually pronounced with a rising tone at the end, is more emphatic (possibly implying ‘of course’).

#### 4.3. Interrogative

An appositional-mood verb may occur independently in questions of content, which typically require an interrogative-mood verb and an ignorative word (§ 15.2), though there is a slight difference with the latter.

- (215) *Qavci-nek qimugte-r-luni?*  
 how.many-ABM.pl. dog-have-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘How many dogs does he have?’  
 – see § 51.2.1-i as to NV |+ȳ-| for NV |-ŋq̄x-|  
 cf. *qavci-nek qimugte-ngqer-ta?* (have-INT.3sg.).

The sentence with the appositional verb seems to be more appropriate in actual (possibly more serious) situations for precise information, as when it is already known that someone is using dogs (e.g. *aata-ka ikamrar-luni aya-llru-uq* ‘my father [*aata-ka* ABS.1sg.sg.] left [*aya-llru-uq* IND.3sg.] with a dogsled [*ikamrar+Ø+luni* have-APP.3Rsg.; NV|+Ø-|]’). On the other hand the compared example with the interrogative-mood inflection sounds like a general, more isolated, or possibly casual question, and could be a first question uttered without a preceding context. Likewise:

- (216) *Kit-u-u-luni?* ‘(And) who is she?’  
 who-EX-be-APP.3Rsg.  
 cf. *Kit-u-u-ga?* ‘Who is she?’  
 who-EX-be-INT.3sg.

The appositional verb is more probably a question about an aforementioned person (e.g. *arnaq imna uqurilria anaanakaga* ‘that [*imna* ABS.sg.] woman [*arnaq* ABS.sg.] who is fat [*uquri-lria* VNrl.ABS.sg.] is my aunt [*anaana-k-aqa* MoSi-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.]’), implying an element of continuation. The compared interrogative verb is likely to be a more isolated question.

Likewise:

- (217) *Ki-na<sub>S</sub>*                      *tai-ciq-luni?*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg.      come-FUT-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘(Then) exactly who is coming?’  
 – to make sure and more seriously asking
- cf. *Ki-na<sub>S</sub>*                      *tai-ciq-a?*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg.      come-FUT-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Who is coming?’ – just asking, not important.

The question by the appositional verb is a more indirect way of asking or can be a more serious form of asking (to make sure ‘who are actually coming’) than the compared one by the interrogative verb *tai-ciq-at* (INT.3pl.), which may not be an important question, or may be an initial question without a preceding verbal exchange.

- (218) *Tai-ciq-ni-i*                                      *Kuigilngur-miu-t<sub>p=S</sub>*      –  
 come-FUT-A'.say-IND.3sg.3pl.      pl.n.-dweller-ABS.pl.  
*Kin-ku-t<sub>S</sub>*                      *tai-ciq-luteng?*  
 who-EX-ABS.pl.      come-FUT-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘He says the Kwigillingok people will come.’      –  
 ‘Who are coming?’

- (219) *May'aq ≠ qaa*                      *tai-luni?*  
 p.n.ABS.sg.≠QST      come-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Is May’aq on his way, planning to come / has he already come?’  
 – depending on the context. This is usually not an initial question without a preceding verbal exchange.
- cf. *May'aq<sub>S</sub> ≠ qaa*                      *tai-guq?*  
 p.n.ABS.sg.≠QST      come-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Is May’aq (already) on his way?’  
 – can be an initial question without a preceding verbal exchange.

#### 4.4. Optative – command and prohibition

An appositional-mood verb may occur independently as a command or a prohibition in place of an optative-mood verb (§ 49). The verb is mainly in the second person but can also be in the third. While an optative command is complete in itself, an appositional command tends to have a sense of incompleteness or an additional implication (e.g. purpose, expectation) depending upon the context:

i) *Command*:

- (220) *Tai-luten!* ‘(You[sg.]) come (*and then / so that...*)!’  
 come-APP.2sg.  
 cf. *Tai-luten ner-i!* ‘(You [sg.]) come and eat!’  
 come-APP.2sg eat-OPT.2sg.  
 – cosubordinate use for denoting sequence (§ 51.2.2).
- (221) *Picu-qcaar-luku!* ‘Do it with care!’  
 careful-taking.time-APP.3sg. – root with *|-qcaa(ya)y-* (§ 41.1).
- (222) *Agayu-yar-aq-luci Agayuner-mi cali-vke-naci!*  
 worship-go.to-REG-APP.2pl. sunday-LOC.sg. work-NEG-APP.2pl.  
 ‘Go to church (regularly) without working on Sunday!’
- (223) *Tua-ten pi-aqan uni-taq-luku!*  
 that.way-EQL do-CNNwv.3sg. leave-REG-APP.3sg.  
 ‘When(ever) he acts like that, leave him!’

ii) *Prohibition* – by means of independently used negative appositionals (§ 51.1.3). They have the same force as negative optatives characterized by prohibitional *|+caqu-* or *|+<sub>1</sub>pīiqi-* (§ 49.6.2, § 49.6.3):

- (224) a. APP.2sg. *ayagpek'-nak /ayáx|piknak/!*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) don't leave [now]!’ – *|+<sub>1</sub>piki-*
- b. APP.2pl. *pi-vke-naci!*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) don't do [now], stop doing!’  
*pi-ksau-naci!*  
 ‘(you [sg.]) don't do [time irrespective, repeatedly]!’
- c. APP.3sg. *cuka-u-naku!*  
 ‘do it slowly!’ – *|cuka+<sub>1</sub>jit-*  
*cuka-vka-qsau-naku!*  
 ‘don't let it go fast yet!’ – causative *|-vkay-*  
*cuka-ssiyaag-pek'-naku!*  
 ‘don't do it too fast!’ – *|-siyaay-* ‘too.much’.

These appositional forms may be of cosubordinate use, thus also meaning (a) ‘(you) not leaving’, (b) ‘(you) not doing’, (c) ‘not doing slowly’, etc., while the optative forms such as *pi-viiq-naci* and *ner-yaqu-naku*, for instance, with the same negative marker *|-<sub>1</sub>na-* are only used for prohibition ‘(you [pl.]) don't be doing [continuously]!’ and ‘(you [sg.]) don't eat it!’, without any cosubordinate use.

- (225) *Taangiqe-ksau-naci* [quyurte-lle-mta<sub>G</sub>  
 drink-not.yet-APP.2pl. meet-VNm-REL.1pl.sg.  
*ilu-ani*!  
 inside-LOC.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Don’t drink (continuously) while we are meeting!’
- (226) [*Usviil-ngur-ni* *yug-ni*] *uita-ksau-nak*.  
 crazy-VNrl-LOC.pl. people-LOC.pl. stay-not.yet-APP.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) don’t stay among crazy people!’

While the appositional-mood marking is monopersonal (§ 51.1.4), the prohibitional optatives are marked for both the subject (naturally in the second person only) and the object if they are transitives (§ 49.1). The APP.3sg. *nerevke-naku* and *nere-ksau-naku*, for instance, which mark P arguments, are indifferent to the subject, which can be either the first, second, or reflexive-third person depending upon the main-clause subject.

Note the two different instances of *-naku* in the following:

- (227) *Nutg-u-naku* *ayag-cec-aqu-naku*!  
 gun-PRV-APP.3sg. go-A'.let-PRH-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Don’t let him go (in future) without his gun!’

## 5. Adnominal clauses

An appositional verb in the reflexive-third person may be an adnominal clause (§ 16.6) semantically modifying an NP or a nominal stem like a ‘non-restrictive relative’ clause rather than a cosubordinate clause to a main clause (if any). The appositional form tends to immediately precede the NP to be modified.

- (228) *mingqe-tu-luni* *arnaq*  
 sew-HAB-APP.3Rsg. woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the woman, who sews/knows how to sew’  
 cf. *mingqe-tu-luni* *arna-u-guq*  
 sew-HAB-APP.3Rsg. woman-be-IND.3sg.  
 ‘she is a woman who sews (lit. she is a woman [she] sewing)’.
- (229) a. *can-li-lriar-u-luni* *nuna*  
 grass-supplied-VNrl-be-APP.3Rsg. land.ABS.sg.  
 ‘the land with lots of grass’ – cf. (2)
- b. *akur-tu-luni* *atkuk*  
 lower.part-have.much-APP.3Rsg. parka.ABS.sg.  
 ‘a long parka’



cf. *akur-tu-luku* *atku-li-uq*  
 lower.part-have.much-APP.3sg. parka-make-IND.3sg.  
 ‘she made the parka long’.

- (230) *akitu-vke-naku* [*ena* *kipute-ller-put*]  
 expensive-NEG-APP.3sg. house.ABS.sg. buy-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘the house that we bought cheap’ – § 51.7.2 for relativization.

An adnominal clause is continuous with a cosubordinate (independent) clause, given the ambivalent translation:

- (231) *tanger-tuk* *yug-mek(.)* *nuteg-Ø-luni* – part of § 42(21)  
 see-IND.3sg. person-ABM.sg. gun-have-APP.3Rsg.  
 i. ‘they two (geese flying around) saw a person, who had a gun’  
 ii. ‘they two (geese flying around) saw a person, and he had a gun’.

An adnominal verb splits an appositive phrase in the following, thereby yielding a detached articulation (§ 2.3.3):

- (232) [*Im-na* *uquri-luni* *angun*]<sub>p</sub>  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. fat-APP.3Rsg. man.ABS.sg.  
*tange-llru-aqa.*  
 see-PST-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I saw that fat man.’

– where the reflexive-third person indexed in the adnominal verb cannot be coreferential with the main clause subject (‘I’).

The following have two readings:

- (233) *ene-rpak* [*agayuvig-mek* *aipar-Ø-luni*]  
 house-AUG.ABS.sg. church-ABM.sg. companion-have-APP.3Rsg.  
 i. ‘the big house along with the church, i.e., which has a church as the companion’  
 ii. ‘the big house has a church as companion; i.e., there is a church beside the big house’.

The three words for (a) constitute a nominal phrase with *enerpak* as the head and *aiparluni* as the adnominal clause to it, while those in (b) constitute a sentence with *enerpak* as the subject and *aiparluni* as an independently used predicate verb (§ 51.4). In both of them the ablative-modal *agayuvig-mek* is a stranded NP for the possessive *aiparluni*.

Sometimes ambivalence may arise as to whether an appositional verb is adnominal or not:

- (234) *Tama-na* *iqva-lria* *cuka-luni*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. pick.berry-VNrl.ABS.sg. fast-APP.3Rsg.  
*tai-guq.*  
 come-IND.3sg.
- a. [*Tama-na* *iqva-lria* *cuka-luni*]<sub>s</sub>, *tai-guq.*  
 ‘That *fast* picker / That one who is picking berries *fast* is coming.’
- b. [*Tama-na* *iqva-lria*]<sub>s</sub> *cuka-luni* *tai-guq.*  
 ‘That picker / That one who is picking berries is coming *fast*.’

The appositional *cukaluni* for (a), pronounced with a pause after it, is more likely taken as adnominal, qualifying the appositive phrase *tamana iqvalria* (i.e. relative clause), but that in (b), pronounced potentially with a pause before it, is a cosubordinate clause serving as an adverbial adjunct to the main verb *taiguq* (cf. § 51.2.3).

The appositional *cukaluteng* in (a) below is adnominal, while that in (b) is a cosubordinate clause.

- (235) a. [*Cuka-luteng* *ayaga-ssuute-t*]<sub>s</sub> *amller-i-ut*  
 fast-APP.3Rpl. travel-VNrl-ABS.pl. many-INC-IND.3pl.  
*maa=i.*  
 nowadays  
 ‘*Rapid* means of transportation are increasing these days.’
- b. *Ayaga-ssuute-t*<sub>s</sub> *amller-i-ut* *maa=i* *cuka-luteng.*  
 ‘Means of transportation are increasing *rapidly* these days.’

The appositional *cuka-luteng* in (a) can be replaced by a (participial) relative clause *cuka-lrii-t* (VNrl-ABS.pl.) ‘ones that are fast’. This is also true for *cuka-luteng* in the following, which is interchangeable with *cuka-lria-nek* (VNrl-ABM.pl.):

- (236) *Tama-a-ni* *yu-u-t*<sub>s</sub> *ayaga-ssuuta-ic-aaqe-llru-ut*  
 that-EX-LOC people-EV-ABS.pl.travel-VNrl-PRV-but-PST-IND.3pl.  
 [*ma-ku-nek* *cuka-luteng* *ayaga-lria-nek*].  
 these-EX-ABM.pl. fast-APP.3Rpl. travel-VNrl-ABM.pl.  
 ‘At that time (back then) the people did not have these *fast* means of travelling (ones which travel).’ [AKKL 10]  
 – the relative clause in the ablative-modalis case, which is detached by the intervening adnominal verb *cuka-luteng*, is a stranded NP from an appositive phrase (‘means of travelling’).

The appositional *cuka-luteng* used as a part of nominal phrases (235) and (236), with much the same force as the relative clause (§ 17.2.1), is preferred by at least some speakers. Compare the following with (229b).

- (237) [*Akur-tu-luni* / *Akur-tu-lria* atkuk]<sub>P</sub>  
 lower.part-have.much-APP.3Rsg. / VNrl.ABS.sg. parka.ABS.sg.  
*pi-k-aqa*.  
 thing-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘The long parka is mine.’  
 – see also 44 (64) *qavanqu-u-luni* which is quasi-equivalent to relative clause *qavanqu-u-lriim*<sub>A</sub> (be-VNrl.REL.sg.) as it refers to a transitive subject.

Such a (participial) relative clause may also have an approximate equivalent in a deverbal noun with *|-li-* ‘one who (which) is/does’ (§ 19.1):

- (238) a. *tuunri-tu-luni* ~ *tuunri-tu-lria* ~ *tuunri-tu-li*  
 use.power-CUS-APP.3Rsg. / VNrl.ABS.sg. / one.who.ABS.sg.  
*arnaq*  
 woman.ABS.sg.  
 ‘a woman who uses shamanistic powers’.
- b. *Tuunri-tu-lriar-tangqer-tuq* ~ *Tuunritu-li(r)-tangqer-tuq*  
 use.power-CUS-VNrl-there.be-IND.3sg.  
*nuna-vuts*.  
 village-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘There is one who uses shamanistic powers in our village.’

The three variants in (a) are not fully equivalent, however. The appositional verb *tuunritu-luni* is adnominal to *arnaq*, while *tuunritu-lria/tuunritu-li* are appositive with it. Despite all this, an adnominal appositional is still verbal in itself, in contrast with the relative clause (with *-lria*) and the deverbal noun (with *-li*), which are unmistakably nominals. As such, the latter two can be followed by a verbalizing suffix to expand them, as in (b), while the first (adnominal appositional verb) naturally cannot be (*\*tuunritu-luni-tangqer-tuq*):

Finally, it is interesting to note in (a) below that an appositional verb is an adnominal verb modifying the noun stem *arnar-* in the denominal verb, while (b) has the stranded NP in the ablative-modalis (§ 25.2.2). The subject is *mu-navut* in both (a) and (b), but the reflexive-third person of the appositional verb in (a) does not refer back to it.

- (239) a. *Tuunri-tu-luni* *arnar-tangqer-tuq* *nuna-vuts*.  
 use.power-CUS-APP.3Rsg. woman-there.be-IND.3sg. land-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘There is a woman who uses shamanistic powers in our village.’

- b. *Tuunritu-lria-mek* ~ *Tuunritu-li-mek*      *arnar-tangqer-tuq*  
 use.power-CUS-VNrl-ABM.sg.      woman-there.be-IND.3sg.  
*nuna-vuts*.  
 land-ABS.1pl.sg.  
 ‘There is a woman who uses shamanistic powers.’
- (240) *Kuig-tangqer-tuq*      [*Iinraya-mek*<sub>(P)</sub>      *pi-aq-luku*].  
 river-there.be-IND.3sg.      pl.n.-ABM.sg.      call-REG-APP.3sg.  
 ‘There is a river called Iinrayak (lit. [one] calling [it] Iinrayak).’  
 [YQYL 6] – see § 35(33).

It should be noted that phrasal numerals (for odd numbers) with *|cip-luku|* (§ 14.3.1.1) are nothing but “adnominal appositional verbs”, as shown by the comparison of the following with the preceding (240). Cf. Jacobson (1995: 417):

- (241) [*Qula*<sub>R</sub>      *malru-gmek*<sub>(T)</sub>      *cip-luku*]  
 ten.ABS.sg.      two-ABM.du.      oversupply-APP.3sg.  
*iralur-tangqer-tuq*      *allraku-mi*.  
 moon-there.be-IND.3sg.      year-LOC.sg.  
 ‘There are twelve months in a year (lit. there are moon(s), exceeding ten by two, in a year).’ = § 14 (8b).

Finally, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, an adnominal clause of an appositional verb is the case with the reflexive-third person, so the following (a) has two readings, but (b) with a first person appositional verb, for instance, cannot be adnominal (b-i\*):

- (242) a. *sugtu-luni*      *angun*      *tai-guq*  
 tall-APP.3Rsg.      man.ABS.sg.      come-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘the big man came’  
 ii. ‘the man came bigly’
- b. *wiinga*      *sugtu-lua*      *ullag-aqa*  
 1sg.      tall-APP.1sg.      approach-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 i.\* ‘I who am tall went to him’  
 ii. ‘I went to him bigly’  
 – the first reading should be rendered by the relative clause in the locative case (§ 27.4), i.e. *sugtu-lria-mi* (VNrl.-LOC.sg.) *pullag-aqa*.

## 6. Quasi-nominal clauses

An appositional-verb clause may function as a quasi-nominal clause in two cases, one as a singular subject for the main clause and the other in exclamative constructions.

### 6.1. As an intransitive subject

With an adjectival monovalent verb ('to be something is V'), an appositional-verb clause may function like a nominal clause in S function of the main clause, rather than a cosubordinate, an independent, or an adnominal clause. It is always in the singular. More common monovalent verbs attested in this construction include:

- (243) |*asiy-*| 'to be good', |*asiit-*| 'to be bad', |*quya-*| 'to be thankful', |*atawau-*| 'to be blessing', |*atawaqay-*| 'to bless', |*ayinqiat-*| 'to be discouraging, unsatisfactory', |*quay-nayqi-*| 'to be thanked', |*uumi-nayqi-*| 'to be frustrating, disgusting, infuriating, unfortunate, bad', etc.  
 – the last two contain the necessitative impersonal agent suffix (§ 39.2).

i) *intransitive appositionals*: Compare *qantu-luni* in the following pair, the second of which is ambivalent:

- (244) a. *Aata-ka<sub>S</sub>*                      *yu-u-llru-uq*                      [*Yug-tun*  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg.    person-be-PST-IND.3sg.    person-EQL.sg.  
*kii-ngan*                      *qan-tu-luni*].  
 only-CNNst.3sg.    speak-capable-APP.3Rsg.  
 'My father lived, speaking only Yupik.'
- b. *Qan-tu-luni*                      *Yug-tun*                      *kii-ngan*  
 speak-capable-APP.3Rsg.    person-EQL.sg.    only-CNNst.3sg.  
*assir-tuq*.  
 good-IND.3sg.  
 i. 'He, speaking only Yupik, is good.'  
 ii. '[The fact of] speaking only Yupik is good.' – quasi-nominal clause.

The appositional-verb clause in (a) is a cosubordinate clause, with its subject (3Rsg.) coreferential to the main clause subject *aataka* 'my father'. So is the appositional clause for (b-i), whose main clause subject ('he'), marked in the verb *assirtuq*, could be supplied by an absolutive NP, e.g. *aataka* 'my father'.

But in (b-ii) the subject of the main clause verb is not a speaker of Yupik but the fact itself (counted as singular) of speaking only the language; in other words, the quasi-nominal (appositional) clause as a whole. Accordingly, for the (b-ii) reading, the appositional verb *qantu-luni* is better replaced by the nominalizations *qantu-neq* or *qantu-lleq* (ABS.sg.; cf. § 18.3.1.1), though it may have an implication of optionality (e.g., ‘instead of English’) as contrasted with the nominalizations.

Again two readings in the following – (a) cosubordinate and (b) quasi-nominal clause – of which the former seems to be more usual:

- (245) *Qimugta tamar-luni uuminarq-uq.*  
 dog-ABS.sg. lose-APP.3Rsg. bad-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘The dog, being lost, is frustrating.’  
 ii. ‘[The fact of] the dog being lost is frustrating.’  
 – quasi-nominal clause.

Number concord, however, may serve to disambiguate. In the following pair the number (plural or singular) of the head-clause verb clarifies whether the appositional clause is (a) cosubordinate or (b) quasi-nominal:

- (246) a. *Qimugte-ts tamar-luteng uuminarq-ut.*  
 dog-ABS.pl. lost-APP.3Rpl. bad-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The dogs, being lost, are frustrating.’  
 b. [*Qimugte-t tamar-luteng*]<sub>s</sub> *uuminarq-uq.*  
 dog-ABS.pl. lost-APP.3Rpl. bad-IND.3sg.  
 ‘[The fact of] the dogs being lost is frustrating.’

For the quasi-nominal clause reading, the verb *uuminarq-uq* put at the beginning seems to be preferred:

- (247) *Uuuminarq-uq* [*qimugta tamar-luni*]<sub>s</sub> / [*qimugte-t tamar-luteng*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 ‘The dog(s) being lost is frustrating.’

For the nominal-clausal reading, however, use of a nominalization (with VNnm |*-l̥y-*|) instead of an appositional verb is more common:

- (248) a. *Uuuminarq-uq* [*qimugte-m<sub>G</sub>* *tama-llr-a*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 bad-IND.3pl. dog-REL.sg. lost-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 b. *Uuuminarq-uq* [*qimugte-t<sub>G</sub>* *tama-llr-at*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 bad-IND.3pl. dog-REL.pl. lost-VNnm-ABS.3pl.sg.

The main verb can be a negative one:

- (249) [*Umyuar-a malru-irr-luni*]<sub>s</sub>  
 mind-ABS.3sg.sg. two-become-APP.3Rsg.  
*atawa-u-nrit-uq.*  
 blessing-be-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘His mind vacillating between the two is not good.’

Intransitive appositionals as quasi-nominal clauses may include a negative verb and an antipassive verb:

- (250) *Arenqiat-uq* [[*qakem-na ella*]<sub>s</sub>  
 unsatisfactory-IND.3sg. outside-EX.ABS.sg. weather.ABS.sg.  
*assii-nani*]<sub>s</sub>.  
 good-NEG.APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘It is discouraging that the weather outside is not good.’  
 – |*asiit-*| ‘to be bad’.

- (251) [*Qimugte-mek tamar-i-lua*]<sub>s</sub> *uuminarq-uq.*  
 dog-ABM.sg. lose-APS-APP.1sg. bad-IND.3sg.  
 ‘My losing a dog is frustrating.’  
 cf. *qimugte-mek tamar-i-unga* (lost-APS-IND.3sg.) ‘I lost a dog’.

The appositional verb in the first person can be replaced with a possessed nominalization *tamar-i-l-qa* ‘my losing’ (lose-APS-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.).

ii) *transitive appositionals*: Transitive appositional verbs may also be quasi-nominal clauses for an intransitive subject of the main clause. The following (a-ii) and (b-ii) are respectively from *qimugta* (ABS.sg.) *tamar-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.) ‘he lost the dog’ and *qimugte-t* (ABS.pl.) *tamar-ai* (IND.3sg.3pl.) ‘he lost the dogs’:

- (252) a. *Qimugta tamar-luku uuminarq-uq.*  
 dog.ABS.sg. lost-APP.3sg. bad-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘He, losing the dog, is frustrated.’  
 ii. ‘[The fact of] losing the dog is bad/frustrating.’  
 b. *Qimugte-t tamar-luki uuminarq-uq.*  
 dog-ABS.pl. lost-APP.3pl. bad-IND.3sg.  
 i. ‘He, losing the dogs, is frustrated.’  
 ii. ‘[The fact of] losing the dogs is frustrating.’  
 – note that, if the main clause subject is plural as in *qimugte-t tamar-luki uuminarq-ut*, this only means i) ‘they, losing the dogs, are frustrated’, but not ‘the fact’ of losing the dogs.

As is the case with the intransitive constructions, the cosubordinate reading (i) seems to be more usual than the nominal-clausal (ii). With the addition of the causative marker, i.e., *tamar-tel-luku/tamar-tel-luki*, the frustration relates to the person who lost the dogs ('he'). The addition of a relative-case nominal as well would make the frustration toward the loser clearer: e.g. *elli-in* (3sg.-REL) 'he' and *ella-ita* (3pl.-REL) 'they'.

By contrast, whether the nominal-clausal appositional verb is intransitive or transitive, as illustrated above, the main clause subject can only be intransitive. Hence (a) and (b) below with the transitive main clause are ungrammatical (or funny or unnatural), not surprisingly in view of subject coreferentiality (idiosyncrasy 2; § 51.1.3), while (c), also with the transitive main clause, is grammatical, since the appositional clause is cosubordinate to the main clause:

- (253) a. \**Qimugta tamar-luku uumik-aqa* (infuriate-IND.1sg.3sg.).  
 – intending 'I am infuriated at (*the fact of*) losing the dog.'
- b. \**Qantu-luni Yug-tun kii-ngan assik-aqa*  
 speak-3Rsg. person-EQL.sg. only-CNNst.3sg. like-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 – intending 'I like [*the fact of*] speaking only Yupik.'
- c. [*Qantu-luku* (3sg.) *Yug-tun kii-ngan*] *assik-aqa*.  
 'I like him (I having him) speaking only Yupik.'  
 – though without a coreferential marker.

By the same token, such a verb *atawak-aqa* with IND.1sg.3sg. marked ('it is fine with me, I like it') cannot occur with a quasi-nominal clause.

## 6.2. Exclamative constructions

A quasi-nominal clause with an appositional verb also occurs very often in an exclamative construction with the same kind of monovalent stems as listed in § 51.6.1. The construction is characterized by the particlizing suffix VPc |+<sub>1</sub>paa| (§ 52.4.1; cf. P5ii) added to the verbal stem, commonly with the (second-position) enclitic |=li| attached to the sentence-initial word. The suffix changes the monovalent verb into an exclamative particle devoid of person reference.

- (254) a. *Uuminaq-vaa=lli* [*qimugta*<sub>S</sub> *tamar-luni*]!  
 bad-EXC=ENC dog.ABS.sg. lost-APP.3Rsg.  
 'How frustrating that the dog is lost!'
- b. *Uuminaq-vaa=lli* [*qimugta*<sub>P</sub> *tamar-luku*]!  
 bad-EXC=ENC dog.ABS.sg. lost-APP.3sg.  
 'How frustrating it is to lose the dog!'



As is the case with the nominal-clausal use of a subject in § 51.6.1, the loser of the dog can be added to the second sentence for *tamarluku* (e.g., *elli-in* 3sg.-REL).

Exclamative forms characterized by  $|+{}_1\text{paa}|$  and the enclitic  $|=li|$ , however, can occur with a locative-case NP (§ 27.6) instead of the absolutive case used above:

- (255) *Uminaq-vaa=lli*      *qimugte-mi*      *tamar-luni!*  
 bad-EXC=ENC      dog-LOC.sg.      lost-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘How frustrating that the dog is lost!’

A locative-case nominal is not, however, entirely equivalent to an absolutive. See § 5.3.3 and § 27.6 for more details and for the other types of exclamative constructions.

## 7. Nominalizations of appositional constructions

An appositional verb construction may be nominalized or relativized by one of the nominalizers (VN<sub>nm</sub>; § 18) or relativizers (VN<sub>rl</sub>; § 17), together with its argument(s) and adjunct(s), serving as many functions in the main clause as any nominalization and relativization. This includes appositional verbs with the prop verb  $|pi-|$  (§ 51.3.1).

### 7.1. Nominal clauses

A nominal clause from an appositional verb construction may occur with various functions in the main clauses (§ 18.4), S, P, and oblique (demoted) P below:

- (256) [*Anchorage-aa-met-leq*      *ila-u-nani*]<sub>s</sub>  
 pl.n.-LNK-be.at-VN<sub>nm</sub>.ABS.sg.      relative-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
*caperrnarq-uq.*  
 difficult-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Living in Anchorage without relatives is difficult.’
- (257) [*Qimugte-r-luni*      *aya-llerka-a*      *unuaqu*]<sub>p</sub>  
 dog-have-APP.3Rsg.      go-VN<sub>nm</sub>.FUT-ABS.3sg.sg.      tomorrow  
*nallu-aqa.*  
 ignorant-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know if he will go with dogs tomorrow.’

It is interesting to note that the APP.3sg. *qimugter-luku* might also be used by some people instead of 3Rsg. *qimugterluni* (though much less common).

- (258) a. [*Cuka-luni yuarut-mek*<sub>(P)</sub> *atu-ner-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *elit-ug*.  
 fast-APP.3Rsg. song-ABM.sg. sing-VNnm-ABM.sg. learn-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He learned to sing a song fast.’  
 cf. *cuka-luni yuarut-mek atur-tug* (IND.3sg.)  
 ‘he is singing a song fast’
- b. [*Yuarun*<sub>P</sub> *cuka-luku atu-ner-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub> *elit-ug*.  
 song.ABS.sg. fast-APP.3sg. sing-VNnm-ABM.sg. learn-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He learned to sing the song fast.’  
 cf. *cuka-luku yuarun atur-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.)  
 ‘he is singing the song fast’.

(a) may have another reading ‘he learned fast to sing a song’, with the appositional verb functioning as an adjunct to the main clause subject (though placing it after the main-clause verb serves to disambiguate).

A periphrastic complex transitive construction can also be nominalized:

- (259) [*Elicari-luni pi-sq-ut-ni*]<sub>P</sub>  
 teach-APP.3Rsg. PI-A'.ask-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*quya-k-aa*.  
 thank-have.as-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is glad to be asked to teach.’
- (260) *Neq'aga-llini-a* [*niite-la-ll-ni*  
 recall-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg. hear-HAB-VNnm-ABS.3Rsg.sg.  
*carayag-nun*<sub>(A)</sub> *sasku-t<sub>P</sub>* *aliki-ni-luki*]<sub>P</sub>.  
 ghost-ALL.pl. weapon-ABS.pl. fear-A'.say-APP.3pl.  
 ‘He just remembered that he had heard that ghosts are afraid of  
 weapons.’ [YQYL 12]

A *|pi-|* construction may be nominalized:

- (261) [*Kuingir-ngau-nii pi-cirka-qa*]<sub>P</sub>  
 smoke-will.not-APP.1sg. say-VNnm.FUT-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*maligtaqu-nrit-aqa*.  
 obey-NEG-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I didn't follow my promise (my doing in future) not to smoke.’  
 cf. *kuingir-ngau-nii pi-unga* (say-IND.1sg.) ‘I promised not to smoke’.

– the nominal clause of which is further reverbalized in the following (a) and is subsequently turned into a single verb (b):

- (262) a. *Kuingir-ngau-nii pi-cirk-i-llru-anga*.  
 smoke-will.not-APP.1sg. do-VNnm.FUT-make-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘He instructed me not to smoke.’ – NV *|-li-|* ‘to make’ > *-i-*

- b. *kuingir-ngail-ucirk-i-llru-anga*  
 smoke-will.not- VNnm.FUT-make-PST-IND.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘He instructed me not to smoke.’

An appositional-verb construction with two arguments involved is nominalized (§ 18.1.2.2):

- (263) *Nallu-unga*                    [*neqa<sub>P</sub>*                    *taquka-mun<sub>(A)</sub>*]  
 know-IND.1sg.                    fish.ABS.sg.                    bear-ALL.sg.  
*tuqu-qaar-luku*                    *nere-llru-ci-ane<sub>(P)</sub>*]  
 kill-first-APP.3sg.                    eat-PST-VNnm-ABS.3sg.sg.  
 ‘I don’t know whether the bear ate the fish after killing it.’  
 – |*tuquc-ɣaaɣ*-|.
- cf. [*neqa<sub>P</sub> taquka-m<sub>A</sub>* (REL.sg.) *tuquqaar-luku*] *nere-llru-a* (eat-PST-3sg.sg.)  
 ‘after killing the fish the bear ate it’.

Appositional constructions may also be nominalized by the other VN suffixes – VNnm |+<sub>1</sub>*caɣaɣ*-| ‘way, time’ (§ 18.2.3) and VNrl |+(u)t-| ‘condition, fact, time’ (but not with the meaning ‘instrument’, § 17.6.2).

## 7.2. Relative clauses

Appositional-verb constructions may also be relativized:

- (264) a. *arnaq*                    [*tanger-te-ka*                    *qia-luni*]  
 woman.ABS.sg.                    see-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.                    cry-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘the woman who saw me, [she] crying’  
 cf. *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                    *tangrr-aanga*                    *qia-luni*  
                   woman-REL.sg.                    see-IND.3sg.1sg.                    cry-APP.3Rsg.  
                   ‘the woman, crying, saw me’
- b. *arnaq*                    [*tanger-te-ka*                    *qia-lua*]  
 woman.ABS.sg.                    see-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg.                    cry-APP.1sg.  
 ‘the woman who saw me (as I was) crying’  
 cf. *arna-m<sub>A</sub>*                    *tangrr-aanga*                    *qia-(vkar)-lua*  
                   woman-REL.sg.                    see-IND.3sg.1sg.                    cry-(CRF-)APP.1sg.  
                   ‘the woman saw me crying’.
- (265) *tuquce-sti-i*                    *angute-m<sub>G=P</sub>*                    *nuteg-luku*  
 kill-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.                    man-REL.sg.                    shoot-APP.3sg.  
 ‘the one who killed the man by shooting’, cf. § 17(188a).

- (266) a. [[*Cuka-luni*     *atu-lria*]             *angun*]<sub>s</sub>  
 fast-APP.3Rsg.     sing-VNrl.ABS.sg.     man.ABS.sg.  
*niit-niit-uq.*  
 hear-unpleasant-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man who is singing fast is not pleasant to listen to.’  
 cf. *cuka-luni atur-tuq* (IND.3sg.)     *angun<sub>s</sub>*  
 ‘the man is singing fast’
- b. [[*Cuka-luku*     *atu-qi-i*]             *yuarun*]<sub>s</sub>  
 fast-APP.3sg.     sing-VNrl-ABS.3sg.sg.     song.ABS.sg.  
*niit-niit-uq.*  
 hear-unpleasant-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The song which he is singing fast is not pleasant to listen to.’  
 cf. *cuka-luku atur-aa* (IND.3sg.3sg.)     *yuarun<sub>p</sub>*  
 ‘he is singing the song fast’.
- (267)     *piipiq*             [*tangrr-arka-n*             *qia-luku*  
 baby.ABS.sg.     see-VNrl.FUT-ABS.2sg.sg.     cry-APP.3sg.  
*qam-a-ni*]  
 inside-EX-LOC  
 ‘the baby whom you (sg.) will see crying inside’.
- (268)     [*Tegu-ur-luki*             *iqva-q'nga-nka* (~ *iqva-qe-nka*)]<sub>s</sub>  
 take.in.hand-CNT-APP.3pl.     pick-VNrl-ABS.1sg.pl.  
*tan'gerpa-u-gut.*  
 berry-be-IND.3pl.  
 ‘The ones that I am picking by hand are crowberries.’ cf. VVt  
 |+*yu(ya)ŷ-*| with syllable contraction (P18v)  
 – implying a choice among different berries, which is more so with  
 the *-q'nga-* form than with *-qe-* form (Elsie Mather, p.c.), as opposed  
 to *iqva-nka* ‘my berries (berries I picked)’.

A |*pi-*| periphrastic construction (§ 51.3.1) may be relativized:

- (269)     [[*Taangiq-luni*             *pi-lria*]             *angun*]<sub>s</sub>  
 drink-APP.3Rsg.     PI-VNrl.ABS.sg.     man.ABS.sg.  
*qalaruc-unait-uq.*  
 talk.to-difficult-IND.3sg.  
 ‘The man who is drunk is difficult to talk to.’  
 – can imply more than just ‘being drunk’ (e.g. demeanor), as opposed  
 to:  
 cf. [*Taangiqe-llria angun*] *qalaruc-unait-uq.*  
*angun taangiq-uq* ‘the man is drunk’.

Appositional complex verb constructions produce concatenated relative clauses (§ 17.7):

- (270) a. [*Im-na* *tai-ni-luku*  
 that.ANP-EX.ABS.sg. come-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
*qanaa-teke-l-qa*<sub>s</sub> *ceñirte-llru-uq*.  
 speak-VVsm-VNrl-ABS.1sg.sg. visit-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘That one visited who I said would come.’
- b. [*Qan-lleq* *carayag-tait-ni-luku*]<sub>p</sub>  
 say-VNrl.ABS.sg. ghost-there.be-A'.say-APP.3sg.  
*ataata-k-aqa*.  
 FaBr-have.as-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘The one who had said there were no ghosts is my uncle.’ [YQYL 8]

More examples of nominalized appositional constructions are given in the chapters dealing with nominalizations (§ 18) and relativizations (§ 17).



## **Part 10**

### **Non-inflecting words**

Words other than nominals and verbs do not inflect (§ 52). Non-inflecting words consist of “particles” (§ 53) and “enclitics” (§ 54). While particles are a semi-closed class, enclitics are a closed one. The latter contains a limited membership of around a dozen.





# Chapter 52

## Non-inflecting words in general

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### 1. Particles and enclitics

CAY non-inflecting words – which, unlike nominals and verbs, do not inflect – are either particles or enclitics. Many of them generally are expressive or introduce the modification of a discourse function, with the exception of conjunctives. Some are illocutionary and others may be more or less expletive, serving as lubricants in utterances. However, many non-inflecting words are so subtle and elusive as to defy clear-cut definition. Their functional classification cannot be a neat one, and the one made below (§ 52.3) is nothing but tentative.

Particles are polysyllabic, while enclitics are monosyllabic like |=lu|, |=kiʔ|, |=yuy|, and |=wa|. An enclitic is dependently attached to a preceding word, forming an enclitic bound phrase, while a particle occurs independently, i.e. with potential pause, or dependently, i.e. forming a non-enclitic bound phrase characterized by a pre-boundary regressive accent – see i) below.

There are a few monosyllabic words that some speakers (or speakers in some areas) may use as non-enclitics, that is, with a pre-boundary regression: |=wa| ~ |≠wa| and |=kin| ~ |≠kin(a)| (§ 54.1-i, § 54.2-ii).

The bisyllabic particle |qaa| may stand independently by itself meaning ‘is that right?’, but is used typically as the marker for “polar” questions when it is attached to the sentence-initial word like |≠qaa| (§ 53.2). It seems like a second-word enclitic, but forms a non-enclitic bound word and triggers a pre-boundary regressive accent, unlike an enclitic (§ 8.4.1). Distinct from |qaa|, there are two interjective particlizing suffixes VPC |+<sub>1</sub>paa| and |+naa| (§ 52.4).

The language has no proclitic *per se*: The proclitic-like |am=| (urging) as in *am' ≠ neri!* ‘hurry up, and eat!’ is a truncation and can also be enclitic-like |=am| (§ 54.1-iii).

i) An enclitic is always a bound word that ‘leans’ phonologically upon its immediately preceding host word, forming a single articulus, i.e. an enclitic bound phrase marked here with an internal = (though with a hyphen in practical orthography – § 3.6.3.1). The host, which may be any word, either inflecting or non-inflecting, is generally at the initial position of a clause – i.e. a so-called second-position clitic (referred to as Wackernagel’s Law), except for the conjunctive |=*lu*| ‘and, also, as well’ (§ 54.5), which occurs after the last of two or more conjoined words, if any, in a sentence, as well as the reportative |=*yuy*| ‘it is said; tell (s.o.)’ (§ 54.4), whose position in a sentence is determined by its syntactic function.

On the other hand, a particle may either be free or bound, i.e. may occur independently as a single articulus or may combine with another preceding or following word, forming a non-enclitic bound phrase (§ 2.3.1; marked with an internal ≠ only if the information is relevant – but with only a space and no mark in practical orthography). A non-enclitic bound phrase triggers a pre-boundary accent regression, as contrasted with an enclitic bound phrase.

ii) Cliticization from formerly free words is not attested in CAY. Nor, for that matter, is there any evidence at all of sufficalization from enclitics. And clitic use of free words is not found either (unlike, e.g. English ‘*ve* and ‘*ll* from *have* and *will*). CAY enclitics are *not* reduced forms of words with an independent existence. Unlike clitics in many other languages,<sup>1</sup> CAY enclitics do not include such items as pronouns, determiners, tense markers, case markers, etc. In this language, personal pronouns or determiners (demonstratives) in CAY, for instance, are free words, though they very often occur in (non-enclitic) bound phrases (§ 2.3.1), while tense and case markers are pure and simple suffixes.

CAY enclitics are clearly distinct from suffixes (either derivational or inflectional) and they can never be interchangeable. The language does not feature the phenomenon of gradation in this regard between the two kinds of morphemes. Enclitics are words and always stand after a full-fledged (morphologically complete) word, forming postinflectional articulations (phonologically bound), while suffixes cannot stand on their own but only exist as a part of a word. Cf. a few caveats, e.g., in § 41.3.1-iii.

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1. This classification of enclitics as non-inflecting in CAY and some languages of the world does not exclude the possibility of enclitics being inflectable. Beja or Ngi-yambaa, an Australian language, is reported to have a clitic inflected with the plural suffix; Klavans (1979: 73) – cf. Zwicky and Pullum (1983: 504) and Anderson (1992: 222). See also Miyaoka (2002: 81–82, etc.) for a small number of verbal enclitics susceptible of inflection (e.g. =*da*).

Although an enclitic always forms a part of single articulus (enclitic bound phrase), it is less subject than a suffix to the cohesive forces inside the articulus. Suffixes and enclitics have different boundary-signaling features in prosody and their segmental realizations (§ 8.4).

iii) Enclitics are unanalyzable, i.e. monomorphemic and many particles are also unanalyzable, but many other particles are clearly or apparently derivatives and allow a greater or lesser degree of analysis (polymorphemic).

Some particles even appear to be petrified remnants of originally inflected words. Some nominals, still retaining a degree of inflection, may be classed as particles, though their categorical demarcation may be difficult to make.

iv) An enclitic may be accented, depending upon syllabic sequence of a whole enclitic bound phrase (§ 8.1), e.g. |=*lu*| in (2) below, as contrasted with (1).

v) One enclitic may be followed by another as in (2) below (and further by another), but they are largely constrained in a relative order, as contracted with particles, which have more flexibility in this regard.

- (1) |*qayay̆+pay-li+viy̆*[+Ø=*lu*] /*qayáx|palí·|vik=łu/ qayarpalivik=llu*  
 kayak-big-make-VNrl.place.ABS.sg.=ENC  
 ‘also the place for making a big kayak’.

The practical orthography uses hyphen – instead of the equal = (§ 3.6.3)

- (2) |*qayay̆+pay-li+viy̆*[+Ø=*lu=yuy̆*]  
 kayak-big-make-VNrl.place-ABS.sg.=ENC=ENC  
 /*qayáx|palí·|vik=łú·|=xuq/ qayarpalivik=llu=gguq*  
 ‘it is said the place for making a big kayak also’.

The enclitic |=*lu*| is accented in (2), and it is a major accent of the whole bound phrase, as its last accented syllable – see § 8.2 vs. § 8.4.1.

Three or four enclitics in succession, forming an enclitic boundary phrase, seem to be almost the limit:

- (3) a. *Tuá=i=ggùr=am* ‘and then it was said’  
 then-RPT=indeed  
 – actually *tua=i* should be taken as a single particle (interjective), cf. (19)
- b. *Tuá=i=llù=ggùr=am pi-ura-ger-luni qaner-tuq.*  
 then-and-RPT=indeed PI-CNT-ITS-APP.3Rsg. say-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Then after a while he said.’ [ELLA 544]

- (4) *ciin=kìq=ggùr=am=llu ≠ pi-a?*  
 why=I.wonder-RPT=again=and do-INT.3sg.  
 ‘(she says again as usual) I wonder why he does also’ [EA]

vi) Very rarely, an enclitic may stand initially as a cited word, when it is followed by the linker  $|+(V)\check{y}-|$  ‘to say, pronounce’ (§ 52.5.1-i).

- (5) *llu-ur-luni* ‘(he) saying “and X [=llu]”’  
 and-say-APP.3Rsg.  
*gguq-aar-luni* ‘(he) saying “they say X [=gguq]”’  
 RPT-say-APP.3Rsg.

## 2. Constitution

While non-inflecting words are devoid of inflection (as defined), there are some particles that appear to be petrified remnants of originally inflected words. Many of the non-inflecting words are unanalyzable (monomorphemic), but there are instances that may allow some analysis (polymorphemic).

Some particles are evidently shortened or truncated forms of roots or stems:

- (6)  $|alij|$  ‘oh (my)!’ (mild fear or surprise): cf. root  $|ali-|$  ‘fear, afraid’ (§ 36.1),  $|ali\eta i-|$  (e.g. *alinguq* ‘he is scared’).
- (7)  $|tan\eta| \sim |≠ tan\eta| \sim |=tan\eta|$  ‘see, look!’  $\sim$  cf. perhaps from optative *tangrr-u* with bivalent  $|tan\eta x-|$  ‘to see’ (cf. § 9.6).
- (8)  $|an\eta li(i)|$  ‘to a great extent, too much’ cf.  $|an\eta li-|$  ‘to grow’.

Some nominals, with very much limited inflection and derivation, are close to particles: e.g.

- (9)  $|àka|$  (§ 53.4-i) ‘past, already, long time ago’  
 a. *ak’a-nun / akaar-nun* ‘for a long time’ (allative)  
*ak’a-llaq* ‘old (thing)’ – appositive noun (§ 11.1)  
 b.  $|ak’a-u\check{y}c-|$  ‘to become old’.

Some particles are deverbal nominals, e.g. *pulengtaq* ‘many times, repeatedly’ from  $|pul\eta\eta c-|$  ‘to do again’, which is attested in § 42(188).

A few particles end in what may conceivably be the ablative-modalis marker  $|+mi\check{y}| / |+ni\check{y}|$ . While the first two groups (a) and (b) below show nominal

stems, the third (c) begins with a verb stem and may be replaced with an appositional form:

- (10) a. |*tau-miy*| ‘therefore’ cf. |*tau-*| ‘that’  
 |*imu-miy*| ‘you know’ |*im-*| ‘that’ (anaphoric)  
 b. |*kizia-niy*| ‘always’ |*kii-*| ~ |*kizi-*|  
 [Mountain Village] ‘alone’ (§ 14.10.4)  
 c. |*na-niy-miy-*| ‘for the last time’ |*naŋ-niy-*| ‘last one’  
 (use.up-VNnm)  
 d. |*ayay-miy*| ‘from the beginning’ |*ayay-*| ‘to go away’  
 |*patay-miy*| ‘in a hurry, quickly, a short time’ |*patay-*| ‘to act in a  
 hurry’  
 |*cuka-miy*| ‘quickly’ ≡ *cuka-luni* / *-luku* |*cuka-*| ‘to be fast’  
 |*atqunay-miy*| ‘suddenly’ ≡ *alqunar-luni*, etc.

The following also seem to contain a case marker (a. equalitive, b. allative, c. locative):

- (11) a. |*w-a-tin*| ‘like this’ cf. adverbial demonstrative |*w-a-*| ‘here’  
 |*ma-a-tin*| ‘when, then’ cf. |*ma-a-*| ‘here’  
 b. |*ilu-mun*| ‘surely’ cf. |*ilu-*| ‘interior’  
 c. |*kiitua-ni*| ‘finally, after time went by’  
 cf. exhaustive quantifier |*kii-*| (10b)?

Like (11a), a number of particles apparently begin with an adverbial demonstrative root (§ 12.3), particularly |*wa-*| and |*tua-*|, followed by an enclitic.

- (12) |*tuahu*| ‘and then, well now!’ |*tu-a*| ‘there’ and |=*lu*| ‘and’  
 |*tawaam*| ‘but’ |*taw-a*| ‘there’ and |=*am*| (§ 54.3-i).  
 (13) |*wàtu*| ‘or, nor’ |*wa-*| ‘here’ and |=*lu*|  
 |*wàxuŷ*| ‘so-called’ |*wa-*| ‘here’ and |=*yuŷ*|  
 – note that these are apparently characterized by (P18iv.b)  
 gemination.

There are a few suffixes |+*paa*| and |+*naa*| that uniquely derive non-inflecting exclamative words (particles) from a verb stem, hence regarded as VPc type of suffixes – see § 52.4. The first suffix seems to be related to the augmentative |+*pay-*| (§ 20.1.1) or the intensifying |+*pakay-*| (§ 41.3.2).

It may be tempting to relate the following with the ignorative word, but there is little confirmatory evidence:

- (14) |=*kin*| ~ |≠ *kin(a)*| ‘I wish’ (§ 54.2-ii), cf. |*ki-na*| ‘who’ (ABS.sg.)  
 with root |*ki(t)-*| – § 15.2.2.

There is one particle with a reduplicated verb stem (§ 4.3-iv.c; § 53.2). This is a completely isolated instance, with no other verb stem ever reduplicated:

- (15) |*tai=tai*| ‘come!’ (a somewhat babyish command)  
cf. |*tai-*| ‘to come’.

|+*ki(ka)*| exclamative. The stem or the root involved may be a particle or an inflecting stem, though the construction is not necessarily clear. (It is not clear either if this suffix is related to the particle *kiika* ~ *kiika* ≠ *wa* ‘I hope so’ or not):

- (16) *ak’a-ki(ka)* ‘(it’s) a long time ago!’ (*ak’a* ‘already, long time ago’)  
*ik’i-ki(ka)* ‘oh! how much, how big!’  
*naami-ki(ka)* ‘I don’t know’  
*qayumi-ki(ka)* ‘so, that’s it’  
*kuaksi-kika* ‘what a close call, wow!’ – *kuaksi-*?  
*ineqsi-kika* ‘how cute!’ – |*iniqi-*| ‘to coo a small child’, cf. *ineq-sugnarq-uq* ‘it is cute’.

|*ku*| ‘(sometime) in the future’. May inflect to a very limited extent (§ 11.3.3).

- (17) *unua-qu* ‘tomorrow’ (*unuaq* ‘this morning’)  
*wani-ku* ‘soon’ (*wani* ‘now’).

Less uncertain in constitution:

- (18) |*nauwa*| ‘where’ – possibly from |*na-*| ‘where’ (§ 15.2.3)  
|*wamtaqa*| ‘what now, what’s going on now?’

There are many interjective particles with |=*i*|, mostly attached to adverbial demonstrative stems (marked by *-a-*), but in some cases to other non-demonstrative stems.

- (19) a. *pika=i* /piká·|i/ ‘up there!’  
*tua=i* /tuá·|i/ ‘then, so (now)’, etc.  
*cama=i* /camá·|i/ ‘hello!’  
– § 12.3.2.2 and also § 53.6-i for *tua=i* (sentence filler). Represented as *pika-i*, *tua-i*, *cama-i* in the practical orthography (§ 3.6.3)
- b. *ala=i* /alá·|i/ ‘fear, surprise, or fright’  
*ii=i* ‘yes’  
*ila=i* ‘oh, no!’ – cf. *ila-i* /il|lai/ ‘his relatives, its part’  
– =*i* (in this grammar) and – (in the orthography) may be written as *yi* (*alayi*, *iivi*, *ilayi*) by some writers.

Verb stems may occur as adverbial particle:

- (20) *cakneq* ‘very much, hard, roughly’  
 cf. *cakner-tuq* ‘he/it is having a hard time, is struggling’  
*cakner-narq-uq* ‘it is difficult’ (cf. § 39.2.1).

### 3. Functions

The nuclei of a clause are formed of a verb and nominal(s), i.e. inflecting words, and even though non-inflecting words are restricted or almost devoid in derivation and inflection, they are highly important in the actual functioning of the language and carry multifarious and subtle and obscure nuances that are often hard to define. The semantic interactions of a non-inflecting word with another lexical item or a grammatical form result in a wide variety, so elusive as to defy exact definition.

CAY has a fair number of non-inflecting words that are interjective/exclamative or of adverbial nature, but they are not the kind of words that constitute such phrasal verbs as abound in English (e.g., *to put off*, *turn down*).

The language has no prepositional or postpositional particles either, the functions of which are well handled by an abundance of location nouns and demonstratives in an oblique case (§ 11.2 and § 12). It has hardly any subordinate conjunctions (conjunctive non-inflecting words) either, although there are a few coordinating-conjunctive particles or enclitics whose occurrence is highly frequent. Its near lack of subordinate conjunctions (e.g. *because*, *when*, *if*, etc.) is partly related to its highly developed system of connective-mood and appositional-mood verbs (§ 50 and § 51).

Though with the strong reservation that the distinctions are, by necessity, more or less elusive and obscure in many instances, CAY particles may be classified for the sake of convenience as follows:

- |   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| 1. interjective/exclamative               | § 53.1, § 54.1         |
| 2. sentence word                          | § 53.2,                |
| 3. sentence-adverbial (modal, expressive) | § 53.3, § 54.2, § 54.3 |
| 4. adverbial                              | § 53.4, § 54.3         |
| 5. conjunctive                            | § 53.5, § 54.5         |
| 6. discursive                             | § 53, § 54.1, § 54.4   |
| 7. sentence fillers                       | § 53.6, § 54           |

One and the same particle may naturally have different functions that belong to two or more groups. Some interjective/exclamative and adverbial particles are more or less conjunctive. The particle *|tawaam|* (§ 53.5), for instance, can

be conjunctive ('but'), adverbial (delimiting 'only'), discursive, or implicative of indirectness, as below.

The use of some non-inflecting words (sentence-adverbial and interjective/exclamative ones in particular) makes into narratives sentences that otherwise would be mere statements. This implies that those words are almost obligatory in connection with participial-mood verbs (§ 47) and are very often required by optative-mood constructions (§ 49).

#### 4. Two exclamative particlizers

There are two verb particlizers (VPc), the first of which is very commonly used.

##### 4.1. VPc |+<sub>1</sub>paa|

The postvocalic variant is |+<sub>1</sub>vaa|, cf. § 7.2-i.c. Added to a verb stem, the suffix uniquely particlizes to form a non-argumental exclamation. It is most likely that the suffix is related to the augmentative NN suffix |+<sub>1</sub>pay-| (§ 20.1.1) and to the intensifying VVa suffixes |+<sub>1</sub>pakay̆-| 'so much' and |+<sub>1</sub>pay-| 'intensely' (§ 41.3.2), which, inflected in the interrogative mood, are also responsible for exclamations with arguments involved. The doubled vowel presumably may reflect the word-final doubling very common to vocatives by which one addresses a person with some distance or in an exaggerated way (§ 4.3-vi.c).

Very often with adjectival and negative stems:

- (21) a. *assii-paa!* 'how bad!' (|asiit-|, cf. P5.ia)  
*puqia-paa!* 'how stupid!' (|puqiat-|)  
 b. *kiircess-vaa!* ~ *kiirce-paa!* 'how hot!' (|kiiy̆cic-| 'to be hot'  
 – atmospheric)  
 /kiix̆|c̆is|faa/ /kiix̆|c̆ip|paa/ depending upon the treatment of stem-final /c/ before the suffix  
 c. *ang-vaa!* 'how big!' (|aŋi-|, cf. P2i.c)  
*alingnaq-vaa!* 'how frightening!' (|aliŋnaŋqi-|)  
 – see § 39.2. for /y̆/ deletion  
 d. *irniar-a niic-ui-paa!*  
 child-ABS.3sg.sg. listen-never-EXC  
 'his child never listens!'

But not restricted to them:

- (22) *Nutaan teki-paa!*  
 just arrive-EXC  
 '(You) just came!' (surprise, relief, etc.) – |tikic-| 'to arrive'.



- (23) *Cikir-paa neq-nek!*  
 give-EXC fish-ABM.pl.  
 ‘(You) give (us) lots of fish!’
- (24) *Angli=lli neq-tangqer-paa!*  
 much-EXC fish-there.be-EXC  
 ‘There are lots of fish!’

The emphasizing particle *|angli=li|* ‘too much, enormously, always’ (§ 53.1-v) may often be used in *|+<sub>1</sub>paa|* exclamations, possibly implying exasperation, tiredness, etc. as well. This may perhaps be related with *|angi-|* ‘to be big’:

- (25) a. *anglill’ assir-paa!* ‘how good!’ ≐ (27a)  
 b. *anglilli kiircess-vaa! ~ kiirce-paa!* ‘how hot!’ from (21b).

The accent pattern on the suffix may be altered for greater expressiveness (cf. P18iv):

- (26) *nengllir-paa ~ nengllir-páa* (more expressive or emotional)  
 ‘how cold!’

The exclamative *|+<sub>1</sub>paa|* frequently (though not obligatorily) co-occurs with the enclitic *|=li| / =li/* (§ 54) – or less commonly *|=lu| / =lu/* – attached to the sentence-initial word:

- (27) a. *assir-paa=lli!* ‘how good!’  
 good-EXC=ENC  
 b. *angli-vaa=lli!* ‘how tall/old you are now!’  
 grow-EXC=ENC  
 c. *qasper-i-paa=lli!* ‘I(/you/they) don’t have a parka cover!’  
 parka-PRV-EXC=ENC  
 d. *amllir-paa=lli tanem!*  
 be.lot-EXC=ENC perplexity  
 ‘how many/much!’ (perplexing) – § 53.3-ix for *tanem*.
- (28) *arenqia-paa(=lli)!*  
 ‘how unsettling!’ (*|ayinqiat-|* ‘to be unsatisfactory’, cf. *|ayin-|*, § 53.1)  
*quyanaq-vaa(=lli)!* ‘thank you very much!’

There are a few isolated exclamative forms with final *|+<sub>1</sub>piit=li|*; no form without *|=li|* occurs:

- (29) *quyanaq-viit=lli* ~ *quyanar-piit=lli!* ‘thank you very much!’  
*kapegcugnar-piit=lli!* ‘how dreadful!’  
 (|*kapiycuynayqi*-| ‘to be dreadful’).

It may perhaps be the case that the final |+*piit*| was originally a reinforcing plural form – cf. *qayarpak* ‘big kayak’ (ABS.sg.) vs. *qayarpiit* (ABS/REL.pl.) – with NN |+*pay*-| ‘big’.

Equivalent to the suffixal particlized exclamations are interrogative-mood verbs with |+*pakay*-|:

- (30) *kiircess-vakar-ta* ~ *kiirce-pakar-ta!* ‘how hot it is!’  
 hot-ITS-INT.3sg.  
 ≙ (21b) *kiircess-vaa!* ~ *kiirce-paa!* ‘how hot!’

As contrasted with suffixal exclamations, which may have the absolutive-case NP (in S function) as the topic/target for the exclamation, non-argumental construction with |+*paa*| has no inflectional specification of the target for exclamation, but may have a locative-case NP (§ 27.6). Word order does not matter:

- (31) (*C*)*ella-mi=lli* *assir-paa!* ~ *Assir-paa=lli* (*c*)*ella-mi!*  
 weather-LOC.sg.=EXC good-EXC  
 ‘My, the weather is fine!’
- (32) *Tupag-yara-tu-vaa(=lli)* *elpe-ni* / *ellii-ni* / *wang-ni!*  
 wake-early-REG-EXC(=ENC) 2sg.-LOC / 3sg.-LOC / 1sg.-LOC  
 ‘My, what an early riser you (sg.) are / he is / I am!’

The person distinction made by the above pronouns is replaced by the inflection of the interrogative-mood verb in cases of suffixal exclamation: *tupag-yaratu-vag-cit* (INT.2sg.), *-ta* (INT.3sg.), and *-cia* (INT.1sg.).

A third person for the target/topic may be expressed by a nominal demonstrative *uu-mi* ‘this’ in the locative case, without which the following may also mean ‘I/you have been (enjoying) eating!’:

- (33) *Nere-nqeg-paa=lli* *u-u-mi!*  
 eat-thoroughly.enjoying-EXC=ENC this-EX-LOC.sg.  
 ‘This person (he) has been (enjoying) eating!’

Verb stems particlized by |+*paa*| may contain various implications such as pityfulness or endearment VV(NN) |-*yuylyu*-| ‘poor fellow’ (34), index of comparison VVc |-*nju*-| (§ 45.1.1), intensifier VVa |+*pakay*-| (40), and so on, thus possibly yielding heavily loaded exclamations such as (35):

- (34) a. *Elpe-ŭrlur-mi=lli* / *Elpe-ŭrlur-peni=lli*  
 you-END-LOC.sg.=ENC you-END-LOC.2sg.=ENC  
*qasper-i-paa!*  
 parka-PRV-EXC  
 ‘Oh you (sg.), poor guy, how you don’t have a parka cover!’
- b. *Uita-vig-ka-ite-qata-ŭrlur-paa(=lli)!*  
 stay-place-FUT-PRV-IMN-END-EXC(=ENC)  
 ‘How sad that he has / that I have no place to stay!’
- (35) a. *Uuminarqe-ŭrlur-pakar-paa=lli* *tanem!*  
 infuriating-poor[HNR]-ITS-EXC=ENC perplexity  
 ‘how intolerable/terrible, the poor guy, he is / you are!’
- b. *Uuminarqe-ŭrlur-yaaq-vakar-paa=lli* *tanem!*  
 infuriating-poor[HNR]-CTR-ITS-EXC=ENC perplexity  
 ‘how intolerable/terrible, the poor guy, he is / you are (sorry but deserve it)!’

An appositional-mood verb may co-occur to provide a reason or cause for exclamation (§ 51.6.2):

- (36) *Quya-naq-vaa* [*tangerr-lua* *irnia-mnek*]!.  
 thank-should-EXC see-APP.1sg. child-ABM.1sg.sg.  
 ‘How thankful I am to see my child!’

The appositional-mood verb may be accompanied by a locative case NP as the logical subject of the verb, as in the following (which may give the feeling of ‘in relation to the *ella* itself’ to some speakers):

- (37) a. *Atawa-u-vaa=lli*, [*ella-mi* *assir-luni* /  
 blessing-be-EXC=ENC weather-LOC.sg. good-APP.3Rsg.  
*assir-i-luni*]!.  
 good-INC-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘How blessed the weather is good / is getting good.’
- b. *Arenqia-paa=lli*, [[*qak’m-u-mi* *ella-mi*]  
 discouraging-EXC=ENC outside-EX-LOC.sg. weather-LOC.sg.  
*assii-nani*]!.  
 bad-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘How discouraging, the weather outside is bad!’

– which has the implication of a stronger tie to the ‘weather’, a special entity in the Yupik world view, than when the absolutive (singular) [*qakem-na ella*] is

used. The latter is an objective statement with no particular or personal attitude about the ‘weather’.

Exclamations with an appositive-mood verb may reflect syntactic difference, depending on the articulation (notably by the pauses as indicated by the commas):

- (38) a. *Uuminaq-vaa=lli*,                    [*qimugte-mi*        *tamar-luni!*]  
 b. [*Uuminaq-vaa=lli*                    *qimugte-mi*],        *tamar-luni!*  
     infuriating-EXC=ENC        dog-LOC.sg.        lose-APP.3Rsg.  
     i. ‘How bad / Darn, the dog got lost!’ – frustration about the dog being lost.  
     ii. ‘The darn dog, it got lost!’ – frustration at the dog itself.

The locative-case NP *qimugte-mi* can be replaced by the absolutive *qimugta* in both (a) and (b). But the locative, with the implication of the speaker’s closer ties to the ‘dog’, is a more intensive description than the absolutive. The former may involve the speaker owning the ‘dog’, while the latter would connote no particular ‘dog’.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the intensifying suffix  $|+pakay̆|$  (§ 41.3.2) may occur as a particlizer with no inflection, replacing  $|+paa|$ :

- (39)        *kiiress-vakar* ~ *kiiyce-pakar!*                    ‘how hot!’ – cf. (30).

- (40)        *ange-nru-vaa* ~ *ange-nru-vakar*  
     i. ‘oh my, how exciting!’  
     ii. ‘how much larger (than)!’  
     – see § 18(231) for the ambivalency  
 cf. *ange-nru-vakar-tuq*  
     i. ‘it is so exciting, delightful’  
     ii. ‘(because) it is bigger (than)’.

#### 4.2. VPc $|+naa|$ ~ $|+nii|$

This is an exclamative particle that is more restricted (perhaps antiquated) than the preceding  $|+paa|$ . Very often occurs following the intensifying suffix VVa  $|+pakay̆|$  ‘so much, all the time’ or VVa  $|+pay̆|$  ‘intensely’. In following a derivational suffix, this could be taken as a particlizing suffix like  $|+paa|$ , but it seems to be intermediate between a suffix and a particle  $|≠naa|$  in standing after an inflected word or a particle (below), though it seems not to be used independently, unlike the interrogative (polar-question) marker  $|≠qaa|$  (‘?; is that right?’; see § 53.2).

Unlike  $|+{}_1paa|$  above, the main stress with a falling tone always occurs on the first /a/, which is a disturbance of the regular pattern of accentuation. Thus this phonologically behaves more like the interrogative  $| \neq qaa|$ .

- (41) *Iluliq-vakar(r)-náa!*  
 ‘Oh, how my stomach hurts!’  
*Nengllir-pag(g)-náa (~ -nií)! ~ Nengllirpakarr-náa!*  
 ‘How cold it is!’

The particle adds acuteness to *iluliq-vakar* and *nengllir-pag* alone.

The intensifier, however, may occur after an inflected verb and a particle, as in:

- (42) *Ang-vag-tà-náa*                      *caska-n!*  
 big-ECL-INT.3sg.-ITS              cup-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘How big your (sg.) cup is!’  
 – note the repressive accent before the non-enclitic boundary just like  
*angyar-ci*  $\neq$  *qaa* (ABS.2pl.sg.)      ‘your boat?’
- (43) *Akèkatàg-náa!* ~ *Akèkatáki-náa!* ‘Ouch (hurting)!’.

## 5. Linkers (linking suffixes)

A linking suffix or a linker (LNK)  $|+(V\sim VV)\dot{y}-|$  (glossable somewhat like ‘to say’) is required to make two kinds of words inflectable (with or without derivation intervening):

i) *Non-inflecting words (incl. enclitics)*: when they are to be uttered by citing them, like ‘he *said* “and”, “goodbye”, “stop!”, “thank you”, etc.’

ii) *English loanwords*: not Russian ones, however, which have long since been adopted into a part of Yupik lexicon). The fact that such linkers are necessary in order for English words to be capable of inflections means that these loanwords have not yet been fully integrated into Yupik and are treated as a type of non-inflecting words.

The linker is inserted between the non-inflecting word or loanword and the native (derivational or inflectional) suffix. The core of the LNK is  $|+\dot{y}|$ , while its preceding  $V\sim VV$  (single or double full vowel) depends on the preceding vowel although only /a/ occurs after the stem-final consonant, in the presence or absence of  $V$  depending upon the accentuation. Since the LNK-final  $|+\dot{y}-|$  is weak, it may be deleted by (P4i.a).

## 5.1. Following non-inflecting words

The linker (linking suffix), when used to deliver/cite a non-inflecting word (enclitic and non-enclitic) to someone else, can usually be translated as ‘to say, to utter (something)’. It is totally distinct from the reportative complex-transitivizer VVcm |+ni-| ‘to say that’ (§ 40.2.4), as in (53), which embeds a subordinate clause into an upper one, which is morphologically an (expanded) verb stem. Importantly, this linking suffix |+y-| cannot cite an inflected word or bound phrase in GCAY (below).

i) *after particles*:

- (44) *quyana-ar-luku* (APP.3sg.) ‘say/tell him “thank you (*quyana*)”’  
*arca-ar-luku* ‘say/tell him “don’t (*arca*)”’  
*waniwa-ar-luku* ‘say/tell him “here it is! (*waniwa*)”’  
*qang’a-ar-luku* ‘say/tell him “no (*qang’a*)”’.

Note the linker *-ar-* above vs. *-ir-* below (which is due to the particle-final vowel) and the expansion of the linker by the aspectual suffix VVt *-a-* in (c):

- (45) a. *ataki-ir-luku* (APP.3sg.) ‘say/tell him “let me see (*ataki*)”’  
 b. *ataki-ir-aanga* (IND.3sg.1sg.) ‘he says to me “let me see”’  
 c. *ataki-ir-a-uq* (CNT-IND.3sg.) ‘he is saying, continues to say “let me see”’  
 d. *ataki-i-qer-luni* (just-APP.3Rsg.) ‘(after) saying “let me see”’.
- (46) *kitaki-ir-luku*  
 ‘say/tell him “well then/please” (*kitaki*), ask him if he is ready’.
- (47) *aang-er-luku*  
 ‘say/tell him “yes / you’re welcome (*aang*)”’.
- (48) a. *cama=i-r-nga* (OPT.2sg.1sg.)  
 ‘shake hands with me’ = § 11(116)  
 b. *cama=i-(y)ar-pek’naku* (NEG-APP.3sg.)  
 ‘don’t say/tell him “hello! (*cama=i*)”’  
 – *cama=i* /camá·|i/ ‘hello!’ (with | indicating foot boundary).
- (49) *tua=i-(y)ar-luku* ‘say/tell him “stop it!”’  
*tua=i-ll’=ar-luku* ‘say/tell him “and then (*tua=i=ll’* /tuá·|il/)”’  
*waqaa-r-luku* ‘say/tell him “hello”’  
*qaill’-ar-luni* ‘(he) saying “how, why?”’  
 – *qaill’* is the most commonly used abbreviation of the interrogative particle from *qaillun*.

The linker occurs after a polar question with an interrogative particle and is followed by two derivational suffixes:

- (50) *ilumun ≠ qaa-r-tura-rraar-luku*  
 truly≠QST-LNK-RPT-after-APP.3sg.  
 ‘after repeatedly saying “is it true? / do you mean it? (*ilumun ≠ qaa?*)”’

Note that the suffix does not occur after any other particles than interactive ones:

- (51) a. *atam-aar-luku* ‘say/tell him “look! (*atam*)”’  
 ATN-LNK-APP.3sg.  
 b. *ataam-ar-luku* ‘say/tell him “again (*ataam*)”’  
 again-LNK-APP.3sg.

The linking suffix does *not* occur after inflecting words either, as far as GCAY is concerned.<sup>2</sup> By contrast with (48) *cama=i* followed by the linker *-r-*, for instance, such an inflected noun *ama-i* ‘his loads on back’ (load-ABS3sg.pl.) cannot be followed by it (intending to mean, \*‘he says “his loads”’). Likewise, the following with the verb followed by the linker is not accepted:

- (52) a. \**aya-katar-tua-ar-luku*, intended to mean ‘saying to him “I am not about to leave”’ – cf. *aya-katar-tua* (go-IMN-IND.1sg.) ‘I am about to go’  
 b. \**Evon-aq<sub>s</sub> [im-na kass’aq] tai-gu-ur-tuq.*  
 – intended to mean ‘Evon says that that white man is coming’, and distinct from: *tai-gúr-tuq* ‘he continues to come’ with *-ra-* deletion from *tai-gu(ra)r-tuq* (come-CNT-IND.3sg.)  
 cf. 

<i>[im-na</i>	<i>kass’aq]<sub>s</sub></i>	<i>tai-guq</i>
that-EX.ABS.sg.	white.man.ABS.sg.	come-IND.3sg.

 ‘that (ANP) white man is coming’.

The only way of expressing the content of (52b) in GCAY would be to use a reportative complex transitive construction (§ 40.2.4):

2. It is interesting to note that Woodbury (1986:235, e.g. 16b) gives the following example from the Chevak dialect, naming “postinflectional complementation”:

*Liissaq u-na tai-gu-ur-tuq.*  
 p.n.ABS.sg. this-EX.ABS.sg. come-IND.3sg.-utter-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Lisa uttered “this one is coming”.’

We are aware that Greenlandic does have this construction, as Woodbury mentions, but I have so far failed to encounter with GCAY speakers who accept (52b).

- (53) *Evon-aa-m<sub>A</sub>* [im-na *kass'aq*]<sub>p=s</sub>  
 p.n-LNK-REL.sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. white.man.ABS.sg.  
*tai-ni-a*.  
 come-A'.say-IND.3sg.  
 'Evon says that that (ANP) white man is coming.'

By contrast, the following is acceptable; although *tua=i-ngu-nrit-uaq* (end-be-NEG-IND.3sg.) can be analyzed as an inflected word meaning 'it is not the end', it is now used as a particle of an established farewell, a more elegant way in comparison with the more common *pi-ura-a* ('goodbye'; do-CNT-OPT.2sg.), and is followed by the linker:

- (54) [*Im-na* *kass'aq*] *tua=i-ngu-nri-tu-ur-tuq*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. white.man.ABS.sg. goodbye-say-IND.3sg.  
*aya-pailegmini*.  
 leave-CNNbf.3Rsg.  
 'That white man said "goodbye" before he left.'

ii) *after enclitics*: Enclitics  $|=tu|$  and  $|=xu\gamma|$  are at least attested with LNK, in the initial position, as shown in § 52.1-vi, when they occur as citations:

## 5.2. Following English words

The other case that requires a linker is that of non-native words (§ 4.2.3.3) to be used in Yupik utterance. As stated in § 3.6.3-ii, a hyphen must be used in orthographical practice to separate the non-native stem from the following linker:

- (55) *camp-aq* (ABS.sg.) /kæm|paq/  
 'camp' – written *camp-aq* in the orthography  
*camp-a-mi* (LOC.sg.) /kæm|pami/  
 'in the camp' – *camp-ami*  
 – with the linker-final consonant (weak) /ɣ/ being deleted before the locative suffix  $|+mi|$  (P4i.b).

The epenthetic vowel *a* (~ *aa*) occurs between the hyphen and the native suffix to fit it into the Yupik prosody and to help euphony, unless the non-native word ends in a double or long vowel. Illustrations are mainly made with a locative and an absolutive form, unless otherwise indicated:

- (56) a. *soup-aq*, *church-a-mi*, *school-a-mi*, *juice-aq*, *psalm-a-t* (ABS.pl.),  
*lip'-ar-tuq* /lɪp|páx|tuq/ 'lipsticks'; cf. (P1) for gemination on *p*  
*call-ár-tuq* /kɔ'|láx|tuq/ 'he "called (telephoned)"'



- cf. *callar-tuq* /całáxtuq/  
 ‘it is opened, has a sore’ – |całay̆-| ‘to open’  
*cheese-aq* /cii|zaq/  
 b. *cheese-ar-tuq* /cii|záx|tuq/ ‘he is eating cheese’  
*cheese-aar-tua* /cii|zaàx|tua/ ‘I am eating cheese!’ (IND.1sg.)  
*mix up-aar-pek’nakú* ‘not mixing it up’ (APP.NEG.3sg.) [QQLK 12]  
*September 25-aar-u-uq* ‘it is September 25<sup>th</sup>’ (be-IND.3sg.).  
 c. *busy-rtuq* /bizíx|tuq/ ‘he is busy’ (IND.3sg.)

The epenthetic vowel *a* is doubled if the CAY iambic accent falls on it, that is, if the non-native element ends in a weak (unaccented) syllable:

- (57) *woman-aá-mi/-áaq* (~ *womán-ami/-aq*), *gentleman-aá-mi*  
 – cf. *mán-a-mi*  
*music-aá-mi*, *president-aá-mi*,  
*picknick-aá-mi* /pík|ni(k)kaá|mi/ ‘in the picnic’ – cf. *nicknâme-a-mi*
- (58) *England-áaq* /-aá-mi, *Fairbanks-aá-mi*,  
*Anchorage-áaq* /-aá-mi (/æŋ.kə.rɪ.ɟʒaːq/ ~ /æŋkə.rɪ.ɟʒá |mi/)  
*Moses-aaq*, *Jason-aaq* (~ [NI.Y] *Jason-aq*), *Mike Tyson-aaq* /-aár-ù-  
*llru-uq* ‘he was M. T.’
- (59) *librâry-mi* /-q, *taxi-mi* /-q, *window-mi* /-q, *lady-mi* /-q, *tree-mi* /-q,  
*city-mi* /si.tiː|mi/, *kangaróo-mi* /-q, *1980-mi* /náun|tiː.é|tiː.mi/ ‘in  
 1980’.
- (60) a. *USÁ-mi* / *USA-q*, *Tennessée-mi* /-q, *Elseá-mi* /-q  
 b. *Yukòn-a-mi*, *basebàll-a-mi*, *nicknâme-aq* /-a-mi /-a-a (ABS.3sg.sg.) /  
 -a-it (ABS.3pl.pl.).
- (61) a. *President Búsh-a-mi*, *Flórida-á-mi*, *Canada-á-mi*, *California-á-mi*  
 b. *New Yórk-a-mi* /-á-u-guq ‘it is New York’, *Hilton Hotél-a-mi* /-á-u-  
*guq*, *Chinés(s)-á-u-guq*  
*Japán-a-mi*, *Japanése-a-ú-gua* /z/ ~ /s/ ‘I am a Japanese’, with the  
 latter representing American English pronunciation of final [-i:s]).

## Chapter 53

### Particles

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As non-inflecting words, CAY particles have no formal cues to classify particles, although a tentative functional grouping may include a number of categories. CAY particles are a semi-closed class. Some of the more common particles are illustrated below.

There are no adverbial particles either like those forming English “phrasal verbs” with (e.g. *give up*, *break down*) or those adverbs in CSY that have come from the neighboring language of Chukchi in Chukotka, which, in contrast, abounds in particles (see, e.g. de Reuse 1994, Jacobson 2008).

#### 1. Interjectional/exclamative

Interjectional/exclamative particles are expressive (emotional), addressive (incl. imperative), or evaluative. They occur as a separate intonation group.

Only some of them are illustrated below:

- i) |*ampi(i)*| ~ |*püiam*| ~ |*amci*| ( ~ |*am*|)
- ii) |*kiiki*|
- iii) |*atam*|
- iv) |*ikiki(ka)*|
- v) |*aḡlił(i)*|
- vi) |*akika*|

The others are only listed here: |*aa*| ‘oh!’, |*âcaca(ki)*| smallness in size, quantity, or number (‘how little, how few!’), |*ala=i*| surprise or fright (‘oh my!’), |*aliḡ*| mild fear, surprise, remorse (‘oh!, oh my!, gosh!’), |*aḡu*| ‘no!’, |*aḡin*| dissatisfaction (‘oops!, my!’), |*aḡin(qia)*| amazement, dissatisfaction (‘oh dear!, oh no!’) – cf. |*aḡinḡiapaa!*| astonishment, amazement (‘too bad, oh my goodness’;

from |*ayinqiat-*|, |*aχca*| ‘be silent, stop!’, |(n)*akliŋ*| sympathy or pity (‘oh, my!, poor thing!’), |*nutaa*| ‘fine!’ (something good has just happened).

i) |*ampi(i)*| ~ |*piiam*| ~ |*amci*| (~ |*am*|): Urges (impatiently) the commencement of an action (‘now, hurry up!’), used very often with an optative-mood verb. No difference between |*amci*| and |*ampi*|, both used for a singular, dual, or plural addressee. |*ampi(i)*| is possibly a contraction of |*amci* ≠ *pii*| (*pi-i* do-OPT.2sg.), with |*am=*| ~ |=*am*| as its truncation (3).

- (1) a. ***Ampi*** *ulla-ki-ki!*  
 hurry approach-ASP-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) go to them soon!’
- b. ***Ampi*** *nere-lta ak’a neqa<sub>P/S</sub>*  
 hurry eat-OPT.1pl. already fish.ABS.sg.  
*ciku-a / ciku-uq*  
 freeze-IND.3sg.3sg./-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Let’s hurry and eat the fish, it is already freezing.’
- (2) *Cingi-u angyaq<sub>P</sub> **ampi!***  
 push-OPT.2sg.3sg. boat.ABS.sg. hurry  
 ‘(You [sg.]) (hurry up and) push the boat out!’

The truncated |*am*| works, very uniquely, like a “ditropic” clitic (§ 54.1-iii), typically as a proclitic attached to the following word, but sometimes used as an enclitic, more so in children’s speech:

- (3) ***ám=**ner-i ~ ner-i=**am*** ‘(you[sg.]) eat!’  
 – for *ampi* ~ *amci ner-i* (eat-OPT.2sg.).

It is distinct from the enclitic |=*am*| ‘again, as usual’ (§ 54.3.1), however.

ii) |*kiki*|: Used to urge to hurry up an action, equivalent to *ampi*. Occurs very often with an optative verb.

- (4) a. ***Kiki*** *pi-ki!*  
 hurry do-OPT.2sg.3pl.  
 ‘Hurry up, and do them!’
- b. ***Kiki* ≠ *pi!*** ≡ ***Ampi* ≠ *pi!***  
 ‘Hurry up, and do!’ (OPT.2sg.)

May be followed by the truncated |=*am*| as in (3):

- (5) **Kiiki=am** patagmek tai-gi!  
 hurry=urging quickly come-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘Hurry up and come here right away!’ [PA]

iii) |*atam*|: Attention-calling to something (‘look, listen, notice!’), often used with an optative or a participial verb, having the implication of unexpectedness or new discovery regarding existence, growth, change, happening, etc. delivered to the addressee (mirative).

- (6) *Wa-ten* **atam** *pi-la-a*.  
 here-EQL see do-REG-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) should do it like this.’

The position in a sentence varies, but it often occurs next to an appositive phrase led by a nominal demonstrative word.

- (7) **Atam** [*ma-n’a* *yuk*]<sub>s</sub> *agiirte-llria!* /  
 see this-EX.ABS.sg. person.ABS.sg. come-PTP.3sg. /  
*angni-il-nguq!*  
 happy-PRV-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘See, that person is coming this way! / is unhappy!’  
 – without *atam*, the verb would be the indicative *agiirt-uq*.

- (8) [*Uneg-na* *cetuaq*]<sub>s</sub> **atam** *kuime-lria* *ukat-mun*.  
 down-ABS.sg. whale.ABS.sg. see swim-PTP.3sg. this.way-ALL  
 ‘See, that whale swimming this way.’ [MT]

The particle may interrupt an appositive phrase with a demonstrative:

- (9) [*Ik-na* **atam** *tuntuq*]<sub>s</sub> *unganguar-tu-lria*  
 across-EX.ABS.sg. look caribou.ABS.sg. moss-eat-PTP.3sg.  
*eme-qaq-luni (meq’aq-luni)*.  
 drink-intermittent-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘Look, the reindeer across there is eating moss and drinking off and on.’

The particle often occurs with impersonal transitive verbs with zero-added *A<sub>IMP</sub>*, with implication of the speaker noticing some change caused by (super)natural force or process unseen or unnoticed by the hearer, although the transitive is rather rare, as mentioned in § 33.4.2-ii (with more examples).

- (10) *Ciul-va-u-guq* ≙ *Ciul-va-u-gaa* **atam** *Nace-aq<sub>p/s</sub>*.  
 ear-big-be-IND.3sg./-IND.3sg.3sg. ATN p.n.-LNK.ABS.sg.  
 ‘See, Nace is big-eared.’ [PA] = § 33(64)

On the other hand, the particle may not necessarily be used to call attention. It may have some implication of ‘instead’, as in the following:

- (11) *Yug-tun*                      *atam*                      *qanr-ut-aq-luku.*  
 person-EQL.sg.            look                      speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-HAB-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Speak to him in Eskimo instead!’

It may also have the effect of softening the speaker’s request (SFT).

iv) *|ikiki(ka)|* ~ *|ik’iki|*: Exclamation expressing wonder or pleasure at largeness, quantity, number, worth, or speed; ‘how big, much, many, fast!’.

- (12) [*Qam-na*                      *[kuig-e-m<sub>G</sub>*                      *kangi-a]*]<sub>S</sub>  
 there-EX.ABS.sg.            river-EV-REL.sg.            end-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*ik’iki*    *neq’-li-qapigte-llru-uq!*  
 EXC    fish-lot-ITS-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘My, there were a lot of fish up there at the head of the river!’

- (13) *Ikik’*    *tau-na<sub>S</sub>*                      *kaig-li.*  
 EXC    that-EX.ABS.sg.            hungry-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder if that (person) is hungry.’

v) *|anjil(i)|*: ‘to a great extent, too much’ (emphasizing an exclamation with particlizing *|+<sub>1</sub>paa|*; § 52.4.1). Possibly related to *|anji-|* ‘to be big’, though that is far from being confirmed.

- (14) a. *Anglilli*                      *elpe-ni*                      *assir-paa!*  
 EMP                      2sg.-LOC                      good-EXC  
 ‘Oh, how nice you look/are!’  
 b. *Anglill(i)*                      *tua=i*                      *elpe-ni*                      *apqau-lar-paa!*  
 EMP                      SFL                      2sg.-LOC                      question-GEN-EXC  
 ‘How many questions you (sg.) always ask!’ – see § 53.6-i for *tua=i*.

vi) *|akika|* < *|akikataki|* < *|akikatay-naa|* ~ *|akikataki-naa|* ‘ouch!, hurting!’. Cf. § 52.4.2 for *|-naa|*. The first /akikka/ may be pronounced as /äkka/ without a schwa, with a slower tempo and a longer duration of the consonant than another particle *|ak’a|* /äkka/ ‘already, long time’ (§ 53.4-i).

## 2. Sentence words

A sentence-word particle functions as a sentence by itself. It occurs as a response, addressing, exclamation, etc.

- (15) |*aaŋ*| ~ |*aa=aŋ*| ‘yes; you are welcome’ (a response to |*quyana*| below), |*ala=i*| ‘oh, my!’, |*ii=i*| ‘yes’, |*naamiki(ka)*| ‘I don’t know’, |*qaa*| question (‘is that right?’; below), |*qa(a)ŋ*| ‘no’ ~ |*qàŋa*| ‘no’ (stronger denial or prohibition, somewhat exclamative), |*quyana*| ‘thank you’, |*tai=tai*| ‘come!’, |*cama=i*| ‘hello!’ (used when a person shakes hands with another), |*waqaa*| ‘hi!’ (below).

The most common particle of this group is the particle |*qaa*| ‘is it so? is that right?’ as used independently. But it is much more commonly used for a polar question marker (*yes-or-no* type; § 5.3.1-ii, etc.), appended like an enclitic to the first word of a clause involved, forming a bound phrase (like a second-position enclitic, though it is not an enclitic and hence marked by non-enclitic ≠, like *angyar-ci* ≠ *qaa* ‘your boat?’ A typical reply is made by (a) |*ii=i*| ‘yes’ or (b) |*qa(a)ŋ*| ~ |*qàŋa*| ‘no’. See 6.1-ix for non-verbal ‘yes’.

- (16) *Uita-lar-tuci* ≠ *qaa*                      *ma-a-ni?* ~ *Ma-a-ni* ≠ *qaa uita-lar-tuci?*  
 stay-CUS-IND.2pl.≠QST    here-EX-LOC  
 ‘Do you (pl.) live here?’  
 – A sentence initial *qaa* (as \**qaa*≠*uita-lar-tuci ma-a-ni?*) is unacceptable.
- a. ***Ii=i***,                      (*uita-lar-tukut*                      *ma-a-ni*).  
 yes                      (stay-CUS-IND.1pl.                      this-EX-LOC)  
 ‘Yes (, we live here).’
- b. ***Qang’a***,                      (*uita-la-nrit-ukut*                      *ma-a-ni*).  
 no                      (stay-CUS-NEG-IND.1pl.                      this-EX-LOC)  
 ‘No, (we don’t live here).’
- (17) *Elpet*<sub>A</sub> ≠ *qaa*    *mik-qapiara-lria-mi*                      *elitaqe-rpenga?*  
 2sg.≠QST                      small-ITS-VNrl-LOC.sg.                      recognize-IND.2sg.1sg.  
 ‘Do you(sg.), who are very small, recognize me?’  
 – § 27.4 for the locative-case participial form as adjunct to the second-person argument.

Note that, in the following two examples, the particle *qaa* is attached to the first word after a comma representing a syntactic break (forming a non-enclitic bound phrase):

- (18) a. *Aüg-na=mi* *aipa-n,*  
 go.away-EX.ABS.sg.=how.about Hu-ABS.2sg.sg.  
*neq-su-qatar-tuq ≠ qaa?*  
 fish-seek-IMN-IND.3sg.≠QST  
 ‘How about your (sg.) husband, who is going away, is he going fishing?’
- b. *Aug-suuq,* *neq-su-qatar-tuten ≠ qaa?*  
 go.away-VOC fish-seek-IMN-IND.2sg.≠QST  
 ‘You’re going away! Are you (sg.) going fishing?’

The particle |*qaa*| is attached after an enclitic, if any, but not before:

- (19) a. *aqsi-uten ≠ qaa?* ‘Are you (sg.) full (not hungry)?’  
 full-IND.2sg.≠QST
- b. *aqsi-uten=gguq ≠ qaa?* ‘He is asking “are you (sg.) full?”’  
 full-IND.2sg.=RPR≠QST  
 – \**aqsi-uten ≠ qaa=gguq?*
- (20) a. *Angya-a<sub>p</sub> ≠ qaa* *mingug-ngait-an?*  
 boat-ABS.3sg.sg.≠QST paint-will.not-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘Won’t you (sg.) paint his boat?’
- b. *Angya-a<sub>p</sub>=llu=gguq ≠ qaa* *mingug-ngait-an?*  
 boat-ABS.3sg.sg.=also=RPT≠QST paint-will.not-IND.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘He is wondering if you (sg.) will paint his boat too.’
- (21) *kaig-pag-tuten=kiq ≠ qaa?* ‘You must be really hungry, right?’  
 hungry-INT-IND.2sg.=wonder≠QST  
 – \**kaig-pag-tuten ≠ qaa-kiq.*

All the clauses illustrated with |*qaa*| are in the indicative verb, but an optiave one may be found to occur with some speakers, as given in § 5(39).

Although |*qaa*| behaves as an enclitic in terms of word order, it is phonologically a non-enclitic, as shown by the difference in accentuation (a. vs. b.):

- (22) a. |*u-na ≠ qaa*| > /*unà(q) ≠ qaa/* *una ≠ qaa?* ‘this one?’  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.≠QST – with a regressive accent due to (P18iv.a)
- b. |*una=lu*| > /*uná·lu/* *una=llu* ‘also this one’  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.=and – with a rhythmical accent due to (P18i)
- cf. |*utaqa[+yaa]*| > /*utá·qaa/* *utaqaa* ‘He is waiting for her’.  
 wait-IND.3sg.3sg. – with the same accent as b) but not as a).

|*waqaa*|: A greeting ‘hi!, hello!, you are here (what for?)’ – perhaps with the adverbial demonstrative |*wa-*| from |*u-a-*| ‘here’. This is not simply a greeting between two parties, however, and may have an inquiring or acknowledging tone, and it may not be deemed proper for an incoming person to say *waqaa* to someone inside but is rather used by the latter to to the former as a recognition of who it is. Elders may also not like to be addressed in this way, since it can convey the sense of inquiry by a younger person that is not respectful or polite. See § 15.2.5.1 for another greeting-like expression ([K] *qaill* ≠ *ayuqsit?* and [Y] *cangacit?*).

Recognition (possibly with surprise) is the case with:

- (23) *waqaa* ≠ *ner'-uten* ~ *war' ≠ ner'-uten* ‘I see, you (sg.) are eating!’

### 3. Sentence adverbials

Used very often with a participial-mood verb (§ 47.2), a sentence-adverbial particle has a whole clause or sentence as its scope, commonly with modal or expressive overtones.

Only some, which are more common, are illustrated:

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| i) ~ iii)    | <i>atak(i)</i>   ~   <i>atik</i>   ~   <i>at(a)</i>  ,   <i>kitak(i)</i>   ~   <i>kitik</i>  ,   <i>ikik(a)</i> |
| iv)          | <i>cunaw(a)</i>   |
| v)           | <i>taŋ</i>  |
| vi)          | <i>iciwa</i>   ~   <i>icuw</i>  |
| vii) ~ viii) | <i>ima</i>  ,   <i>ta=ima</i>   |
| ix)          | <i>tanim</i>  |
| x)           | <i>tuay'(piay')</i>   |

The others are only listed here: |*ilumun*| ‘indeed, truly, I see’, |*aniŷta*| ‘how fortunate (it is that – should)’, |*atam*| ‘look, I see’ (possibly with the connotation of unexpectedness).

The following three particles |*ataki*|, |*ikika*|, and |*kitaki*|, which often occur with an optative-mood verb (§ 49), have shortened forms. The full form introduces a more serious or formal address than the shortened one.

i) |*atak(i)*| ~ |*atik*| ~ |*at(a)*| reinforcing, encouraging/urging, calling attention (‘let me see’). Often used with an optative verb (cf. § 49.4.1) to get the addressee in action/motion.

- (24) *Tau-na<sub>p</sub>* ≠ ***atak*** *ner-ki-u.*  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. ≠ urging eat-ASP-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) just eat it!’





- (32) *Angya-mkun aya-ki-luk!* –  
 boat-PRL.1sg.sg. go-ASP-OPT.1du.  
**Kitaki**=*wa unuaqu aya-ki-luk!*  
 right=REA tomorrow go-ASP-OPT.1du.  
 ‘Let us(du.) go with my boat!’ – ‘All right, let us(du.) go tomorrow!’

With a suggestion given by a consequential  $|+nauy-|$  verb in the indicative verb (*akuta-tur-naur-tukuk*) instead of an optative (§ 42.2.6):

- (33) **Kitaki**, *angayuqa-a-gpet<sub>A</sub> neqka-lgir-aakuk*,  
 urging parent-EV-REL.2sg.du. food-take.along-IND.3sg.1du.  
*akuta-tur-naur-tukuk*.  
 ice.cream-eat-now-IND.1du.  
 ‘Okay, your parents have sent us some food, let us eat some *akutaq*.’  
 [QQLK 42–43]

iii)  $|ikik(a)|$  ‘possibly, I wonder, suppose, hope’. Also  $|kiika(=wa)|$  ‘I hope so’. Usually with a third-person subject optative verb (§ 49.2.1):

- (34) *Tau-na<sub>S</sub> ikik kai-lli-uq.* ~  
 that-EX.ABS.sg. wonder hungry-perhaps-IND.3sg.  
**Ikik** *tau-na<sub>S</sub> kaig-li.*  
 hungry-OPT.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder if that (person) is hungry.’
- (35) *Aki-likuk ≠ ikik!*  
 reciprocate-OPT.3sg.1du.≠wonder  
 ‘I hope he answers us (du.) (e.g. in a letter).’
- (36) **Ikik(a)** *im-ku-t assir-luteng*  
 hope that.ANP-EX-ABS.pl. good-APP.3Rpl.  
*aya-ki-lit [K] ~ egleres-ki-lit [Y]!*  
 go-ASP-OPT.3pl. travel-ASP-OPT.3pl.  
 ‘I hope their journey is good (lit. I hope they go/travel, (they) being good)!’

iv)  $|cunaw(a)|$  ‘I see, no wonder, so that’s how, notably’; witness, confirmation, often used with a participial verb:

- (37) a. **Cunaw’** *aya-ksail-nguten.*  
 no.wonder leave-not.yet-PTP.2sg.  
 ‘So (I see) you (sg.) are still here (haven’t left).’

- b. **Cunaw'**      *ak'a*      *aya-llru-lriit*      *angute-t<sub>s</sub>*.  
no.wonder      already      go.away-PST-PTP.3pl.      man-ABS.pl.  
'So (I see) the men already went away.'
- (38) a. *Aya-ksaite-llini-lria-ten ≠ cunaw'*.  
leave-not.yet-EVD-PTP-2sg.≠no.wonder.  
'I see you (sg.) haven't left.'  
b. *Cunaw'*      *aya-kata-lria-tek*      [*Japan-amun*      *kiir-pag-mun*].  
no.wonder      leave-IMN-PTP-2du.pl.n-EX.ALL.sg.      heat-AUG-ALL.sg.  
'I see, you (du.) are leaving for the very hot Japan.'
- v) |*tanj*≠| ~ |≠*tanj*| confirmation or calling attention to the unexpected (possibly with concern, irritation, etc.), often used with a participial (§ 47.2) or an optative verb (§ 49.4.1) – 'see, it's certain, it's a fact' (vs. *tuarpiaq* 'it seems' – uncertainty). May be an enclitic for some speakers (§ 8.4.1-i). Attached to a sentence-initial word (forming an enclitic-like bound phrase), it is an expletive serving as a cushion-like sentence filler (SFL: cf. § 2.2.2). Without such a filler, a sentence would sound blunt and less natural and euphonous – see § 53.6-iii.
- (39) a. **Tang** ≠ *yaa=i!*      'Look, over there!'  
b. *Yaa=i ≠ tang!*      'It is over there.'  
– see § 53.1 for interjective particles with =*i*.
- (40) a. **Tang** ≠ *pik-na!*      'Look, that one up above!'  
b. *Pik-na<sub>p</sub> ≠ tang*      *taite-ger-ru!*      ~  
one.up-EX.ABS.sg. ≠ SFL      bring-POL-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
*Taite-ger-ru ≠ tang*      *pik-na<sub>p</sub>!*  
'(You[sg.]) (might as well) bring that one up above (possibly instead of doing nothing)! Please bring that one up above!'
- (41) **Tang** ≠ *taugken*      *ayag-narq-ukuk*  
look≠though      leave-NEC-IND.1du.  
'Nevertheless, we (du.) have to leave.'  
– a common conjunctive bound phrase with the demonstrative-derived particle (§ 12.2.1).
- (42) a. **Tang** ≠ [*aug-na*      *taqukaq*]<sub>s</sub>      *aya-lria*.  
look≠moving.away-EX.ABS.sg.      bear.ABS.sg.      leave-PTP.3sg.  
'The bear is going away!'  
b. *Aug-na*      **tang**, *taqukaq*.  
moving.away-EX.ABS.sg.      look      bear.ABS.sg.  
'Look, the bear going away!'  
– with *tang*, enclosed by pauses, having some interjective force.

- (43) *Lagi-t* ≠ **tang**      *ak'a*      *ayaga-nge-lriit*.  
 geese-ABS.pl.≠SFL    already      leave-INC-PTP.3pl.  
 ‘The geese are already starting to leave!’
- (44) *Ca-mek* ≠ **tang**      *niite-llrianga*.  
 what-ABM.sg.≠SFL      hear-PTP.1sg.  
 ‘(It’s certain / a fact / I have determined) I heard something.’ (confirmatory).  
 cf. **tuar** *ca-mek niite-llrianga*  
 ‘it seems (uncertain) that I heard something’ [PA]

Often in connection with an explanation (‘for, because’):

- (45) *Taq-naur-tukuk* ≠ **tang**      *ang-kata-lrianga*.  
 finish-now-IND.1du.≠SFL      go.out-IMN-PTP.1sg.  
 ‘Let’s(du.) finish (now) for I am going (about to go).’
- (46) *An-yu-avet* ≠ **tang**      *elpet<sub>s</sub> ataku-mi*,  
 go.out-DES-CNNbc.2sg.≠SFL    2sg.    evening-LOC.sg.  
*ca-taic-ima-luten*.  
 what-PRV-CNT-APP.2sg.  
 ‘Because you (sg.) wish to go out in the evening, you’re gone forever.’

vi) *|iciwa|* ~ *|icuw|* stirs the hearer’s memory (‘you remember/know’). Often used with a participial verb or an anaphoric demonstrative *|im-|* (§ 12.2.3.6-i; see also just below) as well as personal pronoun (§ 13). The latter variant may be written *icugg*’ as well as *icuw*’.

- (47) **Iciwa**    *wii*    *eme-yuil-ngua*.  
 know    1sg    drink-never-PTP.1sg.  
 ‘You know, I don’t drink.’ – *|im̃y-|* ‘to drink’ [YEO 110]
- (48) **Iciwa**      *ellii*      *ui-ngil-nguq*.  
 remember    3sg.ABS    Hu-PRV-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘You remember, she has no husband.’
- (49) **Iciwa**    *im-u-mi*      [*qavartar-vi-ll-megnuk<sub>G</sub>*  
 know    that.ANP-EX-LOC.sg.    camp-place-PST-REL.1du.sg.  
*ukati-ini*].  
 this.side-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘You know, we (du.) camped on this side of the place.’ [YED 157]  
 – *imu-mi* in apposition with the location noun *uka-t-i-ini* (with *-t-*; § 12.3.3).

The particle may not be sentence-initial but may be in the second initial position:

- (50) *Qimugte-t ≠ iciw'*      *kangir-tangqe-llriit*      *petug-vig-mek.*  
 dog-ABS.pl.≠know      source-have-PTP.3pl.      tie-place-ABL.sg.  
 'You know how dogs are tied to a post.' [YQYW 142 (David Martin)]

- (51) *Im-u-tun ≠ icuw'*      *ayuqe-llria-mek*  
 ANP-EX-EQL ≠ know      resemble-VNrl-ABM.sg.  
*car-a-ngqe-llria.*  
 car-LNK-have-PTP.3sg.  
 'He has a car like that kind.'

vii) *|ima|* reference in the mind, often used with a participial verb (§ 47.2.2): 'I cannot recollect, forget, repeat, you might remember' – from the anaphoric demonstrative root *|im-|* (§ 12.2.3.6-i; see also just above). Generally used for indirectness in asking questions. Often shortened as *im* in bound phrases.

- (52) *Qaku ≠ im(a)*      *ayag-kata-lriakut?*  
 when.FUT≠again      leave-IMN-PTP.1pl.  
 'When are we leaving (say again)?'  
 – not a monologue, but a question.

- (53) *Aana-n ≠ im(a)*      *ki-tu-u-lria?*  
 Mo-ABS.2sg.sg.≠again      who-EX-be-PTP.3sg.  
 'Who is your (sg.) mother (say again)?'

- (54) *Ak'a ≠ im(a)*      *nere-llru-lriaten.*  
 already≠remember      eat-PST-PTP.2sg.  
 '(I remember) you (sg.) ate already.'  
 – more indirect than the polar question and the indicative verb:  
 cf. *Ak'a ≠ qaa*      *nere-llru-uten?*  
 already≠QST      eat-PST-IND.2sg.

viii) *|ta=ima|* /*taí*·*|ma/* reference in the mind/memory, not in sight: 'somewhere (now), there (out of sight), probably'. Probably from an anaphoric *|ta(z)-ima|* – see § 12.2.3.6-ii for the unique prefixal *|ta(z)-|*. Written as *tayima* by some people instead of *ta-ima* (§ 12-fn. 7), but *\*taima* is not recommended, which should represent *\*/táima/*.

- (55) *Ner-ngat-uq*      *ta=ima*      *na-ni*      *carr'ilqu-mi.*  
 eat-maybe-IND.3sg.      somewhere      where-LOC      clearing-LOC.sg.  
 'He may now be eating somewhere in the open area.'

- (56) *Ikik ta=ima pi-lli-uq.*  
possibly somewhere do-perhaps-IND.3sg.  
'He is possibly doing (it) now (not here; I cannot see).'
- (57) *Umyua-n<sub>S</sub> ta=ima assiic-aaqe-ciq-uq taugaam*  
mind-ABS.2sg.sg. somewhere bad-but-FUT-IND.3sg. but  
*qanr-ut-qatar-amken.*  
say-E<sub>APL</sub>-IMN-IND.1sg.2sg.  
'(Probably) your mind might be wrong (you might think badly), but I  
am going to tell you.'
- (58) *Ta=ima Paula(-aq)<sub>S</sub> napa-t-uq.*  
now.there p.n.ABS.sg. tree-get-IND.3sg.  
'Paul is now getting trees there (unseen).'

ix) |*tanim*| perplexity, annoyance, dissatisfaction, curiosity. Often occurs with an exclamation (§ 48.4).

- (59) *qaya-qa=llu ≠ tanem* 'Why my kayak too?'  
kayak-ABS.1sg.sg. ≠ annoyance
- (60) *Pik-na<sub>S</sub> ≠ tanem ca-u-ga?*  
above-EX.ABS.sg. ≠ perplexity what-be-INT.3sg.  
'Now what is that up above?'
- (61) *Ciin ≠ tanemtai-ceñuk?*  
Why≠perplexity come-INT.2du.  
'Oh, why did we (du.) come; I wish we hadn't come.'
- (62) *uuminarqe-ur̄lur-yaaq-vakar-pag-cit ≠ tanem*  
infuriating-poor.HNR-but-ITS-AUG-INT.2sg. ≠ annoyance  
'How terribly bad you (sg.) are!'

x) |*tuaȳ(piaȳ)*| '(it seems) like'. With some indefiniteness implied, it is commonly used with a participial verb but not an indicative verb. The truncated form is commonly within a bound phrase.

- (63) *tuat-raar-piaq*  
'just as the first one', cf. VVa |*-ḡaaḡ-*| 'after / first -ing' [ELLA 520]
- (64) *tuarpiaq ≠ qaa?* 'is (was) it like that?'  
*tuar ≠ tang ≠ qaa?*

- (65) **Tuar** ≠ *ca-mek* *niite-llrianga*.  
 seem some-ABM.sg. hear-PTP.1sg.  
 ‘It seems that I heard something.’  
 cf. *Ca-mek* ≠ **tang** *niite-llrianga*.  
 what-ABM.sg.≠look hear-PTP.1sg.  
 ‘(It’s certain / a fact that) I hear / am hearing something.’  
 – v) above for *tang*.

A locative-case nominal (e.g. ‘to me’) may co-occur:

- (66) **Tuar** *wang-ni* *arula-ma-la-lriit*.  
 seem 1sg.-LOC dance-CNT-CUS-PTP.3pl.  
 ‘They, it seemed to me, were dancing for a long time.’

In the following, the shortened form stands in the second-initial position, as in (b, c), with the concessive clause hardly relevant in the relative order:

- (67) a. *Qalria-gura-ngraan* *tua-ten*, **tuarpiaq**  
 noise-CNT-CNNth.3sg. there-EQL seem  
*maurlu-u-m<sub>A</sub>* *niite-ksail-kii*.  
 GrMo-EV-REL.sg. hear-not.yet-PTP.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘Although he was repeatedly making noise like that, it seemed that the grandmother did not hear him.’ [PAUQ 13]  
 b. *Mauru-uu-m<sub>A</sub>* ≠ **tuar** *niite-ksail-kii*, *tua-ten* *qalria-gura-ngraan*.  
 c. *Tua-ten* ≠ **tuar** *qalria-gura-ngraan* *maurlu-u-m* *niite-ksail-kii*.

#### 4. Adverbials

These include both locational and temporal settings as well as manner adverbs. Only some, the more common words, are exemplified:

- i) |*àka*|
- ii) |*ataam*|
- iii) |*iȳmian(un)*|
- iv) |*pataymīy*|
- v) |*piciatun*|
- vi) |*watua*|
- vii) |*wanīȳpay*|
- viii) |*nutaan*|
- ix) |*wàxūy*|
- x) |*cali*| (conjunctive as well).

The others are only listed here: |*ayaymiy*| ‘from the beginning’ (§ 52.2), |*atunim*| ‘mutually’, |*ayumian*| ‘then, accordingly’, |*cukamiy*| ‘quickly’ (§ 52.2), |*cakny*| ‘very much, hard’ (cf. verbal |*cakny-*| ‘to struggule, be difficult’), |*atata*| ‘later on’, |*kiziany*| ‘always’, |*tamaa*| ‘soon, without delay, at reasonable time’, |*canimun*| ‘closely’ (< |*cani-mun* area.beside-ALL.sg.), |*itmikun*| ‘for no particular purpose’ (from reflexive-third person pronoun in the perlative; § 13.1.2-i, § 28.3.1), |*kiituani*| ‘finally, thereafter, pretty soon’, |*waniku*| ‘later’ (cf. FUT |*-ku*|).

i) |*aka*| ‘in the past, already’. Used with an appositional verb, it may indicate precedence (‘after’), cf. § 51.2.2(3).

- (68) *Ak'a ner'-uq.*  
 already eat-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is already eaten.’ – see § 34.1.2.1 for TAM sensitive passive.
- (69) *Ak'a yura-uma-ri-luki itr-anka.*  
 already dance-CNT-INC-APP.3pl. enter-IND.1sg.3pl.  
 ‘After they were through dancing I went to the place where they were.’

There is a petrified remnant with the allative or ablative inflection:

- (70) a. *Ak'a-nun ma-a-nc-iiq-uq.*  
 long.time-ALL this-EX-be.at-FUT-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He will be here for a long time.’  
 b. *Ak'a-nek ma-a-nte-nrit-uq.*  
 long.time-ABL this-EX-be.at-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He didn’t stay here for a long time’. – cf. § 52.2.

ii) |*ataam*| ‘again’; cf. VVt |*-nqiyc-*| (§ 42.2.4). See also |=*am*| ‘(again) as usual’ (§ 54.3-i)

- (71) [*Yuarun tama-na*]<sub>P</sub> *ataam atu-qer-ru!*  
 song.ABS.sg. that-EX.ABS.sg. again sing-POL-OPT.2sg.1sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) please sing again that song (you are singing now)!’
- (72) (*E*)*mer-ngait-ni-uq=am ataam.*  
 drink-will.not-A'.say-IND.3sg.=as.usual again  
 ‘He says *again* he will not drink (as usual).’  
 cf. (*E*)*me-nqigg-ngait-ni-uq*  
 drink-again-will.not-A'-say-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He says he will not drink *again*.’



iii) |*iymian(un)*| ‘immediately (after), as soon as, right away’. This particle often occurs with a connective-mood verb, and makes the sentence, which would otherwise be a mere statement, into a narrative. See § 51.2.2(4) for more examples with an appositional verb.

- (73) **Egmian** *tuqu-an,* *nulirr-a<sub>s</sub>*  
 as.soon.as die-CNNbc.3sg. Wi-ABS.3sg.sg.  
*aipa-nge-llru-uq* *alla-mek<sub>(p)</sub>*.  
 partner-get-PST-IND.3sg. different-ABM.sg.  
 ‘As soon as he died, his wife married another man.’
- (74) *Tupag-luni* (≡ *Tupag-ngami* ~ *Tupi-imi*) **egmian**  
 wake.up-APP.3Rsg./-CNNbc.3Rsg. immediately  
*ane-llru-uq*.  
 go.out-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘When he woke up, he went out immediately.’

iv) |*pataymiy*| ‘quickly, in a hurry’ (cf. § 52.2).

- (75) a. **Patagmek** *iqva-a*.  
 quickly pick-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) pick berries in a hurry!’
- b. ...*ma-n*’ **patagmek** *tage-lria*.  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. quickly finish-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘This (story) is quickly over.’ [ELLA 402]

v) |*piciatun*| The equalis form of the nominalization *pi-ci-atun* (VNnm-EQL.3sg.sg.) functions like a particle (cf. § 29.3), meaning ‘any, in any way, various’:

- (76) *Cali=llu* *pissur-luta* **piciatun** *pit-arka-nek*.  
 more=and hunt-APP.1pl. any hunt-VNrl.FUT-ABM.sg.  
 ‘And furthermore, we hunt any kind of game.’
- (77) a. **Piciatun** *pi-sciigat-uq*.  
 any do-cannot-IND.3sg.  
 ‘One (you) cannot do in a wrong way.’
- b. *Qaku tai-ciq-sit?* – **Piciatun** (*qaku*) *pi-yu-llerpeni*  
 when come-FUT-INT.2sg. any (when) do-DES-CNNwn-2sg.  
 ‘When will you(sg.) come?’ – ‘Anytime you want.’

vi) |*watua*| ‘right/just now, just moments ago’.

- (78) a. *kipus-ke-vvut*                      **watua**  
 buy-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.            now  
 ‘the one that we (just) bought’  
 b. *kipus-kengar-put*                      **watua**  
 buy-VNrl-ABS.1pl.sg.            now  
 ‘the one that we are (now) buying’.

vii) |*waniȳpay*| ‘now, at this time, in the recent past’ – from |*wa-ni*| ‘here’.

- (79) *Ner<sup>l</sup>ki-liu*                      **wanirpak** *nang-luku*.  
 eat-ASP-OPT.3sg.3sg. now            finish-APP.3sg.  
 ‘Let him (should he) eat it all now.’ / ‘He will eat it all now (any-  
 way), I don’t care.’

viii) |*nutaan*| ‘finally, just (then, when), now that, consequently (it follows)’.

- (80) *unu-an*                                      **nutaan**  
 night.come-CNNbc.3sg.            finally  
 ‘now that the night came’.
- (81) *Tua=i ilumun ≠ qaa-r-tura-rraar-luku*                      **nutaan**  
 then    really≠QST-LNK.say-RPT-after-APP.3sg.            finally  
*apqaur-tura-rraar-luku*,            **nutaan**            *tegu-llini-luku*  
 ask-RPT-after-APP.3sg.            finally            take-EVD-APP.3sg.  
*mayur-te-llini-luku*.  
 go.up-A-EVD-APP.3sg.  
 ‘After repeatedly asking if he meant it (repeatedly saying “really?”),  
 he finally took him and lifted him out.’ [ELLA 14 (Mike Angaiak)] –  
 see § 52.5.1-i for the linker after the non-inflecting word *ilumun≠qaa*.

ix) |*wàxuȳ*| ‘as they call, so-called’ (probably from |*wa=yuȳ*|, cf. demonstra-  
 tive stem |*wa-*| and enclitic |=*yuȳ*|, with gemination by (P18iv.b) ~ NUN  
 |*k<sup>w</sup>àkuȳ*| /*k<sup>w</sup>àk|kux̄*/). Used very often by some speakers.

- (82) *Ila-it*                      *angalku-t<sub>A</sub>*                      **wagg’uq** [*neqe-m<sub>G</sub>*  
 part-ABS.3pl.pl. shamans-REL.pl. so.called    fish-REL.sg.  
*tumyara-a*]<sub>p</sub>            *tua=i* *caliaq-aq-luku*  
 path-ABS.3sg.sg.    then    work.on-REG-APP.3sg.  
*pi-tu-llru-llini-ut*.  
 PI-REG-PST-EVD-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Some shamans worked on the path of the so-called fish.’ [AKKL 28]

x) *|cali|* ‘more, (not) yet, again; and, also (conjunctional)’ – may co-occur with the enclitic *|=am|* ‘again’ (§ 54.3-i) or with a conjunctional enclitic *|=ll(u)|* or *|=w(a)|*.

- (83) *alangru-u-ciq-ur=am cali*  
 apparition-be-FUT-IND.3sg.=again again  
 ‘he will appear again’ [ELLA 536]

As a conjunction it may form a coordinate phrase or start a new sentence.

- (84) *Pissu-ller-mikun cali cali-ller-mikun*  
 hunt-VNnm-PRL.3Rsg.sg. and work-VNnm-PRL.3Rsg.sg.  
*kipusvig-mi pi-ksagute-llr-ua.*  
 store-LOC.sg. thing-have.as.INC-PST-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘He obtained it by his hunting or by his working in the store.’

## 5. Conjunctionals

Some of the conjunctional particles link one clause with another, while the others link one word with another. See the most typical coordinating-conjunctional enclitic *|=lu|* ‘and’ (§ 54.5). See also § 51.2.4, § 51.4.1, etc. for coordinate clause linking. The language, which has many kinds of connective mood clauses (§ 50) for subordinate clauses, does not have subordinating conjunctions such as ‘if, when’.

The following seven conjunction-like particles are illustrated:

- i) *|tua=i|* ~ *|tua(=i)=l(u)|*  
 ii) *|tuamtaḷu|* ~ *|tuamtiḷu|*  
 iii) *|tawaam|*  
 iv) *|tawkin|*  
 v) *|taumiḷy|*  
 vi) *|wàtu|*  
 vii) *|qàḷaḷu|*  
 viii) *|tuatìn|*  
 ix) *|maatìn|*.

It is to be noted that most of the particles in this group contain a demonstrative stem *|tau-(a-)|*, *|u-a-|*, or *|ma-a-|* of the category I and II (‘here’ and ‘there’, see Table 8; § 12.1.).

i) |*tua=i*| ~ |*tua(=i)=i(u)*| ‘and then, so what now’ – apparently from an interjective demonstrative |*tua=i*| (§ 12.3.2.2) and the enclitic |=*lu*|.

The particle is the most common conjunctive word used to mark the start of a new clause or a sentence (after a pause). See Woodbury (1987b: 191–192) who describes adverbial particles (including *tua=i* most prevalently) that introduce both syntactic and prosodic discourse units.

- (85) **Tuallu**=*ggug* [*tau-na*                    *nuna-il-nguq*]<sub>s</sub>  
 and.then=RPR that-EX.ABS.sg. land-PRV-PTP.ABS.sg.  
 [*qasgi-m<sub>G</sub>*    *quka-anun*]                    *aqume-llini-luni*.  
 house-REL.sg. middle-ALL.3sg.sg. sit.down-EVD-APP.3Rsg.  
 ‘And then (they say), that man without a place to stay sat down in the middle of the men’s house.’

One of the oral narratives recorded (‘The Sun and the Moon: [FASM]) consists of 102 sentences, thirty-seven of which begin with *tua=i* / *tua(=i)=llu* (or their partly shortened forms), with or without an enclitic-like =*wa* and =*am* following); cf. non-sentence-initial expletive sentence fillers *tua=i* in § 53.6-i.

Note the difference in terms of position between the conjunctive particle and the enclitic:

- (86) a. *qayaq*                    **angyaq=llu**  
 ‘a kayak and a boat’  
 b. *qayaq*                    **tua=i=llu**    *angyaq*  
 ‘a kayak (here) and (next) a boat (one by one)’.

As is the case with this example, coordinating-conjunctive words below, also exhibit different positions in relation to the coordinated words concerned:

- (87) a. enclitic |=*lu*| ‘and’ is attached to the last word in coordination: A B=**llu** / A B C=**llu**, etc.  
 b. particles |*wallu*| ‘or’ and |*tawaam*| ‘but’ come before the last word: A **wall’u** B / A, B **taugaam** C, etc.  
 c. particle |*tuatin*| ‘including’: A, B, C **tuaten**.

ii) |*tuamtalu*| ~ |*tuamtilu*| ‘and again, then’.

- (88) **tuamtellu**                    *angyaq*  
 then                    boat-ABS.pl.  
 ‘and then the boat (their turn)’ – cf. (86).

iii) |*tawaam*| /tày<sup>w</sup>aam/ ‘but, however; instead; only’ – commonly written as *taugaam* or without ligature by some writers.

- (89) **Taugaam**      *tegganr-e-t ~ teggenr-e-ts*      *kii-meng*  
 however      folk-EV-ABS.pl.      only-CNNst.3Rpl.  
*uneg-ta-u-ciq-sugnarq-ut.*  
 left.behind-VNrl-be-FUT-PRB-IND.3pl.  
 ‘However, probably only the old folks will be left behind.’
- (90) *U-na<sub>s</sub>*      **taugaam**      *pi-ci-u-nrit-uq*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.      however      do/happen-VNnm-be-NEG-IND.3sg.  
*wii umyua-mni.*  
 1sg.      mind-LOC.1sg.sg.  
 ‘This, however, is not true to me / in my thinking.’
- (91) *Ui-ka<sub>s</sub>*      *kuvya-yug-yaaq-uq*      **taugaam**  
 Hu-ABS.1sg.sg.      net.fish-DES-CTR-IND.3sg.      but  
*angya-it-uq.*  
 boat-PRV-IND.3sg.  
 ‘My husband wishes to go net-fishing, but he has no boat.’

‘instead, only (if)’ – co-occurring with a conditional-connective verb (§ 50.6):

- (92) a. *Qava-quma*      **taugaam**      *an-ki-na.*  
 sleep-CNNif.1sg.      instead      go.out-ASP-OPT.2sg.  
 ‘Go out only when I fall asleep.’  
 b. **Taugaam**      *wii an-kuma.*  
 instead      1sg.      go.out-CNNif.1sg.  
 ‘I should leave (instead of doing something else).’
- (93) a. *Maqi-kuvet*      **taugaam**      [*u-ku-k*      *nutara-k*  
 bathe-CNNif.2sg.      instead      this-EX-ABS.du.      new-ABS.du.  
*qerrulli-i-k*]<sub>P</sub>      *ac-iiq-agken.*  
 pant-EV-ABS.du.      put.on-FUT-IND.2sg.3du  
 ‘Only if you (sg.) take a bath, may you put the new pants on.’  
 – but compare with:  
 b. *Maqi-kuvet(=wa)*      **taugaam.**  
 bathe-CNNif.2sg.(=REA)      only  
 ‘Maybe you(sg.) should take a bath (instead).’  
 – less strong tone without |=wa| (§ 54.1-i).

The particle *taūgaam* may also have some focusing force as in the following, repeated from § 54(11) concerning |=wa|:

- (94) *Aána-kà ≠ taūgaam manar-yar-ciqe-l(l)ria.*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg. only fish-go-FUT-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘(It is) my mother (who) will go ice fishing. / My mother only (by herself) will go ice fishing. / My mother will go ice fishing (instead of doing s.t. else)’.

iv) |*tawkin*| ‘and then, but, although’.

- (95) *Wiinga<sub>s</sub> ernerpak cali-nrit-ua.* – *Ciin taūgken?*  
 1sg. all.day work-NEG-IND.1sg. why but  
 ‘I didn’t work all day.’ – ‘But why?’

- (96) *Pelateka-a<sub>s</sub> anuq-liur-luni,*  
 tent-ABS.3sg.sg. wind-occupied-APP.3Rsg.  
*taūgken uita-ur-luni ilu-ani.*  
 but stay-CNT-APP.3Rsg. inside-LOC.3sg.sg.  
 ‘His tent was moving in the wind, but he continued to stay inside it.’

v) |*taumiŷ*| ‘so, because, that’s why’ – see § 47.4-i for examples of indicative plus participial sentences.

vi) |*wàtu*| ‘or, nor (with negative)’ (from the adverbial demonstrative stem |=wa| and enclitic |=lu|, with gemination by (P18iv.b). There is a potential pause before this particle.

- (97) a. *Kuuvviar-yug-tuten ≠ qaa wall’u saayu-mek?*  
 coffee-DES-IND.2sg.≠QST or tea-ABM.sg.  
 ‘Do you (sg.) want coffee or tea?’  
 b. *Kuuvviar-yug-tuten walluq’ ~ wall’u ≠ qaa saayu-mek?*  
 – § 25.2.2-iv for the ablative-modalis NP *saayu-mek*.

– where the particle and the polar question *qaa* can combine into *walluq’* or *wall’u ≠ qaa*.

*negation with wall’u* ‘neither - nor’:

- (98) *Tuntuvag-te-llru-nrit-ua wall’u ‘lagi-mek.*  
 moose-catch-PST-NEG-IND.1sg. or goose-ABM.sg.  
 ‘I didn’t catch moose nor goose.’

- (99) *Mik-siyaa-nrit-uq*                      *wall'u*                      *ang-ssiyaa-nrit-uq.*  
 small-too-NEG-IND.3sg.    or                      big-too-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘It is neither too small nor too big.’

May be used to form an alternative question (‘A or B’ – § 5.3.1-iii) together with the interrogative |*naliy-*| ‘which’ (§ 15.2.3.2).

- (100) *Nali-ak<sub>p</sub>*                      *assik-siu,*                      [*kuuvviaq*                      *wall'u*  
 which-ABS.3du.sg.    like-INT.2sg.3sg.    coffee.ABS.sg.    or  
*saayuuq*]<sub>p</sub>.  
 tea.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Which do you (sg.) like, coffee or tea?’

See § 11.4.3-ii also for the nominal |*aipay-*| ‘partner’ which is used for an alternative expression (e.g. ‘either you or I’).

vii) |*qànatu*| ‘on the other hand, or else’

- (101) ***Qang'allu***                      *aya-llru-nri-cuk-saaq-aqa.*  
 contrarily                      go-PST-NEG-A'.think-but-IND.1sg.3sg.  
 ‘I thought he didn’t leave (but he actually did).’

The following two particles were originally adverbial demonstratives in the equalis case – see § 12.3:

viii) |*tuatin*| ‘and also, that is the way’

- (102) [*Unegte-llrii-t*                      *tama-ku-t*]<sub>s</sub>                      *cali-ur-ciq-ut*  
 behind-VNrl-ABS.pl.    that-EX-ABS.pl.    work-CNT-FUT-IND.3pl.  
*piciatun*                      *kuvy-i-luteng,*                      *mur-iur-luteng,*  
 anything                      net-make-APP.3Rpl.                      wood-work.on-APP.3Rpl.  
 [*qimugte-t<sub>p</sub>*                      ***tuaten***                      *alungu-li-luki*].  
 dog-ABS.pl.    also                      dog.food-make-APP.3pl.  
 ‘Those left behind will be working on various things, making nets, working on wood, and *also* making soup for the dogs.’ [PA]  
 – cf. *kuvy-i-* |*kuvyay-li-*| and *mur-iur-* |*mu<sup>y</sup>ay-liuy-*| with /V-l/ deletion (§ 38.3).

- (103) ***Tuaten*** ≠ *tang* ≠ *wii*                      *ayuqe-llru-lrianga*                      *ava-ni*  
 like.that ≠ see ≠ 1sg.                      look.like-PST-PTP.1sg.                      back.then-LOC  
*pi-ngnatu-llemni.*  
 do-try.hard-CNNwn.1sg.  
 ‘That is the way I was back then when I earned my own living.’

ix) |*maatin*| ‘then, when, upon –ing (it was noticed)’. This typically occurs sentence-initially. The ‘something noticed’ in the *maaten* construction (“observational constructions” – Jacobson 1995: 382–84) often occurs with a participial-mood verb. See § 47.4-ii and § 51.4.1-iv for more examples.

- (104) *Maaten kiart-uw, ellalli-lria.*  
 then look.around-IND.3sg. rain-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘When he looked around, (he found) it was raining.’  
 – see § 47.4.1 for more examples with participial-mood verbs.
- (105) *It-lini-uw = ggug maaten nulir-qe-lrii-gnek*  
 enter-EVD-IND.3sg.=RPT then Wi-have.as-VNrl-ABM.du.  
*yu-ngqe-llini-lria.*  
 person-have-EVD.PTP.3sg.  
 ‘She entered (the house) and, lo and behold, it was occupied by a man and his wife.’ [ELLA 160–161]
- (106) *Tama-a-ni=am ≠ tua=i [uru-kun tua-ggun]*  
 there-EX-LOC=ENC≠SFL moss-PRL.sg. there-PRL  
*pekc-ama pi-qer-tua maaten ~ maaten pi-qer-tua,*  
 walk-CNNbc.1sg. do-ITS-IND.1sg. then  
*ing-na<sub>s</sub>=kiq ca-u-ga?*  
 over.there-EX.ABS.sg.=I.wonder what-be-INT.3sg.  
*Qater-luni ing-na ullag-paile-mni*  
 white-APP.3Rsg. over.there-EX.ABS.sg. approach-CNNbf-1sg.3Rsg.  
*mecik-vaile-mku.*  
 see.clear-CNNbc-1sg.3sg.  
*Maaten ullag-luku pi-aqa wang-ni*  
 then approach-APP.3sg. do-IND.1sg.3sg. 1sg.-LOC  
 [*u-na uuteki'inraq peksuq*].  
 this-EX.ABS.sg. mallard.ABS.sg. egg.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Then, as I was walking on the moss, I noticed something up ahead. What was it? Before I got close enough to see it well, it looked white to me. Then I approached it and found what appeared to be the egg of a mallard.’ [AKKL 222 (Mary Mike)]



## 6. Expletive sentence fillers

The three most common particles to serve as expletive sentence fillers are exemplified:

- i) |*tua=i*|
- ii) |*wani*|
- iii) |*taj*|.

i) |*tua=i*| a morphologically interjective demonstrative ('there!, stop!, end!'; § 12.3.2.2). This is very often conjunctive ('and then, so now'), commonly with the enclitic |=*lu*| (or even without it) as illustrated in § 53.5-i above. But it also occurs very often as an expletive with its demonstrative content and grammatical functions diluted or lost, which, as a sentence filler (SFL), makes the flow of a sentence smooth or has some force of spotlighting, reinforcing, or emphasizing the preceding portion of the utterance. In this function, the particle most often (though not necessarily) occupies the second-initial position after the initial articulus (word or bound phrase). It is also observed that some women in particular are apt to insert the particle frequently in an utterance.

- (107) *Aya-katar-tuq* ≠ ***tua=i***, *ellalli-ngraan*.  
 go-INC-IND.3sg.≠SFL rain-CNNth.3sg.  
 'He *is* going (*after all*), even though it is raining.'
- (108) *Kii-mi* ≠ *wa* ≠ ***tua=i*** *aya-kata-lria*.  
 alone-CNNst.3Rsg.≠REA≠SFL go-IMN-PTP.3sg.  
 'He is going by himself (*after all*).'
- (109) [*Ila-nka=ll'* ≠ ***tua=i*** *uneg-ku-t*]<sub>s</sub> *tau-tun*  
 relative-ABS.1sg.pl.≠SFL down-EX-ABS.pl. that-EQL.sg.  
*ayuy-ut* *wang-tun*.  
 resemble-IND.pl. 1sg.-EQL  
 'And my relatives down there (in the coastal area) were (hunters) like me.' [PAIT 138 (Frank Andrew)]
- (110) *Ca-mek* ≠ ***tua=i*** ~ ***Tua=i*** *camek*, [*yu-u-t*  
 what-ABM.sg.≠then people-EV-ABS.pl.  
*ma-ku-t*]<sub>s</sub> ≠ ***tua=i*** *pi-i-nateng*.  
 those-EX-ABS.pl.≠SFL thing-PRV-APP.3Rpl.  
 'Those people didn't own *much/anything*.' [CS]

- (111) **Tua=i**      *tau-ku-ts*      *ayi-imeng*      **tua=i**,  
 then.CNJ      that-EX-ABS.pl.      go-CNNbc.3Rpl.      SFL  
*ner'-llini-luteng*.  
 eat-EVD-APP.3Rpl  
 'So/And then those people *did* go, they ate.'

Note the following well-balanced bi-clausal coordinate sentence, with both clauses ended by *tua=i*, conjoined by the enclitic =*ll'* 'and', and the same – *u-luni* verb (this done by the cyclical expansion of reverbalization in the second):

- (112) *Arna-u-luni*      **tua=i**,      *ciu-ngani=ll'*  
 woman.be-APP.3Rsg.      SFL      fore-LOC.3sg.sg.=and  
*imarpig-te-ksail-ngu-u-luni*      **tua=i**.  
 sea-go.to-NEG-VNrl-be-APP.3Rsg. SFL  
 'She was a woman and before that she had never gone hunting out in the ocean.' [AKKL 196 (Paul John)]

The particle occurs together with other demonstrative words (forming bound phrases) to serve as a sentence-initial conjunction as a whole or a sentence filler, especially in narratives:

- (113) *wa-ten* ≠ **tua=i**  
*tua-ten* ≠ **tua=i**  
*tua=i=llu tua-ten tua=i*.

The sentences below, with the basic meaning of 'whenever that man arrived, he would eat for a long time', have *tua=i* occurring in different positions of the three main constituents – subordinate clause *tekit-aqami* (arrive-CNNwv.3Rsg.), main-clause predicate *ner-uma-naur-tuq* (eat-CNT-would.IND.3sg.) with the appositive phrase [*tau-na* that-ABS.sg. *angun* man.ABS.sg.] in S function for either of them – (a) conjunctive vs. (b) sentence-fillers:

- (114) a. **Tua=i**      *tekit-aqami*      [*tauna angun*], *ner-uma-naur-tuq*.  
*Tekit-aqami* [*tau-na angun*], **tua=i** *ner-uma-naur-tuq*.  
 b. *Tekit-aqami* **tua=i** [*tauna angun*], *ner-uma-naur-tuq*.  
*Tekit-aqami* [*tau-na angun*] **tua=i**, *ner-uma-naur-tuq*.  
*Tekit-aqami* [*tau-na angun*], *ner-uma-naur-tuq* **tua=i**.

ii) |*wani*| originally an adverbial demonstrative in the locative case (|*wa-ni*| 'here'), it typically (though not always) occurs as a sentence-filler at the second position of a clause. It is currently often heard in the speech of younger speakers

or in continuous speech (as in broadcasting), sometimes with a connotation of hesitation. See also |=wa| (§ 54.1-i)

iii) |*taŋ*| The attention-calling |*taŋ*| (§ 53.3-v) can also be an expletive sentence filler, as stated, without having the connotation of ‘look!, see!’.

(115) *Lagi-t<sub>s</sub> ≠ tang ak'a ayaga-nge-lriit.*  
 goose-ABS.pl.≠SFL already leave-INC-PTP.3pl.  
 ‘The geese are already starting to leave!’

(116) *Ca-mek<sub>p</sub> ≠ tang niite-llrianga.*  
 some-ABM.sg.≠SFL hear-PTP.1sg.  
 ‘(It’s certain / a fact / I have determined) I heard something.’ (confirmatory).

cf. *tuar ca-mek<sub>p</sub> niite-llrianga*  
 ‘it seems (uncertain) that I heard something’  
 – cf. § 53.3-x for *tuar* (*piaq*).

More examples in § 53.3-v.

## Chapter 54

### Enclitics

1.	Reactive .....	1544
2.	Expressive.....	1550
3.	Expressive (negative) .....	1553
4.	Reportative/quotative .....	1555
5.	Coordinating.....	1559

The CAY enclitics, generally monosyllabic, form a closed class of a little more than a dozen, of which a few seem to be originally composite.

Two of them  $|=wa|$  (§ 54.1) and  $|=kin(a)|$  (§ 54.2) may behave as non-enclitic particles also, that is,  $|\neq wa|$  and  $|\neq kin(a)|$  (for some speakers/dialects).

Clearly distinct from derivational or inflectional suffixes, they may attach to words of any category (following the word, that is, to its right), whether inflecting (nouns or verbs) or non-inflecting.

While one enclitic  $|=lu|$  ‘and’ (§ 54.5) is syntactic, i.e. coordinating-conjunctive, all the others are taken basically as interactive adverbs and play a greater role especially in conversations and narratives, containing some element of modality. There are no pronominal enclitics in CAY (although all the personal pronouns may occur in bound phrases).

Except for the coordinating conjunctive  $|=lu|$ , they are second-position enclitics, being attached to the first word of a sentence.

Enclitics may occur in succession, but three in succession (58)  $=llu=ggur=am$  is rather rare and four in § 52(4)  $=kiq=ggur=am=llu$  may perhaps be the maximum.

The classification of enclitics below is again a tentative one. The first three groups are very common in (particularly interactive) discourses and narratives, but not so much in descriptive or explanatory speech and writings.

#### 1. Reactive

Includes reactive, urging, question, expressive, etc.:

- i)  $|=wa| \sim |\neq wa|$
- ii)  $|=mi|$
- iii)  $|=am| \sim |am=|$ .

i)  $|=wa|$  ( $/|=ya|$ )  $\sim$   $| \neq wa|$  primarily introduces a response to a precedent in utterances (made by the addressee) or contexts, meaning ‘well, but, yes, also, instead of, as for...’. Particularly frequent in conversations and narrations, often with more or less exclamative force. Very commonly heard in radio broadcasting as an expletive sentence fillers, though younger speakers tend to use  $|wani|$  instead (§ 53.6-ii).

The variation, enclitic or non-enclitic, is basically dialectal, and the latter  $| \neq wa|$  (which triggers regressive accent on the last syllable of its preceding word) is used by the Coastal people. Some people prefer to write as  $=gga$ .

- (1) a.  $u-na=wa/uná|x^w a/$  with vowel lengthening by (P18i)  
this-EX.ABS.sg.=ENC  
b.  $una \neq wa /unà(x^w)|x^w a/$  with consonant gemination by (P18iv.b  
after P18i and iii).

While the first sentence below is typically a first question, the second tends to react to (something by) another person’s utterance:

- (2) a.  $Nauwa \quad aana-n?$   
where Mo-ABS.2sg.sg.  
‘Where is your(sg.) mother?’  
b.  $Nauwa=wa \quad aana-ka.$   
where=ENC Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.  
‘(I don’t know) where my mother is.’  
– a response to someone’s question like a. above.

*Participial mood:* The enclitic typically selects a participial mood as the predicate verb, unless it occurs in a verbless sentence:

- (3)  $Aana-ka_S=wa \sim Aana-ka_S \neq wa \quad manar-yar-ciqe-I(I)ria.$   
Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=ENC fish-go-FUT-PTP.3sg.  
 $/aá|naká|x^w a/ \sim /aá|nakàx^w|x^w a/$   
a. ‘Well (no, but, yes, etc. – reactively), my mother will go ice-fishing.’  
b. ‘As for my mother (discourse topic), she will...’  
– usually with a pause before *manaryarciqel(I)ria*  
c. ‘My mother will go fishing.’ – can be a response to, e.g. (32) below.  
cf.  $Aana-ka_S \quad manar-yar-ciq-ug$   
Mo-ABS.1sg.sg. fish-go-FUT-IND.3sg.  
‘My mother will go fishing’

The enclitic is directly correlated with the use of the participial mood verb in (3). By contrast, use of the indicative mood, as in the compared, is proactive and makes a statement of its own, with the enclitic not being appropriate.

*As a reply or an agreement* – to another person’s question (a) with an information-asking ignorative word:

- (4) a. **Ki-a<sub>A</sub>**      *tuqute-llru-agu*      *taqukaq<sub>P</sub>?*  
 who-REL.sg. kill-PST-INT.3sg.3sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Who killed the bear?’ – |*tuqu-c-*| (die-A) ‘to kill’
- b. *May’a-m<sub>A</sub>=wa*      (*tuqute-llru-kii*      *taqukaq<sub>P</sub>*)  
 p.n.-REL.sg.=ENC kill-PST-PTP.3sg.3sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Mayaq did (killed the bear).’  
 – parenthesized part is not actually necessary.
- (5) a. **Ca<sub>P</sub>**      *tuqut-au*      *angute-m<sub>A</sub>?*  
 what.ABS.sg. kill-INT.3sg.3sg. man-REL.sg.  
 ‘What did the man kill?’
- b. *Taqukaq<sub>P</sub>=wa*      (*tuqus-ki-i*      *angute-m<sub>A</sub>*).  
 bear.ABS.sg.=ENC kill-OPT-3sg.3sg. man-REL.3sg.  
 ‘(The man killed) the bear.’
- (6) a. **Qaill(un) ≠ pi-agu**      *angute-m<sub>A</sub>*      *taqukaq<sub>P</sub>?*  
 how≠do-INT.3sg.3sg. man-REL.sg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘How did the man treat (do) the bear?’
- b. *Tuqus-ki-i=wa*      (*angute-m<sub>A</sub>*      *taqukaq<sub>P</sub>*).  
 kill-PTP-3sg.3sg.=ENC man-RELsg. bear.ABS.sg.  
 ‘(The man) killed (the bear).’
- (7) a. **Ciin**      *uk-na<sub>S</sub>*      *tai-ga?*  
 why      approaching-EX.ABS.sg.      come-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Why is he coming this way?’
- b. *Ciin=watai-ga?*  
 why=ENC      come-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Yes, I too wonder (I don’t know either) why he is coming this way.’
- c. *Naamell’,*      **qaillun=wa**      *tai-ciq-a.*  
 not.know      how=ENC      come-will-INT.3sg.  
 ‘I don’t know how he is going to come.’

In the following, the attention-calling particle *tang* (§ 53.3-v) requires the enclitic =*wa* and the adverbial demonstrative *wa-ni* alone does not fit:

- (8) *Tang*      *wa-ni=wa*      *kavircete-llria*      *‘lumarraq!*  
 see      here-LOC=ENC      red-VNrl.ABS.sg.      shirt.ABS.sg.  
 ‘See, here (it is), the red shirt!’

A response may be softened or made less direct or weaker by the modal suffix VVm *|-li-|* ('maybe, probably'), as in the following participial-mood sentence containing *|=wa|* (§ 47.2.1.1):

- (9) *maqi-vi-ngqe-lli-lria-ten=wa*  
 bathe-place-have-CNJ-PTP-2sg.=ENC  
 'perhaps you (sg.) have a fire bath' – compare with the indicative, which may have the tone of expecting an answer:  
 cf. *maqi-vi-ngqe-lli-uten*  
 bathe-place-have-CNJ-IND.2sg.  
 'you (sg.) perhaps have a fire bath(?)'.

CAY has no particular topic-marking morpheme or device (cf. § 5.4.4), while *|=wa|*, with or without an explicit pause accompanying it, may serve the purpose. In (a) below, the pause (as indicated by the comma) is crucial in the topicalizing of 'my father', while (b) is a response to addressee's utterance:

- (10) a. *Aata-ka<sub>s</sub>=wa ~ ≠ wa, neq-su-lria.*  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg. ENC/nonENC fish-hunt-PTP.3sg.  
 i. '(It is) my father (not someone else who) is going fishing.'  
 ii. 'As for / speaking of my father, he is going fishing.'  
 b. *Aata-ka<sub>s</sub>=wa ~ ≠ wa neq-su-lria.*  
 '(Well, but, yes – RSP) my father is going fishing.'  
 cf. *aata-ka neq-su-lria* – with no pause and no *|=wa|*, the compared is taken more likely as a participial relative clause (§ 17.2.1), i.e. 'my father who is going fishing'.

Use of the particle *taugaam* 'but, only' (§ 53.5-iii) also may have some focusing force:

- (11) *Aána-kà ≠ taugaam manar-yar-ciqe-l(l)ria.*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg. only fish-go-FUT-PTP.3sg.  
 '(It is) my mother (who) will go ice fishing. / My mother only (by herself) will go ice fishing.'

The language does not have what may be regarded as cleft construction.

- (12) [*Ma-ku-t=wa nutg-e-t*]<sub>P</sub>  
 this-EX.ABS.pl.=ENC gun-EV-ABS.pl.  
*atu-qenga-qe-la-qenka.*  
 use-VNrl-have.as-REG-PTP.1sg.3pl.  
 '(As for) these, I constantly use.' – as a response, while:

- cf. *Atu-qenga-qe-la-qenka=wa* [ma-ku-t  
 use-VNrl-have.as-REG-PTP.1sg.3pl.=ENC this-EX.ABS.pl.  
*nutg-e-t*]<sub>p</sub>. = § 17(137)  
 gun-EV-ABS.pl.  
 ‘These are guns I constantly use / I constantly use these guns.’

The enclitic  $|=wa|$  (as a contrast) may eventually serve as a coordinating conjunction (‘but, while’) in connection with a participial, interrogative, or optative verb.

- (13) *Maaten iter-tua aana-gkas*  
 then(noticed) enter-IND.1sg. Mo-ABS.1sg.du.  
*aqum-ga-lutek, ik-na=wa alqa-qa.*  
 sit-STT-APP.3du. one.across-ABS.sg.=ENC elSi-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I entered, noticing that my mother and father were sitting, while my elder sister was across there.’  
 – See § 53.5-ix for *maaten* construction, and § 21.1 for the dual *aana-gka*.

Within a single sentence, the enclitic may imply a contrast (‘while, but’) or an addition (‘more, also’) to what precedes:

- (14) *U-ku-nek taugken ila-ngqe-lini-luteng*  
 this-EX-ABM.pl. but associate-have-EVD-APP.3Rpl.  
 [*tau-ku-t nuna-t*]<sub>s</sub> [*annga-qe-llrianek*  
 that-EX-ABS.pl. land-ABS.pl. elBr-counterpart-VNrl.ABM.pl.  
*cetama-nek*] [*arnaunra-t=wa atauci-rraq*].  
 four-ABM.pl. Si-ABS.3pl.sg.=ENC one-only.ABS.sg.  
 ‘But this village evidently has this kind of family with four brothers but only one sister.’

As such it is very often used for addition of small numbers for non-round numbers by phrasal numerals (§ 14.3.1.1).

- (15) [*yuinaq qula*] *pingayunleg-nek=wa*  
 20.ABS.sg. ten.ABS.sg. eighth-ABM.pl.=ENC  
 ‘thirty-eight [[20+10]+8]’  
 – corresponding to the adnominal phrase for the same number:  
 cf. [*yuinaq qula*]<sub>p</sub> *pingayunleg-nek*<sub>(T)</sub> *cip-luku* (oversupply-APP.3sg.).



ii) |=*mi*| for contrastive questions; ‘(then) how about?, as for’.

- (16) *Ner<sup>l</sup>-ciq-ua.* – *Elpet=**mi**?* (~ *Elpes=**mi**?*)  
 eat-FUT-IND.1sg. 2sg.=ENC  
 ‘I will eat.’ – ‘How about you (sg.)?’  
 – See (P22) for pre-boundary fricativization in *elpes=**mi** /ɬpiz=**mi**/*  
 for *elpet=**mi**.*
- (17) a. *Cangat-a* *ui-n<sub>s</sub>?*  
 amiss-INT.3sg Hu-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 ‘How is your (sg.) husband?’  
 b. *Cangate-nrit-uq* *ui-ka<sub>s</sub>.*  
 amiss-NEG-IND.3sg. Hu-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘My husband is fine.’  
 = *cangate-nril-nguq=**wa*** (PTP.3sg.-ENC) *ui-ka<sub>s</sub>*  
 c. *Ila-ten=**mi**?*  
 relative-ABS.2sg.pl.=ENC  
 ‘(Then) how about your (sg.) relatives?’

The enclitic |=*mi*| is often accompanied by a question:

- (18) *Aana-ka<sub>s</sub>=**mi*** *qaku* *manar-yar-ciq-a?*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=ENC when.FUT hook.fish-go.to-FUT-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Then how about my mother, when will she go ice fishing?’
- (19) *Angya-gni<sub>p</sub>=**mi*** *nat-mun* *elli-akek?*  
 boat-ABS.3Rsg.du.=ENC where-ALL put-IND.3sg.3du.  
 ‘Then where did he put his two books?’

Attached to the sentence-initial interrogative word:

- (20) *Ciin=**mi*** *tu-a-ten* *ayuq-a?*  
 why=ENC that-EX-EQL resemble-INT.3sg.  
 ‘Then / But why is it like that?’
- (21) *Qaillun=**mi*** *waniwa* *pi-qatar-ceta?*  
 how=ENC here do-IMN-INT.1pl.  
 ‘What are we going to do now?’

iii) |*am*=| ~ |=*am*| urging (‘hurry up!’), emphasis (‘indeed’) – being uniquely ‘ditropic’, this can be a proclitic or an enclitic. The tendency to ‘float’ is likely to be due to the fact that this is a truncation of the particle |*ampi*| or |*amci*|

(§ 53.1-i), unlike other enclitics. The enclitic use may sound rather awkward to some speakers, however:

- (22) a. *Am=neri!* (written as *Am'-neri!*) /ám|niŷi/ ~  
*Neri=am!* /niŷi|am/ ‘(You [sg.]) eat (hurry up)!’  
 – both from *ampi≠ner-i* (eat-OPT.2sg.); the second is not \*/niŷi|ŷiam/,  
 cf. (P18ii.b)
- b. *Am=ayii!* (*Am'-ayii*) /am|ày|yii/ ~  
*Ayii=am* /ày|yii|am/ ‘(You [sg.]) go away!’  
 – both from *ampi ≐ ayi-i* (go-OPT.2sg.); the first is not \*/amá|yii/.
- (23) *Am=tupag-ci* /ám|tupáx|ci/ ~ *Tupagci=am* /tupáx|ci|am/  
 hurry=wake.up-OPT.2pl.  
*u-ku.u-t!*  
 this-EX.VOC-pl.  
 ‘You here, wake up now!’  
 – with the double vowel in the demonstrative vocative (§ 31.1).

Unlike this truncated form of *ampi*, the enclitic =*am* (‘again as usual’; § 54.3-i) can never occur proclitically:

- (24) *Tai-guq=am.* ‘He came again as usual.’  
 come-IND.3sg.=again  
 cf. \**Am'* = *taiguq.*

## 2. Expressive

Includes hope, question, exclamative:

- i) |=*tuŷ*|  
 ii) |=*kin*| ~ |≠ *kin(a)*|  
 iii) |=*kiŷ*|  
 iv) |=*li*|.

i) |=*tuŷ*| hope or wish (‘I wish’), selecting an optative verb. May trigger final apical fricativization, i.e. |=<sub>1</sub>*tuŷ*|. See § 49.2.1 for more examples.

- (25) *Aana-k<sub>s</sub>=tuq* *manar-yar-li.*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=wish ice.fish-go-OPT.3sg  
 ‘I wish my mother would go ice fishing?’ – cf. § 39(113).

- (26) *ner-laput=tuq* ~ *ner-lapus=tuq* ‘I wish we could eat them’  
eat-OPT.1pl.3pl.  
– see (P22) for pre-boundary fricativization in *-lapus*.
- (27) *maligg-lamci=tuq* ‘I wish I could go with you (pl.)’.  
go.with-OPT.1sg.2pl.=wish

ii)  $|=kin|$  ~  $|\neq kin(a)|$  ‘I hope’. Somewhat similar to  $|=tu\ddot{y}|$  (§ 54.2-i), but  $|=kin|$  seems to be used more by the younger generation than  $|=tu\ddot{y}|$ . The second variant (as particle) occurs especially in the Yukon dialect. Occurs mainly in constructions with first-person (and third-person) subject optative verbs. See § 49.3.1 for more examples.

- (28) *pikna=llu=kin* /pík|ṇaṭú|kin/ ~  
*pikna=llu ≠ kin* /pík|ṇaṭúk|kin/ (cf.P18iv.a) ~  
*pikna=llu kina* /pík|ṇaṭu kina/  
‘I hope that one up there also’ – *pik-na* (one.up-EX.ABS.sg.).

Very frequently for disguised use, which  $|=tu\ddot{y}|$  does *not* have:

- (29) *ner-li ≠ kin* /niṅ|lik|kin/ *cura-nek*.  
eat-OPT.1sg.≠hope blueberry-ABM.pl.  
‘I wish I could eat blueberries (lit. ‘I hope *he* eats blueberries).’

It could be assumed that the disguised use may suggest a connection between this non-inflecting word with the ignorative word  $|ki-na|$  (ABS.sg.) ‘who, someone’ (§ 15.2.2), though the rapprochement is highly tentative.

iii)  $|=ki\ddot{y}|$  wonder, curiosity, or surprise (‘I wonder’). Commonly selects for the interrogative mood (§ 48.3), although it may occur in optative-verb constructions like (30) too, mainly with a first-person subject (§ 49.3.1), and in indicative ones with the polar question with  $|qaa|$  (31):

- (30) *Qaillun=kiq pi-quer-laku?*  
how=wonder do-ITS-OPT.1sg.3sg.  
‘I wonder how I should work on it.’
- (31) *kaig-pag-tuten=kiq (≠) qaa?*  
hungry-INT-IND.2sg.=wonder QST  
‘You must be really hungry, right?’  
– \**kaig-pag-tuten=qaa-kiq*.

The enclitic frequently occurs with the consequential (future) VVt |+*niay*-| (§ 42.2.6; which fits better than VVt |+*ciqi*-|) in content questions:

- (32) *Ki-na<sub>S</sub>=kiq*                      *manar-yar-niar-ta.*  
 who-EX.ABS.sg.=ENC      fish-go-FUT-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder who will go ice fishing?’  
 – (3c) above can be a reply.
- (33) [*Qavci-nek=kiq*                      *qanta-nek*]  
 how.many-ABM.pl.=ENC      plate-ABM.pl.  
*neq’-liur-niar-cia?*  
 food-work.on-FUT-INT.1sg.  
 ‘I should serve how many plates of food (lit. ‘how many plates of food should I serve)?’
- (34) *Aana-ka<sub>S</sub>=kiq*                      *qaku*                      *manar-yar-niar-ta?*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=wonder      when.FUT      fish-go-FUT-INT.3sg.  
 ‘I wonder when my mother will go ice fishing.’
- (35) *Qaku=kiq*                      *ikayur-niar-tanga?*  
 when.FUT=wonder      help-FUT-INT.3sg.1sg.  
 ‘I wonder when he will help me.’

The sentence-final position may also be found, though rarely:

- (36) [*Ma-n’a*                      *tumyaraq*]<sub>S</sub>                      *nate-rmurt-a=kiq?*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.      trail.ABS.sg.      where-go.to-IND.3sg.=wonder  
 ‘I wonder where this trail goes.’

iv) |=*li*| /=*hi*/. An exclamative used almost always in connection with a verb stem expanded by the particlizer VPc |+*paa*| (§ 52.4.1), with or without an accompanied locative NP, serving as an object for exclamation (§ 27.6).

- (37) a. *angli=lli*‘                      (too) big, much!’ (overwhelming, embarrassing)  
           grow =EXC  
 b. *angli-vaa=lli!* = § 52 (27b) ‘how tall/old you are now!’

It is the second-position enclitic, as in the following pair:

- (38) a. *Nengllir-paa=lli*                      [*mat’-u-mi*                      *ene-mteñi*]!  
           cold-ITS=EXC                      this-EX-LOC.sg.      house-LOC.1pl.sg.  
 b. [*Mat’-u-mi=lli*                      *ene-mteñi*]                      *nengllir-paa!*  
           ‘My, this house of ours is cold!’

Without a locative NP:

- (39) *uqamai-paa=lli* ‘my, it’s heavy!’ – |*uqamait-*| ‘to be heavy’.
- (40) *Nere-sqe-(l)lriani=lli qessalgu-lar-paa!*  
 eat-A'.ask-CNV=EXC lazy-GEN-EXC  
 ‘Why [is he / are you / are they] so lazy, when(ever) asked to eat!’  
 [PA]

See also § 52(29) for |=*li*| obligatorily preceded by |+<sub>1</sub>*piit*|.

May also be used as a reinforce by some speakers besides or instead of |=*lu*| (§ 54.5) in indirective- connective constructions (§ 50.7).

### 3. Expressive (negative)

Mostly negative (emotional) response, like frustration, including:

- i) |=*am*|
- ii) |=*wam*|
- iii) |=*lam*|
- iv) |=*yim*|.

i) |=*am*| Surprise, amusement, praise, disappointment, or frustration: ‘again as usual, characteristically, unexpectedly’. May occur with the evidentiality suffix VVe |-*lini-*| ‘so I see’ (§ 43.2), at least as in (41). It is perhaps be a truncation from the particle |*ataam*| ‘again’ (§ 53.4-ii), but should be distinguished from the ditropic |*am=*| ~ |=*am*|, which is a truncation of the particle |*ampi*| ‘hurry up’ (§ 54.1-i).

- (41) *Aana-ka* <sub>S</sub>=**am** /aá|naká|*am/ manar-ya-llini-*uq**.  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=again ice.fish-go-EVD-IND.3sg.  
 ‘I see my mother went ice fishing again as usual.’
- (42) *Mernu-ng-ua=am ak’a*.  
 tire-INC-IND.1sg.=again already  
 ‘I’ve gotten tired again already.’
- (43) *Qayaq<sub>P</sub>=am ~ qayar<sub>P</sub>=am ater-t-aa*.  
 kayak.ABS.sg.=again drift-A<sub>IMP</sub>-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘The kayak is drifting with the current again (lit. *it* is drifting the kayak with the current again).’  
 – see (P22i) for *qayar* with pre-boundary fricativization.

- (44) *Qaya-li-luni=am*                      *urenke-nrit-uw.*  
 kayak-make-APP.3Rsg.=again    unoccupied-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 ‘He is making a kayak again, so he is busy (not paying attention to anything).’
- (45) *Ak’alla-urr-ni-nge-llru-uw=am*                      *May’aq<sub>s</sub>.*  
 old-become-A’.say-INC-PST-IND.3sg.=again    p.n.ABS.sg.  
 ‘Mayaq began to say he is getting old (again, to the contrary).’

ii) |=*wam*| (from |=*wa=am*|): ‘again’ (possibly contrary to the speaker’s expectation or wish not to), possibly implying disappointment, frustration, or criticism. Typically occurs in a participial-mood construction.

- (46) *U-na<sub>s</sub>=wam*                      *qava-lria.*  
 one-EX.ABS.sg.=again    sleep-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘This guy is sleeping (again)!’
- (47) *Tengssuun<sub>s</sub>=wam*                      *tekite-nril-nguq*  
 airplane.ABS.sg.=again    arrive-NEG-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘The airplane didn’t come again!’

This enclitic would seem to occur as the first element of the particle *wamtaqa* ‘what now, again’, although the composition is far from clear:

- (48) *Wamtaqa*    *ner’-uten!/?*  
 now.again    eat-IND.2sg.  
 ‘You (sg.) are eating again!/?’ (either an exclamation or question).

iii) |=*lam*| /|=lam| (from |=*lu=am*| ‘and again’): ‘I wish it to be otherwise; why don’t you / doesn’t he?’, possibly implying complaint. Note the co-occurrence with a negator:

- (49) *Aana-ka<sub>s</sub>=llam*                      *manar-ya-nril-nguq.*  
 Mo-ABS.sg.=otherwise    ice-fish-go-NEG-PTP.3sg.  
 ‘Why didn’t my mother go ice fishing?’ (complaint).
- (50) *tai-nric-iig-uw=llam*  
 come-NEG-FUT-IND.3sg.=otherwise  
 ‘what (shall we do) if he doesn’t come again?; he may not come as usual’.
- (51) *nere-sqe-nrit-aa=llam*                      ‘he didn’t even tell her to eat’  
 eat-A’.ask-NEG-IND.3sg.3sg.=otherwise

cf. *nere-sqe-nrit-aa*

- i. ‘she told him not to eat’ – a much more natural reading than:
- ii. ‘she did not tell him to eat’.

iv)  $|=yim|$   $/=xim/$  contrast, contradiction to what someone has said: ‘well; (but) I thought that (with a possible connotation of criticism)’.

(52) *Aana-n* *agayu-ya-llru-uq!*  
 Mo-ABS.2sg.sg. pray-go-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Your mother went to the church!’ –  
*Aana-ka<sub>s</sub>=ggem* *manar-ya-llru-uq.*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=CTR fish.hook-go-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘(But) I thought (contrary to expectation, what someone said) my mother went/did go fish hooking (under ice); (but) my mother did go.’

(53) *Manar-ya-kuna-luten=ggem* *pi-llru-uten.*  
 fish.hook-go.to-intention-APP.2sg.=CTR do-PST-IND.2sg.  
 ‘I thought (with a tone of criticism) that you (sg.) intended to go fishing.’ – VVm  $|=kuna|$  (§ 43).

(54) *(e)mer-ngait-ni-ŭrlu-la-yaaqe-llini-uq=ggem*  
 drink-will.not-A'.say-HNR-CUS-but-EVD-IND.3sg.=CTR  
 ‘(but I realized [criticism]) he (poor him) would say he will not drink (but he did)’.

See also § 49.4.1 for the enclitic used in optative-verb constructions, with implication of threatening to a third person as in § 49(46).

#### 4. Reportative/quotative

$|=yuy|$   $/=xuq/$  ‘he/they say(s) that; tell/ask (him/them) that; it is said, someone says (i.e. I say [for emphasis of a command or admonition])’ – § 5.3.5-ii.

The enclitic indicates the delivery of a message, information, or hearsay through an intermediary, the speaker or the addressee. This implies that the speaker did not take part in or directly witness the event himself but had heard about it from someone else, and it is distinct from the complex-transitive suffix  $|=ni|$  ‘A’ says’ for embedding a lower-layer clause as indirect speech (§ 40.2.4). As such, it serves as an evidential marker (VVe; § 43.2). It may also function as a eva-

sion of personal responsibility by implication of an “undefined reference to collective wisdom or tradition” [QNMC 363].

- (55) a. *assir-tuq=gguq*                      good-IND.3sg.=RPR  
 i. ‘he is doing well (tell her/them!)’  
 – the speaker asking the addressee (as intermediary) to deliver the message to a third person  
 ii. ‘he is doing well (she says / they say)’  
 – the speaker (intermediary) delivering the information to the addressee.  
 b. *assir-tua=gguq*                      good-IND.1sg.=RPR  
 i. ‘(he says) I’m fine’ / ii. ‘(tell him) I’m fine’.

By contrast, a reportative complex transitive construction (§ 40.2.4) is a statement of the speaker and has no intermediary:

- (55)’ *assir-ni-a*                      good-A'.say-IND.3sg.3sg.  
 ‘he says she is doing well’  
*assir-ni-uq*                      good-A'.say-IND.3sg.  
 ‘he says he (himself) is doing well’  
 – detransitivization (agent coreferentiality).

- (56) *tai-qa-a-sq-aqa=gguq*  
 come-POL-A'.ask-EV-IND.1sg.3sg.=RPR  
 ‘(tell him) I want/ask him to come for a while!’

The enclitic attaches to the sentence-initial word whenever the entire sentence is a form of delivery. Otherwise it attaches to the first word of the matter for delivery. Very often occurs in optative-verb constructions (§ 49.2.1), and may perhaps constitute a part of the adverbial particle |wàxuy| /wax|xuq/ (§ 53.4-ix) ‘as they say, so-to-speak’.

- (57) *Qangvaq=gguq*      *aya-llru-at*                      *angute-t<sub>s</sub>*.  
 when.PST=RPR      leave-PST-INT.3pl.      men-ABS.pl.  
 i. ‘(Ask him/them) when the men left.’  
 ii. ‘(He /they asked) when the men left.’  
 – which may have another reading with no implication of message delivery but could imply surprise or frustration  
 iii. ‘when did they leave? (I should have known!)’, as contrasted with the following (without =*gguq*), which is merely a request or question:  
 cf. *Qangvaq*                      *aya-llru-at*                      *angute-t<sub>s</sub>?*  
 ‘When did the men leave?’



- (58) *Aana-ka<sub>S</sub>=llu=ggur=am*                      *manar-ya-llru-uq.*  
 Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=and=RPT=again    fish.hook-go-PST-IND.3sg.  
 ‘(Tell him [them] that / he [they] told me that) my mother also went  
 ice fishing as usual.’  
 – see (P18iv.b), (P22i) as to the gemination in =*ggur=am*  
 /=xùÿ|ÿam/.
- (59) *Tua=i tekite-llr-ani*                      *aani-in*  
 so            arrive-VNnm-LOC.3sg.sg.    Mo-REL.3sg.sg.  
*pi-llini-luku.*                      “*Kaaka=gguq*                      *aata-n*  
 say-EVD-APP.3sg.    listen=RPT                      Fa-ABS.2sg.sg.  
 [*tuntu-mek*                      *nutara-mek*]<sub>(P)</sub>                      *ner-yu-lria.*  
 caribou-ABM.sg.    new-ABM.sg.                      eat-DES-PTP.3sg.  
*Aqva-s-ki-u=gguq*                      *unuaqu.*  
 fetch-E<sub>APL</sub>-FUT-OPT.2sg.3sg.=RPT    tomorrow  
 ‘So when (the boy) arrived, his mother said to him, “Listen, your fa-  
 ther said that he wants to eat fresh caribou. He said to get him some  
 tomorrow.”’ [ELLA 108–109]

Repetition for emphasis is often heard:

- (60) *Cunawa=ggùq ≠ im’*,                      *cunawa=gguq=gguq*, ...  
 so.that=RPR    that.ANP    so.that=RPR=RPR  
 ‘For that reason, it was said, ...’ [ELLA 534] – *im’* for *imna*.

*Together with a verb of speech or reporting:* The enclitic in the following in-  
 troduces the start (‘that’) of another clause containing the content of the speech  
 – |*qanÿ-*| (‘to say, speak’):

- (61) *Qanrus-ki-u*                      *iqvar-yug-tua=gguq.*  
 tell-ASP-OPT.2sg.3sg.    pick.berry-DES-IND.1sg.=RPT  
 ‘Tell him “I want to pick berries”.’  
 cf. *Qanrus-ki-u*                      *iqvar-yug-ni-lua.*  
 tell-ASP-OPT.2sg.3sg.    pick.berry-DES-A'.say-APP.1sg.  
 ‘Tell him (saying) that I want to pick berries.’  
 – periphrastic complex transitive (§ 40.6-iii).
- (62) *Alic’e-aq qaner-tuq maliguc-ugnga-uten=gguq.*  
 p.n.-ABS.sg. say-IND.3sg. go.along-can-IND.2sg.=RPT  
 ‘Alice says “you can come along”.’  
 cf. *Alic’e-aq qaner-tuq maliguc-ugnga-ni-luten=gguq.*  
 p.n.-ABS.sg. say-IND.3sg. go.along-can-A'.say-APP.2sg.=RPT  
 ‘Alice says (saying) that you (sg.) can come along.’

- (63) [Yu-u-t<sub>G</sub>                      ila-it]<sub>S</sub>                      **qan-lar-tut**,  
 person-EV-REL.pl.    some-ABS.3pl.pl.    say-CUS-IND.3pl.  
 [[*nunamiuta-a-t<sub>P</sub>*=**gguq**                      *ela-uc-u-kuvki*                      *wall*']  
 land.animal-EV-ABS.pl.=that    bury-E<sub>APL</sub>-DES-CNNif.2sg.3pl. or  
*emer-mun*                      *egc-u-kuvki*],                      *ca-nrit-uq*].  
 water-ALL.sg. throw-DES-CNNif.2sg.3pl. do.what-NEG-IND.3sg.  
 'Some people say that it does not matter whether you (sg.) want to  
 bury the land animals or to throw them into the water.' [LL]

The message delivered may be an optative verb:

- (64) **Qanrus-ki-u**                      *ma-a-nt-aur-a*=**gguq**                      /  
 tell-ASP-OPT.2sg.3sg.                      this-EX-be.at-CNT-OPT.2sg.=RPT  
*ma-a-nt-aur-li*=**gguq**.  
 here-EX-CNT-OPT.3sg.=RPT  
 'Tell him "you/he should stay here".'

Established sayings of admonition (known as *alerquun/inerquun*; § 17.6.2) are cited with the enclitic to establish their independence as preexisting entities. Otherwise they will be taken as statements by the speaker:

- (65) [*Tegganr-e-t*=**gguq**                      *umyuga-it*]<sub>S</sub>                      *tukni-ut*.  
 elder-EV-REL.pl.=RPT                      mind-ABS.3pl.pl.    strong-IND.3pl.  
 'The minds of elders are strong (have to be respected).' [EM]
- (66) *U-na=ll'*                      *wa-ten*                      [*ciulia-mteñek*  
 this-EX.ABS.sg.=and    here-EQL                      ancestor-ABM.1pl.pl.  
*ayag-luni*]                      **qaner-yaraq**:  
 begin-APP.3Rsg.                      say-VNm.ABS.sg.  
*Ella<sub>S</sub>*=**gguq**                      *alla-mek*                      *yu-it-uq*.  
 world.ABS.sg.=RPT    another-ABM.sg.    person-PRV-IND.3sg.  
 'Here is an adage since the time of our ancestors: All people on earth  
 are the same.' [AKKL 10 (Paul John)]

*A dialogue with three parties involved:*

- (67) a. So to Mo:  
 [*Aata-ka<sub>S</sub>*                      **qanr-ut-qa-qi-u**]<sub>1</sub>  
 Fa-ABS.1sg.sg.                      speak-E<sub>APL</sub>-POL-FUT-OPT.2sg.3sg.  
*ayag-yug-tua<sub>2</sub>*=**gguq**<sub>3</sub>  
 go-DES-IND.1sg.=RPR  
 '(You[sg.]) please tell my dad I want to go.'  
 – 1 = reporting part, 2 = reported part, 3 = direct speech

- b. Mo to Fa:  
*Qetunra-an<sub>s</sub>=gguq*      *ayag-yug-yaaq-uq.*  
 So-EV-ABS.2sg.sg.=RPT    go-DES-but-IND.3sg.  
 ‘Your (sg.) son wants to go (he says).’
- c. Fa to Mo:  
*Ayag-li=gguq*      *pi-yu-kuni.*  
 go-OPT.3sg.=RPT    do-DES-CNNif.3Rsg.  
 ‘(Tell him) he can go if he wants!’
- d. Mo to So:  
*Pi(i)=gguq*      *pi-yu-kuvet.*  
 go.OPT.2sg.=RPT    want-CNNif.2sg.  
 ‘(He says) you can go if you want.’

The enclitic may be used to introduce a word like the English *so-called* or Yupik *apqiitni* (*ap-qi-itni* call-PTP-LOC.3pl.sg. –cf. VNrl, *[apÿ-]* ‘call’) or *apeqmeggni* (*ap-e-q-meggni* EV-VNrl-LOC.3Rpl.sg.) ‘what they call’. See *[wàxuÿ]* (< *[wa=yuÿ]*, § 53.4-ix).

- (68)      *Yura-mek*      *ciumek*      *pi-lar-tut*      *[uksuar-mi*  
 dance-ABM.sg.    first      do-CUS-IND.3pl.    fall-LOC.sg.  
*[auḡ’u-mi*      *cauyar-vig-mi]=gguq]*      *atu-ng-luteng.*  
 over.there-LOC    drum-place-LOC.sg.=RPR    sing-INC-APP.3Rpl.  
 ‘In the fall during what they call the time for drumming, they would begin singing, doing the “first dance” (i.e. rehearsing the ceremonial dances to be performed by young people).’ [AKKL 14 (Mary Mike)]

Finally, one important use of the enclitic *[=yuÿ]* is a kind of disguised reference or addressing that is employed for the effect of indirectness. In expressing a hope or wish (as when addressing a child), the enclitic is often used to divert attention from the speaker, pretending in a way that what he is saying is not from himself but from another source – cf. hedging (§ 6.1).

## 5. Coordinating

Two or more articuli – words, phrases, or clauses – may be put into coordination with the enclitic by the coordinating enclitic *[=lu]* /*=lu/* ‘and, also’ (written as *-llu*) attached to the last in a series of the two or more jointed articuli such as *A B=llu*, *A B C=llu*, and so on – cf. non-enclitic particle *[wał’u]* *wall’u* ‘or’ (§ 53.5-vi).

Suffixes can never be linked by an enclitic in CAY, naturally – thus no such a form is unacceptable as: *\*qaya-pag-cuar=llu*, which would be intended as ‘a

big and small kayak’; to express this a coordinate phrase is needed with the prop *|pi-|*, as in *qayar-pak pi-cuar=llu* ; cf. § 10(4) *qayar-pak wall’(u) pi-cuar* ‘a big kayak or a small one’, but note the particle between the two words.

*Word-linking:*

- (69) [Angute-t mikelngu-u-t=**llu**]<sub>s</sub> tai-gut.  
 man-ABS.pl. children-EV-ABS.pl.=and come-IND.3pl.  
 ‘Men and children are coming.’

The addition to the above of another party (A, B, and C), e.g. *qimugte-t* (dog-ABS.pl.) ‘dogs’, entails the movement of the enclitic to the third, as in the next example, ‘men, children, and dogs are coming’, i.e. ‘men, children, dogs=*and* are coming’:

- (70) [Angute-t mikelngu-u-tqimugte-t=**llu**]<sub>s</sub> tai-gut.  
 ‘Men, children, and dogs are coming.’

*Phrase-jointing:*

- (71) [Aata-ma<sub>G</sub> atr-a] [irnia-ma<sub>G</sub>=**llu**  
 Fa-REL.1sg.sg. name-ABS.3sg.sg. child-REL.1sg.sg.=and  
*pi-a*] *ayuq-uk?*  
 one-ABS.3sg.sg. resemble-IND.3du.  
 ‘Are my father’s name and my child’s (name) the same?’

The following example contains three coordinate phrases (each adjunctional) has the enclitic attached to the beginning word of the third:

- (72) *Wiinga assik-aqa* [niicugni-l-qa  
 1sg. like-IND.1sg.3sg. listen-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
*music-aa-nek,* *aya-l-qa* *yuilqu-mun,*  
 music-LNK-ABM.pl. go-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg. tundra-ALL.sg.  
*nuna-kuar-cuut-kun=**llu*** *aya-l-qa*]<sub>p</sub>  
 land-go-means-PRL.sg.=and go-VNnm-ABS.1sg.sg.  
 ‘I like listening to music, going to the tundra, and driving a car.’ [KH]

*Clause-jointing:* This is an important use of appositional-mood verbs, whose fundamental function is cosubordination, that is, adding to a preceding clause to give supplementary information by =*llu* (§ 51.2.4-i, § 51.4.1-ii).

- (73) *Naangua-llru-ukut eme-cua-qer-luta=**llu**.*  
 play-PST-IND.1pl. drink-little-ITS-APP.1pl.=and  
 ‘We played games and drank a little.’ [PAYQ]

- (74) *Naangua-llru-ukut eme-cua-qer-luta ner<sup>(1)</sup>-cua-qer-luta=llu.*  
 ‘We played games while drinking and eating a little.’  
 – with the enclitic on the last clause *ner<sup>(1)</sup>-cua-qer-luta=llu*  
 (eat-little-just-APP.1pl.=and); with dialect difference (with or without  
 devoicing; P21), cf. (P19) for *-qer-< ITS -qar-*.
- (75) [*Tekis-kuneng angute-ts maqi-ciq-ut*],  
 arrive-CNNif.3Rpl. men-ABS.pl. bathe-FUT-IND.3pl.  
 [*arna-ts=llu neqk-iur-luteng*].  
 women-ABS.pl.=and meal-work.on-APP.3Rpl.  
 – *neqk-iur- < neqka(r)-liur*  
 ‘When they arrive, the men will take a bath and the women will pre-  
 pare a meal.’  
 – with the enclitic on the beginning of the second clause.
- (76) [*Unuaqu nunas-ki-na*], [[*erner-ni=llu*  
 tomorrow visit-ASP-OPT.2sg. day-LOC.pl.=and  
*cetama-ni*] *uita-luten*].  
 four-LOC.pl. stay-APP.2sg.  
 ‘(You [sg.]) visit here tomorrow, and stay four days.’

In the following example, the first *=llu* provides coordination with the preceding sentence (‘in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth’ not given here), while the second provides coordination with its preceding *eluciinani* in the same (coordinate) phrase: [(A) B=*llu*] vs. [A B=*llu*]:

- (77) *Nuna<sub>s</sub>=llu* [*el-uci-i-nani*  
 land.ABS.sg.=and exist-VNnm-PRV-APP.3Rsg.  
*ima-u-nani=llu*].  
 content-PRV-APP.3Rsg.=and  
 ‘And the earth was a without form, and void.’ [Genesis (AYAG) 1: 2]

By contrast, if another party in coordination is not expressed, as in the following, the enclitic means ‘also, as well’, but may be ambiguous as it may refer either to the subject, the object, or the verbal content:

- (78) *tangerr-sug-amken=llu*  
 see-DES-IND.1sg.3sg.=also  
 ‘I also want to see you (sg.)’ / ‘I want to see *you* (sg.) as well’ / ‘I  
 want to *see* you (sg.) as well (as, e.g. hearing)’.

On the other hand, the ambiguity as above does not occur with the suffix VVa |+<sub>1</sub>*mi*-| ‘also, including’ (§ 41.3.5; distinct from the enclitic |=*mi*|, § 54.1-ii) as it only refers to the subject:

- (79) *tangerr-sug-mi-amken* ‘I also want to see you (sg.)’.  
see-DES-also-IND.1sg.3sg.

As is the case with (77), if one party of the coordination is merely implied by the person indexed in the verb or by a noun for the other party, the former party may not be expressed overtly. Note in the pair below that the verbal inflection implies the number of the noun (‘son’) but that ‘he’ could be overtly expressed by an absolutive-case nominal (e.g. *angun* ‘man’):

- (80) a. *Qetunra-ni=llu* *aya-llru-ut*.  
So-ABS.3Rsg.pl.=and leave-PST-IND.3pl.  
‘He and his (own) sons left.’  
b. *Qetunra-ni=llu* *aya-llru-uk*.  
So-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=and leave-PST-IND.3du.  
‘He and his (own) son left.’  
c. *Qetunra-ni=llu* *nere-llru-ak* *akutaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
So-ABS.3Rsg.sg.=and eat-PST-IND.3du.3sg. ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
‘He and his (own) son ate ice cream.’
- (81) *Aana-ka<sub>s</sub>=llu* *manar-yar-ciq-ukuk*.  
Mo-ABS.1sg.sg.=and hook.fish-go.to-FUT-IND.1du.  
‘My mother and I (lit., my mother also; we [du.]) will go ice fishing.’
- (82) *Angute-m<sub>A</sub>* [*nakmiin* *qetunra-an*]<sub>A</sub>=*llu* (~ [*nakmiin=llu*  
man-REL.sg. own So-ABS.3sg.sg.=and own=and  
*qetunra-an*]<sub>A</sub>) *nere-llru-ak* *akutaq<sub>p</sub>*.  
So-ABS.3sg.sg. eat-PST-IND.3du.3sg. ice.cream.ABS.sg.  
‘The man and his own son ate ice cream.’  
– The second variant is acceptable though the first is preferred.

The enclitic may also be used as a reinforcement in indirective-connective constructions: see § 50.7 for examples.

# Appendix





## Suffix list

### a

+a-	NN	expander (adverbial demonstrative)	12.3.1
-aÿ-	NN	semantic twisting (time word, etc.)	11.3.3; 20.2
-a(ÿa)ÿ*-  ~  + <sub>1</sub> ka(ÿa)ÿ*-	NN	‘not quite yet, early, similar but not completely’	11.3.3; 20.2
-at-	VVn	‘not’ (NEG; limited to a few stems/suffixes)	44

### c

+c-	NV	‘to catch, gather ( <i>animal, fish, plant</i> ); to go to’	38.2
+c-	NV	‘to plan to do, go, ...’	11.3.3
+c-	VVsm	A adder (causative)	39.1.1
+caa(ÿa)ÿ*-	VVsm	‘to make s.t. -er, more slowly’	39.1.2; cf. P5i-c
+ <sub>1</sub> caaqi-	VVm	‘but (actually), in vain, contrafact’	43
+ <sub>1</sub> cayuc-	VVt	‘to become, reach the state of’, cf. <i>-ksaguc-</i>	42.2
+caÿ-	VVsm	‘to make s.t. -er’	39.1.2; cf. P5i-c
+ <sub>1</sub> caÿ- / + <sub>1</sub> caÿtuÿ- / -liyÿ-	VVm/NN	‘to go -ing, easily, early / to go (in order) to’	43
+ <sub>1</sub> caÿ-	VVm	‘would, could’	43; 50.6
+ <sub>1</sub> caÿaÿ-	VNnm	‘(general) way that, how’	18.2.3
+ <sub>1</sub> caÿa-it-	NVN	‘to have no -ing’	18.2.3
+ <sub>1</sub> caÿa-qi- / -u-	NVN	‘to be the time/way/route for’	18.2.3
+ <sub>1</sub> caÿaÿ-  ~  + <sub>1</sub> caÿa(ÿa)ÿ*-	VVt	‘(very) early, earlier than expected’	41.2
+ <sub>1</sub> caÿpiay-	VVa	‘almost’	41.3.1
+ <sub>1</sub> caÿtuÿ-  →  + <sub>1</sub> caÿ-			
+ <sub>1</sub> caqliÿ-	VVa	‘finally’	41.2
-ckiÿ-	NV	‘to have a good/nice, just right’	38.4
+ci-	NV	‘to get, buy’	38.2
+cic-	NV	‘to have the quality of’	11.5; 33.4.3
+cic-  ~  -vkaÿ-	VVcm	‘A’ to cause/let/allow/have s.o. to’ (CAU/CRF)	40.2.1; cf. 7.5- i.c)
+ciÿ-	VVsm	‘to let, wait – (to)’	39.1.3
+ciÿ-	VV	‘to have as a reason, because’	38.3 under NV  +liÿ-

<i>-ciliŷ-</i>  /  <i>-vialuy-</i>  /  <i>-vialùtiŷ-</i>	NNh/VVh	'negative, angered, angry, frustrated, huge'	20.3; 43.1
<i>+ciqi-</i>	VVt	'will' (FUT)	42.1; cf. P5i.c
<i>+citaay-</i>	VVcm/VN	'A' to try to cause/induce (taking time) s.o. to'	40.2.1.2
<i>-ckiŷ-</i>	NV	'to be very, just right' (very limited)	38.4
<i>-cu-</i>	VVa	'skillfully, (tend / know how to do) well'	41.1
<i>-cuaŷ-</i>	VVm	'lest – should' (caution against)	43
<i>-cua(ŷa)ŷ*-</i>   ~   <i>-ksua(ŷa)ŷ*-</i>	NN/VVa	'small, little; a little'	20.1.1; 41.3.5
<i>-cuy-</i>	NN	's.t. similar to' (unproductive)	19
<i>+1cuy-</i>	VVm/NV	'to wish (to), tend to, do deeply'	43
<i>+1cuyŷa-</i>   ~   <i>+1cuuma-</i>   [Y]	VVt	'can; be ready to, be already waiting to'	43
<i>+1cuyŷayqi-</i>	VVm	'presumably, I think/guess'	43
<i>+1cuyŷait-</i>	VVn	'definitely not'	44
<i>+1cuki-</i>	VVcm	'A' to think that S/A do (s.t.)'	40.2.3
<i>-1culi-</i>   (  <i>+li-</i>  )	VN	'one that does well, best -er'	19.1
<i>-1cuiŷuc-</i>	VVn	'no longer, no more'	44
<i>-1cuüt-</i>	VVn	'never, generally not'	44
<i>-1culi-</i>   →   <i>-li-</i>			
<i>-cuŷayŷ*-</i>   /   <i>-cua(ŷa)ŷ*-</i>	NNh/VVh	'cute, nice little, dear'	20.3; 43.1
<i>-1cunaŷqi-</i>	VVm	'to be good to be -ed, be easy to'	43
<i>-1cunait-</i>	VVn	'should not, cannot, to be not wise/right to'	44
<i>-1cunaŷi-</i>	VVsm	'to be proper time to'	39.2
<i>+1cunŷiŷc-</i>	VVm	'to love very much to, tend to'	43
<i>+cuŷ-</i>   →   <i>+suŷ-</i>			
<i>+1cuuma-</i>   [Y] →   <i>+1cuyŷa-</i>			
<i>+1cuumiŷ-</i>	VVm	'to desire to'	43
<i>+1cuumiŷut-</i>	VVn	'to have no more desire to'	43
<i>+1cuumiit-</i>	VVn/NV	'to have no desire (to)'	44
<i>+cuut-</i>   ~   <i>+suut-</i>	VNrl/NN	'instrument, means'	17.6.2-iii

– see (P2iii) and (P5i-ii) for suffix-initial c with subscript <sub>1</sub>, yielding alternation of /c/ ~ /z|y/ ~ /s/

### Y

<i>+yaŷ-</i>	VNrl	P relativizer	17.4.2
<i>+ya+it-</i>   /   <i>+ya+iy-</i>	VNV	'not /stop – ing'	17.4.2
<i>±ya(a)(ŷ)-</i>   →   <i>+1taay-</i>			
<i>+yaa(ŷa)ŷ*-</i>	VValt/NN	'early, just –ing, starting to'	41.2
<i>+ya(ŷa)ŷc-</i>	VVt	'suddenly, immediately, a little, unexpectedly'	42.2

+(ya)ÿc-	VVa	‘quickly, fast’	41.2
+yaÿkaÿ-	VNrl	P relativizer (future)	17.4.3
+yaÿkau-  /  +yaÿkauÿc-	VVm	‘to be supposed to, have to V / be V-ed, should’	17.4.3-ii; 43
+ya(ÿ+ta)ÿqx-	VNV	‘to have contents of’	17.4.2
+yaqi-	VVt	‘regularly, habitually, customarily’	42.2.5
+ya-qi-  /  +ya-qsayuc-	VNV	pseudo-passive	17.4.2; 34.1.2.2-ii; 39.3.2
+ya+u-  /  +ya+uÿc-	VNV	pseudo-passive	17.4.2; 34.1.2.2-ii; 39.3.2
+ÿi <sub>1</sub> -	VVsm	adversative	39.5
+ÿi <sub>2</sub> -	VVsm	antipassive	39.6.1

ÿ

+ÿ-  ~  +Ø	NV	‘to exist at, have N’ [APP], cf.  -ÿqx-	38.1
-ÿi-  ~  +li-	VVt	‘to become, make (more)’ [~ after /i/]	42.2.1
-ÿtuy-  →  - <sub>1</sub> tuy-			
-ÿqi-	VVsm	causative	39.1.4
- <sub>1</sub> ÿqi-  /  - <sub>1</sub> qaqi-	VVt	‘one after another’	34.2-iii; 42.2.4
-ÿquÿ-	NN	frequency/multiplicity (numeral)	14.8
-ÿuy-	NNh/VVh	‘big, large’	20.3; 43.1
-ÿuyayÿ*-	NN	‘multitude of, many’	20.1.1
-ÿuyluÿ-	NNh/VVh	‘poor, sorry, shabby, small’	20.3; 43.1
+(V/VV)ÿ-	LNK	linker	52.5.1

k

-k*ac(a)(ÿ)aÿ-	VVa/NN	‘very, to a high degree’	41.3.5; 45.2.2-i
+k*aÿ-	NN	‘future, material for s.t.’	20.1.1
+ <sub>1</sub> ka(ÿa)ÿ*-  →  -a(ÿa)ÿ*-			
+k/ÿaÿaÿ-	NN	‘just, exact (area)’	11.2.3.1
-kalay-	VVt	‘suddenly’ (MOM)	42.2
-kaniÿ-	VVa	‘more (intensely), further’	41.3.5
-k*ayay-	NNh/VVh	‘darned, mean, angrily, suddenly’	20.3; 43.1
+kic-	NV	‘to give s.o. N’	38.2
+kit-	NV	‘to be small in dimension, have little’	38.4
- <sub>1</sub> ki-	VNrl	participial relativizer	17.2.2
-ki-	NVrv	‘to be -’s N’, to have – as, own’	11.2.3.2; 37.2
-ki-ÿÿ-	NVN	‘former ‘	20.4
-ki-ÿÿia / -ÿÿiÿÿ / -ÿÿiit	NVN	‘one who mutually are’	11.4.2; 20.4; 37.5

<i> -k*ĩ- </i>	VV	‘to find, consider – (to be)’	37.2.1
<i> -ki- </i>	VVt	future / non-future optative	49.5; 49.7
<i> -kiyc(i)- </i>	NV	‘to have a good/nice –’	33.4.3; 38.4
<i> -kiytaa(ýa)ý*- </i>	NNn/VVn	‘beautiful, good-looking, attractive, respectful’	20.3
<i> -kijay- </i>	VNrl	passive relativizer	17.4.1
<i> -kijay-ŋqix-  /  -kijay-ŋi- </i>	VNV	‘to have s.t. –ed’	17.4.1
<i> -kijay-u-  /  -kijay-ki- </i>	VNV	‘be s.t. –ed (constantly)’	17.4.2
<i> -kijji- </i>	VVsm	antipassive	39.6.2
<i>  +kili- </i>	VN/VVc	‘to be getting lesser’	10.5-iii; 45.3-iii
<i> -kixnayqi- </i>	VVsm	‘to be a good time, to be ready to’	39.2.3
<i> -klaay- </i>	NV/NN	‘(to be) at o’clock’	14.6
<i> -ksait- </i>	VVn	‘not yet’	44
<i> -k(i)sayuc-  /  -k(i)sayuc- </i>	NVrv	‘to become (-’s) N / come to feel’, cf.  + <i>cayuc- </i>	36.1; 37.4; 46.3
<i> -k(i)sayuc-kijay- </i>	NVN		20.4
<i> -k(i)sayuc-lyiaý- </i>	NVN		20.4
<i> -ksua(ýa)ý*-  →  -cua(ýa)ý*- </i>			
<i>  +ku- </i>	NN	nominal demonstrative plural	12.2.1
<i> -ku- </i>	NN	future	11.3.3; 52.2
<i> -kuciý- </i>	NN	‘one of the same kind’	18.2.1.3; 20.1.2
<i> -kuyc- </i>	VVt	‘plan to, be about to’	42.2.1
<i>  +kuiý-  →  +xuiý- </i>	NV	‘to go through, by way of’	12.4
<i> -k*una- </i>	VVm	‘to think about -ing’	43
<i> -kutaý- </i>	VN	‘means, s.t. used as’	17.6.2-iii

– see (P3ii-a) for suffix-initial /-k\*/ with no velar assimilation

## I

<i> -lay-  ~  +lay-  [Y]</i>	VVt	‘generally, habitually’	42.2.5
<i> -ly-  /  +talý- </i>	NN	‘one having, one using’	20.1.2
<i> -lyiaý-  ~  +lyiý*- </i>	VNrl	participial relativizer	17.2.1
<i> -lyiaý+it-  /  -lyiaý+tait- </i>	VNV	‘to be no one that is’	17.2.1
<i> -lyiaý+u- </i>	VNV	‘to be s.t. (compared with)’	17.2.1
<i> -lyia+mit- </i>	VNV	‘be at who does’	17.2.1
<i> -lyiý-  ~  -lyiý- </i>	NV	‘to take along (for), bring’	38.2
<i> -lyut-  ~  -lyut- </i>	VN/NN	‘associate/partner in, one who shares with’	19.2; 20.1.2
<i> -lyut-ki-  ~  -lyut-ki- </i>	VNV	‘to be –ing with’	19.2
<i> -lyuc-iý-  ~  -lyuc-iý- </i>	VNV	‘to have companion with’	19.2
<i> -li- </i>	NV	‘to realize, make (out of), cut (fish) for’	38.3
<i> -li- </i>	VVa	‘to enjoy -ing, to find (good)’	41
<i> -li-  /  -culi-  /  -tuli- </i>	VN	‘one who/that is, does’	19.1

+li-  →  -yi-			
-lic-	NV	‘to make/bring s.t. for, to appear to s.o.’	38.3
-liy-	NV	‘to supply with; to have plenty of’	38.3
-linyaŷ* -	NN	‘product/part/evidence of a living thing’	20.1.2
-liqi-	NV	‘to catch a lot of’	33.4.3; 38.3
-liqi-	NV	‘to be afflicted in, be painful’	38.3
-liy-	VN	obsolete	19.1
+liŷny-  →  -qliŷny-			
+liŷ*-  →  -qliŷ*-			
-liq-uc-	NV	‘to get lots’	38.3
-li-c-	NV	‘to make for’	38.3
-liuŷ-	NV	‘to deal with, play around, be occupied with’	38.3
-liyaŷ-  →  + <sub>1</sub> caŷ-			
-kic-	NV/VV	‘(suddenly) to appear, realize, occur as’	38.5
-lkuy-	NNn/VVn	‘darned, no-good, unsatisfactory’	20.3; 43.1
-lŷu-	VVm	‘to be tired of -ing’	43
-lqiŷ-	VVa	‘fast’	41.2
-lu(ŷ)-	VN?/NN?	(obsolete) anatomical	19.2
-luuŷc-	VVe	‘after all, it actually turned out’	43.2

†

-lay-	VVa	‘to do imitatively, after s.o. else does’	41.1
-lây-	VVt	‘suddenly’	42.2
-laŷ-	NN	‘thing of, belonging to’	20.1.2
-lŷ-	VNrl	preterit relativizer	17.3
-lŷ-	VNnm	act/fact/time of -ing	18.2.2
-lŷ-	NN	‘past, former (but not any more / longer)’	20.1.1
- <sub>1</sub> lŷ-  →  -nŷ-			18.3.1
-lŷu-  ~  -lqi-	VVt	past [~ only NUN.HBC for past]	42.1
-lŷu-  ~  -lqi- , cf.  -nŷu-	VVc	comparative	45.1.1; 4.5.1.2
-lŷ(u)it-	VVn	‘to have never been’	44
-lŷiŷ-  →  -lŷiŷ-			
-lŷuc-iŷ-  →  -lŷuc-iŷ-			
-lŷut-  →  -lŷut-			
-lŷut-ki-  →  -lŷut-ki-			
-lŷuc-iŷ-  →  -lŷuc-iŷ-			
-li-	VVm	‘perhaps, I wonder, maybe (not certain)’	43; 47.2.1.1
-li(ŷa)ŷ*-	NNh/VVh	‘funny, darned, disrespectful, ...’	20.3; 43.1

-tiŷkaŷ- , cf.  -tŷ-	VNnm	future nominalizer	18.2.2.1
-tini-	VVe	'evidently (now I see, it is a fact that ...)'	43.2
-tqi-  →  -tŷu-			
-tuy-  ~  -ŷtuy(-c)-	NN/NV/ VVa	'bad, old, deviated; to worsen'	20.1.1; 33.4.3

**m**

+Ø  →  +ŷ-			38.1
+mi-	VVa	'also, including'	41.3.5
+mi-aŷ-	NN	'one held in'	17.4.2; 38.2
+miŷ-	NV/NN	'to use, do with (particularly a body part)'	38.2
+m(i)t-  ~  [person]n(i)t-	NV	'to be at [s.o.'s]'	11.2.3.2; 27.8; 38.5
+miu-	NN	'inhabitant of, s.t. located at'	12.2.5; 20.1.2
+miu-taŷ*-	NN	'animals or living things that belong to a place'	20.1.2
+miu-yaaŷ-	NV	'to speak a dialect/language of - '	12.2.5; 20.1.2
+(t)muŷc-  ~  +viŷc-	NV	'to go to/toward'	12.4; 38.5

**n**

+na-	EX	absolute singular (nominal demonstratives)	12.2.1
+na-	VV	purpose (in appositional verbs)	51.2.3-iii
+naa  ~  +nii	VP	exclamative	52.4.2
+naciaŷ-	VVa	'to be late in -ing'	41.2
+naŷ-	VN/VV	'one that causes / to cause'	19.2
+naŷ-	NN	'similar'	20.2
+naŷi-	VVsm	'to be time (time-wise destined) to; be ready to'	39.2.2
+naŷqi-	VVsm/m	'to behoove; to have to, should'	39.2.1; 43
+naŷt-	VVn	'not to cause/enable one to -'	44
+nam	VVm	'despite the time to; should / could have -ed.'	19.2
+nauŷ-	VVt/m	1) 'so that now'; 2) 'would'; 3) 'might'	42.2.6; 49.8-ii
+nayuki-	VVcm	'A' to think/expect that (s.o./s.t.) might do (s.t.)'	40.2.3
+nŷ-	NN	'area of'	11.2.3.1
-nŷ-  /  -tŷ-	VNnm	comparative nominal / [post-apical]	18.3.2
-nŷ-	VNnm	abstract nominalizer	18.3.1
+nŷ-	VN	deverbal noun	18.3.1.2

<i>-nyĩy̆-</i>	VVn	‘no longer’	44
<i>-nyĩlkuỹc-</i>	VVn	‘to try not to’	44
<i>-nyĩt- /   +<sub>1</sub>piki-</i>	VVn	‘not’ [~ APP]	44
<i>-nyũ- /   -nqi-</i>	VVc	‘to be more’	45.1
<i>-nyũỹc-</i>	VVc	‘to become more’	46.3
<i>-ny̆+nyu-</i>	VV	‘to be constantly -ing’	18.3.1.1
<i>+ni-</i>	VVcm	‘A’ to say/consider that –’	40.2.4
<i>+niay̆-</i>	NV/NN	‘to go (to buy, get), be in the act of’	38.2; 42.2.6-iii, 49.8-ii
<i>+niay̆-</i>	VVt	‘so that (in future), soon’	42.2.6
<i>+niay̆ay̆-</i>	VVt	‘to be -ing soon, be almost time to’	42.2.6
<i>+niat-   →   +niit-</i>			
<i>+niy̆-</i>	NV	‘to be a good, strong’	38.4
<i>+niy̆-</i>	VV	‘to start from -ing; since’	38.3 under NV   + <i>liy̆-</i>
<i>+niy̆qi-</i>	NV	‘to be a good, pleasant –’	38.4
<i>+niit-   ~   +niat-</i>	NV(VVn)	‘not to be a good, pleasant’	38.4
<i>+niki-</i>	NV	‘to consider pleasant’	38.4
<i>+ni(u)y̆-</i>	NV	‘to go/come to’	38.3
<i>+n(i)t-   →   +m(i)t-</i>			
<i>-n(i)y̆it-</i>	VVc	‘to have no (other) than’	§45.5
<i>-niỹciy̆-</i>	VVcm	‘A’ to wait until (s.o.) do (s.t.)’	40.2.6
<i>-niỹtu-   →   -tu-</i>	VVt	‘to know how to habitually’	42.2.5
<i>-niḵa(y̆a)y̆*-  </i>	VVt/VN	‘to have just/newly -ed’	42.2.3
<i>-nkaca(y̆a)y̆*-  </i>	VN	‘the most’ (superlative)	46.2.2
<i>+nku-</i>	NN	‘family/partner of [person name]’	20.1.2; 21.2
<i>-nqi-   →   -nyũ-</i>	VV	transitive comparative	46.1.2
<i>-nqiỹc-</i>	VVt	‘again’	42.2-v
<i>-nqiỹ(i)-  </i>	VVa	‘well, in a good way’	41.1

η

<i>+ny̆ay̆-</i>	NN	‘just, shortly’	11.2.3.1
<i>+ny̆*ait-</i>	VVn	‘will not’	44, cf. P5i.b
<i>+ny̆*at-</i>	VVm/NV	‘it looks like, maybe’	43, cf. P5i.b
<i>-ny̆*i-     +tany̆i-</i>	NV	‘to acquire N, to have N realized, to realize’	33.4.3-i; 38.1
<i>-ny̆*i-</i>	VVt	‘to begin to’	42.2.1
<i>+ny̆icay̆-</i>	NV(VVn)	‘to be in need of , to lack N’	38.1
<i>+ny̆iy̆-</i>	VVa	‘(can) easily’	41.1
<i>+ny̆iy̆-</i>	NV	‘to deprive N, have N removed’	38.1
<i>+ny̆iy̆-</i>	NV	‘to move over’	11.2.3.2
<i>+ny̆i(y̆a)y̆-</i>	NV	‘to have a cold (body part)’	33.4.3-i; 38.1
<i>+ny̆iy̆uc-     +tany̆iy̆uc-</i>	NV	‘not to have any longer’	38.1

+ŋj̥yut-	NN	‘deceased, cause/time of losing s.t./s.o.’	20.1.1
+ŋ*inaŋ-	VV	‘only, just, for no particular purpose; finally’	41.3.3
+ŋ*iinaŋ-	VV	‘further and further, slowly, less in intensity’	41.3.3
+ŋit-  /  +tait-	NV	‘to lack, not to exist, to have no N’	11.2.3.2; 38.1
-ŋnaq̥i-	VV	‘to try to’	43
+ <sub>1</sub> ŋ(q)a-	VVt	‘to be in the state of, to have been -ed’	34.2; 42.2.3
-ŋq̥x-  /  +taŋq̥x-	NV	‘to exist at, to have N’	38.1
-ŋsi-  /  -ŋsaya-	VVa	‘just, not concentratively, to no particular end’	41.3.5
+ŋu-	NVrv	‘to be N’	12.3.4; 37.1
+ŋu-l̥yiaŋ-	NVN		20.4
+ŋuaŋ-	VVa/NV	‘pretendedly, mentally’	41.1
+ŋuaŋ-	NN	‘imitation of, likeness of; to pretend to’	20.1.1
+ <sub>1</sub> ŋuŋ* →  -l̥yiaŋ-	VNrl		
+ŋuŋc-	NVrv	‘to become, be now, come into being’	37.3
+ŋu-l̥yiaŋ-	NVN	‘one who belongs to the kind’	20.4
+ŋut-	NN	‘supply, things owned’	20.1.2

**p**

+ <sub>1</sub> paa	VP	exclamative	52.4.1
+ <sub>1</sub> paayaŋ-	VVa	‘quite a lot (less intense)’	41.3.2
+pay-	NN	‘during, throughout, the whole’	11.3.3
+pay-  /  +pat̥y-	NN	‘big, great’/‘huge’	20.1.1
+ <sub>1</sub> pay-	VVa/NV	‘bigly, intensely, a lot’	41.3.2
+ <sub>1</sub> pakaŋ-  /  +piiŋ-	VVa	‘so much, frequently, all the time’	41.3.2
+ <sub>1</sub> paŋa-	VVa	‘intensely, a lot, suddenly’	41.3.2
+ <sub>1</sub> paŋuŋ-	VVa	‘most, mostly’	41.3.2
-piaŋ-  /  -piŋ(c)-	VVa	‘really, genuinely’	41.3.1
-piaŋ-  /  -piŋ-	NN/VN	‘genuine, exclusively one’s own’	20.1.1
+piiŋ-  →  +pakaŋ-			
+ <sub>1</sub> piki-  →  -n̥yit-			

– see (P2i.a) for suffix-initial /p/, which may alternate with /v/.

**q**

-qaŋ-	VVa	‘just, merely’	41.3.4; 49.4.3
-qa(ŋa)qi-	VVt	‘intermittently, now and then, once in a while’	42.2.4; 51.2.1



-qàÿc-	VVt	‘suddenly’	42.2.4
-qainay̆-	VVa	‘only, merely’	41.3.3
-qapiÿc-  ~  -qapia(ÿa)ÿ*-	VVa/VN/	‘very much, at all, just, exactly, in earnest’	41.3.1
- <sub>1</sub> qaqi-  →  - <sub>1</sub> ÿqi-	VVt	‘one after another’	34.2-iii; 42.2.4
-qataÿ-	VVt	‘about to, soon, imminently’	42.2.1
-qata(ÿa)ÿ-	VVt	‘be gradually/slowly going to’	42.2.1
-qcaa(ÿa)ÿ-	VVa	‘taking time, feebly, weakly, sickly’	41.1
-qcaÿ-	VVa	‘not quite as it normally is, kind of’	41.1
-qliÿ*-  ~  -liÿ*-	NN	‘the one (located) in’	11.2.3.1; 14.9; 15.2.3.1-ii
-qli-kaca(ÿa)ÿ*-	NN	‘the most’	45.2.2
-qliÿnÿ-  ~  -liÿnÿ-	NN	‘side, area of’	11.2.3.1
-qsiÿ-	NV	‘to be far in that direction’	11.2.3.2; 12.4
-qtaÿ-	NNn/VVn	‘darned; cute’	20.3; 43.1
-qtihi(ÿa)ÿ-	NNn/VVn	‘darned, despicable, frustrating, displeasing’	20.3; 43.1
- <sub>1</sub> quÿ-  /  -quxay̆-  /  -qucuÿ-	VN/NN	‘spot/part associated with’, etc.	19.2
-quxay̆-	NN	intensifier (superlative degree)	45.2.2-ii
-qvay̆-  ~  -vay̆-	NN/NV	‘further in direction or time, toward end’	11.2.3.1; 15.2.3.1-iii

## s

-saay̆-	VVm	‘to try to’	43
-saay̆-  →  siyaay̆-			
(s)ciiyali-	VVn	‘cannot any longer’	44
(s)ciiyat-	VVn	‘cannot’	44
(s)ci(u)ÿ-  /  (s)ci(u)ÿyay̆-	VVsm	pseudo-passive; ‘would be (easily) -ed’	34.1.2.1; 39.3.1
-siyaay̆-  / [Y]  -saay̆-	VVa	‘too (much, many)	41.3.5
-sqi-	VVcm	‘a’ to ask/tell/want s.o. to do s.t.’	40.2.2
-squma-	VVcm	‘to be wishing, wish repeatedly’	40.2.2
(s)t-	VNrl	active/agentive relativizer	17.5.1
(s)tiikaÿ-	VNrl	future	17.5.3
(s)tiilÿ-	VNrl	past	17.5.2
(s)tiñq̄x-	VV	‘to be -ed’, cf.  (s)ci(u)ÿ-	39.3
(s)suÿ-  ~  cuÿ-	NV	‘to hunt, seek out, check’	38.2
(s)suut-  →  cuut-			

## t

(s)t-	NN	‘part, side’ (adverbial demonstrative)	12.3.3
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+ <i>ta-</i>	VVa/c	‘as – as, to that degree’	41.3.5; 45.6.1
+ <i>taaỵ-</i>	VVt	‘repeatedly, continuously, here and there’	42.2.3
+ <i>taỵ-</i>  , cf.  + <i>taŋq̣x-</i>	NV	‘to exist (at the time, temporarily) at [place]’	38.1
+ <i>taỵ-</i>	VV	‘to tend to’	36.1
+ <i>taỵ*</i> -	NN	‘one belonging, pertaining, related to’	20.1.2
+ <i>taiỵuc-</i>   →  - <i>ŋiỵuc-</i>			
+ <i>tait-</i>   →  + <i>ŋit-</i>			
+ <i>taly-</i>   →  - <i>ly-</i>			
+ <i>taŋi-</i>   →  - <i>ŋ*i-</i>			
+ <i>taŋq̣x-</i>   →  - <i>ŋq̣x-</i>			
+ <i>tasiaŋy-</i>	VVsm	‘to see/test how’	45.6.1-vi
+ <i>ta-t-</i>   (from  + <i>ta-ut-</i>  )	VV	‘one that is as – as’	17.6.2
+ <i>ta-ti-ki-</i>	VV	‘to be as – as of the same degree/size as’	17.6.2; 45.6.2
+ <i>ta-ti-ksayuc-</i>	VV	‘to become as – as of the same degree/size as’	17.6.2; 45.6.2
+ <i>t/yaayuc-</i>	VVa	‘reciprocally, each other’	41.1
+ <i>t/y/iqu(ya)ỵ-</i>	VVt	‘to keep on -ing; repeatedly, leisurely, little’	41.3.5; 42.2.3
+ <i>tu-</i>	NV	‘to be great in dimension, have much’	38.4
+ <i>tu-</i>	VVt	‘regularly, to the fullest extent’ [HBC, NUN]	42.2.5
+ <i>tuỵ-</i>	NV	‘to use, wear, eat’	38.2
+ <i>tuli-</i>   →  + <i>li-</i>	VN		19.1
+ <i>tuuma-</i>	NV	‘to be in the state of being together with’	38.5

## u

+ <i>u-</i>	EX	non-absolute singular (nom. demonstrative)	12.3.1
+( <i>u</i> ) <i>c-</i>	VVsm	applicative	39.4.1
+( <i>u</i> ) <i>c-i-c-</i>	VV	‘instead of’	18.2.1; 39.4.5-ii
+( <i>u</i> ) <i>ci-u-</i>   /  + <i>(u)ci-q̣i-</i>	VNV	‘to be like, always -ing’	18.2.1.3
+( <i>u</i> ) <i>ciỵ-</i>	VNnm	act/state of -ing; wh-; progressive	18.2.1
+( <i>u</i> ) <i>ciỵkaŋy-</i>	VNnm	future for above	18.2.1
+( <i>u</i> ) <i>ciỵka-it-</i>	VVcm	‘not to know whether – will’	18.2.1; 40.2.5.1.
+( <i>u</i> ) <i>ciỵki-</i>	VVt	‘to make a rule to’	18.2.1.2; 42.5
+( <i>u</i> ) <i>ci-iỵ-</i>	VVcm	‘now not to know, to be confused’	18.2.1
+( <i>u</i> ) <i>ci-iỵut-</i>	VVcm	‘not to know any longer’, to get confused’	18.2.1; 40.2.5.1

+(u)ciit-	VVcm/V	‘A’ not to know, to be unsure	18.2.1.3;
	Vn	that/whether/wh-, ...’	40.2.5; 44
+(u)ma-	VVt	‘to be -ing for a long time, have been -ed’	34.2.1; 42.2.3
+(u)t-	VNrl/nm	instrumental relativizer	17.6.2
+(u)taŷ-	VN	‘means’	17.6.2
+(u)ŷiki-	VVsm	‘it is s.t. for one’s -ing’; T addition	17.6.2; 39.7.1, 39.7.3
+(u)ŷu-	VV	‘it is s.t. for -ing’	17.6.2
+(u)y+uc-	VVsm		34.4.5-i

– see (P5i.c) for suffix-initial u, triggering stem-final apical deletion, and u deletion after a full vowel

## v

+vay-  →  +paŷ-			
+vakay-  →  +pakay-			
+valay-  →  +palay-			
-vialuy-  →  -citiŷ-			
-vialutiŷ-  →  -citiŷ-			
+ <sub>1</sub> viŷ-	VNrl	locational relativizer	17.6.1
+viŷc-  →  + <sub>(t)</sub> muŷc-			
+ <sub>1</sub> viki-	VVsm	‘it is the place for (one’s) -ing’, P/R addition	39.7.2
-vkaŷ-  →  +cic-	VVcm		
+ <sub>1</sub> vsiaŷ-	VVa	‘more toward (to complete)’	41.3.5

## x

+xuiŷ-  ~  +kuiŷ-	NV	‘to go through, by way of’	12.4
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## x̣

-xaay-	VVa	‘after -ing, first -ing’	41.2; 51.2.2-iii
-xay-	NN	‘just right of’	11.2.3.1
-xa(ŷa)ŷ*-	NN/NV	‘a little, a few, just, only’	20.1.1
-xlainaŷ*-	VVa	‘to always do, nothing but’	5.3.4; 41.3.3

## y

-ya(y)aŷ-    -ya(y)a(ŷa)ŷ*-	NNh/VVh	‘small, dear little, (animal) young’	20.3; 43.1
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- YEO Miyaoka, Osahito, and Elsie Mather (1979): *Yup'ik Eskimo Orthography*. Bethel: University of Alaska Kuskokwim Community College Yup'ik Language Center.
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\* ELLA and QNMC contain short “Notes to the Stories” (359–378 and 594–625 respectively). I believe that, they, linguistically and anthropologically very sophisticated, were written by the late Irene Reed, though not explicitly acknowledged as such in either book.

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