SANTA BARBARA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

VOLUME 7

PROSODY, GRAMMAR, AND DISCOURSE IN CENTRAL ALASKAN YUP'IK

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SANTA BARBARA, CA 93106
1996

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For George and Liz

With gratitude

for their generosity in showing us some of the beauties of their language

for their unending patience

and for their unfailing good cheer

Simon Corston
Nilson Gabas Jr.
Nicholas Kibre
Hiroaki Kitano
Steven Lasswell
Marianne Mithun
Cory Redmond
Carl Rubino
Tracy Sellman
Jill Snyder

PROSODY, GRAMMAR, AND DISCOURSE IN CENTRAL ALASKAN YUP'IK

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INTRODUCTION

Marianne Mithun

Central Alaskan Yup'ik (CAY) is a language of the Eskimo-Aleut family, spoken by around 10,000 people in southwestern Alaska. It is still being learned by children, but fewer are acquiring it every year. The dialect under discussion here is part of what is termed General Central Alaskan Yup'ik, comprising the speech of the Yukon, the Kuskokwim, the upper Kuskokwim, Nelson Island, Bristol Bay, the Nushagak River, and Lake Iliamna (Jacobson 1984:28-37). Other Central Alaskan Yup'ik dialects are those of Norton Sound (Unaliq), Hooper Bay-Chevak, and Nunivak Island. Central Yup'ik is most closely related to Siberian Yupik (Sirenikski, Central Siberian Yupik, Naukanski) and Alutiiq (also called Sugpiak, Suk, or Pacific Gulf Yupik). The Yupik languages are related as a group to Inupiaq-Inuit a dialect chain that stretches from Alaska across northern Canada to Greenland. These languages, which comprise the Eskimoan branch of the family, are in turn related to Aleut, spoken on the Aleutian and the Pribilof Islands.

1. Brief overview of the language

Fine descriptions of Yup'ik can be found in Jacobson 1984, 1995, and Miyaoka forthcoming. An overview is provided here to orient readers to the general structure of the language.

1.1. Phonology and transcription

The Yup'ik material in this volume is cited in the practical orthography developed at the Alaskan Native Language Center in Fairbanks, principally by Osahito Miyaoka, Irene Reed, Paschal Afcan, and Michael Krauss between 1967 and 1972. It is now widely used in Yup'ik communities and in reference works, including Reed, Miyaoka, Jacobson, Afcan, & Krauss 1977, Jacobson 1984, and Jacobson 1995. The inventory of symbols can be seen in the charts in (1) and (2) from Jacobson (1984:5).

(1) **Consonants**

					LABIALIZED	
			FRONT	BACK	FRONT	BACK
	LABIAL	APICAL	VELAR	VELAR	VELAR	VELAR
STOPS	p	t c	k	q		
VOICED FRICATIVES	v	l s/y	g	r	ug	ur
VOICELESS FRICATIVES	vv	ll ss	gg	rr	w	urr
VOICED NASALS	m	n	ng			
VOICELESS NASALS	m̊	n̊	ng̊			

(2) **Vowels**

	FRONT	BACK
HIGH	i	u
	e	
LOW	a	

Among the consonants are series of plain stops, voiced fricatives, voiceless fricatives, voiced nasals, and voiceless nasals. Points of articulation are labial, alveolar (or palatal), velar, labio-velar, uvular (back velar) and labio-uvular. Double symbols represent voiceless fricatives. An acute accent indicates voicelessness on nasals. Phonetic values of the symbols are in (3).

(3) **Consonant equivalents**

p = [p]	v = [v], [w]	vv = [f]	m = [m]
t = [t]	l = [l]	ll = [ɬ]	n = [n]
c = [č]	s = [z]	ss = [s]	ng = [ŋ]
k = [k]	y = [y]		
q = [q]	g = [ɣ]	gg = [x]	ḿ̥ = [m̥]
	r = [ʁ]	rr = [χ]	ń̥ = [n̥]
	ug = [ɣ^{w}]	w = [x^{w}]	nǵ = [ŋ̊]
	ur = [ʁ^{w}]	urr = [χ^{w}]	

Fricatives are automatically devoiced adjacent to another voiceless obstruent: a stop or voiceless fricative. Next to a stop, they are written with a single letter: *kl* = [kɬ], *gt* = [xt]. In clusters of voiceless fricatives, only the first is represented with a double letter: *llr* = [ɬχ]. Obstruents are automatically geminated before sequences of two vowels: *levaaq* = [ləv·a·q] 'motor'. An apostrophe is used in the orthography to indicate other gemination, as in *yup'ik* = [yup·ik], as well as certain other features. The letter *v* represents the voiced fricative [v] adjacent to consonants or schwa (written *e*), but a glide [w] between prime vowels.

Three of the four vowels are considered prime: *i, u, a*. Since there are only three, they cover a relatively broad phonetic range. The high vowels are lowered adjacent to uvulars or the low vowel *a*. Thus *i* ranges between [i] and [e], and *u* between [u] and [o]. Sequences of vowels are written with double letters: *ui, ia, ii, uu, aa*. (Automatic vowel lengthening due to regular prosodic processes is not represented in the orthography.) The fourth vowel *e* is central, varying between [ɨ] and [ə]. Word-initially it is barely pronounced, often nearly disappearing; between voiceless consonants it is devoiced.

The texts have been transcribed in intonation units or prosodic phrases. Each line represents a single intonation contour. As can be seen, Yup'ik intonation units tend to contain fewer words than their English counterparts, undoubtedly due to the elaborate morphology of the language. Yup'ik words, particularly verbs, often contain more information than English words, often constituting a full clause in themselves. Punctuation at the ends of lines signals a particular intonation contour: comma (,) for a partial fall in pitch, period (.) for full fall in pitch, and dash (--) for an interrupted contour. Two dots (..) are used for a brief pause, and three (...) for a longer pause.

1.2. Basic morphological structure

Yup'ik is a polysynthetic, suffixing language. Words fall into two main categories: uninflectable words, like *cali* 'also', and inflectable words, which include all nouns and verbs. Inflectable words consist of an initial root (termed by Eskimologists a 'base'), any number of derivational suffixes ('postbases') and usually an inflectional suffix complex ('ending').

(4) Inflectable words

ROOT	(DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES)	INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES
BASE	(POSTBASES)	ENDING

Noun and verb roots are distinct, though large numbers of noun roots have verb root counterparts (*apiataq* 'lunch', *apiatar-* 'to lunch') and vice versa (*iqvar-* 'to pick berries', *iqvaq* 'picked berry'). Full nouns and verbs are clearly differentiated by their endings. Yup'ik contains large numbers of both derivational and inflectional suffixes. Jacobson 1984 lists well over 450 derivational suffixes and 550 inflectional suffixes.

Yup'ik forms are given here in a four-line format so that the internal structure of words can be seen. The first line represents the word as it was pronounced, the second shows a division or parsing into meaningful parts, the third a literal gloss or translation of each part, and the fourth a free translation.

1.2.1. Nouns

Nouns may consist of just a root (base).

(5) *tulukaruk*
tulukaruk
raven
'raven' R 056

The root may be modified by various derivational suffixes (postbases).

(6) *tulukarucilleq*
tulukaruk-cilleq
raven-worthless
'worthless raven' R 061

Inflectional suffixes (endings) on nouns indicate number, possession and case.

Three numbers are distinguished: singular, dual, and plural. Number suffixes can be seen with the noun *atsaq* 'fruit', used for 'pear' in the Pear Story.

(7) *atsaq*
atsaq
fruit
'(one piece of) fruit'

atsak
atsa-k
fruit-DUAL
'two fruits'

atsat
atsa-t
fruit-PLURAL
'fruits' (three or more)

Possession is expressed with transitive suffixes referring to both parties: the possessor and the possessed. The suffix *-nka* in (8), for example, means literally 'I/them'.

(8) *ilanka*
ila-nka
relative-1s/3P
'my relatives' N 003

Case suffixes indicate the role of the object or person in the event or state. Cases distinguished in Yup'ik are ergative (also termed 'relative'), absolutive (formally unmarked), locative (or localis), ablative, allative (or terminalis), vialis, and aequalis.

The ergative is used for a possessor, as in (9) and for the initiator of a transitive event, as in (10).

(9) *issalum* *kapsuutai*
*issaluq-**m*** *kape-ssuun-taq-i*
porcupine-ERG poke-device-belonging-3s/3P
the porcupine's quills B 063

(10) *issalum* *aptaa,*
*issaluq-**m*** *apete-a-a*
porcupine-ERG ask-IT-3s/3s
the porcupine asked him, . . . B 030

The absolutive is unmarked, so it is not overtly glossed in examples. It is used for the only core participant in an intransitive event, as in (11), and for the second argument of a transitive event, as in (12). The noun *issaluq* 'porcupine' contains no overt case suffix.

(11) ***issaluq*** *nereqcaarallinilunі,*
issaluq *nere-qcaar-llini-lu-ni*
porcupine eat-continue-apparently-SUB-3RS
'**The porcupine** was nibbling B 004

(12) ***issaluq*** *cuassaanek* *assililuni* *nerelaami,*
issaluq *cuassaaq-nek* *assir-li-lu-ni* *nere-lar-a-mi*
porcupine rhubarb-ABL.P good-NOM-SUB-3RS eat-customarily-CNSQ-3RS
because the **porcupine** enjoyed eating wild rhubarb, ... B 003

The locative or localis case indicates location in space or time. The locative ending *-mi* 'in/at' in (13) shows that the tree is a location, the place where the pear picker was standing. The locative ending in (14) points to a time.

(13) . . . *napa**mi***
. . . *napa-**mi***
tree-LOCATIVE
'[A man was] **in** a tree' P 008

(14) . . . *erner**mi***
*erneq-**mi***
day-LOCATIVE
'[They were inside the house] **during** the day.' R 010

The case markers may of course be added to nouns containing derivational suffixes.

(15) . . . *enecuar**mi***
*ene-cuar-**mi***
house-small-LOCATIVE
'[They were living together] **in a small** house.' R 005

The ablative case indicates the source of an event. The ablative suffix *-mek* 'from' in (16) indicates that the tree was the place the pear picker climbed down from.

(16) . . . *napa**mek***
. . . *nama-**mek***
tree-ABLATIVE
'[He climbed down] **from** the tree.' P 017

The ablative is also used as a general oblique for indefinite or nonspecific patients of transitive actions, as in (17).

(17) *neqka**nek*** *assilria**nek*** . . .
*neqkaq-**nek*** *assir-lria-**nek***
food.ready.for.consumption-ABLATIVE.PLURAL good-NOMINALIZER-**ABLATIVE**.PLURAL
'[She prepared] **some** good food.' R 023

The allative case, also called the terminalis, indicates a goal or destination. The allative suffix *-mun* 'to/toward' in (18) marks the basket as the destination of the pears, and that in (19) marks the raven as the destination of the food.

(18) . . . *isramun*
. . . *isran-**mun***
basket-ALLATIVE
'[He put it] **into** the basket.' P 023

(19) . . . *tulukarumun*
*tulukaruk-**mun***
raven-ALLATIVE
'[she gave a little bit of food] **to** the raven.' R 097

The vialis case indicates a route, means, or instrument. The vialis suffix *-kun* 'by' indicates the route of the boatman in (20) and the means of travel in (21).

(20) *kuigkun* . . .
*kuik-**kun***
river-VIALIS
'[He went] **by way of** the river.' M 030

(21) *angyakun* . . .
*angyaq-**kun***
boat-VIALIS
'[So I travelled] **by** boat.' N 005

Number, possession, and case may all be represented together within the ending. The suffix *-mni* in (22), for example, indicates position (locative case) in a house (3.SINGULAR) that belongs to me (1.SINGULAR). The ending *-mtenun* in (23) indicates direction (allative case) toward lands (3.PLURAL) that belong to the speaker and all of her people (1.PLURAL).

(22) . . . *enemni*
ene-mni
house-1s/S.LOCATIVE
'[I heard it] **in my** house' M 005

(23) . . . *nunamtenun*
nuna-mtenun
land-1P/P.ALLATIVE
'[He had heard it before the arrival of the Whiteman] **in our** lands.'

The use of case is particularly interesting syntactically and pragmatically in Yup'ik, as can be seen in the texts as well as in the discussions by Kitano and Rubino in this volume.

1.2.2. Verbs

Verbs may consist of just a root (base) and inflectional suffix complex (ending). Verbal endings contain two parts. The first is what is termed a mood marker. Yup'ik moods include an indicative for basic independent statements, an interrogative for content questions, an optative for polite requests, a subordinative for actions or states that are presented as part of a larger event, a participial, and eight connective moods: contemporative 1 ('when' in the past), contemporative 2 ('while'), contemporative 3 ('simultaneously'), precessive ('before'), concessive ('though'), contingent ('whenever'), consequential ('because'), and conditional ('if'). Most of the mood markers also indicate whether the event involves one primary participant (intransitive) or two (transitive). The second part of the ending is a pronominal suffix complex, referring to the one or two core participants in the event. A simple verb, consisting of just a root, indicative mood suffix, and intransitive pronominal suffix can be seen in (24).

(24) *agiirtuq*
*agiirte-**u**-q*
approach-INDICATIVE.INTRANSITIVE-3s
'he approached' R 057

A slightly more complex verb, containing a derivational suffix (postbase), is in (25).

(25) *tangerrsuumiitamken*
*tangerr-yuumiite-**a**-mken*
see-not.want-INDICATIVE.TRANSITIVE-1s/2s
'I do not want to see you.' R 063

The uses of other moods are complex and intriguing. The optative mood is used for polite requests and suggestions.

(26) *Apa'urlun,*
apa-'urluq-un
grandpa-dear-ALLATIVE
Would you please

pasgesgu."
payugte-gu
take.food-OPTATIVE.TRANSITIVE.2s/3s
take some food to your grandfather?" R 018-9

The interrogative is used for content questions, requiring more than 'yes' or 'no' answers.

(27) *Camek* *neqengqercit?*
ca-mek *neqe-ngqerr-**tsi**-t*
what-ABL food-have-INTERROGATIVE-2s
What do you have to eat? R 070

The participial mood has an interesting range of uses, including setting a scene, describing certain observed situations, in exclamations with *tang* 'look!', with the particle *tuar* for 'it was as if', in explanations, and in more tenuous statements (Jacobson 1995:382-6).

(28) *kipusvigtellini**lria***
kipute-vik-te-llini-lria
buy-LOCATIVE.NOMINALIZER-go.to-apparently-PARTICIPIAL.INTRANSITIVE.3s
'he apparently went to the store' M 019

The subordinative mood can be seen extensively through the texts. It links actions that are portrayed as related elements of a larger event. It is used more extensively than subordination in English, often linking clauses that would be independent in English.

(29) *Aataka* *waten* *aqumtullruuq,*
aata-ka *waten* *aqume-tu-llru-u-q*
father-1s/3s like.this sit.down-customarily-PAST-II-3s
My father would sit in this manner

estuulumi, ...
estuuluq-mi
table-LOC
at the table,

ilurani *cauluku.*
iluraq-ni *cau-**lu**-ku*
cousin/friend-3R/SP face-SUBORDINATIVE-R/3s
facing his friend. M 006-9

Subordinative verbs share the same subject as the verb with which they are associated. The subject of 'facing his friend' in (29) is the father, the same person who was sitting at the table. In transitive verbs, the coreferent subject is not overtly marked, since it is inferrable from the mood. Such coreferent subjects are indicated here by the symbol R.

The connective moods link clauses in various ways, especially temporally and causally.

(30) *mikelngullemni,*
*mikelnguq-**ller**-mni*
child-CONTEMPORATIVE1-1s
'[I heard it] **when** I was a child M 003

(31) *ayagenariameng* *taukut* *ircinrrat,*
*ayag-nari-**a**-meng* *taukut* *ircinrraq-t*
leave-time.to-CONSEQENTIAL-3RP those elf-P
'**because** it was time for them to leave, [they invited them back].' L 024

A detailed discussion of the use of mood markers in shaping narrative is in the paper by Lasswell in this volume.

The pronominal suffixes on verbs specify their core arguments: ergatives and absolutives, or subjects and objects, depending on the mood. In addition to case, first, second, third, and in some moods, coreferential third persons are distinguished, as well as singular, dual, and plural number. Gender is not distinguished (*-q* 'he/she/it'), nor is exclusive versus inclusive first person. Pronominal suffixes can be seen on every verb.

The derivational suffixes (postbases) serve a wide variety of functions. Some are simply adverbial, like *-qcaara-* 'minding her own business' or *-yaaqe-* 'in vain'.

(32) *piyuaqcaarallerani*
*piyua-**qcaara**-ller-ani*
walk-**minding.own.business**-CONTEMPORANEOUS.1-3s/s
'while she was walking along, **minding her own business**' R 050

(33) *tauna cal' yuaryaaqelria*
*tauna cali yuar-**yaaqe**-lria*
that and search-**in.vain**-PI.3s
'He looked once again [but didn't find any].' B 008

Many indicate time, providing tense and aspect information. The specification of tense is described in detail by Snyder in this volume. Others indicate the degree of certainty, as described by Sellman in this volume. A number serve as verbalizers, turning noun roots into verb stems. Many of these contribute meaning similar to that of verb roots in other languages, like *-irute-* 'have no more'.

(34) *kassairutellinilria,*
*kassa-**irute**-llini-lria*
gas-**have.no.more**-apparently-PI.3s
It apparently **ran out of** gas.' M 056

Negation is also expressed suffixally.

(35) *tangerryuumiinaku*
*tangerr-**yuumiite**-na-ku*
see-**not.want**-SUBORDINATIVE-R/3s
'she did **not want** to see him.' R 054

Finally, various enclitics may follow constituents to indicate links between statements, the source of information, the attitude of the speaker to the material conveyed, and more. Enclitics are set off in the orthography with a hyphen.

(36) '[She packed Eskimo ice cream and a piece of dried fish.]

*Assilriamek-**llu-gguq** . . .*	*nutaramek*	*neqmek.*
assir-lria-mek=**llu=gguq**	*nurataq-mek*	*neqe-mek*
good-NOMINALIZER-ABLATIVE=TOO=HEARSAY	fresh-ABL	fish-ABL

'**Also, they say**, a good fresh fish.' R 036-7

1.2.3. Syntactic structure

A basic SOV constituent order can be perceived in Yup'ik, but word order is exploited extensively for pragmatic purposes. As would be expected, complement clauses precede main verbs, though this order, too, is flexible.

Within clauses, ergative/absolutive patterns can be seen in case marking on nouns and in most pronominal suffix complexes on verbs. Nominative/accusative patterns appear as well in the language, in clause combining strategies and the pronominal suffix complexes of certain moods. As might be imagined, much of what is accomplished by syntactic structure in other languages is expressed within the word in Yup'ik, in part by derivational suffixes, in part by inflectional mood suffixes, and in part by pronominal suffixes.

What is conveyed in a full noun phrase in English is often expressed in a single noun in Yup'ik, perhaps containing derivational suffixes that function adjectivally, as well as inflectional suffixes that indicate possession, number, and case. What is conveyed in a full verb phrase or even clause in English is often expressed in a single word as well. Derivational suffixes may contribute adverbial meaning or even verb-root-like meaning, as well as negation, aspect, tense, and evidentiality. Inflectional suffixes indicate mood and core participants. Indicative, interrogative, and imperative constructions can be distinguished just by the selection of a mood suffix. Even clause combining is accomplished morphologically, again with the choice of mood suffixes.

2. Yup'ik language resources

Excellent descriptions of Yup'ik exist, and exciting work on the language continues to be produced. Particularly important are monumental works by Michael Krauss, Osahito Miyaoka, Irene Reed, Paschal Afcan, Anthony Woodbury, and Steven Jacobsen. Among these are the pedagogical grammar in Reed, Miyaoka, Jacobson, Afcan, & Krauss 1977, the description of the Chevak dialect in Woodbury 1981, the magnificent dictionary in Jacobson 1984, the grammatical sketch in Miyaoka forthcoming, and the impressive pedagogical grammar in Jacobson 1995.

Especially important resources for the current project have been of course the speakers who have worked with us, Mrs. Elizabeth Ali and her brother Mr. George Charles, both of whom were born on Nelson Island in Alaska in the 1940's and who grew up in Bethel. The project grew out of a graduate course in field methods in linguistics at the University of California, Santa Barbara. For this reason, we did not consult the existing literature until later in our work. Since that time, however, those publications have provided a much appreciated resource and continuing inspiration.

We are very, very grateful to both Mrs. Ali and Mr. Charles, who have taken time out from busy lives to share some of the richness of their linguistic heritage. We have been dazzled by their insight into the subtleties of their mother tongue and overwhelmed by their seemingly inexhaustible patience and good humor.

3. The present studies and their empirical basis

The papers in this volume cover a range of language structures, from acoustic correlates of stress (Gabas), through the semantics of demonstratives (Redmond), the verbal morphology that expresses tense (Snyder), the shaping of discourse through (Lasswell), the function of evidential suffixes and enclitics (Sellman), core case categories (Kitano), and finally the introduction of new information in discourse (Rubino). The papers are united by the fact that the structures examined are not simply elicited as translations of isolated English sentences, but rather investigated in their use in spontaneous connected speech.

The empirical bases of the studies are narratives and a conversation recorded during 1994. The recording, transcription, translation, and analysis of the material was very much a group activity. Some of the texts were first transcribed by the group as a whole, others by individuals. All transcription was done with Mrs. Ali or Mr. Charles. Each text was next polished by an individual. Mrs. Ali then worked through the texts with me again. Members of the team were Simon Corston, Nilson Gabas Jr., Nicholas Kibre, Hiroaki Kitano, Steven Lasswell, Marianne Mithun, Cory Redmond, Carl Rubino, Tracy Sellman, and Jill Snyder.

The texts, except for the conversation, all appear at the end of this volume. A summary of each is below.

***Paluqtaq Issaluq-llu*: The Porcupine and the Beaver (B).** This traditional story, told by Mr. Charles, opens with a porcupine nibbling greens near the mouth of a river. When the greens are exhausted, he spies more on the other side of the river. Unable to swim, he asks a beaver to take him across. The beaver protests that the porcupine's quills would poke him, so the porcupine obligingly pulls some out and is taken across. To this day porcupines have no quills under their bellies.

***Atqa*: My Name (N).** Mrs. Ali described the origin of one of her Yup'ik names.

***Tulukaruk*: The Raven (R).** Mrs. Ali told of a grandmother and granddaughter who lived together in a small house. One morning the grandmother asked her granddaughter to take some food to her grandfather. The child carefully prepared a bowl of his favorite foods, described in detail. On the way to the men's house, she was approached by Raven. She told him to leave her alone, but he replied that he wanted to see her and, eyeing the food, said that he was hungry. He stood in her way. Thinking quickly, she gave him a small morsel and then, while he was diverted, rushed to the men's house and her grandfather.

***Levaaq*: The New Motor (M).** Mrs. Ali recalled a story her father had told a friend when she was a little girl. When Europeans had just arrived in their country, an old man went to the store to buy a motor, which he placed on his boat to go downriver. He travelled for a long time until he reached the Johnson River. At that point, however, the motor suddenly stopped. The old man was very angry and began to beat the motor. He finally rowed back home to complain to the storekeeper about the bad motor he had been given. In fact, no one had told him to feed it gasoline.

Atsartaq: **The Pear Story (P).** As a tool for cross-linguistic comparison, Wallace Chafe designed an eight minute film without dialogue (Chafe 1980). Speakers are asked to view the film then immediately describe what they saw. There is no clear plot line, but events are designed to elicit a range of grammatical structures. The Yup'ik Pear Story included here was told by Mrs. Ali. The film opens with a man on a ladder picking pears from a tree, then coming down to empty them into baskets. After he has climbed back up into the tree, a boy passes by with a goat. Soon afterward another boy arrives on a bicycle, puts a basket of pears onto his bicycle and rides off. He encounters a girl approaching on another bicycle and as they pass, he turns to look at her, his hat flies off, his bicycle hits a rock, and he falls, along with the pears. Three boys approach him, one with a paddleball game. They pick up the pears and help him put the basket back on his bicycle. As he begins to walk off, the boy with the paddleball picks up his hat and whistles to him. The boy with the bicycle returns and gives each of the three a pear. Back at the pear tree, the picker descends and discovers that a basket of pears is missing. The three boys then pass by, each eating a pear.

Ircinrrat: **The Little People (L).** Mrs. Ali recounted this traditional tale as she had heard it from her grandmother. She explained that the Yup'ik people have always believed that their land is inhabited by many different kinds of people. One time they entertained the Little People with a banquet and dancing. As the guests were leaving, they invited the Yup'ik to visit in return. The Yup'ik accepted and followed their hosts far into their country, past the lakes and sloughs, and finally into a communal house. There they feasted and danced. After some time they became homesick and realized they should return home to prepare for the winter. The Chief of the Little People told them they would find three doors, one down low, one in the middle, and one up high. Some guests left by way of the first, some by way of the second, and some by way of the third. After they had returned home, they realized that they were no longer all together. To this day the Yup'ik sometimes hear the cries of their relatives down below and up above.

Telephone Conversation (T). Mrs. Ali and her mother, Mrs. Elena Charles, of Bethel, recorded a long distance telephone conversation on a variety of topics.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in glosses in cited examples and in the texts.

ABL	ABLATIVE CASE
ABS	ABSOLUTIVE CASE
AEQ	AEQUALIS CASE
ALL	ALLATIVE CASE
APPLIC	APPLICATIVE
CAUS	CAUSATIVE
CNCS	CONCESSIVE MOOD
CNSQ	CONSEQUENTIAL MOOD
CNTG	CONTINGENT MOOD
COND	CONDITIONAL MOOD
CONT1	CONTEMPORATIVE 1 MOOD
CONT2	CONTEMPORATIVE 2 MOOD
CONT3	CONTEMPORATIVE 3 MOOD
D	DUAL NUMBER
DETRANS	DETRANSITIVIZER
ERG	ERGATIVE CASE
EVID	EVIDENTIAL
HAB	HABITUAL
HRS	HEARSAY/QUOTATIVE CLITIC
II	INDICATIVE INTRANSITIVE
IT	INDICATIVE TRANSITIVE
LOC	LOCATIVE CASE
NEG	NEGATIVE
NOM	NOMINALIZER
OI	OPTATIVE INTRANSITIVE
OT	OPTATIVE TRANSITIVE
P	PLURAL NUMBER
PAST	PAST TENSE
PI	PARTICIPIAL INTRANSITIVE
PREC	PRECESSIVE MOOD
PT	PARTICIPIAL TRANSITIVE
Q	INTERROGATIVE MOOD
R	COREFERENT THIRD PERSON
S	SINGULAR NUMBER
SUB	SUBORDINATIVE MOOD
VIA	VIALIS CASE
1	FIRST PERSON
2	SECOND PERSON
3	THIRD PERSON

PHONETIC CORRELATES OF STRESS IN YUP'IK[1]

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In this paper the most common acoustic correlates of stress (pitch, loudness and duration) and their role in the characterization of stress in Yup'ik words are investigated. Based on a sample of 135 words digitized by means of a computerized program, it was observed that all three correlates play important roles to stress placement. Nevertheless, there seems to be a hierarchy among them. In this hierarchy pitch ranks highest, followed by duration and loudness, respectively. Further investigation shows that in order to understand the proposed hierarchy it is necessary to postulate at least two different patterns of word size: short vs. long words. In the process, it is shown that underlying long vowels and geminated consonants have the same acoustic behavior as long vowels and geminated consonants derived by rule.

1. Introduction

Different approaches to stress placement in several dialects of Central Alaskan Yup'ik[2] have been provided by Jacobson (1984), Miyaoka (1993) and Woodbury (1987). Generally, these approaches account for the fact that stress is predictable and occurs more than once in a (syntactic) word. All of these authors also recognize some kind of interrelation between the segmental and suprasegmental levels among words regarding stress placement (such as vowel lengthening and consonant gemination) in some specific phonological contexts. Nevertheless, up until now, the analyses of this interrelation were based upon auditory assumptions rather than on acoustic phonetic evidence. At present, newer technology provides us with a tool for examining at the acoustic side of the phenomenon.

In the present paper I examine the most common phonetic correlates of stress - namely pitch, loudness and duration - in Yup'ik words, and try to establish the role they play in characterizing stress placement. To do this, I used a specialized sound analysis device, the CECIL (Computerized Extration of Components of Intonation in Language) software[3]. It will be seen that the results achieved may help to understand better the interrelationships between segments and prosodic features, shedding some light on the initial findings made by the above authors.

I will first present briefly the three different approaches to stress placement proposed by Miyaoka, Jacobson and Woodbury in sections 2, 3 and 4, respectively. I will then examine the correlates of stress placement, as well as discuss their occurrence and relation to the segments in Yup'ik words in section (5). Section (6) contains the conclusion and suggestions for further research.

---

[1] The present work was made possible due to the extreme helpfulness and patience of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik consultants George Charles and Liz Ali, to whom I am very greatful. It is the result of a Field Methods course conducted by Prof. Marianne Mithun during the academic year of 1993-94. I am also thankful for the advice and discussions provided by Marianne, as well as the other Grad students attending that class. All possible mistakes and/or errors in this paper are, of course, my own fault.

[2] Central Alaskan Yup'ik is one of the three Central Yup'ik languages, and it comprises four dialects: Hooper Bay and Chevak (HBC), Nunivak, Norton Sound, and General Central Alaskan Yup'ik (GCAY).

[3] The present work is based on a corpus of 135 isolated words digitized by means of the CECIL (SIL developed) software, version 2.0. The words were collected between April and May of 1994 with the consultant Liz Ali, speaker of the General Central Alaskan Yup'ik dialect of the region of Western Alaska (Nelson Island and Kuskokwin River).

The examples given in the characterization of the different authors' approaches below are represented according to the following conventions: words within brackets ("[]") follow phonetic transcription; words within slash bars ("//") follow phonemic transcription; and plain words follow the orthographic system developed for Yup'ik Eskimo.

It is also worth noting that the examples used to illustrate the different phonological rules of each author's approach do not always correspond to the originals. Where they do, they were collected independently with the Yup'ik consultant Liz Ali and are also part of my corpus.

2. Miyaoka's approach

The analysis in Miyaoka 1993 is based on the General Central Alaskan Yup'ik dialect. It divides stress into two types: rhythmic and regressive. Rhythmic stress is placed as follows: starting from left to right, stress occurs rhythmically on every other syllable. A word-initial syllable is stressed if it is closed and unstressed if it is open. Examples are:

(1)	[na.yá:ʁaq]	nayaraq	'younger sister'
(2)	[yu.ʏú:.ʏaat]	yugugaat	'many people'
(3)	[ír.cin.χat]	ircinrrat	'mythological creature'
(4)	[áʁ.naq]	arnaq	'woman'

Regressive stress, on the other hand, occurs due to a "break" on the normal assignment of rhythmical stress, forcing this rhythmic stress to occur at the preceding syllable. Three specific phonological contexts are responsible for forcing this break:

a.) if the rhythmic stress is due to occur on the first vowel of a cluster or double vowel (VV), the stress regresses to the preceding syllable. Examples:

(5)	[ù.luaq]	uluaq	'woman's knife'	instead of:
(5')	*[u.lú.aq]			
(6)	[kə.mə́ŋ.qə̀χ.tua]	kemengqertua	'I have weight'	instead of:
(6')	*[kə.mə́ŋ.qə̀χ.tú.a]			

b.) if the rhythmic stress is due to occur on an open syllable that is preceded by a closed syllable, the stress regresses to this closed syllable. Examples:

(7)	[kɛ́a.vàʁ.lu.tən]	kiavarluten	'they went inside'	instead of:
(7')	*[kɛ́a.vaʁ.lú.tən]			
(8)	[qa.yáχ.pə̀ʏ.mi.ni]	qayarpegmini	'in his own big kayak'	instead of:
(8')	*[qa.yáχ.pəʏ.mí.ni]			

c.) if the rhythmic stress is due to occur on an open syllable whose syllabic nucleus is the schwa /ə/ preceded by another open syllable, the schwa is deleted (with the consonant originally at the

onset of this syllable becoming the coda of the preceding syllable) and the stress moves back to the preceding syllable[4]. Examples:

(9) /kə.mə.ni/ > [kə́m.ni] kemni 'his own flesh'

A general rule that de-stresses final syllables is postulated as follows: 'if rhythmical accent is due to fall on a word-final syllable, it is deaccentuated before #(#)' (pp.18). Examples:

(10) /ta.qa.qa.qa/ > [ta.qá:.qa.qa] taqaqaqa 'I am respectful of him'

(11) /nu.ta.na.tam/ > [nu.tá:.na.tam] nutanatam 'well done'

As part of the interrelation between stress and segments, Miyaoka recognizes three instances in which a segment - either vowel or consonant - becomes lengthened. He points out that 'a full vowel (/i/, /a/ or /u/) of a rhythmically accentuated open syllable is lengthened, while a rhythmically accentuated open syllable with /ə/ or a regressively accentuated open syllable (with any vowel) becomes a closed syllable with its immediately following syllable-initial consonant becoming geminated' (1993:16).

Although Miyaoka does not postulate any possible phonetic difference between the two types of stress, rhythmic and regressive, he does recognize that 'the last accented syllable in a phonological phrase carries the greatest prominence with the longest duration, the greatest stress and the highest pitch. Pitch stays high through this last accented syllable where it is highest, and then falls rapidly' (1993:22). This observation will be discussed in more detail in section (5).

3. Jacobson's approach

In his Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary, a master work that covers all Yup'ik dialects, Steven Jacobson distinguishes four types of syllable structure to account for the stress placement rules: open - (C)V -, closed - (C)VC -, light - V -, and heavy - VV. According to him, there are three kinds of stress in Yup'ik words: inherent, rhythmic and secondary. On the possible differences among them, Jacobson states that 'secondary stress is phonetically identical with primary stress, but in rule ordering is assigned at a later stage' (1984a:10). Their occurrence is as follows:

> I. Inherent stress occurs in all heavy and initial closed syllables. This rule makes the same prediction as that given by Miyaoka in examples (3) and (4) above. Notice that in the case of example (7) Jacobson considers the first syllable to be stressed as well.
>
> II. Rhythmic stress occurs on every syllable following an unstressed syllable. Examples of this rule are given in (1) and (2) above.
>
> III. Secondary stress occurs on a prime vowel (/i/, /a/, /u/) before a heavy syllable. This rule corresponds to Miyaoka's first regressive stress rule, illustrated by examples (5) and (6) above.

[4] Miyaoka presents two exceptions to this rule, in which case the schwa is not deleted: first, when the schwa is surrounded by two identical consonants, including the pairs /c/ = /t/ and /q/ = /χ/ (cf. e.g. 15); and second, when the preceding syllable is word-initial and consists only of the schwa.

The same rules for regressive stress and the deaccentuation postulated by Miyaoka are given by Jacobson with different labels: stress retraction and loss of stress in final syllables, respectively.

As for the interplay between segments and stress, Jacobson postulates rules of rhythmic lengthening (involving vowels) and automatic gemination (involving consonants) as follows:

> I. Rhythmic length: a prime vowel of a stressed open syllable is lengthened. Examples are (1), (2), (10) and (11) above.
>
> II. Automatic gemination: a set of two rules in which a consonant in the onset of a given syllable is geminated, becoming also part of the coda of the preceding syllable in two specific cases. They are:
>
> a.) a consonant in the onset of a heavy syllable becomes geminated if preceded by a light open syllable. Examples:

(12)	/kəm.ʁi.tua/	>	[kə́m.ʁít.tua]	'I am skinny'
(13)	/u.luaq/	>	[úl.luaq]	'woman's knife'

> b.) a consonant in the onset of an unstressed light syllable is geminated if preceded by a stressed syllable with /ə/. Examples:

(14)	/tə.χa/	>	[tə́χ.χa]	'his anus'
(15)	/kə.mə.mi/	>	[kə.mə́m.mi]	'of his own flesh'

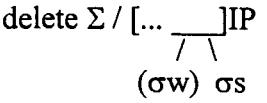
4. Woodbury's approach

Woodbury's paper accounts for the phonological processes in three dialects of CAY - Hooper Bay and Chevak (HBC), Nunivak and 'General' Central Alaskan Yup'ik (GCAY) - within a non-linear phonological framework. He presents a set of two rules and conditions based on foot structure to account for the basic facts about stress placement in CAY[5]. The rules and conditions are as follows. They account for examples (1) - (8) and (10) - (11), respectively.

> (1) Footing: for the leftmost unfooted syllable σ1(σ2):
>
> a.) construct an iambic binary foot on σ1σ2. Conditions:
> i. σ1 and σ2 are light syllables;
> ii. if word-initial, σ1 is open;
> iii. if σ1 is closed and σ2 open, σ1σ2 is word-final.
>
> b.) otherwise construct a unary foot on unfooted σ1.

[5] A third (resyllabification) rule, which would account for examples like (9) above, will not be presented here, since it deals only with the HBC dialect of CAY.

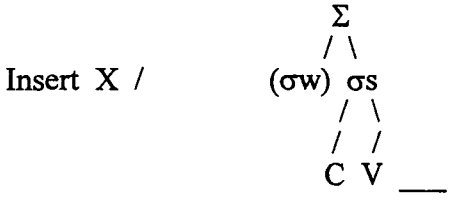
(2) Intonational phrase-final defooting:



Where: Σ = foot
IP = Intonational Phrase
σw = weak syllable
σs = strong syllable

In adition to this set of rules of the basic prosodic system, Woodbury postulates another rule that accounts for vowel lengthening and consonant gemination. Under the heading of 'Effects of prosodic structures on the CV tier' he explains that 'the foot pattern assigned by the rules just discussed imposes shape constraints on the CV templates of strong syllables. This can be expressed with two rules, the first of which affects only light open (CV) strong syllables' (1987:699-700). It is actually just the first of these rules that interests us here, since the second one applies specifically to Nunivak and another dialects of CAY. The rule and its condition are as follows, and they account for the same facts as seen in examples (12) - (15) above.

(3) Strong CV syllable bulking ('Syllable Bulking'):



Condition: X = V if X is word-medial, preceding V is associated with non-schwa (a i u), and Σ is binary; otherwise, X = C (pp.700).

5. Phonetic correlates of stress

Although somewhat different in their points of departure and/or representation, the approaches provided above deal basically with the same facts and come to essentially the same conclusions. It is based on these results, then, that I would like to go a step further and try to explain the interplay between stress and segments by considering the ways in which the primary phonetic correlates of stress are physically realized in Yup'ik.

The analysis of 135 words digitized by means of the CECIL software shows that the placement of stress in Yup'ik is related to pitch, loudness and duration. The three correlates play important roles in its determination, sometimes separately, sometimes in conjunction with one another. Pitch seems to rank highest in importance, followed by duration and loudness respectively.

The examples I am using to illustrate the analysis of stress correlates are given in Appendix I (figures 1-11).

The most general observation to be made from the analyzed data is that Yup'ik words show just one prominent (primary) stress, assigned to their last stressable syllables. This observation was initially made by Miyaoka and was referred to in section 2 above.

Interestingly, this last syllable is not always characterized acoustically by the longest duration, the greatest loudness and the highest pitch **simultaneously**. As mentioned above, it is sometimes one, sometimes another, and sometimes a combination of two or all three of the features together that correlate with the occurrence of stress in Yup'ik.

At this point I would like to make the following proposal in order to examine the fact presented above closely: I would like to postulate that **a difference in word size - short vs. long words - seems to be relevant to the roles played by the correlates of stress in Yup'ik**[6].

Short words are defined as consisting of one to six syllables. They can be roughly characterized as beginning with substantial volume which decreases towards the end, and by exhibiting the highest pitch on the rightmost stressed syllable. This pattern can be seen in figures 1-2 below. Notice also in these examples that high volume does not necessarily coincide with high pitch (true for figure 1 but not for figure 2). This fact could, then, be seen as a first indication that pitch can be considered a more important correlate of stress than loudness.

Furthermore, given the behavior of the three correlates in the environment of rightmost stressable syllable, a distinction within the category of short words seemed necessary. In words with fewer syllables (3 or 4), I observed that **loudness** and **pitch** are both more likely to occur higher as compared to the preceding syllables (as can be seen in figure 3), whereas in words with more than 4 syllables, it sometimes happens that they both do not differ enough from the preceding syllable(s), in which case **duration** plays its role, as can be seen on figure 4.

Long words are defined as consisting of seven or more syllables. They begin not only with substantial volume but also with high pitch, both decreasing over the word. This pattern can be seen on figures 5 and 6. Notice also that the last stressable syllable is characterized as primarily stressed due to a slight increase in pitch, associated with a large increase in loudness when compared to the immediately preceding syllable.

Having isolated pitch as the primary clue to the occurrence of stress, it is still necessary to show the possible differences between the other two, loudness and duration. In order to do this, I considered a potential characteristic of duration: its origin.

As mentioned above, long vowels and geminated consonants occur not only as the result of regular phonological processes, but also as underlying segments in the Yup'ik phonological system. A natural question that arises from this fact and that can be tested phonetically is whether there is any phonetic difference between the two types of segments (underlying long vs. derived long vowels, and underlying geminated vs. derived geminated consonants). The answer seems to be no. A measurement of both types of segments was made, showing the following results, given in absolute range of scale[7]:

V: = 170 - 300ms[8]
C: = 180 - 335ms

---

[6] As noted earlier, more research needs to be done here, especially in order to determine for certain the parameter 'number of syllables' in terms of short and long words. 'Syllable' is another parameter which needs further confirmation, a possible candidate for substitution being 'number of feet'.

[7] More analysis needs to be done here in order to posit the results in terms of **relative** range of scale instead of **absolute** range. Also, the differences in the range of duration themselves are due to several factors, among them, 1.) difference in position in a word (if at the beginning of a word, C or V tend to be longer than if at the end, this being probably due to the initial greater amount of air pressure coming from the lungs); 2.) long vowels tend to have a shorter realization in the context of preceding a consonant in the same syllable (closed syllables) and a longer realization in the context of open syllables or word-finally; 3.) geminated consonants tend to have a shorter or longer realization depending upon its manner of articulation: stops tend to be of the former type and fricatives (or affricates, like /c/) tend to be of the latter type.

[8] ms correspond to 'miliseconds'. The values found for V: also stand for two contiguous different vowels.

Both types of segments, underlyingly long and derived long, yielded the same measurements. Their short counterparts show the following results:

V = 60 - 90ms
C = 50 - 80ms

The display in Figure 7 of the four-syllable word [uì.ta.qá:qa:] shows the stated pattern. It is worth mentioning that in this word only the vowel of the last syllable is underlyingly long. Notice furthermore that this last syllable is also slightly longer than the first and third syllables - [uì] and [qá:], respectively - only because it is at the end of the word. Compare also the first, third and last syllables to the second one, [ta]. [ta] not only has the lowest volume but also is roughly half the duration of all other syllables. The pitch of the second syllable is lower when compared to the adjacent syllables, and it is just higher than the last syllable because of the previously noted general tendency for pitch to decrease at the ends of words.

A final example of the realization of underlying versus rule-based lengthened vowels is in Figure 8, a display of a six-syllable word - [ày.yàu.ma.ɬi:.níl.ʁiit]. In this word only the last syllable, [ʁiit], has an underlying long vowel. If the length of this last vowel is compared to the length of the vowel of the primary stressed syllable with derived lengthening (the fourth syllable, [ɬi:]), it can be seen that, apart from the differences in pitch and loudness, the actual difference in length observed there (in favor of the fourth syllable) is a consequence of the fact that the long [i:] of [ɬi:] occurs in syllable-final position, whereas the [ii] of [ʁiit] has a consonant following it (as part of the coda of its syllable).

Returning to the question of the hierarchy of the roles played by the different correlates in determining the stress in Yup'ik, let us look at figures 9, 10 and 11.

In figure 9 - [ta.kàʁ.yúχ:.t:oa] - the most prominent (primarily) stressed syllable is the penultimate, [yúχ:], since it carries the highest pitch (and longest duration) in the word. Notice in this example that loudness cannot be granted with the same importance in the determination of stress as pitch and duration, since the first syllable is not stressed and carries a higher degree of loudness when compared to the primarily stressed syllable.

The graphs in figure 10 - [nə.ʏə̀v.ka.ʏí:.lu.tən] - show that the loudest syllables are [ka] and [nə], respectively, which are not even stressed syllables, indicating once more the relative importance of loudness for the prerception of stress. On the other hand, the second and fourth syllables - [ʏə̀v] and [ʏí:], respectively - are stressed, a fact supported by the higher increase in pitch compared to the previous syllables - [nə] and [ka], respectively - and, in the case of [ʏí:] by the lengthening of an underlying short vowel.

Finally, Figure 11 - [qa.yàχ.pə́ʏ.mi.mi] - shows that of the two loudest syllables in the word (the second - [yàχ] - and fourth - [mi]), only the second is stressed (notice that it carries higher pitch than the fourth syllable). The third syllable is the most prominent (with primary stress), and the factor that contributes to this observation is that it has the highest pitch within the whole word. Notice that duration is not representative of stress here.

The graphs presented above thus seem to support the preliminary observation that there is a hierarchy of roles played by the correlates of stress in Yup'ik: pitch seems to be placed highest in this hierarchy, followed by duration, and finally by loudness. Loudness seems to play its role in cases like figures 5 and 6, where duration is absent, and where differences in pitch among the syllables involved are not enough to help the perception of stress placement.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have dealt with the most common phonetic correlates of stress by investigating the role they play in characterizing the perception of stress in Yup'ik specifically.

The preliminary results showed that all three features, pitch, duration and loudness, in this hierarchy, are important clues to stress placement in Yup'ik.

It was seen that words seem to have just one prominent or primary stressed syllable, which is realized primarily by means of higher pitch compared to the other syllables.

In order to understand the proposed hierarchy of the three correlates of stress in Yup'ik it is necessary to postulate a difference in word size, since these correlates seem to have different roles depending upon the quantity of syllables in the (syntactic) word. Short words (with 6 or fewer syllables) tend to start with greater loudness, with pitch being the most prominent feature in the perception of stress (duration helping in specific cases). Long words (with 7 or more syllables) tend to start not only with greater loudness but also with greater pitch, both decreasing towards the end of the words. In long words differences between stressed and unstressed syllables in general seem to be perceived by differences in pitch and duration, while the most prominent syllable (with primary stress) seems to be associated with differences in pitch and loudness in the neighboring environment: a syllable may be considered as primarily stressed if its pitch and loudness are greater than the preceding syllable, breaking the overall pattern of pitch and loudness decay.

It was also preliminarily observed that there seems not to be a phonetic difference between underlying and derived long vowels and consonants. Both types seem to fall under the same range of duration, and the differences in the ranging they present seem to be due either differences in the position of these elements in the syllable (in the case of the long vowels) or due to their manner of articulation (in the case of the consonants).

Finally, for typological-comparative purposes, it would be necessary to look at other polysynthetic languages with predictable stress placement (following either an iambic or trochaic pattern) in order to check which correlates of stress are found there and how they interact with each other. In other words, more typological research needs to be done to determine whether similar behavior regarding stress correlates occurs cross-linguistically.

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APPENDIX I

Three graphs for each word are presented in this Appendix. The first graph correspond to the measurement of loudness as a function of time. The second graph correspond to the measurement of frequency (pitch) also as a function of time. Since the consultant was a female speaker (females have a higher pitch contour than male speakers, generally), the settings for this graph ranges from 100Hz to 400Hz. The last graph is an overlay of the two first graphs, and it is meant to make clearer the overall interplaying pattern of loudness and pitch.

Since we are dealing with the rough speech signal, the transcription of each word in the graphs is phonetic, and follows the IPA. The translation of each word is given below, according to the Yup'ik orthographic system. The code on the left of each graph represent the name of the file of each digitized word.

Translation:

Fig.1 qayaliqatartut	'they are about to make a kayak'
Fig. 2 angyaliqatartut	'they are about to make a boat'
Fig. 3 yugugaat	'many people'
Fig. 4 angyarpiangciquq	'he will get a genuine boat'
Fig. 5 angyarpaliyutnarqua	'I think I'm able to make a big boat'
Fig. 6 angyarpaliyutngaunga	'I think I'm able to make a big boat'
Fig. 7 uitaqaqa	'wait a minute, please'
Fig. 8 ayaumallinilrit	'they traveled for a very long time'
Fig. 9 takaryurtua	'I am respectful'
Fig. 10 nerevkagiluten	'they prepared food'
Fig. 11 qayarpegmimi	'in his own kayak'

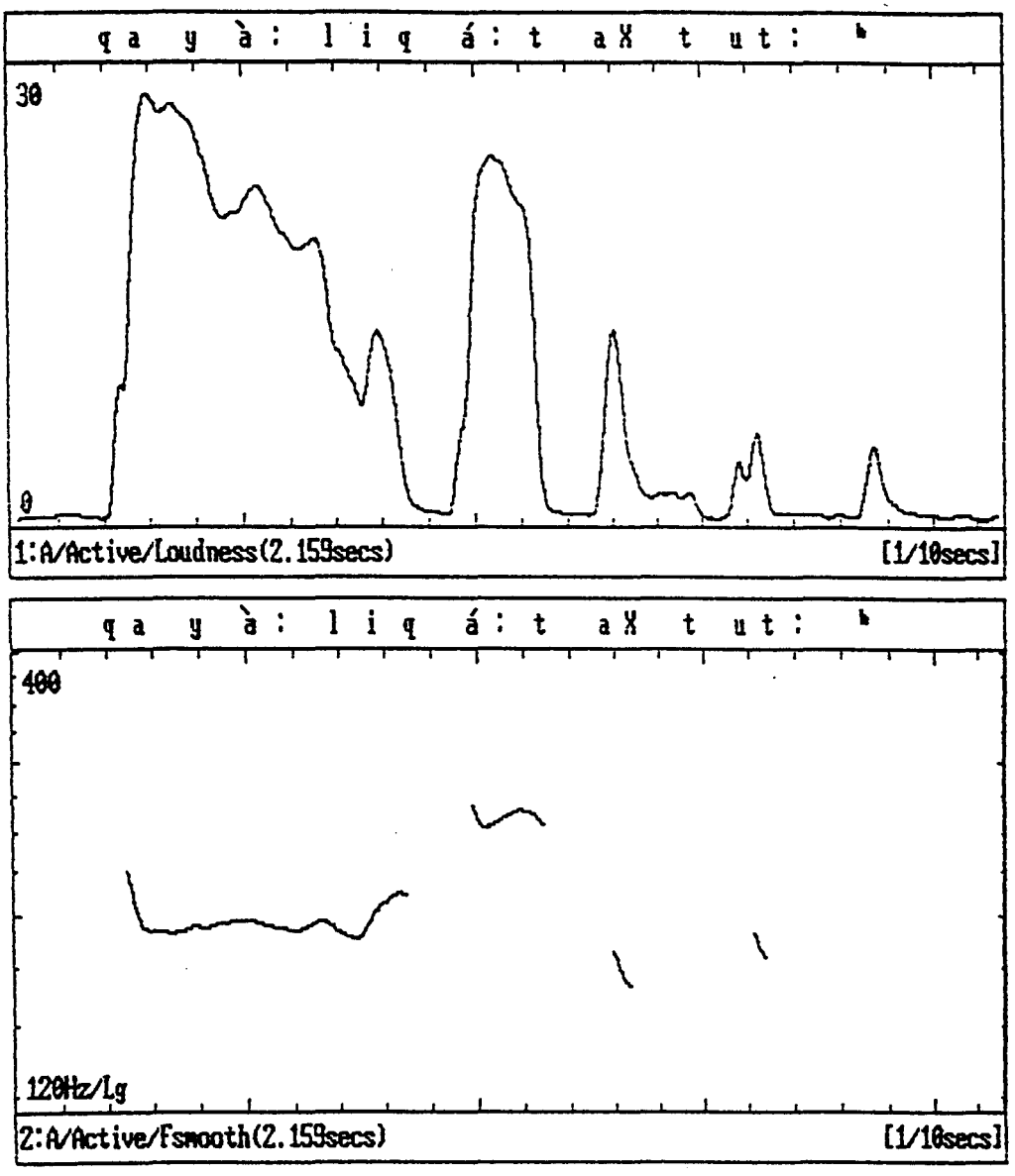
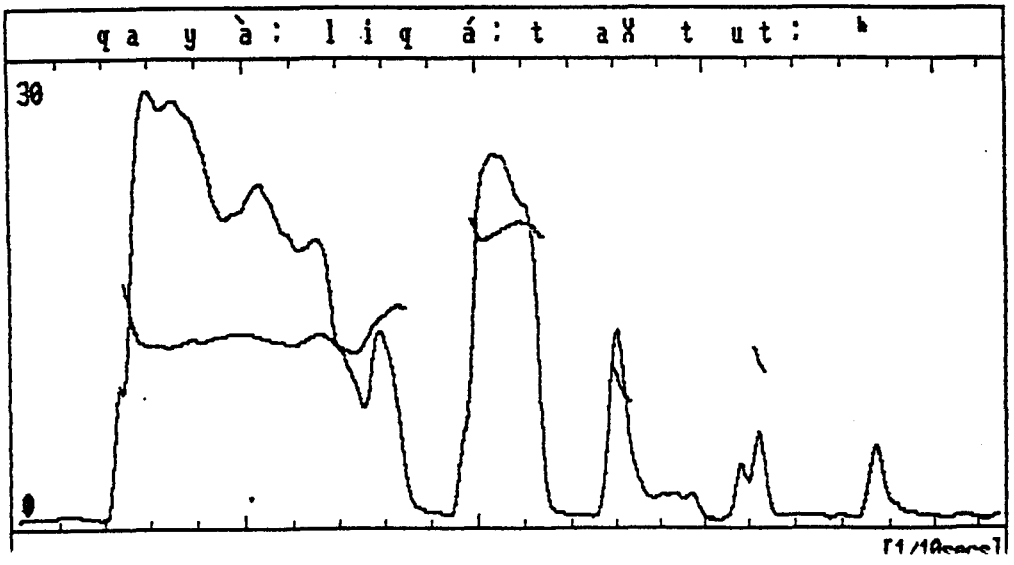


Figure 1

A: [19500Hz]

(a) A/Active/Loudness (b) A/Active/Fsmooth



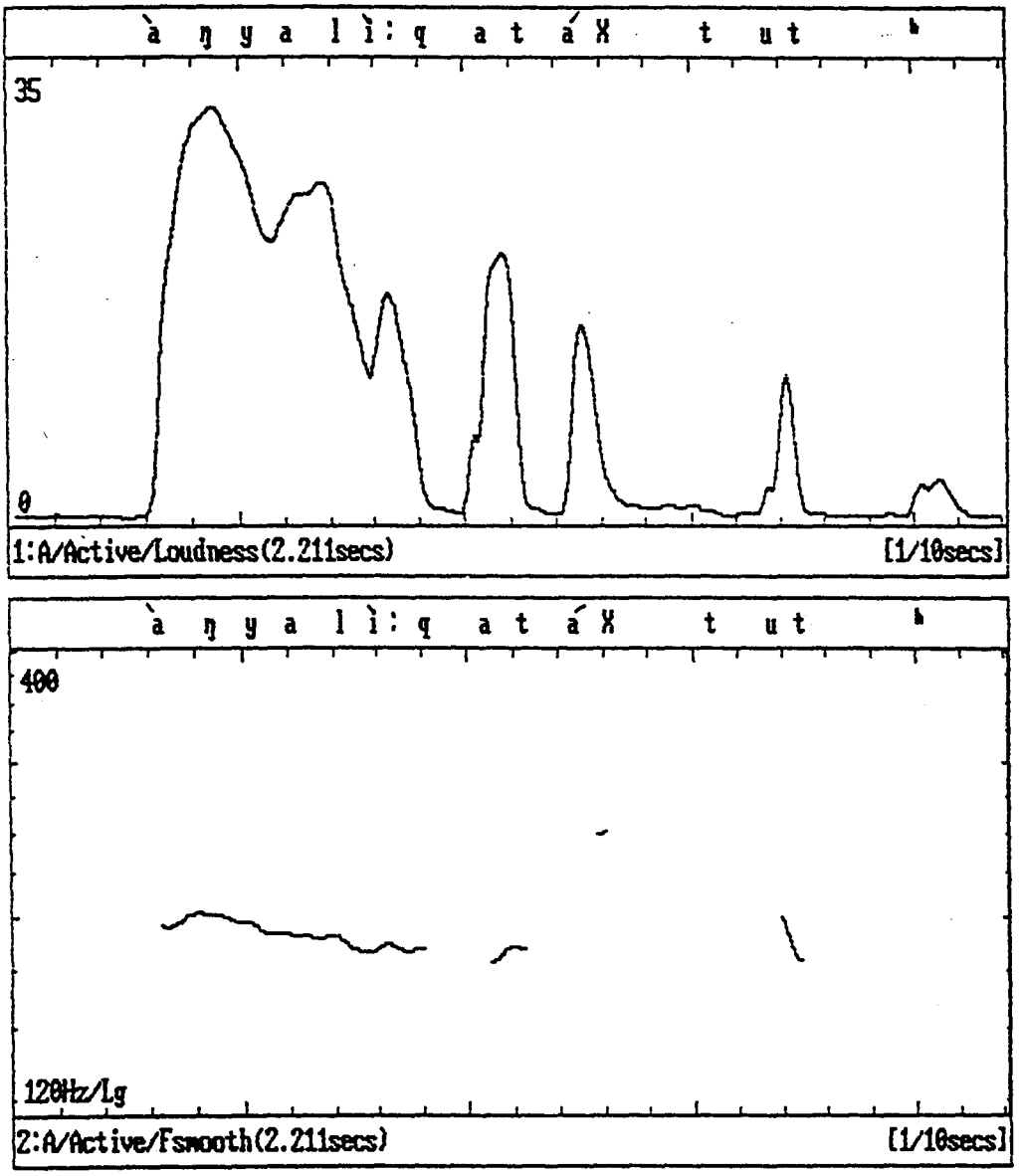
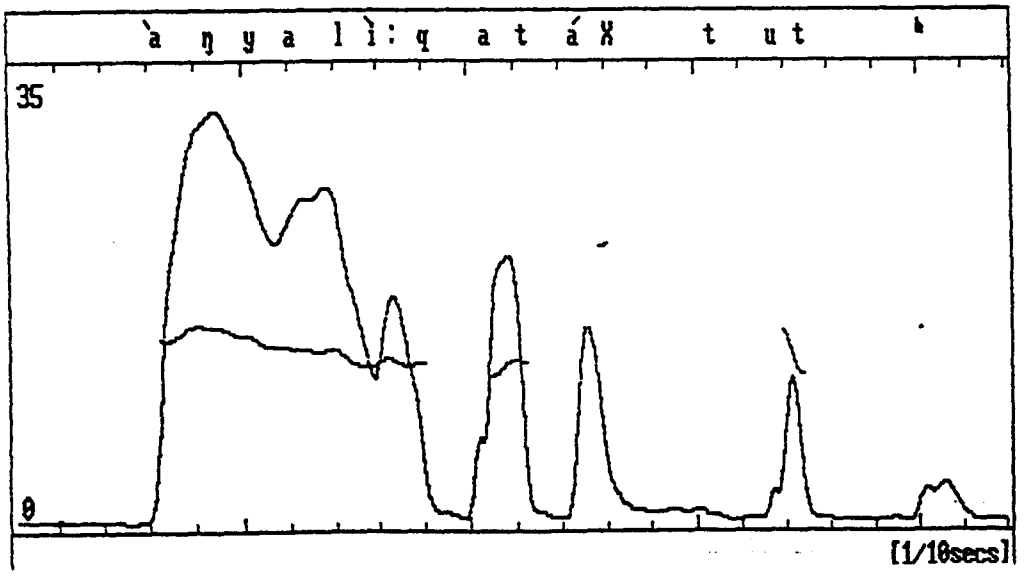
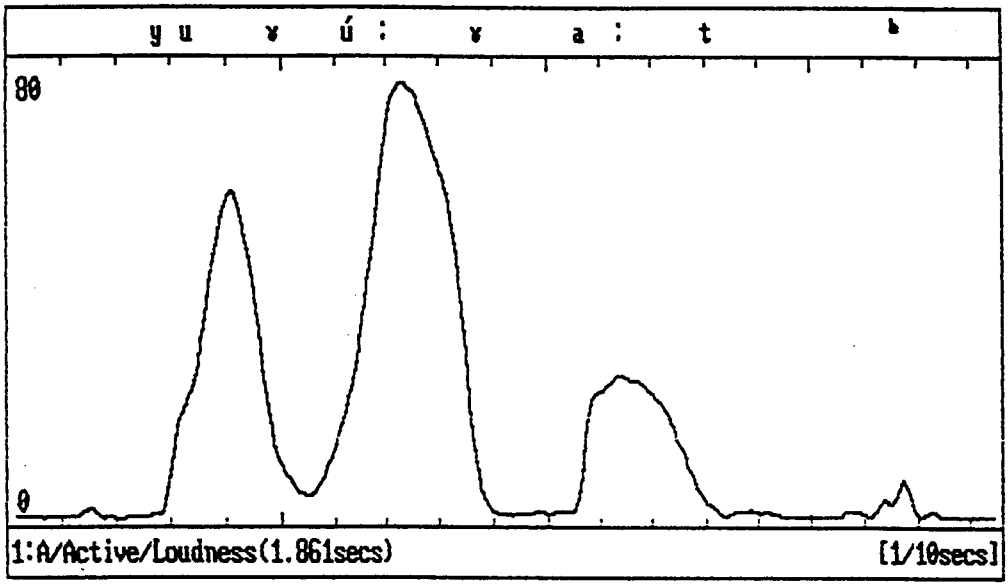


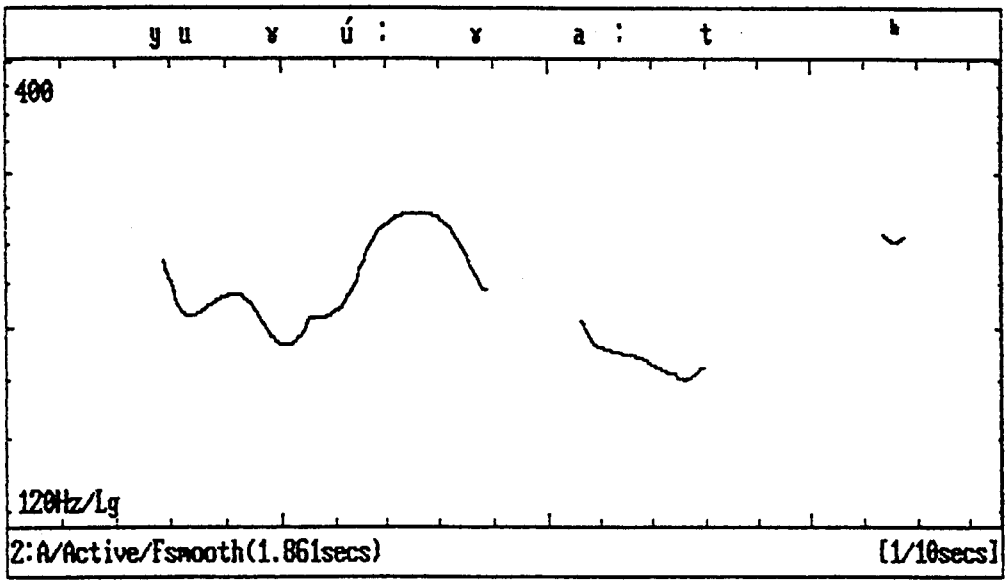
Figure 2

A: [19500Hz]

(a) A/Active/Loudness (b) A/Active/Fsmooth







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A: [19500Hz]

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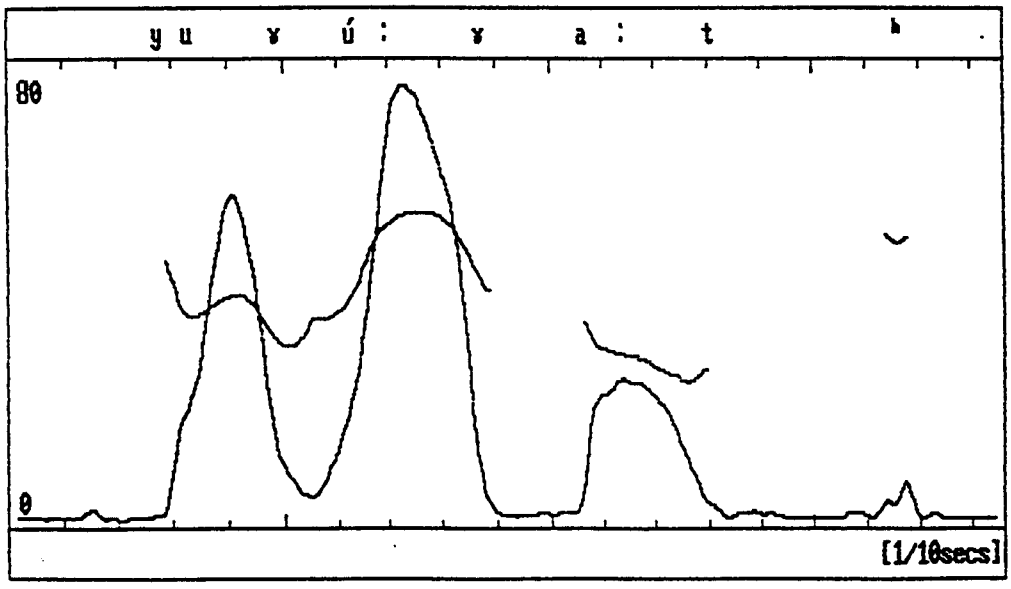

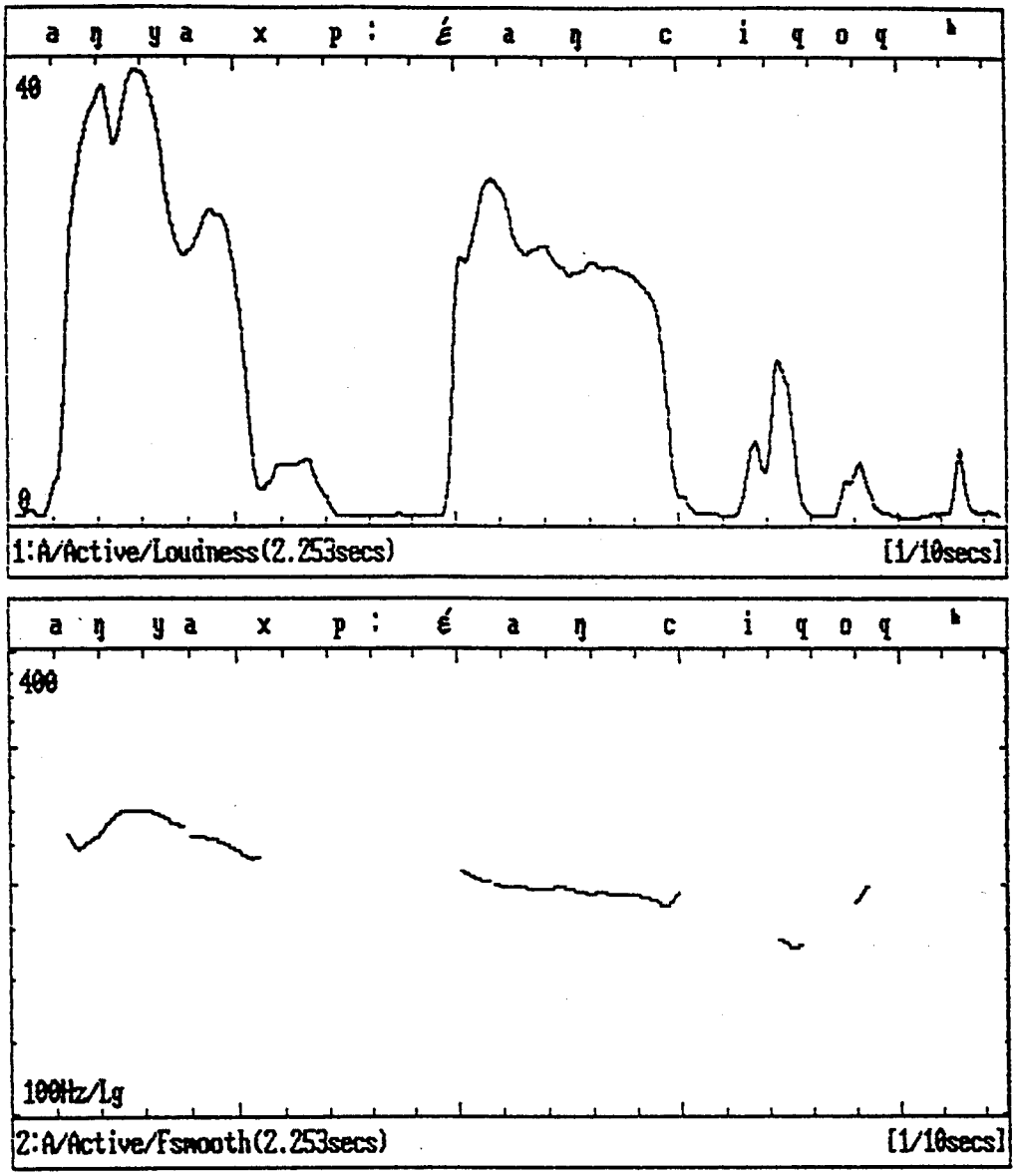

Figure 4

A: [19500Hz]

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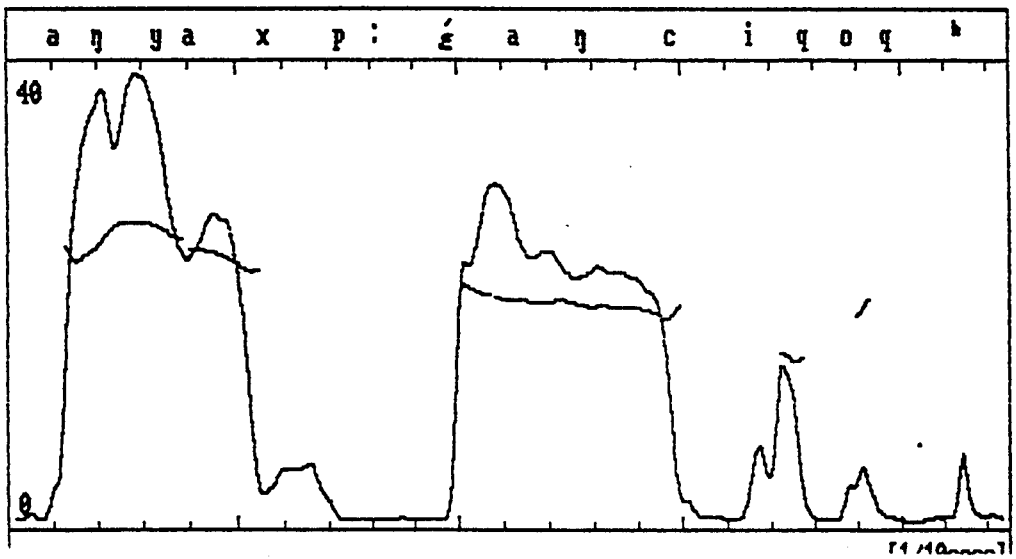


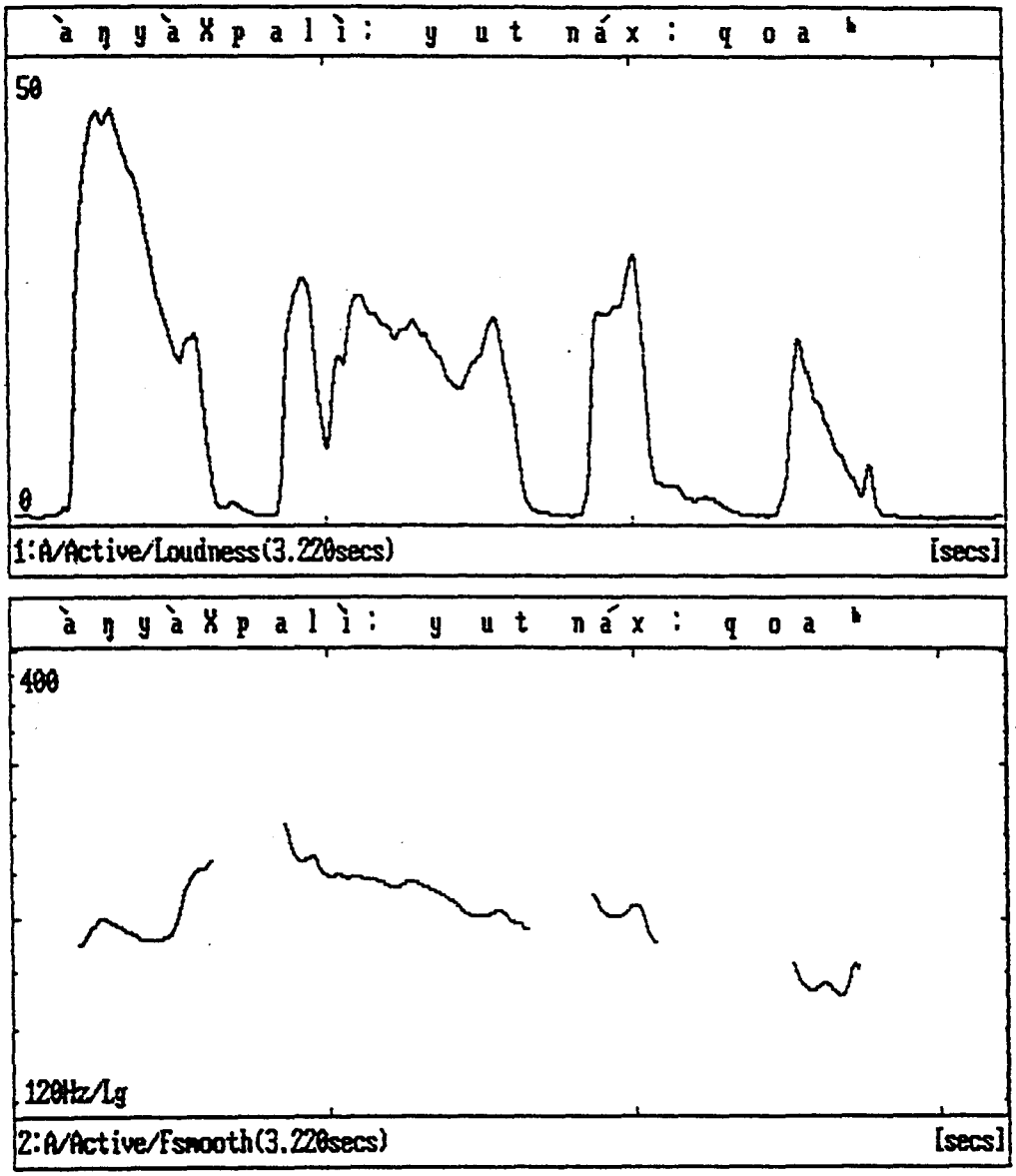
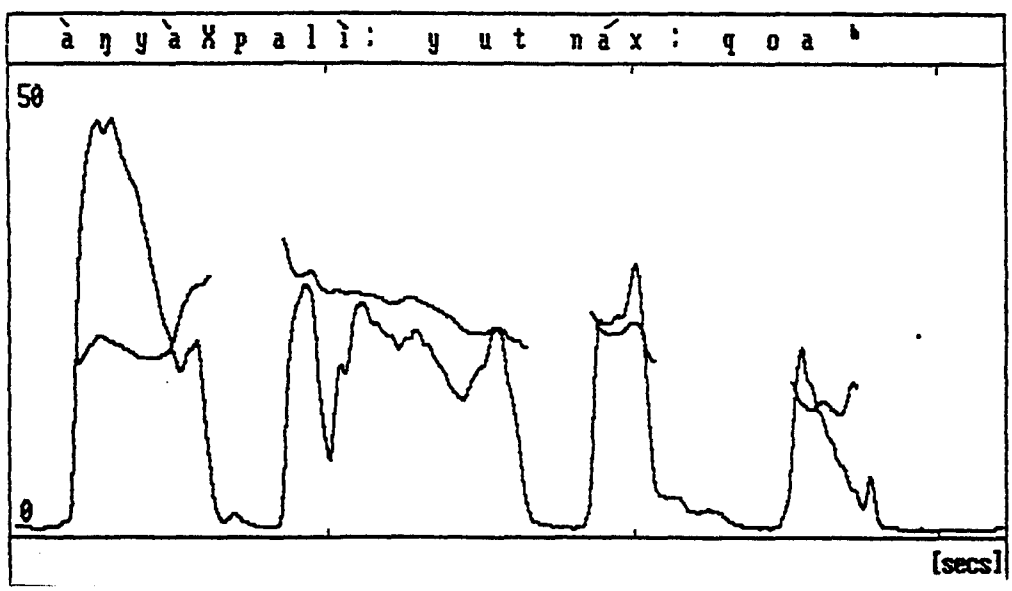


Figure 5

A: [19500Hz]

(a) A/Active/Loudness (b) A/Active/Fsmooth



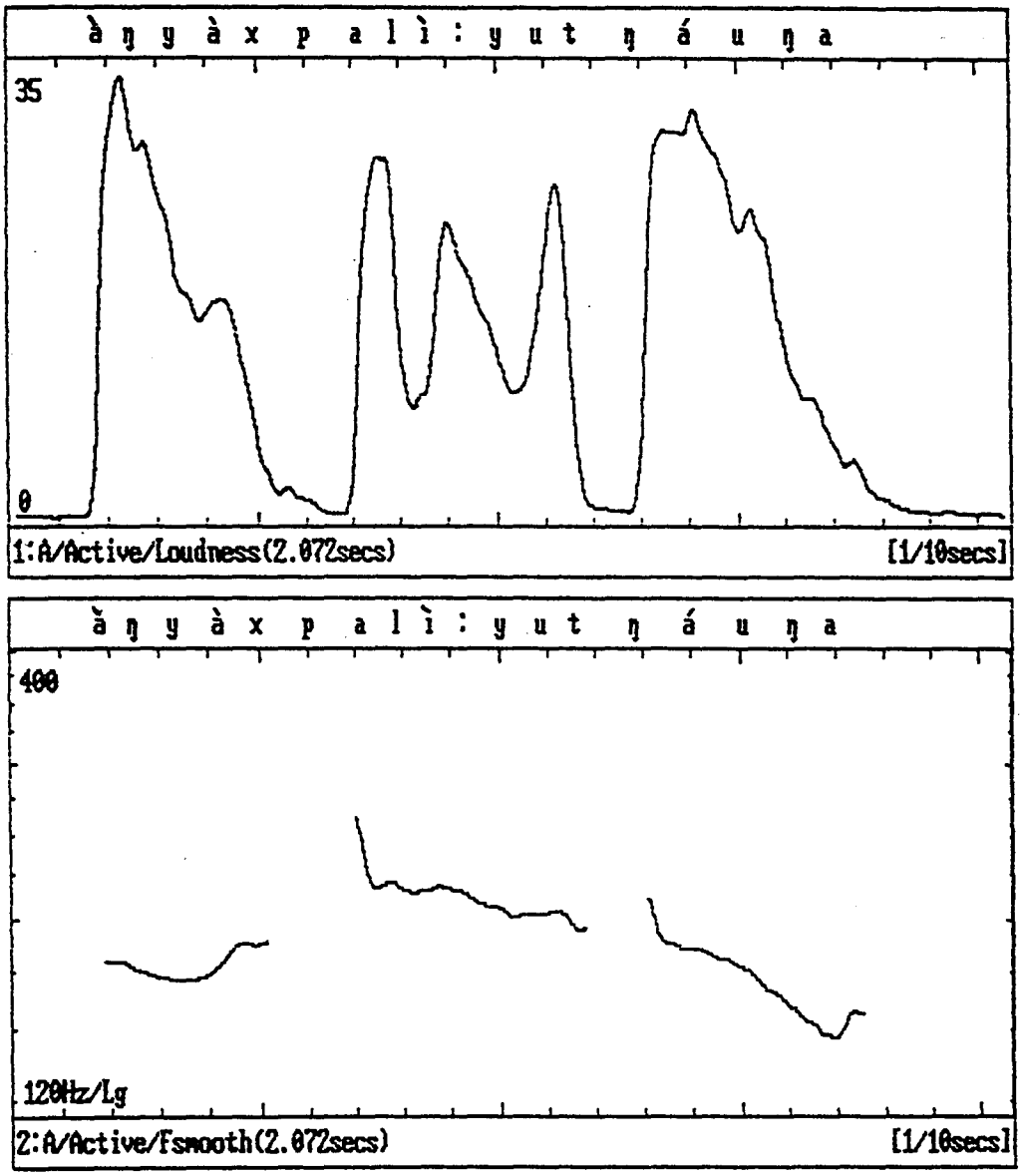


Figure 6

A: [19500Hz]

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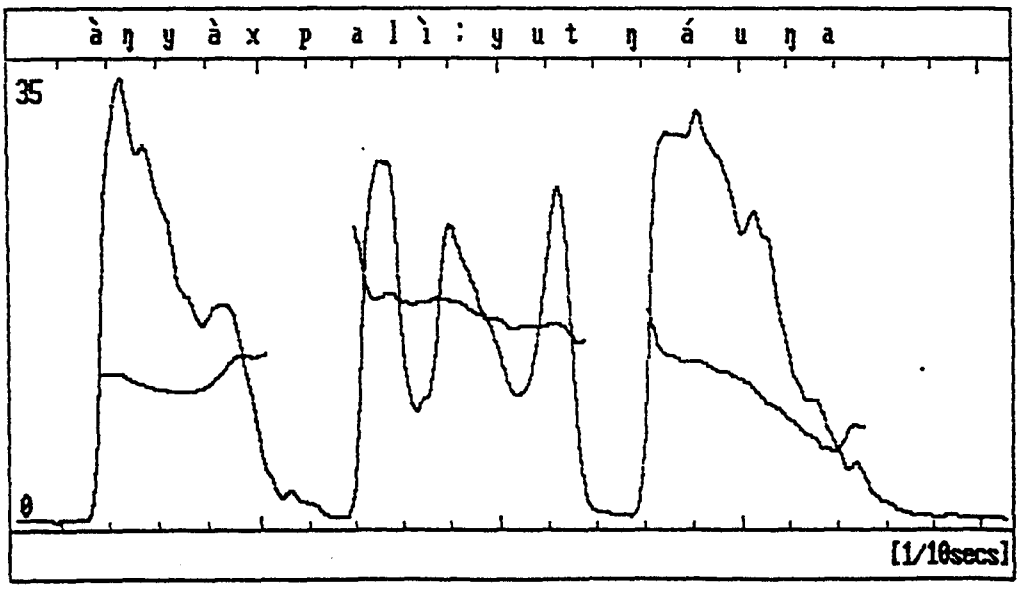


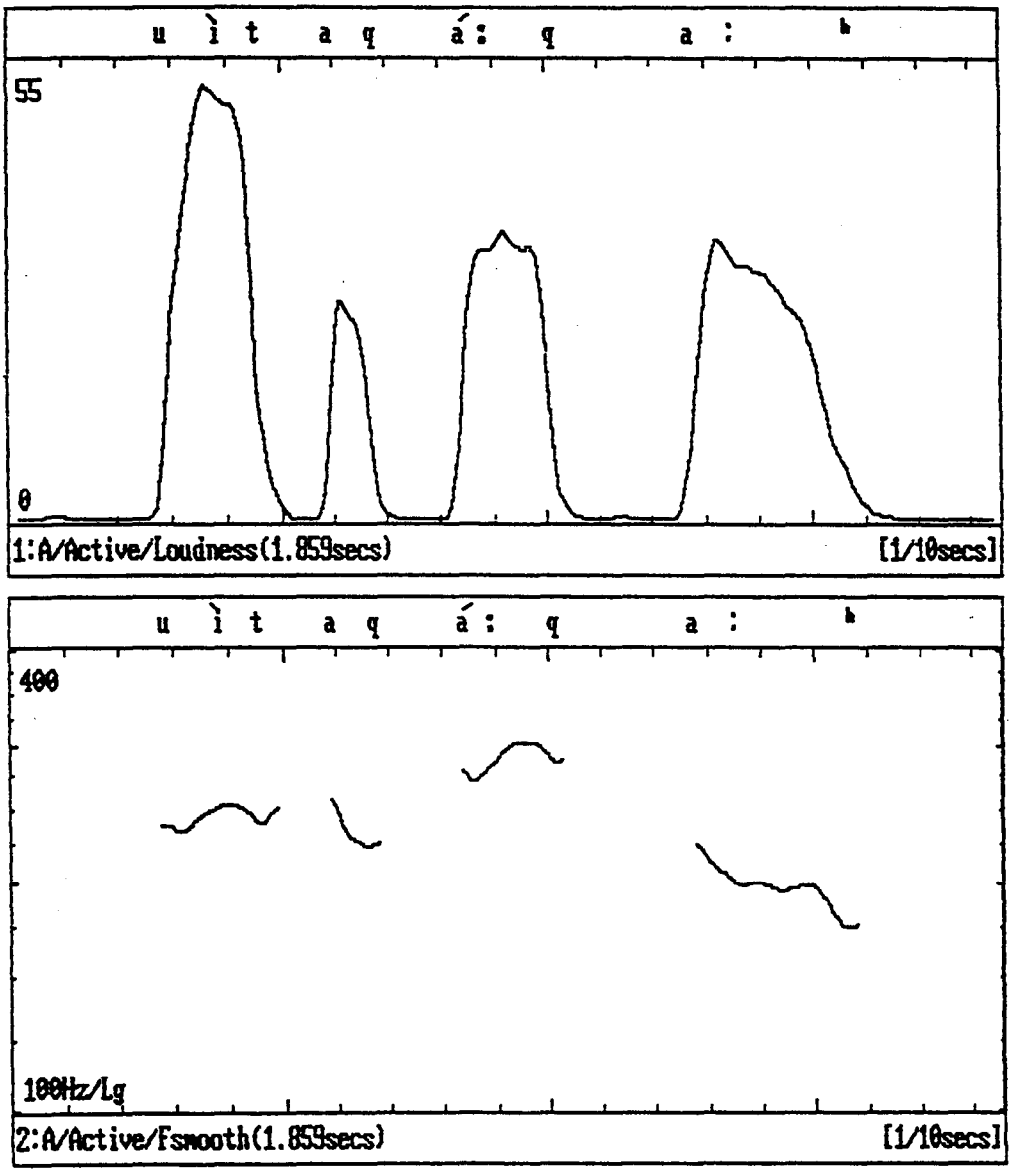
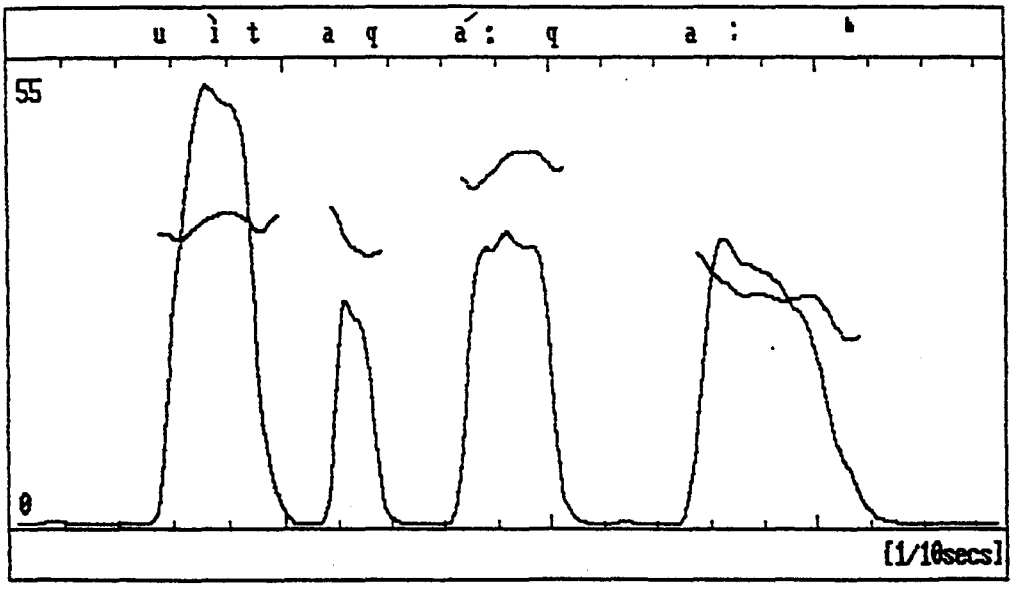


Figure 7

A: [19500Hz]

(a) A/Active/Loudness (b) A/Active/Fsmooth



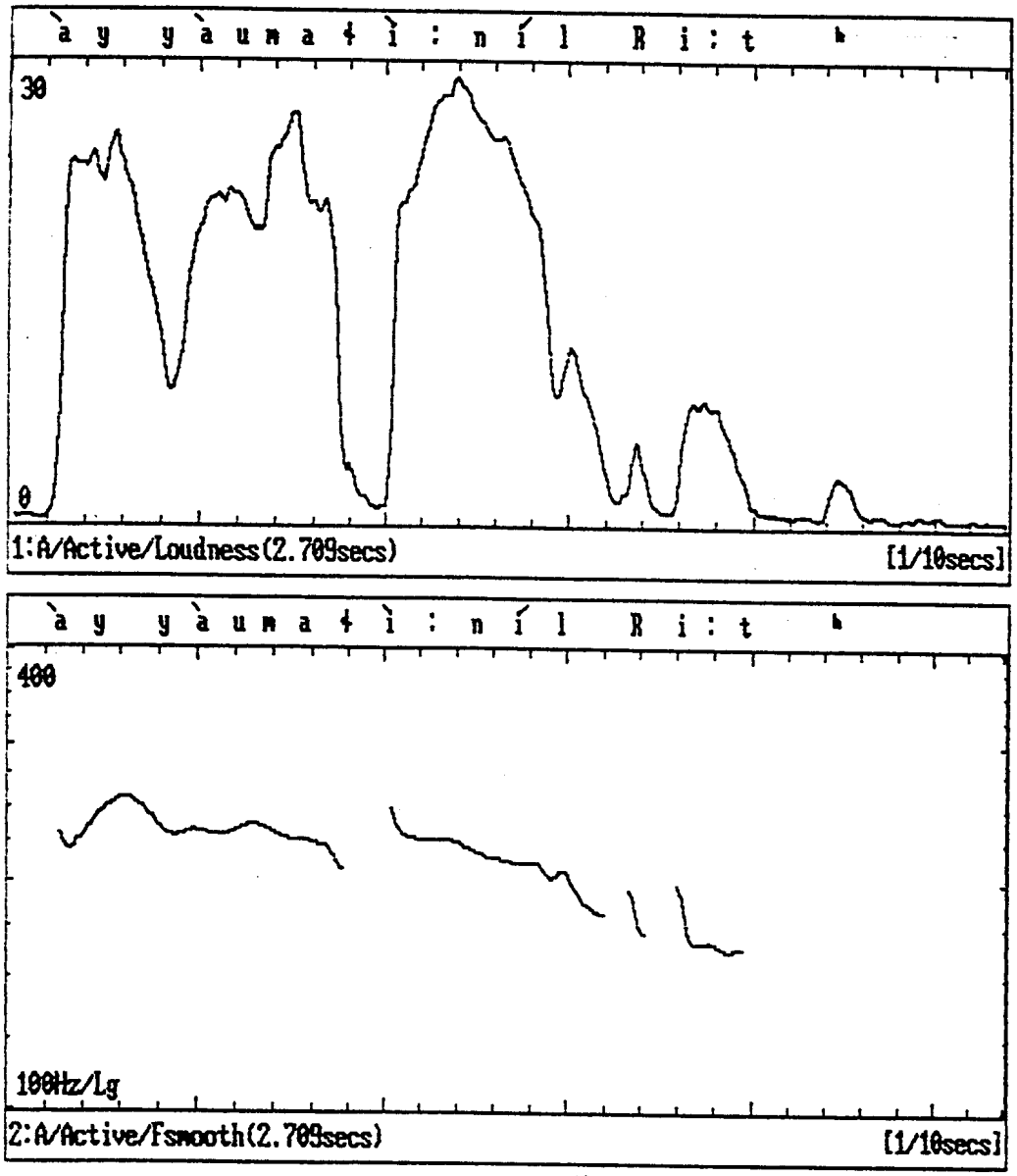
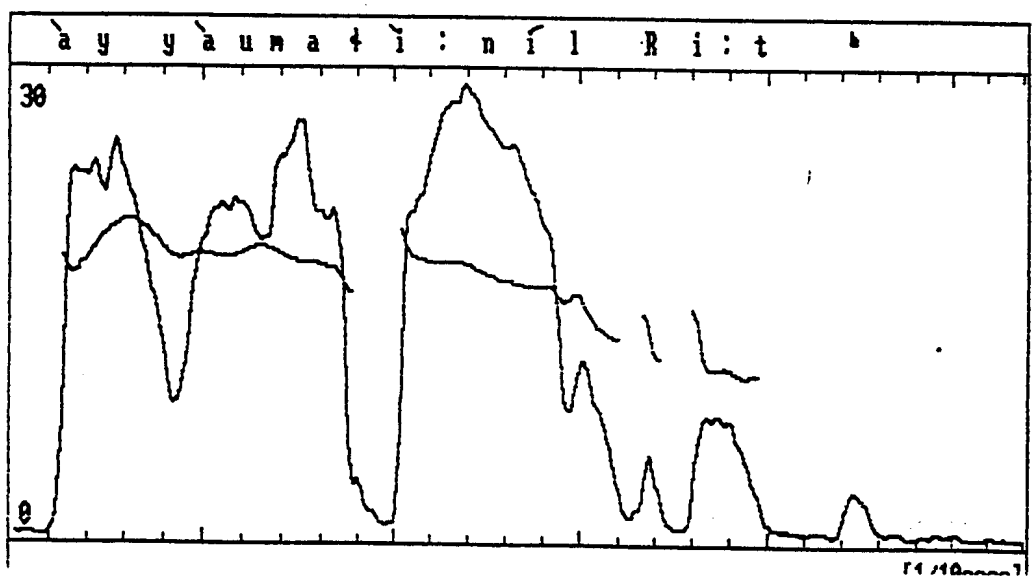
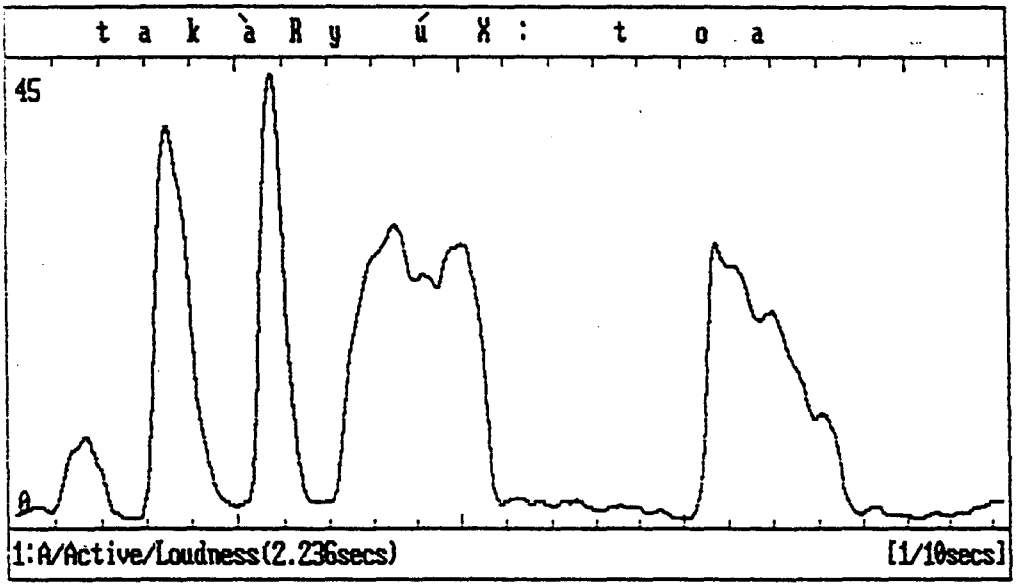


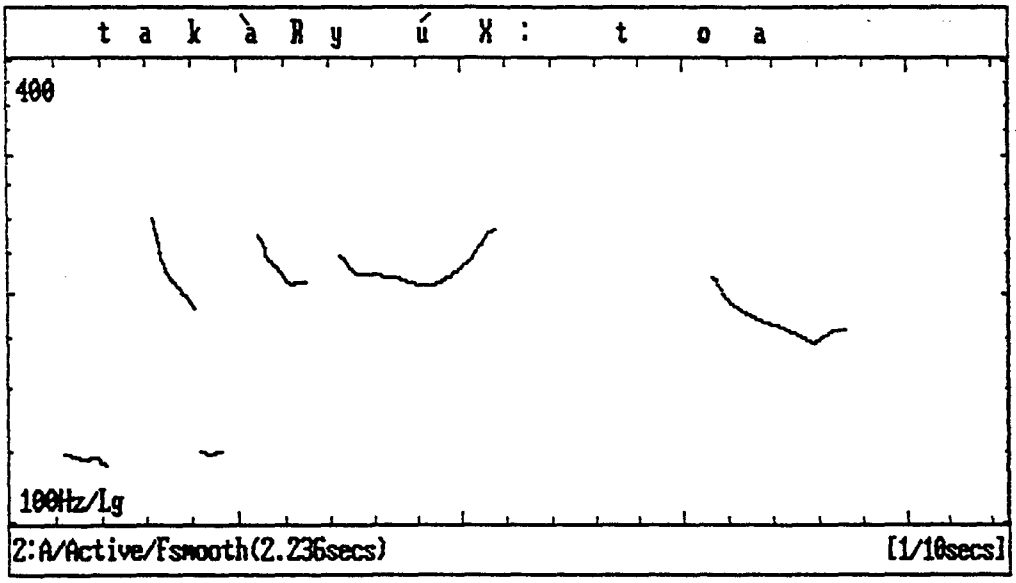
Figure 8

A: [19500Hz]

(a) A/Active/Loudness (b) A/Active/Fsmooth







A: [19500Hz]

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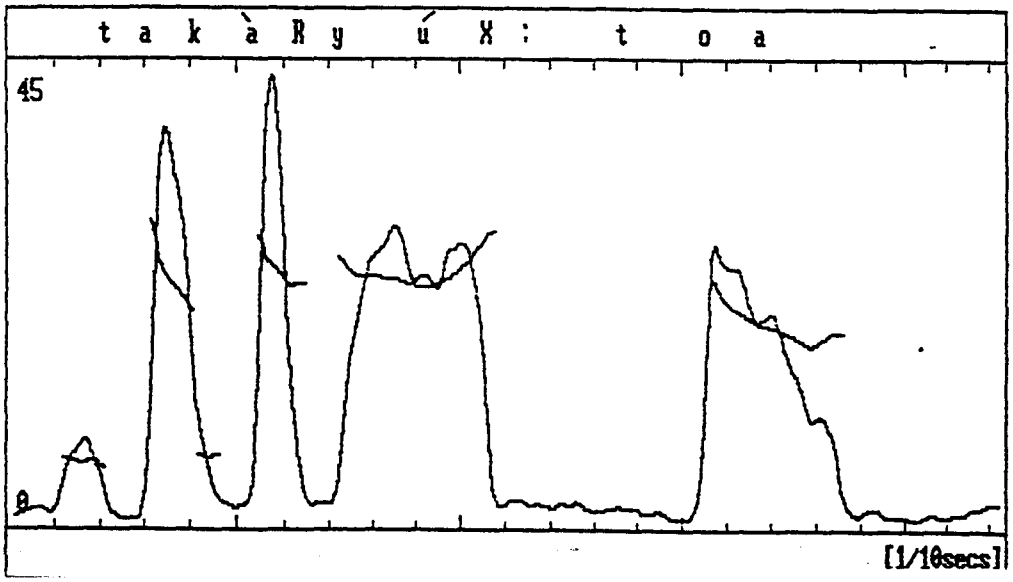


Figure 9

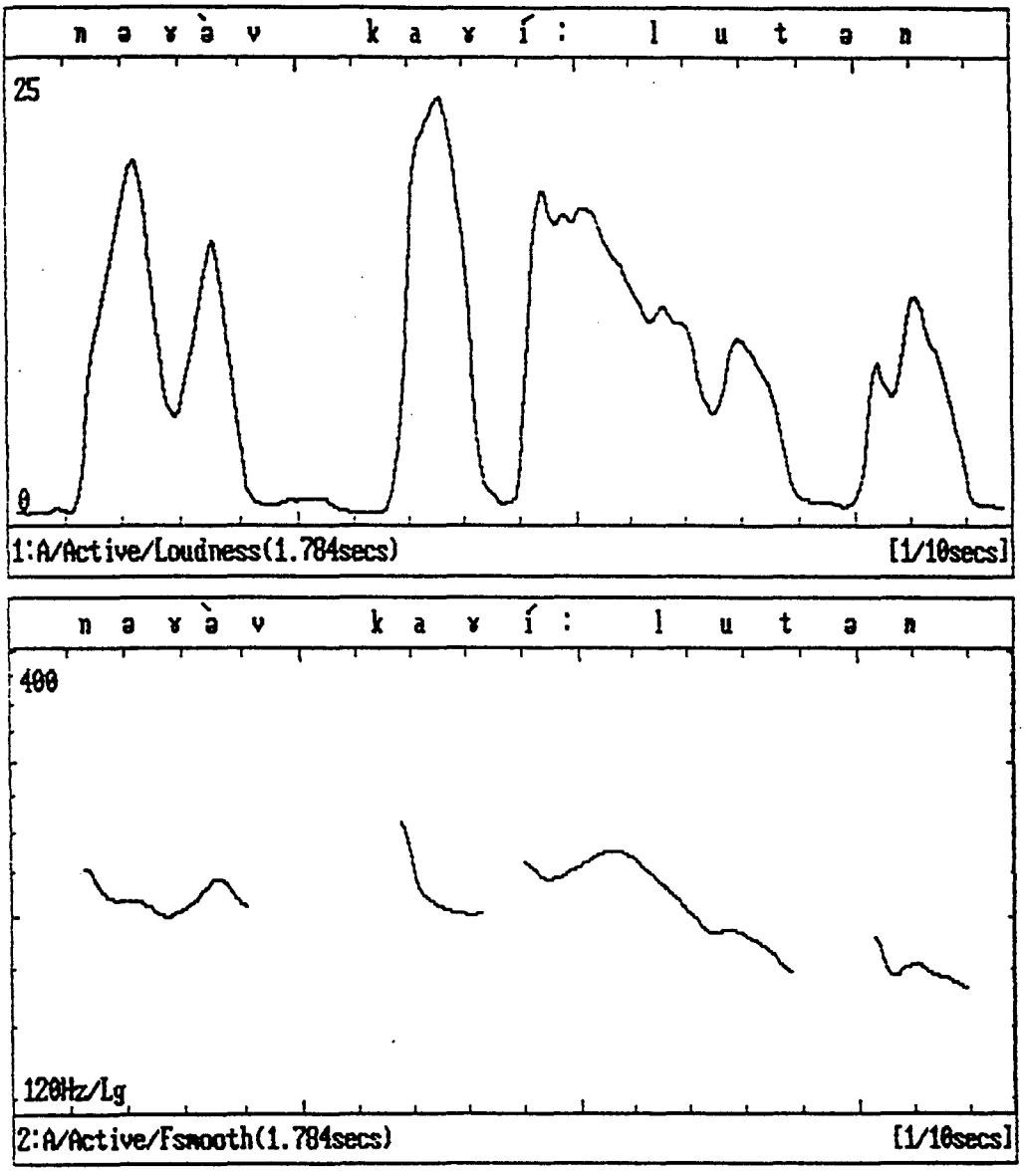


Figure 10

A: [19500Hz]

(a) A/Active/Loudness (b) A/Active/Fsmooth

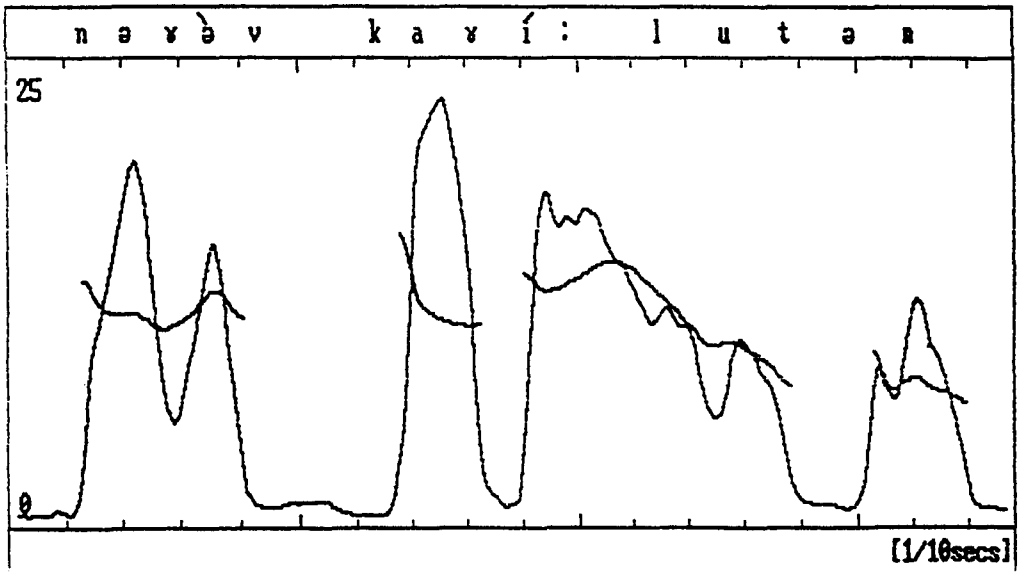
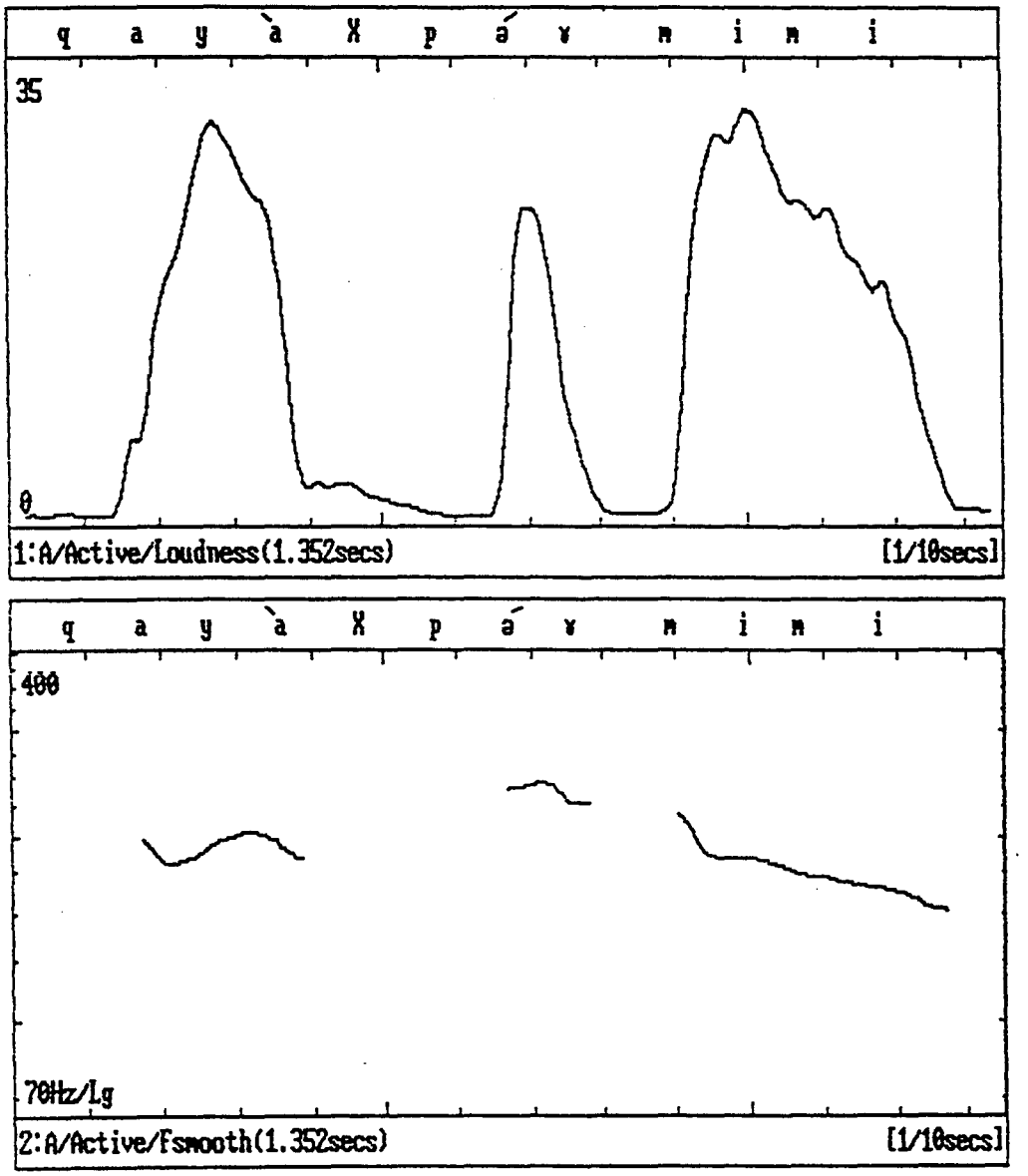


Figure 11



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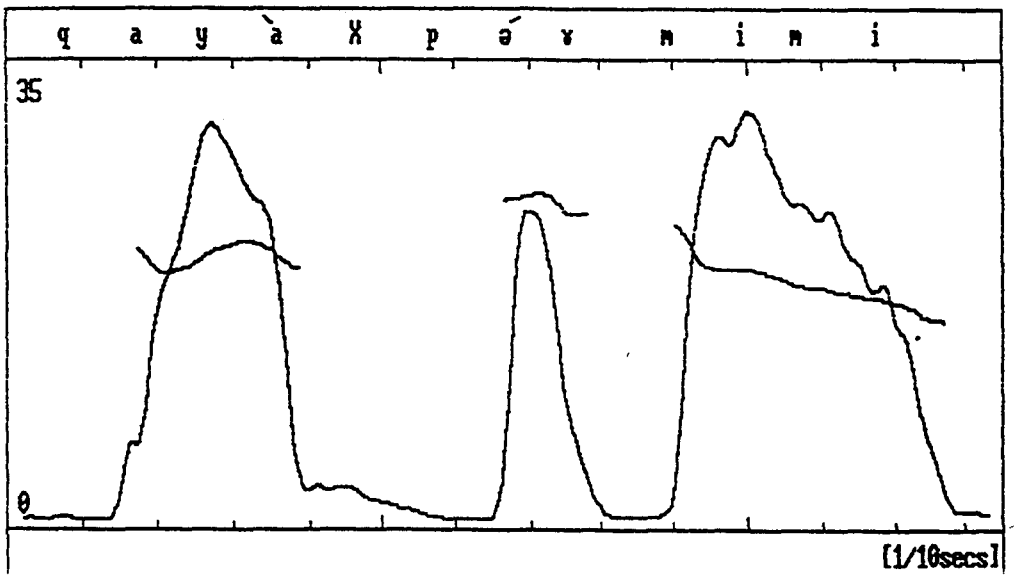

YUP'IK DEMONSTRATIVES: UNIVERSALITY AND UNIQUENESS

Cory Redmond

The present paper explores the universality and uniqueness of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik (CAY) demonstrative system, which has about 700 distinct demonstrative forms. After a general introduction in section 1 to the problems pursued in the study, section 2 of the paper provides a morphological and semantic overview of the huge CAY demonstrative system. Section 3 looks at how much of the CAY demonstrative system corresponds to universal tendencies, that all demonstratives can be presumed to share, by applying Himmelman's taxonomy of universal uses to instances of CAY demonstratives in narrative. Section 4 then investigates elements in CAY demonstrative usage that are unique to CAY and relates these to a limited Whorfian effect on the communicative process.

1. General Introduction

This paper is an exploration of the universality and the uniqueness of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik demonstrative system. Central Alaskan Yup'ik (CAY) has somewhere in the range of 700 demonstratives, which when compared to the handful of demonstratives employed by English speakers, makes it seem well worthwhile, in terms of formulating a general theory of demonstrativity, deixis, or anaphora, to investigate the specific motivations behind the CAY system.

The huge number of CAY demonstratives arises from the distinctions CAY permits in five semantic domains.

Pronominal versus Adverbial
Extended versus Restricted
Five Topographical Fields
Speaker's field versus Other field
In-field versus Out-of-field

Each of these domains will be discussed below to arrive at a morphological and semantic analysis of the large CAY demonstrative system. This introductory discussion presents a summary of previous work in order to establish a noncontroversial background regarding a complex CAY linguistic category. Interested readers should consult Jacobson's *Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary* (1984), Miyaoka's 'Sketch of Yupik, an Eskimo Language' (to appear), and Denny's 'Semantics of Inuktitut Spatial Deictics' (1982) for more information.

The present paper will then move to a discussion of the functions performed by CAY demonstratives. I have determined these functions by trying to apply Himmelmann's taxonomy of major usage types of demonstratives, as presented in his 'Demonstratives in Narrative Discourse: A Taxonomy of Universal Uses' (1994), to examples of CAY demonstrative usage that I found in the narratives I had collected. Himmelman's four main types, which he arrived at after considering analyses of narrative in five different languages, are a **situational use**, a **discourse deictic** use, a **tracking use**, and a **recognitional use**.

Using Himmelmann's categories I tried to identify those aspects of CAY

demonstrative usage that are attributable to universal requirements for demonstratives. By and large, Himmelmann's categories accounted for the examples in CAY narrative, especially if we consider only the overall or the main functions that CAY demonstratives performed in the narratives. However, it became evident as I looked at the CAY narratives that there were elements of CAY demonstrative usage that were unique to CAY and profoundly so. In particular, the CAY demonstrative system mandatorily makes a distinction between 'extended' and 'restricted' objects, places, and actions - a distinction which could only be considered bizarre to an English speaker and which is certainly not easily translated. The special subject of this paper is how this particular aspect of the CAY demonstrative system affects the way a narrative communicates an event.

Although my study bears on the Whorf hypothesis (the idea that the particular structure of language can affect experience), it should be pointed out that no radical impact of language on experience is being pursued or proposed. Rather I am investigating the subtle ways a linguistic system (in this case the CAY demonstrative system) may predictably alter what is communicated in a narrative in terms of a conceptual system (in this case a conception of extension and restriction), while this same linguistic system may really have little or no impact on direct experience, perception, or cognition. There is a distinction to be made here between a direct test of the Whorf hypothesis, which would try to link linguistic categories to some psychological domain internal to a native speaker, and the present study that tries to relate a linguistic category with what a speaker, irrespective of internal experience, indeed communicates to an addressee in an indirect domain of shared experience.

Of particular importance to this undertaking was Mrs. Elizabeth Ali's account of the Pear Story film. It became possible thereby to compare the narrative she produced with those produced by speakers of numerous other languages that were part of the Pear Stories project centered at Berkeley and published in Chafe 1980. The Pear Stories project involved showing a short film, with no dialogue, to speakers of many different languages and asking them to describe what the film was about. The film itself depicts a strange little collection of connected and unconnected events surrounding a bushel of pears that almost requires a viewer to provide his or her own plot and storyline. Since the Pear Story narratives were produced by speakers of different languages that shared the experience of having seen the same film, it was possible to make meaningful comparisons among the languages in such areas as information flow, lexical choice, topic selection, subjecthood, etc. The scope of the present study limits the comparison to CAY and English only. Nonetheless, the Pear Story provides an inroad into a cross-linguistic comparison that can illuminate both universality and particularity in a broader context of the world's languages.

2. Introduction to Yup'ik Demonstratives

2.1 Pronominal versus Adverbial

Any single Yup'ik demonstrative can be categorized generally as either pronominal or adverbial depending upon its form and function.

Demonstrative pronouns (DP) are used to locate objects.

Demonstrative adverbs (DA) are used to locate places.

Yup'ik demonstrative pronouns and adverbs can be considered to share the same bases, but they are derived and inflected somewhat differently. Demonstrative pronouns are distinguished in most instances by an element *-u*, a nominalizing postbase. (See Jacobson 1984:578 and Miaoka ms 52.)

Yup'ik demonstrative adverbs are similarly distinguished in most cases by a postbase *-a*. Miyaoka identifies this postbase as an adverbial marker specific to demonstratives (ms 54).

The demonstrative pronouns are marked like nouns for case and number (but not possessor). The demonstrative adverbs are marked only in those cases involving spatial orientation. Moreover, the vocative forms of pronouns are used to call special attention to what they are locating, while the interjectional forms of adverbs are used for that purpose (Jacobson 1994:653-662).

(1) General rules

Demonstrative Pronoun: Base + *u* + pronominal marking
Demonstrative Adverb: Base + *a* + adverbial marking

e.g. *mat'um*: extended DP.ERG = *mat* + *u* + *m*
kanani: restricted DA 'downslope = *kan* + *a* + *ni*

The above rules are only roughly what may have happened in a historical sense. The process of lexicalization has occasioned some divergent forms. Case and number indicators take the forms below.

(2)

Pronominal Marking		**Form**
ABS	ABSOLUTIVE	*-na*
ERG	ERGATIVE	*-m*
LOC	LOCATIVE	*-mi*
ALL	ALLATIVE	*-mun*
ABL	ABLATIVE	*-mek*
VIA	VIALIS	*-kun*
AEQ	AEQUALIS	*-tun*
NUM	NUMBER S/D/P	*-q/-k/-t*
VOC	VOCATIVE	*-uu-*

Adverbial Marking		**Form**
LOC	LOCATIVE	*-ni*
ALL.1	ALLATIVE 1	*-vet*
ALL.2	ALLATIVE 2	*-tmun*
ABL	ABLATIVE	*-ken*
VIA	VIALIS	*-ggun*
INT	INTERJECTIONAL	*=i*

It should be pointed out that, because case is marked on demonstratives, an interesting semantic effect can occur when CAY speakers want to locate an episode involving movement in discourse. Denny (1982:364) discusses this effect for Inuktitut,

another Eskimo language. Generally, CAY demonstratives can locate an episode not only in terms of reference to an object or place but also in terms of what part of the episode is being located.

(3)	Case	DP	DA	Gloss	Episode
	LOC	*-mi*	*-ni*	'at'	whole episode is at place
	ABL	*-mek*	*-ken*	'from'	beginning part is at place
	VIA	*-kun*	*-ggun*	'by way of'	middle part is at place
	ALL.1	--	*-vet*	'to (specific)'	last part is at specific place
	ALL.2	*-mun*	*-mun*	'to (unspecific)'	last part is at unspecified place

2.2. Extended versus Restricted

The most basic distinction specified by CAY demonstratives morphologically is that between **extended** and **restricted** bases. These bases have totally separate forms. One does not seem to be derived from the other. For these forms, one can consult the chart in section 2.3 below. Demonstrative pronouns contain the suffix *-u*, and demonstrative adverbs the suffix *-a*. Out-of-field forms seem to be derived historically from extended bases.

The extendedness versus restrictedness dimension, which cannot be removed from the CAY demonstrative system, makes the CAY system wholly unlike English, if not most all other languages, in terms of semantics, because English lacks this dimension entirely. Translating this dimension is tricky, requiring the adoption of a new way of looking at space in terms of the **dispersal** and **predictability** of a body or bodies in space. Acquiring this dimension for a non-native speaker is certainly possible, but it does not readily become a matter of unconscious habit.

Mrs. Ali indicated that the demonstratives involve notions of distance, size, motion, focus, and specificity, pointing especially to motion: "In the view of the Yup'ik world there is motion". CAY demonstratives incorporate a dimension of arrangement in space and time.

(4)	**Extended**	**Restricted**
Jacobson	'more than a single glance to be seen' entities or areas that are lengthy, in motion, or of broad expanse	'may be fully seen in a single glance' entities or areas that are restricted in size, motion, or confined to a restricted area (1994:653).
Miyaoka	'a broad location (or temporal duration) or an entity, not narrowly localized, that is horizontally lengthy or moving'	'a more specific location (or time) or an entity which is stationary (or moving within a confined area) and can be precisely located' (ms 51-2)
Denny (on Inuktitut)	'areas or stretches of space which are combinations of several spots'	'unitary spots which the speaker does not break down more finely' (1982:360)

The choice of whether an object or area is portrayed as extended or restricted depends on the qualities of the object or area, how predictable or definable its location will be, the particular needs of the speech situation, and how specific the speaker wants to be. For brevity of notation in glossing, (e) refers to extended, and (r) refers to restricted.

2.3. Topographical Orientation

Yup'ik distinguishes five topographical orientations, including an unspecified orientation. Although some of these are easily elicited in any environment ('unspecified', 'over-there', and 'house'), some of these are more specific to the arctic environment of numerous rivers, sloughs, and dramatic rises and falls in the landscape. Not surprisingly, the hilly, oakgrove environment of The Pear Story, filmed in central California, elicited only the first two topographical orientations in Mrs. Ali's Pear Story.

For brevity of notation, the cardinal numbers can be used to distinguish the five topographical domains:

(5)

Orientation	Ref #	Extended	Restricted	Topography
unspecified	1	*mat*	*u*	--
over-there	2	*aw*	*ing*	'barrier'
in-there	3	*qaw*	*kiug*	'river/house'
down-there	4	*un*	*kan*	'downslope'
up-there	5	*paw*	*ping*	'upslope'

2.4. Speaker's Field versus Other Field

CAY distinguishes between points of reference that are immediate to the s'peaker's field' of discourse and those that are less accessible to the speaker and more accessible to the addressee's field of discourse or some other point of reference. The latter sense can be considered simply an 'other's field' that can be specified further in accord with discourse context.

The Speaker's Field (Speaker) is morphologically unmarked.

The Other's Field (Other) is marked by the prefix *ta-* prefix for non-topographically defined demonstratives.

The Other's Field is marked by some historically derived velar element (*-g, -k, -gg*) for topographically defined demonstratives.

For brevity of notation in our morphological analyses, the Speaker's Field will be glossed a and the Other's Field as b.

(6)

Orientation	Speaker (a)			Other (b)	
	Ext	Rst	Rule -->	Ext	Rst
unspecified	*mat*	*u*	*ta*+base	*tamat*	*tau*
over-there	*aw*	*ing*	base+velar	*ag*	*ik*
in-there	*qaw*	*kiug*		*qag*	*kegg*
down-there	*un*	*kan*		*ung*	*ug*
up-there	*paw*	*ping*		*pag*	*pik*

2.5. In-field versus Out-of-field

CAY distinguishes between points of reference that are in the perceptible field-of-vision and those that, because of remoteness or obstruction, physical or metaphorical, are imperceptible to the speaker.

Demonstratives in the field of vision (I-F) are morphologically unmarked.

Demonstratives that refer to remote, obscured or imperceptible objects or places (O-F) contain a distinguishing element *-m* .

The O-F forms seem derived from extended bases only, although it is not clear whether they thereby inherit an extended sense. Miyaoka classifies them as non-extended and Jacobson classifies them as a third category apart from a sense of extendedness or restrictedness. Offhand, I can see no reason why we cannot consider the 'out-of-field' sense to be related to the extended sense. Morphologically, at least, this seems to be the case. Semantically, also, an imperceptible object could be assumed to be non-restricted.

There is a special O-F base *im'* referring to an aforementioned object that does not specify topography and does not have an Other Field variant. This special base also seems to have no real morphological relationship to the extended sense.

For brevity of notation in our morphological analyses, we need only reference the O-F sense, and that sense merely with o.

(7)

Orientation	**Extended**		O-F **Speaker**		O-F **Other**
unspecified	*mat*		*im'*		- -
		Rule -->		Rule -->	
over-there	*aw*	(base+*m*)	*am*	(+velar)	*akm*
in-there	*qaw*		*qam*		*qakm*
down-there	*un*		*cam*		*cakm*
up-there	*paw*		*pam*		*pakm*

2.6. Special Bases

Finally, CAY contains some demonstrative bases with special discourse meanings. These special bases are unspecified according to the three mentioned semantic dimensions (extendedness versus restrictedness, speaker's versus other's field, and in-field versus out-of-field).

(8)	*ki*	'who?' 'someone'	DP only
	na	'where?' 'somewhere'	DA only
	uk	'the one approaching' (DP) or 'toward here' (DA)	Miyaoka classifies this as out-of-field; Jacobson classifies it as extended.

3. Universal Functions

A good starting point, as we move toward interpreting CAY demonstratives, would be to consider how much of their usage is determined by universal communicative needs. Himmelmann in his 'Demonstratives in Narrative Discourse' has identified a taxonomy of four main usage types of demonstratives, which he defines as follows:

> **situational use**, which involves the notion of the relative distance from some deictic center and serves to establish a referent in the universe of discourse.
>
> **discourse deictic use**, which involves pointing to an adjacent discourse segment and serves in establishing a proposition or an event (or a sequence of these) as a referent in the universe of discourse.
>
> **tracking use**, which involves reference to entities (usually major participants) already established in the universe of discourse during the preceding interaction and serves to help the hearer in keeping track of what is happening to whom.
>
> **recognitional use**, which involves reference to entities assumed by the speaker to be established in the universe of discourse and serves to signal the hearer that the speaker is referring to specific, but presumably shared knowledge. It invites the hearer to signal the need for further clarification regarding the intended referent or to acknowledge that he or she in fact knows what the speaker is talking about (ms 26)

Not only does Himmelmann consider data from five separate languages (English, Ik, Nunggubuyu, Tagalog, and Indonesian) to construct his universal categories, but he also demonstrates his taxonomy with English examples from The Pear Stories. Thus we can proceed in our discussion with very explicit comparisons between Himmelmann's taxonomy and Mrs. Ali's Pear Story in CAY.

3.1. Situational Use

The most basic function of demonstratives is deixis, pointing to some center of reference, whether it be an object or a place, real or imaginary, and establishing some sort of spatial relationship with it that is particular to the given situation. Examples of this universal function are below. All English examples are from The Pear Stories, as identified by Himmelmann.

(9) English: Speaker 10, pause unit 89
And he's heading . . . you see a scene where he's . . . coming on his bicycle ***this way,*** [.5]

(10) CAY: Elizabeth Ali, P 92

avavirrluteng
ava-virte-lu-teng
DA2AE-go.to-SUB-3RP
'they went **over there**'

(11) CAY: Elizabeth Ali, P 106

napamun	***waten***	*elliqerluni*
napa-mun	***wa-ten***	*elli-qer-lu-ni*
tree-ALL	DA1AR-AEQ	put-kindly-SUB-3RS

'he placed himself **in this way** gingerly on the tree'

(12) CAY: George Charles, B 10-14

Tua-i-llu-gguq
Tuai=llu=gguq
DA1BR=TOO=HRS
'And then this (happened), they say,

tangerrliniuq,
tangerr-llini-u-q
see-apparently-II-3s
he apparently saw

kuigem	*akiani*
kuik-m	*aki-ani*
river-ERG	opposite-3s/s.LOC

across the river,

cuassaat	*amllepiat*	***yaani***
cuassaaq-t	*amlleq-piaq-t*	*yaa-ni*
rhubarb-P	numerous-real-P	DA2AR-LOC

lots of rhubarbs **over there**'

The situational use establishes a deictic center and takes a point of view in either an actually present speech environment or an imagined mental field (as in a narrative). Because the situational use involves some notions of space, languages can differ according to the particular semantics involved with the manners in which they locate objects.

CAY contrasts greatly in terms of the semantics of demonstratives with English. In fact CAY demonstratives incorporate a dimension of temporality, which will be discussed in section 4. But, CAY and English function similarly in establishing a center of discourse and constructing places in narrative space around those centers. In effect, a narrative seems to be organized universally across languages by placing the perspective of the speaker (which can include an addressee) in the narrative field as if the events of the narrative were somehow being enacted before the speaker's very eyes.

3.2. Discourse Deictic Use

We saw how in the situational use, demonstratives can point to things in real space or in the imaginary space of narrative. Both CAY and English speakers can use a demonstrative to refer to the imagined space of the discourse itself and construct a sort of spatial relationship on the flow of discourse.

(13) English: Speaker 9, pause unit 60
then he goes off, and that's the end of ***that story****, but then it goes back to the farmer. [.6]*

(14) English: Speaker 6, pause unit 77
right ***at that moment****, the three boys come walking . . by, munching on the pears, [.5]*

(15) CAY: Elizabeth Ali, P 103-4

Maaten	*tangertuq,*
maa-ten	*tangerr-tu-q*
DA1AE-AEQ	see-II-3s

'Right then and there, (all of a sudden), he noticed

iliit	*israt*
ila-it	*isran-t*
one.of-3s/P	basket-P

that one of the baskets

cataunani
cataite-na-ni
absent-SUB-3s
was gone.'

(16) CAY: Elizabeth Ali, M 22-24

Tua-i-llu-gguq	*tauna*	*angukara'urluq*
Tuai=llu=gguq	*tau-na*	*angun-karaq-urluq*
DA1BR-and=HRS	DP1BR-ABS	man-little-dear

'**And then** it (happenened) (they say), that dear old man

kiputellinilria
kipute-llini-lria
buy-apparently-PI.3s
bought

im'umek	*levaamek.*
im'u-mek	*levaaq-mek*
DPOAFO-ABL	motor-ABL

that motor.'

See also (12) for an additional example of *tua-i.*

Speakers use demonstratives in a meta-linguistic manner to refer to a point in time in the sequence of narrated events as in (14) or to refer to immediately adjacent segments (preceeding or following) in the discourse itself as in (13). This appears to be a natural extension of the situational use by a spatializing of the flow of discourse.

CAY has a number of demonstrative forms that have come to be specialized in terms of ordering the flow of discourse by referring to the discourse itself in a meta-linguistic fashion. Many of the CAY demonstratives have been lexicalized to take on the characteristics of conjunctions. The demonstrative in *maaten* refers to an 'extended' episode of some sort that has come into the picture. *Maaten* punctuates a particular point in the narrative with a sense of immediacy and unpredictability. *Tua-i* and its many variants indicate a change in theme that is occuring in the narrative. The demonstrative in *tua-i* refers to a following segment that has come into the plot from outside the story. *Tua-i* moves a narrative along by marking the changes that make up good plot development.

3.3 Tracking Use

Demonstratives seem to be universally instrumental in distinguishing old established information from new information, as evidenced in these examples of English and CAY:

(17) English: Speaker 7, pause unit 10-19

Something that I noticed about the /movie/ particularly unique was that the colors . . . were [.35] just [.5] very strange. [.6[.2 Like [.3]] the green was a [2.2] inordinately bright green, [.55] for the pears, [.4 . . and [.25]] these colors just seemed a little [.5] kind of bold, almost to the point of [1.15] being artificial. [2.25 [.6] tsk [.1] A--nd [.75]]

(18) CAY: Elizabeth Ali, P 68-75

Tauna	*nassaurluq*	*ayallinilria.*
tau-na	*nassaurluq*	*ayag-llini-lria*
dp1br-ABS	girl	leave-apparently-PI.3s

'**That** girl apparently left.

Maaten-gguq	***ukut***	*pingayut,*	*aa*
maa-ten=gguq	*uku-t*	*pingayu-t*	
AD1AE-AEQ=HRS	DP1AR-P	three-P	

All of a sudden (right then and there) **these** three,

agiirrlinilriit.
agiirte-llini-lrii-t
approach.from.distance-apparently-PI-3P
they approached from a distance

Ellaita-llu	***tauna,***
ellaita =llu	*tau-na*
PP3P=and	DPR1B-ABS
And they,	**that one,**

aa	***tauna,***
aa	*tau-na*
HES	DPR1B-ABS

that one,

ikayurkiit,
ikayur-ke-iit
help-PI-3P/3S
they helped him

taukut	*atsat*	*elliluki*
tauku-t	atsa-t	*elli-lu-ki*
DP1BR-P	fruit-P	put-SUB-R/3P

put **those fruits**

issraminun.
issran-minun
basket-3R/S.ALL
into his basket'

English speakers use proximal and distal demonstratives to keep track of old and new information. Given information tends to be pushed further and further away from the centers of reference. In example (17), the English speaker uses the proximal 'these' to distinguish the new information (the colors) from the established information (the pears).

Similarly, CAY speakers exploit the play between a Speaker's field (a) and an Other's field (b) to keep track of new information as it comes into the narrative. When information is first mentioned it seems to be generally placed in the Speaker's field. As that information becomes backgrounded or replaced by newer information, the older information is shifted to the Other's field in order to distinguish it from the newer. Spatially, it is as if that information were being sent over from the speaker to the addressee or some 'other' that is remote from the speaker. This appears to be a natural extension of the situational use category to the flow of information between speaker and addressee.

3.4 Recognitional Use

Another universal function of demonstratives is a **recognitional** use for reference to an imagined body of shared knowledge. Here are some English and CAY examples.

(19) English: Speaker 7, pause unit 15
it was filmed in California, those dusty kind of hills that they have out here by Stockton and all, [.9+[.9] so . .]

(20) CAY: Elizabeth Ali, P 93-5

Imna,
im-na
DPOAFO-ABS
'That one (the one I talked about before),

angun *kiturluku,*
angun *kitur-lu-ku*
man pass-SUB-R/3s
they passed that man,

icugg',
icugg'
remember
you know.'

(21) CAY: Elizabeth Ali, R 79-81

Arenqia	***tua-i***	*tauna*	*icugg'*
arenqia	*tuai*	*tauna*	*icugg'*
Oh.no	DA1BR	DP1BR	remember

'And **that one**, you know,

tulukaruq,
tulukaruq
Raven
Raven,

asriulria
asriu-lria
naughty-PL.3s
he's a rascal.'

See also (16) for an additional example of *tau* and *im'* in context.

English speakers generally use the distal forms to refer to knowledge that the hearer is presumed to know already. In (19), 'those' refers to knowledge assumed by the speaker to be familiar to the hearer, areas around Stockton.

To express presumed, shared knowledge, CAY speakers have two options. They can use the special out-of-field base *im'* to refer to objects or places that are supposedly known to both the speaker and the hearer but not yet or not still present in the mental space created by the narrative. This can be seen in (16) and (20) with the use of *im'umek* and *imna*. As evidenced in examples (16) and (21) and the uses there of *tauna*, a CAY speaker can also simply use the other's field as an addressee's field to refer to items that are presumed to be known by the hearer, which closely corresponds to English usage.

3.5 Notes on Universal Functions

All of the uses of CAY demonstratives encountered in the narratives can be broadly subsumed under the four main usage types identified by Himmelmann. This is not surprising since CAY must respond to universal communicative needs.

CAY interestingly includes in its inventory of demonstratives many that have become specialized to serve the universal functions identified by Himmelmann. Both *maaten* and *tuai* have lost their general use for CAY speakers and have instead become instruments of discourse deixis, functioning to organize a narrative spatially. Similarly, *im'* is a special form expressing the universal function of **recognitional use.**

Compared to CAY speakers, English speakers must make do with a great deal of ambiguity in demonstratives, since they use the proximal/distal distinction to meet all four universal functions. CAY, on the other hand, is anything but ambiguous with its demonstratives. A CAY hearer of a narrative probably benefits from the specialized forms in being able to distinguish more easily the four main usage types of demonstratives. In this regard, CAY might be viewed as more sophisticated than English, because CAY utilizes functionally more specific tools.

4. Uniquely Yup'ik Characteristics of Demonstratives

I discovered two things by comparing English and CAY demonstrative usage in narrative. First, the semantic specificity of CAY demonstratives can in a highly accurate

fashion locate episodes with much less ambiguity than English. Second, the dimension of extendedness versus restrictedness affects the kind of information that is included in CAY narrative as opposed to Engish narrative. Both of these account for limited Whorfian effects on the communicative process.

4.1 Locating Episodes

When CAY speakers employ demonstratives in their situational function, I have found that they provide much more information than English speakers do with their demonstratives. Of course English speakers can choose to provide more information with something other than demonstratives, but the gap in "semantic power" is not easy for the English speaker to bridge and certainly not always that economical. For the sake of keeping a narrative going an English speaker generally accepts a certain amount of ambiguity and chooses not to be as descriptive as a CAY speaker can be with a single demonstrative. Compare the description of a particular episode in the Pear Story film where the gap in the "semantic power" between English and CAY proved remarkable.

(22) English: Speaker 1
And he rides off. [4.75 [.75] A--nd [3.2]] you see him, [riding off and the next scene you see him, [.4] like [.25] at a distance, a pan shot.

(23) English: Speaker 7
Then-- [.2] he's riding . . . across this . . . great [.25] expanse,

(24) English: Speaker 9
So the little boy the [.25] story . . . focuses on the little boy now. [.55] And he's driving along the road,

(25) English: Speaker 10
So he heads down this dirt road, [.35] on the bicycle, [.65] and there's just this scene where he's coming this way . . . on this dirt road, and there's hills in the background.

variations of simply 'riding off', 'riding away' (all other speakers, 16 out of 20)

Only a few of the English speakers even attempted to describe an ambiguous change of scenery, focus, and main character, and even those that did cleared up only some of the potential ambiguity.

(26) CAY: Elizabeth Ali, P 59-60

Tua-i-llu	*ayagluni,*
tuai=llu	*ayag-lu-ni*
da1br=and	leave-SUB-3s

'And so he continued to travel,

ayagengssilliami	***avavet***
ayag-ngssi-lli-a-mi	*awa-vet*
leave-without.purpose-maybe-CNSQ-3RS	DA2AE-ALL.1

going somewhere over there without purpose.'

Encoded into that one demonstrative *avavet* is a great amount of specific spatial meaning.

(27) *avavet* = DA2AE-ALL1

DA	locates a place [DA]
2	characterizes a topography as involving going over there in reference to some barrier (probably distance)
A	keeps the action in a speaker's field (focus of the narrative)
E	characterizes the movement to a new destination as unspecific or unpredictable
ALL.1	locates the episode as ending at a new point of reference (ending up at specific place over there) which can then be the speaker's field

By comparing the English and CAY Pear Stories, we can see how CAY speakers can do very simply and eloquently with a single demonstrative what English speakers must construct online. A CAY demonstrative is a very powerful tool that can be highly specific to a particular locational situation. We can note here how the CAY demonstrative in (26) effectively keeps the focus on the boy even though the boy moves from the previously established discourse center. This problem caused some English speakers to want to specify a change in scene or story, as seen clearly in (22), (23), (24), and (25). CAY speakers can do all that manipulating of scene and focus with demonstratives alone.

4.2 Extended versus Restricted

A recurrent theme in this paper has been that the semantic dimension of extendedness versus restrictedness, which CAY necessarily incorporates in its demonstratives, is something that English does not include at all in its demonstratives or elsewhere.

The semantic difference is most easily appreciated in cases where a CAY speaker employs an extended demonstrative. But it should be mentioned that even when a CAY speaker uses a restricted demonstrative, the semantics do not correspond exactly with English usage. The CAY speaker specifies with a restricted demonstrative that the object(s) or the place(s) or the action(s) associated with the object(s) is/are confined to a single perceptual field. An English demonstrative simply does not specify the nature of the perceptual field. Neither is it something that an English speaker would want to take the effort to specify in a narrative.

The strongest case though for the presence of a limited Whorfian effect on the communicative process can be arrrived at by making precise comparisons between instances where Mrs. Ali utilized an extended demonstrative in her Pear Story and their counterparts in the English Pear Stories. We can look back at example (26) to see how an extended demonstrative is used instead of its restricted counterpart because the speaker does not know exactly where the boy on the bike is going, even though wherever that boy goes will

be the new point of reference. The category of extendedness draws the CAY speaker's attention to notions of spatial and temporal specificity that an English speaker will generally not include in what he or she considers a good narrative. (See the English examples for contrast.) The episode itself takes on an unpredictable quality in the CAY pear story, simply because of the choice of demonstratives. For CAY it is important that the arrangement of the characters in an episode be properly qualified as a number of different possible places or one specific place. An additional example is in (28).

(28) English: Speaker 1
he sees . . . and and there's one [.25] full basket of pears there, and an empty basket. [.4] And the other full basket is gone

(29) English: Speaker 7
the man who's picking pears, [.35] comes down from the tree, [.35] and he starts emptying [.5] his . . um [.95] load of pears into [.8] one of the two /remaining/ baskets,

(30) CAY: Elizabeth Ali, P 100-2

atrallinilria
atrar-llini-lria
descend-apparently-PI.3s
'He apparently climbed down

tamana
tamana
DP1BE
because that (extended)

ellivia	*muiraan*
elli-vik-a	*muir-(ng)a-an*
put-place-3s/s	fill -CNSQ-3s
container was full.'	

These examples make it clear that CAY demonstratives do not necessarily mean the inclusion of more information about an event in narrative; the English (28) and (29) contribute more detail than the Yup'ik (30). But these examples suggest that a different kind of information will be communicated. *Tamana* is used in (30) because of the number of different possible places that a fruit might be placed in a container. The picture drawn by the CAY speaker is of a container with a spread of places across the top of it. This kind of information is inconseqential to an English speaker and to choices of what should be included in a narrative. But, for the CAY speaker, her or his demonstrative system affects choices of what makes for a good story.

4.3 Notes on Yup'ik Uniqueness

A definable difference occured between the CAY and English Pear Stories in the effect of demonstrative usage on the amount and kind of information that was included in the narrative. A number of factors appear to be involved.

1. We are dealing with a highly functional linguistic category (the demonstrative system) that is employed regularly in communication and that is defined largely by universal communicative needs.

2. Demonstratives involve some conceptualization of space; at the core of this conceptualization is the capacity of demonstratives to point to centers of reference and locate objects and places.

3. The conceptualization of space can vary both in the degree of specificity and the kind of information that is included in the conceptualization.

4. Speakers and listeners can make do with a great deal of ambiguity and provide more information outside of demonstrative usage if they so choose or need to.

5. There is a possible difference between languages as to what potentially can be considered ambiguous.

Simply put, English and CAY do not match in what counts as ambiguous. Because an English speaker does not choose to clarify matters of extendedness versus restrictedness when he or she wants to be less ambiguous, a regular difference will occur between information communicated in English and information communicated in CAY.

The examples that I have included in 4.1 and 4.2 point to a limited Whorfian effect on the communicative process; when a CAY speaker turns his or her experience into a narrative, the kind of information that is included and communicated in that narrative is affected by the CAY demonstrative system.

5. Conclusions

The business of the majority of this paper has been one of comparison between English and CAY demonstratives. Here is a layout of the main points.

A. Aspects of English that CAY lacks	N/A
B. Aspects of English that are more sophisticated than CAY	N/A
C. Aspects of English that approximately equal CAY	4 main types
D. Aspects of CAY that are more sophisticated than English	Specificity of types; Locating episodes

E. Aspects of CAY that English lacks — Extendedness vs restrictedness

English has a relatively simple demonstrative system, so nothing appears in A and B; CAY demonstratives can do all that English demonstratives do.

English and CAY seem equally able to meet the four main types of demonstrative usage. Broadly speaking all languages share universal communicative needs (item C) and these profoundly affect demonstratives of whatever language.

CAY has special forms or dimensions that correspond more clearly than English does to the four main usage types, which may make it more sophisticated (item D) by being able to highlight these functions for an audience.

In addition, CAY can encode in a demonstrative a significantly greater amount of information than English (item D). CAY can locate an episode across a number of semantic dimensions all at once. English can locate episodes as well, but cannot use its demonstratives to provide much information; it must 'work through' a picture that CAY systematically provides. It seems reasonable that CAY speakers will communicate more information about an experience in those areas that correspond to demonstrative usage than English will. In many cases in the Pear Stories we see a CAY speaker doing with a single word what only a few English speakers struggled to do with a number of roundabout clauses.

Finally, CAY distinguishes a dimension of extendness versus restrictedness that English does not. This dimension is not essential to demonstratives, so English does not suffer as a result of this lack. However, the dimension of extendedness versus restrictedness alters significantly in a predictable way the kind of information that is communicated in Yup'ik narrative as opposed to English narrative. In many cases, we see CAY communicating as noteworthy (i.e. the spread of an entity or entities in space and/or time) what English speakers often overlook as inconsequential, in such a way that the influence of the CAY demonstrative system seems to account for the selectivity, and not some cultural or psychological factor. We have discovered a subtle, and limited example of a Whorfian effect on the communicative process.

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A DISCOURSE-BASED ANALYSIS OF TENSE IN CENTRAL ALASKAN YUP'IK

Jill Snyder

In Central Alaskan Yup'ik, a language of the Eskimo-Aleut family, the expression of tense is optional, but not arbitrary. An analysis of tense marking in six narratives suggests that the appearance of tense marking is motivated by an interruption along the expected flow of time in discourse. In other words, tense marking is used to index the past or future when necessary according to the context. Tense marking is scarce, but when it is used, it tends to appear in three places: in the narrator's talk with the audience, in the speech of the characters in the story, and in places in the story where there is a need to reference either the past or future in relation to the present point of time in the story. Yup'ik tense differs from English tense in that it is derivational instead of inflectional. Also the temporal deictic center in Yup'ik narratives is the "current" point of time in the story while in English narratives, it tends to be the point of time of the telling of the story.

1. Background of Tense System

In the literature on Yup'ik, relatively little has been said about tense, perhaps because in comparison to such topics as Yup'ik phonology, prosody, and demonstratives, tense is considered fairly straightforward.

The little that has appeared has been basic description of its form (Jacobson 1984, Miyaoka to appear). Tense is marked in Yup'ik with postbases which are attached to verb bases. The three main tense-marking postbases are ***-llru***, ***-ciq***, and ***-qatar***. (In this paper, Yup'ik is written in a practical orthography developed by Michael Krauss, Irene Reed, Martha Teeluk, Osahito Miyaoka, and Paschal Afcan 1970.)

The postbase ***-llru*** is used to mark the past.

(1) *qawallruuq*
*qawar-**llru**-u-q*
sleep-PAST-II-3s
'he slept'

The postbase ***-ciq*** is used to mark the future.

(2) *qawarciquq*
*qawar-**ciq**-u-q*
sleep-FUT-II-3s
'he will sleep'

Also used to mark the future is ***-qatar***, which has a slightly different meaning than ***-ciq***, namely the immediate future (IM.FUT) or 'just about to'.

(3) *qawaqatartuq*
*qawar-**qatar** -tu-q*
sleep-IM.FUT-II-3s
'he is about to fall asleep'

Concerning these two future tenses, Mr. Charles once remarked that *qerarciqua* 'I will cross over' is "a bit farther in the future" than *qeraqatartua* 'I am going to cross over', which is "what you say when you are right at the edge, when you are ready to start the action" (1/31/94).

The present tense is formally unmarked.

(4) *qawartuq*
qawar-tu-q
sleep-II-3s
'he is sleeping'

Superficially, one could think Yup'ik tense is just like that of English, in that both languages contain past, present, and future categories, and marking is found on the verb; actually, Yup'ik tense is quite different from English tense both structurally and functionally.

Structurally, tense in English is inflectional, while in Yup'ik it is derivational. While the occurrence of tense markers within the verb is obligatory in English, it is optional in Yup'ik.

Furthermore, the Yup'ik categories of tense do not precisely coincide with those of English. While the Yup'ik categories of past and future have roughly the same meaning as the English categories of past and future respectively, there is a discrepancy in what is referred to by the present tense. In English, the present tense connotes the "here and now" while in Yup'ik, in addition to the "here and now," the present tense includes the time just before the present, that is, it can include anything that has "just" taken place, especially those events which have special relevance to the present.

As a result, sometimes when asked to give a past tense sentence, such as "I answered him," Mr. Charles would give the sentence without the past tense marking, but still translate it as past, as in:

(5) *kiugaka*
kiu-gar-ka
answer-IT-1s/3s
'I answered him'

When asked whether or not this sentence is in the past tense, Mr. Charles said first yes and then no, faced with the difficult task of trying to reconcile two different tense systems.

Functional differences between the Yup'ik and English tense systems will be discussed as we analyze the data.

2. Database

Our initial database was the product of a year of work with two consultants, Mr. George Charles and Mrs. Liz Ali, at the University of California, Santa Barbara, 1993-94. Both consultants were born on Nelson Island, Alaska, in the 1940s, and are native speakers of Yup'ik.

In addition to elicited words, paradigms, and sentences, our data base includes six narratives, varying in length:

1. The Beaver Story	B
2. How Liz Got her Name	N
3. The Evil Raven	R
4. The New Motor	M
5. The Pear Story	P
6. The Little People	L

The first story was told by Mr. Charles. The other texts were from Mrs. Ali.

The following chart shows the number of verbs in each of the narratives, and the proportion of them marked with tense.

Table 1. Tense Marking in the Narratives

STORY	# VERBS	#MARKED	%MARKED
1. Beaver	35	4	11%
2. Liz's Name	9	3	33%
3. Raven	48	1	2%
4. Boat	31	6	19%
5. Pear	79	3	4%
6. Little People	50	3	6%
TOTAL:	252	20	8%

Included in the verb count are not just indicative verbs, but verbs in any mood, since a verb in any mood can take tense marking.

Present tense verbs are also included in the count, however, this is problematic since they are formally unmarked. The "% marked" should ideally be the number of marked verbs that could appear with a past or future marking, which actually do have tense marking. But "present tense" verbs are included in the verb count because in many cases in the narratives, unmarked verbs are glossed as past or future and could take tense marking, as in (6).

(6) *Ayasciiganani.* *Tuai-gguq* *qenerluni* *tauna angun.* B57-8
ayag-sciigate-na-ni *tuai=gguq* *qenerte-lu-ni* *tauna angun*
leave-unable-SUB-3s then=HRS angry-SUB-3s DPR1b man
'The engine wouldn't start, so the man got angry.'

Out of context, these verbs have no time specification. They could appear with ***-llru*** to mark them as past, or, since they are unmarked, we could translate this sentence in the present, 'the man can't travel, so he gets angry'. It is from the context of the story that the hearer must infer the tense.

The present tense is considered unmarked here rather than marked with a zero-morpheme, because the latter would give Yup'ik tense inflectional status, inappropriate here. The absence of tense marking is not meaningful. In other words, lack of marking does not have specific meaning as, for example, the absence of number marking does on English nouns. A noun like 'house' without a number suffix could be said to have a zero-morpheme denoting singular. It is not clear that Yup'ik verbs unmarked for tense can be said to "have" a tense at all, when it seems that the tense is just inferred from the context, as shown above in example (6).

3. Appearance of Marking

From Table 1 above it can be seen is that tense marking is rare. Not even ten percent of the verbs in the narratives have tense marking. Since tense marking is optional, the question arises as to where and why speakers choose to mark tense when they do.

One guess might be that it is related to mood, that it appears with independent moods like the indicative but not with dependent modes like the participial. However, as mentioned above and attested in our data, tense can appear with a variety of moods.

INDICATIVE

(7) *teriillruutek* M51
*teriir-**llru**-u-tek*
chuckle-PAST-II-2D
'they chuckled'

PARTICIPIAL

(8) *iqvallrulria* P96
*iqvar-**llru**-lria*
pick-past-PI.3s
'the one who picked'

The distribution of tense markers in the narratives suggests a different pattern. First, tense marking appears when the narrator is talking to the audience. Of the twenty tense markers found in the six narratives, eight (40%), occurred when the narrator was speaking directly to the audience and thus was "outside" the story. Examples of this are given below.

(9) *qalarteqatartua* P2
*qalarte-**qatar**-tu-a*
speak-IM.FUT-II-1s
'I am now going to speak (...with George on what I just saw)'

Mrs. Ali used ***-qatar*** here instead of ***-ciq*** because she was on the verge of telling her

brother about the Pear Film. Similarly, at the beginning of The New Motor, she says,

(10) *qanemciqatartua* M1
*qanemci-**qatar**-tu-a*
tell.story-IM.FUT-II-1s
'I am going to tell a story'

At the end of the story of the *Ircinrrat* or 'Little People,' she says,

(11) *maureluma* *tuaten,* *qanerutellruanga* ... L125-7
maureluq-ma *tuaten* *qaner-ute-**llru**-a-anga*
grandmother-1s/s.ERG this.way speak-APPLIC-PAST-IT-3s/1s
'my grandmother in this way she told me'

Her use of *tuaten* 'in THIS way' with *qanerutellruanga* 'she TOLD me' is interesting. This present re-enactment of the past may be another factor influencing the marking of tense. There is a need to specify the past since the demonstrative refers to the "here and now". The past tense marker makes it clear that what is being done now is connected to what was done in the past.

Other examples of this use appear in the New Motor. Mrs. Ali begins by telling how her father, when he told this story, used to sit at a table with his friend. She says,

(12) *ataka* *waten* *aqumtullruuq* M6
ata-ka *waten* aqume-*tu-**llru**-u-q*
father-1s/3s like.this sit-HAB-PAST-II-3s
'My father would sit in this manner.'

(13) *waten* *qanrutellruaa* M9-10
waten *qaner-ute-**llru**-a-a*
like.this speak-APPLIC-PAST-IT-3s/3s
'This is what he told

ilurani-gguq
iluraq-ni=gguq
friend-3R/SP=HRS
his friend.'

In addition to using tense marking at the edges of their storytelling, the speakers use tense marking to "come out" of the story to speak to the audience. Similarly, in the middle of the Beaver Story, Mr. Charles says,

(14) *tamakut* *ungungunsiit* *tamaani* *qanlallruameng* B26-7
tamakut *ungungunsii-t* *tamaa-ni* *qaner-lar-**llru**-a-meng*
DPE.those animal-P DAE1b-LOC speak-HAB-PAST-CNSQ-3RP
'since at that time those animals could talk'

then goes on to quote the beaver. By marking this verb with the past tense, Mr. Charles seems to be coming out of the story to tell the audience about the time "when animals could talk", which in relation to the audience is past, whereas in relation to the story, that time is present.

Another place where tense marking is pervasive is in direct quotes in the stories. Of the twenty tense markers found in the narratives, five (25%) are found in direct quotes, in utterances made by the characters.

In the New Motor, for example, when the boat breaks down, the man starts beating it with a stick, exclaiming,

(15) "*qaillu-gguq* *unacilleq,* M46-7
qaillun=gguq *una-cilleq*
how=HRS this-worthless
"What caused this worthless thing

qaillun *ayag**ciq**artua*?"
qaillun *ayag-**ciq**-arte*-u-a
how leave-FUT-immediately-II-1s
to stop?"

In the Beaver Story, when the porcupine asks the beaver to take him across the river, the beaver replies, "however those things, because you're a porcupine, those things of yours will poke my back...

(16) *assii**ciia**quq* B44
*assiite-**ciiqe**-u-q*
bad-FUT-II-3s
'it will be bad'

Then the beaver, after asking the porcupine to remove his quills, says,

(17) *pi**ku**vet* *qerau**ciq**amken* *tunumkun* B49-50
*pi-**ku**-vet* *qerar-ute-**ciq**-a-mken* *tunu-mkun*
do-COND-2s cross-APPLIC-FUT-IT-1s/2s back-1s/SP.VIA
'If you do that, I will take you across on my back.'

Another example of tense marking in a direct quote comes from the Raven Story. When the raven pesters the little girl for her food, the girl says,

(18) *carrakuinegmek* *cikir**ciq**amken* R91
carraq-kuineq-mek *cikir-**ciq**-a-mken*
little.bit-small.amount-ABL give-FUT-IT-1s/2s
'I will give you a little bit.'

In addition to the narrator's talk with the audience and the speech of the characters, tense marking seems to appear for various other discourse reasons, such as to refer back to

something that happened earlier in the story, to refer forward to something that will happen in the story, or to "set the stage", as will be explained.

Tense marking appears in the story when the progression of time is interrupted to refer back to something that happened earlier. Towards the end of the Pear Story, for example, the man who was picking pears at the beginning reappears. Mrs. Ali says "they pass the man, remember...

(19) *iqvallrulria* P96
iqvar-llru-lria
pick-PAST-PI.3s
'the one who picked'

Tense marking also appears in the narratives when the flow of time is interrupted to mark something that will happen in the future in reference to the current point of time in the story. For example, in the beginning of the story of how Mrs. Ali got her Yup'ik name, she is on her way to a wedding. Referring to the woman getting married she says,

(20) *ilaka* *tauna* *kassutqatarlani* N4
ila-ka *tauna* *kassut-qatar*-ller-ani
relative-1s/s DPR1b married-IM.FUT-CONT1-3s
'when my relative was about to be married'

The Yup'ik differs from its English translation in tense. The sentence was translated in the past, 'my relative WAS about to be married,' though there is no actual past tense marking in the Yup'ik. This difference reflects a fundamental difference in the tense systems of Yup'ik and English. In Yup'ik, the temporal deictic center is the "current" point in the story, so things that are going to happen in the story are marked with the future; in English, the temporal deictic center or reference point tends to be the point of time of the telling of the story, resulting in past tense marking throughout the story (of something that already occcurred). English does have what is called the "historical present," where stories are told in the present tense to make them more exciting, but this is a marked stylistic device.

A similar example of the future tense marking an interruption in the expected flow of time comes from the Pear Story. The boy stops in front of a basket of pears, and the narrator says,

(21) *ataucimek* *teguqatarlinilria* P47
atauciq-mek *tegu-qatar-llini-lria*
one-ABL take-IM.FUT-EVID-PI.3s
'it appeared that he was going to take one'

Again, the English translation does not match the Yup'ik: 'it appearED that he WAS going to take one' instead of 'it appears he is going to take one.'

Another function of tense marking seems to be to "set the stage". Towards the beginning of Mrs. Ali's story of how she got her name, she says,

(23) *ayagallruunga* *yuillkumun* N2
ayaga-llru-u-nga *yuillku-mun*
travel-PAST-II-1s wilderness-ALL
'I travelled out there in the wilderness (lit. where people don't live)'

Almost immediately, she follows with,

(24) *angyakun* *ayallruama* N5
angyaq-kun *aya-llru-a-ma*
boat-VIA go-PAST-CNSQ-1s
'so I travelled by boat'

By marking these travelling verbs with the past tense, the narrator sets the stage for the main point of the story, that Mrs. Ali and her companion get lost.

In sum, tense marking has various functions. It tends to appear when there is a discrepancy in the expected time line and when background is being given.

4. Theoretical Implications

A formal distinction is often made between inflectional and derivational morphology. One question that arises is whether or not this distinction is useful. Our Yup'ik data suggest that the answer is yes. Yup'ik tense marking differs from English tense marking in that it is derivational and not inflectional. While tense marking is obligatory in English, it is not in Yup'ik, which makes it a useful tool for Yup'ik speakers to employ when they want to. Speakers tend to use tense marking to set the stage of a story, or to clarify a break in the expected time line of the discourse.

One as yet little studied area of Yup'ik is conversation. As we have seen, tense marking tends to appear when the narrator is speaking directly to the audience and in direct quotes in the stories. It is used to mark those things that have happened and those that will happen. In everyday conversation, people tend to jump between talking about past, present, and future events and thus, we might expect to find more tense marking in everyday language than we do in the data base at hand.

5. Conclusion

Yup'ik tense marking differs both structurally and functionally from that of English. Yup'ik tense marking is relatively rare, but in narratives there is a strong tendency for it to appear when the narrator is speaking directly to the audience, when a character in the story speaks, or when the expected flow of time is interrupted, such as to mark something that already happened in the story or something that will happen in the story. The reference point moves along with the story in contrast to the English system, where the reference point generally remains the narrator's point of view. While it might seem from a distance that Yup'ik tense marking is arbitrary, our work with narratives suggests that the appearance of tense marking is contextually motivated.

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THE ALTERNATION OF VERBAL MOOD IN YUPIK ESKIMO NARRATIVE

Steven Lasswell

A rich system of verbal moods is one of the grammatical resources available to speakers of Eskimo languages for expressing such notions as consequence, optativity, and conditionality. An examination of oral narrative data from Central Alaskan Yupik shows how this resource is used in structuring discourse, and particularly shows that one of the moods, the Subordinate, has a function much broader than its function in ordinary conversational use.

1. Introduction

The present paper is a discussion of variation in verbal moods used in Central Alaskan Yupik oral narrative, based on a small set of data recorded in California late in 1993 and during the early part of 1994. Central Alaskan Yupik is one of three languages in the Eskimo division of the Eskimo-Aleut family. It is spoken in southern Alaska in the trifluvial delta region of the Yukon, Kuskokwim and Nushagak Rivers between Norton Sound and Bristol Bay. The consultants, Liz Ali, approximately 45 years of age, and her brother George Charles, age 51, were born on Nelson Island; they are both completely fluent in English and have traveled widely, living outside Alaska for a number of years. Central Alaskan Yupik (hereafter "Yupik") is a polysynthetic language with ergative-absolutive case marking and split syntactic patterns. Nominals and verbals typically include a lexical base followed by a grammatical ending. In nominals, these endings encode number and case, the latter optionally specified for possession (both possessor and possessed); in verbals, endings include both mood markers (to be discussed in detail below), with specification of transitivity, and pronominal suffixes referring to core arguments. Intervening between base and ending can be one or more derivational postbases that modify the meaning of the base, as well as potentially nominalizing or verbalizing it:

(1) *calingssagtuq*
cali-ngssag-tu-q
work-to.V.to.no.particular.end'-I-3
`s/he is puttering around'

(2) *qimugtengirta'rrlugaq*
qimugta-ngirta'rrlugaq
dog-good.old.N
`good old dog'

(3) *nayirrsurtuq*
nayiq-ssur-tu-q
seal-to.hunt.N-I-3
`he is hunting seals'

(4) *tengssun*
tenge-ssun
to.take.flight-device.for.V-ing
'airplane'

(5) *angyarpaliciqngatuq*
angyar-pa-li-ciiqe-ngat-u-q
boat-big-make-FUT-probably-I-3
`s/he will probably make a big boat'

Demonstratives -- both adverbs and pronouns -- are subject to a rich system of inflection based on spatial and temporal reference. Personal pronouns are also inflected. A relatively small set of enclitics is available for lending hortatory, exclamatory, or rhetorical-interrogative effect or indicating evidentiality.

2. Verbal Mood in Central Alaskan Yupik

There are six verbal moods, traditionally divided into two classes based on their usage types in conversation. The ***independent*** moods include the indicative, the interrogative, the optative, and the participial; the ***dependent*** moods are the subordinative and the connective, the latter of which is a collection of moods expressing either causation, eventuality or temporal relations. Following is a summary of the moods and their basic functions in conversation (except as noted) taken from Jacobson (1984):

INDEPENDENT MOODS	COMMON USES
Indicative	In statements and yes-no questions
Interrogative	For content questions and exclamations with the postbase *pag-* `to V so well'
Optative	For commands, requests, suggestions; for statements in narrative with the postbase *-ki-* `to V in the future' and a third person ending
Participial	For exclamations and in certain constructions involving *maaten* `upon which' and the enclitic *=wa*

DEPENDENT MOODS	COMMON USES
Subordinative	For actions and states subordinate to that of the main verb and involving the same subject; for requests, commands, and suggestions with a second person ending
Connective	
- Contemporative 1	"when (in the past)"
- Contemporative 2	"while"
- Contemporative 3	"at the same that"
- Precessive	"before"

- Concessive	"although, even though, if"
- Contingent	"whenever"
- Consequential	"because"
- Conditional	"if, when (in the future)"

Third person reflexivity (designated 3R) is distinguished as a category only in the Connective moods:

(6) *wangkugneng -tawaam tangvakuneng aavurciiqut*
{wangkuta-gmeng tawaam tangvag-ku-neng aavurte-ciiqe-u-t}
us.2.MDd however see-COND-3RP amuse-FUT-I-3P
`If they see the two of us, they will be amused' AW

(7) *peg'arcani =gguq qanpacugtuq*
{pegte-'garar-a-ani gguq qaner-pacug-tu-q}
when he-3_i released him-$3R_j$ CONS(3/3R) it.is.said he_j cried out I-3
`And when he_i released him_j, he_j cried out' AW

(In (6) and (7), the second lines, enclosed in braces, have been added to the original examples.) In other moods, grammatical and/or non-grammatical clues must be used to establish reflexivity of third-person reference.

In some instances, there are separate mood markers for 1st, 2nd or 3rd person subjects (e.g. the Interrogative, transitive Optative, and Connectives), in some isomorphism for two of the three persons (e.g. transitive Indicative), and in others identity for all three persons (e.g. intransitive Indicative, intransitive Participial, Subordinative transitive and intransitive, to be discussed). The intransitive participial marker *-lria-* is formally identical to the nominalizing postbase *-lria-* `the one who is V-ing'. The patterning of verbal modality in narrative is considerably different from that in conversation, where main declarative predications normally appear in the indicative, subordinatives are restricted to predications involving the same subject as that in the main verb, and participials are chiefly used in observational constructions.

(8) *tangurraanka ayalruut*
tangurraq-nka ayag-lru-u-t
boy-ABS:1/P go-PAST-I-3P
`My boys went away' OM

(9) *cenirciiqaanga ata'ku*
cenirte-ciiqe-ga-anga ataku
visit-FUT- T-3/1 this evening
`He will visit me this evening' OM

(10) *Taiciquq piyualuni*
tai-ciqe-u-q piyua-lu-ni
come-FUT-I-3 walk-SI-3S
`She will come (by) walking' SJ

(11) *Maaten itertua anelria*
maaten iter-tu-a ane-lria
just when enter-I-1 go.out-PI:3
`Just when I came in (I saw that) he went out' SJ

In conversation, since a verb in the subordinative mood must be co-referential with the contextual main verb (which is normally in the indicative), specifying the ergative of a transitive subordinative would be superfluous; in fact the only participant specified on such verbs is the absolutive. On intransitive subordinatives, marking of the single participant is similarly superfluous, but the absolutive participant is nonetheless specified. In effect, then, all subordinatives are unambiguously "reflexive" in terms of subject. In narrative, the subordinative is used in autonomous function such that the requirement of co-reference is neutralized:

> The subordinative is also used in place of the indicative in continuing discourse from sentence to sentence, even when the subject has changed. This is the autonomous use of the subordinative. A change of subject may, (1) be clear from context, and/or (2) be obvious because there is a change in grammatical person and/or number, and/or (3) be indicated by various means that don't carry
> across in the written form (that is by length of pauses between phrases, change in pitch in voice, change of tempo, etc.). (Jacobson 1993:214)

The autonomous use of subordinatives is thus a phenomenon peculiar to narrative, part of what Woodbury (1985) has called "rhetorical structure" in the language. Together, autonomous and dependent subordinatives appear with such frequency in narrative that they normally account for the bulk of verbal modality in a given narrative; the subordinative is

> the mood which is normally used throughout a narrative except in the following situations: (1) In the opening sentence(s) of the narrative, or to mark a change of theme, the indicative is often used rather than the subordinative [footnote: the participial verb mood ... may also be used instead of the indicative]. (2) In the observational construction ..., the verb expressing the act of observing (or getting into a position so as to observe) is put in the indicative. (3) For reasons of "style", perhaps to indicate a change of theme, the indicative may be used rather than the subordinative. (Jacobson 1993:325)

An appreciation of the autonomous function of the subordinative thus becomes essential to an understanding of the narrative use of verb moods, and an analysis of modal alternation in narrative will crucially take into account this special characteristic of Yupik verbal morphology.

3. Verbal Mood in Inuktitut: Kalmár (1982)

Kalmár (1982) is a pioneering look at the function of verb moods appearing in Eskimo

narrative texts, based on Inuktitut (Iglulingmiut dialect). Despite genetic similarity between the verbal moods in Inuktitut and Yupik, moods in the former operate differently from those in the latter in a number a ways. First, an Inuktitut verb contains two rather than a single mood suffix, structurally denoted ***primary*** and ***secondary***. Primary moods are the Main, Negative declarative, Optative, Imperative, Participial, Appositional (future, non-future, and negative), and Relative, and as such correspond only roughly to the verbal moods of Yupik: Inuk. Appositional ~ Yup. Subordinative, but Inuk. Relative appears to have no clear genetic counterpart in Yupik. Secondary mood suffixes in Inuktitut include the Conjunctive, Subjunctive, and Dubitative, and thus it would appear that the functions of the Yup. Connective are filled only by a combination of primary and secondary moods in Inuktitut.[1] Kalmár's study is restricted to the occurrence of the primary moods in narrative -- a restriction that, while entailing a managable investigative scope, appears methodologically questionable since it would seem to arbitrarily exclude the possible effects of the secondary moods from consideration. Nonetheless, the study is important as an initial examination of the function of verbal mood in Eskimo narrative, and Kalmár himself (1982:60) emphasizes the tentative nature of his conclusions.

Presenting a discussion of two of a not further specified "large number of texts" he had examined, Kalmár arrives at a general conclusion that, in seeking to understand fully the function of linguistic elements in discourse strategies, we will have to admit the possibility of inconsistencies in form and function. For Inuktitut, his findings are that combinations of the primary verbal moods organize information around three dimensions of textual attributes: essentiality, development, and event focus, such that there is an implicational hierarchy ESS > DEV > EVT: Main, Optative, and Interrogative moods present information that is essential, developmental, and event-focused; the Relative expresses non-essential (background) information that develops narrative by focusing on events; the Appositional details background information and elaborates (as opposed to developing) it while focussing on events; the Participial presents and elaborates background information focused on participants rather than on events. Schematically, the breakdown is:

Essential information	+	-	-	-		
Development		+	+	-	-	
Event focus		+	+	+	-	
		MOI	Rel	App	P	(Kalmár 1982:57)

As grammaticization studies show, grammar in languages indeed serves discourse functions, and Kalmár's premises about the workings of Inuktitut verbal moods are intriguing. However, the specifics he arrives at on the basis of the data presented appear remarkably clear-cut; given the competing motivations and often conflicting systemic and non-systemic pressures inherent in the development of natural languages, such precision of functional distribution would be surprising. The neatness of the tripartite model based on the dimensions essentiality, development and event focus of narrative information as filled out completely and perfectly by the four primary moods of Inuktitut -- in, as Kalmár suggests, precisely the four combinations of the dimensions that are necessary and sufficient for the functioning of narrative -- makes the Inuktitut system appear to have been drafted on the drawingboard. Examining the Inuktitut data presented, it is difficult to reconstruct the criteria for the dimensions themselves:

Essential Information (ESS) is felt by the speaker to be a proposition without which

> the discourse would not have the characteristics of a text, in our case of a narrative text. The text would not "sound like a story". Development (DEV) is felt by the speaker to be an attribute of propositions that further the plot from one point to the next. Event-focus (EVT) is used by the speaker when he feels
> the predicate part of the proposition to be more important than the arguments.
> (Kalmár 1982:57)

The first of Kalmár's texts is a narrative about children playing in an ice fissure and thereby bothering a breathing-hole sealer, who calls down their doom; in turn, the doom of the sealer is called down upon him (by whom is not clear), and he is turned into frost. The narrative opens by establishing the whereabouts and the activities of the children and the sealer; the Relative (-ESS +DEV +EVT, according to Kalmár's characterization) is used in both cases. The first crucial event of the narrative, the fact that the children are closed over by ice, and the second, that the ice fissure is impossible to open, occur also in the Relative. (The former follows immediately upon the sealer's curse in the Optative; as in many folk-tales, curses apparently entail automatically the events or states they invoke, so the closing over of the ice is considered background rather than essential information.) The reactions of the trapped children and of their family are presented in the Main mood, those of the sealer's wife in the Relative. Here, one might reasonably expect the opening information about the children and the sealer to be essential and thus appear in the Main mood, in that there would be no story without it; likewise, even if the actual closing of the fissure is merely background and developmental, it would seem that the state of its inalterability, being what entails the children's doom, might be essential to the narrative. Finally, if the function of the Participial mood, which appears not to occur in this narrative at all, is to provide participant focus, it would seem to be the mood in which the reactions of the children, their family and the sealer's wife would appear. Instead, statements about the children being hopelessly lost and crying unceasingly, also both presumably focusing on participants, appear in the Relative.

The second of Kalmár's examples is a story about Foolish Raven and his ultimately unsuccessful attempt to keep up with the winter migration of his two wives, who are geese. The narrative opens with the information that the raven married a goose, but unlike in the Breathing-Hole Sealer, where such stage-setting has background status and appears in the Relative, this information is presented in the Main mood. The tiredness of the geese is narrated as background information, the raven's exhaustion as essential, although both would seem to be primarily focused on the participants. Likewise, the geese's fear that they would freeze (the raven having worn their feathers off) is in the Appositional, which is +EVT/-PRCT. In general, the Participial seems to encode a rather mixed bag of information in this narrative, primarily event-focused statements on aspects of the birds' flight. At the climax of the narrative, the resting geese suddenly separate and the raven, trying to light atop them, splashes into the sea; the geese's action is background (Relative mood), although it directly precipitates the catastrophe for the raven, itself expressed in the Main mood as essential information. The fate of the raven is given in the Appositional as the narrative closes.

While subjectivity of function is a notion built into Kalmár's framework ("... is felt by the speaker..."), it is clear that analysis of language phenomena needs to be as objective as possible. In the present paper, therefore, I will offer criteria for characterizing narrative function that entail a minimum of inherent subjectivity, criteria that are rigorous without being rigid. What will emerge is a framework for characterizing the alternation of verbal mood in Yupik narrative based on the data

at hand.

4. A Theory of Yupik Mood Alternation in Narrative

On the basis of the current data, the alternation of verbal moods in Yupik narrative supports the characterization of the Subordinative as the major mood in Yupik narrative, its use in these types of texts differing considerably from its function in non-narrative discourse.

The current data support the theory that the interplay of verbal moods in Yupik narrative is a result of a systemic shift in the propositional domains of reference for the various moods or bundles of moods (as in Inuktitut, the Optative and Interrogative function much like the "main" Indicative mood). For the discussion of these domains that follows, it will first be appropriate to define the criterial aspects of these domains as they apply to the type of oral narration at hand.

4.1. Definition of Terms

Especially in oral presentation, narratives are usually framed at the beginning, the end, or both by the narrator's comments on the provenience and/or significance of the plot-based narrative itself; ***framing*** a narrative entails moving between the immediate mode of consciousness to the displaced mode (Chafe 1994). Integral to the concept of narrative structure is the concept of the ***episode*** as a portion of a narrative distinguishable as presenting one coherent section of the totality of the narrative. A narrative thus consists of one or more episodes, each of which typically contains some type of chronological and/or psychological movement representing a significant development of the plot. ***Episode boundaries*** are the points of transition between such subsections of a narrative; boundaries between episodes typically entail the start of a new line of development in the ensuing subsection. ***Climaxes*** in narrative are those peaks of action, mental activity or meta-narrational revelation that represent the central moments of plot development; they are often the source or result of a series of events that make up the plot, and although it is usually possible to identify one main climax in a given narrative, sub-climaxes can sometimes be distinguished in individual episodes.

Participants in narrative are all characters (persons and, especially prominent in Eskimo traditional tales, animals) appearing in the plot; sometimes, it seems, persons originally in a narrative as part of the frame can move into the narrative itself, as in reminiscences. Participants in a narrative can be recurring or non-recurring; recursion normally coincides with significance in the overall plot. ***Verbs of cognition*** are verbs referring to such phenomena as thinking and realizing; ***observational verbs*** are those that denote seeing, watching and the like. The final notion crucial to our discussion of the narrative functions of verbal moods is that of the ***autonomous*** vs. ***dependent*** uses of the Subordinative. Following Jacobson (1993) and Woodbury (1983), the use of a verb in the subordinative mood will be taken to be ***autonomous*** when the propositional semantics of the context suggest that the verbalization in question represents the main predication of a group of clauses logically interrelated by plot.

4.2. Functions of Verbal Moods

While the Subordinative does indeed carry the heaviest functional load in narrative, there is

a functional distinction between its dependent and autonomous uses: as in non-narrative contexts, the Dependent Subordinative can occur in any co-referential predications, but the Autonomous Subordinative is reserved for reference to events and states involving recurring participants already established in the narrative framework. The Connective moods are used much as they are in non-narrative contexts, namely for the conceptual linkage of discourse events in terms of causation, eventuality or temporality. (Although the Connective is thus the most clearly semantic of the moods, its use is by no means strictly semantically determined, since there are a number of postbases (cf. p. 14 below) available as an alternate resource for establishing the semantic links in question.)

The introduction of recurring participants is one of the several functions of the Participial mood; it is also used for moving to new episodes within the narrative, as well as for presenting climaxes and sub-climaxes, and in focusing on participants, especially in character-revealing references. In the present data, as well, the Participial is used for observational events themselves (as opposed to their consequences, cf. the characterization in Jacobson 1993 above) and for such cognitive activities as admiring and forgetting. The Indicative occurs in narrative framing, for introducing or conveying in its entirety quoted speech within the narrative, and for reporting some cognitive events, such as realization. The Indicative is possibly also used for introducing non-recurring participants of minimal narrative significance. Finally, although its infrequency of occurrence in the current data affords scant opportunity for observation, it is possible that the very phenomenon of mood-switch itself may contribute to establishing participant identity in situations of potential ambiguity.

5. Data

The Yupik data examined consist of five narratives related by Liz Ali and George Charles of Nelson Island, Alaska. Although pure tallies by themselves do little to illumine detail that must be won by analysis, raw numbers of occurrences[2] do provide an impression of the ranges of alternation for each of the narratives:

NARRATIVE	IND.	SUB.	PART.	CONN.	TOTAL
1) PEARS	3	36	26	11	76
2) MOTOR	4	15	13	3	35
3) ELVES	17	31	12	4	64
4) RAVEN	13	14	21	4	52
5) BEAVER	12	15	10	4	41

Of the five narratives, the first -- a response (by the consultant Liz Ali) to the Pear Film (Chafe 1980) -- is unlike the others in that it represents spontaneous monologic discourse, and also in that it features a number of different participants. Narrative 2 is a reminiscence of an anecdote from the consultant's childhood, while 3 and 4 were told to the consultant by her grandmother. Narrative 5 is, like 4, a Yupik traditional tale, and is the only one not related by Liz Ali, but by her brother, George Charles. In the current section, I will present and discuss data from the Pear Story, and this will be followed by a brief discussion of the remaining four narratives. Columnar arrangements of clauses (in translation) according to occurrence of verbal moods for each of the four will be found in the Appendix.

5.1. The Pear Story

The Pear Film was shown to the consultant Liz Ali, who was asked to relate on tape what she had seen in the film to her brother George (one of whose Yupik names is used in the frame opening the narrative). Below is the consultant's account divided according to the verbal moods employed, in quasi-literal translation into English, a technique of presentation adapted from Kalmár (1982), with analytic annotations appearing in capitals adjacent to each entry of narrative text; a parsed and glossed transcription of the Pear Story appears in the Appendix. A convention used throughout these columnar presentations of data is that of indicating whether intransitive subordinatives seem to be autonomous or dependent; the former are rendered in finite verb forms in English (e.g. *walked, spoke*), the latter (following Jacobson 1993) in non-finite forms (*walking, speaking*). To better convey the Yupik inflectional information, pronouns are not used before dependent subordinatives. Episode boundaries are indicated as broken lines running across the page.

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
1) To George I am going to speak now about	{FRAMING		
		2) what I've just seen.	
	3) The people do not speak.	{START NARR. PROPER	
		4) At the beginning, a man in a tree was picking fruits,	{INTRO. {WORKER
	5) big fruits, putting them into a basket		
	6) doing it very carefully,		
	7) And then, after picking,		
	8) filling the container,		
	9) descended from the tree.		
	10) Carefully placing one fruit,		
			11) when it fell,
		12) he picked it up again,	{NW EPISODE {+PART.FOC.
	13) placing it and,		
	14) doing so well,		
		15) he placed it into the basket.	{PART. FOC. {+SB-CLIM.?
			16) Then, while he was working

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
17) a man passed	{INTRO. NON- {RECURRING {PARTICIPANT		
	18) being accompanied by an animal.		
		19) Then those two passed	{2nd NON- {SUBORD. {MENTION {OF PART.
	20) making no noise.		
		21) The one who was working	
	22) didn't greet him, and then		
	23) leaving him alone,		
		24) the two left.	{FINAL MEN- {TION OF {N/R PART.
	25) Then once again climbing into the tree,	{LATER CHANGED {TO PARTICIPIAL {= NEW EPISODE	
	26) in order to work,		
	27) again picked.		
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
		FIRST OCCURRENCE} OF AMBIPHORIC ENCLITIC	**28)** While he was picking=*AM*
		29) a child passed by,	{INTRO BOY {NW EPISODE
		30) he admired the fruits,	{COGNITIVE {ACTIVITY
		31) apparently he was going to take one along	{PART. FOC.
HORRORS			
			32) perhaps bec. he was so hungry

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
		33) he took all of them, the fruits.	{PART. FOC. {(EMPHATIC) { + CLIMAX
		34) And the afore -mentioned placed them	{PART. FOC. {MAINTAINED {+ SUB-CLI.
			35) with difficulty onto his bicycle.
	36) Then left.	{REVERSION TO {REL. EVENT FOC.	
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
		2nd OCCURRENCE} AMBIPHORIC ENCL.}	**37)** As he was travel-ing=*AM*
		38) a little girl passed him.	{INTRO GIRL {NW EPISODE
		39) He watched her,	{OBSERVA- { TIONAL
	40) [him] trav--eling.		
	41) And once again, did not greet her.		
	42) Then continu--ing to travel		
			43) bec. he was headed over there somewhere.
	44) Traveled=*AM*, and these--	{3rd OCCURRENCE {AMBIPH. ENCL.	
OH DEAR			
		45) he continued to watch that nice girl.	{OBSERVAT.
WATCH OUT!			

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
		46) He bumped	{CLIMAX
	47) falling and the fruits		
	48) falling out, all of them.		
		49) And then that girl left.	{SUB-CLIM. {PART.FOC.?
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
		50) Upon which =*GUUQ* these three approached,	{NW EPISODE {+ INTRO. { GROUP
		51) and they -- that one, they they helped him.	{CONTINUE {NW EPISODE {;PART.FOC.
	52) Those fruits, putting them into his basket.		
GOOD JOB	Then he (PRONOUN) **53)** left	{EVENT FOCUS {IN PRIMARY {NARR. MOOD	
		54) but he forgot his hat.	{COGNITIVE {ACTIVITY
		55) One of them quickly picked it up, the hat.	{PART. FOC.
	56) Called him suddenly		
	57) not speaking,		
	58) but whistling.		
		59) Again that one, the little	{PART. FOC. {cp. #52 <<
		3s3Rs MARKING} ON VERB }	**60)** Then before he left him,
		61) without him one of them knowing it, he quickly took of the fruits	{(DOUBLE) {PART. FOC.

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
	62) passed them out to those of his group	{DIFFERENT MOOD {FOR SWITCHED {REF? GROUP=3Rs	
	63) and he (PRON.) ate.	{FURTHER DISAMB. {VIA PRONOUN	
	64) Again they went over there,		
	65) the earlier one, passing the man		
REMEMBER			
		66) the one who was picking.	
	67) That man, they passed him.		
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
		FALSE START}	**68)** And because he climbed down--
		69) He climbed down,	{NW EPSIODE
			70) because the contain-er was filled.
71) Upon which he noticed		{COGNITIVE ACT. {;LEAVING NARR.?	
	72) one of the baskets was missing.		
	73) And then leaning briefly against the tree,		
	74) stood up.		
	OBSERVATIONAL} + CLIMACTIC }	**75)** He watched these boys	
			76) as they were leaving.
THE END!			

SUMMARY OF FUNCTIONS OF VERBAL MOODS

IND-OPT-INT	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
- Framing - Some cognition - Intro. non-recurring part.'s (?) - Quotation (not occurring in the Pear Story)	- Primary mood of narration - Relative focus on non-climactic events	- Intro. recurring partic. - Participant focus - Observation & some cognition - Climaxes - New episodes	- Semantically determined (causation, potentiality, temporal relations)

5.3. Discussion

In analyzing the alternation of moods used to narrate the current Pear Story, it will be useful to consider the Subordinative as the default mood for narration, with any departures from the Subordinative requiring explanation on the basis of the internal structure of the story. (Although this perspective is an oversimplification of the situation in Yupik, it will prove to be of heuristic value.)

Moves "into" any of the various Connective moods are determined semantically by the causal, conditional, and temporal relations, so the motivations for occurrences of the Connective are relatively straightforward. (Once again, however, there are instances of postbases being used to accomplish what the Connective might have been used for instead -- e.g. in Clauses 7-9, where it appears the sequence "And then, after picking, filling the container, (he) descended from the tree" (all verbs subordinative) could have been rendered "Then before he descended (CONN=Precessive) from the tree, (he) filled his container..." or "Because he had filled (CONN=Consequential) his container, ...", as occurs in Clauses 69-70 after a false start in 68.) The Indicative mood is here used in a readily discernible pattern. Framing occurs only at the beginning, but it is also possible that the use of the Indicative in Clause 71 is partially due to a (somewhat premature) end-framing, which is a tendency regularly observable in other data. Use of the Indicative to introduce non-recurring participants must remain an imponderable at this point, but the difference (and similarity) in treatment between the man with the goat (Clauses 17-24) and the Girl (Clauses 38-49) is intriguing: the former, who has no impact on the events that take place during the course of the narrative and whose appearance in the film is fleeting, is the only participant not introduced in the Participial (17), while the Girl, whose appearance is also (though less) fleeting, but who has a pivotal (though indirect) impact on events, is introduced in the same mood as all other participants. Since one function of the Participial is participant focus as such, a distinction between significant and non-significant characters in a narrative would be corollary. Once participants have been introduced, however, they are established in the narrative -- evidently regardless of their salience -- and subsequent information about them can be offered with participant focus, cp. the Participial-mood departures of both the man with the goat (Clauses 19 and 24) and the Girl (49).

In addition to the introduction of (recurring, relatively significant) participants, the Participial has a number of functions, indeed being used after the Subordinative as the primary mood of narration, in conveying a large portion of the total narrative information. This importance of the

Participial mood is only partially a natural result of participant focus. If the Subordinative in Yupik is indeed the default mood, it would not be unreasonable to expect "marked" information -- peaks of activity and/or mental states -- to be highlighted, as it were, by presentation in a non-default mood. Such peaks include climaxes (both overall-narrative, as in Clauses 75 and 46, and episodic, as in 33-34 and possibly 15 and 49) and the beginnings of individual episodes (which often coincide with the focus of attention being shifted to new participants) e.g. in Clauses 4, 29, 38, and 50.

Once introduced, participants become established and generally enter the main line of narration, what they do being conveyed by the Autonomous Subordinative. Certain activities, however, especially those that reflect on participants' characters, seem to refocus attention on the participant and "return" the individual to the Participial. Instances of this occur in Clauses 12 and 15, which highlight the worker's care and responsibility toward his task (Yupik have a reverence for food, and are very purposive) while also serving to add some contours to a participant who has barely been mentioned; in 31 and 33, attention is refocused on the Bike Boy in connection with his temptation and theft of an entire basket of pears, from a Yupik perspective a very extreme act that met with emphatic disapprobation from the consultant. (This evaluative reaction is also signaled by her use of the interjection *arenqai-tuai* `(very) unsatisfactory'.)

One question remaining from the modal alternation in the current Pear Story is the different treatment of two superficially similar events: the Bike Boy's actual pilferage of the pears (Clauses 34-35) and the Worker's realization of the basket's absence (Clauses 72-73), where the former is reported in a Participial-Subordinative sequence, the latter in a Subordinative-Connective combination. Both cases would seem to represent climactic moments as well as focus on the participants respectively involved, but it might be expected that Clause 34 would have been in the Subordinative (as a return to the primary mood of narration, the preceding non-connective moods having already focused on the Boy) while the information in both 71 and 73 could have been conveyed via the Participial (as participant-focused and climactic, respectively). While this expectation appears reasonable from an analyst's viewpoint, the fact that it is not fulfilled points to an important fact about the theory here presented: although it can be used to explain the regularities that occur in Yupik narrative, it should not be thought of as unfallibly predictive. When motivations for modal expression conflict, the actual mood used would appear to be a function of contextual factors: given the force of the disapprobation building from Clause 31 on, the participant focus of 33 apparently carries over into the following clause, and given that the climax of the narrative -- its "punchline" -- will be reported in Clause 75, what at first looks like an episodic climax (in 72) remains a part of the default narrative.[3]

Concerning verbalizations of sensory and mental activity, the present data indicate that these receive consistent expression in non-subordinative moods. In the current Pear Story, a sense-based realization is conveyed in the Indicative (Clause 71), sightings (39, 75) and mental activity (30, 54) in the Participial. This pattern -- the non-subordinative verbalization of observational events themselves -- is one that recurs throughout the narratives examined, but it is in apparent disagreement with the characterization of observational constructions in Jacobson (1993). There, observational activities are reported to take the form of Indicatives, while what is actually observed appears normally in the Participial, occasionally in the Subordinative (1993: 345 fn. 3). Here again, however, it would seem that other contextual factors, such as anticipatory participant focus (30), framing (71), and climactic status (75), influence the narrator's choice of verbal mood, and a full account of the status of observational constructions in narrative will have take into account the interworkings of these various factors on the basis of a larger body of data.

5.4. Other Narratives in Corpus

As noted in Section 5 above, the Pear Story is a special case in the present collection of texts, representing spontaneous monologic discourse as opposed to narratives of traditional or reminiscent provenience. Nonetheless, the alternation of verbal moods found in the Pear Story just discussed is evidenced, with some degree of variation, in the rest of the corpus. In the following, a few remarks regarding the special characteristics of each narrative will be made; fully annotated columnar versions (in translation) will be found in the Appendix to this paper. `The Motor', the shortest sample in the present corpus, is a reminiscence from the consultant's childhood. It is remarkable for the occurrence of double framing: there is an external frame formed by the consultant's expressed move into a storytelling mode, and an internal or intermediary frame formed by the people who told the anecdote during the consultant's childhood (her father and a friend of his). Both frames are opened in the Indicative, as would be expected, but well into the overall plot (Clause 25), the intermediaries (father and friend) themselves enter into the narrative, their presence in the consciousness of the narrator evidently having become so germane to the childhood memory that their initial displacement gives way to inclusion in the narration: their reaction to the anecdote is an integral part of the narrator's reminiscence itself.

`The Ircinrrat' (Elves) is a legendary tale often told to the consultant during her childhood. It too features double framing; unlike in `Motor', where the original framing relations were altered by the shift in consciousness just discussed and there is no end-framing, both the external and the internal frames are closed (as expected, in the Indicative). Verbalizations of realization consistently occur in the Indicative (Clauses 25, 50 and 52; cp. Pear Story Clause 71), but there is an interesting alternation in the expression of objects apprehended in following clauses. Clause 51 contains the Subordinative, and 53 the Participial: the latter is a specification of the information in the former, and as such represents the greater of two potential climaxes. Although it might have been possible to present the information in 51 as climactic, the import of the proposition in 53 is presumably heightened by its conveyance in a non-repetitive mood -- certainly a presumption much in need of scrutiny on the basis of further occurrences in actual data.

`The Evil Raven', a Yupik traditional tale, opens in the Participial with no framing whatsoever, and there is a remarkable persistence in this mood. One reason for this may be the nature of the protagonists involved: a Granddaughter and her Grandmother (and the Grandfather), expressed by the Yupik *maurlussaagagtellriik uitaaqellriik* (connoting a mutual relationship), whose special familial status may dictate a correspondingly heightened participant focus. There is much quoted material in the narrative, the great bulk of it appearing in the Indicative; when quotations focus on the protagonist, however, this information takes the form of the Participial.

`The Beaver and the Porcupine', another traditional tale, is the only narrative in the corpus to have been related by someone other than Liz Ali. As told by Liz' brother George Charles, `Beaver' opens (like `Raven') without a frame. There is a noticeable tendency in this narrative for quotations not to be given in their entirety in the Indicative, as happens in `Raven', but for verba diciendi themselves to follow this pattern. (Such verbs were generally obviated in `Raven' by the narrator's use of special voice quality to mark quotations.) For the most part, however, there is an internal consistency to the conveyance of quoted material in `Beaver', with the exception of an apparent anomaly in Clause 29.

Regardless of the framing strategies used in each of the narratives discussed, there is a very

consistent presentation of plot-final climactic material in the Participial mood.

6. Conclusions

As the data presented in the current study indicate, there is a complex interplay of factors involved in the alternation of verbal mood in Central Alaskan Yupik narrative. The theory arrived at by induction presents a framework according to which the Subordinative is the primary mood of narration; the Participial is used for the important functions of introducing new (and significant) participants, focusing attention on participants, and presenting climactic material. The Indicative is largely a framing and quotation mood, while use of the Connective moods is determined semantically by the need to express causation, condition, or temporality. In this capacity, which appears to be identical to their uses in non-narrative contexts, the Connective moods compete with derivational postbases. Cognitive activities are verbalized by the non-subordinative moods Indicative and Participial.

Although valid for the current data, this framework is fragmentary for the simple reason that it has taken into almost exclusive account just one part of inflectional morphology and related this to context semantics in order to arrive at inductive information about apparent intentions of speakers using language in a storytelling mode. In the intricate system of language, what is needed, if linguistic intricacy is to be appreciated to the fullest extent possible to us, is a highly integrative perspective of analytic methods. In particular, a comprehensive understanding of the alternation of verbal moods in Yupik narratives would need to take into account many aspects of language production not or only peripherally considered in the current study, especially prosody and the use of particles (the latter including both enclitics and interjections, the latter of which occur with great frequency in the Pear Story), two components of Woodbury's rhetorical structure. In particular, a well-rounded theory of the discourse functions of grammar (Woodbury's third component) should take into systematic account the use of suprasegmental features for the language in question. By the same token, other grammatical factors, e.g. the use of postbases on verbs in non-connective moods vs. the occurrence of verbs in the Connective, the role (if any) of transitivity and detransitivizing resources in the use of the Participial, and particularly the possible contribution of modal alternation in switch reference (such as the occurrence of the Subordinative in Clause 62 of the Pear Story in a participant-focused context) -- all these and more belong in a fully explanatory framework for the current topic.

Beyond the mere characterization of how verbal moods are used in Yupik narrative, it would be enlightening to be able to form ideas about the possible evolution of so intricate a system, especially since it is so divergent from conversational language. To return to Kalmár (1982): assuming that later proto-Eskimo once possessed a neat functional system for verbal moods, one that was preserved with little change into Inuktitut, what might have been the factors militating historically for a thoroughgoing restructuring of these functions in Yupik? From the incidence of languages from around the world possessing special narrative morphology (Fleischman 1990), it would not be surprising if pressures for the grammaticization of special narrative modal functions come about historically. If such pressures indeed came to develop in the Yupik branch of Eskimo, such as in response to distancing (and thus reverencing) the language of oral literature from everyday speech, the development would presumably have begun with the exploitation of the Subordinative, a mood requiring comparatively less specificity than the Indicative (as not overtly

marking the A in transitive clauses) while at the same time offering speakers/narrators the advantage of "a loose stringing-along of propositions in apposition, and an implication of simultaneous or sequential time relation between them" (Woodbury 1983:297). This would have been the origin of the Autonomous Subordinative, the use of the Subordinative mood unconstrained by coreferentiality.

As a specialization from the Indicative to the Subordinative would have been taking place, following this line of thought, the inherent participant focus of the Participial (whence the agentive postbase *-lria-*) would have suggested a natural resource for foregrounding and the highlighting of salience: the introduction of (significant) participants, focus shifts occuring at the beginnings of episodes, and climaxes. One systemic reason for the extension of participant focus in the Participial would have been that, without the constraint of co-referentiality for the appositional uses of the Subordinative, it would have become increasingly difficult to track referents, a circumstance that would motivate the development of an alternative means for doing this.

An interesting feature of our Yupik Pear Story was the repeated inclusion of the fact that the participants involved failed to greet each other, an aspect not generally commented upon in non-Yupik responses to the film (Chafe 1980). This and the common occurrence of evaluative interjections, as well as the frequency of character-revealing qualities to participant focus in the current data, are just three phenomena suggesting that significant cultural insights await the linguist who pursues an integrative theory of the alternation of verbal mood in Yupik narrative as outlined above. Such insights will in turn complement the perspective of universal, cultural and individual discourse strategies brought up in Kalmár (1982), and lead to an enhanced appreciation of language use in a larger sense.

* * *

Notes

1. Curiously, Kalmár (1982:60 fn 3) asserts that there is no distinction between the main and participial moods in Yupik, citing the reference grammar of Irene Reed et. al. (1977).

2. Forms ambiguous between nominalizations and participials are included in the following figures under the Participial column. A ***nominalization*** is a nominal base + the postbase *-lria*; a verb in the participial mood consists of verbal base + participial postbase(s), which in the case of the 3SG. Intransitive will be formally identical to nominalizations. The presumed lexicalization of the postbase from the participial marker is an issue that merits separate treatment.

3. Kalmár (1982) allows for disagreements between the observer-linguist and the speaker-consultant as to his three dimensions based on the former's theory-informed expectations and the latter's actual usage.

* * *

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THE NEW MOTOR

(from a transcription by Carl Rubino, revised by S.Lasswell)

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
1) Now I'm going to tell a story,	{*EXTERNAL FRAMING*		2) about something I heard when I was a child.
3) Long ago, at home, my father would sit this way at table with his friend,	{*INTERNAL FRAMING*		
	4) sitting face-to-face.		
5) He spoke to his friend as follows.			
		EXTERNALLY FRAM-ED EVENTS NOT AS QUOTATION	6) Before the white men arrived in our land,
	START EPISODE} + INTRO MAN	7) that dear old man went to the store in Bethel of my country.	
	PERSISTENT} PARTIC. FOCUS	8) Then that dear old man bought that motor	
		9) and then quickly put that motor on his boat.	
	10) After putting it on quickly,		
	START EPISODE}	11) he left along the river,	
		12) going downriver,	
	13) going away.		
	14) Leaving towards the Johnson River,		
		15) he then traveled for a very long time,	{*PARTIC. FOCUS*
	16) traveling with pleasure.		
	17) Then arriving toward the Johnson River,		

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
		18) the motor stopped,	*{CLIMACTIC*
	19) stopping		
			20) so that he could not travel.
	21) He sat down,		
	22) being very angry.		
		23) He began to strike the motor,	*{CLIMACTIC AND PARTIC. FOCUS*
24) "Why won't this rotten thing work?"	*{QUOTATION*		
	25) Then the men laughed, my father and his friend.	*{EXTERNAL FRAME PARTIC. ENTER NARRATIVE*	
		26) They laughed a very long time,	*{PARTIC. FOCUS + CLIMAX OF REMINISCENCE?*
	27) they chuckled. That man--		
		28) they thought he was funny, in that	*{PARTIC. FOCUS; POSTBASE INSTEAD OF CONSEQUENTIAL*
		29) the motor had run out of gas.	*{CLIMACTIC*
	30) The man not being able to travel	*{NON-PARTICIPIAL (=ATYPICAL) START OF EPISODE?*	
	31) and getting angry,		
	32) he let the motor be		
		33) and traveled on his own to Bethel again,	*{FOCUS OF NEW EPISODE + PARTIC. FOCUS*
	34) to say about the storekeepers		
		35) they had given him a bad one.	*{CLIMACTIC*

THE IRCINRRAT ('ELVES')
(from a transcription by Carl Rubino, revised by S.Lasswell)

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
1) From the beginning people have believed	{*PRIMARY*		
2) this land is inhabited by many people, and	{*FRAMING*		
3) my grandmother told me many stories like this.	{*SECONDARY FRAMING*		
4) These elves used to meet people face-to-face,	{*HABITUAL ASPECT AS IND.*		
? . . . . . ?			
		5) and then those people, the Yupik, met the elves.	{*PUNCTUAL ASPECT AS EPISODIC AND PARTICIPIAL*
	6) The elves being related--		
. . . . .			
		7) the elves visited for a long time the people in their land	{*BEGIN NARRATIVE PROPER*
	8) and the people prepared food,		
	9) they enjoyed each other,		
	10) dancing together and		
	11) dancing alone.		
	12) And all the people served.		
. . . . .			
			13) And then because it was time for the elves to leave,
		14) the elves invited the people,	{*START EPISODE*

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
	15) asking them to come to their house,		
	16) and then they said yes.		
	17) Those people the elves took along to their land.		
	START EPISODE}	18) And they traveled for a very long time,	
	19) passing lakes		
	20) and passing sloughs,		
BRAVO	21) and then arriving in the land of the elves.		
	22) Coming in,		
	START EPISODE}	23) they entered the land	
			24) while they were traveling for a long time,
25) suddenly the people realized	*{COGNITIVE ACTIVITY*		
		26) they were in a house	*{CLIMACTIC AND PARTIC. FOCUS (?)*
	27) the elves served a feast for the people,		
	28) [who] ate,		
	29) danced,		
	30) and enjoyed very much.		
31) But then some of them thought like this:	*{COGNITIVE ACTIVITY*		
32) "It is time to go home to the land of the human beings"	*{QUOTATION*		

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
	33) They were home-sick.		
	34) Then one of them said to the chief of the elves,		
35) "It's time for them to go home,	*{QUOTATION*		
		36) some of the group are getting homesick.	*{PARTIC. FOCUS WITHIN QUOTATION -- SHIFTING DOMAIN OF QUOTE?*
STILL QUOTATION} OR SHIFTED?	37) They have much to do; it has always been this way,		
			38) because people are always working,
... CONTINUED}	39) preparing for the winter."		
		40) Then that elves -- their chief answered him,	*{NEW EPISODE CONCEPTUALLY... AND CLIMACTIC (?)*
41) Yes, you can go home right now. There are the doors, this door down here and a door up there and another door.			
	42) Choosing to,		
43) they may leave right now."			
			44) Perhaps because they were happy,
	45) the people chose the doors,	*{NOT CLIMACTIC AS FOLL. AUTOM. FROM PERMISSION?*	

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
	46) some of them going out up above, some of them this way, some of them down below.		
	47) Leaving,		
	48) they went outside,		
	49) leaving behind the communal house.		
50) Then suddenly the people realized	{*COGNITIVE ACTIVTY*		
	51) they weren't walking through their own land,		
52) they suddenly realized	{*COGN. ACTIV.*		
		53) they were remaining in the land [of the elves].	{*SUPERORDINATE CLIMAX IN REPETITIVE SEQU.*
?			. . . . . ?
	54) But some of them were absent,	{*ANTICLIMACTIC ?*	
55) sometimes now their relatives hear them,	{*FRAMING*		
	56) up above people crying, and sometimes in the land down below.		
	59) And from then on there, they would hear people.		
60) And it is generally said inside up there	{*END-FRAMING CONT. (SECONDARY) + HABITUAL ASP.*		
61) up there are people,	{*DISPLACEMENT CONTINUED*		

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
		62) those that went out from above and those below	{PARTIC. FOCUS + CLIMACTIC
63) and there are also people below,	{CONTINUATION		
		64) those who left from below.	{PARTIC. FOCUS + CLIMACTIC
65) Now thus my grandmother told me about the elves.	{END-FRAMING (PRIMARY)		

THE END!

THE EVIL RAVEN

(from a transcription by Carl Rubino, revised by S.Lasswell)

IND/OPT/INTERR.	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
	START OF EPISODE} ;IMMEDIATE AND PERSISTENT PARTIC. FOCUS	1) There was a pair grandmother and grandchild, living together in a small house. Grandmother and grandchild, and	
		2) they stayed inside the house during the day.	
		3) They stayed during the morning,	
		4) the old woman spoke to the grandchild.	
		5) She spoke like this to her grandchild.	
6) "Granddaughter! Granddaughter! Take some food to your grandfather." OPT	*{QUOTATION*		
. . . . .			
			7) And then that dear grandchild, for her grandpa, because she loved him,
	START OF EPISODE} + PERSISTENT PARTIC. FOCUS	8) put out foods	
		9) that [were] good, a few foods for her grandpa on [his] dish.	
		10) She put out	
		11) good food, his favorite things, on it.	

12) She placed them into his dish.

13) She mixed the berries she had picked, and a little piece of dried fish and a good fresh fish,

14) being a pike or

15) being a loche fish.

. . . . . .

16) She brought him those things, for her grandpa,

17) and then preparing briefly,

18) she walked

19) going to the men's house

20) to see her grandpa.

. . . . . .

21) All of a sudden, while she was walking

22) a raven approached.

{START EPISODE AND INTRO. RAVEN + CLIMAX

23) Then the girl didn't want to see the horrible raven,

24) but the raven approached the girl

{SECOND, MORE PORTENTOUS CLIMAX?

25) and walking like this,

26) "Horrible raven, go away to someone else.(OPT)

{QUOTATION

27) I do not want to see you! Oh my! Alas!"

28) "I want to see
you.

29) I came to see
you. Alas!

30) Look! For a
long time I have
not eaten.

31) I am very
hungry.

32) What do you
have to eat?

33) Who are you
bringing food to?"

.....

34) Then the girl,
although she was
reluctant,

35) she faced the
raven, *{CLIMACTIC AND PARTIC. FOCUS*

36) and she talked
like this. *{CONTINUED*

37) "Alas! Leave
me alone! *{QUOTATION*

38) Look, I am very
busy working, *{PARTIC. FOCUS WITHIN QUOTATION*

39) I am bringing
food to my grandpa."

.....

AND YOU KNOW,

40) the raven is a
rascal, *{PARTIC. FOCUS*

41) brazenly
standing in front,

42) and the help-
less little girl
wasn't able to do
anything

43) him standing
like that.

44) "Well the, all right, I will give you a very little bit. And oops-- {*QUOTATION*

45) she gave him some, a little food -alas little- to the raven. {*CLIMACTIC AND PARTIC. FOCUS*

.....

46) Then while the raven was eating --

TRULY

47) he was very hungry -- {*PARTIC. FOCUS*

48) the girl walked fast.

?.....?

49) She went this way and that, {*PARTIC. FOCUS + START EPISODE ?*

50) bringing food to her grandpa

51) answering the raven [giving him his comeuppance].

52) Thus, he finally did eat. {*CLIMACTIC*

THE END!

THE BEAVER AND THE PORCUPINE
(from a transcription by S. Lasswell)

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
UNFRAMED}	1) Long ago at that place, the porcupine, who enjoys eating wild rhubarb,		
	2) was nibbling on them by the river.		
3) He saw that	*{COGN.-PERCEPTIVE*		
	4) he had finished eating the wild rhubarbs.		
		5) And then he was looking, but	*{PARTIC. FOCUS*
	6) could not find any of those wild rhubarbs. And then		
7) he saw across the river a whole lot of wild rhubarbs, but	*{COGN.-PERCEPT.*		
	8) he could not cross over		
		9) doing it. At that time,	
			10) since porcupines could not swim,
		11) he stayed there,	
	12) being unable to cross over.		
	13) While he was there,	*{POSTBASE INSTEAD OF CONTEMPOR. 2*	
		14) he saw a beaver	*{INTRO. BEAVER (VS. COGN.-PERC.)*
		15) swimming in the river.	*{PARTIC. FOCUS*

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
			16) Since the animals could talk at that time,
17) the porcupine asked the beaver,	*{ANTICIPATION OF QUOTATION?*		
18) "You there! Beaver! Are you able			
	19) to take me across	*}{SHIFTED MOOD*	
	20) by swimming to the other side?"	*}{FOR QUOTATION } (STYLISTIC)? }*	
21) And then the beaver said	*{PARALLELS NO. 17 ABOVE*		
22) "I can, but	*{BEGIN QUOTATION*		
			23) because you are a porcupine,
	24) the quills will poke my back, and	*{PARALLELS NOS. 19 & 20 ABOVE*	
25) that will not be good." Then	*{QUOTED CONCL. REVERTS TO INDIC.*		
26) the beaver spoke,	*{PARALLELS NOS. 17 & 21 ABOVE*		
	27) saying		
28) [and] doing,			
	29) "Well, taking those quills off,	*{INTERNAL INCONS. BEGIN QUOTATION (CP. NO. 22)*	
			30) if you do,
31) I will be able to cross over	*{CONCL. TO QUOT. (CP. NO. 25)*		
	32) swimming with you on my back."		
		33) Then the porcupine took off those quills from under his head	*{START EPISODE + CLIMACTIC*

REMEMBER

INDICATIVE	SUBORDINATIVE	PARTICIPIAL	CONNECTIVE
		34) porcupines had poking things on their chest.	*{PARTIC. FOCUS*
	35) And after removing the quills, the beaver's quills,		
36) the beaver spoke,	*{CP. NOS. 17, 21, & 26 ABOVE*		
37) "Well then, if it must be so, you can get upon my back."	*{BEGIN (SELF-CONTAINED) QUOTATION CP. NOS. 22, 31*		
	38) Then the beaver, swimming across the river,	*{PARLLELS NO. 13 ABOVE = DEPENDENT START TO EPISODE*	
		39) took him across there to the place of the wild rhubarbs.	*{FOCUS OF EPISODE AND CLIMAX OF "INNER" NARRATIVE*
	IN ABSENCE OF} OPENING FRAME, EVALUATIVE INFO. PRESENTED AS ...	40) And since that time porcupines have no quills on their bellies, and	*{PARTICIPANT FOCUS (CLIMACTIC)*
	... CLIMAX OF} "OUTER NARRA-TIVE (?)	41) beavers have a white spot on their back ever since.	*{PARTICIPANT FOCUS (CLIMACTIC)*

THE END!

YUP'IK EVIDENTIALS: THE NARRATIVE FUNCTIONS OF =GGUQ AND -LLINI-

Tracy Sellman

This paper examines the roles of the evidentials =gguq and -llini in Yup'ik narratives. The function of the enclitic =gguq is often given as reporting indirect quotations or indicating the speaker's lack of authority in reporting about a situation. Within the Yup'ik narrative, however, =gguq functions to segment larger sections of discourse into smaller, highlighted units that move the story forward. The postbase -llini- is frequently translated as 'evidently' or 'to do something without being observed by the speaker'. The role of -llini- within Yup'ik narratives, however, is more complex. When -llini- is combined with the participial, subordinative, or indicative moods, it functions to focus the attention of the listener on important events within the narrative. Thus, both evidentials perform narrative functions beyond their usage within non-narrative speech.

Within Yup'ik narratives, two forms of evidentials are used regularly, *=gguq* and *-llini-*. This paper will examine the different ways each of these evidentials is employed in four traditional Yup'ik narratives: The Beaver (B) as told by George Charles; The Motor (M), The Little People (L) and The Raven (R) as told by Elizabeth Charles Ali; and in The Pear Story (P) as recounted by Elizabeth Charles Ali.

1. *=gguq*

According to Jacobson (1984:621), the enclitic *=gguq* is 'used to report what a particular person said, functioning like an indirect quotation in English' and 'to report what has been said by others if the speaker cannot claim complete authority for his statements'. Miyaoka (1996) refers to the use of *=gguq* to indicate communication through an intermediary, e.g 'he says that' or 'tell him that'.

In the narratives, the indirect function is often used to quote a character indirectly. For example, in The Little People, when the chief tells his people, the Yup'ik, that they may go home, and his utterance begins:

(1) *ii-**gguq***
ii=gguq
yes=HRS
'"Yes", he said...' L 064

Also within the narratives are examples of *=gguq* used to state a fact about a person or object which the speaker cannot claim to have actually seen or experienced. In The Motor, for example, the man returns to the store that sold him the motor to complain that he had been sold a bad one. In this instance, the enclitie *=gguq* follows the phrase 'a bad one', indicating that the man claimed it was bad, but that the speaker had not examined it firsthand. The use of *=gguq* in this instance may serve to emphasize the punchline of the

story because the listeners know that the man ran out of gas but he was unaware of the fact that motors need gas and, therefore, mistakenly thought the motor was faulty.

(2) *qanrucarturluki* *taukut* *kipusviliurtat*
qaner-ute-cartur-lu-ki *taukut* *kipusviliurta-t*
tell-APPLIC-go.to-SUB-R/3P those store.keeper-P
'He went with the purpose of telling those storekeepers

*assiitelliamek-**gguq***
assiite-liaq-mek=gguq
bad-made-ABL=HRS
that they

tunellinikiit
tune-llini-ke-iit
sell-apparently-PT-3P/3S
sold him a bad one (motor).' M 063-5

Similarly, in The Dirty, Rotten Raven, great attention is placed by the narrator upon the description of the foods the little girl selects to give to her grandfather. The enclitic *=gguq* is used in this situation to indicate that these were apparently the foods she put in his bowl, but the speaker did not actually see them. In addition, the narrator placed great emphasis upon the fact that the little girl had prepared these foods herself. Thus *=gguq* may also serve to focus the listener's attention on these accomplishments.

(3) *neqerrluaraqmek-llu-**gguq***
neqerrluaq-rraq-mek=llu=gguq
dried.fish-a.few-ABL=TOO=HRS
'a piece of dried fish

*assilriamek-llu-**gguq*** *nutaramek* *neqmek*
assir-lria-mek=llu=gguq *nutara-mek* *neqa-mek*
good-NOM-ABL=TOO=HRS fresh-ABL fish-ABL
and a good fresh fish

luqruuyakuluni *wall'u-**gguq*** *manignauluni*
luqruuyak-u-lu-ni *wall'u=gguq* *manigna-u-lu-ni*
pike-be-SUB-3RS either=HRS loche.fish-be-SUB-3RS
either a pike or a loche fish

taukunek
tauku-nek
DEM.that-ABL.P
she

payugeskii
payugte-ke-ii
take.food.to-PT-3s/3s
took them to him' R 035-40

In addition to the functions mentioned by both Jacobson and Miyaoka, the enclitic *=gguq* also appears to be an important ingredient in the narrative formula of traditional stories, just as 'once upon a time. . .' and 'and so. . .' are essential elements in the structure of our own fairy tales. In most cases, *=gguq* occurs at important junctures in the tale and serves to move the story on by encapsulating the next utterance in the traditional 'and so, they say. . .'. It would also indicate to the listener that this event occurred in the past, often imparting to it a mythical quality. As a result, certain combinations of particles with *=gguq* have become lexicalized as formulaic expressions in Yup'ik narratives. The most common lexicalized expressions with *=gguq* contain the conjunction/exclamation *tua-i* 'and so', which is used extensively throughout the narratives to express a change in theme.

(4) *cikiqaqii*
cikir-qar-ke-ii
give-first-PT-3s/3s
'She gave him a little

carrarmek
ca-rraq-mek
thing-little.bit-ABL
a little bit

neqarrarmek
neqa-rraq-mek
food-little-ABL
of food

arenqia *neqarrarmek*
arenqia *neqa-rraq-mek*
ah food-little-ABL
(just a little!)

taumun *tulukarumun.*
tau-mun *tulukaru-mun*
raven-ALL that-ALL
to that raven.

*tuai-llu-**gguq*** *tuai*
tuai=llu=gguq *tuai*
and.then=and=HRS and
And then

nernginanrani *tauna* *tulukaruq*
nere-nginaner-ani *tauna* *tulukaruq*
eat-CONT2-3s that raven
while that Raven was eating

ilumun *kaigyuglinilria*
ilumun *kaig-yug-llini-lria*
truly hungry-feel-EVID-PI.3s
he was so hungry

tauna *nasaurluq*
tauna *nasaurluq*
that girl
that girl

piyualuni *cakneq.*
piyua-lu-ni *cakneq*
walk-SUB-3RS very.much
walked very fast. R 094-102

(5) *ayasciiganani*
ayag-sciigate-a-ni
leave-unable-CNSQ-3s
'Since he could not travel

*tuai-**gguq*** *qenerrluni* *tauna* *angun*
tuai=gguq *qenerte-lu-ni* *tauna* *angun*
that=HRS angry-SUB-3s that man
that man was angry.' M 057-8

In addition, *=gguq* serves a similar function when it appears at the beginning of an utterance on demonstratives, adverbs and conjunctions. When it appears with constituents representing locations, as in examples (11) and (12), *=gguq* may also indicate that the speaker has it on authority that the locations of the objects are correct but that she has not actually been there.

(6) *cunawa-**gguq*** *tauna levaaq* *kaassairutellinilria*
cunawa=gguq *tauna levaaq* *kaassa-irute-llini-lria*
no.wonder=HRS that motor gas-run.out.of-EVID-PI.3s
'No wonder the motor ran out of gas...' M 055-6

(7) *imumi-**gguq*** *tamakut*
imumi=gguq *tamaku-t*
long.ago=HRS those-P
'Long ago, they say, those

issalut
issalu-t
porcupine-p
porcupines

kuimayuilameng.
kuimar-yuite-nga-meng
swim-never-CNSQ-3P
were not able to swim, so ...' B 017-20

(8) *maaten-**gguq*** *am*
maaten=gguq *am*
when=HRS there
'All of a sudden,

piyuacaarallerani *tulukaruq* *aqiirtelria*
piyua-caarar-ller-ani *tulukaruq* *agiirte -lria*
walk-try-CONT1-3s raven approach-PI.3s
while she was walking, Raven approached.' R 049-52

(9) *taugaam-**gguq*** *tua-i*
taugaam=gguq *tuai*
however=HRS and
'But, they say,

tulukaruq
tulukaruq
raven
Raven

agiirtuq
agiirte-u-q
approach-II-3s
approached

nasaurlumun *tua-i* *waten*
nasaurlu-mun *tuai* *waten*
girl-ALL.s and like.this
the girl like this.' R 055-9

(10) *ak'a* *tamaani*
ak'a *tamaani*
long.ago back.then
'Long ago,

*tauna-**gguq*** *issaluq*
tauna=gguq *issaluq*
that.one=HRS porcupine
they say that Porcupine

cuassanek *assililuni*
cuassaq-nek *assir-li-lu-ni*
wild.rhubarb-ABL.P good-NOM-SUB-3s
because he enjoyed eating

nerelami
nere-lar-a-mi
eat-customarily-CNSQ-3RS
wild rhubarb ...' B 001-3

(11) *yaa-i-**gguq*** *amiiket*
yaani=gguq *amiik-t*
over.there=HRS door-P
'over there are the doors' L 066

(12) *pagaani-llu-**gguq*** *cali* *amiik*
pagaa-ni=llu=gguq *cali* *amiik*
up.there-LOC=and=HRS also door
'and above it, another door' L 068

When *=gguq* is attached to nouns, it may serve two roles: moving the story along and indicating that the speaker cannot claim complete authority for his or her statements. It is difficult to tell from the narratives to what extent the latter function is used. In The Little People, for example, the statement in (13) occurs at the beginning of an utterance.

(13) *ircingrrat-**gguq***
ircingrrat=gguq
little.people=HRS
'The Little People, they say,

cen'ingqaumalriit
ceningqa-uma-lrii-t
be.visiting-for.a.long.time-PI-3P
visited for a very long time.' L 016-7

Both the listener and the narrator, however, are aware of the fact that the Little People have not been seen since the arrival of the white man in their country. Although their existence is not doubted, none have actually seen them, so the use of *=gguq* in this case may indicate that the narrator has not seen them either and emphasize the mythical quality of the story.

Occasionally *=gguq* may be attached to the end of a verbal phrase to indicate a

movement forward of the story. In The Motor, for example, the man attaches the motor, and then the narrator states:

(14) *ellirrarluku-llu-**gguq***
elli-rrar-lu-ku=llu=gguq
put-after-SUB-R/3s=and=HRS
'And after he put it (the motor) on

ayalria
ayag-lria
leave-PI.3s
he left.' M 028-9

The enclitic prepares the listener for a change in the story; after attaching the motor, the old man travelled down the river. Similarly, after the bulk of the story has been told, but before the punchline, the narrator brings the listener back to the scene of the two men telling the story.

(15) *el'arlutek-llu-**gguq*** *taukuk* *angutek*
el'ar-lu-tek=llu=gguq *tauku-k* *angun-k*
laugh-SUB-3D=and=HRS those-D man-D
'And so those two men laughed.' M 048

The statement in (16), from The Raven, prepares the listener for a change.

(16) *piyuaqcaarluni-llu-**gguq***
piyua-qcaar-lu-ni=llu=gguq
walk-endearingly-SUB-3s=and=HRS
'And so she walked,

ayagluni
ayag-lu-ni
leave-SUB-3s
she went

angutet *eniitnun*
angun-t *ena-itnun*
man-P house-3P/3s.ALL
to the men's house

ap'aurluni *paqcarturluku.*
ap'a-urluq-ni *paq-cartur-lu-ku*
grandpa-dear-3RS/3s visit-go-SUB-3s
to visit her dear grandfather.' R 045-8

In this case, it serves to heighten the anxiety in the listeners, for they know that Raven will

soon appear to bother the little girl, as he usually does (see example 8).

Interestingly, in The Pear Story, =*gguq* appeared only once, at the very beginning.

(17) *ciungani-**gguq***
ciu-ngani=gguq
front-LOC=HRS
'At the beginning,

una angun
una angun
this man
this man

napami
napa-mi
tree-LOC
in a tree

atsanek
atsaq-nek
fruit-ABL.P
fruit

iqvalria
iqvar-lria
pick-PI.3s
was picking.' P 007-9

This use of the particle may serve to signal the beginning of a story. Its absence in (4) and (5) indicates that these lexicalized expressions may be reserved primarily for use in traditional narratives or in older, secondhand stories, rather than for the telling of more recent incidents that the speaker herself experienced.

2. *-llini-*

Jacobson (1984:490) defines *-llini-* as 'to V[erb] without being directly observed by speaker' and translates it into the English expressions 'evidently, apparently, or I discover that'. Miyaoka forthcoming similarly translates *-llini-* as 'evidently' or 'now I see'. An examination of narratives can show us additional functions. It is not coincidental that almost all of the occurrences of *-llini-* within the narratives coincide with the usage of the participial mood, which functions to set the scene in a narrative.

In The Raven, for example, a great deal of emphasis is placed upon the fact that the granddaughter was preparing a meal for her grandfather by herself. Thus the combined usage of *-llini-* with the participial mood serves to emphasize each of the actions involved in preparing the meal, as did the use of =*gguq* in (3).

(18) *paivte**llini**kii*
paivte-llini-ke-ii
set.out-EVID-PT-3s/3s
'She set out

assilrianek *neqnek*
assir-lria-nek *neqa-nek*
good-NOM-ABL.P food-ABL.P
good foods

assikangaminek *tua-i*
assike-nginek *tuai*
like-3s/3P.ABL and
his favorite things.' R 029-31

(19) *qantamun* *elli**llini**kai* *taukut*
qantaq-mun *elli-llini-ke-ai* *taukut*
bowl-ALL put-EVID-PT-3s/3P those
'She placed them in his bowl.' R 032

(20) *elliin* *iqvallegeminek* *akute**llini**lria*
elliin *iqvar-lleq-mi-nek* *akute-llini-lria*
3s.ERG picked.berry-former-3R/3P.ABL mix.ice.cream-EVID-PI.3s
'She also made Eskimo ice cream with the berries she picked.' R 034

In the case of the Raven himself, emphasis is placed upon his hunger. As the listeners know that Raven is always hungry, this focus may increase the humor of the story.

(21) *ilumun* *kaigyaaq**llini**lria*
ilumun *kaig-yaaqe-llini-lria*
truly hungry-indeed-EVID-PI.3s
'He was really hungry.' R 100

(22) *nereqcaara**llini**lria* *waten*
nere-qcaarar-llini-lria *waten*
eat-try.one's.best-EVID-PI.3s like.this
'He ate like this...' R 108

In The Porcupine, there are several examples of *-llini-* occurring without the participial mood. Some of the utterances, however, are in the indicative or subordinative moods. Similar to the participial mood, the indicative functions to open a narrative or to mark a change in focus within the narrative (Jacobson 1993). The indicative is then replaced by the subordinative in a continuing narrative (Jacobson 1993). The combination of these moods with *-llini-* again serves to focus the attention of the listener on specific events. In (23)-(26), for example, the focus is on the fact that Porcupine loves to eat wild rhubarb, which is the ultimate cause of his desire to cross the river. The eating of the rhubarb in (23)

and (24) and the seeing of more rhubarb across the river in (25) are highlighted by *-llini-* with either the subordinative or the indicative mood.

(23) *nereqcaarallinilun*i
nere-qcaar-a-llini-lu-ni
eat-continue-repeatedly-EVID-SUB-3RS
'He nibbled

kuigem *paingani*
kuik-m pai-ngani
river-ERG.S mouth-3s/3s.LOC
by the river.' B 004-5

(24) *cuassat* *nangellinilu*ki
cuassaq-t *nange-llini-lu-ki*
wild.rhubarb-P consume-EVID-SUB-R/3P
'He consumed the wild rhubarb.' B 006

(25) *tuai-llu-gguq* *tangelliniuq*
tuai=llu=gguq *tangerr-llini-u-q*
then=and=HRS see-EVID-evid-ii-3s
'And then he saw

kuigem *akiani*
kuik-m *aki-ani*
river-ERG other.side-3s/s.LOC
on the other side of the river

cuassat
cuassaq-t
wild.rhubarb-P
a whole bunch of

amllepiat *yaani.*
amlleq-piag-t *yaa-ni*
a.lot-really-P over.there
wild rhubarb over there.' B 010-4

In addition, Porcupine was unable to cross the river because he could not swim. This is an important fact as it requires him to ask Beaver to take him across and to remove his quills so as not to hurt Beaver. This fact is highlighted in the story by *-llini-* and the participial mood.

(26) *taugaam*
taugaam
however
'However,

qerarciganaaku	*pil**lini**lria*
qerar-ciigate-na-ku	*pi-llini-lria*
cross-unable-SUB-R/3s	do-EVID-PI.3s

he was unable to cross the river; he could not do it.' B 015-6

(27)

qeraciganani	*uita**llini**lria*
qerar-ciigate-a-ni	*uita-llini-lria*
cross-unable-CNSQ-3s	stay-EVID-PI.3s

'He couldn't cross, so he stayed (on the side of the river).' B 021

The Porcupine Story explains why porcupines do not have quills on their chest, so the point in the story at which Porcupine removes his chest quills is essentially the climax. As a result, *-llini-* was used in combination with the indicative to change the focus from Beaver's speech to the physical removal of the quills.

(28)

kapsuutet	*aug'arrlinigai*
kape-suun-t	*aug'ar-llini-ga-i*
poke-device-P	remove-EVID-IT-3s/3P

'He removed the quills.' B 054

The Motor Story, like other humorous tales, is highly dependent on the correct sequencing of events. It is thus not surprising that each important event in the narrative is marked with *-llini-* and the participial mood. Examples (29) to (36) show all of the occurrences of *-llini-* within the narrative in the order in which they appear. It is interesting that the list itself can almost stand alone as a story.

(29)

*kipusviggte**llini**lria*
kipusvik-te-llini-lria
store-go.to-EVID-PI.3s

'He went to the store.' M 019

(30)

*kipute**llini**lria*	*im'umek*	*levaamek*
kipute-llini-lria	*im'u-mek*	*levaaq-mek*
buy-EVID-PI.3s	that.aforementioned-ABL	motor-ABL

'He bought that motor.' M 023-5

(31)

angyaminun	*elliqarr**liniki*
angya-minun	*elli-qar-llini-ke-ii*
boat-3RS/3s-ALL	put-quickly-EVID-PT-3s/3s

'He quickly put it on (the motor).' M 027

(32) *tuai-ll'* *ayagma**llini**lria*
tuai=llu *ayag-ma-llini-lria*
then=and leave-long.time-EVID-PI.3s
'And then he travelled for a long time.' M 032

(33) *tuai-llu-gguq* *tauna* *massiinaq* *arulairr**llini**lria*
tuai=llu=gguq *tauna* *massiinaq* *arulair-llini-lria*
and.then=and=HRS that machine stop-EVID-PI.3s
'And then, that machine [motor] stopped.' M 037-9

(34) *kaugtunge**llini**kii* *tauna* *levaaq*
kaugtur-nge-llini-ke-ii *tauna* *levaaq*
strike.repeatedly-begin-EVID-PT-3s/3s that motor
'He began to strike that motor repeatedly.' M 045

(35) *cunawa-gguq* *tauna* *levaaq* *kaassairute**llini**lria*
cunawa=gguq *tauna* *levaaq* *kaassa-irute-llini-lria*
no.wonder=HRS that motor gas-run.out.of-EVID-PI.3s
'That motor ran out of gas.' M 056

(36) *ellminek* *aya**llini**lria*
ellmi-nek *ayag-llini-lria*
self-ABL leave-EVID-PI.3s
'He left (by his own power).' M 062

In The Little People, emphasis is placed on the fact that the world of the Little People is different from the land of the Yup'ik, both in location and in structure. Those items that focus on this fact are highlighted by the use of *-llini-* and the participial or subordinate mood. In (37), the Yup'ik had to travel a long time to get to the land of the Little People. Then they entered the earth (38) and realized they were in the 'house' of the Little People (39). When some finally returned home, they realized ('came to their senses') that they were in their own land without having had to travel (40). Each of these utterances serves to highlight the unusual nature of encounters with the Little People.

(37) *tuai-llu-gguq* *ayauma**llini**lriit*
tuai=llu=gguq *ayag-ma-llini-lrii-t*
and.then=and=HRS travel-long.time-EVID-PI-3P
'And, it was said they travelled for a very long time.' L 030-1

(38) *nunamun=llu=gguq* *iterr**llini**lriit*
nuna-mun=llu=gguq *iter -llini-lrii-t*
land-ALL=and=HRS enter-EVID-PI-3P
'They entered into the earth.' L 038

(39) *maaten-gguq* *ellangut* *taukut* *yuut*
maaten=gguq *ella-nge-u-t* *taukut* *yuk-t*
when=HRS awareness-acquire-II-3P those.P person-P
'All of a sudden, those people realized

enemi *uitallinilriit*
ene-mi *uita-llini-lrii-t*
house-LOC be.situated-EVID-PI-3P
they were in a house.' L 040-1

(40) *maaten* *ellangllinilut*
maaten *ella-nge-llini-u-t*
suddenly awareness-acquire-EVID-II-3P
'Suddenly they realized

nuniitni *uitallinilriit.*
nuna-itni *uita-llini-lrii-t*
land-3P/3P.LOC be.situated-EVID-PI-3P
that they were in their land.' L 089-90

In The Pear Story, as in The Motor, the highlighting of major events in the progression of the story is a major function of *-llini-*. In The Pear Story, the narrator chose to focus on the young boy who stole the fruit and the things that happened to him. The activities of the man picking the fruit appear to be secondary, perhaps because he was in the tree and not as active in the story as the boy. Only his final descent from the tree was highlighted, perhaps to emphasize that all of the events occurred 'under his nose' but that he discovered them only when he climbed down out of the tree. As with The Motor, the following list of examples resembles an outline of the major events in the story.

(41) *kiturrlinilria* *nepainatek*
kitur-llini-lria *nepaite-na-tek*
pass-EVID-PI.3s silent-SUB-3D
'Those two passed by silently.' P 031

(42) *tuai-llu* *taqeluni* *ayarillinilria* *atsanek* *ukunek*
tuai=llu *taqe-lu-ni* *ayari-llini-lria* *atsaq-nek* *uku-nek*
then=and stop-SUB-3s desire-EVID-PI.3s fruit-ABL.P this-ABL.P
'And then, he stopped and admired these fruits.' P 046

(43) *ataucimek* *teguqatarllinilria*
atauci-mek *tegu-qatar-llini-lria*
one-ABL take.in.hand-FUT-EVID-PI-3s
'It appears as if he will take one (piece of fruit).' P 047

(44) *cakviurngran* *tuai* ***ellillinikai***
cakviur-ngr-an *tuai* *elli-llini-ke-ai*
with.difficulty-CNCS-3s and put-EVID-PT-3s/3P
'And then he placed them with difficulty (on his bicycle).' P 054

(45) *puukpaggliniilria* *iggluni*
puukar-pag-llini-lria *igte-lu-ni*
bump-intensely-EVID-PI.3s fall-SUB-3RS
'He bumped hard and fell' P 065

(46) *agirrliniilriit*
agirrte-llini-lrii-t
approach.from.distance-EVID-PI-3P
'They approached from a distance.' P 070

(47) *tuai-llu* *ellii* *nutaan* *ayagluni* *taugaam*
tuai=llu *ellii* *nutaan* *ayag-lu-ni* *taugaam*
then=and 3s.ABS ah leave-SUB-3RS however
'And then he left but

nalluyagutellinikii *nacani*
nalluyagute-llini-ke-ii *naca-ni*
forget-EVID-PT-3s/3s hat-3RS/3s.LOC
he forgot his hat.' P 077-8

(48) *ilait* *tauna*
ila-it *tauna*
one.of-P that
'One of them

teguqarrlinikii
tegu-qar-llini-ke-ii
take-quickly-EVID-PT-3s/3s
quickly took

nacaq
nacaq
hat
the hat.' P 078-80

(49) *atsanek* *teguqatarrliniilria*
atsa-nek *tegu-qatar-llini-lria*
fruit-ABL.P take-FUT-EVID-PI.3s
'He quickly took the fruit.' P 089

(50) *atrallinilria*
atrar-llini-lria
descend-EVID-PL.3s
'He climbed down.' P 100

3. Conclusion

Both *=gguq* and *-llini-* function on one level to indicate that an event occurred but was not witnessed by the speaker. Both morphemes also serve important functions at the level of narrative discourse as well. The first, *=gguq*, is an enclitic, and functions to segment larger sections of discourse into smaller, highlighted units that serve to move the story forward. In addition, several expressions in which *=gguq* often appears have become lexicalized because of the frequency of their usage in narratives. These lexicalized expressions place the listener in the world of the narrative, much like our 'Once upon a time'. The second, *-llini-* is a suffix, with smaller scope than the enclitic *=gguq* both structurally and functionally. It serves to highlight important individual events in a story. Both of these morphological elements provide the material which, through manipulation and interweaving, enrich the Yup'ik narrative.

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ERGATIVITY IN YUP'IK ESKIMO FROM A DISCOURSE PERSPECTIVE[1]

Hiroaki Kitano

Yup'ik is known as a morphologically ergative language, but it shows partial syntactic accusativity as well. However, examination of discourse reveals a more complicated picture. In this paper, I will investigate the issue of ergativity/accusativity in Yup'ik from a discourse perspective. The use of the subordinative mood in discourse is examined, where split-ergativity is observed. As for lexical NPs, they are most often marked as absolutive; however, since the absolutive NP is formally unmarked, it is likely that many lexical NPs are used not on an ergative nor on an accusative basis. Finally, the way that lexical mentions are made for the clarification of referents in discourse may suggest that a partial accusative pattern exists in Yup'ik.

1. Introduction

In Yup'ik, inflecting words (i.e. verbs and nominals) consist of one root (or base, as it is traditionally called in Eskimo linguistics), optionally followed by one or more postbases (derivational suffixes), and then by an ending (inflectional suffixes). In the case of verbs, the first part of the ending indicates the mood. Yup'ik has six moods: indicative, interrogative, optative, participial, subordinative and connective. The first four moods are used independently, whereas the last two are dependent. The second part of the ending indicates the grammatical relation, person and number of the arguments (subject/object, first/second/third, and singular/dual/plural).

Nominals (nouns, personal and demonstrative pronouns) also take endings indicating the case, person and number of the possessor and the possessed. Yup'ik distinguishes seven cases: absolutive, relative (=ergative), locative, ablative-modalis, terminalis (=allative), vialis (=translocative, instrumental), and aequalis (used for comparison etc.).

The primary aim of this paper is to reexamine the issue of ergativity/accusativity from a discourse perspective. The database for this study is comprised of six casual spoken narratives (ranging from 1 minute to 5 minutes long) and one telephone conversation (12 minutes). I will discuss several issues regarding the verbs (section 2) and the nominals (section 3).

2. Verbs

It is possible to categorize verb bases into types based mainly on their morphological and semantic properties. Here I show the classification used in Jacobson (1984: 18). There are five types: intransitive-only verbs, transitive-only verbs, patientive verbs, agentive verbs and elemental verbs (dealing with processes of nature). The first two take only intransitive or transitive endings, respectively. Below are examples of patientive verbs and agentive verbs (Jacobson 1984: 20).

(1) patientive verb: *tamar-* 'to lose'

a.	*tamartuq.*	b.	*tamaraa.*
	tamar-tu-q		*tamar-a-a*
	lose-II-3s		lose-IT-3s/3s
	'it is lost.'		'he lost it.'

(2) agentive verb: *nere-* 'to eat'

a.	*ner'uq.*	b.	*neraa.*
	nere-u-q		*nere-a-a*
	eat-II-3s		eat-IT-3s/3s
	'he is eating.'		'he is eating it.'

Both patientive verbs and agentive verbs can take intransitive and transitive endings. If they take transitive endings, both the subject and the object are expressed, and their semantic roles would be agent-like and patient-like, respectively. When they take intransitive endings, the only semantic role shown by the ending is, in many cases, patient if the verb is patientive, as in (1a), or agent if the verb is agentive, as in (2a).

I will hereafter employ Dixon's symbols: S, A and O (cf. Dixon 1994). Note, however, that my use of these symbols will be based strictly on the Yup'ik grammatical system. Thus, S is the only argument coded in a morphologically intransitive clause; A is the more agent-like argument coded in a morphologically transitive clause; and O is the more patient-like argument coded in a morphologically transitive clause.

Of the six moods, all but the subordinative mood have a complete array of endings indicating the grammatical relation, person and number of the core arguments. The endings of the subordinative mood, however, are incomplete in this regard, and that is where an accusative pattern is partially observed. In the next section, I will show some characteristics of the subordinative mood.

2.1. Subordinative mood

The subordinative mood has several different functions. According to Miyaoka, 'A verb in the subordinative mood expresses an event concomitant with or accompanying what is expressed by the verb on which it depends. Used autonomously, i.e. independently, the subordinative has the force of the indicative or of the optative (as a command).' (Miyaoka, forthcoming: ms 33). I will look more closely at these two uses of the subordinative mood, the dependent and autonomous uses, in 2.1.1. and 2.1.2. respectively.

2.1.1. Dependent use

The subordinative mood, one of the two dependent moods, shows some interesting characteristics (Miyaoka forthcoming: ms 33-4).

(3)

(a) Only S (intransitive subject) and O (transitive object) are marked by the ending.

(b) There is the constraint that the subject (i.e. S or A) of the subordinative clause, whether marked by the ending or not, must be the same as that of the main clause.

(c) For third person, there are two different sets of endings: non-reflexive third and reflexive third. Reflexive third person must be coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

Table 1: Subordinative mood person/number endings

	SG	DU	PL
1	*-(ng)a*	*-nuk*	*-ta*
2	*-ten*	*-tek*	*-ci*
3 REFL	*-ni*	*-tek*	*-teng*
3 NON-REFL	*-ku*	*-kek*	*-ki*

Let us consider the points in (3) above with examples. There are two distinct sets of third person endings for third person: reflexive and non-reflexive. In (4), the person ending is *-ku*, which is non-reflexive third person singular. That is, it is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause, in accord with (3c). There are two distinct referents involved, and the subject of the subordinative clause is not overtly expressed (but the constraint in (3b) holds). In (5), the ending is reflexive third person singular *-ni*, which is coreferential with the main clause subject.

(4) *Tekit-u-q* *tangerr-sug-lu-ku.*
arrive-II-3s see-want-SUB-R/3s
'He$_i$ came to see him$_j$.'

(5) *Tekit-u-q* *piyua-lu-ni.*
arrive-II-3s walk-SUB-3RS
'He came walking.' Miyaoka 1986: 112

The following are examples of the dependent use of the subordinative found in our discourse data. In (6), the main clause is in the indicative mood, whereas in (7), it is in the participial mood. Note that in both examples, the first clause is subordinative. The last part of the ending in both clauses is *-ni*, which is coreferential with the main clause subject.

(6) *qanerluni* *cali* *pilliniuq,*
qaner-lu-ni *cali* *pi-llini-u-q*
speak-SUB-3RS more do-evidently-II-3s
'and he spoke, saying, . . .' B 046

(7) *ayayuinani* *maantauralalria.*
ayag-yuite-na-ni *maante-aurar-lar-lria*
leave-HAB.NEG-SUB-3RS be.here-continue-HAB-PL.3S
'not leaving, he continues to stay here.' T 097

Because of the distinct sets of third person endings, it is always clear whether S or O is intended; that is, non-reflexive third person is always O, whereas reflexive third person is always S.

If the pronoun in the subordinative clause is first or second person, whether it is interpreted as S or O depends on the main verb subject. In both (8) and (9) below, the ending of the subordinative clause is first person. In (8), the main clause has a third person subject, so the subordinative clause ending must be interpreted as O, since the same subject constraint in (3b) specifies that both subjects must be coreferential.

(8) 1s = O
Tekit-u-q *tangerr-sug-lu-a.*
arrive-II-3s see-want-SUB-1s
'He came, wanting to see me.' Miyaoka 1986: 111

In (9), on the other hand, since the subject of the main clause is first person singular, and because of the same subject constraint, the subordinative clause ending is necessarily S.

(9) 1s = S
Tekit-u-a *piyua-lu-a.*
arrive-II-1s walk-SUB-1s
'I came walking.' Miyaoka 1986: 111

Similar examples can be found in our data. In (10) below, the two arguments are not coreferential, so the first person referent in the subordinative clause is interpreted as O. In (11), both clauses have first person suffixes, so the first person in the subordinative clause is interpreted as S.

(10) 1s = O
Agullua *piyugngauten?*
age-ute-lu-a *pi-yugnga-u-ten*
go.over-with.another-SUB-1s do-able-II-2s
'Taking me over, are you able to do it?' B 034

(11) 1s = S
Ayallruunga,
ayag-llru-u-nga
go-PAST-II-1s
'I traveled,

maavirrlua,
maa-vir-lu-a
here-go.to-SUB-1s
coming here,' T 015-6

Note that the subordinative mood shows split-ergativity. The fact that S and O, but not A, are marked by the ending (= 3a) points to distributional ergativity. It is, however, syntactically accusative because of the constraint that the subject (S and A) of the subordinative clause must be the same as that of the main clause (= 3b) (cf. Miyaoka 1986).

2.1.2. Autonomous use

In this section, I will consider the autonomous use of the subordinative mood, i.e., the use of the subordinative mood in syntactically independent clauses. This autonomous use, in which the subordinative mood has much of the force of the indicative, is actually very common in natural discourse, but it has not been investigated in detail and is thus not well-understood (but see Woodbury 1983).

We have examined how the characteristics of the subordinative mood in (3) show up in relation to the main clause. But what if the main clause is absent? As noted, absence of the main clause is not unusual in discourse. Consider this hypothetical situation. Since there are two distinct sets of third person endings, we could have two options if we were to say, for example, 'He wants to see her'. If the context allows, both of the following could be possible.

(12) a. *Tangerr-sug-lu-ku.*
see-want-SUB-/3s
'Ø wants to see her.'

b. *Tangerr-sug-lu-ni.*
see-want-SUB-3RS
'He wants to see Ø.'

Similarly, if we want to say 'I want to see him', both of the following could be theoretically possible, given that the third person referent is identifiable from context.

(13) a. *Tangerr-sug-lu-ku.*
see-want-SUB-/3s
'Ø want to see him.'

b. *Tangerr-sug-lu-a.*
see-want-SUB-1s
'I want to see Ø.'

The questions I would like to address are: Do Yup'ik speakers choose one of these options? If they do, which option is chosen? In the next section, I will show what our discourse data can tell us.

2.2. Subordinative clauses in discourse

Table 2 below shows the distribution of the person endings in subordinative clauses. One may notice that the first and second person endings are used more often in conversation than in narrative. This is because the speech act participants, coded by the first

and second person endings, are prominent in conversation, naturally. In the following subsections, I will consider only the autonomous use in our discourse data.

Table 2: Subordinative clauses

	1st	2nd	3rd Reflexive (S)	3rd Non-reflexive (O)
B	2	1	8	3
L	0	0	22	9
M	0	0	11	4
N	2	0	0	3
P	0	0	24	14
R	0	0	10	5
6 narratives total	4	1	75	38
Phone conversation	15	5	12	21
TOTAL	19	6	87	59

2.2.1. First person

Most subordinative clauses with first person ending are intransitive (either intransitive-only or intransitively used, cf. section 2). For instance, the following example contains two subordinative clauses, and both verbs *maavir-* 'come here' and *caliyartur-* 'come to work' are intransitive.

(14) *Maavirrlua,*
maa-vir-lu-a
here-go.to.N-SUB-1s
'I came here,

caliyarturlua-wa,
cali-yartur-lu-a=wa
work-go-SUB-1s=EMPH
I came to work.' T 016-7

What is interesting in the data is the use of ergative pronouns. There are two such instances, where the subordinative clauses with the first person singular ending are accompanied by (non-first person) ergative pronouns, shown below. Without main clauses, these first person endings in the subordinative clauses would be potentially ambiguous as to whether they mark S or O. However, because of the ergative pronouns, which are A, the first person can easily be interpreted as O. The ergative pronouns apparently help to clarify the grammatical relation of the first person ending, that is, O.

(15) *elliin* *ayallua,*
elliin *ayag-ute-lu-a*
3S.ERG GO-APPLIC-SUB-1S
'he took me' N 008

(16) *ellaita-llu,*
ellaita=llu
ERG.they=also
'they also,

niicugniugaqlua,
niicugni-ute-gaqe-lu-a
listen-with.another-HAB-SUB-1S
they always listen to me.' T 039-40

In the following example, there seems to be no explicit clue as to whether the first person is S or O (i.e. it could mean 'I named my parents'), but since the story is about how the speaker got her name, the interpretation 'my parents named me' is the right one. Note that the NP *angayuqagka* 'my parents' is absolutive, not ergative, although it is coreferential with the subject of the following transitive verb (see section 3.1.).

(17) *Angayuqagka,*
angayuqaq-gka
parent-ABS.1S/3D
'my parents,

acirelua,
acir-lu-a
name-SUB-1S
they named me,

taumek *ah,*
taumek *ah*
ABL.that ah
from that,

yugerlumek.
yuk-rluq-mek
person-poor.dear-ABL
"Yugurluq" (Dear Old Person).' N 013-6

2.2.2. Second person

The second person endings appear only in the conversation and in direct speech in one narrative. Of the 6 occurrences, 4 occur in intransitive verbs, i.e. the second person bears the S relation. Consider the other 2 cases, where the verbs are considered transitive. In (18) the second person is an S, whereas in (19) it is an O. In both cases, lexical properties of the verbs alone do not give clues as to whether the second person is S or O. Again, the interpretation seems to depend on the context.

(18) *Kitaki* *quyana* *call-arluten,*
kitaki *quyana* *call-ar-lu-ten*
well.then thank.you call-LK-SUB-2s
'Well then, thank you for your calling,' T 227

(19) *Quyanaqvaa* *niilluten.*
quyanaqvaa *niite-lu-ten*
thank.you.very.much hear-SUB-2s
'I am grateful to hear you.' T 419

2.2.3. Third person reflexive

All the examples of the third person reflexive are with intransitive verbs except one unclear example. Examples can be seen in (20) to (22). Note that in (21), the verb *nere-* 'eat' is used intransitively (i.e. antipassive).

(20) *Tua-i* *alangaarnaqluteng,*
tuai *alangaar-nar-lu-teng*
and.then surprised-CAUS-SUB-3RP
'Well, they are very alarming.' T 045

(21) *Nereluteng,*
nere-lu-teng
eat-SUB-3RP
'They ate,

yurarrluteng,
yurar-lu-teng
dance-SUB-3RP
they danced,

tua-i *anglaniluteng* *cakneq.*
tuai *anglani-lu-teng* *cakneq*
and.then enjoy-SUB-3RP very.much
they had very good time.' L 043-6

(22) *An'arciimun,*
An'arciiq-mun
Johnson.River-ALL
'At the Johnson River

tekilluni,
tekite-lu-ni
arrive-SUB-3RS
he arrived.' M 035-6

2.2.4. Third person non-reflexive

Naturally, all the verbs with third person non-reflexive endings are transitive (either transitively-only or transitively used). It is sufficient to cite one example.

(23) *Tauna-llu-gguq* *nasaurluq* *tua-i,*
tauna=llu=gguq *nasaurluq* *tuai*
that=also=HRS girl and.then
'And so that girl

tangerryuumiinaku *tulukarucilleq,*
tangerr-yuumiite-na-ku *tulukaruq-cilleq*
see-not.care-SUB-R/3s raven-worthless
didn't want to see that dirty rotten raven,' R 053-4

2.2.5. Summary

We have seen that in the autonomous use, the first, second and third reflexive endings are employed with intransitively-used verbs, and the grammatical relation of the argument represented by the ending is S. On the other hand, the third non-reflexive endings are employed with transitively-used verbs, and the grammatical relation is O. Whether a (basically transitive) verb is used intransitively or transitively can be determined in a particular context. Most examples conform to this pattern, although there are some exceptions for the first and second person endings, where I assume some discourse factors are at work, but since there are not many examples of the first and second person endings, more work needs to be done.

In the dependent use, the main clause subject is among the factors controlling the choice of the subordinative clause ending. In the autonomous use, although there is no 'main clause' subject, a chain of subordinative clauses generally shares a subject. For example, in the following excerpt, all of the five subordinative clauses have the same referent 'he' as the subject, whether it is expressed as an ending or not. Therefore, the constraint that the subject (S and A) of the subordinative clause must be the same as that of the main clause (= 3b above) is in a sense in effect in the autonomous use.

(24) *elliluki,*
elli-lu-ki
put-SUB-R/3P
'(he would put them) into a basket,

pinqeggcarluki.
pinqegg-car-lu-ki
neat-try-SUB-R/3P
placing the large fruits into a basket in a neat manner.

tua-i-llu,
tuai=llu
and.then=also
And then,

iqvarraarluni,
iqvar-rraar-lu-ni
pick.berries-after-SUB-3RS
after picking,

muirraarluku *tauna,*
muir-rraar-lu-ku *tauna*
fill-after.ving-SUB-/3rs that
after filling that container,

qaltani *atrarluni,*
qaltaq-ni *atrar-lu-ni*
bucket-ABS.3RS descend-SUB-3RS
he descended

napamek.
napa-mek
tree-ABL
from the tree.' P 011-7

3. Nominals

In this section, I will examine some discourse aspects of case-marking in Yup'ik. As Table 3 shows, there are 417 NPs (including independent pronouns) in the data.[2] More than 60% of them are absolutive, while fewer than 10% are ergative. About 30% are oblique. Since narrative and conversation are rather different genres, figures from the six narratives are cumulated in the row labeled '6 narratives total' in the table.

Table 3: Distribution of lexical NPs

	ABS	ERG	ABL	LOC	ALL	VIA	AEQ	TOTAL
B	24	6	5	6	2	1	0	44
L	37	8	6	5	7	2	0	65
M	20	0	4	4	5	1	0	34
N	5	1	2	0	1	1	0	10
P	31	2	8	1	8	0	0	50
R	31	2	10	4	7	0	0	54
6 narratives total	148	19	35	20	30	5	0	257
Phone conversation	108	10	11	11	6	2	4	152
TOTAL	256	29	46	31	36	7	4	409
%	62.6%	7.1%	11.2%	7.6%	8.8%	1.7%	1.0%	

(8 unclear instances are excluded)

3.1. Absolutive NPs

In languages with ergative patterns, the absolutive and ergative cases are considered 'core'. I will examine the status of the absolutive NP in the flow of discourse. As we saw in Table 3, there are more than six times as many absolutive NPs as ergative NPs. This is mainly because the absolutive can be coreferential with any endings of the verb that code the grammatical relations S, A or O. Examples of absolutive NPs, where the grammatical roles with which each NP is associated are either S, A or O (shown in parentheses), can be seen in (25) to (32). Relative positions of NPs with respect to the verb are varied.

(25) NP(S) V
yuut,
yuut (ABS.P)
people

qaneryuinateng.
qaner-yuite-na-teng
speak-HAB.NEG-SUB-3RP
'The people do not speak.' P 005-6

(26) NP(A) V
angayuqagka,
angayuqaq-gka
parent-ABS.1s/3D
'my parents,

acirelua,
acir-lu-a
name-SUB-1s
they named me,

taumek *ah,*
taumek *ah*
ABL.that ah
from that,

yugerlumek,
yuk-rluq-mek
person-poor.dear-ABL
Yugurluq (Dear Old Person).' N 013-6

(27) NP(O) V
nanvat *kiturreluki,*
nanvaq-t *kitur-lu-ki*
lake-ABS.P pass-SUB-R/3P
'(they) passing lakes,' L 032

(28) V NP(S)
tua-i-gguq *qenerluni* *tauna* *angun,*
tuai=gguq *qenerte-lu-ni* *tauna* *angun*
and.then=HRS angry-SUB-3RS that man
'so that man got angry' M 058

(29) V NP(A)
nernginanrani *tauna* *tulukaruq,*
nere-nginaner-ani *tauna* *tulukaruq*
eat-CONT2-3s/3s that raven
'and while that raven was eating it,' R 99

(30) V NP(O)
payugeskii,
payugte-ke-ii
bring.food-PT-3s/3s
'she brought food

apa'urluni,
apa-rurluq-ni
grandfather-poor.dear.3RS/s
to her dear grandfather,' R 040-1

(31) NP(A) NP(O) V

tua-i-llu-gguq	*tauna*	*nasaurluraq*	*tua-i,*
tuai=llu=gguq	*tauna*	*nasaurluraq*	*tuai*
and.then=also=HRS	that	girl	and.then

'then that girl,

qessangrremi	*tua-i,*
qessa-ngr-mi	*tuai*
reluctant-CNCS-3RS	and.then

though she was reluctant,

tulukaraurluq	*caukii,*
tulukaruq-rluq	*cau-ke-ii*
raven-poor.dear	face-PT-3s/3s

she faced the raven,' R 072-4

(32) NP(A) V NP(O)

tauna-llu-gguq	*nasaurluq*	*tua-i,*
tauna=llu=gguq	*nasaurluq*	*tuai*
that=also=HRS	girl	and.then

'and so that girl

tangerryuumiinaku	*tulukarucilleq,*
tangerr-yuumiite-na-ku	*tulukaruq-cilleq*
see-not.care.to-SUB-R/3s	raven-worthless

didn't want to see that dirty rotten raven,' R 053-4

One notes that (a) if there are two NPs associated with one verb, then the order is always A followed by O, and (b) though Yup'ik is known to have relatively fluid word order, no example of V NP NP is attested in the data.

The majority of absolutive NPs are either S or O. Notice that there are a considerable number of the so-called 'detached' NPs, especially in conversation. Detached NPs are those associated with no verb morphologically in any adjacent Intonation Unit (cf. Durie (1994)'s Free NPs, or Ono and Thompson (1994)'s unattached NPs). In fact, what has been identified as the absolutive case, on the basis of its contrast with the ergative, is formally unmarked; there is no absolutive case marker in Yup'ik. Thus, it is not clear that all unmarked NPs, let alone the detached ones, should be identified as absolutives. In (25) to (32), it is possible that the grammatical roles S, A, and O are assigned to NPs because these NPs could be loosely associated with an adjacent verb which agrees with them. However, no roles can be assigned to detached NPs.

We must, therefore, bear in mind that in the Yup'ik grammatical system, especially if one considers natural discourse data, any formally unmarked NPs are in fact 'unmarked', not absolutive. The latter term implies that these NPs are 'case-bound', but the detached NPs are not. Table 4 below summarizes the grammatical relations borne by such unmarked NPs.

Table 4: Unmarked NPs

	S	A	O	detached	other	TOTAL
B	10	1	5	3	5	24
L	16	3	6	10	2	37
M	8	2	8	2	0	20
N	0	2	2	0	1	5
P	10	1	16	3	1	31
R	12	3	10	1	5	31
6 narratives total	56	12	47	19	14	148
Phone conversation	25	5	23	52	3	108
TOTAL	81	17	70	71	17	256
%	31.6%	6.6%	27.3%	27.7%	6.6%	

('other' includes indeterminate instances and vocatives)

Let us look at some examples of detached NPs. In the following excerpt from the telephone conversation, answering one speaker's question: 'what are the whitefish called in Yup'ik?', her mother just enumerates some names of different kinds of whitefish, with no verbs. (Only the mother's speech is quoted below.)

(33) *neqpiayagat* *qatellriit,*
neqa-piaq-yagaq-t *qater-lria-t*
fish-real-little-ABS.P white-NOM-ABS.P
"little fish, white ones",

cingikegglit,
cingikeggliq-t
whitefish.with.pointed.head-ABS.P
"cingikegglit" (whitefish with a pointed head),

xxx *lluyagat,*
(inaudible) ***

kepsaqelrit,
kepsaqelriq-t
whitefish.with.larger.fin-ABS.P
"kepsaqelrit" (another kind of whitefish with larger fin),

akakiiget,
akakiik-t
broad.whitefish-ABS.P
"akakiiget" (those large whitefish), T 160, 164, 166-8

The following is another example, where the detached NP is the first person singular independent pronoun *wiinga*. Note that although *wiinga* is not coded in the verb, it is

pragmatically associated with the verb *elitnautui* ('used to teach').

(34) *elitnautui* *ukut,*
elitnaur-tu-a-i *uku-t*
teach-customarily-IT-3s/3P this-ABS.P
'he used to teach them,

wiinga-ll' *maa-i,*
wiinga=llu *maai*
I=also now
and me now.' T 030-1

In (35), *tamalkuita* ('all of them') is added to reinforce the previous *taukut-llu atsat* ('those fruits'). Since both NPs are coreferential with each other, one of them (probably the latter) is 'superfluous', and could be regarded as not associated with the verb (*katagluki* 'let fall off') morphologically, but the degree of independence, or detachedness, is very low, compared to those NPs in (33).

(35) *taukut-llu* *atsat,*
tauku-t=llu *atsaq-t*
that-ABS.P=also fruit-ABS.P
'And those fruits,

katagluki *tamalkuita.*
katag-lu-ki *tamalkuita*
let.fall.off-SUB-R/3P all.of.them
he let them fall off, all of them.' P 065-6

Turning to ergative NPs, they are either genitive or A, as seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Ergative NPs

	GEN	A	other	TOTAL
B	5	1	0	6
L	5	3	0	8
M	0	0	0	0
N	0	1	0	1
P	1	1	0	2
R	2	0	0	2
6 narratives total	13	6	0	19
Phone conversation	4	4	2	10
TOTAL	17	10	2	29
%	58.6%	34.5%	6.9%	

('other' includes indeterminate instances)

(36) is an example of the genitive use, and (37) is that of A.

(36) *nereqcaaralliniluni,*
nere-qcaarar-llini-lu-ni
eat-try.best-EVID-SUB-3RS
'he was nibbling

kuigem *paingani.*
kuik-m *pai-ngani*
river-ERG mouth-LOC.3s/s
by the mouth of a river.' B 004-5

(37) *taum,*
tauna-m
that-ERG

issalum *aptaa,*
issaluq-m *apete-a-a*
porcupine-ERG ask-IT-3s/3s
'the porcupine asked him,' B 028-9

3.2. The core/oblique distinction

The core versus oblique distinction has been a major issue in work on case (cf. Thompson, to appear). In this section, I will consider the contrast between the ergative and antipassive constructions. The ergative construction is morphologically transitive, with O marked as absolutive, or 'unmarked', while the antipassive construction is intransitive, with an optional ablative NP identifying a patient. It is often claimed that in languages with an ergative pattern, the choice of the ergative or antipassive construction is triggered by the degree of identifiability of O (e.g. definite vs. indefinite, or referential vs. non-referential; cf. Cooreman 1994).

Miyaoka (1986: 107-9) comments on the semantic differences between the ergative and antipassive constructions in Eskimo languages. According to Miyaoka, there have been several hypotheses and observations regarding how the two constructions are differentiated. For example, according to one hypothesis, the absolutive NP is definite whereas the ablative NP is indefinite. Another hypothesis says that the absolutive represents old information whereas the ablative introduces new information. However, Miyaoka also notes other views opposing these hypotheses. Although his paper is not intended to address this problem, he briefly suggests that an NP put in the absolutive case may indicate the speaker's strongest concern with that NP.

Now consider the discourse data. First of all, it is easy to see that the given/new contrast is not necessarily a factor responsible for the ergative/antipassive choice. Consider the following example, where *taukunek ircinrrarrenek* 'those Little People' is not new; it has already been introduced earlier, but it still stays ablative.

(38) *Yup'it,*
yup'ik-t
Yup'ik.people-ABS.P
'The Yup'ik people

cugukalriit,
cuguka-lria-t
meet-PI-3P
met

taukunek *ircinrrarrenek,*
tauku-nek *ircinrraq-nek*
that-ABL.P little.person-ABL.P
those Little People.' L 013-4

Similarly in (39), after the referent *neqa* 'fish' is introduced as ablative in the first line, it remains ablative in the second mention (the fourth line). Clearly, the given/new distinction is not sufficient here.

(39) ... *nerevaalugluni* *neqmek,*
nere-vaalug-lu-ni *neqa-mek*
eat-v.for.the.first.time-SUB-3RS fish-ABL
'... she finally ate a fish,

beans-anek *icivarpak* *neqengqlria,*
beans-ar-nek *icivaq-rpak* *neqa-ngqerr-lria*
beans-LK-ABL.P recently-present food-have-PI.3s
for a while now she has beans as food,

diet-araulami,
*diet-ar-***-a-mi*
diet-LK-***-CNSQ-3RS
because she diets,

quyaagua *tua-i* *ava-i* *neqmek* *nerengaan,*
quya-a-gu-a *tuai* *avai* *neqa-mek* *nere-nga-an*
glad-repeatedly-II-1s and.then over.there fish-ABL eat-CONS-3s
I am glad because she ate a fish,' T 220-222, 224

In the Raven narrative, all the ablative NPs (8 tokens) in the antipassive construction designate food, typically fish. For example, the speaker lists the kinds of food which the protagonist's father likes. Below is an excerpt of the listing.

(40) *neqerrluararmek-llu-gguq,*
neqerrluaq-ar-mek=llu=gguq
dried.fish-little.piece-ABL=also=HRS
'a piece of dried fish,

assilriamek-llu-gguq *nutaramek* *neqmek,*
assir-lria-mek=llu=gguq *nutaraq-mek* *neqa-mek*
good-NOM-ABL=also=HRS fresh.thing-ABL fish-ABL
good, fresh fish,

luqruuyauluni *wall'u-gguq* *manignauluni,*
luqruuyak-u-lu-ni *wall'u=gguq* *manignaq-u-lu-ni*
pike-be-SUB-3RS or=HRS loche-be-SUB-3RS
it may be either a pike or a loche,

taukunek,
tauku-nek
that-ABL.P
those things

payugeskii,
payugte-ke-ii
bring.food-PT-3s/3s
she brought to him.' R 035-40

As far as our data are concerned, the ablative NPs in the antipassive construction are generic, or non-specific (thus often plural), such as 'those Little People' in (38), or different kinds of food as in (39) and (40). Another example is 'pears' in 'The pear story (P)', which are mentioned repeatedly. However, identifiability seems to play a role too. For example, in the Motor narrative (M), the new motor, which is central to the story and therefore not generic, is first introduced as ablative; that is, the motor was non-identifiable when it was mentioned for the first time.

(41) *tua-i-llu-gguq* *tauna* *angukara'urluq,*
tuai=llu=gguq *tauna* *angun-karaq-rurluq*
and.then=also=HRS that man-little-poor.dear
'and so that dear old man

kiputellinilria,
kipute-llini-lria
buy-EVID-PI.3s
bought

im'umek,
im'u-mek
the.one-ABL
that

levaamek,
levaaq-mek
motor-ABL
motor.' M 023-5

Thus, it seems that from our discourse data the use of the ergative versus antipassive constructions may be determined by multiple factors, which in Yup'ik are genericity and identifiability.

3.3. New NPs

In the previous section, I pointed out that such factors as genericity and identifiability may determine the choice of the ergative or antipassive constructions. These factors are also crucial in another discourse aspect of the Yup'ik language; that is, how new referents are introduced in discourse.

Our discourse data show the general picture of how referents are first introduced and subsequently tracked. New referents are typically introduced as absolutive/unmarked or oblique NPs. After introduction, they are often tracked just by endings, with no lexical NPs. Table 6 summarizes how (i.e. in what form and function) new referents are introduced. The definition of 'new' in this paper follows Chafe's characterization: 'newly activated at this point in the conversation' (1994: 72). Thus, new referents are not accessible nor inferrable. Note that there is only one new A NP (cf. Du Bois's Given A Constraint, 1987: 827).

Table 6: New referents

	6 narratives	Conversation	TOTAL	(%)
ABS/unmarked S	12	4	16	(12.4%)
ABS/unmarked A	2	1	3	(2.3%)
ABS/unmarked O	9	9	18	(14.0%)
ABS/unmarked detached	1	16	17	(13.2%)
ABS/unmarked indeterminate	2	1	3	(2.3%)
SUBTOTAL: New ABS/unmarked NPs			57	(44.2%)
ERG GEN	3	4	7	(5.4%)
ERG A	0	1	1	(0.8%)
SUBTOTAL: New ERG NPs			8	(6.2%)
ABL	16	5	21	(16.3%)
LOC	12	9	21	(16.3%)
ALL	13	4	17	(13.2%)
VIA	2	2	4	(3.1%)
AEQ	0	1	1	(0.8%)
SUBTOTAL: New OBL NPs			64	(49.6%)
TOTAL	72	57	129	

What is striking about the new absolutive/unmarked NPs is that, with a few exceptions, (a) they carry possessive suffixes, (b) they are accompanied by demonstratives, or (c) they are generic (e.g. *yuut* 'people'). In other words, the absolutive/unmarked NPs are almost always identifiable or generic when they are introduced for the first time in discourse. There is no such consistent tendency in the ergative and oblique categories. For example, 'his hat' in (42) is new to discourse, but because of the possessive suffix, it is anchored (i.e. linked to the possessor of the hat, who is already given), and thus identifiable.

(42) *nalluyagutellinikii* *nacani...*
nalluyagute-llini-ke-ii *nacaq-ni*
forget-EVID-PT-3s/3s hat-ABS.3RS/s
'he forgot his hat, and...' P 078

In the following example from the Motor narrative (M), the NP 'shopkeepers' is new to the discourse, but it is modified by a demonstrative. Such demonstratives often help identify the referents that are new to the current discourse, but identifiable to the interlocutors. In (43), 'the shopkeepers' are identifiable, since the purchase of the new motor was mentioned in an earlier portion.

(43) *qanrucarturluki* *taukut,*
qaner-ute-cartur-lu-ki *tauku-t*
speak-with.another-go.to-SUB-R/3P that-ABS.P
'he went to talk with

kipusviliurtet,
kipusviliurta-t
storekeeper-ABS.P
those shopkeepers,' M 063

Especially in the narratives, the narrators often use this strategy, treating the referents as if they were identifiable, even though the audience may not be familiar with them. The following is one illustration, where 'this little girl' is new and non-identifiable.

(44) *ayaginanerani-am,*
ayag-inaner-ani=am
go-CONT2-3s/3s=EMPH
'As he was going

una *nasaurluyagaq* *kitukii,*
una *nasaurluq-yagaq* *kitur-ke-ii*
this girl-little pass-PT-3s/3s
he passed this little girl,' P 056-67

3.4. Mention of lexical NPs

In this section, I will consider how lexical NPs are used in Yup'ik discourse. Obviously lexical NPs are used to introduce new referents, but other than that, they are also used at episode boundaries, to show contrast and for clarification. These are very common phenomena observed cross-linguistically; in this regard, Yup'ik is just like many other languages. Below are some examples. Especially relevant to the issue of ergativity/accusativity is (c) clarification.

(a) episode boundary

After relating the story she had heard in her childhood when her father told it to his friend, the speaker began to depict how her father and his friend were enjoying the story. There is a clear boundary before this portion.

(45) *englarlutek-llu-gguq* *taukuk* *angutek,*
englar-lu-tek=llu=gguq *tauku-k* *angun-k*
laugh-SUB-3RD=also=HRS that-ABS.D man-ABS.D
'and so those two men laughed,

ataka,
ata-ka
father-ABS.1s/s
my father

ilurani-llu,
iluraq-ni=llu
friend-ABS.3RS/s=also
and his friend,' M 048-50

(b) contrast

In (46) below, the speaker contrasts herself with others.

(46) *yuut* *agecaaqut* *unani,*
yuut *age-caaqe-u-t* *unani*
people go.over-in.vain-II-3P down.there
'People are traveling down there,

taugaam *wiinga* *piyuumiitua,*
taugaam *wiinga* *pi-yuumiite-u-a*
however I do-not.care-II-1s
but I myself do not want to,' T 113-4

(c) clarification

In the passage in (47), there are two referents, both third person plural. One is *yuut* ('real people') and the other is *ircinrrat* ('Little People'), so there might be ambiguities as to which referent is meant. It seems that lexical mention is necessary when an NP shifts its status from subject to object, or from object to subject.

(47)

a. *yuut-llu* *nerevkariluteng,*
yuut=llu *nere-vkar-i-lu-teng*
people=also eat-CAUS-DETRANS-SUB-3RP
'And the people prepared food

b. *anglaniluteng* *yuraraqluteng,*
anglani-lu-teng *yurar-aqe-lu-teng*
enjoy-SUB-3RP dance-HAB-SUB-3RP
they enjoyed themselves, they would dance,

c. *tua-i-gguq* *yuraulluki,*
tuai=gguq *yurar-ute-lu-ki*
and.then=HRS dance-APPLIC-SUB-R/3P
so they (=people) may dance for them. (=Little People)

d. *nerevkarluki-llu,*
nere-vkar-lu-ki=llu
eat-CAUS-SUB-R/3P=also

e. *tamalkuita* *yuut,*
tamalkuita *yuut*
all.of.them people
All the people feasted them. (=Little People)

f. *tua-i-llu-gguq,*
tuai=llu=gguq
and.then=also=HRS
And then,

g. *ayagenariameng,*
ayag-nari-a-meng
leave-be.time.to-CNSQ-3RP
since it was time for the Little People to leave,

h. *taukut* *ircinrrat,*
tauku-t *ircinrraq-t*
that-ABS.P little.person-ABS.P

i. *yuut,*
yuut
people

j. *kelellinikait,*
keleg-llini-ke-ait
invite-EVID-PT-3P/3P
they (=Little People) invited the people,'

Until lines d-e, the subject has been *yuut*, and the object has been *ircinrrat*. In lines f-j, *ircinrrat* shifts from object to subject (more specifically, O → S (line g) → A (line j)), while *yuut* shifts from subject to object (A → O (line j)), and there are lexical mentions (lines h and i)

k. *eniitnun* *ayasqelluki,*
ena-atnun *ayag-sqe-lu-ki*
house-ALL.3P/S go-want/ask-SUB-R/3P
'they (=Little People) asked them (=people) to come to their house.

l. *tua-i-llu* *aangareluteng* *taukut* *yuut,*
tuai=llu *aang-ar-lu-teng* *tauku-t* *yuut*
and.then=also yes-say-SUB-3RP that-ABS.P people
And so those people said "yes",

In line l, *yuut* shifts from object to subject (O → S), followed by a lexical mention of it.

m. *ircinrrat* *malikeluki,*
ircinrraq-t *malike-lu-ki*
little.person-ABS.P take.along-SUB-R/3P
and they followed the Little People

n. *nunaitnun,*
nuna-itnun
land-ALL.3P/P
to their country.'

In lines m-n, *ircinrrat* shifts from subject to object (A → O), and it is mentioned lexically.

Note that lexical mentions are made whenever a subject/object switch occurs. The distinction between subject and object seems crucial, since lexical mention for clarification operates on a subject/object basis. This may constitute a piece of evidence that Yup'ik shows accusativity as well, although such examples are scarce. Let us consider another example. In (48), there are three clauses. Their subjects shift from *tulukaruq* ('raven') to *nasaurluq* ('girl'), and then back to *tulukaruq*. The object of the second clause (line d), *tulukaruq*, becomes the subject of the third clause (line h) (O → S), with a lexical mention (line g).

(48)

a. *tulukaruq,*
tulukaruq
raven
'Raven

b. *agiirtelria,*
agiirte-lria
approach.from.distance-PL.3s
approached from a distance.

c. *tauna-llu-gguq* *nasaurluq* *tua-i,*
tauna=llu=gguq *nasaurluq* *tuai*
that=also=HRS girl and.then
And so that girl

d. *tangerryuumiinaku* *tulukarucilleq,*
tangerr-yuumiite-na-ku *tulukaruq-cilleq*
see-not.care-SUB-R/3s raven-worthless
didn't want to see that dirty rotten Raven,

e. *tulukaruq,*
tulukaruq
raven
Raven.

f. *taugaam-gguq* *tua-i,*
taugaam=gguq *tuai*
however=HRS and.then
But,

g. *tulukaruq,*
tulukaruq
raven
Raven

h. *agiirtuq,*
agiirte-u-q
approach.from.distance-II-3s
approached

i. *nasaurlumun,*
nasaurluq-mun
girl-ALL
the girl,' R 052-060

Finally, although lexical NPs are generally necessary in the cases discussed above, we do notice similar contexts in which lexical NPs are absent. Pronominal suffixes may help in the identification of referents, for example, since they distinguish the person and number of their referents. This is exemplified in (49), where all the clauses except the last have a third person singular subject. The subject of the last clause becomes 'they', without mentioning any lexical NP. There seems to be no problem, however, because of different numbers indicated by the endings.

(49) *atsanek* *teguqarrlinilria,*
atsaq-nek *tegu-qar-llini-lria*
fruit-ABL.P take-briefly-EVID-PI.3S
'he quickly took up fruits,

ilaminun *aruqelluki* *ellii-llu,*
ila-minun *aruqe-te-lu-ki* *ellii=llu*
associate-ALL.3RS/P pass.out-APPLIC-SUB-R/3P s/he=also
and passed them out to his friends, and himself.

nerelluni *ataam,*
nere-te-lu-ni *ataam*
eat-DETRANS-SUB-3RS again
And he resumed eating.

avaviarluteng,
ava-viar-lu-teng
over.there-go.to-SUB-3RP
and they went over there.' P 089-92

4. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have reexamined the grammatical system of Yup'ik from a discourse perspective. Yup'ik is known to show an ergative pattern in its nominal morphology, but in the syntax of the subordinative mood, it also shows an accusative pattern. This split-ergative patterning is also observed in discourse, where autonomous use of the subordinative mood, i.e. the use of the subordinative clause without the main clause, is very common.

The majority of lexical NPs mentioned in discourse, including independent pronouns, are absolutive, the formally unmarked case in Yup'ik. This suggests that the way lexical NPs are used is not on an ergative nor on an accusative basis.

Lexical NPs may be used for the clarification of their referents in discourse, and such lexical mentions are often made when an NP shifts its status from subject to object, or from object to subject. This may be regarded as evidence suggesting that Yup'ik shows a partial accusative pattern.

Notes

[1]I would like to thank George Charles and Elizabeth Charles Ali for sharing their insights with us through their consultant work. I am also grateful to Marianne Mithun for her numerous helpful comments and suggestions. Needless to say, any errors and misinterpretations are solely my own.

[2]What should be identified as a single NP is a problem that needs some compromise. In this paper, I basically regard a nominal with a demonstrative as a single NP. A nominal and a genitive NP that modifies it are counted as two separate NPs.

* * *

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THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW INFORMATION AND PREFERRED ARGUMENT STRUCTURE IN CENTRAL ALASKAN YUP'IK[1] NARRATIVES

Carl Rubino

The aim of this study is to examine the grammatical patterns employed by the speakers of an ergative language, Central Alaskan Yup'ik, to introduce new referents in spoken narratives with regard to the model of Preferred Argument Structure proposed by Du Bois (1987) for another ergative language, Sacapultec Maya. The term Preferred Argument Structure refers to the strong statistical tendencies or grammatical patterning preferences for nominal referents to take in connected discourse (Du Bois 1987, Chafe 1993 and Kärkkäinen 1994). It has been investigated with a wide variety of languages to examine discourse functions of case marking and referent tracking, with particular attention to the consequences that grammatical role has on information flow management.

The new nominal referents (NPs) in five Yup'ik narratives will be studied statistically to see whether the restrictions and grammatical tendencies applied to new information as outlined by the Preferred Argument Structure model proposed by Du Bois (1987) for Sacapultec Maya, along with other proposed tendencies and constraints dealing with information flow in general, can be applied to Central Alaskan Yup'ik Eskimo narrative discourse.

1. What is new information?

The activation cost of a nominal referent refers to its status in the addressee's frame of consciousness at the time of utterance. (See Chafe 1993.) A nominal referent introduced for the first time in a discourse situation is thereby given the activation status of new, as opposed to a referent with discourse prominence or previous mention which is classified with the activation status of 'given'. The binary distinction of 'new' vs. 'given' referring to information that is either activated or not activated in a conversation or narrative, however, seems not to be adequate for linguistic purposes, as there is perhaps also a semi-active 'accessible' activation cost with its own implications. The 'accessible' information category refers to entities that have been mentioned earlier, information that is in the environment of what is being said (cf. blackboard in a classroom), or information that can be inferred from what is being said (backache makes 'back' accessible) (Chafe 1993).

Although this study will show what grammatical roles are utilized for a nominal referent that appears for the first time in narrative discourse, one should not overlook a possible intermediary status of semi-active or 'accessible' information in the analysis. With this semi-active activation cost in mind, a noun used for the first time to refer to a previously activated entity will not be classified as new for purposes of this study. For example, in the Raven narrative, the consultant used two different NPs to refer to the character of the grandmother,

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[1]Central Alaskan Yup'ik belongs to the Eskimo-Aleut family of languages. It is spoken by 16,000 from Bristol Bay through Southwestern Alaska to Unalakleet and Elim and Golovin on the Seward Peninsula (Krauss 1993). I would like to thank my Yup'ik consultants George Charles, and Liz Charles Ali for all their generous help and to the members of the UCSB Field Methods class for a wonderful year working with the language.

maurluq 'grandmother' and *arnassaagaq* 'old woman.' Only the first NP referent was classified as new. Aside from instances like these, however, the binary distinction will be maintained in the statistics.

2. The Narratives and Methodology of this study:

The corpus of spoken Yup'ik used in this study comprises five narratives recorded over a four month period by two native consultants, bilingual in Central Alaskan Yup'ik and English: George Charles (GC) originally from Nelson Island, Alaska, now residing in Anchorage, and his younger sister, Liz Charles Ali (LA) currently residing in Southern California.

The narratives were transcribed by intonation units, one intonation unit per line, which were used as the primary unit of discourse analysis in this study. An intonation unit is defined to be a:

> 'sequence of words combined under a single, coherent intonation contour, usually preceded by a pause' (Chafe 1987:22)

The nominals introducing new referents were then extracted from the narratives with particular attention paid to their grammatical role in Yup'ik to see whether there is any tendency in the language to pattern them in accordance with their new activation cost.

3. A brief outline of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language (Miyaoka 1995, Jacobson 1984)

The Yup'ik language is a polysynthetic language with an SOV word order and an ergative/absolutive case system. Morphologically complex words in Yup'ik consist of a stem (no more than 1000 in number), optional post-bases (300 in number) that can alter the grammatical role of the word, followed by inflectional endings showing case (and optional possessors) for nouns and mood and person for verbs. Enclitics are written in the orthography hyphenated:

(1) *calivkaraa-gguq.* It is said that he is allowing her to work.

cali	*-vkar*	*-a*	*-a*	*=gguq*
work:STEM	CAUS:POSTBASE	IT:END	3s/3s:END	HRSY:CLITIC

The Yup'ik case system is predominantly ergative, with an absolutive category established for subjects of intransitive verbs and patients of transitives, while ergative (relative) case is assigned to agents of transitive verbs and possessors:

(2) *arnassaagaq* *qavartuq.*

arnassaagaq	*qavar-tu*	*-q.*
old:woman:ABS	sleep-II	-3sABS

'The old woman is sleeping.' (GC)

arnassaagam	*tan'gaurluq*	*qavarcitaa*
arnassaagaq-m	*tan'gaurluq*	*qavar-cite-a-a*
old:woman-ERG	boy:ABS	sleep-CAUS-IT-3s/3s

'The old woman is putting the boy to sleep.' (GC)

angutem	*arnassaagaq*	*tangrraa*
angute-m	*arnassagaq*	*tangerr-a-a*
man-ERG	old:woman:ABS	see-IT-3s/3s

'The man sees the old woman.' (GC)

3.1 Nominal referents

This study will distinguish nominal referents that function syntactically as core arguments of a verb, from oblique referents not syntactically bound to any verb.

The core noun cases in Central Alaskan Yup'ik are the absolutive and ergative categories exemplified above in (2). Transitive verbs in the language take two core arguments, an ergative and an absolutive, while intransitive verbs take only one, an absolutive.

Non-core noun cases in the language are outlined below:

1. Localis case. Indicates location and sometimes time.

(3)

marulussaagagtellriik,	*uitaqellriik,*	***enacuarmi,***
marulussaagagtellriik	*uita-qellriik*	*ena-cuar-mi.*
grandparent&grandchild	live-RECIP:DUAL	house-small-LOCs

'A grandparent and grandchild living together in a small house.' (RAV:2-4)

2. Ablative-Modalis case. General oblique case indicating the place or time from which an action is taking place, or an extra referent not core to the verb:

(4)

Paluqtamek	*tangllinilria.*
paluqtaq-mek	*tang-llini-lria*
beaver-ABL	see-apparently-PI

'He saw (intr.) a beaver.' (PQ:20)

3. Allative (Terminalis). Indicates direction, place or time toward which an action takes place:

(5)

ayallinilria	*ataam,*	***Mamterrillermun.***
ayag-llini-lria	*ataam*	*Mamterilleq-mun*
leave-apparently-PI	PART	village:name-ALLs

'So he left to Mamterilleq village.' (MOT:39-40)

(6) *ellinaurai,* ***issramun,***
elli-naur-a-i *issran-mun*
put-HAB.CND-IT-3s/3p basket-TERM
'He would put them into a basket.' (PS:13-14)

4. Vialis (Translocative). Indicates the route or instrument of a verbal action, or part of a whole:

(7) ***kuigkun*** *anelrarelria* *anelrarluni.*
kuig-kun *anelrar-lria* *anelrar-lu-ni*
river-VIAS go.downriver-PI exit-SUB-3I
'He went downriver.' (MOT:18)

5. Equalitive

The equalitive case is used to show equivalence, similarities or comparison between two entities. It seems to be the rarest of the noun cases:

(8) *una* *miktauq* ***tautun***
una *mikete-u-q* *tau-tun*
this small-II-3 that-AEQs
'This is as small as that.' (Miyaoka 1995.48)

3.2 Verbs

Yup'ik has six verb moods of two types, dependent and independent. The independent verb moods (indicative, participial, interrogative, and optative) function as main clause predicates while the dependent moods (connective and subordinative) usually occur subordinate to independent verbs (Miyaoka 1996).

3.2.1 Independent Moods

The indicative mood is used to make a statement. Like all Yup'ik verbal moods, it can be used transitively or intransitively.

(9) *Wanirpak* *qanemciqatartua.*
wani-rpak *qanemci-qatar-tu-a*
now-present tell.story.FUT-II-1s
'At this present time, I am going to relate a story.' (MOT:1)

The participial mood is used to indicate a potential predication. It states predications in a more indirect manner than the indicative mood:

(10) *Mikelnguq* *kiturlria,*
mikelnguq *kitur-lria*

child pass-PI.
'A child (who) passed by.' (PS:44)

The interrogative and optative moods are not as common in discourse. They are used in questions and wishes or requests respectively:

(11) *Camek* *neqangqerciit?*
ca-mek *neqa-ngqerr-tsi-t*
what-ABL food/eat-to:have-QI-2s
'What do you have to eat?' (RAV:47)

(12) *taili.*
tai-li
come-OI:3s
'May he come now.' (Miyaoka 1995)

3.2.2 Dependent Moods

There are two dependent moods in Yup'ik which express subordinate predications. The connective mood is used to express some kind of temporal or causal relationship to the main verb:

(13) *Caliinanerani* *una* *angun,* *kiturtuq,*
cali-inaner-ani *una* *angun* *kitur-tu-q*
work-CONT1:while-3s DEM man:ABS pass-II-3s
'While he was working, a man passed by.' (PS:30-31)

The subordinative mood expresses an event concomitant with the even expressed by the main verb (Miyaoka 1996). Subordinates are sometimes used independently.

(14) *Elliqarluku-llu-gguq* *ayalria.*
elli-qar-lu-ku=llu=gguq *ayag-lria.*
put-V.briefly-SUB-3s=and=HRSY leave-PI
'And after he placed it (the motor) on, he travelled.' (MOT:17)

With this much background on the morphology of Yup'ik, we can begin to appreciate the data as they apply to Preferred Argument Structure.

4. Outline of Preferred Argument Structure as Proposed by Du Bois 1987

Preferred Argument Structure (PAS) reflects the notion that there is a statistical tendency to utilize certain grammatical patterns in accordance with the information status (activation cost) of a referent in connected discourse or the morphological status (lexical vs. affixal) of a given referent (Du Bois 1987). Du Bois, working with narrative data from an ergative Mayan language, Sacapultec Maya (Mexico), has made the following claims with regard to PAS:

1. Clauses (intonation units) tend to contain no more than one piece of new information.
2. Clauses (intonation units) with two overt lexical nominals are relatively rare in natural discourse. (One lexical argument constraint)
3. Lexical agents of transitives are rare. (Non-lexical A constraint)
4. There is a usual limit to one new argument per clause (One New Argument Constraint).
5. New information tends not to be introduced in the Agent category. (Given Agent Constraint)

Although this paper will focus on the introduction of new information in Yup'ik narratives, I will also address the constraints proposed by Du Bois 1987 to see whether they are valid in Eskimo.

The one lexical argument constraint, for instance, can be seen as a tendency equally applicable to the Yup'ik Eskimo data. Du Bois notices that if a lexical item is mentioned in a clause, it tends to belong to the absolutive category, the patient of a transitive clause or subject of intransitive, citing a discourse basis for the ergative case system. Based on a corpus of Pear Stories from Sacapultec, Du Bois reports the following counts of lexical items per clause:

Table 4.0.1. Number of lexical NPs per clause in Sacapultec Maya (Du Bois 1987)

# Lexical NPs	Count	% Clauses
0	211	47.6%
1	227	51.2%
2	2	1.1%

If we compare this to the Yup'ik data using a similar genre of narrative, an elicited retelling of the same silent film, we get similar results, avoiding more than one lexical referent per intonation unit:

Table 4.0.2. Number of lexical NPs per IU in Yup'ik Eskimo:

# Lexical NPs	Count	% Clauses
0	73	67%
1	35	32%
2	1	1%

In fact, the only intonation unit we get in the Pear Story with more than one lexical item happens to be a repetition of two previously mentioned given (newly activated) lexical items from previous IUs:

(15) *atsarpagnek,*
atsaq-rpag-nek
fruit-large-ABL

ellinaurai,
elli-naur-a-i
put-HAB-IT-3/3p

issramun,
issran-mun
basket-TRM

atsarpagnek *issramun,*
atsaq-rpag-nek *issran-mun*
fruit-large-ABL basket-TRM

elliluki,
elli-lu-ki
put-SUB-3/3p

pinqeggcarluki.
pinqegg-car-lu-ki
neat-try.to-SUB-3/3p (PS: lines 12-17)

'Large fruit, he would put them in a basket, placing the large fruit into a basket in a careful manner.'

We see a greater proportion of clauses with no lexical referent in Yup'ik than in Sacapultec. This can be attributed to the facts that only bona fide nominals were counted in the data as referents, and all intonation units were considered, even those consisting of only a particle. Nominal bases with verbal morphology (verbalizing postbase, mood and person) were not considered.

The claim that the agent position (ergative category) tends not to be occupied by a full lexical item also holds true for the Yup'ik data:

Table 4.0.3. Lexical Items by Grammatical Role in Yup'ik

	Pear Story		Evil Raven	
Grammatical Role	# tokens	% tokens	# tokens	% tokens
A	0	0%	0	0%
S	10	27.8%	13	28.3%
O	8	22.2%	4	8.7%
OBL	18	50%	23	50%
Other	0	0%	6	13[2]%

[2]The discrepancy between the last category in this table has to do with narrative genre. In the Evil Raven, many vocative non-argument nominals were employed.

Of course, the absence or rarity of a full lexical NP in agentive position can be attributed in part to the fact that agents are usually animate beings with discourse importance. They therefore tend to be realized in Yup'ik by pronouns or inflectional verbal endings. The following chart shows the grammatical category of all the ergative arguments in the Pear Story:

Table 4.0.4 Ergative referents in the Yup'ik Pear Story

	# tokens	% tokens
Lexical argument	0	0%
pronoun	3	10.3%
verb ending	26	89.7%

Of course, one may want to argue that statistically, since intransitive verbs are more common than transitives in speech, there is less opportunity for ergative referents to appear in spoken discourse for any piece of information with any activation cost. To consider this factor, I have made a statistical count of the verbs in the Yup'ik Pear Story to compare the outcome with the Pear Stories in Sacapultec Maya, and present here the conclusions in Table 4.0.5:

Table 4.0.5
Breakdown of verbs by transitivity in Yup'ik Eskimo and Sacapultec Maya[3] Pear Stories:

	Yup'ik Eskimo		Sacapultec Maya	
Verb type	# tokens	% tokens	# tokens	% tokens
Transitive	29	37.66%	185	40.4%
Intransitive	48	62.34%	273	59.6%
TOTAL	77	100%	458	100%

The striking similarities between the percentages of transitives used in the two languages may be a result of the similar stimulus used to condition the narrative: the Pear Story silent film. For this reason, I have chosen to present another analysis, based on other narratives in Yup'ik to show that the narrative data still consists of primarily intransitive verbs, although the skewing may be affected by narrative genre or story line. Little People happens to be a mythological tale, whereas New Motor is a retelling of a true incident:

[3]Du Bois includes equational verbs in his breakdown, which I lump together with intransitive verbs for purposes of this chart, since they do not take agentive arguments. He found 13 equational verbs out of a corpus of 458, so this lumping should not greatly affect the result.

Table 4.0.6
Breakdown of verbs by transitivity in Yup'ik Eskimo narratives

Narrative	New Motor		Little People	
Verb type	# tokens	% tokens	# tokens	% tokens
Transitive	15	40.5%	16	26%
Intransitive	22	59.5%	45	74%
TOTAL	37	100%	61	100%

4.1 The Presentation of New Information

There is statistical evidence to support the claim that there are patterning preferences for the introduction of new information in Yup'ik discourse, similar (but not identical) to those proposed for Sacapultec by Du Bois 1987. The five narratives studied contain fifty-one instances of new referents falling into five grammatical categories:

agent- ergative agent of transitive verb
subject- absolutive subject of intransitive verb
patient- absolutive object of transitive verb
oblique- NP not marked with a core (ergative or absolutive) case.
presentative- NP that appears not to have any affiliation with a verbal clause (usually unmarked for case = ABS), frequently belonging to its own intonation unit, and usually preceded by a presentative demonstrative as in (16):

(16) *yai-gguq* *amiiket,*
yaani=gguq *amiik-t*
there.DEM=HRSY door-p
'there are doors,' (LP:62) (Speaker then proceeds to talk about the doors once presented)

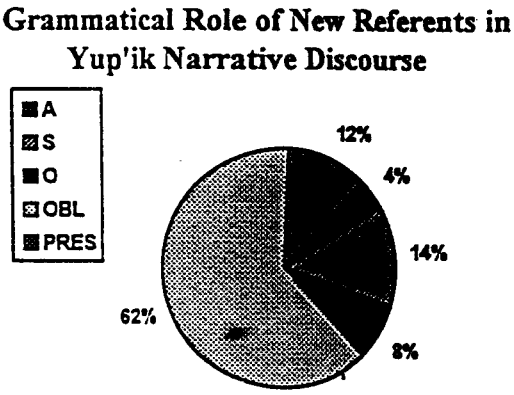
una *amiik* *aciani-wa* *cali* *amiik,*
una *amiik* *aciani=wa* *cali* *amiik*
this door under=PART other door
'this door underneath and another door,'

pagaani-llu-gguq *cali* *amiik.*
pagaani=llu=gguq *cali* *amiik*
up:LOC=and=HRSY other door
'and another door up above it.' (LP:63-64)

We see from the following table that there is definitely a skewing of new referents in the oblique category, and new agents are relatively rare, but the situation in Yup'ik discourse is not exactly the same as the ergative argument structure proposed by Du Bois for Sacapultec Maya:

Table 4.1.1 New nominal referents in Yup'ik

Grammatical Role	# tokens N/50	% tokens
A - Erg	2	3.9%
S - Abs	7	13.7%
O - Abs	4	7.8%
OBL	32	62.7%
PRES	6	11.8%



4.2 How do the Yup'ik data compare with Sacapultec (Du Bois 1987)

Du Bois (1987) argues that there is a discourse basis for an ergative case system, and an ergative pattern of information flow that may be employed whether or not a language has formally grammaticized ergative case. Noting that in Sacapultec Maya (among other languages[4]), the absolutive category tends to be used in introducing new referents in discourse production, Du Bois believes that the category functions then to accommodate new information:

> "...the absolutive syntactic position constitutes a sort of grammatically defined 'staging area' -- reserved for accommodating the process, apparently relatively demanding, of activating a previously inactive entity concept." (Du Bois 1987:834)

Since it has been shown in a wide variety of languages with ergative and accusative constructions in their grammars that there is a discourse patterning of absolutive structure, we should ask ourselves why Yup'ik Eskimo, a morphologically ergative language, does not employ the absolutive category in the same way: as a means to manage the information flow of new referents. Table 4.2.1 below will show the relative percentage differences between new referent introduction in Yup'ik and Sacapultec (Du Bois 1987):

Table 4.2.1
Distribution of new referents with regard to grammatical role

Grammatical role	Yup'ik Eskimo	Sacapultec Maya
A	3.9%	3.4%
S	13.7%	32.8%
O	7.8%	23.7%
OBL	62.7%	31.1%
Other	11.8%	9%

[4]English, German, Portuguese, French, Hebrew, Quechua, Rama, Papago, and Japanese also display an ergative/absolutive pattern of information flow, although all are accusative in grammar (Du Bois 1987:839).

Before I try to explain the difference in information flow patterning between the two languages, I would like to present the similarities.

1. Speakers of both languages tend not to introduce new information in the ergative role, in line with the Given Agent Constraint. In fact, all the agentive new nominals were human and perhaps should not be given the same status as newly activated nouns.

2. The majority of counts of agentive referents tend to be given referents, usually realized by a pronoun or verb ending, not lexically. (See table 4.0.3)

3. In both languages speakers tend not to introduce more than one piece of new information per clause (intonation unit). In fact, in the Yup'ik data, not a single IU contained two newly activated referents.

4. Two overt lexical nominals are rare in real discourse situations. Clauses with two overt NPs were 1.1% in Sacapultec Maya, and 1% in Yup'ik Eskimo.

The major difference between the languages, therefore, in terms of information flow would be the relatively small role the absolutive category in Yup'ik plays in introducing new participants (22% of new referents for Yup'ik and 56.5% for Sacapultec).

This may ultimately be the result of the grammaticization of intransitive verbs to fulfill two separate functions in the two languages.

4.3 The role of intransitivity in Sacapultec and Yup'ik

Du Bois attributes the fact that although the A and S roles in discourse tend to contain members of the same semantic class: human protagonists, there is something inherently different about their role in discourse. The A role, for instance, usually does not contain new participants, while the S role may be frequently used to activate new information. Perhaps then, intransitive verbs play an important role in managing information flow, showing that languages that utilize an ergative system of information flow 'follow a general pattern of intransitive introduction followed by transitive narration' (Du Bois 1987:831). The use of intransitive verbs for introducing new information may also be explained through cognitive tendencies in information flow (Chafe 1993). It seems plausible that new information should be presented one piece at a time. Hence, putting newly activated referents in the agentive position of a transitive verb with the object affected by the new referent's agentive action in the same clause (intonation unit) may constitute a processing burden on behalf of the addressee. It may be because of this processing burden that some languages grammaticize presentative constructions in their discourse to introduce new referents, constructions where a new referent is separated from the intonation unit of its verbal complement:

(17) *tauna-gguq angunkara'urluq,*
tauna=gguq angunkara'urluq
that=HRSY dear.old.man
'that dear old man' (introduction of a protagonisitic referent)

kipusvigtellinlria
kipusvik-te-llini-lria
store-go.to-EVID-PI
'he went to the store (to buy..)' (MOT:10-11)

Speakers of Sacapultec may thereby select intransitive verbs in their discourse to suit the patterns of information flow, rather than solely abide by the semantic content imposed by them.

Speakers of Yup'ik Eskimo, however, do not employ detransitivizing strategies in the same way as Sacapultec speakers to introduce new referents. It appears that the core cases in Yup'ik (ergative and absolutive) are reserved for referents that would not pragmatically suit the category of newly activated information.

We know that the ergative referents tend to be realized solely by pronominal suffixes on verbs 89.7% of the time in Yup'ik. This can be attributed to the fact that they tend to be highly topical in nature with referential prominence and are usually animate. (See table 4.0.3) The absolutive category also serves a referential function that perhaps overrides the discourse basis of information flow for the absolutive category. We will demonstrate this function by the use of the antipassive in Yup'ik discourse.

4.4 The Antipassive in Yup'ik

There are two ways of forming a semantically transitive statement in Yup'ik, depending on whether the object of the transitive verb is definite (identifiable) or not (Jacobson 1993). When an object is definite, it fills the position of the absolutive argument of a syntactically transitive verb. However, when the object is indefinite, it does not fulfill the criterion of being a core argument of the verb, and thus shows up as an oblique referent of an intransitive verb. The detransitivization of the verb to remove an indefinite object from core to oblique status, while promoting the patient from ergative to absolutive status is referred to as the antipassive construction:

ERGATIVE	A_{ERG}	P_{ABS}	V_{TRANS}	
ANTIPASSIVE		A_{ABS}	$V_{INTRANS}$	P_{OBL}

(18) *Tuntuka* *tangrraa*
tuntu-ka *tangrr-a-a*
moose-1s/3s see-IT-3s/3s
'He sees my moose.'

Tuntunek *amllernek* *tangerrellruuq.*
tuntu-nek *amlleq-nek* *tangrr-llru-u-q*
moose-ABLp many-ABLp see-PST-II-3s
'He saw many moose.' (LA)

We can see the way the antipassive construction is used in connected discourse in the following example from the Pear Story. Here, the nominal referent 'fruits' is introduced for the first time as an oblique NP, grammatically not an argument of any verb.

(19) *Ciungani-gguq,*
ciu-ngani=gguq
begin-LOC=HRSY
'in the beginning

una angun,
una angun
DEM man
a man

napami,
napa-mi
tree-LOC
in a tree

atsanek,
atsaq-nek
fruit-ABL

iqvarlria
iqvar-lria
pick-PI
who was picking fruit..' (PS:7-11)

Later on in the narrative, once the identity of the fruits has been established in the discourse, they cease to be indefinite, un-identifiable referents and are promoted to core absolutive status:

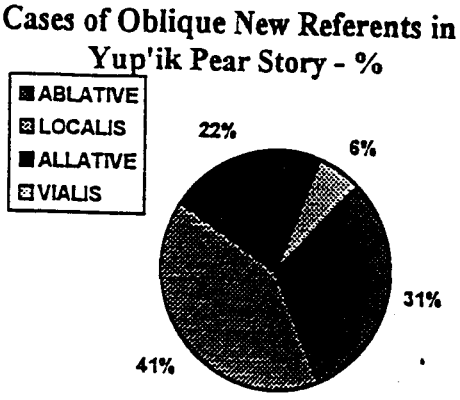
(20) *atsat tegukai.*
atsaq-t tegu-ke-ai
fruit-p take-PT-3s/3p
'He took all the fruits.' (PS:53)

The absolutive status, therefore, in Yup'ik entails certain restrictions. These restrictions (definiteness, identifiability) demanded by the language for core arguments of the verb do not coincide semantically or pragmatically with the inherent qualities of new information. This should explain the skewing of new information in Yup'ik to appear with oblique status. 62% of the newly activated referents thus are introduced as non-arguments.

With the antipassive construction in mind, we may then ask ourselves whether the majority of the new referents in Yup'ik discourse are just indefinite objects of intransitive verbs, which happen to be encoded with ablative case marking within the semantic domain of an intransitive verb. Table 4.4.1 below shows the percentage breakdown of the case markings of new referents, indicating that the majority of the obliqued new referents belong to the localis case:

Table 4.4.1
Cases of Oblique New Referents

Case	# tokens	% tokens
Ablative	10	31.25%
Localis	13	40.63%
Allative	7	21.88%
Vialis	2	6.25%



5. Conclusions

Upon comparison of two typologically distinct ergative languages, Sacapultec Maya and Central Alaskan Yup'ik Eskimo, it becomes clear that the function and motivation for absolutive case may not have equivalent cross-linguistic consequences in terms of the structuring of information flow.

Although both languages seem to abide by general constraints and ergative discourse patterning preferences with regard to Preferred Argument Structure, tendencies that have been noted even among highly accusative languages, i.e. English, German, Portuguese, French, Hebrew, Quechua, Rama, Papago and Japanese (Du Bois 1987), the separate, distinct functions of the absolutive category have been noted among the two languages:

Sacapultec Maya utilizes the absolutive category in such a way that there may be a discourse based motivation for its grammaticization. Based on pragmatic and cognitive factors, it is the absolutive category in Sacapultec Maya that tends to be used to introduce new referents in discourse and structure information flow.

Yup'ik Eskimo, however, although considered an ergative language like Maya, offers no evidence to postulate that the absolutive category has grammaticized from the discourse based need for referent tracking in the same way as Sacapultec. The assignment of nominals to the core categories of ergative and absolutive seems to depend on factors (definiteness, referentiality) that do not coincide semantically or pragmatically with the qualities inherent in new information. The absolutive categories in the two languages, therefore, serve to fulfill separate functions.

Clearly, more discourse based studies should be carried out on languages which are typologically ergative to see whether there should be further classifications or breakdowns of languages which employ ergative case marking.

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PALUQTAQ ISSALUQ-LLU
The Beaver and the Porcupine

Told by George Charles

B 001
Ak'a *tamaani,*
ak'a *tamaani*
long.ago at.that.time.EXTENDED
'Once upon a time

B 002
tauna-gguq *issaluq,*
tauna=gguq *issaluq*
that=HRS porcupine
Porcupine,

B 003
cuassaanek *assililuni* *nerelaami,*
cuassaaq-nek *assir-li-lu-ni* *nere-lar-a-mi*
rhubarb-ABL.P good-NOM-SUB-3RS eat-customarily-CNSQ-3RS
because he enjoyed eating wild rhubarb,

B 004
nereqcaaralliniluni,
nere-qcaar-a-llini-lu-ni
eat-keep.trying.despite.difficulties-repeatedly-apparently-SUB-3RS
was nibbling

B 005
kuigem *paingani.*
kuik-m *pai-ngani*
river-ERG mouth-3s/3s.LOC
by the mouth of the river.

B 006
Tuani-llu-gguq *tangerrliniuq* *imkut* *cuassaat* *nangelliniluki.*
tuani=llu=gguq *tangerr-llini-u-q* *imkut* *cuassaaq-t* *nange-llini-lu-ki*
there=too=HRS see-apparently-II-3s those rhubarb-P finish-apparently-SUB-R/3P
And it was there that he saw that he had finished the wild rhubarb.

B 007
Tua-i-llu-gguq
tuai=llu=gguq
then=too=HRS
And then

B 008

tauna	*cal'*	*yuaryaaqelria*	*nalkuteksaunani*
tauna	*cali*	*yuar-yaaqe-lria*	*nalkute-ksaite-lu-ni*
that	and	search-in.vain-PI.3s	find-not.yet-SUB-3RS

he looked once again but didn't find

B 009

tamakunek	*cuassaanek.*
tamaku-nek	*cuassaaq-nek*
those-ABL.P	rhubarb-ABL.P

any wild rhubarb.

B 010

Tua-i-llu-gguq
tuai=llu=gguq
then=and=HRS
And then

B 011

tangerrliniuq,
tangerr-llini-u-q
see-apparently-II-3s
he saw

B 012

kuigem	*akiani,*	..
kuik-m	*aki-ani*	
river-ERG	opposite-3s/s.LOC	

on the other side of the river

B 013

cuassaat
cuassaaq-t
rhubarb-P
a lot of

B 014

amllepiat	*yaani,*
amlleq-piaq-t	*yaani*
numerous-very.much-P	over.there

rhubarb over there,

B 015

tua-i	*taugaam,*
tuai	*taugaam*
and	however

but

B 016
qerarciganaku *pillinilria.* ...
qerar-ciigate-na-ku *pi-llini-lria*
cross-unable-SUB-R/3s do-apparently-PI.3s
he couldn't cross.

B 017
Im'umi-gguq
im'umi=gguq
that.LOC=HRS
At that time

B 018
tamakut *aa--,*
tamakut *aa*
those.P HES
those

ungung--

B019
ungungssiit
ungungssiq-t
animal-P
animals

aa
aa
HES

B 020
issalut
issaluq-t
porcupine-P
porcupines

B 021
kuimayuilameng *aa,*
kuime-yuite-a-meng *aa*
swim-habitually.not-CNSQ-3RP HES
did not swim,

B 022
qerarciiganani *uitallinilria.*
qerar-ciigate-a-ni *uita-llini-lria*
cross-unable-CNSQ-3s stay-apparently-PI.3s
so he stayed there, unable to cross.

B 023
Tua-i-llu-gguq *uitaqarluni.*
tuai=llu=gguq *uita-qar-lu-ni*
then=and=HRS stay-briefly-SUB-3RS
He stayed for just awhile,

B 024
Paluqtamek *tangerrlinilria,*
paluqtaq-mek *tangerr-llini-lria*
beaver-ABL see-apparently-PL.3s
then he saw a beaver

B 025
kuimalriamek *kuigmi.*
kuimar-lria-mek *kuik-mi*
swim-NOM-ABL river-LOC
swimming in the river.

B 026
Tua-i-llu-gguq *aa,*
tuai=llu=gguq *aa*
then=and=HRS HES
And they say that

B 027
imkut *tamakut* *ungungssiit--*
imkut *tamakut* *ungungsiq-t*
those those animal-P
since those animals,

B 028
tamaani *qanelallruameng,*
tamaani *qaner-lallru-a-meng*
at.that.place talk-PAST.HAB-CNSQ-3RP
were able to talk at that time,

B 029
taum--
tauna-m
that-ERG
that

B 030
issalum *aptaa,*
issaluq-m *apete-a-a*
porcupine-ERG ask-IT-3s/3s
Porcupine asked,

B 031
"*Ingsuq!*
ingsuq
you.there
"You there,

B 032
Paluqtaq!
paluqtaq
beaver
Beaver!

B 033
Ikavet-qaa, ...
ikavet=qaa
across.there=Q
Are you able

B 034
kuimarluten *aa,*
kuimar-lu-ten *aa*
swim-SUB-2s HES
to take me across

B 035
agullua *piyugngauten?*"
age-ute-lu-a *pi-yugnga-u-ten*
take.over-APPLIC-SUB-1s do-able-II-2s
to the other side by swimming?"

B 036
Tua-i-llu-gguq *tauna* *paluqtaq* *qanertuq,*
tuai=llu=gguq *tauna* *paluqtaq* *qaner-tu-q*
then=and=HRS that beaver speak-II-3s
Then Beaver said,

B 037
"*Piyugngayaaqellrianga-wa*
pi-yugnga-yaaqe-lria-nga=wa
do-able-probably-PI-1s-suppose
"I suppose I could probably do that

B 038
taugaam *tamakut* *aa,*
taugaam *tamakut* *aa*
however those HES
but those ah,

B 039
elpet *issalut--*
elpet *issalu-t*
you porcupine-P
you porcupines--

B 040
issaluruuten--
issalur-u-u-ten--
porcupine-II-2s
you are a porcupine--

issalur--
porcupine--

B 041
issaluruavet *aa,*
issaluq-u-a-vet *aa*
porcupine-be-CNSQ-2s HES
because you are a porcupine,

B 042
tamakut *aa,*
tamakut *aa*
those HES
those things,

B 043
tunuka *tuai* *kapeluten* *aa,*
tunu-ka *tuai* *kape-lu-ten* *aa*
back-1s/s and poke-SUB-2s HES
you will poke my back

B 044
kapsuuteten *tuai* *aa,*
kape-ssuut-ten *tuai* *aa*
poke-device-2s/P and HES
with your quills,

B 045
assiiciiquq."
assiite-ciiqe-u-q
bad-FUTURE-II-3s
and that will not be good."

B 046
Tua-i-llu-gguq *tauna,* ...
tuai=llu=gguq *tauna*
and.then=HRS that
And then that one,

B 047
paluqtaq *qanerluni* *cal'* *pilliniuq,*
paluqtaq *qaner-lu-ni* *cali* *pi-llini-u-q*
beaver talk-SUB-3RS and do-apparently-II-3s
Beaver, spoke, saying,

B 048
"*Kitek* *tamakut* *aa,*
kitek *tamakut* *aa*
well those
"Well then,

B 049
kapsuuten *aug'arluki* *aa,*
kape-ssuun-ten *aug'ar-lu-ki* *aa*
poke-device-2s/3P remove-SUB-R/3P HES
if you remove those quills,

B 050
pikuvet *aa,*
pi-ku-vet *aa*
do-COND-2S HES
if you do that,

B 051
qerarciiqamken *tunumkun,*
qerar-ciiq-a-mken *tunu-mkun*
cross-FUT-IT-1s/2s back-VIA
I'll be able to swim across with you

B 052
kuimarelua."
kuimar-lu-a
swim-SUB-1s
on my back."

B 053
Tua-i-llu-gguq *tauna* *issaluq,*
tuai=llu=gguq *tauna* *issaluq*
then=and=HRS that porcupine
Then Porcupine

B 054
imkut *tamakut,*
imkut *tamakut*
those those
removed those

B 055
kapsuutet *aug'arllinikai.*
kape-ssuun-t *aug'ar-llini-ke-ai*
poke-device-P remove-apparently-PT-3s/3P
quills.

aa, ...
aa
HES

B 056
Qamiqum *aciani* *aug'arlliniki* *tamakut* *aa--*
qamiquq-m *aci-ani* *aug'ar-llini-ke-ii* *tamakut* *aa--*
head-ERG under-3s/3s remove-apparently-PT-3s/3P those
He took the quills from under his head*

B 057
kapsuutet--
kape-ssuun-t
poke-device-P
quills--

B 058
icugg' *issalut* *aa,*
icugg' *issaluq-t* *aa*
you.know porcupine-P HES
because you know that porcupines

B 059
kapsuutengqerrkellriit. ...
kape-ssuut-ngqerr-llria-t
poke-device-have-PI-3P
had quills.

B 060
Tua-i-llu-gguq *tua-i,*
tuai=llu=gguq *tuai*
then=and=HRS and
And so

B 061
aug'arraarluki,
aug'ar-rraar-lu-ki
remove-after-SUB-R/3P
after he removed

B 062
tamakut *kapsuutet,*
tamakut *kape-ssuun-t*
those poke-device-P
those quills,

B 063
issalum *kapsuutai,* ...
issaluq-m *kape-ssuun-taq-i*
porcupine-ERG poke-device-belonging-3s/3P
Porcupine's quills,

aa,
aa
HES

B 064
tauna--
tauna
that
that

B 065
paluqtaq *qanlliniuq*
paluqtaq *qaner-llini-u-q*
beaver speak-apparently-II-3s
Beaver spoke,

B 066
"*Kitek* *tua-i* *tunumnun* *piyugngauten.*"
kitek *tuai* *tunu-mnun* *pi-yugnga-u-ten*
well then back-1s/3s.ALL do-able-II-2s
"You can get on my back."

B 067
Tua-i-llu=gguq *tauna* *pa--* *paluqtaq*
tuai=llu=gguq *tauna* *paluqtaq*
then=and=HRS that beaver
Then Beaver

B 068
kuimarlliniluku,
kuimar-llini-lu-ku
swim-apparently-SUB-R/3s
swam

B 069
kuik.
kuik
river
the river.

Kuik--

Kuik--

B 070

kuigkun	*kuimareluni*	*agukutelliniki*	*ikavet,*
kuik-kun	*kuimar-lu-ni*	*agu-ute-llini-ke-ii*	*ika-vet*
river-VIA	swim-SUB-3RS	take.over-APPLIC-apparently-PT-3s/3s	across-VIA

He brought Porcupine over by swimming across

B 071
imkut
imkut
those
to

B 072

cuassaat	*nunitnun.*
cuassaaq-t	*nun-itnun*
rhubarb-P	land-3P/3P

where the rhubarb grew.

B 073

Tua-i-llu=gguq	*tamaaken,*
tuai=llu=gguq	*tamaa-ken*
then=and=HRS	then-ABL

And so,

B 074
tuakenirnek,
tuakenir-nek
that.time.on-ABL
since that time,

B 075
imkut *issalut,*
imkut *issaluq-t*
those porcupine-P
porcupines

B 076
kapsuutaitlinilriit *aa,*
kape-ssuun-taite-llini-lrii-t *aa*
poke-device-not-apparently-PI-3P HES
have no quills

aa,
aa
HES

B 077
ciuqam *ciu-* *ciungani.*
ciuqaq-m *ciu-ngani*
front.area-ERG front-3s/3s
in front.

B 078
Imkullugguq *paluqtat* *cal'* *qatlriamek* *tunumek* *aa,*
imkut=llu=gguq *paluqtaq-t* *cali* *qater-lria-mek* *tunu-mek* *aa*
those=and=HRS beaver-P still white-NOM-ABL back-ABL
And since that time, beavers have

B 079
pingellinilriit *tuakenirnek.*
pi-nge-llini-lrii-t *tuakenir-nek*
do-acquire-apparently-PI-3P that.time-ABL
have a white spot on their backs.

B 080
Tua-i.
tuai
then
The end.'

*Mr. Charles noted later that he should have said 'body' rather than 'head' in B 055.

ATQA
My Name

Told by Elizabeth Charles Ali

N 001
Ak'a *ayagyuarullemni*
ak'a *ayagyuaq-u-ller-mni*
past teenager-be-CONT1-1s
'Long ago when I was young

N 002
ayagallruunga *yuilqumun*
ayag-ar-llru-u-nga *yuilquq-mun*
leave-continually-PAST-II-1s wilderness-ALL
travelling (out there) in the wilderness

N 003
ilanka *paqeluki*
ila-nka *paqete-lu-ki*
relative-1s/P visit-SUB-R/3P
I was going to see my relatives

N 004
ilaka *tauna* *kassuuteqatallerani*
ila-ka *tauna* *kassuute-qatar-ller-ani*
relative-1s/s that marry-FUT-CONT1-3s
when one relative was going to get married,

N 005
angyakun *ayallruama*
angyaq-kun *ayag-llru-a-ma*
boat-VIA leave-PAST-CNSQ-1s
because I travelled by boat

N 006
una *a--*
una *a*
this ah
along

N 007
angun *malikluku.*
angun *malike-lu-ku*
man take.along-SUB-R/3s
with this man.

N 008
Elliin *ayaullua*
elliin *ayag-ute-lu-a*
3s.ERG go-APPLIC-SUB-R/1s
He took me

N 009
tua-i-ll' *ayainanemegeni*
tuai=llu *ayag-inaner-megni*
and=too go-CONT2-1D
and as we two were travelling

N 010
pellaangukuk
pellaa-nge-u-kuk
lose.way-begin-II-1D
we began to wander;

N 011
cunawa *tamalriakuk.*
cunawa *tamar-lria-kuk*
that's.why lose-PI-1D
we found that we were lost.

N 012
Tua-i-llugguq *tuakenirnek*
tuaillu=gguq *tuakenir-nek*
and.then=HRS that.time-ABL
And so since that time

N 013
angayuqagka,
angayuqaq-gka
parent-1s/3D
my parents

N 014
acirlua
acir-lu-a
name-SUB-R/1s
have called me

N 015
taumek *aa*
taumek *aa*
that.ABL HES
from that,

N 016
yugerlumek
yug-rluq-mek
person-poor.old-ABL
"Yugerluq" (Dear Old Person).

N 017
Taunallu,
tauna=llu
that=too
And

N 018
aipaqa-am *a--*
aipaq-ka=am *ah*
companion-1s/3s=on.the.other.hand HES
my companion

N 019
ayagastaka,
ayag-a-sta-ka
travel-repeatedly-one.who-1s/3s
the one who took me travelling,

N 020
acirluku,
acir-lu-ku
name-SUB-R/3s
they called

N 021
Kiarturlugmek.
kiarte-urlug-mek
look.around-dear-ABL
"Kiarturluq", "Dear One Who Searches".

N 022
Maa-i-gguq *tuakenimek* ..
maai=gguq *tuakenir-nek*
now=HRS that.time-ABL
From that time on,

N 023
taukuk,
tauku-k
that-D
we two have

N 024

ateqlukek	*wang'*	*tamalkurmek--*
ateq-lu-kek	*wangkuk*	*tamalkurmek*
name-SUB-3D	we.two	both.of.them.R

had these as our names,

N 025

tamamegnuk.
tamamegnuk
both.of.us
both of us.'

TULUKARUK
The Raven

Told by Elizabeth Charles Ali

R 001
Tualli-wa-gguq,
tua-ni-lli=wa=gguq
then-LOC-evidently=EMPH=HRS
'Once there was

R 002
taukuk,
tauku-k
that-D
a

R 003
maurlussagarqellriik
maurluq-ssagaq-kellrii-k
grandparent-dear.little-pair-D
grandmother and granddaughter

R 004
uitarqellriik,
uita-rqe-lrii-k
stay-habitually-PI-3D
living together

R 005
enecuarmi.
ene-cuar-mi
house-small-LOC
in a small house.

R 006
Maurluq,
maurluq
grandma
Grandmother

R 007
tutga'urluni-llu.
tutgar-'urluq-ni=llu
grandchild-dear-3RS/3s=and
and granddaughter.

R 008
Tua-i=gguq *uitalriik,*
tuai=gguq *uita-lria-k*
and=HRS stay-PI-3D
And they stayed

R 009
enemi *iluani,*
ene-mi *ilu-ani*
house-LOC interior-3s/3s.LOC
inside the house

R 010
ernermi.
erneq-mi
day-LOC
during the day.

R 011
Unuaquarmi-gg' *aipaagni* *uitallilriik,*
unuaquar-mi=gguq *aipaagni* *uita-lli-lria-k*
early.morning-LOC=HRS maybe stay-perhaps-PI-3D
They were there, perhaps it was the morning,

R 012
qanelria *una--*
qaner-lria *una*
speak-PI.3s this
when the

R 013
arnassaagaq.
arnaq-ssaagaq
woman-old
old woman spoke

R 014
Tutgarani,
tutgar-ani
grandchild-3RS/s
She spoke thus

R 015
waten *qanruskii.*
waten *qaner-ute-ke-ii*
like.this talk-APPLIC-PT-3s/3s
to her granddaughter.

R 016
"*Tutgarrlung!*
tutgar-rrlug-ng
grandchild-dear-VOCATIVE
"Granddaughter!

R 017
Tutgarrlung!
tutgar-rrlug-ng
grandchild-dear-VOCATIVE
Granddaughter!

R 018
Apa'urlun,
apa-'urluq-un
grandpa-dear-ALL
Would you

R 019
pasgesgu."
payugte-gu
take.food-OT.2s/3s
take some food to your grandfather?"

R 020

Tua-i-llu-gguq	*tauna*	*tutgara'urluq,*
tuai=llu=gguq	*tauna*	*tutgar-'urluq*
and.then=too=HRS	that	grandchild-dear

And then that dear grandchild,

R 021

apa'urluni	*a-,*
apa-'urluq-ni	*a*
grandpa-dear-3RS/3s	ah

because she loved

R 022
kenekengamiu,
keneke-nga-miu
love-CNSQ-3RS/3s
her grandfather,

R 023

neqkanek	*assilrianek--*
neqkaq-nek	*assir-lria-nek*
food.ready.for.consumption-ABL.P	good-NOM-ABL.P

she prepared

R 024
paiveskii,
paivte-ke-ii
put.out-PT-3s/3s
good food,

R 025
qantamun,
qantaq-mun
plate-ALL
and put it

R 026
apaurluani,
apa-urluq-ani
grandpa-dear-3s/s.LOC
on her dear

R 027
qantanun,
qantaq-nun
plate-3s/SP.ALL
grandfather's

R 028
neqekarrarnek, ...
neqeka-rrar-nek
prepared.food-a.little-ABL.P
plate,

R 029
paivtellinikii,
paivte-llini-k-ii
put.out-evidently-PT-3s/3s
a little food,

R 030
assilrianek *neqnek.* ...
assir-lria-nek *neqe-nek*
good-NOM-ABL.P food-ABL.P
good foods.

R 031
Assikngaminek *tua-i,*
assike-nga-minek *tuai*
like-having.been-3RS/3P.ABL and
She placed

R 032
qantamun *ellillinikai* *taukut.*
qantaq-mun *elli-llini-ke-ai* *tauku-t*
plate-ALL put-evidently-PT-3s/3P those-P
his favorite foods in the bowl.

R 033
Elliin--
elliin
ERG.3s
She

R 034
iqvallegeminek *akutellinilria,*
iqvaq-lleq-minek *akute-llini-lria*
picked.berry-former-3RS/3P.ABL mix-evidently-PI.3s
made Eskimo ice cream with the berries she picked

R 035
neqerrluararmek-llu-gguq.
neqe-rrluaq-ar-mek=llu=gguq
fish-departed.from.natural.state-little.piece-ABL=and=HRS
and a piece of dried fish.

R 036
Assilriamek-llu-gguq
assir-lria-mek=llu=gguq
good-NOM-ABL=too=HRS
Also a good

R 037
nutaramek *neqmek.*
nurataq-mek *neqe-mek*
fresh-ABL fish-ABL
fresh fish,

R 038
Luqruuyakuluni *wall'u-gguq* *manignauluni.*
luqruyyak-u-lu-ni *wall'u=gguq* *manignaq-u-lu-ni*
pike-be-SUB-3RS or=HRS loche-be-SUB-3RS
either a pike or a loche fish.*

R 039
Taukunek--
tauku-nek
that-ABL.P
She brought

R 040
payugeskii,
payugte-ke-ii
bring.food-PT-3s/3s
those things

R 041
apa'urluni.
apa-urluq-ni
grandpa-dear-3RS/3s
to her dear grandfather.

R 042
Tua-i-llu-gguq,
tuai=llu=gguq
and.then=and=HRS
And so

R 043
upeqarluki,
upete-qar-lu-ni
prepare-before-SUB-3RS
after she got things ready,

R 044
anluni,
ane-lu-ni,
go.out-SUB-3RS
she went out,

R 045
piyuaqcaarluni-llu-gguq.
piyua-qcaar-lu-ni=llu=gguq
walk-endearingly-SUB-3RS=and=HRS
and she walked.

R 046
Ayagluni *aa--* ...
ayag-lu-ni *ah*
go-SUB-3RS
She went

R 047
angutet *enitnun,*
angute-t *ene-itnun*
man-P house-3P/3S.ALL
to the men's house,

R 048
apa'urluni *paqcarturluku.*
apa-urluq-ni *paqete-cartur-lu-ku*
grandpa-dear-3RS/3s visit-go.to-SUB-R/3s
to see her grandfather.

R 049
Maaten-gguq-am *a,*
maaten=gguq=am *ah*
when=HRS=EMPH
All of a sudden

R 050
piyuaqcaarallerani,
piyua-qcaara-ller-ani
walk-minding.own.business-CONT1-3s
while she was walking

R 051
tulukaruk,
tulukaruk
raven
Raven

R 052
agiirtelria.
agiirte-lria
approach.from.distance-PI.3s
approached.

R 053
Tauna-llu-gguq *nasaurluq* *tua-i,*
tauna=llu=gguq *nasaurluq* *tuai*
that=and=HRS girl and
And so that girl

R 054
tangerryuumiinaku *tulukaruk.*
tangerr-yuumiite-na-ku *tulukaruk*
see-not.want-SUB-R/3s raven
didn't want to see that Raven.

R 055
Taugaam-gguq *tua-i,*
taugaam=gguq *tuai*
however=HRS and
But,

R 056
tulukaruk
tulukaruk
raven
Raven

R 057
agiirtuq
agiirte-u-q
approach-II-3s
approached

R 058
nasaurlumun
nasaurluq-mun
girl-ALL
the girl

R 059
tua-i *waten*
tuai *waten*
and like.this
and walked

R 060
piyualuni. ...
piyua-lu-ni
walk-SUB-3s
this way.

R 061
"*Tulukarucilleq,*
tulukaruk-cilleq
raven-worthless
"Old Raven,

R 062
allamun *ayii!*
alla-mun *ayii*
different-ALL go.away!
go to someone else!

R 063
Tangersuumiitamken.
tangerr-yuumiite-a-mken
see-not.want-IT-1s/2s
I do not want to see you!"

R 064
"*Aling* *arenqia!*
aling *arenqia*
oh.my oh.no
"Oh my goodness!

R 065
Tangerrsuamken.
tangerr-yug-a-mken
see-want-IT-1s/2s
I want to see you.

R 066
Paqetamken
paqete-a-mken
visit-IT-1s/2s
I came to see you.

R 067
Arenqia.
arenqia
oh.no
Oh dear.

R 068
Wiinga *tang* *akanek* *nereksailingua.*
wiinga *tang* *akanek* *nere-ksaite-nga-u-a*
I see long.time eat-not.have-having-II-1s
Look! For a long time I have not eaten.

R 069
Kaikapiartua.
kaig-kapiar-tu-a
hungry-very-II-1s
I am very hungry.

R 070
Camek *neqengqercit?*
ca-mek *neqe-ngqerr-tsi-t*
what-ABL food-have-Q-2s
What do you have to eat?

R 071
Kina *payugeciu?*"
kina *payugte-tsi-u*
who bring.food-Q-2s/3s
Who are you bringing food to?"

R 072

Tua-i-llu-gguq	*tauna*	*nasaurrlugaq*	*tua-i,*
tuaillu=gguq	*tauna*	*nasau-rrlugaq*	*tuai*
and.then=HRS	that	girl-dear	and

Then that girl

R 072

qessangremi	*tua-i,*
qessa-ngr-mi	*tuai*
reluctant-CNCS-3RS	and

though she was reluctant,

R 073

tulukara'urluq	*caukii,*
tulukaruk-urluq	*cau-ke-ii*
raven-dear	face-PT-3s/3s

faced Raven,

R 074

waten-llu	*qanruskii,*
waten=llu	*qaner-ute-ke-ii*
like.this=and	talk-APPLIC-PT-3s/3s

and spoke thus:

R 075

"*Arenqia!*
arenqia
oh.no
"Oh dear!

R 076

Uitasenga.
uitate-nga
let.be-O.2s/1s
Leave me alone!

R 077

Wiinga	*tang*	*yagartelrianga.*
wiinga	*tang*	*yagarte-lria-nga*
I	see	busy-PI-1s

I am very busy

R 078

Apaurluqa	*payugtaqa."*
apa-urluq-ka	*payugte-a-qa*
grandpa-dear-1s/3s	bring.food-IT-1s/3s

I'm bringing food to my dear grandfather."

R 079
Arenqia *tua-i* *tauna* *icugg'*
arenqia *tuai* *tauna* *icugg'*
oh.no and that you.know
And you know

R 080
tulukaruk,
tulukaruk
raven
that Raven

R 081
asriulria.
asriu-lria
naughty-PI.3s
is a rascal.

R 082
Tua-i,
tuai
and
And

R 083
ciunganun,
ciu-nganun
front-ALL.P
he would stand

R 084
nangertaqluni *waten* *tua-i-ll',*
nanger-qtar-lu-ni *waten* *tuai=llu*
stand-darn-SUB-3RS like.this thus=too
in front of her like this,

R 085
tua-i *tauna,*
tuai=llu *tauna*
and=too that
so that that

R 086
nasaurluqegtaaq,
nasaurluq-kegtaaq
girl-very.good
very good girl

R 087
casciiganani,
ca-sciigate-na-ni
do-unable-SUB-3s
couldn't do anything,

R 088
nangengqauluni *waten* *tua-i*
nanger-ngqa-lu-ni *waten* *tuai*
stand-in.state.of-SUB-3s like.this thus
with him standing this way.

R 089
"*aa* *kitek-wa,*
aa *kitek=wa*
um well.then=EMPH
"OK then,

R 090
wani-wa,
wani=wa
here/now=EMPH
all right,

R 091
carrakuinegmek *cikirciqamken."*
ca-rraq-kuineg-mek *cikir-ciqe-a-mken*
thing-little.bit-small.amount-ABL give-FUTURE-IT-1s/2s
I will give you a little bit."

R 092
Tua-i-ll' ...
tuai=llu
and=and
And

R 093
paig- *aren* *aa,* *aren*
paig- *aren* *aa* *aren*
oops oh.no um oh.dear
(excuse me),

R 094
cikiqaqii,
cikir-qar-ke-ii
give-first-PT-3s/3s
she gave

R 095
carrarmek--
carraq-mek
little.bit-ABL
a little bit

R 096
neqarrarmek
neqa-rraq-mek
food-little-ABL
of food

R 097
taumun *tulukarumun.*
tau-mun *tulukaruk-mun*
that-ALL raven-ALL
to Raven.

R 098
Tua-i-llu-gguq *tua-i,*
tuai=llu=gguq *tuai*
and.then=too=HRS and
And then,

R 099
nernginanerani *tauna* *tulukaruk*
nere-nginaner-ani *tauna* *tulukaruk*
eat-CONT2-3s that raven
and while that Raven was eating,

R 100
ilumun *kaigyaaqlinilria,*
ilumun *kaig-yaaqe-llini-lria*
truly hungry-indeed-apparently-PL.3s
it was true, indeed he was very hungry,

R 101
tauna *nasaurluq*
tauna *nasaurluq*
that girl
the girl

R 102
piyualuni *cakneq ...*
piyua-lu-ni *cakneq*
walk-SUB-3RS very.much
walked very fast,

R 103
avavet *avatmun* *ayalria,*
ava-vet *ava-tmun* *ayag-lria*
there-ALL there-ward go-PI.3s
going this way and that way,

R 104
apaurluni
apa-urluq-ni
grandpa-dear-3RS/3s
bringing food

R 105
payugcarturluku.
payugte-cartur-lu-ku
bring.food-go.to-SUB-R/3s
to her dear grandfather.

R 106
Tua-i,
tuai
and.then
And then

R 107
kiuyaaqluku--
kiu-yaaqe-lu-ku
answer-indeed-SUB-R/3s
she answered him--

R 108
"*Tulukaruk* *nereqcaarallinilria* *waten.*"
tulukaruk *nere-qcaarar-llini-lria* *waten*
raven eat-try.best-apparently-PI.3s like.this
"Raven ate like this."

R 109
Tua-i.
tuai
and.then
The end.'

*The kind of fish mentioned, pike or loche fish indicates the season of the story, late fall. By that time people are in their winter camp, further confirmed by the mention of the men's house. (Elizabeth Ali).

LEVAAQ
The Motor

Told by Elizabeth Charles Ali

M 001
Wanirpak *qanemciqatartua,*
wani-rpak *qanemci-qatar-tu-a*
here-present tell.story-FUT-II-1s
'Now I am going to relate a story,

M 002
niitellemnek,
niite-lleq-mnek
hear-NOM-1s/S.ABL
about something I heard

M 003
mikelngullemni,
mikelnguq-ller-mni
child-CONT1-1s/SP.LOC
when I was a child

M 004
ak'a, ...
ak'a
past
long ago,

M 005
enemni.
ena-mni
house-1s/SP.LOC
in my house.

M 006
Aataka *waten* *aqumtullruuq,*
aata-ka *waten* *aqume-tu-llru-u-q*
father-1s/3s like.this sit.down-customarily-PAST-II-3s
My father would sit in this manner

M 007
estuulumi, ...
estuuluq-mi
table-LOC
at the table,

M 008
ilurani
iluraq-ni
cousin/friend-3RS/SP
facing

M 009
cauluku. ...
cau-lu-ku
face-SUB-R/3s
his friend.

M 010
Waten *qanrutellrua,* ...
waten *qaner-ute-llru-a-a*
like.this speak-APPLIC-PAST-IT-3s/3s
He told

M 011
ilurani-gguq,
iluraq-ni=gguq
friend-3R/SP=HRS
his friend

M 012
ak'a-gguq,
ak'a=gguq
past=HRS
in the past

M 013
niitelleq-gguq,
niite-lleq=gguq
hear-NOM=HRS
what he had heard

M 014
ak'a-gguq, ..
ak'a=gguq
past=HRS
long ago,

M 015
kass'at *tekipailegata,*
kass'aq-t *tekite-paileg-ata*
white.person-P arrive-PREC-3P
before the arrival of the Whitemen

M 016
nunamtenun.
nuna-mtenun
land-1P/SP.ALL
in our country.

M 017
Tauna-gguq,
tauna=gguq
that=HRS
That

M 018
angukara'urluq, ..
angute-karaq-rurluq
man-little-dear
dear little old man

M 019
kipusvigtellinilria,
kipute-vik-te-llini-lria
buy-LOC.NOM-go.to-apparently-PI.3s
went to the store

M 020
Mamterillermi,
Mamter-lleq-mi
cache-many-LOC
in Bethel,

M 021
nunamni. ..
nuna-mni
land-1s/SP.LOC
in my village.

M 022

tua-i-llu-gguq	*tauna*	*angukara'urluq,*
tuai=llu=gguq	*tauna*	*angute-karaq-urluq*
and.then=also=HRS	that	man-little-dear

And so that dear old man

M 023
kiputellinilria, ..
kipute-llini-lria
buy-apparently-PI.3s
bought

M 024
im'umek, ..
im'u-mek
the.aforementioned-ABL
this

M 025
levaamek.
levaaq-mek
motor-ABL
motor.

M 026
Tua-i-llu-gguq *tauna* *levaaq, ..*
tuai=llu=gguq *tauna* *levaaq*
and.then=also=HRS that motor
And then that motor,

M 027
angyaminun *elliqallinikii.*
angyaq-minun *elli-qar-llini-ke-ii*
boat-3RS/SP.ALL put-briefly-apparently-PT-3s/3s
he quickly placed it upon his boat.

M 028
Ellirrarluku-llu-gguq, ...
elli-rrar-lu-ku=llu=gguq
put-after-SUB-R/3s=also=HRS
And after he put it on,

M 029
ayalria. ...
ayag-lria
leave-PI.3s
he travelled.

M 030
Kuigkun *anelrarluni, ..*
kuik-kun *anelrar-lu-ni*
river-VIA go.downriver-SUB-3RS
He went downriver,

M 031
Kusquqvamun *ayagluni,*
Kusquqvak-mun *ayag-lu-ni*
Kuskokwim.River-ALL leave-SUB-3RS
went towards the Kuskokwim River,

M 032
tua-i-ll' *ayaumallinilria,*
tuai=llu *ayag-uma-llini-lria*
and.then=also leave-long.time-apparently-PL.3s
and then he travelled for a very long time,

M 033
ayakcaaraluni.
ayag-caarar-lu-ni
go-endeavor-SUB-3s
he was travelling with pleasure.

M 034
Tua-i-llu-gguq,
tuai=llu=gguq
and.then=also=HRS
And then

M 035
An'arciimun,
An'arciiq-mun
Johnson.River-ALL
he arrived

M 036
tekilluni.
tekite-lu-ni
arrive-SUB-3s
at the Johnson River.

037
Tua-i-llu-gguq, ...
tuai=llu=gguq
and.then=also=HRS
And, they say,

M 038
tauna *massiinaq,*
tauna *massiinaq*
that machine
that machine

M 039
arulairrlinilria.
arulair-llini-lria
stop-apparently-PL.3s
stopped.

M 040
Arulairluni *tua-i,*
arulair-lu-ni *tuai*
stop-SUB-3RS and.then
It stopped, and

M 041
ayasciiganani-gguq.
ayag-sciigate-na-ni=gguq
go-unable-SUB-3RS=HRS
it couldn't go.

M 042
Aqumluni. ...
aqume-lu-ni
sit.down-SUB-3RS
He sat down.

M 043
Tua-i, ...
tuai
and.then
And

M 044
qenerluni *cakneq*
qenerte-lu-ni *cakneq*
angry-SUB-3RS very.much
he was very angry;

M 045
kaugtungllinikii *tauna* *levaaq.*
kaugtur-nge-llini-ke-ii *tauna* *levaaq*
strike.with.object-begin-apparently-PT-3s/3s that motor
he began to hit that motor.

M 046
"*Qaillu-gguq* *unacilleq,*
qaillun=gguq *una-cilleq*
how=HRS this-worthless
"What caused this

M 047
qaillun *ayagciqartaa."*
qaillun *ayag-ciqe-arte-a-a*
how go-FUTURE-suddenly-IT-3s/3s
worthless thing to stop?"

M 048
El'arlutek-llu-gguq *taukuk* *angutek*
el'ar-lu-tek=llu=gguq *tauku-k* *angute-k*
laugh-SUB-3D=also=HRS that-D man-D
And so the men laughed,

M 049
aataka, ...
aata-ka
father-1a/3a
my father

M 050
ilurani-llu.
iluraq-ni=llu
friend-3R/SP=also
and his friend.

M 051
Englaumalriik *tua-i* *teriirrlutek.* ...
englar-uma-lria-k *tuai* *teriirr-lu-tek*
laugh-long.time-PI-3D and.then chuckle-SUB-3D
They laughed for a long time, and they chuckled.

M 052
Tauna-gguq, ...
tauna=gguq
that=HRS
That the men

M 053
angun, ...
angun
man
found the man

M 054
temciyukekiik,
temci-yug-ke-iik
find.funny-want-PT-3D/3s
funny.

M 055
cunawa-gguq *tauna* *levaaq,*
cunawa=gguq *tauna* *levaaq*
no.wonder=HRS that motor
The engine could not start

M 056
kassairutellinilria,
kassa-irute-llini-lria
gas-have.no.more-apparently-PI.3s
because

M 057
ayasciiganani.
ayag-sciigate-na-ni
go-unable-SUB-3RS
it ran out of gas.

M 058

Tua-i-gguq	*qenerrluni*	*tauna*	*angun,*	..
tuai=gguq	*qenerte-lu-ni*	*tauna*	*angun*	
and.then=HRS	angry-SUB-3RS	that	man	

So the man got angry

M 059
tauna, ...
tauna
that
and

M 060
uitalluku,
uitate-lu-ku
let.be-SUB-R/3s
just let

M 061
levaaq,
levaaq
motor
the motor be,

M 062

ellminek	*ayallinilria*	*ataam*	*Mamterillermun.*
ellminek	*ayag-llini-lria*	*ataam*	*Mamteri-lleq-mun*
3s.ABL	go-apparently-PI.3s	again	cache-many-ALL

and returned to Bethel on his own power (rowing upriver).

M 063

Qanrucarturluki	*taukut*	*kipusviliurtet,*
qaner-ute-cartur-lu-ki	*tauku-t*	*kipute-vik-liur-ta-t*
speak-APPLIC-go.to-SUB-R/3P	that-P	buy-place-work-CUST-P

He went to tell the storekeepers

M 064
assiitelriamek-gguq,
assiite-lria-mek=gguq
bad-NOM-ABL=HRS
that they had

M 065
tunellinikiit. ...
tune-llini-ke-iit
give/sell-apparently-PT-3P/3s
sold him a bad one.

M 066
Tua-i.
tuai
end
The end.

ATSARTAQ
The Pear Story

Told by Elizabeth Charles Ali

P 001
Kanaqlamun,
kanaqlak-mun
muskrat-ALL
'I am now

P 002
qalarteqatartua,
qalarte-qatar-tu-a
speak-FUT-II-1s
going to speak to Kanaqlaq

P 003
watua *uumek,*
watua *una-mek*
just.awhile.ago this-ABL
about,

P 004
tarenramek *tangllemnek.*
tarenraq-mek *tangerr-lleq-mnek*
picture-ABL see-PAST.NOM-1s/s.ABL
the picture I have just seen.

P 005
Yuut,
yug-t
person-P
The people

P 006
qanyuunateng.
qaner-yuite-na-teng
speak-NEG-SUB-3RS
do not speak.

P 007
Ciungani-gguq *una* *angun* *aa,*
ciu-ngani=gguq *una* *angun* *ah*
front-3s/s.LOC=HRS a man HES
In the beginning a man,

P 008
napami,
napa-mi
tree-LOC
in a tree,

P 009
atsanek *iqvalria,*
atsaq-nek *iqvar-lria*
fruit-ABL.P pick-PI.3s
was picking fruit,

P 010
atsarpagnek,
atsaq-rpag-nek
fruit-very.large-ABL.P
large fruit,

P 011
isramun *elliluki,*
isran-mun *elli-lu-ki*
basket-ALL put-SUB-R/3P
and putting it into a basket,

P 012
pinqeggcarluki.
pinqegg-car-lu-ki
neat-try-SUB-R/3P
arranging it carefully.

P 013
Tuai-ll',
tuai=llu
there=and
And then,

P 014
iqvarrarluni,
iqvar-rrar-lu-ni
pick-after-SUB-3RS
after picking,

P 015
muirraarluku *tauna, ...*
muir-rraar-lu-ku *tauna*
fill-after-SUB-R/3s that
after filling his bucket

P 016
qaltani *atrarluni,*
qaltaq-ni *atrar-lu-ni*
bucket-3RS/S.LOC descend-SUB-3RS
he climbed down

aa ...
ah
HES

P 017
napamek. ...
napa-mek
tree-ABL
from the tree.

P 018
Ellinqegcaarluki *atauciq,*
elli-nqegcaar-lu-ki *atauciq*
put-completely-SUB-R/3P one
He placed them carefully,

P 019
atsaq *igtellerani,*
atsaq *igte-ller-ani*
fruit fall-CONT1-3s
and when one fruit fell,

P 020
ataam *tegukii,*
ataam *tegu-ke-ii*
again take-PT-3s/3s
he picked it up again

P 021
ellirrarluku-ll', ...
elli-rrar-lu-ku=llu
put-after-SUB-R/3s=and
and replaced it.

P 022
assirluku,
assir-lu-ku
good-SUB-R/3s
He put it

P 023
isramun *ellikii.*
isran-mun *elli-ke-ii*
basket-ALL put-PT-3s/3s
carefully in the basket.

P 024
Tuai-ll',
tuai=llu
there=and
Then,

P 025
cali-- *caliinainrani* *una* *angun* *aa,*
cali *cali-inaner-ani* *una* *angun* *aa*
work work-CONT2-3s this man HES
while he was working, a man

P 026
kiturtuq, ...
kitur-tu-q
pass-II-3s
passed by,

P 027
ungungssimek,
ungungssiq-mek
animal-ABL
accompanied by

P 028
malikluni.
malike-lu-ni
accompany-SUB-3RS
an animal.

P 029
Tuai
tuai
and.then
And then

P 030
taukuk *ukuk,*
tauku-k *uku-k*
that-D this-D
those two

P 031
kiturllinilriik *nepaunatek,*
kitur-llini-lria-k *nepaite-na-tek*
pass-apparently-PI-3D silent-SUB-3D
quietly passed by

P 032
tauna *cali--*
tauna *cali*
that work
the man who was

P 033
calilria,
cali-lria
work-PI.3s
working,

P 034
cama-i-arpekenaku *tuai,* ..
camai-ar-peke-na-ku *tuai*
hello-say-NEG-SUB-R/3s there
without exchanging greetings;

P 035
uitalluku.
uitate-lu-ku
let.be-SUB-R/3s
they left him alone.

P 036
Ayalriik.
ayag-lrii-k
leave-PI-3D
The two of them left.

P 037
Tuai-ll',
tuai=llu
there=and
And so,

P 038
cali *ataam* *napamun* *mayurluni,*
cali *ataam* *napa-mun* *mayur-lu-ni*
and again tree-ALL climb-SUB-3s
once again he climbed the tree

P 039
caliyarturluni
cali-yartur-lu-ni
work-go.to-SUB-3RS
in order to work,

P 040
ataam *iqvarluni.*
ataam *iqvar-lu-ni*
again pick-SUB-3RS
picking again.

P 041
Iqvainanerani-am *una, ..*
iqvar-inaner-ani=am *una*
pick-CONT2-3s/s=EMPH this
While he was picking,

P 042
mikelnguq *kitulria,* ...
mikelnguq *kitur-lria*
child pass-PI.3s
a child passed by,

aa ...
aa
HES

P 043
cali *ataam,*
cali *ataam*
and again
and once again

P 044
cali,
cali
again
again

P 045
qanevkenani,
qaner-vke-na-ni
speak-NEG-SUB-3RS
the child did not speak.

P 046
Tuai-ll' *taqluni*
tuai=llu *taqe-lu-ni*
there=and stop-SUB-3RS
And then he stopped

ayarillinilria *atsanek* *ukunek* *ataucimek*
ayari-llini-lria *atsaq-nek* *uku-nek* *atauciq-mek*
desire-apparently-PI.3s fruit-ABL.P this-ABL.P one-ABL
and apparently admired the fruit,

P 047
teguq- *teguqataryaaqelria.*
tegu-qatar-yaaqe-lria
take take-FUT-perhaps-PI.3s
and it appeared that he was about to take one.

P 048
Arenqia *tuai,* ...
arenqia *tuai*
too.bad there
Oh dear.

P 049
kailliami, ...
kaig-lli-a-mi
hungry-maybe-CNSQ-3RS
Perhaps because he was SO hungry

P 050
tamalkuita *taukut,* ...
tamalkuita *tauku-t*
all.of.them that-P
he took ALL

P 051
atsat *tegukai.* ...
atsaq-t *tegu-ke-ai*
fruit-P take-PT-3s/3P
of the fruit.

P 052
Im'umun-llu, ...
im'u-mun=llu
aforementioned-ALL=and
And that (aforementioned) one

P 053
ayagessuuteminun, ...
ayag-ssuute-mnun
travel-device.for-3R/3S.ALL
placed them, even if it was

P 054
cakviungran	*tuai*	*ellillinikai.*
cakviur-ngr-an	*tuai*	*elli-llini-ke-ai*
difficulty-CNCS-3s	there	put-apparently-PT-3s/3P

difficult onto his bicycle.

aa ...
ah
HES

P 055
Tuai-ll'	*ayagluni.*
tuai=llu	*ayag-lu-ni*
there=and	leave-SUB-3RS

And then he left.

P 056
Ayaginanerani-am	*una*	*nasaurluyagaq*	*kitukii, ...*
ayag-inaner-ani=am	*una*	*nasaurluq-yagaq*	*kitur-ke-ii*
leave-CONT2-3s=EMPH	this	girl-little	pass-PT-3s/3s

As he was going, he passed a little girl.

P 057
tangvakii	*ayagluni,*
tangvag-ke-ii	*ayag-lu-ni*
look.at-PT-3s/3s	leave-SUB-3RS

He watched her as he went,

P 058
cali ataam, ..
cali ataam
and again
and once again

P 059
camaiarpekenaku	*tuai*	*ayagluni,*	...
camai-ar-peke-na-ku	tuai	*ayag-lu-ni*	
hello-say-NEG-SUB-R/3s	there	leave-SUB-3RS	

he did not greet her there but continued to go,

P 060
ayangssilliami *avavet.*
ayag-ngssi-lli-a-mi *ava-vet*
leave-leisurely-maybe-CNSQ-3RS over.there-ALL
going along leisurely.

P 061
Ayagluni-am. ...
ayag-lu-ni=am
leave-SUB-3RS=EMPH
He traveled some more.

P 062
Tuai-llu *ukut,* ...
tuai=llu *uku-t*
there=and this-P
And so these things --

P 063
aren *a--*
aren *a*
oh.dear HES
oh dear,

P 064
Tangvag- *tangvayaaqekii* *tauna* *nas-* *nasaurluqegtaaraq--*
tangvag-yaaqe-ke-ii *tauna* *nasaurluq-kegtaaraq*
look.at-in.vain-PT-3s/3s that girl-nice
He watched that nice little girl but--

P 065
aulluwai *puukpagglinilria* *iggluni* *taukut-llu* *atsat,*
aullui *puukar-pag-llini-lria* *igte-lu-ni* *tauku-t=llu* *atsaq-t*
careful bump-intensely-apparently-PI.3s fall-SUB-3RS that-P=and fruit-P
Watch out! He bumped and fell

P 066
katagluki-- *tamalkuita.* (Deep breath) ...
katag-lu-ki *tamalkuita*
fall.off-SUB-R/3P all.of.them
and he lost all the fruit.

P 067
Tuai-ll-- ...
tuai=llu
there=and
And so,

P 068
tauna *nasaurluq* *ayallinilria,* ...
tauna *nasaurluq* *ayag-llini-lria*
that girl leave-apparently-PI.3s
that girl apparently left.

P 069
maaten-gguq *ukut* *pingayut,* ...
maaten=gguq *uku-t* *pingayu-t*
all.of.a.sudden=HRS this-P three-P
All of a sudden these three

P 070
agiirtellinilriit, ...
agiirte-llini-lrii-t
approach.from.distance-apparently-PI-3P
approached from a distance,

P 071
ellaita-ll' *tauna,* ...
ellaita=llu *tauna*
they=and that
and they,

nas- *aa,*
aa
HES

P 072
tauna, ...
tauna
that
that one,

P 073
ikayurqiit,
ikayur-ke-iit
help-PT-3P/3s
they helped him

P 074
taukut *atsat--* *aa* .. *elliluki* . . .
tauku-t *atsaq-t* *aa* *elli-lu-ki*
that-P fruit-P HES put-SUB-R/3P
put those fruits

P 075
israminun. ...
isra-minun
basket-3R/S.ALL
into his basket.

P 076
Tua-i-ll' ..
tuai=llu
there=and
And so

P 077
ellii	*nutaan*	*ayagluni*	*taugaam,*	...
ellii	*nutaan*	*ayag-lu-ni*	*taugaam*	
he	good	leave-SUB-3RS	however	

he left all right but

P 078
nalluyagutellinikii	*nacani*	*ilait*	*tauna,*	...
nalluyagute-llini-ke-ii	*nacaq-ni*	*ila-it*	*tauna*	
forget-apparently-PT-3s/3s	hat-3R/s	one.of-3s/P	that	

he forgot his hat, so one of them

P 079
teguqarrlinikii, ...
tegu-qar-llini-ke-ii
take-briefly-apparently-PT-3s/3s
quickly picked

P 080
nacaq-- ...
nacaq
hat
it up.

P 081
Qayagararluku	*qanerpekenani*	*taugaam*	*evvarreluni,**
qayag-ararte-lu-ku	*qaner-peke-na-ni*	*taugaam*	*evvar-lu-ni*
call-suddenly-SUB-R/3s	speak-NEG-SUB-3s	however	blow-SUB-3RS

He called the one without speaking, rather he whistled,

P 083
ataam	*tauna,* ...
ataam	*tauna*
again	that

and again that one,

P 084
anguksuaraq--
angun-ksuaraq
man-little
the little man

P 085
ataam *tailria. ..*
ataam *tai-lria*
again come-PI.3s
came back over.

P 086
Tua-i-ll', ...
tuai=llu
there=and
And then,

P 087
ayagpailegani, ..
ayag-paileg-ani
leave-PREC-3s/3RS
before he left,

P 088
nalluani *ukut* *illiit,*
nallu-ani *uku-t* *ila-it*
state.of.not.knowing-3s.LOC this-P one.of-3s/P
without his knowing, one of the boys

P 089
atsanek *teguqarrlinilria,*
atsaq-nek *tegu-qar-llini-lria*
fruit-ABL.P take-briefly-apparently-PI.3s
quickly took some pears,

P 090
ilaminun-llu *aruqelluki* *elli-llu,*
ila-minun=llu *aruqe-ute-lu-ki* *elli=llu*
one.of-3R/s.ALL=too pass.out-APPLIC-SUB-R/3P he=and
and passed them out to his group and himself,

P 091
nerelluni *ataam.*
nere-ute-lu-ni *ataam*
eat-APPLIC-SUB-3RS again
and he resumed eating.

P 092
Avavirrluteng,
ava-virte-lu-teng
over.there-go.to-SUB-3RP
They went over there,

P 093
imna,
imna
aforementioned
passed the man

P 094
angun *kiturluku,*
angun *kitur-lu-ku*
man pass-SUB-R/3s
I mentioned before,

P 095
icugg'-- ..
icugg
remember
you remember,

P 096
iqva- *iqvallrulria,* ..
iqvar-llru-lria
pick-PAST-NOM
the one who was picking.

P 097
tauna *angun,*
tauna *angun*
that man
They passed

P 98
kituqiit.
kitur-ke-iit
pass-PT-3P/3s
that man.

P 99
Elliin-llu *tua-i* *atralliniami,*
elliin=llu *tuai* *atrar-llini-(ng)a-mi*
he=and so descend-apparently-CNSQ-3RS
And because he had climbed down--

P 100
atrallinilria, ...
atrar-llini-lria
descend-apparently-PI.3s
he had climbed down

P 101
tamana, ...
tamana
that
that ...

P 102
ellivia *muiraan,*
elli-vik-a *muir-a-an*
put-place-3s/s fill-CNSQ-3s
because his container was full--

P 103
maaten *tangerrtuq,*
maaten *tangerr-tu-q*
all.of.a.sudden see-II-3s
when suddenly he noticed

P 104
iliit *israt* *cataunani.*
ila-it *isran-t* *cataite-na-ni*
one.of-3s/P basket-P absent-SUB-3RS
that one of the baskets was gone.

P 105
Tua-i-ll',
tuai=llu
there=and
And then,

P 106
napamun *waten* *elliqerluni.*
napa-mun *wa-ten* *elli-qer-lu-ni*
tree-ALL here-AEQ put-kindly-SUB-3RS
he placed himself gingerly on the tree.

P 107
Nangerluni.
nanger-lu-ni
stand-SUB-3RS
He stood up.

P 108
Ukut *tan'gaurlut,*
uku-t *tan'gaurluq-t*
this-P boy-P
He watched these boys

P 109
tangvagkai *ayalleratni.* ...
tangvag-ke-ai *ayag-ller-atni*
look.at-PT-3s/3P leave-CONT1-3P
as they were leaving.

P 110
Tuai!
tuai
there
The end!'

*Mrs. Ali notes that a preferable word would be:

kukumyararluni
kukumyarar-lu-ni
whistle-SUB-3RS
'he whistled'

IRCINRRAT
The Little People

Told by Elizabeth Charles Ali

L 001
Nutem-gguq *yuut,* ..
nutem=gguq *yuk-t*
from.beginning=HRS person-P
'It has always been this way

L 002
waten *ukvelallru-u-t,* ..
waten *ukver-lallru-u-t*
this.way believe-used.to-II-RP
The people have always believed this,

L 003
man'a-gguq *nuna--*
man'a=gguq *nuna*
this=HRS land
that this land

L 004
yugyagtuq. ...
yugyag-tu-q
be.populous-II-3s
is inhabited by many people and spirits.

L 005
Maurluma-llu *waten,*
maurluq-ma=llu *waten*
grandma-1s/s.ERG=and like.this
And my grandmother

L 006
qanemcillrua.
qanemci-llru-a-a
tell.story-PAST-IT-3s/1s
told me this story

L 007
Ukunek-- ...
uku-nek
this-ABL.P
about

L 008
ircinrrarnek.
ircinrraq-nek
elf-ABL.P
the Little People (Ircinrrat).

L 009
Ak'a-gguq *yuut* *curukalallru-u-t,* ...
ak'a=gguq *yu-t* *curukaq-lallru-u-t*
past-HRS person-P feast.exchange-used.to-II-3P
Long ago the people used to go back and forth to villages exchanging

aa,
ah
HES

L 010
kesianek.
kesianek
always
feasts and gifts all the time.

L 011
Tua-i-llu-gguq *taukut* *aa,*
tuai=llu=gguq *taukut* *aa*
and.then=too=HRS those HES
Now then, they say, the

L 012
yuut,
yuk-t
person-P
people,

L 013
Yup'it,
yuk-pik-t
person-real-P
the Yup'ik people,

L 014
curukalriit *taukunek* *ircinrrarenk.* ...
curukaq-lria-t *tauku-nek* *ircinrraq-nek*
feast.exchange-PI-3P that-ABL.P elf-ABL.P
met the Little People

L 015
Ircinrrat *ilakluki.* ...
ircinrraq-t *ilake-lu-ki*
elf-P related-SUB-R/3P
They had the Little People for company.

L 016
Ircinrrat-gguq--
ircinrraq-t=gguq
elf-P=HRS
The Little People

L 017
ceningqaumalriit,
ceningqa-uma-lria-t
be.visiting-have.for.long.time-PI-3P
had been visiting for a long time

L 018
yup'it *nunitni.* ...
yuk-pik-t *nuna-itni*
person-real-P country-3P/3S.LOC
in their villages.

L 019
Yuut-llu *nerevkariluteng,*
yuk-t=llu *nere-vkar-i-lu-teng*
person-P=and eat-CAUS-DETRANS-SUB-3RP
And the Yup'ik people prepared food

L 020
anglaniluteng *yuraraqeluteng,*
anglani-lu-teng *yurar-aqe-lu-teng*
enjoy-SUB-3RP dance-repeatedly-SUB-3P
they enjoyed themselves, dancing,

L 021
tua-i-gguq *yurauluki,*
tuai=gguq *yurar-lu-ki*
and=HRS dance-SUB-R/3P
dancing for them,

L 022
nerevkariluki-llu *tamalkuita* *yuut.* ...
nere-vkar-i-lu-ki=llu *tamalkuita* *yuk-t*
eat=CAUS-DETRANS-SUB-R/3P=too all person-P
and gave a feast for everyone.

L 023
Tua-i-llu-gguq, ...
tuai=llu=gguq
and.then=HRS
And then,

L 024
ayagenariameng *taukut* *ircinrrat,*
ayag-nari-a-meng *taukut* *ircinrraq-t*
leave-time.to-CNSQ-3RP those elf-P
because it was time for them to leave,

L 025
yuut *kelellinikait,*
yuk-t *keleg-llini-ke-ait.*
person-P invite-apparently-PT-3P/3P
the Little People invited the Yup'ik

L 026
eniitnun *ayasqeluki.*
ena-iit-nun *ayag-sqe-lu-ki*
house-3P/3S.ALL go-request-SUB-R/3P
to come to their house.

L 027
Tua-i-llu *aangareluteng* *taukut* *yuut,*
tuai=llu aang-r-lu-teng *taukut* *yuk-t*
so.then=too yes-say-SUB-3RP those person-P
And so the Yup'ik agreed

L 028
ircinrrat *malikeluki*
ircinrraq-t *malike-lu-ki*
elf-P take.along-SUB-R/3P
to follow the Little People

L 029
nunaitnun.
nuna-itnun
country-3P/3P.ALL
to their country

L 030
Tua-i-llu-gguq *ay--*
tuaillu=gguq
and.then=HRS
And

L 031
ayaumallinilriit
ayag-ma-llini-lria-t
leave-long.time-apparently-PI-3P
they travelled for a very long time,

L 032
nanvat *kitureluki*
nanvaq-t *kitur-lu-ki*
lake-P pass-SUB-R/3P
passing the lakes

L 033
kuicuarat-llu *kitureluki ...*
kuik-cuaraq-t=llu *kitur-lu-ki*
river-small-P=and pass-SUB-R/3P
passing the sloughs

L 034
tua-i-llu-gguq *nutaan,*
tuai=llu=gguq *nutaan*
and.then=too=HRS finally
until at last, they finally

L 035
tekitluteng *nu--*
tekite-lu-teng
arrive-SUB-3RP
arrived

tau--
that--

L 036
ircinrrat *nunaitnun.*
ircinrraq-t *nuna-itnun*
elf-P country-3P/3P.ALL
at the land of the Little People.

L 037
Kiavareluteng.
kiavar-lu-teng
go.further.in-SUB-3RP
They entered.

L 038
Nunamun-llu-gguq *itellinilriit,*
nuna-mun=llu=gguq *iteq-llini-lria-t*
country-ALL=and=HRS enter-apparently-PI-3P
They entered the earth,

L 039
ayainanerrmegni. ...
ayag-inaner-meggni
go-CONT2-3RP
travelling for a long time.

L 040
Maaten-gguq *ellangut* *taukut* *yuut*
maaten=gguq *ella-nge-u-t* *taukut* *yu-t*
when=HRS awareness-acquire-II-3P those person-P
All of a sudden the Yup'ik realized

L 041
enemi *uitallinilriit,* ...
ene-mi *uita-llini-lrii-t*
house-LOC stay-apparently-PI-3P
they were inside a house.

L 042
Tua-i-llu-gguq *taukut* *ircinrrat* *nerevkariluteng* *yugunii*
tuai=llu=gguq *taukut* *ircinrraq-t* *nere-vkar-i-lu-teng* *yug-ni*
then=and=HRS those elf-P eat-CAUS-DETRANS-SUB-3RP person-LOC.P
And then those Little People served a feast for the Yup'ik.

L 043
Nereluteng,
nere-lu-teng
eat-SUB-3RP
They ate,

L 044
yurarluteng,
yurar-lu-teng
dance-SUB-3RP
they danced,

L 045
tua-i
tuai
and
and

L 046
anglaniluteng *cakneq.*
anglani-lu-teng *cakneq*
enjoy-SUB-3RP very.much
they had a very good time.

L 047
Tua-i-gguq *taugaam* *ilait,*
tuai=gguq *taugaam* *ilait*
and.then=HRS however some.of.them
But one of them

L 048
waten *umyuaqut,*
waten *umyuaqe-u-t*
like.this think-II-3P
thought

L 049
uternariyaqliniuq,
uterte-nari-yaq-llini-u-q
return-time.to-go-apparently-II-3s
that it was time to go back home

L 050
yugnun *nuniitnun.*
yuk-nun *nuna-itnun*
person-P.ALL land-3P/3P
to the land of the Yup'ik.

L 051
Cupeggluteng.
cupegte-lu-teng
homesick-SUB-3RP
They were homesick.

L 052
Tuai-ll *iliit,*
tuai=llu *iliit*
then=too one.of.them
And so one of them

L 053
qalarrluni *taukut* *ircinrrat,*
qalarte-lu-ni *taukut* *ircinrraq-t*
speak-SUB-3RS those elf-ERG.P
spoke to the chief

L 054
ataneratnun
ataneq-at-nun
chief-3P/S.ALL
of the Little People,

L 055
ellaita *uterrnariyaqaat.*
ellaita *uterte-nari-yaq-a-at*
they return-time.to-go-IT-3P/3s
"It's time for them to go home.

L 056
Ilaita-gguq *cupegtengut,*
ilaita=gguq *cupegte-ngu-t*
some.of.them=HRS homesick-II-3P
Some of them are getting homesick

L 057
carqaliluteng-llu-gguq.
ca-rqe-lir-lu-teng=llu=gguq
do-one.after.another-have.lots-SUB-3RP=too=HRS
and they have much to do."

L 058
Tua-i-gguq--
tuai=gguq
and=HRS
And

L 059
nutem ...
nutem
from.beginning
it has always been this way

L 060
calituameng *yuut,*
cali-tu-a-meng *yuk-t*
work-customarily-CNSQ-3RP person-P
that the people are always working,

L 061
uksumek *tua-i* *upluteng* *tua-i-gg* *upluteng.*
uksuq-mek *tuai* *upete-lu-teng* *tuai=gguq* *upete-lu-teng*
winter-ABL and prepare-SUB-3RP and=HRS prepare-SUB-3RP
preparing for the winter, and preparing.

L 062
Tua-i-llu-gguq *tauna* *ircinrrat*
tuai=llu=gguq *tauna* *ircinrraq-t*
and.then=HRS that Little.people-ERG.P
And so the chief

L 063
atanerat-- *kiukii,*
ataneq-at *kiu-ke-ii*
chief-3P/3s answer-PT-3s/3s
of the Little People answered him

L 064
ii-i-gguq *utercurengayaquci*
ii=gguq *uterte-yugnga-yaaqe-u-ci*
yes=HRS return-able-perhaps-II-2P
"Yes, you can go home

L 065
wanirpak
wani-rpak
now-PRESENT
immediately.

L 066
Yai-gguq *a* *amiiget.*
yaani=gguq *amik-t*
there=HRS door-P
There are the doors,

L 067
Una *amik,*
una *amik*
this door
this door,

L 068
aciani-wa *cali* *amik,*
aciani=wa *cali* *amik*
under.LOC=EMPH and door
and another door beneath it,

L 069
pagaani-llu-gguq *cali* *amik.*
pagaa-ni=llu=gguq *cali* *amik*
up-LOC=and=HRS and door
and another door up above."

L 070
Ellaita-gguq *cucukeluteng*
ellaita=gguq *cucuke-lu-teng*
they.ERG=HRS choose-SUB-3RP
They could choose,

L 071
ayagyugengaut,
ayag-yugnga-u-t
leave-able-II-3P
they could leave

L 072
wanirpak,
wani-rpak
NOW-PRESENT
right then.

L 073
Quyalliameng-llu *tua-i*
quya-lli-a-meng=llu *tuai*
happy-maybe-CNSQ-3RP=too and
And so the Yup'ik

L 074
taukut *yuut.*
taukut *yuk-t*
those person-P
were glad.

L 075
Cucukeluki *amiit.*
cucuke-lu-ki *amik-t*
choose-SUB-R/3P door-P
They chose doors.

L 076
Ilaita-gguq
ilaita=gguq
some=HRS
Some of them

L 077
pagaavet
pagaa-vet
up-VIA
went out

L 078
anelliniluteng
ane-llini-lu-teng
go.out-apparently-SUB-3RP
up above,

L 079
ilaita-llu *uaggun*
ilaita=llu *uaggun*
some=and this.way.VIA
and some this way,

L 080
ilaita-llu-gguq *aciatgun.*
ilaita=llu=gguq *acia-tgun*
some=and=HRS under-VIA
some of them underneath.

L 081
Uterrluteng,
uterte-lu-teng
return-SUB-3RP
They returned,

L 082
aneluteng,
ane-lu-teng
go.out-SUB-3RP
went outside,

L 083
tamana
tamana
that
and left

L 084
qasgiq *unitluku.*
qasgiq *unite-lu-ku*
men's.communal.house leave.behind-SUB-R/3s
that community house behind.

L 085
Tua-i-llu-gguq
tuai=llu=gguq
then=and=HRS
And then

L 086
maaten *ukut* *yuut,*
maaten *ukun-t* *yuk-t*
suddenly this-P person-P
all of a sudden these people

L 087
ellanglliniut *nunameggni,*
ella-nge-llini-u-t *nuna-meggni*
awareness-acquire-apparently-II-3P land-3RP/SP.LOC
realized

L 088
pellaurarpekenateng,
pellaa-urar-peke-na-teng
lose.way-continue-NEG-SUB-3RP
they were on their own land, not lost;

L 089
maaten *ellanglliniut* *nuniitni--*
maaten *ella-nge-llini-u-t* *nuna-iitni*
suddenly awareness-acquire-apparently-II-3P country-3P/3P.LOC
they realized

L 090
nunitni *uitnallinilriit.*
nuna-itni *uite-na-llini-lrii-t*
land-3P/3P.LOC stay-for-apparently-PI-3RP
they were apparently in their own country.

L 091
Ilaita *taugaam* *cataunateng*
ilaita *taugaam* *cataite-na-teng*
some however absent-SUB-3P
But some of them were gone.

L 092
Iliini-gguq *maa-i,*
iliini=gguq *maai*
sometimes=HRS now
Sometimes now

L 093
ilait *niitelarait* *pagaani,*
ilait *niite-lar-a-it* *pagaa-ni*
some.of.them hear-habitually-IT-3P/3P above-LOC
their relatives hear them up there,

L 094
kinkut *yuut* *qiagaqluteng?* ...
kinkut *yug-t* *qia-gaq-lu-teng*
who.P person-P cry-repeatedly-SUB-3RP
Who are the people crying?

L 095
Iliini-llu-gguq --
iliini=llu=gguq
sometimes=and=HRS
And sometimes

Loc 096
camaani *nunam* *aciani,*
cama-ani *nuna-m* *aci-ani*
down-LOC country-ERG under-LOC
on the earth down below,

L 097
cali *tuakenirnek*
cali *tuakenir-nek*
and then.on-ABL
from that time on,

L 098
tamaaken,
tamaaken
then.ABL
from then

L 099
niitaqluteng *cali* *yugnek.*
niite-aqe-lu-teng *cali* *yug-nek*
hear-repeatedly-SUB-3RP and person-ABL.P
they would hear people.

L 100
Tua-i-llu-gguq
tuai=llu=gguq
then=and=HRS
And so

L 101
qanlartut
qaner-lar-tu-t
speak-habitually-II-3P
they would say,

L 116

ilumun-gguq	*pagaani*	*yungqertuq*	*taukunek*
ilumun=gguq	*paga-ani*	*yug-ngqerr-tu-q*	*tauku-nek*
truly=HRS	up-LOC	person-have-II-3s	that-ABL.P

it is true that there are people up there

L 117

pagaaggun
pagaa-ggun
up.above-VIA
who left

L 118

anellreq,
ane-lleq
go.out-NOM
through the door above

L 119

camani-llu-gguq	*cali*	*yuut,*
camani=llu=gguq	*cali*	*yug-t*
below=and=HRS	and	person-P

and those from below (who chose the door below)

L 120

camna-gguq	*yungqerrsaaquq*
camani=gguq	*yug-ngqerr-yaaqe-u-q*
below-LOC=HRS	person-have-perhaps-II-3s

and indeed there are people below

L 121

taukut-gguq
taukut=gguq
those=HRS
those

L 122

aciatgun
acia-tgun
under-VIA.P
who left

L 123

ayallret.
ayag-lleq-t
leave-NOM-P
through the door below.

L 124
Maa-i-gguq *tua-i,*
maai=gguq *tuai*
now=HRS and
And now,

L 125
maurluma *tuaten,*
maurluq-ma *tuaten*
grandma-1s/3s.ERG this.way
this is how my grandmother

L 126
qanrutellruanga,
qaner-ute-llru-a-anga
talk-APPLIC-PAST-IT-1s
told me

L 127
ircinrrarnek.
ircinrraq-nek
elf-ABL.P
about the Little People.

L 128
Tua-i!
tuai!
The end!