Demonstrative Frames of Reference in Norton Sound Kotlik Yup'ik: A Corpus-Based Analysis

by

Nicholas Gregor Toler

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Department of Linguistics
University of Alberta

Abstract

This dissertation uses a corpus of natural, connected speech to examine the demonstrative system in the under-documented Norton Sound Kotlik dialect of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language. By utilizing a corpus of connected speech, I provide a usage-based illustration of one of the world's most complex demonstrative systems across different domains of use through a frame of reference approach.

Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun has undergone a dramatic shift in the last 50 years, beginning with a mass relocation of speakers in the Lower Yukon Kotlik region from around six historic villages to the single village of Kotlik when a new school was built in the 1970s. This relocation accompanied a shift in the cultural and linguistic praxis of the region from the traditional *Yuuyaraq* 'Yup'ik Way of Life' to a now Anglo-Yup'ik hybrid utilizing English as the primary language of use. As a result, only around 40 Elders are fluent in the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect today. The school teaches Yup'ik as a second language but uses resources from General Standard Yup'ik. My fieldwork began in 2014 and focuses on creating a documentary corpus of the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect in collaboration with the Tribal Council and Elders. Drawing from this documentary corpus, I have compiled a linguistic corpus of six texts from five Elders telling *Yuuyarat* 'way of life narratives,' *Univkarat* 'historical narratives,' and *Qulirat* 'traditional legends.'

My linguistic corpus was transcribed, translated, glossed and analyzed with an eye to understanding the natural contours of the demonstratives *in vivo*. The linguistic corpus contains 5390 word tokens, including 1047 demonstratives. With demonstratives accounting for 30% of my corpus, this dissertation presents a new, holistic account

of the 30-plus demonstrative reflexes embedded within their particular frame of reference. In addition, the Yup'ik grammatical system used to inflect and contextualize demonstratives is examined with these new data from Kotlik. My analysis uses a constructional approach founded on the productive and concatenative use of distinct and meaningful formative patterns.

Demonstratives are deictic pointing words that speakers use to index an object and bring it into joint attention with interlocutors. They are typically closed-class function words which derive much of their (functional) meaning from context. Present in all languages, they are among the first words acquired by children and are readily adapted by speakers to perform a host of non-spatial functions across languages. Demonstrative systems are typically categorized by the number of distance juxtapositions presented in the system, and traditional accounts utilize a simplistic conceptualization of spatial reference.

As pointing words, the Inuit-Yupik languages arguably have the most complex demonstrative system, with several dozen reflexes, depending on the language. However, previous descriptions have presented idealized paradigms without providing consistent structural, semantic, or contextual analysis and little elucidation of each demonstrative's frequencies, functions, or semantic extensions especially beyond strictly spatial uses. The Inuit-Yupik system is traditionally said to have a three-way person-based juxtaposition. However, Yup'ik is claimed to have reduced it to a more opaque, two-way, distance-based juxtaposition with several semantic add-ons for object shape and accessibility. My analysis reanalyzes the demonstrative system within the frame of reference literature. It shows that three distinct frames of reference are employed in Yugtun: a deictic intrinsic egocentric frame, a deictic relative allocentric frame, and a deictic absolute geocentric frame of reference.

These three frames of reference are used across the domains of space, time, and discourse and emphasize the ground and origo, the shape of the figure object, and the perceptual space of the speaker. Within these semantic frames, demonstratives

are used as nominals to bring objects into joint attention or to focus on objects, and as particles to bring thematic cohesion to the discourse. Demonstratives also cluster in topic constructions to help the speaker ground the textual world within the real world. This dissertation finds three simpler but interconnected demonstrative models functioning complexly rather than a single complex model functioning simply. In doing so, I highlight a central lexical class of the Yup'ik grammar and begin to describe its function in context.

Preface

The house sways violently as the wind howls across the tundra, accompanying the howls of the dogs perched atop their small wooden kennels. It is early spring on the Yukon Delta, and the high tide surges eight miles upriver from Norton Sound. The village of Kotlik is nestled in the swampy tundra below sea level, and flooding is no stranger to its residents. In the past, the high tide has broken up sea ice and sent it flowing up the Yukon, damaging the houses perched on stilts atop the shallow knolls. The flooding will reach the boardwalks elevated several feet above the ground, turning each home and each dog kennel into an island onto itself. I sit on the second story of a small blue house watching the waters rise and the sunset as I catalogue the recordings of the Elders I met with earlier in the day. This is my third trip to Kotlik, and I will be here for eight weeks working with the Elders to document their fading language—a project I began two years earlier and will continue for many years after this trip.

My work on the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language began as an undergraduate student when I fell in love with the language. Then in 2014, amid my Master's program in language documentation at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, I began my documentation of the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect, a dialect under-researched in the previous literature and one that is highly threatened.

2014 was the first of many field trips to the small village of Kotlik, Alaska. During this trip, I was introduced to Pius Akaran, who was known for being a skilled speaker. I also befriended Mary Lucy Andrews, and she would meet with me several times a week. In addition, I met Winnie and Bernard Hunt, who graciously welcomed me into the community and to the traditional *Yuuyaraq* dances or 'Traditional dances,' and

always helped me feel welcome during my stay. I finally had the pleasure of meeting Aciangaq Aketachunak, one of Kotlik's remaining monolingual speakers. During this first year, I was constrained by my training in university field methods classes. As a result, my recordings consisted primarily of hours of elicitation from word lists to basic sentences and culminated in translating a few short children's books. I remember Mary Lucy saying during this trip: "You sure ask about red foxes a lot."

In 2015, I first looked at the Yup'ik demonstrative paradigm and found myself both captivated and thoroughly muddled. Then, I began my doctoral studies at the University of Alberta under the supervision of Dr. Sally Rice. While my focus on understanding and deconstructing the Yup'ik demonstrative paradigm intensified, my field methods in Kotlik took a new approach, emphasizing the collection of spontaneous, natural, and connected speech in order to compile a linguistic corpus. The differences between the methodologies used in 2014 and 2016 in data quality and community engagement could not be more stark. With the focus placed on Elder-directed content and the collection of connected speech, the documentation gained greater value to both the community and a long-term, multipurpose endangered language documentation project. During this field season, I met Michael Prince, an Elder who was a wealth of Traditional Ecological Knowledge. He told me a short river-name story in Yup'ik, which is included in this dissertation's linguistic corpus. It's one of my favourite stories recorded so far. I also crossed the Little Kotlik River and talked to Michael Hunt. His recording is the longest presented in the small linguistic corpus utilized in this dissertation. Finally, during this same field season, I had the privilege of recording many additional Elders in English, like Martin Teeluk, as I learned about the history and lifestyle of Kotlik and its surroundings.

In 2017, Cecilia Mikes, the only other monolingual speaker in the community, was recorded by her daughter. In this recording, she tells her own history and comments on the state of life and how times have changed. At this time, I began to emphasize the transcription and translation of my growing documentary corpus. To achieve this,

I began working with Theresa George, who was born in Kotlik and taught Yup'ik in Mountain Village. Her help and skill in transcribing and translating the recordings made in Norton Sound Kotlik Yup'ik's documentation project have been invaluable.

In 2018, I returned to Kotlik in the winter and strengthened my relationship with Aciangaq, a monolingual speaker. He is regarded as a natural storyteller. With the transition to connected spontaneous speech, he thrived, and the eloquence of his language came to the fore, especially in his abundant deployment of demonstratives across his narratives, sprinkled like salt and pepper. I also began making recordings with Isadore and Angela Hunt, who talked about their lives growing up and who told me a story about a Shaman and a magic arrow.

Finally, during my time in Kotlik in 2019, a large cache of VHS and cassette tapes were recovered from the school. These tapes were made in the late 1980s and early 1990s by the Kotlik school's Yup'ik teacher, Theresa Prince. Many of these recordings feature Elders, now long deceased, speaking and telling stories in Yup'ik.

Unfortunately, the field seasons have been postponed for this project due to the health crisis caused by the global coronavirus pandemic. Nevertheless, Norton Sound Kotlik Yup'ik's documentation remains ongoing and long-term.

This thesis is an original work by Nicholas Gregor Bunderson Toler. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "Documenting Norton Sound Kotlik Yup'ik," No. Pro00064301, April 1, 2016.

No part of this thesis has been previously published.

To my husband who aligned the stars, to Penny, Tlats'ux, & Eskaaya who bound with me to the tops of snow-capped peaks. Without you, none of this could have been achieved.

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Many people supported me on this journey, and without all of you, I could not have made it to where I am today. A big thanks go out to my family: J, Tlats'ux, Eskaaya Bunderson-Toler, Patty, Greg, Natalie, Kelsey Toler, and the Bunderson family.

Thank you to my supervisor, Sally Rice, who told me that I had something worth saying and encouraged me forward but with constrained creativity.

Quyana Caknek to the community of Kotlik, including Theresa George, Anthony "Aciangaq" Aketachunak, Cecilia "Waralria" Mikes, Michael "Amiksuwin" Hunt, Isadore "Carra" Hunt, Angela "Yaayuk" Hunt, Michael "Kiicaq" Prince, Bernard "Agarinanak" Hunt, Winifred Hunt, Mary Lucy "Nanugaq" Andrews, Benny Kamkoff, Pius Teeluk, Theresa Prince, Lorencia Mikes, Janet Johnson, Walkie Charles, and many more, who spoke with me and taught me.

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Initials

AA Acianaq Aketachungak.

AH Angela Hunt.

ANLA Alaska Native Language Archive.

ANLC Alaska Native Language Center.

CAY Central Alaskan Yup'ik.

CM Cecelia Mikes.

CSY Central Siberian Yup'ik.

GCY General Central Yup'ik.

GSY General Standard Yup'ik.

HBC Hooper Bay and Chevak Cup'ik.

IH Isadore Hunt.

JA Jacob Aketachungak.

JS Steven Jacobson.

LM Lorencia Mikes.

MH Michael Hunt.

MP Michael Prince.

NSK(Y) Norton Sound Kotlik Yup'ik/Yugtun.

NSU Norton Sound Unalit Yup'ik.

NT Nicholas Gregor Bunderson Toler.

NUN Nunivak Cup'ig.

RT Robert Teeluk.

Demonstrative Abbreviations

Ø	Obscured.
$	Approaching.
A	Absolute Frame of Reference.
ANA	Anaphor.
B	Boundary/Interioricity.
CAT	Cataphor.
D	Extrapersonal (≈Distal).
DIST	Distal.
E	Restricted.
EGO	Egocentric.
F	Figure.
FL	Location-Figure Type.
FOR	Frame of Reference.
G	Ground.
HEAR	Hearer/Listener/Allocentric.
I	Intrinsic Frame of Reference.
I	Interlocutor.
L	Landscape.
MED	Medial.
O	Origo.
OBSC	Obscured.

OF Object-Figure Type.

P Peripersonal (≈Proximal).

PROX Proximal.

R Riverine.

R< Relative Frame of Reference.

S Direct/straight.

S Speaker.

U Elevation Upwards.

V Vector.

X E**x**tended.

Interlinear Abbreviations

*****	before a word it indicates ungrammaticality.
$<$	Derivational Process.
$>$	(From Received Literature) indicates a subject *acting* on an object within a monoexponential inflectional morpheme.
$>$	Derivational Process.
ÆQL	Aequalis Case.
1	First Person.
2	Second Person.
3	Third Person.
4	Third Reflexive Person.
ABL	Ablative Case.
ABS	Absolutive Case.
ABSA	Absolutive Alignment.
ACCA	Accusative Aligment.
AGT	Agent.
ALL	Allative Case.
APP	Appositional Mood Formative.
APRT	Active Participle.
AUG	Augmentative.
CAUS	Causative.
CNJ	Conjunct Formative.

COM Compliment/Collocating Morpheme.

CONT Continuative.

COO Coordinator (and/too/also).

COP Copula.

DEF Definite.

DES Desiderative.

DIM Diminuative.

DNM Demonstrative Nominalizer.

DU Dual (Number Formative).

EMPH Emphatic.

ERG Ergative Case.

ERGA Ergative Alignment.

EXCLM Exclamative.

FUT Future Tense.

GEN Genitive Case.

GWP Gray Wolf Particle (Morpheme has Unknown Meaning).

HAB Habitual.

IMP Imperative Mood Formative.

IN Intransitive Mood Formative.

INCH Inchoative.

IND Indicative Mood Formative.

INDF Indefinite.

INFL Inflectional Bundle.

INT Instrumental Case.

INTR Interrogative Mood Formative.

ITR Iterative.

LF Long Form (Number Formative).

LOC Locative Case.

NEG Negative.

NOMA Nominative Alignment.

NS Non-Singular.

OPT Optative Mood Formative.

PART Participial Mood Formative.

PL Plural (Number Formative).

POSS Possessor.

PRF Perfective.

PRL Perlalitive Case.

PST Past Tense.

Q Question Particle.

QUOT Quotative.

REL Relative Case.

RET Retrospective.

RSLT Resultative.

SG Singular (Number Formative).

sttr stutter.

TEL Telic Aspect.

TOP Topicalizer.

TR Transitive Mood Formative.

TTR Type-Token Ratio.

VOL Volitional.

FLEx Abbreviations

***** before a bolded word it indicates a **demonstrative** base.

AVP Appositional Verb Phrase.

CP Conjunctive Holophrase.

DEI Deictic.

DEM Demonstrative.

ENC Enclitic.

FM Formative Morpheme.

GCF Grammatical Case Formative.

IRR Irrealis Mood Formative.

IVP Irrealis Verb Phrase.

LEX Lexical.

N Noun.

NP Nominal Holophrase.

NUM Number Formative.

OVP Optative Verb Phrase.

PAR Free Particle.

PER Person Formative.

PRO Pronoun.

Prt Particle Holophrase.

REA Realis Mood Formative.

RVP Realis Verb Phrase.

V Verb.

VP Verb Holophrase.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview

I began documenting the underdescribed and ebbing Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun (NSKY) dialect of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik (CAY) language in 2014 with the aim of developing a long-lasting, multipurpose record of the language variety. The research study presented in this dissertation arises out of that documentation project as one example of the explanatory power of a small corpus of natural, connected speech made for a minority language community. Drawing from the audio and video recordings produced for my NSKY documentation project, I have developed a small linguistic corpus with attendant morphological glossing and free translations. Using this linguistic corpus, my research study examines the function of the Yup'ik pointing words, **demonstratives**, as they occur in the natural speech of Yup'ik-speaking Elders in Kotlik, Alaska. I ground this study with a critical examination of the morphosyntactic structures and lexical categorizations relevant to the Yup'ik parts of speech that the study of Inuit-Yupik[1] languages has established as integral to the description of demonstratives in the language family. Additionally, I embed the discussion of demonstratives within the abundant literature on demonstratives, frames of reference, and spatial language found in linguistics, philosophy, and psychology.

The polysynthetic Inuit-Yupik–Unangan languages of the Arctic have long held the claim of having the world's most complex demonstrative inventories, comprising several dozen reflexes depending on the language and dialect (Denny, 1982; Miyaoka, 1984, 2012). These demonstrative bases are primarily described as exclusively exophoric

[1]The Inuit-Yupik language family is traditionally called *Eskimoan*. Today, The term Eskimo is considered derogatory, with a preference for the term *Inuit* across Canada and Greenland. However, in Alaska, the term Eskimo is still used to refer to both peoples inclusively, while *Yup'ik* refers to the Yupiit people exclusively and Inuit to the Inuit people exclusively. Throughout this text, I refer to the Yupiit as Yup'ik. I then use Inuit-Yupik to refer to the larger language family and Inuit-Yupik-Unangan to refer to the *Eskimo-Aleut* (*Eskaleut*) language family.

pointing words used pronominally and adverbially, but they can, rarely, surface as verbs (Miyaoka, 2012). This research project explores the multilayered demonstrative system as presented by Kotlik Elders with an eye to the natural contours of the system *in vivo*. In this study, I present a holistic account of the 30-plus demonstrative reflexes contextualized within a discussion of the primacy of their **frame of reference**. A frame of reference is a conceptual model which indexes reference objects utilizing different perspectivizing grounds to triangulate the object's location in space (Levinson, 2006; Diessel, 2014). These models are critical to Yup'ik demonstrative categorization and interpretation in the language today. I present my research and findings on the function and structure of Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun demonstratives and the import of frames of reference and Yup'ik parts of speech in five chapters, as outlined below.

Chapter One starts by describing demonstrative systems across the world's languages, especially examining the semantics and pragmatics of deixis in language. This introduction to deictics and demonstratives addresses current perspectives about deixis in linguistics, how it arises in various languages, and to what ends it is deployed in the grammar of a language. The second part of Chapter One introduces the documentation of the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun dialect. In this section, the history and purpose of the documentation project are discussed to help the reader understand the methodology behind the current study and the environment in which this study has been conducted. Additionally, the Kotlik community's history is discussed in order to provide the reader with a foundation for interpreting the data being used within this study. A broader discussion of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language and the Inuit-Yupik–Unangan language family is also included. Chapter One concludes with a more detailed discussion of the corpus methodology used in this study.

Chapter Two provides a brief grammatical sketch of the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun dialect. This sketch is designed to provide the reader with an understanding of this hyper-agglutinative and polysynthetic language. The grammar begins with a brief typological summary of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language, followed more broadly by a critical discussion of NSKY's structure as viewed through different theoretical lenses. This detailed discussion includes a description of the sound inventory of the language and the common morphophonological processes, which support the morphological parsing in Appendix C (Texts). In this grammatical sketch, I place a heavy focus on the fluidity of the Yup'ik bases and base derivation since the literature posits that demonstratives in Yup'ik can be inflected for any part of speech. Following this is an examination of the constructions that bases enter into in order to determine their syntactic category membership within a particular usage context. These constructions are responsible for taking bases and turning them into nouns, verbs,

or particles. Additionally, the case is made for a Yup'ik-specific syntactic category, which I term **conjunct** that is comparable to a "verbal-noun." Appendix A is associated with Chapter Two and provides an overview of the constructions, morphemes, and grammatical alignment patterns elaborated on throughout the chapter.

Chapter Three examines the semantics and the domains of use of the demonstrative tokens in the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun corpus. The discussion begins with an analysis of more complex frames of reference and their intersection with demonstrative systems. I then scrutinize the Yup'ik demonstrative system's current treatment in the literature and general shortcomings in semantic description. The Yup'ik, and analogously the Inuit, demonstrative system is currently considered one of the world's most complex and most extensive systems with 30-plus demonstrative bases and a purported 686 possible variations of demonstrative form (Denny, 1982; Miyaoka, 2012). Yet, demonstratives are characterized as a subclass of pronoun or "adverb" and are only genuinely described in terms of their immediate pointing functionality typically in face-to-face interaction about spatial location. Chapter Three, therefore, draws from the natural, spoken linguistic corpus developed for Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun and provides an updated, revised, and typologically informed description of the demonstrative system within a frame of reference analysis across multiple conceptual domains. With the corpus revealing 30% of the corpus' word tokens to be demonstratives, this updated examination of a crucial part of the Yugtun language bolsters the language's description, aids in teaching the system to future speakers, and supports cross-linguistic understanding of demonstratives. Appendix B is associated with Chapters Three and Four and provides a brief overview of the Demonstrative analysis elaborated on in these chapters, as well as a full inventory of all of the demonstrative types and their token frequency in the texts used in this study as provided in Appendix C.

Chapter Four builds off of Chapter Three by examining how Yugtun deploys its demonstratives in the grammar, as presented in Chapter Two, and in natural discourse. This chapter examines the role demonstratives play in indexing spatial, temporal, and discourse objects and spaces. This indexation is viewed in context for the description of both deictic and focusing functionality. In addition, the language patterns that Yugtun demonstratives frequently appear in are discussed, emphasizing these demonstrative expressions' role in discourse. These two chapters further examine demonstrative occurrence and frequency to better understand the demonstrative system's natural contours in connected speech.

This research project concludes in Chapter Five by discussing several key topics concerning Yugtun demonstratives and grammar: the lexical and syntactic features of

the Yup'ik parts of speech; the function and structure of Yugtun demonstrative frames of reference; the benefits and explanatory power of a corpus of natural, connected speech in language documentation and description; and future research directions.

1.2 Deictics and demonstratives

Traditional accounts of demonstratives identify this class of words as a subtype of pronoun, except for when they are identified as adverbs or determiners (Crystal, 2018). While demonstratives can function as pronouns, adverbs, or determiners, they can be so much more (Diessel, 1999a).

Demonstratives are among some of the first words acquired by children; they serve to individuate objects, places, and propositions in space, time, and discourse; they easily grammaticalize to serve new functions in a language's grammar; and they are likely universal across the world's languages (Tanz, 1980; Diessel, 1999a; Kuteva et al., 2019). The individualization of objects within a speech event is arguably the most basic function of demonstratives in a language. Demonstratives are principally used by speech participants to draw the participants' joint attention to a particular object or point in space, time, or discourse (Diessel, 1999a). Consider the use of the demonstrative *ikna* in (1)[2] from Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun.

(1)

qanertuq	***"ik'na-gguq,***	*ataam*	*ellinek!"*
qaner-gur	"**ik-na=gguq**,	ata=am	elli-nek!"
speak-IND.IN	"**that-one.SG.ABS=QUOT**	look=EMPH	him-ABL"

'He said "**that one**, look at him!"'

[2]My interlinear glossing conventions evolve throughout this study as I present the morphological structure of Yugtun and the functions of demonstratives in more detail. Beginning in Chapter One, I gloss demonstratives using a superficial English translation such as 'this, that, here, there, now, then.' Later in the chapter, I transition to using semantic features appropriate to the cross-linguistic discourse on demonstratives such as proximal (PROX) and distal (DIST). In Chapter Three, the interlinear glossing I use has been developed for this research project on Yugtun demonstratives and provides a more detailed semantic categorization. For example, the demonstrative gloss R<A$(R) indicates an approaching object or location construed within a relative frame of reference derived from an absolute frame of reference centred on a riverine grid. The 'riverine' semantics in this form, however, have shifted to the 'approaching' figure shape and are present only metaphorically, this demonstrative particle is used heavily in grammaticalized functions. In Yugtun, this demonstrative is *taug-*, which can be roughly translated as 'from here/there, from now/then on, this/that approaching, however.'

A discussion on Yugtun split-ergativity, the double marking of grammatical alignment, and the use of the terms *nominative, accusative, ergative, absolutive* in both nominal case and verbal agreement is found in Section 2.4.2. Interlinear glossing conventions and abbreviations can be found in the Index, Appendixes A and B, or in the demonstrative charts in Chapter Three. Fully detailed interlinear glossing for all of the examples in this study can be found in the full texts included in Appendix C.

In (1), the demonstrative *ikna=gguq* is part of a direct quote said by one of the characters to another to bring their joint attention to a third character who is located across the river within a traditional fable. This word serves to individuate the object of focus and highlight it within the event space. This primary function of demonstration often accompanies a pointing gesture from the speaker to emphasize the object of attention. The individualization of an object of attention is also known as *indexation* and is an underlying principle behind the concept of deixis (Diessel, 2014). That is to say, demonstratives function principally as deictics, and they represent one of the prototypical reflexes of deixis within human language.

1.2.1 Deixis

The linguistic indexation of objects and locations in juxtaposition so as to bring the joint attention of the speech participants to one object or location over another is called *deixis*. Deictic systems arise in human languages in five principal domains: (i) spatial deixis, which includes object and locational demonstratives; (ii) temporal deixis, which is realized through tense and temporal demonstratives; (iii) discourse deixis, which includes modality and anaphoric pronouns; (iv) person deixis, which is most often realized through personal pronouns, and (v) social deixis, which is realized in grammars through structures such as honorifics. Spatial deixis is often considered the source domain for understanding the four other domains of deixis (Fillmore, 1997). This study does not discuss social deixis but does touch on person deixis during an examination of Yugtun's pronominal system discussed in Chapter Four and on discourse deixis, temporal deixis, and spatial deixis, which are the focus of Chapters Three and Four.

Deictic domains are unique in language in that deictic words are thought to be more transparent than non-deictic words. Whereas non-deictic words specify their referents and refer to identifiable entities or concepts, the interpretation of deictic words requires extra-propositional reference to an object in the speech event, which may be achieved with the additional support of a pointing gesture (Diessel, 1999a). Thus, while the word *shaman* refers inherently to a person who participates in a community's spiritual life, the word *him*, as a deictic pronoun, refers to a different person in every usage based on the particular context of the utterance. As W. Hanks (2011 p. 316) notes, "what is noteworthy about deictics is they contribute to individuated referring without in any way describing their objects." Instead, these words rely on discourse, spatial

context, and saliency to establish relationships between objects (Levinson, 2006). Compare, for example, (2 a) and (2 b), in the context of the question, "who is doing magic?"

(2) a.

ikna-gguq	*arparluni,*
ik-na=gguq	arpar-lu-ni,
that-one.SG.ABS=QUOT	holler-APP-4.NOMA.SG,

angalkiluni-gguq
angalki-lu-ni=gguq
shaman-APP-4.NOMA.SG=QUOT

'**That one hollering**, he was doing magic '

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:7.1)

b.

Angalkuit	*taukut,*	*angalkiluteng*
Angalku-ngi-t	ta-u-ku-t,	angalki-lu-teg-t
shaman-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL	DISP-this-one.NS-PL,	shaman-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'Their shamans—these ones over here,—they were doing magic '

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:4.1)

In (2 a), compare the first word *ikna=gguq*, a deictic spatial demonstrative, to the first word in (2 b), *angalkuit*, which is a non-deictic nominal. The demonstrative in (2 a) does not have any concrete meaning or permanent referent. Instead, its meaning is vacuous and serves to reference or individuate an object based on the context of discourse, whether through a pointing gesture or through verbal specification (W. Hanks, 2011). In the case of (2 a), the speaker indicates the referent by making explicit the referent's action, thus bringing the joint attention of both the speaker and the hearer/interlocutor to that referent. The answer to the question "who is doing magic?" in (2 a) is *the one who is hollering*, whoever that may be at the time. By contrast, the answer to this same question in the case of (2 b) is *their shamans*. The word *angalkuit* is non-deictic and has a concrete meaning which does not change based on the speech event context. In (2 b), the deictic demonstrative *taukut* is used, but this deictic is a discourse demonstrative that is functioning to place particular emphasis on the preceding subject rather than to individuate the subject within the speech-event, as discussed in Chapter Four. Context-dependent meaning is the defining characteristic of deictic categories and allows for a great range of versatility and creativity with respect to the use of deictic words in natural speech.

1.2.2 Semantics of deictics and demonstratives

Deictics are universal in the world's languages and are among some of the earliest words acquired (Diessel, 1999a; González-Peña et al., 2020). Nevertheless, the grammatical

description of demonstratives cross-linguistically is difficult due to the great diversity of deictic systems across languages. Deictic systems are acquired first in non-deictic but indexical contexts, refer to Section 1.2.5, and by the time the system develops deictic semantics deictic systems can have developed different biases based on the contextual distances, participants, and object saliencies involved in a speech event (Chu, 2015).

Adult-like deictic use requires grammatical competency and an understanding of discourse context. Deictic systems within a language are typically formed through the use of contrasting words that serve to index an object in space (Diessel, 2013b). This indexation occurs by forming a relationship between the object being identified and a common reference point, typically the speaker. The reference point is usually referred to as the *origo*. Most commonly cross-linguistically, the origo is the speaker of the utterance. By utilizing the origo as a grounded, stable axis, an *axis Mundi*, in conceptual space, deictic expressions are able to index objects in that space by identifying where they are in relation to the origo. Therefore, we can view a speech event as encompassing the world (*Mundi*) as it pertains to the speech participants at that time. This world revolves around an axis we identify as the origo to which all other objects in the world are situated. Thus, within a deictic scene, the speaker is usually the center of the world. For example, in English demonstratives, objects can be indexed as being either close to the speaker, *proximal*, or far from the speaker, *distal*, with no regard for the location of the interlocutor. Understanding which distance counts as proximal or distal is contextually specified and relies on the saliency of the object itself (Diessel, 1999a). A good 2-dimensional example of deixis is found in tense systems. Tense is the grammatical indexation of event time in relation to the origo. In Figure 1.1, and tense in general, the moment of speaking is the origo, or axis Mundi, around which all actions take place.

A tense-based language marks an action as being in the present if an action takes place at the time of, or relatively close to the time of, speaking. If an action takes place before or after the time of speaking, it is construed as distal and is thus indicated as being in the past or future via a tense system. Consider the examples in (3):

(3) a. *qaner**ciq**uci*
qaner-**ciq**-gur-t-t
speak-**FUT**-IND.IN-2.ABSA-PL

'You **will** speak'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:34)

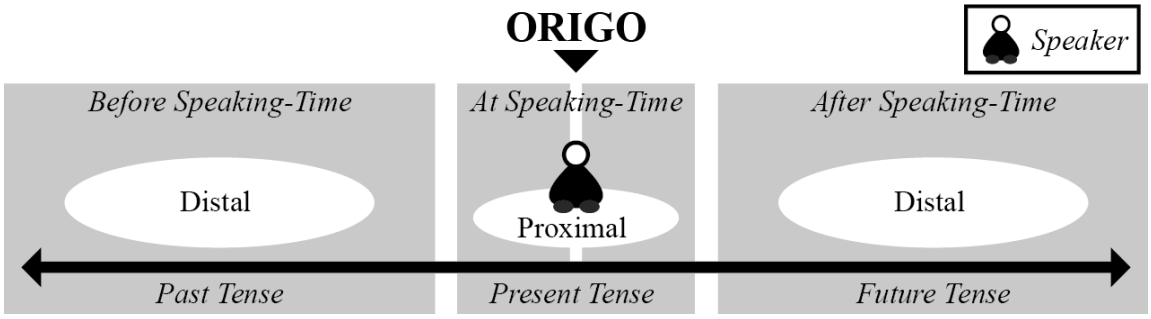


Figure 1.1: Tense as Deixis: A conceptualization of tense as a deictic feature. The timeline represents the conceptualized world of the speech event that centers on the *origo* defined as the speech time. In relation to the *origo*, events can be *proximal* or *distal*, and these distances are encoded in language as present tense and non-present tenses.

b. *qanertuq*
qaner-gur
speak-IND.IN

'He speaks/is speaking'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:6.1)

c. *qanrula**llru**atnga*
qanru-la-**llru**-gar-nga-t-nga
tell-HAB-**PST**-IND.TR-3.NOMA-PL-1.ABSA.SG

'They **would have** told me'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:6)

In (3 a), the verb is indicated in the future tense through the use of the future morpheme *ciq-*. Therefore, this verb is contextually interpreted as distal from the time of the speech event, which is the origo, and taking place after the time of the speech event. In (3 b), the verb is not marked explicitly for tense and is thus interpreted as occurring at the time of the speech event or the origo, which is the present tense. In (3 c), the verb is marked in the past tense with the morpheme *llru-* and therefore is also interpreted as being distal from the origo but before the speech event. How recent an action has to be in order to be interpreted as proximal depends on the context of the speech event, the portrayal of the event by the speaker, and the language community's conventions.

Spatial deixis, in contrast to temporal deixis, is usually construed within a 3-D environment, as shown in Figure 1.2, and can make many different distance-based distinctions across different languages. Diessel (2013b), in his typology of

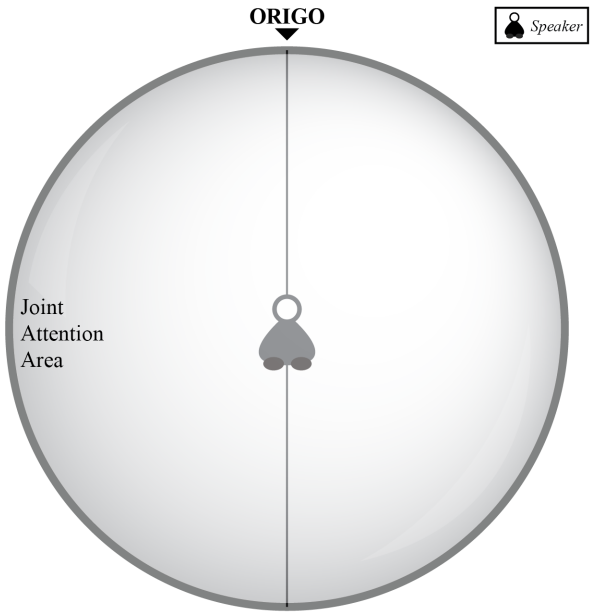


Figure 1.2: Deictic Space: Within the deictic space constructed by a speech event, the speaker is most typically the center point aligned on the *axis Mundi*. The speaker, represented in the center of the figure, establishes the origo. Deixis brings joint attention to an object within deictic space by indexing it in relation to the origo. Indexation occurs by establishing the location of a conceptually salient object relative to the origo.

demonstratives, posits five different ways to divide deictic space based on a survey of 234 languages.

When discussing different distance contrasts found in the world's languages, it should be remembered that deixis serves to accomplish two principal tasks in a speech event. The first is to bring the attention of both the speaker and the other speech participants to a common object, location, or proposition. That is, deixis serves to bring *joint attention* to an object of interest. Second, deixis identifies and indexes that object by locating it in reference to an origo point, which is most typically the speaker.

The first type of spatial deictic demonstrative system encountered in languages is the single-term system, often referred to as 1-term distance contrast. In a 1-term distance contrast, a language utilizes only a single demonstrative to achieve the joint attention and indexation of objects within the speech event. German is an excellent example of a 1-term distance contrast, as shown in (4).

(4)

Das	*Bild*	*hier*	*gefällt*	*mir*	*besser*	*als*	***das***	*da.*
Das	Bild	hier	gefällt	mir	besser	als	**das**	da
DEM	picture	here	like	me	better	than	**DEM**	there

'I like **this** picture here better than **this one** there.'

(Diessel, 2013b p. 9)

German uses a single demonstrative pronoun *das* to index objects within the speech event regardless of the speaker's distance from the object. The function of this demonstrative is not to locate the item in the world but to draw joint attention to the object. Nevertheless, German can still indicate the object's location through the further use of one of its adverbial demonstratives, *hier 'here'* and *da 'there,'* which are in opposition to each other within a 2-term distance contrast system.

A 2-term distance contrast system juxtaposes two demonstratives to locate objects in the speech event, both in terms of their relationship to the origo and their relationship to each other relatively. English utilizes a 2-term system in its demonstrative pronouns, as shown in (5).

(5) *I like **this** picture better than **that** picture.*

Utilizing the same structure as discussed for tense above, English uses two demonstrative pronouns within space, time, or discourse. The first, *this*, is **proximal** and indexes an object in the event space, which is relatively close to the speaker in a given context. The second demonstrative is *that*, which is **distal** and refers to an object which is comparatively further away than the one indicated by *this* in the event space. Figure 1.3b diagrams this opposition between the two demonstrative pronouns.

In 3-term languages, there are two possibilities for how the three demonstrative terms form a contrast to each other. The first type of 3-term system is referred to as a distance-based demonstrative system. Distance-based languages extend the 2-term system and add a finer division of the event space based on relative distance to the origo. The three distances are defined as *proximal* or close to origo, ***medial*** or further from the origo, and *distal* or far from the origo; see Figure 1.3c (Diessel, 2013b). Example (6) provides examples from a 3-term system in nêhiyawêwin (Plains Cree), where the demonstratives are additionally marked for whether the object is animate or inanimate.

(6) a.

ē-nepāt	***awa***	*atim*
ē-nepāt	**awa**	atim
CONJ-sleep	**PROX.ANI**	dog

'**this** dog is sleeping'

b. *ē-mīcisot* ***ana*** *minōs*
ē-mīcisot **ana** minōs
CONJ-eat **MED.ANI** cat

'**that** cat is sleeping'

c. *ē-masinahikēt* ***nāha*** *iskwēw*
ē-masinahikēt **nāha** iskwēw
CONJ-writing **DIST.ANI** woman

'**that faraway** woman is writing'

(Okimasis, 2004)

A different division of event space is found in Ute, where the three terms are divided as proximal, distal, and ***obscured*** or invisible. In such a system as Ute's, the obscured might refer to objects so distal that they cannot be seen, but it can also refer to proximal objects that are merely hidden from direct sight (Diessel, 1999a).

The second type of 3-term system is referred to as a person-based system (Diessel, 2013b). In a person-based system, the three deictic terms take into account that there is usually more than one participant in a speech event and uses the additional interlocutor as an additional stationary point or origo within the event space. Figure 1.3d diagrams this type of system. An example of a person-based system is Japanese, as shown in (7).

(7) a. ***Kono*** *baggu wa watashi no desu*
Kono baggu wa watashi no desu
PROX.EGO bag TOP me POSS COP

'**This bag near me** is mine.'

b. ***Sono*** *baggu wa anata no desu*
Sono baggu wa anata no desu
PROX.HEAR bag TOP you POSS COP

'**This bag near you** is yours.'

c. ***Ano*** *baggu wa Jon san no desu*
Ano baggu wa Jon san no desu
DIST bag TOP Jon HON POSS COP

'**That bag over** there is Jon's.'

(BondLingo, 2022 p. 6)

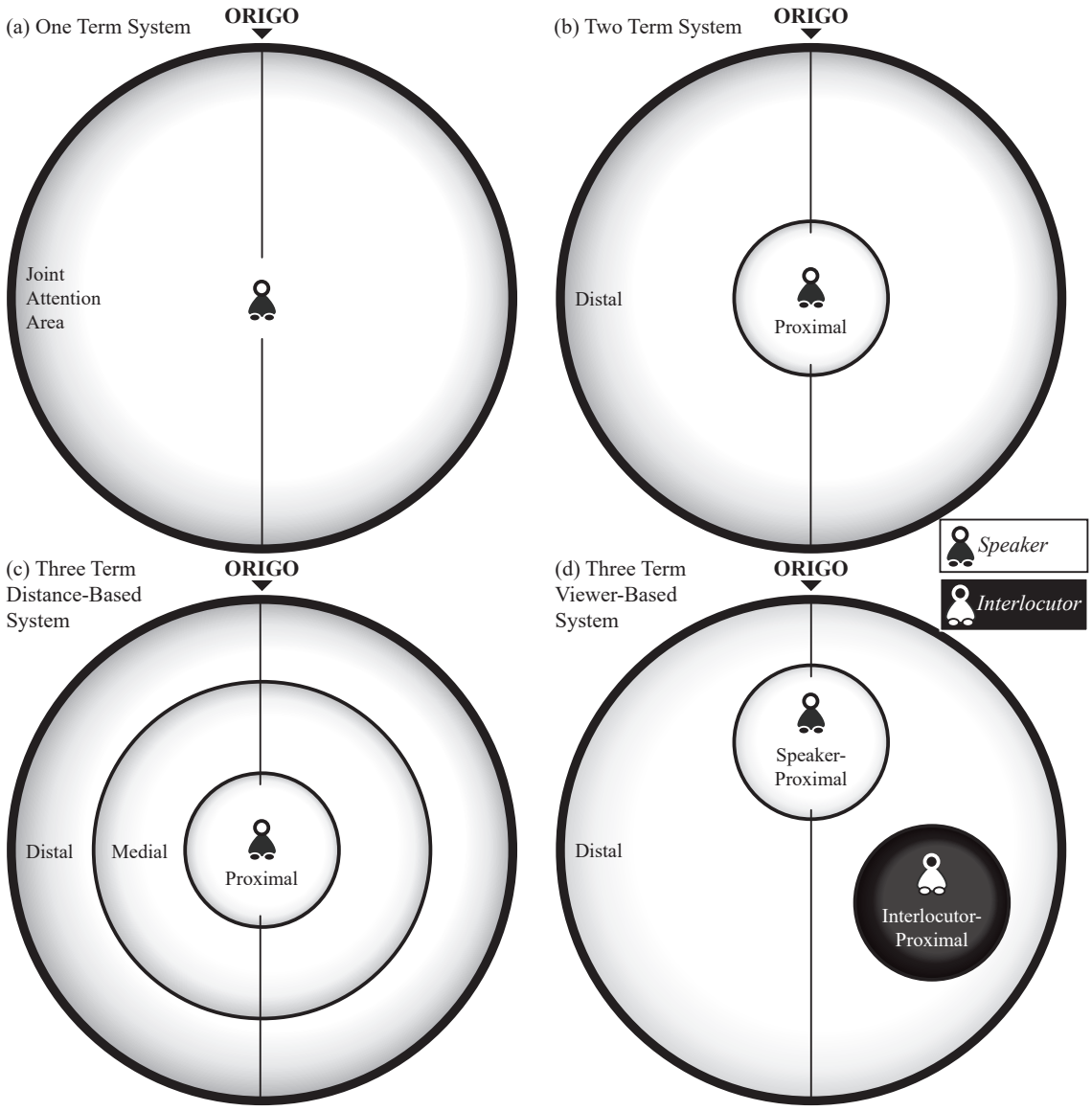


Figure 1.3: Deictic Constrast Types: The four types of deictic contrasts found across the world's languages (Diessel, 2013b). (a) Top-Left: the 1-term contrast that indexes but does not locate an object. (b) Top-Right: the 2-term contrast indexes and locates an object based on its proximity to the speaker or origo. (c) Bottom-Left: the 3-term distance-based contrast divides space into more refined categories in relation to the origo. (d) Bottom-Right: the 3-term person-based contrast, which introduces the speech interlocutor as an additional point of reference.

Examining Japanese demonstratives reveals three terms *kono* or 'proximal to speaker,' *sono* or 'proximal to the hearer,' and *ano* or 'distal from both speaker and hearer.'

Some languages may have a 4- or 5-term deictic system utilizing a combination of the different types of deictic contrast. In a 4+ term system, both a distance-based and a person-based system are combined to provide additional levels of specificity. For instance, Hausa uses a 4-term system with the distinctions of *nân*' proximal to speaker,' *nan* 'proximal to hearer,' *cân* 'medial from both speaker and hearer,' and *can* 'distal to both speaker and hearer' (Diessel, 2013b).

A language can use more than one deictic system within its own grammar. Italian, for instance, uses two demonstrative systems, a 1-term system and a 2-term system. In (8), the 1-term system is used to bring joint attention to an object without necessarily locating it within the event space relative to anything else. Typically this demonstrative is used as an emphatic particle and often assumes proximal-like deictic status as in 'here it is!' Additionally, because it is more semantically transparent than the distance-based system, this single demonstrative is also used as a discourse marker to assume roles such as 'well now' and 'exactly.' These types of demonstratives are usually termed deictic presentatives in the literature (Diessel, 1999a).

(8)

Ecco	*come*	*vanno*	*fatte*	*le*	*cos-e*	*in*	*Italia!*
ecco	come	v-anno	fat-te	l-e	cos-e	in	Italia!
DEM	how	go-PST.3.PL	do-PST.PRT	the.FEM-PL	thing-PL.FEM	in	italy

'**This** is how things are done in Italy!'

(Serena, 2009 p. 5)

The second deictic system found in Italian is a 2-term system used when location and distance are more salient in the speech event and need to be highlighted, as in (9).

(9) a.

Ho	*letto*	***questo***	*libro.*
Ho	let-to	**quest-o**	libro
have.1.SG.PRS	read-PST.PRT	**PROX-SG.MASC**	book

'I have read **this book**'

b.

Guarda	***quel***	*negozio,*	*ha*	*appena*	*aperto*
guard-a	**quel**	negozio,	ha	appena	aperto
look-2.SG.PRS	**DIST.SG.MASC**	shop,	have.3.SG.PRS	just	opened

'Look at **that shop**, it just opened'

Additionally, across different parts of speech, different deictic contrasts may be made, such as in English demonstrative pronouns where a 2-term distinction is made between *this* and *that* and English demonstrative adverbs where a 3-term distance-based distinction is made between *here, there*, and *yonder*.

Beyond the deictic functions of demonstratives and similar functional categories in language, many additional grammatical features can be added or overlayed onto demonstratives. As seen in (5.3) and (9), noun class can be overlaid onto demonstratives with different demonstratives indexing animate or inanimate objects in the case of nêhiyawêwin or masculine and feminine objects in the case of Italian and German. Number can also be overlaid onto demonstratives such as the English system of *this* and *these* verses *that* and *those* (Diessel, 1999a). Some languages, such as Ute or Yugtun, overlay the notion of object visibility onto the deictic system. Additionally, languages have been found to overlay a geographic grid system and have demonstratives specific for a geographic location, such as up, upriver, uphill, down, downriver, downhill, across, and over. In some languages, motion is overlaid, which is a distinction between *this coming* and *this going away*. Diessel identifies the features added to demonstrative systems as distance, visibility, elevation, geography, movement, ontology, animacy, humanness, sex, number, and boundedness (Diessel, 1999a p. 52).

A great example of a demonstrative system which specifies many of these additional features is Yup'ik, which has been touted as the world's largest and most complex demonstrative system. Conventionally, it is considered to make a 2-term deictic contrast for three types of object shape or boundedness, including visibility, and features of elevation, geography, accessibility, and number. The Yup'ik system is described and discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

1.2.3 Pragmatics of deictics and demonstratives

The deictic pointing function discussed above is viewed as the most basic and privileged purpose of demonstratives across languages and is often the sole function discussed in descriptive grammars. Cross-linguistically, however, demonstratives are utilized in a wide array of communicative functions, many of which are difficult to tease apart.

Demonstratives are best known for their use as pointing words, or in what is termed their *exophoric* function (Diessel, 1999a). Exophoric demonstratives are the prototypical deictic indexicals (W. F. Hanks, 2009). This most basic demonstrative function serves to index an entity within the speech domain and call attention to it. In doing so, demonstratives establish a clear deictic origo, present a distance contrast, and usually involve a physical gesture as summarized in the previous section (Diessel,

1999a).

Exophoric demonstratives index entities within three conceptual pragmatic domains; the first is the physical, what Diessel terms the *gestural*. Gestural demonstratives point to an entity within the physical world and invite the interlocutor to be observant of the demonstrative's referent. In contrast to the gestural, the *symbolic* use indexes an entity within the domain of shared knowledge. The symbolic demonstrative requires the interlocutor to access their intuition about the discourse and referent. Examples (10) and (11) from Levinson (2013 p. 66), highlight the difference between these two functions.

(10) ***This*** *finger hurts* (gestural)

(11) ***This*** *city is sprawling* (symbolic)

In (10), the speaker utters the proposition and points to a finger in pain. The interlocutor then understands which finger is in pain by noting the proximal demonstrative and the physical gesture. By observing these two pieces of information, the interlocutor is able to determine which finger is in pain, and the gestural function of the demonstrative to bring joint attention to a particular object in the physical world has been achieved. In (11), while there may be a physical gesture such as a large sweeping motion of one or both arms, it is just as likely that there is not one. Instead, the interlocutor must note the topic of discourse and the proximal demonstrative to understand which city is being referred to, perhaps it is the city in which the speech event is taking place, but it might also be referring to a city being viewed in a picture. The speaker is symbolically pointing to the city, but the interlocutor must access their intuition within the discourse context to successfully index the demonstrative's referent.

The final exophoric use has been termed *deixis am phantasma*, which stands in contrast to the *demonstratio ad oculos* or 'visible demonstration' discussed in the examples above. *Deixis am phantasma* shifts the deictic center from the speech event to a scene within the discourse. That is, where *demonstratio ad oculos* points to an object within the world of the speech-event interlocutors either gesturally or symbolically using the speaker as the origo, *deixis am phantasma* relocates the origo to a character within the speech-event itself and points to an object within that character's world. This demonstrative function is especially prevalent within narrative (Diessel, 1999a). *Deixis am phantasma* can be seen in (12).

(12) "***Now*** *come the days of the King, and may* ***they*** *be blessed while the thrones of the Valar endure!*"

Gandalf in Tolkien, 1993 p. 1268 "The Return of the King."

In (12), it is not JRR Tolkien who is gesturally or symbolically pointing, nor is he pointing to any time or set of days in the real world. Instead, the origo has been displaced onto the character of Gandalf within the story world, and Gandalf is indexing his present time and the coming set of days in the story world's proximal future. While still functioning exophorically, demonstratives *am phantasma* point to events within a story by displacing the origo from the real-world speaker to the speaker within the story world.

In contrast to the exophoric uses of demonstratives, an *endophoric* use is any that does not necessitate physical pointing. The most well-studied of the endophoric applications is the *anaphoric*. Anaphoric demonstratives are coreferential with another discourse argument and serve to track objects through discourse. Demonstratives are often used in these roles when the object is not currently in focus or is not the discourse topic, as in (13). Additionally, they tend to have unique forms differentiated from other demonstratives (Diessel, 1999a p. 96).

(13) *Der Anwalt sprach mit einem Klienten. Da* ***der*** *nicht viel Zeit hatte, Verebarten sie ein weiteres Gespräch nächste Woche.*

Der	*Anwalt*	*sprach*	*mit*	*einem Klienten.*	*Da*	***der***	*nicht*
Der	Anwalt	sprach	mit	einem Klienten.	Da	**der**	nicht
the	lawyer	talked	with	a client.	Since	**this.one**	not

viel	*Zeit*	*hatte,*	*Verebarten*	*sie*	*ein*	*weiteres*	*Gespräch*
viel	Zeit	hatte,	Verebarten	sie	ein	weiteres	Gespräch
much	time	had,	agreed.on	they	a	further	conversation

nächste	*Woche.*
nächste	Woche.
next	week

'The lawyer talked with a client. Since **he**/**this one** didn't have much time, they agreed to have another meeting next week.'

(Diessel, 1999a p. 96)

Example (13) shows the anaphoric (pronominal) demonstrative *der* in German. In the example, *der* is functioning to refer back and index or point to an object within the discourse itself. By coreferring to that object, the discourse can continue mentioning the referent without repetitive and redundant reference to the object with a full nominal.

Endophoric demonstratives can also be used on a larger scale than the anaphoric use. As *discourse deictics*, demonstratives can index entire speech propositions. In this role, demonstratives refer to the content or force of a previous proposition within the

discourse. This contrasts with *pure text deixis*, which refers to an earlier utterance's auditory content as a request for clarification or to elicit the utterance another time (Diessel, 1999a). I give examples in (14)-(15).

(14) A: *Writing a dissertation is time-consuming.*
B: ***That*** *is very observant.* (Discourse deixis)

(15) A: *Writing a dissertation is time-consuming.*
B: *Say* ***that*** *again?* (Pure text deixis)

Discourse demonstratives differ from anaphoric ones in that they refer to entire propositions within the discourse and link discourse units together without the need to carry the referent, the proposition itself, through to the next utterance. In (14), interlocutor B uses the word, *that*, to index the entire content or meaning of the preceding sentence and then makes a comment about that content without the need to repeat the entire utterance. Thus, the demonstrative indexes the discourse content. In (15), the interlocutor instead refers to the phonetic realization of the proposition itself, in a case of pure text deixis.

While the discussion of endophoric demonstratives has addressed the ability of demonstratives to point backward in the text, many languages can additionally use discourse demonstratives to refer forwards in the discourse, referred to as *cataphoric* demonstratives, as in (16) (Diessel, 1999a p. 103).

(16) ***This*** *is what you need to understand: I'm going on an adventure, and there's nothin' you can do about it.*

A final endophoric use is called the *recognitional*, which serves to index information within the discourse that is new information to the discourse, old information to the interlocutors, and interlocutor-specific knowledge (Diessel, 1999a). These types of demonstratives index information that is known only by the in-group, which includes the interlocutors, even when the topic has not yet been discussed in the discourse. An example of a recognitional demonstrative is seen in (17).

(17) "***That****'s some child they had, isn't it?*"

An indefinite determiner in the discourse usually marks new information introduced to a speech event; however, in a recognitional situation, as the interlocutor already knows the information, it is instead marked with a demonstrative, which serves to index the information or topic. Importantly, this old information must be shared privately by the discourse participants, in contrast to information generally known by

a wider audience (Diessel, 1999a). In Example (17), the demonstrative *that* in the utterance introduces a child whose identity is known to both of the interloctors but the child is unlikely to be known to people in the out-group. The demonstrative is being used because it is assumed that all the interlocutors know which child is being referred to (old information), but the topic is new to the ongoing conversation.

In the past two sections, I have discussed what demonstratives mean and what can be overlaid on top of their basic deictic semantics. I have also discussed the vast array of functions that demonstratives can serve in a language to identify and keep track of important objects within a speech event. In the next section, I look at the form that demonstratives take within a language to fulfill these tasks.

1.2.4 Grammatical structure of demonstratives

Deictic fields, regardless of their function in a speech event, their morphological patterns, or their syntactic distributions, belong to closed-class systems in their language (W. F. Hanks, 2009). Belonging to a closed-class system means that over time, deictic terms tend to be reasonably stable without admitting new words or distinctions into the system. A discussion about how these terms can lose their deictic meaning and potentially even leave the system is found in Section 1.2.6. Each language structures its deictic systems differently, distributing the system(s) across the language's grammar.

Demonstratives often appear as free bases taking the form of uninflected particles, leading to the idea that they might form an independent category within language and even be a foundational part of a language's grammar and lexical inventory. These particles can then be morphologically derived to fulfill different roles within the grammar. Typically, demonstratives can be derived as pronouns, determiners, adverbs, or identifiers cross-linguistically (Diessel, 1999a p. 57). Syntactically, "prototypical deictics are category representatives... (W. Hanks, 2011 p. 324)," meaning they characterize the form and function of their contingent category. As deictic terms are syntactic heads, they can be substituted for any other head of the same class, they create well-formed phrases, and they can be expanded by modifiers and descriptors.

Demonstrative pronouns occur in argument position as an NP head or occur in apposition to a coreferential noun. Inversely, demonstrative determiners are dependents to an NP head and modify or specify the noun to which they attach (Diessel, 1999a). Cross-linguistically, pronominal and adnominal demonstratives tend to have the same form but are distinguished from each other due to their syntactic environment or distribution. Morphologically, demonstrative pronouns are often derived from the base

demonstrative form using a nominalizer, third-person pronoun, or classifier (Diessel, 1999a p. 29). Demonstrative pronouns may inflect for case, person, and number in the same way that a corresponding noun would in a given language. The case suffixes are similar to or the same as those used for nouns, while number may be inflected using a unique affix (Diessel, 1999a p. 26). Demonstrative determiners and identifiers are either structured the same as demonstrative pronouns or remain uninflected (Diessel, 1999a).

A demonstrative adverb is a locational deictic and serves to modify the verb event. Such adverbs specify the location where the verb event is occurring (Diessel, 1999a p. 74). This terminology may be misleading, however, as *adverb* is a catch-all category that comprises any number of small lexical and grammatical categories that are unrelated beyond the fact that they are usually optional elements in a proposition and modify some other element in the proposition like verbs, adjectives, determiners or entire sentences (Payne, 1997). Adverbs are usually categorized as adverbs merely because they do not fit anywhere else. Thus, in the case of demonstrative adverbs, we refer to locational deictics that modify the proposition as a whole. Syntactically, locational demonstratives usually occur after the verb phrase, but can co-occur with adnominal demonstratives to reinforce the deictic intent as in *this one here* (Diessel, 1999a p. 74).

Location demonstratives are usually derived with a locative or directional affix or a locational noun. Additionally, they rarely inflect, and if they do, they are not nominalized so as to contrast with the pronominal forms. According to Diessel, in some languages like Japanese, directional and manner deictics may be included in this category. In other languages, such as Finnish, the distinction between demonstrative pronouns and locationals is scalar instead of categorical (Diessel, 1999a p. 78).

Many languages employ the same demonstrative base forms across multiple grammatical categories. However, this may not always be the case and different bases may be employed across different categories, as in the distinction between demonstrative pronouns and adverbs in English. Additionally, a language may not utilize all of the aforementioned grammatical categories. For a categorical distinction to be made, there must be a difference in the demonstrative form. The form difference may be lexical, such that the form of the demonstrative bases are different, as in English, between the pronominal *this/that* and the locational *here/there*. Alternatively, there can be a morphological difference, such that the inflectional distribution is different, as in English pronouns, which can inflect for number *these/those*, while the locationals cannot. Or there can be a syntactic difference where the demonstratives can occur within a construction, as in English, where the adnominals occur before nouns, as in

this noun, while the locationals occur after nouns, as in *this* <u>*noun here*</u>, or after the verb phrase. If there is no difference in form, then there is no evidence for a categorical distinction (Diessel, 1999a pp. 4, 18, 158). However, a lack of grammatical distinction does not mean that demonstratives cannot pragmatically function pronominally, adnominally, locationally, or identificationally. As such, a single morphosyntactic category of demonstratives can fulfill multiple functional roles within a language. Within a language's grammar, demonstratives can be found in many different positions and can serve many different roles to carry out their deictic intent within a speech event.

1.2.5 Acquisition of deictics

The acquisition of deictics by infants usually begins through non-verbal gestures such as pointing, followed by the acquisition of spatial demonstratives. These newly acquired demonstratives show a lack of deixis by infants being used solely to index entities the infant wishes to place attention on (Tanz, 1980). These first, pre-deictic demonstratives tend to be used by children in fixed expressions and with highly frequent nouns during the two-word stage of language acquisition (González-Peña et al., 2020). During this stage, demonstrative utterances show more of a focus-marking function or definite article-like function rather than the spatial deictic function exhibited by adults (Tanz, 1980). These pre-deictic demonstratives nevertheless remain associated with a locational meaning. It has been shown that infants use these demonstratives to refer to fixed locations in a familiar area (González-Peña et al., 2020).

Even before the two-word stage, infants have been shown to acquire demonstratives typically as one of the first 50 words they learn (González-Peña et al., 2020). In a recent study comparing the acquisition of demonstratives in English and Spanish among infants between 18 and 24 months, the English adverbial demonstrative *there* was consistently in the top 50 words acquired by English-speaking children. By 24 months, all children were consistently using at least one demonstrative. In Spanish, by 22 months, all infants studied were consistently utilizing demonstratives, but with an equal distribution between the pronominal demonstrative *esto* 'this' and the locative demonstrative *ahí* 'there.' Interestingly, English-speaking children tended to learn distal demonstratives first, see Section 1.1.2. However, Spanish-speaking children learned proximal demonstratives first. Finally, both groups of children acquired demonstratives no later than their 200th word (González-Peña et al., 2020).

Studies of toddlers show that the acquisition of deictic semantics in demonstrative systems occurs more slowly and can exhibit one of two biases: an egocentric bias or

a saliency bias (Chu, 2015). In one English language study, researchers sat across a table from the toddlers with two objects on the table, one in front of the researcher and the other on the toddler's side of the table. Without pointing, the researcher asks the child to interact with one of the objects specified by the words *this* or *that*. This study found that the toddlers routinely would interact with the object closest to them regardless of the demonstrative used. This egocentric bias continues until the age of 6-7 years when children realize adult-like deictic competency (Clark & Sengul, 1978). Another study used animated dolls in place of the researcher and hid coins under plates set on the table. The toddlers would then be asked to locate the coin by listening to *this/that* phrases while one of the dolls moved. While the toddlers tended to be more accurate when the word *this* was used in the instructions, there was a more significant trend to identify the plate closest to the doll that was moving rather than the plate aligned with the deictic word (Tanz, 1980).

In summary, as a toddler learns to differentiate relative distance juxtapositions, they consistently identify all objects regardless of demonstrative used (*this* or *that*) as being the object closest to themselves or the object with the greatest environmental saliency until they acquire full deictic competency around the ages of 6-7. These studies show that while demonstratives may be among some of the first words learned, children take years to understand perspective and deictic distances fully (Chu, 2015).

1.2.6 Grammaticalization of demonstratives

Due to their variable semantics, pragmatics, grammatical categorization, and path of acquisition, demonstratives have readily assumed non-deictic roles across languages. These new roles that demonstratives often fall into are usually more grammatical than strictly lexical. This change in function from a more lexical and semantically contentful meaning, which is deictic in the case of demonstratives, to a more grammatical and abstract meaning is termed *grammaticalization*[3]. Grammaticalization is the diachronic process by which an independent lexical item in a language takes on a more grammatical role. This process is a gradual one whereby a lexical item transforms from a free and optional element within the discourse to an obligatory particle within a sentence. The continuation of this process may see the particle shorten or change into a bound morpheme, and eventually, the item may be lost to the language completely. (Lehmann, 2015).

Which grammatical roles a demonstrative grammaticalize into is partly determined by their structural properties. Due to this, after a demonstrative has moved to fulfill a

[3]A larger discussion of grammaticalization is included within the context of Yugtun demonstrative structure in Section 4.3.4

non-deictic use, it usually retains its syntactic properties while replacing its semantic properties, including the loss of its deictic distance oppositions. A demonstrative which has grammaticalized often becomes more restricted syntactically and becomes obligatory within the new particular environment. Additionally, these grammaticalized forms tend to differ from their original form by becoming phonologically reduced, by coalescing with adjacent or collocational morphemes, and they may no longer inflect (Diessel, 1999a).

For instance, demonstrative pronouns are usually formed with a nominalizing affix or a collocating pronoun or classifier. This collocation between the demonstrative and pronoun often leads to the grammaticalization of the demonstrative pronouns into gender and number morphemes, which attach to the formerly collocating pronoun (Diessel, 1999a). Pronominal demonstratives are additionally known cross-linguistically to grammaticalize into third-person pronouns, relative pronouns, complementizers, sentence connectives, and possessives (Kuteva et al., 2019).

Adnominal demonstratives often become determiners or markers of noun class, nominal linkers, relative clause boundary markers, markers of number, or specific indefinite articles. Locational demonstratives can become temporal adverbs or directional preverbs. Finally, identificational demonstratives often grammaticalize into copulas, focus markers, or expletives (Kuteva et al., 2019).

1.2.7 Demonstratives and Yup'ik

This first section has provided a brief but comprehensive overview of the mechanics and role of deixis in language, focusing on demonstratives. Demonstratives are a linguistic universal which comprises some of the first words acquired by children and some of the last words to show adult-like competency. These words serve to index objects, locations, and times in the real world, the speech-event world, and even within the discourse itself. They can be used in a language in a wide array of morphosyntactic structures to achieve a wide array of pragmatic functions. Moreover, they are traditionally treated as a subtype of pronoun, adverb, or determiner. As such, they are usually given a syntactic class category with no further consideration for their unique characteristics or unusual prevalence within a language.

The description of demonstratives in Central Alaskan Yup'ik fits this outlook (the traditional view being juxtaposed to this current work's model is presented in Chapter Three). Largely considered the world's most extensive demonstrative system (Miyaoka, 2012), the traditional treatment of Yup'ik demonstratives presents the 30-plus demonstrative bases as a complex subsystem of pronouns and adverbs, which

are noteworthy but analogous to any other pronoun or adverb. This system is then viewed in language descriptions as performing the most basic of gestural, sometimes symbolic, and rarely anaphoric functions.

However, in my corpus of natural and connected discourse, discussed in detail in Section 1.4, Yup'ik demonstratives account for about 30% of the words used. In contrast to what the current paradigm suggests, these 30-plus demonstratives are not all equally frequent, with a small subset accounting for the majority of the demonstratives used and some demonstratives never occurring. These demonstratives form clusters of up to five demonstratives in a row. They take unusual morphology and even have special noun cases, and the 'proximal' in particular shows up as a free base, a bound base, an enclitic, and as a bound suffix.

All of this considered, a more typologically informed examination of Yup'ik demonstratives using connected discourse rather than elicited examples is warranted. This study provides that examination with a focus on the function of the Yugtun demonstratives and their structure, distribution, and diachronic changes, all informed through a corpus-based analysis of natural, connected, and Elder-directed speech in the endangered Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun dialect.

1.3 Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun

The Norton Sound Kotlik language variety is a dialect of the Yup'ik language, which belongs to the Inuit-Yupik-Unangan family. Today, the language family is spoken from the extreme eastern coast of Siberia across the Aleutian Islands, through Southwest Alaska, and north across the Arctic coast to Greenland (cf. Figure 1.4). According to E. Dumond (1965), lexicostatistical and glottochronological studies conducted by Marsh and Swadish, and by Bergsland posit the common ancestral language to have been spoken around 4-6,000 years ago (E. Dumond, 1965).

The common ancestor to Proto-Inuit–Yupik was likely spoken between Bristol Bay, Alaska, to the south and the Arctic coast to the north, but not yet spreading east past the Canadian border at roughly 2,000 years ago. Archeological evidence places the greatest density of material artifacts near the Bering Strait. Around this time, both the culture and the language are suggested to have split between the northern and southern traditions. To the north, the Norton-like tradition evolved into the Birnirk cultural group around modern-day Nome and into the Thule cultural group along the Arctic coast from Nome to Greenland. The Thule cultural group is the direct predecessor to all of the modern Inuit languages today, from Northern Alaska's Inupiaq to Greenland's Kalaallisut, a dialect chain with a time depth of around 1,000

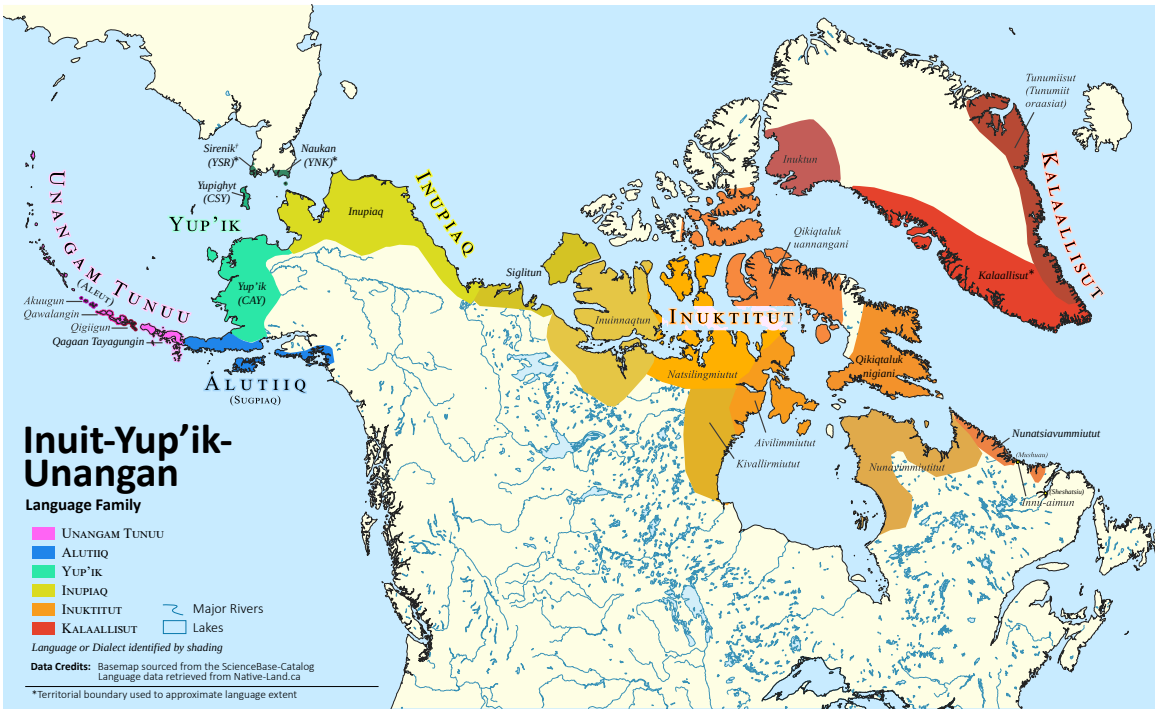


Figure 1.4: The geographic extent of the Inuit-Yupik–Unangan language family today. Unangan (Aleut) is demarcated in pink, Sugpiaq (Alutiiq, Pacific Yup'ik) in blue, Central Alaskan Yup'ik and Central Siberian Yup'ik in shades of green, the Inuit dialect continuum in yellow-orange-red. Map designed by Jason Bunderson-Toler using cartographic data from the Science Base Catalog and language data from Native-lands.ca (Native-land.ca, 2023; US Geological Survey, 2023).

years.

During the fifth Thule expedition in the 1920s, Rasmussen describes a sharp linguistic boundary between the Inuit and Yup'ik languages at Norton Sound, with Unalakleet marking the southern frontier of the Inupiaq language and St. Michael marking the northern frontier of the Yup'ik. Today, this boundary line is drawn further north around Golovin, with Unalakleet being the northernmost bastion of the Yup'ik language (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995).

The Norton-like cultural tradition, which remained on the southern side of this boundary, by contrast, is a more direct ancestor to all the Yup'ik languages, with the earliest diverging branch being Siberian Yup'ik after a back migration to the Siberian coast around 1,500 years ago. Siberian Yup'ik consists of the Central Siberian Yup'ik (CSY), Sireniski (YSR), and Naukan (YNK) languages, all of which are in danger of extinction or are already extinct. More recently, a second divergence occurred around 500 years ago in the Alaskan peninsula, where the Sugpiaq or Pacific Yupik language

diverged from Central Alaskan Yup'ik (CAY). For a more detailed discussion of the linguistic and archeological evidence for the Inuit-Yupik–Unangan language family, refer to E. Dumond (1965); M. Fortescue (2013); Mulligan and Szathmáry (2017).

1.3.1 The Central Alaskan Yup'ik Language Family

Central Alaskan Yup'ik (*Yup'ik* meaning 'genuine people') is spoken today from Bristol Bay in the south to Norton Sound in the north and is more accurately referred to by the ethnonym *Yugtun*, meaning 'of the people.' For this study's purposes, I utilize the more recognizable *Yup'ik* to refer to the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language more generally, to the data drawn from the preexisting literature, and to the people who speak a Yup'ik dialect. However, I use the word *Yugtun* to refer to the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect and my own data in particular.

The Yup'ik language comprises five primary varieties that form a loose dialect continuum, shown in Figure 1.5 (Jacobson, 2013). Now extinct, Egegik was the southernmost Yup'ik dialect once spoken along the northeastern region of Bristol Bay and is believed to have been an innovative dialect sharing many features with Sugpiaq, shown gray in Figure 1.5 (Jacobson, 2013). The northernmost dialects, Norton Sound Kotlik (NSK) and Unaliq (NSU), shown green in Figure 1.5, are endangered at present and are distinct from their southern neighbours since they share lexicon with Inupiaq to the north. The Nunivak or Cup'ig dialect (NUN), shown purple in Figure 1.5, is spoken in a single village on Nunivak island and is the most innovative Yup'ik dialect, considered by some to belong to its own language subgrouping with a relatively recent divergence point from Central Alaskan Yup'ik (Jacobson, 2013). Hooper Bay and Chevak, shown blue in Figure 1.5, make up the fourth primary dialect known as Cup'ik (HBC), which is about as different from General Standard Yup'ik (GSY) as the Norton Sound dialects are. The most extensive and most documented dialect is known as General Central Yup'ik (GCY) or General Standard Yup'ik. General Standard Yup'ik is grouped into the core General Standard Yup'ik dialect consisting of the Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay dialects, shown in red in Figure 1.5, and the peripheral General Standard Yup'ik dialect, shown in orange and yellow, in Figure 1.5 consisting of the Upper Kuskokwim, Nelson Island, Canineq, Nushagak River, Lake Iliamna, and Yukon dialects. Overall, this dialect cluster maintains a uniform phonological and lexical inventory while also portraying the largest degree of mutual intelligibility across the chain. The Kuskokwim dialect is also the most extensively spoken dialect today.

In 2007, Krauss provided a census of nearly 21,000 Yup'ik people and, as of 2012,

Figure 1.5: The geographic extent of the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language family. Map designed by Jason Bunderson-Toler using cartographic data from the Science Base Catalog, and language data from Jacobson (2013) and Miyaoka (2012) (Jacobson, 2006; Miyaoka, 2012; Native-land.ca, 2023; US Geological Survey, 2023).

estimated that there are 10,000 speakers of the Yup'ik language. Monolingualism is increasingly rare, with the vast majority of speakers being fluent in English as a first or second language (Krauss, 2007; Miyaoka, 2012). In 17 of 68 Yup'ik villages, the Yup'ik language is still transmitted to the younger generations as a first language; however, these villages are primarily located in the Kuskokwim and Nelson Island areas (Fienup-Riordan, 2007). Ethnologue assigns the language an Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) score between a 7 and 8b, categorizing the language as Endangered (Eberhard et al., 2022). This score indicates that the grandparent generation primarily uses the language while the number of younger speakers is dwindling with little language transmission between generations (Lee & Van Way, 2018). Unfortunately, this is especially true in many non-general standard dialects.

As of 2014, the Yup'ik language and 21 other Native Alaskan languages were made official in Alaska, which may aid in their sustainability or preservation. The language is additionally taught at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, and the Alaska Native Language Center continues to provide strong support for community curriculum building and language preservation (ANLC, 2023). The best-known resources are Steven and Anna Jacobson's Yup'ik Eskimo textbook from 1995 and his detailed two-volume Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary from 2013, both focusing predominantly on the General Standard Yup'ik dialects. Additionally, in 1977, Irene Reed, with Osahito Miyaoka, Steven Jacobson, Paschal Afcan, and Michael Krauss, published a Yup'ik Eskimo Grammar geared towards Central Yup'ik pedagogy, and in 2012, Osahito Miyaoka published a Grammar of Central Yup'ik. Anthony Woodbury (1981) has also written a sketch grammar of the Cup'ik dialect of the language. Michael Fortescue, Micheal Krauss, and Edward Sapir have been the leading figures in Inuit-Yupik–Unangan comparative linguistics and proto-language reconstruction, with the best-known publication being that of *The Eskimo Comparative Dictionary with Aleut Cognates* by Michael Fortescue et Al. (2010). Anna Jacobson and the current Calista Elder's Council anthropologists, Ann Fienup-Riordan and Alice Rearden, have been instrumental in the cultural and social documentation of Yup'ik life and history. They have also compiled recordings and texts from across the Yup'ik region, emphasizing General Standard Yup'ik. Numerous other researchers, scholars, and community members have contributed to the foundation of knowledge on the Yup'ik language and people through field notes, publications, and recordings, which can be discovered at the Alaska Native Language Archive. For all this, however, there is still a significant lack of material for the extant outlying dialects such as those of the Norton Sound region.

1.3.2 The history and ethnography of Kotlik

Traditional Yup'ik culture is characterized by seasonal migration between coastal fish-camps in the summer months and inland hunting camps during the winter months. Winter camps were larger, seeing a confluence of many families gathering together from around the territorial region. By contrast, fish-camps were and remain a family-oriented location, with each camp traditionally composed of a cluster of hide or canvas tents. Each family would hold claim to certain berry bushes and fishing sloughs around their camp for hunting and gathering. As Kotlik Elders recall, even in their childhood, nothing would be left behind at the camps, but for the walls of the sod houses, they would take all of their belongings with them. These migrations were aided by the use of *ikamraq* 'dog sled' and *qayaq* 'kayak,' and in the fall, they would bring all of their stores back to winter camp to be shared among those less fortunate or unable to fend for themselves. The camps were composed of partially subterranean sod structures. The largest, known as a *qasgiq*, formed the center of Yup'ik life. The *qasgiq* was the men's house and the community hall. The men would sleep in a ring along the edge and stay up late into the night, telling stories and transmitting knowledge to the younger boys who had come of age (Fienup-Riordan, 2007). The *qasgiq* also served as a steam house known as a *mekiviq*, used for bathing, and finally would host the *yuuyaraq* dances and ceremonial gatherings. The *yuuyaraq* was a communal and spiritual activity with the extended community gathering to watch each family sing and dance songs accompanied by the drums' heartbeat. The host of each *yuuyaraq* would hand out gifts in the form of food and supplies to every other family, and the songs would tell of current events and communicate major feats and accomplishments from that year. They also would be used to welcome children into adulthood. All families maintain an inventory of their ancestors' most incredible stories, which would often be recounted at the *yuuyaraq*. These special events are attended by the spirits of the ancestors who dance with their families, and as such, each dance is considered sacred and requires proper behaviour within the *qasgiq* and the use of dance fans or, at the bare minimum hand coverings by the dancers. Yup'ik naming practice reinforces the importance of the ancestors, with newborns receiving the names of the recently departed because they are believed to be at least in part a reincarnation of that person. For this reason, family relationships are complicated, being both biological but also determined by namesake. Finally, knowledge was passed on through hands-on learning, starting with the children watching adults go about daily life and then trying things on their own when they felt ready. For a more comprehensive understanding of traditional cultural practice, refer to Ann Fienup-Riordan and Alice Rearden (2007).

Over the past 50 years, the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect and communities have undergone much turmoil and disruption as its speakers have been subject to migration, cultural assimilation, and linguistic indoctrination by both a newly wide-reaching standard dialect and a foreign language, English. The dialect is under-documented, largely undescribed, and quickly fading from the community. Nevertheless, the dialect is reasonably different from the standard dialects, maintaining many conservative and innovative features.

This linguistic interruption began in the 19th century with the colonization of the lower Yukon by Russian peoples. As told to me by the Elders of Kotlik, the first Russian settlement in the area was a Russian fort and trading post at St. Michael. The trading post was established as the northernmost Russian outpost in 1833 (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, 2023). From St. Michaels, Russian military patrols sought to make contact with the Yup'ik, but each time the patrols would embark, the Yup'ik would receive prior warning and disappear into the tundra, returning to the camps only once the Russians had left.

St. Michaels was occupied by the U.S. government in 1867, and a military fort was established in 1897. During the Klondike Gold Rush in the late 19th century, the settlement is said to have hosted up to 10,000 residents and been a hub of commercial activity. The population underwent steep decline due to the measles and influenza epidemics of 1900 and 1918 and lost commercial significance with the construction of the Alaska Railroad in Fairbanks (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, 2023). The U.S. military post closed in 1925 (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2010). Today St. Michaels is home to around 400 Yup'ik residents with ancestry split between the Norton Sound Kotlik region and the Norton Sound Unalit region. Residents report the Unalit dialect as being the dialect spoken in the community.

The larger camps belonging to the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect region that the Russian patrols out of St. Michaels would have encountered are known as Pastuliarraq (Pastuliq/Pastolik), Caniliaq (Chaniliak), Kangirkilnguq (Bill Moore's Slough), and Nunapiggluugaq (Old Hamilton), shown in Figure 1.6.

Eventually, a group of Russian priests established a small mission and weasel farm along the Little Kotlik River, five miles from the Caniliaq camp. This settlement is now Qerrullik, anglicized as Kotlik. The Russian priests and Yup'ik tribes developed beneficial intellectual and economic relations over the years, and eventually, the Yup'ik settled in Kotlik. When the Russians left in 1867, they left behind the camp, a graveyard, the religion, their surnames, and the start of today's cultural attrition. Nevertheless, the area remained relatively stable throughout much of the mid-20th

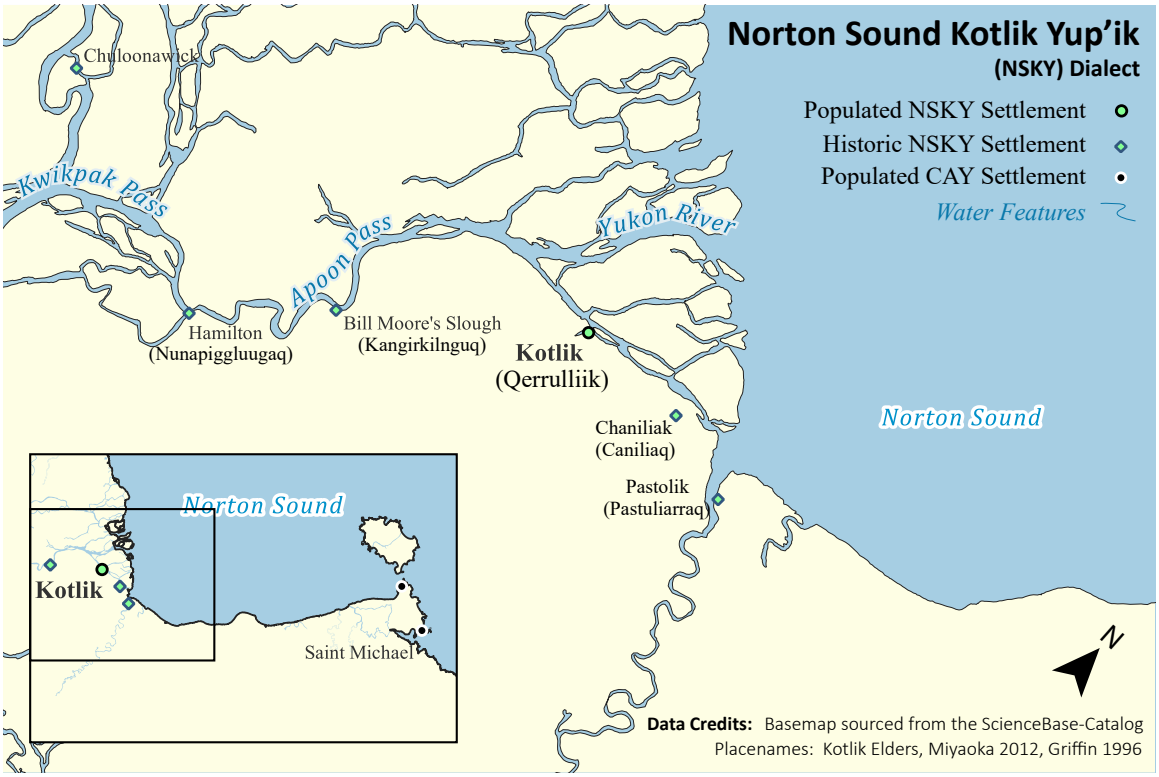


Figure 1.6: A map zoomed in on the Norton Sound Kotlik region. Pastuliarraq, and Caniliaq are on the southern coast of Norton Sound. Qerrullik (Kotlik) indicated with a green circle, Nunapiggluugaq, and Kangirkilnguq are situated along the eastern mouth of the Yukon River, which includes Kwikpak Pass and Apoon Pass. The historic NSKY settlements are indicated by green diamonds. Map designed by Jason Bunderson-Toler using cartographic data from the Science Base Catalog (Griffin, 1996; Miyaoka, 2012; US Geological Survey, 2023).

century.

The U.S. Census first records the community of Kotlik as comprising 8 Yup'ik residents in 1880 (cf. Table 1.1), and in 1910, the Alaska Company built a trading post in Kotlik (Cox, 2023; "Kotlik, Alaska", 2023). In these early years, Kotlik functioned primarily as a fish camp due to its easy access to fisheries. However, its below-sea-level location made the village prone to flooding during the spring river melt, fall freeze-up, and during high-tides, a problem that still plagues the village today. In the early 20th century, Pastuliq, Caniliaq, and Nunapiggluugaq are considered to be the regional centers supporting the significant population of the region. According to Cecilia Mikes (p.c.), who grew up in Pastuliq, the village was home to around 1,000 residents until smallpox, measles, and influenza plagues decimated the population in 1918 (Cox,

2023).

The village of Nunapiggluugaq was first recorded by the Russian Navy in 1844 under the name *Aunguamut* as a small Yup'ik camp. In 1897, The North American Transportation & Trading Company established a supply post at the camp and renamed it Hamilton in honour of the Assistant Manager Charles H. Hamilton (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, 2023). Kotlik Elder, Anthony Aketachunaq (p.c.), born in Nunapiggluugaq, reports that in the 1940s, when he was growing up, the village hosted several dozen residents, a post office, and a one-room schoolhouse, in addition to the trading post. During the summer, the mail would come in by seaplane and barge, and from Nunapiggluugaq, would be distributed up and down the Yukon River from Caniliaq to Saint Mary's (See Figure 1.4).

Kangirkilnguq was first recorded in 1899 by the U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey and recorded under the name *Konogkelyokarmiut*, with the name Bill Moore's Slough first recorded in 1961, with an official census of 32 people (Alaska Department of Community and Economic Development, 2023). The camp is noted initially as a landing site and woodyard.

Caniliaq is noted by former residents as being one of the larger villages in the region with a full-time population. After the 1918 pandemic, the residents of Pastuliq largely relocated to Caniliaq (Cox, 2023). The village was located eight miles upriver of Kotlik, closer to the coast and on high ground. The village is said to have supported a trading post and a one-room schoolhouse.

Pastuliq located on the Pastuliq River just past Caniliaq, was the regional center prior to the 1918 pandemic and even before Russian contact. The village supported the largest population at the time and was an important historic site for regional commerce and the fur trade between the Yup'ik, Inuit, and Athapaskan peoples of the area. After the Pandemic and resulting migration to Caniliaq, the village hosted only three of four families before being fully abandoned during the 1970's migration to Kotlik (Cox, 2023).

Finally, Pastuliar, not indicated on the map, was a regional hunting camp, also referred to as Reindeer Camp, but the camp did not support any full-time residents. Like Pastuliar, there are still numerous family-specific fish and hunting camps spread across the Kotlik region today.

By the 1930s, each village mentioned above housed no more than 50 Yup'ik, with Caniliaq and Nunapiggluugaq having the largest populations due to their geography and easy access by sea barge. Children from Kotlik attended school in Caniliaq, travelling there by *ikamraq* 'dog-sled' in the winter or *qayaq* 'kayak' in the summer. Due to this displacement, Caniliaq grew as houses were built for the children who

would become stranded due to winter storms. In the 1950s, the first generations of children along the lower Yukon began to be sent to interior Alaska for boarding schools, but not all children of this generation were sent away. In 1959, the Bureau of Indian Affairs chose Kotlik as the location of a new school (Cox, 2023). With its construction, the roles reversed, and people from all surrounding villages, from Pastuliq to Nunapiggluugaq, began commuting to Kotlik. Due to the long commutes, by the early 1970s, many people had moved to Kotlik permanently, and by the mid-1970s, Kotlik was the only remaining village in the area. The City of Kotlik was incorporated in 1970 ("Kotlik, Alaska", 2023). Table 1.1 shows the U.S. census for the population of Kotlik from 1880 to 2010.

Historical Population of Kotlik		
Census	Population	% ±
1880	8	—
1890	31	287.5%
1920	83	—
1930	14	-83.1%
1940	35	150.0%
1950	44	25.7%
1960	57	29.5%
1970	228	300%
1980	293	28.5%
1990	461	57.3%
2000	591	28.2%
2010	577	-2.4%
U.S. Decennial Census		

Table 1.1: The population growth of the village of Kotlik from 1880, according to the U.S. Census. Notice the 300% increase in population in the 1970s as a direct consequence of the Kotlik School being built ("Kotlik, Alaska", 2023).

Even today, remnants of the old villages can be seen derelict along the river, and all the settlements are now believed by the local Yup'ik to be haunted. Currently, Kotlik officially hosts three Yup'ik tribes: the Kotlik tribe, the Hamilton Tribe (Nunapigglugaq), both federally recognized, and the Bill Moore Slough Tribe (Kangirkilnguq). A

few smaller and dispersed tribes are also represented in the village.

The Social and cultural atmosphere of Kotlik also began to change around the 1960s and 1970s. The last *qasgiq* in the Yukon and Norton Sound region was replaced with an American-style building functioning as a community center in the 1970s. During this time, Catholic priests took issue with the spirit masks worn in Kotlik during the *yuuyaraq*s. Kotlik was one of the last communities to maintain a spirit mask tradition at this time (according to Kotlik Elders). Traditional spiritualism has been replaced by Catholicism, although some residents are Protestant. Both groups largely denounce traditional shamanistic practices as evil, but the Elders still tell stories about shaman, usually portraying them as helpful characters.

Snowmobiles, ATVs, and motorboats also began to play a more significant role in the subsistence lifestyle, and seasonal migration largely ceased. Cecilia Mikes comments (an excerpt is shown below, and the full text is in Appendix C) in her narrative that today people pretend to go to fish-camp. They will pack some bags and head out as if to spend the summer at camp, do some fishing, prepare the fish for smoking and drying, and even hang them up. Then, late at the end of the weekend, they will take the fish and everything back to Kotlik (p.c. with Cecelia Mikes and Theresa George).

CM: *Watawa-guq yuut makut, nutarat tan'gurraat ayasuirutut-guq natmun yuilqumun, ca'nek pissusuiruluteng.*	CM: It is said, now that people—these ones—the new boys—, they say they don't go anywhere into the wilderness, they don't hunt anything any longer.
LM: *Qayuga pillruten, mik... mikellemni elpet Pastulitum? Qaya...Qayaqun ayaglallruut?*	LM: How did you do it, when I was small, in Pastuliq? Did they leave by Kayak?
CM: *Cellangellrunga tawaten. Qayakun ayagatuluteng, malirqaqluteng-llu qayakun. Angsakun-llu ut'raraluteng camparyartuwaqluteng...*	CM: This is my awareness. They travel by kayak and hunt with kayaks. By boat, they go to camp and return again the same day...

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:1-3.3)

Due to the diminished migration patterns, homes have become more permanent and have taken on a distinctly Western construction. Additionally, with the introduction of Western pre-packaged foods at the Alaska Company store and the community store,

the diet has changed, particularly among the youngest generations. Moreover, without proper disposal sites for the packaging, garbage has built up around the community. While the internet can only be accessed at the school, a primary pastime has become watching television. The school still employs outsiders as the principal instructors and administrators, for the most part, while locals serve only as teaching assistants. Finally, English has become the dominant language in most interactional domains.

Nevertheless, even with this significant paradigm shift to more Western culture, Kotlik residents maintain one of the more robust *yuuyaraq* practices in the region, continue to hunt seal with traditional spears and adzes, and maintain the subsistence hunting and fishing lifestyle.

1.3.3 Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun: A dialect on the verge

Linguistically, the Lower Norton Sound region plays host to two Yup'ik dialects: (1) Norton Sound Unalit, spoken solely in Unalakleet today, and (2) Norton Sound Pastuliq Yugtun. The Pastuliq dialect was traditionally spoken in all of the villages presented in Figure 1.6, but today the dialect is only spoken in the village of Kotlik and is now known as the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun dialect. Both dialects have maintained heavy and sustained contact with Inupiaq directly to the north, although, for Kotlik, this contact has mostly subsided over the last few decades. To the west and south of Kotlik, the Yukon Dialect of the General Central Yup'ik group is spoken, and just south of that is the Cup'ik dialect. Kotlik has the most contact with these two dialect groups today. Even so, each village is very cognizant of their linguistic differences, with the greatest awareness being about the differing lexical inventories village-to-village. Even within Kotlik and within families, different Elders use various forms for the same word.

As of 2016, the permanent population of Kotlik was given as 645 persons (Alaska Department of Labour and Workforce Development, 2016), with a more current estimate by village Elders placing the population at around 700 persons. Upon beginning my project in 2014, it was estimated that there were around 70 speakers of Yugtun in the community, all of whom were Elders over 60 years of age. As of today, an official and comprehensive survey has not yet been conducted, but I would estimate a more likely figure to be around 40 speakers. I have not been able to meet with all of the community's Elders as some are from a different dialectal region, some are too shy or wary of outsiders, others have insecurities facing their linguistic abilities, and some have qualms with the recording of an oral-based literary tradition, even if the recording medium is audio. My work has been focused on ten fluent Elders,

and I have collaborated with another ten speakers who have varying fluency levels. My experience in the community, however, suggests about 40 speakers of the dialect remain. These speakers' L1 intuitions and those of the speech community at large, however, are not equal, and observations about language choice and use can quickly identify a generational stratification of Yugtun fluency. In the following pages, I include several passages from my NSKY corpus (with full interlinear glossing in Appendix C) to showcase the language competency gradation in Kotlik from the strongest speakers (I term *monolingual* in terms of fluency levels) to those that struggle to compose grammatical sentences or are unable; however, a full analysis of the effects of language attrition over time is beyond the scope of this project. I posit four strata of Yup'ik language ability in Kotlik today.

The strongest speakers are represented by two monolingual Elders, Anthony "Aciangaq" Aketachunaq (AA) (b. 1937) and Cecelia "Waralria" Mikes (CM) (b. 1934-d. 2020). Both Elders are monolingual speakers of the language and have a limited comprehension of English. Growing up in Nunapiggluugaq, Aciangaq was taken out of the school system as a younger man to help care for the family. This event allowed him to learn the language, stories, and traditions from his family without interruption, and as such, he is known in the community as one of the foremost storytellers and keepers of traditional knowledge and oral tradition. Cecelia grew up in Pastuliq, first attending primary school there before moving to Kotlik to attend secondary school. The school in Kotlik enforced English as the principal language, but at home, she would learn and speak Yugtun with her parents and family and was immersed in the traditional ways of life. These two monolingual speakers can understand some English spoken by their children, but their dominant language and language of daily use is Yugtun. A passage from Cecilia can perhaps best characterize the linguistic fluency encountered in the top stratum.

Qayuga piluq taggulartatgu unaken imarpigmek. Yaqsinrelngurmun tauguam tagciaqata, mekelnguaraat, ullagaqata, wangkuta, ilaput tamakut ullautaqata, wangkuta-llu malegluki tangeqsarturaqlua. Pilagnganan ratni tangkenauraput, taqutengaqemeng, mangtiinek kepuluteng, waten ukliuruluki. Cikertuqungnauraukut mangtagmek.

So, you want to know how it's said they call it up from the ocean? Whenever they will come up and are just about to expose themselves, they baby it (herd them) so when they get close we, our family, at the moment they get close, we take them and I would stay and watch for a while. We would watch as they butchered it, taking its sides, the mangtak, with the kepun (adze) cutting into chunks like this. We would freely share our supply of mangtak.

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:19)

The second stratum of Yugtun fluency in Kotlik (I call these speakers *Yugtun dominant* on the higher end of fluency and *bilingual* on the lower end) encompasses a wide range of abilities by individuals that I term the 'late middle genereation.' This group ranges from Elders like Isadore "Carra" Hunt (IH)(b. 1938), who understands English and uses English words now and then, but Yugtun is his dominant language and the language of daily use, to Elders like Michael "Amiksuwin" Hunt (MH) and Angela "Yaayuk" Hunt[4], who are bilingual in English and Yugtun but perhaps prioritize English in day-to-day social interaction.

Michael Hunt's language use shows significant standardization toward the General Standard Yup'ik variant. This standardization likely occurred after his time in the residential schools when he had to relearn much of the language. He then went on to serve on local government and school boards, which also likely influenced this standardization.

This second stratum also includes Elders like Bernard "Agarinanak" Hunt, Winifred Hunt, Michael "Kiicaq" Prince (MP), and Mary Lucy "Nanugaq" Andrews, whose first language is Yugtun. Nevertheless, their primary language in daily interactional use is English.

This stratum, while making up a wide range of Yugtun ability, is characterized

[4]Angela Hunt is represented in my NSKY corpus as an English speaker. She is the translator of the narrative identified as IH2018. She translates IH's narrative in real-time and in bilingual interaction with IH.

by speakers who have Yugtun as a first language and have native speaker intuitions about the grammaticality of the language's patterns. Even if they are unable to recall words occasionally, they are more than able to make up for it with paraphrasing. This stratum typifies people between the ages of about 70 to 80 (b. 1940-1950), and this passage from Isadore Hunt characterizes a fair snapshot of their language use.

Ca'nek waten piluteng pillrulriit, arcaqerluki imkut ah, elliraaranek pilallret, imkut ah, aipairuluteng qang'a-llu pistairuluteng	They did things like this, in this way, most importantly for those ones, umm, orphans - they were called, those ones, umm, widows, or those without jobs.

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:1.4)

These first two strata account for the 40 speakers of Yugtun discussed above. However, there are two additional strata which merit description. The third stratum comprises semi-speakers whose ages range from perhaps 50-70 (I call these speakers *English Dominant* in terms of Fluency levels). Individuals in this stratum tend to self-assess as non-speakers and lament that they have major gaps in their knowledge of Yugtun. Many of these individuals spent extended periods away from home in the boarding school system or are the children of those who were sent to boarding school. This third stratum also shows a much wider range of Yugtun ability depending on age and time spent in the Western education system but is characterized principally by having a strong comprehension of the language's morphology but not necessarily having grammatical intuitions about how to combine these morphosyntactic elements. The free translations in the samples below are crafted in tandem with a Kotlik consultant to help show the grammatical misunderstandings by the third tier of speakers. The higher end of the third stratum can best be characterized by Robert Teelek (RT) talking to Aciangaq (AA).

RT: *Naken, naken, elpet neq... naken elpet yuurtellruten?*	RT: where, where, you whe..., where you were born.
AA: *Ai?*	AA: huh?
RT: *Naken yugtun, no, naken yuurtellruten*	RT: where like a person, no, where you were born.
AA: *Yuurtellrusia-qa?*	AA: where was I born? (Lit. Where did I become a person?)
RT: *Ii-i, nani?*	RT: yes, where.
AA: *Nunapigglu, Hamilton.*	AA: Nunapigglu, Hamilton.

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:1)

Or by Jake Aketachunaq, one of Aciangaq's eldest children.

JA: *Pissurlarpenek, qaillun pissurlallqaitnek?*	JA: Your hunting skills, how it is to hunt?
AA: *Ai?*	AA: Huh?
JA: *Pissurlallerput, qaallu, tamai tamani, pissurlallqaitnek?*	JA: Our hunting skills, how, these! Back then, is it to hunt?
AA: *Yeah, pissrulallemni? Oh!*	AA: Yes, when I used to hunt? Oh!

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:1)

The average speaker in this third strata, however, is characterized as having some ability with Yugtun elements combined with massive amounts of English code-switching to fill the gaps in Yugtun fluency, which can be seen in Cecelia's (CM) and her daughter Lorencia's (LM) conversation together.

L.M.: *How old pilarlarsset, elitcarlartit, when they, how old?*	L.M.: How old they saw (use tools) it? They try to learn it? When they, how old?
CM: *Cat imkut?*	CM: What's that?
LM: *Mekelnguruat, ikaiyurnaurait, Aanani, Aatani, cami? How old pilallruat elitcarluku?*	L.M.: The children, they would help them, in mother, in father, in what? How old did they saw it, they try to learn it?
CM:*Pisaurtaqata tegularsaurtaqata.*	CM: Whenever they are able to do it, whenever they are able to pick it up.

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:9.1)

Making up the youngest of the speakers in the third stratum is a large group of speakers that can understand spoken Yugtun but cannot speak the language themselves. While most of these younger speakers (around 50-70 years old) may simply choose not to speak out of insecurities with their Yugtun comprehension or with their lexicon's inventory, many are second-language learners of Yugtun and have not had the opportunity or willingness to maintain a Yugtun practice. These speakers tend to differ from the Elders and, as such, are not represented in my corpus.

The third stratum is English-dominant, including mostly semi-fluent and heritage speakers. It is important to remember that the people categorized in this group faced the most significant effects of colonial assimilation in the school systems and governance. This generation experienced drastic social and cultural changes between the traditional ways of life and the modern Western influences, including new economic practices, semi-sedentary lifestyles, western foods, snowmobiles, ATVs, and motorized boats.

The final and fourth stratum of Yugtun language ability in Kotlik makes up the population younger than 50. This group attended the school in Kotlik both when it was under the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and now that it is a part of the Alaska Public School System. A Yugtun class in the school sees every student from kindergarten to high school daily for around 20 minutes to about an hour. However, many post-graduates have confided that they only know a few words and basic idiomatic phrases in the language. Also, while the teacher and community Elders use Yugtun, all additional teaching material is currently in General Standard

Yup'ik, spoken on the Kuskokwim River. The younger group, who are still in their school years, report being the butt of jokes regarding their Yugtun competency when travelling to other villages, mainly those speaking General Standard dialects.

The generational division within the community, outlined in the last few paragraphs, leads to many bilingual speech events as the Elders understand English but choose to speak in Yugtun whenever possible, whereas the third and forth strata respond entirely in English. Bilingual speech interactions are especially common amongst family members, according to Kotlik consultants. Until recently, however, the Elders spoke entirely in Yugtun amongst themselves. This situation has changed within the last decade as they have begun to use entire English phrases when speaking Yugtun leading to mixed-speech events. While traditional topics are usually spoken about in Yugtun, current topics will see the switch to English, although this is not a hard and fast rule. More prevalently, speakers will switch to English once a single speaker switches.

This code-switching is a topic that requires further investigation at a later date. In addition to code-switching, there is some lexical borrowing between the two languages with English words, such as *clinic*, assigned the generic \r-\base form (see Section 2.2) creating *clinic-ar-* before being derived and inflected as complexly as any Yugtun word, and in some rarer instances Yugtun words taking English morphology. This lexical borrowing and the Kotlik English dialect are both topics that could use additional investigation, as well, but are not discussed any further in this study.

In 2018, the school and Lower Yukon School District received a sizable grant to help sustain and revive traditional cultural practices and have begun teaching these traditional practices, including a student drum and dance group and school-sponsored hunting trips. While the Elders acknowledge the importance of the Yugtun language to the community, the language remains on the brink of dormancy, with intergenerational transmission deteriorating. The community has begun to utilize English more often due to ease of communication, as they are inundated with English media and culture and accommodate younger generations in conversation. While the language is taught in the school as a required class, few under 40 can use the language and usually know only a few basic expressions (p.c.).

If language is reemphasized in the community, the question remains whether it would focus on the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun or the Core Kuskokwim's General Standard Yup'ik. My ongoing documentation of Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun aims to provide a record of the dialect that can be utilized in the community to help bolster the dialect's use and revival now or in the future or if the dialect wishes to be reclaimed. As of now, however, the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect is highly endangered and on

the verge of falling silent as it is spoken only in a single village that has undergone significant cultural change over the past 50 years.

The majority of modern linguistic work on Central Alaskan Yup'ik comprises pedagogical works or disparate research projects. These projects reached a peak in the 1970-1980s and placed a heavy focus on the General Standard Yup'ik dialects along the Kuskokwim River. The Kotlik dialect is primarily discussed in parenthetical asides within those grammars and dictionaries. Any comments on the dialect are limited to salient phonetic alterations and the occasional lexical alternations within the dictionary. Such data came from work gathered by consultants living outside of Kotlik with close ties to the dialect or anthropological, ecological, and theological work done sporadically in the Kotlik community. Thorough searches of the Alaska Native Language Archive provide no documentation of the Kotlik dialect explicitly, and only one English story is available about Pastuliq.

Steven Jacobson includes two unpublished Yugtun dialect stories in his 2013 revised dictionary, but both stories are heavily edited and standardized. Both texts were made by Martha Teeluk, who worked with Anna and Steven Jacobson at the University of Alaska in the 1960s. Martha Teeluk made numerous recordings during that time and has become a well-known Yup'ik teacher and activist. While Martha is from Kotlik, she left to live in Eek along the Kuskokwim River, a General Standard Yup'ik village. Her stories, both those published with Anna Jacobson and those included in Steven Jacobson's dictionary, are heavily edited and standardized and show clear distinctions to the spoken, connected narratives I have gathered in Kotlik since 2014. Her stories include the prominent and well-documented /j/~/z/ phoneme variation found between the Kuskokwim and Kotlik dialects, but most of the stories compare better to other General Standard texts.

The history in this region and lack of preexisting documentation on the dialect makes the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect a good case study for pursuing a corpus-based description of Yugtun. My ongoing documentation of this dialect will also further our understanding of the Yup'ik language as a whole and provide much-needed documentation for an endangered speech community.

1.4 Corpus methodology

With around 40% of the world's estimated 7,000 languages threatened with extinction by the end of this century, the need to document and conserve the world's most vulnerable speech communities has never been greater (Catalogue of Endangered Languages, 2023). A language documentation project is, in best practice, long-term,

multipurpose, wide-ranging, and collaborative (Himmelmann, 2006; Berez, 2015; Campbell & Rhodes, 2018). These four criteria serve both to better the scientific record of a speech community and meet the community's needs.

The first criterion that a project is long-term arises from recognizing that both language and community are living, changing entities. The old practice of a field linguist dropping into a vulnerable community, collecting science-centred data and then leaving often never to return, much less repatriate the data, is harmful both to the community and the understanding about how a language patterns and fluctuates *in vivo*. By contrast, a long-term project allows the investigator to build a relationship with the community and, visa versa, the community to the investigator. In maintaining stronger ties with the community, a documentation project can be better informed by the community's needs and the community's actual linguistic *praxis* (Himmelmann, 2006). Linguistic praxis here refers to how the community actually uses their language. In what domains is the language used? By which speakers? What community-specific genres can be identified, and how does each genre differ? Is the linguistic praxis diglossic or monolingual? To what extent do speakers code-switch? Does one linguistic pattern, such as demonstrative use, differ depending on any of these factors? Many of these considerations can only be identified through a long-term project with proper community access and community-led initiatives.

A language that loses relevance to a younger generation will not likely be used by that generation. However, language is a living, breathing organism that allows for as many interpretations as there are speakers. So, if there is intergenerational transmission keeping the language alive, that is, if the Elders have successfully passed the language down to a new generation, how has this new generation changed the language to fit the contexts of their own experiences? Answering this sort of diachronic question can only be achieved through a long-term investigation of a speech community that allows for and even looks for language change across multiple generations and genres. This is particularly relevant for many vulnerable communities today who find themselves caught between traditional lifestyles and the culture of the dominant colonial power, whether presented in the education of the youth or on TV. Therefore, in order for a language documentation project to record the full extent of linguistic praxis in a community, it must be long-term. For a documentation project to be relevant for linguistic inquiry or community revitalization, much more than a single snapshot is required.

Similarly, a documentation project's data must be wide-ranging (Himmelmann, 2006). Linguistic praxis is not reflected solely in the form of single isolated and complete sentences, the sort found from elicitation methods, or in highly edited and

standardized written stories. Language, in fact, can be quite messy, with speakers stuttering, changing their minds, and even choosing different words depending on their audience. While elicitation is important in understanding the minutiae of a particular pattern, narrative may better reveal language-specific patterns that are in actual use. A monologue may present patterns associated with interclausal cohesive devices or highly formulaic story-telling, while natural conversation will highlight turn-taking, teaching you how or when to interrupt the speaker. Language is not used in isolation but in connected discourse, and different discourses reveal different patterns based on context (K. Rice, 2018). Genre and each genre's features are language- and culture-specific and can only be discerned from a wide-ranging, comprehensive project that seeks to document as many speakers and speech situations as possible.

If the ultimate goal of a documentation project is to compile resources both for linguistic investigation and, more critically, for community revitalization, then a wide range of speech events must be collected *in vivo* (Campbell & Rhodes, 2018). A revitalization project built off of a single genre will only allow heritage learners to learn that single genre, and learning how to tell a traditional story may not allow one to go on to have an authentic conversation.

This need for a wide investigative lens also highlights the need for a multipurpose documentation project (Himmelmann, 2006; K. Rice, 2018). A project which is designed solely to reveal a single esoteric or theoretically relevant linguistic pattern is only useful to those who wish to understand that pattern. A project designed to outline a language grammar is only useful to those interested in the underlying language patterns. A documentation project's aim, by contrast, should be to create a record that is relevant to as many people as possible. Whether examining linguistic patterns or the social constraints of use, whether being used to teach new speakers the language or develop greater skill in fluent speakers, or whether it is being used to build a historical and ethnographic account of a community or outline the regional flora and fauna, (or even to describe the functional and structural patterns of the "world's most complex demonstrative paradigm"), a documentation project should aim to collect as much information as possible in as many different domains and contexts as possible.

These criteria reveal the need for the last principle, the importance of a collaborative, community-driven project (Himmelmann, 2006). Only the community itself can direct a long-term project. Only the community itself understands the full range of its linguistic praxis and can facilitate its documentation. Only the community can inform researchers about how such a project will be utilized and best deployed within the community. This last criterion for a best practice-driven documentation project,

however, depends on the community. Different communities will choose to engage at different levels. Some communities might choose to direct the project, while others will be indifferent to how or even if a documentation project is carried out.

These four criteria in linguistic fieldwork projects: long-term, wide-ranging data collection, multipurpose outputs, and collaborative design have informed my research and work with the endangered Norton Sound Kotlik language variety. While the documentation has changed direction and methods over the years, it has always been in response to better fulfilling these four best practices in collaboration with the community. While I work with the informed consent of the community's Tribal administration and Elder's Council, the community of Kotlik has remained neutral towards how the project is carried out. While the Elders recognize the impending and growing threat of language dormancy in their community and lament that intergenerational transmission is failing, there has been minimal action toward bolstering linguistic praxis. More heartening is the fact that the reverse is true in regard to cultural practices.

The community's approach to my project has both provided me with the freedom to investigate particular phenomena at my leisure but has also restricted, I feel, the range of linguistic praxis I have been able to document in the community. While I have developed a core group of Elders who are happy to work with me over the years, this has only been possible because the project is long-term. Nevertheless, my documentation of the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect has tried to gather as wide a range of speakers and speech situations as possible and make the collection as theoretically neutral as possible. In collecting spontaneous, connected, and Elder-directed speech, I have sought to allow for a wide range of future uses. Finally, I work to ensure that the community is informed of my project along the way. Perhaps most importantly, this project will continue so long as there are speakers of Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun who are willing to work with me. The outbreak of the global Coronavirus-19 pandemic in 2020 interrupted my fieldwork. However, even during this time, my project continued by way of transcription and annotation of the previously collected texts.

1.4.1 Natural and connected discourse

Traditional full linguistic practice has promoted the idea that the main aim of a documentation project is to produce a dictionary, a grammar, and texts (Boas, 1917; Jakobson & Boas, 1944; Austin, 2021). The dictionary records the words of a language, the grammar records the abstract patterns and structures in the language, and the texts record how the dictionary and grammar get put together in connected speech

or, in retrospection, inform how the grammar and dictionary are compiled. As the dictionary and the grammar have historically been given priority, contrary to the Boasian stance, documentary methods have largely arisen out of elicitation (Epps et al., 2017). Elicitation is the targeted collection of data to pursue hypothetical communicative tasks (Payne, 1997; K. Rice, 2018).

Elicitation can also use prompts to elicit specific verbal descriptions (K. Rice, 2018). In my own work, these have included 3D models of landscapes and objects/animals, which are used to set up scenarios with prompts such as: "If you are a hunter standing here, how would you say 'I see a seal there (downriver there)'?" Thus, while targeted elicitation is useful for revealing some limited and confined linguistic features in a language of study or clarifying patterns that are difficult to parse, there is no greater context to embed that grammatical knowledge in without connected speech (K. Rice, 2018).

The traditional language documentation method goes astray when it prioritizes the dictionary and the grammar above all else. A corpus-based approach to language documentation emphasizes text collection (Mosel, 2018). Texts have myriad uses, from showcasing connected speech to being used as pedagogical tools to being the linguistic source for the compilation of a dictionary and a grammar (Boas, 1917; Epps et al., 2017; S. Rice, 2018).

The collection of primary texts (in the form of recorded narrative and conversation, the goal of each of my field trips to Kotlik) is vital as it allows for the development of a natural corpus of connected speech. Spoken language shows how the language is used without any planning, editing, or much researcher bias. Connected language exemplifies how structural components can influence each other. Additionally, connected speech carries more value to family and community members because it directly represents the words of Elders and knowledge keepers.

The annotation of such texts is essential since it allows the data to be analyzed, interpreted, and extrapolated for various uses, from theoretical analyses to creating children's books (Austin, 2021). Linguistic annotation consists of three primary levels of analysis: the transcription, the interlinear parse and gloss, and the translation, as shown in (18) and the examples included throughout this study. Working strategically with speakers in text annotation allows the illumination of intricate patterns. It allows speakers a chance to provide their intuitions about particular structures or phenomena within contextualized language use. Together, the compilation of texts, a dictionary, and a grammar complement and support each other while providing a multipurpose collection (i.e., the corpus) of user-friendly data that can be applied to a plethora of projects (Austin, 2021).

The collection of natural speech involves the investigator recording one or more native speakers telling stories or participating in conversation. If the speakers are uncomfortable or at a loss for material, prompts can be utilized, such as "What was your most memorable hunting trip?" or "Tell me about X." These types of prompts allow for collecting natural, connected speech in a culturally appropriate way.

To utilize such primary data, the investigator transcribes the recordings using a conventional linguistic orthography. Afterward, these transcriptions are corrected, and a sentence-by-sentence "free" translation of the recording is created in the lingua franca with a speaker's help. Subsequently, the investigator and speaker/consultant work on parsing and glossing each word into its component meanings, which, in a polysynthetic language like Yup'ik, is complicated. An example of a fully glossed Yup'ik sentence is shown in (18).

(18)

Yup'ik Text:	*Uksuugaratuuq*	*arcticaami*
Morphological Parse:	uksu-u-gara-tu-uq	arcticaa-mi
Morphological Gloss:	winter-COP-CONT-always-IND.INTR	arctic-LOC
English Translation:	'It is always winter in the Arctic'	

(Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995)

These annotated texts make the documentation useful for multiple purposes by others, especially by the growing majority of learners who are not native speakers of the language. However, due to the linguistic markup requirements, it is only through the collaboration of the investigator and a native speaker that accurate and comprehensive annotations can be completed.

Audio and video data can be annotated and translated in many different ways. In this project, my data annotation underwent two principal stages. The first step in text annotation was in collaboration with an NSKY-speaking consultant, Theresa George. Theresa and I used both Saymore and Audacity to listen to and transcribe the recordings. Theresa transcribed the recordings onto paper using her own intuitions, and for the MH text, she also translated the text word by word as authentically to the speaker's intended meaning as possible; an excerpt of the translation is shown in Figure 1.7.

Afterwards, I input these transcriptions and word glosses into FLEx, as shown in Figure 1.8. FLEx is software designed for lexicography but also has text analysis capabilities with a basic concordancer using morphosyntactic tags to illuminate patterns. Most importantly, FLEx has a built-in interlinear glossing ability which allows for words to be parsed and analyzed across multiple texts while maintaining

Figure 1.7: Initial Text Annotation: The initial stage of text annotation in collaboration with Theresa George, a NSKY consultant. This first stage consisted of transcription of the audio recording, and, in the case of MH, an initial free translation.

consistent analysis (SIL International, 2022). During this second stage of annotation, I made several decisions that affect the presentation of the data. First, I chose to maintain Theresa's spelling conventions for Yugtun even when they did not match the standard prescribed conventions for GSY. As I am not a speaker of NSKY, I choose not to edit her intuitions of the language's transcription unless the spelling was ambiguous and changing the spelling to match Jacobson's 2013 dictionary eliminated the ambiguity. Thus, in the FLEx analysis, lines one and two (respectively termed by the FLEx software *word* and *morphemes*) use Theresa's spellings as closely as possible. Line three, by contrast (termed *lex. entries*), uses the spelling conventions employed by Jacobson in the dictionary. I also used the Jacobson Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary to identify bases, postbases, and, to a limited extent word-endings. I later parsed the word-endings further to match my analysis in the latter half of Chapter Two. Line four (termed *Lex. Gloss*) is thereby informed by the dictionary, Theresa's translation and my own analysis. Lines five and seven (termed by FLEx *Lex. Gram. Info.* and *Word Cat.*) are my own analyses and follow the analysis presented in Chapter Two. Finally, line six (termed *Word Gloss*) uses Theresa's translation whenever appropriate; however, some modifications were made, particularly where demonstratives were concerned. Due to the NSKY consultant-specific spellings in lines one and two and the Jacobson citation form spellings in line three, the lines do not always appear transparent. Some of this opaqueness comes from the morphophonology discussed in the first part of Chapter Two, and some is due to this described mismatch between the spelling conventions. Additionally, I tended to defer to the Jacobson dictionary when glossing individual morphemes, particularly for the post-bases. In contrast, I deferred to Theresa's native speaker intuitions when glossing the bases and in the free translation. I used my own analysis to gloss the word-endings, as shown in Figure 1.8.

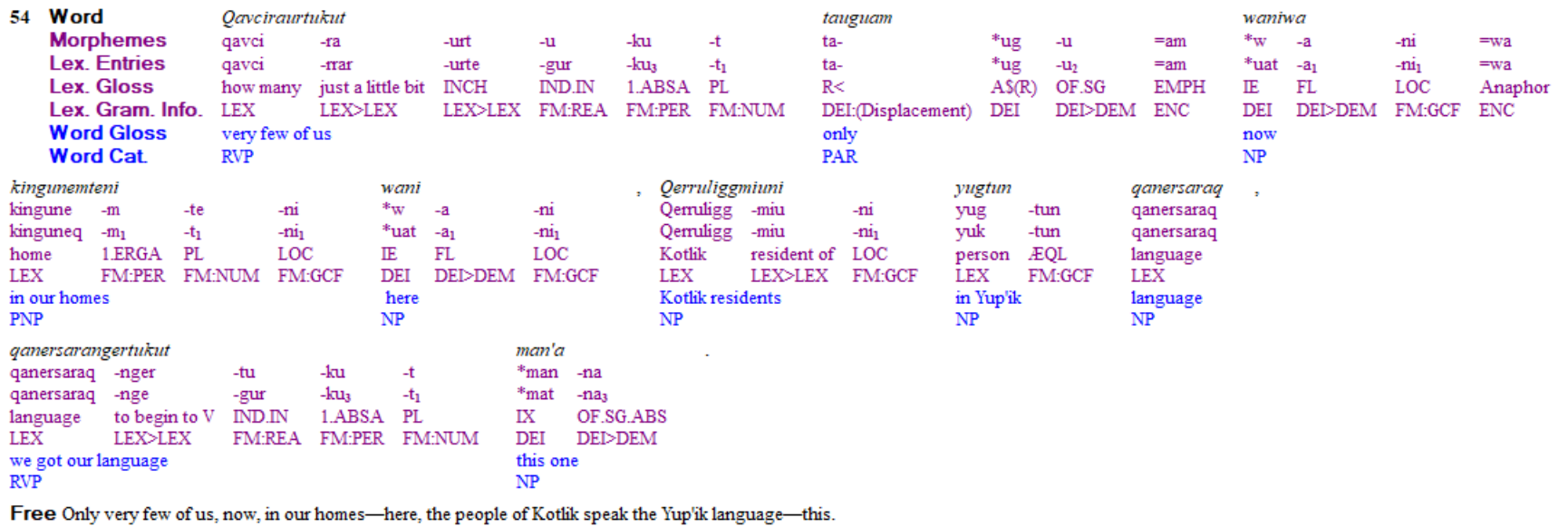


Figure 1.8: Additional Text Annotation: This figure is extracted from a FLEx file format. I carried out the second stage of text annotation in FLEx with assistance from Jason Bunderson-Toler. This second stage utilized the Jacobson Dictionary (2013) and my own linguistic analysis to create a morphological parse of each word as well as to provide a morphological gloss.

I tried not to edit the free translation unless doing so clarified the intended meaning of the speaker. Most of my edits centred around the demonstratives and their representation within the texts, as the illumination of demonstratives in context is the purpose of this study. The FLEx analysis for all of the texts used in this study can be found in Appendix A.

These choices affect the presentation of the data within this present study. In the in-text examples throughout this study, I use only four lines by default: the first line (L1) is the Yugtun text and correlates in FLEx with the line termed the *word* using the NSKY spelling conventions, and the second line (L2) is the morphological-parse corollating with the FLEx line *Lex. Entries* using the dictionary citation forms as closely as possible. However, I use well-known NSKY variants for the citation form when they are used, such as the NSKY *-saraq* 'way of' instead of the GSY variant *-yaraq*. This mismatch forms a degree of opaqueness between line two's full citation form and line one's phonetic form when a morpheme reduces to a minimal phonetic form due to morphophonological constraints. Line three (L3) is the morphological-gloss and is the *Lex. Gloss* in FLEx, and line four (L4) is the free translation. I often edit the free translation to showcase the speaker's intended meaning in context more closely. Thus, the free translation made in FLEx does not always match perfectly with the examples, as the FLEx analysis is a working analysis that is always subject to change. Example (19) showcases the in-text form of the sentence shown in Figures 1.7 and 1.8. The texts and their annotations have undergone several iterations of morphological analysis, and they will continue to do so in future studies as I change or further refine my analytical choices to present the language on its own terms as I understand it in the present.

(19) *Qavciraurtukut tauguam waniwa kingunemteni wani Qerruliggmiuni yugtun qanersaraq qanersarangertukut mana*

Qavciraurtukut	*tauguam*
Qavci-rrar-urte-gur-ku-t	ta-ug-u=am
how.many-just-a-little.bit-INCH-IND.IN-1.ABSA-PL	R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH

waniwa	*kingunemteni*	*wani*	*Qerruliggmiuni*
uat-a-ni=wa	kinguneq-m-te-ni	uat-a-ni	Qerruligg-miu-ni
IE-FL-LOC=ANA	home-1.ERGA-PL-LOC	IE-FL-LOC	kotlik-resident.of-LOC

yugtun	*qanersaraq*	*qanersarangertukut*
yug-tun	qanersaraq	qanersaraq-nger-tu-ku-t
person-ÆQL	language	language-begin.to.V-IND.IN-1.ABSA-PL

mana
mat-na
IX-OF.SG.ABS

'Only very few of us, now, in our homes—here, the Kotlik residents speak the Yup'ik language—this one.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:54)

I also used the AntConc software, which is explicitly designed as an untagged concordancer with a range of possibilities and is used principally to reveal language-specific patterns and structures across multiple texts at a time (Anthony, 2023). For my AntConc analysis, I used the baseline (L1) text from FLEx and transformed it into a text file.

1.4.2 Corpus building

In a language documentation project, the collection of texts can be divided into two types of corpora, a documentary corpus and a linguistic corpus (S. Rice, 2018). The documentary corpus is the compilation of all the recorded materials developed during a language documentation project. This compilation includes recordings of spontaneous connected speech, prompted connected speech, elicitation, discussions about those materials, the metadata associated with those materials and anything else gathered during the course of the project. By the end of the long-term, multipurpose, wide-ranging, and collaborative documentation process, the documentary corpus should be a fully annotated and transcribed collection of materials that catalogue the field data and form the foundation of the data analysis (S. Rice, 2018).

Developed from a documentary corpus, a linguistic corpus is built from the collected data (ideally, spoken) transcripts and allows for an exhaustive and unbiased exploration of the collected linguistic or language samples (S. Rice, 2018). In a linguistic corpus, the language can be approached without restraint, allowing for patterns to be observed across multiple texts and bottom-up analyses warranted by the data to be formed. This type of corpus examines recurrent linguistic units, examines the role of speech-event type, and allows for a freer functional (semantic-pragmatic) analysis of the data (Mosel, 2018).

To this end, I built two linguistic corpora from my documentary corpus on NSKY, included in Appendix C. Both corpora are utilized for the examination of Yugtun grammar and the occurrence of demonstratives within Yugtun. The first corpus is fully annotated and translated using the FLEx software. The FLEx analysis includes fully interlinearized texts with glosses, morphosyntactic categorization and tagging,

and translations to aid in the interpretation of the texts. The morphosyntactic tagging aids in the discovery of structural patterns, and the glossing helps to uncover discourse patterns across the texts. The second corpus utilizes the same Yugtun texts as in FLEx but without annotations. The texts are processed into plain text documents and uploaded into the AntConc software to query the Yugtun data on its own terms and without theoretical explicit or implicit bias.

The FLEx corpus

FLEx is a program intended for lexicography but has built-in text analysis and concordance line capabilities. These capabilities include a KWIK *(Key Word in Context)* search function and a discourse analysis function. The KWIK function allows for words and individual morphemes of interest to be queried and examined in a limited context to each side of the query. This search functionality allows for recurring patterns to be identified for further examination. FLEx, as a lexicon platform, allows this query to be made for the lexeme itself or for its glosses and translations. Therefore, an annotated corpus through FLEx allows for an initial analysis of the Yugtun dialect to be made from a more structural perspective. Through FLEx, Yugtun's inventory of demonstratives is made apparent, as well as the paradigm's structural and distributional properties.

As this study aims to describe the Norton Sound Kotlik demonstrative system *in vivo*, this systematic approach using fully annotated texts supported my initial examination of the demonstrative system and morphosyntax in context. This tagged corpus is useful because the project is best served with minimal influence from previous descriptions of Central Alaskan Yup'ik, thus allowing for a Kotlik-specific description to emerge. The need for autonomy of analysis is, therefore, threefold. First, the demonstrative forms which appear within the system may not match those identified for General Yup'ik. Second, demonstrative functions not previously identified in the literature may emerge from the corpus data. Third, the Kotlik dialect is highly endangered, which has potentially led to morphosyntactic and lexical attrition within the language. This possibility means that many categorical inventories (like demonstratives) and many more complex structures (like constructions containing demonstratives) have eroded and no longer appear as documented primarily through elicitation a half-century ago for General Standard Yup'ik. This erosion might have led to the Yugtun demonstrative forms having been levelled and condensed across the system to make for a smaller inventory of demonstratives. These three points make an annotated corpus useful for discovering the Kotlik-specific demonstrative system's inventory and its semantic contours.

Once the demonstrative inventory is fully identified and glossed, the annotated corpus serves to examine the basic structural categorization and distributional patterns of the demonstratives as they are found in the corpus. An annotated corpus of this sort helps determine whether the demonstratives are pronouns, adnominals, locationals, or identifiers and if they are functioning pronominally, adnominally, locationally, or identificationally, as discussed above in Section 1.1. Additionally, the lexicon developed through the FLEx corpus is a foundation for the development of a Kotlik-specific dictionary that is high on the community's list of priorities in the documentation project as a whole. In sum, a fully annotated corpus in the FLEx platform allows for the development of a strong foundation for this dissertation project, such as the creation of Kotlik-specific dictionary, an initial grammatical description, the discovery of the dialect's demonstrative inventory and its semantic contours, and the discovery of the system's more exophoric functions and categorizations.

The AntConc corpus

The second linguistic corpus, queried by the AntConc concordancer software, is composed of the individual speech acts transcribed as plain text documents without any, or minimal, annotation. The lack of annotation in the corpus allows for an analysis of the data on the language's own terms without a theoretical or anglocentric bias. Putting the texts into AntConc allows for individual patterns to emerge, particularly patterns which occur across larger linguistic units such as the phraseme or an entire discourse. This larger and untagged corpus thus allows for a pattern-based constructional analysis of the Kotlik demonstrative system, whereby a pattern is defined in the spirit of Hunston and Francis (2000 p. 37), as "all the words and structures which are regularly associated with the word and which contribute to its meaning" (McEnery & Hardie, 2011 p. 143)(Hunston & Francis, 2000 p. 37). Patterns are further considered to be highly frequent collocations between words across particular linguistic units. This type of pattern-based analysis across larger linguistic units provides the means to analyze the Yugtun demonstrative system for novel and previously under-documented functionality. Due to this capability, the AntConc platform is crucial to describe the Kotlik demonstratives in a language-appropriate way. This tool of analysis allows for a frequency-based analysis of the exophoric demonstrative functions. This frequency data can then be used to determine if the entire paradigm is as productive as posited by previous analyses or if particular demonstrative forms are more likely than others across various semantic domains or narrative genres. This analysis informs the project about how productive each demonstrative is, thus indicating whether the system truly is over-idealized in the

literature's analysis.

Additionally, due to AntConc's ability to limit searches across only selected texts and its ability to compare searches between texts, each text can be identified for the speaker's age and gender and the text's genre. This extra metadata allows for an additional stratum of sociolinguistic analysis of the demonstratives within the community (Mosel, 2018). The sociolinguistic strata could show if the demonstrative system is more prevalent among male speakers who remain subsistence hunter-gatherers today and are frequently wayfinding on the landscape is different compared to usage from women who still tend to maintain more domestic roles in the community. Additionally, as the dialect is crucially endangered, it is essential to compare the eldest monolingual storyteller's use of demonstratives to the middle-aged conversation-only speakers. It is hypothesized that the younger speakers will use fewer demonstratives and use them less productively. Finally, the genre stratum of analysis identifies particular uses of demonstratives such as anaphora and discourse/referent tracking, that may differ between conversation and narrative.

This type of unannotated corpus is also particularly capable of identifying the endophoric pragmatics of the demonstrative system. These are the potential functions of demonstratives that have not been examined within the previous literature on Yup'ik demonstratives and are discussed in Chapter Four. Of particular interest are the discourse, pure text deixis, and recognitional functions of demonstratives, which will only become apparent with identifying frequent large-level patterns within the texts. Finally, an unannotated corpus is particularly useful in identifying any grammaticalization which has occurred within the Kotlik demonstrative system, whether due to natural, expected tendencies of demonstratives as discussed by Heine and Kuteva (2011), or due to language attrition from the dialect's decline in use. Therefore, with solely a Yugtun transcription of the primary recordings, a very powerful corpus-based platform can be built and utilized to provide a novel, and contemporary analysis of a complex and underdescribed linguistic system of an underdescribed and endangered dialect of the Yup'ik language.

In sum, I have developed two complementary linguistic corpora for this project, which allow for a wide range of linguistic studies on the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun dialect. The first corpus utilizes a FLEx platform to examine the tagged and annotated texts, while the second corpus utilizes AntConc to examine patterns without preconceived categorization. Significantly, these two corpora allow for this study on a very complex demonstrative system to answer the question: What is the demonstrative inventory found in the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect of Yugtun today? How is the system distributed structurally within the grammar, and how does it function in

natural discourse?

1.4.3 The texts used in this study

Since 2014, my documentation of Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun has made numerous recordings of approximately 12 Elders. These recordings range from elicitation (not included in the linguistic corpora) to traditional ecological knowledge and cultural knowledge to conversations between Elders, nursery rhymes, personal and regional histories, and traditional stories. The discovery and addition of the heritage recordings made by Theresa Prince in the 1980s nearly doubled the documentary corpus. These recordings are in various stages of transcription, translation, and annotation, and as such, only the recordings that have been fully transcribed and translated are used in the linguistic corpus for this study. To be added to the linguistic corpus, the recordings must be fully transcribed to be utilized in both the FLEx and AntConc software, and they must be translated to be interpretable and analyzable.

Therefore, this study's linguistic corpus consists of six texts totalling 5390 word tokens, of which there are 2422 word types. Word tokens include all the words in the text, and types account for all the words without duplicates (McEnery & Hardie, 2011). This counting provides a type-token ratio (TTR) of .45. The closer to 1 the TTR is, the greater the level of lexical richness a text has. It should be noted here that some of these stories do have English sections or words, which are included in this count. The English sections are included in the count for two principal reasons. First, because of the community's diglossic speech environment, English is a part of the linguistic praxis. Second, the main narrators in these texts respond to and engage with what is said in English by their interlocutors. Therefore, removing these sections would be disingenuous to the speech act as it would not represent the speech community as it exists today. Additionally, it can be ambiguous in some contexts if a word is English or Yup'ik. Typically, a word is considered Yup'ik if it uses Yup'ik morphosyntax and English if it uses English morphosyntax. However, the delineation is not always so clear-cut across all the speakers. To document the language as it is used in natural discourse today, both the Yugtun and the English utterances must be included. Thus, of the 5390 words in the corpus, 1719 are English, and 3671 are Yugtun. 415 English words are unique, giving an English TTR of .24, and 2030 Yugtun words are unique, giving a Yugtun TTR of .55. However, this TTR comparison is unfair as the two languages differ significantly in their morphosyntax and the form of their lexicons. Yugtun is a highly polysynthetic and agglutinating language. For this reason, the TTR is utilized below as a superficial means to compare speakers' vocabulary diversity

in Yugtun. In contrast, crucially to this study on Yugtun demonstratives, 30% of the Elder's Yugtun words in the NSKY corpus are demonstratives (1047 demonstrative tokens, of which 1021 are spoken by the Elders introduced in this section). All of the texts included in this study can be found in Appendix C - Texts, and the full list of demonstrative types in the corpus can be found in Appendix B.

These six texts are recorded by five speakers: Anthony "Acianaq" Aketachunak (AA), Cecilia "Waralria" Mikes (CM), Isadore "Carra" Hunt (IH), Michael "Amiksuwin" Hunt (MH), and Michael "Kiicaq" Prince (MP). Acianaq (examples cited as AA) was born in Nunapiggluugaq in 1937 and is the last monolingual speaker of Yugtun in the community. He does understand some basic English sentences and words, mainly when spoken by his children, but he only speaks in Yugtun. Aciangaq is one of the most generous contributors to the documentary corpus and is known across the community as the storyteller. Our interactions began with the aid of an interpreter, which is seen in both of his texts included in this study, but in recent years, we have communicated through gestures, some English and Yugtun words, and we have experience working with each other. The first of his texts included in this study is a life narrative or *yuuyaraq*, where he discusses the way of Yup'ik life and how it has changed since he was a boy. This entire text, excluding interlocutors (JA, RT, NT), consists of 469 word tokens and 283 word types for a TTR of .60. His second narrative is about traditional ways of hunting or *pissuryaraq* with 71 word tokens and 58 word types for a TTR of .82. In both texts together, Aciangaq uses demonstratives 201 times, making 37% of his words demonstratives, of which he uses 33 demonstrative types. The elegance of his narratives can be seen in how he weaves different parts of his discourse together with the demonstratives. While he may also use demonstratives as a hesitation particle, like *um*, no systematicity has been discovered to these repeated forms. Figure 1.9 shows the dispersion of demonstratives in Acianaq's texts as compared to the other speakers introduced below. A dispersion plot is a visualization of the frequency of token types, thereby showing the degree to which a word is distributed throughout a text. It additionally measures whether the word is concentrated in particular constructions or diffused throughout the text (Gries, 2020).

Waralria (examples cited as CM) was born in Pastuliq in 1934 and was the second of the last two monolingual speakers of Yugtun in the Kotlik community until her passing in 2020. While she understood much less English, she did still comprehend some English when spoken by her children. She was also much shyer and did not work with me directly. She recorded one text, a *Univkaraq* 'historical narrative' about growing up in Pastuliq and moving to Kotlik later in life and being isolated from her family and old friends. This text was recorded by her daughter, Lorencia Mike, who

was born in Kotlik and is a part of the third stratum of speakers who can recognize some of the morphosyntax of Yugtun but who do not have the grammatical intuitions to use them productively. Therefore, this narrative is a pseudo-conversation between Waralria and Lorencia, with Waralria telling her narrative in Yugtun and Lorencia, prompting various questions in mixed English-Yugtun. Waralria stands out as a speaker due to her particular pronunciation of words. In her recording, she shows a much greater use of sibilants and fricatives, she uses contractions and elisions more often, and while this has not been quantifiably verified, she seems to use longer words. Whether these are dialectal features of Pastuliq, idiosyncratic ideolectal features or due to age or a combination of the above is hard to say as she has only made one recording and is the only speaker from Pastuliq I have been privileged enough to meet. She also shows fewer overall uses of demonstratives, with only 165 demonstratives in her text (excluding her interlocutor Lorencia (LM)) for a total of 21% of her words, but Walaria's demonstratives are also the most unique, utilizing post-bases not seen in any other speaker, and she doubles her case markings on some of her demonstratives. Waralria also uses 52 types of demonstrative words (demonstrative TTR .32), second only to Amiksuwin, who uses 81 types (demonstrative TTR .15).

Carra (examples cited as IH) was born in Caniliaq in 1938 and is a part of the highest layer of the second stratum of Yugtun ability in Kotlik, where he understands English and can use some English phrases but prefers to converse in Yugtun almost exclusively. His wife, Yaayuk (example citation AH), was also born in Caniliaq in 1940 and speaks better English, perhaps being considered one of the older true bilinguals. Both have worked with me on a few stories in the documentary corpus, but the text included in this study is a *yuuyaraq* told by Carra and translated in real-time by Yaayuk. In this narrative, Carra discusses growing up in Caniliaq and describes the traditional ways of life. Yaayuk then translates a paragraph at a time. As this narrative is done in a leap-frog style between Yugtun and English, and as the two interact to clarify translations or add to the discussion, it would not be faithful to the text to remove the English from the narrative. In Carra's Yugtun sections, he uses 88 demonstrative tokens and 27 demonstrative types, which make up 26% of his total words.

Amiksuwin (examples cited as MH) was born in Caniliaq in 1943 and is also truly bilingual. He has been the Kotlik tribe's chief in the past and has since served on numerous committees and boards both in Kotlik and in the wider Yup'ik community. His narrative included in this study is the longest of all six, but his speaking style is also much closer to GSY than any other. This is evidenced by his mixed use of the /j/~/z/ alternation found in Kotlik, and his word choice seems markedly different to

other speakers. This difference may be due to his time in Wrangle's Boarding School, where English was strictly enforced, or his time serving on boards and committees headquartered in the Kuskokwim dialect regions. His narrative is also a historically-minded *univkaraq* discussing his own history from Caniliaq and Kotlik and some of his Elders' teachings. His text has 1643 tokens and 949 word types for a TTR of .58. He uses 540 demonstrative tokens with 81 demonstrative types in his text, making 33% of his total words demonstratives.

The final contributor to the texts used in this study is Kiicaq (examples cited as MP), who was born in Kotlik in 1948 and passed away in 2018. Kiicaq was fully bilingual in Yugtun and English. He was fluent in Yugtun as a first language but had English enforced on him from a young age. He was more comfortable talking to me in English but could readily switch to Yugtun. He was known in the community as one of the last holders of traditional ecological knowledge. His narrative in this study and his only narrative in the documentary corpus is a traditional *quliraq* or legend about how one of the rivers near Kotlik came to be named. This is the shortest text in the study with 111 word tokens and 96 word types for a TTR of .86. Of the total word tokens, he uses 27 demonstrative tokens with 17 demonstrative types, making 24% of his words demonstratives.

This study initially included two unpublished and edited stories by Martha Teeluk, which Steven Jacobson included in his 2013 revised dictionary. The first has 215 word types and 261 tokens for a TTR of .82, and the second has 133 types and 196 tokens for a TRR of .67. It was decided to exclude these two edited texts from the present study due to the degree of editing they had undergone. Both texts were markedly different, showing fewer demonstratives than in my Yugtun texts. Additionally, they showed more convergent structural patterns to the General Standard dialect. They also showed an unusual prevalence of the /j/~/z/ alternation as compared to my Yugtun texts. Due to how much these two texts stood out in comparison, I decided to remove them from this study in the interest of maintaining a contemporary examination of the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun demonstratives. However, they will be added to the Yugtun documentary corpus, and when more of this corpus is transcribed, including the heritage materials, perhaps a reexamination of this study can be conducted to see how these texts compare and whether there has been any shift in demonstrative use and prevelance.

Table 1.2 summarizes the speakers and texts used in this study. Ultimately, this study examining the structure and function of demonstratives in the Yugtun dialect draws data from five Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun speakers representing four micro dialects across six narratives comprising 5390 words, of which 3671 are Yugtun words.

abbr.	Genre	Word Tokens	Demonstratives	Dispersion	Plot
CM	Univkaraq	1176	189	0.896	
AAy	Yuuyaraq	550	176	0.873	
AAp	Pissuryaraq	104	27	0.735	
IH	Yuuyaraq	1807	88	0.753	
MH	Univkaraq	1643	540	0.949	
MP	Quliraq	111	27	0.857	

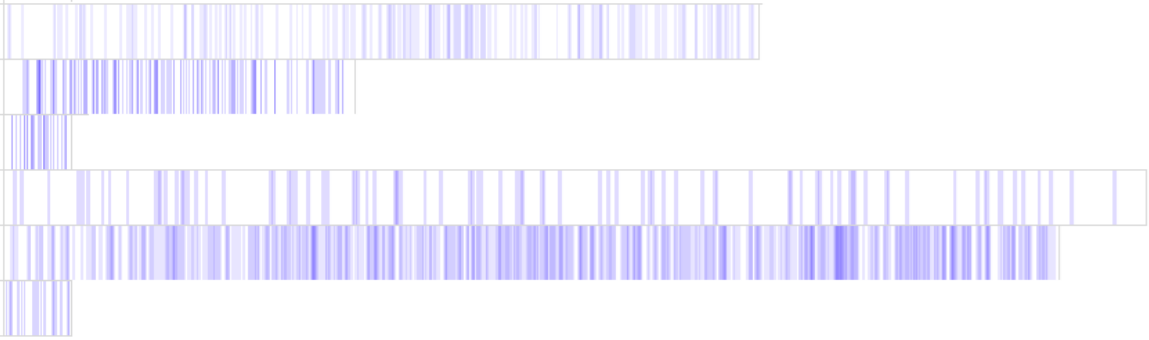


Figure 1.9: Each blue line represents a demonstrative token used by the five speakers across six text files. Row 1 represents Walaria's (CM) text, Rows 2 and 3 are Acianaq's (AAy and AAp respectively) texts, Row 4 is Carra's (IH) text, Row 5 is Amiksuwin's text (MH), and row 6 is Kiicaq's (MP) text. These plots show the frequency and ubiquity of demonstrative use across speakers and the genres of *Yuuyaraq* ('Way of life narrative') *Pissuryaraq* ('Way of hunting narrative'), *Univkarat* ('Historical narrative'), and *Qulirat* ('Traditional legend').

Table 1.2: A side-by-side comparison of texts and speakers comprising the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun linguistic corpus used in this study. *NA* indicates that the date of birth is unknown (between 40-70 years old). *Demonstrative types are listed by frequency in Appendix B. **Some words are of ambiguous morphosyntax and are counted as both Yugtun and English words.

Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun linguistic corpus											
Abbr.	**Speaker**	**DOB**	**Micro Dialect**	**Fluency**	**Genre**	**TTR**	**# Tokens** (English)	**# Tokens** (Yugtun)	**# Tokens** (Yug.Dem.)	**% Dem. Tokens** in speech	**# Types*** (Yug.Dem.)
CM	Waralria (♀)	1934	Pastuliq	Monolingual	Univkaraq	.78	0	776	165	**21%**	52
AAy	Acianaq (♂)	1937	Nunapigg-luugaq	Monolingual	Yuuyaraq	.60	0	469	175	**37%**	33
AAp					Pissuryaraq	.82	0	71	26	**37%**	15
IH	Carra (♂)	1938	Caniliaq	Yugtun Dominant	Yuuyaraq	.76	4	344	88	**26%**	27
MH	Amiksuwin (♂)	1943	Caniliaq	Bilingual	Univkaraq	.58	0	1643	540	**33%**	81
MP	Kiicaq (♂)	1948	Qerrullik (Kotlik)	Bilingual	Quliraq	.86	0	111	27	**24%**	17
AH	Yaayuk (♀)	1940	Caniliaq	Bilingual	*interlocutor IH*	.27	1400	1	0	0%	0
RT	Robert (♂)	NA	Kotlik	English Dominant	*Interlocutor AA*	.68	28	28	1	4%	1
LM	Lorencia (♀)	NA	Kotlik	English Dominant	*Interlocutor CM*	.63	185	215	24	11%	12
JA	Jake (♂)	NA	Kotlik	English Dominant	*Interlocutor AA*	.93	5	9	1	11%	1
NT	Nik (♂)	1988	-	*Linguistic*	*Linguist*	.50	97	4	0	0%	0
Corpus Totals							≈1719**	≈3671**	Total: 1047	Total: 20%	129
							5390		Elders: 1021	**Elders: 30%**	

By comparison, in an earlier examination of demonstratives, I compiled 13 stories published by Anna Jacobson, Martha Teeluk, and others, hosted both in print form and on the Alaska Native Language Archive. This study's texts were considered to comprise the General Standard Yup'ik dialect of the Kuskokwim River region, as most of the storytellers were from the Yukon, Nelson Island, and Kuskokwim dialect regions. This General Standard corpus contained 2414-word types and 4995-word tokens, resulting in a type-token ratio of .48. Of this total, 9.5% of the words were demonstratives. My new corpus of natural spoken and connected language use in the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect shows around 30% of 5390 English and Yugtun words as Yugtun demonstratives. This is a severe mismatch with Kotlik speakers using demonstratives nearly three times more than the General standard corpus purports. While this may be a dialectal feature of Kotlik, it is also possible that the lack of demonstratives in the General Standard Corpus is due to the standardization and Anglicization of the Yup'ik language. This Yup'ik standardization, combined with a lack of recognition of the Yup'ik demonstratives' full extent and breadth in conveying information in communicative events through Yup'ik-specific constructions, may edit out demonstratives that are used in unfamiliar patterns and functions to English.

Taking this into consideration, this study examines the highly frequent demonstrative forms in Yugtun and discusses their functions and the patterns they enter into with a broader lens to the typological literature on demonstratives and Yugtun-specific language patterns. The next chapter provides a grammatical sketch of the Yugtun language informed by the NSKY corpus, with additional support drawn from an analysis of descriptions of the Yup'ik language. Chapters Three and Four then discuss the structure and function of demonstratives in Yugtun as exemplified in connected discourse across a range of speakers, fluency levels, and genres using the linguistic corpora discussed above. My overall aim is to elucidate demonstrative meaning and usage patterns in Yugtun on its own terms.

Chapter 2

Yup'ik grammatical sketch

2.1 Introduction

Language is not spoken in a vacuum, nor is it an artifact carefully extracted from conceptual space. Rather, language is a complex construct arising out of cognitive processes and influenced both by socio-cultural interaction and temporality (Goldberg & Suttle, 2010). Following de Saussure and Baskin (2011), language can be said to be composed of embedded signs, that is, patterns of meaning and form (de Saussure & Baskin, 2011). Meaning is broadly associated with the study of semantics and pragmatics, and form is broadly associated with the study of phonetics. Morphology and syntax are the study of how meanings are embedded into forms and how these signs interact in context. Because language is a social construct jointly created by a speech community, like the one in Kotlik, individuals, such as the Yup'ik Elders introduced in Chapter One, must calibrate their cognitive conceptualization of the linguistic patterns with those conventions agreed upon by society through intergenerational transmission and socialization. This continuous calibration leads to individuals exhibiting their own personal language, or idiolect, at any given time. The idiolect represents a personal understanding and use of the language, subject to change throughout a speaker's life. This complex interplay between idiolect and speech community presents significant difficulty for the linguist who, in an attempt to describe the patterns of a language, must study language on both the cognitive and the societal levels and present to varying degrees of abstraction a snapshot of how particular patterns might be described in a particular community at a particular time.

By examining individuals' linguistic patterns and comparing them across idiolects and languages, linguists have identified linguistic patterns that seem stable or universal across time and society. That is, some patterns found in an individual language are found in every idiolect of that language, and crucially, some patterns found in a

particular language are present in each of the world's languages. For instance, every speaker of a language seems to divide the world between temporal events and atemporal entities. Then again, upon closer inspection, these universal patterns differ widely across each idiolect or language examined. This variation, in the spirit of Evan's (2009), is termed anti-universal. Anti-universal in this context is not opposed to the notion of universal but instead complements it. The anti-universal notion argues that while a particular pattern appears in every idiolect or language, if we zoom in and look more closely, each pattern seems to differ in interesting ways.

In order to create a snapshot of any variety of the Yup'ik language, we must approach the language on its own terms with an eye to both its diachronic and synchronic conceptualization across the generations of speakers who are represented in the description. Approaching a language or language variant on its own terms means identifying the typological universals present in the language and displaying each universal pattern's anti-universal nature within the described language (N. Evans & Levinson, 2009). These language-specific, or anti-universal, traits within the cross-linguistic context are what provide a language's particular "genius" (a là Sapir) distinct from any other language.

Beginning this description, Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun, a dialect of Central Alaskan Yup'ik, is an agglutinating polysynthetic language with a strong tendency towards concatenative monoexponential forms. Agglutinating in this sense refers to languages which construct words containing multiple morphemes concatenated together such that each morpheme can be isolated and identified as to what particular inflection or derivation they indicate ("Agglutinative language", 2023). According to Bickel and Nichols (2013) the degree by which semantic features are phonologically connected to a word can be analyzed as either isolating, concatenative, or nonlinear. Concatenative morphemes are phonologically bound, and their combination leads to various phonological adjustments within a word. These complexes of phonologically altered concatenative morphemes can be considered portmanteaus. A portmanteau is defined by Merriam-Webster as "a word or part of a word made by combining the spellings and meanings of two or more other words or word parts" such as the English word *brunch* which is composed of the words *breakfast* and *lunch* ("portmanteau", 2023). Analyzing the phonological processes within portmanteaus reveals strings of concatenative forms that can be segmented into clear-cut morphemes. Exponence, by comparison, refers to the number of features that cumulate into a single morpheme. Morphemes are those signs which are the smallest meaningful form of a linguistic expression (Haspelmath, 2010). These can be described as monoexponential and polyexponential (Bickel & Nichols, 2013). This means that the phonological word

in Yugtun more accurately represents an entire morphosyntactic phrase, and this phrasal word is composed of a string of almost exclusively suffixal morphemes with a one-to-one correlation between meaning and form.

Nevertheless, the language is typically presented as an agglutinating polysynthetic language with a high degree of inflectional fusion. Fusion, in this sense, is defined as a feature of synthetic languages, distinguished from an agglutinative synthetic language by its tendency to use a single morpheme to denote multiple inseparable features, such as the Latin morpheme *-us*, which signifies 'masculine gender, nominative case, and singular number.' Fusional languages thereby typify polyexponetial morphemes and nonlinear strategies of word creation ("Fusional language", 2023). In other words, the Yup'ik inflections are often treated not as portmanteaus of phonologically bound concatenative morphemes but as synchronically nonlinear polyexponential morphemes.

My analysis of the Yugtun language thus builds off of the Yup'ik literature and my own analysis of my Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun (NSKY) Corpus to provide a grammatical sketch of the language using a constructional framework. Within this framework, I come to two ideological departures from the norm. First, I assert that the Yugtun lexical base is inherently and categorically indeterminate as to its final realization in context and that the inflectional morphology is critical to syntactic category selection. Second, I assert that the fused inflectional paradigms are, in fact, concatenative, almost exclusively monoexponential, portmanteau complexes that are composed of embedded constructions from grammatical alignment to subject-verb agreement (as per Goldberg and Suttle (2010)). I will term these inflectional morphemes that compose the constructional portmanteaus formative morphemes[1]. The order of these formative morphemes is the defining feature of a word's syntactic category identification and selection and presents significant grammatical information such as grammatical alignment.

Due to these departures from the norm and to portray the "genius" (a là Sapir) of Yugtun on its own terms, I begin with a description of the language's broad and largely undebated morphosyntactic patterns, using data from the literature and my NSKY Corpus. In doing so, in this subsection, I avoid major alterations from the prescribed inflectional endings included in Jacobson's (2013:919-930) Yup'ik Dictionary and included in Appendix A of this dissertation for convenience. After this typological

[1]I use the term formative morpheme followingWoodbury and Sadock (1986) to refer to the morphemes used within the inflectional word-endings. That is, the term *fomative morpheme* refers to a particular set of inflectional morphemes within the language that is used to compose the word endings. Woodbury and Sadock (1986) argue that these word-internal formatives are necessary for an analysis of the morphosyntax of the language (Woodbury & Sadock, 1986). I concur with their analysis and emphasize the formative morpheme's synchronic importance to the language's grammar.

overview, I outline the case for my departures from the norm and then discuss the inflectional formatives individually before showcasing the constructional patterns within the syntactic category defining portmanteaus that they are found within.

Throughout this chapter, I discuss the Yugtun grammar broadly; however, these points relate not only to familiarizing the reader with the linguistic conventions and conceptualizations needed to parse the interlinear examples provided throughout this dissertation but also relate to the structure and function of Yugtun demonstratives in context (Chapter Four). I posit in this study that demonstratives hold a privileged role in the Yugtun grammar as a core lexical part of speech. Deictics, including demonstratives, are a highly privileged lexical category in Yugtun containing both relational and referential semantics. These words in Yugtun simultaneously are syntactically indeterminate before entering into an inflectional construction and utilize different derivational morphemes and inflectional formatives than other lexical categories.

2.2 A brief typological overview

Central Alaskan Yup'ik is considered one of the more conservative languages of the Inuit-Yupik–Unangan language family and is composed of a variety of regional dialects, discussed in Section 1.3; however, the description of General standard Yup'ik is largely influenced by the Kuskokwim and Bristol Bay dialects. The language is known for its exceptionally polysynthetic words and for its complex morphophonemic properties (M. Fortescue, 2022).

2.2.1 Phonetic inventory

The Central Alaskan Yup'ik phonetic inventory, as meticulously described by Miyaoka (2012), contains four voiceless stops /p, t, k, q/, one affricate /ʧ/, fourteen fricatives /f, ɬ, s, x, χ, xʷ, χʷ, v, l, z, ɣ, ʁ, ɣʷ, ʁʷ /, six nasals /m, n, ŋ, m̥, n̥, ŋ̊/, two approximants /w, j/, and seven vowels /i, iː (ɨ/ə), u, uː, a, aː/ not including diphthongs. The complete inventory is shown in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2, where the IPA representation is shown first, followed by the standard orthography in brackets ⟨⟩. This study uses standard orthography as the alphabetic rendering.

Table 2.1: Vowel Inventory: The short vowel inventory of Yup'ik, where bracketed graphemes indicate standard orthographic form (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 38)

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ⟨*i*⟩		u ⟨*u*⟩
Mid		ə ⟨*e*⟩	
Low		*a*⟨*a*⟩	

Table 2.2: Consonant Inventory: The consonant inventory of Yup'ik, where bracketed graphemes indicate standard orthographic form (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 46)

		Bilabial	Interdental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Plosive		p ⟨*p*⟩		t ⟨*t*⟩		k ⟨*k*⟩	q ⟨*q*⟩
Affricate				ʧ ⟨*c*⟩			
Fricative	Voiceless		f ⟨*vv*⟩	s ⟨*ss*⟩		x ⟨*gg*⟩	χ ⟨*rr*⟩
	Voiceless Rounded					xʷ ⟨*w*⟩	χʷ ⟨*urr*⟩
	Voiced		v ⟨*v*⟩	z ⟨*s*⟩		ɣ ⟨*g*⟩	ʁ ⟨*r*⟩
	Voiced Rounded					ɣʷ ⟨*ug*⟩	ʁʷ ⟨*ur*⟩
Lateral Fricative				ɬ ⟨*ll*⟩			
Lateral Approximant				l ⟨*l*⟩			
Nasal	Voiceless	m̥ ⟨ ḿ ⟩		n̥ ⟨ ń ⟩		ŋ̊ ⟨ ń ⟩	
	Voiced	m ⟨*m*⟩		n ⟨*n*⟩		ŋ ⟨*ng*⟩	
Approximant		w ⟨*v*⟩			j ⟨*y*⟩		

It is useful to note that phonetically, the /ʧ/ phoneme is realized as [ts] before a schwa. Consonants can be geminate, except for the voiceless nasals, gemination is represented by an apostrophe in the orthography, as in the ethnonym *Yup'ik* /juppik/. Finally, there are no vowel sequences longer than two phonemes within a single word except across enclitic boundaries (Miyaoka, 2012). For a longer description of the Yup'ik phonetics, refer to Miyaoka (2012) and Jacobson and Jacobson (1995).

2.2.2 Word construction

An introductory schematic of the typical Yugtun word is shown in (20). Adjectival, adverbial, and prepositional functions are carried out through an extensive inventory of derivational and inflectional suffixes. Thus, the expressive power of the Yup'ik language is in its morphological structure.

(20) The Yup'ik Word

Base — (Postbase (≥ 0)) — Ending = Enclitic

The Yup'ik word formation begins with a root (called a *base*) followed by a string of optional suffixes, termed *postbases*, which are capped by the *word ending* and optional *enclitics* (Reed et al., 1977). There can be any number of postbases attached to a word, and their order is dependent on their semantic scope over other postbases (Mithun, 2012; Woodbury, 2017). This flexible ordering allows for many semantic variations from the same base-postbase combinations. Regardless of scope, derivational suffixes always occur closer to the base than inflectional ones. Moreover, at least one inflectional suffix is obligatory at the end of any well-formed word. These inflectional (and in GSY fusional) word endings encode argument structure onto the verb (Section 2.4.1), for which the paradigm is extensive (Appendix A), or core and oblique cases onto the noun (Section 2.4.3). The verb-ending paradigm is made exceptionally complex since, beyond agreeing with the subject and object of an utterance, verb endings additionally indicate mood (Section 2.4.5). As both nouns and verbs are marked for grammatical role, Yugtun can be described as a double-marking language, meaning both the *head* (the verb) and the *dependent* (the noun) must be marked and agree grammatically. However, as a polysynthetic language, nominals are optional in the syntax in conceptualization. Finally, when present, enclitics often express relationships such as coordination or subordination between propositions, and some have an epistemic function showing the speaker's attitudes towards an utterance (Section 2.4.6).

2.2.3 Morphophonology

Understanding the Yugtun, or any Inuit-Yupik–Unangan, sound system is essential to any morphological or semantic analysis of the language due to the large degree of phonologically conditioned allomorphs. Tersis (2006) for East Greenlandic Tunumiisut, remarks that there is a wide range of opacity in words resulting from sound changes such as assimilation, vowel heightening, and intervocalic or word-final elision and weakening. This sentiment is also reflected in the Yugtun structure, with any given

morpheme ranging from one to multiple dropped segments depending on context. An example is shown in (21) with the GSY analysis of the word on the left and my NSKY analysis on the right.

(21) *aipai**ru**lluteng*

*aipai**ru**lluteng*	/	*aipai**ru**lluteng*
aipai-**ngiirute**-luteng	|	aipai-**ngiirute**-lu-teg-t
partner-**not.have**-APP.4.PL	|	partner-**not.have**-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'being without a partner / widowed'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:1.4)

The postbase *-ngiirute* 'to not have or be' can reduce to *-ru* solely due to morphophonology. The [te] drops before [l], and the [l] turns to [ll]. The [ng] drops if the [r] does not (Jacobson, 2013). Finally, there are restrictions against vowel clusters of more than two vowels.

Due to this large degree of morphophonologically conditioned opacity in some words, the following subsections detail the phonemic processes relevant to understanding the morphosyntactic patterns of the Yup'ik word as described in this analysis.

The base's morphophonological class system

Contributing to the internal structure of the Yup'ik bases, bases can be classified into five morphophonological classes, and postbases can be divided into three types. My phonetic classification system is heavily based on Woodbury (1981) and Reed et al. (1977) but reduced to only five classes, which seem to account for all the data in this study. There is some evidence for including schwa-final bases as a subclass, but this is beyond the scope of this study.

As an agglutinating or concatenating language, Yup'ik exhibits a plethora of phonological alterations at morpheme boundaries, which can affect the shape of the base and eventual word as it concatenates. However, these morphophonological processes are usually entirely consistent and regular, allowing for a base, and even a word, to be dissected and parsed. One of the foundational processes is the phonological class of the Yup'ik base.

Yup'ik bases can be categorized into five different classes based on the phonetics of the base's final rhyme, as elaborated on in the following paragraphs. These phonological classes are responsible for selecting allomorphic forms of various postbases and inflections, such as the indicative mood. The five classes are shown in Table 2.3. The table shows that the five base classes are categorized principally by their final

Table 2.3: Phonetic Base Classes: Class I bases end in a vowel followed by a voiced uvular fricative, Class II bases end in a vowel, and a voiced velar fricative, Class III bases end in a vowel followed by a voiceless alveolar plosive stop, Class IV bases end in a vowel, and Class V bases account for every other ending including consonant clusters.

	PHONETIC ENDINGS
CLASS I	-ar/-ir/-ur
-Vʁ	-aar/-air/-aur/-iir/-iar/-iur/-uur/-uar/-uir
CLASS II	-ag/-ig/-ug
-Vɣ	-aag/-aig/-aug/-iig/-iag/-iug/-uug/-uag/-uig
CLASS III	-at/-it/-ut
-Vt	-aat/-ait/-aut/-iit/-iat/-iut/-uut/-uat/-uit
CLASS IV	-a/-i/-u
-V	-aa/-ai/-au/-ii/-ia/-iu/-uu/-ua/-ui
CLASS V	elsewhere
-C	-Cr/-Cg/-Ct/-CC/-VC

syllable's rhyme (nucleus and coda). Class I bases end in *V/ʁ/* written *Vr*. Class II bases end in *V/ɣ/* written *Vg*. Class III bases end in *V/t/*. Class IV bases end in a vowel, either short or long. Finally, class V bases account for all other rhymes, including consonant clusters and VC where the consonant is not *r,g,t*. When word final, the Class I consonant turns to /q/, Class II to /k/, and Class III to /n/.

This class system is important for determining suffixal morphology. As indicated by Jacobson, the morpheme for the intransitive indicative mood (IND.IN) is *+'(g/t)u*, indicating that bases retain their final sound (discussed further below). The consonant in this morpheme geminates if the word is "short," and the first sound of the inflection is either *g* or *t*, which must be memorized. Using the above class system, this study posits the form for the indicative mood as *-gur*. This simplification is possible as this single morpheme's analysis is situated within the context of a regular class system, which determines the allomorph and a prosodic system, which determines when gemination occurs. Thus, Class I or II bases select the intransitive indicative mood allomorph *+tur*. A Class III base selects *+ur*. Class IV selects *+gur*, and if it attaches to a base

ending in a short vowel, the *g* drops due to standard morphophonemic rules discussed in the next subsection. Finally, class V selects *+ur*. Examples are shown in (22).

(22) a. *cegnaurtut* *(Class I base)*
ceg-naur+tur-t
cut.fish-HAB-IND.IN-PL

'They would cut fish.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2018:3.6)

b. *caliksugtuyugtua* *(Class II base)*
cali-ksugt-yug+tur-nga
work-DIM-want+IND.IN-1.ABSA.SG

'I want a little work.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:78)

c. *pitangqetulrunrituq* *(Class III base)*
pita-ngqerr-tu-llru-nrit+ur
be.a.certain.size-have-HAB-PST-NEG-IND.IN

'They didn't ever have the right size.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2018:24)

d. *imkucingqelallruuq* *(Class IV base)*
imkuci-ngqerr-lar-llru+gur
thingamajig/whatchamacallit-have-HAB-PST-IND.IN

'the whatchamacallit would've had.„'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2018:85.1)

e. *Amiksuwinauguq* *(Class IV base)*
Amiksuwin-u+gur
Amiksuwin-STAT-IND.IN

'it is Amiksuwin'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2018:1)

f. *assirturciquq* *(Class V base)*
assir-tur-ciq+ur
good-duration-FUT-IND.IN

'it will get better.'

NSKY Corpus (AA 2018:25)

This example showcasing the allomorphy of the intransitive indicative mood highlights a regular pattern in my NSKY Corpus and in the interlinear glossing throughout

this study. Yup'ik suffixes are conditioned by the base form's phonetic rhyme. Thus, in the interlinear glosses the morpheme is shown in the morphological gloss (line 2) of the examples, but the form uttered and shown in italics (line 1) represents the allomorphic form. Another pattern regulating allomorphy in the NSKY Corpus examines the postbases themselves.

Postbases also determine the allomorph of the base they attach to. Postbases can be either a retaining type, a dropping type, or a mixed type. A retaining morpheme does not change the base's form beyond the standard morphophonemic processes described in the next subsection. A deleting morpheme drops the final consonant of a base in Classes I, II, III, V. A mixed morpheme drops the final consonant of base Classes I and III and retains the final consonant of base Classes II and V. The intransitive, indicative mood shown in (22) is an excellent example of a retaining type morpheme. The morpheme *-nun* meaning 'allative case' (ALL) is an example of a deleting type morpheme. Finally, the morpheme *-mek* meaning 'singular ablative-instrumental case' (ABL/INT) is an excellent example of a mixed-type morpheme shown in (23).

(23) a. *dadtiarpenun* *(Class I base, deleting type ending)*
dadtiar-pet-nun
dad-2.ERGA-ALL

"to our dad"

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:68.3)

b. *esskuulamek* *(Class I base, mixed type ending)*
esskuular±mek
school-ABL/INT.SG

"a school"

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:84)

c. *kaviarmek-llu* *(irregular Class I base, mixed type ending)*
kaviar±mek=llu
fox-ABL/INT.SG=COO

"and a fox"

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:68.1)

d. *mangtagmek* *(Class II base, mixed type ending)*
mangtag±mek
whale.blubber-ABL/INT.SG

"some whale blubber"

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:22.4)

e. *ca'mek=llu* *(Class V base, mixed type ending)*
ca-±mek=llu
Q-ABL/INT.SG=COO

"and what else?"

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:21.3)

Allomorphy

There are many additional processes that alter, delete, and add sounds at morpheme boundaries during word construction. When applied analytically, these morphophonological processes show that a Yup'ik word and, in particular, the word ending is more agglutinating than it first appears. The following list showcases a few of the morphophonological processes discussed in Miyaoka (2012), which are enumerated with an *M*, and some new processes that I posit, which are enumerated with a *T*. The processes discussed here are not an exhaustive list but those most directly responsible for parsing the word constructions presented in the next section and the Appendix. Many of these rules are relational, ordered, and applied in a cyclic fashion (Booij & Rubach, 1987 p. 4).

The first morphophonemic process or rule (**M1**) applies to what is referred to as a short base, alluded to above, when discussing the intransitive indicative mood morpheme. A short base is a monosyllabic base and automatically geminates its final consonant when a morpheme is suffixed to the end. This gemination can be seen in (24).

(24) *ik'na* *(pronounced /ikkna/ due to **M1**)*
ik-na
that.across.there-OF.SG.ABS

'that across there'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:118)

M2 is suffix initial spirantization. A suffix initial *p, t, c, k* lenite to their fricative counterparts *v, z/ll, z, g*. For example, /p/ becomes /v/ when intervocalic, or is the initial sound of a derivational suffix or a conjunctive formative morpheme in the conjunct construction. *k* to *g* only occurs sporadically in person formatives. Also, **M2** adjusts /t/ and /c/ segments morpheme finally, for instance, /t/ followed by the optative mood initial /l/ merges to become /ɬ/ (Miyaoka, 2012 pp. 197–199, 202–204).

M3 states that central vowels /a/ and /ə/ raise to /i/ when flanking a /ɣ/ or /ŋ/. The velar consonant then drops due to **M4**, which states that voiced velar and uvular consonants are deleted when flanked by single vowels, which are not schwa.

M5 is perhaps one of the most essential rules that helps illuminate the word constructions discussed in Section 2.3 and concerns schwa insertions. A schwa is inserted to break up a word-final consonant cluster; that is, CC# is realized as CəC#. Additionally, a schwa is inserted to break up a triconsonantal cluster. Where the schwa is inserted is defined idiolectally, with some speakers inserting schwa between the first two consonants and others inserting schwa between the final two consonants (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). Thus VCCCV can become either VCəCCV or VCCəCV, with the latter being the favoured convention in the standard orthography.

M6 states that approximant /w/ spirantizes to /ɣʷ/ or to /ʁ/ in Norton Sound Kotlik and in Cup'ik due to syllable contractions. Also, **M7** states that /v/ turns to /w/ when flanked between two single vowels.

M8 affricates /t/ to /c/ optionally before a schwa followed by a preconsonantal /s/.

Finally, **M9** states that at a major boundary[2], velar and uvular fricatives become stops, and final schwa turns to /a/ except when a post-vocalic /tə/ turns to /n/.

While there are exceptions and unpredictability in Miyaoka's characterization of these rules, I argue the syntactic constructions largely become predictable through the application of these rules and the addition of **T1** and **T2**. The unpredictability and exceptions mentioned above can likely be explained through base-class conditioned allomorphy and postbase typology. However, the exact nature of these morphophonological rules is not the focus of this study and thus is treated mainly as presented by Miyaoka (2012 pp. 68–82, 195–219) as this is enough to examine the nature of the morphosyntactic inflectional constructions presented in the following section.

I add two additional rules to this list of morphophonological processes. The first, **T1** states that a /tt/ cluster word finally palatalizes to /ci/. This palatalization is a regular process, an example is shown in (25). The second (**T2**) is unusual but, again, is completely regular and consistent. It is perhaps related to the frequent /t/ > /n/ adjustment followed by velar assimilation. **T2** posits that word finally /g+t/ becomes /ŋ/. A complete phonetic analysis is beyond the scope of this short grammatical sketch, but its regularity argues that this is not the cause of fusional idiosyncrasy that needs to be memorized but is a process applied at morphological boundaries as shown in (26).

[2]Miyaoka (2012) defines a major boundary as a phonological unit characterized by flanking pauses and includes words, enclitic phrases, and non-enclitic-bound phrases (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 68).

(25) *aulukciqam**ceci***

*auluke-ciqe-gar-m-**ceci*** *(Due to **M5** and **T1**)*
auluke-ciqe-gar-m-**t-t-t**
watch-FUT-IND.TR-1.ERGA-**PL-2.ABSA-PL**

'We will watch out for you all'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:36.1)

(26) *school-aristaunate**ng***

*schoolar-ista-u-na-te**ng*** *(Due to **T2**)*
schoolar-sta-ngu-na-te**g-t**
school-worker-STAT-APP.NEG-**4.NOMA-PL**

'there weren't any school teachers'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:136.4)

These 11 morphophonological rules combined with the base-class system are important to segmenting the inflectional word ending portmanteaus into concatenative, mainly monoexponential, formative morphemes, which are used to distinguish Yugtun's syntactic categories later in the chapter.

2.2.4 Examining Yup'ik parts of speech

There are two opposing approaches to the lexicalization of words in a language: the *particularist approach* and the *constructional approach* (Hieber, 2023). This section begins with a discussion of the particularist approach which best characterizes the literature on Yup'ik. A particularist approach assigns inherent parts of speech to words as a lexical feature. These inherent categories form the foundation for all linguistic forms, from the morphological to the syntactic. As this analysis assigns category membership as an inherent feature of the lexeme, I term these lexical categories. These lexical categories can be open-class, readily admitting new members, or closed-class and resistant to change. They can be lexical, which contributes core semantic or descriptive meaning to an utterance, or functional, which contributes grammatical or logical features to the structure of a word or sentence (O'Grady, 2013). Additionally, lexical items tend to be syntactically and phonologically independent forms, whereas functional items tend to be phonologically reduced and syntactically dependent forms (Smith, 2017). Through grammaticalization, lexical words can often change into functional words (Smith, 2017; Kuteva et al., 2019). Cross-linguistically, the particularist lexical categories of noun, verb, adjective, and adverb are widely accepted (Hieber, 2023). Nouns and verbs are primarily considered universal categories

occurring across all languages. However, with respect to the anti-universal notion, what words fall into the noun or verb categories and the conceptual purview of these categories can vary widely across languages (O'Grady, 2013).

Analysis of the Yup'ik language heavily emphasizes the precategorized root morpheme of the Yup'ik base and the subsequent base concatenation of a Yup'ik word. In the study of Inuit–Yupik languages, the *base* of a word is defined as the root morpheme containing the seed semantics for the whole word. The term *postbase* is applied to all the subsequent suffixes that attach to a base to expand its meaning further. Finally, the word *ending* is a fused inflection that agrees in lexical category with the final postbase attached to the base (in Section 2.3, I term these inflectional portmanteaus).

Verbs, nouns, and adverbs are the currently attested parts of speech in the literature, although there are also various particles and enclitics (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). Particles are uninflected or grammaticalized bases that subsume any word that is not inflected as a noun or a verb. Mithun (2017) adds to the literature by proposing an additional category called *polycategoricals*. Polycategorical bases are ambiguous but must surface as either nouns or verbs using zero-derivational morphology. According to Mithun's analysis of the Yup'ik lexicon, the language consists of 35% inherent nouns, 53% inherent verbs, and 12% polycategoricals (Mithun, 2017). Parts of speech are considered to be an inherent lexical feature of the base lemma and can be affected by derivational postbases. The final derivational postbase attached to a word selects the syntactic part of speech of the whole word, and its correlating inflectional word ending.

These lexicalist notions of derivational recursion are what characterize the Yup'ik word as a phrasal word whereby the base, as it is constructed into larger compositional forms with the addition of postbases, follows an inherent syntax. The most straightforward analysis of this syntax assigns around 500 affixal postbases in the language a highly productive derivational function with category-changing potential (Mithun, 2017). These postbases prefer to attach to particular lexical categories and, in turn, derive particular categories. According to Mithun (2017) a postbase has a range of derivational potentials, including N→N, N→N/V, V→N, N/V→N, N→V, V→N/V, V→V/N, V→V. Furthermore, these postbases are iterative and recursive, allowing a noun to be derived back and forth between a noun and a verb almost *ad Infinitum* until a final form is established. This recursion within a word is fixed by the semantic scope of each postbase (Mithun, 2012).

Yugtun contains a plethora of postbases which function in Yugtun to derive new bases. The typology of postbases provided by Woodbury (2017) states that postbases can derive new bases by specifying additional relationships with the base (27a-b),

modifying the base (27c-d), forming copulative like relationships (27e), and altering the argument structure (27f). Only the bases in the following examples are analyzed, leaving the complete agglutinative holophrastic word structure unparsed under the gloss INFL for 'inflectional portmanteau' until later in the chapter.

(27) a. ***makurmiu****t-gguq*
maku-rmiu-t=gguq
this.EXT-resident.of-INFL=it.is.said

'it is said people from here...'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:3.1)

b. ***caknanar****emeni*
ca-kna-nar-emeni
something-strain-one.who.causes.Ving-INFL

'even though its a struggle'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:159.1)

c. ***yup'ik***
yur-pik
person-genuine

'(real) person'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:123.2)

d. ***tekiteqer****luteng*
tekit-qert-luteng
arrive-suddenly-INFL

'they suddenly arrived...'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:3.2)

e. ***Amiksuwin****auguq.*
Amiksuwin-ngu-guq
Amiksuwin-STAT-INFL

'it is Amiksuwin'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:1.1)

f. ***ikeglirininar****luteng*
ikeg-liri-ninar-luteng
be.few.in.number-become.more.and.more-cause.to.feel-INFL

'happened to cause them to become fewer and fewer'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.4)

Woodbury (2017) identifies these phrasal words as holophrastic, meaning that (i) there must be a lexical element, which is the bound base in Yup'ik, and (ii) there must be grammatical rules for combining elements within the base. Thus, a holophrastic word has a clear lexical form with an inherent lexical category, it consists of an internal structure, and it equates to the meaning of a phrase in many other languages.

Based on this particularist approach, a Yup'ik holophrastic word is a derivative of the word internal syntax that occurs on lexically precategorized nouns, verbs, polycategoricals, and potentially adverbs and particles during word formation. The following verb (28), from my NSKY corpus and uttered by AA, presents a sample holophrase analyzed through this approach.

(28) *akiilirlartut*
aking-ar-lir-lar-tut
earn.money-ITR-one.who-HAB-IND.IN.PL

'they would make money '

$$\left[\left[\left[\left[\left[\left[aking\right]_V -ar\right]_V -lir\right]_N -lar\right]_V\right]_V -tut\right]_V$$

NSKY Corpus (AA 2018:7.3)

The base *aking* is categorized in Jacobson's 2013 Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary as a verb inherently. Attaching concatenatively to the base is a series of postbases that each extends the meaning of the base and potentially change the lexical category. -*ar* is the iterative aspect that can attach to nouns or verbs to form a verb. The morpheme is an N/V→V type, which is not attested above in Mithun (2017). The [ng] in the base drops due to velars dropping between vowels, and the [a] in the suffix raises due to front vowel raising, which is a harmonic process (M3-M4). -*lir* is a nominalizer which attaches to nouns or verbs to derive nouns. The morpheme is an N/V→N type. -*lar* is the habitual aspect which attaches to nouns or verbs to form verbs. The morpheme is an N/V→V type. The inflectional ending, as posited in the literature and described in Section 2.1.2, is -*tut*, which is the intransitive indicative mood fused with verb agreement attaching to a class I or II base. This inflection is chosen because the final postbase derives a verb, and thus, the inflection must be verbal. This word begins as a verb, is derived into a verb, then is derived into a noun, and then derived back into a verb before being inflected as a verb. This process is productive and recursive.

Due to this mathematical approach, some analyses posit that lexical categories do not apply just to the Yup'ik base but also to the affixes (Tersis, 2006). Tersis (2006) argues in East Greenlandic Inuit that the postbases form a cline from a lexical base

to an inflectional suffix. This cline characterizes the functionality and productivity of the Yup'ik morphemes from lexical bases to noun-incorporating suffixes to tense-aspect-modality suffixes to, finally, verbal inflections (Tersis, 2006).

Thus, not only does Yup'ik present inherently assigned lexical categories, but word internally, a vast array of morphological and syntactic processes are occurring, as shown in Table 2.4. Derivational morphemes bind to a base first, iteratively and recursively, deriving additional lexical meaning and defining the word's final lexical form. Then, quasi-inflectional[3] tense, aspect, modality, argument structure, attitude, quantity, quality, and degree of probability morphemes can concatenate. Finally, the word is capped with the appropriate lexically determined inflections (Tersis, 2006).

Table 2.4: Yup'ik Holophrastic Template: The Yup'ik word is constructed using morphological rules which serve to roughly order the type of morpheme and where it can be attached but also the lexical category of the morpheme and its overall selection of an inflectional ending.

Base	(-Postbases)	-Inflection
Base		-Inflection

This particularist approach has many problems, as I see it and as evidenced by Mithun's addition of the polycategorical base forms. Further discussion is saved for Section 2.3.

2.2.5 Yup'ik morphosyntax

While the only lexical categories posited in Yup'ik are nouns, verbs, polycategoricals, adverbs, and particles; Nominal and verbal modification is still possible through morphological and syntactic constructions.

Adjectival functions are accomplished primarily by creating an appositive phrase. Appositive phrases are constructed with two nouns, which agree in case and number, where the dependent noun precedes the head, as shown in (29) (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 462). Adjectival functions can also be achieved with a nominal derivation postbase such as *-rpag* 'big or large N,' as in (30) (Reed et al., 1977).

[3]Quasi-inflectional morphemes are non-obligatory but paradigmatic morphological categories (Beck, 2011 p. 3). In Yup'ik, these include tense and aspect, which are often treated as obligatory inflections in other languages. In Yup'ik, these are contrasted to the obligatory, paradigmatic inflections of person, number, case, mood, and conjunctive in the word-endings, described in Section 2.3.2.

(29) *qanikca**k*** *ena**k***
qanikca-**k** ena-**k**
snow-**ABS**.DU house-**ABS**.DU

'two snow houses'

data and glossing adapted from (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 464)

(30) *nuna**rpa**mun*
nuna-**rpag**-mun
land-**be.large**-ALL.SG

"In the big village"

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:122.1)

Similarly, adverbial functions are accomplished through verbal postbases, and, in some cases, through a small set of particles. Adverbial postbases encode meanings of manner, time, and intensity and include *-cu* 'skillfully,' *-ggaag* 'after V-ing,' and *-piag* 'really/genuinely' (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). Additionally, the appositional mood can be construed adverbially with meanings such as 'slowly, nicely, secretly,' as in (31).

(31) *an**cuaqer**luni*
an-**cuar-qerte**-luni
to.go.out-**a.little.bit-suddenly**-APP.4

"Suddenly, a little bit of it (the arrow) was protruding"

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:122.1)

Finally, the particle *tayima* 'hopefully' is included in a small set of sentence adverbials which usually cooccur with verbs in the participial mood and take scope over the entire clause, as in (32) (Miyaoka, 2012).

(32) ***tayima*** *assinrularsartuq*
ta-im-a assinru-lar-sar-tuq
hopefully better-HAB-would-IND.IN

"Hopefully, it would be better"

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:27.1)

Note that the adverbial particle *tayima* in (32) is a grammaticalized form of the demonstrative *ta-im-*, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Summarizing this brief account of Yugtun grammatical structure from the literature, the language categorizes words into nouns, verbs, and particles. Nevertheless, Yugtun words are fluid, and a noun can readily become a verb and vice versa via various derivational processes, including zero derivation. Nominal derivation is carried out through the use of postbases or appositional phrases, while verbal derivation is carried out with the use of verbal postbases. Particles and enclitics serve a variety of roles, including but not limited to sentence adverbials, evidentiality, and coordination. Finally, demonstratives in the previous literature are treated as pronouns or adverbs (Jacobson, 2013).

2.2.6 Inflections

Through this section, I have elaborated on the construction of a Yup'ik phrasal word with an eye principally to the nature of the Yup'ik base and derivational postbases within a lexical particularist approach to word construction. I have alluded to and shown examples of the inflectional word endings but have saved their discussion to last. The full paradigms presented in the literature as fused morphemes organized within a nominative paradigm structure can be seen in Appendix A. As Woodbury (2014) states:

> While these bundles can often be analyzed into component formatives ... the formatives do not always correlate one-to-one with individual category values. Given this level of entanglement, it is reasonable to assume—as my category bundle notation implies—that each bundle and its associated formative array is a single entity and that speakers simply learn them all as a (fairly large) and partly irregular list (Woodbury, 2014 p. 153)

As such, the noun bundles are attached to the end of nouns, and verb bundles are attached to the end of verbs. The post-base at the right periphery of the word selects the final lexical category of the Yup'ik word.

I, however, disagree that the formatives do not always correlate to individual categories. While a few person formatives are irregularly polyexponential and some formatives are dropped within particular constructions, in Section 2.4, I showcase my analysis of the formatives such that, with an understanding of the above morphophonology, the formatives can be reliably identified within the inflectional portmanteaus and whose order is crucial to syntactic category selection. More importantly, there is

considerable overlap between the formative morphemes within the inflectional endings, and this should not be swept under the proverbial rug. For example, these similarities can be observed between the nouns and the verbs in (33) showing a few examples from my corpus by MH:

(33) a. *angalku**at*** *kasuitaratellu**ni***
angalkur-**at** kasuitarate-lu**ni**
shaman-ABS.3.SG seemed.to.be.weak-APP.4.SG

'The shaman seemed to be weak'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:5.1)

b. *angusatullr**atni***
angusatu-llr**at-ni**
soldier-CNJ.3.PL-LOC

'When there were territorial guards'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:3.1)

c. *paqta**at***
paqt-a**at**
check.on-IND.TR.3.PL>3.SG

'They checked on him'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:8.2)

d. *ma**ni***
maa-**ni**
here-LOC

'here'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:3.1)

Observe the word ending */ni/* which in (33a) is indicating an appositional mood with a 4th-person (reflexive) subject (APP.4.SG) but in (33b) indicates the locative case (LOC) on a noun and in (33c) helps to form the adverbial demonstrative using the locative case. Additionally, the form */at/* in the word endings in (33a) indicates a plural absolutive case possessed noun while in (33b), it is used to indicate the 3rd-person plural subject in a so-called conjunctive mood, and in (33c) it represents the indicative mood with a 3rd-person plural subject and a 3rd-person singular object. For each of these three, the forms do change slightly, and these changes are unpacked and explained further in Section 2.4. This similarity in the inflectional paradigms between nouns and verbs led Thalbitzer (1911) to posit the existence of only nouns in the language, while verbs are an extension of the possession paradigm. This observation

holds traction as I argue that possessed nouns, like verbs, utilize the split-ergative alignment system to mark person. This similarity across all the inflectional endings is due to a set of highly structured pattern-sensitive formative morphemes, which I use for the basis of my constructional approach to the Yugtun language in Section 2.4. Thus, in the next section, I first showcase a constructional approach to part of speech categorization in Yup'ik and second showcase the inflectional formatives.

2.3 A constructional approach to Yugtun parts of speech

In contrast to the above approaches to parts of speech in Yugtun, this study assumes a constructional approach to the parts of speech and holophrastic word composition. This constructional approach to the Yup'ik grammar allows two salient Yugtun lexical categories to emerge: the general lexical category (which I term *lexical bases*) and the deictic category (which I term *deictic bases*) in which demonstratives reside. Section 2.4 builds off of this constructional approach to the categorization of Yugtun bases to posit a constructional approach to the Yugtun syntactic categories which emerge from both lexical categories. Chapters Three and Four discuss the unique semantics, pragmatics, and morphosyntax of the deictic bases through the lens of demonstratives. However, it should be noted that I coopt many parts of the aforementioned descriptions of Yup'ik to structure my analysis, such as the use of the term *holophrastic word*, as this description builds off the solid foundations provided in the literature.

A constructional approach does not inherently assign words to universal parts of speech but rather identifies morphological and syntactic collocational preferences of groups of words or morphemes that pattern similarly. This approach, therefore, argues that words should be defined based on their behaviour in context within each language. This analysis suggests that the degree of diverse behaviours makes a complete categorization nearly impossible. Thus, major parts of speech do not inherently exist, assuming a wide array of language-specific constructions instead. These constructions are small groups of words that pattern the same way. Emerging out of this diverse set of behavioural patterns, major categories can form due to the universal nature of human cognition to think in terms of objects, actors, events, and states (Hieber, 2023). The notion of parts of speech here might be better divided between a notion of (i) lexical categories, which are formed between groups of words that behave similarly, and (ii) syntactic categories, which emerge out of patterned language use in context to provide scaffolding for larger constructions (Croft, 2001).

While languages utilize many different categories of differing sizes, all languages

seem to have atemporal and temporal categories; syntactically, we can call these nominals and verbs (Frawley, 1992). As cognitive beings, we categorize the world into stable, unchanging points and dynamic relations in time between those points. Stable points, cognitively, are entities that typically present themselves syntactically as nominals. Dynamic relationships are events that typically present themselves syntactically as verbs. Langacker (2008) argues that nominals are understood through a process called summary scanning, whereby the various configurations of a thing are conceptualized as a single gestalt. By contrast, verbs are conceptualized through sequential scanning, whereby configurations are tracked temporally (Langacker, 2008). Languages universally have a nominal and a verb category because, cognitively, people organize thoughts as entities doing events. Nevertheless, while all languages seem to have at least nominals and verbs, what is codified as a nominal or a verb can differ across languages.

Following this idea, I make the most considerable distinction from the previous literature. My argument divides parts of speech into two distinct levels: lexical categories, which are an inherent feature of the lexeme and syntactic categories, which are instantiations of those lemmas in context within a nominal-verbal syntactic space. First, in Section 2.3.1, I assert that the Yugtun lexicon is composed of building blocks called bases. A base is a phonetically bound morpheme that cannot stand alone[4]. Moreover, in Yugtun, the base is not inherently categorized; it is conceptually free. A base in Yugtun is neither atemporal nor temporal, an entity or an event, a nominal or a verb. Second, I assert in Section 2.3.2 that the categorization of a Yugtun word into one of the pattern-dependant syntactic categories of nominal, conjunct, verb, or particle occurs through processes carried out at the syntactic level in context. These syntactic categories emerge through the word final formative inflectional patterns concatenated onto an acategorical lexical or deictic base.

2.3.1 Yugtun's lexical categories

The Yugtun base is a lexeme. A lexeme is defined by two criteria, (1) the lexeme is the smallest abstract component of the language, a morpheme, and (2) this morpheme carries the most significant, or lexical, aspects of meaning (Bonami et al., 2018; Crystal, 2018). Both criteria must be true for a morpheme to be considered a lexeme. A lemma, by contrast, is a particular form of a lexeme. Lexemes create new lemmas by entering into morphosyntactic patterns (Crystal, 2018). The most drastic patterns

[4]There is some exception to this in the form of a syntactic category called the particle, but particles cannot stand apart from larger discourse structures. For more details on particles, refer to Section 2.4.6.

are derivational, which can significantly alter the meaning of a lexeme (Payne, 1997). Inflectional patterns, by contrast, refine the words' meanings in context by adding abstract logistical, grammatical, and category-specific information to the word without deriving a new word.

For instance, the Yugtun bound base *ca-*, which abstractly means 'something,' can be called a lexeme as it is the most significant unit of meaning in any potentially derived lemma. However, it cannot be uttered at this stage as an independent word without either additional morphological or syntactic structure, as it is not yet a word. This bound base, however, can be derived into a new bound base with significantly altered meaning by attaching a suffix like *-li*, which is the *causative* morpheme meaning 'to cause or make.' This new base, is *cali-* meaning 'to make something,' and has since fossilized in the language as a new lexeme meaning 'to work.'

In Yup'ik, this concatenative derivational process is iterative and can theoretically be done an unlimited number of times. Woodbury (2017) provides the Cup'ik base example: *ivruci-li-ste-ngqer-sugnail-ngur-*, which is a derived base meaning roughly 'one that definitely doesn't have someone who makes (his/her) waterboots.' However, this base remains a bound form even at this length and cannot yet be uttered as an independent word. Also, at this stage, only derivational processes have been applied to form a lexical base from another embedded lexical base, which happens five times in the base *ivrucilistengqersugnailngur-*.

This agglutinative process highlights the first and most basic Yugtun-specific pattern in the language: lexical base construction. A lexical base is formed by taking a base and suffixing a derivational morpheme, thereby creating a new base. This construction is shown in Figure 2.1 and further exemplified in (34). The derivational morpheme in Yup'ik is called a *postbase*.

Figure 2.1: Base Construction

(34) a. *ca-*
ca-
something-

"something"

b. *cakna-*
ca-kna-
something-strain-

"something strains"

c. *caknanar-*
ca-kna-nar-
somethings-strain-CAUS-

"makes something struggle"

Allowing for an even greater degree of creativity in base formation, the order of most postbases is also flexible, and changing the order can change the base's interpretation. Woodbury terms this the *Corollary Scope Rule*. Scope is the semantic notion that defines how one unit of meaning affects the meaningful components around it. In the Corollary Scope Rule, a postbase takes scope or semantically modifies the base before it. Thus, using Woodbury's example, a base can change meaning depending on the order that the postbases attach, as in *an'eciq-ni-*, which means 'say (someone) will go out,' versus *an'eni-ciq-* which means 'will say (someone) goes out' (Woodbury, 2017). In fact, the corollary scope rule is an example of a smaller construction found throughout the language whereby a morpheme modifies the sign directly before it. Thus, while a postbase modifies the whole of the base before it, an inflectional formative like number modifies the formative before it, like person, to create a person agreement construction (discussed in length in Section 2.3.2).

Thus, a postbase in Yup'ik allows for the derivation of a new abstract lexical base. At this point, the meaning has been refined, but there is still no inherent syntactic categorization or anything that resembles a particularist part of speech. This concept can best be seen by looking at the following examples 35-39.

(35) a. ***neq****nek*
neq-nek
fish-NOUN:INFL

'some fish'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:72)

b. ***neq****ait*
neq-ait
eat-VERB:INFL

'they eat them'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:3.5)

(36) a. ***ila****rarluki*
ila-rrar-luki
part.of-just.a.bit-VERB:INFL

'I joined them'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:121)

b. ***ila****teng*
ila-teng
relative-NOUN:INFL

'their family'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:32.7)

(37) a. ***angalku****it*
angalkur-ngit
shaman-NOUN:INFL

'their shamans'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:4.1)

b. ***angalki****luteng*
angalkur-gi-luteng
shaman-to.do-VERB:INFL

'did magic'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:4.1)

(38) a. ***cali****aqa*
cali-ar-ka
work-thing-NOUN:INFL

'my job'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:139)

b. ***cali****llemni*
cali-llemni
work-CONJUNCT:INFL

'when I work'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:97)

c. ***cali****lua*
cali-lua
work-VERB:INFL

'I work'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:69)

(39) a. ***eglere****llerka*
eglert-llerka
move-NOUN:INFL

'performance'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:136)

b. ***eglerrallru****lriit*
eglert-ar-llru-lriangat
move-ITR-PST-VERB:INFL

'they travelled'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:6.2)

While I do not discuss syntactic category selection yet, the critical observation about the bolded bases in (35-39) is that they can equally become nouns or predicates (verb-like words). For example, the base *angalku-* is neither a noun (37a) nor a verb (37b) but can become either, depending on what inflectional construction it enters into. The base is fluid and has no predetermined category but can present as either category depending on what clothing the speaker wishes to put on it. In (37a), the base can be construed to mean 'shaman,' and in (37b), it is construed as 'magic.' The same can be said for the base *neqe-*, which can be presented as 'fish/food' or 'to fish/eat' depending on the construction it enters into. Contrasting these two English nominal translations, we can look at how Yugtun treats the bases *cali-* and *eglert-*, which in English would be translated as verbs. Examining *cali-* first, in (38a), it is construed as a noun, in (38b) as a conjunct, and in (38c) as a verb. Finally, *eglert-* presents both as a nominal and a verb. Unlike English, and regardless of postbases, Yup'ik lexical bases are non-categorical for part of speech, meaning they are inherently neither nominals, verbs, or any other syntactic category but can be construed as any depending on their morphosyntactic inflectional patterns.

This fluidity does not discount the existence of semantically based collocational preferences. For example, many of these postbases, like those that introduce valency changes, tense, and aspect, or those that indicate actorhood, may prefer to enter into one syntactic categorization over another, but this is due to semantic tendencies towards that category and not inherent structural rules or precategorization.

Through this discussion, I have demonstrated that Yugtun's lexeme is agglutinative and can be refined iteratively for temporal and atemporal senses but does not present as either a nominal or a verb. While postbases can appear to function in similar ways to the English derivational processes creating bases that feel "nouny" such as *-rmiu* meaning 'resident of,' or "verby" such as *-ngqerr* meaning 'to have something,' or

"adjectivey" such as *-pik* meaning 'genuine,' the postbases are functioning solely to refine the meaning of the base to which it attaches, as in in (27). This refinement allows for a great range of lexical base meanings and, therefore, for an incredibly large and potentially endless number of bases in the language that can express precisely what the speaker wishes to convey in a given context. This discussion is crucial at this point in the study, for, in order to describe Yugtun on its own terms, the anti-universals it presents must be recognized from the foundation up.

From this constructional approach to Yugtun, I thus posit two categorizations: the lexical and the syntactic. At the lexical level, Yugtun bases are a-categorical. I utilize the term a-categorical as opposed to polycategorical, as polycategorality requires zero-derivation to assign a base a category. By contrast, in my analysis, a-categorical lexical bases allow the words' parts of speech to emerge in syntax based on the context of use and constructional pattern. These fluid bases can be recursively refined through postbases to create new a-categorical lexical bases. Any categorization at this lexical level occurs due to a base's collocational and semantic preferences for particular postbases or families of postbases such as tense.

One significant lexical distinction observed in the Yugtun language is crucial to this study. Deictic bases, principally pronouns, quantifiers, positionals, and the fundamental demonstrative bases, show distinct collocational patterns and semantic meanings in contrast to the rest of the lexical inventory. Thus, this study makes the first lexical division into two broad lexical categories: *deictic bases* and *lexical bases*. Deictic bases are closed-class and functional, while lexical bases are open-class and lexical. The lexical class doubtlessly can be divided into many more language-specific constructions based on semantic and collocational preference, but those are beyond the scope of the demonstrative examination central to this study. Beyond these lexical bases, however, Yugtun also uses syntactic constructions, which are necessary to understand how Yugtun grammar works and how Yugtun deictic bases work in context.

2.3.2 Yugtun's syntactic categories: The core formative morphemes

Yup'ik lexemes are syntactically a-categorical, bound bases that can iteratively concatenate postbases to derive new and more specific bases with a plethora of semantic content such as adjectivization, quantification, adverbialization, and much more. This concatenation is subject to a variety of base-class conditioned allomorphy, postbase-type conditioned segmental changes and morphophonological processes that can change

the form of the bases and, at times, make the exact morphology of a base difficult to parse in linguistic analysis. However, after all of this lexical structure is applied, these bases remain bound bases, are not yet specified for a syntactic category, and cannot be deployed into the discourse. To be used in discourse, these lexical bases must be placed into one of four Yugtun-specific syntactic constructions that fulfill the universal cognitive need to differentiate between entities and events. The syntactic constructions used by Yugtun speakers are nominal, verb, conjunct, and particle.

In Yugtun, a syntactic construction is a morphologically-complex formative complex that allows a base to enter into discourse as a free phrasal word. That is, a Yugtun word, once it is inflected for a syntactic construction, functions as a phrase unto itself that combines with additional constructions to form a complete proposition. In the style of Woodbury (2017), I term the Yup'ik word *holophrastic*. Examine the following holophrastic verb construction in (40):

(40) *Angalkisaaqnaur**tut***
angalkur-gi-saaq+naur**[+tur-t]**
shaman-to.do-in.vain-HAB[+**IND.IN-PL**]

'They would be shamaning in vain...'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:5.2)

In this example, the holophrastic verb begins with an abstract lexical base *angalkur-* which enters into the construction *base=base(+POSTBASE)* to make the further specified base *angalkugi-*. This new complex base then enters into a new base construction *base=base(+postbase)* to form the base *angalkuisaaq-*. Finally, this complex base enters into the base construction *base=base+POSTBASE* to make the further specified base *angalkuisaaqnaur-* meaning 'would try magic in vain.' As discussed above, the *habitual* derivational postbase tends to collocate with verb constructions, which is true in this example. However, to this point, the base remains an a-categorical lexeme that can select and enter freely into any syntactic category. Refer back to section 2.2 for a discussion of the morphophonological processes that apply at morpheme boundaries in Yugtun. Finally, the formative morphosyntactic construction, which forms a syntactic verb from a lexical base, allowing the word to be used in context, consists of three formative morphemes: MOOD + PERSON + NUMBER, which are concatenated onto the end of the base as a portmanteau complex. These three morphemes, in part, constitute a series of small, inflectional, closed-class, highly productive, usually monoexponential morphemes that concatenate onto a fully derived base, one after the other. I call these morphemes formatives.

The order of the concatenation of these formative morphemes is the defining feature of Yugtun's *syntactic categories*. Their order assigns a lexical or deictic base one of the following syntactic roles: *nominal, verb, or conjunct*. The absence of a formative pattern using these inflectional morphemes at the end of a base typifies the syntactic category called *particles*. The order of these formative inflectional morphemes is what is meant by a syntactic construction, with each category taking a different but fixed constructional, concatinative order.

When discussing these inflectional constructions, it is crucial to orient the discussion under the guiding principle that a change in pattern indicates a change in meaning, and a change in meaning indicates a change in pattern (Diessel, 1999a pp. 4, 89, 158). That is, language is composed of two complementary and interconnected components: function and structure or meaning and pattern. If there is a change or alteration in the linguistic pattern, it is indicative that there are two different meanings between the two different patterns.

This principle is essential as it guides the categorization of bases into syntactic patterns. If two words use the same formative pattern and mean roughly similar things, they belong to the same syntactic category. However, if two words use different formative patterns and mean different things, then it must be argued that they belong to two different syntactic categories. The same goes for abstract constructions. If two constructions look different and are used to affect semantic differentiation in function or are distributed in different propositional positions, then those two patterns cannot be called the same syntactic category.

Core formative morphemes: A holistic analysis

Yugtun employs a series of small, abstract, and productive formative morphemes across the language to indicate some related concepts, namely: person, number, mood, case, and conjunctive. Number (# or NUM) is used to indicate the plurality of a nominal, the plurality of the possessor person, and the plurality of the verb agreement persons (SG, DU, PL). Person is used to indicate both the possessor (POSS) and the subject-object-verb agreement (AGR). These person formatives also indicate syntactic roles and grammatical alignment. Mood indicates the propositional intent of a verb and links verbs together by their propositional intent. Case indicates the thematic role of a nominal. Finally, conjunctions (CNJ) link coordinating dependent clauses to the main clause. The most important and widespread of these morphemes are the person and number morphemes, which are discussed first. The order of these morphemes is the defining criteria of my four syntactic categories: nominal, conjunct, verb, and particle.

These core sets of formative morphemes (person, number, mood, case, and conjunctive) are used to create differentiating constructional patterns. Thus, by following Diessel's (1999) principle that a change in structural pattern is a change in meaning, my analysis reveals Yugtun's syntactic patterns according to the language's own "genius". This principle in organizing my description of the Yugtun syntactic categories is important because the literature has hidden much of Yugtun's linguistic patterns behind 1053 inflectional endings that require rote memorization[5]. The recognition of the segmentability of these sets of inflections into morphemes is not new to the literature, and discussions can be found in Woodbury (1981) & (2017) and Miyaoka (2012). Nevertheless, these inflections are typically treated as gestalts which do not warrant individual analysis, as Miyaoka states:

> Most of the morphemes that constitute an inflection are more or less transparently segmentable, while some are phonologically fused together (polysemous). Either segmentable or not, an inflection is generally given as a single unit in underlying representations.
>
> (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 114)

I disagree that these formative patterns are "partially segmentable and partially fused" (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 268). My analysis shows that these portmanteaus are entirely segmentable and that through segmentation, the grammar of Yugtun comes to the fore on its own terms. The traditional, paradigmatic approach presented in both underlying and surface representations, grammatical descriptions and pedagogical materials, not only hides critical language patterns but obscures the formative morphemes that are used productively to categorize bases in context. For example, these elaborate fused paradigms obscure a rich and varied grammatical alignment system[6]. In Yugtun, grammatical alignment is split, and both ergative-absolutive and nominative-accusative alignments are used. Additionally, due to the traditional analysis of the inflectional word endings as paradigmatically fused morphemes, the pattern which I refer to as *conjuncts* (similar to verbal-nouns) are typically called verbs since they utilize a grammaticalized nominal postbase in a slot typical of verbal mood inflections. However, these mood-like formatives are followed by ergative alignment and nominal case. Therefore, there is greater explanatory power in separating the formative

[5]See Jacobson's Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary Volume 2 (2013:919-930) for the full inflectional paradigms. His paradigms are also included in Appendix A for ease of comparison

[6]Grammatical alignment is used to organize and tag words in a sentence for their grammatical and semantic roles (Bickel, 2011).

morphemes out of the inflectional paradigms. By positing that these formatives are used to categorize words based on their unique categorical patterns, Yugtun's syntactic categorization becomes much more apparent. By embracing the full complexity of Yugtun's agreement system, my analytic analysis of the individual morphemes also showcases linguistic patterns such as split alignment, formative allomorphy, and emphatic and implicational processes used to remove ambiguity between otherwise identical inflections. Thus, these formative morphemes and their constructional patterns that select syntactic categories for the lexical bases are essential to the grammar and should be described autonomously in any grammatical description. Therefore, before discussing the syntactic constructions themselves, the inflectional formative morphemes that constitute these constructions need to be outlined.

Number formatives

The first set of formative morphemes employed in the holophrastic syntactic constructions are the number morphemes, shown in Table 44. These morphemes are deceptively simple at first glance, consisting of only two morphemes for three number values. The Yugtun language marks number for singular, dual, and plural.

These number morphemes are used to mark: (i) the plurality of the nominal as in (41), (ii) the plurality of the possessor of the nominal, as in (42), and (iii) the pluralities of the subject-object-verb person agreements on a verb, as in (43).

(41) a. *tang'aq*
tang'ar-**Ø**
alcohol-**SG**

'alcohol'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:24.1)

b. *unevqaraluriik*
unevqar-au-lurii-**k**
tell.a.story-contine.for.a.long.time-good.old-**DU**

'two long, good old stories'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:105.3)

c. *yuut*
yuu-**t**
person-**PL**

'people'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:21.1)

(42) a. *Aataqa*
aata-ø-qa-**Ø**
father-SG-1.NOMA.SG-**SG**

'My Father'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:146.2)

b. *aataput-llu*
aata-t-pu-**t**=llu
father-PL-1.NOMA.NS-**PL**=COO

'our fathers too'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:10.1)

(43) a. *pissurlalriaku**t***
pissur-la-lria-ku-**t**
to.hunt-HAB-PART.IN-1.ABSA-**PL**

'we who would hunt'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:21.1)

b. *pilallekia**te**ku**t***
pi-la-lle-ki-a-**te**-ku-**t**
to.do-HAB-one.that.was-PART.TR-3.ERGA-**PL**-1.ABSA-**PL**

'that which would have been done or said to us'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:52.2)

The singular formative, whether on nominals or as an agreement morpheme on verbs, is NULL (glossed as -*ø*[7]). The dual formative morpheme is marked with the suffix -*g*, and word finally surfaces as -*k*. Finally, a plural is indicated with the suffix -*t*. These number formatives, however, are only part of the system. There are some instances when using these number formatives would lead to ambiguity between words. A *long form* of the number formatives, shown in (44), is utilized in particular environments to eliminate this ambiguity. Many of these ambiguities are discussed in their respective sections. I organize the number morphemes in Table 2.5.

[7]A null or unmarked morpheme is one whereby semantic content is added, but there is no accompanying phonetic form; nevertheless recognition that this null morpheme has been added is demonstrated through phonological changes in the Yugtun word such as when a base final fricative turns into a plosive stop. Thus, the absolutive singular form appears as /*q*/ or /*k*/ in classes I and II or /n/ in class III. This class III /*t*/ turns into [*n*] in the absolutive singular due to class-conditioned allomorphy. Class IV and V bases remain unchanged.

(44) a. *qetunram**a***
qetunrar-ø-m-**a**
son-SG-1.ERGA-**SG.LF.1**

'my son'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:93)

b. *ilaklu**nuk***
ila-ke-lu-**gnuk**
relative-have.as.a-APP-**DU.LF**

'we two being together'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:109)

c. *ciuliam**ta***
ciulia-t-m-**ta**
ancestor-PL-1.ERGA-**PL.LF**

'our ancestors'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:155)

d. *mangtagtumaa**n***
mangtag-tur-umari-nga-**n**
whale.blubber-use-PRF-3.NOMA.SGCOM-**SG.LF.3**

'it's processed whale blubber'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:20.1)

Table 2.5: Number Formatives: The number morphemes used to mark grammatical number within the inflectional portmanteaus.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Number	*-ø*	*-g*	*-t*
Long form in 1st Person	*-a*	*-(g)nuk*	*-ta*
Long form in 3rd Person	*-n*	*-gnk(a)*	*-ta*

Person formatives

The second most ubiquitous set of formative morphemes I term *person formatives*. Person formative morphemes play a significant role in taking lexical bases and forming syntactically functioning holophrastic words using one of a series of formative patterns along with the number formatives above. These form a complex inflectional system arising from the system's diversity of semantic functions. These formative morphemes mark the person of the nominal, verb, or conjunct's argument. These formatives also indicate the person's syntactic role in a sentence as either an agent, subject, or patient. For this analysis, I use *agent* to refer to the subject of a transitive verb, *subject* to refer to the subject of an intransitive verb, and *patient* to refer to the object of a transitive verb.

These grammatical relations surface in context according to a regular syntactic pattern, called a construction and each constructional type is discussed in Section 2.4. As a split-ergative language, Yugtun uses Ergative-Absolutive alignment in the majority of constructions and Nominal-Accusative person alignment for specific constructions, often involving a 3rd-person object. These person morphemes are concatinative; however, there is evidence for some polyexponentiality in some morphemes within the constructional portmanteau ending (highlighted in Table 2.10, a variant of the Nominative selected by the number of the collocating nominal or object). These person morphemes mark either (i) possessor, as in (42), or (ii) agreement, as in (43), and are organized in Tables 2.6-2.9. I discuss these persons as they co-occur with case, conjunctives, and mood, and give examples of each as they surface, in Section 4. Appendix A - Yugtun Syntactic Constructions summarizes the full analysis of how the bases are inflected using the formative morphemes.

Table 2.6: Ergative Formatives: The Inflectional suffixes used to indicate ergative grammatical alignment (ERGA) on a verb or possession on most ergative nouns.

Ergative Person	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person
	-m	*-pt*	*-nga*	*-me(g)*

Table 2.7: The Absolutive Person Formatives: The Inflectional suffixes used to indicate absolutive grammatical alignment (ABSA) on a verb. 3rd- and 4th-persons do not use absolutive alignment.

	Singular	
	1st person	2nd person
Absolutive Person	*-nga*	*-ten*
	Non-Singular	
	1st person	2nd person
	-ku	*-t(e)*

Table 2.8: Accusative Formatives: The inflectional suffixes used to indicate accusative grammatical alignment (ACCA) on a verb when the object is a 3rd-person. 1st-, 2nd-, and 4th-persons do not use accusative alignment.

	Singular
	3rd person
	-gu
Accusative Person	**Dual**
	3rd person
	-ke
	Plural
	3rd person
	-gi

Table 2.9: Nominative Formatives: The inflectional suffixes used to indicate nominative grammatical alignment (NOMA) on a verb when the object is a 3rd-person.

	Singular			
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person
Nominative Person	*-(ng)ka*	*-ken*	*-nga*	*-ni*
	Non-Singular			
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person
	-pu	*-t(e)*	*-nga*	*-te(g)*

Table 2.10: Nominative Formative Variant: The inflectional suffixes used to indicate the possessor on nouns marked in the 'unmarked case' and for all 3rd-person possessors regardless of case, or nominative grammatical alignment on realis verbs when the object is a 3rd-person. The allomorph agrees with the number of the lexical base in possession or the number of the accusative argument on verbs.

		3rd person
3rd Person Nominative Variant	Singular Compliment	*-nga*
	Dual Compliment	*-ke*
	Plural Compliment	*-ngi*

The distribution of these number and person formative morphemes becomes more evident in the following sections as I elucidate their use in context as patterns of syntactic distribution. It is, however, the presence and ubiquity of these person and number morphemes across all syntactic categories which leads Thalbitzer (1911) to proclaim "Anything that can be named and described in words, all real things, actions, ideas, resting or moving, personal or impersonal, are subject to one and the same kind of observation and expression [in Yup'ik]."

Case formatives

In addition to the person and number formative morphemes, Yugtun utilizes several syntactic category-specific formatives. The first of these, nominal case, is divided between the core and oblique cases as shown in Table 2.11. The core cases mark a nominal as the subject or object of a verb or as being in a genitive relationship with another nominal.

Due to Yugtun's split-ergative alignment system, core nominals can be indicated with one of four grammatical cases: absolutive, nominative, accusative, and ergative. The first three are unmarked, and thus, I term them the unmarked case[8]. Yugtun only marks the ergative case in singular nominals. Genitive nominals are marked in the same manner as the ergative.

Table 2.11: The Yugtun Nominal Case Formatives: Used to mark the grammatical or semantic role of nominals in Yugtun according to the patterns described in Figure 2.3.

Core Cases

	Unmarked	Ergative	Genitive
Non-Singular	-ø	-ø	-ø
Singular Unpossessed	-ø	*-m*	*-m*

Oblique Cases

	Ablative/ Instrumental	Allative	Localis	Perlalitive	Aequalis
Non-Singular	*-nek*	*-nun*	*-ni*	*-kun*	*-tun*
Singular Unpossessed	*-mek*	*-mun*	*-mi*		

The unmarked case typically marks the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb. The unmarked case morpheme is NULL (indicated as *-ø* and glossed as *ABS*), and thus it is indicated principally through the position of the nominal number morpheme (-ø 'SG', -g 'DU', -t 'PL').

(45) a. *yuu**t***
yug-**t**-ø
person-**PL**-ABS

'people'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:56)

[8]in Inuit–Yupik terminology, these unmarked nominals are often grouped together into a composite 'Absolutive' category.

b. *qetunra**ngka***
qetunrar-t-**ngka**-ø-ø
son-PL-**1.NOMA.SG**-SG-ABS

'my sons'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:76)

The marked core case is the ergative/genitive (ERG/GEN), which in Inuit-Yupik terminology is called the *relative case*, as both functions are marked by the same form. This morpheme's ergative function marks the core agent argument, which is the subject of a transitive verb. Examples are shown in (46).

(46) a. *qenre**m*** *pitaqcarpiarlua*
kener-ø-**m** pitaq-yar-piar-lu-a
fire-SG-**ERG.SG** caught-would-salient.one-APP-SG.LF

'the fire almost got me'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:98)

b. *teggnemta* *tailuni* *qanrullua*
teggne-t-m-ta-**Ø** tai-lu-ni-ø qanrut-lu-a
elder-PL-1.ERGA-PL.LF-**ERG** come-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG tell-APP-SG.LF

'our Elders came and told me'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:133)

The genitive function is to relate nominal phrases to each other and to indicate possession. Examples are shown in (47).

(47) a. *Alaska**m**,* *State* *of* *Alaska**m***
Alaska-ø-**m**, State of Alaska-ø-**m**
alaska-SG-ERG.SG/GEN.SG, state of alaska-SG-**ERG**.SG/**GEN**.SG

'Alaska, state of Alaska'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:90)

b. *laavkaa**m*** *iluani*
laavkaar-ø-**m** ilu-t-nga-ø-ni
store-SG-**GEN**.SG inside-PL-3.NOMA.SGCOM-SG-LOC

'inside of the store'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:24)

I note here, however, that most grammatical descriptions posit that Yup'ik is a double-marking language, meaning that both nominals and verbs are marked for

grammatical relations. In the Inuit-Yupik literature, nominals are marked with robust and expansive case paradigms. However, this present analysis calls this description into question. As shown in Table 2.11, while case marking on oblique nouns is robust, the core arguments of a sentence (ergative, absolutive, nominative, and accusative) are null marked or unmarked. The only exception to this is that unpossessed singular ergative/genitive nouns are marked with the suffix *-m*. Due to this null marking in the core cases, my analysis takes a hybrid approach in accepting a robust case marking on nominals, only not on the nominals marked for core cases. Rather, the robustness of Yup'ik inflections is not in the case morphology alone but rather in the constructional patterns. Thus, I maintain that Yugtun is still a double-marked language, not between nominal case and verb agreement morphemes but through the syntactic constructions, each containing a distinct ordering of the formative morphemes.

There are five non-core or oblique cases which are termed the ablative/instrumental, allative, localis, perlalitive, and aequalis. The first, the ablative/instrumental (ABL/INT), is usually called the *ablative-modalis* within the Inuit-Yupik literature. The ablative/instrumental carries a heavy functional load in Yup'ik, according to Miyaoka (2012) and serves as a locative case and to syntactically mark demoted core arguments (Miyaoka, 2012).

In its principal role, the ablative/instrumental indicates the source of an action or the instrument used to carry out an action, as (48) demonstrates.

(48) a. *kuig**mek***
kuig-ø-**mek**
river-SG-**ABL.SG**

'from the river'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:4.2)

b. *Qungulleraluku-llu* *nunakau**nek**-llu*
qungur-ller-ar-lu-gu=llu nuna-kar-ngu-ø-**nek**=llu
grave-one.who-ITR-APP-3.ACCA.SG=COO ground-bit.of-STAT-SG-**INT**=COO

yuilqumi
yuilqur-ø-mi
wilderness-SG-LOC

'and he was entombed, and using a bit of ground in the wilderness ....'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:162.1)

c. *Nunapiggluuga**mek*** *pitangqelruuq*
Nunapiggluuga-ø-**mek** pi-tar-ngqerr-llru-gur-ø
Old.Hamilton-SG-**ABL.SG** thing-similar-have-PST-IND.IN-SG

'Old Hamilton had one too'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:29)

In its syntactic role, the ablative/instrumental marks absolutive nominals that have been demoted through verbal valency modifications. One function of this is to mark indefinite objects, as in (49). Miyaoka cautions that the distinction between the absolutive and the ablative/instrumental is not one of definiteness but instead of foregrounding the event and backgrounding the participant (Miyaoka, 2012).

(49) *angelria**mek***
angli-lria-ø-**nek**
grow-one.who-SG-**ABL**

'a big one'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:118)

The allative case (ALL), usually called the *terminalis* case in the Inuit-Yupik literature, also plays a heavy role syntactically. In its principal role, the allative case marks an event's goal and marks the beneficiary of an object. That is, it marks the direction of an event, as shown in (50a-c). According to Miyaoka (2012) the allative case also has the syntactic function of marking an ergative nominal that has been demoted to the oblique due to verbal valency modification like antipassivization; this is not attested in my NSKY corpus.

(50) a. *milluni* *una**vet*** *kuigpag**mun***
mit-lu-ni-ø un-a-ø-**vet** kuig-pag-ø-**mun**
landed-APP-4.ABSA.SG-SG down.there-FL-Ø-**DEF.ALL** river-big-SG-**ALL.SG**

'it landed down there onto the Yukon River'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:45)

b. *Canilia**nun*** *tailuta*
canilia-t-**nun** tai-lu-ta
caniliak-PL-**ALL** come-APP-PL.LF

'we came to Caniliak'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:77.1)

c. *tungii**nun*** *pilaquneng*
tunga-t-**nun** pi-lar-ku-meg-t-ø
towards-PL-**ALL** do-HAB-CNJ(if)-4.ERGA-PL-ABS

'if they move towards it'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:27)

The localis case (LOC) marks an event's location. As with all positional cases (ablative/instrumental, allative, localis, perlalitive), the localis marks location temporally, spatially, and logically. Miyaoka adds that the localis indicates concern and judgement, roughly translated as 'as far as one is concerned' or 'for' and can be used as a comparative (Miyaoka, 2012). The localis case is shown in (51).

(51) a. *Pastuliar**mi***
Pastulig-ar-ø-**mi**
Pastulig-STAT-SG-**LOC.SG**

'at Pastolik'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:134)

b. *Angkaq* *tauguam* *Canilia**ni*** *school-atcuaqallruuq*
Angkar-ø ta-ug-u=am caniliak-t-**ni** schoolar-ssur-gaqa-llru-gur-ø
Angkaq-SG however Caniliak-PL-**LOC** school-seek-HAB-PST-IND.IN-SG

'Angkaq only looked for a school in Caniliak.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:136.1)

c. *yuut kingunemeg**ni*** *elluarluteng yuullerkaitnek*

yuut *kingunemeg**ni*** *elluarluteng*
yug-t kinguner-t-meg-t-**ni** elluar-lu-teg-t
person-PL home-PL-4.ERGA-PL-**LOC** perfectly-APP-4.NOMA-PL

yuullerkaitnek
yug-llerkar-t-ngi-t-nek
life-FUT-PL-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL-ABL

'people live good lives back at their homes'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:12)

The final positional case is the perlalitive (PRL), often called the *vialis* within the literature. The perlalitive marks a path of motion, such as 'along,' as in (52). It can also mark an instrument when the motion of the instrument is more important than the instrument itself (Miyaoka, 2012).

(52) a. *qaya**kun*** *ayagatuluteng*
qaya-ø-**kun** ayaga-tu-lu-teg-t
kayak-SG-**PRL** travel-HAB-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'they would travel by kayak'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:3.2)

b. *tikilallruut* *paca**kun***
tikit-lar-llru-gur-t paacar-ø-**kun**
arrive-HAB-PST-IND.IN-PL barge-SG-**PRL**

'they would arrive by barge'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:27)

The final oblique case marks the oblique role of manner. Often called the *equalis* in the literature, the Aequalis case (ÆQL) indicates similarity to another object or manner of an event. Examples are in (53 a).

(53) a. *yugturlainaq qanaaluta taringsuunata-llu kassa**tun***

yugturlainaq *qanaaluta*
yugtun-rrlainar-ø qanaa-lu-ta
Yup'ik.language-nothing.but-SG speak-APP-PL.LF

taringsuunata-llu *kassa**tun***
taring-yuit-na-ta=llu kassar-ø-**tun**
understand-never-APP.NEG-PL.LF=COO white.man-SG-**ÆQL**

'We spoke nothing but Yup'ik (lit. 'like a person'), and we could never understand English (lit. 'like a white man')'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:31)

An additional construction worth noting is the use of double case marking to highlight and refine the feature of 'path.' This can be seen in Yugtun, most prevalently by Waralria, who double marks her nominals and conjuncts with the case morphemes. (54) shows an example of double case marking.

(54) *tama**ni**tess**tun***
ta-mat-**ni**-te-t-**tun**
R<-then-**LOC**-PL-PL-**ÆQL**

'like back then'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:8.4)

Miyaoka's Grammar (2012) is a good catalogue of many additional functions that use these case morphemes and for a more detailed discussion on any of the Yup'ik cases. However, for this study, a description of the principal functions is sufficient to background my eventual discussion on demonstratives with any demonstrative-specific patterns discussed in Chapter Four within that context.

Conjunctive formatives

The next set of formative morphemes I term the *conjunctive* morphemes[9]. Miyaoka posits 13 conjunctive formatives, and Jacobson posits seven. This analysis maintains Miyaoka's count. The conjunctive morphemes are shown in Table 2.12 and are exemplified in (55). The conjunctive formatives are the same for both subpatterns of the conjunct syntactic category discussed in Section 2.4.2.

Table 2.12: Conjunctive Formatives (CONJ): The formatives used to form a Conjunct construction. The gloss provides a rough translation of these meanings.

Conjuctive Formative	
'to be'	*-(a)*
'because'	*-nga*
'when'	*-nga*
'when'	*-llr*
'while'	*-nginanr*
'whenever'	*-gaqa*
'if'	*-ku*
'even if'	*-ngrar*
indirectness	*-cu*
'before'	*-pailg*
'as soon as'	*-utci*

[9]These morphemes are typically subsumed as a subset of third-tier verb moods in the Inuit-Yupik literature. However, due to their use in a distinct syntactic pattern utilized in a distinct function in a context different from verbs, as per Diessel's organizing principle, I pull these out and describe them and the syntactic category they condition (Section 2.4.3) independently of the verb moods.

(55) a. *taq'**nga**meng*
taq-**nga**-meg-t-ø
finish-**CNJ.(when)**-4.ERGA-PL-ERG

'when they are done'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:12)

b. *aiya**gaqa**ma*
ayag-**gaqa**-m-a-ø
leave-**CNJ.(whenever)**-1.ERGA-SG.LF.1-ERG

'whenever I leave'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:152)

c. *ayag**pailg**an*
ayag-**pailg**-nga-n-ø
leave-**CNJ.(before)**-3.NOMA-SG.LF.3-ERG

'before he leaves'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:62)

d. *takarnar**nge**meng*
takarnarq-**nga**-meg-t-ø
intimidating-**CNJ.(because)**-4.ERGA-PL-ERG

'because they were intimidating'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:10)

e. *caliaqsuma**a**n*
cali-gaq-yuuma-a-**nga**-n-ø
work-HAB-able.to-**CNJ.(be)**-3.NOMA-SG.LF.3-ERG

'be able to work'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:134.1)

f. *kiagu**ngra**an*
kiag-u-**ngrar**-nga-n-ø
summer-be-**CNJ.**(**even.if**)-3.NOMA-SG.LF.3-ERG

'even if it is summer'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:3.5)

g. *qan**qu**vci*
qaner-**ku**-pet-t-ø
speak-**CNJ.(if)**-2.ERGA-PL-ERG

'if you all speak'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:36)

h. *yuu**nginane**mni*
yug-**nginanar**-m-t-ni
live-**CNJ.(while)**-1.ERGA-PL-LOC

'while in our life'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:8)

i. *Uksuar**c**an-llu*
uksuar-**cu**-nga-n-ø=llu
autumn-**CNJ.(indirect)**-3.NOMA-SG.LF.3-ERG=COO

'and becoming autumn...'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:23)

j. *kingune**tci**maumam*
kinguner-**utci**-m-a-ø=um=am
home-**CNJ.(as.soon.as)**-1.ERGA-SG.LF.1-ERG=GWP=EMPH

'As soon as I got home'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:104)

k. *anerteqe**ller**mini*
anerteq-**ller**-mi-ni
live.and.breathe-**CNJ.(when**)-4.ERGA.SG-LOC

'when he was alive'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:22.2)

These morphemes hold more lexical meaning, akin to derivational postbases, than the Yugtun case or mood formatives do. As such, they provide evidence for Tersis' (2006) observation that Inuit morphology is scalar rather than categorical and Mithun's argument that Yup'ik is continuously refreshing and cycling through its grammatical inventory, pulling lexical bases or postbases to do grammatical work (Mithun, 2012). Thus, the innovative potential within these conjunctive formatives provides evidence contrary to the interpretation that the holophrastic word endings are fusional. Most of these morphemes can, in fact, be shown to derive from a postbase, which has grammaticalized and phonologically reduced in the conjunctive position. For instance, Miyaoka posits the *constantive -gaq(a)* grammaticalized from *-gar-q(a)*, which is a relativizing morpheme followed by either an aspectual or relativizing morpheme depending on the analysis (Miyaoka, 2012). This ability for Yup'ik speakers to conventionalize and combine morphemes to create new meanings is not novel to the grammar. It is, in fact, a prevalent source of new coinages.

Furthermore, the ability to take a postbase or combination of postbases and redeploy it into an inflectional and syntactic construction demonstrates the malleability of

these formative patterns as opposed to the fossilized paradigms traditionally presented. It shows that these patterns do have a concatenated ordering that can have its components manipulated, removed, and replaced. Therefore, these holophrastic formatives are far from a completely closed-set class of fusional word endings but are rather conventionalized patterns used to convey specific syntactic functionality. These templates are agglutinating, entirely consistent, and malleable.

Verb formatives

The formative morphemes instrumental in verb constructions are called *mood* morphemes. They are subcategorized according to appositional-realis-irrealis functionality within the clause. These three subcategories emerge from the forms of the three major verb constructions discussed in Section 2.4.3.

The first set of mood formatives specific to the verb constructions which help form a verbal holophrase from a lexical base is the appositional formatives, shown in Table 2.13. The appositional mood serves many functions. Its most basic function is to mark infinitival predicates. The mood does not carry propositional intent but instead links dependent verbs to the independent verb. In linking the secondary verbs to the primary verbs, the appositional mood indicates that the mood of the independent verb is carried through to the dependent clause. The appositional mood is the most frequently occurring in any text. Mithun (2008) calculates a ratio of 4:1 appositional to indicative moods in the narrative genre. This is similar in my NSKY corpus, with the appositional verbs forming long chains, each expressing a separate comment regarding the independent verb's statement of topic. The mood can be used in (and has been called) subordinative, conjunctive, contemporative, and appositional contexts (Miyaoka, 2012). Appositional verbs are also adverbial. However, the usages and functions of the appositional mood are too many to discuss or give a sufficient description in this present study. Note the special formative morpheme for negative polarity clauses. This negative polarity mood morpheme usually, but not always, correlates with a negative postbase in my NSKY corpus. Refer to (64b).

Table 2.13: Appositional Mood Formatives: The appositional mood (APP) distinguishes between negative and positive polarity.

Appositional Moods	
	Appositional
Positive Polarity	*-lu*
Negative Polarity	*-na*

The second set of mood formatives is used to form realis verbs. The realis primarily consists of two moods: the indicative (IND) and the participial (PART). In addition, by following the organizational rule that category is dictated by form, the 1st-person optative is also categorized as a realis-type verb construction but is discussed independently due to the division between the 1st- and 3rd-person patterns.

The indicative mood is an independent mood, while the participial is a dependent mood. The indicative and participial mood morphemes are shown in Table A.12. Note that these mood formatives indicate transitivity and that the participial makes a distinction between positive and negative polarities in the intransitive construction.

Table 2.14: Realis Mood Formatives: The realis moods are subdivided based on both transitivity and polarity.

Realis Moods			
	Indicative	Participial	Optative
Intransitive Positive	*-gur*	*-lria*	*-la**
Intransitive Negative	*-gur*	*-ngur*	*-la**
Transitive	*-gar*	*-ke*	*-la**
			*First person only

The indicative mood, shown in (56a-b), conveys a declarative force and indicates that a particular event is realis. As Miyaoka states, the indicative provides background information and sets the scene in discourse. A series of appositional verbs often follow the indicative mood. Additionally, in the 3rd-person, when there is a consequential or necessitative postbase, the indicative is often interpreted as an indirect command (Miyaoka, 2012). Jacobson adds that the indicative mood is also used to indicate yes-no-type questions (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995).

The participial mood, shown in (56c-e), is similar in propositional intent but is more exclamative. Miyaoka (2012) states that the mood is used to respond to an utterance or argument, to confirm or attest a statement, or to clarify a discourse stance. The Jacobsons add that the mood marks an observation about the utterance or asks the interlocutor to "picture the event in their mind (Miyaoka, 2012; Jacobson and Jacobson, 1995 p. 385)."

(56) a. *qaner**tuq***
qaner-**tur**-ø
speak-**IND.IN**-SG

's/he says'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:6.1)

b. *qanrulallru**a**tnga*
qanrut-lar-llru-**gar**-nga-t-nga-ø
tell-HAB-PST-**IND.TR**-3.ERGA-PL-1.ABSA.SG-sg

'they would tell me'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:6)

c. *pissurla**lria**kut*
pissur-lar-**lria**-ku-t
hunt-HAB-**PART.IN**-1.ABSA-PL

'we who would hunt'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:21.1)

d. *Kalikani,* *unevkaralukell*
kalikar-t-ni, unevkarar-lu-ki-t=llu
paper-PL-LOCC, tell.legend-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL=COO

*ellilalli**ka**it*
elli-lar-lli-**ke**-ngi-t
put.down-HAB-maybe-**PART.TR**-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL

'They tell the legends so that they might be put down on paper.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:101.3)

e. *neqket* *ayuqenel**nguu**t*
neqkar-t-ø ayuq-nrit-**ngur**-t
prepared.food-PL-ABS similar-NEG-**PART.IN.NEG**-PL

'The prepared foods which are not the same'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:26)

The third set of mood formatives is used to form irrealis constructions. This set includes the interrogative (INTR), imperative (IMP), and 3rd-person optative moods.

In contrast to the realis moods, the irrealis moods display allomorphy based on the subject/agent person rather than the verb's transitivity. The interrogative and imperative moods are shown in Table 2.15.

Table 2.15: The Irrealis Mood Formatives, showing a distinction between the subject person in stark contrast to the distinctions made in the realis or appositional moods. *NA* stands for mood formatives that do not exist.

Irrealis Moods			
	Imperative	Interrogative	Optative
1st Person	NA	*-ce \-(t)si**	NA
2nd Person	*-(g)i*	*-ce \-(t)si**	NA
3rd Person	NA	*-ge*	*-la*
		*Indicates the singular variant	

The interrogative mood is used to ask content questions, However, question constructions can also occur with the other verb moods in some contexts. The interrogative mood uses three mood formatives depending on the agent or subject. The formative *-tsi* is used by default as in (57).

(57) *Yuurtellru**si**a-qa*
Yug-urt-llru-**tsi**-a=qa
person-INCH-PST-**INTR**-SG.LF.1=Q

'(where) was I born? (lit. did I become a person?)'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:15)

The imperative mood is used to issue commands or requests to a 2nd-person subject. The mood is often conflated with the optative because of their complementary person distributions (see Table 2.15). However, the difference in the formative mood morphemes indicates that these should be separated and treated as two different moods, the optative and imperative. The optative mood is included in both Tables A.12 and 2.15 as the verb construction differs depending on its subject/agent person, as shown in Section 2.4.3.

The optative mood (OPT) is generally used to convey the speaker's desire, request or advice and has declarative connotations, as shown in (65) (Miyaoka, 2012). These declarative connotations, as Miyako states, tend to sound too direct or forceful and are considered rude; therefore, unless modified in some way, the optative is relatively

rare in discourse[10]. This aggressive connotation of the optative mood is likely another reason why it is often conflated with the imperative mood. However, with a 3rd-person subject, the optative is used to ask for consent from the interlocutor or convey the speaker's hopes for the 3rd-person; it is not used to issue a command.

Formative morphemes

This section has outlined and described the various morphemes that are used to form Yugtun's syntactic constructions in context. Using the formative morphemes of *number, person, case, conjunctive*, and *mood*, the language's grammar consists of a set of agglutinating portmanteaus which are suffixed to the end of a base to determine its use in context. These portmanteaus have a set formative order, and a change in the order of the formatives indicates a change in syntactic function. These systematic patterns are described in the next section with consideration for the pattern's formative order, and syntactic function.

2.4 Yugtun's syntactic categories: The holophrastic constructions

Yugtun grammar is composed of four basic grammatical constructions that assign a syntactic function to a lexical or deictic base in a speech event. The fundamental syntactic dichotomy contrasts nominals (entities and roles) to verbs (events and relationships), and this aligns with the cognitive universal. However, within linguistic structure, this dichotomy is not dichotomous but rather scalar, with nominals on one side of the metric and verbs on the other. A host of other categories can fall in between, such as modifiers, adpositions, adjectival verbs, auxiliaries, verbal-nominals and more. The Yugtun grammar divides this scale into three syntactic categories and also employs one non-scalar catch-all category. The three scalar categories are called nominals, conjuncts, and verbs. The non-scalar category, which might be argued to be the Yup'ik equivalent of the English catch-all 'adverb,' is called a particle. While this categoricalization differs slightly from the literature, Miyaoka (2012) states:

[10]When I began Fieldwork in Kotlik, I was instructed to always ask the Elders questions by beginning with the phrase *I wonder if...* and to be somewhat roundabout with my question as in *I wonder if you might tell me how to say ...* This politeness value likely stems from the use of the optative mood in Yup'ik. Additionally, there is a specific enclitic *=kir* which translates roughly to 'I wonder' and usually collocates with the interrogative mood discussed above. (Miyaoka, 2012). Modifying the optative mood can occur using paraphrastic constructions, expressive or quotative enclitics, or by talking about oneself in the 3rd-person, relatively common in indirect person constructions (c.f. Miyaoka (2012 p. 876)).

> Interestingly, a limited number of verb stems or expanded verb stems may directly take singular relative case-marking without any intervening nominalizations, as if they were bivalent stems with the demarcation between nominals and verbs being obscured. (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 738)

Miyaoka and others somewhat recognize the inherent fluidity and lack of syntactic categorization of the Yup'ik base. However, my analysis is unique in specifying a *conjunct* category, which occupies the space between a nominal and a verb on the predicative scale, shown in Figure 2.2. Additionally, these syntactic categorizations are not dictated by the Yugtun base but rather by the inflectional, formative pattern attached to the end of any base. These formative patterns are composed using the number, person, case, conjunctive, and mood suffixes introduced in Section 2.3.2. The order of these formative morphemes at the end of the word is responsible for taking a fully lexical or deictic base and assigning it a syntactic function in context. A change in the order of these morphemes is to be noted as significant and indicative of a change in syntactic function.

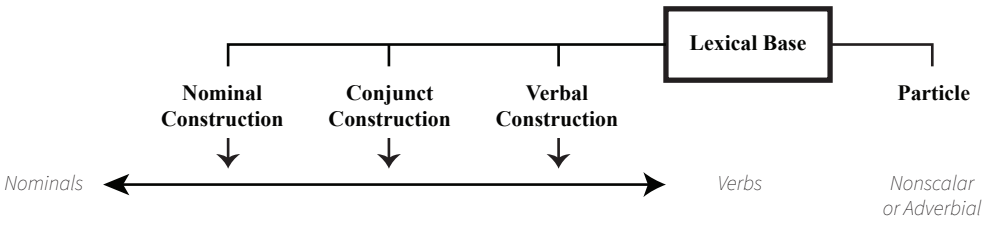


Figure 2.2: The Yugtun Predicative scale: Yugtun lexical bases are inflected to function syntactically using patterns of formative morphemes. The Yugtun syntactic categories are scalar, with nominals on one side, verbs on the other, and conjuncts in between. Particles are part of a non-scalar category that remains uninflected in syntax.

The next subsection discusses the formative patterns used to differentiate nominal constructions. Following, Section 2.4.2 discusses conjunct constructions. The third section (2.4.3) discusses verb constructions, and the final section (2.4.4) discusses particles.

2.4.1 Nominal constructions

Nominals are semantically atemporal and identify entities and roles within a speech event. These holophrastic words are the characters of an event and serve semantic

roles such as agent, the volitional doer of an event, or patient, the undergoer of an event, or beneficiary, the receiver of a patient, and various other roles, including ones that set the scene in time and space (Frawley, 1992). These roles are translated in grammar as subjects, objects, indirect objects, and oblique objects. In addition, the Yugtun language emphasizes agents and patients and tracks them throughout the discourse. These semantic roles are indicated on a base functioning as an entity in a given speech event by inflecting the base as a nominal by using a nominal construction.

All constructions in Yugtun are formed by an agglutinative series of morphemes that inflect a base for its syntactic function and add additional information. The essential Yugtun nominal construction is composed of two formative morphemes suffixed to the base in the following fixed order: *base + number + case*. A generic unpossessed nominal inflected with the nominal formative pattern appears within the following construction in Figure 2.3 and is exemplified in (58).

Figure 2.3: Nominal Pattern: The Construction of an Unpossessed Nominal

(58) *kavia**nek***
kaviar-**ø-nek**
red.fox-**SG-ABL/INT**

'red fox'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:6.1)

This simple construction in Figure 2.3 is expanded upon to mark possession. The expanded pattern uses four formative morphemes in the following fixed order: *base + (base) number + (possessor) person + (possessor) number + case*.

For both of these nominal constructions, the first morpheme, *(base) number*, marks the number of the lexical base itself. A nominal can be marked in the singular, dual, or plural. Refer to Section 2.3.2 for the morphological forms used to indicate grammatical number.

The final morpheme, *case*, indicates the grammatical or semantic role of the nominal construction. The case system and the morphemes are discussed in Section 2.3.2.

The two morphemes between *(base) number* and *case* are optional and only used in possessive constructions. These two morphemes are the Yup'ik equivalent to English's

possessive pronouns. These morphemes indicate whether the base is possessed by another entity and indicate the possessor's person and number. The first morpheme in this sub-pattern indicates the *person* that possesses the nominal. Possession is split into two marking systems based on which person morpheme is utilized to indicate possessor. On unmarked core nominals, the possessor person takes the nominative form (thus emphasizing subjectivity). The affixation of the possessor often deletes the base number due to morpheme type. This deletion can lead to ambiguity between singular-and plural-possessed nominals. The exception to this ambiguity is in 3rd-person possession, which uses a polyexponential nominative variant ((3.NOM.#COM) where # stands for either SG, DU, PL) form that indicates the number of the nominal. As a split-ergative system, Yugtun then uses the ergative form of the 1st-, 2nd-, and 4th-persons to mark possession on nominals marked in the ergative and oblique cases.

The second morpheme in this subpattern indicates the *number* of the possessor, either singular, dual, or plural, utilizing the same number morphemes shown in Section 2.3.2. The construction for a possessed nominal is represented in Figure 2.4 and exemplified in (59):

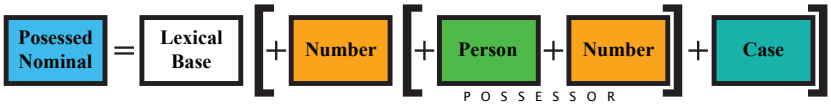


Figure 2.4: Possessed Nominal Pattern: The Construction of a possessed Nominal

(59) a. *eglerellerka**mnek***
eglerte-llerka-**ø-m-ø-nek**
move-FUT-**SG-1.ERGA-SG-ABL/INT**

'my walk of life'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:29.1)

b. *eglerellerka**mtenek***
eglerte-llerka-**ø-m-t-nek**
move-FUT-**SG-1.ERGA-PL-ABL/INT**

'our walk of life'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:32.1)

c. *eglerellerka**iteggun***
eglere-llerka-**t-ngi-t-kun**
move-FUT-**PL-3.NOM.PLCOM-PL-PRL**

'along their walk of life'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:30.3)

In my NSKY corpus, the 1st- and 3rd-person possessed nominals tend to cooccur with the long-form number variant. The long-form number variant is potentially used in these constructions as a way of bringing attention to 3rd-person possessed nominals marked in the ergative case, which would otherwise be ambiguous with absolute possessed nominals. A full analysis of the long-form number's environment is called for but goes beyond the scope of this study.

Thus, words functioning in context as nominals are indicated by affixing to the end of a base a systematic inflectional pattern utilizing one of seven nominal cases in combination with the person and the number morphemes in a fixed order. This nominal formative pattern serves to demarcate entities from events or conjuncts. These nominal constructions are summarized in Appendix A.

2.4.2 Conjunct constructions

The Yup'ik conjunct is a holophrastic word forming a second type of constructional syntactic category between temporal verbs and atemporal nominals, which in English might equate best to a nominalized clause. For this reason, the Yup'ik literature often treats these as second-tier subordinate verb moods called connective moods. Miyaoka identifies 13 subtypes of connective moods (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 1384). These connective moods are then translated as verb phrases.

However, based on the formative pattern that they collocate with, *conjuncts* are distinct from verbs. Instead, the best way to translate these constructions is as a gerundial noun similar to a possessed nominalized phrase. This is similar to a verbal noun in English or Welsh, as in (60) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2014). Gerundial nouns or verbal nouns in English are similar to gerunds, participials, and infinitives in that they are nonfinite. However, while gerundial nouns are derived from verbs, they function fully as nouns. In English, gerundial nouns are formed by treating the patient of the action as a prepositional phrase rather than as a noun phrase. This happens because the action is distributed as a noun, which cannot take an object. Instead, the patient becomes the object of the preposition, as shown in (60a) (Hoekstra, 2004).

(60) a. The killing of the president was an atrocious crime. (Verbal noun)

b. Killing the president was an atrocious crime. (Gerund)

(Hoekstra, 2004)

A Yugtun conjunct goes beyond the English verbal noun and is used to specify contextual information through a coordinating dependent clause. In Yugtun, this is a constructional syntactic holophrase of its own, independent from either nominals or verbs. Under this analysis, the syntactic patterns and interactions of these conjuncts require further investigation at a later time. However, this study still provides a brief account of their formative pattern in this section to showcase the difference in both structure and meaning.

As holophrastic words, these conjuncts or verbal nouns are a single unit of meaning that interact with the syntax on their own terms and are formed with the conjunct construction. In contrast, infinitive, subordinate, and adverbial clauses are constructed with the appositional verb mood. Participials are constructed with the participial verb mood. Gerunds are typically constructed through nominalizing postbases or with the appositional mood.

The form of a conjunct construction can be divided between two subcategories: the nominal conjunct and the transitive conjunct. The nominal pattern is the default and most frequent. Both patterns, however, use the same conjunction formatives as discussed in the Section 2.3.2 and general formative pattern, as shown in the next subsections.

Nominal conjunct constructions

The Conjunct construction, similar to nominal construction, utilizes a systematic inflectional pattern at the end of a Yugtun base. This formative pattern distinguishes nominals from conjuncts from verbs based on the formative order. A Yugtun conjunct is formed using the agglutinating formative pattern: *conjunctive + person + number + case*.

The conjunctive, used to identify this construction, is selected from the Conjunctive Formative Table 2.12. The person morpheme, which acts as the event's nominal (possessor) argument, always takes the ergative form (emphasizing agentivity). This is followed by the number of the nominal argument, indicating a singular, dual, or plural person. Again, as mentioned for nominals, the long-form tends to be used with 1st- and 3rd-person conjuncts, likely for similar reasons.

The final morpheme in the formative pattern is case. When a non-oblique case is used, Miyaoka identifies it as the relative (ergative or genitive) case. The use of oblique

cases in this construction is analogous to the structure of a verbal noun described above, which uses a prepositional phrase as the compliment. Examples are shown in (55) and again in context in (61). I schematize the conjunct construction as in Figure 2.5:

Figure 2.5: Nominal Conjunct Pattern: The Construction of a nominal conjunct

(61) *Tamatum nalliini, makut mani teggnerput, aanaput, aataput-llu takaqluki yuuyuralallruukut, takarnaqluteng tamarmeng, tauguam* ***takarnarngemeng****, qaturluta waten qasigmi-llu* ***uitaqamta****.*

Tamatum	*nalliini,*	*makut*	*mani*
Ta-mat-u-ø-m	nalliini,	ma-ku-t-ø	ma-a-ø-ni
R<that-OF.SG-SG-ERG.SG	at.time.of,	this-OF.NS-PL-ABS	here-FL-SG-LOC

teggnerput,	*aanaput,*
teggner-t-pu-t-ø,	aana-t-pu-t-ø,
elder-PL-1.NOMA-PL-ABS,	mother-PL-1.NOMA-PL-ABS

aataput-llu	*takaqluki*
aata-t-pu-t-ø=llu	takaq-lu-ki-t
father-PL-1.NOMA-PL-ABS=COO	respectful-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL

yuuyuralallruukut,	*takarnaqluteng*
yuu-yurar-lar-llru-gur-ku-t,	takarnarq-lu-teg-t
live-way.of-HAB-PST-IND.IN-1.ABSA-PL,	intimidating-APP-4.NOMA-PL

tamarmeng,	*tauguam*
tamar-t-meg-t-ø,	ta-ug-u-ø-ø=am
all-PL-4.ERGA-PL-ABS	R<only-OF.SG-SG-ABS=EMPH

takarnarngemeng*,*	*qaturluta*
takarnarq-nga-meg-t-ø,	qatur-lu-ta
intimidating-CNJ.(because)-4.ERGA-PL-ERG,	gather-APP-PL.LF

waten	*qasigmi-llu*
u-a-ø-ten	qasig-ø-mi=llu
this-FL-SG-ÆQL	men's.house-SG-LOC.SG=COO

uitaqamta*.*
uita-gaqa-m-ta-ø
stay-CNJ.(Constantive)-1.ERGA-PL.LF-ERG

'Back then, the people here—our mothers and fathers—lived the way of respecting our Elders, who were all very intimidating; only **because of their awe** did we gather together in the men's steam house like this **whenever we were home**.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:10)

Example (61) shows that English needs to include a verbal component as a dependent clause to translate these words. However, these conjunct constructions construe a proposition as a single stative scene and ask the interlocutor to view it as if it were a picture. These are not events. Langacker (1987a) posits that words are categorized in terms of the constructions they occur in (Langacker, 1987a pp. 97, 240–244). In his categorization of lexical categories, he argues that words can be divided into the universal categories of *things*, or nouns, and *processes*, or verbs, refer to the discussion in Section 2.3. Nouns are understood through a process called summary scanning, whereby the various configurations of a thing are made available to the speaker as a single gestalt. By contrast, verbs are understood through sequential scanning, whereby configurations are tracked from one moment to the next. He further argues that sequentiality may be suppressed in some constructions, leaving behind a summated view of the event (Langacker, 2008 p. 576). Thus, in Yugtun, nominal constructions fall under the domain of summary scanning, according to Langacker, while verbs, to be discussed in Section 2.4.5, are sequentially scanned. However, conjunct constructions are neither and have their sequentiality suppressed. Conjuncts are interpreted more akin to nominals, and this observation is reinforced by one of the obligatory elements to the construction, *case*. Using case, these conjuncts are nominal in function and use a person+number+case construction similar to nominal possession. In addition, in discourse, they are used to provide an aside or non-obligatory comment to the utterance. Their function in the discourse, not the subject of this study, is markedly different from that of a verb.

Transitive conjunct constructions

The transitive conjunct is a subcategory of the conjunct pattern which is used to mark a bivalent proposition and replaces the formative *case* morpheme with *patient agreement* using ergative-absolutive alignment. This subconstruction demonstrates a creative use of the person formatives to take a verbal-noun and construe it bivalently with the available morphemes.

As with the nominal conjuncts, the transitive conjuncts begin with a conjunctive formative followed by ergative person and number formatives. However, instead of

ending with a case formative, the transitive conjunct replaces case with an absolutive person argument to convey transitive semantics within the conjunct construction, similar to transitive verb constructions. The conjunct pattern, however, is markedly different from the verb constructions, which use split-ergativity, as I show in the next section. This ability to creatively form a transitive conjunct pattern distinct from verbs further establishes the conjunct syntactic category as an intermediary between nominals and predicates. I schematize the transitive conjunct construction in 2.6 and exemplify it in (62):

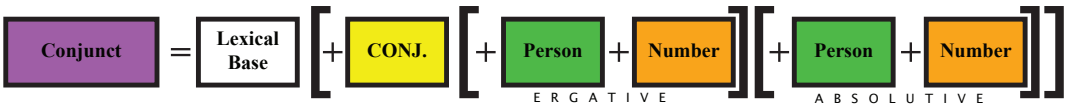


Figure 2.6: Transitive Conjunct Conjunct Pattern: The Construction of a transitive conjunct

(62) *taqeng**kunegteggu***
taq-nge-**ku-meg-t-gu-ø**
to.quit-to.begin.to.V-**CONJ.(Conditional)-4.ERGA-PL-3.PL.ACCA.SG-SG**

'if they stop using it'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:24.2)

While these transitive conjuncts are used when the occasion calls for it, they are very infrequent in my NSKY corpus.

Conjuncts as a syntactic category

I assert that conjuncts are a syntactic category separate from verbs for the following reasons. (i) In the nominal conjunct construction, they take ergative person alignment functioning as a possessor rather than absolutive alignment as is standard for intransitive verbs. (ii) The 3rd-person accusative morpheme is not dropped as is standard for realis verbs. (iii) These words take nominal case. (iv) On the rare occasion that an object is included in the holophrastic conjunct, there is no split in ergativity. (v) There is no allomorphy distinction in the conjunctive morphemes for transitivity, polarity, or person.

However, the conjuncts also are not marked for base-number like the noun construction is, instead, only marking number for the ergative/nominative person possessor. Furthermore, due to the potentiality of the object agreement complex, I also assert

that these are not nominals. Therefore, it must be posited that Yup'ik has four syntactic categories: nominals, conjuncts, verbs, and particles.

This construction's two subpatterns, that of a nominal interpretation of the holophrastic word and that of a more transitive interpretation, help to show the productivity and agglutinative nature of the person and number morphemes. If these inflectional word endings were structurally fused, it should not be possible to utilize the internal segments as discrete morphemes to creatively alter a construction's pattern from a nominal to a transitive function.

The semantic characterization of these words and their use in the syntax requires greater attention. They have likely been left mainly undescribed due to their categorization as second-tier subordinate verbs or as "nouns transitioning to verb-hood (Miyaoka, 2012 pp. 1386, 1410)." However, we might hypothesize that these conjuncts are functioning "adverbially" as a special kind of oblique nominal. This analysis is supported by the use of the ergative/genitive person morpheme followed by the ergative/genitive or oblique case in the constructional pattern. This further posits that these conjuncts function not as verbs but somewhere between a nominal and a verb.

Through this characterization of the conjunct construction and the summaries of the holophrastic constructions in Figures 2.5-2.6, I show that the conjunct is a distinct syntactic category. It does not follow the same constructional patterns as nominals or verbs. Both the structure and meaning of this syntactic category differ from both nominals and verbs; therefore, we can not categorize it as either. The conjunct is its own lexical and holophrastic category, which requires further attention to describe how it truly interacts with the syntax and functions to contribute to an utterance's semantics and pragmatics.

2.4.3 Verb constructions

Verbs manifest on the opposite side of the cognitive scale to nominals as shown in Figure 2.2 (Langacker, 1987a). Whereas nominals are object words that perform a referential function by encoding a *thing* or entity, verbs are action words that predicate an *event* or *process* (Langacker, 1987a; Croft, 2001). An event is a state or action that the entities undergo or carry out (Payne, 1997). Verbs are the core of an utterance directing and orienting the entities that participate in the event. As a holophrastic word in Yup'ik, the verb is the sole mandatory syntactic construction in any utterance (Miyaoka, 2012). This verbal privilege is grounded to the utterance by the verb construction, which marks *mood*, *subject agreement*, and *object agreement*. As the

verb indicates both the person and the number of its core arguments, the arguments can be dropped unless they are semantically or pragmatically required. The verb can function as the entirety of the proposition itself. Nevertheless, the default word order is optionally subject, object, conjunct, dependent verbs, and obligatorily the independent verb.

Like the nominal and conjunct constructions, the verb construction involves a formative pattern of the basic morphological building blocks we have examined thus far. The syntactic construction follows the pattern: *mood + agent-person + agent-number + patient/subject-person + patient/subject-number*. The first formative morpheme in the agglutinative pattern is *mood*, which defines the verbal syntactic construction, just as *case* is specific to nominals and *conjunctive* is specific to conjuncts. Mood serves primarily to indicate the propositional intent of the verb. However, it can also serve to link and chain verbs together under the same propositional intent.

The second and third formative morphemes are used to mark the agent, and are, therefore, present only in transitive verbs. Just as in other constructions, this person agreement is composed of a person formative (Tables 2.6-2.8) and a number formative (Table 2.5). Yugtun indicates agents using ergative agreement. When nominative-accusative alignment is triggered by a 3rd-person object, the agent is marked using the nominative agreement form instead. In this construction, the nominative subject makes use of the same nominative variant used in possession and is selected for in these constructions by the number of the patient argument. In these instances, the patient argument is often dropped.

The final pair of morphemes in the construction indicate the subject (in intransitive constructions) or the patient (in transitive constructions). The expected alignment pattern uses the absolutive person form (ABSA) to mark both roles. However, as Yugtun is a split-ergative language, when there is a 3rd-person intransitive subject, the nominative person is used instead. Additionally, when there is a 3rd-person patient in a transitive verb, both the subject and the object are marked using nominative-accusative alignment. This alignment is the most common in my corpus.

Thus, the formative verb construction is composed of five morphemes and can be abstractly diagrammed as a composite verb construction as follows in Figure 2.7, with two preliminary examples in (63).

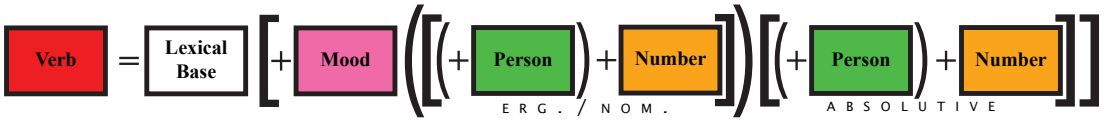


Figure 2.7: Verb Pattern: The formative pattern in a verb construction.

(63) a. *aulukciq**amceci***
auluke-ciqe-**gar-m-t-t-t**
watch-FUT-**IND.TR-1.ERGA-PL-2.ABSA-PL**

'We will watch out for you all'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:36.1)

b. *yuuyuralallru**ukut***
yuk-yaraq-lar-llru-**gur-ku-t**
live-way.of-HAB-PST-**IND.IN-1.ABSA-PL**

'thats how we lived'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:10.1)

Some minor shifts in this formative pattern arise due to structural or semantic factors. These shifts create formative patterns that divide the moods into the appositional mood, the realis moods, and the irrealis moods. I follow this division in this section and discuss each set of patterns in turn. Each pattern is expressed through the use of various mood formatives. The realis pattern includes both indicative and participial moods, the irrealis pattern includes the interrogative and imperative moods, and the appositional pattern is used only for the appositional mood (sometimes called the subordinate (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995)). The optative mood uses both realis and irrealis patterns depending on person.

Appositional verbs

The dependant appositional mood is noteworthy among verbs as it only ever marks the absolutive argument, and is used in reference tracking. Functionally, this means that transitive and intransitive verbs are ambigous when there is a 1st- or 2nd-person argument. When tracking a 3rd-person argument, the appositional mood uses the 4th-person formative to mark subjects and the 3rd-person to mark objects, both of which use nominative-accusative alignment. Unmarked subjects are assumed to agree

with the independent verb mood. The general constructions can be schematized as in Figure 2.8 and exemplified in (64a):

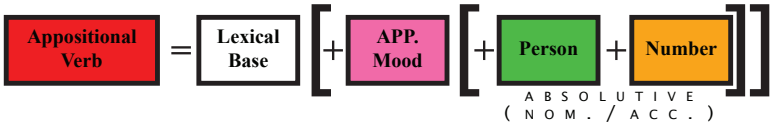


Figure 2.8: The Appositional Pattern: The formative pattern in an appositional verb construction.

Further reducing the form of the appositional construction, 1st-person arguments are dropped. However, the long-form number morpheme collocates with the 1st-person morpheme in the appositional construction and is left behind as an indication of the agreement pattern. This use of the long-form number is a continuation of a pattern seen throughout many constructions so far and helps disambiguate who the speaker is referencing. This may also be indicative of some person and number formatives beginning to fuse into polyexponetial variants.

(64) a.

*anagu**luteng***	*yuut*	*amllellrunretut*
anagut-**lu-teg-t**	yug-t-ø	amller-llru-nrir-tur-t
misbehave-**APP-4.NOMA-PL**	person-PL-ABS	many-PST-NEG-IND.IN-PL

‘there weren’t many people misbehaving’

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:3)

b.

*nepau**nata***
nepa-ngu-**na-ta**
noise-STAT-**APP.NEG-PL.LF**

‘we weren’t noisy’

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:29.5)

c. Qunguli**luku** negqili**luku**, aqum**luku**. Erur**luku**, qunguli**luku**.

*Qunguli**luku***	*negqili**luku**,*
qungu-lir-**lu-gu-ø**	neger-ngi-lir-**lu-gu-ø**
grave-make-**APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG**	north-CAUS-made-**APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG**

*aqum**luku**.*	*Erur**luku**,*
aqum-**lu-gu-ø**.	erur-**lu-gu-ø**
sit-**APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG**.	clean-**APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG**

*qunguli**luku**.*
qungur-lir-**lu-gu-ø**.
grave-made-**APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG**

'The graves were made to sit to the north. It was cleaned, and the grave was made.'
Lit: '(A grave in the village) having it made to be a grave, having it made northward, having it sitting, having cleaned it, having it made to be a grave.

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:83.4-83.5)

Realis constructions

The realis pattern is characterized by an ergative-absolutive alignment pattern with non-3rd-person patients and a nominative-accusative alignment pattern with 3rd-person patients. The patterns are also characterized by dropping the accusative person formative (see Appendix A).

The intransitive verbs use an intransitive mood formative followed by subject agreement using both person and number formatives. For 1st- and 2nd-person subjects, the absolutive person formative is used. For 3rd-person participial mood subjects, the nominative person formative is used. When a 3rd-person subject is in the indicative mood, the person formative is dropped and only expressed by its corresponding long-form number morpheme.

There is some variation to this realis pattern. When the nominative-accusative alignment pattern is utilized, the order of the morphemes is markedly reversed. The accusative patient argument is placed in the first agreement position closest to the verb base, and the person formative but not the number formative is dropped. The nominative argument is then expressed using the nominative variant form for the 3rd-person, which is selected for by the dropped patient formative (the 1st- and 2nd-person use the nominative formative, as there is no variant). This nominative (variant) formative is then placed in the word-final position. Thus, the construction is as follows: *transitive mood + ø + patient number + nominative (variant) person + nominative agent number*. The nominative variant is used to convey both the subject and the object. These alterations are used to highlight the change in grammatical alignment. When the constructions are viewed as wholly fusional endings (as typically presented and examined in grammatical descriptions), it makes the constructional portmanteaus appear unpredictable, requiring rote memorization. However, these processes occur in regular patterns.

Irrealis constructions

There are very few irrealis formative constructions in my NSKY corpus, and I can, therefore, say very little about how their composition differs from the default verb

construction discussed above. The irrealis pattern occurs with both imperative and interrogative moods, as well as some optative moods (discussed below). Generally, it seems that irrealis constructions use nominative-accusative alignment for both 2nd- and 3rd-persons. The expansion of the nominative alignment in the irrealis moods likely reflects the deagentivization of the subject in the imperative and interrogative moods. This is supported by evidence from Jacobson, whose inflectional paradigms suggest that the singular 2nd-person agreement complex is dropped in the imperative mood. This happens cross-linguistically in commands and is not unexpected. There are no imperatives used in my NSKY corpus, so I do not exemplify these patterns here.

The interrogative mood requires a question word to cooccur in the sentence, usually sentence-initial, followed by the interrogative verb (Miyaoka, 2012). In this mood, the 1st- or 2nd-person subject is marked using the nominative formative. Additionally, a 1st-person formative is always dropped, leaving only a long-form number formative to hold its place as in (57). The transitive constructions follows the irrealis pattern described for the imperative mood. Note that the literature indicates that a 1st-person can not be used as the agent in irrealis constructions. A 2nd-person singular agent in the interrogative mood is also dropped, leaving the number formative behind to indicate agreement.

The irrealis formative pattern, in broad strokes, is shown in Appendix A.

Optative constructions

The optative mood is an independent verb mood which uses a realis formative construction with the 1st-person agent and subject arguments, as in (65), and an irrealis formative pattern with the 3rd-person agents and subjects. A 2nd-person agent or subject is not encoded in the optative mood but Yugtun speakers can convey a similar meaning using the imperative mood.

(65) *Uteryug**luk**-llua aipaqa-llu kingunellunuk*

*Uteryug**luk**-llua*	*aipaqa-llu*
Uter-yug-**la-gnuk**=llu=a	aipai-ø-ngka-ø-ø=llu
return-want-**OPT-DU.LF**=COO=GWP	partner-SG-1.NOMA.SG-SG=COO

kingunellunuk
kinguner-llu-gnuk
home-APP-DU.LF

'my spouse and I yearned to return and be home'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:103)

In the 1st-person realis constructions, expressing desires, the syntactic construction is formed with the optative mood followed by person alignment. Again, when speaking about their own desires, speakers will often drop the person morpheme and use long-form number. This seems to be dependent on who the speaker is expressing desire about and on if the speaker is speaking for themselves or for a group, but more research into the full optative pattern is needed. This 1st-person morpheme is likely dropped in this position due to the pragmatic taboo of asserting the speaker's desires as realis. By dropping the person formative, the expressed agentivity of the speaker is reduced and implied through context. This is a way of softening the optative's propositional intent and circumventing a direct expression to conform with politeness values.

The irrealis constructions are used in the optative mood when there is a 3rd-person subject or agent. The irrealis pattern described in detail above follows a primarily nominative-accusative alignment system.

The formative patterns used for the optative mood are shown in Appendix A in broad strokes.

Verb constructions summary

The verb sub-patterns can be condensed into three significant distinctions:

Pattern 1: The patient is treated the same way for all verb types using an appropriate person formative followed by a corresponding number formative.

Pattern 2: The agent is treated according to realis and irrealis patterns. The realis pattern uses ergative alignment for 1st- and 2nd-persons and nominative alignment for 3rd-persons. The irrealis pattern uses nominative formatives for all agents and subjects, effectively reducing agentivity.

Pattern 3: Subjects are overarchingly the same, but each mood dictates their micro-patterns, like pragmatic dropping due to indirectness constraints.

All of these patterns are regular and consistent.

Summarizing this discussion on the verb construction, I assert that a lexical base is indicated as a verbal holophrase within an utterance by inflecting it according to Figure 2.7. As discussed in the preceding three subsections on verb constructions, there are consistent structural alterations for each mood. While there are some deviations from the general pattern, these sub-patterns are linguistically crucial to describing the language on its own terms. Crucially to my discussion on syntactic categorization, the verbal formative patterns are markedly different from the transitive conjunct, nominal conjunct, possessed nominal, or unpossessed nominal patterns.

2.4.4 Particle constructions

The final syntactic category (defined in this study as a contextually specified inflectional pattern) included in descriptions of Yup'ik grammar is called the *particle*. Particles are lexical bases that do not inflect but are employed in an utterance to varied effects. Alternatively, they can constitute inflected lexical bases that have grammaticalized into a particular function and can no longer be used productively. As Miyaoka states, they can be "so subtle and elusive as to defy clear-cut definition. Their functional classification cannot be a neat one... (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 1501)."

The term particles in Yugtun is much like that of "adverb" in English. "Adverb" is defined as a catch-all category that comprises any number of small lexical and syntactic categories unrelated beyond the fact that they are usually optional elements in a proposition and modify some other element in the proposition (Payne, 1997 p. 69). Similarly, Yugtun particles are usually categorized as particles merely because they do not fit anywhere else or are deemed too peripheral to warrant complete characterization.

I include particles as syntactic construction because these words have larger-than-lexical functions in the language. However, unlike the nominals, conjuncts, and verbs, particles either do not collocate with a formative pattern or the formative pattern has fused with the lexical base to create a new base that does not use a formative pattern in context. The lack of a formative pattern thus defines the formative morphology of the particle category.

Miyaoka subcategorizes the different types of particles as exclamatives, interjectives, sentence-words, sentence-adverbials, adverbials, conjunctional, discursive, and sentence fillers. Exclamatives and interjectives are used to convey an emotive force to a proposition. While sentence words stand independently and include meanings such as 'you are welcome' or 'thank you.' Sentence-adverbials are deictic and used in modality or evidentiality. Adverbials include locationals, temporals, or manner adverbs. The conjunctionals are usually coordinating conjunctions but can also indicate conditional coordination among others, and the overlap or distinction from conjuncts should be examined in a later study. Finally, the discursive and sentence fillers include expletive functions, among various other uses (Miyaoka, 2012). Many of these particles are conventionalized forms of the demonstratives discussed in Chapter Four.

Enclitics perform a similar function to particles but surface in the grammar attached to the end of any word while not altering the word's morphophonology. Enclitics are monosyllabic and can occur in succession, often used in discourse as "interactive adverbs (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 1544)."

Miyaoka (2012), classifies enclitics as *reactive, expressive, reportative/quotative.* The reactive enclitics *-wa*, (68), and *-gga* are discussed in Chapter Four as they are endophoric demonstratives. Expressive enclitics are modals expressing hope, exclamations, negative exclamations, frustrations, and questions. Finally, the reportative is an indirect or hearsay evidential.

The connection between particles and enclitics is strong. Most enclitics are grammaticalized and conventionalized particles. Moreover, most particles seem to be grammaticalized and conventionalized lexical bases that assume idiomatic functionality. This follows Mithun's 2012 analysis that grammaticalization is a major diachronic process in Yup'ik. For instance, the verb *tangqaqluku* means 'it was seen' from the lexical base *tangke-* 'to see.' The particle *tang* calls attention to or brings joint attention to an object, space, or proposition and can be translated as 'look!' The particle can also be an enclitic, as in (66).

(66) a. ***Tang****qaqluku*
tangke-qaq-lu-gu-ø
to.see-ITR/HAB-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG

'it was seen'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:126.1)

b. *tuani=**tang***
ta-ua-a-ni=**tang**
R<PROX-FL-LOC=**look**

'look there!'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:16.5)

Another pattern is seen in the particle *ataam* which is undergoing a process of encliticization. *Ataam* means 'again,' and when encliticized as *=ataam* or *=am* conveys emphasis, as in (67).

(67) a.

kiagaqan	***ataam***
kiag-gaqa-nga-n-ø	**ataam**
summer-CNJ.(constantive)-3.ERGA-SG.LF-ERG	**again**

'when summer arrives again'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:26.3)

b. *Cali=**ataam!***
cali=**ataam**
more=**again**

'furthermore again,'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:14.1)

c. *Assinga**am!***
assir-nge-gar-nga-ø=**am**
good-to.begin.to.V-IND.TR-3.NOMA.SGCOM-SG=**EMPH**

'it started to become good!'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:122.2)

Another excellent example of the cline between a base and that of an enclitic can be seen in the proximal demonstrative *u(at)-*, in (68), as it can be used as a lexical base, a particle, and as an enclitic. The semantics of this demonstrative base are discussed in Chapter Three, and the myriad functions and structure of this demonstrative are discussed in Chapter Four.

(68) a. *ayagluta* ***wani*** *iralumi*
ayag-lu-ta **ua-a-t-ni** iraluq-t-ni
travel-APP-PL.LF **PROX-FL-PL-LOC** moon-PL-LOC

'we travel in **this** month **now**'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:21.1)

b. *tauguam* ***wani,***
ta-ug-u=am **ua-a-t-ni**
R<DIST-OF.SG=EMPH **PROX-FL-PL-LOC**

'however, **umm,**'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:24.1)

c. *amlerpamam-**wa!***
amller-rpak-umari-ø-m=**wa**
to.be.many-big-PRF-SG.ERG=**anaphor**

'**in regards to** everything,'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:35.4)

In summary, particles and enclitics fill a large syntactic category used to perform myriad functions in connected discourse. They differ from nominals, conjuncts, and verbs in that they do not inflect and are often conventionalized or idiomatic forms. This short characterization of particles as a category is sufficient for this study, but demonstrative particles and enclitics are discussed further in later chapters.

2.4.5 The formative patterns

Throughout the literature, patterns within the inflectional paradigms have been recognized and usually appear similar to those discussed above regarding the person and number morphemes. However, many linguists posit that the inflectional word endings for nouns and verbs are unitary, unparsable, or fusional morphemes that must be memorized—requiring 456 verb suffixes to be memorized wholesale and 273 noun suffixes. Fusion is the linguistic encoding of multiple morphemes into a single indivisible and unparsable polyexponential morpheme. Agglutination, in contrast, can be understood as the process of stringing mono- or polyexponential morphemes together, potentially into conventionalized portmanteaus, whereby each morpheme and its associated function can be parsed and recovered in linguistic analysis. Thus, these formative patterns are usually discussed within the context of the 'fusional' inflections being easier to memorize due to "some internal segmentability and paradigm levelling (Woodbury, 2017 p. 5)."

I argue in this study that the patterns are paramount to the language's syntactic categorization criteria and that treating them as a fused system obfuscates the linguistic patterns and principles at play in the Yugtun language. The Yugtun language places a high emphasis on marking agents and arguments outside the absolutive and nominative expectations. When there is potential for ambiguity between patterns, long forms of the number formatives are used. When a person formative is dropped for social reasons (polite deagentivizing in the optative 1st-person singular, or in indirectness constructions) or for structural reasons (dropping 3rd-person accusative arguments in the realis moods), there are special constructions used to highlight these changes. The predominately monoexponential formative system might be more difficult to learn than memorizing over a thousand polyexponential morphemes for a learner, but it exists, it is productive, and the speakers represented in the NSKY Corpus recognize it. In addition, the pattern is essential as a change in pattern is a change in syntax. These patterns demonstrate that Yugtun uses four different constructional syntactic categories placed on a nominal-predicate scale (Figure 2.9) and give lexical bases a range of syntactic functions in context.

In summary, these constructional patterns are not fusional bundles but agglutinating or concatenating portmanteaus composed of regular, defined, and meaningful orders of formative morphemes, which can be reliably identified through an understanding of the morphophonological processes in the language.

Figure 2.9: Nominal - Predicate Cline: This figure shows the gradation of Yugtun syntactic categories from the typologically atemporal things to the temporal events.

2.5 Introducing demonstrative constructions

In Section 2.3.1, I identified a lexical distinction in the Yugtun lexicon between lexical bases and deictic bases. The distinction between the two categories is based on a collocational difference in the derivational postbases that are suffixed to the base and in their distributional differences. The deictic bases include pronouns, quantifiers, positional, and fundamental demonstrative bases (3.2), which are the focus of this study.

Like the lexical bases, the deictic bases are syntactically fluid and can be inflected using any of the formative constructions presented in the preceding sections. In my NSKY corpus, demonstratives are only present as nominals or particles (69) and (70), respectively. Demonstrative nominals use the constructions described in Sections 2.4.1 and 4.3, and demonstrative particles are discussed in depth in Section 4.3.2. However, according to Miyaoka (2012), they can also be inflected as verbs as in (71) using the verb constructions in Section 2.4.3.

(69) *imumi*
im-u-ø-mi
DEM-EXPANDER-SG-LOC.SG

'in that (obscured) place'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:166.4)

(70) *tayima*
ta-im-a
GWP-DEM-EXPANDER

'Hopefully'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:101.2)

(71) *imkuryugtuq*
im-ku-ryug-tur-ø
DEM-EXPANDER-DES(DENOMINALIZER)-IND.IN-SG

'He wants to do that (secretive)'

(Miyaoka, 2012)

Crucial to demonstrative constructions, however, is the presence or absence of a closed class set of derivational morphemes that collocate with the fundamental demonstrative bases. These morphemes are termed "expanders" by Miyaoka (2012) and include, among others, the morphemes *-na* in (72 a), *-u* in (72 b), *-ku* in (72 c), *-a* in (72 d). I go into more depth about their crucial frame of reference functions in context in Chapter Four after I contextualize the fundamental demonstrative bases within the frame of reference models in Chapter Three.

(72) a. *tau**na***
ta-u-**na**-ø-ø
DEM-**EXPANDER**-SG-ABS

barge-aq
bargear-ø-ø
barge-SG-ABS

'**this** barge'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:44.1)

b. *doctor-ama*
doctorar-ø-m-a-ø
doctor-SG-1.ERGA-SG.LF-ABS

*u**u**m*
u-**u**-ø-m
DEM-**EXPANDER**-SG-ERG.SG

'my doctor—**this one**'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:101)

c. *u**ku**t-llu*
u-**ku**-t-ø=llu
DEM-**EXPANDER**-PL-ABS=COO

irniangka
irniar-t-ngka-ø-ø
children-PL-1.NOMA.SG-SG-ABS

'**these** children of mine'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:109)

d. *Anglellemni*
angler-ller-m-ø-ni
grow.up-CNJ.(when)-1.ERGA-SG-LOC

*tama**a**n*
ta-ma-**a**-ni
DEM-**EXPANDER**-LOC

'When I was growing up **there**'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:3)

Even though I do not describe the individual semantics of these "expanders" until Section 4.2, throughout Chapter Three, I use my glossing conventions, which are embedded within a frame of reference model to identify and differentiate these expanders

within the examples. Thus, *-na* is glossed as OF.SG.ABS, *-u* is glossed as OF.SG, *-ku* is glossed as OF.NS, and *-a* is glossed as FL. In addition, demonstratives can collocate with special nominal case formatives, which are discussed in Section 4.3.1.

A fuller description of demonstrative constructions and their idiosyncracies is reserved until Chapter Four, as their use in context depends heavily on the semantics of the fundamental demonstrative bases, which is discussed in the next chapter.

2.6 Yugtun morphosyntax discussion

Speakers of different languages categorize the world differently in stark and subtle ways. One major area of categorization in a language is with the word, or more precisely, the lexical inventory itself. As described in this chapter, there are two theories of lexical categorization, the *particularist* and the *constructional*. The particularist approach argues that every language has broad overarching categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs (Hieber, 2023). The constructional approach argues that languages are comprised of myriad small language-specific constructions which emerge through context and form language-specific major categories. These emergent constructions tend towards cross-linguistic universals due to cognitive processes that organize the world into actors and events (Croft, 2001).

The descriptions focusing on the polysynthetic and agglutinating Central Alaskan Yup'ik language have used both particularist and constructional approaches, with some, like Jacobson and Jacobson (1995), arguing for particular categories and, in so doing, conflating smaller constructional categories that showcase some surface similarity such as the appositional verbs, main verbs, and conjuncts. This approach also leaves a huge category called particles as an aside for anything that cannot be lumped together. In contrast, others, such as Thalbitzer (1911), have proposed a lack or near lack of categorization altogether, from the lexical to syntactic, arguing that words in Yugtun at any level are fundamentally the same[11]. Mithun (2017) and Woodbury (2017) argue that categories do exist and must due to the existence of derivational morphemes that provide structure within the holophrastic word and select for nouniness or verbiness thereby straddling the boundaries of the word and the phrase. Mithun (2017) and Hieber (2023) argue for a more fluid category of polycategoricals in Yup'ik, which belong to both the noun and the verb categories and transition between the two freely.

[11]Thalbitzer (1911) argues that all forms of Inuit-Yupik expression are fundamentally nominal, which is not the view of this paper and many critiques have been written about this topic, c.f. Sadock (1999).

The analysis presented here has taken a different approach by, first, recognizing the inherent difference between a base and a word in Yugtun and, second, by making a distinction between the notion of a lexical category and a syntactic category (Croft, 2001). In Yugtun, the base morpheme of a word is the lexical component and is a-categorical. This lexical base can be expanded with the use of derivational morphemes. By contrast, the word in Yugtun is a holophrastic construction which contains the lexical base inflected with a contextually selected formative concatenation to indicate the syntactic category. Thus, taken together, my analysis adopts a constructional approach to part of speech categorization. The language is filled with lexically a-categorical lexical and deictic bases that can be derived and then inflected with particular formative patterns in context to fill particular syntactic constructions in the language, such as nominal, verb, conjunct, or particle.

2.6.1 Lexical categories in Yugtun

Lexical bases in my analysis compose an open-class lexical supercategory with lexical semantics that can be derived and moulded by context to act as nominals, verbs, or conjuncts. Any preference for a lexical base to be a nominal or verb is formed on the basis of cognitive bias, not linguistic structure; refer to Section 2.3 for a larger discussion (Langacker, 1987a, 1987b). That is, the concept of *qimuqte-* 'dog' is more likely to emerge in a nominal construction not because it is a noun but because it is an object that undergoes summary scanning, not an action using sequential scanning in the real world. Derivational morphemes can alter the semantics back and forth in Yugtun until the speaker's chosen form emerges for the specified context.

It is possible that this large supercategory I call the lexical base is, in fact, a collage of smaller categories that all fall into similar distributional patterns, but they have not been examined in the literature to this point; instead, there exists a bias to categorize everything as nouns, verbs, conjuncts, or particles in Yup'ik.

My analysis, however, neatly divides the fundamental demonstrative bases, positionals, quantifiers, and pronouns from the lexical bases and treats them as a separate lexical construction called the *deictic bases*. These deictic bases are a closed-class functional category. This separation from the lexical category is evidenced by the fact that the fundamental demonstrative bases, in particular, have different semantics and take different derivational morphemes. Per Diessel's (1999a) principle, a difference in structure and function is indicative of a difference in category. In fact, these structural and functional distinctions highlight demonstratives as markedly different in the language and as a privileged category. Their sheer degree of frequency further solidifies

this constructional category. Demonstratives are suggested by Diessel (1999a) and W. Hanks (2011) to form a primal space within a language's structural patterns. This primacy of demonstratives can be difficult to see in a language that assigns lexemes to clearly defined particular categories such as pronouns. In Yugtun, demonstratives are not hidden inside other generic categories. Once again, the Yugtun language showcases a typological principle clearly. Demonstratives are not lexical nouns, verbs, or adverbs; they are demonstratives.

The emergence of deictic bases from the lexical bases requires a reexamination of how the Yup'ik language is described to be more authentic to its own "genius." Additionally, it requires a reexamination of the Yup'ik language to see what other constructional categories exist at this lexical level.

2.6.2 Syntactic categories in Yugtun

Rather than split the lexicon at the level of the lexical base, this analysis makes a distinction between words at the phrasal level. This reflects Yugtun's polysynthetic nature to form phrasal words, which I call holophrastic, in the style of Woodbury (2017). These holophrastic words comprise a lexical or deictic base, internal structure in the form of derivational morphemes, and contextually required inflectional patterns. Based on observations of these inflectional patterns, I posit four Yugtun syntactic categories selected for by three inflectional formative patterns. These three patterns form nominals[12], verbs[13], and conjuncts[14]. I also use the term particle[15] to categorize bases and words which do not use one of these three formative patterns. However, particles are used in many different contexts and do not serve a unified function in discourse. The particle category is instead a collection of small so-called peripheral patterns that are united in their function as non-core arguments, often uninflected bases, and being under-described in the literature. These four categories do not exist at the lexical level but rather emerge in the language through the use of shared inflectional and distributional patterns within the holophrase and between them. These are Yugtun's primary syntactic categories. These constructions form the building blocks to create coherent utterances. Outlining these basic categories is useful for the next chapters as I examine the role of demonstratives in connected language use.

Most of the literature on Inuit-Yupik-Unangan languages treats these inflectional constructional patterns, which form nouns, conjuncts, and verbs, as elaborate sets of

[12]Refer to Section 2.4.3
[13]Refer to Section 2.4.5
[14]Refer to Section 2.4.4
[15]Refer to Section 2.4.6

fused morphological paradigms which must be memorized, even though there is some segmentability (Miyaoka, 2012; Woodbury, 2014 p. 114). These paradigms require technical skill on their own to interpret and employ within speech (c.f. Jacobson (2013 pp. 920–930) for the full paradigms). Additionally, this fusional model of the word ending presents descriptively opaque morphemes, which hides the Yugtun patterns and allows for crucial language patterns to be overlooked. The Yugtun language utilizes split ergativity whereby 3rd-person objects in the verbal predicates are accusative case marked instead of absolutive, and the subject is marked in the nominative case to match. Even in the possessed nouns, a third-person possessed noun is marked with a nominative person rather than the absolutive. These patterns are obscured when these morphemes are treated as indivisible artifacts[16] (Woodbury, 1981; Miyaoka, 2012). Rather, I suggest that the application of consistent morphophonological rules can explain nearly all of the composition of these inflectional endings. These rules are inaccessible to native speakers[17], and it may be more difficult to teach to second language learners, but are more reflective of the constructional endings in the language according to the language's own "genius." By viewing these formative inflections as agglutinating portmanteaus, the patterns they form can be used to inform the syntactic categorization of Yugtun's holophrases.

The formative constructions of nominal, verb, conjunct, and particle can be applied to all categories of base, both deictic and lexical. This shared application is part of why demonstratives appear complex and are hidden behind the clunky lexical categories of pronoun or adverb in the literature. Instead, Yugtun uses constructional categories at both the lexical and the syntactic levels of categorization. The syntactic categories are formed by shared patterns which relate holophrases together. This, in fact, provides demonstrative bases with a greater degree of freedom and power in the language. While demonstratives can function exophorically or endophorically, in *deixis ad oculos* (deixis in physical space) or *deixis am phantasm* (deixis in imaginary space), pointing to objects or to locations, they can also function as nouns, verbs, conjuncts or particles. Any base can be placed into any formative constructional pattern. Demonstratives in

[16]Compare the formative constructions in this chapter to the discussion on demonstrative internal sound correspondences in Section 3.2.2. While interesting from a diachronic perspective, the demonstrative's internal sound correspondences are no longer consistent, segmentable, or productive and no longer have synchronic explanatory power. These internal morphs have fully fused into the fundamental demonstrative bases and become fossilized artifacts of diachronic morphology. By contrast, this is not yet true in the inflectional word-endings. The internal formative morphemes of these endings, as shown, are still consistent and at least semi-productive, and have synchronic descriptive and explanatory power for the Yugtun grammar. Therefore, portraying them as fused bundles/complexes/units in the underlying representations (or surface representations) of a linguistic description is disingenuous to a linguistic description of the language's morphology.

[17]A defining feature of language

my NSKY corpus have a clear preference to be nominals or particles, but as Yugtun shows, that's not a linguistic constraint but rather a cognitive tendency. By dividing the Yugtun linguistic universe into both broad, fluid, lexical categories and specific, contextual syntactic categories, the description of how demonstratives function in the language becomes clearer and allows demonstratives a greater degree of linguistic expression, as I show in Chapters Three and Four.

Syntactic constructions give all of Yugtun's bases the potential to derive into any syntactic category, and their holophrastic meaning can be manipulated with more finesse. I paraphrase one of my Kotlik consultants who noted that it can be hard to translate a Yup'ik word because they are filled with little meanings, and moving, removing, or alternating these pieces can cause significant changes in the overall interpretation. Without seeing the context in which a word is said, a translation into English is very difficult (p.c. 2014). This linguistic intuition highlights the structural characteristics of the language. That is, the Yup'ik holophrastic word's meaning begins by deriving bases with a variety of postbases (which can be placed in a flexible order, but a change in morpheme order changes the meaning) which construe nominal, verbal, adverbial, or mixed semantics. Then, morphemes that contribute to modal, aspectual, and temporal semantics are attached. Finally, a word is paired with an inflectional formative construction that selects its syntactic function.

All of this is reliant on the context of use within the discourse. Thus, a lexical base like *angalk-* 'magic' has great potential in the language depending on how a speaker wants to use it. The word can be used in a nominal context as an object or actor, as in *angalkuq* 'the shaman' or as a predicate verb, as in *angalkiluteng* 'they did magic.' This ability for a fluid base to enter into a syntactic category construction based on the appropriate context of use provides the language with a higher degree of creative freedom with the bases. Nouns and verbs in the Yugtun language are not selected innately at creation, nor are they selected by semantic denotation. Nor are nouns and verbs the same thing in the language. A noun is not a noun because it is born a noun; it is not a noun because it takes case, although case does contribute core semantics to the syntax. A noun in Yugtun is a noun because the formative morphemes follow the nominal constructional pattern of *Number-[Person-Number]-Case* while a verb follows the pattern *Mood-([Person-Number])-[Person-Number]* and a conjunct follows the pattern *Conjunctive-[Person-Number]-Case.* Within these patterns, there are sub-constructions distinguishing between realis and irrealis or core argument and oblique argument or ergative and nominative, but these in themselves serve to highlight the importance of these ordering effects to the Yugtun categorization. Similarities are found across both nouns and verbs and conjuncts not because the endings have levelled

and fused but because the formative inflections exist and are a key explanatory feature of Yugtun structure. By understanding the morphophonemics of the language, the ordering patterns, and the syntactic patterns with a few linguistic irregularities, these inflectional constructions and their internal makeup are crucial to Yugtun's place in examining cross-linguistic grammatical patterns.

In the next chapter, I examine a hereunto underdescribed part of the Yup'ik grammar, demonstratives. Demonstratives are a special type of closed-class base which forms a part of the lexical category I term deictic bases. Like any base, these deictic bases are a-categorical and can inflect as a nominal, conjunct, verb, or serve as a particle or enclitic. My Norton Sound Kotlik spoken corpus demonstrates a demonstrative frequency of around 30%. This remarkably high frequency requires a renewed examination of this essential but small set of closed-class deictic bases.

Chapter 3

Demonstrative frames of reference

3.1 Introduction

Amidst Yugtun's categorially fluid lexical bases and its holophrastic word structures, one particular lexical class of bases assumes a critical functional role: the *deictic bases*. Deictic bases include the pronominal bases, quantifier bases, and most importantly and the focus of this chapter, the fundamental demonstrative bases. Akin to lexical bases more generally, deictic bases in Yugtun can use the syntactic formative constructions discussed in Chapter Two to inflect for any syntactic category, including nouns, verbs, conjuncts, or particles. Similarly, they can be iteratively derived with postbases prior to the addition of the inflectional pattern to create more specific base semantics. However, unlike the lexical bases, the myriad purposes given to fundamental demonstrative bases within connected discourse strongly suggest that these bases are highly critical in the grammar.

Their multifunctionality is due to the many semantic layers, including object shape/extendedness, interactional space, deixis, and origo, that adhere to demonstrative elements. These semantic overlays combine to form a complex frame of reference used to index, bring joint attention to, and track objects through space, time, and discourse, as introduced in Chapter One, Section 1.2.

The next two chapters return to that discussion on deixis and demonstratives and examine the role of Yugtun demonstratives in context, and aim to promote their status in the grammar. In Chapter Three, I discuss the characteristics that underlie the complex notion of *frame of reference*. This review draws from many different authors and disciplines before positing a composite framework that is adopted for my analysis. I then turn to the Yugtun data from my Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun corpus, introduced in Chapter One, Section 1.3, to highlight how frames of reference are used in Yugtun speech events. In examining these demonstratives, I gloss over

their morphosyntactic properties and focus solely on the semantics of these deictic bases in the context of frames of reference and domains of use. In doing so, I reanalyze the traditional unitary and overwhelmingly spatial demonstrative paradigm and posit three frames of reference systems that index objects and locations across space, time, and discourse. With this new semantic characterization, this chapter hints at the centrality of demonstratives as framing words across speech events.

In Chapter Four, I return to the morphosyntax of demonstratives in context. I begin by describing the derivation of the fundamental demonstrative bases and the added semantics that these derivations contribute to holophrastic demonstratives. I then discuss the inflectional patterns that apply to demonstrative bases and how they differ from the general patterns described in Chapter Two. Finally, I expand on the examination of demonstratives in context and discuss how demonstratives are utilized to organize and track information flow across connected speech events. In doing so, I exemplify the centrality of demonstratives as framing words across speech events. These two chapters, therefore, broadly follow the template set in Chapter Two, whereby I begin by discussing the meaning and structure of the bases and then discuss their inflectional potential and use in context. Appendix B is associated with these two chapters and includes the figures found in these chapters, as well as a list of the demonstrative types found in my NSKY corpus and each of their frequencies.

3.2 Frames of reference

Recall in Chapter One, Section 1.2.2, I introduced the notion of deixis and situated the lexical category of demonstratives within it. Deixis was defined as the indexation of objects in juxtaposition so as to bring the joint attention of the speech participants to one object or location over another (Fillmore, 1997). This definition works well for demonstratives, which are linguistic indexicals or pointing words that often are associated with multi-term systems that distinguish relative distances. However, this definition prioritizes the notion of *relative distance* over all other features. Not all languages use distance as a feature of demonstratives, as shown with German, in (4) from Chapter One. Additionally, in some languages, the relative distance is a less important feature, and they instead prioritize the speech participants. I showcased many of these distance and person-based systems in Chapter One, with the most common cross-linguistically being 2-term or 3-term systems as encountered in English (5), Plains Cree (6), or Japanese (7). These demonstrative systems establish joint attention to an object by using a pointing word and usually an accompanying gesture to juxtapose the object to an origo, typically the speaker (Diessel, 2006; Enfield, 2009).

In a 2-term system, the first demonstrative indexes an object *proximal* to the speaker, while the second demonstrative indexes an object *distal* to the speaker. In languages that introduce a third demonstrative, it can establish a new intermediate distance-based contrast, *medial*, or it can shift the origo from the speaker to the listener (or interlocutor), called *allocentric*. With an allocentric term, the event scene is construed from the listener's perspective, and the object is indexed as *proximal to listener* while the speaker is no longer relevant. These two primary types of demonstrative models are shown in Figure 3.1.

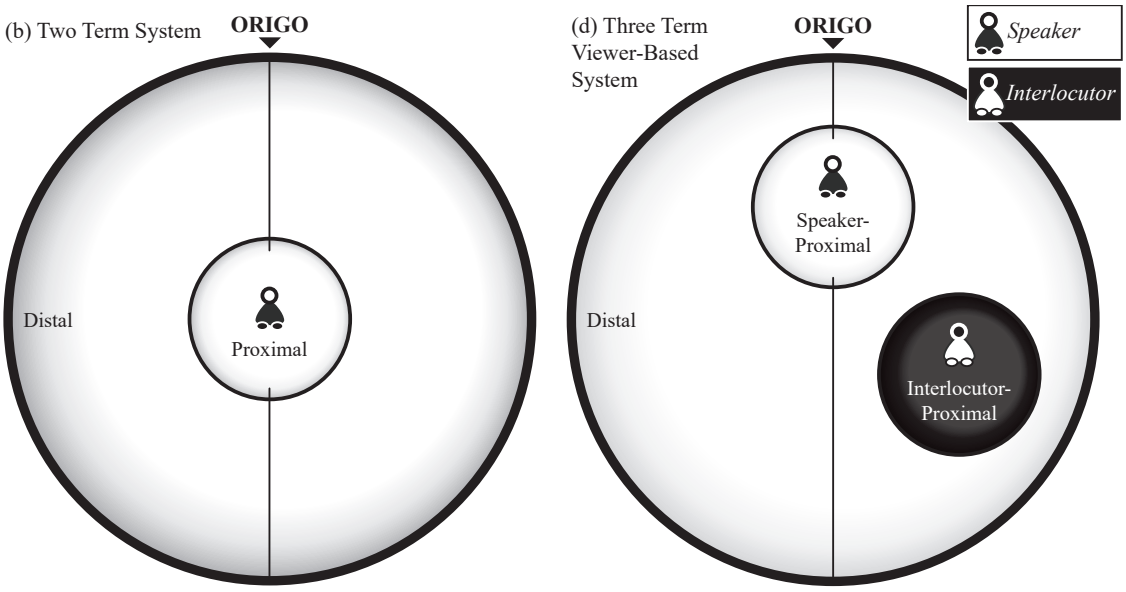


Figure 3.1: Principle Deictic Constrast Types: An excerpt from Figure 1.3 in Chapter One showcasing (b) a 2-term distance-based demonstrative system and (d) a 3-term person-based demonstrative system which introduces the speech interlocutor as an additional point of reference.

The conceptual schema that helps us to understand the meaning of demonstratives and the spatial systems they compose is called a *frame of reference*. Descriptions of demonstratives, however, typically provide an overly simplistic frame of reference characterization. The frame of reference typically applied to demonstratives is a sketch of what is termed in the next subsection, a *viewer-centred* frame of reference. This viewer-centred analysis, however, has difficulty when applied to languages like Japanese and, as I show in this chapter, to Yugtun. When analyzed under a simplified frame of reference characterization, Yugtun demonstratives are conflated into a single system with what appears to be an abundance of 'bonus content' as shown in the Jacobsons-style Yup'ik demonstrative paradigm in Figure 3.2. Yup'ik is typically classified as a 2-term, distance-based system acting within a simple viewer-centred

frame of reference. However, some Yup'ik dialects and the Inuit languages use a 3-term, person-based system acting within a simple viewer-centred frame of reference.

3.2.1 Yup'ik demonstrative review

The Yup'ik demonstrative class is known amongst linguists not due to its uniqueness in structure or function, which still requires much more in-depth research, but due to its basic morpho-semantic complexity. The demonstrative category in the language is extensive, with an inventory of 30 basic bound reflexes (termed the fundamental demonstrative bases), which serve as the base for an unlimited number of possible expressions. Yet it is not this large number of potential forms that leads to Yup'ik's demonstrative infamy, but rather the multi-layered feature system that creates these 30 bases that has provided the grammatical equivalent of the popular Inuit-Yupik snow myth.

The 30 bases in the literature are usually discussed within the larger context of the nominal category, which maintains a more traditionally exophoric view of demonstratives. It is asserted here that demonstratives in Yup'ik provide a good argument for the demonstrative primacy hypothesis posited in more recent schools of thought, such as Diessel (1999a) and W. Hanks (2011). According to this hypothesis, demonstratives are viewed as an independent, closed-class grammatical category on par with other parts of speech. The Yup'ik demonstrative bases excel within this framework as the bases must be bound to derivational post-bases in order to be grammatical. Additionally, these bases before derivation play host to a large array of semantic features which are not shared by Yup'ik nouns or verbs. The unique overlay of features, in tandem with the requirement of derivation, argues strongly against demonstratives being a sub-category but rather a category in their own right. The bulk of the data for outlining the demonstrative system in the previous literature was collected in the early 1970s and first presented in Reed's 1977 grammar (Reed et al., 1977). The presentation of the system and the full demonstrative "paradigm" has since solidified into Jacobson and Jacobson's, 1995, iconic pronominal demonstrative chart, yet the analysis behind the system has remained largely unchallenged. The demonstrative chart presented in Figure 3.2 is inspired by and reminiscent of the Jacobsons' chart but differs in its organizational schema. In addition, Figure 3.2 uses the bound base forms in place of the absolutive, singular pronominal forms that the Jacobsons use. As such, by using these contrasting bases in the chart below and the aggregated rules presented in the following subsections, any of the myriad demonstrative expressions can be transparently composed or decomposed.

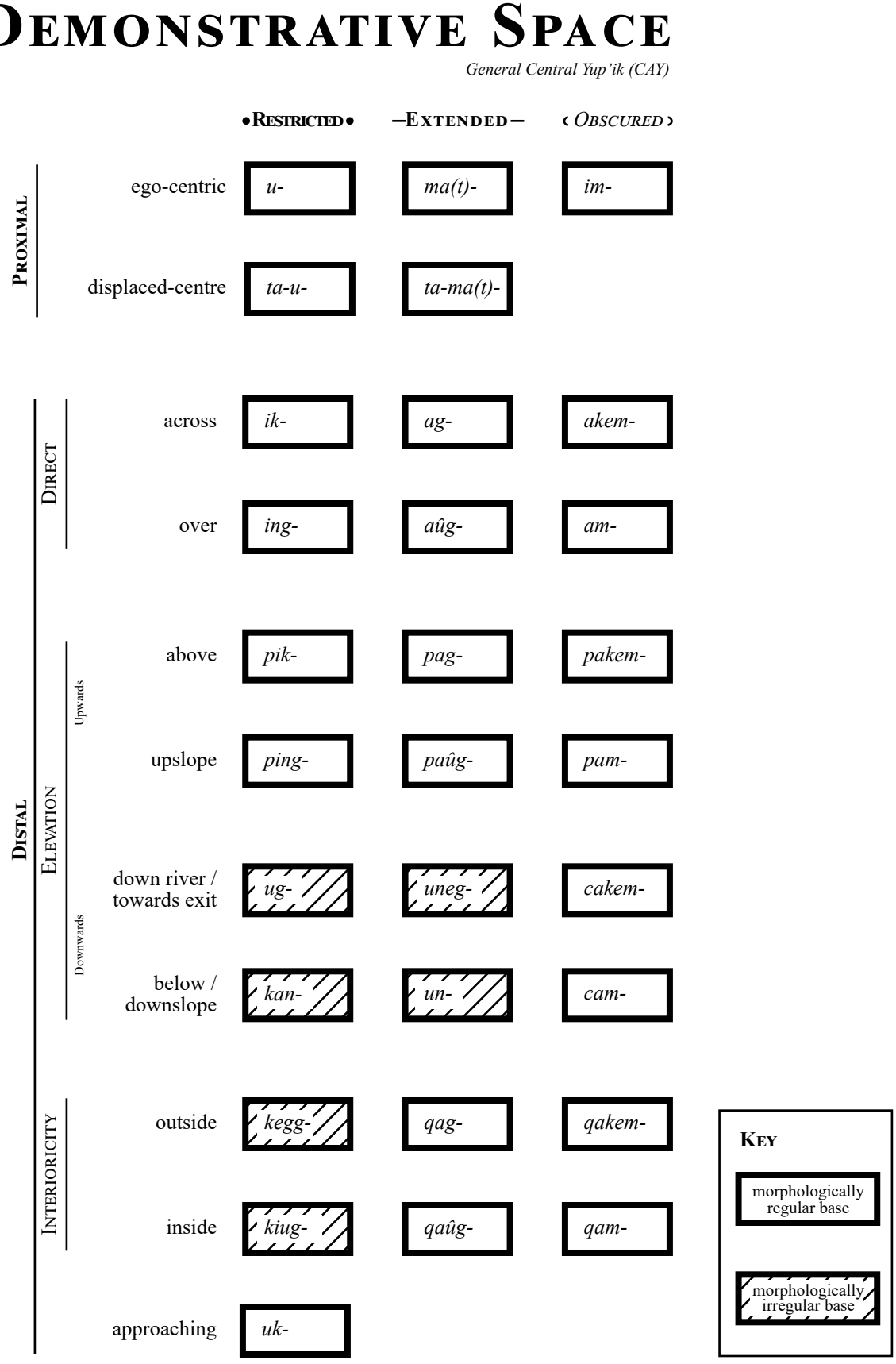


Figure 3.2: The Yup'ik demonstrative bases organized in a Jacobsonesque paradigm with semantic features serving as the key organizational principle. Adapted from Jacobson and Jacobson (1995 p. 76).

Linking the Yup'ik demonstrative description presented here to the demonstrative typology presented above, Yup'ik can be analyzed as either a 2-term or a 3-term system, depending on how the singular Yup'ik prefix *ta-* is treated, shown in (73). The very similar Inuit demonstrative systems would be argued as having a 3-term distance contrast, but in the Inuit languages *ta-* remains a fully productive morpheme as opposed to the General Central Yup'ik where it is only encountered on two possible demonstratives according to the literature (Denny, 1982).

Further discussion on the *ta-* prefix is given in Section 3.3 and, for present purposes, the Yup'ik demonstratives are analyzed as manifesting a basic 2-term distance contrast as exemplified in (73) and shown in Figure 3.2, where the proximal forms are shown in the top fifth of the chart and the more numerous distal forms underneath. This analysis comes from the analysis of *accessability* in Yup'ik demonstratives. An accessible form is used with objects that the speaker can interact with, while an inaccessible form is used when the speaker cannot interact with the referenced object.

I, however, use the term *displaced-centre* in reference to the *ta-* forms in my initial analysis following the style of Miyaoka (2012) and the analysis in Inuit languages. Whereby the displaced-centre is a listener proximal form and thus can be construed as inaccessible to the speaker, even though it is not a speaker proximal/distal form. My analysis thus construes the 2-term analysis as a 3-term person-centred system.

Notice in the following examples the *-na* "expander" discussed in Section 2.5, which is further elaborated on in Chapter Four. In (73d), the word *taingna* no longer exists in Yup'ik but is a historical form still found in the Norton Sound Unalit dialect and in many Inuit varieties. The *ta-* prefix is no longer productive across the entire Yup'ik demonstrative inventory but fossilized in four forms discussed later in this Chapter.

(73)	a.	*una nuussiaq*	'this knife'	Ego-centric Proximal
	b.	*ingna nuussiaq*	'that knife over there'	Ego-centric Distal
	c.	*tauna nussiaq*	'this/that knife	Displaced-centre Proximal
	d.	**taingna nussiaq*	*'that knife'	*Listener Proximal – this form is attested in Inuit varieties

This 2-term distinction between proximal bases and distal bases is the first and most basic semantic feature of the Yup'ik demonstrative system. A second feature is that of extendedness, which further subdivides the proximal and distal bases into three subclasses. (74) shows this 3-way division for the ego-centric proximals.

(74)	a.	*una nussiaq*	'This here knife'	Proximal Restricted
	b.	*mana nunaq*	'This (stretch of) land'	Proximal Extended
	c.	*imna nussiaq*	'This knife (which I can't see)'	Proximal Obscure

These sub-classes behave as noun classifiers in function and serve to classify the indexed object into one of three perceptual viewing categories: restricted, extended, or obscured. This feature is what the Jacobsons define as "distance and movement from the speaker" (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995 p. 75). Restricted objects, are construed as objects that are contained in a single point within the speaker's field of view. the Jacobsons define restricted demonstratives as those which identify objects which are "stationary or moving within a confined space" (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995 p. 75). This classifier is associated with bounded or static entities such as a tree. In comparison, the extended classification is used to classify objects perceived to be linear or spread out (or analogously are objects moving across the visual frame). In Denny's account of Inuit demonstratives, a defining feature of the extended forms is not that they are a line as in more traditional classificatory systems such as Japanese, but that, within the speaker's field of view, the object is spread out such that the speaker's head must pivot to take in the whole of the object (Denny, 1982 pp. 360, 366–370). Therefore, these forms would be used when indexing a mass object or large group of objects such as a body of water or a school of fish (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995 p. 75). Crucial to both the extended and restricted classifiers is that they must be in sight or visible to the speaker. If an object is invisible or out of sight, the third sub-class, obscured, is required. The obscured classifier is used when an object is considered to not have a visible form within the field of view, such as an object in one's pocket.

The third semantic feature overlay affecting the meaning of Yup'ik demonstrative bases is that of a riverine-based, geospatial coordinate system. The coordinate system makes reference to and indexes the deictic center, the speaker or viewer, and one of between 5-10 possible secondary coordinates depending on how the system is divided conceptually. The elegance of this coordinate system is that any referent (or identified object) is located by the distal demonstrative using two reference points: the first is usually the ego or speaker, and the second is the most salient geospatial feature within the context of the utterance. The four primary coordinates used within this system are those that are reflected vaguely in the morphophonetic composition of the bases, which is discussed further below. These four primary geospatial coordinates are: up, straight ahead, in or out, and down (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). Arguably, the proximal demonstratives (*una, wan'a, imna*) could be construed or translated as the static origin coordinate or (0,0) and thus form a fifth geospatial coordinate subclass.

An equally valid analysis, however, is the assertion that the proximal demonstratives do not indicate a coordinate at all, and this geospatial feature overlay is restricted to the distal forms only. Thus, based on the Jacobsons' organizational paradigm, I add the proximal to speaker demonstratives to these examples. Therefore, the first five geospatial coordinates are: proximal to speaker, up, straight ahead, in or out, down as shown in (75) and in Table 3.2.

(75) a. *una kaviaq* 'this here fox' Proximal Restricted
b. *kan'a kaviaq* 'that fox down there' Distal Restricted Downslope
c. *pingna kaviaq* 'that fox up the slope there' Distal Restricted Upslope
d. *igna kaviaq* 'that fox right over there' Distal Restricted Straight ahead
e. *kiugna kaviaq* 'that fox inside there' Distal Restricted Inside

The final five geospatial coordinates, which are termed proximal to listener, up above, across, outside, and downriver (towards the exit)/on the coast, as shown in the geospatial overlays shown in Table 3.2 are complementary to the five presented in (75). The Jacobsons' create a binary juxtaposition within the demonstrative paradigm between what is termed the "more accessible" coordinates and the "less accessible" coordinates. The first five in (75) are labelled as more accessible while the five in (76) are called "less accessible" (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995).

(76) a. *tauna kaviaq* 'that there fox' Proximal Restricted
b. *ugna kaviaq* 'that fox down river there' Distal Restricted Downriver
c. *pikna kaviaq* 'that fox up there in the tree' Distal Restricted Up above
d. *ikna kaviaq* 'that fox across the river there' Distal Restricted Across
e. *keggna kaviaq* 'that fox outside there' Distal Restricted Outside

Examining the Jacobsons' system as a whole, therefore, categorizes the less accessible relationships as follows: away from speaker, up above, across, outside, and downriver (towards the exit)/on the coast (Reed et al., 1977; Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). In other words, less accessible demonstrative forms are interpreted with distal pragmatics. While the more accessible objects are characterized as closer to speaker, up the slope/away from the river, over/ moving away from the speaker, inside/inland/up river, and down below/downslope/toward the river (Reed et al., 1977; Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). the Jacobsons also include the two General Yup'ik *ta-* forms in their paradigm as the 'proximal less accessible' forms, as seen in Figure 3.2 marked as

'displaced centre.' The unmarked proximals in their analysis are categorized 'accessible' or generally close to speaker, and the *ta-* proximals are categorized 'inaccessible' or generally away from the speaker. Thus, on top of the basic proximal-distal contrast shown in (73), the accessibility overlay on the demonstratives also adds additional proximal-distal pragmatics. The Jacobsons analysis, therefore, posits the Yup'ik demonstrative system as a complex 2-term, quasi-speaker-oriented system.

Overall, this division between the more and less accessible coordinates is conceptually viable since an object located up a slope/over a rock/on land/downslope is easier to interact with than those that are located floating above (such as a cloud)/across a river/in the ocean/down the river. These coordinates termed less accessible are termed so due to the lack of interactive ease between the deictic center and an object located at one of these coordinates. Nevertheless, the binary division is arbitrary, and Miyaoka does not utilize the feature of accessibility as a defining property of his system but instead divides the forms into ten distinct directional forms. While neither analysis performs better than the other, the Jacobsons' divisions are further evidenced by the morphophonetic structure of the lexemes discussed in Section 3.2.1.2.

Finally, the organization of demonstrative space creates inherent oppositions. For instance, 'down the slope and accessible' is in semantic opposition to 'up above/up the slope/away from the river and inaccessible,' while 'downriver and inaccessible' contrasts with 'inland and accessible.' There is an additional opposition made between the lexeme *augna* 'extended, more accessible, over, going away' and *ukna*, which, according to the Jacobsons, fits poorly into the chart, but is translated as 'something coming' (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). In addition to these oppositions, it is noted by Reed et al. that the term *imna* can also be used as 'the aforementioned one' (Reed et al., 1977). The Jacobsons' do not include this semantic overlay in their paradigm. According to Diessel's typology, *imna* is an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun but this is not thoroughly examined in the Yup'ik literature.

Morphophonetic structure

Jacobson and Jacobson (1995) assert that many of the demonstrative bases reveal a system of sound symbolism. For instance, words that begin with a *p* refer to something that is 'up,' which is valid across the whole of Figure 3.2. Bases beginning with a vowel *(i/u/a)* signify 'over or across,' which holds true for all but five across the entire figure. Those that begin with a *q* mean 'in or out,' which is true for two-thirds of these forms. Additionally, the presence of an *m* indicates 'obscured' (a pattern which persists for all the bases in Figure 3.2 except for *man'a*), while the presence of a *g* or *ug* indicates 'extended' (except for the irregular forms marked by cross-hatched boxes

in Figure 3.2). Finally, the presence of a *k* or a *g* in the form indicates that the form is less accessible, which is valid across all instances. As such, for the non-irregular forms, the meanings seem very compositional and can be determined by form alone (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). As an example, the word *pakemna* /pakmna/ begins with a *p*, and contains a *k* and an *m*, indicating this word means 'up, less accessible, and obscured.' Calling such form-meaning pairings "sound symbolism" is misleading, however, as there is nothing inherent or innate to these sounds which would lead to these respective associations.

Nevertheless, when organized solely as bases as shown in Figure 3.2, this pattern seems to reveal itself such that one could begin to argue for the existence of fossilized morphology whereby in an earlier stage of the language, *p-*, meant 'directional upwards,' *ø-* (vowel initial) 'directional across,' *q-* 'interiority,' *c-* 'directional downwards,' *u-* 'proximal,' *i/a-* 'distal,' *-m* 'obscured', and so forth. Regardless of how the posited segments are analyzed, there are always counter-examples within the system. Despite these counterexamples, this rough semantic association remains as evidence of earlier deictic compositionally, which has lexicalized into the complex, fused and polyexponential fundamental demonstrative base forms seen today.

The Yup'ik analysis

The foundational analysis of demonstratives as a spatial deictic system asserts that demonstratives are pointing words that juxtapose conceptual distances between the object referenced and the person pointing. Demonstrative systems are classified by how they form these distance contrasts (Diessel, 2013b). Based on this analysis, while ignoring some grammaticalized or lexicalized demonstratives, the 30 Yup'ik demonstrative bases can be categorized as shown in Table 3.1. This table presents all 30 terms as a 2-term distance contrast between proximal and distal demonstratives with all other semantic features overlayed on the deictic system as extra flavour, like sprinkles on a cake.

This 2-term contrast is at odds with the Inuit systems, which are typically presented as a 3-term person-centred demonstrative system. Organizing the Yup'ik demonstratives solely within a 2-term distance-based taxonomy leads to the organizational schema shown in Table 3.1. This organization leads to much ambiguity; for instance, are the *ta-* prefixed forms—which are typically glossed as 'proximal to hearer'—distal from the speaker, or proximal to speaker but less accessible to the speaker? Additionally, note the mismatch in the number of proximal forms to distal forms, which is at odds with the typological principle discussed in Chapter One, which argues for symmetry between the distance contrast terms. Finally, note that the feature of shape

becomes obscured within the distal column of the table. It is these issues that have led to the development of the 1-dimensional Jacobsonian paradigm in Table 3.1 to help bring light to all the overlays. However, the current paradigm does not solve the ambiguity, nor does it reveal how each demonstrative is used in context; rather, the paradigm hides the disjointed semantic analysis. Thus, these issues among others, as shown in the ambiguity of the semantic features in Table 3.1, highlight the need for a new semantic analysis of these demonstratives, which can bring more clarity to their function in context and relationships to each other.

Table 3.1: The Yup'ik fundamental demonstrative bases, in no particular order, laid out in a traditional 2-term deictic demonstrative contrast juxtaposition (proximal v. distal). Note that the forms beginning with *ta-* can be interpreted as either proximal or distal based on traditional Yup'ik analysis.

Proximal Demonstratives (translated as 'this/here')	Distal Demonstratives (translated as 'that/there')		
u-	ik-	ag-	akem-
ma(t)-	ing-	aug-	am-
im-	pik-	pag-	pakem-
(ta-u-)	ping-	paug-	pam-
(ta-ma-)	ug-	uneg-	cakem-
	kan-	un-	cam-
	kegg-	qag-	qakem-
	kiug-	qaug-	qam-
	uk-	(ta-u-)	(ta-ma-)

Thus, according to the traditional account in Yugtun, there are 3-4 semantic overlays applied to a 2-term demonstrative system, each overlay roughly correlating with a historic morphophonetic segment. These overlays are *distance*, *object classifier*, and *geospatial coordinate* (and/or *accessibility*). This traditional account of Yup'ik demonstratives is based on the simplified analysis of deictic distance introduced in Chapter One. Thus, the complex interworkings of these demonstratives do indeed portray the Yugtun system as overly complicated and somewhat opaque.

It is the forms that begin with the prefix *ta-* that are of particular interest in this accounting, as discussed above. *Ta-* is the only known prefix in the entire Inuit-Yupik

language family, and it attaches only to the demonstrative bases. In the Jacobsons' analysis, these are treated as proximal, less-accessible demonstratives, meaning 'here close to you.' However, within my fieldwork, these are often translated as 'there (far from me)' and thus are associated with more distal semantics. As noted by both Denny (1982) and Diessel (2013a), some languages provide reference points that are not egocentric but are also not close to the listener. Such languages constitute neither a distance-oriented nor a speaker-oriented system. In Inuktitut, the language Denny describes, this set of demonstratives begins with the prefix *ta-*. This prefix replaces the deictic center or *origo* as (i) the previous speaker, (ii) the hearer, or (iii) as some third person (Denny, 1982 pp. 361–362). In my analysis below, I refer to demonstrative forms with the prefix *ta-* as having a *deictic projection*. As I discussed for (73), the *ta-* prefix is no longer productive in General Standard Yup'ik–relocated solely to the two proximal, less accessible reflexes; nevertheless, I argue its semantics are the same as the Inuit, that is *allocentric*. The fully productive *ta-* prefix still, in fact, exists in some dialects of Yup'ik, like the Norton Sound Unalit dialect (Miyaoka, 1984). Regardless of the extent of the prefix in the dialect, it is not a less accessible form of the proximal but represents a 3-term person-oriented contrast in the sense of Diessel (2013b). This additional dimension within dialects like Norton Sound Unalit has largely collapsed in General Standard Yup'ik, leading to a system which appears to be distance-oriented yet subtly maintains a wider range of functions. Additionally, as I show in my later discussion on the temporal use of Yugtun demonstratives, a few additional *ta-* forms still exist in restricted domains in Yugtun. Therefore, the Jacobsonian analysis leaves us with the question: Where do the *ta-* forms belong? As distal egocentric demonstratives, as proximal allocentric demonstratives, or as something else entirely?

Moreover, suppose Yugtun demonstratives exist within a 2-term distance-based system with complexity provided through semantic overlays; in other words, not much more deictically complex than in English. If this is true, the frequency of these words in my corpus (nearly 30% of the corpus tokens) is astounding as this is nearly 30 times as frequent as in English (≈1.5% per 1 million words in the British National Corpus (Leech et al., 2001). This sheer frequency of demonstrative use in my NSKY corpus suggests that more is occurring in the demonstrative system than currently described, and we must posit that demonstratives carry a heavier speech burden than previously suggested in the Yugtun language. Therefore, each demonstrative must have a distinct and illustrative meaning that supports its use in context. This flat 2-term distance-based typology, however, seems insufficient to account for the frequency in the NSKY corpus. This would require an unrealistic amount of geospatial

contextual baggage to arise in the six narratives of my corpus to account for the 1047 demonstrative tokens.

Based on these concerns regarding the ambiguity of the typological taxonomy within the Yugtun system, it seems that a key organizational feature is missing from the analysis. I argue that what is needed to shed light on the function and structure of these Yugtun demonstratives is a more nuanced typological account of frames of reference. In order to authentically characterize the semantic "genius" (à la Sapir) of the Yugtun demonstrative bases on their own terms, they need to be contextualized within a larger frame of reference model that can account not only for demonstratives but for complex deictic projections.

3.2.2 Frame of reference taxonomies

Frames of reference are complex organizational schemata that help us to orient speech events to the space around us (Levinson, 2006 pp. 1–3). These reference frames are conceptualized as coordinate systems composed of several salient and interactive points, or landmarks, within a spatial model. Speech participants utilize these models to identify spatial relationships between objects in the speech event according to the conventions of their language.

The traditional frame of reference analysis comes out of philosophy, psychology, and linguistics (Diessel, 2014). As the discourse on frames of reference is heavily embedded in all three academic disciplines, there is a plethora of conflicting terminology for the same underlying notions. Additionally, many frameworks, while essentially identical, differ in several critical characteristics. This chapter works toward unifying some of this discourse while maintaining only the essential terms and perspectives to understand how the Yugtun demonstrative system is situated within a frame of reference framework.

Ubiquitously, a frame of reference is a coordinate system composed of a combination of referential landmarks alluded to in an utterance (Levinson, 2006 pp. 1–3). Which referential landmarks are important for composing the spatial scene described by an utterance depends on the speaker's frame of reference and the language-specific framework used to interpret it. These landmarks are defined using various terms[1], many of which either overlap or are synonymous. This chapter uses only the most frequently used terms encountered in the literature necessary to establish any frame

[1]These basic landmark terms have many synonyms in the literature, including but not limited to figure/target, ground/relatum, viewer/anchor, origo/origin/relatum, vector/viewpoint/angular-specification/axis (Levinson, 2006; Le Guen, 2011; Danziger, 2013; Diessel, 2014). While largely synonymous, many of these terms are used to subtly alter the conceptualization of a FOR.

of reference. These basic terms are *Figure, Ground, Viewer, Origo*, and *Vector*.

In (77), I exemplify each of these terms within a single utterance found in my NSKY corpus, which forms a single frame of reference. Throughout this chapter I use the subscript letters $_f$/$_g$/$_v$/$_o$ to mark each term (*figure, ground, vector, origo*) within many of the examples provided in order to showcase the elements within the frame of reference established by the speech act. In Yup'ik demonstratives, the viewer, which can specify both speaker and/or listener, is established implicitly within the frame of reference and through context and is therefore not marked in most examples. The nature of the viewer is discussed in more detail below.

(77) *Pitarkat = guq$_f$, tamakut alingnaqellriit, kuigmek$_g$ unaken$_{ov}$ aliarluteng*

Pitarkat-guq,	*tamakut*
pitarka-t-ø=guq,	ta-ma-ku-t-ø
animal-PL-ABS=ANA,	R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS

alingnaqellriit,	*kuigmek*
aling-narqe-lria-nga-t,	kuig-ø-mek
afraid-makes.one.feel-PART.IN-3.NOMA-PL,	river-SG-ABL.SG

unaken	*aliarluteng*
un-a-ø-ken	aliar-lu-teg-t
AXRP-FL-SG-ABL	appear-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'The animals, those scary ones, from the river there (down below) they appeared.'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:4.2)

To begin, the *figure*, indicated with a subscript *f*, is the object that the speaker is bringing into the joint attention of the speech participants and placing into narrative focus. This is the object that the listener is tasked with identifying and locating within the speech event. Prototypically, the figure is grammatically encoded as the subject of an utterance. In (77), the figure is *pitarkat* or 'the animals.'

As I make clear in Section 3.2.5, the *speaker* is also important to disambiguate within a speech event. The speaker is the interlocutor who utters the utterance and brings attention to the figure within the frame of reference. In (77), the speaker is Michael Prince (MP). By contrast, the *viewer* is the speech interlocutor who is listening to the utterance and locating the figure within the speech event in order to establish joint attention with the speaker. In (77), the viewer includes all participants both within and without the speech event. Within the traditional literature, the speaker and the viewer are often conflated as a single landmark within the frame of

reference as speech participants, and this conflation is collectively termed the *viewer*. However, as I show when I discuss deixis and egocentricity, it is imperative that we separate these two speech-act participants into different landmarks.

The *ground*, indicated with a subscript g, is the object that backgrounds the figure. This is the salient or recognizable object or space against which the figure is situated to provide a reference point to locate the figure. The ground is grammatically encoded, typically as an oblique object. The ground in (77) is *kuigmek*, 'the river.'

The *origo*, indicated with a subscript o, is the center axis of the frame of reference around which the frame rotates. This can be construed as an *axis mundi* or world axis. In (77), the origo is the landscape in which the event is taking place. In Yugtun, the speaker is projecting their deictic rotation onto the landscape through the use of the demonstrative pointing word *unaken*, or 'from there down below.'

The vector emanates from the origo and controls rotation. These two terms are linked - if the origo turns or rotates to 'face' a different direction, the vector changes. In the same way, the shape of the vector can also change to indicate an object 'above', 'below', or in any other direction relevant to the origo. The term *vector*, indicated with a subscript v, is crucial to an analysis of deixis. The vector line is drawn between the origo and the figure in order to aid the listener in locating the figure. The vector can be thought of as a linguistic pointing gesture. As with the origo, in (77), the vector is displaced by the speaker onto the landscape with the demonstrative pointing word/gesture *unaken*, or 'from there down below.'

By identifying these core landmarks within the speech act the figure can be brought into joint attention by both the speaker and any interlocutors. Thus each spatial (or temporal or discursive) speech act can be analyzed through a frame of reference model. This notion therefore is crucial to the idea of demonstratives, and a fuller typology of frames of reference in describing demonstratives is necessary.

Table 3.2 provides a summary of each landmark. While these spatial landmarks are not necessary for every analysis on frames of reference, they are the major participants in any frame of reference analysis. The three key landmarks used in this analysis are the *figure, ground,* and *origo*.

Frames of reference models can be classified into three taxonomies, the classical taxonomy, Levinson's 2006 taxonomy, and Diessel's 2014 taxonomy which centers on demonstrative interpretation. While Levinson has significantly contributed to the notion of frames of reference in linguistic description, the Diessel and Levinson taxonomies differ in their treatment of the classical taxonomy and the role of deixis and demonstratives. For example, in a reevaluation of the classical take on frames of reference by examining primarily Central American and Australian Indigenous

Table 3.2: Key Frame of Reference Landmark Terminology: The key landmarks used to analyze and establish frames of reference within this dissertation and definitions. The subscript represents the letter used to mark the function of a word within an example.

Key Frame of Reference Landmarks		
Landmark Term	Subscript	Definition
Figure	f	The object of joint attention
Ground	g	A reference object to aid in triangulation
Origo	o	The axis of the frame, can aid in triangulation
Vector	v	A linguistic or physical pointing gesture between the origo and figure
Viewer	i	The participants in a frame of reference
Speaker	s	The interlocutor who composes the frame of reference
Interlocutor	i	Typically the interlocutor listening to the speaker but can be a contextually specified 3rd-person

languages and their use of way-finding techniques and direction-giving tasks by Levinson (2006), he introduces the notions of mental rotations, visual theory, and visual perception and orientation, yet he overlooks the importance of physical gesture deixis in communicative tasks (Levinson, 2006 p. 30). According to a summary of this analysis by Diessel (2014), Levinson demotes the status of the origo in conceptualizing the frame of reference and instead categorizes the frames based on their logical structure or the organization of only three of the components of a frame of reference (figure, ground, viewer) (Diessel, 2014 p. 118). Diessel, by contrast, works to bring Levinson's taxonomy into the classical taxonomy by including an analysis of a classic frame of reference category found in languages, demonstratives (Diessel, 2014).

To understand Levinson's take on frames of reference, as well as the later response by Diessel (2014), it is necessary to understand how these terms work within a more traditional frame of reference analysis. I do this using three key landmarks: *figure, ground,* and *origo*. Notice how these three landmarks relate in (78), adopted from Levinson (2006 p. 36).

(78) a. 'The $ball_f$ is in front of the $tree_g$.' (from the $speaker's_o$ perspective)

b. 'The $ball_f$ is in front of the $chair_{g_o}$.'

c. 'The $ball_f$ is in front of me_{go}.'

d. 'The $ball_f$ is north (of me).' (on the $landscape_{go}$)

adopted from Levinson, 2006 p. 36/Levinson, 1996

These four example sentences approximate how English uses figure, ground, and origo to locate the figure against the ground and achieve different interpretations based mainly on the identity of the *origo*. In linguistic frame of reference literature, these three frames of reference are termed the *viewer-centered, object-centered*, and *environment-centered* (Diessel, 2014). These frames of reference are schematized by their origo or the central axis around which the frame is oriented. For example, in the viewer-centred frame, the origo is established as the speaker and is referred to as the *ego*. An example of a viewer-centred frame of reference is the sentence *'the ball is in front of the tree.'*

This sentence is construed as using a viewer-centred frame of reference due to the fact that a tree has no inherent 'front' or 'back.' Instead, the viewer is projecting their orientation onto the tree. As alluded to above, however, in traditional models, the speaker is usually, and problematically, construed as a collective whole with all of the speech-act participants (called *viewer*). This presents a problem for situating demonstratives within frames of reference, especially when distinguishing speaker-centred demonstratives from listener-centred demonstratives in 3-term demonstrative typologies discussed in Chapter One, Section 1.2.2 (is the ball in front of the tree for me, or for someone else?). As such, the speaker and the viewer must be disentangled, as I do in the next section. For the moment, a viewer-centred frame of reference can be categorized as one where the origo and the speaker are the same object but the ground is distinct.

In object-centred frames of reference, the origo is the ground by which the figure is located. In English, this frame can be approximated with two similar but distinct utterances. First, *'the ball is in front of the chair'*. In this sentence, the ground is also the origo. While we can interpret this first sentence by projecting the viewer's front onto the chair, a more common interpretation is to use the chair's intrinsic culturally-learned orientation to locate the ball. In English the front of a chair is denoted as the side that the seat is on. In contrast to a front-less object such as a tree, the position of the ball in relation to the chair changes as the reference object, *chair*, rotates. The speaker or viewer has no bearing on the intepretation. This is true in the second sentence as well, *'the ball is in front of me'*. In this sentence, the intrinsic

properties of the speaker are regarded in the same way as the chair. The difference between the two sentences, according to Diessel, is deixis (Diessel, 2014 p. 120). In the former, as the chair is not the speaker of the utterance, the utterance is not deictic, and in the latter, as the speaker is the ground and origo, the utterance is deictic.

In this interpretation of an object-centred frame, the speaker and viewer hold no bearing on the frame of reference's construal (beyond deixis) and can be ignored. This, too, presents difficulty in an account of demonstrative's frames of reference because demonstratives prototypically ground the figure against the speaker as seen in English *this ball* or *that tree*. In this sense, object-centred frames of reference can be viewed as a form of an intrinsic frame of reference. For object-centred reference frames, the vector emanates from the culturally assigned intrinsic properties of the ground object. For viewer-centred reference frames, the vector emanates from the intrinsic physical properties of the speaker.

Finally, environment-centred frames place the origo on the physical landscape using whichever spatial conventions are present in a language, such as the English cardinal directions in the sentence, *'The ball is south of the tree.'* This reference frame has become known as an *absolute frame of reference* and, as Diessel (2014) asserts, is a particular type of intrinsic frame where the origo and the ground are the same object. In Diessel's typology, which I elaborate on further below, the ground and origo happen to be the physical landscape itself.

We can thus summarize the classic taxonomy by identifying a viewer-centred frame of reference (schematized in Figure 3.1) as one where the viewer and origo are embedded in the same object in opposition to the figure. An object-centred frame of reference is one where the origo and the ground are embedded in the same object in opposition to the figure, but the viewer is superfluous (i.e. the utterance is typically non-deictic). Finally, an absolute frame of reference is when the origo is mapped onto the physical geography familiar to speakers within the language community and can then be used to index the figure against the natural features of the physical landscape.

Revising the classical approach, Levinson (2006) posits three types of frames of reference based on the logical structure of a frame's origo, viewer, ground, and rotational properties. These frames are organized by how many essential objects are necessary to understand the frame and their properties of rotation. Beginning with the core number of essential elements, Levinson argues that there is one ternary frame of reference and two binary frames of reference. Levinson terms the ternary frame of reference as the *relative* frame of reference. The relative frame requires all three components: the figure, the ground, and the viewer to be present. Again, in Levinson's taxonomy, the viewer is a conflation of the speech participants (I separate the viewer

and the speaker later in this chapter). However, he distinguishes between gaze-centred, head-centred, and body-centred anchor points on the listener. This is seen in the example *'The ball is in front of the tree.'* in which the ground is the tree, the figure is the ball, and the viewer's location and viewpoint (specifically, the speaker's location and viewpoint) are necessary to understand the interpretation of the expression *in front of*. In English, the front of the tree is the side facing the viewer. However, the interpretation of locative adverbs is culturally dictated, and in the Hausa language, the expression *in front of* would denote the opposite side of the tree. This is due to the culturally determined way that the Hausa language projects rotation onto the ground (Hill, 1982). In conception, English speaker's project themselves and "become" the tree as though the tree is an interloctor facing them, while Hausa speakers project themselves and "become" the tree as though they are standing in place of the tree with the same rotation.

The two binary frames of reference are termed the *intrinsic* frame of reference and the *absolute* frame of reference. For these two frames of reference, only two landmarks are essential to their interpretation, the figure and the ground. The viewer is unnecessary and provides superfluous information. As in the traditional literature, the difference between the intrinsic and the absolute frames is the nature of the ground. In an intrinsic frame, the ground is a specified object. In contrast, in an absolute frame, the ground is the landscape itself, either using cardinal directions or salient physical landmarks in the speech community to orient the coordinate system. An intrinsic frame is represented in the sentence *'The ball is in front of the chair'* where the figure is the ball, the ground and origo are the chair, and the word *'front'* is interpreted through the chair's culturally relative intrinsic properties (the side that the seat is on) rather than from the viewer's orientation. An absolute frame is seen in (77) or in the English sentence *'The ball is north of the chair'* whereby the figure is the ball, the ground is the physical landscape (that the chair sits atop) forming the origo, and the chair's intrinsic orientation has no bearing on identifying the location of the ball. Instead, the figure is located vis-à-vis the geospatial coordinate system regardless of the orientation or location of the chair because the ground is the landscape or surrounding environment. Rather, the chair functions as an extra, optional landmark by which to triangulate the location of the figure on the landscape[2].

[2]In an absolute frame of reference the origo, better conceptualized as the *axis mundi*, projects out of the landscape salient to the frame of reference. Within a speech event, this axis can be orientated by specifying the intersection point between the landscape and the axis using an oblique phrase. In this case, and the following examples, the oblique *of the chair/of me/of Trondheim* is the intersection point between the axis and the frame. Thus, *the ball is in the north*; however, the origo, from which the vector is drawn, relevant to this utterance construes the axis' intersection point *at the chair*. The

In addition to the distinction between ternary and binary frames of reference, Levinson also highlights their properties using rotations. Levinson asks if a landmark in the frame rotates, can the same description be used to describe the scene? He applies this notion of rotation to the viewer, the ground, and the scene as a whole. In a relative frame of reference such as *'The ball is in front of the tree,'*, the viewer's perspective is necessary to interpret the utterance, as trees do not have any intrinsic front-back axis. If the viewer rotates 180 degrees, then the same description can no longer be used as the front of the tree can no longer be interpreted based on the viewer's orientation. However, if the tree rotates 180 degrees, then the scene remains unchanged. If the entire scene rotates 180 degrees, then the ball is now behind the tree from the viewer's perspective (in English), and thus the description is no longer accurate. Thus, for a relative frame of reference, the description remains unchanged under the rotation of the ground but not under the rotation of the viewer or the scene. An intrinsic frame, in contrast, remains constant under the rotation of the viewer and scene but changes under the rotation of the ground. Finally, in an absolute frame, the description remains constant under the rotation of the viewer and the ground but changes under the rotation of the scene. While these rotational properties are important to Levinson's taxonomies, I do not consider them within this analysis.

Key to Section 3.2.3, Levinson takes a markedly different approach to the notion of deixis, stating that deixis is a situation that arises when the ground, in particular the speaker, is the origo:

> **Deixis**, where F is located relative to a (usually egocentric) G in terms of radial categories ('here' vs. 'there'), or in combination with a pointing gesture ('there' with a point)... Deixis in fact is just a way of providing a special kind of ground or landmark, and can thus play a role in all the other spatial subdomains.
>
> (Levinson, 2006 pp. 65–67)

Furthermore Levinson posits that as deictics usually include non-linguistic and non-angular specifications of the vector, deixis should not be classified as a type of coordinate system. Levinson makes this claim because, for him, all three frames of reference can have a deictic viewpoint (79); therefore, deixis is an optional parameter

chair's intrinsic properties do not matter, and the chair does not have an intrinsic north side; the chair can rotate without changing the frame's interpretation, similar to how the Earth's rotational axis is the North Pole. This is often referred to as an *anchor* landmark in the frame of reference literature.

in the classification of spatial arrays (Levinson, 2006 pp. 34–36). This develops from the idea shown in (78) between the sentences *'The ball is in front of the chair'* and *'The ball is in front of me'* which contrast in their use of deixis. Levinson provides the following paired examples showing two such sentences for each of his frames of reference depending on the construal of the origo. That is, whether the speaker is the origo or not, any frame of reference can be egocentric and thus deictic. As points of reference can also be added to a speech event, and deictics are merely a special type of reference point, deixis is identified as a special type of spatial parameter. Note in these examples, I use the subscript $_i$ to indicate the viewer. They are only indicated on the deictic utterances as Levinson's thesis is that deixis occurs when the speaker is the viewer.

(79) a. 'The $ball_f$ is in front of the $tree_g$.' (from the $speaker's_{oi}$ perspective) (relative + deictic)

b. 'For $John_o$, the $ball_f$ is in front of the $tree_g$.' (relative + non-deictic)

c. 'The $ball_f$ is in front of me_{goi}.' (intrinsic + deictic)

d. 'The $ball_f$ is in front of the $chair_{go}$.' (intrinsic + non-deictic)

e. 'The $ball_f$ is north of me_i.' (on the $landscape_{go}$) (absolute + deictic)

f. 'The $ball_f$ is north of the chair.' (on the $landscape_{go}$) (absolute + non-deictic)

Examples from Diessel, 2014 p. 120
adopted from Levinson, 2006 p. 50/Levinson, 1996

Criticism about Levinson's taxonomy and his exclusion of the notion of deixis as a central element in his characterization of frame of reference models has arisen from researchers in the study of multimodality and demonstratives (Le Guen, 2011; Danziger, 2013; Diessel, 2014). This criticism focuses on the fact that Levinson, in his studies, only examines the use of locative adverbs and words related to way-finding. He, however, ignores placenames, particles, adpositions, and verbs of motion, all of which utilize frames of reference and should be accounted for in a full typology. Furthermore, he excludes the analysis of physical gesture in his studies, contradictory to his definition of deixis (Danziger, 2010 p. 176). Additionally, he claims pointing gestures are not linguistic, even in experiments used to illustrate the rotational properties of frames of reference. However, as physical gesture is usually coordinated and non-arbitrary in deixis, it often fulfills the function of the vector in a frame of reference, especially in demonstrative use. Thus, this exclusion of gesture is not warranted (Diessel, 2014

p. 123). In fact, Levinson's studies do not account for demonstrative use either, as he states demonstratives are opaque and underspecified. This claim is built on his notion that deictics do not utilize linguistic vectors in most languages (Levinson, 2006 pp. 69–71, 112; Diessel, 2014 pp. 120–121). Finally, Levinson denies that egocentric conceptualizations of space are foundational, in stark contrast to studies performed on language acquisition and demonstrative use, as discussed in Chapter One, Section 1.2.5.

In response to these critiques of Levison's work, several modifications to Levinson's typology have been proposed. The most influential critique for this study on Yugtun demonstratives is by Diessel (2014), who accepts the general typology posited by Levinson but with some modifications. For Diessel, demonstratives are a linguistic primitive arising early in language acquisition as a means of establishing joint attention between interlocutors in a speech event. As referential words, they establish joint attention to a referent or location in the surrounding environment or conversational context by using a coordinated physical gesture to point to it. As such, demonstratives are inherently understood via a frame of reference model via a simplification of the more traditional analysis, whereby the origo is the crucial landmark in the frame. Diessel argues that a conventionalized feature of demonstrative meaning is that the origo, the viewer, and the ground all constitute the same landmark. Depending on the linguistic system, the ground can be either anchored to the viewer's body (*egocentric*), transposed onto the interlocutor's body (*allocentric*), or projected into the text itself (*deixis am phantasma*). Levinson's criticism that demonstratives do not establish a vector between the origo and the figure is resolved through recognition of multimodal linguistic events, including physical pointing gestures. As the physical pointing gesture establishes a vector, demonstratives utilize all elements of a frame of reference, and demonstratives are uninterpretable without utilizing a frame of reference.

Drawing from the acquisition literature, Diessel further posits that demonstratives are among the first words learned by children and that deictic pointing occurs around the first birthday (Diessel, 2014). Therefore, it is safe to assume that a deictic frame of reference emerges before any other. Thus, according to Diessel, demonstratives entail the origo point, imply the figure and the ground, and are foundational to the emergence of more complex frames of reference in later stages of acquisition, as children learn to project their deictic perspective onto other objects and speech participants.

Diessel's typology argues that due to the joint attention requirements of demonstratives, frames of reference begin with deictic, egocentric conceptualizations. He calls this foundational category the *deictic* frame of reference. For example, in demonstrative utterances such as *'The ball is there'*, the viewer—in this case, the speaker—is the

origo and determines the direction of the vector based on their own intrinsic bodily orientation.

Diessel's second category is similar to Levinson's *intrinsic* frame of reference. In this category, the origo is the ground and has an intrinsic culturally-specified orientation. For example, the sentence *'The ball is in front of the chair'* uses an intrinsic frame of reference to locate the figure (*the ball*) in relation to the ground (*the chair*) using the intrinsic physical properties of the ground. Deissel, like Levinson, recognizes that the side of the chair that one sits down on, is the front, in English.

A more advanced extension of the intrinsic frame of reference is the displacement of the ground onto another landmark, which is similar to Levinson's *relative* frame of reference. Levinson also acknowledges that the relative frame of reference is a cognitive extension of his intrinsic frame of reference (Levinson, 2006). This frame of reference is often deictic. For example, in the sentence *'The ball is in front of the tree'*, Diessel argues that the speaker projects their physical orientation or axis into the ground (in this case, *the tree*), creating a relative frame of reference. Because of this deictic projection, the ground now has intrinsic properties dictated by the displacement of the speaker's conceptual body onto the object, thus allowing for a vector to be established in the speech event. In other words, Diessel categorizes the relative frame of reference as a special deictic variant of the intrinsic frame of reference, because the tree receives its front-back orientation (its intrinsic rotation) from the speaker.

Finally, Diessel's forth frame of reference is the *absolute* frame of reference in the same style as the classical taxonomy. This can be exemplified in the sentence *'The fjord is north (of the city).'* In this example, the landscape of the speech event acts as the origo and ground, and *the city* acts as an additional point for triangulation by which the figure (*the fjord*) is located. Diessel's taxonomy is compared with the traditional taxonomy and Levinson's taxonomy in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Frame of Reference Taxonomy Comparison: The following showcases the most important features of the three taxonomies presented in the literature according to the traditional taxonomy, Levinson, and Diessel.

	Deictic	**Object-Centered**	**Relative**	**Absolute**
Traditional taxonomy	**Viewer-Centered** Origo is viewer	**Object-Centered** Origo is contextually specified	– –	**Environment-Centered** Origo is landscape
Levinson's taxonomy	– –	**Intrinsic** Ground is a specified object	**Relative** Viewer is necessary	**Absolute** Ground is landscape
Diessel's taxonomy	**Deictic** Origo is viewer; ground is entailed	**Intrinsic** Origo is not viewer; ground has intrinsic rotation	**Relative** Origo is viewer; ground's rotation is construed from viewer	**Absolute** Origo is landscape

None of the critics of Levinson, however, are able to disambiguate the role of the speaker from the viewer. This distinction is necessary to explain the *allocentricity* encountered in the Yugtun language as speakers are able to utilize allocentric frames of reference through affixal morphology. Diessel alludes to this, yet disregards this deictic projection when generalizing his frames of reference (Diessel, 2014 p. 122). In this account, deixis arises from an inherent connection with the speaker's intrinsic vector (the position of the speaker's body). None of these taxonomies can clearly separate deixis from the speaker. In order to fully understand Yugtun demonstrative systems, the next subsection refines the notion of deixis within a frame of reference model to allow for allocentric demonstrative forms.

3.2.3 Deictically oriented frames of reference

By comparing Levinson's and Diessel's accounts - in relation to figure, origo, viewer (both speaker and interlocutor), ground, and vector - a streamlined and explanatory

model of frames of reference useful to this study on Yugtun demonstratives can be composed. For my model, I adopt the following principle landmarks in any frame of reference. The *figure* is the object being located in the scene. The *ground* is the object by which the figure is related. The *origo* is the *axis mundi* from which the frame of reference emanates. The *viewer* is loosely defined as the speech-act participants but must be split in my analysis in order to account for the distinction between egocentricity and allocentricity. Thus, we have *speaker* and *interlocutor*. Finally, the *vector* is the direction between the *origo* and the *figure*. Levinson excludes demonstratives from his typology of frames of reference because they do not signal linguistically encoded vectors. However, as Diessel shows, demonstratives encode vectors through the use of co-speech gestures such as pointing[3]. Therefore, my model supports Diessel's in that demonstratives are subject to analysis within a frame of reference model, as they are used to orient an interlocutor's attention on a salient object in the environment by creating a coordinate system with a figure, ground, origo, vector and speech-act participants.

Additionally, the evidence supplied by Diessel suggests that deictic frames of reference emerge first in language acquisition and give rise to non-deictic frames, including intrinsic and relative frames of reference. However, here we must disambiguate the first term. The term *deixis* has been given multiple meanings across the literature. The first, most fundamental meaning is that of demonstration. A *deictic* word is one that indexes an object in conceptual space by pointing to it (Kaplan, 1989 pp. 483, 491, 552). Diessel clarifies by stating that deictics are linguistic signs that make direct reference, by indicating a referential relationship between the figure and the ground by way of pointing (Diessel, 2014 p. 128; Diessel, 2013a p. 1; Fillmore, 1997). Thus, deictic expressions have fixed semantics that change denotation based on their contextual referent, which is pointed to. The second use of *deixis*, discussed in Section 3.2.4 in the frames of reference literature, is when the *origo* and the *viewer* (particularly the *speaker*) constitute the same landmark, as in *The ball is in front of me* (Levinson, 2006 p. 65). This definition, however, presents issues when attempting to account for the distinction between *egocentric* frames and *allocentric* frames and, as Levinson shows, for determining whether frames of reference are deictic. Levinson argues they are not inherently deictic because any frame can center the origo on the viewer as shown in (79).

My model adopts a more nuanced stance. **Deixis** is a referential expression used to bring joint attention to a *figure* by way of relating it to a *ground* using a pointing

[3]In Yugtun, the vector is also linguistically encoded in many of the demonstrative bases such as 'approaching,' 'downriver,' 'up,' and so forth. See example (77).

word which establishes the *vector* from the *origo* which is the *speaker* or *interlocutor* or *projected from the speaker or interlocutor*. Thus, the important aspects are that in the utterance, there is a pointing word (for example *he, now, this, come, could*) which brings joint attention to an object in juxtaposition to another object (the ground). Finally, a viewer (speaker/interlocutor) is acting as the origo or source of a projection. Drawing from this definition of deixis, **demonstratives** are pointing words which linguistically draw the vector between the origo and the figure, such that the origo and ground are entailed by the demonstrative's semantics. Another way to say this is that demonstratives are a linguistic pointing gesture originating from a lexicalized origo.

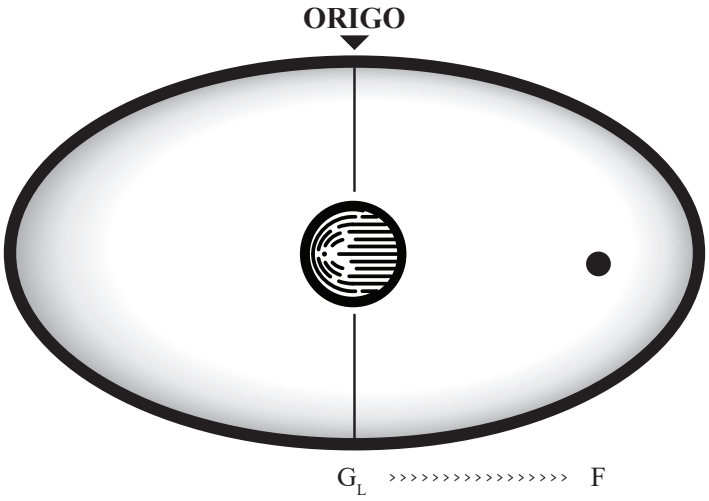
I further disambiguate the previous literature by dividing the viewer into the speaker and the interlocutor. This allows me to weave into the analysis the traditional terms *egocentric* and *allocentric*. Here, it is easy to confuse the term *centric* as referring to the origo, but it does not. The term **centric** instead refers to the ground landmark. If the ground is the speaker, then the frame of reference is egocentric. If the ground is not the speaker, then the frame of reference is allocentric. I additionally use the term *geocentric* to refer to an allocentric frame of reference where the ground is the physical landscape itself.

Using these notions of frames of reference, deixis, and centricity, I posit six interconnected types of typological frames of reference. These frames of reference are integral to describing demonstrative systems in languages that juxtapose relative distance and in languages which juxtapose speech participants (Section 1.2.2). Four of these frames of reference are crucial to clarify the nature and use of demonstratives in Yugtun (Section 3.3). These six typological frames of reference are:

- Intrinsic Deictic Egocentric (*Refer to Examples (84)-(86)*)
- Intrinsic Deictic Allocentric (*Refer to Examples (87)-(88)*)
- Intrinsic Non-deictic Allocentric (*Refer to Examples (82)-(83)*)
- Relative-Intrinsic Deictic Allocentric (*Refer to Examples (89)-(90)*)
- Absolute Non-deictic Geocentric (*Refer to Examples (80)-(81)*)
- Relative-Absolute Deictic Geocentric (*Refer to Examples (91)-(94)*)

Note that in these frames, the relative frames of reference are a special type of extended frame as per Diessel (2014). In fact, the relative frame can be an extension of either an absolute or an intrinsic frame of reference which I demonstrate in the following descriptions.

In the next paragraphs, I discuss the characterization of my typological frames of reference, beginning with the absolute, non-deictic, geocentric frame of reference, modelled in Figure 3.3. I begin with the non-deictic frames of reference before detailing



The landscape (ground) is the origo.
The figure is located with respect to the landscape.

Absolute Non-Deictic Geocentric

Figure 3.3: Absolute Non-deictic Geocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the frame of reference, the medium-sized circle portrays any feature of the landscape (such as a river or fjord), and the large dot represents the figure. The origo is indicated as the central axis which intersects with the landscape. The » arrows represent the vector and the intrinsic orientation of the ground, and the small L specifies the type of ground, in this case the landscape.

the deictic frames of reference because they use the intrinsic, or built-in, vectors of the origo to locate the figure, whereas the deictic frames use a gestural or demonstrative vector to locate the figure. Thus, the deictic frames utilize an extra component, typically a motion gesture. Nevertheless, the non-deictic frames of reference are interesting in Yugtun because the words used to compose the vector are often derived from the deictic demonstratives using the nominal Possessor Construction discussed in Chapter Two.

An absolute, non-deictic, geocentric frame of reference is where the figure is located relative to the ground which is both the origo and the physical landscape. This is non-deictic because the origo is not one of the viewers and a pointing word originating

with the viewer is not used. Most analyses of the absolute frame of reference assume that the absoutive frame is always non-deictic, however as my analysis argues, this is not the case in Yugtun demonstratives. This non-deictic frame of reference is exemplified in Yugtun using a positional noun in (80) and in English in (81) using a cardinal direction.

(80) Imna $barge-aq_f$ pastulimi $paingani_{go}$ ...

Imna	*bargeaq*	*pastulimi*
im-na-ø-ø	bargear-ø-ø	pastuli-ø-mi
PROX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	barge-SG-ABS	Pastuliq-SG-LOC.SG

paingani...
pai-ø-nga-ø-ni
river.mouth-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-SG-LOC

'This barge in Pastuliq at the river's mouth...'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:33)

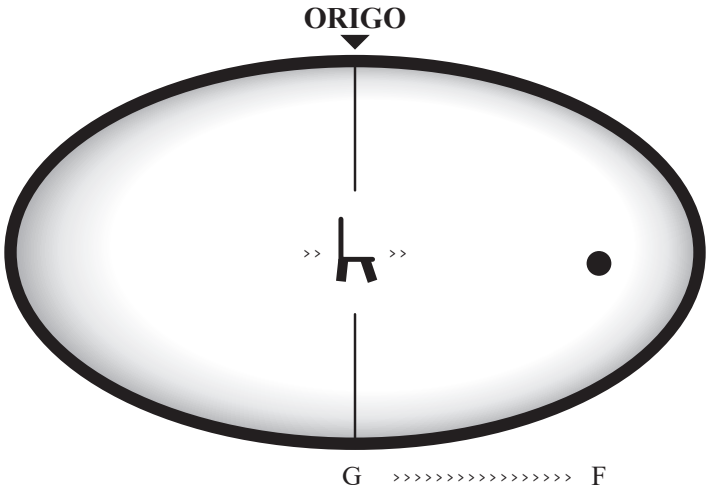
In (80), the figure is the *bargeaq* 'barge' which is being located against the ground and the origo, which is the *river* or landscape. As opposed to English, which uses cardinal directions in an absolute frame of reference, Yugtun uses a riverine directional system. In this utterance, the obscured, proximal demonstrative *im-* performs an endophoric speech function by bringing the barge into the narrative space and into joint attention, but does not physically (exophorically) point to the location. Rather, the barge is located at the river's mouth, and the listener can triangulate the position using the extra information provided through the oblique object *Pastulimi* 'in Pastuliq'.

Similarly, in (81), *the fjord* is the figure being located, and the earth itself is the origo and the ground against which the figure is located. *Trondheim* is an optional landmark that aids in the triangulation of the figure but is not a core landmark necessary to the intepretation of the frame of reference, as in Levinson's taxonomy. Indeed, this could also be *north of me* or any other oblique object. The vector comes not from the oblique object but from the cardinal direction which is anchored to the ground.

(81) The $fjord_f$ lies $north_{go}$ of Trondheim

The second non-deictic frame of reference is an intrinsic, non-deictic, allocentric frame of reference, represented in Figure 3.4.

Similar to the absolute non-deictic frame, an intrinsic non-deictic frame receives the vector from the inherent directionality of the origo. Thus, this frame of reference is



The ground is the origo.
The ground has an intrinsic orientation.
The figure is located via the intrinsic orientation of the ground.

Intrinsic Non-Deictic Allocentric

Figure 3.4: Intrinsic Non-deictic Allocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the frame of reference, the chair is the origo and has an intrinsic rotation (or orientation), the dot represents the figure. The » arrows represent the intrinsic orientation of the ground. The figure is located through the intrinsic orientation, as shown in (83).

one where the figure is located in juxtaposition to the ground, which has an intrinsic orientation. The ground is the origo, and the figure is located by using the intrinsic orientation to establish a vector between the two. This is non-deictic because the origo is not one of the viewers, and a pointing word originating with the viewer is not used. This frame of reference is exemplified in Yugtun in (82) and in English in (83).

(82) *esskuulaawirmi*$_{go}$ *iluani*$_{v}$ *yuraqluteng*$_{f}$

esskuulaawirmi	*iluani*
esskuular-vir-ø-mi	ilu-ø-nga-ø-ni
go.to.learn-place.to.V-SG-LOC.SG	interior-SG-3.ERGA-SG-LOC

yuraqluteng. . .
yuraq-lu-teg-t
sing/dance-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'Inside the school they sing and dance'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:157.1)

In the Yugtun example, (82), the figure is *the people singing and dancing (inside of a school building)*. In order to locate where the figure is the speaker makes reference to *esskuulaawirmi* 'the school' as the ground landmark. As the school is orienting the frame of reference it is also the origo. The school has an intrinsic orientation with an inside and an outside, which form the coordinate system. The vector *iluani* 'interior' emanates from the origo and points to the figure within the intrinsic orientation of the school building.

Similarly in English, in (83), *the ball* is the figure being located and *the chair* is the ground and origo against which the figure is located. This is because the chair has an intrinsic orientation independent from the viewer but dictated by cultural convention. The vector is given by the intrinsic orientation of the chair, which has a front and backside. Using the chair's intrinsic vector *the ball* can then be located.

(83) The $ball_f$ is in $front_v$ of the $chair_{go}$

Moving the discussion to the deictic frames of reference, I begin with the characterization of the intrinsic frames first. These frames are similar to the non-deictic in that the ground has an intrinsic orientation, but the ground is now either the speaker or the interlocutor or has acquired its intrinsic properties through a deictic projection from the speaker or interlocutor. Similar to Diessel's, 2014 taxonomy, an intrinsic, deictic, egocentric frame of reference is likely the first frame of reference to emerge in language acquisition and is the source domain for the development of all the other frames of reference once a speaker learns to remove themselves as the ground landmark. Figure 3.5 schematizes an intrinsic deictic egocentric frame of reference.

In this typological frame, the figure is located in juxtaposition to the ground, which is the origo. Crucially, the ground is the speaker. The ground has an intrinsic orientation, but the figure is located by using a linguistic pointing gesture to establish the vector. This is deictic because the origo is one of the viewers, and a pointing word typically accompanied by a gesture originating with the viewer is used. This frame of reference is exemplified in Yugtun in (84), in English in (85), and in Japanese in (86).

(84) $mana_v$ $cellavut_f$

mana	*cellavut*
mat-na-ø-ø	cella-ø-pu-t-ø
PROX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	world-SG-1.NOMA-PL-ABS

'this one, our world'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.5)

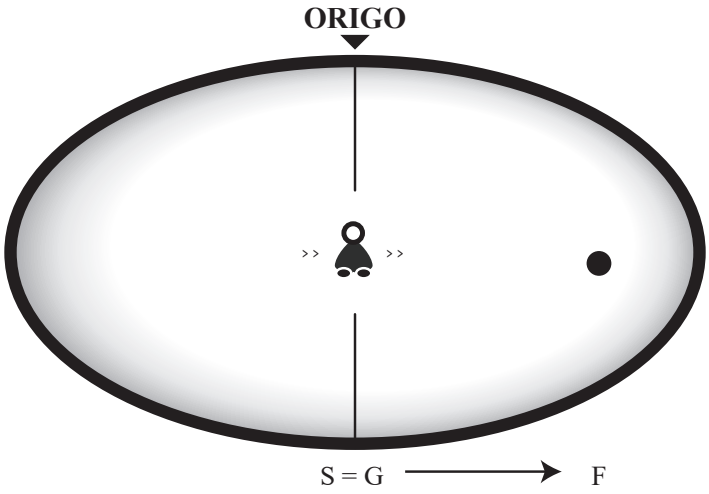


Figure 3.5: Intrinsic Deictic Egocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the frame of reference, the speaker is the origo and has an intrinsic rotation (or orientation), and the dot represents the figure. The arrow represents the speaker's specified vector between the speaker and the figure.

In (84), the figure is *our world*, which is located against the ground and the origo. The ground and the origo are the speaker and are entailed by the demonstrative. The demonstrative also forms the vector between the speaker and the figure as a linguistic pointing word or gesture. An intrinsic, egocentric, deictic frame of reference is the most common in demonstratives cross-linguistically and can also be seen in English in (85).

(85) $this_v\ ball_f \mid\mid that_v\ ball_f$

In (85), *the ball* is the figure being located while the speaker is the origo and the ground. The speaker is entailed through the use of the egocentric, intrinsic, deictic demonstrative pointing gesture, as per Diessel (2014). The vector is provided through the use of a demonstrative word and a possible accompanying pointing gesture. In Japanese also, both the proximal and the distal, distance-based demonstratives are intrinsic, deictic and egocentric. As shown in (86).

(86) *kono$_v$ baggu$_f$ wa watashi$_{go}$ no desu || Ano$_v$ baggu$_f$ wa Jon no desu*

a. *Kono* *baggu* *wa* *watashi* *no* *desu*
Kono baggu wa watashi no desu
PROX.EGO bag TOP me POSS COP

'This bag near me is mine.'

b. *Ano* *baggu* *wa* *jon* *san* *no* *desu*
Ano baggu wa jon san no desu
DIST bag TOP jon HON POSS COP

'That bag over there is Jon's.'

(BondLingo, 2022)

In (86), the figure is *baggu*, which is located against the ground, and the origo, which is the speaker. The speaker is entailed through the use of the egocentric demonstratives *kono* and *ano*, and in (86a), the speaker is also linguistically encoded with a pronoun *watashi*. The vector between the speaker and the figure is established with the demonstratives; the first establishing a proximal distance to the speaker and the second establishing a contrasting distal distance to the speaker.

However, by stepping into the interlocutor's shoes, the speaker can displace the origo from themselves and onto the interlocutor; when this happens, it contrues an allocentric frame of reference, as shown in Figure 3.6.

Thus, an intrinsic, deictic, allocentric frame of reference is also one where the figure is located in juxtaposition to the ground, which is the origo. Crucially, the ground is now the interlocutor. The ground has an intrinsic orientation, but the figure is located by using a linguistic pointing gesture to establish the vector. This is deictic because the origo is one of the viewers and a pointing word originating with the viewer is used. This frame of reference is exemplified in Yugtun in (87) and in Japanese in (88).

(87) *laavkiurta$_{go}$ piaqa, "qayuten akingqellranek tauna$_v$ 22 – cup'un single – shot$_f$?*

laavkiurta *piaqa,* *"qayuten*
laavkiurta-ø-ø pi-gar-ngka-ø "qayu-ten
clerk-SG-ABS say-IND.TR-1.NOMA.SG-SG "how-ÆQL

akingqellranek *tauna*
aking-qe-llr-nga-ø-nek ta-u-na-ø-ø
money-ITR-CNJ.CNTMP-3.ERGA-SG-ABL R<PROX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS

22-cup'un *single-shot?"*
twentytwo.cup'un-ø-ø single.shot?"
twentytwo.shotgun-SG-ABS single.shot?"

'I said to him, the clerk, "how much for this .22 single-shot?"'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:157.1)

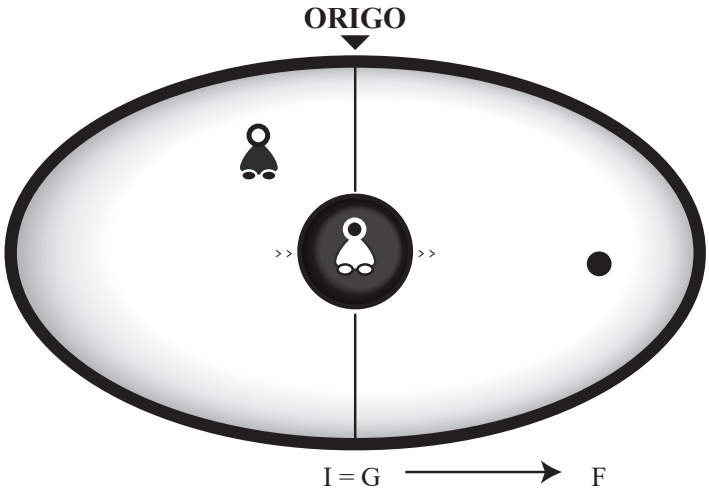


Figure 3.6: Intrinsic Deictic Allocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the frame of reference, the interlocutor is the origo, not the speaker, and has an intrinsic orientation, the dot represents the figure. The arrow represents the vector by which the figure is pointed to. The figure is located through a pointing word.

In (87), the figure is the *.22 single-shot* and is located using the interlocutor, in this case, *laavkiurta* 'the clerk', as the ground and the origo. The vector is established through the allocentric demonstrative *tauna* that originates with the interlocutor and points to the figure.

Similarly, in Japanese, the third demonstrative term described in Chapter One, which is person-based and establishes an object proximal to the listener as opposed to the speaker, is an allocentric, intrinsic, deictic demonstrative, shown in (88). The figure is *baggu*, which is located against the ground and the origo, which is the *interlocutor*. The interlocutor is entailed through the use of the allocentric demonstrative *sono*, and in (88), the interlocutor is also linguistically encoded with a pronoun *anata*. The vector between the interlocutor and the figure is established with the demonstrative. This utterance is deictic because a linguistic pointing gesture is established between the origo, which is the interlocutor, and the figure.

(88) $Sono_v$ $baggu_f$ wa $anata_{go}$ no desu

Sono	*baggu*	*wa*	*anata*	*no*	*desu*
Sono	baggu	wa	anata	no	desu
PROX.HEAR	bag	TOP	you	POSS	COP

'This bag near you is yours.'

(BondLingo, 2022)

In (88), the figure is *baggu*, which is located against the ground and the origo, which is the *interlocutor*. The interlocutor is entailed through the use of the allocentric demonstrative *sono*, and in (88), the interlocutor is also linguistically encoded with a pronoun *anata*. The vector between the interlocutor and the figure is established with the demonstrative. This utterance is deictic because a linguistic pointing gesture is established between the origo, which is the interlocutor and the figure.

Note that this frame of reference is an extension of the egocentric demonstratives. An allocentric frame of reference requires the speaker to displace the origo from themselves and unto the interlocutor, to stand in their shoes, or "become" the interloctor as it were. Thus, while the physical pointing gesture may come from the speaker, the linguistic pointing word, like in Japanese (88), originates with the interlocutor but not the speaker. It is also important to notice that proximity, therefore, does not refer to the figure's relative distance to the speaker or viewer but rather its relative distance to the origo. A proximal demonstrative establishes that the figure is located relatively close to the origo while a distal demonstrative indicates it is relatively far from the origo.

The final intrinsic frame of reference is a deictic (or relative à la Diessel (2014)) extension of the basic egocentric intrinsic frame. A relative-intrinsic, deictic, allocentric frame of reference, Figure 3.7, requires the speaker to project themselves and "become" the ground object thereby establishing an intrinsic rotation. This can occur in either the English style of projection the Hausa style of projection (Hill, 1982).

Thus, the relative-intrinsic, deictic, allocentric frame of reference is one where the figure is located in juxtaposition to the ground, which is the origo. The ground does not have an intrinsic orientation, but the speaker projects their deictic orientation onto the ground object. Using the deictic projection, the ground can then be used to establish a vector between itself and the figure. The way a deictic projection is mapped onto the ground object is culturally specified. In English, the deictic projection is mirrored, but in Hausa, the deictic projection is translocated (Hill, 1982). This frame is deictic because the speaker is the source of the intrinsic orientation and the pointing gesture, even though they have been projected onto another object. This frame of

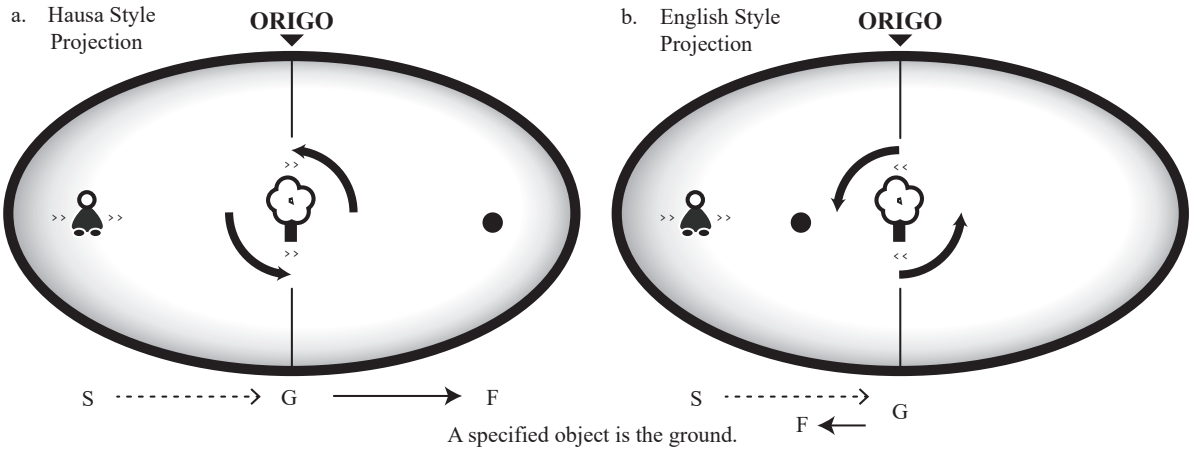


Figure 3.7: Relative-Intrinsic Deictic Allocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the frame of reference, the tree is the origo but does not have an intrinsic orientation, the dot represents the figure. The intrinsic orientation of the speaker is projected onto the ground, represented by the rotational arrows. Using the projected orientation of the speaker the figure is located by the appropriate vector.

reference is exemplified in Yugtun in (89) and in English in (90). In Yugtun this frame of reference is found in pure text deixis as shown in (89) but is no longer used purely as a spatial demonstrative as can be done in Inuit.

(89) Naamik qayuga *tayima*$_v$ piluki

Naamik	*qayuga*	*tayima*	*piluki*
Naamik	qayuga	ta-im-a	pi-lu-ki-t
I.dont.know	how	R<PROX.OBSC-FL	do-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL

'I don't know how these things were done'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:101)

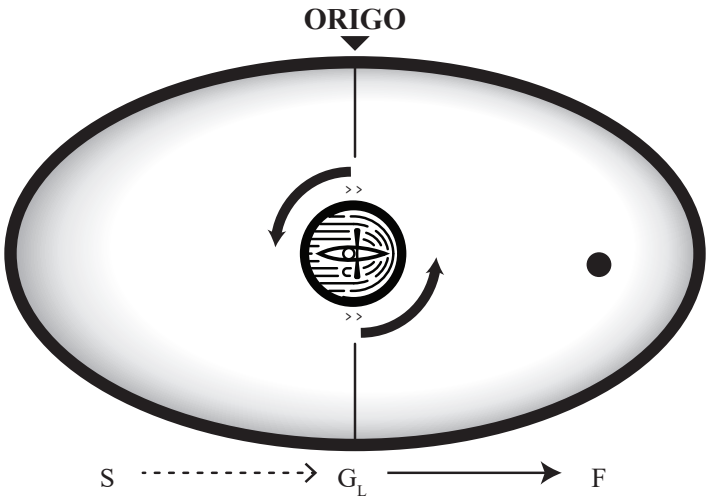
In (89) the speaker has projected their deictic orientation onto the ground which is the text itself. This projection construes a relative frame from an intrinsic one whereby the text takes on a forwards/backwards, visible/invisible axis comparable to the speaker. Thus, the figure is the subject of the narrative that has already been spoken and is invisible. The ground and origo are the narrative text itself which has received its orientation from the speaker's projection. A vector is established using a

demonstrative pointing gesture to index the now out-of-sight things that have already passed in the discourse. The English example, in (90), demonstrates the use of this typological frame of reference spatially.

(90) the $ball_f$ is in $front_v$ of the $tree_{go}$

In (90), *the ball* is the figure being located, and *the tree* is the ground and origo against which the figure is located. The vector is given by the intrinsic orientation of the speaker, who has a front and back side and projects that orientation onto, or "becomes" the tree, which lacks an intrinsic orientation. In English, this projection is mirrored as though the tree is an interlocutor, which construes the front of the tree as the side facing the speaker.

Finally, coming full circle, an absolute, deictic, geocentric frame of reference is diagrammed in Figure 3.8.



The landscape (ground) is the origo.
The speaker projects their intrinsic rotation onto the landscape.
The landscape points to the figure.

Relative-Absolute Deictic Geocentric

Figure 3.8: Relative-Absolute Deictic Geocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the overall frame of reference, the medium-sized circle, portraying a river with a kayaking speaker, represents the landscape while the landscape does not have an intrinsic orientation the speaker which is within the landscape does. The dot represents the figure. The intrinsic orientation of the speaker is projected onto the ground, represented by the rotational arrows. Using the projected orientation of the speaker the figure is located by the appropriate vector.

An absolute, deictic, geocentric frame of reference is one where the figure is located in juxtaposition to the ground, which is the origo and the landscape. The landscape does not have an intrinsic orientation, but the speaker projects their deictic orientation onto the landscape. Using the deictic projection afforded by the speaker, the landscape can then be used to establish a vector between itself and the figure. This frame is deictic because the speaker is the source of the intrinsic orientation and the pointing gesture as though they have "become" the landscape itself. Just as the intrinsic deictic allocentric and the relative-intrinsic deictic allocentric frames of reference are conceptual extensions of the intrinsic egocentric frame of reference whereby the deictic projection of the speaker is extended onto another object, so too is the deictic relative-absolute geocentric frame of reference an extension of the intrinsic egocentric frame of reference. By projecting the orientation of the speaker onto the landscape itself, the landscape gains an intrinsic rotation. Just as English speakers can become a tree when locating a figure in front of it, Yup'ik speakers can become the landscape when locating a figure in the physical world. This frame of reference is exemplified in Yugtun in (91) and (92), and in Kalallisut Inuit in (93) and (94).

(91) ilaita $yuut_f$, $un'gani - llu_{vgo}$

ilaita	*yuut,*
ila-t-ngi-t-ø	yug-t-ø
part-PL-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL.LF-ABS	person-PL-ABS

un'gani-llu
ung-a-ni=llu
DIST.DOWNRIVER-FL-LOC-COO

'And some people downriver-here'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:31.1)

In (91), the figure is *yuut* 'people,' who are located against the ground and the origo, which is the landscape. The landscape is given a deictic orientation by the speaker through their intrinsic projection. The vector thus originates at the speaker through a deictic projection with the demonstrative pointing word *un'gani* 'downriver' and points to the figure within the speaker's intrinsic orientation. I term this frame of reference in Yugtun specifically, the *Deictic Absolute* but note that due to the projective nature of the speaker's intrinsic orientation onto the landscape, this is a relative, deictic, geocentric extension of the intrinsic, deictic, egocentric frame of reference.

In (92), the landscape has projected its deictic orientation onto the text for pure text deixis using a conceptual metaphor of DISCOURSE IS LANDSCAPE, as discussed

Section 3.4.

(92) *Tauguam*$_v$, *kiagaqan ataam*$_f$, ataam kiagmi neqsurluta

Tauguam,
taug-u=am
R<DIST.DOWNRIVER-OF.SG=EMPH

kiagaqan	*ataam,*	*ataam*
kiag-gaqa-nga-n-ø	ataam	ataam
summer-CNJ.(constantive)-3.ERGA-SG.LF-ABS	again	again

kiagmi	*neqsurluta*
kiag-ni	neqsur-lu-ta
summer-LOC.SG	fishing-APP-SG.LF

'However/only/and again, when summer comes again, again in the summer we fish'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:26.3)

Thus, in (92), There are two projections from the ego, first, there is a hidden projection of the speaker (S) onto the landscape (L), thereby orienting the landscape as to its upriver and downriver directionality from a particular viewpoint. Thereby, the speaker orients the rotational properties of the landscape. This deictic projection from the speaker onto the landscape is then projected a second time and used to orient the rotational properties of the text, which is functioning as the ground and origo, as being down-river (previously stated) and up-river (about to be stated). This double projection can be schematized as follows:

$$[\text{S} \dashrightarrow \text{L} \dashrightarrow \text{text}]{=}\text{G/Origo} \rightarrow \text{F}$$

These projections and the use of geocentric ground are what make this frame of reference deictic, relative-absolute. Thus, in (92), the figure is the phrase *kiagagan ataam* located against the ground and the origo, which is the text itself. The text is given an intrinsic orientation by the speaker, which forms the coordinate system, and the demonstrative vector *tauguam* 'up-river' points to the figure as being the next phrase in the text.

Inuit languages can make use of the relative-absolute deictic geocentric frame of reference much more productively than Yup'ik, as discussed in Section 3.3. Examples of the relative-absolute frame used in Inuit demonstratives are shown in (93) and (94).

(93) *pikaniippoq*$_v$

pikaniippoq
pik-ani=ik-poq
DEM.UP-LOC=BE-3SG.IND

'he/she/it is up there'

(McMahan, 2022 p. 169)

In (93), the figure is a 3rd-person singular entity located against the ground and the origo, which is the landscape itself. As with the Yugtun examples, the landscape has been given an intrinsic orientation by the speaker and the vector is established with the demonstrative pointing word that points to the figure within that intrinsic orientation projection, in this case, the vector points upwards in the landscape.

In (94), an example from Inuit, McMahan observes that the demonstrative makes a 'reference [to] the location of a building which is higher up from the origo' (McMahan, 2022 p. 177). The figure in this frame of reference is the 'gray houses,' which are located against the ground and the origo, which is the landscape itself. As with the Yugtun examples, the landscape has been given an intrinsic orientation by either the speaker (who is eliciting demonstrative words from the Kalallisut consultant by pointing) or, more likely, by the interlocutor, and the vector is established with the demonstrative pointing word that points to the figure within that intrinsic orientation projection. Notice that in Inuit, the *ta-* prefix is functioning exophorically, while in Yugtun ((92)), the *ta-* prefix has taken on a predominately endophoric use. However, there is a direct functional connection between an exophoric deictic projection onto another object, such as a tree, and that of a more endophoric/anaphoric function, whereby the deictic projection is placed onto the text and refers back to a previously stated figure in the text. That is, the location of the origo in an exophoric relative-absolute frame of reference is projected from the speaker onto the landscape, while in an endophoric usage the landscape is then projected onto the discourse, which is treated as a metaphorical landscape.

(94) *tappikaniipput*$_v$ *illut qasertut*$_f$

tappikaniipput	*illut*	*qasertut*
ta-pik-ani=ik-put	illu-t	qaser-toq-t
ANA-DEM.UP-LOC=BE-3PL.IND	house-ABS.PL	gray-APRT-ABS.PL

'the gray houses are up there'

(McMahan, 2022 p. 177)

In reviewing these frames of reference one after another, several important observations can be made. First, when the ground, speaker, and origo encompass the same object, an egocentric frame of reference is construed. Inversely, an allocentric frame of reference is construed when the ground and origo are not the speaker. Additionally, the term *proximal* does not mean 'close to speaker' but rather 'close to the origo' and *distal* does not mean 'far from speaker' but rather 'far from the origo.' Thus, in an intrinsic egocentric frame of reference, if one demonstrative is *proximal*, then it is close to the speaker as in *this thing*. However, in an intrinsic deictic allocentric frame of reference when a demonstrative is *proximal* it is close to the interlocutor as in *sono baggu* 'This bag near you.' Finally, in a relative-absolute geocentric frame of reference then it is close to the place in the landscape where the deictic projection has been transposed as in *yuut un'gani* '(these) people downriver—here'.

In the characterization of these six frames of reference which are founded on Diessel (2014), and Levinson (2006) taxonomies, several interesting patterns emerge which indicate that the simple frame of reference from Chapter One employed by Jacobson and Jacobson (1995) and Miyaoka (2012) to describe demonstratives in Section 3.2.1 is not sufficient. As discussed in Chapter One, demonstrative systems cross-linguistically are usually described by the number of distance (relative distance) contrasts formed in opposition between demonstrative words which bring joint attention to a figure. A 1-term language uses a single demonstrative to bring joint attention to the figure. Based on this discussion, this sole demonstrative in this language would employ an intrinsic, deictic, egocentric frame of reference.

A 2-term system uses two words, one for a proximal distance and another for a distal distance. I refer back to the English examples here. In English, a two-term system exists with a proximal *this* and a distal *that*. The term *this* brings deictic joint attention to a proximal figure by juxtaposing it to the ground, which is the speaker and the origo. Thus, this employs an intrinsic, deictic, egocentric frame of reference, as shown in Figure 3.5. The word *that* brings deictic joint attention to a distal figure by juxtaposing it to the ground, which is the speaker and the origo. Thus, *that* also employs an intrinsic, deictic, egocentric frame of reference. In English, therefore, both of these terms construct an intrinsic, deictic, egocentric model of frames of reference.

A 3-term demonstrative system can emerge in one of two ways: first, through a finer delineation of the space using a proximal, medial, and distal term. This system is an expansion of the 2-term intrinsic, deictic, egocentric model. The second type of 3-term system involves a more specific selection of the speech participants where one term is proximal to the speaker, one term is proximal to the interlocutor, and the third term is distal from both. This person-based system is where the demonstrative

intersection with frames of reference becomes apparent. In a person-based system, the origo is displaced from the speaker. Here, I refer back to the Japanese examples. In Japanese, the first deictic term *kono* brings joint attention to a speaker-proximal figure by juxtaposing it to the ground, which is the speaker and the origo. Thus, *kono* employs an intrinsic, deictic, egocentric frame of reference, Figure 3.5. The second term *sono*, however, brings joint attention to an interlocutor-proximal figure by juxtaposing it to the ground, which is the interlocutor. Thus *sono* employs an intrinsic, deictic, allocentric frame of reference, Figure 3.6. Finally, the third term, *ano*, brings joint attention to a distal figure by juxtaposing it to the ground, which is the viewer (including the speaker) and the origo. Thus *ano* may employ an intrinsic, deictic, egocentric frame of reference or an intrinsic, deictic, allocentric frame of reference or is polysemous across both frames. Thus, for the *proximal to speaker* demonstrative, and possibly the *distal* demonstrative, an intrinsic, deictic, egocentric model is employed, but for the *proximal to listener* demonstrative, the frame of reference shifts and an intrinsic deictic, allocentric model is utilized. This indicates that demonstrative systems can shift frames of reference, and by adopting a frame of reference analysis, the function of demonstratives can be better elucidated.

As suggested by Diessel (2014), intrinsic frames of reference, which utilize an egocentric framework, are the easiest to learn and interpret and among the first acquired. Allocentricity requires an ability to transpose the origo onto a different ground object, as in the case of the Japanese demonstrative *sono*. After transposing the origo onto a different ground object, the deictic orientation of the speaker or interlocutor can be further projected onto the ground, and additional allo-and-geocentric frames of reference can emerge as extensions of the intrinsic ones.

Returning to the structure and function of demonstratives in the Yugtun language, we can now ground ourselves within the Yugtun semantic system. Notice that Yugtun demonstratives were showcased in four of the six typological frames of reference in (84), (87), (89), (91), and (92). Using these four typological frames, I posit three distinct operational frames of reference which operate within the Yugtun demonstrative system. These are showcased in Table 3.4.

The first operational frame of reference I identify functions within the typological intrinsic deictic egocentric frame of reference. This set of demonstratives I term the **intrinsic frame of reference** in Yugtun, represented in (84).

The second operational frame of reference comprises the largest set of Yugtun demonstratives. This set of demonstratives construe a relative-absolute deictic geocentric frame of reference represented by Example (91). Note that there is a morphological difference between the demonstratives shown in (91) and (92). In (92) the prefix *ta-*

is used. This use of the *ta-* prefix is removed and classified as a distinct operational frame. Thus, the typological relative-absolute deictic geocentric demonstratives in Yugtun are spread over two Yugtun operational categories. I use the term **absolute frame of reference** to refer to the relative-absolute deictic geocentric demonstratives in Yugtun that do not use the *ta-* prefix.

The final set of Yugtun demonstratives is complex in that it can, based on context, employ three types of typological frames of reference. The first typological frame of reference used in this operational category is the intrinsic deictic allocentric frame of reference. Notice that the interlocutor in (87) orients the origo and is responsible for forming the deictic relationship, not the speaker, and it indicates the displacement from the expected egocentric origo to the allocentric origo by using the *ta-* prefix. Also, the relative-intrinsic deictic allocentric demonstrative in (89) also uses the *ta-* prefix. Both indicate the displacement or projection of the origo from the expected landmark to another landmark.

Thus, I assert that in Yugtun, these two frames of reference are merged, and this is indicated by the use of the same prefix. It does not matter if the listener is the origo or if the origo is projected onto another object/person; both use the *ta-* prefix to indicate a displacement of the origo away from the speaker. I thus posit that the *ta-* prefix is used to indicate a departure from the expected origo. Thus, it also makes sense that this complex set of demonstratives has merged with the *ta-* variants of the relative-absolute deictic allocentric frame of reference. Typically, in this frame of reference, the expected origo is the landscape but in (92), the origo is not the landscape but projected onto the text. Again, this is a displacement away from the expected origo. This merger of the *ta-* marked forms in Yugtun might be why there is a drastic reduction in the productivity of this prefix in the relative-absolute frame of reference. As this *ta-* prefix is used across three frames of deictic reference that are united by the fact that they are allocentric with an unexpected origo, I amalgamate the *ta-* prefixed demonstrative forms into a special Yugtun operational category. Thus, I group the intrinsic deictic allocentric, relative-intrinsic deictic allocentric, and the *ta-* marked forms of the absolute-relative deictic geocentric frames of reference into a single Yugtun specific category I term the **Relative frame of reference**. These Yugtun operational frames of reference are summarised in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Yugtun operational frames of reference (FOR): The operational frames of reference utilized by Yugtun demonstratives. These operational frames of reference are categorized by both functional characteristics and morphosyntactic differences. They represent the Yugtun categorization of the typological frames of reference discussed above. Each operational frame of reference is discussed in turn in Section 3.3.

Operational Frames of Reference in Yugtun		
Yugtun FOR	**Typological FOR**	**Reference Example**
Intrinsic FOR	Intrinsic Deictic Egocentric	(84)
Relative FOR (*ta-* prefix)	Intrinsic Deictic Allocentric Relative-Intrinsic Deictic Allocentric Relative-Absolute Deictic Geocentric	(87), (89), (92)
Absolute FOR	Relative-Absolute Deictic Geocentric	(91)

3.3 Yugtun demonstrative frames of reference

This section describes the semantics and use of the Yugtun demonstrative bases within this more explanatory model of frames of reference. Contextualizing Yugtun demonstratives within a conceptualization of frames of reference aids greatly in illuminating how demonstratives are used in Yugtun as a means of contextualizing and backgrounding information in subtle ways. The system remains complex from a lexical perspective with many overlapping semantic features, but my analysis increases the transparency of Yugtun demonstratives compared to a 2-term contrastive system. In fact, under this analysis, the Yugtun system presents more similarly to a 3-term demonstrative typology.

Similar to Japanese, these 'terms' are spread across several different frames of reference models. However, Japanese demonstrative terms are limited to two frames of reference, whereas Yugtun utilizes three. In English, both demonstrative terms use the same frame of reference. Thus the proper use of a demonstrative base has a more expansive narrative effect in Yugtun.

Adopting the revised framework for frames of reference discussed above, I classify Yugtun demonstratives not by their perceived number of distanced-based distinctions but rather by the frame of reference models they invoke in the speech event. By reconceptualizing Yugtun demonstratives through frames of reference as opposed to prototypical demonstrative space, we see a much more complex deictic world that loses

canonical demonstrative features, such as *proximal* and *distal*. Proximal and distal become implied features based on context, and we see three interrelated demonstrative systems which are overall much more harmonious than when all demonstrative bases are presented as a single system. The Yugtun demonstratives can thus be divided into those which categorize the world in a deictic intrinsic egocentric frame of reference, those which conceptualize the world in a deictic relative allo-or-geocentric frame of reference, and those which conceptualize the world in a deictic absolute geocentric frame of reference. As I discuss each of the demonstratives used in each frame of reference I introduce them in examples and provide a glossing convention for each base which is used to establish the vector entailed in their semantics. I introduce each part of the vector glossing step by step in this section starting with the demonstrative shape which is similar to the Jacobson and Jacobson (1995) analysis presented above in Section 3.2.1. Then I discuss the semantics and context of use of the intrinsic frame of reference followed by the relative frame of reference. I then begin discussing the absolute frame of reference and discuss directionality and body-space. The derivational expanders discussed in Chapter Two are fully explained within the frame of reference models in Chapter 4, as are the holophrastic constructions used to form demonstrative holophrases in context. Table 3.5 shows all of the glossing abbreviations used to establish the demonstrative base's semantic vector.

The semantic overlays discussed in Section 3.2.1 for Yup'ik remain useful in Yugtun and before we can describe and exemplify the three frames of reference employed in the Yugtun language, we must first highlight the first semantic overlay, which distinguishes any single demonstrative type into four sub-classes distinguished by what I amalgamate as *figure shape*. Beginning with these examples, I no longer gloss Yugtun

Table 3.5: Glossing Conventions for Yugtun Demonstratives: The interlinear glossing conventions used to establish the demonstrative bases' lexical vectors. Directionality and Body-space are features of the Absolute frame of reference only and therefore demarcated in grey.

Glossing Conventions used to Establish Demonstrative Base Vectors and Holophrases								-			-	
FOR (§3.2.3)		**Shape** (§3.3)		**Directionality** (§3.3.3)		**Body-Space** (§3.3.3)			*Figure-Type* (§2.5 & 4.2)			*Holophrasic Material* (i.e. postbases and Formative Cx (Ch. 2 & 4))
Intrinsic (§3.3.1)	I	Obscured	Ø	Direct	S	Peripersonal (Proximal)	P		Object-Figure	OF		
Relative (§3.3.2)	R<	Restricted	E	Elevation	U	Extrapersonal (Distal)	D		Location-Figure	FL		
Absolute (§3.3.3)	A	Extended	X	Riverine	R							
		Approaching	$	Interioricity	B							

demonstratives using the misleading terms *this, that, proximal, distal.* Instead, I utilize the frame of reference-based glossing system from Table 3.5. I fully detail this glossing system over the course of this chapter and the next. The demonstrative base glosses can be viewed in Figures 3.9, 3.11, and 3.13, or in Appendix B. The first gloss is I, which stands for an intrinsic egocentric demonstrative base. The second identifies the figure's shape as being obscured ∅, restricted E, extended X, and approaching $. Note that Jacobson and Jacobson (1995) only use three figure shapes, where as I used four. All of the examples used to exemplify figure shape in (95) use the intrinsic frame of reference which is why this glossing convention is introduced here. (95 a) exemplifies an intrinsic obscured demonstrative base (*im-*). (95 b) exemplifies an intrinsic restricted demonstrative base (*u(at)-*). (95 c) exemplifies an intrinsic extended demonstrative base (*ma(t)-*). Finally, (95 d) exemplifies an intrinsic approaching demonstrative base (*uk-*). There are only two examples of *uk-* used in my NSKY corpus: *uk*, a bare demonstrative particle, and *ukaqvarni*, a temporal demonstrative nominal. For this reason I use the demonstrative nominal to exemplify the base semantics. The examples in this section are not yet examining discourse deictics used for anaphor/cataphor which point to a textual figure[4] in the preceding/upcoming discourse rather these examples prioritize examining exophoric demonstrative use if present in the corpus.

(95) a.

imna	*barge-aq*
im-na-ø-ø	bargear-ø-ø
IØ-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	barge-SG-ABS

'**This** barge (which I can't see)'

Obscured

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:30)

b. **una** anqerlartuq niicugpekenani

una	*anqerlartuq*
u-na-ø-ø	anqer-lar-tur-ø
IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	hurry-HAB-IND.IN-SG

niicugpekenani
niicu-gpeke-na-ni-ø
listen-NEG-APP-NEG-4.NOMA.SG-SG

'**This one** is always rushing, doesn't listen'

[4]A textual figure refers to a section of the actual spoken or written text that forms a section of the discourse, similar to pure-text deixis. Anaphor/cataphor derive their reference from figures that are mentioned elsewhere within the text. The figure of an anaphor/cataphor, therefore, is the textual mention of the figure which serves to bring the figure (back) into joint attention (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001).

Restricted

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:147.4)

c.	***man'a***	*Kuik*
	ma-na-ø-ø	kuik-ø-ø
	IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	river-SG-ABS

'**This** river'

Extended

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:14)

d.	*awani*	***ukaqvarni***	*tamaani*	*1980*
	aw-a-ni	**uk-a-qvaar-ni**	ta-mat-a-ni	1980
	AXSP-FL-LOC	**I$-FL-very.far-LOC**	R<IX-FL-LOC	1980

'back then, **right after that**, there/then in 1980'

Approaching

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:90)

(95) showcases four intrinsic demonstratives, each differentiated by a semantic feature I call figure shape. A frame of reference model aids in differentiating these Yugtun demonstratives. By working within these conceptual models, we can ascribe the semantic overlay of shape/extendedness to a single landmark within a frame of reference, particularly as a property of the *figure*. In particular, this feature examines the *shape* of the figure within any frame of reference. As Diessel (1999a p. 52) states, demonstrative systems can be described for additional semantic features, such as visibility, elevation, geography, movement, and boundedness. In the Jacobson and Jacobson (1995) system presented above, *shape* is the distinguishing feature of the three columns in Figure 3.2, termed in the Jacobsons' terminology as *obscured, restricted*, and *extended*. I adopt these same terms to describe demonstrative shape and add one, *approaching*. These four shapes equate to Diessel's terms: (in)visibility, bounded, unbounded, and movement.

The first shape, (95 a), obscured, is employed in context when an object is invisible or out of sight. The obscured classifier is used when a figure is considered not to have a visible form within the field of view, such as a seal underwater or a barge out of sight.

In contrast to the obscured shape, the restricted, extended, and approaching shapes are typically construed as figures visible to the interlocutors. This notion of (in)visibility applies in its usage in *deixis am phantasma* and textual functions as much as it does to *demonstratio ad oculos* and can also be used to classify a figure within one's memory, or the 'mind's eye,' as being either visible or obscured.

The second shape, (95 b), restricted, is therefore construed as a figure contained in a single point within the speaker's field of view. In other words, the figure is bounded in space. This shape feature is associated with static figures such as a non-moving individual. Crucial to the restricted, extended, and approaching classifiers is that they must be in sight or visible to the speaker.

The third shape, in (95 c), termed *extended*, is used to classify figures that are unbounded. These figures are perceived as linear, or analogously, objects moving across the visual frame in the horizontal x-axis. Following Denny's account of Inuit demonstratives, a defining feature of the extended forms is that within the speaker's field of view, the figure is spread out such that the speaker's head must pivot to take in the whole of the object (Denny, 1982 pp. 360, 366–370). Therefore, these forms would be used when indexing a mass object or large group of objects, such as a herd of caribou or when a single object (like a river) is in motion across the field of view (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). The Jacobsons and Denny end their analysis of the figure's shape here.

Note that example (95 d) is excluded by the Jacobsons in their taxonomy of demonstrative figure shape. The Jacobsons instead tack a final demonstrative base, *uk-*, onto the end of their distal demonstratives and state that it does not fit in the paradigm but include it as a sort of paradigmatic end note (refer to Figure 3.2). However, this form contains the spatial semantics of 'the one approaching' and it is therefore added here in my semantic overlay of shape as it fits within these contours better. This semantic feature remains generally, as the Jacobsons define it, movement from the speaker's perspective along the Z-axis. Thus, while it is not dependent on distance, the movement interpretation construes a type of geometry or shape (Frawley, 1992). Thus, in (95 d), the figure is moving towards the origo. Like all demonstratives, *uk-* can also be used temporally (see Section 3.4.2). We can interpret (95 d) temporally as 'just after that,' such that the moment being indexed is an event coming up in the experiencer's near future. This demonstrative is, therefore, an approaching demonstrative, thereby rounding out the figure's shape possibilities from obscured to approaching (95). This approaching class is irregular and uses different bases across Yugtun's intrinsic (*uk-*) and relative (*taug-*) frames of reference with no approaching form in the deictic absolute frame of reference.

Understanding that Yugtun divides its demonstrative terms into four sub-classes based on the shape of the figure supports my analysis that the Yugtun demonstratives are not interpreted within a flat distance-based frame, as the traditional demonstrative analysis treats these deictic systems, but rather within a multi-dimensional coordinate system that allows for different perspectives. This means that frames of reference are

particularly suited to the analysis of the Yugtun demonstratives. It also indicates that within the interpretation of these frames of reference, the figure, particularly the nature of the figure's shape, is a salient feature to aid in indexing it within the speech participant's joint attention. Abstractly, this robust specification of the figure's shape contributes to the creation of a vector from the origo to the figure by eliminating unimportant objects from the viewer's search field.

3.3.1 Yugtun's intrinsic demonstratives

Now that the notion of the figure's shape has been described, I can turn to a discussion about how Yugtun treats the viewer (speaker and interlocutor) and the ground landmarks within the its three operational frames of reference. I describe and exemplify each frame of reference independently in the following subsections[5].

The first operational frame of reference in the Yugtun language encompasses those three demonstratives traditionally termed *proximal* in the literature, in addition to *uk-*, shown above in examples (95) and Figure 3.9. These four demonstratives can be conflated into a single demonstrative type within an intrinsic and egocentric frame of reference. As the shape of the figure is the only feature differentiating the four words, these four can be semantically collapsed to a single demonstrative concept—or term—that points to a figure by invoking an intrinsic and egocentric frame of reference. Note, in contrast to Figure 3.2 where the columns are arranged in the order *restricted, extended, obscured*, I arrange the columns in the Figures 3.9, 3.11, and 3.13 in the following order: *obscured, restricted, extended, approaching.*

Intrinsic Egocentric Frame of Reference

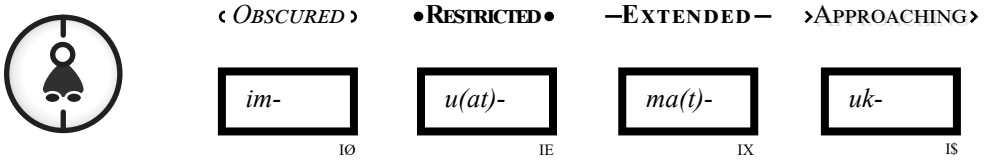


Figure 3.9: Yugtun's Intrinsic Demonstrative Forms: The inventory of Yugtun's intrinsic egocentric demonstratives laid out according to their referent's dimensional characteristics.

A typological intrinsic frame of reference (Figure 3.5) requires only two conceptual

[5]In section 3.3, I limit the exemplification to the spatial usages as much as possible and reserve the non-spatial functions of these same demonstratives until Section 3.4. However, as the demonstratives generally do not change morphosyntactically across the conceptual domains, the frequency analysis of the demonstrative frames of reference across all the domains of use is included in these Section 3.3.

landmarks to orient the frame of reference. The first landmark is the *figure*. As discussed above, the figure in Yugtun is referenced by its shape, resulting in four forms *im-* 'obscured' in (96), *u(at)-* 'restricted' in (97), *ma(t)-* 'extended' in (98), and *uk-* 'approaching' in (95 d) and (99). *The ground* is the second landmark required for interpreting an intrinsic frame of reference. In Levinson's typology, the ground is equivalent to the viewer and may or may not be deictic. In Diessel's typology, the ground is also the viewer, but this is an inherently deictic frame of reference. I argue in my framework that the ground is an object, as opposed to the environment (Shusterman & Li, 2016), and the ground is equivalent to the speaker, but crucially, not the interlocutor. The interlocutor's position is not required to understand these intrinsic demonstratives. As such, this frame of reference is egocentric. In establishing an egocentric intrinsic frame of reference, the *origo* is embedded in the *speaker*, and the *vector* is established by a linguistic pointing gesture in the form of a demonstrative and can be elaborated on further with a physical gesture made by the speaker. This demonstrative type is the most basic in Yugtun and establishes joint attention with the interlocutor to a figure known to the speaker. It does so by orienting the world around the speaker and possibly using a gesture combined with the figure's shape to index it. This is schematized in the following:

$$\text{S=G/Origo} \rightarrow \text{F}$$

Regarding the base *uk-*, this base is ill-fitting within the Jacobsons' demonstrative paradigm as it does not ground the figure against the landscape but rather only against the speaker, as shown in (95 d). Thus, it is better to treat *uk-* as an intrinsic egocentric frame of reference demonstrative rather than tacked onto the distal inventory, as was done in Figure 3.2.

Interestingly, by itself, there is no distance juxtaposition within this frame of reference, as distance contrasts are an overlay created by juxtaposing multiple demonstratives by relative distance in comparison to the same origo. Based on Diessels' demonstrative typology, Yugtun's intrinsic frame of reference uses a 1-term deictic contrast. That is, it uses a sole word to bring the figure into joint attention by way of pointing with no consideration for relative distance from the origo. Distance-based contrasts in Yugtun, as will be discovered, are highlighted either through juxtapositions of different frames of reference or through interpretations of spatial access. As such, this demonstrative type is neither proximal nor distal but can be construed as either based on context. Nevertheless, when working with the Norton Sound Kotlik Elders in transcribing natural narratives, these demonstratives are usually translated into

English using the English proximal forms, but not always. These features can be seen in (96)-(99) extracted from my NSKY corpus of natural, connected, narrative speech. The demonstratives being exemplified are in bold.

Beginning with the the utterance in (96) from Carra (IH), we see he uses the demonstrative form *imkut*.

(96) *Oh, Tamaani Caniliani, yuulret* ***imkut****, a, ikai...ikaisuqelluteng yuulrulriit, umikutevkenateng ilaateng.*

Oh,	*Tamaani*	*Caniliani,*	*yuulret*
oh,	ta-ma-a-ni	Canilia-ni	yuulre-t-ø
oh	R<IX-FL-LOC	Caneliak-LOC	traditional.person-PL-ABS

imkut,	*a,*	*ikaisuqelluteng*
im-ku-t-ø,	a,	ikai...ikaisu-qe-lu-teg-t
IØ-OF.NS-PL-ABS	ah	help-all.at.once-APP-4.NOMA-PL

yuulrulriit,
yuulr-u-lria-nga-t,
traditional.person-COP-PART.IN-3.NOMA-PL

umikutevkenateng	*ilaateng.*
umikute-vke-na-teg-t	ila-t-teg-t-ø
infuriate-NEG-APP.NEG-4.NOMA-PL	family-PL-4.NOMA-PL-ABS

'Back then, in Caniliaq, **those** people who lived before us, (stutter) helped each other, they were living together, they didn't upset their families.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:1.1)

My concern in this section is the semantics of the intrinsic egocentric base *im-*, principally as it is used exophorically in forming spatial relationships. In this utterance, the demonstrative *imkut*[6] 'those' first establishes the shape of the figure object as being obscured from the sight of the origo. In this case, the demonstrative references the figure object *yuulret* 'ancestors/people who came before us and particularly those who lived in Caniliaq,' which, as discussed in Chapter One, is the birthplace of Carra and a major historical village in the NSK dialect area but was abandoned in the 1970s during the exodus to Kotlik. Today, Caniliaq is abandoned. So, when referring to his ancestors, they are obscured from view by the physical distance between Kotlik and Caniliaq but they are also obscured by time. As an intrinsic egocentric demonstrative, the ground is situated on Carra himself as the origo and the speaker. As the direct interlocutor, I am unnecessary to establish the frame of reference, especially since I

[6]The morphological structure of a complete demonstrative holophrase is examined in Chapter Four, as well as the function of a prenominal demonstrative as opposed to a postnominal demonstrative.

am removed in both time and space from this former village. Carra then uses two textual pointing gestures to form the vector, first the demonstrative *imna* and then to support the triangulation of the figure, the demonstrative phrase *tamaani caniliani* is used to help establish the vector between himself sitting in Kotlik and the objects of joint attention, 'back then/there in Caniliaq.' Relative distance is unnecessary for establishing this deictic, spatial meaning as an implied proximal or distal interpretation does not add to the interpretation of the frame of reference, and anybody familiar with the geography of the Norton Sound area knows where Caniliaq is in relation to Kotlik.

By contrast to a obscured demonstrative form, a restricted form is used when the figure is construed as a single point. In the utterance in (97) from Waralria (CM), the figure is a particular relative who is construed as a restricted point in space.

(97) *Ilii-guq* ***una****, anqerlartuq, niicugpekenani.*

Ilii-guq		***una****,*
ila-ø-nga-ø-ø=guq		**u-na-ø-ø**
family-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-SG-ABS=QUOT		**IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS**
anqerlartuq,	*niicugpekenani.*	
anqer-lar-tur-ø	niicu-gpeke-na-ni-ø	
hurry-HAB-IND.IN-SG	listen-NEG-APP.NEG-4.NOMA.SG-SG	

'His family said, this one would rush out and wouldn't listen'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:147.4)

The ground is the family who do the reported speaking; they are also the origo. Thus, from this intrinsic egocentric perspective via *deixis am phantasma*, the frame of reference is constructed. The vector between the origo and the figure is established by the demonstrative *una* and clarified by an optional linguistic description *anqerlartuq*, 'the one who rushed out.' Thus, between the frame of reference and the contextual knowledge between the speaker Waralria and her interlocutor LM, joint attention is established on the correct figure. Relative deictic proximity is not relevant to bring the correct figure into joint attention.

The utterance in (98), is a little more complex because the speaker is stuttering and forming his thoughts, indicated by the use of repeated constituents. The semantics of the base *imkunek* reference a figure which is no longer within the conceptual sight of the speaker. In this case, the figure is text internal and references his previous topic. This is an endophoric use of the deictic egocentric intrinsic frame of reference. Demonstratives used endophorically instead of exophorically are the focus of Section 3.4.3.

(98) *Cali-ataam, imkunek,* ***mana*** *neq..., kuik* ***mana****, kuik* ***mana*** *ca'nek egaq... eg'qaqessqelinrit... eg'qaqessqelanrillkait camegam carrlunek kuigmun; neqairutciqniluki.*

Cali-ataam,	*imkunek,*	***mana***	*neq...,*
cali=at=am	im-ku-t-nek	**ma-na-ø-ø**	*neq...,*
also=look=EMPH	IØ-OF.NS-PL-ABL	**IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS**	food

kuik	***mana****,*	*kuik*	***mana***
kuik-ø-ø	**ma-na-ø-ø**,	kuik-ø-ø	**ma-na-ø-ø**
river-SG-ABS	**IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS**	river-SG-ABS	**IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS**

ca'nek	*egaq...*	*eg'qaqessqelinrit...*
caa-t-nek	*ega-q...*	*eg'-qaqe-ssqe-li-nrit...*
Q-PL-ABL	throw	throw-ITR-want.one.to-NEG-

eg'qaqessqelanrillkait
eg'-qaqe-ssqe-la-nrill-ke-ngi-t
throw-ITR-want.one.to-HAB-NEG-PART.TR-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL

camegam	*carrlunek*	*kuigmun;*
caa-ø-mek=am	carrlu-t-nek	kuig-ø-mun
Q-SG-ABL.SG=EMPH	pollution-PL-ABL	river-SG-ALL.SG

neqairutciqniluki.
neqa-irut-ciq-ni-lu-ki-t
fish-no.longer-FUT-claim-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL

'Futhermore again, those things **this** *foo.. river—**this**—, river—**this**—, anything (throw- please don't throw-) they wouldn't want anyone to throw trash like that into the river, there will be no more fish.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:14)

Following the in-text discourse deixis, we see three exophoric demonstrative referents *mana neq* 'this food,' and *mana kuik* 'this river' repeated twice. Here, Carra is discussing principles of the *yuuyaraq* or 'Yup'ik way of life.' The life principle is that what is caught on land is disposed of on land, and what is caught in water is disposed of in the water. The demonstrative *mana* from the fundamental base *ma(t)-* in the first phrase references an extended figure spread out across the field of view and, in this case, refers to waste from prepackaged western foods bought at the store, which litter the river's shoreline along the village. In the second and third instances, the figure is the extended Little Kotlik River, which runs through the village from the main Yukon inlet upriver to the Norton Sound downriver, thereby requiring the Speaker to rotate his head across the field of view to index it. As with the aforementioned obscured base *im-*, the extended base *ma(t)-* is an intrinsic egocentric demonstrative.

The ground is the speaker and the speaker is the origo of the frame of reference. The vector between the origo and the figure is established by context and understanding of the spatial surroundings. This vector can also be established by an accompanying physical gesture which is represented by the demonstrative itself in the text. Again, an indication of relative proximity is unnecessary as it does not alter or clarify the utterance any further, and anybody in the village of Kotlik knows where the river is relative to where this conversation occurs.

(95 d) is the only example of the form *uk-* used as an exophoric demonstrative in my NSKY corpus. However, to characterize it fully it helps to have more of the surrounding context, which I translate in (99). I pull out and gloss the relevant section in (95 d) and the gloss of the full paragraph can be found in Appendix C.

(99) *Naparcilruat* tamatum nalliini, ukut irniangka esskuulaluteng wani wani, elementary-ni esskuularluteng, BIA-am aulukellrua tamatum nalliini. Cali-llu, *awani* **ukaqvarni** *tamani 1980* yaqsinriqerluku, ukut wani, Alaskam, State of Alaskam, esskuulat makut tegungluki, BIA-am aulukinringluki.
'*They would build it* as my children went to school here - here at the elementary school - the BIA was in charge of schooling them then. And also, *back then*, **right after that**, quite suddenly *there/then in 1980*, these here - the State of Alaska took charge of these schools here, the BIA wasn't in charge anymore.' NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:90)

In this utterance, Amiksuwin (MH) is recalling past moments progressing through time as though in the present. In fact, the first word *Naparcilruat* is a verb which has both a past and a future post-base: *to build-FUT-PST-IND.TR-PL* and translated as 'they would build it.' Thus, in the first sentence, MH situates himself within the moment of time in which his children are attending elementary school. Beginning in the second sentence, of interest here, he grounds the utterance temporally by using an absolute frame of reference demonstrative *awani* to point back in time to mean 'back then.' He immediately follows this with the demonstrative *ukaqvarni* to indicate that coming up in time, from his perspective back then, is where the figure is located. Thus while he is the origo and establishing an egocentric frame of reference, this is a *deixis am phantasma* usage whereby the origo is situated on the speaker in the memory and not the speaker in the real world. As such in (95 d), we can see the temporal use of *uk-* as an approaching figure; temporal usage of demonstratives is the focus of the next section.

Here, Amiksuwin is construing a future moment as a figure conceptually approaching

through time. This is a moving point in time that uses MH, the speaker, as the ground and origo. Thus, this is an egocentric and intrinsic frame of reference. This is an interesting use of the deictic intrinsic frame of reference model because in Yugtun when the origo is displaced or projected the *ta-* prefix should be used. This deictic relative frame of reference is discussed next. In this case, instead of prefixing *ta-* onto *uk-*, MH uses a *ta-* prefixed demonstrative immediately after to situate the origo on his past self, in 1980. The lack of a *ta-* prefix on *uk-* helps to show that in Yugtun this prefix has become unproductive and can only be used on particular Yugtun demonstrative bases. However because MH is referring to the future from a past recollection, this is what allows him to contextualize the origo and the ground as himself.

These four demonstratives within this deictic intrinsic frame of reference however are not equiprobable but rather rely on context and the conceptualization of the figure's shape to determine the correct usage in each new utterance. Figure 3.10 shows the frequency of each intrinsic demonstrative in the NSKY corpus distinguished by the figure's shape.

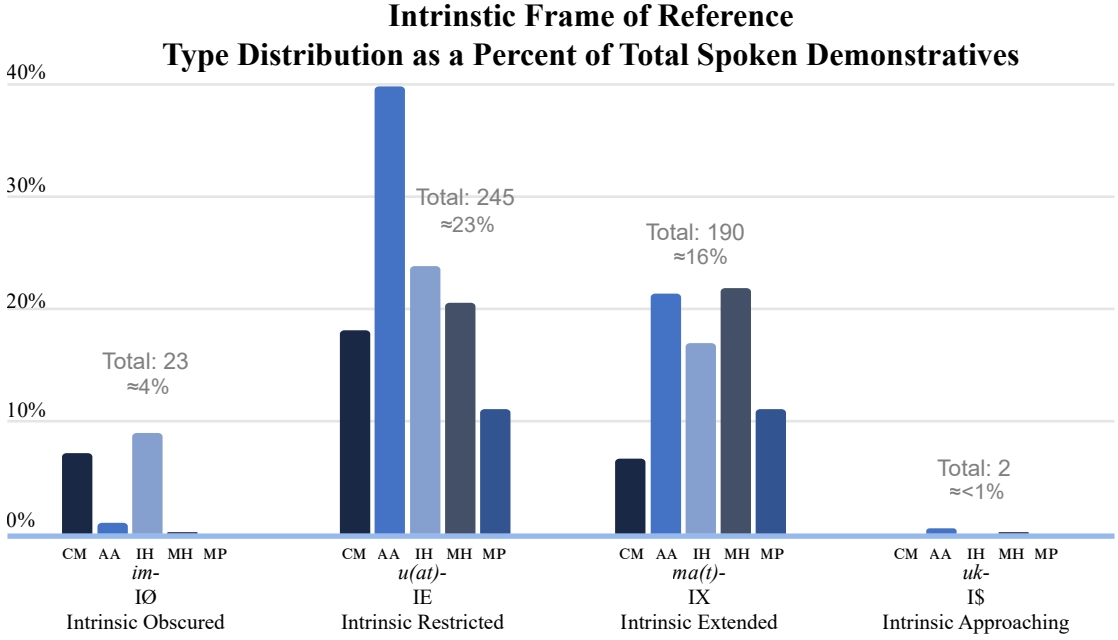


Figure 3.10: Yugtun's Intrinsic Frame of Reference Demonstrative Frequency, representing 460 of 1047 demonstrative tokens in the corpus.

Unsurprisingly, in this examination of frequency, the intrinsic restricted demonstrative type is the most frequently used in my corpus followed by the extended type. The obscured and approaching types have much more restricted contexts of use and thus are the least frequent.

By examining these four examples of Yugtun's intrinsic demonstratives, we see that proximity is less crucial to the bases' semantics than previously suggested. Rather an understanding of deixis, egocentricity, and an intrinsic frame of reference allows the interlocutor to enter into joint attention with the speaker. We also see the necessity of disentangling the speaker from the interlocutor when discussing frames of reference. Additionally, through this discussion, we have a much better understanding of how these demonstratives are used in natural, connected discourse to index spatial or non-spatial figures by establishing a frame of reference within which to model the linguistic event.

3.3.2 Yugtun's relative demonstratives

Next, we turn to the relative frame of reference used by Yugtun speakers to index salient figures allocentrically. As mentioned in Section 3.2.3, the relative frame of reference extends from a projection of the typological intrinsic egocentric frame of reference. This operational relative frame in Yugtun combines three typological frames of reference: the intrinsic deictic allocentric (in Figure 3.6), the relative-intrinsic deictic allocentric (in Figure 3.7), and the relative-absolute deictic geocentric (in Figure 3.8) into a single set of relative demonstratives using Yugtun's only prefix, *ta-* or *ta(s)-*. Refer to Section 3.2.3 for the full discussion about these frames of reference and why I largely treat them, within Yugtun, as a single operational category. Principally, these demonstratives can reference a figure in many ways through their shared ability to project the speaker's orientation onto the landscape or other entity. The *ta-* prefix is, therefore, used solely on demonstratives to alter the frame of reference from an intrinsic egocentric frame of reference or a relative-absolute geocentric frame of reference (see Figures 3.5 and 3.8) to a Yugtun specific relative frame of reference.

As Levinson and Diessel argue, relative frames of reference are a conceptual extension of the egocentric intrinsic frame of reference by displacing the origo from the speaker onto the viewer or onto other entities thereby orienting them within a frame of reference. It thus makes sense that to alter the frame of reference from an egocentric demonstrative to a relative demonstrative a derivational morpheme is appended onto the intrinsic demonstrative bases. In Inuit languages, and according to Miyaoka in the Norton Sound Unalit dialect of Yup'ik, this *ta-* prefix is still fully productive across the entire demonstrative inventory (Miyaoka, 1984; McMahan, 2022). Miyaoka argues that the *ta-* prefix is anaphoric, translating as 'the aforementioned location.' As I show in the discussion on discursive uses of demonstratives, it is anaphoric within a textual domain precisely because it is interpreted within a relative frame of reference.

However, as a spatial and temporal demonstrative, it also serves a function analogous to Webster and Zibel's argument for Siberian Yup'ik's *tat-* prefix, which is to "extend the [relative] distance" from the origo (Webster & Zibell, 1970 p. 111).

During my work on Norton Sound Kotlik beginning in 2014, I have not found the *ta-* prefix to be as productive as Miyaoka did for Norton Sound Unalit. Kotlik's inventory resembles the grammaticalized General Yup'ik system, with three of the intrinsic forms and one of the absolute forms used to extend the demonstratives into a relative frame of reference, as shown in Figure 3.11. In the examples, I use the interlinear glossing convention: R<, to indicate that a relative frame of reference has been derived from an intrinsic (I) or absolute (A) frame of reference.

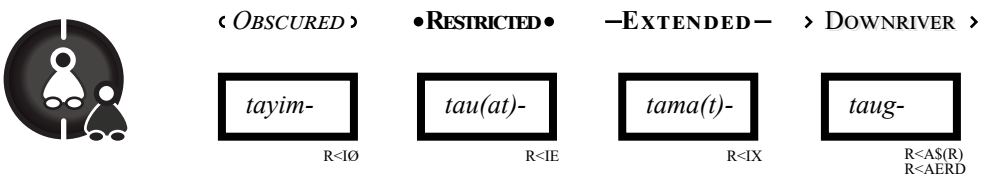


Figure 3.11: Yugtun's Relative Allocentric Demonstrative Forms: Yugtun's relative frame of reference demonstratives arranged by the shape of the figure they reference.

The relative form *tayim-* is exemplified in (100), the form *tau(at-)* in (101), *tama(t)-* in (102), and the form *taug-* is shown in (101) and (103). While going through the examples note that relative forms displace the ground from the speaker to another entity, which could be an interlocutor, an object in the landscape, or the landscape itself. However, as an extension of the more basic intrinsic system, the figure in the relative system is also encoded as either obscured, restricted, extended, or approaching. Thus, the features of the figure remain unchanged from the intrinsic form, but the ground and viewer do change. As such, these forms are still object-based demonstratives per Shusterman and Li's 2016 frame of reference typology, but they are crucially allocentric demonstratives as opposed to egocentric demonstratives. In my typology, the speaker remains tangentially useful in the relative-intrinsic deictic allocentric or the relative-absolute deictic geocentric construals as the speaker can project a deictic orientation onto the origo. By contrast, in the intrinsic allocentric construals, the origo and/or deictic projection do not involve the speaker but rather the interlocutor. Thus, these allocentric demonstratives entail the ground landmark based on which demonstrative form is used, and the ground may be further specified by context.

We can see these characteristics of the relative frame of reference best by examining

the following bolded tokens found in the corpus in (100)-(103). The first demonstrative is *tayim-*, which designates an obscured figure.

(100) *Tauguam,* ***tayima*** *tuqungan, tuqungan* ***tayima****, tuqungami, tuqungan maani Qerrulligmi, tamakunek ak'allaat qanersariatnek niicuirutellrianga.*

Tauguam,	***tayima***
ta-ug-u=am	**ta-yim-a**
R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH	**R<IØ-FL**

tuqungan,
tuqu-nga-nga-n-ø
die-CONJ(when)-3.NOMA.SG-SG.LF.3-ABS

tuqungan	***tayima****,*
tuqu-nga-nga-n-ø	**ta-yim-a**
die-CONJ(when)-3.NOMA.SG-SG.LF.3-ABS	**R<IØ-FL**

tuqungami,
tuqu-nga-nga-ø-mi
die-CONJ(when)-3.NOMA.SG-Ø-LOC.SG

tuqungan	*maani*	*Qerrulligmi,*
tuqu-nga-nga-n-ø	ma-a-ni	Qerrullig-ø-mi
die-CONJ(when)-3.NOMA.SG-SG.LF.3-ABS	IX-FL-LOC	Kotlik-SG-LOC.SG

tamakunek	*ak'allaat*
ta-ma-ku-t-nek	ak'allaa-t-ø
R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABL	old.person-PL-ABS

qanersariatnek	*niicuirutellrianga.*
qaner-sara-ø-nga-t-nek	niicu-irute-lria-nga-ø
speak-way-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-PL-ABL	hear-no.longer-PART.IN-1.ABSA-SG

'However, **over there** when he died, when he died **over there**, at the time he died, when he died, we old ones here in Kotlik would no longer hear his ways of speaking.'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:35.2)

This is the intrinsic allocentric subsense of the relative frame of reference construal of the *ta-* prefix. This particular construal can be schematized as follows:

I=G/Origo → F

Whereby I stands for interlocutor (*ak'allaat* 'we old ones') who is functioning as the ground (G) and the origo and drawing the vector from themselves to the figure. The speaker is superfluous to the frame of reference.

Thus, in this example, Aciangaq is distancing the death of a well-respected NSK Elder, Philip Foxie, from himself and placing the loss on the community as a whole. Thereby, the figure is Philip Foxie. However, while the speaker is Aciangaq, the ground is allocentric and is stated as *maani Qerrulligmi* 'here in Kotlik,' and *ak'allaat* 'we old ones.' The relative frame of reference is used here to distance the tragic event from the speaker and place it on the collective ground which is the whole community. Because Philip Foxie's death occurred in the past and potentially in another location (like in Anchorage), both of which are obscured from sight, the figure is marked as obscured.

(101) *A: Tua-llu uitercama laavkamun tunamku, laavkiurta piaqa, "qayuten akingqellranek* ***tauna*** *.22 cup'un, single shot?"*
B: $15.00.
A: Tua ***tauva****.*

A:	*Tua-llu*	*uitercama*	*laavkamun*
A:	t-u-a=llu	uiterc-a-m-a-ø	laavka-ø-mun
A:	R<IE-FL=COO	return-CNJ.when-1.ERGA-SG.LF.1-ABS	store-SG-ALL.SG

tunamku,	*laavkiurta*
tun-a-m-ø-ku-ø	laavkiurta-ø-ø
give-CNJ.when-1.ERGA-SG-3.ACCA.SG-SG	clerk-SG-ABS

piaqa,	*"qayuten*
pi-gar-ngka-ø	"qayu-ten
say-IND.TR-1.NOMA.SG-SG	"how-ÆQL

akingqellranek	***tauna***
aking-qe-llr-nga-ø-nek	**ta-u-na-ø-ø**
money-ITR-CNJ.CNTMP-3.ERGA-SG-ABL	**R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS**

.22cup'un,	*single-shot?"*
twentytwo.cup'un-ø-ø	single.shot?"
twentytwo.shotgun-SG-ABS	single.shot?"

'And again, when I got back to the store, when I gave it back, I said to him, "how much do I pay for **this** 22 single-shot shotgun?"'

B: $15.00.

$15.00.

A: Tua ***tauva.***
A: ta-u-a **ta-ug-a**
A: R<IE-FL **R<A$(R)-FL**

'Ok, I'll take it / ok, that's all'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:16.6-8)

In (101) from Carra (IH), just as with the intrinsic demonstrative *una*, the relative form *tauna* is indexing a restricted figure, *tauna .22 cup'un* 'this .22 gun.' However, the ground is no longer the speaker but has been displaced onto the *laavkiurta* 'store-clerk' during the time period of Carra's story. Note the ground might be displaced from Carra onto his memory of himself in the past, however, while either is a valid allocentric construal, *deixis am phantasma* placed on to the speaker's narrative ego can use the intrinsic demonstratives as shown throughout the NSKY corpus. As such, I analyze the former possibility in this example. As the ground is now displaced, this is an allocentric demonstrative but not proximal to the speaker but rather construed as proximal to the store and clerk back then (or to the memory of himself back then). As this demonstrative points to an object, it is still deictic, just not egocentric. Furthermore, as it does not refer to a particular object already in joint attention in the text between Carra, Yaayuk, and myself, this demonstrative is not functioning anaphorically in this context. However, the interpretation that the *.22 gun* is distal from the *here and now* of the speech event does exist because the relative frame of reference places the figure closer to the *here and now* within the speaker's story.

An interesting demonstrative occurrence in this example is *tauva* in Carra's response, within his story. This demonstrative comes from the form *ug-*, which is the only absolute demonstrative (Refer to Figure (3.11)) used in the relative frame of reference. In this context, if we construe the demonstrative exophorically, the figure once again is the '.22 single-shot,' but the ground and origo are no longer the store clerk but the landscape. Carra uses the origo switch in this demonstrative to establish a new vector between the clerk and the gun and thereby places the figure into the speaker's extrapersonal space. This new vector, *tauva*, contrasts with the first vector *tauna* and establishes a relative distance between the two. It should be noted that beyond the demonstrative semantics the demonstrative particle *tauva=i* is also a discourse particle that means 'that's all,' and that function of ending the narrative ('ok, that's all') instead of the exophoric sense is equally likely in this context. However, Theresa George in translating this story with me interpreted the utterance in the first deictic sense of 'I'll take it.'

Another example of speakers using multiple spatial demonstratives to juxtapose

and contrast different figures can be seen in (102) by Aciangaq (AA).

(102) *Tauguam wani, nepairulartut* ***tawaten****, mana mani,* ***tamana*** *mernaqellria at- atu- atungritaqamegteggu assirluteng yuulalriit.*

Tauguam	*wani,*	*nepairulartut*
ta-ug-u=am	w-a-ni	nepa-iru-lar-gur-t
R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH	IE-FL-LOC	noisy-no.longer-HAB-IND.IN-PL

tawaten*,*	*mana*	*mani,*
ta-w-a-ten	ma-na-ø-ø	ma-a-ni
R<IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	IX-FL-LOC

tamana	*mernaqellria*	*at-*
ta-ma-na-ø-ø	mer-narqe-lria-ø-ø	*at-*
R<IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	drink-able.to.be-one.who.is-SG-ABS	use-*sttr*

atu-	*atungritaqamegteggu*
atu-	atu-ngrit-aqa-meg-t-ku-ø
use-*sttr*	use-NEG-CNJ.CONST-4.ERGA-PL-3.ACCA.SG-SG

assirluteng	*yuulalriit.*
assir-lu-teg-t	yuu-la-lria-nga-t
good-APP-4.NOMA-PL	person-HAB-PART.IN-3.NOMA-PL

'However, here, they would quiet down—**like this**—, this here, **this** drink, (use-, to use-) whenever they aren't using it they are well, they live good.'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:24.3)

In this utterance from Aciangaq, (102), a lot is going on with demonstratives. However, we can discuss two demonstratives acting to index spatial objects using pointing gestures and a relative frame of reference. The first demonstrative of interest is in *nepairulartut tawaten*, whereby the demonstrative *tawaten* can be parsed into the base *tau(at)-* with an aequalis case ending. Here, this demonstrative is bringing into joint attention a manner of acting, and the figure is 'they,' as in 'their manner of acting.' This figure is construed as a single group and thus restricted. The ground is *wani* or 'here in Kotlik,' making the community of Kotlik the origo around which the frame of reference is constructed. Again, we can construe and translate this utterance as distal 'that,' but a closer translation does not encode relative distance. However, it uses a non-contrasting demonstrative of joint attention to make reference to the figure.

The second use of a relative demonstrative is *tamana mernaqellria* 'this drinkable thing.' It might be argued that *tamana*, in this instance, is anaphorically referring back to the discussion about alcohol, but it is instead directly pointing to the following

nominal *mernaqellria* 'drinkable thing'. This demonstrative brings a physical object into the discourse space as a topic of discussion. Therefore, it is not an anaphor/cataphor but an exophoric demonstrative. The figure in this utterance is *mernaqellria* 'drinkable thing,' construed as a category of items which require a full field of view to interpret and thus is extended. The ground is still *wani* 'here' in Kotlik. The community of Kotlik is still the origo. As the ground is allocentric, this is a relative frame of reference.

The English translation of these demonstratives can equally be 'this/that collection of consumable things' or 'this/that drinkable things.' As such, relative distance does not help translate these 1-term demonstratives of joint attention. The Yugtun language does not intrinsically encode distance-based distinctions in its demonstratives. Instead, like German, Yugtun demonstratives are distance neutral *pointing words* which serve to index a figure and bring it into joint attention. It is only in contrast to the intrinsic frame that we get a distance interpretation, as in *mana mani, tamana mernaqellria* 'this here, that drinkable thing.'

In this utterance, *mana mani* is an **intrinsic** egocentric extended demonstrative phrase. This phrase forms a relationship between the speaker and the figure. The speaker is established as the ground and origo, and the figure is 'here in Kotlik.' In contrast with this, *tamana* is a **relative** extended demonstrative that forms an allocentric relationship between the ground, 'here in Kotlik' and the figure *mernaqellria*. In the juxtaposition of the two different frames of reference, we can construe a proximal-distal type contrast similar to English. However, the contrast is not an implicit part of the bases' semantics in Yugtun. Additionally, as the relative frame is not egocentric, the speaker can distance the figure from himself conceptually and associate it not with himself but with others, thereby taking a moral stance on the topic.

The approaching form of the deictic relative frame of reference demonstrative inventory differs from that of the intrinsic demonstratives. Instead of affixing the *ta-* prefix to the *uk-*, 'the one approaching,' demonstrative base, Yugtun draws instead from the deictic absolute bases to be discussed next. This form instead is *ta-ug-*, whereby the *ug-* base indicates an approaching figure 'downriver.' The moving river metaphor is discussed later, but like 'the one approaching,' it implies movement. This is shown in (103). This use of a riverine-based demonstrative usually construes not a relative-intrinsic frame of reference but rather a relative-absolute frame of reference as in Figure 3.8.

(103) *Cali-llu* ***taugkunek*** *kantirarnek ca'nek-a iquliqerluku, tamakut tamani neqelallruaput.*

Cali-llu	***taugkunek***	*kantirarnek*	*ca'nek-a*
cali=llu	**ta-ug-ku-t-nek**	kantirar-t-nek	caa-t-nek=a
also=COO	**R<AERD-OF.NS-PL-ABL**	candy-PL-ABL	Q-PL-ABL=uh

iquliqerluku,	*tamakut*
iqu-li-qer-lu-ku-ø	ta-ma-ku-t-ø
end-one.who-all.at.once-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG	R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS

tamani	*neqelallruaput.*
ta-ma-a-ni	meqe-la-llru-gar-pu-t
R<IX-FL-LOC	eat-HAB-PST-IND.TR-1.NOMA-PL

'Moreover **those** (foreign) candies, we add it after any (meal), those there we ate them.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:41)

There is only one example of this *ta-ug-* form used exophorically in my corpus, and all other instances are used either as temporal or discourse demonstratives. This exophoric use comes from Amiksuwin and the demonstrative indexes the figure *kantirarnek* 'candies.' The candies are foreign to the region and culture at the time of his education in the residential school system, and he highlights this foreignness by associating the candies as coming from 'downriver.' This is geocentrically grounded not on him or Kotlik but instead on the landscape of Wrangle, Alaska, where the residential school was located and where he spent his youth.

As the speaker and participant in the frame of reference, he projects his orientation onto the landscape, thereby orienting the origo of the frame of reference. This deictic projection from the speaker or interlocutor onto the landscape to assist in forming a vector between the ground and the figure is what makes the relative frame of reference deictic. Note that there are two construals of the typological deictic relative-absolute frame of reference in Yugtun, the first is *ug-*, which is classified within Yugtun's absolute frame of reference, and the second is *ta-ug-*, which is classified within Yugtun's relative frame of reference. This second form is classified as a relative frame of reference because Amiksuwin uses the *ta-* morpheme. In the relative frame of reference, Amiksuwin is displacing or projecting the deictic orientation in two steps: first, he is using *deixis am phantasma* to displace his ego (S) onto the memory of himself (Historical S) in the narrative and then second, the landscape is oriented according by the historical self's projection onto the historical landscape (L). The double projection then acts as the ground (G) and origo used to locate the figure (F) involved in this example and can be schematized as:

[S ⇢ Historical S ⇢ L]=G/Origo → F

Figure 3.12 shows the distribution of the relative frame of reference in the corpus across the four figure-shapes (obscured, restricted, extended, approaching). As with the intrinsic frame of reference, the obscured and approaching forms are the least frequent as their context of use is much more restricted.

Note that I have only examined these four figure shapes for the variable of frame of reference type in calculating the frequency of demonstrative types through my corpus. These frequency distributions do not distinguish between spatial, temporal, and discursive uses of these demonstratives, calculating these frequencies is beyond the scope of this project at this time. As I discuss in Section 3.4, the relative frame of reference is utilized in endophoric functions more than the intrinsic frame of reference. This is because endophoric demonstratives rely on deictic projections onto non-spatial origos such as time or discourse. The ability to project from one origo onto another allows the relative frames of reference increased functionality over intrinsic frames and is part of why relative demonstratives are more frequent in the corpus than intrinsic ones. Additionally, most of the obscured and approaching forms are used as grammaticalized discourse particles, discussed in Chapter Four, which is why they are also more frequent in this frame of reference.

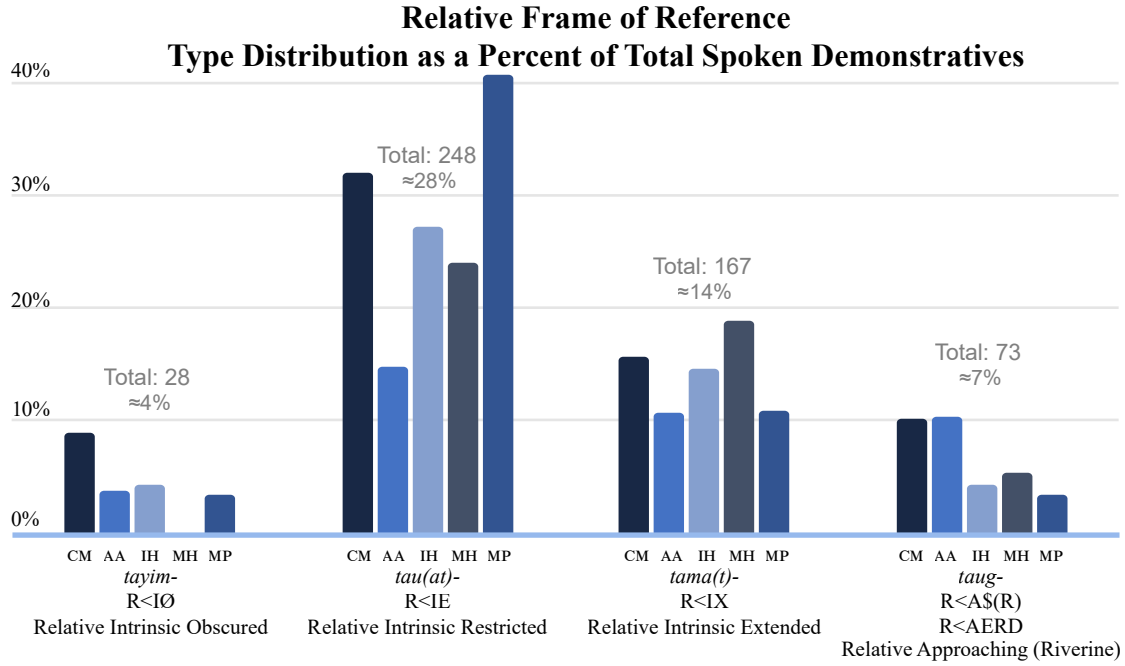


Figure 3.12: Yugtun's Relative Frame of Reference Demonstrative Frequency, representing 516 of 1047 demonstrative tokens in the corpus.

3.3.3 Yugtun's absolute demonstratives

The final frame of reference used by the Yugtun demonstrative inventory to index figures in joint space is the absolute frame. The absolute frame of reference accounts for the majority of the demonstrative types in the language but also the minority of the corpus' tokens. The reason for this is likely related to Denny's hypothesis that the absolute demonstratives require the speaker to physically see and point to the surrounding landscape (Denny, 1982). Yugtun's absolute demonstratives fall into the typological relative-absolute deictic geocentric frame of reference taxonomy, shown in Table 3.4. These demonstratives map the coordinate system onto the physical geography of the linguistic area and use salient geological landmarks to help triangulate the figure's location. However, the vector is indicated by the speaker or interlocutor via projection from the speaker onto the landscape. Thus, as these demonstratives are used in specific geocentric contexts, they are less generalizable or flexible than the intrinsic and relative frames of reference discussed above. These demonstrative types are used to point to a figure in the surrounding landscape unambiguously but are only interpretable in geocentric contexts. The absolute demonstratives account for the greatest variety of demonstrative types because they rely on different geocentric points and landscape features to establish reference. In Yugtun, four geocentric grounds are utilized, each with three forms identifying the figure's shape (obscured, restricted, extended). Note that Yugtun's operational absolute frame of reference, unlike the relative and intrinsic, does not have a approaching form but instead uses an overlay of what the Jacobsons' call 'accessibility' (see Section 3.2.1). Thus different demonstrative forms are used to refer to space close to the speaker and space further away from the speaker and have been variously analyzed as 'more-accessible' and 'less-accessible.' In this section, I show that this accessibility overlay more closely resembles the feature of body-space (Werner et al., 1998). The absolute demonstrative types can be seen in Figure 3.13 below, along with this additional perceptual overlay of body-space that is discussed below.

According to Levinson, an absolute frame of reference system is binary, whereby only the figure and the ground are utilized to interpret the frame of reference. Levinson uses the concept of deixis as a special parameter that can be attached to a frame of reference, whereas I treat deixis as an inherent characteristic of four of the six typological frames of reference I use to analyze the Yugtun demonstrative system (see Table 3.4). In a non-deictic absolute frame of reference, Levinson's observation that the viewers are unnecessary to pinpoint the location of the figure is true. The Yugtun demonstrative system however employs a deictic relative-absolute geocentric

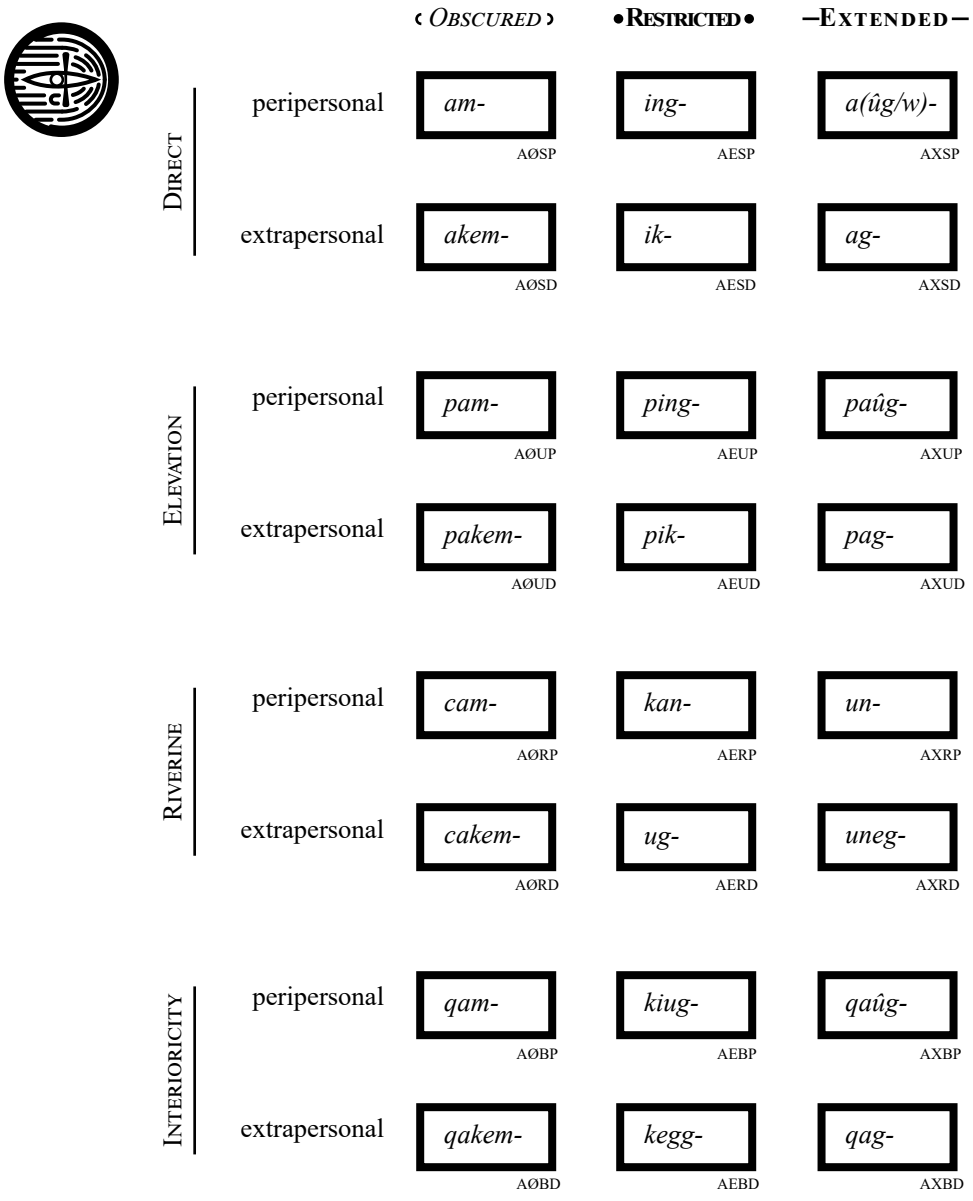


Figure 3.13: Yugtun's Absolute Frame of Reference Demonstratives: The inventory of Yugtun's absolute geocentric demonstratives laid out according to their referent's dimensional characteristics, geographic coordinates, and body-space divisions.

frame of reference, shown in Figure 3.8. Within the Yugtun analysis, I term these demonstratives as (deictic) absolute demonstratives and use the interlinear gloss: A.

The viewer is important to this frame of reference because the deictic orientation of the landscape is projected from the viewer. Then, the origo is embedded in the ground. The ground is the environment/landscape itself. Thus, this is a geocentric frame of reference that uses the speaker's location and orientation in the landscape to make clear reference to the figure. The system is deictic, which requires that projected pointing occurs through the demonstrative word and physical gesture which originates with either the speaker or interlocutor. This can get complex when introspecting, as English limits this translation to a near deictic relative-absolute geocentric sentence *'the* FIGURE *is downriver of me'* whereby the oblique *of me* is the intersection point for the landscape's origo. In English, this might mean that 'the figure is upriver of him,' which could argue for two different interpretations: egocentric or allocentric. However, as Yugtun uses a geocentric deictic frame of reference, the extra-linguistic context encoded within the English oblique prepositional phrase 'of me/him' only provides an additional vector by which to triangulate the figure's location within English's non-deictic absolute frame of reference, but it is not a required part of the frame of reference in Yugtun. English does not use a deictic relative-absolute geocentric frame of reference as discussed in Section 3.2.3, but Yugtun does. This system of projecting the speaker (S) onto the landscape (L) as a way of establishing both ground (G) and origo to locate a figure (F) can be schematized as:

$$[S \dashrightarrow L]{=}G/\text{Origo} \rightarrow F$$

The four geocentric grounds that Yugtun utilizes to establish the vector and locate a figure are *direct, elevation, riverine*, and *interioricity.* These vectors are anchored to the location of the speaker on the landscape. I use the following interlinear glossing for each respectively: S, U, R, B which stand for *straight, up, riverine,* and *boundary.*

uk-, 'the approaching figure' does not occur in the absolute frame of reference because, as discussed, the ground for *uk-* is not a landmark such as across, uphill, downriver, or inside; instead, it is the speaker. This analysis, therefore, further differs from the Jacobsons' analysis in translating *uk-* 'that approaching' and *aûg/w-* 'that extended directly near me' as members of different frames of reference instead of as direct antonyms.

The *direct* absolute demonstrative type indicates that the figure is straight ahead in the landscape, particularly over or across physical space. The physical space is the origo and ground through which a vector is drawn to index the figure. An example of a restricted absolute demonstrative is shown in (104) with the absolute demonstrative in bold.

(104) *Waten wani, uksuarmi,* ***ikani*** *Qayarrlekell, no, Kaikvayak tauna*

Waten	*wani,*	*uksuarmi,*	***ikani***
w-a-ten	w-a-ni	uksuar-ø-mi	**ik-a-ni**
IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	IE-FL-LOC	autumn-SG-LOC.SG	**AESD-FL-LOC**

Qayarrlekell,	*no,*	*Kaikvayak*	*tauna.*
Qayarrlekell-,	no,	Kaikvayak-ø-ø	ta-u-na-ø-ø
Qayarrlekell-*sttr*,	no,	Kaikvayak-SG-ABS	R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS

'Like this now, in autumn, **over there at** Qayarrlekell, no, Kaikvayak—this one—. '

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:3.2)

In (104), Kiicaq (MP) is bringing a particular river, *Kaikvayak*, in the surrounding area into joint attention by pointing to it with *ikani* so he can tell the story of its name. In doing so, he uses a direct, restricted demonstrative to reference the figure, the river *Qayarrlekell*, before correcting himself. He conceptualizes *Qayarrlekell* as a restricted point rather than as extended space. This is likely because we are sitting in a room in Kotlik a few rivers away from the river in question, and thus the river does not require a full field of view to physically see. Instead, the river itself is bound into a single overarching concept represented by its proper name. The absolute demonstrative is used to reference the river because it is a physically salient landmark in the area which can be pointed to from our position and is encoded in Kiicaq's mental map of the area while being situated directly in front of us from our general position. This shows how flexible the shape of the figure can be interpreted in different contexts. However, our position as viewers orient the landscape through deictic projection and allow the speaker to make reference to this river from the speaker's cognitive map, which is the ground. This river is directly over on the other side of the Kotlik area's salient landmark, the Little Kotlik River. By understanding the landscape we are in, we assign it an orientation from the speaker's perspective. Within this perspective, the ground and the vector, which is *directly over/across* a physical space, are utilized to index the proper figure.

This property is better seen in the demonstrative type concerned with a figure's elevation in regards to the ground, particularly an upwards elevation. This demonstrative type indexes figures that are uphill or above the speaker's eye line, as in (105).

(105) ***Pakmani****-llu qaingani, malruk waten, mit'ecungaak*

Pakmani*-llu*	*qaingani,*	*malruk*
pakem-a-ni=llu	qai-ø-nga-ø-ni,	malru-k-ø
AØUD-FL-LOC=COO	surface-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-SG-LOC	two-DU-ABS

waten,	*mit'ecungaak.*
w-a-ten	mii-ta-tcungaa-k-ø
IE-FL-ÆQL	loud.noise-device-cute.little-DU-ABS

'**There up** on top, two cute little noise makers like this'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:46)

In (105) from Waralria (CM), the speaker is talking about two whistles or steam stacks on a barge that has run aground downriver near Pastuliq. The two figures are on the surface of the ship up above and out of sight. The demonstrative *pakem-* references an obscured figure and is used in this utterance because, from Kotlik, we cannot see the grounded barge or Pastuliq. The figure is a location above the eye line of the speaker such that her head must tilt upwards to bring the figures within her line of sight in comparison to the ground, which is the physical terrain. The speaker's location orients the landscape and the location of the figure and determines the vector used and the construal of the shape of the figure. The demonstrative *pakem-* notifies the interlocutor to look up to find the figure. By contrast, the next geocentric origo that Yugtun utilizes is below/downhill/downriver/towards the exit, as in (106).

(106) *Tauguam, tayima ilaita yuut* ***un'gani****-llu, tayima, waten wani, umsugarteqengkuneng ikai- ikaisusi- ikaisuita, tamana, qanellqa.*

Tauguam,	*tayima*	*ilaita*
ta-ug-u=am	ta-yim-a	ila-t-ngi-ta-ø
R<A$(R)-OF-SG=EMPH	R<IØ-FL	part-PL-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL.LF-ABS

yuut	***un'gani****-llu,*	*tayima,*	*waten*	*wani,*
yuu-t-ø	**uneg-a-ni**=llu	ta-yim-a	w-a-ten	w-a-ni
person-PL-ABS	**AXRD-FL-LOC**=COO	R<IØ-FL,	IE-FL-ÆQL	IE-FL-LOC

umsugarteqengkuneng	*ikai-*	*ikaisusi-*
umsugarteqe-ng-ku-meg-t-ø	ikaisu-	ikaisu-si-
think-begin.to-CNJ.(if)-4.ERGA-PL-ABS	help-*sttr*	help-*sttr*

ikaisuita,	*tamana,*
ikaisu-ø-gi-ta-ø	ta-ma-na-ø-ø
help-CNJ.(BE)-3.ACCA.PL-PL.LF-ABS	R<IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS

qanellqa.
qane-llq-t-nga-ø-ø
speak-that.which.was-PL-1.ABSA.SG-SG-ABS

'However, hopefully, some of the people **there downriver** too, hopefully like this here, if they start thinking, (help- helpful-) be helpful to them this my spoken words.'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:31.1)

In (106), Aciangaq indexes an extended figure downriver from his perspective. The figure is, in particular, the collection of people who live downriver. The ground and the origo is the Little Kotlik River, which runs past Aciangaq's house through the village of Kotlik and towards the Yukon River's east mouth, where it exits into Norton Sound just a few miles away. The landscape is oriented according to where Aciangaq's house is situated on the river. By using the demonstrative *uneg-*, Aciangaq easily and clearly makes joint attention to the figure without utilizing an egocentric framework but rather the cultural and environmental knowledge available to him. Namely, the orientation of the river and the village. The final absolute demonstrative frame of reference type refers to a figure either inside or outside a delineated boundary but culturally can also be translated as upriver, as in (107).

(107) *Cali-llu, aipanglua umek,* ***qamaken****, angyani calilallruama paacami.*

Cali-llu,	*aipanglua*	*umek,*	***qamaken****,*
cali=llu	aipa-ng-lu-a	u-u-ø-mek	**qam-a-ken**
also=COO	partner-acquire-APP-SG.LF	IE-OF.SG-SG-ABL	**AØBP-FL-ABL**

angyani	*calilallruama*
angya-ø-ni	cali-la-llru-a-m-a-ø
boat-SG-LOC	work-HAB-PST-CNJ.(because)-1.ERGA-SG.LF-ABS

paacami.
paaca-ø-mi
barge-SG-LOC

'And moreover, I married this one, **inside/upriver there**, in a boat because I worked on the barge.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:67)

In (107), Amiksuwin (MH) is talking about his life when he worked as a commercial fisherman travelling up and down the river, and he is projecting his deictic orientation in Kotlik onto the landscape itself. The figure indicated by the intrinsic demonstrative phrase *aipanglua umek* 'I married—this one' is his wife, and the figure indicated by the absolute demonstrative *qamaken* 'inside/upriver there' is a location on the barge itself as it travels through the physical landscape, which serves as the ground for the absolute demonstrative. The location figure referenced is upriver from Kotlik. As I show in this utterance, the viewers, Amiksuwin and I, at the time of the utterance, are important for orienting the map of the landscape used in forming the deictic absolute frame of reference. By using a geocentric frame of reference, however, Amiksuwin can locate the figure in comparison to the ground at any point within the fishing area at any point in time. Thus the salient landmarks of the story are the figure and the barge on the landscape, not the viewers of the story.

Because a geocentric frame of reference orients the scene around physical landmarks known through contextual or cultural knowledge, the relative distance between figure and ground is neither essential nor indicated for any of these demonstrative types. These, like the deictic intrinsic and the deictic relative frames of reference, are 1-term joint attention, pointing words. The critical part here is the physical landscape, which allows Yugtun speakers a great degree of freedom in bringing joint attention to any particular object by reference to its general location. However, there is a second set of deictic absolute frame of reference demonstratives added as a perceptual overlay within the deictic absolute frame of reference. In direct juxtaposition to the first set of absolute demonstratives, these use body-space (*peripersonal* vs. *extrapersonal*) to provide an analogy to the idea of relative or conceptual distance (*proximal* vs. *distal*) discussed in the general typology. Distance, therefore, is only used within the absolute frame of reference.

A common area of research within psychology investigates our perception of physical space. Human mental representations of space are a fundamental characteristic of daily life and construct spatial models from all the senses, including visual, auditory, and tactile inputs (Rabellino et al., 2020). In addition, the *mental model*, or frame of reference employed by our cognition, is heavily dependent on the context of the interactability within a space (Werner et al., 1998). A key finding within this field is that space is divided into two zones of interactability, *Peripersonal Space* and *Extrapersonal space*. The demonstrative typology of *proximal* and *distal* space has been argued to be analogous to this division of perceptual space, particularly in English and Spanish studies, as the speaker's selection of demonstrative type (proximal or distal) corresponds with an enriched division of perceptual space and changes in the perceptual space motivate changes in demonstrative selection (Coventry et al., 2014). However, it has also been argued that linguistic space and perceptual space are independent and that linguistic space is subject to language-specific constraints, notably due to the existence of 3-term speaker-oriented demonstrative systems such as in Japanese (Kemmerer, 1999). However, peripersonal space seems to be subjective to context and thus can still account for speaker-centred demonstrative systems.

Peripersonal space is defined as that area around the body that can be reached and interacted with. If an object can be manipulated, then it is within peripersonal space. Peripersonal space is fundamentally egocentric in that the origo of the mental representation rests on the body (i.e. body-space). In particular, the origo forms an abstract point on the trunk of the body. If the body extends, however, such as reaching forward with the arms or standing up, the origo will move outwards to compensate for the larger range of interactability. Thus this conceptualization of interactability

includes the ability of the body to move to the object. As such, the construal of peripersonal space relies heavily on the context of the event (Rabellino et al., 2020).

Extrapersonal space, by contrast, is anything that is not within reach and is where the environment can only be explored by visual means (Rabellino et al., 2020). This is a space that the speaker cannot interact with by any means, including through interaction with an interlocutor (Cleary-Kemp, 2007). The terms peripersonal and extrapersonal form a binary which can be delineated based on an individual's psychology.

Fini et al. (2014) show that using a tool which extends a person's reach affects their judgements about peripersonal and extrapersonal space. Moreover, a person's ability to interact with other objects or interlocutors who can then interact with the object will adjust the peripersonal space zone. Fini et al. (2014), also argue that peripersonal and extrapersonal space is affected by the potential for action on an object, either by the self or an interlocutor (animate or inanimate). Thus, the shape of the space, the shape of the body, and the physical energy costs all affect the construal of peripersonal and extrapersonal space. Therefore relative typological distance is too simple of a concept to describe perceptual space accurately, and effort must also be considered. A person wearing a heavy backpack has been shown to have a smaller peripersonal space, while another human merely standing within the range of view will enlarge the space through a conception of shared body-space (Fini et al., 2014).

Cléry et al. (2015) further contributes to this discussion by claiming that emotional states as well as social status and their perception, can alter the relative size of peripersonal and extrapersonal space. Thus, the size of peripersonal space relies on many factors, from the object's shape, the object's functionality, the object's desirability, and the object's graspability (Valdés-Conroy et al., 2012). Peripersonal and extrapersonal space construal also relies on the shape of the body, the presence of tools, the emotional state of the body, and the perceiver's reaction time and physical ability. Additionally, social factors such as the presence of interlocutors or even distal third persons and the physical size of the space that the representation is modelling can mould the construal of space. As such, the construal of peripersonal and extrapersonal space is complex and multifaceted. However, it can be mapped onto demonstratives, both distance-based, like English and Spanish, or person-based, like Japanese, as both the speaker and interlocutor affect the construal of peripersonal and extrapersonal space.

We can utilize this understanding of peripersonal space to further expound upon the nature of the Yugtun demonstrative system. As seen in Figure 3.13 above, there are more than the 12 absolute frame of reference demonstrative types than those that have already been discussed (three types for shape and four types for

geocentric coordinates). In fact, I have, to this point, only covered half of the absolute demonstratives and have missed an entire semantic layer of the system: the notions of peripersonal and extrapersonal space. These notions help explain this additional layer of the demonstrative's semantics better.

However, this notion may also apply to the intrinsic egocentric frame of reference and the relative allocentric frame of reference. It makes sense that both of these demonstrative frames of reference place a figure into peripersonal space. The intrinsic system places a figure into the speaker's egocentric direct peripersonal space. In contrast, the relative system places a figure into the allocentric ground's peripersonal space, which is a perceptual extension of the speaker's peripersonal space. Thus a figure within an intrinsic model is construed as interactable by the speaker, and a figure within a relative model is interactable with the interlocutor or another third party or entity within the context. This notion can be analyzed in the demonstratives taken from above and shown again in the examples in (108).

(108) a.

ilii-guq	***una***
ila-ø-nga-ø-ø=guq	**u-na-ø-ø**
family-sg-3.noma.sgcom-sg-abs=QUOT	**IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS**

'His family says **this one**'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:147.4)

b.

tauna	*.22-cup'un*
ta-u-na-ø-ø	twentytwo.cup'un-ø-ø
R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	twentytwo.shotgun-sg-abs

'**this** 22 single-shot'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:16.6-8)

c.

nepairulartut	***tawaten***
nepa-iru-lar-gur-t	**ta-w-a-ten**
noisy-no.longer-HAB-IND.IN-PL	**R<IE-FL-FL.AEQ**

'they would quiet down—**like this**—'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:24.3)

Each of the examples in (108) construe a shared understanding of peripersonal space. In Waralria's (CM) utterance, *his family* is within her emotional and social peripersonal space and thus is interactable. In Carra's (IH) story, he recalls his own memory of when he bought the *'.22 gun'* and directly physically interacted with it; thus, it was physically within his peripersonal space at the time of occurrence, and the memory still is within his peripersonal space and thus interactable. Finally, in Aciangaq's (AA)

story about the *Yuuyaraq* 'Yugtun way of life,' he discusses community members he knows and can interact with. He can also extend his peripersonal space to include them as human beings within the scene, even though they are merely actors in the narrative and not interlocutors. These examples show that peripersonal space can be interpreted in any utterance given the right context.

The following two examples in (109) (also shown in (98)) do not apply this notion of peripersonal space within the utterance even though they also use an intrinsic frame of reference demonstrative. This is evidence that body-space is not a feature of these two demonstrative frames of reference.

(109) a.

yuulret	***imkut,***	*a*
yuulre-t-ø	**im-ku-t-ø**,	a
traditional.person-PL-ABS	**IØ-OF.NS-PL-ABS**	ah

'**those** people who lived before us'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:1.1)

b.

imkunek,	***mana***	*neq...,*	*kuik*
im-ku-t-nek	**ma-na-ø-ø**	*neq*,	kuik-ø-ø
IØ-OF.NS-PL-ABL	**IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS**	food-*sttr*	river-SG-ABS

mana,	*kuik*	***mana***
ma-na-ø-ø,	kuik-ø-ø	**ma-na-ø-ø**
IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	river-SG-ABS	**IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS**

'those things **this** (*foo) river—**this**—, river—**this**—'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:14)

In (109 a), Carra (IH) discusses the people who lived in Caniliaq before he was born there. He could be extending his peripersonal space onto his ancestors via an extension to his community or through emotional extension, but this seems like a stretch of perception. In (109 b), he is sitting at a table in his dining room, talking to his wife and me across the table. The modern things he is talking about and the food are not in reach or graspable, would take physical effort to reach, and are not emotionally close or social actors. The river is outside and would take energy and time to reach, and it is also not a social actor. There are no humans in the scene to which he can extend his space, nor are there tools. These figures are all in his extrapersonal space.

These examples show that while body-space could be applied to the intrinsic and relative frames of reference in some contexts, it does not do so as a property of the frames of reference. As such, these two frames of reference do not lexicalize either traditional demonstrative relative distances (proximal or distal) or the perceptual space

dichotomy (peripersonal or extrapersonal). Instead, these frames are distance-neutral and bring a figure into joint attention with the interlocutor by indexing it in physical or phantasmic space by referring to either an egocentric or an allocentric ground object. Either frame of reference can be construed as proximal or peripersonal and distal or extrapersonal, depending on the context of the utterance.

However, the absolute frame of reference differs in this regard. In Yugtun, the absolute frame of reference demonstratives do lexicalize for perceptual space but with an "enriched conceptualization" (Coventry et al., 2014 p. 1261). That is, these four absolute frame of reference demonstratives based on ground coordinates (direct, elevation, riverine, interioricity) come with a contrasting pair that is used to indicate that the figure is located in either peripersonal space or extrapersonal space. However, the construal of what is peripersonal within a single frame can be complex, as I show below.

The ability to reference distance through body-space within the absolute frame of reference makes these demonstratives more powerful. Absolute frames of reference are inherently geocentric, utilizing a deictic projection from the viewer to orient the ground, which is a culturally or physically salient landmark, and locate the figure. The figure is located in relation to the physical landmark. By bringing in the feature of perceptual body-space, the Yugtun system recognizes and lexicalizes the existence of the viewer and their operability with the physical space. This system pulls the viewer into the absolute frame of reference not as the ground, origo, or vector but through the recognition of the deictic projection and indicates whether the viewer can interact with the figure. Thus, the interlocutor knows the figure's location in relation to the environment, the shape of the figure, and the interactability of the figure, all from a single demonstrative. This added factor is also similar to the approaching shape that is lost in the absolute frame of reference.

The first absolute frame of reference type is the *direct*, where the ground is a salient landmark generally in front of the viewers or scene. In (104), Kiicaq (MP) might have been referencing extrapersonal space when referring to *ikani Qayarrlekell* because *Qayarrlekell* is over on the other side of a barrier, particularly the Little Kotlik River and thus, from our position, we cannot interact with *Qayarrlekell* nor can we without a serious expenditure of energy to get us there.

When Waralria (CM) was discussing the whistles in (105), she is also using extrapersonal space in the construal of *Pakmani-llu qaingani* because the whistles are up above on the barge, where it is difficult to get to. The whistles are obscured from sight, and the barge is in the now ghost-town Pastuliq which is upriver. Thus, no one is there to extend her peripersonal space.

Aciangaq (AA), too, uses an extrapersonal demonstrative in (106) to indicate the people downriver, *ilaita yuut un'gani-llu*. This is because he is sitting inside his house upriver and discussing a group of people downriver that would take energy to reach. Moreover, these people partake in an activity (using alcohol) that he would like to distance himself from and that he frowns upon, so there is no emotional proximity to his space either.

However, Amiksuwin (MH) uses a peripersonal demonstrative *qamaken* in (107). This is because both he and his wife are inside the house together when he is telling me the story. Furthermore, within his work as a commercial fisherman, he regularly travelled upriver to his wife's village, and this placed him within peripersonal and interactive space with her and allowed them to meet. Therefore, they share accessible spaces and can interact with each other.

Through these examples, I show that a lot of information is compressed into the use of individual demonstratives. However, the Yugtun system is enriched due to the fact that it maps body-space space (or distance) on the environment itself. In Yup'ik these have been traditionally called the *accessible* and *less accessible* directions (Miyaoka, 1984; Jacobson, 2013). The peripersonal or "accessible spaces" are across a landmark, upslope/uphill/away from the river, down below/downslope/towards the river, and inside/inland. While the extrapersonal or "inaccessible spaces" are over a barrier, up above, down the river/towards the exit, and outside/to sea. Some of these dichotomies can be considered below in (110)-(112).

(110) a. *Watawa makut yun'erraat teen-ager-at-llu* ***augkut****, alingnariut.*

Watawa	*makut*	*yun'erraat*	*teen-ager-at-llu*
uat-a=wa	ma-ku-t-ø	yun'erraa-t-ø	teenagera-t-ø=llu
IE-FL=ANA	IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS	young.man-PL-ABS	teenager-PL-ABS=COO

augkut*,*	*alingnariut.*
aug-ku-t-ø	aling-nar-ngi-gur-t.
AXSP-OF.NS-PL-ABS	scared-make.one.feel-CAUS-IND.IN-PL

'Now, these young men and teenagers—**those over there**— they make one feel scared.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:105.1)

b. *ca'nek, a tumyararkanek* ***iini*** *naparcilutung*

ca'nek,	*a*	*tumyararkanek*	***iini***
caa-t-nek,	ah	tumyararka-t-nek	**ag-a-ni**
Q-PL-ABL,	ah,	boardwalk-PL-ABL	**AXSD-FL-LOC**

naparcilutung
napar-ci-lu-teg-t
erect-FUT-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'any kind of those ol' board-walks **across there** they build... '

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:143)

In (110), the direct demonstrative types with opposing peripersonal and extrapersonal space can be seen. In (110 a) by Waralria (CM) *augkut* is referencing a figure, particularly teenagers, across the village of Kotlik with no obstruction in the way. These scary teenagers are in her peripersonal emotional space. In contrast, Amiksuwin (MH) in (110 b) uses a Norton Sound specific pronunciation *ii-* of the base *ag-*[7]. Here Amiksuwin is discussing the construction of the boardwalks through the village of Kotlik; however, he lives on the far side of the river where the speech event is also happening. We would have to take a boat across the river to get to the figure. Thus the boardwalks are over a barrier and, therefore, in his extrapersonal space.

There are only a few instances of the vector of *elevation* within my corpus. I have already discussed the extrapersonal space type in (105), which is the only example in the corpus. However, Waralria also uses the peripersonal space variant in (111).

(111) *Imkut-llu* ***pavani*** *cenami, pacayagaat, cuplunek uciluteng*

imkut-llu	***pavani***	*cenami,*
im-ku-t-ø=llu	**paw-a-ni**	cena-ø-mi
IØ-OF.NS-PL-ABS=COO	**AXUP-FL-LOC**	coast-SG-LOC.SG

pacayagaat,	*cuplunek*	*uciluteng*
paca-yag-ø-nga-t-ø,	cuplu-t-nek	uci-lu-teg-t
barge-many-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-PL-ABS	pipe-PL-ABL	load-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'**There up** at the shore, they loaded many barges with pipes'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:49.3)

In (111), the peripersonal demonstrative is being used to index the barges that washed ashore near Pastuliq. They are in her peripersonal space because both speech participants know where they are and can interact with them. As opposed to being up in the air, one can walk up the river to Pastuliq, where Waralria was born and grew

[7]The adverbial postbase (*FL*) discussed in Chapter Four attaches to create *aga-* and the velar dropping rule and vowel raising rules **M3-M4** from Chapter Two create *ii-*

up, and explore these barges on the river banks. Notice, however, that these barges are some 8 miles down the river and then into the hills along a different river. From a traditional topological perspective, they are *distal* to the viewers. Nevertheless, within the Yugtun absolute frame of reference, where these barges are located in reference to the high ground, they are in *peripersonal* space because they can be accessed and interacted with within physical, emotional, and psychological body-space.

The riverine directional demonstratives utilize the geography of a river valley to establish the origo and draw vectors to the figure, (112) shows how body-space interacts with the directionality of this type of ground coordinate

(112) a. *Dad-ten-ll imumi tuqullrani, avani waqvani aqumgalua wii,* ***kankut-llu*** *nayangalriit …*

dad-ten-ll	*imumi*
dad-ø-ten-ø-ø=llu	im-u-ø-mi
dad-SG-2.ABSA.SG-SG-ABS=COO	IØ-OF.SG-SG-LOC.SG

tuqullrani,	*avani*	*waqvani*
tuqu-llr-nga-ø-ni,	aw-a-ni	uaqva-ni
die-CNJ.(when)-3.NOMA-SG-LOC	AXSP-FL-LOC	far.downriver-LOC

aqumgalua	*wii,*	***kankut-llu***
aqumga-lu-a	wii	**kan-ku-t-ø=llu**
sitting-APP-SG.LF	I,	**AERP-OF.NS-PL-ABS=COO**

nayangalriit	*…*
nayanga-lria-nga-t	
greeting-PART.IN-3.NOMA-PL	

'and your dad, long ago when he died, back then **far away downriver**, I was sitting **there (downriver) too** they are all saying hello ...'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:166.4)

b. ***Ugum*** *wani teggnemta, tailuni qanrullua tuai mana mani tribal, tribal governmentaq qananiluki napartaqatarnaluku.*

ugum	*wani*	*teggnemta,*
ug-u-ø-m	u-a-ni	teggne-t-m-ta-ø
AERD-OF.SG-SG-ERG.SG	IE-FL-LOC	elder-PL-1.ERGA-PL.LF-ABS

tailuni	*qanrullua*	*tuai*
tai-lu-ni-ø	qanru-lu-a	t-u-a=i
come-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG	tell-APP-SG.LF.1	R<IE-FL=EXLM

mana	*mani*	*tribal,*	*tribal-governmentaq*
ma-na-ø-ø	ma-a-ni	Tribal,	Tribal.Governmentar-ø-ø
IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	IX-FL-LOC	Tribal-*sttr*,	Tribal.Government-SG-ABS

qananiluki
qana-ni-lu-ki-t
talk-claim.that-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL

napartaqatarnaluku.
napar-taqa-tar-na-lu-ku-ø.
erect-recently-has.been-VOL-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG

'**Downriver here** our Elders came to tell me that this here Tribal, Tribal Government they said that it had just been set up.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:133)

In (112), the opposition in perceptual space can be seen again. In (112 a) by Waralria (CM), people are interacting with her downriver, where her dad is being buried in Pastuliq. The downriver demonstrative is used because Pastuliq is downriver spatially, but it is also peripersonal because people are interacting with the viewer within her emotive memory. While in (112 b), by Amiksuwin (MH), the form is extrapersonal because, within the timeline of his story, he is working for another tribal council elsewhere in the Yukon-Kuskokwim area. An Elder then approaches him to tell him that they are setting up a new tribal government. At the time of the conversation, Amiksuwin is not a member of this new tribal government, but the Elders would like him to be. The new tribal government is being set up in a different village downriver, which is outside of Amiksuwin's peripersonal space within the story. For the full context of this example, see Appendix C.

Unfortunately, the corpus only has one example of an interior type of demonstrative, which is the example from Amiksuwin in (107) above. However, I assert that an inside space is more peripersonal to a speaker than a wide open outside space which is less easily interacted with. The dichotomy here still holds true.

As I show, Yugtun does not use traditional features of *proximal* and *distal* but instead relies on notions of perceptual interactability with the figure. If the figure is accessible and interactable or desirable, it is indicated as within the viewer's *peripersonal* space, but if none of the viewers can interact with the figure easily, then it is marked as existing in *extrapersonal* space. This division of the absolute frame of reference uses the body-space overlay as a means of embedding the deictic projection into the frame of reference more fully.

When looking at the Yugtun demonstrative system as a collection of three distinct frame of reference systems, a more traditional demonstrative system seems to emerge, which is similar to a 3-term speaker-oriented system. In this system, the intrinsic demonstratives are interpreted as 'proximal to the speaker' while the relative

demonstratives are interpreted as 'proximal to the interlocutor/other.' In general, the absolute demonstratives could then be considered *distal to both speaker and interlocutor/other*. It is this contrast between the frames of reference that allows both the relative and absolute forms to be construed as distal from the speaker in translation. The most common translation for the relative forms by my Yugtun consultants is as the English distal demonstrative 'that, those, there.' The absolute demonstratives are also translated using English's distal demonstrative as often as the proximal demonstrative. However, while the distal may be the best English translation, neither a distal translation nor a traditional 3-term speaker-oriented system is authentic to the Yugtun worldview. All of Yugtun's intrinsic, relative, and absolute demonstratives are closer to proximal demonstratives in that they are not lexicalized for relative distance. More in line with the intrinsic demonstratives, the traditional notions of proximal and distal are implications made by understanding the context of use and the ground of the frame of reference. These demonstrative forms establish joint attention on an object by locating it in space compared to a physically salient geocentric landmark. In other words, these are also 1-term distance demonstratives according to the typology. Thus, Yugtun employs a system of 1-term intrinsic demonstratives, a system of 1-term relative demonstratives, and a system of 2-term body-space specified absolute demonstratives, which, when used together, can create implied relative distance.

Figure 3.14 shows the frequency of each of the absolute frame of reference demonstratives.

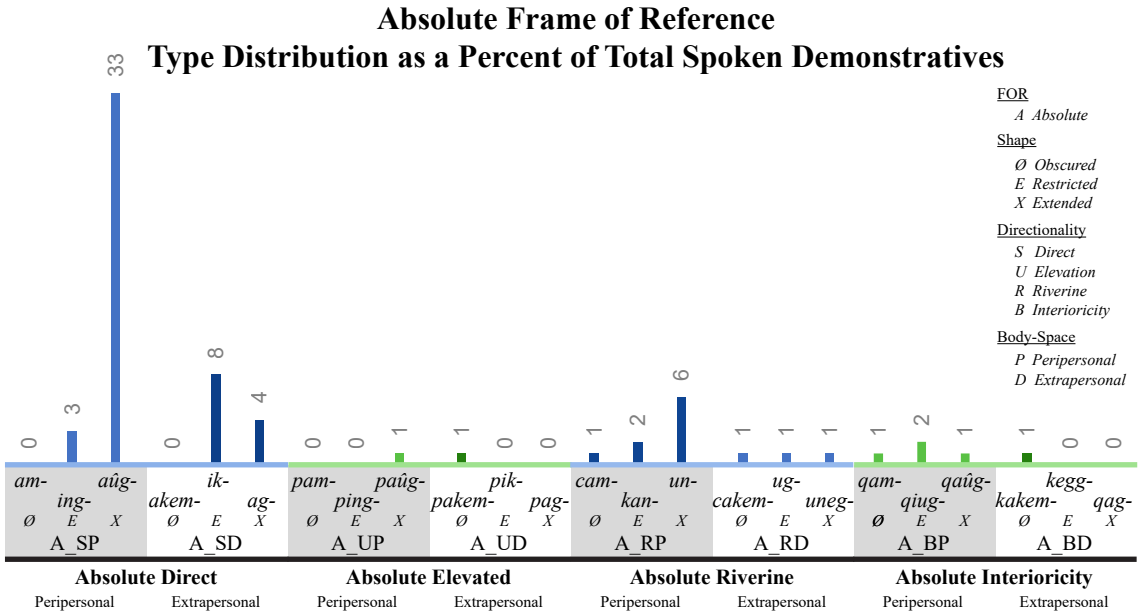


Figure 3.14: Yugtun's Absolute Frame of Reference Demonstrative Frequency

There really are not enough tokens in the corpus of the absolute frame of reference demonstratives to draw any major conclusions beyond the observation that their use is highly context-dependent, however; overall the peripersonal forms seem to be more frequent than the extrapersonal variants. *aw-* (AXSP) is highly frequent, and this is likely because it is the closest analogue to the English 'there' being translated as a direct extended peripersonal demonstrative grounded against a generic landmark. I can translate this as 'over here.' Its extrapersonal counterpart would be translated as 'across the other side-there.' The riverine demonstratives are the second most common type after the direct forms. This also seems reasonable as the Kotlik region sits in the middle of the Yukon River Delta.

Figure 3.15 shows the distribution of the NSKY corpus' demonstrative tokens across the three frames of reference.

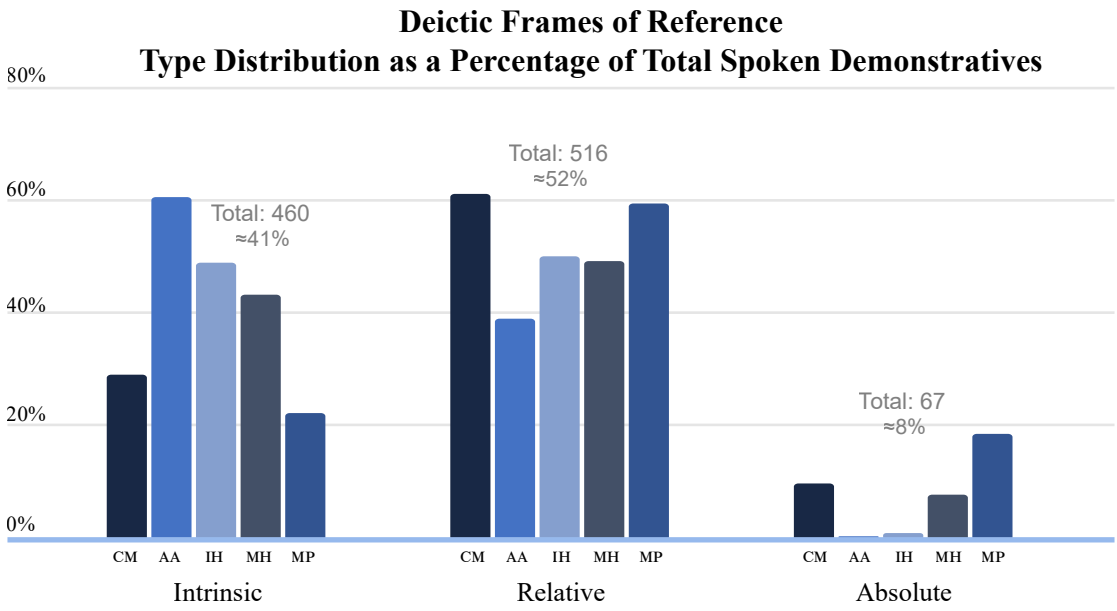


Figure 3.15: Yugtun's Demonstrative Frame of Reference Frequency: The frequency of frames of reference as a percentage of total spoken demonstratives is seen across speakers. Note the total for each frame of reference and its percentage of demonstrative type in the corpus. Note this figure has a total of 1043 demonstratives, which does not include both demonstrative bases in demonstrative compounds included in the overall total.

Unsurprisingly, the relative frame of reference is the most frequent in my corpus. This frequency has to do with the discourse uses of the relative frame of reference, as discussed in Section 3.4 and Chapter Four. The relative frame of reference is the closest Yugtun has to a distal construal when it is juxtaposed with the intrinsic frame

of reference. *Distal* demonstratives also tend to be more prevalent than *proximal* demonstratives cross-linguistically (Diessel, 1999a). Additionally, the relative frame of reference is much more flexible as it uses an allocentric ground and thus can be employed in the greatest number of contexts, especially in narrative. The intrinsic frame of reference, too, is highly frequent. This is likely due to the primacy of its egocentric ground and its use across all three domains: space, time, and discourse. The absolute frame of reference is by far the least frequent as it has restricted contexts of use.

3.4 Yugtun demonstrative domains of use

The last section systematically examined the semantics of each demonstrative and described their contexts of use based on the frame of reference, shape, and body-space they employ. The four intrinsic demonstratives use the speaker as a ground and origo to establish a vector to index the figure. The four relative demonstratives use either the interlocutor or another contextually specified object as the ground and origo from which a vector indexes the figure. The 24 absolute demonstratives use features in the landscape as the ground and origo, and utilize three factors of shape and the added factor of distance in relation to body-space as a way of orienting the vector using the speaker's projection onto the landscape. Most of the examples used to characterize these semantics utilized exophoric and spatial domains of use. As discussed in Section 1.2.2-3, the spatial use is generally construed as the most basic function of demonstratives. Nevertheless, a large set of demonstrative base tokens in my NSKY corpus have yet to be accounted for. This is because they are not being used spatially, but rather within temporal or discursive space. A few examples have already been characterized above. Generally, Yugtun does not differentiate morphological or syntactic structure between spatial and temporal forms, as shown in Chapter Four, in the majority of its demonstratives. To interpret a demonstrative spatially or temporally requires semantic and pragmatic context, and different construals arise from different contexts of use. These domains intersect with the semantics of Yugtun's frames of reference and demonstrative overlays because the origo is usually shifted onto a non-spatial object, typically through deictic projection, and points to a non-spatial object. Furthermore, these deictic shifts employ a conceptual metaphor to shape the frame of reference and select appropriate demonstrative forms. Leading into the next section on temporality in demonstrative use we can examine (113), from Aciangaq's *Yuuyaraq*. In this example, *imkut* is multifunctional in that it is a spatial demonstrative serving to index a spatial object *yuut* 'people' obscured by time. The

speaker is referencing how these obscured (by time) people made a living in the old days. The demonstrative being examined is in bold.

(113) *Tamakunek, akinginaqurluteng eglerrallrulriit yuut* ***imkut.***

Tamakunek,	*akinginaqurluteng*		
ta-ma-ku-t-nek	aking-ina-qur-lu-teg-t		
R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABL	money-RSLT-CMPLTV-APP-4.NOMA-PL		
eglerrallrulriit		*yuut*	***imkut.***
eglerr-a-llru-lria-nga-t		yuu-t-ø	**im-ku-t-ø**
travel-ITER-PST-PART.IN-3.NOMA-PL		person-PL-ABS	**IØ-OF.NS-PL-ABS**

'For these reasons, **those** people (**back then**) would travel to make money.'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:6.1)

In (113), the intrinsic frame of reference is being employed. The figure indexed by the obscured demonstrative *imkut* 'these/those' is *yuut* 'people.' The ground and origo is the speaker Aciangaq. Thus, this utterance is egocentric. Aciangaq is pointing out a group of people in a relative direction who cannot be seen in the physical landscape. They cannot be seen because they are hidden by the passage of time. However, the relative distance is unspecified as the intrinsic frame does not use distance contrast. Of crucial importance is that from his position, the viewers cannot see the figure because they are hidden metaphorically by time. This utterance is equally translatable as 'those obscured (by time) people would travel to make money' whereby the figure of the obscured demonstrative is *yuut* or 'back then, people would travel to make money' whereby the figure is an unstated temporal point in the past. This sentence is translated with temporal pragmatics even though the demonstrative hasn't changed from many of those seen above.

I reserve the detailed analysis of demonstrative morphosyntax until Chapter Four, but one key detail that helps disambiguate this demonstrative is the use of the postbase morpheme *-ku* (*OF.NS* 'object figure-type, non-singular') which serves to index multiple objects rather than a singular location. Additionally, this is a postnominal demonstrative structure which serves to bring the referents into focus rather than gesture to them. Based on these structural features, the first translation, 'those obscured (by time) people would travel to make money,' is the most authentic interpretation. This intepretation is spatial in nature; Aciangaq is pointing to people in space who cannot be seen because they are hidden. The temporal pragmatics are interpreted through

context and the use of a past-tense postbase on the preceding verb *eglerra**llru**lriit*. Thus, this is an exophoric spatial demonstrative alluding metaphorically to time through the shape of the figure. It is this ambiguous interplay between the pragmatic construal of space and time that allows some of Yugtun's demonstratives to be pulled into definitive temporal or discourse uses to form additional demonstrative subsystems distinct from the spatial models within the overall demonstrative description.

3.4.1 Conceptual Metaphor in demonstrative use

Our knowledge of the world is embedded in recurring patterns of salient interaction with our environment, from our bodily orientation and movement to the manipulation of objects (Johnson, 1993). There is no more recurrent or salient pattern that we interact with daily than the physical space around us (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). We understand that physical space through complex frames of reference. However, we also transfer that experience of physical space onto other more opaque concepts. This transference of properties from one fundamental domain of experience to another is called *conceptual metaphor* or conceptual metaphor mapping (S. Rice, 2012).

Conceptual metaphors underlie much of our interpretation of the world. Most of our experiences are structured in metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). These conceptual metaphors are pervasive in our consciousness and systematic in our grammar (Kövecses, 2008), and our pervasive unconscious awareness of these metaphors shape our realities and our actions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). For example, in the conceptual metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, we frame our experience of life as a series of destinations with experiences and growth. Nevertheless, by contrast, if we reconceptualize our world under the conceptual metaphor, LIFE IS A STAGE, we frame or interpret it differently as life is seen as a performance between characters with less lasting consequences for our actions (Kövecses, 2008). These metaphors ground our experiences and our actions based on our understanding of the concepts of 'journey' and 'stage.' This is the nature of a conceptual metaphor. One abstract experience which is difficult to understand from direct primal experience—life—is interpreted through more concrete and graspable experiences such as journeys or stage plays.

A metaphor maps the properties of a *source domain* onto a *target domain* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The mapping from one domain to another, however, is always partial. If the entire system of the source domain were mapped onto the target domain, then they would be the same concept. Instead, only salient properties are mapped from the first onto the second to help us anchor our experiences of the target domain. McGlone (1996), shows that this is an attributive process. The target domain is not the source

domain. That is, it is not true that X is a Y but instead that the salient attributes of Y are mapped onto X such that X has some of the attributes of Y.

Conceptual metaphors arise as *structural metaphors, orientational metaphors* and *ontological metaphors* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; S. Rice, 2012; Golfam & Ghorbanpour, 2019). Of interest to this section are the orientational and ontological metaphors. Orientational metaphors use spatial arrays as a source domain to understand various target domains. In this type of metaphor, the target domain receives spatial orientation and properties such as landmarks, movement, direction, and distance (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Chilton, 2014). Ontological metaphors use tangible, easy-to-understand domains, such as space, to conceptualize of harder to conceive and intangible domains, such as time (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; S. Rice, 2012 p. 25). One of the most recognizable and cross-linguistic conceptual metaphors is that of TIME is SPACE (S. Rice et al., 1999; Casasanto & Boroditsky, 2008). In fact, Casasanto has shown that this metaphor is so deeply embedded in our cognition that even in non-linguistic tasks, it can be challenging to ignore spatial properties when interpreting temporal events. This is because we systematically map many spatial attributes onto our conceptualization of time in a culturally relevant manner. This becomes more ingrained when we recognize time, like space, is deictic. That is, we can point to figures (establish a vector between the origo and figure) in time just like we can point to figures in space. This is shown in Chapter One in the discussion of the deictic nature of tense. These pointing acts can even place figures within our peripersonal~proximal space or extrapersonal~distal spaces (Chilton, 2014). Thus, we can use frames of reference in interpreting temporal locations just as we can with spatial locations.

Due to the ubiquity of the TIME IS SPACE metaphor, demonstratives are usually, in one way or another, extended to be used deictically within both spatial and temporal domains (Diessel, 1999a). This is true in Yugtun as well. However, unlike in English, where there are special temporal demonstratives *now/then* differing from the spatial demonstratives *this/that*, *here/there*, the Yugtun system uses a subset of the same spatial demonstrative bases discussed from the last section. However, all three frames of reference, the intrinsic, the relative, and the absolute, are mapped onto the temporal domain.

3.4.2 Temporal demonstratives: TIME IS A RIVER

Up to this point, I have argued that in Yugtun, there are three distinct operational frames of reference used by speakers to conceptualize physical space within the overall Yugtun demonstrative system. In Yugtun, the intrinsic frame of reference uses the

speaker as an egocentric ground and origo to reference the figure. However, the relative or conceptual/perceptual distance is left unspecified. The relative frame of reference uses a contextually specified landmark as the allocentric ground to index the figure but, again, relative distance is ambiguous. Finally, the absolute frame of reference uses a culturally salient physical landmark in the vast landscape as the geocentric ground and origo against which the figure is indexed in a relative direction oriented by the viewer's projection and indicates a relative distance from the viewer's conceptual/perceptual space.

Using the ontological conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE, Yugtun can map these three frames of reference onto temporal space allowing for an intricate system whereby time can be viewed from the speaker's position at the time of utterance or from an allocentric perspective at a different point in time, or from a different location in time from the sub-metaphor TIME IS A LANDSCAPE. Within this metaphor, time is oriented as a landscape with fixed temporal events acting as landmarks in the temporal landscape. Just as a physical landscape has salient landmarks such as important rivers, seas, villages, or historical sites, a temporal landscape too is conceived in the same way as being formed by salient temporal landmarks such as historic events and personal histories. Using these temporal landmarks, speakers can index events as figures in time and indicate a relative direction and distance to those figures by grounding themselves or grounding the landscape. The major demonstratives used temporally in my NSKY corpus are shown in Figure 3.16. The demonstratives employed in this temporal landscape serve to differentiate the ground landmark and the shape of the event, and thus each has specific temporal semantics and preferred contexts of use.

This system is both an expansion and a reduction of the physical spatial demonstrative inventory. The intrinsic system loses the obscured base *(*IØ), while the relative system and the absolute systems partially merge, but the vast majority of the absolute demonstratives disappear from use. The majority of the absolute demonstratives do not get mapped onto the temporal domain because space and time have distinct physical differences. The mapping from the physical space onto the temporal space is, as expected, only partial. Thereby, temporal events are conceptualized cognitively as spatial figures. In Yugtun, we can "see" or "visit" any time frame without obstruction. When these events are discussed within the speaker's conceptual space, the lack of obscured demonstrative forms within the temporal domain makes sense. Both past and future events, if treated literally, are obscured from physical sight, but our conceptualization and recollection of time do not employ physical sight. Thus, the obscured demonstratives are not transferred into the temporal domain within my NSKY corpus.

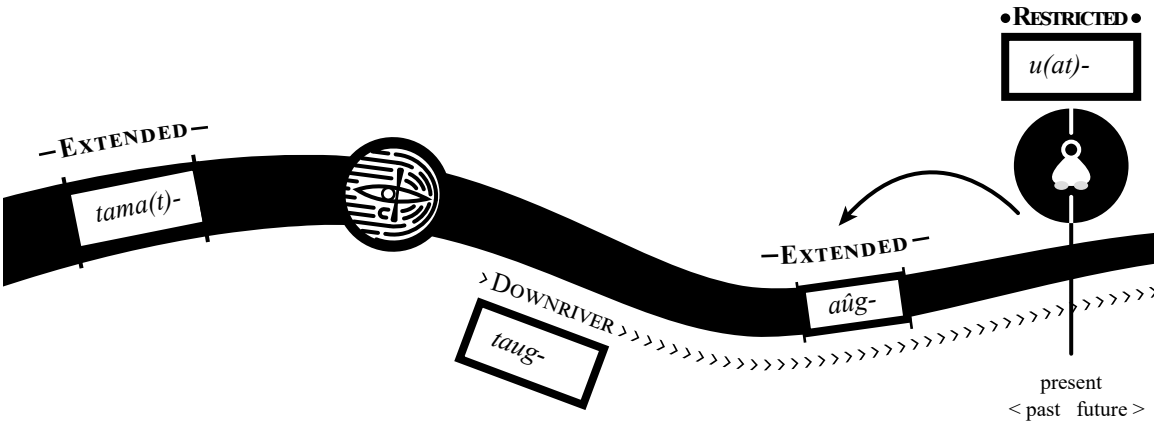


Figure 3.16: Temporal Demonstrative Forms

Two important and frequently utilized demonstratives within this temporal domain serve to construct the metaphor TIME IS A LANDSCAPE. Both of these demonstratives utilize geocentric semantics. The first *aug-*, is a direct, extended, peripersonal, absolute geocentric demonstrative. The second *taug-*, is an approaching, relative allocentric demonstrative which is derived from *ug-* which is a riverine, restricted, extrapersonal, absolute geocentric demonstrative. These two demonstratives serve as the foundation for this temporal metaphor. Importantly *taug-*, is almost always used in the temporal domains with only one example of it used spatially in the NSKY corpus.

Through an examination of the context of demonstrative use in the NSKY corpus, the core underlying temporal metaphor emerges, TIME IS A RIVER. The Yugtun physical landscape is dominated by the Yukon River delta, and daily life is situated on and along the river. The river is so salient that one of the four Yugtun demonstrative absolute directions is *riverine*. The mapping of this central spatial feature, that of a moving river, onto the temporal domain, is important for the intepretation of these demonstratives. Moving through time is conceptualized as moving down a river such that events move forward through the temporal landscape, like a river from its source to its outlet. We, as the speakers, are standing on the banks of the river and can point backward or forward from our own perspective to different temporal events if we use the deictic intrinsic frame of reference. Accordingly, the past flows toward us, and the future flows away from us. Thus, we also see the conceptual metaphor TIME IS A

MOVING OBJECT, like objects in a river (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Within this model, the *present* is linguistically defined as the time of utterance coextensive with the location in time of the speech-act participants (Frawley, 1992). This entails that the ground is the speaker. Thus, the present is egocentric in its most basic interpretation. A figure in the present is located at the time of the utterance. It comes as no surprise, then, that the Yugtun system employs the intrinsic demonstratives as indicators of a present figure in the temporal landscape. The *past*, by contrast, construes the figure as occurring at an earlier location along the temporal river. Thus, the ground is the temporal landscape and is oriented from the speaker's deictic projection. To index a past figure, an absolute direct peripersonal demonstrative is used. By using the relative frame of reference combined with the absolute frame of reference, Yugtun can shift the origo from the present to a particular place or person within the temporal landscape and the language can thereby index past figures in relation to past temporal events as happening in the contextual present.

In addition to the above riverine temporal metaphor, Yugtun extends the figure's shape into the temporal domain. Thus, events can be construed as a point in time which is restricted, or a period of bounded time which is extended, or a period flowing through time which is approaching. This temporal shape affects how we view the event figure.

The restricted intrinsic demonstrative *u(at)-* is used temporally to establish the present moment, as in (114). I translate this use as *'at this time'* or *'right now.'* This demonstrative is the most common temporal demonstrative used to index a present figure in the corpus. When used within temporal space *ua(t)-* collocates consistently with the enclitics *-wa* and *-gga*. These two enclitics are discussed in more depth in Chapter Four and are anaphoric/cataphoric.

(114) *Tauguam* ***waniwa*** *waten, tuaten pisuirulluteng, tamatumek-llu makunek, aki- akia- akiilirlartut kepulallretnek tamakunek, pisuirutengluteng* ***watawa****.*

Tauguam	***waniwa,***	*waten*	*tuaten*
ta-ug-u=am	**u-a-ni=wa**	u-a-ten	t-u-a-ten
R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH	**IE-FL-LOC=ANA**	IE-FL-ÆQL	R<IE-FL-ÆQL

pisuirulluteng,	*tamatumek-llu*
pi-suiru-lu-teg-t	ta-mat-u-ø-mek=llu
do-no.longer-APP-4.NOMA-PL	R<IX-OF.SG-SG-ABL.SG=COO

makunek,	*aki-*	*akia-*
ma-ku-t-nek,	aki-	aki-a-
IX-OF.NS-T-ABL,	money-*sttr*	money-ITR-*sttr*

akiilirlartut
aking-a-lir-lar-gur-t
money-ITR-one.who-HAB-IND.IN-PL

kepulallretnek *tamakunek,*
kepu-la-llr-ngi-t-nek ta-ma-ku-t-nek
buy-HAB-CNJ.(whenever)-3.NOMA.PL-PL-ABL R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABL

pisuirutengluteng ***watawa.***
pi-suirute-nga-lu-teg-t **uat-a=wa**
do-no.longer-PFV-APP-4.NOMA-PL **IE-FL=ANA**

'However, **right now**, like this like that they don't do it anymore, those things and these things, money... getting money..., they would earn money whenever they (others) would buy those things, now they do not do that anymore, **right now**.'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.3)

In (114), there are two temporal demonstratives used to index a present event as the figure in contrast to the speaker who is the ground and origo: *waniwa* and *watawa*. Both forms are being used to index the present moment. The first is a locative demonstrative pronoun, and the second is a demonstrative particle. Both, however, derive from the base *u(at)-*, which is intrinsic, egocentric, and restricted. Thus, the ground for the frame of reference is the speaker Aciangaq (AA), who also serves as the frame's origo. The figure is the present moment at the time of speaking when things are done differently than they were in the past. The figure is seen not as a period of time but as a moment of time, a restricted point. He is thus using an egocentric frame of reference and a restricted demonstrative to pinpoint this particular moment in time. This indexation of the present moment is straightforward and functions as expected.

A note about this utterance is that it is the form *watawa* which prompts this analysis to posit the intrinsic restricted demonstrative base to be *u(at)-* instead of the *u-* used the traditional literature. There is no way to account for the internal *at* part of the syllable in this form without proposing this alternate base. This alternate base also better lines up with the intrinsic extended base *ma(t)-*. The most frequent form of this demonstrative base in use, however, is *u-*.

Additionally, in this utterance, two great examples of the interplay between the spatial deictic intrinsic and spatial deictic relative demonstratives working together to construe a relative distance contrast similar to *proximal* and *distal*, are extracted and shown in (115). This proximal-distal construal, as discussed, is not an inherent semantic property of either frame of reference, but by juxtaposing the two frames side-by-side in an utterance, a distance contrast can be interpreted.

(115) a.

waten,	*tuaten*	*pisuirulluteng*
u-a-ten	t-u-a-ten	pi-suiru-lu-teg-t
IE-FL-FL.ÆQL,	R<IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	do-no.longer-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'like this, like that, they do not do it anymore.'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.3)

b.

tamatumek-llu	*makunek*
ta-mat-u-ø-mek=llu	ma-ku-t-nek
R<IX-OF.SG-SG-ABL.SG=COO	IX-OF.NS-PL-ABL

'those things and these things'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.3)

In both of the phrases in (115), the juxtaposition between a pragmatically interpreted proximal and distal figure is established not through the use of proximal and distal demonstratives, which do not occur in Yugtun, but rather through an intrinsic and a relative frame of reference demonstrative pointing to the same figure. By contrasting these two frames of reference in apposition to each other, the speaker construes a more prototypical relative distance contrast similar to the demonstrative typology posited in Chapter One, Section 1.2 and in Chapter Three, Section 3.2.

In the corpus, the restricted form is the most prevalent. However, the extended form is also seen functioning temporally in (116). As Yugtun does use morphologically different demonstratives to index time as opposed to space, the interpretation of these demonstratives is often ambiguous with a translation of either *here* or *now* available. To disambiguate these two conceptual domains Yugtun often uses a special demonstrative N-gram to indicate a temporal construal and thus to disambiguate: DEMONSTRATIVE + *nalliini*. *Nalliini* is a particle which translates as 'at this time' with the construal of the word *this* being determined by the collocating demonstrative.

(116) *Tauguam tuani,* ***matum nalliini****, tayima akiikaq tayima, augkut calilriit awani elluarluku caliaqenilameggtegu tamartuq, tauguam ataam unakengunarkait.*

Tauguam	*tuani,*	***matum***
ta-ug-u=am	t-u-a-ni	**mat-u-ø-m**
R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH	R<IE-FL-LOC	**IX-OF.SG-SG-ERG.SG**

nalliini,	*tayima*	*akiikaq*	*tayima,*
nalliini	ta-im-a	akii-kaq-ø-ø	ta-im-a,
at.that.time	R<IØ-FL	money-unrealized-SG-ABS	R<IØ-FL,

augkut	*calilriit*	*awani*
aug-ku-t-ø	cali-lria-nga-t	aw-a-ni
AXSP-OF.NS-PL-ABS	work-PART.IN-3.NOMA-PL	AXSP-FL-LOC

elluarluku
elluar-lu-ku-ø
perfect-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG

caliaqenilameggtegu *tamartuq,*
caliaqe-ni-la-ø-meg-t-ku-ø tamar-gur-ø
done.task-claim-HAB-CNJ(COP)-4.ERGA-PL-3.ACCA.SG-SG all-IND.IN-SG

tauguam *ataam*
ta-ug-u=am ataam
R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH again

unakengunarkait.
unake-ngu-nar-ka-ngi-t
obtain-COP-CAUS-PART.TR-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL

'Only back then, **at this time** when it was all gone, all the money was gone - those working hard across there aren't done with all of it, only if they consider granting it again.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:146)

(116) is similar to the analysis of the demonstrative in (113) in that the demonstrative used, *matum*, is being used to index a physical event that happened back in time. The temporal interpretation arises from the collocation *matum nallini* 'at the time of.' Thus, this is best translated as 'at the time of this event' whereby the event 'the money is gone' is the figure grounded egocentrically against the speaker Amiksuwin (MH) at the time indicated by the relative demonstrative *tuani* 'back then.' As such, Amiksuwin first displaces his ego into the past event he is talking about and then uses a extended intrinsic demonstrative to index a period of time in the past egocentrically. This is important because the intrinsic demonstratives do not convey information about relative distance by themselves but instead rely on context to do so. Thus we can translate this either as 'only then, at this time' or as 'only then, at that time.' Because Yugtun demonstratives do not encode relative distance, there is no relative distance between the figure and Amiksuwin. However, we know contextually that it is within his life's narrative and grounded against his life. Moreover, the figure is a period of time which is extended, as opposed to a moment of time which is restricted. This figure represents a period of community development in his life which came to an end within his life.

The past is where the conceptual metaphor becomes more interesting as Yugtun uses this kind of temporal displacement to speak about the past from different perspectives. The interpretation of events in the past depends on the frame of reference used and the shape of the temporal figure. Instead of pointing to the past from an egocentric

perspective, the past is construed as a landscape, like a river. Past figures are then referenced allocentrically by referencing either the landscape itself as the ground object or a different moment of time as the ground landmark. This is important because the present-time is when the figure occurs at the same time as the ground. Thus if the ground is shifted onto a past event which is then used to index an event that occurs at the same time as that past event, a present-time interpretation is made, not a past-time. Three demonstratives are used to this end to index past figures from different perspectives. The relative extended demonstrative *tama-*, which I translate as *'during this time'* in (117) and (118), the absolute extended peripersonal demonstrative *aw-* 'over a landmark,' which I translate as *'back then'* in (119) and (120), and the relative/absolute riverine/approaching demonstrative *taug-* 'downriver/towards the exit,' which I translate as *'from then on'* in (121) and (122). *tama-* and *aw-* both establish bounded periods of time while *taug-* establishes a point in time from which time moves towards the speaker. Shown above in (95 d), the demonstrative *uk-* is also shown being used to index the future from a past time period, but with only one example, I do not include the future in this more detailed analysis of temporal demonstration.

Starting with the relative demonstrative frame of reference, *tama(t)-*, in (117), the figure in time is bounded as a period by which the speaker's field of view must metaphorically shift horizontally to take in the whole event.

(117) Cali-llu, **wani-gga** angasuqaarema anertekellemeggni, **tamaani** qanruqulalluangnga, waten **wani**, qayuga eglerellerkamnek.

Cali-llu,	***wani-gga***	*angasuqaarema*
cali=llu	**u-a-ni=gga**	angasuqaare-g-m-a-ø
also=COO	**IE-FL-LOC=CAT**	parent-DU-1.ERGA-SG.LF.1-ABS

anertekellemeggni,	***tamaani***
anerteke-llr-meg-t-ni	**ta-ma-a-ni**
live-CNJ.(when)-4.ERGA-T-LOC	**R<IX-FL-LOC**

qanruqulalluangnga,	*waten*	***wani,***
qanru-qu-la-llu-gar-nga-t-nga-ø	u-a-ten	**u-a-ni**
tell-ITR-HAB-PST-IND.TR-3.ERGA-PL-1.ABSA-SG	IE-FL-ÆQL	**IE-FL-LOC**

qayuga	*eglerellerkamnek.*
qayuga	eglere-llerka-t-m-t-nek
how	move-FUT-PL-1.ERGA-PL-ABL

'Moreover, **now** when both my parents were alive, **during this time/then** they used to always tell me, like this **now**, how we should go on our walks of life (move to the future).'

In (117), Aciangaq (AA) uses two temporal demonstratives, *tamaani*, and *wani* used twice. For the first instance of *wani*, the figure is *anertekellemeggni* 'when they were alive.' This is construed egocentrically using an intrinsic demonstrative which frames the event as a restricted moment in time and situates the speaker within this contextually defined origo such that both he and his parents are alive at the same time. In contrast to this, his next demonstrative *tamaani* displaces the origo from himself and onto this previous moment in time. The ground and origo are now 'when they were alive,' and the event figure is *qanruqulalluangnga*, 'they always used to tell me,' which is a series of events over a period of time. Thus *tamaani* is extended. Furthermore, as the figure is grounded against a temporal event in the past that is not the speaker in the present, it uses the relative and allocentric form. The second use of *wani* is comparing those past moments of knowledge sharing using a relative frame of reference to the present moment using an intrinsic frame of reference where Aciangaq is sharing with me his knowledge of the Yup'ik way of life. In this third temporal demonstrative, the figure is the current conversation that the speaker is narrating, where he is discussing the Yup'ik way of life. Thus the figure is 'like this now [very conversation],' and the ground and the origo are the speaker himself, which is why the intrinsic egocentric restricted point in time demonstrative is used.

The relative frame of reference temporal demonstrative *tama(t)-* tends to collocate with a temporal particle in my corpus. It can occur with *nallini* 'at the time of,' shown above, or it can occur in another expression using *ak'a* 'a long time ago,' and in (118). As temporal demonstratives usually do not inflect differently than spatial demonstratives, except for *watawa*, it makes sense that the temporal semantics would be optionally strengthened with a collocating temporal particle.

(118) **Ak'a tamaani**, Tuaten-guq qunguicilallruut, nunamun laagutevkenaku.

Ak'a	***tamaani,***	*Tuaten-guq*
akka	**ta-ma-a-ni**,	t-u-a-ten=gguq
long.ago	**R<IX-FL-LOC**	R<IE-FL-FL.ÆQL=QUOT

qunguicilallruut,	*nunamun*
qungu-ici-la-llru-gur-t	nuna-ø-mun
grave-have.no-HAB-PST-IND.IN-PL	village-SG-ALL

laagutevkenaku.
laag-ute-vke-na-ku-ø
dig-reciprocally-NEG-APP.NEG-3.ACCA.SG-SG

'**during this time/then, a long time ago**, it is said they wouldn't dig the grave in the village.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:83.1-83.2)

(118) uttered by Waralria (CM) discusses the burial practices from long ago when people were buried in a sitting position away from town. The figure is extended and represents a historical period in time rather than a particular event. The ground is displaced from the speaker and onto a non-specific allocentric time period. Similar to the spatial demonstratives, the relative frame of reference when indexing time does not indicate relative distance from the origo or ground. It merely brings joint attention to the figure within the timeline. Instead, the relative distance in this utterance is interpreted through the collocating particle, which also serves to establish the ground in this case, *ak'a* 'a long time ago.' Using this particle, the speaker can disambiguate the temporal domain from the spatial domain, establish the ground, and construe a relative distance from the present moment. A similar utterance is found from Amiksuwin (MH) in (119), but the particle *ak'a* is collocating with the absolute frame of reference instead.

(119) Yuuyaranek makunek, **ak'a awani** miklemni ayaglua, qanrulallruatnga qayuga yuuk, qayuga anglikuma yuuyarkamnek.

Yuuyaranek	*makunek,*	***ak'a***	***awani***
yuu-yara-nek	ma-ku-nek,	**akka**	**aw-a-ni**
life-way.of-ABL	IX-OF.NS-ABL,	**long.ago**	**AXSP-FL-LOC**,

miklemni	*ayaglua,*
mikl-a-m-ø-ni	ayagni-lu-a,
small-CNJ(when)-1.ERGA-SG-LOC	begin-APP-SG.LF

qanrulallruatnga	*qayuga*	*yuuk,*
qanru-la-llru-gar-nga-t-nga-ø	qayuga	yuug-ø-ø,
tell-HAB-PST-IND.TR-3.ERGA-PL-1.ABSA.SG-SG	how	person-SG-ABS,

qayuga	*anglikuma*
qayuga	angli-ku-m-a-ø
how	grow.up-CNJ(if)-1.ERGA-SG.LF-ABS

yuuyarkamnek.
yuu-yar-ka-ø-m-ø-nek
live-would-TEL-SG-1.ERGA-SG-ABL

'Along this Yup'ik way of life, **long ago back then** in my beginning, when I was small, they often told me how I would come to be a person, how I will grow up and live the Yup'ik way of life.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:6)

Ak'a, in (119), is achieving the same purposes: it disambiguates the spatial domain from the temporal domain, establishes the ground, and construes a relative distance between the viewer and the absolute extended, peripersonal demonstrative *aug/w-*. As an absolute demonstrative, the ground is displaced onto the temporal landscape. It mainly indexes a figure across a temporal period of time but is still accessible within the speaker's peripersonal perceptual space. The figure is 'in my beginning/when I was young'; thus, the landmark or grounding object between the origo, which is the temporal landscape and the figure is the period of time when he was growing up. It is still in his peripersonal space because he has cognitive and emotional access to this memory from direct lived experience; the memory is graspable. The figure is also not a point in his life but a stage or a period of his life and thus is indicated as extended. The metaphorical grounding landmark on the temporal landscape is 'long ago when I was small.' The origo from which the absolute frame of reference unfolds is the speaker. Thus we can interpret this utterance as a distal-like but peripersonal period in the speaker's life that is grounded as being across his temporal timeline from where he currently is and adjacent to the temporal landmark of his youth. Thereby the conceptual metaphor of TIME IS A LANDSCAPE reveals itself.

The use of *aw-* within this temporal landscape is also shown in (120) but without the use of the collocating temporal particle.

(120) *Qasigmi, maqilallruut tamaani, augkut* ***awani*** *ak'allaraat pissuryaramek, pissurarqameng.*

Qasigmi,	*maqilallruut*	*tamaani,*
qasig-ø-mi	maqi-la-llru-gur-t	ta-ma-a-ni
men's.house-SG-LOC.SG	steam.bath-HAB-PST-IND.IN-PL	R<IX-FL-LOC

augkut	***awani***	*ak'allaraat*	*pissuryaramek,*
aug-ku-t-ø	**aug-a-ni**	akkallaraa-t-ø	pissur-yara-ø-mek
AXSP-OF.NS-PL-ABS	**AXSP-FL-LOC**	old.person-PL-ABS	hunt-way.of-SG-ABL

pissurarqameng.
pissur-arqa-meg-t-ø
hunt-CNJ(CONST)-4.ERGA-PL-ABS

'In the men's house, the steam house there, those Elders **back then** would [talk about] the way of hunting, how they hunt.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:11)

In (120), from Amiksuwin (MH), *aug/w-* is used to index a period in the past. As mentioned above, the demonstrative being used here is an absolute frame of reference, which indicates that the figure is over on the other side of temporal space. The

temporal space that must be crossed is from the present moment to the point when the figure took place in the past, which is indicated as *augkut ak'allaraat* 'those Elders' referring to those in Caniliaq when there was still a men's house when Amiksuwin was growing up. The figure is indicated as being an extended period of time, indicating that this activity of talking about hunting during a steambath was a regular activity that took place over a period of time but then stopped and is no longer occurring. The figure, however, is peripersonal to Amiksuwin because he does remember it and does so fondly. Thus, it can be seen that a person's timeline functions as a landmark for grounding events that happened at various points in their lives. However, they do not center these topics on themselves because, as in this case, they did not participate in the activity themselves, and thus, the utterance cannot be egocentric.

The conceptual metaphor extends from TIME IS A LANDMARK to TIME IS A RIVER when we also consider that TIME IS IN MOTION. As discussed in section 3.2, Inuit languages and Norton Sound Unalit Yup'ik maintain a fully productive *ta-* prefix across the entire demonstrative inventory, thereby allowing all of the absolute frame of reference demonstratives to shift the origo from the viewer to some other entity in the relative frame of reference. Thus, there is a full extension of the absolute into the relative frame of reference. However, in General Yup'ik, only two relative frame of reference demonstratives are officially acknowledged within the demonstrative system: *tau(at)-* and *tama(t)-*, both from the intrinsic frame of reference. In Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun, there is another[8] *taug-* 'downriver/towards the exit,' which needs to be included due to its use in the deictic relative frame of reference system and frequent use within the temporal and discourse domains of use. The use of this demonstrative *taug-* is what allows the TIME IS A FLOWING RIVER to appear.

As evidenced in (120), *aug/w-* indicates that the figure is across a temporal period grounded against a temporal landmark within the frame of reference. This establishes the origo as the landscape across which the figure is located within peripersonal space to the speaker. *Taug-*, by contrast, situates the origo as the river of time and indicates that the figure is on the river and moving downriver. Time is flowing downriver towards the speaker (in the present) and onwards into the future, or the 'exit.' The ground is a temporal landmark, mainly a beginning point along the river of time. Furthermore, the origo uses the speaker's deictic projection to orient the flow of time. Additionally, being derived from an extrapersonal demonstrative, *taug-* places the figure in extrapersonal space to the speaker. This can be seen clearly in Kiicaq's (MP) story in (121), where he tells of a legendary past event that gave a nearby river its

[8]In fact as I show later, NSKY also uses *ta(y)im-* frequently in discourse and thus Figure 3.11 shows four demonstratives *tayim-*, *tau(at)-*, *tama(t)-*, and *taug-*.

name.

(121) ***Taugkun-llu**, tauna kuik Kaikvayagmek, acirsaurluku.*

***Taugkun-llu**,*	*tauna*	*kuik*
ta-ug-kun=llu	ta-u-na-ø-ø	kuik-ø-ø
R<AERD-PRL=COO	R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	river-SG-ABS

Kaikvayagmek,	*acirsaurluku.*
Kaikvayak-ø-mek	acir-saur-lu-ku-ø
Kaikvayaq-SG-ABL.SG	named-now-APPC-3.ACCA.SG-SG

'**From then on**, that river was named Kaikvayak.'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:8.3)

This demonstrative in (121) is indexing a point in time which was the starting point for something still happening today. Namely, at the point in time when the hero defeated the enemy on this particular river, the river was named after him and is still named after him today. Thus the figure is the point in time when the river was named, and it is a restricted point in time. The ground is the time when this particular battle took place. The origo is *Kaikvayak*, the hero of the story. The origo is embedded not in the real world but in the textual story world where *kaikvayak* is located. Thus, this event is in Kaikvayak's peripersonal space, but it is in Kiicaq's extrapersonal space, as this is a legendary figure. However, the actions of Kaikvayak continue to flow down the temporal river from that point onwards and are still remembered today through the river's name. Thus we see that the river of time metaphorically flows towards us and that temporal events can flow downriver to have lasting effects on the present and future. As such, I translate the temporal demonstrative as *'from then/now on...'*.

In (122) from Waralria (CM), the same construal is formed using this demonstrative.

(122) *Wangkuta, **taugkun** pillemteni, schoolar-istaunateng.*

wangkuta,	***taugkun***	*pillemteni,*
wangkuta	**ta-ug-kun**	pi-lle-m-t-ni
we	**R<AERD-PRL**	do-CNJ(CONTEMP)-1.ERGA-PL-LOC

schoolar-istaunateng.
schoolar-ista-u-na-teg-t.
school-worker-COP-APP.NEG-4.NOMA-PL

'**From then on**, we did it this way whenever there weren't any school teachers.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:136.4)

This is her (CM) life's narrative rather than a legend, but the frame of reference is similar. The temporal demonstrative *taug-* is being used to index a defining point in the past from which time altered course and remains in the altered state to this day. This utterance additionally cooccurs with a temporal noun *pillemteni*, 'in our future doing,' which helps to verify that from the past point she is indexing, time is moving upriver towards the present; the past is moving downriver towards us. In this story, she discusses the time in her youth when there were no school teachers. Thus, the figure is 'when there were no school teachers,' conceived as a momentary state rather than a period of time. On one side of the figure, the state of the world was different than on the other side. The ground is the river of time which flows towards the future. The origo is allocentrically displaced onto her classmates in that earlier time. She is telling this story as though she is an observer rather than a participant. Thus, while this happened to her, she views it in her extrapersonal space.

These examples show a complex deictic temporal world, even though most of the spatial demonstrative bases are eliminated from the temporal system. In fact, only four demonstrative bases are functioning temporally in the language in my corpus, yet time is still able to flow vividly through a temporal landscape. This further solidifies the idea that temporal demonstrative space is conceived through a conceptual metaphor. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit, the conceptual metaphor will only ever be a partial mapping. If the source domain were fully mapped onto the target domain, they would be the same system. And in Yugtun, the spatial demonstratives are only partially mapped onto time. The system ignores irrelevant conceptualizations of space, such as inside/outside or obscured. Time is not obscured, which is why Yugtun speakers can discuss events in time, and there is no delineation in time in the same way that there is in space. There is also no up or down. However, a conceptual metaphor is also systematic, meaning that the salient functions in one domain carry over to the target domain. This is why we can understand the target domain through the source domain. And we do see all three frames of reference through which we conceptualize the physical space carries over into the temporal space as well as the riverine directional system, which is salient in Kotlik's way of life.

Yugtun speakers conceptualize temporal space in a similar way as they conceptualize physical space. Speakers can index figures in time and locate them against salient events within their own time as well as within cultural time, showing that this metaphor, while in some ways universal, is also constructed through a cultural lens. Speakers can further establish whether the figure should be construed as a bounded

period in time or a point in time. As such, speakers can indicate the figure's telicity in time. In other words, through the appropriate use of demonstrative forms, the listener understands whether the temporal figure is a bounded period in time that has finished as in *tama(t)-* or an unbounded period in time that is still progressing in the present as in *taug-*. Thus Yugtun's three demonstrative frames of reference combined with the conceptual metaphor allow for a robust and systematic means of pointing to temporal space. This temporal space is conceptualized as a landscape through which the river of time runs. Time runs from upriver towards us and downriver to the exit in the future.

Unfortunately, this corpus has no narrative that indexes time in the future beyond the example in (99), which is a construal of the future from a past perspective. Future analysis will have to examine how the metaphor carries over past the present and towards the future, downriver, and which additional demonstrative bases, if any, are coopted to this function. Miyaoka (2012), asserts that the demonstrative *uk-* 'the one approaching' is used to index points in the future, which is verified in (99) in my corpus in an indirect way. Jacobson and Jacobson (1995) posit that *uk-* is the spatial opposite of *aug/w-* in their demonstrative analysis. Thus, using *uk-* to index points in the future is felicitous with the metaphor as *aug/w-* points across a temporal space to index past events as in (119) and (120). While *aug/w-* is used to index points in the past because there is a temporal field between the speaker and the figure, and the figure is peripersonal to the speaker's perceptual space. *uk-* is used to index points in the future as the future is grounded against the speaker, as no landscape has formed yet against which to ground the hypothetical future figure, and as it is coming towards the speaker. It also adds to the metaphor that as time flows towards us like a river, we travel on that river, and the future approaches us as we move forward. Temporally, *uk-* might be used to index future events due to the metaphors that TIME IS A RIVER and TIME IS IN MOTION and the construal that the future is a point approaching from an egocentric intrinsic frame of reference.

This section has shown that the temporal landscape, as showcased by Yugtun demonstratives, can be traversed to reach temporal events located in the speaker's and culture's cognition. Moreover, Yugtun can change the perspective of time and displace the speaker as the ground and place the ground onto past events and characters themselves as though they are happening in the present even though the event occurred in the past, as in (117). In addition, salient events can change the course of the temporal river and establish defining points in time along the river, as in (121). This temporal demonstrative space is a rich ecosystem that can be explored and deserves much more attention.

3.4.3 Endophoric demonstratives: DISCOURSE IS A RIVER

Pushing the conceptual metaphor beyond the temporal domain, the Yugtun language also employs demonstrative bases in *discourse space*. Discourse is a thematically cohesive body of utterances or larger-than-clausal units in context (Berge, 1997). Within this domain, demonstratives are used to index sections of discourse and bring them into joint attention. Instead of functioning exophorically, pointing to figures in real physical or temporal space or pointing through *deixis am phantasma* to physical or temporal figures in imagined textual space, these demonstratives are used endophorically. *Endophoric* demonstratives point to the discourse itself and treat it as a conceptual space of its own. This is more specifically referred to as discourse deixis. Anaphor, a special type of endophoric demonstrative use introduced in Chapter One, is discussed in context in Chapter Four, as anaphor relies on larger discursive units. The purpose of this section, in particular, is to model the discourse space and identify the characteristics of the conceptual metaphor which is used to construct the space.

Discourse deixis extends the TIME IS A RIVER metaphor and asserts that THE SPEECH STREAM IS A RIVER that flows forward toward the exit or end of the discourse. The demonstrative bases used within this domain are even more reduced than those used for the temporal domain. The demonstrative bases are all drawn from the relative frame of reference, as the deictic orientation must be projected onto the discourse. Only three of the relative demonstratives in Figure (3.11)[9] function within discourse space, *tayim-*, *tau(at)-*, and *taug-*. Again, the use of *taug-* is the key to understanding the force of this metaphor. These three demonstrative bases are the relative obscured, restricted, and approaching demonstratives. This mapping of the relative frame of reference onto discourse space is consistent with the metaphor of a river and the new target domain of the discourse. The ground is not the speaker and thus egocentric but is rather allocentrically the discourse landscape itself. When grounding an utterance, it is related not to objects or locations in the physical or temporal space but instead to the discourse as a whole: that which was said before and that which is said after. Thus it is not surprising that the deictic absolute frame of reference demonstratives are also not employed in this domain, as discourse does not have boundaries or elevation. Additionally, as the origo is located on the present point of the discourse stream and the discourse receives its deictic orientation from the speaker (S), and in the case of *taug-* through the additional projection of the river in the landscape (L), a relative-absolute geocentric frame of reference is constructed as in

[9]There is one use of *uk-* also, but its use is debatable between an anaphor and a discourse deictic, and it was considered a speech error by my translator, so its use is omitted for now.

Figure 3.8, with the extra projection between speaker and landscape schematized as:

$$[\text{S} \dashrightarrow \text{L} \dashrightarrow \text{Discourse}]{=}\text{G/Origo} \rightarrow F$$

Interestingly, these demonstratives used in discourse deixis, through the translations provided by my consultant, Theresa George, seem to have assumed stance-taking pragmatics as well. Stance is defined as how the speaker positions themselves in relation to the social discourse that is occurring (J. W. Du Bois, 2007). Through stance-taking, interlocutors are able to gauge the speaker's emotional evaluation of the topic of discourse. This marking asserts the speaker's socio-emotional stance towards the object of discourse, whether that is joy, disgust, or hope.

The obscured demonstrative form *tayim-* points to the next utterance with a desiderative intent. Primarily it is used within the grammaticalized semantic boundaries of 'hopefully.' Grammaticalization is discussed in Chapter Four, but even within this restricted domain of use, the frame of reference of *tayim-* as a discourse particle is still evident. It indexes the upcoming but not yet visible or spoken utterance as a figure whose outcome is desired but not yet realized in the physical world as in (123).

(123) ***Tayima**, una-wani unevkaraqlallikiit tamakut.*

***Tayima**,*	*una-wani*
ta-im-a	u-na-ø-ø-u-a-ni
R<IØ-FL	IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS-IK-FL-LOC

unevkaraqlallikiit	*tamakut.*
univkaraq-la-lli-ka-nga-t	ta-ma-ku-t-ø
legend-HAB-maybe-PART.TR-3.NOMA.SGCOM-PL	R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS

'**Hopefully**, this one here will maybe share this tale of these things.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:101.2)

In (123), The speaker (CM) has projected their deictic orientation onto the discourse stream, which is the ground. The origo is the current utterance. The figure is indexed as an upcoming utterance which is not yet visible. In this case, it is 'this one here will maybe share the tale of these things.' The speaker is taking a desiderative stance towards this utterance coming true in the real world.

Tayim- is not productive as a spatial, temporal, or discourse demonstrative. It is almost always translated as 'hopefully.' However, within the frame of reference, the function of 'hopefully' still has a discourse deictic function. In (100) there are a few instances where it is also used spatially as 'elsewhere,' but this use is rare.

Much more frequently, the restricted demonstrative *tau(at)-* is used to point to an adjacent utterance in the speech stream. This is usually the very next utterance which is about to be spoken. The speaker uses *tau(at)-* to bring the following statement, the figure, into the joint attention of the viewers, the speaker and the interlocutor, by grounding it to the discourse as a whole. An example is shown in (124) from Amiksuwin.

(124) ***Tua-llu*** *taugken tuani aiyagluteng, piuraqluteng ukunek high-school-aneng naparciluteng mani.*

Tua-llu	*taugken*	*tuani*	*aiyagluteng,*
t-u-a=llu	ta-ug-ken	t-u-a-ni	aiyag-lu-teg-t,
R<IE-FL=COO	R<AERD-ABL	R<IE-FL-LOC	begin-APP-4.NOMA-PL

piuraqluteng	*ukunek*	*highschool-aneng*
piuraq-lu-teg-t	u-ku-t-nek	highschoolar-t-meg-t-ø
keep.on-APP-4.NOMA-PL	IE-OF.NS-PL-ABL	highschool-PL-4.ERGA-PL-ABS

naparciluteng	*mani.*
napar-ci-lu-teg-t	ma-a-ni
erect-FUT-APP-4.NOMA-PL	IX-FL-LOC

'**And then**, from then on, there, they began to make those, their highschools, they built them here.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:88)

In (124), the relative demonstrative *tau(at)-* is used to index the entire sentence into the viewer's joint attention, thereby establishing contrast with the last utterance in the discourse. The figure is the utterance that is about to be said and the speaker (MH) has projected their deictic orientation onto the discourse stream, which is the ground. *Tau(at)-* does not seem to make overt stance marking but rather is used to maintain cohesion across a topic.

Finally, *taug-*, in (125) again rounds out the discourse system demonstratives and draws the riverine metaphor through to this new domain of discourse. *Taug-* in a spatial sense refers to a figure downriver from the origo, and in a temporal sense refers to a figure moving along the river of time towards the exit, or end of the speech-act. In a discourse context, it is often translated as 'however,' which is a discourse coordinator with stance-taking pragmatics used to contrast one utterance to the next. The speaker is effectively saying: 'however, pay attention to this.' This creates a semblance of moving discourse whereby both the previous and the next utterance are in the field of view, and the speaker is transitioning from one idea to a contrasting one. Similar to both discourse demonstratives discussed above, the frame of reference still highlights

its deictic function by bringing the utterance into joint attention. The function of *taug-* is to index the next utterance and bring it into joint attention not as a perceptually adjacent utterance but as a contrastive state of affairs. This discourse figure is moving away from the last utterance and is distanced from it as though it is falling behind upstream.

(125) *Aatavut* ***tauguam*** *tauna, egaaqeluni*

Aatavut	***tauguam***
aata-ø-ku-t-ø	**ta-ug-u=am**
father-SG-1.NOMA-PL-ABS	**R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH**

tauna,	*egaaqeluni*
ta-u-na-ø-ø	egaaqe-lu-ni-ø
R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	cook.food-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG

'Our father, **however**, this one cooked food'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:118.4)

In (125), spoken by Waralria (CM), she is shifting narrative focus away from herself and onto the figure. She is bringing the new utterance into joint attention and creating space between it and the last utterance or between how the Elders did things and how the youth do things today. This is accomplished not with a distal or extrapersonal demonstrative, as the relative frame of reference does not include semantics for either. However, she uses an approaching, moving, riverine demonstrative to mark that perceptual distance grounded against the discourse itself as the origo.

These three demonstratives together form a comprehensive, although heavily reduced, spatial metaphor within the discourse space. In doing so, the textual world becomes as 3-dimensional as the physical or temporal world.

3.5 The lexical semantics of demonstratives

In Chapter One of this dissertation, I presented an overview of the notion of deixis and demonstratives. Deixis generally refers to a linguistic pointing gesture for the purpose of indexation, while demonstratives are the linguistic encapsulation of that pointing gesture to bring interlocutors into joint attention (Diessel, 1999a). In this discussion, demonstratives were identified as among some of the first words learned by children as indexicals which serve a focalizing function before eventually developing deictic semantics and expanding from there (Tanz, 1980). These features of joint attention and deixis, however, are not comprehensive lexical features, and these deictic words rely on context to individuate their referent (W. Hanks, 2011). Part of this

extra-lexical context is an overly simplistic notion of the spatial (viewer-centred) frame of reference that asserts that in deictic lexemes, the speech participants function as the origo, the object of attention is the figure and that demonstrative systems utilize multiple words to form relative-distance contrasts (Diessel, 1999a). This system suggests that deixis prioritizes the viewer, and beyond that, frames of reference are nonessential to the interpretation of a deictic word.

The most salient concept within the demonstrative literature is instead the idea that deictics are used to convey a contextually dependent notion of relative distance from the viewer. Some languages only have a single joint attention word while other languages can develop a scalar set of deictics which may additionally take into account the interlocutor of the speech event (Diessel, 1999a). This *proximal-distal* typology of the scalar notion of deictics underpins the semantic interpretation of demonstrative words and holds that demonstratives are only meaningful within the confines of the linguistic system they populate. That is, a proximal demonstrative is only understood as a proximal because another demonstrative in the system is distal. Thus, an understanding of the use of a demonstrative in context also requires an understanding of the demonstrative system as a whole and how each member relates to the rest. These relational contours of use for each member within the system become as important as the holistic system.

Beyond this deictic *proximal-distal* typology, demonstratives have been shown to function exophorically, that is, pointing to figures outside of the speech event, and endophorically pointing to figures that comprise the speech event itself (Diessel, 1999a). Demonstratives also function across lexical and syntactic categories and readily grammaticalize into new functions (Diessel, 1999a; Kuteva et al., 2019).

3.5.1 Frames of reference discussion

Examining the demonstrative paradigm presented in General Standard Yup'ik, shown in Section 3.2 Figure 3.2, the Yup'ik demonstratives and their treatment are squeezed into this distance-first typology and can exhibit the deictic features we expect to see but in a superficial way. Much of the system's complexity comes from its treatment as an artifact extracted from connected speech and composed into a sterile chart that relies too heavily on the expected typology. The system is viewed under these simplistic distance contrasts and leaves much of the semantic meaning and pragmatic power opaque. The key to understanding the system relies upon extracting Yugtun demonstratives from this one dimensional anglocentric system and allowing their use *in vivo* to define three fluid and interrelated operational frames of reference. This

interrelation between each frame of reference is where demonstratives come into their own in Yugtun and is why they are capable of performing such a wide degree of functions at such a high frequency.

The introduction of a more robust frame of reference model onto the semantic interpretation of demonstratives presents a clearer window into how the systems operate. This model is traditionally overlooked because many of the more familiar demonstrative systems, like in English, only use a single frame of reference: the intrinsic deictic egocentric presented in Figure 3.5. All English demonstratives are inherently intrinsic and egocentric. The system juxtaposes the relative distances of *proximal* and *distal* between the egocentric ground and the figure, but the ground is only ever the speaker. The same is true for one-term demonstrative systems like in German or in three-term distance-based demonstrative systems like Shoshoni. However, the frame of reference semantics becomes evident when examining languages that have 3+ term person-based demonstrative system, like Japanese.

Traditionally, in Japanese and similar demonstrative systems, the typology has asserted that one demonstrative is proximal to the speaker *(kono)*, one demonstrative is proximal to the hearer *(sono)*, and one demonstrative is distal to both *(ano)*. This is a fair description but a simplistic interpretation. By employing a frame of reference typology rather than a distance contrast, it becomes clearer that there are two frames of reference operating within the contours of the system rather than just one distance-based frame. The first frame of reference is the intrinsic deictic egocentric, which comprises the 'proximal to speaker' and possibly also the 'distal to interlocutors' demonstrative types (in Japanese *kono* and *ano*), and the second frame of reference is an intrinsic allocentric deictic frame of reference, presented in Figure 3.6, which is as both Levinson and Diessel assert a logical extension of the semantics of the intrinsic system whereby the speaker is able to displace the ego from the self and onto another person or object (Levinson, 2006; Diessel, 2014). In Japanese, the ground thus becomes allocentric and is tied to the interlocutor of the speech act. In a person-based demonstrative system, the speaker is able to displace the ground onto another interlocutor and step into their shoes to construe the world from their perspective.

The Yugtun language takes the importance of frames of reference even further than this person-based demonstrative system. Yugtun employs three distinct frames of reference in the demonstrative system: the intrinsic (Figure 3.5), the absolute (Figure 3.6), and a Yugtun-specific collage I term the relative demonstratives, all of which begin with the *ta-* prefix (Figures 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8). In this system, the relative frame of reference loses its inherent tie to the interlocutor and can be displaced onto any

allocentric ground. Subsequently, Yugtun employs a special type of ground whereby the ground is geocentrically displaced onto culturally and physically salient landmarks in the surrounding area. Thus, the Yugtun language uses an egocentric ground, an allocentric ground, and a geocentric ground. This is a distinct difference from the demonstrative literature, which does not identify an absolute frame of reference as foundational to the demonstrative typology but rather as a directional feature that can be arbitrarily layered atop the demonstratives of some languages (Diessel, 1999a).

Based on this Yugtun demonstrative analysis that identifies three distinct ground landmarks, the semantics of frames of reference in regard to the typology of demonstratives cannot be overlooked. Demonstratives are a semantically complex system which relies on both linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts. Semantically, they function first and foremost to bring the interlocutors into joint attention. They are deictic, they can specify relative distance, but crucially they operate within frames of reference. Not all languages use more than one frame of reference, but when they do, it is not an arbitrary feature any more than understanding the scale of relative distance used in the language. Understanding the frames of reference employed by these languages helps to illuminate the system.

Another feature that the discussion in Chapter Three highlights is the simplistic conceptualization of relative distance when it comes to demonstratives. Traditional demonstratives are said to lexicalize features of distance from the origo. These distances are usually termed *proximal, medial,* and *distal*. How each relative distance is construed is context- and system-dependent. A *proximal* is interpreted by the context of the utterance in juxtaposition to the knowledge that a *distal* and possibly even a *medial* distance also exists. This knowledge that the speaker has indexed the figure proximally rather than distally helps the listener to narrow the search field. However, as Yugtun demonstrates with its notion of body-space, these relative context-dependent distances are too simplistic. Rather, speakers utilize their own perceptual body-space to select these distances within context (Coventry et al., 2014). Thus an object's distance, shape, interactability, emotional salience, and location-relative-to-tools all affect the construal of demonstrative relative distance (Rabellino et al., 2020). These perceptual semantics of body-space roughly identifies figures within *peripersonal* space and in *extrapersonal* space. These perceptual distances are much better descriptors of the Yugtun demonstrative space within the deictic absolute demonstrative inventory.

Finally, within the Yugtun demonstrative inventory, there is another feature that, for Yugtun, is more important than relative distance, and that is the shape of the figure. Yugtun indexes its figures with the frame of reference in accordance with the figure's extendedness/shape. Shape is a semantic feature of entities and can take

various forms across languages (Frawley, 1992). In Yugtun, the intrinsic and relative demonstratives identify the figure as either being obscured, restricted, extended, or approaching. The absolute demonstratives do not use the approaching shape but rather rely on the motion of the riverine directional ground and the body-space of the speaker. It is here that my analysis moves the demonstrative bases *uk-* and *taug-* from their outcast positions in the literature and into their appropriate place within the shape feature of the frames of reference.

In sum, I place the Yugtun demonstratives into three frames of reference niches within the overall holistic system. The first frame of reference is the deictic intrinsic egocentric frame of reference as modelled in Figure 3.5. This set of demonstratives uses a 1-term demonstrative distance typology grounded on the speaker to bring the interlocutors into joint attention on a figure but identifies the figure according to 4-shapes: the obscured, restricted, extended, and approaching, as shown in Figure 3.9.

The second frame of reference is the compositional Yugtun deictic relative frame of reference, which employs the frames of reference modelled in Figures 3.6, 3.7, and 3.8. This set of demonstratives uses a 1-term demonstrative distance typology grounded on an allocentric object to bring the interlocutors into joint attention on a figure and identifies the figure according to 4-shapes: the obscured, restricted, extended, and approaching, as shown in Figure 3.11.

The final Yugtun frame of reference is the deictic absolute frame of reference which employs the frame of reference modelled in Figure 3.8. This set of demonstratives uses a 2-term demonstrative distance typology grounded on a geocentric landscape to bring the interlocutors into joint attention on a figure and identifies the figure according to 3-shapes: the obscured, restricted, and extended. However, these demonstratives also project the speaker into the frame of reference through the speaker's body-space and allows the speaker to comment on the figure's accessibility as being either peripersonal/proximal or extrapersonal/distal, as shown in Figure 3.13.

By including this deeper and layered analysis of demonstrative semantics, the understanding of the Yugtun demonstrative category is grounded not as a single indivisible system but rather as three harmonious subsystems which each fill particular contexts and domains of use to unambiguously identify the figure. This is a much more nuanced but more explanatory description of the Yugtun demonstratives and their natural contours of use in context.

3.5.2 Domains of use discussion

Within GCY, demonstratives are principally described as spatial deictics. While demonstratives are foundationally spatial, they can function both exophorically as temporal demonstratives and as endophoric discourse demonstratives. The literature treats these extended metaphorical domains as lexical derivations hidden in short entries in the dictionary for each demonstrative word rather than as a feature of the holistic system. This treatment hides many of the natural juxtapositions between the demonstrative bases and hides the orientational metaphor that illustrates the choice of demonstrative forms in both time and discourse contexts. The Yugtun demonstrative system, through the conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE/LANDSCAPE/RIVER and TIME IS IN MOTION, is extended into the temporal domain and then into the discourse domain. This conceptual metaphor does not utilize every demonstrative base because there can only ever be a partial mapping of the source domain onto the target domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Nevertheless, the mapping is highly systematic in which demonstrative bases are chosen to be mapped on the temporal domain or the discourse domain. This extension into new domains should not be treated as a footnote or aside in the lexicon but should be analyzed as a full feature. To view the Yugtun demonstratives only spatially is to ignore two-thirds of the system. Rather, the Yugtun demonstrative system can only be understood through the intersection of the frames of reference and the conceptual metaphor that underpins its extended uses. Additionally, the function of anaphora has been limited to only a few demonstratives in Yup'ik, namely *im-* and *uk-* or the prefix *ta-* but within the endophoric demonstrative system described in Chapters Three and Four, I show that any demonstrative can operate in the discourse to point back to a discourse figure.

Yup'ik is claimed to be the world's most complex demonstrative system largely due to its highly populated demonstrative inventory, which seems to act in unpredictable ways when viewed through a single paradigm focused predominately on proximity (Miyaoka, 2012). But when the system is seen in context as three interacting frames of reference across three interacting domains of use, the system becomes grounded and apparent. The language holds onto its title as the world's most complex demonstrative system due to its concern for the shape of the figure, the utilization of three distinct frames of reference, the use of body-space in construing relative distance, the metaphorical extensions, and the grammaticalized discourse functions, but the system is no longer complex because of its semantic perplexity and unpredictability or selection based on arbitrary speaker preferences. Rather, the system is systematic and holistic and finely tuned to the situation, be it spatial, temporal, or textual.

Chapter 4

Demonstratives in context

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two, I approached the issues of Yugtun lexical and syntactic categories broadly using a constructionist approach to their categorization. From this perspective, I posited two broad lexical categories that are present in the language and distinguished by their distinct derivational distributions. The first, I termed lexical bases, which include bases that tend to collocate with postbases, which function to nominalize, verbify, or modify the base or to indicate tense, aspect, or valency-type semantics on the base. I termed the second type of lexical category the deictic bases. These deictic bases include pronouns, quantifiers, positionals, and demonstratives. All of these deictic categories use similar distributional patterns within their base-postbase derivations. In Chapter Two, I also posited four syntactic categories that are applied contextually to any base. These syntactic categories are formed by inflecting the end of a base with a formative pattern that indicates its syntactic function as either a nominal, a verb, a conjunct, or a particle. In this chapter, I examine the use of demonstratives within these syntactic categories and discuss how their syntactic categorization and positioning affect the semantics of the frame of reference established by the demonstrative's lexical properties.

In Chapter Three, I demonstrated how Yugtun demonstratives can be understood through a lens of spatial and metaphorical frames of reference. In contextualizing the demonstrative system within three complementary frames of reference — the intrinsic, the relative, and the absolute — the lexicalized semantics and pragmatics of the demonstrative bases are refined, and their use in context becomes evident. Further, by exploring the domains of spatial, temporal, and discursive demonstrative use, I set the stage to understand demonstratives in extended contexts. Therefore, Chapter Three grounds our understanding of the semantics and pragmatics of the

demonstrative bases within a Yugtun-specific worldview. The Yugtun demonstrative system, as a whole, functions more elegantly by treating demonstratives as three different panes of glass within the larger demonstrative window, which views space, time, and discourse as a complex but ordered system of relations. However, Chapter Three stopped short of fully expounding on how the demonstratives are employed in the language. Instead, it focused on the fundamental demonstrative base's (a subset of the deictic bases) lexical semantics, and the natural contours of their use. While examples were given in context, the complete form of the demonstrative holophrases was glossed over. However, it is not just the fundamental demonstrative base which contributes to the indexation of a figure within the interlocutors' joint attention. Layered atop the demonstrative's semantic frame of references and domains of use, larger Yugtun morphosyntactic patterns further determine the context and contours of demonstrative use.

In this chapter, I use the morphosyntactic patterns detailed in Chapter Two as a lens through which to examine how demonstratives function in context. Additionally, I examine how lexical and phrasal patterns affect the meaning of the demonstratives' semantics beyond what I detailed in Chapter Three.

4.1.1 Yugtun grammatical review

As discussed in Chapter Two, a Yugtun lexeme, or *base*, is a fluid form which is assigned a syntactic category depending on its use in context. That is to say, a Yugtun base does not come with prescribed notions of its grammatical category but rather evokes concepts that, based on semantics and context of use, are derived and inflected morphologically to create a larger holophrase which is more meaningful than the sum of its parts. For example, the base *angalkur-* refers to a concept of 'magic.' This lexical concept can be adjusted to its context to convey more specific information by using derivational postbases and formative morpheme patterns. In (126), the lexical base of the first word *angalkuit* is expanded using a formative pattern which conveys information for nominal number (Section 2.4.2), possessor (Section 2.4.2), and grammatical case which are used to form a nominal syntactic category (Section 2.4.3) from the lexical base. Within (126), the same lexical base *angalkur-* is expanded to *angalkiluteng* using a formative pattern which conveys information about the mood or predicative function, and the person and number of the subject. These endings are used to form a verbal syntactic category (Section 2.4.5). In context, the concepts of 'a magic practitioner' and 'the action of magic' are differentiated even though they are both constructed from the same lexical base.

(126) ***Angalkuit*** *taukut,* ***angalkiluteng***

Angalkuit	*taukut,*
Angalkur-t-ngi-t-ø	ta-u-ku-t-ø,
shaman-PL-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL-ABS	R<IE-OF.NS-PL-ABS,
angalkiluteng	
angalkur-gi-lu-teg-t	
shaman-to.do-APP-4.NOMA-PL	

'**Their shamans**—these ones over here—**they were doing magic**'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:4.1)

This same derivational and inflectional process occurs with demonstratives in Yugtun. Crucially, demonstratives collocate with a category-specific set of derivational postbases. In Chapter Two, I broadly treat all lexical bases on par with each other and posited that only through the syntactic formative patterns at the end of the holophrase do they become differentiated in context for their syntactic category. However, demonstratives, as opposed to lexical bases, have been shown to differ in their lexical semantics from ordinary lexical bases. Most open-set lexical holophrases are not contextualized within a frame of reference, are not deictic, and do not indicate the entity's shape, whereas the closed-set of demonstratives do. Compounding these differing semantics, demonstrative holophrases are derived using category-specific morphemes. These morphological derivations interact with the spatial, temporal, and discursive domains of use to further refine the semantics of the frame of reference and point to the appropriate figure.

This category-specific morphology suggests that demonstratives are treated within the language as a privileged category of bases separate from the more traditional lexical bases. Thus, I argue that Yugtun has at least two overarching lexical categories: *lexical* and *deictic*. The deictic bases include the subcategories of pronouns (see Jacobson (2013 p. 961)), quantifiers (see Jacobson (2013 p. 962)), positionals (see Jacobson and Jacobson (1995 p. 99)), and demonstratives—which operate across three frames of reference and include an immense concern for the nature of the figure. This study focuses solely on the demonstrative subcategory and leaves the overarching nature of the deictic bases for the subject of a different study.

Both broad lexical categories enter into the same formative syntactic constructions once the speaker has settled on a final base form. These syntactic categories, as discussed in Chapter Two, are the *nominal* which identifies actors, locations, and objects (Section 2.4.3); the *conjunct*, which is a medio-predicate used to contextualize predicates, and at times nominals (Section 2.4.4); the *verbal*, used to express events,

actions, qualities, and manners (Section 2.4.5); and the *particles* which serve a host of functional tasks in the discourse (Section 2.4.6). The demonstrative bases tend to be inflected as nominals or particles but can also surface as verbs or conjuncts (Miyaoka, 2012).

Beyond the internal structure of a demonstrative holophrase, these deictic constructions are used extremely frequently in spoken Yugtun and ground the utterance within local experience. Often, they occur with such high frequency in speech that finding an utterance without at least one demonstrative is difficult.

Within spoken Yugtun, demonstratives are used adjacent to particular enclitics and particles that aid in refining the semantics of their use. Furthermore, demonstratives are used in different syntactic environments for different pragmatic ends. Demonstratives can be compounded. Demonstratives can be clustered together to introduce background information and situate the utterance in place. Some bases have undergone significant grammaticalization to serve new but related functions in discourse. Finally, demonstratives are used to direct the flow of discourse and link topics together or change topics.

These structural patterns, from the morphological to the discursive, overlay the semantics of the demonstrative bases and make demonstratives both flexible and powerful tools in connected speech and for individuated referring. However, demonstratives in Yugtun discourse can appear arbitrary within the larger context without understanding each layer of meaning.

4.2 Demonstrative base derivations: Figure-type

I have shown that the fundamental demonstrative bases are semantically complex deictic bases which can individuate specific referents across space, time, and discourse to bring these figures to joint attention. The bases even go so far as to indicate the figure's shape and can, in the demonstrative's absolute frame of reference, indicate perceptual accessibility to the viewers. However, the form of the demonstrative base does not reflect whether the figure is an object, a spatial location, a temporal location, a discursive location, or a discursive object. Instead, these additional pieces of indexation are left to the demonstrative derivational postbases. There are two sets of derivational postbases that collocate with deictic bases exclusively. One of these derivational postbases must attach to a deictic base before it can be used in speech. This obligatory derivational construction is shown in Figure 4.1. The first set of derivational morphemes is a set of **object-figure** derivations (glossed as: OF, 'object-type figure'), and the second is the **location figure** derivation (glossed as:

FL, 'figure-type location'). Roughly, the object-figure derivations point to objects, while the location-figure derivation points to locations. An object is placed against a landscape and independent from it, whereby a location is a feature of the landscape. After this obligatory derivation, any number of the usual postbases from Chapter Two can be concatenated onto the demonstrative base. After the demonstrative lexeme is fully specified, the formative patterns identified in Chapter Two are applied to identify the demonstrative as either a nominal, verbal, or conjunct holophrase or as a particle. These syntactic categories are discussed in Section 4.3.

Figure 4.1: The Derived Demonstrative Base Construction. To derive a demonstrative base, the deictic base must be one of the fundamental demonstrative bases, which is then affixed to a figure-type postbase.

4.2.1 Referencing object-figures

Yugtun emphasizes the nature of the figure within a frame of reference. Within the fundamental demonstrative base's lexical semantics, the figure's shape is lexically specified as either obscured, restricted, extended, or approaching. Layered atop this, in the demonstrative holophrases' morphology, the type of figure is identified. *Figure-types* are conceptually either objects or locations.

Demonstratives identifying objects are constructed using a suffix which turns a deictic fundamental demonstrative base into a demonstrative *object-figure* lemma. When deriving a demonstrative object-figure base from the deictic base, a few demonstrative-specific morphemes can be used but the three most prevalent derivational morphemes are *-na, -u, -ku* (glossed respectively as OF.SG.ABS, OF.SG, OF.NS). As Miyaoka (2012) observes in General Central Yup'ik, there is a nominalizing postbase that attaches to lexical bases, which is *-nku*. This postbase likely serves as a source domain for these three demonstrative object-figures (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 350). The choice of which object-figure morpheme to use is selected by the formative pattern, comprised of the nominal number, possessor, and case morphemes. In essence, a demonstrative indexing an object-figure is double-marked for case and number. First, by the appropriate object-figure morpheme and second, by the collocating formative inflections.

An absolutive case marked, singular object-figure is indicated with the derivational

suffix *-na*. Thus, for example, the intrinsic extended deictic base *ma(t)-* becomes *mana-*[1] in (127). These derivational postbases of figure-type occur across all three frames of reference equally.

(127) ***mana*** *esskuularput*
ma(t)-na-ø-ø esskuular-ø-pu-t-ø
IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS school-SG-1.NOMA.PL-ABS

'**this one**, our school'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:114.1)

A non-absolutive case, singular demonstrative is formed by suffixing the morpheme *-u* onto a demonstrative base. The intrinsic restricted deictic base *u(at)-* therefore becomes *uu-* in (128).

(128) *doctor-ama* ***uum***
doctorar-ø-m-a-ø **u-u-ø-m**
doctor-SG-1.ERGA-SG.LF-ABS **IE-OF.SG-SG-ERG.SG**

'my doctor—**this one**'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:101)

Finally, a non-singular demonstrative is derived with the non-singular suffix *-ku*. Using the intrinsic restricted deictic base *u(at)-*, a non-singular demonstrative would build off of the demonstrative base *uku-* as in (129).

(129) ***ukut**-llu* *irniangka*
u-ku-t-ø=llu irniar-t-ngka-ø-ø
IE-OF.NS-PL-ABS=COO children-PL-1.NOMA.SG-SG-ABS

'**these** children of mine'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:109)

By encoding number and case into the figure type affix, demonstrative derivation further highlights the figure's saliency within a deictic utterance. Yugtun places great emphasis on individuating the figure on multiple layers. First, the deictic demonstrative bases lexicalize the figure's dimensionality or shape. Then, the obligatory

[1] alternatively spelled *man'a /manna/*. As throughout my examples I keep to the spelling of my NSKY consultant as long as it does not create ambiguity in the form.

demonstrative derivation specifies its type (object or location), and finally, the choice of which derivation to use specifies the figure's number (singular or non-singular) and syntactic role (absolutive case or other nominal case).

While examining the patterns that refine demonstrative semantics in context, it is important to keep in mind that, like any Yugtun word, many postbases can be optionally attached to the base after the obligatory figure-type morpheme to further refine the identity of the figure referent, as in (130).

(130) ***Makurmiut-guq*** *angalkuat, kasuitaratelluni*

Makurmiut-guq	*angalkuat,*
mat-ku-rmiu-t-ø=gguq	angalkur-ø-nga-t-ø,
IX-OF.NS-resident-PL-ABS=QUOT	shaman-ø-3.NOMA.SGCOM-PL-ABS

kasuitaratelluni
kasuit-tar-ngat-lu-ni-ø
weak-naturally-seemed.to-APP-4.NOMA.SG-Ø

'**They say the people here** had a shaman who seemed to be naturally weak.'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:5.1)

In (130), the fundamental demonstrative base *ma(t)-* 'IX,' uses an intrinsic frame of reference to index a figure that is extended. This means the speaker is grounding the frame of reference on the ego and pointing to the figure, establishing a vector originating from themself. The deictic base also specifies that the figure is spread out, such as a village or group of people. Subsequently, the demonstrative derivation, *-ku* 'OF.NS,' specifies that the figure is a non-singular object, not a location. Finally, the derivational postbase *-rmiu* is added to further refine the figure as 'people from/residents of.' The figure has been iteratively refined on three semantic layers in this utterance. This refinement allows the speaker to specify and bring the correct figure to joint attention. Specifying the nature of the figure and its unambiguous reference is essential to the Yugtun language.

This function of the object-figure derivation to index objects within the frame of reference, as opposed to locations, also applies to the temporal and discursive domains. (131) shows a temporal figure being construed as an object using the word *tamatum*. As temporal figures are prototypically construed as locations, a collocating locative particle *nalliini* is used to place the temporal location onto a temporal landscape.

(131) ***Tamatum nalliini, makut*** *maani teggnerput, aanaput, aataput-llu takaqluki*

Tamatum	***nalliini,***	***makut***	*maani*
ta-mat-u-ø-m	**nalliini**,	**ma-ku-t-ø**	ma-a-ni
R<IX-OF.SG-SG-ERG.SG	**at.that.time**,	**IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS**	IX-FL-LOC

teggnerput,	*aanaput,*
teggner-t-pu-t-ø,	aana-t-pu-t-ø
elder-PL-1.NOMA-PL-ABS	mother-PL-1.NOMA-PL-ABS

aataput-llu	*takaqluki*
aata-t-pu-t-ø=llu	takaq-lu-ki-t
father-PL-1.NOMA-PL-ABS=COO	respectful-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL

'**At that time there/then**, we were respectful to these here Elders, our mothers and our fathers.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:10)

In (131), *tamatum* is a relative frame of reference demonstrative that indexes a temporal landmark as an object, 'that past time,' thereby projecting the orientation of the speaker into a different time frame. This demonstrative is further derived with the object-figure morpheme *-u*, indicating the object of reference is a singular point in time. The collocating particle *nalliini* 'at that time' then serves to place this time period onto the temporal landscape as a place by which the speaker can ground the following demonstratives. Thus, the second demonstrative, *makut*, is an intrinsic demonstrative with a plural object-figure derived from the *-ku* form of the object figure-type morpheme (OF.NS) and agrees with the following nouns in both number and case. These object-figures ('our Elders...') are grounded against both the time period indicated in the topic of the utterance *tamatum nalliini* and the speaker. The final intrinsic demonstrative, *maani*, indexes a spatial location using the location-figure morpheme *a-* ('FL'). This spatial demonstrative is also grounded in the topical time period—the Elder's past time—against the speaker at that time, who is the origo.

Two other object-figure derivations can also form a demonstrative base: *-suur* and *-kuur* (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 352). These are used vocatively to gain another person's attention in the speaker's surroundings. Unfortunately, they are not found in my NSKY corpus as it does not include any appropriate genre for their use and is thus beyond the scope of the present analysis.

4.2.2 Referencing location-figures

Beyond the object-figure derivations, demonstratives in Yugtun can also be refined into *location-figure* demonstratives (glossed as: FL). These demonstrative holophrases are prototypically identified as *adverbs* (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995 p. 81). However, adverbs are not utilized in my description of Yugtun (Chapter Two) as either a lexical or syntactic category. However, if adverbs, or more aptly, the adverbial function is defined in a narrow sense as a word which modifies a predicate to "specify a time, manner, place, or direction," then this description of this demonstrative derivation is largely accurate in function. However, in the broad sense, as "a part of speech whose members modify any constituent class of words other than nouns, such as verbs, adjectives, adverbs, phrases, clauses, or sentences," this term, adverb, in Yugtun is overgeneralized (Payne, 1997 p. 69). In these adverbial senses, the Yugtun appositional verb mood, various derivational morphemes and many particles are also considered adverbial—but none of these collocate with the deictic bases in the same constructional patterns. Consider the utterance in (132), for example, whereby I use square brackets to indicate the dependent clause within the full sentence.

(132) ***Anglellemni*** ***tamaani,***
[**[angler-lller-m-ø-ni** **ta-ma-a-ni**],
[**[grow.up-CNJ.(when)-1.ERGA-SG-LOC** **R<IX-FL-LOC**]

anaguluteng	*yuut*	*amllellrunretut.*
anagut-lu-teg-t	yug-t-ø	amller-llru-nrir-gur-t]
misbehave-APP-4.NOMA-PL	person-PL-ABS	many-PST-NEG-IND.IN-PL]

'[[**When I was growing up there**], not many people were misbehaving.]'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:3)

The dependent clause *[Anglellemni tamaani]* 'when I was growing up there,' establishes the sentence's topic with a conjunct holophrase and a locational demonstrative. The main predicate serves to comment on the topic and is indicated by using an intransitive indicative mood inflection on the verb and an absolutive case-marked subject, *yuut amllellrunretut* 'there were not many people.' Modifying the meaning of this main predicate is a verb marked in the appositional mood *anaguluteng* 'misbehaving/who misbehaved.' This appositional verb serves to modify the meaning of the predicate and indicate what it is that 'many people are not doing,' which is that they are not 'misbehaving.' Under the broad definition of an adverb, this appositional verb phrase is an adverb categorized in the same syntactic category as the demonstrative *tamaani*. While both serve a modification function in the sentence, they are not

structurally or functionally similar enough to justify using a single lexical or syntactic category that includes both. Thus, this study uses the term *location-figure* ('FL') in reference to this type of demonstrative holophrase. A final reason this study terms this derivation as location-figure is because, semantically, its function is to refine the demonstrative base's figure and identify it as a location or landmark in space, time, or discourse instead of an object. However, these locational demonstratives do have adverbial functions in that they identify the location or manner of an indexed figure, per the narrow definition above.

As demonstrated in Section 4.2.1, the function of an object-figure demonstrative base derivation is to bring an object in the landscape to joint attention. Objects, however, are just one type of figure. Yugtun uses another derivation, *-a*, to take a fundamental demonstrative base and use it to index a location in or a part of the landscape. Due to the lexicalized dimensionality of the fundamental demonstrative base semantics discussed in Chapter Three, a landscape location (like all demonstratives) can be construed as being obscured, restricted, extended, or approaching in shape. Unlike the object-figure derivational morpheme, however, the figure-type morpheme is always *-a*. There are no morphologically distinct forms for singular, non-singular or for the nominal case of these location-figures.

In (132), the phrase *Anglellemni tamaani* shows this locational derivation very well and translated to 'When I was growing up there'. In addition to this location figure, there is an additional reference to the locational figure *Caniliaq*, a historic local village, in Amiksuwin's (MH) preceding utterance. This introductory utterance is shown in (133).

(133) ***Aka' tamaani**, yuurtellemni Caniliani uitall-, **tamaani** anglellrunga. Anglellemni **tamaani**, ...*

Aka'	***tamaani,***	*yuurtellemni*
akaa	**ta-ma-a-ni**,	yug-urte-ller-m-ø-ni
a.long.time	**R<IX-FL-LOC**	person-INCH-CNJ.(when)-1.ERGA-SG-LOC

Caniliani	*uitall-,*	***tamaani***	*anglellrunga.*
Caniliag-ni	uita-ll..,	**ta-ma-a-ni**	angler-llru-gur-nga-ø.
Caniliaq-LOC	*sttr*	**R<IX-FL-LOC**	grow.up-PST-IND.IN-1.ABSA.SG-SG.

Anglellemni	***tamaani,***	*...*
Angler-ller-m-ø-ni	**ta-ma-a-ni**,	...
grow.up-CNJ.(when)-1.ERGA-SG-LOC	**R<IX-FL-LOC**	

'**A long time ago during that time**, when I was born in Caniliaq (stutter), I grew up **there**. When I was growing up **there**, ... '

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:2)

The relative demonstrative base *tama(t)-* is used to orient the speech event within a relative frame of reference whereby the figure Caniliaq is construed as an extended figure. The ground is the period of the speaker's life when he lived in Caniliaq as a child. The derivational morpheme *-a* is added to refine the figure's identificational properties as a location rather than as an object. Caniliaq, the location of his birth, is a location in the landscape, not an object on the landscape.

Of note here is that the locational function is extended across conceptual domains. Time is typically viewed as a location in the temporal landscape and not as an object on the landscape. The first demonstrative in (133) is indexing a location in time 'during that time when I was young' rather than a location in space as the latter two do 'there in Caniliaq.' Thus, the continuation of the systematicity of the cognitive metaphor TIME IS A LANDMARK is shown even as the base is further refined. Remember that the relative frame of reference in Yugtun does not distinguish between relative distance or body-space (proximal-distal or peripersonal-extrapersonal). A translation of either *now* or *then* and *here* or *there* is acceptable within their respective domains. This relative frame of reference brings the figure into joint attention in juxtaposition to its allocentric ground object within a 1-term system.

The temporal and discursive domains are often derived using the *-a* figure type as points in time and discourse elements are construed metaphorically as locations more naturally than as objects. For example, the Yugtun correlate to 'now' is *watawa* as in (134). This demonstrative base is an intrinsic egocentric restricted base derived as a location-figure. However, this demonstrative does not collocate with any formative syntactic pattern but functions as a particle. The anaphoric enclitic derived from the same demonstrative base *=wa* is attached to the end of the demonstrative base.

(134) *pisuirutengluteng* ***watawa***
pi-suirut-ng-lu-teg-t **uat-a=wa**
do-no.longer-begin-APP-4.NOMA-PL **IE-FL=ANA**

'they've begun to not do that anymore, **right now**'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.3)

A better example of a temporal demonstrative derived with the location-figure morpheme comes from the base *aw-* in (135). This example uses a full syntactic formative pattern which inflects the demonstrative as a pronoun in the locative case. The use of the locative case further supports the locational nature of the derivational morpheme within either space or time.

(135) *Qasigmi maqilallruut tamaani, augkut* ***awani*** *ak'allaraat*

[[Qasigmi	*maqilallruut*	*tamaani],*
[[qasig-ø-mi	maqi-lar-llru-gur-t	ta-ma-a-ni],
men's.house-SG-LOC.SG	steam.bath-HAB-PST-IND.IN-PL	R<IX-FL-LOC

augkut	***awani***	*ak'allaraat]*
aug-ku-t-ø	**aug-a-ni**	akkallarar-t-ø]
AXSP-OF.NS-PL-ABS	**AXSP-FL-LOC**	elder-PL-ABS

'In the men's house, they would take a steam bath, there, those Elders **back then**'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:11)

In (135), the spatial location is indicated in the topic phrase with the relative demonstrative *tamaani*. The Elders are indexed by the object-figure absolute demonstrative *augkut (AXSP-OF.NS)*, which agrees in number and case with the nominal argument. The location-figure demonstrative *awani < aug-a-ni (AXSP-FL)* indexes the location of the topic's time period—when the Elders still used traditional steam houses.

An examination of demonstrative types in my NSKY corpus, shown in Figure 4.2, shows that the figure-location derivations are slightly more frequent than figure-object derivations. This difference in frequency reflects the greater variety in domains of use for location figure-type demonstratives. Location figure-type demonstratives can be used to express locations in space, time, and discourse, and to express the manner of action, discussed in a later section, while figure-objects are less frequent as they are typically used only spatially. Some demonstratives, as discussed in Section 4.3.4, do not use either figure type derivation. These are typically grammaticalized or fossilized forms that have come to be used in very restricted contexts.

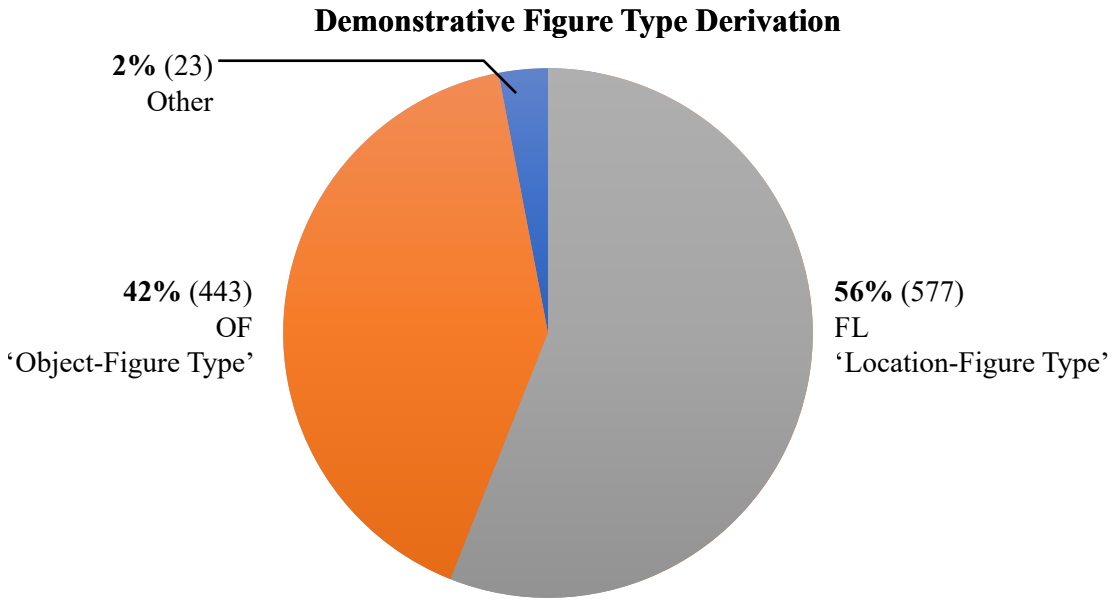


Figure 4.2: Frequency of Figure-Type Derivations, including object Figure-Type (OF) and location Figure-Type (FL) in the narrative NSKY corpus.

4.3 Demonstrative syntactic constructions

Once a fundamental demonstrative base has been derived into its contextualized base form by suffixing an obligatory figure-type morpheme followed by any optional derivations, then demonstratives are inflected using the same formative patterns described in Chapter Two. The formative pattern used is the same for either figure-type demonstrative and is selected based on syntactic function. Like lexical bases, demonstrative bases can be syntactically derived as nominals, verbs, conjuncts, and particles (Miyaoka, 2012). Demonstratives in Yugtun display a strong preference to be inflected as nominal holophrases. That is, whether a fundamental demonstrative base is derived to refine the base semantics to index an object-figure or a location-figure, both tend to be inflected with a nominal formative pattern, including case as part of the formative syntactic constructions responsible for forming a syntactically functional word. In my NSKY corpus, there are no examples of a demonstrative being constructed as predicates (verb or conjunct). As such, this analysis focuses on the use of demonstratives as nominals and particles. I discuss each, in turn, discussing first the nominal formative inflections.

4.3.1 Nominal demonstratives

Once a fundamental demonstrative base is fully specified as a demonstrative base, as discussed in Section 4.2, the grammar utilizes the same syntactic categories, as discussed in Chapter Two, by inflecting demonstratives with a formative pattern consisting of number and person (Section 2.4.2), and syntactic case (Section 2.4.3) morphemes. The number morpheme refers to the plurality of the figure. The subsequent and optional person morpheme and number morpheme refer to the possessor of the figure. Finally, the case morpheme refers to the grammatical function of the figure in the utterance. The nominal construction from Chapter Two is once again shown in Figure 4.3. In utilizing this same formative pattern, demonstrative bases are very similar to lexical bases, particularly pronominal ones. However, there is some difference in formative morphology specific to demonstratives. Similarly, the referent of a demonstrative, the figure, can function as a core argument or as an oblique argument. Core arguments generally specify actors and objects, while oblique arguments specify paths, locations, and manners. Demonstrative nominals account for the vast majority of demonstrative tokens in my NSKY corpus.

Figure 4.3: The Unpossessed Nominal Formative Pattern discussed in Chapter Two

As the formative process is the same as discussed in Chapter Two, I skip over the details of the constructional template which can be found in Section 2.4.3. Instead, I focus on the specifics of this formative pattern as it involves demonstratives particularly. Thus, I do not touch on every nominal case nor on how possession works to derive non-deictic postionals; for these discussions on the formative constructions in general, refer back to Chapter Two. Thus, the first significant difference between lexical and demonstrative bases involves distinguishing between object-figure demonstratives and location-figure demonstratives. While the demonstrative bases are derived for figure-type, lexical bases are not. In addition to the unique derivations, however, demonstrative bases can be inflected by demonstrative specific case formative morphemes. A demonstrative base derived as an object-figure demonstrative can take any of the normal core cases and oblique cases discussed in Chapter Two (see Table 4.1). However, demonstrative bases derived as location-figure demonstratives can only take unique oblique case formatives that collocate only with demonstratives (See Table

4.2). Each set of case patterns is discussed in this section.

In Sections 4.3.3 and 4.4, I discuss the role of these nominals in syntax and discourse, but it is essential to remember that demonstratives can index the figure in two ways. First, the figure can be linguistically specified in the text, as in (128). In this case, the demonstrative holophrase is in apposition to the nominal holophrase, and the two are in grammatical agreement; that is, they both take the same number and case, although possession is only marked on the nominal holophrase and not on both. The second method of indexation is through a gestural indexation using the demonstrative holophrase as a placeholder for the unspoken referent. In such cases, the demonstrative holophrase takes the position of the noun referred to, and this original referent is unspoken, as in *tamaani* in (132). In this case, the demonstrative is inflected with the formative morphemes in the same way the referent would have been if it had been linguistically encoded. In addition to these case selection criteria, the object-figure derivations must also agree with the case and number of the formative pattern, as discussed in the last section. Throughout this section, I showcase each nominal case as inflected on demonstratives with considerations for demonstrative-specific patterns. Some of the examples show demonstrative pronouns in apposition with their figure, and others show the demonstrative pronoun standing in for the figure. The purpose of these examples, however, is to show how the nominal formative pattern interacts with demonstrative bases. For a fuller discussion of the demonstrative distribution in syntax, refer to Sections 4.3.3 and 4.4.

A singular demonstrative marked in the absolutive case or unmarked case, as per Chapter Two, is derived with the morpheme *-na*. The singular formative morpheme is NULL, and the absolutive case is NULL, both concatenated onto the end of the demonstrative base. An example from each of the three frames of reference, intrinsic, relative and absolute (with the demonstrative standing in for the figure as the nominal head), is shown in (136a-c) respectively.

(136) a.

una	*anqerlartuq*
u(at)-na-ø-ø	anqert-lar-tur-ø
IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	rush.out-HAB-IND.IN-SG

niicugpekenani
niicu-peke-na-ni-ø
listen-without-APP.NEG-4.NOMA.SG-SG

'**this one** would rush out without listening'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:152.4)

b. ***tuana*** *aqumgaluni*
ta-u(at)-na-ø-ø aqumga-lu-ni-ø
R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS sit-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG

'**this one** sitting'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:6.1)

c. ***ikna****-gguq* *arparluni*
ik-na-ø-ø=gguq aarpar-lu-ni-ø
ASED-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS=QUOT holler-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG

'they say **this one** across there was hollering'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:7.1)

As indicated in Chapter Two, the same morpheme is used to mark both the ergative and genitive arguments. The singular ergative/genitive case suffix is typically also *null* except in some notable exceptions, like demonstratives, where the singular ergative/genitive case is formed with the morpheme *-m*. Thus *u(at)-* becomes *u-u-m* 'this/that.' Examples of ergative/genitive marked demonstratives are shown in (137) (whereby (137a) and (137b) are in apposition to their figure nominals).

(137) a. *doctorama* ***uum*** *qanrullua*

doctorama	***uum***	*qanrullua*
doctorar-ø-m-a-ø	**u-u-ø-m**	qanrut-lu-a
doctor-SG-1.ERGA-SG.LF-ABS	**IE-OF.SG-SG-ERG.SG**	tell-APP-SG.LF

'my doctor—**this one**— told me.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:101)

b. *taugken tuani unangsaurluni* ***taum*** *tauna caliaqa*

taugken	*tuani*	*unangsaurluni*
ta-ug-ken	ta-u-a-ni	unang-yaurt-lu-ni-ø
R<AERD-FL.ABL	R<IE-FL-LOC	obtain-is.now-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG

taum	*tauna*
ta-u-u-ø-m	ta-u-na-ø-ø
R<IE-OF.SG-SG-ERG.SG	R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS

caliaqa
cali-ar-ø-ka-ø-ø
work-thing-SG-1.NOMA.SG-SG-ABS

'from then on there, **this** job of mine was funded'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:139.1)

c. *tengssuutem* ***agum*** *qavirliurluni milluni unavet kuigpagmun*

tengssuutem	***agum***		
tengssut-ø-m	**ag-u-ø-m**		
plane-SG-ERG.SG	**AXSD-OF.SG-SG-ERG.SG**		
qavirliurluni		*milluni*	
qavir-lir-ur-lu-ni-ø		mit-lu-ni-ø	
red-one.which-CONT-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG		landing-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG	
unavet	*kuigpagmun*		
un-a-vet	kuigpag-ø-mun		
AXRP-FL-DEF.ALL	Yukon.River-SG-ALL.SG		

'a plane—**that one across there**—was red, landing down there upon the Yukon.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:45)

Of note in example (137 c), is that my consultant Theresa George, who collaborated with me to transcribe and translate the narrative texts in the NSKY corpus, translates *agum* as '[the plane] from far away.' However, from a demonstrative frame of reference perspective, this is an absolute frame of reference, extrapersonal, extended fundamental demonstrative base. This means the figure indexed is not in the speaker's perceptual space. Furthermore, it is extended and is located on the other side of an intervening environmental landmark. Moreover, the base is derived into an object-figure nominal form which indexes objects rather than locations, and the ergative/genitive case on the demonstrative agrees with the ergative/genitive case on the figure *tengssuutem* 'plane.' From these two facts, we know the demonstrative is pointing to a plane in the act of landing (in motion) but not to the plane's source location. Thus, rather than translating the appositional phrase as 'the plane from far away,' it is more apt to translate it as 'that far away plane.'

The *-u* object-figure derivation is also used to derive singular demonstrative pronouns in oblique cases. The oblique cases are the Locative, Ablative/Instrumental, Allative/Dative, and Perlalitive. The singular allomorph for each oblique case except for the perlalitive begins with an *-m*. The chart of demonstrative case endings can be seen in Table 4.1. The singular oblique case marked demonstratives are shown in (138).

(138) a. *Dad-ten-ll* ***imumi*** *tuqullrani*

Dad-ten-ll	***imumi***
dad-ø-ken-ø-ø=llu	**im-u-ø-mi**
dad-SG-2.NOMA.SG-SG-ABS=COO	**IØ-OF.SG-SG-LOC.SG**

tuqullrani
tuqu-lller-nga-ø-ni
die-CNJ.(when)-3.NOMA-SG-LOC

'And when your dad—**in that place**— died'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:166.4)

b. ***Matumek*** *cali mani, waten akinu... aki... akingngengaqurteggmegteggu*

Matumek	*cali*	*mani,*	*waten*	*akinu...*	*aki...*
mat-u-ø-mek	cali	ma-a-ni,	u-a-ten	akinu...	aki...
IX-OF.SG-SG-ABL.SG	also	IX-FL-LOC,	IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	STTR	STTR

akingngengaqurteggmegteggu
aking-nge-nga-qur-teg-meg-t-gu-ø...
earn.money-begin-CNJ.(because)-ITR-4.noma-4.ERGA-PL-3.ACCA.SG-Ø...

'**This thing** also here, in this way, because they have begun to earn money on account of it...'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:16.1)

c. *Elluarluki, (at) eglerellerkaiteggun* ***matumun****, anerteqinganemteni, elluarluta eglerertarqaursaqluta*

Elluarluki,	*(at)*	*eglerellerkaiteggun*
elluar-lu-ki-t,	(at)	eglert-llerkar-t-ngi-t-kun
perfectly-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL	*sttr*	move-FUT-PL-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL-PRL

matumun*,*	*anerteqinganemteni,*
mat-u-ø-mun	anerteq-nginanr-m-t-ni,
IX-OF.SG-SG-ALL.SG	alive-CNJ.(while)-1.ERGA-PL-LOC,

elluarluta	*eglerertarqaursaqluta*
elluar-lu-ta	eglert-tar-qar-ur-yar-lu-ta
perfectly-APP-PL.LF	move-to.be-TEL-CONT-would-APP-PL.LF

'Perfectly following **these things** going forward, thus as we live we would become perfected and continuously be moving forth. '

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:30.3)

No examples of a singular perlalitive case marked demonstrative are present in my corpus collocating with a figure type derivation morpheme.

The non-singular demonstratives, regardless of case, are derived using the *-ku* derivation, discussed in Section 4.2.1, and take the same cases as discussed in Chapter Two or shown below in Table 4.1 and in examples (139). These examples showcase the absolutive case marked on a plural demonstrative in contrast to singular demonstratives

showcased in (136). For the absolutive non-singular, a demonstrative base is inflected with a *-g* or *-t* to indicate dual or plural respectively and then ended with a *null* absolutive case. However, demonstratives derived using the *-ku* morpheme indicate any non-singular demonstrative. For the oblique cases, the non-singular *-n* allomorph is used in place of the singular *-m* shown in (138); however, explicit examples of plural oblique case demonstratives are not shown here.

(139) a. ***Imkuk**-llu pilitarpiik, pilitarpikelliik taukuk uitallriik.*

***imkuk**-llu*	*pilitarpiik,*
im-ku-k-ø=llu	pi-li-tar-pig-k-ø,
IØ-OF.NS-DU-ABS=COO	thing-similar-device-real-DU-ABS,

pilitarpikelliik	*taukuk*
pi-li-tar-pig-lria-nga-k	ta-u-ku-k-ø
thing-similar-device-real-PART.IN-3.NOMA-DU	R<IE-OF.NS-DU-ABS

uitallriik.
uitat-lria-nga-k
let.be-PART.IN-3.NOMA-DU

'And **those two** really similar things, those things which were really so (loud)—those two— those two were left there.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:48.1)

b. ***kankut**-llu nayangalriit, ukut-llu causalriit*

***kankut**-llu*	*nayangalriit,*
kan-ku-t-ø=llu	nayanga-lria-nga-t,
AERP-OF.NS-PL-ABS=COO	woman's.dance-PART.IN-3.NOMA-PL,

ukut-llu	*causalriit*
u-ku-t-ø=llu	causar-lria-nga-t
IE-OF.NS-PL-ABS=COO	drum-PART.IN-3.NOMA-PL

'Those down there which are dancing the woman's dance, and those which are drumming'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:166.4)

For all demonstratives in (138)-(139), notice that the figures are objects. These objects are a person or thing that exists on the landscape but are not a part of the landscape. Thus, the aequalis case is not represented in my corpus attached to object-figure derived demonstratives, as the aequalis case typically indicates the manner in which an action is performed. This is expected as a *manner*, or similarity,

Table 4.1: Demonstrative Object-Figure Case Formatives: This table identifies the nominal case morphemes that attach to a demonstrative derived with one of the object-figure morphemes (*-na, -u, -ku*). NA stands for a null-marked morpheme.

	Core Cases		
	Absolutive	Ergative	Genitive
Singular	-ø	*-m*	*-m*
Non-Singular	-ø	-ø	-ø

	Oblique Cases			
	Ablative/Instrumental	Allative	Localis	Perlalitive
Singular	*-mek*	*-mun*	*-mi*	*-kun*
Non-Singular	*-nek*	*-nun*	*-ni*	

is more adverbial in function and collocates with the location-figure demonstratives. As such, the aequalis case *-tun* has not been included in Table 4.1.

The location-figure demonstratives derived with the morpheme *-a* also use the same nominal formative pattern and function syntactically as oblique nominals. These location-figure demonstratives, however, differ in that they never function as absolutive or ergative/genitive nominals. In addition, the oblique cases have a few particular case allomorphs which only surface on these demonstrative forms.

In (140), the first demonstrative *tamakut* is an object-figure demonstrative marked as plural in the absolutive case while the second *tamaani* is a location-figure demonstrative marked in the locative case. Table 4.2 showcases the nominal cases that can be attached to a location-figure demonstrative.

(140) *imarmiutat nerlaqait-llu* ***tamakut tamani***

imarmiutat	*nerlaqait-llu*
imarmiutar-t-ø	ner-lar-ke-ngi-t=llu
mink-PL-ABS	eat-HAB-PART.TR-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL=COO

tamakut	***tamani***
ta-ma-ku-t-ø	**ta-ma-a-ni**
R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS	**R<IX-FL-LOC**

'They would also eat mink—**those ones there**—'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:36.2)

Table 4.2: Demonstrative Location-Figure Case Formatives: The case morphemes including demonstrative-specific variants that attach to location-figure (*-a*) derived demonstratives.

Oblique Cases					
Ablative	Definite Allative	Indefinite Allative	Localis	Perlalitive	Aequalis
-ken	*-vet*	*-tmun*	*-ni*	*-ggun*	*-ten*

When discussing these case morphemes, it is important to note that Miyaoka (2012) asserts that the localis case can often be double-marked with the aequalis *-tun*. The indefinite-allative *-tmun* is translated as something along the lines of 'X-ward' as in 'northward' and is less frequent than *-vet*, which is more definite in reference. *-tmun* comes from the derivational postbase of the same form, which means 'in the direction of' (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995). Additionally, the deictic bases *u(at)-*, *tau(at)-*, and *am-* only occur with the definite form (Miyaoka, 2012). The increased specificity of the figure, or of the path to the referent in these location-figure demonstratives, is in line with the care that the Yugtun language takes to identify the figure in space unambiguously. *-ggun* is probably a phonetically triggered allomorph of *-kun*, but more analysis is required on this form.

The aequalis case can only occur with the *u(at)-*, *ta-u(at)-* deictic bases, which is also substantiated in my corpus. The phonetic reduction from *-tun* to *-ten* is likely due to the grammaticalized uses of these demonstratives in information structuring and tracking, discussed in a later section. Miyaoka additionally indicates that the forms *uatna-* and *tuatna-* are inflected as verbs to be used as aequalis predicates 'to act/do like this,' even though they are not marked in the aequalis case (Miyaoka, 2012 pp. 369–370). Using my analysis, these two expressions are, in fact, object-figure demonstratives marked with the absolutive singular demonstrative derivation. They also do not occur in my corpus. However, it is further evidence of the intrinsic restricted base being *u(at)-* instead of *u-*.

The final note on these demonstrative-specific case morphemes is that some tokens marked in the ablative and perlalitive cases drop the *-a* derivation (Miyaoka, 2012), as shown in (141). In my NSKY corpus, this lack of figure-type morpheme occurs with the demonstrative fundamental base *taug-*, in general.

(141) ***Taugkun*** *cimerluteng yuut, irniaret, allaurluteng allakaurluteng.*

taugkun	*cimerluteng*	*yuut,*	*irniaret,*
ta-ug-kun	cimir-lu-teg-t	yug-t-ø,	irniar-t-ø,
R<AD1E-PRL	change-APP-4.NOMA-PL	person-PL-ABS,	children-PL-ABS

allaurluteng	*allakaurluteng.*
alla-ur-lu-teg-t	alla-kar-ur-lu-teg-t.
different-CONT-APP-4.NOMA-PL	different-small.bit-CONT-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'**From then on**, people changed, children continue to be different, they continue to be different.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:105.5)

This demonstrative base *taug-* is unique in being the only demonstrative base sourced from the absolute frame of reference demonstratives that is maintained in Yugtun's relative frame of reference, as discussed in Chapter Three. As this demonstrative base encodes the dimensionality of 'approaching,' and is used in the conceptual metaphors of MOTION, the oblique case suffixes are important to its further specification. The oblique case suffixes prototypically encode path. Particularly the ablative, allative, perlalitive, and localis cases are useful to specifying the path of approach for this demonstrative base and are therefore essential to its pragmatic use in context. This is true for *taug-*'s use in both location-figure *-a* derivations and object-figure derivations (*-u, -ku*), as in (142).

(142) *Cali-llu* ***taugkunek*** *kantirarnek ca'nek-a iquliqerluku*

cali-llu	***taugkunek***	*kantirarnek*	*ca'nek-a*
cali=llu	**ta-ug-ku-t-nek**	kantirar-t-nek	caa-t-nek=a
also=COO	**R<AERD-OF.NS-PL-ABL**	candy-PL-ABL	Q-PL-ABL=GWP

iquliqerluku
iqug-lir-qert-lu-ku-ø
end-one.who-simultaneously-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG

'And also **this** candy **from downriver**, at the end of any meal'
'(And also candy **from over there**, at the end of any meal)'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:41)

Figure 4.4 shows the distribution of all of the nominal cases across the demonstratives found in the NSKY corpus. The object-figure cases are shown in shades of orange, and the location-figure cases are shown in shades of blue. Yellow represents demonstrative particles which do not take nominal formative patterns. For the object-figure demonstratives, the core cases absolutive, ergative, and genitive are the most frequent,

followed by the ablative case. For the location-figure demonstratives, the localis case is the most frequent, followed by the aequalis case, used to indicate manner and similarity. The least common particle indicated in dark yellow is the demonstrative *taugkun (ta-ug-kun)*, which is the special relative-absolute demonstrative discussed in Chapter Three using a perlalitive case formative, but it does not use the figure-type morpheme needed to form a full demonstrative nominal holophrase, discussed further in Section 4.3.4.

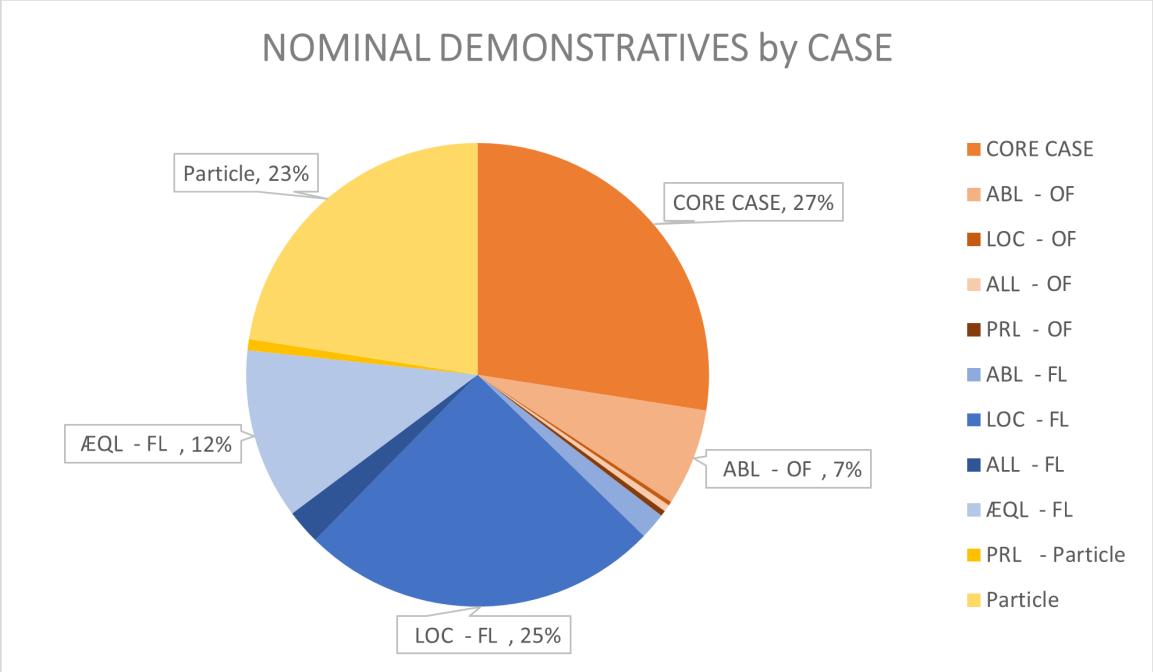


Figure 4.4: Nominal Case Distribution across Demonstrative Types

4.3.2 Demonstrative compounds

In this section in particular, I draw upon the grammatical intuitions of the NSKY consultant who helped me to transcribe and translate the narratives used in my NSKY corpus. In doing so, I try not to change her translations, but when I do, the translation is kept within the spirit of her original as much as possible. Even in clarifying and disambiguating the demonstrative interpretations from a Yup'ik worldview to an English one, her translations are the guide. Within her transcriptions of these narratives, an interesting pattern is noted. The translator transcribes, at times, two fully formed demonstrative holophrases (phrasal words) as a single holophrase. That is, sometimes she writes two demonstrative nominals as if they are a single word (*unawani* < *una-wani* < *una wani* 'this one here' (143 b)). This does not happen

to every set of demonstratives that are adjacent to each other (*waniwa una wani qanerturallra* 'now this here that I have spoken' (AAy 2018:35.5)) but only to a few. I term this occurrence as a demonstrative compound, that is, as two demonstratives compounded into one. Unfortunately, there are only eight examples in my NSKY corpus, and thus, it is difficult to generalize about these compounds. Nevertheless, I make a few observations here.

These demonstrative compounds seem to fall within a single intonational phrase, although more analysis is needed to formalize this observation and differentiate a demonstrative compound's intonational phrase from other types also involving multiple demonstratives. These demonstrative compounds act to modify the referent similarly to the English construction *this X here.* The demonstrative compound typically begins with an object-figure demonstrative and then is followed by a location-figure demonstrative. Notice in (143 a) the demonstrative is technically a location-figure *a-* derivation, but then it uses a core case formative pattern with the plural *-t*. This plural morpheme is only grammatical with object-figure derivations. This strange morphology notwithstanding, the holophrase itself is still an object-figure formative pattern followed by a location-figure formative pattern. Additionally, all except one example, (143 d), in my NSKY corpus use the same demonstrative frame of reference and fundamental demonstrative base form, including dimensionality, between the pair of compounded demonstratives. (143 d) shows a mismatch between an absolute interioricity object-figure demonstrative and an intrinsic restricted location-figure demonstrative. Notice that in this example, too, the *a-* derivation in the first demonstrative is mismatched with an object-figure formative pattern. Finally, note in (143 e) that the first demonstrative base is not fully formed but uses the temporal form from *watawa*. However, this temporal demonstrative form is infixed by the demonstrative holophrase *wani*[2]. The anaphoric enclitic *=wa* is discussed in Section 4.3.4. Examples (143 b) and (143 c) are the most frequent demonstrative compounds found in my corpus.

(143) a. *avatiini*
aug-a-t-ø-ag-a-ni
AXSP-FL-PL-ABS-AXSD-FL-LOC

'those across there'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:85.2)

[2]A different analysis could be that the locative case has been attached to the demonstrative particle *watawa* after the anaphoric enclitic *=wa*. I do not utilize this analysis because I have no other examples of a case suffix occurring after an enclitic and because the translator translated this as 'right here and now.' Based on this translation whereby *watawa* is 'right now,' and *wani* is 'here,' analyzing this form as a demonstrative compound is a better analysis.

b. *unawani*
u-na-ø-ø-u-a-ni
IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS-IK-FL-LOC

'this one here'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:70)

c. *mana-maani*
ma-na-ø-ø-ma-a-ni
IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS-IX-FL-LOC

'now and then'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:105)

d. *qatwatmun*
qaug-a-t-ø-u-a-tmun
AXBP-FL-PL-ABS-IK-FL-INDF.ALL

'towards the one up river'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:68)

e. *watawani*
uat-a-uat-a-ni
IE-FL-IK-FL-LOC

'right now here'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:88)

These examples demonstrate that the frame of reference is a regulating factor in creating demonstrative compounds. Compound demonstratives show a preference to form with two demonstratives of the same frame of reference, dimensionality, and in the case of the absolute frame of reference compounds, directionality (direct, elevation, riverine, interioricity). Body-space within absolute demonstratives, however, is a non-issue in forming these compounds and does not need to match. Finally, demonstrative compounds also prefer to compound an object-figure with a location-figure evidenced by the formative patterns used, even though the derivational morpheme is mismatched in some examples. Further analysis needs to be done in collaboration with a NSKY consultant to describe the difference between these compounds as opposed to adjacent demonstratives in a later study.

4.3.3 Demonstrative holophrases in syntax

As Diessel (1999a) asserts, a demonstrative can function in many different ways and fall into different lexical categories. A demonstrative's function refers to its semantic

purpose, and its structural category refers to its morphosyntactic makeup. For a demonstrative to fall into two different structural categories, it must have two distinct functions and morphosyntactic constructions (Diessel, 1999a pp. 4, 89, 158).

This categorical principle is present in the Yugtun demonstrative system. Yugtun bases are fluid and select a structural category based on morphosyntactic and semantic context. Four core derivational morphemes transform a fundamental demonstrative base (Section 3.3) into a demonstrative base (Section 4.2), and all four morphemes serve similar functions, that is, the indexation of a figure type into joint attention. The difference in figure-type is a semantic feature that pervades Yugtun demonstratives. Yugtun emphasizes the physical characteristics of the figure from the fundamental demonstrative base all the way through to the syntactic case. Thus, as there is a division in structure but not in meaning, I treat these four demonstrative forms (that is, the fundamental demonstrative bases derived into demonstrative bases by the figure-type morphemes *-na, -ku, -u, -a*, for example) as part of a single lexical category: demonstrative bases.

This equity between the four demonstrative base types becomes more apparent as their use in context is examined. Despite each figure-type having an equal position within the demonstrative base category, there is often only one appropriate form for a given figure. This contrasts with the statement in Jacobson and Jacobson (1995 p. 83), "the question of whether to use a demonstrative pronoun or a demonstrative adverb is often a matter of style or emphasis more than meaning." This claim is both true and false. The demonstrative object-figure base (*-na, -u, -ku*) or a location-figure base (*-a*) is not arbitrary but rather relies on the context of use and semantics. Just as obscured, restricted, extended, or approaching fundamental demonstrative bases are chosen by figure classification rather than style or emphasis, so too is figure type. Alternatively, it is no more arbitrary than selecting an intrinsic frame of reference, a relative frame of reference, or an absolute frame of reference. Again, this choice is not arbitrary but dependent on the context of use and semantics. These features are not arbitrary because, in Yugtun, the shape of the figure is important and dictates the selection of a demonstrative base type. This care for the figure's dimensionality supports the accurate and unambiguous joint reference of the figure, whether it be an object like 'a bird' or the location of that object like 'in a tree' or the manner of the object's action. Furthermore, the topic of an utterance changes significantly depending on whether it is an object or a location that has been called into joint attention. However, it is true that these derivations both still need to select for a syntactic category, and are both functioning as demonstrative bases, bringing figures into joint attention. Additionally, each of those four morphemes is capable of entering into syntactic constructions. But

as I show, all four derivations have the same syntactic distributions in context. The similiarity between the figure-type morphology and case distribution in syntactic categorization further supports the notion that they should not be arbitrarily divided between the particularist categories of pronouns and adverbs but are, in fact, the same lexical category. That is, demonstrative bases are not inherently pronouns or adverbs, but rather, they belong to a single demonstrative lexical category and use grammar-wide formative patterns to select syntactic functions in context.

Syntactic category is constructed in context through a pattern of formative morphemes concatenated after one of the demonstrative bases. In the previous section, I showed that demonstrative bases could be constructed as nominals and have a clear selectional preference to be nominals. It is also feasible that they can also enter into a verb or conjunct construction, but I have no evidence of this in the NSKY corpus. Semantically, nominals generally represent an entity which can either be an object on the landscape or a locational feature of the landscape. In the case of demonstratives, the entity—or figure—is being brought into joint attention within the discourse.

Within the syntactic category of nominals, words can act *adnominally* or *pronominally*, but most languages do not make a structural distinction in their demonstrative systems (Diessel, 1999a). An adnominal demonstrative usually functions as a determiner or specifier joined to an adjacent nominal. A pronominal demonstrative takes the place of an ordinary nominal in the main clause but can also be in apposition with a coreferential nominal. Many languages use a single nominal form to perform both functions (Diessel, 1999a). In Yugtun, demonstrative nominals function in context pronominally and adnominally, but they do not function as determiners.

In the NSKY corpus, demonstratives can both stand independently in the place of the nominal in a clause (pronominally) or in apposition to a coreferential nominal (adnominally). However, unlike an adnominal determiner, either the demonstrative or the coreferential nominal can be removed without affecting the sentence's content. The following examples in (144) are both from Kiicaq (MP). In the first, (144 a), the demonstrative is standing in place of the main nominal and acting as the core syntactic argument to the verb. That is, the demonstrative is a pronoun. In the second, (144 b), the demonstrative is in apposition with the core nominal. Both nominals function as the core syntactic argument to the verb in tandem.

(144) a. ***ikna**-gguq arparluni*

***ikna**-gguq*	*arparluni*
ik-na-ø-ø=gguq	aarpar-lu-ni-ø
AESD-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS=QUOT	holler-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG

'they say **this one** across there was hollering'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:7.1)

b. ***Taukut-llu-guq**, ilai ayakarluteng*

***taukut-llu-guq**,*	*ilai*
ta-u-ku-t-ø=llu=gguq,	ila-t-ngi-ø-ø
R<IE-OF.NS-PL-ABS=COO=QUOT,	friend-PL-3.NOMA.PLCOM-SG-ABS

ayakarluteng
ayag-qar-lu-teg-t
go.away-immediately-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'**It was said those ones**, his friends, had run away too.'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:8.1)

In the first example, (144 a), the demonstrative establishes an absolute frame of reference, which deictically points to the figure who is hollering as a restricted entity. The ground is the river across which the origo, through *deixis am phantasma*, Kaikvayak, is pointing to the shaman hollering. The demonstrative is derived as a singular absolutive subject which is an object-figure. The demonstrative is the only nominal in the sentence and stands in place of the core argument as a deictic pronominal pointing to the subject referent. This utterance can be considered a demonstrative pointing towards a phonetically unspecified figure. The figure still exists in the discourse world or the real world and is being indexed with a linguistic pointing gesture temporarily standing in its place.

In the second example, (144 b), the demonstrative establishes a relative frame of reference whereby 'his friends' is the figure and is construed as a restricted entity. The ground is allocentrically 'his,' which in this case is the rival shaman. Finally, the origo is the main character in the story, Kaikvayak, via the phenomena of *deixis am phantasma*. The demonstrative is derived as a non-singular object. It stands in apposition with the phonetic specification of the figure as an independent pronominal. Thus, as both the demonstative and the nominal are in apposition they each function as the main subject of the sentence. Accordingly either of the invented sentences below (145) derived from example (144 b are well-formed without changing the meaning of the narrative utterance.

(145) a. ***Taukut**-llu-guq ayakarluteng*

***taukut**-llu-guq*	*ayakarluteng*
ta-uat-ku-t-ø=llu=gguq,	ayag-qar-lu-teg-t
R<IE-OF.NS-PL-ABS=COO=QUOT	go.away-immediately-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'It was said that those ones had run away too.'

b. *ilai(-llu-guq) ayakarluteng*

ilai(-llu-guq)
ila-t-ngi-ø-ø=llu=gguq
friend-PL-3.NOMA.PLCOM-SG=COO=QUOT

ayakarluteng
ayag-qar-lu-teg-t
go.away-immediately-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'It was said that his friends had run away too.'

In addition, the non-demonstrative nominal *ilai* is further inflected with a possessor formative, which further refines its semantics with a determiner-like morpheme. The demonstrative does not agree with this possessor morpheme because demonstratives point to the figure without being the figure itself. If the demonstrative were acting as an adnominal determiner, it would be problematic to use the possessor determiner attached to the nominal. 'These his friends' is a deictically redundant sentence as both the spatial deictic demonstrative and the social deictic pronoun are bringing the figure into joint attention. The fact that the subject argument takes a possessor morpheme of its own suggests that the demonstrative is not functioning as a determiner but rather as a pronominal standing in coreferential apposition as 'these ones, his friends.'

The function of these demonstrative pronouns is not to contribute definiteness or specificity, as a determiner does, but rather to bring an object into joint attention by establishing the figure in the physical or conceptual world within a frame of reference. The figure is brought into joint attention either through the use of an appositional nominal adjacent to the demonstrative pronoun or through an accompanying physical pointing gesture when the demonstrative pronominal stands in the figure's place.

These same functions occur with location-figure demonstratives, albeit as oblique arguments. For example, the following from Aciangaq in (146), shows a location-figure demonstrative indexing, not the appositional nominal, but rather the location where the nominal exists.

(146) *Wangkuta* ***maani,*** *cellangeqarraallemni, akingsunata-llu*

wangkuta	***maani,***	*cellangeqarraallemni,*
wangkuta	**ma-a-ni**,	cella-ng-qarraar-ller-m-ø-ni,
we	**IX-FL-LOC**,	awareness-began-first-CNJ.(when)-1.ERGA-SG-LOC

akingsunata-llu
aking-ssur-na-ta=llu
earn.money-seek-APP.NEG-PL.LF=COO

'we, **here**, when I first became aware of the world, and we didn't seek to make money...'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:7.1)

In (146), the demonstrative is an intrinsic extended location-figure marked in the locative case. The ground is egocentric and encapsulated by the appositional nominal 'we'; the figure is a location that contains the ground, particularly the Kotlik or the Yukon region. The conjunct is providing additional temporal grounding and context and stating that the location he is talking about is not the region of today but rather the region of his youth. This is not a determiner construction as the location-figure demonstratives and the plural personal pronoun have different referents. Instead, they function in apposition to jointly index a complex figure that is left phonetically unspecified.

Similarly, the location-figures can stand in place of a figure pronominally using context to specify the referent, as in (147), uttered by Carra (IH).

(147)

mavet	*taivailamta.*
ma-a-vet	tai-pailg-m-ta-ø
IX-FL-DEF.ALL	come-CNJ.(before)-1.ERGA-PL.LF-ERG

'Before we moved **here**.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:3)

In this utterance, he refers to Kotlik before his family moved from Caniliaq. The demonstrative is pointing to the figure in space, but the figure (*Kotlik*) is left phonetically unspecified, leaving the demonstrative to stand in its syntactic place.

An Aequalis-marked demonstrative is in some ways similar as it can index nominals in apposition or in hiatus but also indexes a complete clause, including the verbs and conjuncts. In (148), Carra (IH) lists a set of items he could have purchased from the store, back in the day, but the store never had enough.

(148) ***Waten, waten*** *ca'nek,* ***waten*** *food stamp-at ca'nek ...a... tamakut pitellruameng*

waten,	***waten***	*ca'nek,*	***waten***
u-a-ten,	**u-a-ten**	caa-t-nek,	**u-a-ten**
IE-FL-FL.ÆQL,	**IE-FL-FL.ÆQL**	Q-PL-ABL,	**IE-FL-FL.ÆQL**

foodstamp-at	*ca'nek*	*...a...*	*tamakut*
food.stampar-t-ø	caa-t-nek	...a...	ta-ma-ku-t-ø
food.stamp-PL-ABS	Q-PL-ABL	*sttr*	R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS

pitellruameng
pi-te-llru-a-meg-t-ø
do-plan.to-PST-CNJ.(be)-4.ERGA-PL-ERG

'**Like these**, **like this** stuff, food stamps some stuff—**these things**— we were planning on getting them.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:5.2)

In (148), the Aequalis demonstratives are serving as placeholders to unspecified referents and pointing to appositional nominals, all included in the list of items he would buy at the store. However, the demonstratives are not serving a determining role but more of a placeholder role for all the things he is having trouble bringing to mind. These demonstratives create space for him to think of the entities he is bringing into joint attention. In this way, they function as a *filled pause* or hesitation particle similar to English *um* but they are more meaningful as they are also content placeholders. Thus we can translate this sentence as 'these things: um, um, stuff, um food stamps, stuff.'

In (149), Carra (IH) is giving directions for food storage and preparation before they had refrigerators. When he brings a particular manner of preparation into focus, he uses the Aequalis demonstrative, *waten*, to index it. This indexation can point to a new step or can refer anaphorically back to a previous step.

(149) *neqkait tamakut* ***waten*** *pilingermeng, qungatnaurait.*

neqkait	*tamakut*
neqka-t-ngi-t-ø	ta-ma-ku-t-ø
prepared.food-PL-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL-ABS	R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS

waten	*pilingermeng,*
u-a-ten	pi-li-ngrar-meg-t-ø,
IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	do-made-CNJ.(even.as)-4.ERGA-PL-ERG,

qungatnaurait.
qungat-naur-gar-ngi-t
store-HAB-IND.TR-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL

'their prepared foods—those **like this**— even as they were made they were stored away.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:40.1)

In (149), the demonstrative, *waten*, is standing in apposition to the entire clause 'our made things we stored away.' It points to the next step in the preparation of food. However, in (150), the demonstrative *waten* fills the place of an action uttered several clauses earlier.

(150) Amiraluku, ararluki, uitatcuaqerluki celamun]... [air-araluki]...
freezer-aunateng pillruameng, **waten** assiirutcunateng

[Amiraluku, *ararluki,*
[amir-ar-lu-ku-ø, arar-lu-ki-t
[skin-ITR-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG, hang-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL,

uitatcuaqerluki *celamun]...*
uitat-yu-ar-qer-lu-ki-t cela-ø-mun]...
let.be-tend.to-ITR-simultaneously-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL world-SG-ALL.SG]...

[air-araluki]... *freezer-aunateng*
[airar-ar-lu-ki-t]... freezerar-ngu-na-teg-t
[air-ITR-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL]... freezer-STAT-APP.NEG-4.NOMA-PL

pillruameng, ***waten***
pi-llru-nga-meg-t-ø, **u-a-ten**
do-PST-CNJ.(because)-4.ERGA-PL-ERG, **IE-FL-FL.ÆQL**

assiirutcunateng
assiit-ute-ngu-na-teg-t
bad-in.order.to-STAT-APP.NEG-4.NOMA-PL

'After they skin it, they hang them and tend to leave them for a while outside...air dry them...because they didn't have freezers they did it, **like this (in this way)** they kept the food from going bad.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:34.2-40.1)

In (150), the demonstrative *waten* is anaphorically pointing back to the earlier clauses *[Amiraluku, ararluki, uitatcuaqerluki celamun]...[air-araluki].* It is standing in for these actions so that the speaker does not have to repeat himself but can build off them. The intrinsic restricted demonstrative, as opposed to a relative demonstrative, is used because the speaker (IH) is anchoring himself in the discourse and pointing

back to his previously uttered clauses within the same discourse topic. These defined clauses can be construed as restricted figures rather than extended streams of speech. The speaker then uses the demonstrative anaphorically to bring those previously uttered restricted clauses into the present act of speaking and to add new content to them.

These examples show that object-figure and location-figure demonstratives can fill the same syntactic functions. They all function as pronominals in the discourse. They can stand in place of an indexed figure and point to it either exophorically in physical space, through *deixis am phantasma*, or endophorically as anaphors pointing to previous figures in the discourse or the discourse itself. This anaphoric role is even extended grammatically to play a switch reference and focalizing role in the discourse, which are each addressed in more detail in the next sections.

4.3.4 Grammaticalization and demonstrative particles

Grammaticalization is a normal part of language change whereby one semantic element is coopted into a more abstract, grammatical function (Kuteva et al., 2019). Grammaticalization is the diachronic process by which an independent or quasi-independent lexical item in a language takes on a purely grammatical function. This process gradually transforms a lexical item from a usually free and optional element within the discourse to an obligatory particle within a sentence, a process called *syntactization* (Lehmann, 2015). This new particle can then transform into an often bound morpheme through the process known as *morphologicalization*. Eventually, this morpheme can be lost to the language and replaced by a new element which grammaticalizes to fill the void left behind (Lehmann, 1982, 2015 p. 15). Demonstratives readily grammaticalize across languages transforming from lexically specific deictic indexicals to more grammatical particles. In Yugtun, demonstratives can be seen in both stages of grammaticalization, syntactization and morphologicalization.

The grammaticalization of demonstratives begins with their lexical spatial exophoric sense. This process begins with the exophoric forms because demonstratives are part of the basic vocabulary of all languages and do not themselves grammaticalize from other lexical material (Diessel, 1999a). The exophoric function of demonstratives is seen as the most basic use of orienting the speech participants to the outside world. As demonstratives are grammatical items serving "language-external functions," according to Diessel (1999a p. 112), a demonstrative will readily grammaticalize to serve endophoric functions within the discourse domain. After being used endophorically, a (most often distal) demonstrative can further grammaticalize into new deictic and non-

deictic functions. Which grammatical functions a demonstrative will grammaticalize into is partly determined by their structural properties and partly determined by their endophoric function. Due to this, after a demonstrative has moved to fulfill a new use, it usually retains its syntactic or structural properties while slowly bleaching its semantic properties. As a result, a grammaticalized demonstrative often becomes more syntactically restricted and obligatory within the new environment. Additionally, they tend to be phonologically reduced, might have coalesced with adjacent or collocational morphemes, and may no longer inflect (Diessel, 1999a pp. 115–153).

Crosslinguistically, pronominal demonstratives are known to grammaticalize into third-person pronouns, relative pronouns, complementizers, sentence connectives (linking particles), and possessives. Adnominal demonstratives often become determiners or markers of noun class, nominal linkers, relative clause boundary markers, markers of number or specific indefinite articles. Adverbial demonstratives can become temporal adverbs or directional preverbs. Finally, identificational demonstratives often grammaticalize into copulas, focus markers, or expletives (Kuteva et al., 2019 pp. 109–116; Diessel, 1999a pp. 115–153).

Chapter Three examined the process of taking the exophoric spatial demonstratives and, through metaphor, construing them as exophoric temporal demonstratives. In Yugtun, however, temporal demonstratives are largely undistinguished morphologically from the exophoric spatial demonstratives. Chapter Three has also shown the process of extending Yugtun demonstratives into the endophoric discourse domain.

For instance, the fully inflected demonstrative holophrase *maaten* 'like this/when,' is argued to have purely discourse functions, having lost deictic force, as in (151). This loss of deixis is only partially true. 'When' in this context is not functioning as a coordinator or conjunction but rather as an index of a temporal action (Hall, 2010). As the case suffix is Aequalis, the use of this form to index a manner of action in time is interpretable. Thus, either translation below is valid:

(151)

Ker'arrluteng,	***maaten***	*paqtaat*
kerrar-lu-teg-t,	**ma-a-ten**	paqt-gar-nga-t
cross.over-APP-4.NOMA-PL,	**IX-FL-FL.ÆQL**	check.on-IND.TR-3.NOMA.SGCOM-PL

angalkuq	*tauna*
angalkur-ø-ø	ta-u-na-ø-ø
shaman-SG-ABS	R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS

{'like this, they crossed the river, they checked on that shaman'
'when they crossed the river, they checked on the shaman.'}

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:8.2)

Typically such syntactizized discourse demonstratives have been phonetically reduced in their new roles. Phonological reduction and preference for particular collocating morphemes can also be seen in the extended temporal use of the demonstratives, to some degree, such as with the demonstrative *wata-* in (134), which is not inflected for case and always collocates with the enclitic *=wa*. *Watawa*, as discussed in Section 3.4.2, is typically translated as 'right now.'

There are two types of phonological reduction observed in Yugtun demonstratives: the loss of the inflectional formative pattern and the loss of the derivational figure-type morpheme. These grammaticalized forms are exclusively used with discourse or temporal demonstratives. Based on the degree of phonological reduction and their function in context, I show in the following sections that some demonstratives in Yugtun have undergone syntactization while others have undergone morphologicalization. These demonstratives, however, maintain traces of their deictic frames of reference even in these new endophoric functions and not all demonstratives have grammaticalized to the same degree.

The syntactization of Yugtun demonstratives

Demonstratives that have undergone grammaticalization resulting in phonetic reductions are also usually, but not always, derived using the locational-figure type morpheme, meaning they are derived from a demonstrative base using the derivational morpheme *-a* (FL 'Figure-Type Location'). Thus, forms such as *tayima* are frequently used as discourse particles or have fully grammaticalized to new semantic domains with only a demonstrative flavour left over. *Tayima*, which is regularly translated in the corpus as 'hopefully/elsewhere/gone/lost,' is an example of a fully grammaticalized particle that has taken on new semantic content within Yugtun syntax and is used as a discourse deictic with some stance taking semantics, as in (152) (Also discussed in Section 3.4.3 in (123)).

(152) ***Tayima**, una-wani unevkaraqlallikiit tamakut.*

***tayima**,*	*una-wani*	
ta-im-a	u-na-ø-ø-u-a-ni	
R<IØ-FL	IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS-IK-FL-LOC	
unevkaraqlallikiit		*tamakut.*
univkaraq-la-lli-ka-nga-t		ta-ma-ku-t-ø
legend-HAB-maybe-PART.TR-3.NOMA.SGCOM-PL		R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS

'**Hopefully**, this one here will maybe share this tale of these things.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:101.2)

Tayima is a relative demonstrative marking an obscured figure. The fundamental demonstrative base is *tayim-*, and the demonstrative base is *tayim-a-*, indicating that the figure is a location or manner. However, the demonstrative is not inflected for a syntactic category with a formative inflectional pattern, which as discussed in Section 2.4.6, indicates its use as a particle. Generally, this demonstrative particle is only used within this grammaticalized context as a stance particle meaning 'hopefully,' but can still be used spatially as in (100), and the remnants of its deictic function as an obscure figure-type demonstrative are still evident in its grammaticalized function.

Notice in example (152) that there are no formative inflectional morphemes attached to the demonstrative forms after the *-a* morpheme of *tayima*. This lack of formative pattern also happens with the demonstrative grammaticalization *tua*, which means 'and then' as in (124), discussed in Section 4.4.2. Typically, the figure-type location derivational morpheme indicates an adverbial function for the given demonstrative, which is then inflected as a pronoun using the nominal case morphemes in Table 4.2. However, in his analysis of the Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic Inuttut language), Sadock argues that this *-a* morpheme is not the same derivational morpheme but rather is a unique enclitic *=a*, that attaches to the fundamental demonstrative bases to form particles. Thus in Kalaallisut, "from the root *pav-* there are the adverbial particles *paffa* 'up there/there in the east' and *tappava* 'up there/there in the east, as mentioned"' (Sadock, 2003). In contrast to Sadock, I argue that in Yugtun, since the *-a* derivation is already adverbial in function and used in endophoric contexts, it is more likely that the nominal formative pattern, including nominal case, is lost in the syntactization of this demonstrative into its new function as a clausal linker and stance marker (Section 4.4.2). Thus, I do not identify the *-a* as a special enclitic being used to create discourse particles but as a remnant of the grammaticalization process.

An additional piece of evidence that this *-a* morpheme is not a special enclitic (unrelated to the figure-type location derivation) comes from the syntactized discourse particle *tauguam (ta-ug-u=am)*, which is regularly translated as 'however/only/but only,' and is derived into a singular object-figure (OF.NS) demonstrative without any formative inflection. If Sadock's argument for Kalaallisut was valid in Yugtun as well, that *=a* is an enclitic which creates demonstrative particles, then this discourse particle would be **taugaam (ta-ug=a=am)*. The grammatical Yugtun form *ta-ug-u=am* shows that in Yugtun, grammaticalization of demonstratives does not occur only in the location-figure type demonstratives but also in the object-figure type demonstratives. These morphemes after the fundamental demonstrative base (*a-, u-*) are not special particle enclitics but rather the derivational morphemes discussed in the last section. The grammaticalization process in Yugtun thereby occurs across

demonstrative figure types, and the structural reduction caused by the process of grammaticalization predominantly affects the formative inflectional material rather than derivational figure-type morphemes, which have been left behind.

Finally, the underived fundamental demonstrative base *u(at)-* can be seen grammaticalized into several different functions in Yugtun. First, the restricted intrinsic (egocentric) demonstrative base *u(at)-* functions as the first person pronominal deictic base *wa(n)-*. Note that Miyaoka asserts that /t/~/n/ are quasi-identical phonemes (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 232).[3] The grammaticalization of demonstratives into 3rd-person pronouns is a common phenomenon, but note that in Yugtun, the demonstrative is used in the 1st-person (Kuteva et al., 2019). The pronominal 1st-person forms are shown in Table 4.3. Note the use of the plural long-form number associated with a 1st-person (Section 2.4.2) in the plural pronoun.

Table 4.3: Demonstrative Pronominal Bases: This table shows the morphological makeup of the 1st person pronouns in Yugtun, which are grammaticalized from the intrinsic egocentric restricted demonstrative base.

	Pronoun		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st-Person	*wii(nga)*	*wangkuta*	*wangkuk*
	ua(t)-nga(-nga)	ua(t)-ku-ta	ua(t)-ku-k
	IE-1.ABS.SG(-1.ABS.SG)	IE-1.ABS.NS-PL.LF	IE-1.ABS.NS-DU
	'I'	'we'	'we two'

In contrast to my morphological analysis of these pronouns, Miyaoka argues that in the non-singular forms of these pronouns, the morpheme *-ku* is identical to the demonstrative base's non-singular object-figure derivation (OF.NS), which he calls a demonstrative expander (Miyaoka, 2012 p. 384). By contrast, I posit that this *-ku* is an inflectional person formative (1P.ABS.NS) discussed in Section 2.4.2. My analysis provides a better diachronic path from an egocentric demonstrative that tends to index 3rd-person referents into the 1st-person pronouns, as a 1st-person formative is inflected on the fundamental demonstrative base.

[3]Additionally, Jacobson argues that there is often an /ng/ that surfaces in between a base that ends in Vt- and a postbase (Jacobson, 2013 p. 732). Thus, the /t/ at the end of *u(at)-* turns into /n/ and the nasal then assimilates to the following velar stop or a velar stop is inserted in the non-singular forms. Also, due to M3 in Chapter Two, when a velar drops intervocalically, two adjacent central vowels raise to /ii/.

The same intrinsic fundamental demonstrative base used for the 1st-person pronouns, (*u(at)-*), has also grammaticalized into an anaphoric enclitic and had its phonetic form reduced to *=wa*. This enclitic is no longer a fully independent syntactic particle but rather is bound onto the end of another holophrase, often times another demonstrative.

Anaphora is a larger-than-sentence level of deictic gesture. A deictic gesture is either a physical pointing motion by the speaker or a linguistic pointing word in the text, such as a demonstrative which establishes a vector between the origo (which is the speaker, interlocutor, or a projection from either) and the figure. An anaphoric word or morpheme is coreferential to another word or morpheme previously stated in the discourse (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). Thus an anaphor stands in the place of the previous figure and points back to it. In this way, a single entity or event can be carried across a discourse without having to be repeated multiple times.

The phonetically reduced Yugtun demonstrative enclitic serves this purpose in the spatial, temporal, and discursive domains. The enclitic attaches to the temporal demonstrative *watawa* to specify the proximal time period, as it was previously stated in the utterance as in (153).

(153) *Cali-llu, makut yun'erraat waten wani,* ***tau=wa****, qanruqurluki* ***wata=wa*** *pilaqunegteki, makut angaisuqaireta (ai) elicaraaluki ca'nek*

Cali-llu,	*makut*	*yun'erraat*	*waten*	*wani,*
cali=llu,	ma-ku-t-ø	yunnerrar-t-ø	u-a-ten	u-a-ni,
also=COO,	IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS	young.man-PL-ABS	IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	IE-FL-LOC,

tau=wa*,*	*qanruqurluki*	***wata=wa***
ta-u=wa,	qanrut-qur-lu-ki-t	**uat-a=wa**
R<IE=ANA	tell-ITR-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL	**IE-FL=ANA**

pilaqunegteki,	*makut*
pi-lar-ku-meg-t-ki-t,	ma-ku-t-ø
do-HAB-CNJ.(if)-4.ERGA-PL-3.ACCA.PL-PL,	IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS

angaisuqaireta	*(ai)*	*elicaraaluki*
angayuqar-t-ngi-ta-ø	(ai)	elicar-ar-lu-ki-t
parent-PL-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL.LF-ABS	huh	teach-ITR-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL

ca'nek
caa-t-nek
Q-PL-ABL

'And also, these young men(people) like this here, **well then** these things, by speaking to them **now** in this way, if these parents do that they should teach them something'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:23.1)

In the utterance in (153), the enclitic *=wa* is attached to the deictic form *tau(at)-* as in *tau=wa*. Here the *tau(at)-* is functioning endophorically to connect the topic 'these young people now' to the event or comment 'by speaking to them; parents teach them.' This cohesive function is discussed in Section 4.4.2. However, the anaphoric enclitic (*=wa*) is indexing the previous discourse about what the parents should be teaching them and what Aciangaq, the speaker, is teaching me, the interlocutor, in this narrative. Thus *tau=wa* is a placeholder for each lesson the parents should teach. The second anaphorically bound demonstrative *wata=wa* refers to the time period specified by the preceding antecedent, 'these young people.' Thus, if the desired speaking events occur at the same time as the people are young, as it is occuring with me now, then they will be taught something. Both demonstratives are clitized with this anaphoric form so as to bring the precedding discourse forward and contribute new comments.

While the deictic enclitic *=wa* frequently collocates with demonstratives, it can also attach to any other syntactic holophrase to point back to a previously mentioned referent as in (154).

(154) ***Cali-wa*** *tauguam,* ***wani=wa****, tuaten yuut eglertengniartut.*

Cali-wa	*tauguam,*	***wani=wa,***	*tuaten*
cali=wa	ta-ug-u=am,	**u-a-ni=wa**,	ta-u-a-ten
also=ANA	R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH,	**IE-FL-LOC=ANA**,	R<IE-FL-FL-ÆQL

yuut	*eglertengniartut.*
yug-t-ø	eglert-ng-niar-gur-t
person-PL-ABS	move-begin-FUT-IND.IN-PL

'**And again** however, **now**, people will continue to move forward like that'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:32.4)

As shown in (154), the anaphoric enclitic frequently collocates with other discourse particles like those that introduce new topics such as *cali* 'also/moreover.'

An interesting variation of this anaphoric enclitic is *-gga*. Jacobson and Miyaoka claim that *-gga* is a phonological allomorph of *=wa* in free variation or as a dialectal variant (Jacobson, 2013 p. 937). However, my consultants use both forms consistently but in different contexts. *=wa* is used *anaphorically* to point back to a discourse antecedent, while *=gga* is used *cataphorically* to point forward in a discourse to a subsequent referent, as shown in (155).

(155) *Cali, ah,* ***pini=gga!?!*** *waten angsirluteng-llu angsangqerluteng pilallrunriilam tamani, qayatgun tauguam*

cali,	*ah,*	***pini=gga!?!***	*waten*
cali,	ah,	**pi-ø-ni-ø-ø=gga**!?!	u-a-ten
also,	ah,	**thing-SG-4.NOMA.SG-SG-ABS=CAT**!?!	IE-FL-FL.ÆQL

angsirluteng-llu	*angsangqerluteng*
angsar-lu-teg-t=llu	angsar-ngqerr-lu-teg-t
boat-APP-4.NOMA-PL=COO	boat-have-APP-4.NOMA-PL

pilallrunriilam	*tamani,*
pila-llru-nrite-(a)-nga-ø-ø=am	ta-ma-a-ni,
called-HAB-PST-NEG-CNJ.(be)-3.NOMA-SG-ERG=EMPH	R<IX-FL-LOC

qayatgun	*tauguam*
qaya-t-kun	ta-ug-u=am
kayaq-PL-PRL	R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH

'Also, ah, **those things!?!** And boating, they had boats like this yet it wasn't called that then, only kayaks.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:10.1-10.2)

In the utterance in (155), the speaker, (IH), is having trouble recalling the word he is thinking of, so he says *pini* 'thing' in its place and then points forward to the actual as-of-yet unspoken word using the cataphoric *=gga*. The word he is thinking of later in the discourse is *angsir-* 'boat.' Aciangaq (AA) also uses the enclitic *=gga* in a cataphoric context in (156):

(156) *Cali-llu* ***wani=gga*** *angasuqaarema anertekellemeggni, tamaani qanruqulalluangnga*

cali-llu	***wani=gga***	*angasuqaarema*
cali=llu	**u-a-ni=gga**	angayuqar-ø-m-a-ø
also=COO	**IE-FL-LOC=CAT**	parent-SG-1.ERGA-SG.LF-ABS

anertekellemeggni,	*tamaani*
anerter-ller-meg-ø-ni,	ta-ma-a-ni
alive-CNJ.(when)-4.ERG-SG-LOC,	R<IX-FL-LOC

qanruqulalluangnga
qanrut-qur-lar-llru-gar-nga-ø-nga-ø
tell-ITR-HAB-PST-IND.TR-3.ERGA-SG-1.ABSA.SG-SG

'And also **now**, when my parents were alive, they used to tell me back then'

NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:29.1)

In (156), Aciangaq is using the demonstrative *wani* to index the time as 'now' but then uses the cataphoric enclitic to point forward in the discourse to the referent *angasuqaarema anertekellemeggni* 'when my parents were alive,' which is the in-text origo that grounds the time period. Thus, this temporal use of the intrinsic demonstrative is a form of deixis *am phantasma* where 'now' is not understood as the time of the speech-event but rather as the time specified cataphorically in the text itself.

Thus, while *=wa* is used to anaphorically point backward in the text, or as Jacobson adds, "this enclitic implies that there is more involved than that which is explicitly stated," its correlate *=gga* is not in free variation in Yugtun but rather is used cataphorically to point forward in the text (Jacobson, 2013 p. 937). Both of these enclitics frequently collocate with demonstratives and discourse particles.

These grammaticalized demonstrative particles discussed above only begin to scratch the surface of how demonstratives have adapted to new roles in the language's grammar. These previous discussions showcase how grammaticalization is a very active process in Yugtun and is particularly exploitive of the demonstrative system. However, the process by which a fully formed demonstrative holophrase shifts semantics to take on a discourse role and how the form phonetically reduces in its new role depends on the demonstrative and its context of use. In addition, even as the semantics change, the frame of reference remains in the background as evidence of the source domain, thereby contributing to the pragmatics of the utterance. I return to discussing many of these grammaticalization pathways in the next section, where I switch from describing the morphological structure of demonstratives and discuss how they function in natural, connected speech.

4.4 Demonstratives in connected speech

In the first half of this chapter, I examined the internal structure of a demonstrative holophrase beginning with the demonstrative base construction in Section 4.2. I then discussed how demonstrative bases could either be inflected as pronouns using the nominal formative pattern or be left bare to function as particles with a grammaticalized function. In this section of the chapter, I examine how these pronouns and particles are used in broader discourse context, a discussion extending from the lexical semantics of Chapter Three.

Generally, in the field of linguistics, analysis of language structure begins with phonetics and ends with syntax. So far in my analysis, I have placed my focus within these bounds, that is, on the lexical semantics and the internal makeup of a

demonstrative word. However, discourse, as a collection of thematically or semantically grouped sentences, is often overlooked or ignored beyond an initial description of anaphor and perhaps referent tracking. Demonstratives in Yugtun, however, have a prominent role in unifying and maintaining the flow of information across not just a set of sentences, but an entire speech event, which I term *discourse* in this section. By contrast, I use the term *utterance* to refer to a particular sentence or set of thematically related sentences that together form a part of the discourse and are used to demonstrate the core context of an exemplified pattern (Bakhtin, 1986 p. 91). As Bakhtin (1986) states:

> The very boundaries of the utterance are determined by a change of speech subjects... each kind of utterance is filled with various kinds of responsive reactions to other utterances of the given sphere of speech communication.
>
> (Bakhtin, 1986 p. 91)

Part of the issue that arises when expanding the analysis outside the limits of lexicon and syntax involves the ambiguity inherent in studying larger-than-sentence units of linguistic structure. For instance, some analyses assert that discourse is the study of language in context. Hopefully, any unit of language is being studied with regard to its structural and functional context. Another description is that it is the study of units of meaning that are larger than a sentence (Berge, 1997). I adopt both of these descriptions in this study as they are both accurate in different ways. When describing the anaphoric and referent-tracking functions of Yugtun demonstratives, I examinine how sentences are related to each other in context and how particular entities or events are referenced across the discourse. However, later in this chapter, when the role of Yugtun demonstratives in forming and identifying the topic and theme of a sentence or paragraph is examined, I analyze a unit of meaning that is larger than a clause and carried over across multiple sentences.

To analyze the Yugtun demonstratives further, I first examine how discourse can be analyzed. Discourse studies can be broadly categorized into four foci (1) the *syntactic*, (2) the *pragmatic*, (3) the *textual*, and (4) the *social* (Berge, 1997 p. 16).

A syntactic analysis of discourse uses larger-than-sentence-level structures to explain why sentences are structured in one form or another. For instance, in Kalallisut (West Greenlandic), Kalmar (1979) asserts that an indicative verb is used to convey essential information and indicate the event focus. Thus the discourse function determines the syntactic structure. Second, a pragmatic approach examines the distributional patterns of constructions for their purpose in the discourse. These are usually examined within the lens of *new/old(given) information*, *focus*, *coreference* and *cohesion*, or

topicalization. Third, a textual analysis examines the philosophical argument structure of developing ideas and the development of the literary characters and setting. Finally, a social analysis examines shared cultural knowledge, communicative intent, politeness and turn-taking.

In my discourse analysis of three of my Yugtun discourses used in my NSKY corpus and provided in Appendix C, I focus principally on the pragmatic and syntactic approaches to Yugtun discourse for demonstrative analysis. However, I also examine the philosophical argument structure by showing that all of my speakers organize their texts with a general introduction, a climax, a conclusion or a moral lesson, followed by a sign-off. This structure is used in Kiicaq's (MP) legend, Aciangaq's (AA) hunting story, and Carra (IH) and Yaayuk's (AH) multilingual *Yuuyaraq* dialogue. In the present analysis, social and cultural knowledge are assumed by context, as I am not a community member with local knowledge. Nevertheless, I can broadly examine Yugtun demonstratives in discourse through their functional pragmatic and syntactic distributions.

Berge states that cohesion is the notion that separates a span of discourse from a set of random sentences. Additionally, the tracking of entities (or events) across clause boundaries is the study of cohesion. This includes constraints on anaphora, information status within a clause, thematic continuity, and shared socio-cultural knowledge (Berge, 1997 p. 25). Yugtun demonstratives, based on their positioning to other elements in a sentence, can create and maintain thematic unity across a discourse. They can index, track, and place focus on particular entities, events, and shared socio-cultural knowledge and are used anaphorically. Thus, Yugtun demonstratives are key cohesive devices in Yup'ik discourse.

I discuss each of these in turn in the next sections, beginning with an examination of the appositional distribution of demonstrative pronominals and their function as either exophoric joint attention devices or endophoric focalizing devices. Then I discuss the role of demonstrative particles in thematic unity before discussing how demonstratives function in clusters to topicalize a clause.

4.4.1 Joint attention and focus appositions

Fundamentally, Yugtun demonstratives fulfill a pronominal function in the syntax. Pronominal demonstratives point to objects either by standing in for the object within the utterance or by standing in apposition to the object it is indexing, as in (157) and as introduced in Section 4.3.3.

(157) *mana cellavut*

mana	*cellavut*
ma-a-na-ø-ø	cella-ø-pu-t-ø
IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	world-SG-1.NOMA-PL-ABS

'this one, our world'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.5)

A guiding principle throughout this analysis has been that a change in structure is not arbitrary and indicates a change in function (Diessel, 1999a pp. 4, 89, 158). While a morphological change is not present within the Yugtun demonstrative system, there is a syntactic distributional difference that is critical to highlight. When in apposition with the figure entity, the Yugtun demonstrative's deictic gesture (either via a spoken demonstrative word that serves to indicate the vector or a physical pointing motion) can serve one of two different pointing functions based on its positioning within the appositional phrase. Yugtun demonstratives can either go before or after the nominal they juxtapose. This change in position is associated with a change in function and is a regular and frequent phenomenon. A change in structure (position) and a change in function indicates a categorical distinction. In this case, the categorical distinction is not at the syntactic level but at the discourse level.

Demonstratives in apposition can either occur in the *prenominal* position or in the *postnominal* position, as in (158). Both examples are uttered by the same speaker, Kiicaq (MP), in the same utterance with the same indexed figure.

(158) *Ker'arrluteng, maaten paqtaat* ***angalkuq tauna****, qanra iluaqerluku pit'ga itellrulliuq, tunucuakun ancuaqerluni, tuquluku* ***tauna angalkuat****.*

Ker'arrluteng,	*maaten*
kerrar-lu-teg-t,	ma-a-ten
cross.over-APP-4.NOMA-PL,	IX-FL-FL.ÆQL

paqtaat	***angalkuq***
paqt-gar-nga-t	**angalkur-ø-ø**
check.on-IND.TR-3.NOMA.SGCOM-PL	**shaman-SG-ABS**

tauna,	*qanra*
ta-u-na-ø-ø,	qaner-ø-nga-ø-ø
R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS,	mouth-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-SG-ABS

iluaqerluku	*pit'ga*
ilu-qert-lu-ku-ø	pittgar-ø-nga-ø-ø
interior-suddenly-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG	arrow-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-SG-ABS

itellrulliuq, *tunucuakun*
iter-llru-lli-gur-ø, tunucug-ø-nga-ø-kun
enter-PST-maybe-IND.IN-SG back.of.head-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-SG-PRL

ancuaqerluni, *tuquluku*
an-cuar-qert-lu-ni-ø, tuqut-lu-ku-ø
go.out-little.bit-suddenly-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG, kill-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG

tauna ***angalkuat.***
ta-u-na-ø-ø **angalkur-ø-nga-t-ø**
R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS **shaman-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-PL-ABS**

'When they crossed the river, they checked on **the shaman—that one**—through his mouth, the arrow had punctured through the back of his head and was showing it had killed **that one, their shaman**.'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:8.2)

In (158), Kiicaq uses the word *tauna* both prenominally and postnominally. I introduce both in turn, starting with the prenominal function, since an exophoric demonstrative is more basic in function. A prenominal demonstrative serves an exophoric deictic pointing function. It is exophorically pointing to the figure within a frame of reference and ensuring that the interlocutors are sharing joint attention with the same object. A prenominal demonstrative typically introduces new information in the discourse. In the above example (158), the second bolded phrase, *tauna angalkuat* 'that one, their shaman,' uses a demonstrative in a prenominal position to point out which shaman, in particular, had been killed. This is an exophoric demonstrative pointing gesture using deixis *am phantasma*. Figure (4.5) illustrates the prenominal demonstrative construction.

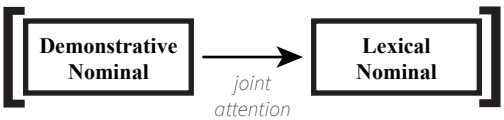


Figure 4.5: Joint Attention Demonstratives: The Prenominal Demonstrative Deictic Function establishing joint attention on the following holophrase.

A postnominal demonstrative, by contrast, serves an endophoric focusing function. Utilizing demonstratives in focalizing constructions is a common grammaticalization path cross-linguistically (Kuteva et al., 2019). This distribution reinforces the figure's identity and places the appositional nominal back into narrative focus. This serves to highlight discourse-old information and bring it back into joint attention. In example

(158), the storyteller is juggling three main characters, two opposing shamans and the hero. To ensure the correct character is being tracked, the storyteller uses, in part, demonstratives to ensure that the focus is on the correct reference and highlight that referent within the utterance. For example, which shaman are they checking on? Kiicaq answers, 'that one.' In the interlinear glossing conventions, I use em dashes to indicate a postnominal focusing function of a demonstrative. Figure (4.6) illustrates the postnominal demonstrative construction.

Figure 4.6: Focus Demonstratives: The Postnominal Demonstrative Focal Function providing narrative focus on the preceding holophrase

This distinction in syntactic distribution is seen in another example earlier in Kiicaq's (MP) discourse when he corrects the name of the river that the story focuses on in (159), using a postnominal demonstrative.

(159) *ikani Qayarrlekell, no, Kaikvayak* ***tauna***

ikani	*Qayarrlekell,*	*no,*	*Kaikvayak*
ik-a-ni	Qayarrlekell-,	no,	Kaikvayag-ø-ø
AESD-FL-LOC	Qayarrlekell-,	no	Kaikvayak-SG-ABS

tauna
ta-u-na-ø-ø
R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS

'Across there Qayarrlekell, no, Kaikvayak—that one.'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:3.2)

Here, the storyteller begins by exophorically pointing to the location-figure acting as the story's topic. He uses a deictic demonstrative gesture (the demonstrative *ikani*), which is placed in the prenominal position of the figure. This use serves to bring the river into joint attention with the interlocutor as new information. However, he messes up the identity of the location-figure; that is, he names the wrong river. He then corrects himself by placing reinforced focus on the actual figure to correct his mistake. In placing this focus on the correct river name, he changes the demonstrative function and places the demonstrative in a postnominal position. The additional change in the frame of reference from an absolute demonstrative to a relative demonstrative further

reinforces this change in focus. The first demonstrative is an absolute frame of reference which indicates that the figure *Qayarrlekell* is directly across a landmark (Kotlik and the Little Kotlik River), is construed as extended, and is in his extrapersonal space. The morphological makeup indicates that the figure is a location rather than an object. It is placed in the prenominal position to point to the referent in space and bring it into the discourse as new information. By contrast, the second demonstrative utilizes a relative frame of reference whereby the figure is the new river *Kaikvayak*, the new ground is not the landscape or speaker, but the wrong river *Qayarrlekell*, and the origo is the landscape. The morphological form indicates the speaker is treating this new figure as an object of attention rather than a location. Finally, the demonstrative is in a postnominal position to place focus on and reinforce the change in joint attention onto the correct figure.

This same functional distinction between pre- and post-nominal demonstratives can be seen across all the speakers in the NSKY corpus. For instance, in Aciangaq'a (AA) *Yuuyaraq* in (160), he also uses both a prenominal and a postnominal demonstrative.

(160) *Ayagasuirulluteng-llu yuut natmun, pissurluteng, (cas)* ***pitarqat-llu makut****, ikeglirininarluteng. Tuaten ayuqlernerertuq* ***mana cellavut****.*

Ayagasuirulluteng-llu	*yuut*	*natmun,*
ayaga-suirut-lu-teg-t=llu	yug-t-ø	natmun,
travel.around-no.longer-APP-4.NOMA-PL=COO	person-PL-ABS	somewhere,

pissurluteng,	*(cas)*
pissur-lu-teg-t,	(cas)
hunt-APP-4.NOMA-PL,	*sttr*

pitarqat-llu
pitar-rq-ø-nga-t-ø=llu
caught.game-deliberate-SG-3.NOMA.SGCOM-PL-ABS=COO

makut,
mat-ku-t-ø,
IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS,

ikeglirininarluteng.
ikget-liri-ni-naur-lu-teg-t.
few.in.number-become.more.and.more-claim-CAUS-APP-4.NOMA-PL.

Tuaten	*ayuqlernerertuq*
ta-u-a-ten	ayuq-ler-neq-rraq-gur-ø
R<IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	resemble-suddenly-activity-recently-IND.IN-SG

mana	***cellavut.***
ma-a-na-ø-ø	**cella-ø-pu-t-ø**
IX-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	**world-SG-1.NOMA-PL-ABS**

'And people no longer travel everywhere hunting because **their quarries—these ones (mentioned before)**— are becoming fewer and fewer. So **this place, our world**, is just recently, by our own hand, coming to resemble this.'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.4-7.5)

(160) is extracted from a different narrative genre than the last utterance (158), which was a legend. Here, Aciangaq (AA) is talking about how they used to hunt to survive and how the ecosystem is now changing, and thus their way of life is changing due to human influence. In the first demonstrative utterance *pitarqat-llu makut* 'the quarries—these ones—,' Aciangaq places the quarries (or prey) being hunted into narrative focus by indexing them in joint attention with a postnominal apposition derived in a pronominal plural absolutive form. This demonstrative form agrees with the plural absolutive noun preceding it, referring to the list of animals they used to trap anaphorically. He is not deictically pointing to these animals or introducing them as new information in the discourse. Instead, he is indicating that the figure of joint attention, the quarry, is the focus of the topic of this utterance, an endophoric function. In the second utterance *mana cellavut* 'this one, our world,' Aciangaq is deictically pointing to the figure and bringing the figure into joint attention as a discourse-new topic, an exophoric function. To do this, he uses a prenominal apposition in the pronominal singular absolutive form, which agrees with the figure *cellavut* 'our world,' which is also a first-person plural possessed absolutive singular noun.

Both demonstratives in (160) use the same fundamental demonstrative base *u(at)*-. Both are pronominal, both agree with their appositional argument, and both can be used in place of that argument without breaking the sentence structure. The only difference between the two is their position in relation to the appositional argument. This difference is not a personal preference, as it occurs across all the speakers in the corpus. This difference is not an arbitrary position difference, nor is it in free variation. A change in structure indicates a change in function. In this case, the functional distinction is between the placement of a figure in joint attention by demonstratively pointing to it as discourse new information and the placement of a discourse old information figure back into joint attention by refreshing narrative focus onto it.

This difference in positioning and function is not entirely novel to Yugtun as Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic Inuttut language) also uses demonstrative enclitics to place focus on nominal arguments (Sadock, 2003). According to Sadock, in Kalaallisut,

underived and uninflected bases can occur in an enclitic position to serve a copular and a focal function. The most likely base employed in this grammaticalized form is the intrinsic, restricted, pronominal *una* or *uku*. These partially reduced forms "serve to focus elements by creating a biclausal structure with the focal element in the main clause" (Sadock, 2003 pp. 24, 62). In Yugtun, this demonstrative function has not undergone the same degree of grammaticalization to serve as focus enclitics. The entire holophrastic demonstrative form is used as an appositional nominal with no phonetic reductions rather than as an enclitic. In addition, there seems to be no preference for one base over another within this focalizing function in Yugtun. Nevertheless, the position is fulfilling the same focal function.

Building off this same focus functionality, demonstratives in Yugtun can be used in *referent-tracking* and *switch reference*. Switch reference happens when the focus of the narrative changes from one entity to another. The use of demonstratives to index multiple characters and track them across a narrative scene is highlighted in Kiicaq's (MP) legend when he narrates the climactic peak of his legend, shown in (161). I use colours to track the three characters in this utterance. The green colour tracks the main protagonist *kaikvayak*. The red colour tracks the main antagonist shaman. Finally, The blue colour tracks the magical creatures. I also use the convention: (K) for *Kaikvayak* and (E) for *elliinek* to indicate the figure of the demonstrative or subject of the sentence when it is not overtly mentioned. This scene is also diagrammed in Appendix C Section A.2.3, which also shows the referent tracking in a schematized form.

(161) *Tua-llu-guq tuana (K), aqumgaluni; Kaikvayak-guq tauna qanertuq, "ikna-guq, atam wan elliinek, uigtuaqerrli." Pit'ganiqurluni-llu tegguamiuguq. (E)—Ikna-guq—arparluni, angalkiluni-guq. (K)—Ikavet-guq—tua pit'ganiiliu, ayaceskiuliu. (E) Iqupquaramek-guq nepleqerluni, nevqalagluni-guq tua, pit'arqat-llu (tam) tamakut tayima tamaqarluteng.*

'And so it is said this one (K), who was sitting; it is said Kaikvayak—this one—he said: "that one across there (E), look, this guy, I'm going to try to shoot him." It's claimed he put his arrow in his bow. (E)—that one across there—hollering was doing magic. (K)—Back across there—he released his arrow from the bow and hit him. (E) when he fell, he made a noise and landed on his back; then the magic animals—those ones—they disappeared into obscurity.' NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:6.1-7.3)

In (161), the climactic battle scene is complex and juggles the three main characters

in the scene:

1. Kaikvayak, who is the hero and represented by a (K) when he is not overtly mentioned in the text

2. The enemy shaman represented by a (E) when not overly mentioned in the text

3. The magical creatures.

This utterance describes an action combat scene with both characters acting simultaneously. In order to guide the interlocutor through this action, Kiicaq (MP) uses demonstratives to track each character and establish when they are in focus. For example, Kaikvayak is first introduced with an exophoric deictic gesture (*tuana*) pronominally and is then placed into focus with an endophoric postnominal, *tauna*. Then Kaikvayak, through *deixis am phantasma*, points across the river at the shaman, placing him into joint attention with a partial demonstrative *(wan)*. Then, using the same absolute demonstrative but in a focal position, the narrator changes perspective and tells us what the enemy is doing. Subsequently, using a different nominal case, the narrator then points back across the river to the main character, who releases his arrow. Using a syntactic conjunct, the story flows seamlessly into an account of the villain's death. Finally, the narrator focuses on the magic animals, states that they died with the villain, and uses an obscured demonstrative to imply that they just disappeared.

This is a complex scene worthy of being the story's climax. In it, demonstratives are doing all the heavy lifting by introducing characters in a prenominal position and then tracking them and switching between them in postnominal positions.

This reference-tracking function is not unique to this genre or to this speaker. The use of demonstratives in this referent-tracking function occurs across the whole corpus but usually in less exciting scenes. The following example in (162) is from Aciangaq's (AA) way of hunting narrative. In this utterance, I bold the figures indexed by the prenominally positioned demonstrative. I then use the convention **(IK)** for *imarmiut* and *kavait* 'mink and foxes,' to show where in the text those same figures are being referenced again as the topic or subject of the utterance even though they are not phonetically present in the speech stream and are represented only by the postnominal relative demonstrative which is placing them back into narrative focus.

(162) *makunek* ***imarmiutarnek****, cali-llu* ***kavianek****, pissurturluta.* ***(IK)*** ***tamakunek*** *akinginaqurluteng*

makunek	***imarmiutarnek****,*	*cali-llu*	***kavianek****,*
ma-ku-nek	**imarmiurtar-nek**,	cali=llu	**kaviar-nek**,
IX-OF.NS-ABL	**mink-ABL**,	also=COO	**fox-ABL**,

pissurturluta.	***(IK)***	***tamakunek***
pissur-tur-lu-ta.	*	**ta-ma-ku-nek**
hunt-some.duration-APP-PL.LF.	*	**R<IX-OF.NS-ABL**

akinginaqurluteng
aking-inar-qur-lu-teg-t
earn.money-RSLT-ITR-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'These **mink** and **foxes** we hunted. **(IK)—These ones**—earned us money'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:6.1)

In this utterance, (162), the objects of the hunt, *imarmiut* and *kavait* indicated with (IK), are introduced with a prenominal demonstrative gesture, and then they are focused on in the next utterance by means of a coreferential pronominal demonstrative in the focusing position. This is both a referent-tracking and an endophoric use of the demonstrative. This use of demonstratives to track the figure and refer back to it anaphorically within a focusing capacity also occurs across multiple sentences, as in the following, (163) from Carra (IH). Again the figure indexed by the demonstrative is in bold, and when it is not overtly mentioned, I use the convention **(SS)** for 'single-shot shotgun' to indicate where it is implied.

(163) ***single-, single-shot-amek****. Tua-llu, pingama* ***taumek*** ***(SS)*** ***tuani-tang****, anglaniluta, nutqunaurtut* ***(SS)—taumek***

single-, single-shot-amek*.*	*Tua-llu,*
single-, singleshotar-ø-mek.	ta-u-a=llu,
single-, singleshot-SG-ABL.SG.	R<IE-FL=COO,

pingama	***taumek***	***(SS)***
pi-nga-m-a-ø	**ta-u-u-ø-mek**	*
do-CNJ.(when)-1.ERGA-SG.LF-ERG	**R<IE-OF.SG-SG-ABL.SG**	*

tuani-tang*,*	*anglaniluta,*	*nutqunaurtut*
ta-u-a-ni=tang,	anglani-lu-ta,	nuqu-naur-gur-t
R<IE-FL-LOC=look,	have.fun-APP-PL.LF,	shoot-HAB-IND.IN-PL

(SS)—taumek
*-**ta-u-u-ø-mek**
*R<IE-OF.SG-SG-ABL.SG

'**single-single-shot**. And then when I got one **this (SS)—look**, **this one!**—we had fun, we would shoot it **(SS)—this one**.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:16.4-16.5)

In this utterance in (163), the new topic, the *single-shot-amek* shotgun is introduced in the preceding sentence and then is carried over into the subsequent two sentences with a demonstrative *taumek* standing in its place as a reference-tracking anaphor.

This same referent-tracking and endophoric functionality of the demonstratives is possible for all of the demonstratives in my corpus regardless of their frame of reference, dimensionality, or figure-type. They can even track actions as opposed to entities when the demonstrative is marked in the Aequalis case.

In an examination of demonstrative occurrence in General Alaskan Yup'ik edited texts, this syntactic distinction between prenominal and postnominal demonstratives and their use in reference-tracking and other discourse functions is usually omitted, with only the prenominally positioned demonstratives being included. This is likely a significant reason why demonstrative frequency is around 10% in an examination of 13 GSY edited and published texts, totalling 4995-word tokens. However, in my present study on the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun dialect in connected spoken speech across 6 narratives totalling 5390-word tokens, the demonstrative frequency is around 30% (1021 demonstrative tokens). This is a relative increase of 250%, which shows not only the importance of demonstratives but their vital narrative role in Yugtun discourse. Thus, this alternation between a prenominal and a postnominal demonstrative apposition is not arbitrary or meaningless.

4.4.2 Thematic cohesion in topic and comment structure

Within the larger context of discourse structure, demonstrative pronouns serve to bring a figure into joint attention, place focus on a figure or refer endophorically to a figure in the text. Demonstrative particles, by contrast, play a more logistical role in the discourse, that of maintaining thematic cohesion.

A demonstrative particle is defined as a grammaticalized and reduced demonstrative base. This reduction might be semantic, as in the case of *maaten* 'like this/when,' which is a fully formed nominal holophrase that indexes the time of action but has lost its deictic or focal force (refer to the discussion around (151)). The reduction can also be phonetic as in the enclitic *=wa*, which is the bare deictic base un-marked for

figure-type and not inflected for a syntactic category. This demonstrative enclitic acts anaphorically in discourse and is not used in spatial or exophoric deixis (refer to the discussion around (153)). The stance-like grammaticalized particles, however, serve a cohesive role in the discourse and tend to link or transition from one utterance to the next. It is this use of these demonstrative particles as cohesive devices in discourse structure that is the focus of this subsection.

From a textual perspective, discourse can be analyzed into discrete utterances. An utterance is a thematically unified set of sentences. Each utterance is structured to convey a particular idea. We can identify this structure as a chain of topics and comments. The topic is the propositional information that takes prominence in an utterance and usually introduces the theme of the utterance. A comment is a statement about that topic. Thus, each utterance is composed of a topic followed by a series of contextually linked comments (Bakhtin, 1986; Berge, 1997). This discursive structure is recursive and is mirrored from the largest discourse units such as entire utterances to the smallest units such as individual topic-comment structures.

Taking Kiicaq's (MP) legend as an example, given in full in Appendix C, three episodes can be seen: the introduction, the climax, and the conclusion. Each of these utterances is separated by a change in subject, which is indicated by a new topic clause and which, as discussed in Section 4.4.3, is partially identified by the presence of demonstrative topic cluster constructions. Demonstratives are shown in bold. Utterances can also be identified by a prominent pause in the speech stream, which requires more analysis in these Yugtun texts. As Bakhtin argues, "Each utterance refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies upon the others, presupposes them to be known, and somehow takes them into account" (Bakhtin, 1986 p. 91). Some discourses are followed by a short sign-off at the end, but not in this case.

Kiicaq's (MP) introductory episode establishes the setting, the characters, and the background information relevant to the story. Within the introduction, there are four topics: the motivation, the setting—including time and place—and the introduction of the conflict and the characters. In the following text, each new topic is marked by a new bullet point, and for each bullet point, the topic clause is indicated in square brackets, and the associated comments are outside of the brackets.

- *"[Yeah... Qangvaqruq **mani** angusatullratni yuut,] elaateng tuqurqaqluki, nunamek pitcirluteng."*

  [Yeah, Many years ago **here**, when there were territorial guards,] people, and their relatives, would kill each other over the land.

- *"[**Waten wani**, uksuarmi, **ikani** Qayarrlekell, no, Kaikvayak **tauna**.] Angusalriit pairutelliniiluteng, avarulluteng-am ker'araluteng."*

  [**like this, now**, in fall, **across there** Qayarrlekell no, Kaikvayak—**that one**.] Those in combat, met each other, they separated in two groups on opposite banks.

- *"[Angalkuit **taukut**, angalkiluteng.] Pitarkat-guq **tamakut** ...a... alingnaqellriit, ...a... kuigmek **unaken** aliarluteng ...a..., tarsarpiarluteng ataam utertaqluteng."*

  [Their shamans—**these ones** over here—they were doing magic.] The animal spirits—**those scary ones**—from the river **there, down below,** they appeared. They would almost reach up to land, before returning to the river again.

- *"[**Makurmiut-guq** ...a... angalkuat, kasuitaratelluni. Angalkisaqnaurtut,] (ker'ar) ker'araluteng av'nganun-guq tekiteqerluteng uternaurtut."*

  [**They say the people from here** had a shaman that seemed to be naturally weak. The shaman's would try their magic,] it would cross to the other half, but just as it arrived it always returned.

The climax episode is the core action scene and conveys the vital part of the discourse. In this legend, the climax showcases why the hero was important enough to have a river named after him. There is, thus, only one topic within this episode.

- *"[**Tua-llu-guq tuana**, aqumgaluni;] Kaikvayak-guq **tauna** qanertuq, "**ik'na-guq**, atam (**wan**) elliinek, uigtuaqerrli." Pit'ganiqurluni-llu tegguamiuguq. **Ikna-guq** arparluni, angalkiluni-guq. **Ikavet-guq**, **tua** pit'ganiiliu, ayaceskiuliu. Iqupquaramek-guq nepleqerluni, nevqalagluni-guq **tua**, pit'arqat-llu (**tam**) **tamakut tayima** tamaqarluteng."*

  [**And so it is said this one**, who was sitting;] it is said Kaikvayak—**this one**—he said: "**that one across there**, look, **this** guy, I'm going to try to shoot him." It's claimed he put his arrow in his bow. **That one across there**—hollering was doing magic. **Back across there**—he released his arrow from the bow and hit him. When he fell, he made a noise and landed on his back; **then** the magic animals—**those ones**—they disappeared into obscurity.'

Finally, the conclusion episode wraps everything up and states the legend's purpose. There are three topics within this episode: A resolution for the enemy, a resolution for the protagonist, and the naming of the river, which serves as the legend's sign-off.

- *"[**Taukut-llu-guq**, ilai ayakarluteng,] kayateng unilluki."*

  [**It was said those ones**, his friends, had run away too]. They had left their Kayaks.

- *"[Ker'arrluteng, **maaten** paqtaat] angalkuq **tauna**, qanra iluaqerluku pit'ga itellrulliuq, tunucuakun ancuaqerluni, tuquluku **tauna** angalkuat."*

  [**When** they crossed the river, they checked on him] the shaman—**that one**—through his mouth, the arrow had punctured through the back of his head and was showing out. It had killed **that one**, their shaman.

- *"[**Taugkun-llu**, **tauna** kuik Kaikvayagmek acirsaurluku.]"*

  [**From then on, that** river was named Kaikvayak.]

As an episode is a set of thematically coordinated sentences, each sentence serves a role in the discourse as either a statement of a topic or a comment on that topic. Therefore, maintaining continuity and cohesion across utterances and indicating how two clauses are linked together is essential. In Yugtun, this continuity and cohesion is often maintained through the use of the verb moods, with the dependent moods chaining together to link to an independent mood (Mithun, 2012). Reference-tracking by using the person formatives at the end of the verbal constructions also plays a major role in maintaining cohesion across an utterance (Berge, 1997). Within the discourse structure of each episode, topic, and comment, Yugtun demonstrative particles also play an important role. Particles are, specifically, a way of maintaining cohesion and are used more directly to link clauses together. While there are a variety of particles, both demonstrative and non-deictic, that are used in cohesion and discourse flow, the demonstrative particles discussed earlier in the chapter are primarily responsible for linking topics to comments, for introducing new utterances, and for linking utterances together into a larger discourse. These particles are seen at many of these boundaries to provide structure for the narrative flow. The four most common particles used in my corpus in this manner are *cali, yeah, tua(=i)*, and *tauguam*. A fifth and noteworthy particle is also *kita*. The latter three are demonstratives. The demonstrative *tayima* is also used in this context at clause boundaries. The morphological structure and stance-like semantics of the demonstrative particles are discussed in Section 3.4.3 and Section 4.3.4.

Cali is a lexical base particle, so it is not highlighted directly. Nevertheless, it roughly means 'moreover, also, furthermore' and is used at the beginning of a new topic to signal the change from one topic to the next. *Yeah*, as an English borrowing,

also is not directly discussed but functions in the same way as the beginning of a new topic. These two often collocate together as, *yeah, cali.*

Both *kita* and *yeah* are used in the affirmative sense and at the beginning of a discourse to indicate the beginning. *Ki-* comes from the absolute frame of reference for restricted peripersonal figures being located upriver or towards the source *kiw-*. As a particle that initiates an entire discourse, this seems fitting. My NSKY corpus shows this form twice, once at the beginning of Aciangaq's (AA) *Yuuyaraq* discourse as an indication that he should begin, in (164), and once at the beginning of a text's internal discourse in Amiksuwin's (MH) life narrative, in (165). Both have highly affirmative meanings, and this is demonstrated in Aciangaq's discourse by the following affirmational particles and their translations as something along the lines of 'please, okay.'

(164) *NT: Mm-m okay, okay awesome, um, tell his story then.*
*RT: [**Kita**, qanluten, (yug) qanluten]*
AA: Ii-i, tua-i-wa, waniwa, ii-i, eglerellerka mana
'NT: Mm-m okay, okay awesome, um, tell his story then.
RT: **here (Please)**, you speak, ... you speak
AA: Yes, And so then, now, yes, As I go forward—this one—'
NSKY Corpus (AAy 2018:19-21)

The consultant (RT) translates *kita* in (164) as 'please begin,' and the idea of metaphorical forward movement is shown in Aciangaq's (AA) initiation of his dialogue with the conjunct *eglerellerka* 'as I go forward/begin' referring to the discourse itself.

(165) *umyuaqumaqerluku piaqa "**kita** naspaqerlaku=wa tuai, qaillun ayuqniartua*

umyuaqumaqerluku	*piaqa*
umyuar-umari-qert-lu-ku-ø	pi-gar-ka-ø
think-PRF-suddenly-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG	do-IND.TR-1.NOMA.SG-SG

*"**kita***	*naspaqerlaku=wa*	*tuai,*	*qaillun*
kita	naspa-qert-la-ku-ø=wa	ta-u-a=i,	qaillun
here.it.is	try-suddenly-OPT-3.ACCA.SG-SG=ANA	R<IE-FL=EXLM,	how

ayuqniartua
ayuq-niar-gur-nga-ø
resemble-FUT-IND.IN-1.ABSA.SG-SG

'I thought about a long while, and I said to him, '**okay**, I can try that; how can I be like that.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:134.2)

In the utterance from Amiksuwin (MH), (165), the demonstrative particle begins his utterance as an affirmation. However, the forward movement is also seen here and supported by the use of the optative verb *naspaqerlaku* 'I can try that,' which uses an attached anaphoric enclitic to refer back to what he is going to try.

Interestingly, *kiw-* can also be compounded into a more salient although less common discourse particle, *kiituani*, meaning roughly 'thereafter,' as in (166). This demonstrative particle's form is more ambiguous. *kii-* comes from the same base *kiw-* 'upriver there,' and *tuani* most likely is *t(a)-u(at)-a-ni*, a locative, location-figure, relative, restricted demonstrative. However, Jacobson (2013 p. 967) and one of his speakers in elicitation argue that in some dialects, it is *ta-ug-a-ni*[4]. Nevertheless, the semantics of either the downriver relative demonstrative *taug-* or the restricted relative demonstrative *tau-* work equally well for the context of use as indicating that the previous statement started metaphorically upriver and is moving forward towards the end of the discourse. That is one comment comes after the next. This is shown in (166).

(166) *Qansuirutukut* ***kiituani*** *kassaturlainaq tauguam qanaaraqluta*

Qansuirutukut	***kiituani***	*kassaturlainaq*
qaner-suirut-gur-ku-t	**kiituani**	kassartur-rrlainar-ø-ø
speak-stop-IND.IN-1.ABSA-PL	**thereafter**	English-nothing.but-SG-ABS

tauguam	*qanaaraqluta*
ta-ug-u=am	qanaa-gaq-lu-ta
R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH	speak-HAB-APP-PL.LF

'we stopped speaking the language; **thereafter**, we spoke only in English.'

NSKY Corpus (MH 2016:52)

Tauguam is a more complex demonstrative particle. The fundamental demonstrative base is *ta-ug-*, and the demonstrative base is *ta-ug-u-* Thus, it is assosiated with a relative frame of reference, extrapersonal, riverine, and approaching form. This deictic base is typically only found in the temporal and discourse domains, and *tauguam* is only used discursively. As a relative demonstrative derived from an absolute extrapersonal demonstrative, it is grounded to the river and outside the speaker's direct sphere of influence. It roughly refers to a figure downriver that is inaccessible. As a relative frame of reference, the ground is displaced to an allocentric object, in this case,

[4]This relative form would be expected to follow similar phonetic processes as *ta-ug-u-am* to become **kiitaugani*, but it does not. Instead, Jacobson posits that the phoneme /ɣ^{w}/ (written ug) becomes /u/ intervocalically, which is not a substantiated phonological change in Yugtun (Jacobson, 2013). The absolute downriver demonstrative interpretation is unlikely in this compound grammaticalization due to the mismatch in phonology.

the discourse flow itself. Thus the metaphor TIME IS A RIVER is carried over to DISCOURSE IS A RIVER. This is important because discourse, like a river, only flows one way. The derivational morpheme *u-* is an object-figure type; thus, Yugtun construes discourse as a graspable object and not a static location. The enclitic *=am* is an emphatic morpheme calling attention to the discourse itself.

As a demonstrative particle, *tauguam* serves to create space and distance between two related comments in an utterance. The particle can be used at the beginning of a new topic but only to contrast the last topic with the next. It is typically found at comment breaks to contrast two comments in the stance-like sense of 'however.' It can also be used in the sense of 'only.' Both senses employ the relative down-river frame of reference to create that space between the two comments and to point (forward) to the saliency of the upcoming comment. An example linking and contrasting two adjacent comments is given in (167).

(167) *akingsunata-llu waten wani,* ***tauguam*** *yuilqumek*

akingsunata-llu	*waten*	*wani,*
aking-ssur-na-ta=llu	u-a-ten	u-a-ni,
earn.money-seek-APP.NEG-PL.LF=COO	IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	IE-FL-LOC,

tauguam	*yuilqumek*
ta-ug-u=am	yuilqur-ø-mek
R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH	wilderness-SG-ABL.SG

'we never earned income like this now, **only** from the wilderness.'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.1)

In (167), an utterance from Aciangaq (AA), he contrasts the present with the past. In doing so, he creates distance between the two comments, one discussing the past and pointing to a time flowing downriver and out of reach, and the second discussing the present. Shortly later in (168), he uses the same demonstrative particle to link two clauses together but with a small amount of conceptual space between the two.

(168) *akingelalriakut, tuaten* ***tauguam*** *eglerqurullullriakut*

akingelalriakut,	*tuaten*
aking-lar-lria-ku-t,	ta-u-a-ten
earn.money-HAB-PART.IN-1.ABSA-PL,	R<IE-FL-FL.ÆQL

tauguam	*eglerqurullullriakut*
ta-ug-u=am	eglert-qur-ngu-llru-lria-ku-t
R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH	move-ITR-STAT-PST-PART.IN-1.ABSA-PL

'We earned income like this, **however** we still survived.'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.2)

In the first comment in (168), Aciangaq (AA) makes a statement about how they earned money through the fur trade and how difficult it was, then asserts that they still survived and progressed. This contrast between the difficulty of how things were and the ability to still progress is indicated with the demonstrative particle *tauguam*, which is functioning like a concessive conjunction. The primary purpose of this demonstrative particle is to coordinate two comments into a cohesive utterance, but in linking them together, the particle points to the second comment as being more salient or in stronger focus than the former.

The final demonstrative particle often used in discourse cohesion is *tua(=i) (ta-u(at)-a(=i)*, which means 'and then,' as shown earlier in (124). This particle is used in discourse to connect a new comment to the last comment but it lacks stance-taking form. As a relative, demonstrative base, the ground is the discourse itself, and the figure, the soon-to-be-spoken next utterance, is coded as a location in discourse.

(169) *Amiraluku, ararluki, uitatcuaqerluki celamun, nerluki-ll* ***tua, tua*** *kemget tamalkuan muskrat-at*

Amiraluku,	*ararluki,*		
amir-ar-lu-ku-ø,	arar-lu-ki-t,		
skin-ITR-APP-3.ACCA.SG-SG,	hang-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL,		
uitatcuaqerluki			*celamun,*
uitat-yug-ar-qert-lu-ki-t			cella-ø-mun,
let.be-tend.to-ITR-simultaneously-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL			world-SG-ALL.SG,
nerluki-ll	***tua,***	***tua***	*kemget*
ner-lu-ki-t=llu	**ta-u-a**,	**ta-u-a**	kemeg-t-ø
eat-APP-3.ACCA.PL-PL=COO	**R<IE-FL**,	**R<IE-FL**	meat-PL-ABS

tamalkuan	*muskrat-at*
tamalkur-ø-nga-n-ø	muskratar-t-ø
all-CNJ.(be)-3.NOMA-SG.LF-ERG	muskrat-PL-ABS

'After they skin them, they hang them, leave them outside for a while, and eat them, **and then**, all of the meat of the muskrats.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:34.2)

Tua(=i) when used as a comment coordinator to maintain the flow of information across an utterance is similar to *tauguam*. However, instead of creating space, it draws two clauses closer together. *Tua(=i)* is used to initiate a topic, to link clauses, or to coordinate items in a list. It is roughly translated as 'then/also' and usually collocates

with the enclitic *=llu* 'and/too.' This demonstrative particle also frequently collocates with the enclitic *=i*. In my NSKY corpus *tau-i* occurs 64 times while *tua* plus various other enclitics only occurs 33 times. However, these tokens are not all functioning as cohesive particles, but they also function as identificationals translated as 'that one!' Jacobson calls this the 'interjectional' enclitic and states that it is used to point out an object or event (Jacobson, 2013 p. 935). While this is true in my NSKY corpus, it is usually used in this discourse function of connecting discourse units to each other as a means of maintaining cohesion across the text. Using the interjectional as a means of highlighting the next comment with more emphasis is, nevertheless, congruent with the analysis.

In (170), which is a clause from Kiicaq (MP), the demonstrative particle *tua* takes coordinating and quotative enclitics to form *tua=llu=guq* 'and then it is said' and links the following action to the previous action but also introduces a new topic in the story.

(170)

Tua-llu-guq,	*tuana*	*aqumgaluni,*
ta-u-a=llu=gguq	ta-u-na-ø-ø,	aqumga-lu-ni-ø
R<IE-FL=COO=QUOT	R<IE-OF.ABS-SG-ABS	sit-APP-4.NOMA.SG-SG

'**and then it is said**, this one was sitting'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:6.1)

Tua can also take the coordinating enclitic by itself, forming *tua=ll* as a contraction of *tua-llu*, as Waralria (CM) uses it in (171) to link two coordinating comments together.

(171) *tamani yuut tamakut nalluvenaki, uitallruut.* ***Tua-ll*** *angliluteng, cimerluteng.*

tamani	*yuut*	*tamakut*
ta-ma-a-ni	yug-t-ø	ta-ma-ku-t-ø
R<IX-FL-LOC	person-PL-ABS	R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABS

nalluvenaki,	*uitallruut.*	***Tua-ll***
nallu-vke-na-ki-t,	uita-llru-gur-t.	***ta-u-a=llu***
not.know-NEG-APP.NEG-3.ACCA.PL-PL	live-PST-IND.IN-PL.	**R<IE-FL=COO**

angliluteng,	*cimerluteng.*
angli-lu-teg-t,	cimir-lu-teg-t
grow.up-APP-4.NOMA-PL,	change-APP-4.NOMA-PL

'Those people weren't unknowing, they lived right. **And then** they grew up and changed.'

NSKY Corpus (CM 2017:105.3-105.4)

In the last example, (172), from Carra (IH), the demonstrative particle, *tua*, is used to begin a list of items.

(172) *ca'nek-tat tauna **tua** makunek pop-at tuam neqkanek, caalanek, neqkaranek tuam cararnek*

ca'nek-tat	*tauna*	***tua***	*makunek*
caa-nek=at	ta-u-na-ø-ø	**ta-u-a**	ma-ku-t-nek
Q-ABL=notice!	R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS	**R<IE-FL**	IX-OF.NS-PL-ABL

pop-at	*tuam*	*neqkanek,*	*caalanek,*
popar-t-ø	ta-u-a=am	neqkar-nek,	caalar-nek
pop-PL-ABS	R<IE-FL=EMPH	prepared.food-ABL,	lard-ABL

neqkaranek	*tuam*	*cararnek*
neqkarar-nek	ta-u-a=am	Carar-nek
any.little.bit.of.food-ABL	R<IE-FL=EMPH	little.bit-ABL

'Anything—these—**and then** these pop, that food, lard, some foods, that stuff.'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:5.1)

Altogether, these demonstrative discourse particles *tua(=i), tauguam, tayima, kiituani*, and *kita* perform similar functions within a stretch of discourse. They function as linkers, principally to link one comment to the next. They each differ in how they coordinate the two clauses, however, and this difference is grounded in their demonstrative semantics. *Kita* is an affirmational initiator, *kiituani* links two clauses as one after the other, *tayima* expresses hope for the upcoming clause, *tauguam* contrasts two adjacent comments, and *tua* links two adjacent clauses in sequential order. These four demonstrative particles highlight a language-specific structure within utterances and discourse, which relies predominantly on demonstratives to do the functional work of textual cohesion.

4.4.3 Demonstrative topic clusters

Demonstrative particles and demonstrative nominals both have a high collocational tendency to occur in the topicalizing clause of a sentence, utterance, or stretch of discourse. I use the term collocational in the sense that the demonstrative lemmas have an affinity to cooccur within a particular discourse space, particularly within a topicalizing clause. For example, across the Yugtun narratives analyzed for information flow in depth (MP, AA, IH, in Appendix C), demonstratives showed a high tendency

to cluster at clausal boundaries where one comment flows into the next, and new referents are introduced or old ones carried forward. Nowhere is this more prevalent than in the topicalizing clause of an utterance. I term this *the topic construction.*

I have briefly discussed discourse flow in the present analysis. Each episode tends to pattern as follows: a topic constructions which introduces the theme of the episode followed by one or more comments which make a statement about that theme. Topic constructions in Yugtun occur on the left periphery of a sentence, which fits with the pragmatic universal that topicalization is the first element in the linear sequence of a clause (Berge, 1997).

In Yugtun narratives, between one to five demonstratives can be observed at the left periphery of most episodes. These demonstratives occur in the topic clause and serve a topicalizing function in the episode to ground the utterance in the real world or to bring the world into the utterance. In grounding the episode, these demonstratives create discourse space for the speaker to move in. This tendency for demonstratives to collocate is so prevelant that I assert that there are two principal features for identifying the topicalizing clause in Yugtun, first, the presence of a discourse particle (typically, *cali* or *tua*), and second, the presence of a demonstrative cluster. Of course, not all topic constructions in Yugtun feature two or more adjacent demonstratives. However, the presence of a cluster is not arbitrary and makes a significant contribution to the contextualization of the utterance.

I broadly posit two types of topic cluster constructions. The first I term the endophoric, as endophoric demonstratives point to text-internal figures. An endophoric topic cluster brings outside information into the utterance. The second I term exophoric as exophoric demonstratives point to figures outside the discourse space. An exophoric topic cluster connects the discourse to the outside world. Both of these patterns create conceptual space for the speaker to think and bring entities and events into the discourse before commenting on the topic itself. The demonstratives themselves serve to contextualize the whole of the topic. These topic clusters also link utterances together by anaphorically bringing previous topics forward in the discourse.

Endophoric topic clusters have a demonstrative-heavy left periphery. The demonstratives themselves are typically among the first three words in the clause. An example of a light cluster is shown in (173); the topic clause is in square brackets to indicate its privilege in the utterance but also to indicate that it is not a complete utterance. The brackets are used as a framing device even when the full utterance is not included. The full context can be found in Appendix C in MP's Quliraq line 3.2.

(173) ***[Waten wani**, uksuarmi, **ikani**, Qayarrlekell no, Kaikvayak tauna.]*

[waten	***wani,***	*uksuarmi,*	***ikani,***
[u-a-ten	**u-a-ni**,	uksuar-ø-mi	**ik-a-ni**
[IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	**IE-FL-LOC**,	autumn-SG-LOC.SG	**AESD-FL-LOC**

Qayarrlekell	*no,*	*Kaikvayak*	*tauna.]*
Qayarrlekell	no	Kaikvayag-ø-ø	ta-u-na-ø-ø]
Qayarrlekell	no	Kakvayak-SG-ABS	R<IE-OF.SG.ABS-SG-ABS]

'[**like this, now**, in fall, **across there** Qayarrlekell no, Kaikvayak—**that one**]'

NSKY Corpus (MP 2016:3.2)

The endophoric cluster in (173) has three topicalizing demonstratives and one corrective focus demonstrative. The last demonstrative *tauna* 'that one,' exists to correct the figure's misidentification and is thus present for practical purposes rather than topicalizing ones, as discussed previously. The three demonstratives that serve the core demonstrative cluster are *waten wani* 'like this, now,' and *ikani* 'across there.' There is a strong tendency for adjacent demonstratives in these clusters to all use the same demonstrative frame of reference. These three demonstratives contextualize the utterance by bringing the outside world into the story world. This story is being told in the fall, and the story itself takes place in the fall. Thus, an intrinsic egocentric demonstrative cluster, *waten wani*, is used to index the temporal time period and relate it to the story. Using these demonstratives, the speaker connects the interlocutors to the story and brings them and the real world into his discourse. He is also building the narrative world's setting and creating conceptual space to narrate the story. The third demonstrative *ikani* is a prenominal demonstrative that points to its postposed textual referent and to the corresponding location in the outside world and brings that spatial location into the narrative world. It would have been easy enough for the speaker to introduce the topic as *[uksuarmi, Qayarrlekell no, Kaikvayak]* 'In the fall, at the Qayarrlekell no, Kaikvayak (river).' However, this loses the contextualization, the world-building, and the conceptual space to move. From a discourse structure perspective, doing so would cause the dialogue to lose the social aspect of shared knowledge between the speaker and the interlocutor as to the story's setting and diminish the Elder's ability to transmit the cultural competency of identifying the correct river to the interloctor. The dialogue would also lose out on and condense its textual ability to develop the character, setting, and filler space available to develop his upcoming story.

A more prominent endophoric example is seen in this utterance by Carra (IH) in

(174), with five demonstratives clustered within the topicalizing clause. I term this phenomena where demonstratives cluster in the topicalizing clause a topic construction.

(174) ***[Matumek*** *cali* ***mani, waten*** *akingngengaqurteggmegteggu, upnerkami* ***waten wani****, ayagluteng, upnerkisarluteng natquiget ilaitnun.]*

[matumek	*cali*	***mani,***	***waten***
[mat-u-ø-mek	cali	**ma-a-ni**	**u-a-ten**
[IX-OF.SG-SG-ABL.SG	also	**IX-FL-LOC**,	**IE-FL-FL.ÆQL**

akingngengaqurteggmegteggu,
aking-ng-nga-qur-teg-meg-t-gu-ø,
earn.money-begin-CNJ.(because)-ITR-4.NOMA-4.ERGA-PL-3.ACCA.SG-SG,

upnerkami	***waten***	***wani,***	*ayagluteng,*
upnerkar-ø-mi	**u-a-ten**	**u-a-ni**	ayag-lu-teg-t
spring-SG-LOC.SG	**IE-FL-FL.ÆQL**	**IE-FL-LOC**	go.away-APP-4.NOMA-PL,

upnerkisarluteng	*natquiget*
upnerkisar-lu-teg-t	natquig-t-ø
go.to.spring.camp-APP-4.NOMA-PL	drifted.snow-PL-ABS

ilaitnun.]
ila-ø-ngi-t-nun]
among-SG-3.NOMA.PLCOM-PL-ALL]

'[**Along these considerations**, moreover, **in this period in this manner** because it is the way of their income, in the spring **like this, now** they go camping among the snow drifts.]'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:16.1)

The topic cluster in (174) is much larger and more complex. However, in regard to the second and third demonstratives, their role in creating filler space for the speaker is more evident in this example. The first demonstrative *matumek* 'along these considerations,' points back to the preceding utterances about his Elder's teachings and ways of life and asserts that this new topic is linked to the preceding ones thematically. He then uses a topicalizing particle *cali* 'moreover' to initiate the topic construction. The following two demonstratives, *mani waten* 'in this period, in this manner,' are used to bring the outside world of Caniliaq/Kotlik and the Elders' way of life into the narrative. He uses an intrinsic extended locational demonstrative to index an extended period of time that includes himself as he is about to tell his own hunting story and an intrinsic restricted manner adverb to index the thematic event of the utterance 'because it is their way of income they travel, they go camping.' The final two demonstratives are similar to the last cluster's temporal reference. They

contextualize and bring the interlocutor into the story by connecting the discourse to the outside world, discussed further below.

Interestingly, word order does not seem to play a significant role within demonstrative clusters. For example, the topic cluster in (175), also uses a temporal demonstrative and a manner demonstrative but in reverse order from (174).

(175) *[Ah, cali* ***waten wani*** *wangkuta* ***tamana****, tan'gurrallerallemteni, neqacuqatar kamkut ul'aqan]*

[ah,	*cali*	***waten***	***wani***	*wangkuta*	***tamana,***
[Ah,	cali	**u-a-ten**	**uat-a-ni**	wangkuta	**ta-ma-na-ø-ø**
[Ah,	also,	**IE-FL-FL.ÆQL**	**IE-FL-LOC**	we	**R<IX-OF.SG.ABS**

tan'gurrallerallemteni,	*neqacuqatar*
tan'gurrar-llerar-ller-m-t-ni,	neq-cur-qatar-ø-ø
young.boy-dirty-CNJ.(when)-1.ERGA-PL-LOC,	fish-hunt.for-start.of-sg-abs

kamkut	*ul'aqan]*
kan-ku-t-ø,	ula-gaqa-nga-n]
AERP-OF.NS-PL-ABS,	high-tide-CNJ.(whenever)-3.NOMA-SG.LF]

'[Ah, moreover, **in this manner in this period**, we—**these ones**—when we were young boys, those downriver fishing when the tide was high]'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:10.4)

In (175), there are three demonstratives clustered within the topic clause that forms the topic construction. The final demonstrative in the cluster, the anaphoric demonstrative *tamana* 'these ones,' focuses on the actors, particularly as a pragmatic exclusive 'we' referring to his generation. It belongs in this position because it is a postnominal focusing demonstrative which is discussed earlier in this chapter.

The first two demonstratives in (175) *waten wani* 'in this manner, in this period,' however, bring the outside world into the narrative just as in (174), but the order is reversed. No definitive patterns in the order of demonstrative clusters can be determined at this point in the analysis, and the order is likely due to their pragmatic functions within the topic clause. The corollary scope rule discussing the pragmatic order of postbases within a base lexeme in Chapter Two can likely be applied here as well, in that demonstrative order changes the scope of the topic cluster. However, the principal functions are to create conceptual space and connect the discourse to the outside world.

In contrast to the endophoric topic clusters examined in the last few examples, the exophoric topic clusters examined below have a demonstrative heavy right periphery. These clusters serve to bring the discourse out into the world rather than bringing the

world into the discourse. Where the left periphery points to the discourse, the right periphery points to the world.

The utterance in (174), from Carra (IH) shows a left periphery *Matumek cali mani, waten...* as already discussed and a right periphery *upnerkami waten wani* 'in the spring like this now.' In this construction, the demonstratives begin in the discourse world with a linguistic specification of the time period followed by a connection to the outside world. In connecting to the outside world, the focus is being placed on the time period, but the discourse is also connecting to the shared knowledge between the speaker and the interlocutors and thereby bringing the story closer to their own experiences. Although, as mentioned above, this is not an obligatory part of the story, he could stick to the specification of *upnerkami*. However, by omitting the demonstratives, he restricts his narrative space to bring in contextual information, build rapport with the interlocutors, establish himself as a cultural and social authority, and develop a thinking space.

The exophoric connection of bringing the discourse out into the world can be seen better by the following larger cluster in (176).

(176) *[Wangkuta* ***mani,*** *cellangeqarraallemni, akingsunata-llu* ***waten wani,****]*

[Wangkuta	***mani,***	*cellangeqarraallemni,*
[uatngakuta	**ma-a-ni**,	cella-ng-qarraar-ller-m-ø-ni,
[we	**IX-FL-LOC**,	awareness-began-first-CNJ.(when)-1.ERGA-SG-LOC

akingsunata-llu	***waten***	***wani,****]*
aking-ssur-na-ta=llu	**u-a-ten**	**u-a-ni**]
earn.money-seek-APP.NEG-PL.LF=COO	**IE-FL-FL.ÆQL**	**IE-FL-LOC**]

'[we—**here**—when I first became aware, we did not earn income **like this now**]'

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2018:7.1)

The first demonstrative in the topic cluster in (176) is postnominal and places focus on the characters of the story, mainly the Yup'ik people in the Kotlik region. The final two demonstratives, *waten wani*, bring the discourse out into the world to showcase the contrast between the state of the world back then in the story and the state of the world today in the real world. In the modern world, income is earned on commercial fishing trawlers, cargo barges, working for hourly wages at the store, or working for the tribal clinic, council or government. Back in the days of the narrative's setting, income is earned through the fur trade by hunting and trapping. The contrast between an exophoric and endophoric topic cluster and the development of Aciangaq's discourse can be seen when I bring in his next topic cluster and comment in (177).

(177) *[Tauguam,* ***waniwa, waten tuaten*** *pisuirulluteng], tamatumek-llu makunek, (aki, akia,) akiilirlartut kepulallretnek tamakunek, pisuirutengluteng watawa.*

[Tauguam,	***waniwa,***	***waten***
ta-ug-u=am	**u-a-ni=wa**	**u-a-ten**
R<A$(R)-OF.SG=EMPH	**IE-FL-LOC=ANA**	**IE-FL-FL.ÆQL**

tuaten	*pisuirulluteng],*
ta-u-a-ten	pi-suirut-lu-teg-t
R<IE-FL-FL.ÆQL	do-no.longer-APP-4.NOMA-PL

tamatumek-llu	*makunek,*	*(aki,*	*akia,)*
ta-mat-u-ø-mek=llu	ma-ku-t-nek,	(aki,	akia,)
R<IX-OF.SG-SG-ABL.SG=COO	IX-OF.NS-PL-ABL,	*sttr*	*sttr*

akiilirlartut
aking-ar-lir-lar-gur-t
earn.money-ITR-one.who-HAB-IND.IN-PL

kepulallretnek	*tamakunek,*
keput-lar-ller-nga-t-nek	ta-mat-ku-t-nek,
buy-HAB-CNJ.(whenever)-3.NOMA-PL-ABL	R<IX-OF.NS-PL-ABL,

pisuirutengluteng	*watawa.*
pi-suirut-ng-lu-teg-t	uat-a=wa
do-no.longer-begin-APP-4.NOMA-PL	IE-FL=ANA

'[**however, in this time, like this and like that** we don't do it any longer] those things and these things they would earn income whenever they sold these things, they don't do that any longer now."

NSKY Corpus (AAp 2017:7.3)

In the topic cluster of (177), Aciangaq (AA) uses a left periphery endophoric topic construction *tauguam, waniwa, waten tuaten* 'however, in this time, like this and like that.' He begins the topic construction with a linking demonstrative particle *tauguam*, which construes a riverine one-way passage of time or discourse and creates space between the last topic and this one without changing the theme. Here he is asserting his comparison of the two time periods. Then he states the time period and then uses a frame of reference contrast to establish the activities that are no longer done, all in pragmatic comparison to the state of the world as it is now.

Thus, he starts his whole utterance composed of two topic clusters (176) and (177), with an exophoric topic (right periphery) cluster *waten wani* 'like this now,' connecting the past of the discourse world to the present of the real world. Then, in the following topic construction (177), he brings the outside world into the narrative

with an endophoric (left periphery) cluster *tauguam, waniwa, waten tuaten* 'however, in this time, like this and like that,' connecting the real world to the past of the discourse world. In this way, he weaves the interlocutor into and out of the past and present as he compares his traditional way of life and his cultural knowledge with the contemporary way of life and our shared knowledge.

In this section, demonstrative-heavy topic clauses, which I call topic clusters, are only sometimes present, but when they are used, they are not arbitrary, vacuous, or merely space fillers. While creating discourse space, they also connect the discourse to the world and connect it to the interlocutors. These clusters highlight new and old information, shared knowledge and cultural knowledge, establish the communicative intent, and introduce and track or switch the referent and settings. The distribution of demonstratives within the topic cluster is also not arbitrary; in the same way, the distribution of demonstratives around an appositional referent is not arbitrary. A left periphery heavy cluster functions endophorically, while a right periphery heavy cluster functions exophorically. These serve related but distinct means of connecting the discourse to the real world. Finally, when demonstratives cluster in chains, there is a tendency for the same frame of reference to be utilized across the whole chain. However, there are no word order restrictions for the order of spatial, temporal, and manner demonstratives in relation to each other.

Outside of the topic construction in personal narratives, demonstrative clusters are rare. Adjacent demonstratives are usually used as discourse fillers, in chains to provide space to think. Alternatively, demonstratives are separated by holophrases, with each demonstrative either pointing or focusing on a different entity or event. There are, however, small clusters found at the boundaries of comments. These clusters at comment boundaries, however, don't function as a cohesive unit but are rather clumps of pragmatically unlinked demonstratives, each doing their own thing in the clause. One demonstrative particle might be linking two clauses together and then be followed by another demonstrative that is performing a different demonstrative pointing gesture to bring a figure into joint attention. While these might be considered mini clusters, the demonstrative pattern is less noteworthy or pragmatically powerful than the function of clustered demonstratives within the topic construction. An example of a comment boundary mini-cluster is shown in (178).

(178) *...**Tua-llu**, pingama **taumek tuani-tang**, anglaniluta nutqunaurtut...*

*...**Tua-llu**,*	*pingama*
...**ta-u-a=llu**,	pi-nga-m-a-ø
...**R<IE-FL=COO**,	do-CNJ.(when)-1.ERGA-SG.LF-ERG

taumek	***tuani-tang,***	*anglaniluta*
ta-u-u-ø-mek	**ta-u-a-ni=tang**,	anglani-lu-ta
R<IE-OF.SG-SG-ABL.SG	**R<IE-FL-LOC=look**,	have.fun-APP-PL.LF

nutqunaurtut...
nutqu-naur-gur-t...
shoot.around-HAB-IND.IN-PL...

'... **And then**, when I got one, **this one—this one!**—we had fun, we would shoot it...'

NSKY Corpus (IH 2018:16.5)

Notice in (178) that within the comment, there is a topicalizing clause, *pingama taumek tuani-tang* 'when I got this [shotgun]—this one—' and there is a statement about that topic, *anglaniluta nutqunaurtut* 'we had fun, we would shoot it.' This is not a topic cluster as it is not on the left periphery of the utterance nor the introduction of the topic itself but is a comment on the topic embedded within a comment chain. Nevertheless, three demonstratives are closely spaced within this clause, all working towards maintaining information flow, referent-tracking, and focus-marking.

Throughout the discourse, from the smallest comment linker demonstratives to the larger topic cluster demonstratives, the discursive structure is recursive and mirrored. Demonstratives function to maintain cohesion across an utterance and across the discourse. They are used to bring figures to joint attention and then in reference tracking and focalization for those same figures. These constructions are not arbitrary and are used to great pragmatic effect. The topic clusters are structured constructions which direct the information flow of an utterance. Within a cluster, the linking particle is placed in the first or prominent position of a topic clause. Additionally, a focalizing demonstrative is in a postnominal position to its appositional nominal, while a joint attention demonstrative is in a prenominal position to its appositional figure. Finally, and most importantly, contextualizing demonstratives clustered on the left periphery of the topic clause connect the world to the discourse (endophoric topic clusters), while those clustered on the right periphery connect the discourse to the world (exophoric topic clusters). From the discourse functions to the fundamental base's semantics, the wide range of Yup'ik demonstratives is founded on their embeddedness within three distinct frames of reference.

4.5 Yugtun demonstratives in context summary

Context is important to the construction of meaning in language. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the examination of Yugtun demonstratives. From their lexical

semantics to their holophrastic construction to their distribution in an utterance, context showcases how the Yugtun demonstratives function and why they are so frequent. A demonstrative's foundational role, as discussed, is to help speech participants reference an object by exophorically indexing the figure and bringing it into joint attention. Just as important is a demonstrative's ability to endophorically provide scaffolding for an utterance by linking propositions, topicalizing propositions, and focalizing arguments.

4.5.1 Discourse structure

In addition to the exophoric pointing functions of demonstratives in syntax, demonstratives are used to create thematic cohesion and continuity across a speech event. The two major patterns which create cohesion and continuity are the use of demonstrative clusters at the beginning of each new episode to create topical space and the use of grammaticalized demonstrative bases between discourse comments to link each comment together and assert the nature of their relationship. These discourse functions are prevalent in my corpus and account for a large percentage of overall demonstratives by token count.

A small set of demonstrative particles (*tayima, tauguam, tua(=i), kii(tuani)-*) are used to link individual propositions together into chains of connected discourse. This is important because discourse is not a random collection of sentences but rather a cohesive set of propositions (Bakhtin, 1986). These connected propositions build off of each other to make comments about a particular topic. In linking propositions together, Yugtun uses demonstratives within the framework of a riverine metaphor to achieve two ends, (i) topic-comment continuity and (ii) stance marking. Within this riverine conceptual metaphor, discourse is perceived as a flowing landscape or object which precedes forward downriver. Each successive proposition can be identified as being thematically related by linking to the last with a demonstrative particle. With the use of a demonstrative, the speaker points to the next proposition and indicates it is a continuation of the same topic. However, the speaker can take a stance about how the next proposition is related by their choice of the demonstrative base form. The obscured relative base marks a desiderative stance and is usually interpreted as 'hopefully.' The use of the restricted relative base indicates a neutral stance whereby one proposition flows into the next without a change in the speaker's judgement. The use of a special relative-absolute frame of reference (*kita, kiituani*) marks an affirmative, exclamative stance and a successive stance interpreted as 'here, please, ...'[5]

[5]this is similar to the Italian demonstrative *ecco* discussed in Chapter One

and 'thereafter,' respectively. Finally, the use of the riverine relative *taug-* marks a contrastive stance such that the next proposition is a statement in contrast to the last proposition, interpreted as 'however.' Using these demonstrative bases at comment boundaries, a speaker is able to direct the flow of the speech event, maintain cohesion across the entire speech event, and indicate their stance towards the next proposition in the comment chain. The use of these demonstrative particles in this context is functionally noteworthy and deserves a prominent place within Yugtun grammatical texts (refer to Section 4.4.2).

The use of demonstratives to maintain cohesion across a discourse and to build the space in which a speaker can communicate goes even further than the comment continuity functionality. The topic clause introduces each set of linked comments in an episode. The topic of an utterance is the first clause within that utterance, and in Yugtun, these topic clauses are laden with demonstratives performing a host of deictic pointing functions, all collaborating together to create communicative and conceptual space for the speaker. I call these demonstrative topic clusters or topic constructions. These clusters show a consistent distributional distinction between left periphery heavy clusters and right periphery heavy demonstrative clusters. These weighted peripheries correlate with the demonstrative ability to function exophorically and endophorically. Endophoric clusters use demonstratives to bring the outside physical world into the discourse by pointing to the discourse. This allows the speaker to establish the topic of the utterance by grounding it in the outside world and establishing shared social and cultural knowledge. By contrast, exophoric clusters connect the established topic to the outside world by starting in discourse space and using a demonstrative cluster to point outwards (refer to Section 4.4.3). Therefore, both distributions of topic clusters serve to connect and contextualize the discourse by pointing to the physical world and by bringing the interlocutors into the discourse world through shared knowledge.

These topic clusters typically show unity in the frame of reference across the clustered bases, particularly those which are adjacent. However, there does not seem to be any fixed pattern governing the order of demonstratives across different domains in relation to each other. Instead, context, derivation, and formative construction are used to identify whether a demonstrative is functioning spatially, temporally, as a manner of the event, or in the discourse domain. Nevertheless, as discussed above, discourse demonstratives usually come first in their role as propositional linkers.

Beyond their role in discourse as establishing the topic of an utterance or linking the comments to the topic and marking stance, demonstratives also track participants across an utterance, are used anaphorically to refer back to previously introduced participants and utterances, are used cataphorically to point forward in the discourse

to upcoming participants and utterances, particularly in the case of the enclitic *-gga* related to the anaphoric *-wa*. For a larger discussion, refer to Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

From the smallest particles used at comment boundaries to the fully formed holophrases clustered within discourse topics, demonstratives in the Yugtun language are frequent, meaningful, and used skillfully. Demonstratives, however, are also used outside of narrative effect to point at nominal figures within the speech event. This primal pointing function of demonstratives is most apparent in the demonstrative distributions as pronouns within appositional phrases.

4.5.2 Syntactic positions and appositions

Syntactically, demonstratives are most commonly inflected as nominal holophrases. Demonstrative nominals can be core arguments or oblique arguments, but both adhere to the nominal syntactic formative construction discussed in Chapter Two. As nominals, demonstratives are distributed pronominally, adnominally, and in the narrow sense adverbially (Payne, 1997; Diessel, 1999a). However, Yugtun demonstratives are not determiners, even if they contribute definite semantics to an appositional noun. Rather, demonstratives fill the nominal slot in a sentence on their own to function as an independent argument indexing a figure in the world. They are pronouns. However, they frequently form appositional phrases with coreferential nominals. When in an appositional phrase, the number and case must agree between the two nominal holophrases. These two phrases are coreferential, referring to the same figure, but are not dependent on each other. Either phrase can be dropped without changing the propositional content. This is an important observation because, according to Miyaoka (2012) in appositive constructions, Yup'ik demonstratives function as definite determiners (Miyaoka, 2012). However, determiners are not optional in their distributional environment. The appositional demonstratives in Yugtun are optional and can be dropped without changing the central meaning of the utterance, just like any independent nominal in Yugtun. Demonstratives contribute definite semantics because of their semantic nature as indexers and deictics, not because they are determiners.

A demonstrative nominal's distribution inside of the appositional phrase is, however, pragmatically important (refer to Section 4.4.1). When a demonstrative precedes a nominal argument, then it functions within an indexical role pointing to the figure of interest to bring it into joint attention as new-information (Figure 4.5). When a demonstrative follows a nominal argument, then it is functioning in a focalizing construction, placing focus on the preceding nominal and bringing it back into joint

attention as refreshed old-information (Figure 4.6). This alternation is used as a type of information structure to track participants and important arguments and is used in switch reference marking.

In summary, demonstrative nominal holophrases can either function as a core argument or as an oblique argument depending on the figure-type. Core arguments are objects or actors and agree with the verb in person and number. Oblique arguments are locations and manners. Using a narrow definition of adverbial whereby adverbials indicate location and manner, then the oblique argument demonstratives are adverbial in function (Payne, 1997). Nevertheless, within the adverbial functionality, structurally, these demonstrative pronouns follow the same nominal patterns as the core arguments.

4.5.3 Figure-type morphology

According to Diessel, when inflected, identificational and adnominal demonstratives are often identical to pronominals cross-linguistically. Pronominals are usually formed with the aid of a nominalizing affix. By contrast, adverbial demonstratives tend to be distinguished from the pronominal, adnominal, and identificational forms. Adverbial demonstratives are usually indicated with a derivational, locational affix, if they are derived at all (Diessel, 1999a).

Demonstrative bases in Yugtun are derived from their deictic bases into their holophrastic forms with one of six morphemes. These morphemes are traditionally divided syntactically into the pronominals *-u, -ku, -na*, the vocatives *-yuu* and *-kuu*, and the adverbial *-a*. These could be called nominalizers and adverbializers, but the distinction between core and oblique distribution is already made in the formative inflectional construction between core and oblique case-marked arguments, as discussed in Chapter Two. Rather, a semantic distinction between these three sets is more explanatory. In this analysis, I argue that the forms *-u, -ku, -na, -kuu, -yuu* derive a base to index an object-figure, while the form *-a* derives a base to index a location-figure or a manner. *-yuu* and *-kuu* also add vocative intent to call another interlocutor into joint attention with the speaker (Mihas, 2012).

Central to this discussion is the Jacobsons' observation that these derivational morphemes are "often a matter of style or emphasis more than meaning" (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995 p. 83). This is objectively untrue; the type of figure that is being indexed is not an arbitrary or stylistic choice but rather an observable shape either through physicality or metaphorical identity. These derivations are an extension of the frame of reference and aid in narrowing down the potential identity of the figure referent.

After a demonstrative base has been formed using one of these six derivations to identify the type of figure within the frame of reference, these derivations may have distributional preferences to enter into core or oblique nominal arguments, but that is not a structural feature created by distinct derivations but rather a semantic one. Syntactic categories are not selected for by the derivational morphemes but rather by the pattern of formative morphemes inflected at the end of a holophrastic word. Another point of evidence that these derivational morphemes, like any other derivational postbase, do not form lexical or syntactic categories but rather contribute lexical semantics is in the predicate verb construction observed by Miyaoko in (71) in Chapter Two, whereby once these demonstrative bases have been formed the verb inflectional construction can be concatenated to the end.

These demonstrative derivations also reinforce the emphasis Yugtun places on the figure within a demonstrative frame of reference. The unambiguous indexation of the figure is important in these demonstratives and begins within the fundamental demonstrative bases. The fundamental bases indicate the figure's dimensionality, as well as identify what they are grounded against and in the absolute bases, even what directionality they are located in and if they are accessible to the speaker. In context, these fundamental bases are derived using a figure-type morpheme which further specifies whether a demonstrative base is indexing an object-figure or a location/manner-figure. If an object-figure is being indexed, it also tells us the plurality of the object and the syntactic case. Finally, once derived, a demonstrative typically uses a nominal formative pattern to indicate the number and grammatical case of the figure in a syntactic context. Yugtun cares a great deal for the substance of the figure landmark it is indexing. These derivational morphemes which attach to demonstratives are not vacuous extenders or simple nominalizers but are rather semantically important figure-type indexical postbases.

4.5.4 Summary

Demonstratives are multilayered and multifunctional literary devices in Yugtun. From their lexical semantics to their holophrastic semantics to their function in natural, connected, contextualized speech, demonstratives are everywhere and deserve more attention in Yup'ik descriptions beyond the anglocentric demonstrative proximal/distal, pronoun/adverb typology typically presented. My analysis in these past two chapters has laid the foundation for a deeper discourse analysis of Yup'ik demonstratives based on an expanded understanding of demonstrative frames of reference in Yugtun, the morphosyntax of Yugtun figure indexing, and the function of Yugtun demonstratives

in context by using a corpus of natural, connected speech across multiple Norton Sound Kotlik speaking Elders.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 A new approach to demonstratives in Yugtun

The Central Alaskan Yup'ik language has long held claim to the world's most complex demonstrative inventory, often illustrated in a paradigm of 30 demonstrative pronouns interlaced with opaque semantic overlays (Miyaoka, 2012; Jacobson and Jacobson, 1995 p. 76; Jacobson, 2013 pp. 963–972). The study presented in this dissertation asked if a deeper contextualization of Yugtun demonstratives within a frame of reference model would explicate their analysis and intepretation within connected natural speech events. In approaching this question, I developed a corpus of natural speech events from my documentary work on the underdocumented and highly endangered Norton Sound Kotlik dialect. With the support of a NSKY consultant, these narratives were transcribed and translated. Using these natural discourses—including four *Yuuyarat* 'way of life' narratives, one *Pissuryaraq* 'way of hunting,' narrative, and one *Quliraq* 'traditional legend' narrative—from five Kotlik Elders, I identified 1021 demonstrative tokens (spoken by the Elders) out of 3414 Yugtun words, a demonstrative percentage of nearly 30% of all words spoken by the Elders. Using FLEx software, these demonstrative tokens in context were interlinearized and analyzed for their morphological structure, their syntactic distribution, and their semantics and function. In examining and exemplifying the lexical semantics of these demonstratives, I situated them within a set of frame of reference models based on the literature and described how frames of reference ground and illustrate the Yugtun demonstrative system, leading to a conceptual reorganization of the system. In addition, the frame of reference models carried over into the demonstrative derivations and are a core component of the Yugtun holophrastic demonstratives. I also show that the Yugtun demonstratives and frames of reference are embedded in conceptual metaphor and extend semantically from their basic spatial function to the temporal and discourse domains. The temporal construals

of demonstratives extend from a riverine spatial mapping, and within discourse, Yugtun demonstratives and their distributions are critical to understanding the nature of a referent and to structuring discourse. Altogether, this analysis exemplified that frames of reference do explicate the semantics, morphosyntactic structure, and contextualized functions of Yup'ik demonstratives. The Yup'ik language embeds its demonstrative system across three foundational frames of reference, which are used to unambiguously bring joint attention to some figure—be it in spatial, temporal, or discursive—within the Yup'ik conceptual world.

5.1.1 Synopsis of the dissertation

This analysis of the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun language variety and its demonstrative inventory began in Chapter One with an introductory discussion of deixis and demonstratives cross-linguistically within a prototypical, distance-based framework. Chapter One also discussed the ethnography of the Kotlik region, the composition of the NSKY corpus, and the methodology used for both the data collection and the corpus creation.

Chapter Two provided a short sketch grammar of Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun with an eye to the polysynthetic language's word formation patterns and their functions, drawing from data in the corpus and in comparison to General Standard Yup'ik. The chapter began with a summary of the language's typological characteristics, including the language's phonetics and phonology. Next, I highlighted the most essential phonology for parsing a Yugtun word and formative construction. I posited a streamlined lexical base class system that orders the application of many phonological rules. I then discussed differences in approaches to parts of speech and reviewed the particularist approach used in Yup'ik. I followed this discussion by examining the cognitive requirements to express a thought, which I called the *universal*, compared to the linguistic variability in achieving those requirements, which I termed the *anti-universal*.

This analysis allowed for an analysis of the nature of the Yugtun base and the Yugtun holophrase and identified the different patterns within the context of a Yugtun utterance. This analysis demonstrated a divide between Yugtun's parts of speech featuring lexical categories (a notion applied to a bound base) and the syntactic categories (a notion applied to bases in context). I demonstrated that for a category to be functionally meaningful, its components must follow similar patterns structurally and functionally. With these guiding principles in mind, I identified the Yup'ik lexical base construction and discussed its internal organization and grammar. I then discussed

the building blocks of the Yup'ik holophrastic syntactic constructions, which were shown to be a successive series of productive, agglutinating, inflectional morphemes, including person and number. Combined with the lexical-base class considerations, morpheme typology, and morphophonological processes, the morphosyntactic analysis of the major inflectional syntactic categories of the Yugtun language emphasized that the basic construction types used in the language are *nominals, conjuncts, verbs*, and *particles*. These constructions form the building blocks to create coherent utterances. Nominal constructions inflect lexical bases to function in an utterance as entities or things. Verb constructions inflect lexical bases to function as events or processes in an utterance. Conjunct constructions differ significantly in both structure and meaning from the latter two and inflect lexical bases to function as propositional modifiers and dependent clauses contributing summary or background contextual information. These constructions are summarized in Appendix A. Finally, particles are non-inflected words that convey conventionalized, idiomatic, and discursive functions.

Chapter Three introduced the idea of frames of reference and compared various models in order to develop a new framework that I could use to model the Yugtun demonstrative systems. With this new framework, I show that demonstratives in Yugtun depend on the notion of a frame of reference and that three operational models help explain the use and function of Yugtun demonstratives in context. These frames of reference models organize the conceptual world and allow figures to be indexed and brought into joint attention with a high degree of precision based on their domain of use. Moreover, by examining demonstratives within the context of a frame of reference model, the Yugtun demonstrative system is freed from an opaque, 2-term distance-based system and fitted to a systematic hologram encompassing a more comprehensive understanding of the Yugtun world. In the 2-term system, as presented in Section 3.2, disjointed spatial overlays exist, such as proximal-distal, egocentric-allocentric, accessible-inaccessible, and extendedness. There are also a few holes in this system, such as the lack of an 'approaching' demonstrative form, and a few outcasts, such as the misinterpretation of *uk-*. All of these features, or the lack thereof, are presented as functioning within a single (viewer-centred) frame of reference paradigm.

In contrast, the present analysis showcases a more complete deictic worldview that joins three distinct frames of reference, the intrinsic, the relative, and the absolute, each with illustrative and expressive semantics. The Yugtun demonstrative world regards the shape of the figure as a crucial feature of expression and encodes four different dimensions. The world views the speaker, interlocutor, and environment as important but different grounding landmarks, which is reflected in the emergence of

egocentric, allocentric, and geocentric frames of reference in Yugtun. However, the speaker is given an extra layer of privilege in the geocentric frame of reference by projecting their body-space in the form of peripersonal and extrapersonal construals of a scene. Thus, the three frames of reference mirror each other, and where they diverge, such as in the loss of the 'approaching' absolute forms, the divergence is semantically motivated and makes up for what is lost by including a body-space conceptualization, which provides greater explanatory power. By viewing Yugtun demonstratives through this holistic lens built with three frames of reference, the full power of the demonstrative system becomes more apparent, and the natural contours of the system as a whole and the sense of each individual demonstrative emerge. Additionally, Chapter Three found that through conceptual metaphor, the exophoric function of demonstratives is extended into the temporal and discursive landscapes or domains of use.

By using frames of reference to analyze the Yugtun demonstratives, the system's expressive contours become much more apparent, demonstrative function in context flourishes, and conceptual metaphors that pervade the language are revealed. Thereby, in addition to the benefits of analyzing demonstratives within a frame of reference typology, Chapter Three discussed how space is a rich source domain for conceptual metaphors. However, conceptual metaphors do not map entire systems. Instead, they map only partially from one domain to the next. This partial mapping is seen in the much reduced temporal demonstrative system and again in the even further reduced discourse demonstrative system. Each conceptual domain then needs to be treated on its own as a holistic subsystem of the larger deictic inventory of bases. Thus, a singular demonstrative paradigm will always be artificial; each domain of use has its own contours, and each frame of reference is its own system within each domain[1]. Nevertheless, these systems and domains of use overlap and interact through the innovative use of demonstratives across the various frames of reference in Yugtun.

Chapter Three, therefore, examined the lexical semantics of the fundamental demonstrative bases and demonstrated that by contextualizing them within the more comprehensive frame of reference literature, the demonstrative selection in context is not only illuminated but the narrative power of the demonstratives is expanded. Chapter Four then extended the discussion of the semantics of the demonstrative bases into the domain of the holophrastic words presented in Chapter Two. Chapter Four showed that derivational morphemes themselves function to refine the demonstrative

[1]Appendix B - Demonstratives shows all the demonstratives in relation to each other, in addition to the relevant holophrastic constructions and syntactic distributions discussed in Chapters Two and Four and a list of all the demonstrative types in my corpus.

frame of reference even further. The fundamental demonstrative bases must be derived for figure-type before they are used in context. Jacobson and Jacobson (1995) and Miyaoka (2012) call the suffixes *-na, -u, -ku, -a* "demonstrative expanders", whose sole function is to derive a pronoun or an adverb. I show in this analysis that these derivational morphemes are much more than that. A Yugtun demonstrative is a multilayered holophrase, and just like any lexical holophrase each layer of a demonstrative word is meaningful and useful. These four derivations are concerned with the identity and substance of the figure that is being indexed within a frame of reference. Just as the fundamental demonstrative base identifies the figure's shape within the frame of reference space, these derivations identify its substance, mainly as an object or a location/manner. Additionally, the three object-figure types are further distinguished. This is not arbitrary. The subdivision identifies first the plurality of the figure. Second, this subdivision identifies the syntactic role of the figure within the syntax. Yugtun pays special attention to the nature of the figure within a frame of reference at every stage of morphosyntax. This allows for the unambiguous and detailed indexation of the object of joint attention within a speech event.

Once the demonstrative base has been derived, a demonstrative in Yugtun, as shown in my NSKY corpus, can function either as a pronoun or as a particle. As a particle, the demonstrative does not get inflected in most cases and typically has only discourse functionality. As a pronoun, the demonstrative base is inflected with the nominal formative pattern discussed in Chapter Two. A demonstrative pronoun functions pronominally, adnominally, and, in the narrow sense, adverbially but not as determiners. As a pronoun, demonstratives take a few special demonstrative-specific case morphemes that provide greater specification of the path, location, or definiteness of the figure. These pronouns can stand in place of the figure syntactically or can stand in apposition to the figure's nominal specification. Within a discourse context, demonstrative pronouns can function exophorically by pointing to a figure and bringing it into joint attention as discourse new information by being placed on the left of the figure or in prenominal apposition. Demonstrative pronouns can also be placed in postnominal apposition on the right to bring the figure into discourse focus as old information. As such, these pronouns also frequently function anaphorically.

The data also show a distributional difference in the syntax of the demonstrative holophrases. Within an utterance, these words are structuring the discourse itself. Demonstrative particles have stance-like semantics that can indicate how a speaker feels about the utterance, such as 'hopeful.' These uninflected and phonetically reduced grammaticalized particles are used in discourse structure for cohesion. As cohesive devices, they link clauses together in various ways to maintain the flow and structure of

the discourse from one topic to the next and from one comment to the next. They can assert that the two clauses are progressive, one after the next or that the two clauses are contrastive, one in juxtaposition to the next. Following this cohesive functionality, demonstrative holophrases can cluster within topic clauses to connect the discourse to the world and create narrative space for the speaker to ideate. These topic clusters can occur on the left edge of the topic clause and function endophorically to ground the topic and the real world back into the discourse. They can also function on the right edge and function exophorically to ground the discourse in the present world that encompasses the speech act. When demonstratives in these clusters are adjacent, they tend to be chosen from the same frame of reference. Doubtlessly, these topic clusters deserve more attention and analysis beyond this brief characterization. Such investigation will have to be reserved for a later study, which I hope to do.

Embedded within frame of reference models, demonstrative patterns were revealed at all levels of demonstrative use, and their narrative power was reinforced. From deixis and joint attention to discourse structure, demonstratives in Yugtun are much more frequent and have a much heavier workload than previously suggested. The Yugtun demonstratives are a multilayered, multifunctional system deeply grounded within frame of reference models. This study only scratches the surface of the Yugtun demonstrative system while demonstrating a need for additional examinations of the system, in context, with respect to deixis, frames of reference, and Yugtun morphosyntax and semantics.

The remainder of this chapter provides a discussion of the benefits of using, even small-scale, corpora over elicitation, the typological implications of these morphosyntactic and semantic frameworks, and the limitations of the present study.

5.2 Benefits of using corpora of natural connected discourse

In this analysis, I have highlighted and analyzed Yugtun demonstrative frames of reference and the Yugtun constructional parts of speech in which the demonstratives are embedded from a corpus-centred approach to the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun dialect. This corpus-centred analysis is corpus-based as it uses a corpus to "expound, test, or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study" (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001 p. 65). It is corpus-driven as "the corpus is seen as more than a repository of examples to back preexisting theories ... rather, the theoretical statements are fully consistent with and reflect directly the evidence provided by the corpus." In this analysis, "recurrent patterns

and frequency distributions form the basic evidence for linguistic categories" (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001 ibid. 84). By using the corpus both as a foundation for the analysis and to drive the analysis in a corpus-centered way, I am able to highlight the agglutinative nature of the formative endings and their patterns in context, the demonstrative frames of reference individually and in juxtaposition, domains of demonstrative use, and the demonstrative distributions in connected speech and their functions.

As per my introduction in Chapter One, this study has focused on a subset of the recorded texts of natural, connected discourse in my documentary corpus on Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun. This subset was transcribed and analyzed to be used as the beginnings of a linguistic corpus on this endangered language variety (S. Rice, 2018). These processed texts were analyzed in context using the interlinear glossing, lexicographic, and concordance capabilities of the Fieldworks FLEx software. They were also used as plain text documents in the AntConc software to examine type/token frequencies and collocational patterns.

With only five speakers and six texts in my corpus, the corpus-centred approach has already been immensely insightful into the function of demonstratives in Yugtun. This insight has enriched the analysis of the Yugtun's extensive demonstrative inventory in two principal ways: first, by revealing the natural contours of the demonstratives *in vivo* and their frequencies, and second, by revealing their layered and nuanced meanings in context.

The power behind a corpus-centred approach to language description lies principally within the ability to analyze language in context. In my corpus, I used transcriptions of connected, natural discourse. The analysis of natural speech allows us to examine how words and phrases function in spontaneous use as opposed to through the artificiality of elicitation. Analyzing contextualized language allows us to examine linguistic entities across larger structural units and in different usage domains and genres.

By examining a linguistic corpus, patterns and words with high grammatical frequency can be observed that might otherwise be overlooked in elicitation or introspective data collection methodologies. In Yugtun, one such highly salient grammatical system is the demonstratives. This becomes clear from my Yugtun corpus. Of only 5390 total word tokens in the corpus, I found 1047 Yugtun demonstrative tokens in context spoken by all interlocutors. These demonstratives account for about 30% of the words in my corpus. This shows how salient and important demonstratives are to an analysis of the Yugtun language. In comparison, to examine the same number of demonstratives in English, the corpus would have to contain about 100,000 tokens (Leech et al., 2001).

It is also through this contextualized, corpus-centred approach that the various

demonstrative frame of reference models revealed themselves, allowing for a better understanding of how each demonstrative token was selected based on the speaker's construal at that point of the utterance. While previous descriptions of Yup'ik demonstratives arrange all the demonstratives on an equal footing within a single two-dimensional paradigm, my analysis demonstrates the contextual and semantic contours of individual demonstratives and their related forms. The contours of each frame of reference elucidates how and when a demonstrative is used. Based on these natural contours of use, I show that the relative and intrinsic demonstrative types are far more frequent than the absolute frame of reference types, which are highly context-specific and used almost exclusively in the spatial domain. The relative frame of reference is slightly more frequent than the intrinsic, and this is likely due to the most frequent demonstrative base *tau(at)-*. This restricted, allocentric demonstrative base is used in spatial indexation but, most importantly, as a discourse-linking particle. For a full discussion, refer to Sections 3.3 and 4.3-4.4.

Additionally, Yup'ik demonstratives are typically analyzed within a spatial domain of use only, relegating temporal and discourse senses of the bases to the dictionary as different polysemous lexemes. However, examining all the demonstratives in as many contexts as possible introduces us to new patterns and processes which encourage us to treat the demonstrative system holistically. In so doing, we reconnect the relative frame of reference into the absolute system, bringing along the still productive demonstrative base *taug-*, and emphasize the temporal and discourse riverine comparisons with bases such as *aw-* and *kiw-*.

Finally, a corpus-centred approach also highlighted the meaning behind the figure's referentiability to the demonstrative system as a whole, from the selection of a fundamental demonstrative base type to its derivation and inflection into a holophrastic demonstrative. By embedding the analysis in connected speech, I was able to describe the difference in pronominal position as either joint-attention or focus-marking, how demonstrative clusters functioned within topic clauses and thereby connecting the discourse to the world, and how demonstrative particles linked comments together with a stance-like function. These more complex functions of the demonstratives cannot be observed using other methodologies and thus are not discussed in the literature.

This corpus-centred approach to the analysis of Yugtun demonstratives thus allows us to disassemble the paradigm and describe more accurate contours through the entire system by treating each frame of reference on its own merits and treating each domain as a sub-system of the full inventory. This presents a clearer framework by which to describe these highly salient and functionally robust demonstrative bases as a unified linguistic landscape.

5.3 Typological implications

Several typological implications emerge by examining the Yugtun demonstrative inventory through the lens of a corpus of spontaneous spoken language. These implications are further grounded by the descriptive principle put forward by Holger Diessel that a change in structure indicates a change in function. Thus, any new structure requires a new categorical division, leading to several implications discussed below (Diessel, 1999a pp. 4, 89, 158). Foremost among these typological implications is the notion of demonstrative primacy in a language's lexical inventory. The second regards the typological embedding of those demonstratives in cross-linguistic categories. The final typological implication examines the paths of grammaticalization encountered across those descriptive categories. These three implications are not only impactful for the description of Yup'ik demonstratives but also for demonstratives as a universal grammatical system.

Demonstratives are claimed to be universal across the world's languages and among the first words acquired by children (González-Peña et al., 2020). While demonstratives can function pronominally, adnominally, adverbially, and indentificationally, they often are described as bare particles that must be derived to function in context (Diessel, 1999a). This has led to the claim that demonstratives form sets of closed-class lexical primitives across languages. While some of them constitute the lexical source for a plethora of grammaticalizations, they do not originate from other categories (Kuteva et al., 2019 p. 295; Diessel, 1999a p. 150; W. F. Hanks, 2009).

In this study, the principle guiding category membership was applied not just to demonstratives but to all morphological bases in the Yugtun language. This principle allowed for language-specific categories to emerge and, in Chapter Two, led to the typological classification of two lexical categories and four syntactic categories. The lexical categories are determined constructionally by their morphosyntactic environments and distributions, which I identify as lexical bases and deictic bases. Within the deictic bases, the fundamental demonstrative bases form a closed-class set of lexical primitives. These fundamental demonstrative bases are bare particles that must be derived to function in context. All syntactic categories can be applied to any morphological base and, through the use of pattern-specific inflectional concatenations, can assign a base a syntactic function in context. These syntactic categories were identified as the scalar *nominals, conjuncts, verbs* and the non-scalar category *particles*. This study demonstrated in Chapter Four that the fundamental demonstrative bases can be derived and inflected in context to function as nominals in appositional and pronominal constructions and as particles in grammaticalized contexts such as discourse cohesion,

stance-taking, and coordinators. Miyaoka, in his data, shows demonstratives inflected to function syntactically as verbs (Miyaoka, 2012). Hypothetically, demonstratives should also be capable of being inflected as a conjunct, given the appropriate context.

Based on this evidence, Yugtun demonstratives function precisely as the typological literature posits. Yugtun demonstratives are fundamental primitives. These 30+ a-categorical reflexes represent a closed-class deictic category that can be derived to function in any context and are the source for numerous paths of grammaticalization. Thus, the structure and function of Yugtun demonstratives support the typological literature and provide evidence for the cross-linguistic claims.

However, the internal semantics of Yugtun demonstratives are complicated and non-canonical in that they do not neatly fit into a single distance-based model. Their non-canonicity, in fact, posits new typological organizational principles based on the notion of frames of reference. Traditional typological descriptions of demonstrative systems cross-linguistically emphasize the notion of system-internal contrasts (Diessel, 2013b). While the literature does utilize a simplified notion of a viewer-centred frame of reference alluding to the notion of an origo, which is typically the speaker, with some languages utilizing an allocentric origo, which is typically the listener, these origos are often glossed over in favour of distance contrasts. Languages can utilize one of four primary contrasts within a single demonstrative system, shown in Chapter One Figures 1.2-1.3 and examples (4)-(7). The 1-term distance contrast uses a single word within the system to bring joint attention to an object, but the system does not index spatial location. The German pronominal demonstrative is an example of a 1-term distance contrast. English demonstratives are good examples of a 2-term distance contrast system with the demonstrative pronouns (*this*/*that*), spatial adverbs (*here*/*there*), and temporal adverbs (*now*/*then*) all contrasting an object indexed proximally to the origo against an object indexed distally to the origo. Thus, these systems contain two demonstratives, which contrast based on their distance to the origo. A 3-term system can contrast the three demonstratives by a relative distance, such as in Plains Cree, which has a proximal, medial, and distal demonstrative. Alternatively, the three demonstratives can be juxtaposed by both distance and origo, such as in Japanese, which has a proximal to speaker demonstrative, a proximal to listener demonstrative, and a distal to both speaker and listener demonstrative. These are called person-based demonstrative systems. Languages that juxtapose four or more demonstratives create finer delineated distances or combine a 3-term, person-based system with a distance-based system (Diessel, 2013b). The Yugtun demonstrative system is typically squeezed into a 2-term, distance-based system with extra parameters for object accessibility and object shape (refer to Figure 3.2 in Section 3.2.1) (Jacobson & Jacobson, 1995).

By extracting the Yup'ik demonstratives from this 1-dimensional, vaguely Anglo-centric, distance-based paradigm and examining each demonstrative's use in context, the contours of the Yup'ik demonstrative system emerge allowing it to be described according to its own "genius" (a là Sapir). These contours place emphasis not on distance contrasts, but rather on the nature of the ground, the unambiguous indexation of the figure, the direction of the vector that establishes reference, and the speaker's accessibility to the figure. The Yugtun demonstrative system emphasizes all of these components within several distinct frame of reference models. Following the typology behind a frame of reference, the Yugtun language is shown in Chapter Three to utilize three distinct frames of reference in the demonstrative system: an intrinsic egocentric system (Figure 3.9), a relative allocentric system (Figure 3.11), and an extensive absolute geocentric system (Figure 3.13). Extending this demonstrative frame of reference analysis, frames of reference can also be shown to be employed cross-linguistically in demonstrative typology as a primal organizational category before distance contrasts. These frames of reference can be called *demonstrative frames*. Using this principle of demonstrative frames, a language's demonstrative system can first be categorized by the number of frames it juxtaposes, and then each frame can be categorized by the number of distance contrasts (called terms) that are presented. Finally, a demonstrative system can be described for any additional semantic features that are present, such as visibility, elevation, geography, movement, ontology, animacy, humanness, sex, number, and boundedness (Diessel, 1999a p. 52).

Adding a frame of reference typology is less noticeable for many languages as their demonstrative systems present only a 1-frame system, that of an egocentric intrinsic demonstrative system. The simplified demonstrative frame of reference, presented in Chapter One, which highlights only the origo as a means of triangulation, is sufficient for many language types. Germanic languages are good examples of a 1-frame demonstrative system. Both German and English utilize a 1-frame demonstrative system whereby the origo, or ground, is always the speaker, and thus egocentric and intrinsic. German (4) utilizes a 1-frame, 1-term system with added features for noun class. English (5) uses a 1-frame, 2-term system distinguishing between proximal and distal with added features for number. Another language that uses a 1-frame typology is Plains Cree . Within Cree's single intrinsic egocentric frame of reference, 3-terms are contrasted: proximal, medial, and distal, and then added features of number and noun class are used.

A typology grounded in frames of reference becomes more explanatory and apparent when languages such as Japanese are described. Rather than describe Japanese as a 3-term person-based contrast system (7), Japanese can be better analyzed as a 2-frame

demonstrative system. Japanese utilizes both an egocentric intrinsic frame of reference (86) and an allocentric intrinsic frame of reference (88). How the Japanese terms can be described is ambiguous in this study. Each of Japanese's frames can be described as having 2-terms whereby the distal term is polysemous and uses the same form in both frames, or the egocentric frame can be described as a 2-term system and the allocentric frame as a 1-term system, or the distal demonstrative could be analyzed as a mixed-frame 1-term system on its own. The analysis of Japanese demonstrative semantics, however, is beyond the scope of this study. Finally, 4+-term systems utilize a combination of different frames and terms.

This added notion to demonstrative typology helps to elucidate the complexities of the Yugtun demonstrative system, which is typically categorized as a 2-term distance-based system (Table 3.1). This dissertation has shown, however, that Yugtun is better described as employing a 3-frame demonstrative system. The first frame is an egocentric intrinsic, manifesting a 1-term distance contrast and a feature for figure shape, which encodes visibility, two dimensionalities, and movement for a total of 4 demonstrative reflexes. The second frame is an allocentric relative with a 1-term distance contrast and a feature for figure shape, which also encodes visibility, two dimensionalities, and movement for a total of 4 demonstrative reflexes. The final frame is a geocentric absolute with a 2-term distance contrast, which is generally proximal-distal but is better characterized by the notions of peripersonal-extrapersonal with a feature that encodes the geographic ground (directionality) as direct, elevation, riverine, and interioricity, and a feature for figure shape, which encodes visibility and two dimensionalities for a total of 24 demonstrative reflexes.

By adding the notion of frames of reference as a central element of demonstratives, not only are the Yugtun demonstratives better described in their own right, but the Yugtun system is more easily compared typologically with person-based systems like Japanese and 4+-term languages such as Hausa. Thus, demonstrative descriptions cross-linguistically find more solid ground for their semantic description. Beyond better situating the semantic typology, however, frames of reference also help explain demonstrative paths of grammaticalization in Yugtun.

Demonstratives, as linguistic primitives, are the lexical source for many different functional elements in a language (Kuteva et al., 2019). Typically, the path that a demonstrative takes to fulfil new functions in grammar is based on the demonstrative's syntactic category in context. For instance, pronominal demonstratives can be grammaticalized into third-person pronouns, complementizers, and sentence connectives. Adnominal demonstratives can grammaticalize into, among many possibilities, nominal linkers. Demonstratives can also become temporal adverbs, directional preverbs, and

focus markers (Kuteva et al., 2019). Grammaticalization is a core diachronic process in Yugtun, as discussed in Chapter Two, following Mithun's (2012) and Tersis' (2006) observations on derivational and inflectional morphology. Chapter Four then showcases the heavy influence of prior grammaticalization within the Yugtun demonstrative system from the 1st-person pronoun to the focus construction, or alternatively, from the cohesive particles acting as complementizers and sentence connectives to the topicalizing cluster constructions. Of typological interest is the role of frames of reference in dictating the path of grammaticalization rather than the syntactic category of demonstratives.

Utilizing three frames of reference, Yugtun demonstratives function in many non-deictic functional roles and can display varying levels of phonological reduction in their morphologicalization and syntacization. The frame of reference influences these grammaticalizations. Yugtun's egocentric intrinsic demonstratives (*ua(t)-, ma(t)-, im-, uk-*) grammaticalize into new roles that maintain egocentric or intrinsic semantics. Of fundamental interest is the restricted demonstrative *ua(t)-*, which has been grammaticalized as the 1st-person pronoun, *wiinga* 'I,' refer to Section 4.3.4. As pronouns are both deictic and egocentric, the grammaticalization of a demonstrative into a 3rd-person pronoun is common. In Yugtun, however, the change into a 1st-person pronoun by an intrinsic demonstrative is worth noting. Additionally, *ua(t)-* has grammaticalized into an anaphoric enclitic *=wa*, which can attach to any holophrastic word but has a strong tendency to collocate with demonstratives. Roughly meaning 'the aforementioned one,' the enclitic refers back to a figure within the intrinsic structure of the discourse previously mentioned by the speaker.

Yugtun's allocentric relative demonstratives, *taua(t)-, tama(t)-, ta(y)im-, and taug-*, have grammaticalized into discourse cohesion particles that act as stance-markers, complementizers, coordinators, nominal linkers and various other sentence connectives. These are showcased in Section 4.4.2 with particular regard to the particles *tau* 'and then,' *tayima* 'hopefully,' and *tauguam* 'however.' These particles do not use the speaker as the origo but rather are allocentrically grounded on the utterances within the discourse, having had the origo displaced or relativized from the ego (speaker) to the discourse.

Finally, Yugtun's geocentric absolute demonstratives are less frequent in my NSKY corpus due to their narrow contexts of use but they are still being deployed in non-deictic functions. Particularly when placed within a possessed nominal construction (Section 2.4.1), these fundamental demonstrative bases act as positionals. This analysis has not discussed this positional structure as the NSKY corpus does not show any examples of demonstrative bases used as positionals. Miyaoka (2012) and Jacobson

and Jacobson (1995) discuss positionals in Yup'ik, McMahan (2022) and Dorais (2010) discuss them in Inuit.

Throughout my corpus, incidents of grammaticalized demonstratives show that demonstrative paths of grammaticalization are not just influenced by syntactic categories but also by their frames of reference. Thus, from lexical and syntactic categorization to their semantic categorization to their paths of diachronic change, the analysis of Yugtun demonstratives in this dissertation demonstrates the primacy of frames of reference to the typology and descriptions of demonstratives cross-linguistically.

5.4 Language attrition and language description

Since 2014, when I began the documentation of Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun, several of my consulting Elders and surviving language bearers have passed on, including two used in the linguistic corpus informing this study of demonstrative use *in vivo*; Cecelia 'Waralria' Mikes (CM) from Pastuliq and Micheal 'Kiicaq' Prince (MP) from Kotlik. Both speakers were instrumental to the analysis presented in this study. Waralria utilized language patterns in her idiolect that represent a more traditional and flexible form of the language, which exhibited more significant degrees of creativity different from both General Standard Yup'ik and the Kotlik dialect being acquired today. Kiicaq was a bearer of traditional legends and knowledge, and those not recorded or remembered are now lost. Aciangaq (AA), the Elder with the greatest frequency of demonstrative use and the last surviving monolingual speaker, and Carra (IH) are among the last fluent speakers of the dialect as a first language and dominant language. Amiksuwin (MH) is among the last fluent speakers and is an important local historian. All of these speakers come from now derelict ghost villages. The Norton Sound Kotlik dialect is quickly falling silent. It is being replaced in the school system by a more rigid, anglicized form of Central Alaskan Yup'ik standardized in universities as a second language. This standardization arose primarily out of an anglocentric approach to language structure elicited from Elders out of context or as the result of heavy literary editing of narrative.

However, this initial study into the Kotlik dialect using a corpus of connected speech collected between 2014 and the present has questioned the literature about both the syntactic constructions in the language and the artificiality of the demonstrative contours represented in the standardized demonstrative paradigm. This study has shown that the formative patterns are critical to syntactic categorization and the constructions are filled with grammatical structure, as evidenced in Chapter Two. I have shown that demonstratives do not utilize a single 2-way distance-based typology,

nor is their use a matter of stylistics; instead, they construct nuanced frames of reference through which discourse is embedded, and figures are indexed, as shown in Chapter Three. Demonstratives are also used to great narrative effect, creating contextualized space for speakers to orate and to track referents across that oration. As demonstrated in Chapter Four, these functions are sensitive to their syntactic environment and largely missing in the literature.

As the last generation of L1 Kotlik speakers who contributed to this Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun corpus and collaborated on this project with me passes on, much of our ability to discern the malleability, nuance, and contextualized use of both the demonstratives and the formative morphemes disappear as well. Part of this loss may be catalyzed by the current standardized language's analysis and due to anglophone dominant cultural contact. The allocentric relative demonstratives are already being reanalyzed and interpreted by younger speakers not as allocentric demonstratives but as intrinsic egocentric *distal* demonstratives. The 'approaching' demonstratives *uk-* and *taug-* are fossilizing and losing domains of use. Additionally, as shown in Table 1.2, while the Elders show a demonstrative frequency of around 30% dispersed throughout their discourse, the younger speakers utilize demonstratives only around 11% of the time. This frequency exhibited by the younger speakers represents a steep decline for such a central lexical class.

The demonstrative system in Inuit-Yupik-Unangan languages has been changing and levelling for a long time, as evidenced by M. D. Fortescue (1988), Miyaoka (1984), and McMahan (2022). Yup'ik has lost the fully productive use of the relative frame of reference prefix *ta-* across all of the absolute demonstratives, described in Norton Sound Unaliq Yugtun by Miyaoka in 1984. Inuit languages have variously reanalyzed the absolute system to fit their local geography and have lost various reflexes (M. D. Fortescue, 1988; McMahan, 2022). By contrast, the Aleut language has extended its demonstrative system to include new directionals (Bergsland, 1951, 1997). Following these natural paths of language change, the Elders in my NSKY corpus still show an intrinsic understanding of the Yup'ik demonstrative frames of reference and their use in context. They show how each frame of reference can be juxtaposed to form contrastive elements. They still use the form *taug-* liberally across both the temporal and discourse domains of use in the forms *taugkun* 'from then on' and *tauguam* 'however'. The temporal and discursive uses of demonstratives shows that these forms are far from fossilized polysemes relegated to an esoteric dictionary entry. The discourse particles are still used with the metaphorical intent of the frames of reference intact and layered with stance-like functions. Demonstratives used by competent orators in the language are fully grammatical and serve as elegant literary devices that weave different parts

of a narrative together and index, track, and focalize key discourse objects.

While language change is natural and unavoidable, disruptive language contact and language policies, language attitudes, and anglocentric language acquisition strategies all influence its direction. As language attrition and English literary traditions continue to take their toll on the already waning Yup'ik language, the Yup'ik demonstrative system will change, and certain syntactic constructions will no doubt fossilize, leading to new grammatical systems. The inflectional portmanteaus are likely to become genuinely fused and unrecoverable. This fusion will obscure productive processes like pronoun (agreement morpheme) dropping and split-ergative morphological alignment. Additionally, based on observations of Yup'ik-English translation in Kotlik, the demonstratives are likely to evolve into a 1-frame, 2-way distance-contrast system between the now intrinsic and relative demonstratives. The absolute demonstratives may become reanalyzed as purely non-deictic positionals. While traditional analysis leaves referent tracking and focusing to verb-final inflections, my NSKY corpus shows that demonstratives also play a heavy role in indexation, focusing, topicalization, discourse cohesion, and even pause-filling. These uses come with an overwhelming amount of evidence, accounting for nearly 30% of the corpus tokens. However, the frequency of demonstratives in discourse seems to be in decline between the Elder and younger generations, and much of this demonstrative complexity stands to be lost in both Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun and General Standard Yup'ik as language attrition continues to take its toll. Regarding demonstratives, any fullsome cross-linguistic typology will be poorer for this change.

5.5 Limitations and challenges of this analysis

This dissertation has approached the challenge of documenting the complex and changing demonstrative system of a remote undocumented dialect of an endangered language as it is used *in vivo*. In approaching this study, I asked the questions: What does the demonstrative inventory of Norton Sound Kotlik look like today, how does the system function within natural discourse, and how are demonstratives distributed structurally in the grammar? To answer these questions, I developed a small linguistic corpus from a few of the Elder-directed audio recordings of natural speech events collected during my time in Kotlik building documentary corpora. Out of this linguistic corpus, I have shown the centrality of demonstratives in Yugtun narrative discourse, especially among the Elders, the centrality of frames of reference to demonstrative categorization, and the diverse but systematic distributions and functions of the demonstratives in connected speech. Nevertheless, this project has not been without

limitations, and much more remains to be examined and understood.

5.5.1 Limitations

Among the challenges encountered during this project, there are three major limitations of this study that I would like to address here. First, the state of the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun dialect. Second, the development of an explanatory corpus, and third, the social repercussions of COVID-19.

Kotlik is a community in transition. From the 1970s to today, the regional community, demographics, climate, socio-cultural traditions, and linguistic praxis have all been subject to increased disruption and pressures to change. The Norton Sound Pastuliq dialect, once spoken across the villages of Pastuliq, Caniliaq, and Nunapigglugaq, and the hamlets of Kangirkilnguq and Qerrullik (Kotlik), is now called Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun and is spoken only in the village of Kotlik. Many of the speakers of this dialect live in diaspora across the Northwestern U.S. and Alaska. Within the community of Kotlik, intergenerational transmission of the language has been interrupted. With increased pressure to speak English, linguistic fluency is graded across speakers, with only around 40 fluent speakers left in Kotlik. This state of linguistic attrition has placed limitations on my fieldwork and the further development of my corpus.

In terms of fieldwork, it has limited the number of speakers I can work with and who are comfortable sharing their *Yuuyarat, Pissuryarat, Univkarat*, and *Qulirat* with me or who are comfortable having conversations or other types of speech events recorded. This state of language attrition also made it very difficult to find a consultant who was comfortable and had the time to transcribe these recordings and bring their intuitions to the endeavour. I am forever thankful to Theresa George for being this person and to the Elders who shared their knowledge and stories with me and, in so doing, contributed so profoundly to this study. I had feared that the state of linguistic attrition would also limit the number and diversity of demonstratives used in spontaneous and creative oration. However, amongst the Elders, at least, I was ecstatic to see this was not the case.

The state of the language's praxis *in vivo* and the nature of working with an underdocumented language placed unavoidable limits on the corpus used in this analysis. A corpus' explanatory power comes from the size and diversity of representation. While I have a larger documentary corpus, I chose only to use texts that had been fully transcribed and checked by Kotlik consultants in my linguistic corpus. This limited me to six texts, five speakers, three related narrative genres and one traditional

legend. While this constitutes a small corpus of only 5390 word tokens, of which only 3671 are Yugtun tokens, it, fortunately, did not limit the explanatory power of the corpus to elucidate demonstrative function as they appeared with a frequency of around 30% of the Yugtun tokens. Nevertheless, had they appeared with a less robust frequency of around 1-10% (English-GSY), this could have presented severe limitations on this analysis. Nevertheless, questions remain, such as whether this is a feature of these particular genres or speakers or whether demonstratives are being used as filled pauses due to linguistic attrition. While the dispersion plots presented in Chapter One and the analysis presented in Chapter Four suggest that no, these are, in fact, fully grammatical, systematic, and embedded structures that are used across the board for joint attention, focus, anaphor, topicalization, and cohesion across domains of space, time, and discourse rather than as speaker-dependent literary or poetic devices, without adding more speakers, and genres to the corpus these questions cannot be definitively answered. Finally, as this corpus principally captured the speech events of monolingual and Yugtun dominant speakers, I was unable to make observations about the effects of language attrition and changes in the demonstrative systems beyond noting the decrease in frequency among the limited discourse provided by younger speakers in the peripheries of the narratives.

A final challenge I encountered during this dissertation was the outbreak of COVID-19 in 2020. While I was scheduled to return to Kotlik and continue transcription and recording in the summer of 2020, all fieldwork was, rightfully, cancelled between 2020 and 2022. As Kotlik has limited internet access and the residents of Kotlik were equally busy adapting to the changing circumstances, I could not continue transcription with local consultants during this time. I also reached out to the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, to consider funding a research assistant to support the transcription of the recordings within the documentary corpus, but I have yet to be successful. This challenge contributed to the small size of the corpus used for this analysis. Additionally, the aftermath of the global pandemic has made returning to Kotlik a challenge even now. Nevertheless, I aim to repatriate the documentary corpus, all materials, and this project to the community as soon as possible and continue developing and expanding both my documentary and linguistic corpora of the Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun dialect.

5.5.2 Future directions

Between the limitations presented and the additional questions revealed through this analysis, there are many future directions I would like to take or see taken. Beginning

with methodology, I must return to Kotlik to return the materials developed and collected to this point and discuss this project's results. Second, I would like to transcribe and annotate the entirety of my documentary corpus and add the texts into my linguistic corpus. Next, I would like to work on and develop a Kotlik-specific dictionary and grammar developed out of my documentary and linguistic corpora. Finally, I want to expand my corpus to include more texts from the same speakers, more texts from new speakers with increased demographic representation and more texts across a wider diversity of genres and speech event styles. I would also like to develop the corpus into a multi-dialectal corpus and see how Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun relates to the other dialects in spontaneous connected speech events. Perhaps the impressively high frequency of demonstratives is a dialectal phenomenon. Regardless, this study has shown the explanatory power of a small corpus to language description for an undocumented and endangered dialect. Expanding it to examine language variation and to support documentary efforts on a broader scale would be a great next step.

Within this analysis, I see many paths to further and new paths of research to begin. First, I would like to continue my examination of Yup'ik demonstratives both in NSKY and across the other dialects. Particularly, I am interested in the form and function of the demonstrative topic clusters and the use of demonstrative particles in discourse cohesion. Second, I would like to examine how the demonstrative frames of reference have changed over time within Yup'ik and across the Inuit-Yupik-Unangan language family.

Additionally, I want to deepen my initial constructional description of the Yup'ik language, particularly regarding the categorization of the Yup'ik lexical bases. Also, using my constructional approach to syntactic categories, I want to further the case for the distribution and function of conjuncts as an independent category in syntax. Finally, I would like to examine the categorization of mood and the phenomena of both agreement dropping within certain moods and the use of long-form number and their distribution in the grammar.

This dissertation on the form and function of Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun demonstratives *in vivo* has, despite the challenges and limitations, demonstrated the immense importance and wide distribution of the demonstratives to the language in connected discourse. By placing the analysis within a frame of reference model, it has also opened up many new avenues of research for both the Yup'ik language and linguistic typology in general.

5.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation has examined the use of the world's most complex demonstrative system through a contextualized frame of reference analysis using a corpus of connected natural speech in Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun, an endangered dialect of the central Alaskan Yup'ik language. This analysis has presented a constructional perspective on Yugtun parts of speech, showcasing the distinction between a-categorical or fluid lexical and deictic bases and contextualized syntactic constructions using agglutinating pattern-sensitive formative morphemes. The analysis has also presented a deeper examination of demonstratives in context, examining both the semantic composition of the fundamental demonstrative bases within a model of frames of reference, figure dimensionality, and body-space and using conceptual metaphor to elucidate the speech domains of space, time, and discourse. It has also examined demonstratives in context, discussing the figure-type morphology of their lexical derivations and their use in syntactic constructions as nominals, which can be positioned pre- or postnominally to an appositional nominal to differing pragmatic effects. The analysis presented the idea of demonstrative topic clusters and showed demonstratives are used to great narrative effect to create conceptual space and maintain discourse cohesion. These results strongly support the continued development of corpora for the analysis of Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun and for the linguistic analysis of any language.

As a polysynthetic language, Yup'ik analysis often overlooks nominals in favour of examining the complex phrasal verbs in the language that can stand on their own as a whole sentence and are used in various extra functions, such as reference tracking. Yet verbs rarely stand alone in connected and natural spoken language. There are a host of nominals and particles in Yugtun that are often overlooked as minor players in the syntax but, when examined in context, are revealed to be much more central to the grammar. Many of these nominals and particles are built from demonstratives. This analysis has shown that demonstratives are central to any Yugtun linguistic analysis. By embedding these demonstratives within frames of reference models, their semantics, functions, and distributions become better grounded and apparent. My analysis of Yup'ik demonstratives finds three simpler but interconnected models functioning across multiple domains of use rather than a single complex model functioning only spatially. My analysis showcases the demonstratives' centrality and the centrality of frames of reference for each demonstrative in the Yup'ik grammar as multilayered, multi-functional linguistic primitives.

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Appendix A: Yugtun syntactic constructions

A.1 Summary

This Appendix summarizes the Yugtun syntactic constructions presented in Chapter Two, along with their associated formatives. All Yugtun Syntactic Constructions are built from either a **lexical base** or **deictic base**. Deictic demonstrative base constructions are summarized in Appendix B - Yugtun demonstrative frames of reference.

Each of the syntactic constructions given in Chapter Two are provided for reference in A.3. These constructions are built using the formatives presented in Chapter Two and presented for reference in A.2.

Lexical base construction (LEX)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Figure 2.1)

Figure A.1: Base Construction

Demonstrative base construction (DEI)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Figure 4.1)

Figure A.2: The Derived Demonstrative Base Construction

A.2 Constructional Formatives (FM)

A.2.1 Number formatives

Number

(as shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.5)

Table A.1: Number Formatives: The number morphemes used to mark grammatical number within the inflectional portmanteaus.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Number	*-ø*	*-g*	*-t*
Long form in 1st Person	*-a*	*-(g)nuk*	*-ta*
Long form in 3rd Person	*-n*	*-gnk(a)*	*-ta*

Number formatives are used to mark nominal and person number. Singular number is left unmarked unless the **Long Form Number** is used. This long-form is used for pragmatic emphasis or to disambiguate certain formative patterns. These variants have person-specific forms. **Agreement** and **Possession** are composed of both **Person** and **Number** formatives.

A.2.2 Person formatives

Person alignment (PER)

		Verb Agreement				
		Intransitive	Transitive			
			Ergative-Absolutive Alignment		*Nominative-Accusative Alignment*	
		Subject	Agent	Patient	Agent	Patient
1st person	1P.	**ABS**olutive	**ERG**ative	**ABS**olutive	**NOM**inative	NA
2nd person	2P.	**ABS**olutive	**ERG**ative	**ABS**olutive	**NOM**inative	NA
3rd person	3P.	**NOM**inative	**ERG**ative	NA	**NOM**inative	**ACC**usative
4th person	4P.	**NOM**inative	NA	NA	NA	NA

Table A.2: Grammatical Alignment - Verb Agreement

Person formatives are used to mark both nominal and conjunctive **Possession**. They are also used to mark **Agreement**. Both **Possession** and **Agreement** are composed

		Nominal Possession		
		Unmarked Case	Ergative Case	Oblique Case
1st person	1P.	**NOM**inative	**ERG**ative	**ERG**ative
2nd person	2P.	**NOM**inative	**ERG**ative	**ERG**ative
3rd person	3P.	**NOM**inative	**NOM**inative	**NOM**inative
4th person	4P.	**NOM**inative	**ERG**ative	**ERG**ative

Table A.3: Grammatical Alignment - Possession

of both **Person** and **Number** formatives. **Agreement** follows a split-ergative system whereby Ergative-Absolutive alignment is triggered in the realis moods by 1st- or 2nd-person patients, and Nominative-Accusative alignment is triggered by 3rd-person patients. Irrealis moods mix **Nominative** and **Absolutive** formatives. **Possession** uses either the **Nominative** formative or the **Ergative** formative.

Ergative person alignment (ERGA)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.6)

Table A.4: Ergative Formatives: The Inflectional suffixes used to indicate ergative grammatical alignment (ERGA) on a verb or possession on most ergative nouns.

Ergative Person	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person
	-m	*-pt*	*-nga*	*-me(g)*

Absolutive person alignment (ABSA)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.7)

Absolutive Person formatives have singular and non-singular variants and are used in only the 1st- and 2nd-person.

Table A.5: The Absolutive Person Formatives: The Inflectional suffixes used to indicate absolutive grammatical alignment (ABSA) on a verb. 3rd- and 4th-persons do not use absolutive alignment.

	Singular	
	1st person	2nd person
Absolutive Person	*-nga*	*-ten*
	Non-Singular	
	1st person	2nd person
	-ku	*-t(e)*

Nominative person alignment (NOMA)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.9 and Table 2.10)

Table A.6: Nominative Formatives: The inflectional suffixes used to indicate nominative grammatical alignment (NOMA) on a verb when the object is a 3rd-person.

	Singular			
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person
	-(ng)ka	*-ken*	*-nga*	*-ni*
Nominative Person	**Non-Singular**			
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person	4th person
	-pu	*-t(e)*	*-nga*	*-te(g)*

Nominative person alignment formatives have singular and non-singular variants. **Nominative Person** formatives have variants used in 3rd-person **Possession** as well as **Agreement** when the patient person formative is dropped. These formatives are selected by either **Nominal** or **Patient** number.

Table A.7: Nominative Formative Variant: The inflectional suffixes used to indicate the possessor on nouns marked in the 'unmarked case' and for all 3rd-person possessors regardless of case, or nominative grammatical alignment on realis verbs when the object is a 3rd-person. The allomorph agrees with the number of the lexical base in possession or the number of the accusative argument on verbs.

		3rd person
3rd Person Nominative Variant	Singular Compliment	*-nga*
	Dual Compliment	*-ke*
	Plural Compliment	*-ngi*

Accusative person alignment (ACCA)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.8)

Table A.8: Accusative Formatives: The inflectional suffixes used to indicate accusative grammatical alignment (ACCA) on a verb when the object is a 3rd-person. 1st-, 2nd-, and 4th-persons do not use accusative alignment.

	Singular
	3rd person
	-gu
Accusative Person	**Dual**
	3rd person
	-ke
	Plural
	3rd person
	-gi

Accusative Person formatives have singular, dual, and plural variants.

A.2.3 Case formatives

Case

(as shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.11)

Table A.9: The Yugtun Nominal Case Formatives: Used to mark the grammatical or semantic role of nominals in Yugtun according to the patterns described in Figure 2.3.

	Core Cases		
	Unmarked	Ergative	Genitive
Non-Singular	-ø	-ø	-ø
Singular Unpossessed	-ø	*-m*	*-m*

	Oblique Cases				
	Ablative/ Instrumental	Allative	Localis	Perlalitive	Aequalis
Non-Singular	*-nek*	*-nun*	*-ni*	*-kun*	*-tun*
Singular Unpossessed	*-mek*	*-mun*	*-mi*		

A nominal is formed by attaching a **Number** formative to the base, followed by a **Case** formative. If possessed, the **Possession** formative construction is attached before the **Case** formative but after nominal number. **Core Cases** include the **Unmarked** (also called the **Absolutive**, **Ergative**, and **Genitive**). Only singular core nominals in the **Ergative** and **Genitive** cases are marked. **Oblique Cases** include the **Locative**, **Ablative**, **Instrumental**, **Allative**, **Perlalative**, and **Aequalis** and also may include a singular form used to marked unpossessed singular nominals.

A.2.4 Conjunct formatives

Conjunct (CNJ)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.12)

A conjunct is formed by attaching a **Conjunct** formative to the base. This can be followed by **Possession** and **Case** for nominal conjuncts and **Agreement** for transitive conjuncts.

Table A.10: Conjunction Formatives (CONJ): The formatives used to form a Conjunct construction. The gloss provides a rough translation of these meanings.

Conjuctive Formative	
'to be'	*-(a)*
'because'	*-nga*
'when'	*-nga*
'when'	*-llr*
'while'	*-nginanr*
'whenever'	*-gaqa*
'if'	*-ku*
'even if'	*-ngrar*
indirectness	*-cu*
'before'	*-pailg*
'as soon as'	*-utci*

A.2.5 Mood formatives

Appositional mood (APP)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.13)

Table A.11: Appositional Mood Formatives: The appositional mood (APP) distinguishes between negative and positive polarity.

Appositional Moods	
	Appositional
Positive Polarity	*-lu*
Negative Polarity	*-na*

Realis moods (REA)

(as shown in Chapter Two)

Table A.12: Realis Mood Formatives: The realis moods are subdivided based on both transitivity and polarity.

Realis Moods			
	Indicative	Participial	Optative
Intransitive Positive	*-gur*	*-lria*	*-la**
Intransitive Negative	*-gur*	*-ngur*	*-la**
Transitive	*-gar*	*-ke*	*-la**
			*First person only

A verb is formed by attaching a **Mood** formative to the base, followed by **Agreement**. The **Appositional Mood** has both negative and positive variants and does not mark agents. The **Realis Moods** include the **Indicative** and the **Participial** and include transitive and intransitive variants with the **Participial** having negative and positive polarity in the intransitive. **Irrealis Moods** include the **Imperative** and the **Interrogative** and are split according to person, with **Interrogative** occuring only in 2nd person. Finally, the **Optative Mood** has only one variant and occurs in 1st and 3rd person only.

Irrealis moods (IRR)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Table 2.15)

Table A.13: The Irrealis Mood Formatives, showing a distinction between the subject person in stark contrast to the distinctions made in the realis or appositional moods. *NA* stands for mood formatives that do not exist.

	Irrealis Moods		
	Imperative	Interrogative	Optative
1st Person	NA	*-ce \-(t)si**	NA
2nd Person	*-(g)i*	*-ce \-(t)si**	NA
3rd Person	NA	*-ge*	*-la*

*Indicates the singular variant

A.3 Constructions

A.3.1 Nominals

Nominal Construction (NP)

(as shown in Chapter Two)

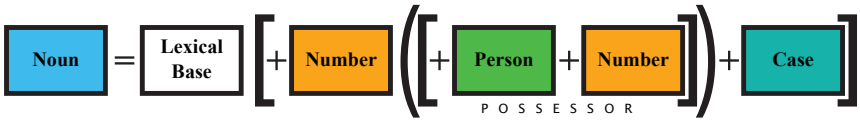


Figure A.3: Nominal Construction

A **Nominal** is constructed with a **Number** formative marking nominal number followed by a **Case** formative. If possessed, a **Possessor** formative construction of **Person** and **Number** is added before **Case**. Person form is used according to grammatical alignment (Table A.3) with **Oblique Cases** using **Ergative** person formatives to mark posession. **Long Form Number** is used in the **Ergative** and **Genitive** 1st and 3rd Person **Possessor** formative construction.

A.3.2 Conjuncts

Nominal conjunct construction (NCP)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Figure 2.5)

All conjuncts take a **Conjunct** formative attached to the base. **Nominal Conjuncts** take a **Possessor** formative construction using ergative alignment followed by a **Case** formative. **Long Form Number** is used in the **Ergative** 1st and 3rd Person **Possessor** formative construction.

Table A.14: Conjunct Alignment

Conjunct Person				
		Transitive		Nominal
		Agent	Patient	Ergative
1st person	1P.	**ERG**ative	**ABS**olutive	**ERG**ative
2nd person	2P.	**ERG**ative	**ABS**olutive	**ERG**ative
3rd person	3P.	**ERG**ative	**ACC**usative	**ERG**ative
4th person	4P.	**ERG**ative	**ABS**olutive	**ERG**ative

Figure A.4: Nominal Conjunct Construction

Transitive Conjunct Construction (TCP)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Figure 2.6)

Figure A.5: Transitive Conjunct Construction

All conjuncts take a **Conjunct** formative attached to the base. **Transitive Conjuncts** take an agent formative construction followed by a patient formative construction. **Person** within the **Agreement** formative construction is selected according to Table A.14.

A.3.3 Verbs

Verb construction (AVP, OVP, IVP, and RVP)

(as shown in Chapter Two, Figure 2.7)

All verbs take a **Mood** formative attached to the base. Agent and patient positions within the construction are called the **Ergative Position** and **Absolutive Position**,

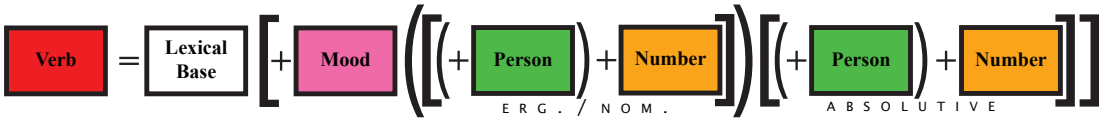


Figure A.6: Verb Pattern: The formative pattern in a verb construction.

and the **Ergative** position is only used to mark agents. **Person** within the **Agreement** formative construction is selected according to grammatical alignment (Table A.2) and is subject to variation according to mood, as shown below. **Nominative** and **Accusative** person formatives are placed in the **Ergative Position** and **Absolutive Position** respectively. When the **Accusative** person formative is dropped, the **Accusative Person** is raised to the **Ergative Position**, leaving the number of the **Accusative Person** mood adjacent. The complete verb construction is often contracted.

Appositional alignment

(as shown in Chapter Two)

Table A.15

	Appositional Mood Alignment		
	Intransitive	Transitive	
		Ergative-Absolutive Alignment	*Nominative-Accusative Alignment*
	Subject	Patient	Patient
1st person	*(Absolutive)*	*(Absolutive)*	NA
2nd person	Absolutive	Absolutive	NA
3rd person	NA	NA	Accusative
4th person	Nominative	NA	NA

Only the **Absolutive** position is used (i.e. the Agent is unmarked). This mood uses the 4th Person reflexively. In 1st person agreement, the **Person** formative is dropped and the **Long Form Number** is used.

Realis alignment

(as shown in Chapter Two)

Table A.16

Realis Mood Alignment					
	Intransitive	Transitive			
		Ergative-Absolutive Alignment		*Nominative-Accusative Alignment*	
	Subject	Agent	Patient	Agent	Patient
1st person	Absolutive	Ergative	Absolutive	Nominative	NA
2nd person	Absolutive	Ergative	Absolutive	Nominative	NA
3rd person	*(Nominative)*	Ergative	NA	Nominative	*(Accusative)*

The Realis Moods are the **Indicative** and **Participial**. All realis moods use both ergative-absolutive and nominative-accusative alignment. In nominative-accusative alignment, the **Accusative** person formative is pushed to the **Ergative Position** and dropped, leaving the patient **Number** formative mood adjacent. In intransitive nominative agreement, the **Person** formative is also dropped. The 4th person is not used.

Optative alignment

(as shown in Chapter Two)

Table A.17

1st Person Optative Mood Alignment					
	Intransitive	Transitive			
		Ergative-Absolutive Alignment		*Nominative-Accusative Alignment*	
	Subject	Agent	Patient	Agent	Patient
1st person	*(Absolutive)*	Ergative	Absolutive	Nominative	NA
2nd person	NA	NA	Absolutive	NA	NA
3rd person	NA	NA	NA	NA	*(Accusative)*

The **Optative** mood is used for 1st and 3rd Person only. The 3rd-person uses split alignment as per the irrealis mood pattern. The 1st-person follows the realis mood pattern, raising and dropping the **Accusative** person formative. However, in this

Table A.18

3rd Person Optative Mood Alignment			
	Intransitive	Transitive	
		Split	
		Alignment	
	Subject	Agent	Patient
1st person	NA	NA	Absolutive
2nd person	NA	NA	Absolutive
3rd person	Nominative	Nominative	Accusative

alignment the singular **Person** formative is dropped, forcing the **Accusative Person** back into the **Absolutive Position** and preventing patient dropping. The 1st-person is also dropped in non-singular intransitive constructions resulting in the use of the **Long Form Number**. The 4th person is not used.

Irrealis alignment

(as shown in Chapter Two)

Table A.19: Grammatical Alignment

Irrealis Mood Alignment			
	Intransitive	Transitive	
		Split	
		Alignment	
	Subject	Agent	Patient
1st person	*NUM: only*	NA	Absolutive
2nd person	Nominative	Nominative	Absolutive
3rd person	Nominative	Nominative	Accusative

The Irrealis moods are the **Imperative** and the **Interrogative**. The **Imperative** mood is used only for 2nd-persons and levels the **Person** formative by dropping the singular form in intransitive constructions and using the non-singular form for all transitive numbers. In the **Interrogative** mood, 1st person agent constructions are not used, and all 1st person subject **Person** formatives are dropped. 3rd person uses a special mood formative and the 1st person is identified through use of the **Long**

Form Number. The 4th person is not used.

A.4 Jacobson's word ending paradigms

This subsection provides Jacobson's fused paradigms for the inflectional word endings that attach to nouns and predicates (verbs and conjuncts) in General Standard Yup'ik. These paradigms are from Jacobson's 2013 Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary Volume 2 of 2, pages 920-930 (Jacobson, 2013 pp. 920–930). These are included for comparison to the constructional and concatenative approach presented in this dissertation.

INDICATIVE MOOD ENDINGS

			Intransitive			*Transitive OBJECT*								
						3rd person			*1st person*			*2nd person*		
						s	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*
SUBJECT	*3rd person*	*s*	+'(g/t)u-	q	+'(g)a-[1]	a	i	k	anga	akut	akuk	aten	aci	atek
		p		t		at	it	gket	atnga	itkut	itkuk	atgen	iceci	icetek
		d		k		ak	kek	gkek	agnga[3]	agkut	agkuk	agten	agci	agtek
	1st person	*s*		:nga		qa	nka	gka				mken	mci	mtek
		p		kut		put[2]	put	gput				mteggen	mceci	mcetek
		d		kuk		puk[2]	puk	gpuk				megten	megci	megtek
	2nd person	*s*		ten		n	ten	gken	rpenga[4]	rpekut	rpekuk			
		p		ci		ci[2]	ci	gci	rpecia	rpecikut	rpecikuk			
		d		tek		tek[2]	tek	gtek	rpetegnga[3]	rpetegkut	rpetegkuk			

1. The **a** of the third person subject transitive indicative marker is deleted with those bases and those endings where the **a** would lead to a three-vowel cluster. Technically it would be more accurate to say that this marker is **+'(g)ar-,** and to change the subject-object markers accordingly, so that, for example, the 3s-3s marker would be **:a,** the 1s-3s marker would be **-ka,** the 1s-2s marker would be **-mken,** and the 2s-1s marker would be **+penga.**
2. Also **rput, rpuk, rci,** and **rtek.**
3. Also **agnenga** and **rpetegnenga.**
4. Also **vnga, vkut, vkuk, vcia,** etc.

INTERROGATIVE MOOD ENDINGS

			Intransitive			*Transitive OBJECT*								
						3rd person			*1st person*			*2nd person*		
						s	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*
SUBJECT	*3rd person*	*s*	+'(g/t)a-	Ø	+'(g/t)a-	:gu	ki	kek	nga	kut	kuk	ten	ci	tek
		p		t		tgu	tki	tkek	tnga	tkut	tkuk	tgen	ceci	cetek
		d		k		gnegu[5]	gki[6]	gkek[6]	gnga[6]	gkut[6]	gkuk[6]	gten[6]	gci[6]	gtek[6]
	1st person	*s*	~+(t)si-[1]	a		*See note 7 below.*			*See note 7 below.*					
		p	@~+ce-[2]	ta										
		d		ńuk[3]										
	2nd person	*s*	~+(t)si-[1]	t	~+(t)si-[1]	u	ki	kek	a	kut	kuk			
		p	@~+ce-[2]	ci[4]	@~+ce-[2]	ciu	ciki	cikek	cia	cikut	cikuk			
		d		tek		tegnegu	tegki[6]	tegkek[6]	tegnga[6]	tegkut[6]	tegkuk[6]			

1. A resulting **ts** or **ty** becomes **c; ~+(t)yi** in HBC.
2. Base final **te** is dropped by these endings.
3. **ńung** in HBC.
4. The 2p ending may be **+(s)tessi** in HBC.
5. Also **n'gu.**
6. **ne** may be inserted after the **g** of these endings, giving for example **gneki** rather than **gki.**
7. There are no first person transitive interrogative endings, except that some people do have **~+(t)siken** for 1s to 2s "I to you."

OPTATIVE MOOD ENDINGS

			Intransitive			*Transitive OBJECT*								
						3rd person			*1st person*			*2nd person*		
						s	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*
SUBJECT	*3rd person*	*s*	@~+li-[1]	Ø	@~+li-[1]	ku	ki	kek	nga	kut	kuk	ten	ci	tek
		p		t		tgu	tki	tkek	tnga	tkut	tkuk	tgen	ceci	cetek
		d		k		gnegu[5]	gki[5]	gkek[5]	gnga[5]	gkut[5]	gkuk[5]	gten[5]	gci[5]	gtek[5]
	1st person	*s*		@~+lii[1]	@~+la-[1]	ku	ki	kek				mken	mci	mtek
		p		-lta[2]		ut	put	gput				mteggen	mceci	mcetek
		d		@~+luk[1]		uk	puk	gpuk				megten	megci	megtek
	2nd person	*s*		(4)	@+[6]	(7)	ki	kek	nga[9]	kut	kuk			
		p		ci		ciu	ciki	cikek	cia	cikut	cikuk			
		d	@+[3]	tek	@+[3]	tegu	tegki	tegkek	tegnga	tegkut	tegkuk			

1. When these endings are used on a base ending in **te,** the resulting **tl** becomes **ll.**
2. Also %**(e)lta.**
3. Drops **te** from bases.
4. With bases ending in a single prime vowel, this ending is **Ø;** with bases ending in two vowels or **e,** this ending is **(g)i;** with bases ending in **te,** this ending is **n;** but with bases ending in special **te,** it is **lu** (except in HBC, where it is **n**); and with bases ending in a consonant, this ending is **:a.**
5. The 3d-3s ending may also be **n'gu,** and the others in this row may insert **ne** after **g.**
6. Changes **te** to **s** but special **te** to **l.**
7. With bases ending in a single prime vowel, this ending is **u;** with bases ending in two vowels or **e,** this ending is **(g)iu;** with bases ending in **te,** this is **@gu,** chaning **te** to **s** but special **te** to **l;** and with bases ending in a consonant, this ending is **-guu.**
8. May be **ken** instead of **mken.**
9. When these endings are used with a base ending in two vowels or **e, (g)i** may be used before the ending, in which case velar dropping occurs with the 2s-1s ending, causing it to be, in effect, **a** rather than **nga.**

SUBORDINATIVE MOOD ENDINGS

			Intransitive			*Transitive OBJECT*								
						3rd person			*1st person*			*2nd person*		
						s	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*
SUBJECT	*4th person*	*s*	@~+lu-[1]	ni	@~+lu-[1]	ku	ki	kek	a	ta	nuk[2]	ten	ci	tek
		p		teng		↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
		d		tek										
	1st person	*s*		a								↓	↓	↓
		p		ta										
		d		nuk[2]										
	2nd person	*s*		ten		↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓			
		p		ci										
		d		tek										

1. When these endings are used on a base ending in **te,** the resulting **tl** becomes **ll;** however, when these endings are used on a base ending in special **te-** or after the postbase **vke-/+peke-,** which replaces **-nrite-** 'no not V,' the marker of this mood is **@na-,** dropping the **t** and sometimes changing preceding **i** to **u,** rather than **@~+lu-,** and the 2s subject intransitive and 2s object transitive ending is **k** rather than **ten.** Furthermore, the 1s object transitive ending and the 1s subject intransitive ending, which are shown on the chart as **a** (actually **:nga**), will combine with **@na-** to give **@nii** (from **@nanga**).
2. **nung** in HBC.

PARTICIPIAL MOOD ENDINGS

			Intransitive			*Transitive OBJECT*								
						3rd person			*1st person*			*2nd person*		
						s	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*
SUBJECT	*3rd person*	*s*	-lria-[1]	Ø	@~–ke-[3]	ii	ai	k	iinga	iikut	iikuk	iiten	iici	iitek
		p		t[2]		iit	ait	gket	iitnga	aitkut	aitkuk	iitgen	aiceci	aicetek
		d		k[2]		iik	kek	gkek	iignga	iigkut	iigkuk	iigten	iigci	iigtek
	1st person	*s*		nga		ka	nka	gka				mken	mci	mtek
		p		kut		vvut	put	gput				mteggen	mceci	mcetek
		d		kuk		vvuk	puk	gpuk				megten	megci	megtek
	2nd person	*s*		ten		n	ten	gken	vnga	vkut	vkuk			
		p		ci		ssi	ci	gci	vcia	vcikut	vcikuk			
		d		tek		ssek	tek	gtek	vtegnga	vtegkut	vtegkuk			

1. With bases ending in a stop consonant or voiceless fricative followed by **e, er,** or **eg,** the marker will be **-llria-** for many speakers. With bases ending in special **te-,** themarker is **@+ngur*-** for 3rd person subject, **@+ngu-** for other subjects (rather than **-lria-**), changing **te** to **l.** With this marker, the 1s ending is **a** (from **:nga**).
2. With these endings, the intransitive participal marker is **-lrii-** rather than **-lria-.**
3. Base final **te** changes to **s,** but special **te** changes to **l; e** from this marker is deleted when the person/number marker begins with a vowel.

ENDINGS OF THE CONNECTIVE MOODS

			Intransitive		*Transitive OBJECT*											
					3rd person			*1st person*			*2nd person*			*4th person*		
					s	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*	*s*	*p*	*d*
SUBJECT	*3rd person*	*s* *p* *d*	:[1]	an[2] ata[2] agnek[2]	aku atgu agku	aki atki agki	akek atkek agkek	anga atnga agnga	akut atkut agkut	akuk atkuk agkuk	aten atgen agten	aci aceci agci	atek acetek agtek	ani atni agni	ateng aceteng agteng	atek acetek agtek
	1st person	*s* *p* *d*	–[3]	ma[2] mta[2] megnuk[2]	mku mteggu megnegu	mki mteki megki	mkek mtekek megkek				mken mteggen megten	mci mceci megci	mtek mcetek megtek	mni mteni megni	mteng mceteng megteng	mtek mcetek megtek
	2nd person	*s* *p* *d*	–[3]	vet[2] vci[2] vtek[2]	vgu vciu vtegu	vki vciki vtegki	vkek vcikek vtegkek	vnga vcia vtegnga	vkut vcikut vtegkut	vkuk vcikuk vtegkuk				vni vcini vtegni	vteng vciteng vtegteng	vtek vcitek vtegtek
	4th person	*s* *p* *d*	+[5]	mi[2] meng[2] mek[2]	miu[6] megteggu megnegu	miki megteki megneki	mikek megtekek megnekek	mia megtenga megnenga	mikut megtekut megnekut	mikuk megtekuk megnekuk	miten megteggen megnegen	mici megceci megneci	mitek megcetek megnetek			

The markers of the Connective moods are **@~+(t)vaileg-** for the Precessive, **@~:(ng)a-** for the Consequential, **+'(g)aqa-** for the Contingent, **@+ngr(ar)-** for the Concessive, **@~-ku-** for the Conditional, **-ller-** for the First Contemporative, and **@:(ng) inaner-** for the Second Contemporative.

1. The final consonant of consonant-ending connective mood markers is subject to velar-dropping while the final vowel of vowel-ending markers is deleted with these third person subject endings.
2. The intransitive endings for the First and Second Contemporative moods are like the localis case endings; that is, they are **:ani, :atni, -mni, mteni, megni, +peni, +peceni, +petegni, +mini, +meggni, +megni.**
3. The 1s intransitive ending is **+ma,** but all the other first person subject endings are the consonant-dropping type.
4. The forms **.vet, .vgu, .vciu,** etc. are used with vowel-ending connective mood markers, while consant-ending markers take the corresponding forms **+pet, +pegu, +peciu,** etc.
5. All fourth person subject endings begin with **n** rather than **m** for the Conditional mood; that is, they are **ni, niu, neng,** etc. rather than **mi, miu, meng,** etc.
6. With the First and Second Contemporative moods, **ni** is inserted between the subject and object components of 4s subject transitive endings, giving **miniu, miniki,** etc. rather than **miu, miki,** etc. Some dialects use this **ni** in other transitive endings as well.

ABSOLUTIVE CASE ENDINGS

			Number of Noun		
			singular	*plural*	*dual*
Number and Person of Possessor	*unpossessed*		Ø	%:(e)t	%:(e)k
	3rd person	*s*	:(ng)a	:(ng)i	%:(e)k
		p	:(ng)at	:(ng)it	%:(e)gket
		d	:(ng)ak	-kek	%:(e)gkek
	1st person	*s*	-ka	%:(e)nka	%:(e)gka
		p	-put[1]	-put	%:(e)gput
		d	-puk[2]	-puk	%:(e)gpuk
	2nd person	*s*	%:(e)n	-ten	%:(e)gken
		p	-ci[3]	-ci	%:(e)gci
		d	-tek[4]	-tek	%:(e)gtek
	4th person	*s*	-ni	-ni	%:(e)gni
		p	-teng[5]	-teng	%:(e)gteng
		d	-tek[6]	-tek	%:(e)gtek

1. Or **.vut** with vowel-ending bases and **+put** with consonant-ending bases.
2. Or **.vuk** with vowel-ending bases and **+puk** with consonant-ending bases.
3. Or **.si** with vowel-ending bases and **+ci** with consonant-ending bases.
4. Or **.sek** with vowel-ending bases and **+tek** with consonant-ending bases.
5. Or **.seng** with vowel-ending bases and **+teng** with consonant-ending bases.
6. Or **.sek** with vowel-ending bases and **+tek** with consonant-ending bases.

RELATIVE CASE ENDINGS

			Number of Noun		
			singular	*plural*	*dual*
Number and Person of Possessor	*unpossessed*		%:(e)m	%:(e)t	%:(e)k
	3rd person	*s*	:(ng)an	:(ng)in	%:(e)gken
		p	:(ng)ata	:(ng)ita	%:(e)gketa
		d	:(ng)agnek	-kenka	%:(e)gkenka
	1st person	*s*	-ma		%:(e)gma
		p	-mta		%:(e)gemta
		d	-megnuk[1]		%:(e)gmegnuk
	2nd person	*s*	-vet/+pet[2]		%:(e)gpet
		p	-vci/+peci[2]		%:(e)gpeci
		d	-vtek/+petek[2]		%:(e)gpetek
	4th person	*s*	-mi		%:(e)gmi
		p	-meng[3]		%:(e)gmeng
		d	-mek		%:(e)gmek

1. Also **-mnuk.**
2. The **v** form is used with vowel- or consonant-ending bases, and the **p** form is used only with consonant-ending bases.
3. Also **-megta** or **-megteng.**

LOCALIS CASE ENDINGS (and ABLATIVE-MODALIS and TERMINALS)

			Number of Noun		
			singular	*plural*	*dual*
Number and Person of Possessor	*unpossessed*		%~mi	%~ni	%:(e)gni
	3rd person	*s*	:(ng)ani	:(ng)ini	%:(e)gkeni
		p	:(ng)atni	:(ng)itni	%:(e)gketni
		d	:(ng)agni	-kegni	%:(e)gkegni
	1st person	*s*	-mni		%:(e)gemni
		p	-mteńi		%:(e)gemteńi
		d	-megni[1]		%:(e)gmegni
	2nd person	*s*	-vni/+peni[1]		%:(e)gpeni
		p	-vceńi/+peceńi[1, 2]		%:(e)gpeceńi[2]
		d	-vtegni/+petegni[1]		%:(e)gpetegni
	4th person	*s*	-mini		%:(e)gmini
		p	-meggni		%:(e)gmeggni
		d	-megni		%:(e)gmegni

The endings of the ablative-modalis and terminals cases are the same as the endings of the localis case except that in place of the final **i** of the localis, the ablative-modalis has **ek** (**eng** in HBC), and the terminalis has **un.**

1. The **v** form is used with vowel- or consonant-ending bases, and the **p** form is used only with consonant-ending bases.
2. -**vcini/+pecini,** %**gpecini** in HBC.

VIALIS CASE ENDINGS

			Number of Noun		
			singular	*plural*	*dual*
Number and Person of Possessor	*unpossessed*		%kun	%tgun	%:(e)gnegun[1]
	3rd person	*s*	:(ng)akun	:(ng)ikun	%:(e)gkenkun
		p	:(ng)atgun	:(ng)itgun	%:(e)gketgun
		d	:(ng)agnegun	-kegnegun	%:(e)gkegnegun
	1st person	*s*	-mkun		%:(e)gemkun
		p	-mteggun		%:(e)gemteggun
		d	-megnegun		%:(e)gmegnegun
	2nd person	*s*	-vkun/+pegun[2]		%:(e)gpegun
		p	-vcetgun/+pecetgun[2, 3]		%:(e)gpecetgun[3]
		d	-vtegnegun/+petegnegun[2]		%:(e)gpetegnegun
	4th person	*s*	-mikun		%:(e)gmikun
		p	-megteggun		%:(e)gmegteggun
		d	-megnegun		%:(e)gmegnegun

1. Also %**:(e)gkun.**
2. The **v** form is used with vowel- or consonant-ending bases, and the **p** form is used only with consonant-ending bases.
3. Also **-vciuggun/+peciuggun,** %**:(e)gpeciuggun.**

EQUALIS CASE ENDINGS

			Number of Noun		
			singular	*plural*	*dual*
Number and Person of Possessor	*unpossessed*		%tun	%cetun	%:(e)gtun
	3rd person	*s*	:(ng)atun	:(ng)itun	%:(e)gketun
		p	:(ng)acetun	:(ng)icetun	%:(e)gkecetun
		d	:(ng)agtun	-kegtun	%:(e)gkegtun
	1st person	*s*	-mtun		%:(e)gemtun
		p	-mcetun		%:(e)gemcetun
		d	-megtun		%:(e)gmegtun
	2nd person	*s*	-vtun/+petun[1]		%:(e)gpetun
		p	-vcetun/+pecetun[1]		%:(e)gpecetun
		d	-vtegtun/+petegtun[1]		%:(e)gpetegtun
	4th person	*s*	-mitun		%:(e)gmitun
		p	-megcetun		%:(e)gmegcetun
		d	-megtun		%:(e)gmegtun

1. The **v** form is used with vowel- or consonant-ending bases, and the **p** form is used only with consonant-ending bases.

Appendix B: Yugtun demonstrative frames of reference

B.1 Demonstrative constructions

Figure B.1: The Derived Demonstrative Base Construction

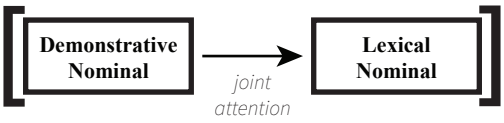


Figure B.2: Joint Attention Demonstratives: The Prenominal Demonstrative Deictic Function establishing joint attention on the following holophrase.

Figure B.3: Focus Demonstratives: The Postnominal Demonstrative Focal Function providing narrative focus on the preceding holophrase

B.2 Demonstrative inventory

Intrinsic frame of reference

(as shown in Chapter Three, Figure 3.9)

Intrinsic Egocentric Frame of Reference

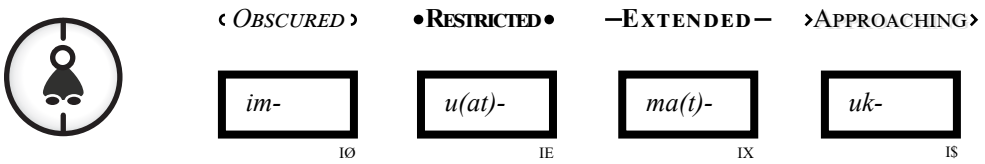


Figure B.4: Intrinsic Egocentric Demonstrative Forms

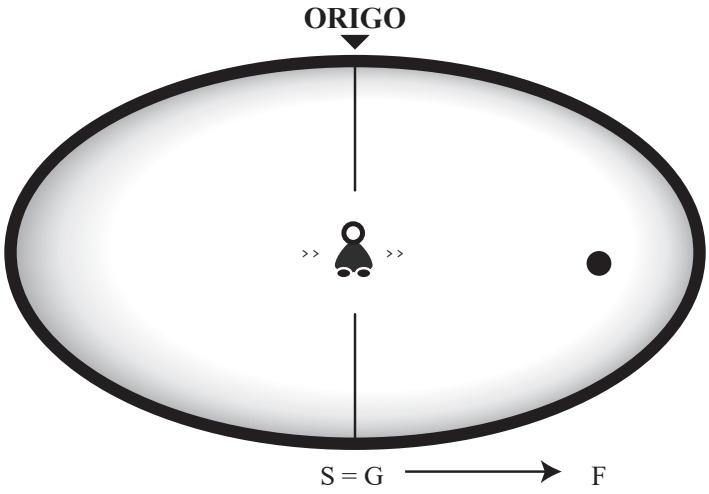


Figure B.5: Intrinsic Deictic Egocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the frame of reference, the speaker is the origo and has an intrinsic rotation (or orientation), and the dot represents the figure. The arrow represents the speaker's specified vector between the speaker and the figure.

Relative frame of reference

(as shown in Chapter Three, Figure 3.11)

Relative Allocentric Frame of Reference

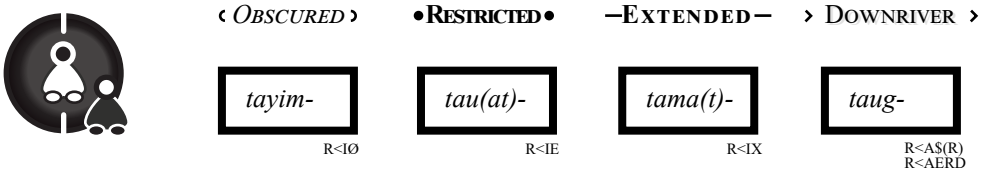
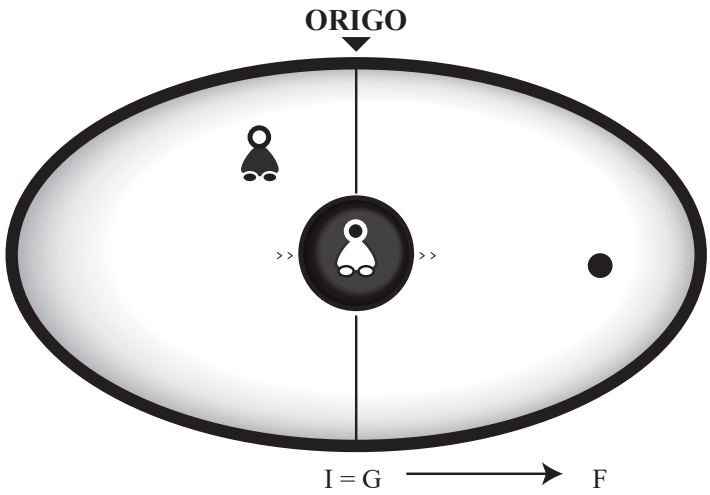


Figure B.6: Relative Allocentric Demonstrative Forms are used to model the intrinsic deictic allocentric, relative-intrinsic deictic allocentric, and some extended uses of the relative-absolute deictic geocentric frames of reference.



A specified interlocutor is the ground.
The ground is the origo.
The interlocutor has an intrinsic rotation.
The interlocutor points to the figure.

Intrinsic Allocentric Deictic

Figure B.7: Intrinsic Deictic Allocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the frame of reference, the interlocutor is the origo, not the speaker, and has an intrinsic orientation, the dot represents the figure. The arrow represents the vector by which the figure is pointed to. The figure is located through a pointing word.

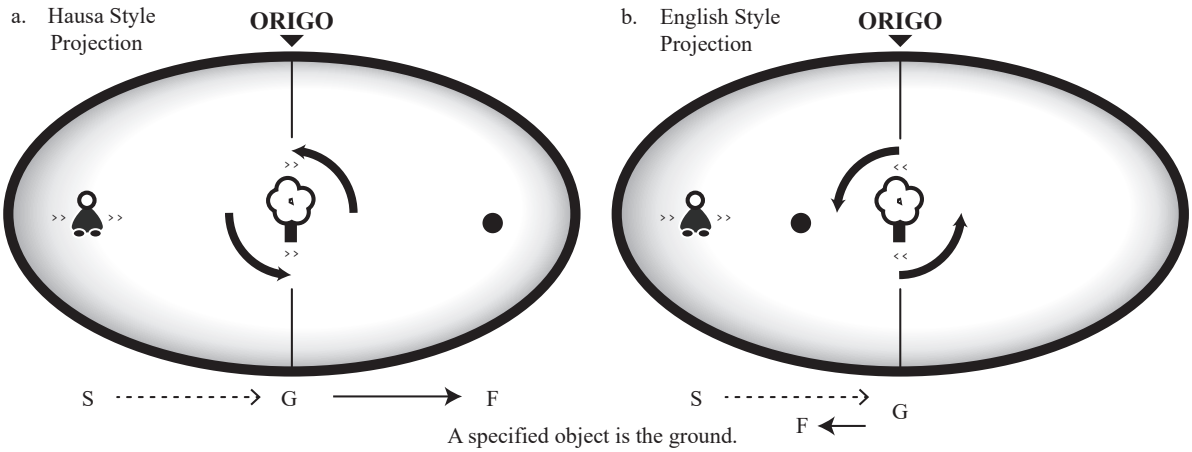
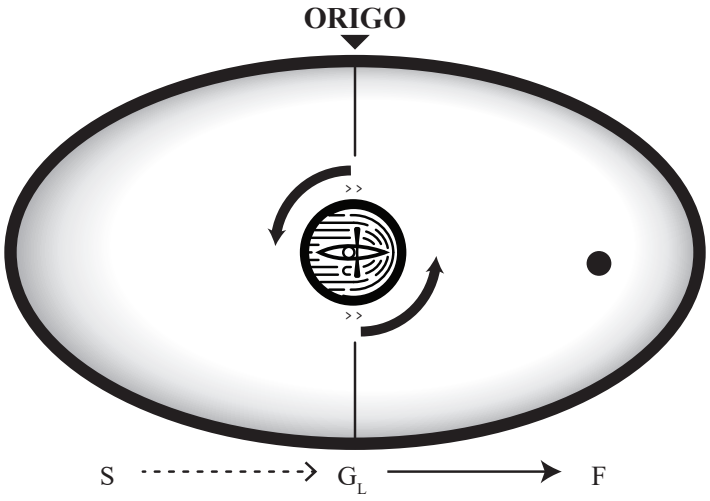


Figure B.8: Relative-Intrinsic Deictic Allocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the frame of reference, the tree is the origo but does not have an intrinsic orientation, the dot represents the figure. The intrinsic orientation of the speaker is projected onto the ground, represented by the rotational arrows. Using the projected orientation of the speaker the figure is located by the appropriate vector.



The landscape (ground) is the origo.
The speaker projects their intrinsic rotation onto the landscape.
The landscape points to the figure.

Relative-Absolute Deictic Geocentric

Figure B.9: Relative-Absolute Deictic Geocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the overall frame of reference, the medium-sized circle, portraying a river with a kayaking speaker, represents the landscape while the landscape does not have an intrinsic orientation the speaker which is within the landscape does. The dot represents the figure. The intrinsic orientation of the speaker is projected onto the ground, represented by the rotational arrows. Using the projected orientation of the speaker the figure is located by the appropriate vector.

Absolute frame of reference

(as shown in Chapter Three, Figure 3.13)

Absolute Geocentric Frame of Reference

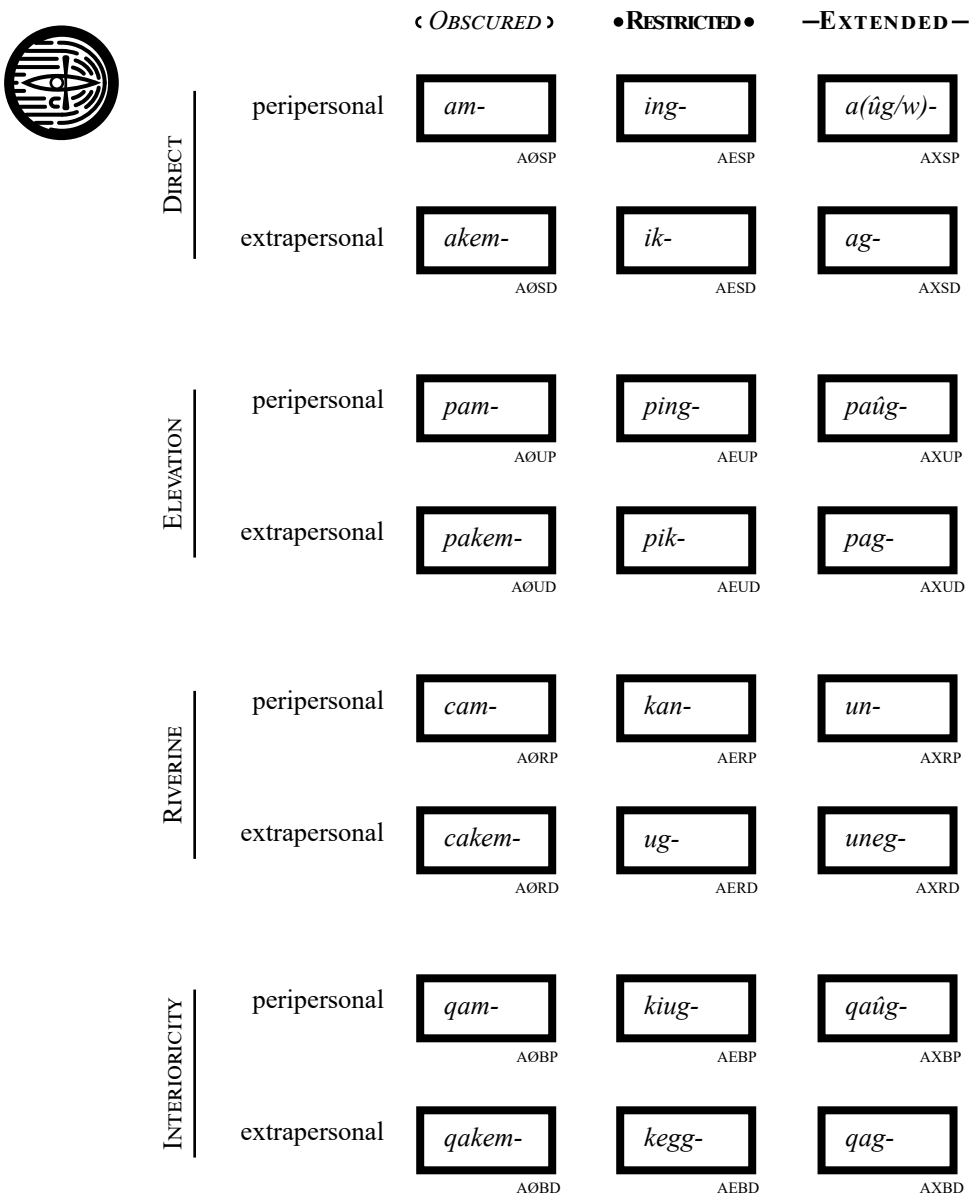
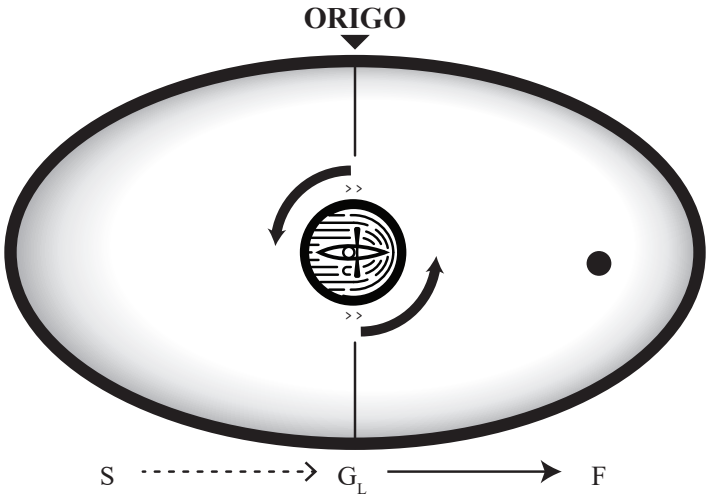


Figure B.10: Absolute Geocentric Demonstrative Forms



The landscape (ground) is the origo.
The speaker projects their intrinsic rotation onto the landscape.
The landscape points to the figure.

Relative-Absolute Deictic Geocentric

Figure B.11: Relative-Absolute Deictic Geocentric Frame of Reference: the large oval represents the overall frame of reference, the medium-sized circle, portraying a river with a kayaking speaker, represents the landscape while the landscape does not have an intrinsic orientation the speaker which is within the landscape does. The dot represents the figure. The intrinsic orientation of the speaker is projected onto the ground, represented by the rotational arrows. Using the projected orientation of the speaker the figure is located by the appropriate vector.

Temporal demonstrative inventory

(Demonstratives used in the past and present of the temporal domain, as shown in Chapter Three, Figure 3.16)

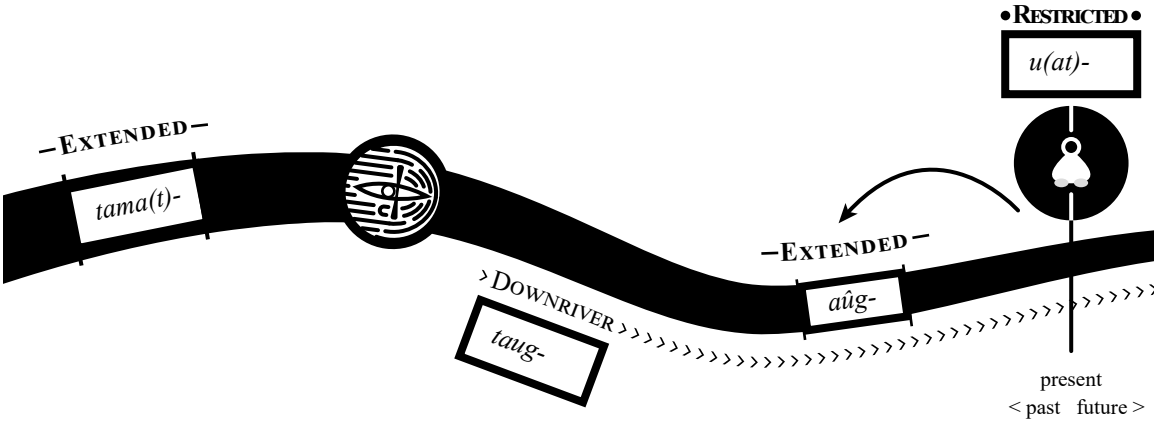


Figure B.12: Temporal Demonstrative Forms

B.3 Demonstrative type frequency

Table B.1: Demonstrative Type Frequency

Type Frequency		
Type	Gloss	Token Count
waten	IE - FL - ÆQL	65
tuai	R <IE - FL = EXLM	62
wani	IE - FL - LOC	58
tauguam	R <A$(R) - OF.SG = EMPH	58
maani	IX - FL - LOC	55
tawaten / tuaten	R <IE - FL - ÆQL	55 (35/20)
makut	IX - OF.NS - PL	44
man'a	IX - OF.SG.ABS	40
tawani / tuani	R <IE - FL - LOC	40 (10/30)

Type Frequency

Type	Gloss	Token Count
tamaani	R <IX - FL - LOC	37
tamakut	R <IX - OF.NS - PL	37
tamatum	R <IX - OF.SG - ERG	36
tua	R <IE - FL	33
wani-wa	IE - FL - LOC = ANA	31
ukut	IE - OF.NS - PL	30
tayima	R <IØ - FL	28
tamakunek / tamakuneng	R <IX - OF.NS - ABL	25 (24/1)
makunek	IX - OF.NS - ABL	21
tuam	R <IE - FL = EMPH	17
tamana	R <IX - OF.SG.ABS	17
tauna / tuana	R <IE - OF.SG.ABS	16 (14/2)
avani / awani	AXSP - FL - LOC	14 (3/11)
watawa	IE - FL = ANA	14
imkut	IØ - OF.NS - PL	13
maavet	IX - FL - DEF.ALL	13
taugken	R <AERD - ABL	7
taugkun	R <AERD - PRL	7
augkut	AXSP - OF.NS - PL	6
imkunek	IØ - OF.NS - ABL	5
u	IE	5
taukut	R <IE - OF.NS - PL	5
matum	IX - OF.SG - ERG	4
ikani	AESD - FL - LOC	4
umek	IE - OF.SG - ABL	3

Type Frequency

Type	Gloss	Token Count
uum / watum	IE - OF.SG - ERG	3 (1/2)
una	IE - OF.SG.ABS	3
una-wani	IE - OF.SG.ABS - IE - FL - LOC	3
makunun	IX - OF.NS - ALL	3
taumek	R <IE - ABL	3
tawavet	R <IE - FL - DEF.ALL	3
tauwa	R <IE = ANA	3
ik'na	AESD - OF.SG.ABS	3
augna	AXSP - OF.SG.ABS	3
imna	IØ - OF.SG.ABS	2
waken	IE - FL - ABL	2
wani-gga	IE - FL - LOC = CAT	2
maken	IX - FL - ABL	2
makuni	IX - OF.NS - LOC	2
tua-i-wa	R <IE - FL = EXLM = ANA	2
taukunek	R <IE - OF.NS - ABL	2
taukuk	R <IE - OF.NS - DU	2
tauum / tawatum	R <IE - OF.SG - ERG	2 (1/1)
tam	R <IX	2
tamaavet	R <IX - FL - DEF.ALL	2
tamakucinek	R <IX - OF.NS - PL - ABL	2
tamakutgun	R <IX - OF.NS - PL - PRL	2
tamatumek	R <IX - OF.SG - ABL	2
tamaugun	R <IX - OF.SG - PRL	2
yani	AESP - FL - LOC	2

Type Frequency

Type	Gloss	Token Count
augken	AXSP - ABL	2
awavet	AXSP - FL - DEF.ALL	2
augkunek	AXSP - OF.NS - ABL	2
unaken	AXRP - FL - ABL	2
unani	AXRP - FL - LOC	2
imkuk	IØ - OF.NS - DU	1
imkuttun	IØ - OF.NS - PL - ÆQL	1
imumi	IØ - OF.SG - LOC	1
wata	IE - FL	1
waten-wa	IE - FL - ÆQL = ANA	1
wata-wani-wa	IE - FL - IE - FL - LOC = ANA	1
ukutnek	IE - OF.NS - PL - ABL	1
ukunek	IE - OF.NS - ABL	1
um-wani	IE - OF.SG - ERG - IE - FL - LOC	1
wan	IE	1
watua	IE = ANA	1
maaten	IX - FL - ÆQL	1
maai	IX - FL = EXLM	1
makurmiut	IX - OF.NS - resident - PL	1
matumek	IX - OF.SG - ABL	1
matumun	IX - OF.SG - ALL	1
man'a-maani	IX - OF.SG.ABS - IX - FL - LOC	1
uk	I$	1
ukaqvarni	I$ - FL - very.far.that.way - LOC	1
tauten	R <IE - ÆQL	1

Type Frequency

Type	Gloss	Token Count
tawaten-wa	R <IE - FL - ÆQL = ANA	1
taukununram	R <IE - OF.NS - ALL = CAT = EMPH	1
tamaaken	R <IX - FL - ABL	1
tamaanitesstun	R <IX - FL - LOC - PL - ÆQL	1
tamaai	R <IX - FL = EXCLM	1
taug	R <A$(R)	1
tauva	R <A$(R) - FL	1
taugkunek	R <AERD - OF.NS - ABL	1
qakmaken	AØBD - FL - ABL	1
qamaken	AØBP - FL - ABL	1
kiavet	AEBP - FL - DEF.ALL	1
kiani	AEBP - FL - LOC	1
qatwatmun	AXBP - FL - PL - IE - FL - INDF.ALL	1
ikavet	AESD - FL - DEF.ALL	1
yaavet	AESP - FL - DEF.ALL	1
iini	AXSD - FL - LOC	1
agkut	AXSD - OF.NS - PL	1
agum	AXSD - OF.SG - ERG	1
avatiini	AXSP - FL - PL - AXSD - FL - LOC	1
augkutcetun	AXSP - OF.NS - PL - ÆQL	1
augum	AXSP - OF.SG - ERG	1
augkun	AXSP - PRL	1
cakmaken	AØRD - FL - ABL	1
camani	AØRP - FL - LOC	1
ugum	AERD - OF.SG - ERG	1

Type Frequency

Type	Gloss	Token Count
kanani	AERP - FL - LOC	1
kankut	AERP - OF.NS - PL	1
un'gani	AXRD - FL - LOC	1
unavet	AXRP - FL - DEF.ALL	1
unkunek	AXRP - OF.NS - ABL	1
pakmani	AØUD - FL - LOC	1
pavani	AXUP - FL - LOC	1

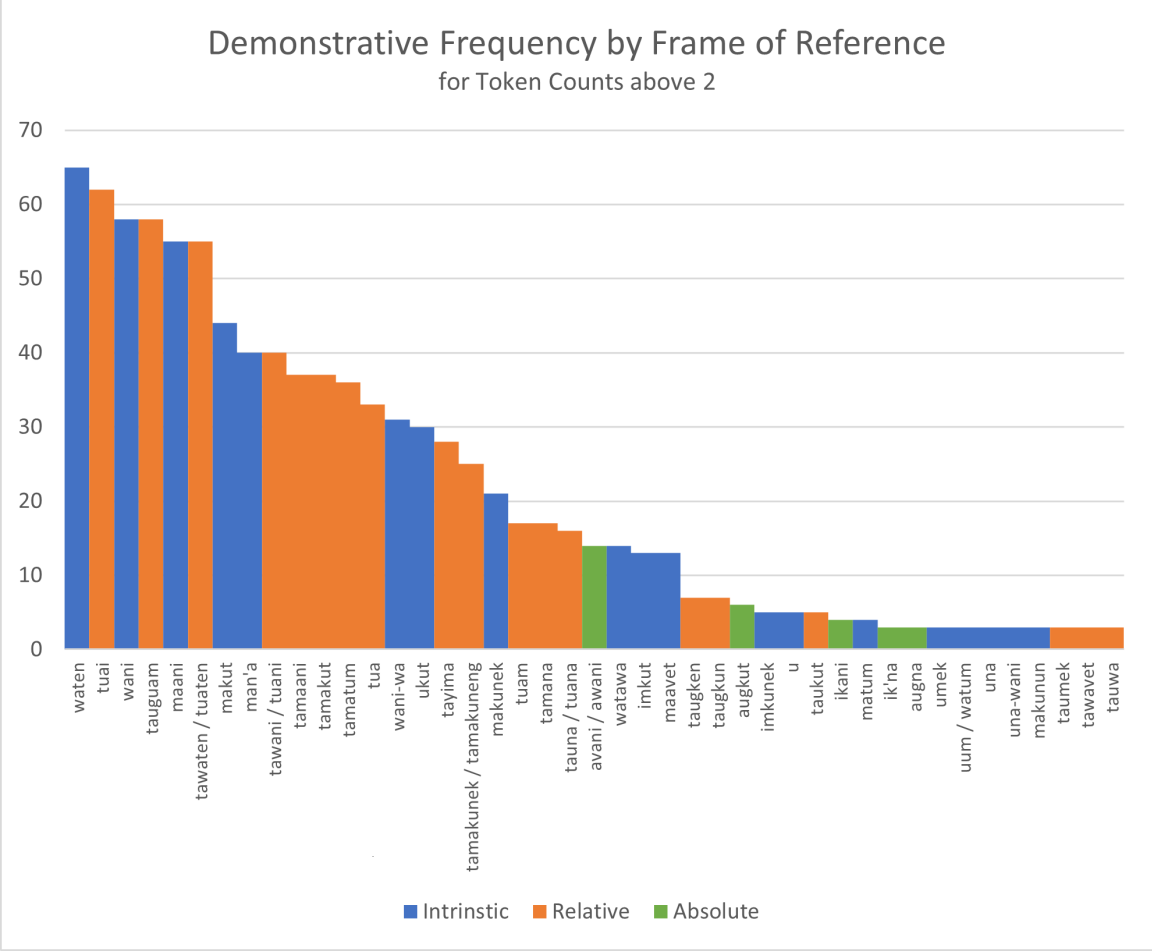


Figure B.13: Demonstrative Frequency by Frame of Reference

Appendix C: NSKY Yugtun texts and glossing

C.1 Summary

This appendix presents the texts used for analysis in my Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun linguistic corpus. Each section presents contextual metadata about the text, interlocutors, and recording environment, followed by the plain text story.

Following the metadata, the Interlinear glossing from FLEx is included. The interlinear glossing follows the conventions and constructions presented in Chapters 1-4 and Appendixes A-B. The Abbreviations used for the glossing can be found in the front matter of this dissertation or in Appendixes A-B. The interlinear glossing uses six lines. The first line is the holophrastic word. This line is presented as transcribed by my consultant with minimal editing. As such, the spelling conventions do not always match what is prescribed for General Standard Yup'ik and might be said to utilize an informal NSK or Yukon style. I make spelling corrections only in order to disambiguate a morpheme that might otherwise be misidentified and only when I am sure of the correction. Otherwise, the language intuitions of the transcriber are maintained. Line 2 is my word parse into individual morphemes as described in this dissertation. The morphemes are usually spelled according to Jacobson's Central Alaskan Yup'ik dictionary (2013) but with some modifications to fit my analysis. For instance, I use lexical bases that adhere to a base class simplified from Woodbury's (1981). Thus lexical bases are not cited in the absolute case with phonological conditioning resulting in word-final fricatives turning into plosives. Instead, my citation forms end in the base class form allowing morphophonology to be represented *in vivo* in line 1. Line 3 is my semantic glossing of the morphemes using standard glossing conventions and the abbreviations used in the front matter. Line 4 is my holophrastic analysis of the word. Identifying the lexical (LEX) and deictic (DEI) bases with their derivations and their inflection into phrasal words using the formative morphemes (FM) as described previously. Line 5 indicates the syntactic construction of the word based on my analysis in Line 4. Finally, line 6 is a word-level free translation. The free translation of each word is the one provided by the transcriber when available to maintain consistency and authenticity. I have edited the demonstrative translations to account for distinctions in spatial, temporal, and discourse domains. Line 7 is the sentence-level free translation which I created based on my analysis of lines 2-6. Some sentences have been censured in accordance with the wishes of the community to maintain privacy for those individuals.

Following the interlinear glossing, three of the six texts were diagramed using draw.io in a flowchart style (MP2016, AAp2018, and the first part of the speech event for IH2018 (Act 1)). This diagramming presents a discourse structure of the story using the conventions described in Chapter Four, which was used to help identify the functions of demonstratives in apposition to nouns for either deixis (on top of a nominal hexagram) or focus (beneath a nominal hexagram). These diagrams also help elucidate

the functions and distributions of topic clusters (left periphery in a black outline) or demonstrative particles used as discourse linkers at comment boundaries. The shapes in the diagram and colours can be interpreted with the key provided in Figure C.3. The diagramming relied on several factors to categorize the utterances, including the presence of demonstrative clusters and linking particles and the transcriber's use of periods and paragraph breaks in the original transcription.

C.2 Kiicaq's Quliraq 'Kaikvayak' (MP2016)

Narrated by: Micheal 'Kiicaq' Prince
Interlocutors: Nicholas Bunderson-Toler
Narrator's Birth Place: Qerruliq (Kotlik)
Narrator's year of Birth: 1948-2018
Narrator's Residence: Kotlik

Recorded by: Nicholas Bunderson-Toler
Year: 2016
Location: Kotlik School Library
Transcribed by: Theresa George
Translated by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler
Interlinear Analysis and Annotation by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler

Context: Known as a keeper of traditional knowledge, Michael agreed to be recorded on the last day of the summer field season in 2016. Michael sat down with me in the school library and discussed the history, traditions, and culture of the people in Kotlik in English. During this session, he discussed how every river on the Yukon Delta had names which were locally known and used in navigation. These rivers are usually named after a heroic action or legendary figure. He then switched to Yugtun and told a short Quilraq about one of the nearby rivers.

C.2.1 MP2016: Kiicaq's Quliraq 'Kaikvayak'

MP: Qayiqelliqellria?

NT: Right

MP: Yeah... Qangvaqruq mani angusatullratni yuut, elaateng tuqurqaqluki, nunamek pitcirluteng. Waten wani uksuarmi, ikani Qayarrlekell, no, Kaikvayak tauna. Angusalriit pairutelliniiluteng, avarulluteng-am ker'araluteng.

Angalkuit taukut, angalkiluteng. Pitarkat-guq tamakut (a) alingnaqellriit, (a) kuigmek unaken aliarluteng (a), tarsarpiarluteng ataam utertaqluteng.

Makurmiut-guq (a) angalkuat, kasuitaratelluni. Angalkisaqnaurtut (ker'ar) ker'araluteng av'nganun-guq tekiteqerluteng uternaurtut.

Tua-llu-guq tuana, aqumgaluni, Kaikvayak-guq tauna qanertuq, "ik'na-guq, atam wan elliinek, uigtuaqerrli." Pit'ganiqurluni-llu tegguamiuguq.

Ikna-guq arparluni, angalkiluni-guq. Ikavet-guq, tua pit'ganiiliu, ayaceskiuliu. Iqupquaramek-guq nepleqerluni, nevqalagluni-guq tua, pit'arqat-llu tam tamakut tayima tamaqarluteng.

Taukut-llu-guq, ilai ayakarluteng, kayateng unilluki. Ker'arrluteng, maaten paqtaat angalkuq tauna, qanra iluaqerluku pit'ga itellrulliuq, tunucuakun ancuaqerluni, tuquluku tauna angalkuat. Taugkun-llu, tauna kuik Kaikvayagmek acirsaurluku.

C.2.2 MP2016: Interlinear Glossing

MP - Michael Prince's Quliraq

MP 2016

1	**Word** Nsk	*Qayiqelliqellria*
	Word Eng	
	Morphemes	qayiqelliqellria
	Lex. Gloss	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***
	Word Cat.	NP
	Word Gloss	The one who Kayaks

Free Title of the Story: The One Who Kayaks

2	**Word** Nsk	
	Word Eng	right
	Morphemes	***
	Lex. Gloss	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***
	Word Cat.	***
	Word Gloss	***

Free

3.1	**Word** Nsk	*Yeah*	…	*Qangvaqruq*		*mani*		
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	yeah		Qangvar	-ur	*ma	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	yeah		some time ago	INDM.IN	I2	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		LEX	FM:REA	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR		RVP		NP		
	Word Gloss	Yeah		many years ago		here		

angusatullratni *yuut* , *elaateng*

angusatu	-llr	-a	-t	-ni	yuu	-t		elaa	-teg	-t
soldier	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	PL	LOCC	person	PL		relative	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP					NP			PNP		
when there was territorial guards					people			and relatives		

tuqurqaqluki , *nunamek* *pitcirluteng* .

tuqu	-rqe	-gaqe	-lu	-ki	nuna	-mek	pitcir	-lu	-teg	-t
to kill	ITR	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	land	ABLC/INTC.SG	extent of	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					NP		AVP			
would kill them					the land		because of that			

Free Yeah... Many years ago, here, when there were territorial guards, people would kill eachother for the land.

3.2	**Word** Nsk	*Waten*			*wani*			, *uksuarmi*	,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	uksuar	-mi
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	to become autumn	LOCC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			NP			NP	
	Word Gloss	like this			this here			during fall season	

ikani , (*Qayarrlekell*) *no* , *Kaikvayak* *tauna* .

*ik	-a	-ni	Qayarrlekell	no	Kaikvayak	ta-	*u	-na
AD1E	FTL	LOCC	Qayarrlekell	no	Kaikvayak	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX	LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
NP			NP	PAR	NP	NP		
across there			Qayarrlekell	no	Kaikvayak	that one		

Free Like this, now, in autumn, across Qayarrlekell there, no, Kaikvayak—this one.

3.3	**Word** Nsk	*Angusalriit*		
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	angusa	-lrii	-t
	Lex. Gloss	battle, to make war	the one who is V-ing	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP		
	Word Gloss	The one's in combat		

pairutelliniiluteng ,

pairute	-llinii	-lu	-teg	-t
to meet	to discover that one has Ved	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
meet each other's				

avarulluteng-am *ker'araluteng* .

avar	-ut	-lu	-teg	-t	=am	ker'ar	-a	-lu	-teg	-t
to divide in two groups	with another	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	EMPH	to cross over	ITR	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP						AVP				
they separated in two groups						and went across				

Free The warriors happen upon each other and they cross (the river) so as to split into two groups.

4.1									
Word Nsk	*Angalkuit*			*taukut*				,	
Word Eng									
Morphemes	angalku	-i	-t	ta-	*u	-ku	-t		
Lex. Gloss	shaman	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL	R<	I1	FTO.NS	PL		
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM		
Word Cat.	PNP			NP					
Word Gloss	Their shamans			those ones					

angalkiluteng .

angalk	-i	-lu	-teg	-t
shaman	to V something	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
did their magic				

Free The shamans there do their shaman-ing.

4.2									(*a*)
Word Nsk	*Pitarkat-guq*			*tamakut*					
Word Eng									
Morphemes	Pitarka	-t	=guq	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t		a
Lex. Gloss	thing to be caught	PL	one said	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL		GWP
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM		PRT
Word Cat.	NP			NP					PAR
Word Gloss	The animal's			those ones					!stutter!

alingnaqellriit , (*a*) *kuigmek*

aling	-naqe	-llrii	-t	a	kuig	-mek
to be afraid	to tend to cause one to (feel) V	the one who is V-ing	PL	GWP	river	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	PRT	LEX	FM:GCF
NP				PAR	NP	
the scary ones				!stutter!	from the river	

unaken *aliarluteng* (*a*),

*un	-a	-ken	aliar	-lu	-teg	-t	a
AR2P	FTL	FTL.ABLC	to appear	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	GWP
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT
NP			AVP				PAR
down below			they appeared				!stutter!

tarsarpiarluteng *ataam* *utertaqluteng* .

tari	-sar	-piar	-lu	-teg	-t	ataam	uter	-taq	-lu	-teg	-t
spirit	would	the salient one	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	again	to return	DIM	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP						PRT	AVP				
The spirits would almost go						again	they would return to the river				

Free The conjured creatures—those ones—, the scary ones coming from down there in the river, they would appear and almost make land before returning to the river.

5.1 **Word** Nsk *Makurmiut-guq* (*a*) *angalkuat* ,

Word Eng

Morphemes	*ma	-ku	-rmiu	-t	=guq	a	angalku	-a	-t
Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.NS	resident of	PL	one said	GWP	shaman	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	ENC	PRT	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP					PAR	PNP		
Word Gloss	people from here					!stutter!	their shaman's		

kasuitaratelluni .

kasuit	-tar	-ngate	-llu	-ni
to be weak	to be by nature	to seem to be	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				
was weak in magic				

Free It is said that the people here - uh - their shaman seemed to be weak.

5.2	**Word** Nsk	*Angalkisaqnaurtut*						(	*ker'ar*)
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	angalk	-i	-saq	-naur	-tu	-t		ker'ar
	Lex. Gloss	shaman	to V something	in vain	HAB	to use	PL		to cross over
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM		LEX
	Word Cat.	RVP							PAR
	Word Gloss	the shaman's would try their magic (they would magic in vain)							to cross over

ker'araluteng *av'nganun-guq*

ker'ar	-a	-lu	-teg	-t	av'	-nga	-nun	=guq
to cross over	ITR	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to divide in two groups	3P.NOM.SGCOM	ALLC	one said
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	ENC
AVP					PNP			
by crossing (it crosses over)					the other half (to the other group)			

tekiteqerluteng *uternaurtut* .

tekite	-qer	-lu	-teg	-t	uter	-naur	-tu	-t
to arrive	suddenly	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to return	HAB	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
AVP					RVP			
just arrived (as it arrived)					but always returned (it would return to the river)			

Free The shaman would attempt to get their magic to cross over to the other half but as it arrived it would return to the water.

6.1	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-llu-guq*					*tuana*				,		
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu	=guq	ta-	*u	-na				
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	one said	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC				
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM				
	Word Cat.	PAR					NP						
	Word Gloss	And then					that one						

aqumgaluni , *Kaikvayak-guq* *tauna* *qanertuq* , "

aqumga	-lu	-ni	Kaikvayak	=guq	ta-	*u	-na	qaner	-tur		
to be sitting	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	Kaikvayak	one said	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	to speak	INDM.IN		
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:REA		
AVP			NP		NP			RVP			
was sitting			Kaikvayak		that one			said			

ik'na-guq , *atam* (*wan*) *elliinek* ,

*ik	-na	=guq	atam	*uan	ellii	-nek
AD1E	FTO.SG.ABSC	one said	EXCLM	I1	3.SG	ABLC/INTC
DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	PRT	DEI	pn	FM:GCF
NP			PAR	PRT	NP	
that one across there			look	DISCSV PAUSE / here	himself	

uigtuaqerrli .”

uigtua	-qerte	-l	-i
to try	suddenly	OPTM	3P.ERG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER
OVP			
going to try by myself			

Free Then, that one sitting, Kaikvayak—this guy— said "look that guy across there, umm, I'm going to try to get him myself"

6.2

Word Nsk	*Pit'ganiqurluni-llu*						
Word Eng							
Morphemes	pit'ga	-ni	-qur	-lu	-ni	=llu	
Lex. Gloss	to shoot (at) with an arrow	to claim that	ITR	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	COO	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC	
Word Cat.	AVP						
Word Gloss	He says he released his arrow						

tegguamiuguq .

teggua	-miu	-gur
hardwood bow	to be in	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
RVP		
it is in the bow		

Free And he said he released arrow after arrow from the bow.

7.1

Word Nsk	*Ikna-guq*			*arparluni*			,	*angalkiluni-guq*			.
Word Eng											
Morphemes	*ik	-na	=gguq	arpar	-lu	-ni		angalki	-lu	-ni	=guq
Lex. Gloss	AD1E	FTO.SG.ABSC	one said	to yell	APPM	4P.NOM.SG		shaman	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	one said
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC
Word Cat.	DEI			AVP				AVP			
Word Gloss	It's said that one			hollering				was doing the shaman magic / did their magic			

Free It's said that one hollering was doing magic.

7.2	**Word Nsk**	*Ikavet-guq*				,	*tua*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	*ik	-a	-vet	=guq		t-	*u	-a
	Lex. Gloss	AD1E	FTL	DEF.ALLC	one said		R<	I1	FTL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
	Word Cat.	NP					PAR		
	Word Gloss	It is said back across there					then		

pit'ganiiliu ,

pit'ga	-ni	-i	-l	-i	-u
to shoot (at) with an arrow	to claim that	to V something	OPTM	3P.ERG	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER	FM:PER
OVP					
he shot his arrow					

ayaceskiuliu .

ayace	-skiu	-l	-i	-u
to send forth	PST.PRF	OPTM	3P.ERG	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER	FM:PER
OVP				
he released it				

Free It's said that back across the river, then, he shot his arrow and sent it forth.

7.3	**Word Nsk**	*Iqupquaramek-guq*								
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	iqupqu		-ar	-a		-mek		=guq	
	Lex. Gloss	one who has fallen on his side		suddenly	CNJ (because/when)		ABLC/INTC.SG		one said	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ		FM:GCF		ENC	
	Word Cat.	NCP								
	Word Gloss	It is said that when he suddenly fell on his side								

nepleqerluni , *nevqalagluni-guq*

neple	-qer	-lu	-ni	nevqa	-laag	-lu	-ni	=guq
to be noisy	suddenly	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	to fall on ones back	quickly	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	one said
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC
AVP				AVP				
he simultaneously made a noise				It is said he quickly fell onto his back				

tua , *pit'arqat-llu* (*tam*)

t-	*u	-a	pit'arqa	-t	=llu	ta-	*mat
R<	I1	FTL	thing to be caught	PL	COO	R<	I2
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI
PAR			NP			PRT	
and then			the animals			tho...	

tamakut *tayima*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ta-	*yim	-a
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	R<	I0	FTL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
NP				PAR		
those ones				elsewhere		

tamaqarluteng .

tamar	-ar	-lu	-teg	-t
to lose/to misplace	suddenly	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
they disappeared				

Free It is said when he fell on his side, he made a noise, fell onto his back, and then the creatures, umm, those ones from before they disappeared

8.1

Word Nsk	*Taukut-llu-guq*						,	*ilai*	
Word Eng									
Morphemes	ta-	*u	-ku	-t	=llu	=guq		ila	-i
Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTO.NS	PL	COO	one said		relative	3P.NOM.PLCOM
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	ENC		LEX	FM:PER
Word Cat.	NP							PNP	
Word Gloss	those things too							his friends	

ayakarluteng , *kayateng* *unilluki* .

aya	-kar	-lu	-teg	-t	kaya	-teg	-t	uni	-lu	-ki
to go away	to immediately V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	kayak	4P.NOM	PL	to leave behind	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP					PNP			AVP		
ran away					their kayaks			they left them		

Free It is said those ones too, his friends ran away, leaving behind their kayaks.

8.2	**Word** Nsk	*Ker'arrluteng*				,	*maaten*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ker'arr	-lu	-teg	-t		*ma	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	to cross over	APPM	4P.NOM	PL		I2	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	AVP					NP		
	Word Gloss	They cross the river					when		

paqtaat *angalkuq* *tauna* ,

paqt	-a	-a	-t	angalkur	ta-	*u	-na
to go to check up on	INDM.TR	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL	shaman	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
RVP				NP	NP		
they checked him				the shaman	that one		

qanra *iluaqerluku* *pit'ga*

qanr	-a	ilua	-qer	-lu	-ku	pit'ga	-a
to speak	3P.NOM.SGCOM	interior	suddenly	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	to shoot (at) with an arrow	3P.NOM.SGCOM
LEX	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER
PNP		AVP				PNP	
his mouth		into it				his arrow	

itellrulliuq , *tunucuakun*

ite	-llru	-lli	-ur	tunucu	-nga	-kun
to enter	PST	to maybe verb	INDM.IN	back of head	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PRLC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
RVP				PNP		
had a puncture in				his back head		

ancuaqerluni , *tuquluku* *tauna*

an	-cua	-qer	-lu	-ni	tuqu	-lu	-ku	ta-	*u	-na
to go out	a little bit	suddenly	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	to kill	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
AVP					AVP			NP		
the arrow was showing					had killed him			that one		

angalkuat .

angalku	-a	-t
shaman	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PNP		
their shaman's		

Free They crossed the river, when they checked the shaman—that one—, his arrow had punctured into his mouth and was showing through the back of his head. He had killed that shaman.

8.3	**Word** Nsk	*Taugkun-llu*				, *tauna*			*kuik*
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-kun	=llu	ta-	*u	-na	kuik
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	PRLC	COO	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	river
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX
	Word Cat.	NP				NP			NP
	Word Gloss	From then on				that one			the river

Kaikvayagmek *acirsaurluku* .

Kaikvayag	-mek	acir	-saur	-lu	-ku
Kaikvayak	ABLC/INTC.SG	to be named	it is now V	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP		AVP			
Kaikvayaq		was named			

Free And from then on, that river was named Kaikvayaq.

C.2.3 MP2016: Discourse Analysis

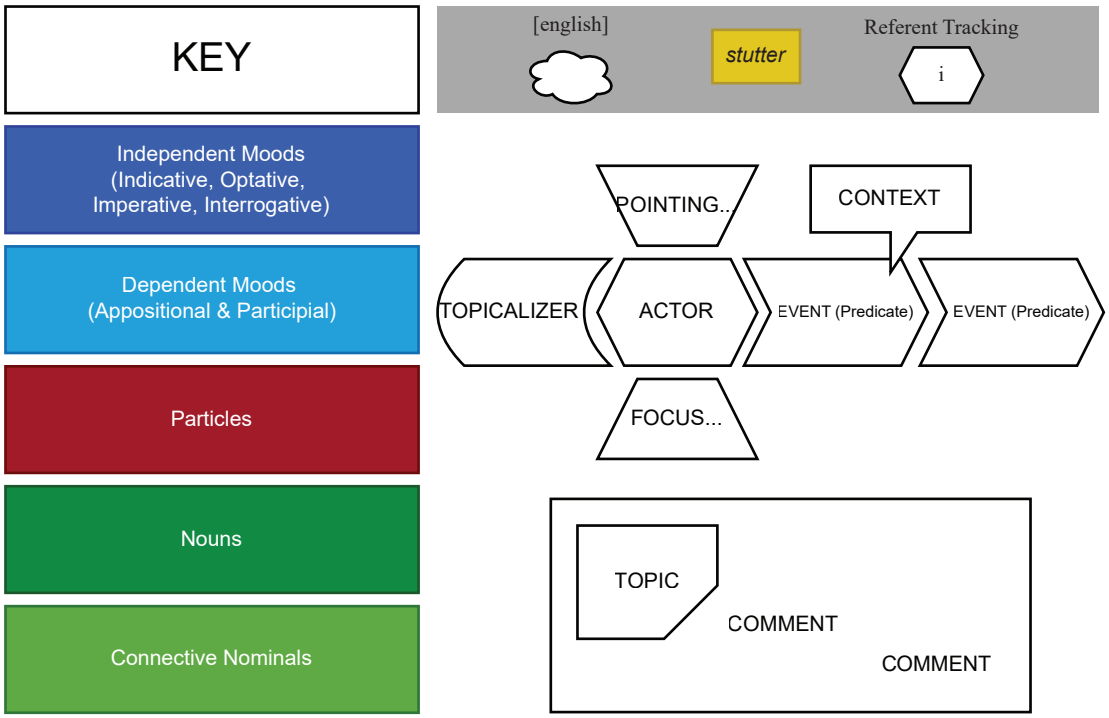
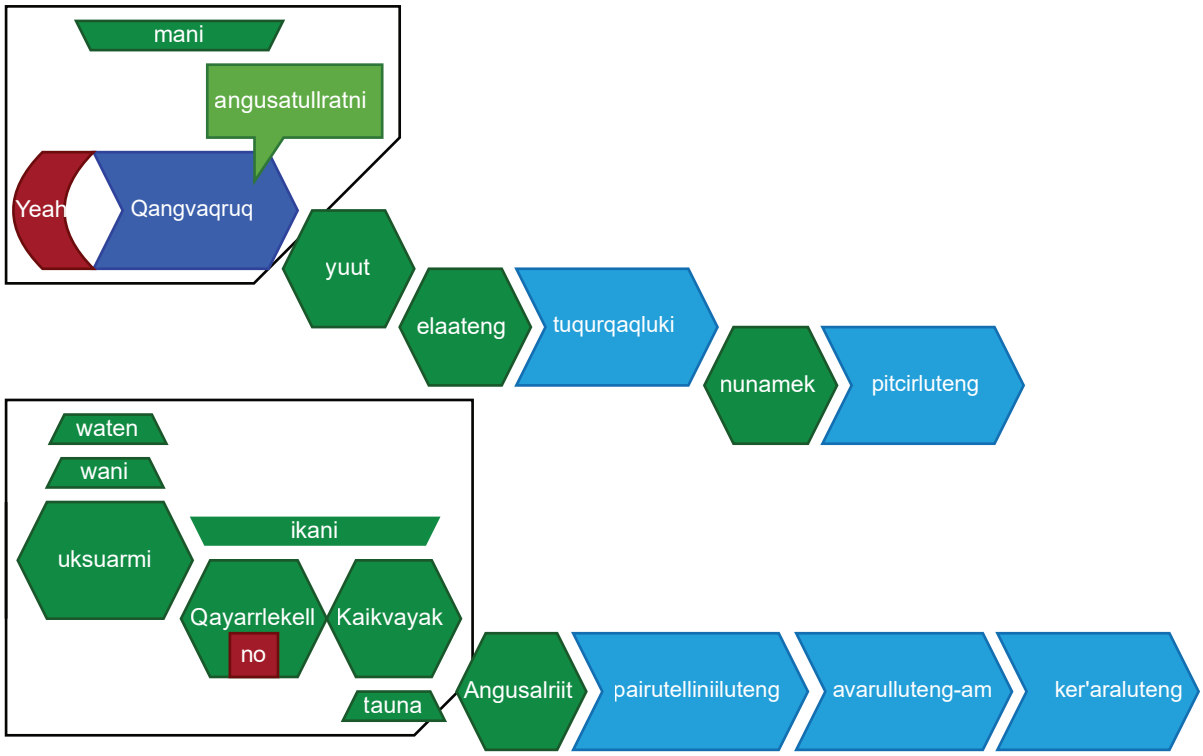


Figure C.1: Discourse Analysis Key

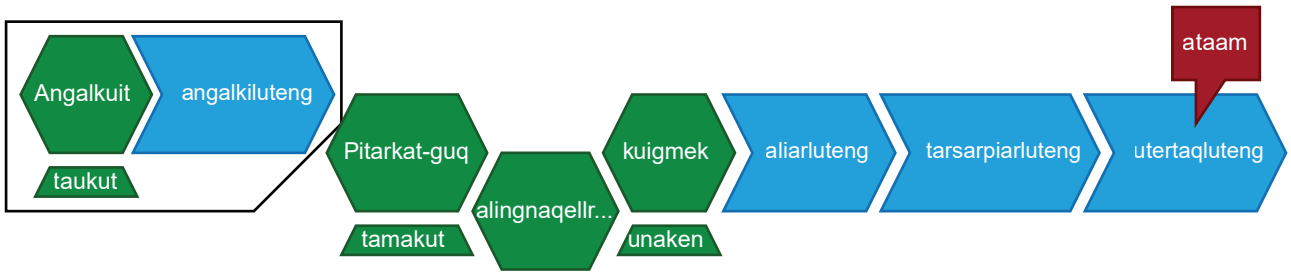
MP Discourse Diagram - 1

(MP 2016)

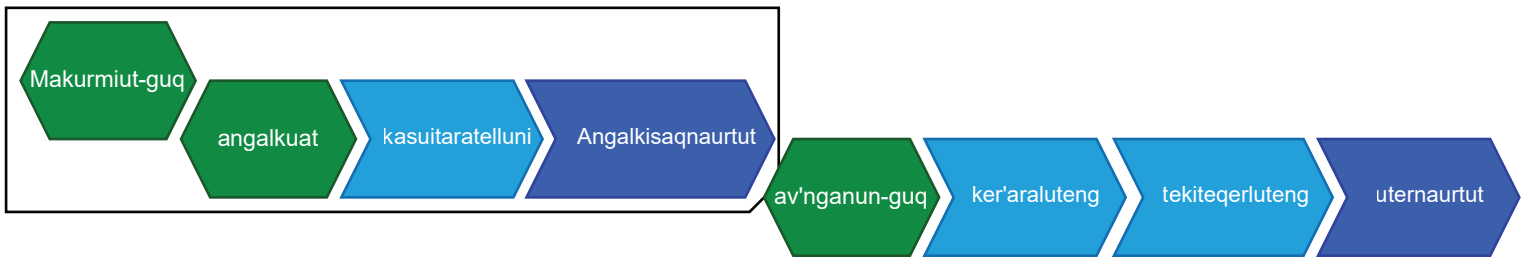
Yeah… Qangvaqruq mani angusatullratni yuut, elaateng tuqurqaqluki, nunamek pitcirluteng. Waten wani, uksuarmi, ikani, (Qayarrlekell) no, Kaikvayak tauna. Angusalriit pairutelliniiluteng, avarulluteng-am ker'araluteng.



Angalkuit taukut, angalkiluteng. Pitarkat-guq tamakut (a) alingnaqellriit, (a) kuigmek unaken aliarluteng (a), tararpiarluteng ataam utertaqluteng.



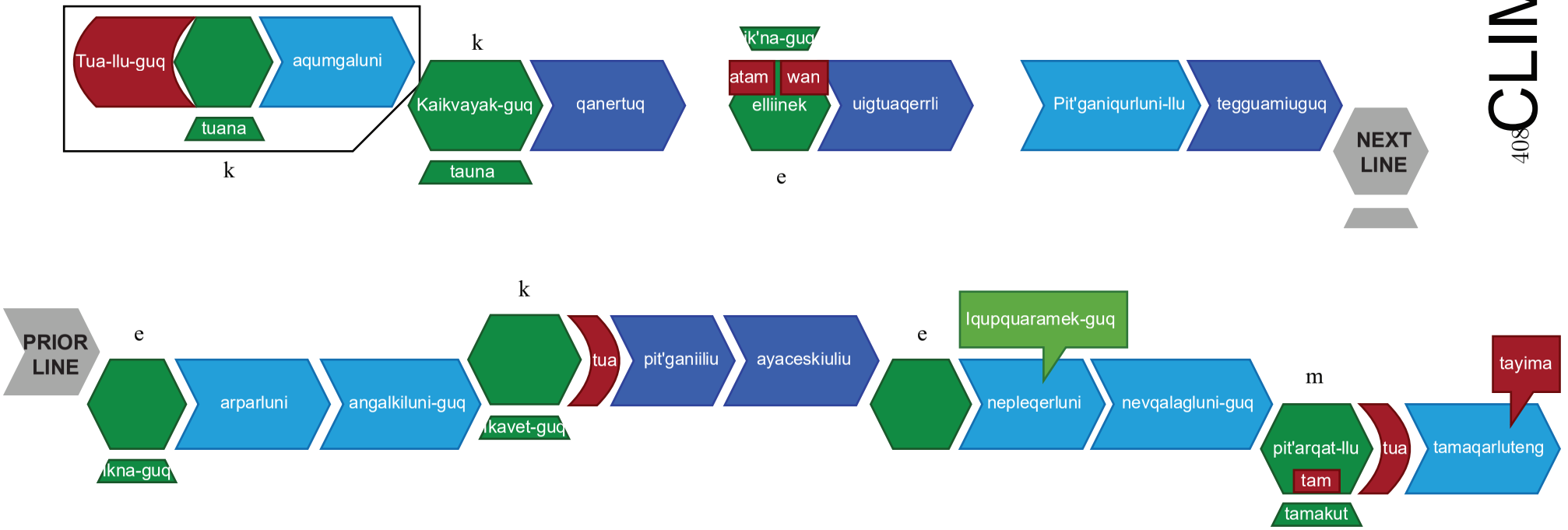
Makurmiut-guq (a) angalkuat, kasuitaratelluni. Angalkisaqnaurtut (ker'ar) ker'araluteng av'nganun-guq tekiteqerluteng uternaurtut.



MP Discourse Diagram - 2

(MP 2016)

Tua-llu-guq tuana, aqumgaluni, Kaikvayak-guq tauna qanertuq, “ik'na-guq, atam (wan) elliinek, uigtuaqerrli.”
Pit’ganiqurluni-llu tegguamiuguq.
Ikna-guq arparluni, angalkiluni-guq. Ikavet-guq, tua pit'ganiiliu, ayaceskiuliu. Iqupquaramek-guq nepleqerluni, nevqalaqluni-guq tua, pi’arqat-llu (tam) tamakut tayima tamaqarluteng.

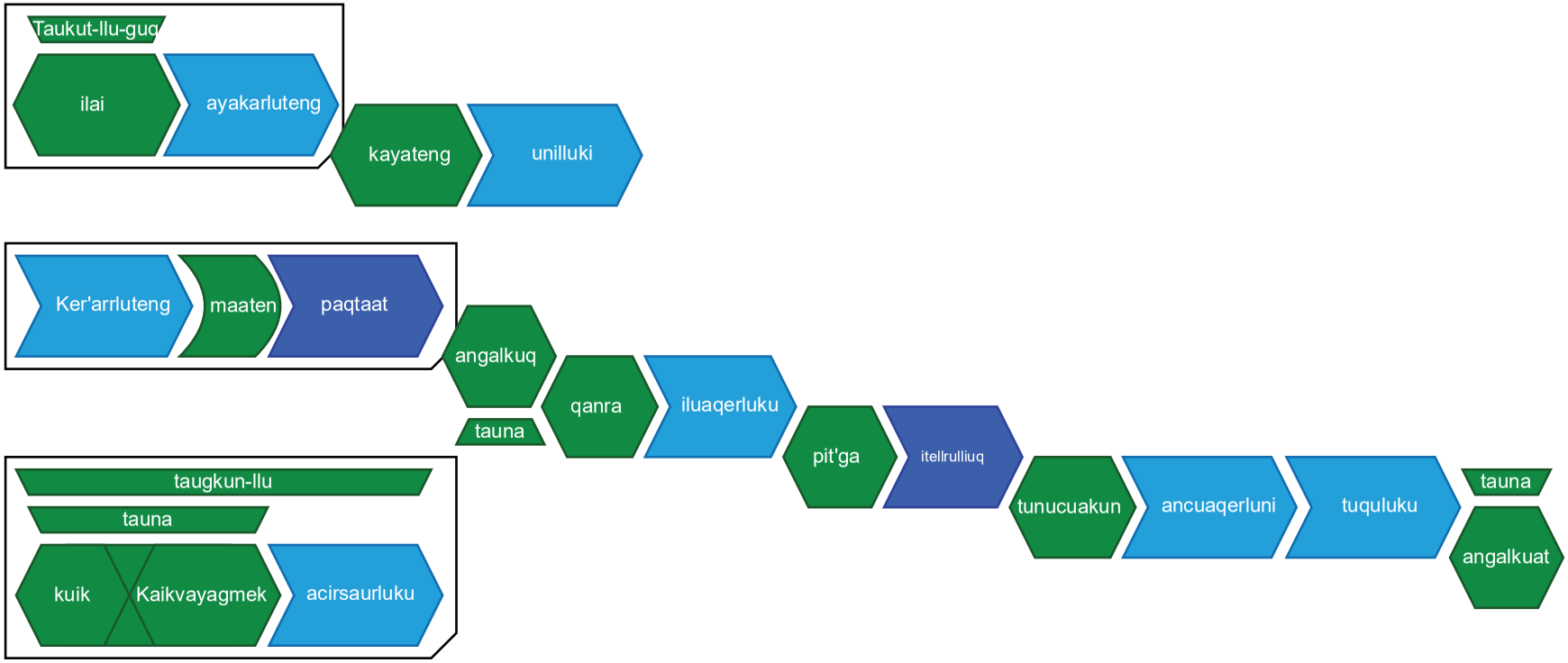


MP Discourse Diagram - 3

(MP 2016)

CONCLUSION

Taukut-llu-guq, ilai ayakarluteng, kayateng unilluki. Ker'arrluteng, maaten paqtaat angalkuq tauna, qanra iluaqerluku, pit'ga itellrulliuq, tunucuakun ancuaqerluni, tuquluku tauna angalkuat. Taugkun-llu, tauna kuik Kaikvayaqmek acirsaurluku.



C.3 Aciangaq's Yuuyaraq (AAy2018)

Narrated by: Anthony 'Aciangaq' Aketachunak
Interlocutors: [Robert Teeluk], <Nicholas Bunderson-Toler>, Jacob Aketachunak
Narrator's Birth Place: Nunapiggluugaq
Narrator's year of Birth: 1937
Narrator's Residence: Kotlik

Recorded by: Nicholas Bunderson-Toler
Year: 2018
Location: Aciangaq's Living Room
Transcribed by: Theresa George
Translated by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler
Interlinear Analysis and Annotation by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler

Context: When I began work in 2014, I was told to work with Aciangaq as he is regarded not only as a good storyteller but an expert in local traditional knowledge as he did not go to the boarding schools but stayed home to support his family. Aciangaq is also a monolingual Yugtun speaker, the last in Kotlik. At that time, he participated in elicitation sessions with me and another Elder, but he deferred to the Elder who could speak English. Finally, in 2018, I sat down with Aciangaq in his living room and with Robert Teeluk as my translator. We began by asking about Aciangaq's background. This discussion is a back-and-forth between Aciangaq and Robert. We then asked Aciangaq to tell a story. He spoke in Yugtun the entire time without interruption and told us about the traditional way of life as he was taught it as a child and how life has changed since then.

C.3.1 AAy2018: Aciangaq's Yuuyaraq

Anthony Aketachunak
<Quyana, um, how old is he?>
[Qayuten yuurtellruten? 80?]
Ai?
[80.]
<Oh>
Allrakuqa?
[Yuurtellruten? Qayuga old-tarsit? How old? 80?]
80 years old
[80]
<Ok and um, where's he from?>
[Naken, naken, elpet (neq) naken elpet yuurtellruten?]
Ai?
[Naken yugtun, no, naken yuurtellruten]
Yuurtellrusia-qa?
[Ii-i, nani?]
(Nunapigglu) Hamilton.
[Oh, he's from Hamilton]
<Mm-m ok, ok awesome, um, tell his story then.>
[Kita, qanluten, (yug) qanluten]
Ii-i, tua-i-wa, waniwa, ii-i, eglerellerka mana, waten wani, pissurlalriakut ayagluta, wani iralumi, iralum, yuut pissurniaraqan pissurluta. March-ami-llu, taqlallriakuta?. March 15-ami, pisuunamek-guq taqllartukut.

Yeah, tauwa waniwa, ernerpak tayima, waten wani (iilia, u,u,u,u,) waniwa, tamani niitellartua yugnek, makunek-llu ak'allranek (nii) niitaqama qanrularaatenga waten. Atairutqa-llu anerteqnginganrani anerteqellermini qanrulallruanga tamakunek.

Cali-llu, makut yun'erraat waten wani, tauwa, qanruqurluki watawa pilaqunegteki, makut angaisuqaireta (ai) elicaraaluki ca'nek. Elluarluki egleresqelluki. Tawaten wani, qanruqulaqaiteki tawaten assirluteng wani, nepairutengluteng eglerciqut.

Tauguam wani, matum mani, nallunritellerput (put) wangkuta, merem mana, tang'aq mana, assirlarngelnguq. Atursurlaqiita, tamana-llu taqengkunegteggu tayima, assiriyiartut. Tauguam wani, nepairulartut, tawaten, mana mani, tamana mernaqellria (at, atu) atungritaqamegteggu assirluteng yuulalriit. Tauguam wanig, wangkuta mani eglernginanemteni, waten wani, wii-llu waniwa, (um) tamakut qanrulallret (teqaqlaranga) neqaqlarangka ak'allaraat qanellret.

Cali-llu makut mani, mani eglertellerput, waten wani, yun'erraput, makut mani ikasurluki, ikasuarurluta pilaqumta assirturciquq, assirciquq.

Tawaten wani, waniwa, tauguam wani, tamana waniwa, eglerellerqarput mana, (el)) waten-wa (piss) pissuraqamta-llu ayagluta. Pissurturlalriakut tamana-llu pillerka umegngan aruliarluta. Tauguam, kiagaqan ataam, ataam kiagmi neqsurluta. (Neq) Neqsullemteggun tauguam akingaqluta.

Tauguam waniwa, tuaten (eg,eg) eglerellrullriakut, (eg) eglerellrullriakut tamamta, makut-llu mani yun'erraat makut mani, nallunritesluki tamatum tungiinun, pilaquneng, waten ak'allaat qanersarait, pilaquneng, tayima assinrularsartuq.

Assirlartuq tawaten. Waten wani ikasutekellriatun ayuqluku, tauguam waniwa, wangkuta, ernerpak waniwa, unawani, (em) umwani (qanruci, qan) qanersuan, niicuanga waniwa (qanru) qanruquraqaqa tamakunek, tuaten eglerellemteni.

Cali-llu wanigga angasuqaarema anertekellemeggni, tamaani qanruqulalluangnga, waten wani, qayuga eglerellerkamnek. Tuaten tayima piurulaquneng assirturluteng, (ut) utmauruluteng eglerqurularsartut.Tauguam waniwa, ernerpak, (nunanyug) nunaniryugluta anglaniluta-llu waten erenrani uitalalriakut. Ca'mek-llu waten nepelillrianek, niitevkenata mani enem iluani. Cali-llu assirluta, waten wani, nepaunata uitaurallerput assirluni.

Tua tuani tuaten, (asir) uitallrumaluki makut mani nutararat yuut. Nutararat yuut, makut uitauraasqeluki tuaten. Elluarluki, (at) eglerellerkaiteggun matumun, anerteqinganemteni, elluarluta eglerertarqaursaqluta. Tauguam waniwa, mana mani alerquutet ak'allaat yuut maliqelluku. Tauwa, tamani, tamana malirqinaqluku eglerqurunaqluta, taug, (quya) quyalua waniwa (qanau, qanrus, qanruteq, qanrute) qanqautaqa amllenrilengraan, una wani qanersaraq.

Tauguam, tayima ilaita yuut, un'gani-llu tayima, waten wani, umsugarteqengkuneng (ikai, ikaisusi, ikaisuita) tamana qanellqa. Waten, umsugarteqengciqut tamatumek qanellemnek. Tua-ll, assirluni tauguam eglererput, assirluku egleressqumaluta yuulerput mana, arenqiallugtevkenaku.

Cali-ll wani, makut mani, waten wani, yungcaristet makut mani, waten alarqualaqait (cep) yuut, qayuga eglerellerkamtenek arenqiallugtaqamta. Tauguam waniwa maligtaquluki eglerqurarqamta assirlartuq. Waten, yungcaristet makut, (qaneq) qanersarait, inerqutait (malig) maligtaquluki eglertaqamta assirlartuq. Cali-wa tauguam, waniwa, tuaten yuut eglertengniartut. Assirluteng egleresqelluki. Qinunateng-llu, nepaunateng-llu. Cali-llu, ilateng naklekluki, kelekluki-llu.

Cali-llu, makut yun'erraat, waten eluarluki qanruquruluki pilaqunegteki tuaten, Assirluteng eglerciqut. Nallunriluku mana, ak'allaam ayuqutcia. Ak'allaat qanersarait nallunrillriatun (ayuqeciqni) ayuqetciquq, tuaten piurulaquneng. Tua-i, amlermek, (qanrucirqaq) qanrucirangqelnguangqenritua. Tuaguam waniwa waten wani, imna Phillip Foxie nallunritan??

[Ii-i, yeah]

Tuam tuani qanruqulallruanga. Tauguam, tayima tuqungan, tuqungan tayima, tuqungami, tuqungan mani Qerrulligmi, tamakunek ak'allaat qanersariatnek ni-

icuirutellrianga. Tauguam neqqqellarangka tamakut qanersarai. Cali-wa, (amlerpa) amlerpamam-wa waniwa, amlertuq, cangatenrituq-qa?, waniwa una wani, qanerturallra? Assirtuq-qa? Ok, tua-i-wa, tuaten piqaquma (cangait) cangailngatuq ah?
[Yeah]
Ii-i
[Amlerikuneng cangalngaitelliki.]
Ii-i
<Are we. . . >
[He's done, he's done, he's done.]
<Quyana>
He said, best he can.
[Yeah, best he can]
<Quyana>
Qusaaten
Ii-i

C.3.2 AAy2018: Interlinear Glossing

AAy - Anthony's Yuuyaraq

AAy 2018

1	**Word** Nsk	*Anthony*	*Aketachunak*
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	anthony	Aketachunak
	Lex. Gloss	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***
	Word Cat.	NP	NP
	Word Gloss	Anthony	Aketachunak

Free Anthony Aketachunak

2	**Word** Nsk	<	Quyana	,	,			?>
	Word Eng			um	how	old	is	he
	Morphemes			***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss			***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.			***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.			***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss			***	***	***	***	***

Free

3	**Word** Nsk	[	*Qayuten*		*yuurtellruten*			? 80	?]
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes		qayu	-ten	yuurte	-llru	-u	-ten	
	Lex. Gloss		how (are you)	FTL.AEQC	to be born	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.		NP		RVP				
	Word Gloss		like how		when were you born				

Free Like how you were born? 80?

4 **Word** Nsk *Ai* ?
Word Eng
Morphemes ai
Lex. Gloss huh / what?
Lex. Gram. Info. PRT
Word Cat. PAR
Word Gloss huh / what?

Free Eh?

5 **Word** Nsk [.]
Word Eng 80
Morphemes 80
Lex. Gloss 80
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX
Word Cat. NP
Word Gloss 80

Free 80.

6 **Word** Nsk < >
Word Eng Oh
Morphemes oh
Lex. Gloss oh
Lex. Gram. Info. PRT
Word Cat. PRT
Word Gloss oh

Free Oh

7 **Word** Nsk *Allrakuqa* ?
Word Eng
Morphemes allraku -qa
Lex. Gloss year 1P.NOM.SG
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX FM:PER
Word Cat. PNP
Word Gloss my age

Free My age?

8.1	**Word** Nsk	[	*Yuurtellruten*			?
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes		yuurte	-llru	-u	-ten
	Lex. Gloss		to be born	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
	Word Cat.		RVP			
	Word Gloss		You were born			

Free You were born?

8.2	**Word** Nsk	*Qayuga*	*old-tarsit*			?
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	qayuga	old.tar	-si	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	how	old	INTRM	2P.ABS	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	FM:IRR	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	PAR	IVP			
	Word Gloss	how	old are you			

Free How old are you?

8.3	**Word** Nsk	How	old	?	80	?]
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes					
	Lex. Gloss					
	Lex. Gram. Info.					
	Word Cat.					
	Word Gloss					

Free How old? 80?

9	**Word** Nsk			
	Word Eng	80	years	old
	Morphemes	80	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	80	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	***	***
	Word Cat.	NP	***	***
	Word Gloss	80	***	***

Free 80 year old.

10 **Word** Nsk [ ]
Word Eng 80
Morphemes 80
Lex. Gloss 80
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX
Word Cat. NP
Word Gloss 80

Free 80

11 **Word** Nsk < , ?>
Word Eng Ok and um where's he from
Morphemes *** *** *** *** *** ***
Lex. Gloss *** *** *** *** *** ***
Lex. Gram. Info. *** *** *** *** *** ***
Word Cat. *** *** *** *** *** ***
Word Gloss *** *** *** *** *** ***

Free

12 **Word** Nsk [*Naken* , *naken* , *elpet* (*neq*) *naken* *elpet*
Word Eng
Morphemes naken naken el -pet nek naken el -pet
Lex. Gloss where where social.distal 2P.ERG where where social.distal 2P.ERG
Lex. Gram. Info. PAR PAR DEI FM:PER PAR PAR DEI FM:PER
Word Cat. PAR PAR PRO PAR PAR PRO
Word Gloss where where you where where you

yuurtellruten ?]

yuurte -llru -u -ten
to be born PST INDM.IN 2P.ABS.SG
LEX LEX>LEX FM:REA FM:PER
RVP
you were born

Free Where, where, you .. where, where you were born?

13	**Word** Nsk	*Ai*	?						
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ai							
	Lex. Gloss	huh / what?							
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT							
	Word Cat.	PRT							
	Word Gloss	huh / what?							

Free Eh?

14	**Word** Nsk	[	*Naken*	*yugtun*	,	*no*	,	*naken*	*yuurtellruten*			]
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes		naken	yugtun		no		naken	yuurte	-llru	-u	-ten
	Lex. Gloss		where	in the Yup'ik lang.		no		where	to be born	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PAR	LEX		LEX		PAR	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
	Word Cat.		PAR	NP		PAR		PAR	RVP			
	Word Gloss		where	like a person		no		where	were you born			

Free Where like a person, no, where were you born?

15	**Word** Nsk	*Yuurtellrusia-qa*					?
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	yu	-urte	-llru	-si	-a	=qa
	Lex. Gloss	live	INCH	PST	INTRM	SG.LF	Q
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:IRR	FM:NUM	ENC
	Word Cat.	RVP					
	Word Gloss	where was I born					

Free Where was I born?

16	**Word** Nsk	[	*Ii-i*	, *nani*	?]
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes		Ii-i	nani	
	Lex. Gloss		Yes	from where	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PAR	PAR	
	Word Cat.		PAR	PAR	
	Word Gloss		Yes	where	

Free Yes, where?

17	**Word** Nsk	(	*Nunapigglu*	)	*Hamilton*	.					
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes		Nunapigglu		***						
	Lex. Gloss		Hamilton		***						
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX		***						
	Word Cat.		NP		***						
	Word Gloss		Hamilton		***						

Free Nunapigglu. Hamilton.

18	**Word** Nsk	[		,							]
	Word Eng		Oh		he's		from		Hamilton		
	Morphemes		oh		***		***		***		
	Lex. Gloss		oh		***		***		***		
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PRT		***		***		***		
	Word Cat.		PRT		***		***		***		
	Word Gloss		oh		***		***		***		

Free

19	**Word** Nsk	<		,		,		,						.>
	Word Eng		Mm-m		ok		ok		awesome		um		tell	
	Morphemes		Mm-m		***		***		***		***		***	
	Lex. Gloss		***		***		***		***		***		***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***		***		***		***		***		***	
	Word Cat.		***		***		***		***		***		***	
	Word Gloss		mm-m		***		***		***		***		***	

		his		story		then														
		***		***		***														
		***		***		***														
		***		***		***														
		***		***		***														
		***		***		***														

Free

20	**Word** Nsk	[	*Kita*	,	*qanluten*					,	(	*yug*	)	*qanluten*						]
	Word Eng																			
	Morphemes		kita		qan		-lu		-ten			yug		qan		-lu		-ten		
	Lex. Gloss		here it is		to speak		APPM		2P.ABS.SG			live		to speak		APPM		2P.ABS.SG		
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PAR		LEX		FM:APP		FM:PER			LEX		LEX		FM:APP		FM:PER		
	Word Cat.		PAR		AVP							LEX		AVP						
	Word Gloss		ok		you talk							life		you talk						

Free Ok , you talk. Life.. you talk.

21.1	**Word** Nsk	*Ii-i*	,	*tua-i-wa*					,	*waniwa*			,
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	Ii-i		t-	*u	-a	=i	=wa		*w	-a	-ni	=wa
	Lex. Gloss	Yes		R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	Anaphor		I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	ENC		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
	Word Cat.	PAR		PAR						NP			
	Word Gloss	Yes		ok then						now			

ii-i , *eglerellerka* *mana* , *waten* *wani* ,

ii-i	eglere	-llerka	*ma	-na	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni
Yes	to move	FUT	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC
PAR	LEX	LEX>LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PAR	NP		NP		NP			NP		
yes	moving into the future		this one		like this			this here		

pissurlalriakut *ayagluta* , *wani*

pissur	-la	-lria	-ku	-t	ayag	-lu	-ta	*w	-a	-ni
to hunt	HAB	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	to go away	APPM	PL.LF	I1	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP					AVP			NP		
we which would hunt					we travel			this here		

iralumi , *iralum* , *yuut* *pissurniaraqan*

iralu	-mi	iralu	-m	yuu	-t	pissur	-niar	-aqa	-a	-n
moon	LOCC.SG	moon	ERGC.SG	person	PL	to hunt	FUT	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		NP		NP		NCP				
in this month		in the month		people		huting continuously happens				

pissurluta .

pissur	-lu	-ta
to hunt	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
AVP		
we hunt		

Free Yes, and so now, yes, moving into the future—this one—, like this here, we who whould hunt would travel here in this month, in this month we hunt, people hunt continuously.

21.2	**Word** Nsk	*March-ami-llu*			,	*taqlallriakuta*				?.
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	March.a	-mi	=llu		taq	-la	-llria	-ku	-ta
	Lex. Gloss	month of March	LOCC.SG	COO		to finish	HAB	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS	PL.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP				RVP				
	Word Gloss	and in March				we'd be done				

Free And in March we are done.

21.3	**Word** Nsk	*March*	*15-ami*		,	*pisuunamek-guq*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	march	15.a	-mi		pisuu	-na	-mek	=guq
	Lex. Gloss	month of March	15	LOCC.SG		to hunt	one that causes V-ing	ABLC/INTC.SG	it is said
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	ENC
	Word Cat.	NP	NP			NP			
	Word Gloss	March	on the fifteenth			they say the hunters			

taqllartukut .

taq	-llar	-tu	-ku	-t
to quit	HAB	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP				
we would finish				

Free On March 15th they say the hunters, we would finish.

22.1	**Word** Nsk	*Yeah*	,	*tauwa*					*waniwa*				,	*ernerpak*				
	Word Eng																	
	Morphemes	yeah		ta-	*u	=wa	*w	-a	-ni	=wa		ernerpak						
	Lex. Gloss	yeah		R<	I1	Anaphor	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor		today						
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC		LEX						
	Word Cat.	PAR		PAR			NP					NP						
	Word Gloss	Yeah		well then			now					today						

tayima , *waten* *wani* (*iilia* , *u* , *u*

ta-	*yim	-a	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	iilia	*u	*u
R<	I0	FTL	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	amazing	I1	I1
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	DEI	DEI
PAR			NP			NP			LEX	LEX	LEX
hopefully			like this			this here			amazing	***	***

, *u* , *u* ,) *waniwa* , *tamani*

*u	*u	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	
I1	I1	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	
DEI	DEI	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
LEX	LEX	NP				NP				
***	***	now				in the days of				

niitellartua *yugnek* , *makunek-llu* *ak'allranek*

niite	-llar	-tu	-a	yug	-nek	*ma	-ku	-nek	=llu	ak'allra	-nek	
to hear	HAB	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	person	ABLC/INTC	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	COO	old person	ABLC/INTC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	
RVP				NP		NP				NP		
I have heard				people		and these things too				old elders		

(*nii*) *niitaqama* *qanrularaatenga*

nii	niit	-aqa	-m	a	qanru	-lar	-a	-a	-teg	-ta	
to hear	to hear	CNJ (Constantive)	1P.ERG	SG	to tell	HAB	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	4P.NOM	PL.LF	
LEX	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
LEX	NCP				TCP						
to hear	when I heard them				they always told me						

waten .

*w	-a	-ten
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP		
like this		

Free Yeah, well then, now today hopefully, like this here, (amazing .... uh) now there I have heard people, and those elders too (hear) when I heard them they always told me things like this.

22.2	**Word** Nsk	*Atairutqa-llu*				*anerteqnginganrani*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ata	-irut	-ka	=llu	anerteq	-nginganr	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	father	to no longer be	1P.NOM.SG	COO	to live and breathe	CNJ(while)	3P.ERG	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	ENC	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PNP				NCP			
	Word Gloss	My late father too				while he was alive			

anerteqellermini *qanrulallruanga*

anerteqe	-ller	-mi	-ni	qanru	-la	-llru	-a	-a	-nga
to live and breathe	CNJ (Contemporative)	4P.ERG.SG	LOCC	to tell	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:PER
NCP				RVP					
when he was alive				he used to tell me					

tamakunek .

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			
these things			

Free My late father, too, used to tell me these things while he was alive.

23.1	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*	,	*makut*	*yun'erraat*	*waten*
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	cali =llu		*ma -ku -t	yun'erraa -t	*w -a -ten
	Lex. Gloss	also COO		I2 FTO.NS PL	young man PL	I1 FTL FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT ENC		DEI DEI>DEM FM:NUM	LEX FM:NUM	DEI DEI>DEM FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP	NP	NP
	Word Gloss	and also		these	young people	like this

wani , *tauwa* , *qanruqurluki*

*w	-a	-ni	ta-	*u	=wa	qanru	-qur	-lu	-ki			
I1	FTL	LOCC	R<	I1	Anaphor	to tell	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.PL			
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER			
NP			PAR			AVP						
this here			well then			by speaking to them						

watawa *pilaqunegteki* , *makut*

*wat	-a	=wa	pi	-la	-qu	-meg	-te	-ki		*ma	-ku	-t		
I1	FTL	Anaphor	to do	HAB	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.PL		I2	FTO.NS	PL		
DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM		
PAR			TCP							NP				
right now			if they do that							these				

angaisuqaireta (*ai*) *elicaraaluki* *ca'nek* .

angaisuqair	-i	-ta	ai	elicar	-aa	-lu	-ki	ca'	-nek
parent	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL.LF	huh / what?	to teach	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	Q	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
PNP			PRT	AVP				PAR	
their parents			huh / what?	should teach them				something	

Free And also, these young people like this here, well then, by speaking to them now, if these parents do that, they should teach them something.

23.2

Word Nsk	*Elluarluki*			*egleresqelluki*			
Word Eng							
Morphemes	elluar	-lu	-ki	eglere	-sqe	-llu	-ki
Lex. Gloss	to be perfect	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to move	to want one to	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
Word Cat.	AVP			AVP			
Word Gloss	to be righteous			to go forward			

Free To be rightous going forward.

23.3

Word Nsk	*Tawaten*				*wani*			,
Word Eng								
Morphemes	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	
Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	NP				NP			
Word Gloss	like this				this here			

qanruqulaqaiteki *tawaten*

qanru	-qu	-la	-qa	-i	-te	-ki	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	
to tell	ITR	HAB	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
TCP							NP				
if they speak to them constantly							like this				

assirluteng *wani* ,

assir	-lu	-teg	-t	*w	-a	-ni
to be good; to be nice; to be well	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP				NP		
they will be good				this here		

nepairutengluteng *eglerciqut* .

nepa	-irute	-ng	-lu	-teg	-t	egler	-ciq	-u	-t
noise	to no longer be	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to move	FUT	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
AVP						RVP			
they will quiet down						as they go forward			

Free Like this here, if they speak to them constantly like this they will be good here, they will quiet down going forward in thier lives.

24.1											
	Word Nsk	*Tauguam*				*wani*			, *matum*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	*mat	-u	-m
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	however				this here			these		

mani , *nallunritellerput* (*put*)

*ma	-a	-ni	nallu	-nrite	-ller	-pu	-t	-pu	-t	
I2	FTL	LOCC	to not know	NEG	one that was	1P.NOM	PL	1P.NOM	PL	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
NP			PNP					PRO		
here			what we already know					we		

wangkuta , *merem* *mana* , *tang'aq* *mana* ,

wang	-ku	-ta	mere	-m	*ma	-na	tang'aq	*ma	-na	
I1	1P.ABS	PL.LF	drink	ERGC	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	alcohol	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	
DEI	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM	
PRO			NP		NP		NP	NP		
all of us			the drinks		this one		alcohol	this one		

assirlarngelnguq .

assir	-lar	-ngil	-ng	-uq
to be good; to be nice; to be well	HAB	to lack	to begin to V	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
AVP				
it's beginning to not be good anymore				

Free However, here, these here, as we have discovered (we) all of us, drink—this one—, alcohol—this one—, it's come to be not very good.

24.2 **Word** Nsk *Atursurlaqiita* ,
Word Eng

Morphemes	atur	-sur	-la	-qi	-i	-ta
Lex. Gloss	to use	to want to V	HAB	CNJ (Conditional)	3P.ERG	PL.LF
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NCP					
Word Gloss	if they would want to use					

tamana-llu *taqengkunegteggu*

ta-	*ma	-na	=llu	taqe	-ng	-ku	-meg	-te	-ggu
R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	COO	to quit	to begin to V	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER
NP				TCP					
and this thing				if they stop using it					

tayima , *assiriyiartut* .

ta-	*yim	-a	assiri	-yar	-tu	-t
R<	I0	FTL	to improve	would	INDM.IN	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
PAR			RVP			
hopefully			they would get better			

Free If they are addicted and if they stop using this hopefully, they would get better.

24.3 **Word** Nsk *Tauguam* *wani* ,
Word Eng

Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	PAR				NP		
Word Gloss	however				this here		

nepairulartut , *tawaten* , *mana*

nepa	-iru	-lar	-tu	-t	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	*ma	-na
noise	to no longer be	HAB	INDM.IN	PL	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM
RVP					NP				NP	
they do get quiet					like this				this one	

mani , *tamana* *mernaqellria* (*at* ,

*ma	-a	-ni	ta-	*ma	-na	mer	-naqe	-llria	atu
I2	FTL	LOCC	R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	drink	to be able to be	the one who is V-ing	useful thing
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX
NP			NP			NP			LEX
here			those			that is consumable			useful thing

atu) *atungritaqamegteggu*

atu	-ngrit	-aqa	-meg	-te	-ggu	
useful thing	NEG	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.SG	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	
LEX						
***						

atu
useful thing
LEX
TCP
when they do not use it

assirluteng *yuulalriit* .

assir	-lu	-teg	-t	yuu	-la	-lri	-t
to be good; to be nice; to be well	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	person	HAB	PARTM.IN	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
AVP				RVP			
they will be good				in this living			

Free However here, they do quiet down like this one here. That consumable (thing..), when they don't use it they will be among those who live well.

24.4 **Word** Nsk *Tauguam* *wanig* ,

Word Eng

Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=g
Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	CAT
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
Word Cat.	PAR				NP			
Word Gloss	only				now			

wangkuta *mani* *eglernginanemteni* ,

wang	-ku	-ta	*ma	-a	-ni	egler	-nginane	-m	-te	-ni
I1	FTO.NS	PL.LF	I2	FTL	LOCC	to move	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
PRO			NP			NCP				
all of us			here			as we go forward in our lives				

waten *wani* , *wii-llu* *waniwa* , (*um*)

*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	wii	=llu	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	um
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	I	COO	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	um
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRO	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	PRT
NP			NP			NP		NP				PRT
like this			this here			And me / me too		now				um

tamakut *qanrulallret* (

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	qanru	-la	-llre	-t
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to tell	HAB	one that was	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM
NP				NP			
those ones				what was spoken by elders			

teqaqlaranga) *neqaqlarangka* *ak'allaraat*

neqaq	-lar	-a	-nga	neqaq	-lar	-a	-ngka	ak'allaraa	-t
to remember	HAB	INDM.TR	1P.ABS.SG	to remember	HAB	INDM.TR	1P.NOM.SG	old person	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	LEX	FM:NUM
RVP				RVP				NP	
*I would remember				I always remember them				past elders	

qanellret .

qane	-llre	-t
to speak	one that was	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM
NP		
words of wisdom		

Free Only now, all of us here as we go forward in our lives like this here, and me too now, (um) those things spoken by our elders (I remember..) I always remember the elders wods of wisdom.

25	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*makut*			*mani*			, *mani*		
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	*ma	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni	*ma	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	I2	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC	I2	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP			NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	Moreover		these			here			here		

eglertellerput , *waten* *wani* ,

eglerte	-ller	-pu	-t	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni
to move	one that was	1P.NOM	PL	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PNP				NP			NP		
our walks of life				like this			this here		

yun'erraput , *makut* *mani* *ikasurluki*

yun'erra	-pu	-t	*ma	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni	ikasur	-lu	-ki
young man	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC	to help; to bless	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PNP			NP			NP			AVP		
our youngster people			these			here			help them		

, *ikasuarurluta* *pilaqumta*

ikasu	-ar	-ur	-lu	ta	pi	-la	-qu	-m	-ta
to help; to bless	ITR	CONT	APPM	1P.ABS	to do	HAB	CNJ (Conditional)	1P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					NCP				
always help them					if we do that				

assirturciquq , *assirciquq* .

assir	-tur	-ciq	-uq	assir	-ciq	-uq
to be good; to be nice; to be well	to V for some duration	FUT	INDM.IN	to be good; to be nice; to be well	FUT	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
RVP				RVP		
it would be better				it will be better		

Free Moreover, these here - our walks of life here, like this here young ones of ours —these here—we help them, always help them, if we do that it would be better, it will be better.

26.1

Word Nsk	*Tawaten*				*wani*		,
Word Eng							
Morphemes	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP				NP		
Word Gloss	like this				this here		

waniwa , *tauguam* *wani* ,

*w	-a	-ni	=wa	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	
I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
NP				PAR				NP			
now				however				here			

tamana *waniwa* , *eglerellerqarput*

ta-	*ma	-na	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	eglere	-llerqar	-pu	-t	
R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	to move	FUT	1P.NOM	PL	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
NP			NP				PNP				
this			now				our walk of life				

mana , (*el*)) *waten-wa* (*piss*)

*ma	-na	el	*w	-a	-ten	=wa	pissur	
I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	social.distal	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	Anaphor	to hunt	
DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	
NP		LEX	NP				LEX	
this one		social.distal	like this				to hunt	

pissuraqamta-llu *ayagluta* .

pissur	-aqa	-m	-ta	=llu	ayag	-lu	ta
to hunt	CNJ (Constantive)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	COO	to go away	APPM	1P.ABS
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NCP					AVP		
and whenever we hunt					we travel		

Free Like this here, now, however here this now, our walk of life—this one— (you/he...) like I said, (hunt..) and whenever we go hunting and travel.

26.2

Word Nsk	*Pissurturlalriakut*					
Word Eng						
Morphemes	pissur	-tur	-la	-lria	-ku	-t
Lex. Gloss	to hunt	to V for some duration	HAB	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	RVP					
Word Gloss	we always hunt					

tamana-llu *pillerka* *umegngan*

ta-	*ma	-na	=llu	pi	-llerka	umeg	-nga	-a	-n
R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	COO	to do	FUT	close	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				NP		NCP			
those things				supposed to happen		when it closes			

aruliarluta .

aruliar	-lu	-ta
stop	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
AVP		
we stop		

Free We always hunted—those things— and when in the future it stops, we will stop.

26.3 **Word** Nsk *Tauguam* , *kiagaqan* *ataam* ,
Word Eng

Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	kiag	-aq	-a	-n	ataam
Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	summer	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	again
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT
Word Cat.	PAR				NCP				PAR
Word Gloss	however				when summer arrives				again

ataam *kiagmi* *neqsurluta* .

ataam	kiag	-mi	neqsur	-lu	-ta
again	summer	to V also	fishing	APPM	PL.LF
PRT	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
PAR	NP		AVP		
again	in the summer		we go fishing		

Free However, when summer arrives again, in the summer we go fishing.

26.4 **Word** Nsk (*Neq*) *Neqsullemteggun*
Word Eng

Morphemes	neq	neqsu	-lle	-m	-te	-ggun
Lex. Gloss	fish	fishing	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	PL	PRLC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	LEX	NCP				
Word Gloss	fish	by our fishing				

tauguam *akingaqluta* .

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	aking	-aq	-lu	ta
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	to earn money	HAB	APPM	1P.ABS
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PAR				AVP			
only				we earn our income			

Free We only earn money by our fishing.

27 **Word** Nsk *Tauguam* *waniwa* ,

Word Eng									
Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	
Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	
Word Cat.	PAR				NP				
Word Gloss	only				now				

tuaten (*eg* , *eg*)

t-	*u	-a	-ten	egler	egler
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to be in motion	to be in motion
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX
NP				LEX	LEX
like that				to be in motion	to be in motion

eglerellrullriakut , (*eg*) *eglerellrullriakut*

eglere	-llru	-llria	-ku	-t	egler	eglere	-llru	-llria	-ku	-t
to move	PST	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	to be in motion	to move	PST	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					LEX	RVP				
we went on forward					to be in motion	we went on forward				

tamamta , *makut-llu* *mani* *yun'erraat*

tama	-m	-ta	*ma	-ku	-t	=llu	*ma	-a	-ni	yun'erraa	-t
all	1P.ERG	PL.LF	I2	FTO.NS	PL	COO	I2	FTL	LOCC	young man	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM
NP			NP				NP			NP	
all of us			those things too				here			young people	

makut *mani* , *nallunritesluki*

*ma	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni	nallu	-nrite	-s	-lu	-ki
I2	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC	to not know	NEG	to want one to	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			NP			AVP				
these			here			we let them know				

tamatum *tungiinun* , *pilaquneng* ,

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	tungii	-nun	pi	-la	-qu	-meg	-t
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	toward	ALLC	to do	HAB	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				NP		NCP				
like this				towards it		if they do that				

waten *ak'allaat* *qanersarait* ,

*w	-a	-ten	ak'allaa	-t	qaner	-sara	-i	-t
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	old person	PL	to speak	way of	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NP		PNP			
like this			elders		by their word			

pilaquneng , *tayima*

pi	-la	-qu	-meg	-t	ta-	*yim	-a
to do	HAB	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL	R<	I0	FTL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
NCP					PAR		
if they do that					hopefully		

assinrularsartuq .

assinru	-lar	-sar	-tuq
better	HAB	would	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
RVP			
it would be much better			

Free Only now, like that (fo.. fo..) were move forward, (fo..) all of us move forward and those young people here—these here— we let them know like this, moving forward, that if they do as their elders say, if they do that, hopefully it would be much better.

28.1	**Word** Nsk	*Assirlartuq*			*tawaten*			.
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	assir	-lar	-tuq	ta-	*w	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	to be good; to be nice; to be well	HAB	INDM.IN	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	RVP			NP			
	Word Gloss	it is good			like this			

Free It is good like this.

28.2	**Word** Nsk	*Waten*			*wani*			
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP			NP			
	Word Gloss	like this			here			

ikasutekellriatun *ayuqluku* ,

ikasu	-teke	-llria	-tun	ayuq	-lu	-ku
to help; to bless	to do it on account of	the one who is V-ing	AEQC	to resemble	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				AVP		
like helping out				the same way		

tauguam *waniwa* , *wangkuta* , *ernerpak*

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	wang	-ku	ta	ernerpak
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	I1	FTO.NS	1P.ABS	today
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:PER	LEX
PAR				NP				PRO			NP
however				now				all of us			today

waniwa , *unawani* , (*em*)

*w	-a	-ni	=wa	*u	-na	*w	-a	-ni	em
I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	I1	FTL	LOCC	huh / what?
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
NP				NP					PRT
now				this one here					huh / what?

umwani (*qanruci* , *qan*)

*u	-u	-m	*w	-a	-ni	qanru	-ci	qan
I1	FTO.SG	ERGC	I1	FTL	LOCC	to tell	FUT	to speak
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX
NP						LEX		LEX
this one here						to tell		to speak

qanersuan , *niicuanga*

qaner	-su	-*	-a	-n	niicu	-a	-a	-nga
to speak	to want to V	CNJ(to be)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	to hear well; to listen and heed	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:PER
NCP					RVP			
wants to speak					want to hear me			

waniwa (*qanru*) *qanruquraqaqa*

*w	-a	-ni	=wa	qanru	qanru	-qur	-aq	-a	-qa
I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	to tell	to tell	ITR	HAB	INDM.TR	1P.NOM.SG
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
NP				VP	RVP				
now				to tell	I am speaking				

tamakunek , *tuaten*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	t-	*u	-a	-ten
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP				NP			
these things				like this			

eglerellemteni .

eglere	-lle	-m	-te	-ni
to move	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NCP				
as we went forward				

Free Like helping out around here in the same way, however now, all of us today now, this one here (em..) this one here (tell.. speak..) he wants to speak, he wants to hear me now (spea..) speaking these things, like how we went forward in our lives.

29.1	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*wanigga*				*angasuqaarema*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	*w	-a	-ni	=gga	angasuqaare	-m	-a
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	I1	FTL	LOCC	CAT	parent	1P.ERG	SG.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP				PNP		
	Word Gloss	and also		now				my parents		

anertekellemeggni , *tamaani*

anerteke	-lle	-megg	-ni	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
to live and breathe	CNJ (Contemporative)	4P.ERG	LOCC	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP				NP			
when they both were alive				back then			

qanruqulalluangnga , *waten*

qanru	-qu	-la	-llu	-a	-a	-ngnga	*w	-a	-ten
to tell	ITR	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	1P.ABS.SG	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP							NP		
they used to always tell me							like this		

wani , *qayuga* *eglerellerkamnek* .

*w	-a	-ni	qayuga	eglere	-llerka	-m	-nek
I1	FTL	LOCC	how	to move	FUT	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NP			NP	PNP			
here			how	we should go on our walks of life			

Free And also, now like so, when my parents were alive, back then they always used to tell me, this here is how we should go on our walks of life.

29.2	**Word** Nsk	*Tuaten*				*tayima*		
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	-ten	ta-	*yim	-a
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	R<	I0	FTL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
	Word Cat.	NP				PAR		
	Word Gloss	like this				hopefully		

piurulaquneng

pi	-ur	-u	-la	-qu	-neg	-t
to do	CONT	is	HAB	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP						

when they continue to do that

assirturluteng , (*ut*)

assir	-tur	-lu	-teg	-t	utuma
to be good; to be nice; to be well	to V for some duration	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to be better
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX
AVP					LEX
by doing good					to be better

utmauruluteng

utuma	-ur	-u	-lu	-teg	-t
to be better	CONT	to be N	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					

by constantly being better

eglerqurularsartut .

egler	-qur	-u	-lar	-sar	-tu	-t
to move	ITR	is	HAB	would	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP						

they would go forward better

Free Like this, hopefully when we continue to do good, (bet..) by constantly becoming better we would go forward better.

29.3	**Word** Nsk	*Tauguam*				*waniwa*				, *ernerpak* , (
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	ernerpak
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	today
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP				NP
	Word Gloss	however				now				today

nunanyug) *nunaniryugluta* *anglaniluta-llu* *waten*

nunaniryug	nunaniryug	-lu	ta	anglani	-lu	ta	=llu	*w	-a	-ten
happy	happy	APPM	1P.ABS	to have fun	APPM	1P.ABS	COO	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
LEX	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
LEX	AVP			AVP				NP		
happy	we are happy			and we are joyful				like this		

erenrani *uitalalriakut* .

erenra	-ni	uita	-la	-lria	-ku	-t
day	LOCC	to stay	HAB	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		RVP				
during the day		that's how we stay				

Free However now, today, (happy..) we are happy and joyful like this during the day - that's how we live.

29.4

Word Nsk	*Ca'mek-llu*			*waten*			*nepelillrianek*			,
Word Eng										
Morphemes	ca'	-mek	=llu	*w	-a	-ten	nepeli	-llria	-nek	
Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	COO	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to be noisy	the one who is V-ing	ABLC/INTC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	NP			NP			NP			
Word Gloss	and what else			like this			noise of things			

niitevkenata *mani* *enem* *iluani* .

niite	-vke	-na	-ta	*ma	-a	-ni	ene	-m	ilua	-ni
to hear	NEG	APPM.NEG	PL.LF	I2	FTL	LOCC	house	ERGC	interior	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
AVP				NP			NP		NP	
we don't hear				here			house		within	

Free And what else, like all this noise, we don't here it here inside the house.

29.5

Word Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*assirluta*			,	*waten*			
Word Eng										
Morphemes	cali	=llu	assir	-lu	ta		*w	-a	-ten	
Lex. Gloss	also	COO	to be good; to be nice; to be well	APPM	1P.ABS		I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	PAR		AVP				NP			
Word Gloss	and again		we are good				like this			

wani , *nepaunata* *uitaurallerput*

*w	-a	-ni	nepa	-u	-na	-ta	uita	-ura	-ller	-pu	-t
I1	FTL	LOCC	noise	to be N	APPM.NEG	PL.LF	to live (at)	CONT	one that was	1P.NOM	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			AVP				NP				
this here			we are quiet				the way we stay				

assirluni .

assir	-lu	-ni
to be good; to be nice; to be well	APPM	LOCC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:GCF
AVP		
it is good		

Free And again, we are good, like this here, we aren't noisy. It is good that we live that way.

30.1

Word Nsk	*Tua*			*tuani*			
Word Eng							
Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	t-	*u	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	PAR			NP			
Word Gloss	and then			there			

tuaten , (*asir*)

t-	*u	-a	-ten	assir
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to be good; to be nice; to be well
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX
NP				LEX
like this				to be good; to be nice; to be well

uitallrumaluki *makut* *mani*

uita	-llru	-ma	-lu	-ki	*ma	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni
to live (at)	PST	PRF	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP					NP			NP		
to have them stay					these			here		

nutararat *yuut* .

nutarara	-t	yuu	-t
new thing	PL	person	PL
LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM
NP		NP	
new		people	

Free And then like this there, (good..) to have them live so, these here new people.

30.2	**Word** Nsk	*Nutararat*		*yuut*		, *makut*		
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	nutarara	-t	yuu	-t	*ma	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	new thing	PL	person	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP		NP		NP		
	Word Gloss	new		people		these		

uitauraasqeluki *tuaten* .

uita	-ura	-a	-sqe	-lu	-ki	t-	*u	-a	-ten
to stay	CONT	ITR	to want one to	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP						NP			
I would like them to live thus						like that			

Free The new people—these ones— I would like them to live like that.

30.3	**Word** Nsk	*Elluarluki*			, (*at*)
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	elluar	-lu	-ki	atu
	Lex. Gloss	to be perfect	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	useful thing
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX
	Word Cat.	AVP			LEX
	Word Gloss	perfectly			useful thing

eglerellerkaiteggun *matumun* ,

eglere	-llerka	-i	-te	-ggun	*mat	-u	-mun
to move	FUT	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL	PRLC	I2	FTO.SG	ALLC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP					NP		
as they go forward					of these things		

anerteqinganemteni , *elluarluta*

anerteq	-ingane	-m	-te	-ni	elluar	-lu	-ta
to live and breathe	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC	to be perfect	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
NCP					AVP		
while we are still alive					we should be perfect		

eglerertarqaursaqluta .

eglere	-tar	-qa	-ur	-saq	-lu	-ta
to move	for there to be	TEL	CONT	would	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
AVP						
we would always go forward						

Free Perfectly (..) going forward in that way, as we live and breathe, thus becoming perfected by moving ever onward.

30.4	**Word** Nsk	*Tauguam*				*waniwa*				, *mana*	
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	*ma	-na
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP				NP	
	Word Gloss	however				now				this one	

mani *alerquutet* *ak'allaat* *yuut*

*ma	-a	-ni	alerquute	-t	ak'allaa	-t	yuu	-t
I2	FTL	LOCC	instruction	PL	old person	PL	person	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM
NP			NP		NP		NP	
here			instruction of life		elders		people	

maliqelluku .

mali	-qe	-llu	-ku
to take or bring along	ITR	APPM	1P.ABS
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			
we need to follow			

Free However now, this here instructions of our elders, people need to follow them.

30.5	**Word** Nsk	*Tauwa*			,	*tamani*				,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*u	=wa		ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	Anaphor		R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	ENC		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP				
	Word Gloss	well then				there				

tamana *malirqinaqluku*

ta-	*ma	-na	mali	-rq	-inaq	-lu	-ku
R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to take or bring along	ITR	RSLT	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			AVP				
those			try to follow them				

eglerqurunaqluta , *taug* , (

egler	-qur	-u	-naq	-lu	-ta	ta-	*ug
to move	ITR	CONT	CAUS	APPM	PL.LF	R<	AR1E
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI
AVP						PAR	
we need to as we go forward						but then	

quya) *quyalua* *waniwa* (

quya	quya	-lu	-a	*w	-a	-ni	=wa
to be thankful	to be thankful	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor
LEX	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
LEX	AVP			NP			
to be thankful; to be grateful; to be glad; to be appreciative	I am thankful			now			

qanau , *qanrus* , *qanruteq* , *qanrute*) *qanqautaqa*

qanau	qanrus	qanrute	-q	qanrute	qan	-qa	-ut	-a	-qa
***	***	to tell	to have as one's N	to tell	to speak	TEL	with another	INDM.TR	1P.NOM.SG
***	***	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
LEX	LEX	LEX		LEX	RVP				
speak	speak	speak		speak	I have spoken				

amllenrilengraan , *una* *wani* *qanersaraq* .

amlle	-nrile	-ngra	-a	-n	*u	-na	*w	-a	-ni	qanersaraq
to be many	NEG	CNJ (even if)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	I1	FTL	LOCC	language
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX
NCP					NP		NP			NP
even if it's not many					this one		this here			the words of language

Free Well then, these, this one tries to follow them, we need to move forward, but then, (thank..) I am grateful now (speak.....) I have spoken them. Even though they are not many, this here spoken words.

31.1

Word Nsk	*Tauguam*				,	*tayima*			
Word Eng									
Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am		ta-	*yim	-a	
Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH		R<	I0	FTL	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	
Word Cat.	PAR					PAR			
Word Gloss	however					hopefully			

ilaita *yuut* , *un'gani-llu*

ila	-i	-ta	yuu	-t	*un'g	-a	-ni	=llu	
part of it	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL.LF	person	PL	AR2E	FTL	LOCC	COO	
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	
NP			NP		NP				
some of			people		down river too				

tayima , *waten* *wani* ,

ta-	*yim	-a	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	
R<	I0	FTL	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
PAR			NP			NP			
hopefully			like this			this here			

umsugarteqengkuneng (*ikai* , *ikaisusi* ,

umsugarteqe	-ng	-ku	-neg	-t	ikaisu	ikaisu	-si
to think	to begin to V	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL	to help; to bless	to help; to bless	***
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX	***
NCP					LEX	LEX	
if they start thinking					to help; to bless	***	

ikaisuita) *tamana* *qanellqa* .

ikaisu	-i	-ta	ta-	*ma	-na	qane	-llq	-a
helper	3P.ACC.PL	PL.LF	R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to speak	one that was	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
PNP			NP			NP		
to help; to bless			those			of what I've spoken		

Free However, hopefully, some of the people down-river too hopefully, like this here, perhaps they will start thinking (helping...) of those things I have spoken.

31.2

Word Nsk	*Waten*			,	*umsugarteqengciqut*				
Word Eng									
Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten		umsugarteqe	-ng	-ciq	-u	-t
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC		to think	to begin to V	FUT	INDM.IN	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP				RVP				
Word Gloss	like this				they will start thinking about				

tamatumek *qanellemnek* .

ta-	*mat	-u	-mek	qane	-lle	-m	-nek
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ABLC/INTC.SG	to speak	one that was	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NP				NP			
those things				of what I said			

Free Like this, they will start thinking about those things that I have said.

31.3

Word Nsk	*Tua-ll*					,	*assirluni*			
Word Eng										
Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=ll		assir		-lu	-ni	
Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO		to be good; to be nice; to be well		APPM	LOCC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		LEX		FM:APP	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	PAR					AVP				
Word Gloss	and again					it is good				

tauguam *eglererput* , *assirluku*

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	eglerer	-pu	-t	assir		-lu	-ku
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	to move	1P.NOM	PL	to be good; to be nice; to be well		APPM	3P.ACC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX		FM:APP	FM:PER
PAR				PNP			AVP			
only				our walk of life			by doing good			

egleressqumaluta *yuulerput* *mana* ,

eglere	-ssq	-uma	-lu	-ta	yuu	-ler	-pu	-t	*ma	-na	
to move	to want one to	PRF	APPM	PL.LF	person	one that was	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	
AVP					PNP				NP		
wants us to go forward that way					our life				this one		

arenqiallugtevkenaku .

arenqiallugte	-vke	-na	-ku
troubled	NEG	APPM.NEG	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			
without trouble			

Free And again, it is good to only live our lives by doing good, I wish us to go onward in our life here without trouble.

32.1

Word Nsk	*Cali-ll*		*wani*			,	*makut*			*mani*		,
Word Eng												
Morphemes	cali	=ll	*w	-a	-ni		*ma	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	also	COO	I1	FTL	LOCC		I2	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	PAR		NP				NP			NP		
Word Gloss	again		here				these			here		

waten *wani* , *yungcaristet* *makut*

*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	yungcariste	-t	*ma	-ku	-t	
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	doctor	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	
NP			NP			NP		NP			
like this			this here			the doctors		these			

mani , *waten* *alarqualaqait* (

*ma	-a	-ni	*w	-a	-ten	alarqu	-a	-la	-qa	-i	-t
I2	FTL	LOCC	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	instruct	ITR	HAB	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NP			RVP					
here			like this			they instruct					

cep) *yuut* , *qayuga* *eglerellerkamtenek*

***	yuu	-t	qayuga	eglere	-llerka	-m	-te	-nek
***	person	PL	how	to move	FUT	1P.ERG	PL	ABLC/INTC
***	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
***	NP		PAR	NCP				
***	people		how	for us to go forward				

arenqiallugtaqamta .

arenqiallugt	-aqa	-m	-ta
troubled	CNJ (Constantive)	1P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP			
when we are in trouble			

Free And here again, these here, like this here doctors—these here— they tell the people how we must be going forward whenever we are troubled.

32.2									
	Word Nsk	*Tauguam*				*waniwa*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=wa
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP			
	Word Gloss	however				now			

maligtaquluki *eglerqurarqamta*

maligtaqu	-lu	-ki	egler	-qur	-arqa	-m	-ta
to obey	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to move	ITR	CNJ (Constantive)	1P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			NCP				
follow them			as we go forward				

assirlartuq .

assir	-lar	-tuq
to be good; to be nice; to be well	HAB	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
RVP		
it is good		

Free However, now, following them as we go forward is good.

32.3	**Word** Nsk	*Waten*			, *yungcaristet*		*makut*			, (*qaneq*)
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	yungcariste	-t	*ma	-ku	-t	qaneq
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	doctor	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to speak
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX
	Word Cat.	NP			NP		NP			NP
	Word Gloss	like this			the doctors		these			mouth

qanersarait , *inerqutait* (*malig*)

qaner	-sara	-i	-t	inerquta	-i	-t	malig
to speak	way of	3P.ACC.PL	PL	instruction	3P.ACC.PL	PL	to take or bring along
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX
PNP				PNP			LEX
by their word				their instructions			follow

maligtaquluki *eglertaqamta*

maligtaqu	-lu	-ki	eglert	-aqa	-m	-ta
to obey	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to move	CNJ (Constantive)	1P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			NCP			
we need to follow them			as we go forward			

assirlartuq .

assir	-lar	-tuq
to be good; to be nice; to be well	HAB	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
RVP		
it is always good		

Free Like this, the doctors—these ones—, (speak..) their words, their instructions, (foll...) it is good to follow them as we go onwards.

32.4	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-wa*		*tauguam*				, *waniwa*			,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	cali	=wa	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=wa
	Lex. Gloss	also	Anaphor	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
	Word Cat.	PAR		PAR				NP			
	Word Gloss	And again		however				now			

tuaten				*yuut*		*eglertengniartut*				
t-	*u	-a	-ten	yuu	-t	eglerte	-ng	-niar	-tu	-t
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	person	PL	to move	to begin to V	FUT	INDM.IN	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
NP				NP		RVP				
like that				people		so they can go forward				

Free And again, however, now, people will continue to move forward like that.

32.5	**Word** Nsk	*Assirluteng*				*egleresqelluki*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	assir	-lu	-teg	-t	eglere	-sqe	-llu	-ki
	Lex. Gloss	to be good; to be nice; to be well	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to move	to want one to	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	AVP				AVP			
	Word Gloss	by doing good				them to go forward			

Free I wish them to go forward by doing good.

32.6	**Word** Nsk	*Qinunateng-llu*					,	*nepaunateng-llu*					
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	qinu	-na	-teg	-t	=llu		nepa	-u	-na	-teg	-t	=llu
	Lex. Gloss	upset	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	COO		noise	to be N	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	COO
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
	Word Cat.	AVP						AVP					
	Word Gloss	they will behave						and be quiet					

Free And by not being upsetting, and by making no noise.

32.7	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		,	*ilateng*			*naklekluki*			,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	cali	=llu		ila	-teg	-t	naklek	-lu	-ki	
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO		relative	4P.NOM	PL	to feel compassion	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	PAR			PNP			AVP			
	Word Gloss	and again			their family			be compassionate to them			

kelekluki-llu .

kelek	-lu	-ki	=llu
to invite to one's house	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	COO
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC
AVP			
take in good care			

Free And again, feel compassion for their relatives and take care of them.

33.1	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		,	*makut*			*yun'erraat*		,	*waten*		
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	cali	=llu		*ma	-ku	-t	yun'erraa	-t		*w	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO		I2	FTO.NS	PL	young man	PL		I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR			NP			NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	and again			these			young people			like this		

eluarluki *qanruquruluki*

eluar	-lu	-ki	qanru	-qur	-u	-lu	-ki	
to be perfect	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to tell	ITR	is	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
AVP			AVP					
perfectly			speak to them					

pilaqunegteki *tuaten* ,

pi	-la	-qu	-meg	-te	-ki	t-	*u	-a	-ten	
to say	HAB	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
TCP						NP				
if they say them						like that				

Assirluteng *eglerciqut* .

assir	-lu	-teg	-t	egler	-ciq	-u	-t
to be good; to be nice; to be well	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to move	FUT	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
AVP				RVP			
they will do better				as they go forward			

Free And again, these young people, by speaking to them properly like this, if they say them like that, they will be better as they go onwards.

33.2										
Word Nsk	*Nallunriluku*				*mana*		,	*ak'allaam*		
Word Eng										
Morphemes	nallu	-nri	-lu	-ku	*ma	-na		ak'allaa	-m	
Lex. Gloss	to not know	stop	APPM	1P.ABS	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC		old person	ERGC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM		LEX	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	AVP				NP			NP		
Word Gloss	I've learned these				this one			elders		

ayuqutcia .

ayuq	-utci	-a
to resemble	CNJ (as, soon as)	3P.ERG
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER
NCP		
of how they are		

Free I have learned this as the elders did.

33.3								
Word Nsk	*Ak'allaat*		*qanersarait*					
Word Eng								
Morphemes	ak'allaa	-t	qaner	-sara	-i	-t		
Lex. Gloss	old person	PL	to speak	way of	3P.ACC.PL	PL		
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM		
Word Cat.	NP		PNP					
Word Gloss	elders		words of language					

nallunrillriatun (*ayuqeciqni*) *ayuqetciquq* ,

nallu	-nri	-llria	-tun	ayuqe	-ciq	-ni	ayuqet	-ciq	-uq
to not know	NEG	the one who is V-ing	AEQC	to resemble	FUT	LOCC	to resemble	FUT	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
NP				NP			RVP		
like those which discover				will resemble			it will be like that		

tuaten *piurulaquneng* .

t-	*u	-a	-ten	pi	-ur	-u	-la	-qu	-meg	-t
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to do	CONT	is	HAB	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				NCP						
like that				when they continue to do that						

Free The elders' spoken words, as they will discover, (will come to resemble) will come to be like that when they continue to do this.

33.4	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-i*				,	*amlermek*		,	(
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=i		amler	-mek		
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM		to be many	ABLC/INTC.SG		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		LEX	FM:GCF		
	Word Cat.	PAR					NP			
	Word Gloss	well then					very plenty			

qanrucirqaq)

qanru	-cir	-qaq
to tell	occurance of	-ITR/-HAB
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX
LEX		
to speak		

qanrucirangqelnguangqenritua .

qanruc	-ira	-ngqe	-lngu	-ang	-qe	-nrit	-u	-a
to tell	abruptly cease	to have N	tired of it	to begin to V	ITR	NEG	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
RVP								

I do not have that much to say

Free Well then, that's a lot (when speak..) I do not have that much more to say.

33.5	**Word** Nsk	*Tuaguam*					*waniwa*				
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am		*w	-a	-ni	=wa	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH		I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	
	Word Cat.	PAR					NP				
	Word Gloss	however					now				

waten *wani* , *imna* *Phillip* *Foxie*

*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	*im	-na	Phillip	***	
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	I0	FTO.SG.ABSC	***	***	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	***	***	
NP			NP			NP		***	***	
like this			this here			that person		***	***	

nallunritan ??

nallu	-nrit	-*	-a	-n
to not know	NEG	CNJ(to be)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				

do you know him

Free However, now, like this here, that Phillip Foxie, do you know him?

34	**Word** Nsk	[*Ii-i*	, *yeah*]
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	Ii-i	yeah
	Lex. Gloss	Yes	yeah
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	LEX
	Word Cat.	PAR	PAR
	Word Gloss	Yes	Yeah

Free Yes, yeah.

35.1	**Word** Nsk	*Tuam*				*tuani*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=am	t-	*u	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP			
	Word Gloss	that one				there			

qanruqulallruanga .

qanru	-qu	-la	-llru	-a	-a	-nga
to tell	ITR	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:PER
RVP						

he used to tell me

Free That one there used to speak to me.

35.2	**Word** Nsk	*Tauguam*				,	*tayima*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am		ta-	*yim	-a
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH		R<	I0	FTL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
	Word Cat.	PAR					PAR		
	Word Gloss	however					elsewhere		

tuqungan , *tuqungan*

tuqu	-nga	-a	-n		tuqu	-nga	-a	-n
die	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	SG.LF		die	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP					NCP			
when he died					when he died			

tayima , *tuqungami* , *tuqungan*

ta-	*yim	-a		tuqu	-*	-nga	-mi		tuqu	-nga	-a	-n
R<	I0	FTL		die	CNJ(to be)	3P.ERG	LOCC.SG		die	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM		LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PAR				NCP					NCP			
elsewhere				he has died					when he died			

mani *Qerrulligmi* , *tamakunek* *ak'allaat*

*ma	-a	-ni		Qerrullig	-mi		ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek		ak'allaa	-t
I2	FTL	LOCC		Kotlik	LOCC.SG		R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC		old person	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:NUM
NP				NP			NP					NP	
here				at Kotlik			these things					elders	

qanersariatnek *niicuirutellrianga* .

qaner	-sara	-a	-t	-nek		niicu	-irute	-llria	-nga
to speak	way of	3P.ERG	PL	ABLC/INTC		to hear well; to listen and heed	to no longer be	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
PNP						RVP			
their word of language						which I no longer hear			

Free However, back when he died, when he died elsewhere, at the place he died, when he died - here at Kotlik these spoken words of the elders I would no longer hear.

35.3	**Word** Nsk	*Tauguam*				*neqqqellarangka*				
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	neqq	-qe	-llar	-a	-ngka
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	to remember	ITR	HAB	INDM.TR	1P.NOM.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	PAR				RVP				
	Word Gloss	however				I do always think of them				

tamakut *qanersarai* .

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	qaner	-sara	-i
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to speak	way of	3P.ACC.PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
NP				PNP		
those ones				his words of language		

Free However, I always think of those words he spoke.

35.4	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-wa*	, (	*amlerpa*	)	*amlerpamam-wa*				
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	cali	=wa	amler	-pa	amler	-pa	-ma	-m	=wa
	Lex. Gloss	also	Anaphor	to be many	***	to be many	big	PRF	ERGC	Anaphor
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	LEX	***	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	ENC
	Word Cat.	PAR		LEX		NP				
	Word Gloss	And again		plenty		in regards to everything				

waniwa , *amlertuq* , *cangatenrituq-qa* ?,

*w	-a	-ni	=wa	amler	-tuq	cangate	-nrit	-uq	=qa
I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	to be many	INDM.IN	to have something amiss	NEG	INDM.IN	Q
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:REA	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	ENC
NP				RVP		RVP			
now				it is plenty		is it fine - ok?			

Free But again. (plenty), this is enough now. It is enough. There is nothing amiss?

35.5	**Word** Nsk	*waniwa*				*una*		*wani*			,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	*u	-na	*w	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP				NP		NP			
	Word Gloss	Now				this one		here			

qanerturallra ?

qaner	-tur	-a	-llru	-u	-a
to speak	to V for some duration	ITR	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
RVP					
I have spoken					

Free Now this here I have spoken?

35.6

Word Nsk	*Assirtuq-qa*			?
Word Eng				
Morphemes	assir	-tuq	=qa	
Lex. Gloss	to be good; to be nice; to be well	INDM.IN	Q	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:REA	ENC	
Word Cat.	RVP			
Word Gloss	is it good			

Free Is it good?

35.7

Word Nsk	*Ok* ,	*tua-i-wa*				,	
Word Eng							
Morphemes	ok	t-	*u	-a	=i	=wa	
Lex. Gloss	ok	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	Anaphor	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	ENC	
Word Cat.	PAR	PAR					
Word Gloss	ok	ok then					

tuaten *piqaquma* (*cangait*

t-	*u	-a	-ten	pi	-qa	-qu	-m	-a		cangait
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to do	TEL	CNJ (Conditional)	1P.ERG	SG.LF		to have something amiss
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX
NP				NCP						LEX
like that				I think that's all						to have something amiss

) *cangailngatuq* *ah* ?

cangail	-nga	-tuq	ah	
to have something amiss	to seem to be	INDM.IN	ah	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	PRT	
RVP			PAR	
will that be ok			right	

Free Ok. Ok then. I think that that is all. (amiss..) There is nothing amiss, right?

36 **Word Nsk** [*Yeah*]
Word Eng
Morphemes ***
Lex. Gloss ***
Lex. Gram. Info. ***
Word Cat. ***
Word Gloss ***

Free Yeah

37 **Word Nsk** *Ii-i*
Word Eng
Morphemes ii-i
Lex. Gloss Yes
Lex. Gram. Info. PAR
Word Cat. PAR
Word Gloss yes

Free Yes

38 **Word Nsk** [*Amlerikuneng*
Word Eng

Morphemes	amler	-ngi	-ku	-neg	-t
Lex. Gloss	to be many	CAUS	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NCP				
Word Gloss	when it gets plenty				

cangalngaitelliki .]

cangal	-ngaite	-ll	-i	-ki
to have something amiss	to not V in the future	OPTM	3P.ERG	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER	FM:PER
OVP				
might be fine with him				

Free Perhaps it is enough, he will not find it amiss.

39	**Word** Nsk	*Ii-i*
	Word Eng	
	Morphemes	ii-i
	Lex. Gloss	Yes
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR
	Word Cat.	PAR
	Word Gloss	yes

Free Yes.

40	**Word** Nsk	<		…>
	Word Eng	Are	we	
	Morphemes	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	

Free

41	**Word** Nsk	[		,		,	.]
	Word Eng	he's	done	he's	done	he's	done
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

42	**Word** Nsk	< Quyana >
	Word Eng	
	Morphemes	
	Lex. Gloss	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	
	Word Cat.	
	Word Gloss	

Free

43	**Word** Nsk	{		,		.}
	Word Eng	he	said	best	he	can
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***

Free

44	**Word** Nsk	[		,		]
	Word Eng	Yeah		best	he	can
	Morphemes	yeah		***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	yeah		***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		***	***	***
	Word Cat.	LEX		***	***	***
	Word Gloss	Yeah		***	***	***

Free

45	**Word** Nsk	<	Quyana	>
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes			
	Lex. Gloss			
	Lex. Gram. Info.			
	Word Cat.			
	Word Gloss			

Free

46	**Word** Nsk	{	*Qusaaten*	}
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	qusaa	-ten	
	Lex. Gloss	to be thankful	FTL.AEQC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP		
	Word Gloss	he says thank you		

Free He says thank you

47 **Word** Nsk *Ii-i*
Word Eng
Morphemes ii-i
Lex. Gloss Yes
Lex. Gram. Info. PAR
Word Cat. PAR
Word Gloss yes

Free

C.4 Aciangaq's Pissuryaraq (AAp2018)

Narrated by: Anthony 'Aciangaq' Aketachunak
Interlocutors: <Nicholas Bunderson-Toler>, Jacob Aketachunak
Narrator's Birth Place: Nunapiggluugaq
Narrator's year of Birth: 1937
Narrator's Residence: Kotlik

Recorded by: Nicholas Bunderson-Toler
Year: 2018
Location: Aciangaq's Living Room
Transcribed by: Theresa George
Translated by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler
Interlinear Analysis and Annotation by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler

Context: In 2018, I began to regularly meet with Aciangaq, the last monolingual Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun speaker, at his house to record stories and narratives. This is the end of a recording session in 2018 where he tells a short hunting story discussing how and what they used to hunt. Jacob Aketachunak is present as my translator for this session.

C.4.1 AAp2018: Aciangaq's Pissuryaraq

<Umm, would he like to tell a hunting story maybe? Like what was the best hunting?>
Pissurlarpenek, qaillun *pissurlallqaitnek?
Ai?
*Pissurlallerput, qaallu, (tamai) tamani, *pissurlallqaitnek?
Yeah, pissrulallemni? Oh!
Pissurlallrulriakut makunek, imarmiutarnek, cali-llu kavianek, pissurturluta. Tamakunek akinginaqurluteng eglerrallrulriit yuut imkut. Tuaten eglerrallrulriit.
Wangkuta mani, cellangeqarraallemni, akingsunata-llu waten wani, tauguam yuilqumek (es) tamakunek uk. Kepulallretnek (aki, akingel, ak) kepulallretnek makunek, tuniluta akingelalriakut, tuaten tauguam eglerqurullullriakut. Tauguam waniwa, waten, tuaten pisuirulluteng, tamatumek-llu makunek, (aki, akia,) akiilirlartut kepulallretnek tamakunek, pisuirutengluteng watawa. Ayagasuirulluteng-llu yuut natmun, pissurluteng, (cas) pitarqat-llu makut, ikeglirininarluteng. Tuaten ayuqlernerertuq mana cellavut. Tua-llu waniwa, quyana. Cangatenritua-qa?
[He said, thank you, is that enough for?]
Yeah, yeah
<ok.>

C.4.2 AAp2018: Interlinear Glossing

AAp - Anthony's Pissuryaraq

AAp 2018

1.1	**Word** Nsk	<		,								?
	Word Eng		Umm		would	he	like	to	tell	a	hunting	story	maybe
	Morphemes		***		***	***	***	***	***	a	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss		***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***

Free

1.2	**Word** Nsk						?>	
	Word Eng	Like	what	was	the	best	hunting	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	

Free

2	**Word** Nsk	{	*Pissurlarpenek*				,	*qaillun* *
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes		pissur	-lar	-pe	-nek		qaillun
	Lex. Gloss		to hunt	HAB	2P.ERG	ABLC/INTC		how (are you)
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF		LEX
	Word Cat.		PNP					PAR
	Word Gloss		of your hunting					how

pissurlallqaitnek ?}

pissur	-la	-llq	-a	-i	-t	-nek
to hunt	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
CP						

of his hunting of them

Free How of your hunting, of his hunting them?

3	**Word** Nsk	*Ai*	?
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	ai	
	Lex. Gloss	huh / what?	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PAR	
	Word Gloss	huh / what?	

Free Eh?

4	**Word** Nsk	{*	*Pissurlallerput*					,	*qaallu*	,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes		pissur	-la	-ller	-pu	-t		qaa	=llu
	Lex. Gloss		to hunt	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.NOM	PL		Really! Is that so?	COO
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	ENC
	Word Cat.		CP						PAR	
	Word Gloss		whenever our hunting						really and	

tamai *tamani* , *

ta-	*ma	-a	=i	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
R<	I2	FTL	EXLM	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PAR				NP			

and that there

pissurlallqaitnek ?}

pissur	-la	-llq	-a	-i	-t	-nek
to hunt	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
CP						

of his hunting of them

Free Whenever our hunting, really and that, there, of his hunting them?

5.1	**Word** Nsk	*Yeah*	,	*pissrulallemni*			?
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	yeah	pissru	-la	-lle	-m	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	yeah	to hunt	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR	NCP				
	Word Gloss	Yeah	when in my hunting				

Free Yeah, when I would go hunting?

5.2	**Word** Nsk	*Oh*	!
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free Oh!

6.1	**Word** Nsk	*Pissurlallrulriakut*						*makunek*			,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	pissur	-la	-llru	-lria	-ku	-t	*ma	-ku	-nek	
	Lex. Gloss	to hunt	HAB	PST	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	RVP						NP			
	Word Gloss	We used to hunt						these			

imarmiutarnek		,	*cali-llu*		*kavianek*		,	*pissurturluta*			.
imarmiutar	-nek		cali	=llu	kavia	-nek		pissur	-tur	-lu	-ta
mink	ABLC/INTC		also	COO	red fox	ABLC/INTC		to hunt	to V for some duration	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	FM:GCF		PRT	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
NP			PRT		NP			AVP			
mink			and also		red fox			we hunted and hunted			

Free We used to hunt, these things, mink and also foxes, we would always hunt them.

6.2	**Word** Nsk	*Tamakunek*			
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			
	Word Gloss	With these			

akinginaqurluteng

aking	-ina	-qur	-lu	-teg	-t
to earn money	RSLT	ITR	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					
in order to make money					

eglerrallrulriit *yuut* *imkut* .

eglerr	-a	-llru	-lri	-i	-t	yuu	-t	*im	-ku	-t
to be in motion	ITR	PST	PARTM.IN	3P.NOM	PL	person	PL	I0	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
RVP						NP		NP		
they roamed						people		these hidden ones		

Free Those things, we would try to get income, thats how people back then survived.

6.3	**Word** Nsk	*Tuaten*			
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			
	Word Gloss	like this			

eglerrallrulriit .

eglerr	-a	-llru	-lri	-i	-t
to move	ITR	PST	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					
they roamed					

Free They lived like this.

7.1 **Word** Nsk *Wangkuta* *mani* ,

Word Eng						
Morphemes	wang	-ku	-ta	*ma	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTO.NS	PL.LF	I2	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	PRO			NP		
Word Gloss	we			here		

cellangeqarraallemni ,

cella	-nge	-qarraa	-lle	-m	-ni
awareness	to begin to V	to first V	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NCP					
When I first became aware					

akingsunata-llu *waten* *wani* ,

aking	-su	-na	-ta	=llu	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni
to earn money	to seek	APPM.NEG	PL.LF	COO	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP					NP			NP		
we never sought money					like this			now		

tauguam *yuilqumek* (*es*)

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	yuilqu	-mek	es
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	wilderness	ABLC/INTC.SG	stutter
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	PAR
PAR				NP		PRT
only				from the wilderness		stutter

tamakunek *uk* .

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	*uk
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	I3
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI
NP				PAR
from over here				those things

Free We here, from my earliest memories, we never sought money like this now, only from the wildnerness, from those things.

7.2	**Word** Nsk	*Kepulallretnek*						(	*aki*	,	*akingel*	,
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	kepu	-la	-llr	-a	-t	-nek		aki		akinge	
	Lex. Gloss	to buy	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	PL	ABLC/INTC		money		to earn money	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF		LEX		LEX	
	Word Cat.	NCP							LEX		PAR	
	Word Gloss	Whenever they would buy this stuff							money		money	

ak) *kepulallretnek* *makunek* ,

aki	kepu	-la	-llr	-a	-t	-nek	*ma	-ku	-nek
money	to buy	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	PL	ABLC/INTC	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
LEX	NCP						NP		
money	whenever they would buy this stuff						these		

tuniluta *akingelalriakut* ,

tuni	-lu	-ta	akinge	-la	-lria	-ku	-t
to sell	APPM	PL.LF	to earn money	HAB	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			RVP				
we sell			we would earn income				

tuaten *tauguam*

t-	*u	-a	-ten	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP				PAR			
like this				however			

eglerqurullullriakut .

egler	-qur	-u	-llu	-lria	-ku	-t
to move	ITR	is	PST	PARTM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP						
we moved foward						

Free Whenever they would buy ... to earn money, uh ... whenever they would buy—this stuff—, by selling we would earn our income, like this however, we survived.

7.3	**Word** Nsk	*Tauguam*				*waniwa*			,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=wa
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP			
	Word Gloss	only				now			

waten , *tuaten*

*w	-a	-ten	t-	*u	-a	-ten
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			NP			
like this			like that			

pisuirulluteng , *tamatumek-llu*

pi	-suiru	-lu	-teg	-t	ta-	*mat	-u	-mek	=llu
to do	to no longer V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ABLC/INTC.SG	COO
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
AVP					NP				
they don't do it any longer					also those things				

makunek , (*aki* , *akia* ,)

*ma	-ku	-nek	aki	akinge	-a
I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	money	to earn money	ITR
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX
NP			LEX	LEX	
these things			money	money	

akiilirlartut

aking	-a	-lir	-lar	-tu	-t
to earn money	ITR	one who Vs	HAB	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP					
they would make money					

kepulallretnek *tamakunek* ,

kepu	-la	-llre	-t	-nek	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
to buy	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	PL	ABLC/INTC	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP					NP			
whenever they would buy					these things			

pisuirutengluteng *watawa* .

pi	-suirute	-ng	-lu	-teg	-t	*wat	-a	=wa
to do	to no longer V	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	I1	FTL	Anaphor
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP						PAR		
they don't do that no longer						right now		

Free Only now - we don't do it like this, like that any longer, also those things and these things ... buy ... they would earn money whenever they bought these things, now they don't do it any longer.

7.4

Word Nsk	*Ayagasuirulluteng-llu*						*yuut*		*natmun*
Word Eng									
Morphemes	ayaga	-suiru	-lu	-teg	-t	=llu	yuu	-t	natmun
Lex. Gloss	to travel around	to no longer V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	COO	person	PL	to where, somewhere
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX
Word Cat.	AVP						NP		PAR
Word Gloss	And one no longer goes out						people		anywhere

pissurluteng , (*cas*) *pitarqat-llu*

pissur	-lu	-teg	-t	cas	pita	-rqe	-a	-t	=llu
to hunt	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	stutter	caught game	deliberate	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL	COO
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PAR	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
AVP				PAR	PNP				
to hunt				stutter	their intended prey				

makut , *ikeglirininarluteng* .

*ma	-ku	-t	ikeg	-liri	-ni	-nar	-lu	-teg	-t
I2	FTO.NS	PL	to be few in number	to become more and more	to claim that	CAUS	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			AVP						
these			happened to cause them to become fewer and fewer						

Free And people no longer go anywhere, to hunt, and their intended prey—these— have therefore become fewer and fewer.

7.5

Word Nsk	*Tuaten*				
Word Eng					
Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	-ten	
Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	NP				
Word Gloss	like this				

ayuqlernerertuq *mana*

ayuq	-ler	-neq	-rraq	-tur	*ma	-na
to resemble	to V suddenly and willfully	activity of V-ing	recently	INDM.IN	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI	DEI>DEM
RVP					NP	
it is just recently willfully coming to resemble					this one	

cellavut .

cella	-vu	-t
world; universe; weather	1P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PNP		
our world		

Free Like this it has just recently, willfully, come to resemble this world of ours.

7.6

Word Nsk	*Tua-llu*				*waniwa*				,	*quyana*	
Word Eng											
Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu	*w	-a	-ni	=wa		quya	=naa
Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor		to be thankful	very much
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC		LEX	ENC
Word Cat.	PAR				NP					VP	
Word Gloss	and then				now					thank you	

.

Free And so, now, thank you.

7.7	**Word** Nsk	*Cangatenritua-qa*				?
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	cangate	-nri	-tu	-a	=qa
	Lex. Gloss	to have something amiss	NEG	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	Q
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	ENC
	Word Cat.	RVP				
	Word Gloss	I didn't miss anything did I?				

Free I didn't miss anything did I?

8	**Word** Nsk	[	,	,					?]
	Word Eng	he	said	thank	you	is	that	enough	for
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

9	**Word** Nsk		,	
	Word Eng	yeah		yeah
	Morphemes			
	Lex. Gloss	yeah		yeah
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		LEX
	Word Cat.	PRT		PRT
	Word Gloss	Yeah		Yeah

Free

10	**Word** Nsk	<	.>
	Word Eng	ok	
	Morphemes	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	
	Word Cat.	***	
	Word Gloss	***	

Free

C.4.3 AAp2018: Discourse Analysis

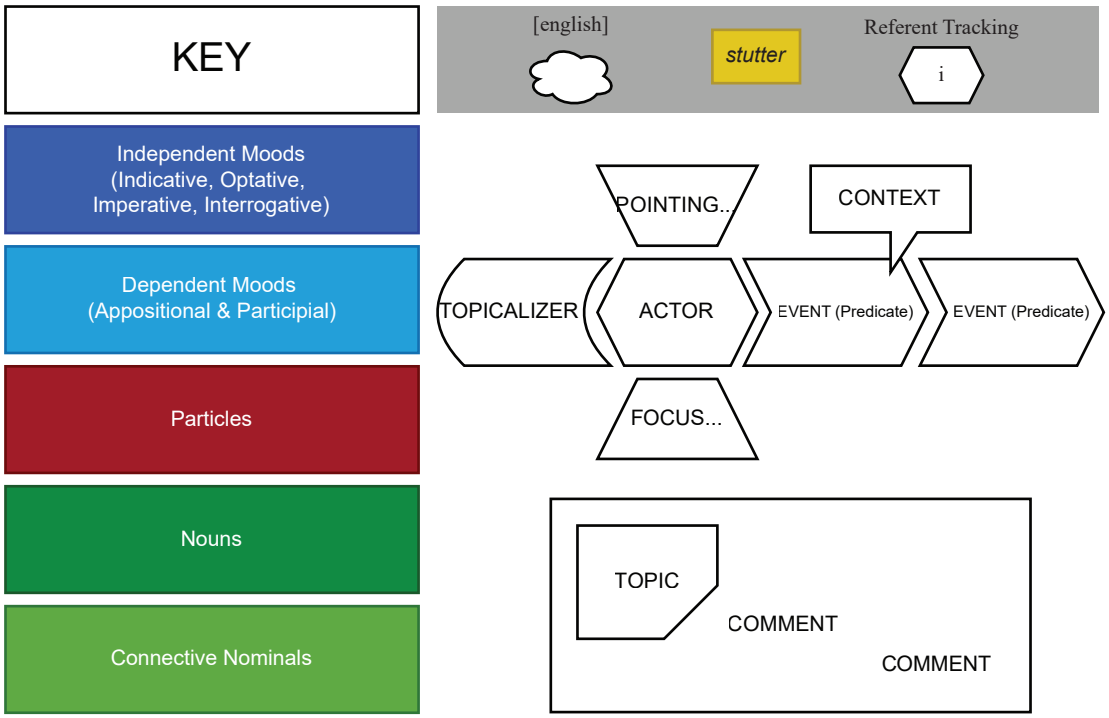


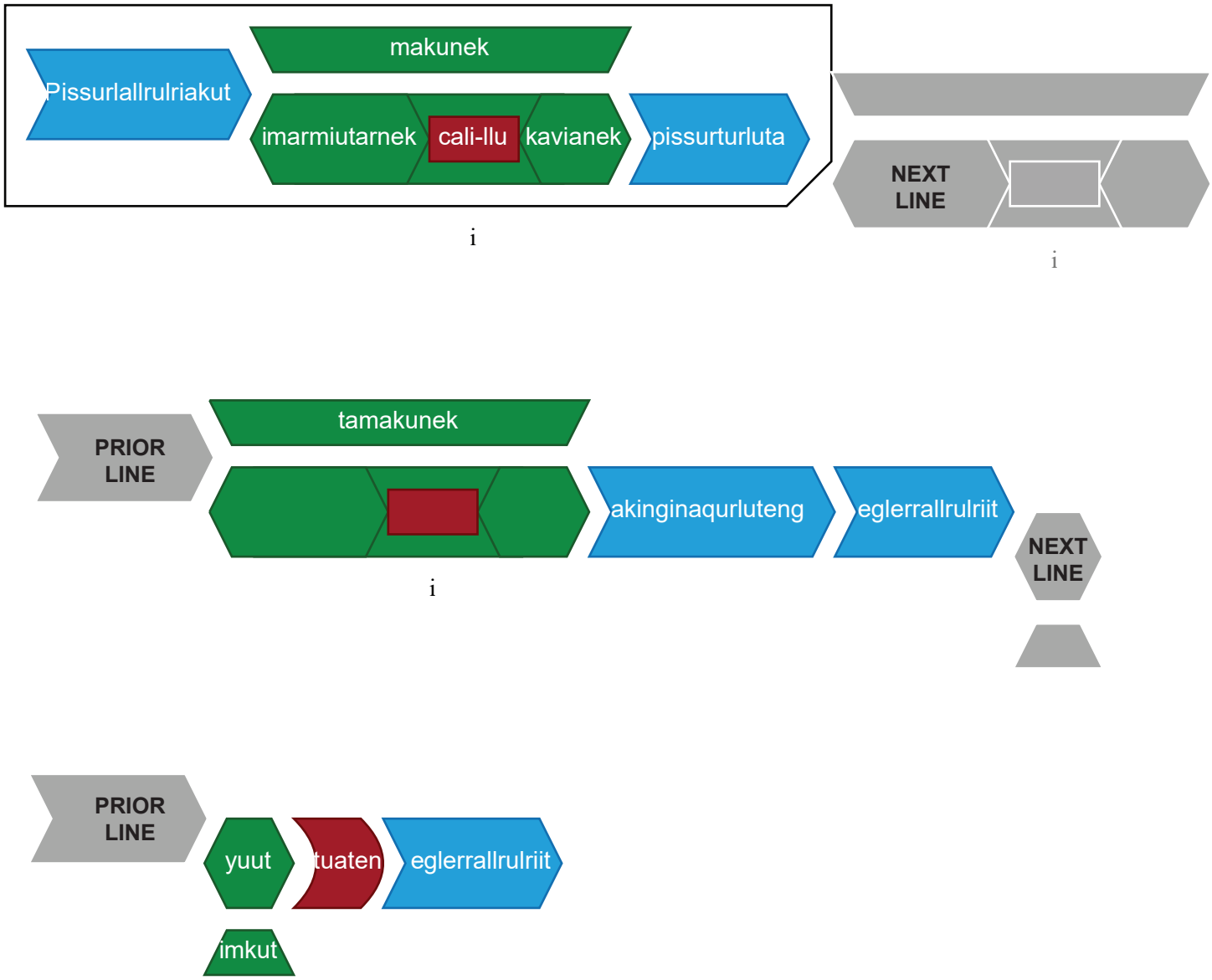
Figure C.2: Discourse Analysis Key

AA Discourse Diagram - 1

(AAp 2018)

BACKGROUND

Pissurlallrulriakut makunek, imarmiutarnek, cali-llu kavianek, pissurturluta.
Tamakunek akinginaqurluteng eglerrallrulriit yuut imkut. Tuaten eglerrallrulriit.

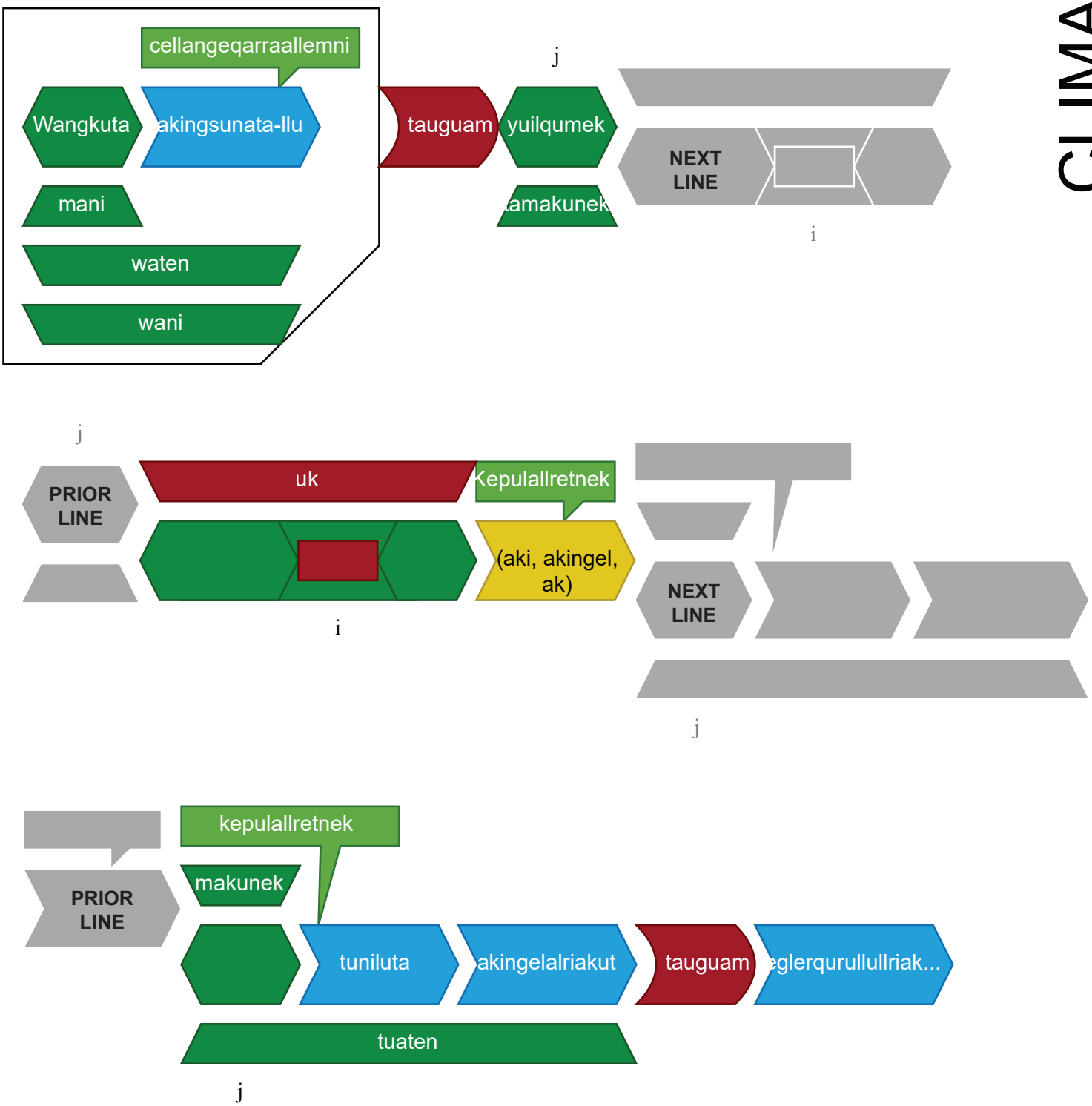


AA Discourse Diagram - 2

(AAp 2018)

Wangkuta mani, cellangeqarraallemni, akingsunata-llu waten wani, tauguam yuilqumek (es) tamakunek uk. Kepulallretnek (aki, akingel, ak) kepulallretnek makunek, tuniluta akingelalriakut, tuaten tauguam eglerqurullullriakut.

CLIMAX

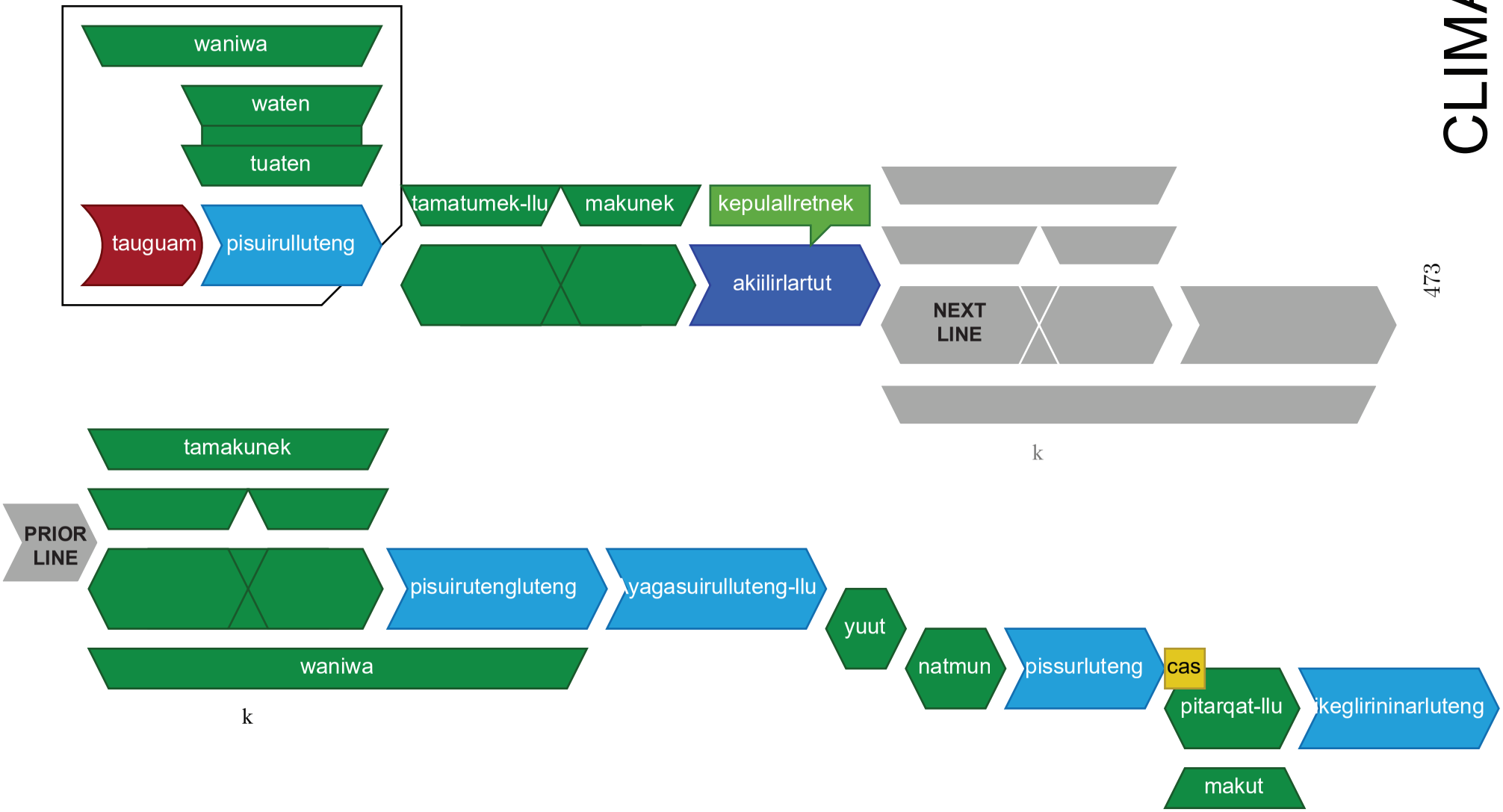


(Climax continues on the next page)

AA Discourse Diagram - 3

(AA 2018)

Tauguam waniwa, waten, tuaten pisuirulluteng, tamatumek-llu makunek, (aki, akia,) akiilirlartut kepulallretnek tamakunek, pisuirutengluteng watawa. Ayagasuirulluteng-llu yuut natmun, pissurluteng, (cas) pitarqat-llu makut, ikeglirininarluteng.

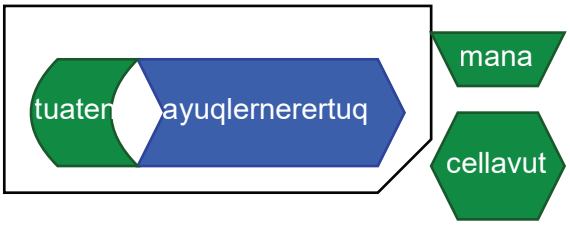


AA Discourse Diagram - 4

(AAp 2018)

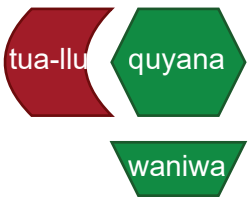
CONCLUSION

Tuaten ayuqlernerertuq mana cellavut.

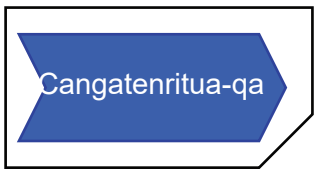


CLOSING

Tua-llu waniwa, quyana.



Cangatenritua-qa?



C.5 Carra's Yuuyaraq (IH2018)

Narrated by: Isadore 'Carra' Hunt (in Yugtun), Angela 'Yaayuk' Hunt (In English)
Interlocutors: [Angela Hunt], <Nicholas Bunderson-Toler>
Narrator's Birth Place: Caniliaq
Narrator's year of Birth: 1938 & 1940
Narrator's Residence: Kotlik

Recorded by: Nicholas Bunderson-Toler
Year: 2018
Location: Carra's Dining Room
Transcribed by: Theresa George
Translated by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler
Interlinear Analysis and Annotation by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler

Context: Carra is a holder of traditional local knowledge and still actively participates in subsistence practices. He sat down with me and his wife to record a story in 2018. He would speak in Yugtun, and once he finished a topic, his wife (Yaayuk) would translate what he said and add some of her own knowledge. This back-and-forth helped inform the discourse analysis in this dissertation. He discussed traditional hunting practices and values. He also told a story about trapping and buying his first gun.

C.5.1 IH2018: Carra's Yuuyaraq

oh, Tamaani Caniliani, yuulret imkut(a), (ikai) ikaisuqelluteng yuulrulriit, umikutevkenateng ilaateng. Tua, qaturluteng (augu) anglaniuraqluteng. Cali, cameg pitarkamek pitaqameng, share-arturluku (et) ilait tamakut yugnun makunun. Ca'nek waten piluteng pillrulriit, arcaqerluki imkut ah, elliraaranek pilallret imkut, (a), aipairuluteng qang'a-llu pistairuluteng.

[In time of our growing, Caniliak]

Mavet taivailamta.

[Before we move here, people were helping each other when their getting (sh) things, foods for themself, and they share it with the families, other families, especially the orphan's or widows or those people that cannot work. What they get, when person get's some animal, they share it to the people trying to give everybody because Caniliak was not a big village, it's small. Try to give everyone, even a piece to have everybody.]

Cali, cali, laavkangqerllemeggni, laavkangqerulriit, ca'nek-tat tauna tua makunek pop-at tuam neqkanek, caalanek, neqkaranek tuam cararnek. Waten, waten ca'nek, waten food stamp-at ca'nek (a) tamakut pitellruameng. Cali, waten ca'nek (nel, n, nel) nel'iaqaata-llu, um, waten plywood-tanun nel'irluteng pilallrunrilnguut-tang.

Equgnek kegglaluteng ikaisuqluki. Ikaisuluki, (mm) kegglaluteng, imalluqa chainsawangqerluteng-llu, kegglapiggnek imkunek waten teggnganleq, aturluki pilallrunrilnguq tua.

[Those times where we live, ah, they don't have so much stuff at the store, they just have only few, mainly like coffee, tea, flour, lard or jello, and]

Tamakunek tauguam

[no sweet stuff, and they were cheap, by that time, and, um, and when people, like for couples, when they get married. They, ah, get logs to build a house for them, everybody help, and they don't have, they never had plywoods or anything by that time. They just used the logs, cutting them in half, and make a log house. They use

big long saw, and one on top and one on the bottom, so they both do that to cut that, um, log in half and pretty soon, they make a house, that way.]

Cali, ah, pinigga!?! waten angsirluteng-llu angsangqerluteng pilallrunriilam tamani, qayatgun tauguam. Qayatgun pissuryuaraqluteng, cep'utaunateng-llu, waten tauguam imkunek, nuusaarpanek pilarngatait, imkunek pilarngatut, tamakunek nanirpaquluki tamarmek neqaqluraqluki. Ah, cali waten wani wangkuta tamana, tan'gurrallerallemteni, neqacuqatarkamkut ul'aqan, nepaunata tua, uitassqenauraitkut. Pitaq esstuaq-llu mana taingaiteniiluku nepliaqumta, migpaukut.

[When their going to hunt, for foods, they had no boats like the way we have now, only kayak, and no motor, they only go by kayak with oar. Sometimes, two men in one kayak, sitting back to back, and they had no guns, they use only]

spear

[some kind of bow and arrow to hunt ducks or anything, and when their hunting, they tell either like their kids, not to make noise. Um, when the tide come, they go, they get ready and go by kayak and they tell everybody to be quite so those animals will come without hearing noise. When they hear noise, they, get scared and they don't want to go close.]

Cali-ataam, imkunek mana (k, neq) kuik mana, kuik mana ca'nek (egaq, eg'qaqessqelinrit) eg'qaqessqelanrillkait camegam carrlunek kuigmun, neqairutciqniluki.

[They also, the people here used to tell the people or their kids or anybody like when they gather foods, they always tell them not to throw anything in the river, otherwise they be no more fish or seafoods. They wouldn't be coming if we keep throwing things in the river. Because when they throw'em they get smelly in the river and those animals they smell the smells of what they throw and they don't go to that area where they throw.]

Matumek cali mani, waten (akinu, aki) akingngengaqurteggmegteggu, upnerkami waten wani, ayagluteng, upnerkisarluteng natquiget ilaitnun. Waten, (ivar) iligvagnek pisurluteng akiturilingraan twenty-five-cents akingqengraan. Unugutekluki tekisutetelluki tua akiksuamegteki. Tua-llu cami, iliit (quq, u) Caniliamun anelrallraani, 22-amek pisqellua, single-, single-shot-amek. (Aar) Tua-llu, pingama taumek tuani-tang, anglaniluta, nutqunaurtut taumek, 100-taq cipluku pilliuq. Tua-llu uitercama laavkamun tunamku, laavkiurta piaqa, "qayuten akingqellranek tauna 22-cup'un, single-shot?" 15-dollars. Tua tauva.

[One time,]

Akingelingraan.

[when they were young]

Akiimek

[Some families, they used to go spring camping for, um, like mushrat or mink or]

muskrats

[Mostly muskrat's, because there's that's the only way trying to earn money. So, one time, he went with his families, go have spring camping in someplace, in the lake area, I think in the slough. And they hunt muskrat's and he wanted, ah]

Cup'un

[Gun, when someone went down, to their store and ask them if they have] Single-shot

[22]

single

[Single shot gun, an and they, that clerk send him, an after he was hunting using that gun, he catch alot of, um, muskrat's an, and then when their done camping, he went home, an he ask's or go see that clerk and ask him" how much was that gun that he have to pay?", and that clerk told him, it cost's 15 dollars, an so he paid from what he catch out of muskrat's.] .25-cents akingqerluteng

[When that muskrat's, one muskrat cost's 25 cents a piece, but he earned more than the...]

15

[worth of ah, gun.]

Tamakut (ig, ig) iligviit neqeqelluku pilallrukait. Amiraluku, ararluki, uitatcuaqerluki celamun, nerluki-ll tua, tua kemget tamalkuan muskrat-at.

[Also those what they catch muskrat's, they alway's clean'em, gut them and hang'em outside, for i don't know how long. They air them out, and when they think their ready to eat, they used to eat these muskrat's too.]

Imkut-cuga pita?? (makelrait) imarmiutat, nerlaqait-llu tamakut tamani, mikel...

[Cenkaat-llu?]

Ai? Cenkaat, tawaten air-araluki

[They used to eat the mink's too and otter's after they clean'em, gut them and air them out, for I don't know for how long, and they also eat those otter's or mink's, because, ah, they don't really much have lot of, foods like we do right now.]

Cali, makut neqkat, neqkat pissullteng, makut mani, waten, freezer-aunateng pillruameng, waten assiirutcunateng (fre) neqkait tamakut waten pilingermeng, qungatnaurait. Cat, manitellriat ukut (age) uqumun ek'luki, manigtengmanaqelluki kiagpak.

[And they used to take care of the foods that they need for winter supply. And the, and since they don't have freezer by then, sometimes when they catch seal, they skin the seal and, not cut it in a stomach or they just only cuts, start from the mouth all the way to the end. And after they finish, they take the inside out and clean it and air it out, dry it after they blow it, they blow it and dry it and when they dry, they put, ah, seal oils,]

pitciatun

[seals inside, seal oil inside or meat or anything they put'em, or hang'em or put'em. THose times they used to have, ah, little, what they call, shed, the little house on, away from the ground. They build little house, and keep their food winter time, by that time, even (mak) mungtak, white whale. They cook'em after they catch'em. They cook them with oil on and they put'em into that dried seal, and put'em inside that little house, storing foos house. And their foods, all kinds, they don't be spoiled by them. And spring time, when they hunt eggs, they put'em in the in the barrel, out. Ah, seal oil in the barrel and then put those eggs inside. And they have eggs all summer when those what they hunt, and they never be spoiled, keep away from the sun. And even, hum, beavers, they use their oil for bacon in the morning, fry them. They used to eat the beavers to, roast them with]

....

[with, um, flapper, little flour on, bake them, use the fat for their bacon in the morning. And they have what they call those, maybe beaver's balls, they used to use'em for their medicine, those days, years back, dry'em first and use them for anything.]

....

[for them for medicine. And they be]

Yugyunun-llu cikertutaqelluki tamakut

[And they always give away to the people when they]

Share

[going to have in enough, especially for those, who do not, or who cannot hunt or even the widow's, those who have big families. And when they pick berries too summer time, they fill up their, how many barrels of berries and they cover'em. They always have different way of covering, after they fill it, some, they always put, ah, some kind of greens, to avoid them from getting mold, and when I was growing, I remember, ah, they put greens on top and then cover it and some with lard on top, and some would put lots of sugar on top and just to avoid from getting mold. They would have berries all winter long, so, because they don't have anything like what we have right now.]

Paluqtarnek-ll nertullermeggni, ceggankegturunaurtut tua yuut.

[And people eat what they eat like beaver's, they be lively, they hardly get sick or]
Even, qimugtet-llu tua tuaten ayuqluku.
[Even they give some to their dogs, and they would have gather lot's of, all kinds of different greens, especially spring time. And, ah, like they have good foods by those days and hardly people get sick. I, years back, cause even some of'em they eat them now, they catch]
Cakmaken-llu waten school-avingqatallratni mani, nugtaqellemteni mavet, yuut cimellruniiluki, ikaisusuirulluku cali mavet, caumaksusaqelluki tuaten ilaateng-llu or neqkanek-ll share-arsuiruluteng.
[When the school was going to build here in Kotlik. How many villages they move here, and like since then, hardly anybody start not helping one another or sharing foods or start to be at each others and not quite place like their own place years back.]
Ii-i
[They change.]
Tawaten ataam ca'mek piniartua, (qaner) qanerkairutengralua carrarmek.
[He said his out of. . . .but think of what, hee hee]
Ataam piciqua ataam, cami ayagpailgan.
[He say he might have some more after we think of what to talk about.]
Ok, um, will he be willing to tell me the muskrat story, the hunting Muskrat, will he be able to tell me that story right now?
[What's that?]
The muskrat story, will he be able to tell that hunting story?
[That spring time what they hunt]
Um, does he want to tell me the hunting story for that one trip?
[Yeah, that's the one we talked about earlier,]
Ok
[When they go spring time camping, people used to go, ah, spring time muskrat hunting. Even we did, once or twice, after we got married, we go with his brothers some place and muskrat hunting. Evening time, they'd be gone all night til in the morning, they'd bring alot of muskrat's and they skin and dry them.]
Tamakut qanrutellerput,
[so,]
Yeah
[so those are what we do with,]
Mm-m
[try to]
Ataam cali piniartua, caliksugtuyugtua.
[He say's, those are things right now, we talked about...hee hee]
ok awesome, um, quyana

C.5.2 IH2018: Interlinear Glossing

IH - Isadores Yuuyaraq

IH 2018

Featuring Yuuyuk Hunt

1.1	**Word** Nsk	oh	,	Tamaani					Caniliani	,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	oh		ta-	*ma	-a	-ni		Canilia	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	oh		R<	I2	FTL	LOCC		Caneliak	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP					NP	
	Word Gloss	oh		there					in Caneliak	

yuulret imkut (a), (ikai)

yuulre	-t	*im	-ku	-t	a	ikaisu	
one who lives a traditional life	PL	I0	FTO.NS	PL	GWP	to help; to bless	
LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	PRT	LEX	
NP		NP			PAR	R	
traditional people		these hidden ones			!stutter!	to help; to bless	

ikaisuqelluteng yuulrulriit ,

ikaisu	-qe	-llu	-teg	-t	yuulr	-u	-lri	-i	-t
to help; to bless	suddenly	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	one who lives a traditional life	to be N	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					RVP				
they would help each other					they lived by doing so				

umikutevkenateng ilaateng .

uumikute	-vke	-na	-teg	-t	ilaa	-teg	-t
to infuriate	NEG	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	relative	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					PNP		
thus they didn't upset eachother					thier family		

Free Oh, back then in Caneliak the people of back then lived by helping each other, thus they didn't fight and were family (got along).

1.2	**Word** Nsk	Tua			,	qaturluteng				(	augu	)
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a		qatur	-lu	-teg	-t		augu	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL		gathered	APPM	4P.NOM	PL		gather	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	
	Word Cat.	PAR				AVP					R	
	Word Gloss	and then / then				they gathered					bring	

anglaniuraqluteng .

anglani	-ur	-aq	-lu	-teg	-t
to have fun	CONT	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					
they are happy					

Free And then they happily gather

1.3	**Word** Nsk	Cali	,	cameg		pitarkamek	
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	cali		ca	-mek	pitarka	-mek
	Lex. Gloss	also		Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	thing to be caught	ABLC/INTC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT		LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP		NP	
	Word Gloss	also		what else		of animals	

pitaqameng , share-arturluku (et)

pita	-qa	-meg	-t	sharear	-tur	-lu	-ku	et
caught game	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL	share	to V for some duration	APPM	FTO.NS	***
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	DEI>DEM	***
NCP				AVP				***
when they caught them				they would share				***

ilait tamakut yugnun makunun .

ila	-i	-t	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	yug	-nun	*ma	-ku	-nun
relative	3P.ACC.PL	PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	person	ALLC	I2	FTO.NS	ALLC
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PNP			NP				NP		NP		
their relatives			those ones				to people		to these ones		

Free Also, whenever they caught something, they would share it with those relatives, to these people.

1.4	**Word** Nsk	Ca'nek		waten			piluteng			
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ca'	-nek	*w	-a	-ten	pi	-lu	-teg	-t
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to do	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PRT		NP			AVP			
	Word Gloss	Anything		like this			they would do			

pillrulriit , arcaqerluki imkut ah ,

pi	-llru	-lri	-i	-t	arcaqer	-lu	-ki	*im	-ku	-t	ah
to do	PST	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL	to favor	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	I0	FTO.NS	PL	ah
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	PRT
RVP					AVP			NP			PRT
they did in that way					importantly			these hidden ones			ah

elliraaranek pilallret imkut , (a),

elliraara	-nek	pila	-llre	-t	*im	-ku	-t	a
orphan	ABLC/INTC	called	PARTM.IN	PL	I0	FTO.NS	PL	GWP
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	PRT
NP		RVP			NP			PAR
orphans		they were called			these hidden ones			!stutter!

aipairuluteng qang'a-llu

aipai	-iiru	-lu	-teg	-t	qang'a	=llu
counterparts (esp. white people)	to not have or be	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	no	COO
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	ENC
AVP					PRT	
widows (being without counterparts)					and without	

pistairuluteng .

pista	-iiru	-lu	-teg	-t
work	to not have or be	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
those without work				

Free They did this most importantly for those called orphans, widows or unemployed

2									
Word Nsk	[						,		]
Word Eng		in	time	of	our	growing		Caniliak	
Morphemes		***	***	***	***	***		***	
Lex. Gloss		***	***	***	***	***		***	
Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***	***	***		***	
Word Cat.		***	***	***	***	***		***	
Word Gloss		***	***	***	***	***		***	

Free

3								
Word Nsk	Mavet			taivailamta				.
Word Eng								
Morphemes	*ma	-a	-vet	tai	-vaila	-m	-ta	
Lex. Gloss	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	to come	CNJ (before)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
Word Cat.	NP			NCP				
Word Gloss	here			before we came				

Free Before we moved here

4.1																	
Word Nsk	[					,									(		)
Word Eng		Before	we	move	here		people	were	helping	each	other	when	their	getting		sh	
Morphemes		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	
Lex. Gloss		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	
Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	
Word Cat.		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	
Word Gloss		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	

	,				,								,			,			
things		foods	for	themself		and	they	share	it	with	the	families		other	families		especially	the	orphan
***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***		***	***	***
***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***		***	***	***
***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***		***	***	***
***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***		***	***	***
***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***		***	***	***

,										.
	s	or	widows	or	those	people	that	cannot	work	
	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	

Free

4.2	**Word** Nsk				,			’				,			
	Word Eng	What	they	get	when	person	get	s	some	animal	they	share	it	to	the
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

people	trying	to	give	everybody	because	Caniliak	was	not	a	big	village	, it	s	, small	.
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	a	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	

Free

4.3	**Word** Nsk					,						.]
	Word Eng	Try	to	give	everyone	even	a	piece	to	have	everybody	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	a	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	

Free

5.1	**Word** Nsk	Cali	,	cali	,	laavkangqerllemeggni				,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	cali		cali		laavka	-ngqer	-lle	-meg	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	also		also		store	to have N	CNJ (Contemporative)	4P.ERG	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT		PRT		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PRT		PRT		NCP				
	Word Gloss	also		also		when we got a store here				

laavkangqerulriit						,	ca'nek-tat		
laavka	-ngqe	-iiru	-lri	-i	-t		ca'	-nek	=at
store	to have N	to not have or be	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL		Q	ABLC/INTC	notice!
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:GCF	ENC
RVP							NP		
they didn't have a store							anything		

tauna			tua			makunek			pop-at	
ta-	*u	-na	t-	*u	-a	*ma	-ku	-nek	popa	-t
R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	R<	I1	FTL	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	soda pop	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM
NP			PAR			NP			NP	
that one			and then			of these			soda pop	

tuam				neqkanek			,	caalanek		,
t-	*u	-a	=am	neqka		-nek		caala	-nek	
R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	food ready for consumption		ABLC/INTC		lard	ABLC/INTC	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX		FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF	
PAR				NP				NP		
that one				food, many foods, of fish				lard		

neqkaranek		tuam				carарnek		.
neqkara	-nek	t-	*u	-a	=am	carar	-nek	
any little bit of food	ABLC/INTC	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	a little bit	ABLC/INTC	
LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	
NP		PAR				NP		
some foods		that one				very little		

Free Also .. also ... When we got a store here - they didn't have a store - well then (they got) that, and then (we got) these: that soda pop!, ready-made food (flour, coffee, tea, jello), lard, and so we got a little bit of (that kind of) food.

5.2	**Word** Nsk	Waten			,	waten			ca'nek		,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten		*w	-a	-ten	ca'	-nek	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC		I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	Q	ABLC/INTC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP				NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	like this				like this			Q / anything		

waten				food stamp-at				ca'nek			(	a	)		
*w	-a	-ten		foodstampa	-t			ca'	-nek			a			
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC		food stamp	PL			Q	ABLC/INTC			GWP			
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:NUM			LEX	FM:GCF			PRT			
NP				NP				PRT				PAR			
like this				food stamps				Q / anything				!stutter!			

tamakut								pitellruameng							.
ta-	*ma	-ku	-t					pi	-te	-llru	-a	-meg	-t		
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL					to do	plan to	PST	CNJ(to be)	4P.ERG	PL		
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM					LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM		
NP								NCP							
those ones								were planning to get it							

Free This, this, stuff, like the food stamps for anything, uh, and so they got those. [I believe he is trying to say, they had food stamps so as to buy those things]

5.3	**Word** Nsk	Cali	,	waten				ca'nek			(	nel	,	n	,		
	Word Eng																
	Morphemes	cali		*w	-a	-ten		ca'	-nek			nel'ir		n			
	Lex. Gloss	also		I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC		Q	ABLC/INTC			to make a house		house			
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF			LEX		LEX			
	Word Cat.	PRT		NP				PAR				LEX		NP			
	Word Gloss	also		like this				Q / anything				to make a house		house			

nel	)	nel'iaqaata-llu									,	um	,	waten			
nel'ir		nel'ir		-aqa		-a		-ta		=llu		um		*w	-a		-ten
to make a house		to make a house		CNJ (Constantive)		3P.ERG		PL.LF		COO		um		I1	FTL		FTL.AEQC
LEX		LEX		FM:CNJ		FM:PER		FM:NUM		ENC		PRT		DEI	DEI>DEM		FM:GCF
LEX		NCP										PRT		NP			
to make a house		with which to make a house too										um		like this			

plywood-tanun				nel'irluteng													
plywood	-ta	-nun		nel'ir		-lu		-teg		-t							
plywood	part or tool for	ALLC		to make a house		APPM		4P.NOM		PL							
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF		LEX		FM:APP		FM:PER		FM:NUM							
NP				AVP													
plywood				to make a house													

pilallrunrilnguut-tang .

pi	-la	-llru	-nril	-nguu	-t	=tang
to do	HAB	PST	NEG	PARTM.IN.NEG	PL	look
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	ENC
RVP						

look, they wouldn't have any

Free Also, liks this stuff with which the house is made too, um, like this plywood ....

6.1	**Word** Nsk	Equgnek		kegglaluteng				ikaisuqluki		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	equg	-nek	keggla	-lu	-teg	-t	ikaisuq	-lu	-ki
	Lex. Gloss	to carry	ABLC/INTC	saw	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	helper	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP		AVP				AVP		
	Word Gloss	driftwood		they saw/cut it				they helped to do it		

Free They helped each other carry and saw it

6.2	**Word** Nsk	Ikaisuluki			,	(	mm	)	kegglaluteng				,
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	ikaisu	-lu	-ki			mm		keggla	-lu	-teg	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	to help; to bless	APPM	3P.ACC.PL			***		saw	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER			***		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	AVP					PRT		AVP				
	Word Gloss	they help eachother					***		they saw/cut it				

imalluqa chainsaw-angqerluteng , kegglapiggnek

ima	-lluq	-a	chainsawa	-ngqer	-lu	-teg	-t	=llu	keggla	-pigg	-nek
contents	bad	3P.ERG	chainsaw	to have N	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	COO	saw	genuine	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
PNP			AVP						NP		
it's bad bits			and (now) having chainsaws						use real saws		

imkunek waten teggnganleq ,

*im	-ku	-nek	*w	-a	-ten	tegg	-ngan	-leq
I0	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	To be hard	to seem to be	one having N
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX
NP			NP			NP		
those kinds			like this			a thing which seems to be hard		

aturluki			pilallrunrilnguq				tua			.
atur	-lu	-ki	pila	-llru	-nril	-nguq	t-	*u	-a	
to use	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to saw	PST	NEG	PARTM.IN.NEG	R<	I1	FTL	
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	
AVP			RVP				PAR			
we use			They would finish sawing				and then			

Free They would help eachother saw off the bad parts, and now they have chainsaws too, doing this with real saws was really hard, we would use them and then finish sawing.

7	**Word** Nsk	[					,	,		’					
	Word Eng	those	times	where	we	live	ah	they	don	t	have	so	much	stuff	at
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

,		,				,		,	,	,	,	]
the	store	they	just	have	only	few	mainly	like	coffee	tea	flour	lard	or	jello	and
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

8	**Word** Nsk	Tamakunek				tauguam			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	NP				PAR			
	Word Gloss	DEM				only			

Free Only those.

9.1	Word Nsk	[				,					,				,		,		,	
	Word Eng		no	sweet	stuff		and	they	were	cheap		by	that	time		and		um		and
	Morphemes			***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***
	Lex. Gloss		no	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***
	Word Cat.		PRT	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***
	Word Gloss		no	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***

		,				,					.
when	people		like	for	couples		when	they	get	married	
***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	
***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	
***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	
***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	
***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	

Free

9.2	Word Nsk		,		,									,			,	
	Word Eng	They		ah		get	logs	to	build	a	house	for	them		everybody	help		and
	Morphemes	***		***		***	***	***	***	a	***	***	***		***	***		***
	Lex. Gloss	***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***		***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***		***
	Word Cat.	***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***		***
	Word Gloss	***		***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***	***		***

		,			,										.
they	don		t	have		they	never	had	plywoods	or	anything	by	that	time	
***	***		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	

Free

9.3	Word Nsk						,					,						.
	Word Eng	They	just	used	the	logs		cutting	them	in	half		and	make	a	log	house	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	a	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***		***	***	

Free

9.4

Word Nsk						,									,
Word Eng	They	use	big	long	saw		and	one	on	top	and	one	on	the	bottom
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

								,		,						,	
so	they	both	do	that	to	cut	that		um		log	in	half	and	pretty	soon	they	make
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

		,		.]
a	house	that	way	
a	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	
	***	***	***	

Free

10.1

Word Nsk	Cali	,	ah	,	pinigga			!?!
Word Eng								
Morphemes	cali		ah		pi	-ni	=gga	
Lex. Gloss	also		ah		thing	4P.NOM.SG	CAT	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT		PRT		LEX	FM:PER	ENC	
Word Cat.	PRT		PRT		PNP			
Word Gloss	also		ah		their things!			

Free Aso, ah, their things!

10.2

Word Nsk	waten			angsirluteng-llu					
Word Eng									
Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	angsar	-lu	-teg	-t	=llu	
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	boat	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	COO	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	
Word Cat.	NP			AVP					
Word Gloss	like this			they boats too					

angsangqerluteng pilallrunriilam

angsa	-ngqer	-lu	-teg	-t	pi	-la	-llru	-nriil	-*	-a	=am	
boat	to have N	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to say	HAB	PST	NEG	CNJ(to be)	3P.NOM	EMPH	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	ENC	
AVP					NCP							
they had boats					yet it wasn't called that							

tamani , qayatgun tauguam .

ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	qaya	-t	-gun	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	
R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	kayak	PL	PRLC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	
NP				NP			PAR				
there				kayak			only				

Free They would make boats too like this, they had boats but they weren't called that then, only kayak.

10.3

Word Nsk	Qayatgun			pissuryuaraqluteng						,
Word Eng										
Morphemes	qaya	-t	-gun	pissur	-yu	-araq	-lu	-teg	-t	
Lex. Gloss	kayak	PL	PRLC	to hunt	to be able to V well	way of	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
Word Cat.	NP			AVP						
Word Gloss	by kayak			They would hunt well						

cep'utaunateng-llu , waten

cep'u	-ta	-u	-na	-teg	-t	=llu	*w	-a	-ten
gun	for there to be	to be N	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	COO	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP							NP		
and had no gun's too							like this		

tauguam imkunek , nuusaarpanek

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*im	-ku	-nek	nuusaarpa	-nek
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I0	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	three pointed spear	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
PAR				NP			NP	
only				those things			three pointed spear	

pilarngatait , imkunek

pi	-lar	-nga	-ta	-i	-t	*im	-ku	-nek
to do	HAB	PRF	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL	I0	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP						NP		
they would do them						with those		

pilarngatut , tamakunek

pi	-lar	-nga	-tu	-t	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
to do	HAB	PRF	INDM.IN	PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP					NP			
they would use that					with those			

nanirpaquluki tamarmek

nanirpa	-qu	-lu	-ki	tamar	-mek
seal spear	to hunt with	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	all	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
AVP				NP	
they would hunt with a seal spear				all	

neqaqluraqluki .

ner	-aq	-lruaq	-lu	-ki
food	thing that resembles	small amount in poor condition	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				
they were poor food like stuff				

Free By kayak they would hunt well, and they had no guns either, only those things like this, with the three pointed spear they did it, they would use those, with those they would hunt all their poor food and things.

10.4	**Word** Nsk	Ah	,	cali	waten			wani			wangkuta		
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	ah		cali	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	wang	-ku	-ta
	Lex. Gloss	ah		also	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	I1	FTO.NS	PL.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT		PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR		PAR	NP			NP			PRO		
	Word Gloss	ah		also	like this			this here			I1		

tamana , tan'gurrallerallemteni ,

ta-	*ma	-na	tan'gurra	-llera	-lle	-m	-te	-ni
R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	boy	dirty	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NP			TCP					
those			when we were young boys					

neqacuqatarkamkut ul'aqan ,

neqa	-cu	-qatar	-ka	-n	-ku	-t	ul'a	-aq	-a	-n
food	seek or hunt for	to start to	PARTM.TR	PL	1P.ABS	PL	high tide	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP							NCP			
when we get fish or food							when the tide is high			

nepaunata tua ,

nepa	-u	-na	ta	t-	*u	-a
noise	to be N	VOL	1P.ABS	R<	I1	FTL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
AVP				PAR		
we be not quiet				and then		

uitassqenauraitkut .

uita	-ssqe	-naur	-a	-i	-t	-ku	-t
to stay	to want one to	HAB	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP							
they told us to be still							

Free Ah, also like this here, we, those, when we were young boys, when we got fish when the tike was high, we weren't very quiet and so they told us to be still.

10.5	**Word** Nsk	Pitaq	esstuaq-llu		mana	
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	pitaq	esstuaq	=llu	*ma	-na
	Lex. Gloss	caught game	white (baluga) whale	COO	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM
	Word Cat.	NP	NP		NP	
	Word Gloss	The animal	the whale		this one	

taingaiteniiluku nepliaqumta ,

tai	-ngaite	-nii	-lu	-ku	nepli	-a	-qu	-m	-ta
to come	to not V in the future	to claim that	APPM	FTO.NS	to be noisy	ITR	CNJ (Conditional)	1P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					NCP				
will not arrive					when we are noisy				

migpaukut .

migpa	-u	-ku	-t
sudden noise	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP			
with sudden noise			

Free The animals, and the whale—this one— won't arrive when we are noisy, making a lot of noise.

11.1	**Word** Nsk	[					,		,					
	Word Eng	When	their	going	to	hunt	for	foods	they	had	no	boats	like	the	way
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	no	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	LEX	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	PRT	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	no	***	***	***	***

, , , .

we	have	now	only	kayak	and	no	motor	they	only	go	by	kayak	with	oar
***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	no	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	LEX	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	PRT	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	no	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

11.2 **Word Nsk** ,

Word Eng	Sometimes	two	men	in	one	kayak	sitting	back	to	back	and	they	had
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

,]

no	guns	they	use	only
	***	***	***	***
no	***	***	***	***
LEX	***	***	***	***
PRT	***	***	***	***
no	***	***	***	***

Free

12 **Word Nsk**

Word Eng	spear
Morphemes	***
Lex. Gloss	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***
Word Cat.	***
Word Gloss	***

Free

13.1 **Word Nsk** [,

Word Eng	some	kind	of	bow	and	arrow	to	hunt	ducks	or	anything	and	when	their
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, , .

hunting	they	tell	either	like	their	kids	not	to	make	noise
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

13.2

Word Nsk		,			,		,							
Word Eng	Um	when	the	tide	come	they	go	they	get	ready	and	go	by	kayak
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

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and	they	tell	everybody	to	be	quite	so	those	animals	will	come	without	hearing	noise
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

13.3

Word Nsk					,	,				,				
Word Eng	When	they	hear	noise	they	get	scared	and	they	don	t	want	to	go
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

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close
***
***
***
***
***

Free

14

Word Nsk	Cali-ataam		,	imkunek			mana		(	k	,	neq	)	kuik
Word Eng														
Morphemes	cali	ataam		*im	-ku	-nek	*ma	-na		***		neq		kuik
Lex. Gloss	also	again		I0	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC		***		food		river
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	PRT		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM		***		LEX		LEX
Word Cat.	PAR			NP			NP			***		PAR		NP
Word Gloss	Furthermore again			those things			this one			***		food		the river

mana		,	kuik	mana		ca'nek		(	egaq	,
*ma	-na		kuik	*ma	-na	ca'	-nek		egaq	
I2	FTO.SG.ABSC		river	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	Q	ABLC/INTC		throw	
DEI	DEI>DEM		LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	
NP			NP	NP		NP			PAR	
this one			the river	this one		anything			throw	

eg'qaqessqelinrit					)
eg'	-qaqe	-ssqe	-li	-nrit	
throw	-ITR/-HAB	to want one to	one who Vs	NEG	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	
VP					
to ask to not be one who throws ..					

eg'qaqessqelanrillkait								camegam		
eg'	-qaqe	-ssqe	-la	-nrill	-ka	-i	-t	ca	-mek	=am
throw	-ITR/-HAB	to want one to	HAB	NEG	PARTM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	EMPH
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC
RVP								NP		
they told them not to throw anything								anything		

carrlunek		kuigmun		,	neqairutciqniluki						.
carrlu	-nek	kuig	-mun		neqa	-irut	-ciq	-ni	-lu	-ki	
dust	ABLC/INTC	river	ALLC.SG		food	to no longer be	FUT	to claim that	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
NP		NP			AVP						
trash		into the river			there will be no more fish						

Free Futhermore again, those things, this one (food..) river — this one, the river —this one, anything (throw .. thrown ...) they told them not to throw any trash into the river, for there will be no more fish.

15.1	Word Nsk	[		,											
	Word Eng	They	also	the	people	here	used	to	tell	the	people	or	their	kids	or
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

						,											,
anybody	like	when	they	gather	foods	they	always	tell	them	not	to	throw	anything	in	the	river	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	

								.
otherwise	they	be	no	more	fish	or	seafoods	
***	***	***		***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	no	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	LEX	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	PRT	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	no	***	***	***	***	

Free

15.2	Word Nsk		,												.
	Word Eng	They	wouldn	t	be	coming	if	we	keep	throwing	things	in	the	river	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	

Free

15.3	Word Nsk					,									
	Word Eng	Because	when	they	throw	em	they	get	smelly	in	the	river	and	those	animals
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

,

they	smell	the	smells	of	what	they	throw	and	they	don	t	go	to	that	area	where	they
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

.]

throw
***
***
***
***
***

Free

16.1	**Word** Nsk	Matumek			cali	mani			,	waten			(				
	Word Eng																
	Morphemes	*mat	-u	-mek	cali	*ma	-a	-ni		*w	-a	-ten					
	Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.SG	ABLC/INTC.SG	also	I2	FTL	LOCC		I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC					
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF					
	Word Cat.	NP			PAR	NP				NP							
	Word Gloss	these things			also	here				like this							

akinu , aki) akingngengaqurteggmegteggu ,

akinu	aki	aking	-nge	-nga	-qur	-teg	-meg	-te	-ggu
money	money	to earn money	to begin to V	CNJ (because/when)	ITR	4P.NOM	4P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER
LEX	LEX	NCP							
money	money	because they have begun to earn money							

upnerkami waten wani , ayagluteng

upnerka	-mi	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	ayag	-lu	-teg	-t
to become spring	LOCC.SG	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	to go away	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		NP			NP			AVP			
in the spring		like this			this here			they travel			

, upnerkisarluteng natquiget ilaitnun .

upnerkisar	-lu	-teg	-t	natquige	-t	ila	-i	-t	-nun
to go to spring camp	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	drifting snow	PL	part of it	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL	ALLC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
AVP				NP		NP			
they go spring camping				the drifted snow		among them (within them)			

Free These things also here, like this (money...), because it's their way of making money, in the spring like this here, they go out and go spring camping among the drifted snow.

16.2

Word Nsk	Waten			, (	ivar	)	iligvagnek	
Word Eng								
Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten		ivar		iligvag	-nek
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC		look for		muskrat	ABLC/INTC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX		LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP				LEX		NP	
Word Gloss	like this				look for		muskrats	

pisurluteng akiturilingraan twenty-five-cents

pisur	-lu	-teg	-t	akitu	-rili	-ngra	-a	-n	twenty-five-cents
to hunt	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to be expensive	CAUS	CNJ (even if)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	25 cents
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	NP
AVP				NCP					NP
they hunt				even if it's not expensive					25 cents

akingqengraan .

aking	-qe	-ngra	-a	-n
to earn money	ITR	CNJ (even if)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				
even if it costs that much				

Free Like this, (looking..) hunting for muskrats, even if they aren't going for much, even if they are selling for just 25 cents.

16.3	**Word** Nsk	Unugutekluki					tekisutetelluki					
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	unug	-utek		-lu	-ki	tekis	-ute	-te	-llu	-ki	
	Lex. Gloss	night	to do it on account of		APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to arrive	with another	plan to	PST	3P.ACC.PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX		FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	AVP					AVP					
	Word Gloss	they would stay up late					they would (plan to) arrive					

tua			akiksuamegteki									.
t-	*u	-a	aki	-ksua	-a		-meg	-te	-ki			
R<	I1	FTL	money	small	CNJ (because/when)		4P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.PL			
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ		FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER			
PAR			NCP									
because			they need income from them									

Free They would plan to arrive and stay up late because they needed the money from them.

16.4	**Word** Nsk	Tua-llu					cami		,	iliit				(
	Word Eng													
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu		ca	-mi		ili	-i	-t		
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO		Q	LOCC.SG		relative	3P.ACC.PL	PL		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM		
	Word Cat.	PAR					PAR			NP				
	Word Gloss	and then					whenever			one of them				

quq	,	u	)	Caniliamun			anelrallraani							,
quq		*u		Canilia	-mun		anelra			-llr		-aa	-ni	
one of them		I1		Caneliak	ALLC.SG		to go towards the exit or downriver			CNJ (Contemporative)		3P.ERG	LOCC	
LEX		DEI		LEX	FM:GCF		LEX			FM:CNJ		FM:PER	FM:GCF	
LEX		LEX		NP			NCP							
one		***		to Caniliak			(after) he went across							

22-amek				pisqellua					,	single-			,	
22a	-mek			pi	-sqe		-llu	-a		single				
.22 (gun)	ABLC/INTC.SG			to do	to want one to		APPM	3P.ERG		Single shot (type of gun)				
LEX	FM:GCF			LEX	LEX>LEX		FM:APP	FM:PER		LEX				
NP				AVP						LEX				
a 22 shotgun				he was told to get it						single-shot				

single-shot-amek .

single.shot.a	-mek
Single shot (type of gun)	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF
NP	
single-shot	

Free And then whenever one of them (one...) went across to Caniliak, he was told to get a 22, single shot.

16.5	**Word** Nsk	(	Aar	)	Tua-llu				,	pingama			
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes		***		t-	*u	-a	=llu		pi	-nga	-m	-a
	Lex. Gloss		***		R<	I1	FTL	COO		to do	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.		***		PAR					NCP			
	Word Gloss		***		and then					when I got one			

taumek tuani-tang ,

ta-	*u	-u	-mek	t-	*u	-a	-ni	=tang	
R<	I1	FTO.SG	ABLC/INTC.SG	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	look	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	
NP				NP					
that one				there upon					

anglaniluta , nutqunaurtut taumek ,

anglani	-lu	-ta	nutqu	-naur	-tu	-t	ta-	*u	-mek	
to have fun	APPM	PL.LF	to shoot around	HAB	INDM.IN	PL	R<	I1	ABLC/INTC.SG	
LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	
AVP			RVP				NP			
we had fun/enjoyment			we would shoot around				that one			

100-taq cipluku pilliuq .

100-taq	cip	-lu	-ku	pi	-lli	-uq
one hundred	overflow	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	to do	to maybe verb	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
NP	AVP			RVP		
100	or over			maybe so		

Free And then, when I got one —that one—, after that we had a lot of fun, we shot it around—that one—, 100 times or more, perhaps.

16.6	**Word** Nsk	Tua-llu				uitercama				
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu	uiterc	-a	-m	-a	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	to return	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	PAR				NCP				
	Word Gloss	and then				when I went home				

laavkamun		tunamku					,	laavkiurta	piaqa		,	“
laavka	-mun	tun	-a	-m	-ku			laavkiurta	pi	-a	-qa	
store	ALLC.SG	to sell	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	3P.ACC.SG			store clerk	to do	INDM.TR	1P.NOM.SG	
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER			LEX	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	
NP		TCP						NP	RVP			
to the store		(when) I gave it back						the clerk	I said to him			

qayuten		akingqellranek					
qayu	-ten	aking	-qe	-llr	-a	-nek	
how (are you)	FTL.AEQC	to earn money	ITR	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
NP		NCP					
how much		money (have to pay)					

tauna			22-cup'un	,	single-shot	?”	
ta-	*u	-na	22-cup'un		single-shot		
R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	22 shotgun		Single shot (type of gun)		
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX		LEX		
NP			NP		NP		
that one			22 shotgun		single-shot		

Free And then when I went home to the store, when I gave it back, I said to the clerk, "How much would I have to pay for that 22 single-shot?"

16.7	**Word** Nsk	15-dollars .
	Word Eng	
	Morphemes	15-dollars
	Lex. Gloss	15 dollars
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
	Word Cat.	NP
	Word Gloss	15 dollars

Free "15 dollars"

16.8	**Word** Nsk	Tua			tauva			.
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	ta-	*aw	-a	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	R<	AD2P	FTL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	
	Word Cat.	PAR			PAR			
	Word Gloss	and then			that's it			

Free And then that's it.

17	**Word** Nsk	[		,]
	Word Eng	one	time	
	Morphemes	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	

Free

18	**Word** Nsk	Akingelingraan				.
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	akinge	-li	-ngra	-a	-n
	Lex. Gloss	to earn money	CAUS	CNJ (even if)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NCP				
	Word Gloss	even if it cost that much (yet he earned more)				

Free Even though it cost that much.

19	**Word** Nsk	[				]
	Word Eng	when	they	were	young	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	

Free

20

Word Nsk	Akiimek	
Word Eng		
Morphemes	akii	-mek
Lex. Gloss	money	ABLC/INTC.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP	
Word Gloss	money	

Free Money.

21

Word Nsk	[			,								,		,			
Word Eng		some	families		they	used	to	go	spring	camping	for		um		like	mushrat	or
Morphemes		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***
Lex. Gloss		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***
Word Cat.		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***
Word Gloss		***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***		***	***	***

		]
mink	or	
***	***	
***	***	
***	***	
***	***	
***	***	

Free

22

Word Nsk	
Word Eng	muskrats
Morphemes	muskrats
Lex. Gloss	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***
Word Cat.	NP
Word Gloss	muskrats

Free

23.1	**Word** Nsk	[		,		,		,		,				
	Word Eng		Mostly	muskrat	s	because	there	s	that	s	the	only	way	trying	to
	Morphemes		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

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earn	money
***	***
***	***
***	***
***	***
***	***

Free

23.2	**Word** Nsk			,		,				,				
	Word Eng	So		one	time	he	went	with	his	families	go	have	spring	camping	in
	Morphemes	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, , .

someplace	in	the	lake	area	I	think	in	the	slough
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

23.3	**Word** Nsk					,			,	]
	Word Eng	And	they	hunt	muskrat	s	and	he	wanted	ah
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

24	**Word** Nsk	Cup'un
	Word Eng	
	Morphemes	cup'un
	Lex. Gloss	gun
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
	Word Cat.	NP
	Word Gloss	gun

Free A gun

25	**Word** Nsk	[	,			,								]
	Word Eng	Gun	when	someone	went	down	to	their	store	and	ask	them	if	they	have
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

26	**Word** Nsk	
	Word Eng	single-shot
	Morphemes	single-shot
	Lex. Gloss	Single shot (type of gun)
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
	Word Cat.	NP
	Word Gloss	Single shot (type of gun)

Free A single shot

27	**Word** Nsk	[	]
	Word Eng	22	
	Morphemes	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	
	Word Cat.	***	
	Word Gloss	***	

Free

28 **Word** Nsk
Word Eng single
Morphemes single
Lex. Gloss Single shot (type of gun)
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX
Word Cat. LEX
Word Gloss Single shot (type of gun)

Free Single

29.1 **Word** Nsk [, , ,
Word Eng Single shot gun an and they that clerk send him an after he was
Morphemes *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
Lex. Gloss *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
Lex. Gram. Info. *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
Word Cat. *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
Word Gloss *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***

, , , , ,
hunting using that gun he catch alot of um muskrat s an and then when their
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***

, , , ”
done camping he went home an he ask s or go see that clerk and ask him
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***

?”,
how much was that gun that he have to pay
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***
*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***

Free

29.2	**Word** Nsk					,		,			,				
	Word Eng	and	that	clerk	told	him	it	cost	s	15	dollars	an	so	he	paid
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, .]

from	what	he	catch	out	of	muskrat	s
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

30	**Word** Nsk	.	25-cents	akingqerluteng			
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes		25-cents	aking	-qer	-lu	-teg	-t
	Lex. Gloss		25 cents	to earn money	ITR	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.		NP	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.		NP	AVP				
	Word Gloss		25 cents	that's how much they cost				

Free They were worth 25 cents.

31	**Word** Nsk	[			,		,			,					,
	Word Eng	When	that	muskrat	s	one	muskrat	cost	s	25	cents	a	piece	but	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	a	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	

…]

he	earned	more	than	the
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***

Free

32	**Word** Nsk	15
	Word Eng	
	Morphemes	15
	Lex. Gloss	Fifteen
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
	Word Cat.	NP
	Word Gloss	Fifteen

Free Fifteen

33	**Word** Nsk	[		,		.]
	Word Eng	worth	of	ah	gun	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	

Free

34.1	**Word** Nsk	Tamakut				(	ig	,	ig	)	iligviit		
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t		ig		ig		iligvi	-i	-t
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL		muskrat		muskrat		muskrat	3P.ACC.PL	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM		LEX		LEX		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP					LEX		LEX		PNP		
	Word Gloss	those ones					muskrat		muskrat		(their) muskrats		

neqeqelluku pilallrukait .

neqe	-qe	-llu	-ku	pi	-la	-llru	-ka	-i	-t
food	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	to do	HAB	PST	PARTM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				RVP					
was their food				they used to do that					

Free Those muskrats were eaten, they used to do that.

34.2	**Word** Nsk	Amiraluku				,	ararluki			,				
	Word Eng													
	Morphemes	amir	-a	-lu	-ku		arar	-lu	-ki					
	Lex. Gloss	skin	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.SG		to hang	APPM	3P.ACC.PL					
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER					
	Word Cat.	AVP					AVP							
	Word Gloss	After they skin them					they hung them							

uitatcuaqerluki							celamun			,				
uitat	-cu	-a	-qer	-lu	-ki		cela		-mun					
to let be	tend to	ITR	simultaneously	APPM	3P.ACC.PL		world; universe; weather		ALLC.SG					
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		LEX		FM:GCF					
AVP							NP							
leave them for a while							outside							

nerluki-ll				tua			,	tua				kemget		
ner	-lu	-ki	=llu	t-	*u	-a		t-	*u	-a		kemge	-t	
eat	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	COO	R<	I1	FTL		R<	I1	FTL		meat	PL	
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM		LEX	FM:NUM	
AVP				PAR				PAR				NP		
and eat them too				and then				and then				the meat		

tamalkuan			muskrat-at		.
tamalku	-a	-n	muskrata	-t	
all of it	3P.NOM	SG.LF	muskrat	PL	
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	
PNP			NP		
all of it			those muskrats		

Free After they skin them, they hung them and left them for a while outside, and ate them too, and then, and then, all of the meat of those muskrats.

35.1	**Word** Nsk	[				,		,			,		,	
	Word Eng	also	those	what	they	catch	muskrat	s	they	alway	s	clean	em	gut
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, , , .

them	and	hang	em	outside	for	i	don	t	know	how	long
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

35.2 **Word** Nsk , ,

Word Eng	They	air	them	out	and	when	they	think	their	ready	to	eat	they	used
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, .]

to	eat	these	muskrat	s	too
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

36.1 **Word** Nsk Imkut-cuga pita ??

Word Eng						
Morphemes	*im	-ku	-t	=cuga	pi	-ta
Lex. Gloss	I0	FTO.NS	PL	you know	to do	PL.LF
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP				NP	
Word Gloss	You know those things				what's those	

Free You know those things, what are they??

36.2 **Word** Nsk (makelrait) imarmiutat ,
Word Eng
Morphemes makelrai -t imarmiuta -t
Lex. Gloss bearded seal PL mink PL
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX FM:NUM LEX FM:NUM
Word Cat. NP NP
Word Gloss bearded seal those minks

nerlaqait-llu tamakut

ner -la -ka -i -t =llu ta- *ma -ku -t
eat HAB PARTM.TR 3P.NOM.PLCOM PL COO R< I2 FTO.NS PL
LEX LEX>LEX FM:REA FM:PER FM:NUM ENC DEI:(Displacement) DEI DEI>DEM FM:NUM
RVP NP
they eat them too those ones

tamani , mikel …

ta- *ma -a -ni mikel
R< I2 FTL LOCC too small
DEI:(Displacement) DEI DEI>DEM FM:GCF LEX
NP LEX
there small

Free The bearded seal, the mink, they eat those ones too, there, the small..

37 **Word** Nsk [Cenkaat-llu ?]
Word Eng
Morphemes cenkaa -t =llu
Lex. Gloss land otter PL COO
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX FM:NUM ENC
Word Cat. NP
Word Gloss Otters too

Free And otters?

38.1 **Word** Nsk Ai ?
Word Eng
Morphemes ai
Lex. Gloss huh / what?
Lex. Gram. Info. PRT
Word Cat. PRT
Word Gloss huh / what?

Free What?

38.2 **Word** Nsk	Cenkaat		,	tawaten			
Word Eng							
Morphemes	cenkaa	-t		ta-	*w	-a	-ten
Lex. Gloss	land otter	PL		R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP			NP			
Word Gloss	otters			like this			

air-araluki

airar	-a	-lu	-ki
air	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			
after they air them out			

Free Otters, like this, after they air them out.

39 **Word** Nsk	[							,					,					,
Word Eng		They	used	to	eat	the	mink		s	too	and	otter		s	after	they	clean	
Morphemes		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	
Lex. Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	
Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	
Word Cat.		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	
Word Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	

	,							,				,						,		
em		gut	them	and	air	them	out		for	i	don		t	know	for	how	long		and	they
***		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***
***		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***
***		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***
***		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***
***		***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***

				,				,		,		,		,			,				
also	eat	those	otter		s	or	mink		s		because		ah		they	don		t	really	much	have
***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***		***	***		***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***		***	***		***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***		***	***		***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***		***	***		***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***		***	***	***		***		***		***		***	***		***	***	***	***

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lot	of	foods	like	we	do	right	now
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

40.1	**Word** Nsk	Cali	,	makut			neqkat		,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	cali		*ma	-ku	-t	neqka	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	also		I2	FTO.NS	PL	food ready for consumption	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	PRT		NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	also		these			fish		

neqkat pissullteng , makut

neqka	-t	pissu	-llu	-teg	-t	*ma	-ku	-t
food ready for consumption	PL	to hunt	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
NP		AVP				NP		
fish		of what they catch				these		

mani , waten , freezer-aunateng

*ma	-a	-ni	*w	-a	-ten	freezera	-u	-na	-teg	-t
I2	FTL	LOCC	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	freezer	is	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NP			AVP				
here			like this			had no freezer				

pillruameng , waten

pi	-llru	-a	-meg	-t	*w	-a	-ten
to do	PST	CNJ (because/when)	4P.ERG	PL	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP					NP		
they did that					like this		

assiirutcunateng (fre) neqkait

assii	-rutc	-u	-na	-teg	-t	***	neqka	-i	-t
bad	for the sake of	to be N	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	***	food ready for consumption	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	***	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP						***	PNP		
they never got spoiled						***	their prepared food		

tamakut waten pilingermeng ,

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ten	pi	-li	-nger	-meg	-t
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to do	make it	CNJ (even if)	4P.ERG	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				NP			PNP				
those ones				like this			even if they were made to be				

qungatnaurait .

qungat	-naur	-a	-i	-t
to store	HAB	INDM.TR	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP				
they stored them away				

Free Also, these fish, their catch, these here, like this, they didn't have a freezer so they did it like this and they never got spoiled .. (free ...) their fish—those ones — they are done like this, they store them away.

40.2 Cat , manitellriat ukut (age)

Word Nsk			manitellriat			ukut			
Word Eng									
Morphemes	ca	-t	manite	-llria	-t	*u	-ku	-t	***
Lex. Gloss	Q	PL	rough	the one who is V-ing	PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	***
Word Cat.	NP		NP			NP			***
Word Gloss	whatever		the rough ones			these			***

uqumun ek'luki , manigtengmanaqelluki kiagpak .

uqu	-mun	ek'	-lu	-ki	manigte	-ngnanaqe	-llu	-ki	kiagpak
oil	ALLC.SG	put in	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	smooth or flatten	to try to	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	all summer long
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX
NP		AVP			AVP				NP
seal oil		put them in			try to flatten them				all summer long

Free Whatever, those which were rought (ag...) they put them in seal oil to try and flatten them for the whole summer.

41.1	Word Nsk	[													
	Word Eng	and	they	used	to	take	care	of	the	foods	that	they	need	for	winter	supply
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

.

Free

41.2	Word Nsk			,					’							’			
	Word Eng	And	the	and	since	they	don	t	have	freezer	by	then	sometimes	when					
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					

they	catch	seal	,	they	skin	the	seal	and	,	not	cut	it	in	a	stomach	or	they	just
***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	a	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
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***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***

only	cuts	, start	from	the	mouth	all	the	way	to	the	end	.
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
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***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	

Free

41.3 **Word** Nsk ,

Word Eng	And	after	they	finish	they	take	the	inside	out	and	clean	it	and	air	it
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, , ,

out	dry	it	after	they	blow	it	they	blow	it	and	dry	it	and	when	they	dry
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, , ,]

they	put	ah	seal	oils
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***

Free

42 **Word** Nsk pitciatun

Word Eng

Morphemes	pit	-te	-a	-tun
Lex. Gloss	catch game	go obtain	3P.ERG	AEQC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP			
Word Gloss	any old way			

Free Any old way.

43.1 **Word** Nsk [, , ,

Word Eng	seals	inside	seal	oil	inside	or	meat	or	anything	they	put	em	or
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, , .

hang	em	or	put	em
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***

Free

43.2 **Word** Nsk , , , , ,

Word Eng	THose	times	they	used	to	have	ah	little	what	they	call	shed	the
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, .

little	house	on	away	from	the	ground
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

43.3 **Word** Nsk , , , (

Word Eng	They	build	little	house	and	keep	their	food	winter	time	by	that	time	even
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

) , .

mak	mungtak	white	whale
***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***

Free

43.4 **Word** Nsk , , .

Word Eng	They	cook	em	after	they	catch	em
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

43.5 **Word** Nsk , ,

Word Eng	They	cook	them	with	oil	on	and	they	put	em	into	that	dried	seal
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, , .

and	put	em	inside	that	little	house	storing	foos	house
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

43.6 **Word** Nsk , , , .

Word Eng	And	their	foods	all	kinds	they	don	t	be	spoiled	by	them
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

43.7 **Word** Nsk , , ,

Word Eng	And	spring	time	when	they	hunt	eggs	they	put	em	in	the	in	the
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, .

barrel	out
***	***
***	***
***	***
***	***
***	***

Free

43.8 **Word** Nsk , .

Word Eng	Ah	seal	oil	in	the	barrel	and	then	put	those	eggs	inside
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

43.9 **Word** Nsk ,

Word Eng	And	they	have	eggs	all	summer	when	those	what	they	hunt	and	they	never	be
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

, .

spoiled	keep	away	from	the	sun
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

43.10	**Word** Nsk		,		,		,							,
	Word Eng	And	even	hum	beavers	they	use	their	oil	for	bacon	in	the	morning
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

.

fry	them
***	***
***	***
***	***
***	***
***	***

Free

43.11	**Word** Nsk							,				]
	Word Eng	They	used	to	eat	the	beavers	to	roast	them	with	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	

Free

44	**Word** Nsk	....	.....	.....
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes			
	Lex. Gloss			
	Lex. Gram. Info.			
	Word Cat.			
	Word Gloss			

Free

45.1	Word Nsk	[	,	,	,	,	,
	Word Eng	with	um	flapper	little	flour	on
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***

bake	them	use	the	fat	for	their	bacon	in	the	morning
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

45.2	Word Nsk								,		,			
	Word Eng	And	they	have	what	they	call	those	maybe	beaver	s	balls	they	used	to
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

,		,	,	,	,									
use	em	for	their	medicine	those	days	years	back	dry	em	first	and	use	them	for
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

.]
anything
***
***
***
***
***

Free

46	**Word** Nsk	....	.....	.....						
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes									
	Lex. Gloss									
	Lex. Gram. Info.									
	Word Cat.									
	Word Gloss									
Free										

47.1	**Word** Nsk	[				.
	Word Eng	for	them	for	medicine	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	
Free						

47.2	**Word** Nsk				]
	Word Eng	And	they	be	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	
Free					

48	**Word** Nsk	Yugyunun-llu				cikertutaqelluki				
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	yug	-ya	-nun	=llu	cikir	-tu	-taqe	-llu	-ki
	Lex. Gloss	person	to be many	ALLC	COO	to give	to V for some duration	to be by nature	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP				AVP				
	Word Gloss	To the people				they would give them				

tamakut

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM

NP
those ones

Free And they would give those to the people too.

49	**Word Nsk**	[									]
	Word Eng	And	they	always	give	away	to	the	people	when	they
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

50	**Word Nsk**	Share
	Word Eng	
	Morphemes	share
	Lex. Gloss	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***
	Word Cat.	***
	Word Gloss	***

Free

51.1	**Word Nsk**	[					,			,			,	
	Word Eng	going	to	have	in	enough	especially	for	those	who	do	not	or	who
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

cannot	hunt	or	even	the	widow	s	those	who	have	big	families
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

51.2

Word Nsk														
Word Eng	And	when	they	pick	berries	too	summer	time	they	fill	up	their	how	many
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

barrels	of	berries	and	they	cover	em
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

51.3

Word Nsk													
Word Eng	They	always	have	different	way	of	covering	after	they	fill	it	some	they
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

always	put	ah	some	kind	of	greens	to	avoid	them	from	getting	mold	and	when	I	was
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

growing	I	remember	ah	they	put	greens	on	top	and	then	cover	it	and	some	with	lard
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

on	top	and	some	would	put	lots	of	sugar	on	top	and	just	to	avoid	from	getting	mold
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

51.4

Word Nsk													
Word Eng	They	would	have	berries	all	winter	long	so	because	they	don	t	have
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

anything	like	what	we	have	right	now
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

52

Word Nsk	Paluqtarnek-ll			nertullermeggni				
Word Eng								
Morphemes	Paluqtar	-nek	=llu	ner	-tu	-ller	-megg	-ni
Lex. Gloss	beaver	ABLC/INTC	COO	food	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	4P.ERG	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP			NCP				
Word Gloss	and beavers			when they ate them				

ceggankegturunaurtut

cegga	-na	-kegt	-ur	-u	-naur	-tu	-t
to become more active	VOL	to be good N	CONT	to be N	HAB	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP							
they felt very active							

tua yuut .

t-	*u	-a	yuu	-t
R<	I1	FTL	person	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:NUM
PAR			NP	
and then			people	

Free And when they ate beaver, then the people felt very active.

53	**Word** Nsk	[								,		,		,	
	Word Eng		And	people	eat	what	they	eat	like	beaver	s	they	be	lively	they	hardly
	Morphemes		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

]

get	sick	or
***	***	***
***	***	***
***	***	***
***	***	***
***	***	***

Free

54	**Word** Nsk	Even	,	qimugtet-llu			tua		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	even		qimugte	-t	=llu	t-	*u	-a
	Lex. Gloss	even		dog	PL	COO	R<	I1	FTL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		LEX	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP			PAR		
	Word Gloss	even		and the dogs			and then		

tuaten				ayuqluku		.
t-	*u	-a	-ten	ayuq	-lu	-ku
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to resemble	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				AVP		
like this				the same way		

Free And even the dogs like this, the same way.

55.1	**Word** Nsk	[							,						’
	Word Eng	Even	they	give	some	to	their	dogs	and	they	would	have	gather	lot	s
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

,						,		.
of	all	kinds	of	different	greens	especially	spring	time
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

55.2	**Word** Nsk		,	,											
	Word Eng	And	ah	like	they	have	good	foods	by	those	days	and	hardly	people	get
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

.
sick
***
***
***
***
***

Free

55.3	**Word** Nsk		,		,				’					,
	Word Eng	I	years	back	cause	even	some	of	em	they	eat	them	now	they	catch
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

]

Free

56	**Word** Nsk	Cakmaken-llu				waten		
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	*cakm	-a	-ken	=llu	*w	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	AR0E	FTL	FTL.ABLC	COO	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP				NP		
	Word Gloss	down river too				like this		

school-avingqatallratni mani

schoola	-vi	-ngqa	-ta	-llr	-a	-t	-ni	*ma	-a	-ni
school	place to V	state of having been	for there to be	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	PL	LOCC	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP								NP		
when they were getting a school								here		

, nugtaqellemteni mavet ,

nugtaqe	-lle	-m	-te	-ni	*ma	-a	-vet
move on from one place to another	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP					NP		
when we moved around					here		

yuut			cimellruniiluki						,	ikaisusuirulluku			
yuu	-t		cime	-llru	-nii	-lu	-ki			ikaisu	-suiru	-llu	-ku
person	PL		to change	PST	to claim that	APPM	3P.ACC.PL			to help; to bless	to no longer V	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	FM:NUM		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER			LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			AVP							AVP			
people			had changed							they stopped helping			

cali	mavet				,	caumaksusaqelluki							
cali	*ma	-a	-vet			caumak	-su	-saqe	-llu	-ki			
also	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC			to offend or pay attention to	to want to V	to V in vain	APPM	3P.ACC.PL			
PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF			LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER			
PRT	NP					AVP							
again	here					they started offending others							

tuaten						ilaateng-llu						or	
t-	*u	-a	-ten			ilaa	-teg	-t	=llu	or			
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC			relative	4P.NOM	PL	COO	or			
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF			LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	PAR			
NP						PNP				PAR			
like that						and to relatives				or			

neqkanek-ll						share-arsuiruluteng							.
neqka			-nek	=llu		sharear	-suiru	-lu	-teg	-t			
food ready for consumption			ABLC/INTC	COO		share	to no longer V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL			
LEX			FM:GCF	ENC		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM			
NP						AVP							
and with food						they stop sharing							

Free And down river, when they were getting a school like this here, when we moved here, people changed. They stopped helping again here. They started offending others like that, and to their relatives they stopped sharing their food.

57.1	**Word** Nsk	[									.
	Word Eng	When	the	school	was	going	to	build	here	in	Kotlik
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

57.2	Word Nsk							,					,				
	Word Eng	How	many	villages	they	move	here		and	like	since	then		hardly	anybody	start	not
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***		***	***	***	***

helping	one	another	or	sharing	foods	or	start	to	be	at	each	others	and	not	quite	place	like
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

					.]
their	own	place	years	back	
***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	
***	***	***	***	***	

Free

58	Word Nsk	Ii-i
	Word Eng	
	Morphemes	Ii-i
	Lex. Gloss	Yes
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR
	Word Cat.	PAR
	Word Gloss	Yes

Free Yes

59	Word Nsk	[			.]
	Word Eng		They	change	
	Morphemes		***	***	
	Lex. Gloss		***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	
	Word Cat.		***	***	
	Word Gloss		***	***	

Free

60	**Word** Nsk	Tawaten				ataam	ca'mek		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	ataam	ca'	-mek	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	again	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP				PRT	NP		
	Word Gloss	like this				again	what		

piniartua , (qaner) qanerkairutengralua

pi	-niar	-tu	-a	qaner	qanerka	-irute	-ngra	-lu	-a	
to do	FUT	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	to speak	speech	to no longer be	state of having been	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
RVP				LEX	AVP					
I can do that				to speak	I have no more to say					

carrarmek .

carrar	-mek
a little bit	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF
NP	
very few	

Free Like this again, what I can do, (to say), I have very little more to say.

61.1	**Word** Nsk	[					….
	Word Eng	he	said	his	out	of	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	

Free

61.2	**Word** Nsk				,		]
	Word Eng	but	think	of	what	hee	hee
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

62	**Word** Nsk	Ataam	piciqua				ataam	,	cami	
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ataam	pi	-ciq	-u	-a	ataam		ca	-mi
	Lex. Gloss	again	to do	FUT	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	again		Q	to V also
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	PRT		LEX	LEX>LEX
	Word Cat.	PRT	RVP				PRT		PAR	
	Word Gloss	again	I will				again		whenever	

ayagpailgan .

ayag	-pailg	-a	-n
to go away	CNJ (before)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP			
before he leaves			

Free I will do it again, whenever, before he leaves.

63	**Word** Nsk	[														.]
	Word Eng	he	say	he	might	have	some	more	after	we	think	of	what	to	talk	about
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

64	**Word** Nsk	{		,		,								,
	Word Eng		Ok		um		will	he	be	willing	to	tell	me	the	muskrat	story	the
	Morphemes		***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss		***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.		***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss		***		***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

														?}
		,												
hunting	muskrat	will	he	be	able	to	tell	me	that	story	right	now		
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***		

Free

65	**Word** Nsk	[		’		?]
	Word Eng		what	s	that	
	Morphemes		***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss		***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***	
	Word Cat.		***	***	***	
	Word Gloss		***	***	***	

Free

66	**Word** Nsk	{				,									?}
	Word Eng		the	muskrat	story		will	he	be	able	to	tell	that	hunting	story
	Morphemes		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss		***	***	***		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

67	Word Nsk	[													]
	Word Eng		that	spring	time	what	they	hunt							
	Morphemes		***	***	***	***	***	***							
	Lex. Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***							
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***	***	***	***							
	Word Cat.		***	***	***	***	***	***							
	Word Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***							
	Free														

68	Word Nsk	{		,												?}
	Word Eng		um	does	he	want	to	tell	me	the	hunting	story	for	that	one	trip
	Morphemes		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Free															

69	Word Nsk	[		,		’										,]
	Word Eng		Yeah	that	s	the	one	we	talked	about	earlier					
	Morphemes		yeah	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					
	Lex. Gloss		yeah	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					
	Word Cat.		LEX	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					
	Word Gloss		Yeah	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***					
	Free															

70	Word Nsk	{		}
	Word Eng		Ok	
	Morphemes		***	
	Lex. Gloss		***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	
	Word Cat.		***	
	Word Gloss		***	
	Free			

71.1	Word Nsk	[						,				,		,
	Word Eng	When	they	go	spring	time	camping	people	used	to	go	ah	spring	time
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

.

muskrat	hunting
***	***
***	***
***	***
***	***
***	***

Free

71.2	Word Nsk				,			,			,				
	Word Eng	Even	we	did	once	or	twice	after	we	got	married	we	go	with	his
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

.

brothers	some	place	and	muskrat	hunting
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

71.3	Word Nsk			,		,							,	,
	Word Eng	Evening	time	they	d	be	gone	all	night	til	in	the	morning	they
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	till	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

,

.]

d	bring	alot	of	muskrat	s	and	they	skin	and	dry	them
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

72	**Word** Nsk	Tamakut				qanrutellerput				,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	qanrute	-ller	-pu	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to tell	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.NOM	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP				TCP				
	Word Gloss	those ones				that we spoke of				

Free Those ones we spoke about.

73	**Word** Nsk	[	,]
	Word Eng	so	
	Morphemes	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	
	Word Cat.	***	
	Word Gloss	***	

Free

74	**Word** Nsk	Yeah
	Word Eng	
	Morphemes	yeah
	Lex. Gloss	yeah
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
	Word Cat.	PAR
	Word Gloss	Yeah

Free

75	**Word** Nsk	[							,]
	Word Eng		so	those	are	what	we	do	with
	Morphemes		***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.		***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss		***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

76	**Word** Nsk	Mm-m							
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	Mm-m							
	Lex. Gloss	mm-m							
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR							
	Word Cat.	PAR							
	Word Gloss	mm-m							

Free

77	**Word** Nsk	[		]					
	Word Eng		try	to					
	Morphemes		***	***					
	Lex. Gloss		***	***					
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	***					
	Word Cat.		***	***					
	Word Gloss		***	***					

Free

78	**Word** Nsk	Ataam	cali	piniartua					,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ataam	cali	pi	-niar	-tu	-a		
	Lex. Gloss	again	also	to do	FUT	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	PRT	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER		
	Word Cat.	PRT	PRT	RVP					
	Word Gloss	again	also	I can do that					

caliksugtuyugtua .

cali	-ksugtu	-yug	-tu	-a
to work	in a small way	to want to V	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
RVP				

I want to do some little work

Free I can do it again, I just want to get a bit of work done.

79	**Word** Nsk	[	’	,			,			...		]
	Word Eng	he	say	s	those	are	things	right	now	we	talked	about	hee	hee
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

80	**Word** Nsk	{	,	,	}
	Word Eng	ok	awesome	um	quyana
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***

Free

C.5.3 IH2018: Discourse Analysis

For this analysis, only the first Act is analyzed. The first Act is defined as from the start of Carra's (IH) discourse to the end of that thematic section where he summarizes the Act before linking into a new thematic section.

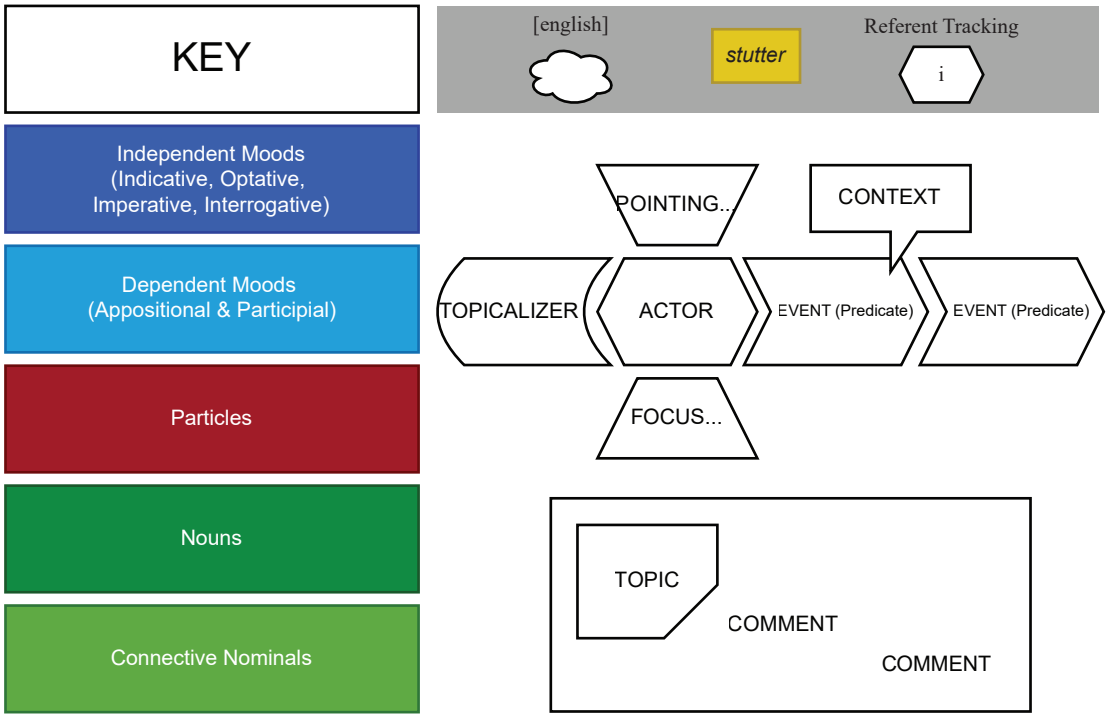


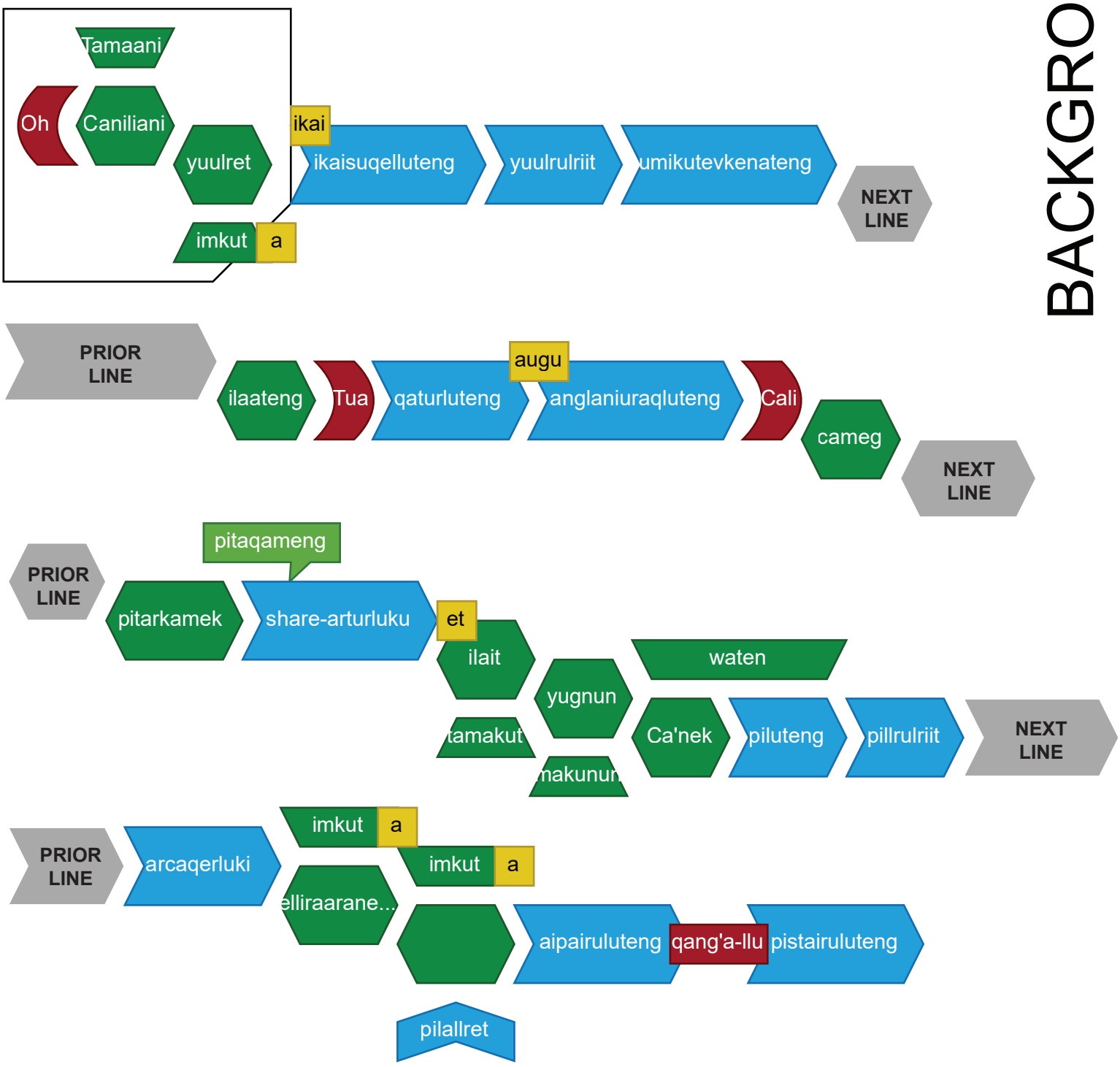
Figure C.3: Discourse Analysis Key

IH Discourse Diagram - 1

(IH 2018)

BACKGROUND

IH: oh, Tamaani Caniliani, yuulret imkut(a), (ikai) ikaisuqelluteng yuulrulriit, umikutevkenateng ilaateng. Tua, qaturluteng (augu) anglaniuraqluteng. Cali, cameg pitarkamek pitaqameng, share-arturluku (et) ilait tamakut yugnun makunun. Ca'nek waten piluteng pillrulriit, arcaqerluki imkut ah, elliraaranek pilallret imkut, (a), aipairuluteng qang'a-llu pistairuluteng.



(This discourse includes an in-dialogue translation in English on the next page)

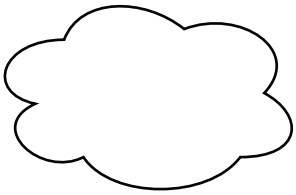
IH Discourse Diagram - 2

(IH 2018)

BACKGROUND

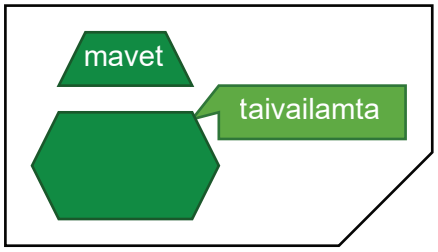
AH

AH: [In time of our growing, Caniliak]



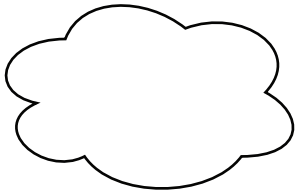
IH

IH: Mavet taivailamta.



AH

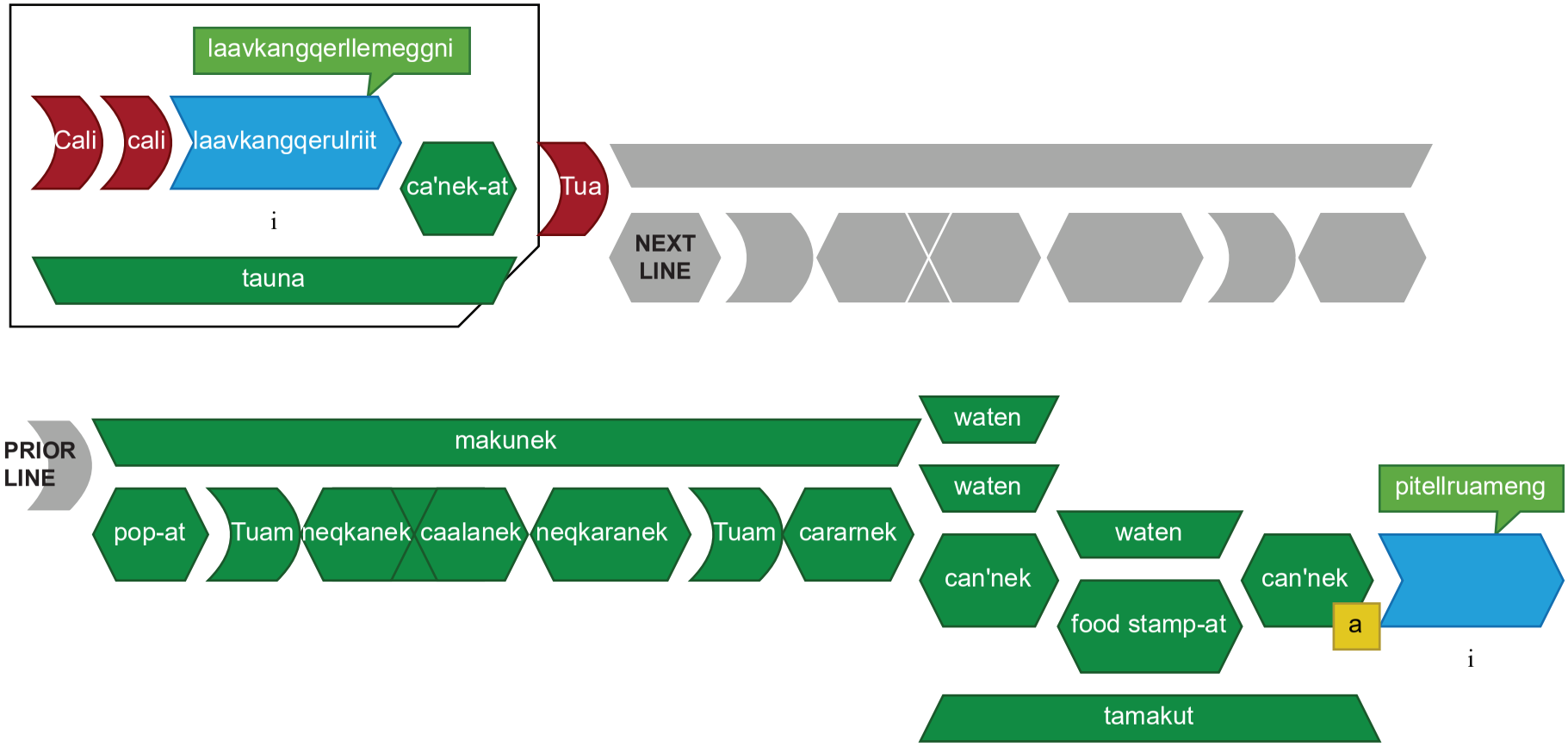
AH: [Before we move here, people were helping each other when their getting (sh) things, foods for themself, and they share it with the families, other families, especially the orphan's or widows or those people that cannot work. What they get, when person get's some animal, they share it to the people trying to give everybody because Caniliak was not a big village, it's small. Try to give everyone, even a piece to have everybody.]



IH Discourse Diagram - 3

(IH 2018)

IH: Cali, cali, laavkangqerllemeggni, laavkangqerulriit, ca'nek-tat tauna tua makunek pop-at tuam neqkanek, caalanek, neqkaranek tuam cararnek.
Waten, waten ca'nek, waten food stamp-at ca'nek (a) tamakut pitellruameng.

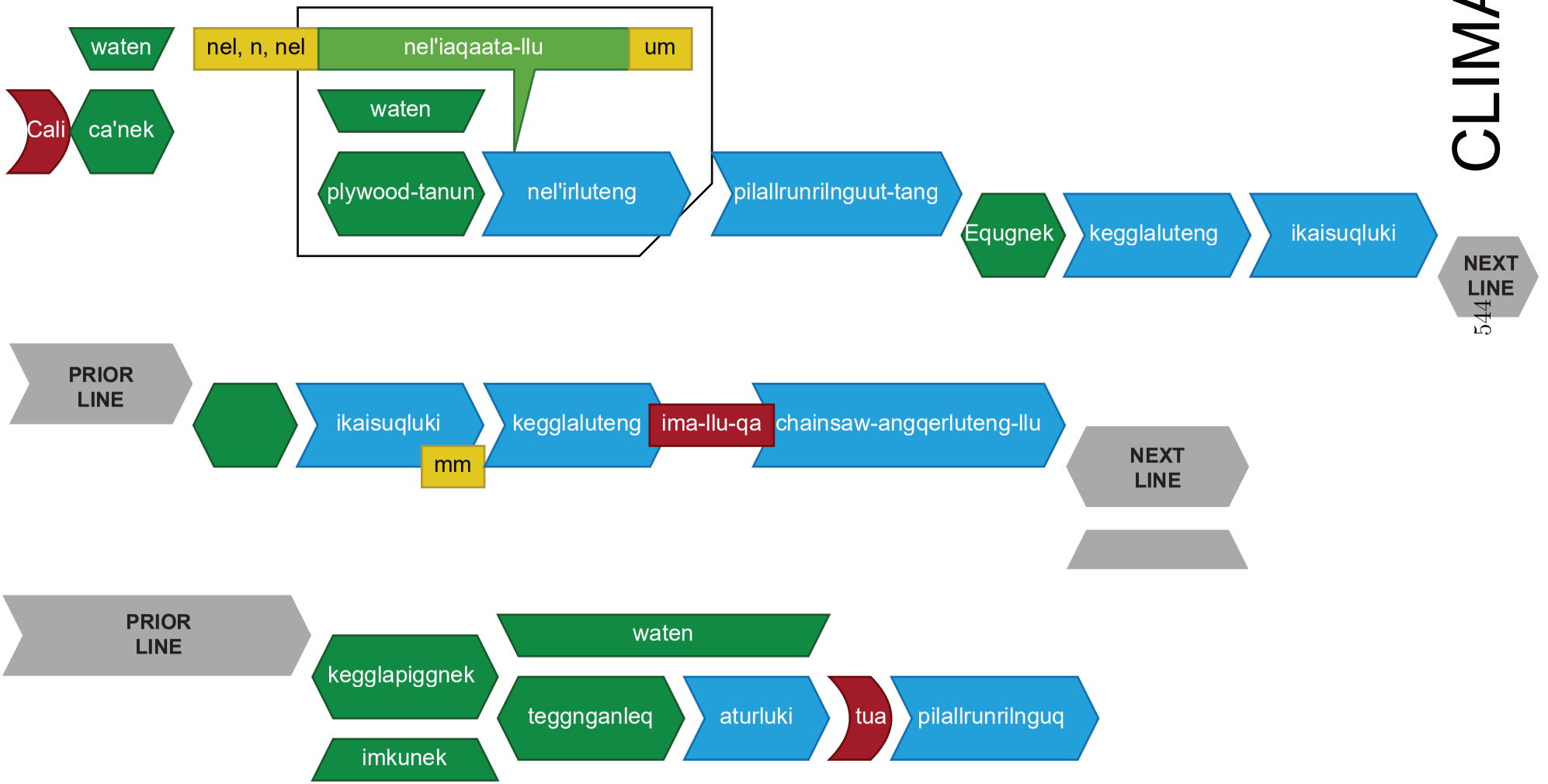


(Climax continues on the next page)

IH Discourse Diagram - 4

(IH 2018)

Cali, waten ca'nek (nel, n, nel) nel'iaqaata-llu, um, waten plywood-tanun nel'irluteng pilallrunrilnguut-tang. Equgnek kegglaluteng ikaisuqluki.
Ikaisuluki, (mm) kegglaluteng, imalluqa chainsaw-angqerluteng-llu, kegglapiggnek imkunek waten teggnganleq, aturluki pilallrunrilnguq tua.



(This discourse includes an in-dialogue translation in English on the next page)

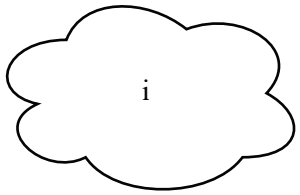
IH Discourse Diagram - 5

(IH 2018)

CLIMAX

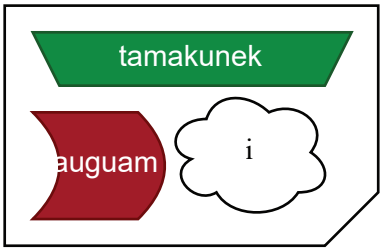
AH

AH: [Those times where we live, ah, they don't have so much stuff at the store, they just have only few, mainly like coffee, tea, flour, lard or jello, and]



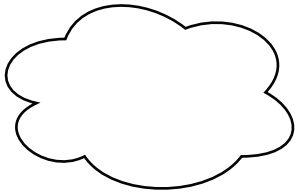
IH

IH: Tamakunek tauguam



AH

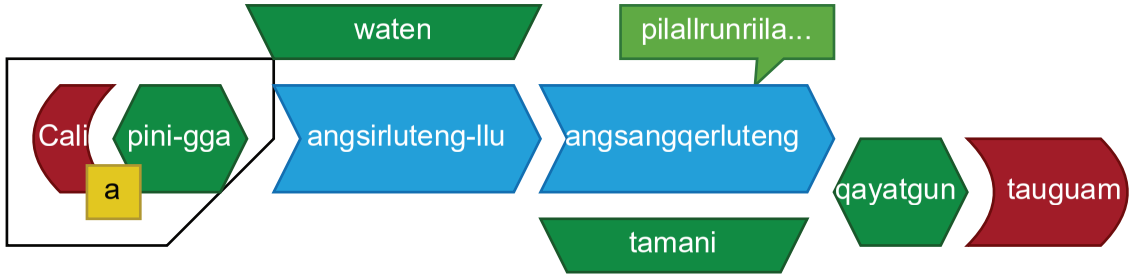
AH: [no sweet stuff, and they were cheap, by that time, and, um, and when people, like for couples, when they get married. They, ah, get logs to build a house for them, everybody help, and they don't have, they never had plywoods or anything by that time. They just used the logs, cutting them in half, and make a log house. They use big long saw, and one on top and one on the bottom, so they both do that to cut that, um, log in half and pretty soon, they make a house, that way.]



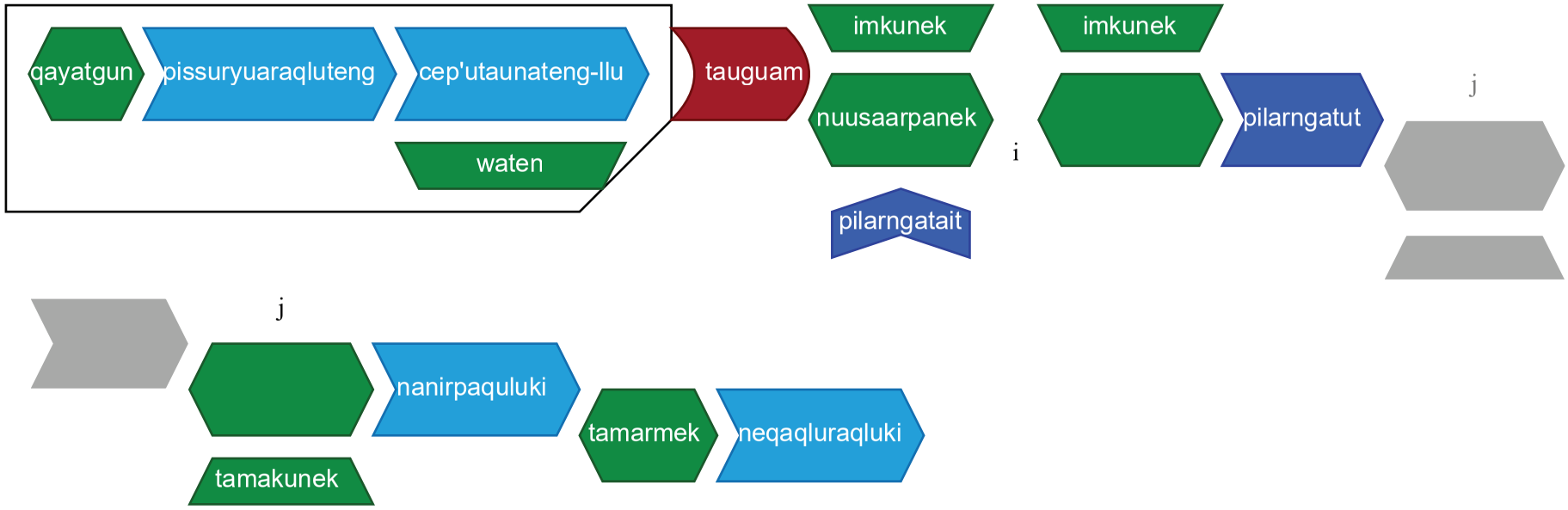
IH Discourse Diagram - 6

(IH 2018)

IH: Cali, ah, pinigga!?! waten angsirluteng-llu angsangqerluteng pilallrunriilam tamani, qayatgun tauguam.



IH: Qayatgun pissuryuaraqluteng, cep'utaunateng-llu, waten tauguam imkunek, nuusaarpanek pilarngatait, imkunek pilarngatut, tamakunek nanirpaquluki tamarmek neqaqluraqluki.

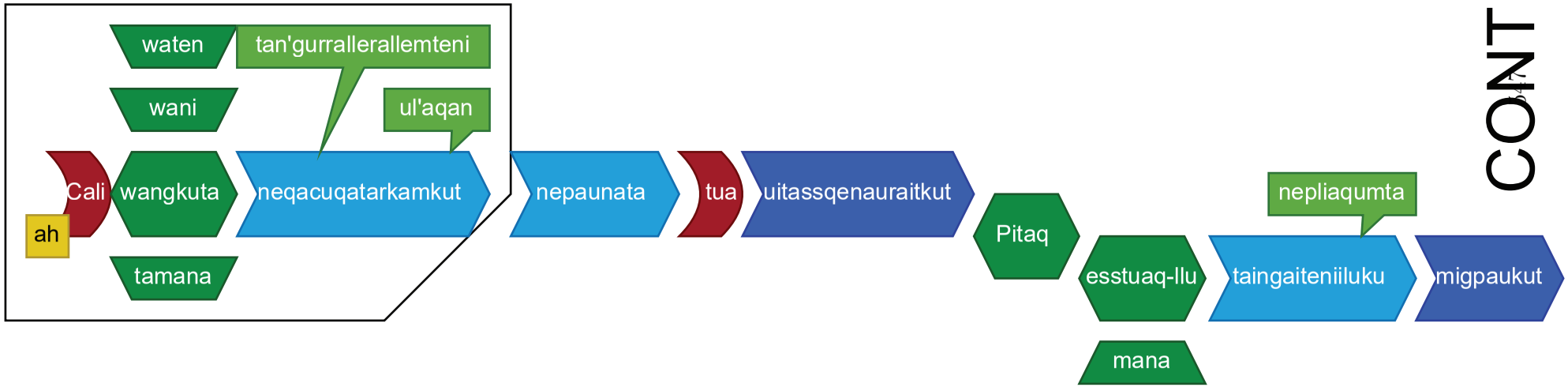


(Continuation continues on the next page)

IH Discourse Diagram - 7

(IH 2018)

IH: Ah, cali waten wani wangkuta tamana, tan'gurrallerallemteni, neqacuqatarkamkut ul'aqan, nepaunata tua, uitassqenauraitkut.
Pitaq esstuaq-llu mana taingaiteniiluku nepliaqumta, migpaukut.



(This discourse includes an in-dialogue translation in English on the next page)

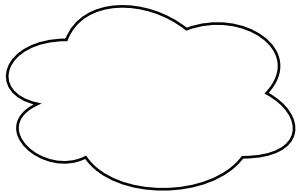
IH Discourse Diagram - 8

(IH 2018)

CONTINUATION

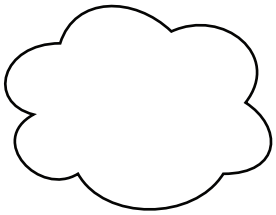
AH

AH: [When their going to hunt, for foods, they had no boats like the way we have now, only kayak, and no motor, they only go by kayak with oar. Sometimes, two men in one kayak, sitting back to back, and they had no guns, they use only]



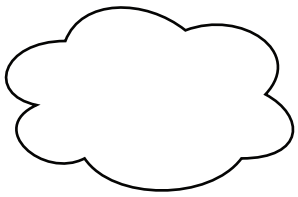
IH

IH: Spear



AH

AH: [some kind of bow and arrow to hunt ducks or anything, and when their hunting, they tell either like their kids, not to make noise. Um, when the tide come, they go, they get ready and go by kayak and they tell everybody to be quite so those animals will come without hearing noise. When they hear noise, they, get scared and they don't want to go close.]



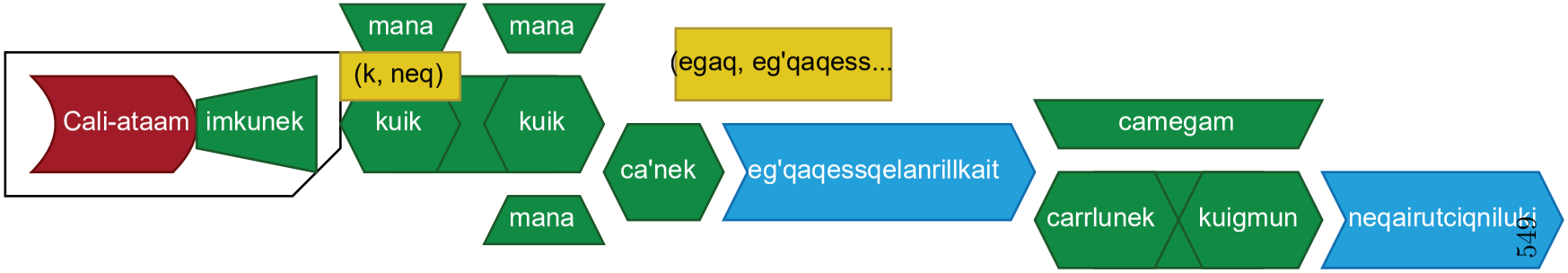
IH Discourse Diagram - 9

(IH 2018)

(This summary section serves as a transition between Act I and Act II, [which is not included])

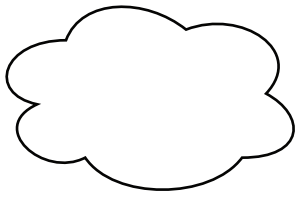
IH

IH: Cali-ataam, imkunek mana (k, neq) kuik mana, kuik mana ca'nek (egaq, eg'qaqessqelinrit) eg'qaqessqelanrillkait camegam carrlunek kuigmun, neqairutciqniluki.



AH

AH: [They also, the people here used to tell the people or their kids or anybody like when they gather foods, they always tell them not to throw anything in the river, otherwise they be no more fish or seafoods. They wouldn't be coming if we keep throwing things in the river. Because when they throw'em they get smelly in the river and those animals they smell the smells of what they throw and they don't go to that area where they throw.]



C.6 Waralria's Univkaraq

Narrated by: Cecilia 'Waralria' Mikes
Interlocutors: [Lorencia Mikes]
Narrator's Birth Place: Pastuliq
Narrator's year of Birth: 1934-2019
Narrator's Residence: Kotlik

Recorded by: Lorencia Mikes
Year: 2017
Location: Cecilia's Living Room
Transcribed by: Theresa George
Translated by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler
Interlinear Analysis and Annotation by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler

Context: Waralria was another Elder I was encouraged to work with when I first began my documentation project on the Norton Sound Kotlik dialect, formerly known as the Norton Sound Pastulik dialect, as she is from Pastulik and a monolingual speaker of Yugtun. She did not feel comfortable working with me, however. In 2017, she decided she wished to make a recording of her life. I taught her daughter Lorencia how to use the audio recorder, and Lorencia made the recording in their living room. Unfortunately, this was the only recording made before her passing.

C.6.1 CM2017: Waralria's Univkaraq

Watawa-guq yuut makut, nutarat tan'gurraat ayasuirutut-guq natmun yuilqumun, ca'nek pissusuiruluteng.

[Qayuga pillruten, (mik) mikellemni elpet Pastulitum? (Qaya) Qayaqun ayaglallruut?]

Cellangellrunga tawaten. Qayakun ayagatuluteng, malirqaqluteng-llu qayakun. Angsakun-llu ut'raraluteng camp-aryartuwaqluteng. Neqet tutaqata, kuvsirluteng, cegluteng, kenirciriluteng, qimugteteng-llu kelekluku. Kiagungraan, neqat piaqata, neqait nanerkuam (alung) alunguliluki, nerevkarnaurait. Cegnaurtut amlernek. Nasqurtumaitall ilait. Nanerlugtumaita egcessunateng. kenraqata ataam, qungaluki, kingunegmegni ut'ruluki.

[How you guys used to put away food? No freezer, no refrigerator,

Qayuga neqet pilallrualci?]

Neqkateng tamakut, waten melqunek piluki, qillerluki, qavciuraqluki tayima twentiuluki-llu pilallekait, angaqluteng waten-guq qillertait. Nanerlugtumaluteng ilait nasqurtumaluteng. Utrutaqluki tawaten, mamteramun-llu elliluki.

[Witaqluku mamterami?]

Neqkamegnek, (kep) neqerrlugkamegnek piaqameng, putcunamun ekurnaurait. Putcunanek tayima qavcinek imiulartut, pingqellriit, culunarluteng tawaten tarsaqvarmek. Tawaten augna, tangqellra kingurluku tauguam. Tamanitesstun, cellangellemesstun ayuquq.

[How old pilarlarsset, elitcarlartit, when they, how old?]

Cat imkut?

[Mekelnguruat, ikaiyurnaurait, Aanani, Aatani, cami? How old pilallruat elitcarluku?]

Pisaurtaqata tegularsaurtaqata.

[Oh! Even hunting?]

Yeah, quyuga elitellruat tamakut. Pituluteng, maklagnek-llu pitcaurluteng.

[They used to put'em in the same qayaq? Their, their kids, the aataq's?]

Ut'ruluku cenamun, yugsayaqameng pilagluku, aruquteklallruat.

[Oh!]

Nangluku, pegtevkenaku, (est) esstuartaqameng-llu, mangtagtumaan kemegtumaanllu. Tamalkuan ut'ruluku. Tamakut, anguteteng cekerturluki.

[How they used to bring the esstuaq home? With qayaq, tie it?]

Qayuga piluq taggularatatgu unaken imarpigmek. Yaqsinrelngurmun tauguam tagciaqata, mekelnguaraat, ullagaqata, wangkuta, ilaput tamakut ullautaqata, wangkuta-llu malegluki tangeqsarturaqlua. Pilagnganan ratni tangkenauraput, taqutengaqemeng, mangtiinek kepuluteng, waten ukliuruluki. Cikertuqungnauraukut mangtagmek.

[Oh!]

Quyaqapegnaurtukut tawaten, nerluta.

[Tengmiarsugtun qayuga pissurlallruat? Cup'unerellruci?] Camek?

[Tengmiamek, qursuq, qutraq?]

Qayuga tamakut qungallartaiteki.

[Qayuga, how Aapaq used to hunt'em? With cup'uq? Cup'engqellruuq? OH!]

Cup'utengqellruuq.

[Oh!]

Angsarlugangqerluta-ll cawiglainarmek. Angsangemteggun ayagaqluta, campayarturluta.

[Imna barge-aq Pastulimi paingani, camek (tek, cekiu) tekiutellrua?]

Kuigerestngullruq-ruq

[Cam'ek?]

Kuignek-ruq kitugcessta!

[Oh!, tuani ciqu. . .]

(Tuai) Tuani tawaten pinginanratni cellangellrunga.
[Oh!]
(Pisuit) Pisuirutnerategun
[Oh! Ciqumillruq tuani, tauna barge-aq?]
Pillian atusuirutellrutki.
[Oh!]
Cellangellrunga, cellangertallrunga, tauna barge-aq tumangqaluni. Tuskarlianaq.
[Oh!]
(Pap) Pakmani-llu qaingani, malruk waten, mitatcungaak.
[Oh! Eh]
Imkuk-llu pilitarpiik, pilitarpikelliik taukuk uitallriik. Akiklerlutek iluani, puyirvingqerlutek. Tawaten ayuqngananrani cellangellrunga. Naparsarpik-llu taukuk, caviyagarnek pingqerluteng.
Tegusutengqerluteng, imlall- yani ciungani. Tauguam, atusuirutnerategun, cellangellrunga. Imkut-llu pavani cenami, pacayagaat, cuplunek uciluteng. Tamani ellimaluteng cenami.
[Oh! When you guys get sick, how you guys used to...When you get sick..in Pastulik?
(Caq) Qayuga (pil) pilartuci?]
Qayuga pilallrunritukut, wangkuta-ll iliit iqanremta uitauqelluta. Canek tauguam aspirin-nanek(a) (pilallek) pilallekiatekut. Clinic-kaunateng-llu, cat tauguam tekiluteng, nurse-at-llu tekiluteng, kepuriaturnaurtut. Taukununram tangkellua tamana kinguneqa, neqaqluku. Pilallrullinilellriit avani, manetesstun. Neqsuraqameng-llu neqkateng kinerserluki. Neqlerluteng.
[Tamerpitci ikaiyuqellruci? You, Ang'ka, Aapaq?]
Yeah
[Cegeq?]
Aapauruluq kiimi cegnaurtuq.
[Oh!]
Cegsaurpailegma wii-llu, mertaucetaqluku tauguam. Carlugkuanek-llu qaturcilunuk. Smokehouse-amun itrutciaqameng ikaisururnauraput cikirturnaurapuk
[Mm]
puyurqaqatarqameng. Kitumek ikaissusunata.
[Dogteam-allruq?]
Em?
[Dogteam-angqellruuq?]
Kimugtengqellunuk qavcinek tayima.
[Oh! Pitcurellartuq?]
Ai?
[Otter-amek, paluqtaq, ah, paluqtaq an cenkaq (pilall) pisurlallruuk?]
Yeah, pissurluteng tamakuneng kaviarmek-llu, akikengngaqeqluteng. Imarmiutagnek, pisurluteng, kapkanarluteng. Dad-tiarpenun, camani mamteraami, kapkaniarurai uitalalellriit cali?
[Emil-am, um, (tuq) tugulrua, aturlara, Emil-aq.]
Oh!
[Yeah]
Pissuturninanremeni tamakunek, cenkagnek, piurutellruuq dad-tin.
[Ciin (nag) nugtallruci Pastulimek, Caniliamun?]
Ai?
[Ciin nugtallruci (Pales) Pastuliramun, Caniliamun?]
[Ciin nugtallruci?]
Married-tarngama wii dad-terpinek, tawavet Canilianun tailuta. School-arestengngqerusauqugut, tauguam, taivakassunani. Kassateng tekirqungluteng mavet. Canilianun-llu meetingaquqluteng. Cunawa umek, school-avigmek pingnaqelleminek. School-ariluteng, school-amek piliiluteng. Taqngan ataam Caniliarmiut imkut, tairquqiilet mavet.

[Oh]

Caniliani school-artairuluni. Wangkuta-llu David-tankut, Emma, Qatcellaq-llu school-arsaurceta, taiqerluta mavet, nenglirluni kanaugun. Alianiurnaurtua tawaten wii. Mancungretcauqellua.

[Oh, oh, nakleng. Qayuga, um, (Quni, quni) um, how they used to bury them? How come in Pastuliq they had box, small box even for big people?]

Yeah

[Ciin tuaten pilruat?]

Ak'a tamani. Tuaten-guq qunguicilallruut, nunamun laagutevkenaku. Nunavet tauguam qaingan elliluki. Qungululuku negqililuku, aqumluku. Erurluku, qungululuku. Cellangellrunga, Pastulimi, yani, qungurugaat amleret box-at tawaten, amlerqapigluteng.

[Mm]

Aatatcet-llu aunrutmek imkucingqelallruuq naparsanek. Cait tayima casskait-llu ellinaurait tamavet, qunguat avat iini. Egatait-llu, egtevkenaki natetmun, tamavet tauguam eyaitmun, yuqelletnun (egg) egciaqluteng.

[Citen tawaten pillruat?]

Naamik tawaten-gua, pituluteng pilellriit.

[Wata wani, iningqauralarait, watawa tuqulriit.]

Ai??

[How come they, how come they change from that one to let'em lay down?]

Naamik-guq qayuga tayima piameng, tawaten laagutcet...

[Tawaten kassat, kassatcetun ellimlruut, tawaten?? Manacingkaat, (agai) agaiyus...yustii tawaten (piler), they tell'em to do that? No more like this? Only let'em lay down? After the agaiyustaq come, cimellruut?]

Oh!

[Qa?]

Pilellriit (tat)...

[Oh!]

tawatan. Tuquvaqasuitellrut-llu, nangtekqumarauluteng tauguam tuqunaurtut. Makut taugkun imkut yaassiigarmun ekumalriit, cam tayima poison-arluki, camek tayima nerevkarluki pingatait, tawaten niitellallrunga. Tuqualuteng yugugaat imkut Pastulimi, Caniliani-llu nangluteng.

[(Civun) TV-mun wallu ca'mek??]

Ca'mek tayima piluki,

[Poison??]

Naamik qayuga tayima piluki. Tayima, una-wani unevkaraqlallikiit tamakut. Kalikani, unevkaralukell ellilallikait.

[Mekelnguat watawa alingsuitnani.]

Yeah

[Yuut]

Watawa makut yun'erraat teen-ager-at-llu augkut, alingnariut. Augkutcetun imkuttun ciuqlertun, ayuqenarqenritut, alingnarqut. Tamakut imkut yuut, imkut-llu wani unevqarauluriik (a) unuamek-tang, tawaten, yuulret tamakut, tamani yuut tamakut nalluvenaki, uitallruut. Tua-ll angliluteng, cimerluteng. Taugkun cimerluteng yuut, irniaret, allaurluteng allakaurluteng. Wani-wa mavet tekiluni. Tawaten, imkut yuut qanruteklallruit, qanerlallrut-guq. Tamakut yuut ak'allaat, mekelnguraat-guq makut alingnariciqut, cimerlutengluguq, cassuiruluteng. Mamani-llu tamana aturluku qanurteqelallruat. Nalluvkenateng qayuga.

[Mm-m, qayuga (eg) eralruci without stove, uqumek, wallu qayuga?]

Piletamegellriamek

[Oh, with the?]

Yeah

[Cellangellrunga (down) down there, alaparnaurtuq unuamek.]

Yeah, heater-angvialemta
[Yeah, no electricity too]
Mm-m
[Pastulimi qayuga, um, you guys used to have lantern or lamp or candle, in Pastuliq?]
Waten lamp-ararmek,
[Oh!]
gas-sarturliarmek, naniqelallrukut.
[Mm]
Waten-llu, blaz-surtulriamek, ilait akikaturtut pilallriit. Pingqeraqluteng.
[All of you (k), all of you guys used to mingquq?]
Yeah, wangkuta arnani, wii-lu. Assingaam tauguam elitesslua, Iqallungnaugaam-llu. Mom-airutellemteni, naklengnarqellrukut, mingqestairluta tayima, egastairluta. Aatavut tauguam tauna, egaaqeluni, qaqiaqelluni-llu qayuga tayima. Pisaurpialama wii.
[Elitcallrua) Elitcallruan aatan, (qa) qaqirluten?]
No
[Oh]
Tangqaqluku wii (qaq) qaqurqiurakan, mukamek mumugciaqan
[Mm]
Ukliaqan-llu egaarkamek, tangqaqluku. Kituani uklevqarsaurtanga, aqesginek-llu apertullua. Watawa, naklengnairutut. Mom-ateng-llu tuqungraata naklengnarqevke-nateng. (Akluk) Aklukegciluteng cali, kaigpeknateng-llu.
[School-allruten?]
No
[Mm]
School-aristaitellrukut
[Oh]
Wangkuta Pastuliarmi
[Angkan-llu?]
Angkaq tauguam Caniliani, school-atcuaqallruuq. Elicalleremini, Holy cow manner-saramek. Elicalleremini school-aristengqengqellruuq (tam) tawani. Wangkuta taugkun pillemteni school-aristaunateng.
[Taukut (a) when people catch, tamarmun yuut cikernauraat?]
Ca'mek?
[Whale, maqlaq]
Yeah!
[Tamarmun?]
Ullautaqan cikiraqluku.
[You guys had net? Oh,]
Kuvsaq?
[uh huh]
Yeah, kuvsangqelallruukut. Aataqa tauna caluquan mavet, kuvsaliiluni. Piluvkanek keputeraluni, naken tayima. Taqutaqluni neqsutemek, qilagnaurtuq. Watawa tawaten makut yun'erraat, teen-ager-at, camegam nalluluteng.
[Alingngeqevkenisuitkiutaqnarautut.]
Yeah, tamakut-llu yuut tamakunek teen-ager-anek, katurciluteng-guq qanacilallruut.
[Qasqirmun?]
Ilug... Ai?
[(Qasi) Qasgermun?]
Yeah, qasgermi. Yugsarluteng mekelnguaraat. Qanataqluki tamakut(a) ak'allaat qayuga (piller) yuulerkaitnek. Ilii-guq, una anqerlartuq, niicugpekenani. Qanernganan-rani, niicugnissugpekenani, anqerluni-guq tayima, blame-marnaluki.
[Oh]

Tauna-guq tuana qanrutcetiit qanertuq, " augna-guq, avani ciunerqarkiaruq, qayuga-guq tayima (ciun) ayuqciuquq." Qayuga tauna pinaurtuq, wallu qayuga pitcurlarluni. Kiumauratulet-llu-guq tamakut, qayuga pilartut, ciunerqartat-llu (tup).

[Pastulimi, yuut (tuqua) tuqutellrani, qayuga pillruci?]

uh huh

[Yuut (tuqull, tunqunr) tuqunrallret, qayuga, you guys used to bury'em? Tua-llu nothing? Never, never have church or church-amun piluku tua-llu bury'em??]

No

[Qayuga pillruci?]

Agasulertaita kemta wangkuta Pastulimi, piicaularaat, piicaruluteng tuwani eniini, inangelluku.

[Mm-m]

Qungulleraluku-llu, nunakaunek-llu yuilqumi piraluku, ataam asauluku pekluteng. Piicarluteng ataam tawavet tekiuluku nunakaunun. Nutaan tawavet nunamun ekluku, patuluku agasulluku tawani. Pastuliimi tawaten pilallruut, Caniliani tauguam agasulirtengqerlallruut.

[Uitarnaurtuci enemni, tuqul. . . ?]

Em-m, uitauqeluta enemteni. Alianiurluta, cavkenata, cassuunateng, nersunateng-llu. (Agas) Tamakut tauguam paqcesstait agasutaqluku tangqeraluku-llu, utertaq-luteng.

[Nepaunani?]

Qunguiciaqameng-ll ataam kiavet, laaguciaqameng utertengermeng cassuunateng, alianiarluteng tauguam. Naklengnaqluteng, alianaqluni, anglanaqevkenani. Watawa, makunun iillayuglartua, tuquigaqmeng anglaniqapignaurtut. Dad-ten-ll imumi tuqull-rani, avani waqvani aqumgalua wii, kankut-llu nayangalriit, ukut-llu causalriit, anglaniren-cauqlua wii-ll tawani. Ciin tawaten pilallretnek umsuarteqlua. Waten-gem pisuilallruut, elarangluteng tawaten anglaniluteng. (Kiag) Thomas-angkuk, Thomas Prince-anuk iterlutek, feeling good-tallinilutek, Nayangvaraqata kanani, nayangarnaurtuq.

[Hee-hee-hee]

Tua-ll, (icat) cat iliitni nayangarlutek, Thomas Prince-am tangkellua, temciyungkeli dad-ten neqaqluku. Piuraurlallruakuk dad-terpet. Tangqurqulaaku, Sting-kaq ataam nayangaqiili, nayangvagluni tawaten pelartevkenani, waten tawaten piaqami, iqusarpi-arnaurtuq.

C.6.2 CM2017: Interlinear Glossing

CM - Cecilia Mikes' Univkarat

CM 2017

1	**Word** Nsk	*Watawa-guq*				*yuut*		*makut*				,	*nutarat*		
	Word Eng														
	Morphemes	*uat	-a	=wa	=guq	yuu	-t	*ma	-ku	-t			nutara	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	Anaphor	one said	person	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL			new thing	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM			LEX	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP		NP					NP		
	Word Gloss	I1				people		these					new things		

tan'gurraat *ayasuirutut-guq* *natmun* *yuilqumun* ,

tan'gurraa	-t	aya	-suiru	-tu	-t	=guq	natmun	yuilqu	-mun	
boy	PL	to go away	to no longer V	INDM.IN	PL	one said	to where, somewhere	wilderness	ALLC.SG	
LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	LEX	FM:GCF	
NP		RVP					NP	NP		
boys		they say they don't go any longer					anywhere	into the wilderness		

ca'nek *pissusuiruluteng* .

ca'	-nek	pissu	-suiru	-lu	-teg	-t
Q	ABLC/INTC	to hunt	to no longer V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		AVP				
anything		they hunt no longer				

Free It is said that these people—these ones—the new boys —, they say they don't go anywhere into the wilderness, they don't hunt anything any longer.

2.1	**Word** Nsk	[*Qayuga*	*pillruten*				, (	*mik*	)
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	qayuga	pi	-llru	-u	-ten		mik	
	Lex. Gloss	how	to do	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS.SG		to be little or small	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER		LEX	
	Word Cat.	PAR	RVP					LEX	
	Word Gloss	how	you did					to be little or small	

mikellemni *elpet* *Pastulitum* ?

mike	-lle	-m	-ni	el	-pet	Pastuli	-tum
to be little or small	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC	social.distal	2P.ERG	Pastolik	AEQC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP				PRO		NP	
when I was small				you		in Pastolik?	

Free How did you do, (small...) when I was small, you in Pastolik?

2.2 **Word** Nsk (*Qaya*) *Qayaqun* *ayaglallruut* ?]

Word Eng								
Morphemes	qaya	qaya	-qun	ayag	-la	-llru	-u	-t
Lex. Gloss	kayak	kayak	PRLC	to go away	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	LEX	NP		AVP				
Word Gloss	kayak	by kayaks		they would leave?				

Free They would leave by Kayak?

3.1 **Word** Nsk *Cellangellrunga*

Word Eng				
Morphemes	cellange	-llru	-u	-nga
Lex. Gloss	to obtain awareness / have one's first memory	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
Word Cat.	RVP			
Word Gloss	I had a first memory			

tawaten .

ta-	*w	-a	-ten
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			
like this			

Free This is my first memory.

3.2 **Word** Nsk *Qayakun* *ayagatuluteng* ,

Word Eng

Morphemes	qaya	-kun	ayaga	-tu	-lu	-teg	-t
Lex. Gloss	kayak	PRLC	to travel around	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP		AVP				
Word Gloss	by kayaks		they would travel				

malirqaqluteng-llu *qayakun* .

malirqaq	-lu	-teg	-t	=llu	qaya	-kun
to persue	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	COO	kayak	PRLC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
AVP					NP	
and they chase					by kayaks	

Free They would travel by kayak and chase game with kakays.

3.3 **Word** Nsk *Angsakun-llu* *ut'raraluteng*

Word Eng

Morphemes	angsa	-kun	=llu	ut'rar	-a	-lu	-teg	-t
Lex. Gloss	boat	PRLC	COO	go and return same day	ITR	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP			AVP				
Word Gloss	and by boat			they always go and return same day				

camp-aryartuwaqluteng .

campar	-yar	-tu	-aq	-lu	-teg	-t
camp	to go V	HAB	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP						
they would go to camp						

Free By boat, they would go to camp and return again the same day.

3.4 **Word** Nsk *Neqet* *tutaqata* , *kuvsirluteng*

Word Eng

Morphemes	neqe	-t	tut	-aqa	-a	-ta	kuvsir	-lu	-teg	-t
Lex. Gloss	food	PL	to step on	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	set a net	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP		NCP				AVP			
Word Gloss	fish		as they arrive				they set nets			

, *cegluteng* , *kenirciriluteng* ,

ceg	-lu	-teg	-t	kenir	-cir	-ngi	-lu	-teg	-t
cut fish for drying	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	cook	FUT	CAUS	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				AVP					
they prepare fish for drying				cause they would cook					

qimugteteng-llu *kelekluku* .

qimugte	-teg	-t	=llu	kelek	-lu	-ku
dog	4P.NOM	PL	COO	to invite to one's house	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				AVP		
and their dog				it was invited in		

Free The fish, as they arrive they set their nets, prepare the fish for drying because they will cook and their dog is invited inside.

3.5

Word Nsk	*Kiagungraan*					,	*neqat*		
Word Eng									
Morphemes	kiag	-u	-ngra	-a	-n		neq	-a	-t
Lex. Gloss	summer	to be N	CNJ (even if)	3P.ERG	SG.LF		food	3P.ERG	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NCP						PNP		
Word Gloss	even if it was summer						their fish		

piaqata , *neqait*

pi	-aq	-a	-ta	neq	-a	-i	-t
to do	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	eat	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				RVP			
as they get				they eat them			

nanerkuam (*alung*) *alunguliluki* ,

naner	-ku	-a	-n	alung	alung	-u	-li	-lu	-ki
bone	CNJ (Conditional)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	lick like a dog	lick like a dog	CONT	one who Vs	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NCP				LEX	AVP				
if it was a bone				dog food	they lick them				

nerevkarnaurait .

nere	-vkar	-naur	-a	-i	-t
to eat	to compel oneself to V	HAB	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					

they would force themselves to eat them

Free Even if it was summer, as they make ther food, they would eat it, if it was a bone they would like them and force themselves to eat them.

3.6								
Word Nsk	*Cegnaurtut*					*amlernek*		.
Word Eng								
Morphemes	ceg	-naur	-tu	-t		amler	-nek	
Lex. Gloss	cut fish for drying	HAB	INDM.IN	PL		to be many	ABLC/INTC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	RVP					NP		
Word Gloss	they would prepare fish					a whole bunch		

Free They would prepare a whole bunch of fish.

3.7									
Word Nsk	*Nasqurtumaita-ll*					*ilait*			.
Word Eng									
Morphemes	nasqur	-tuma	-i	-ta	=ll	ila	-i	-t	
Lex. Gloss	head	used thing	3P.ACC.PL	PL.LF	COO	relative	3P.ACC.PL	PL	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
Word Cat.	PNP					PNP			
Word Gloss	their used heads and					some of them			

Free Their used some (probably dried) heads.

3.8					
Word Nsk	*Nanerlugtumaita*				
Word Eng					
Morphemes	naner	-lug	-tuma	-i	-ta
Lex. Gloss	bone	departed from natural state	used thing	3P.ACC.PL	PL.LF
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	PNP				
Word Gloss	their used old bones				

egcessunateng .

egce	-ssu	-na	-teg	-t
throw	to seek	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				

they wouldn't throw away

Free They wouldn't throw away their old used bones

3.9	**Word** Nsk	*kenraqata*				*ataam*	,	*qungaluki*		,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	kenr	-aq	-a	-ta	ataam		qunga	-lu	-ki
	Lex. Gloss	cook	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	again		to store	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NCP				PAR		AVP		
	Word Gloss	with their cooking				again		they store them		

kingunegmegni *ut'ruluki* .

kinguneg	-meg	-ni	ut'ru	-lu	-ki
home	4P.ERG	LOCC	bring home	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			LEX		
in their homes			bring it home		

Free Again as they cook, they store them, bring them back to their homes.

4.1	**Word** Nsk	[								?
	Word Eng	How	you	guys	used	to	put	away	food	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	

Free

4.2 **Word** Nsk , ,

Word Eng	No	freezer	no	refrigerator
Morphemes		***		***
Lex. Gloss	no	***	no	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	***	LEX	***
Word Cat.	PRT	***	PRT	***
Word Gloss	no	***	no	***

Free

5 **Word** Nsk *Qayuga* *neqet* *pilallrualci* ?]

Word Eng										
Morphemes	qayuga	neqe	-t	pi	-la	-llru	-a	-l	-t	-t
Lex. Gloss	how	food	PL	to do	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	OPTM	2P.ABS	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:OPT	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	PAR	NP		RVP						
Word Gloss	how	food		would you all do it						

Free How, the foods, would you all do it?

6.1 **Word** Nsk *Neqkateng* *tamakut* ,

Word Eng							
Morphemes	neqka	-teg	-t	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t
Lex. Gloss	food ready for consumption	4P.NOM	PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	PNP			NP			
Word Gloss	their food			those ones			

waten *melqunek* *piluki* , *qillerluki* ,

*w	-a	-ten	melqu	-nek	pi	-lu	-ki	qiller	-lu	-ki
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	animal hair	ABLC/INTC	to do	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	tie	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			NP		AVP			AVP		
like this			using animal hair		it was done			it was tied		

qavciuraqluki *tayima*

qavciur	-aq	-lu	-ki	ta-	*yim	-a
become how many?	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I0	FTL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
AVP				PAR		
they would become how many				hopefully		

twent-iuluki-llu *pilallekait* ,

twenti	-u	-lu	-ki	=llu	pi	-la	-lleka	-i	-t	
twenty	to be N	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	COO	to do	HAB	FUT	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
AVP					PNP					
and it would be twenty					theirs would do (to be done)					

angaqluteng *waten-guq* *qillertait* .

angaq	-lu	-teg	-t	*u	-a	-ten	=guq	qillert	-a	-i	-t
strain	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	one said	tie	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				NP				RVP			
they were eager				as they said then				they tie them			

Free Their food, those ones would do it like this, it was done using animal hair, tying it hopefully about twenty times, they were eager, so they say, they tie them.

6.2

Word Nsk	*Nanerlugtumaluteng*						
Word Eng							
Morphemes	naner	-lug	-tu	-ma	-lu	-teg	-t
Lex. Gloss	bone	departed from natural state	to use	PRF	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	AVP						
Word Gloss	they used the old bones						

ilait *nasqurtumaluteng* .

ila	-i	-t	nasqur	-tu	-ma	-lu	-teg	-t	
relative	3P.ACC.PL	PL	head	to use	PRF	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
PNP			AVP						
their related parts			they used the heads						

Free They took the old bones and parts of the heads.

6.3

Word Nsk	*Utrutaqluki*				*tawaten*			,
Word Eng								
Morphemes	utrut	-aq	-lu	-ki	ta-	*w	-a	-ten
Lex. Gloss	bring home	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	AVP				NP			
Word Gloss	they would be brought home				like this			

mamteramun-llu *elliluki* .

mamtera	-mun	=llu	elli	-lu	-ki
storehouse	ALLC.SG	COO	put	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			AVP		
and to the storehouse			they were put		

Free They were brought home like this and they were put in the storehouse.

7 **Word** Nsk [*Witaqluku* *mamterami* ?]
Word Eng

Morphemes	uita	-aq	-lu	-ku	mamtera	-mi
Lex. Gloss	to stay	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	storehouse	LOCC.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	AVP				NP	
Word Gloss	it would stay				in the storehouse	

Free

8.1 **Word** Nsk *Neqkamegnek* , (*kep*)
Word Eng

Morphemes	neqka	-meg	-nek	kep
Lex. Gloss	food ready for consumption	4P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	sever
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX
Word Cat.	NP			LEX
Word Gloss	their food			sever

neqerrlugkamegnek *piaqameng* ,

neqe	-rrlug	-ka	-meg	-nek	pi	-aqa	-meg	-t
food	departed from natural state	small bit	4P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	to do	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PNP					NCP			
their little bit of dried fish					whenever they got it			

putcunamun *ekurnaurait* .

putcuna	-mun	ekur	-naur	-a	-i	-t
hole	ALLC.SG	keep putting them in	HAB	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		RVP				
into the putcuna		they would store them away				

Free Whenever they got a bit of food or dried fish, they would store them in a hole.

8.2	**Word** Nsk	*Putcunanek*		*tayima*			*qavcinek*	
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	putcuna	-nek	ta-	*yim	-a	qavci	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	hole	ABLC/INTC	R<	I0	FTL	how many	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP		PAR			NP	
	Word Gloss	the putcuna		hopefully			lots of	

imiularturt , *pingqellriit* ,

imi	-u	-lar	-tu	-t	pi	-ngqe	-llri	-i	-t
fill	to be N	HAB	INDM.IN	PL	thing	to have N	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					RVP				
they would be full					they had things				

culunarluteng *tawaten* *tarsaqvarmek* .

culunar	-lu	-teg	-t	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	tarsaqvar	-mek
salted meat	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	king salmon	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
AVP				NP				NP	
salting meat				like this				king salmon	

Free Hopefully the hole would be full of lots of things they had, like this king salmon they would salt.

8.3	**Word** Nsk	*Tawaten*				*augna*		, *tangqellra*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	*aug	-na	tangqe	-llr	-a
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	AD2P	FTO.SG.ABSC	to see	one that was	3P.ERG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP				NP		RVP		
	Word Gloss	like this				these		it was seen		

kingurluku *tauguam* .

kingur	-lu	-ku	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
too late	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP			PAR			
too late it was			only			

Free Like this that one over there, only it was seen too late.

8.4	**Word** Nsk	*Tamanitesstun*						,
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	-tess	-tun	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	PL	AEQC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP						
	Word Gloss	like back then						

cellangellemesstun *ayuquq* .

cella	-nge	-lle	-me	-t	-tun	ayuq	-uq
awareness	to begin to V	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	PL	AEQC	to resemble	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:REA
NCP						RVP	
like when we became aware						it is this way	

Free This is the way we remember it was back then.

9	**Word** Nsk	[	
	Word Eng	How	old
	Morphemes	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***

Free

10	**Word** Nsk	*pilarlarsset*					,	*elitcarlartit*					,
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	pi	-lar	-lar	-sse	-t		elit	-car	-lar	-ti	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	to do	HAB	HAB	INTRM	PL		to learn	would	HAB	INTRM	2P.ABS	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:IRR	FM:NUM		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:IRR	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	IVP						IVP					
	Word Gloss	would you do ... (opt. maybe, ungrammatial)						you would study?					

Free would you do ... would you learn it?

11	**Word** Nsk		,		?]
	Word Eng	when	they	how	old
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***

Free

12	**Word** Nsk	*Cat*		*imkut*			?
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	ca	-t	*im	-ku	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	Q	PL	I0	FTO.NS	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP		NP			
	Word Gloss	any things		these hidden ones			

Free What are those?

13.1	**Word** Nsk	[	*Mekelnguruat*				,	*ikaiyurnaurait*					,
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes		mekelngur	-u	-a	-t		ikaiyur	-naur	-a	-i	-t	
	Lex. Gloss		child	***	3P.ERG	PL		to help; to bless	HAB	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	***	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.		PNP					RVP					
	Word Gloss		their children					they would help them					

Aanani , *Aatani* , *cami* ?

aana	-ni	aata	-ni	ca	-mi
mother	LOCC	father	LOCC	Q	LOCC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP		NP		PAR	
at mother		at father		whenever	

Free When would their children help mother and father?

13.2	**Word** Nsk	How	old	*pilallruat*				
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes			pi	-la	-llru	-a	-a	-t
	Lex. Gloss			to do	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.			LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.			RVP					
	Word Gloss			did they do it					

elitcarluku ?]

elit	-car	-lu	-ku
to learn	would	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			
it would be studied			

Free How old did they do it, would they study it?

14	**Word** Nsk	*Pisaurtaqata*					
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	pi	-saurt	-aq	-a	-ta	
	Lex. Gloss	to do	to be able to V now	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NCP					
	Word Gloss	whenever they are able to do it					

tegularsaurtaqata .

tegu	-lar	-saurt	-aq	-a	-ta
to take or pick up	HAB	to be able to V now	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP					
whenever they would be able to pick it up					

Free Whenever they are able to do it, they are able to pick it up.

15.1	**Word** Nsk	[	!
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free

15.2	**Word** Nsk		?]
	Word Eng	Even	hunting
	Morphemes	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***

Free

16.1	**Word** Nsk	*Yeah*	,	*quyuga*		*elitellruat*				
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	yeah		quyu	=ga	elite	-llru	-a	-a	-t
	Lex. Gloss	yeah		how	CAT	to learn	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		LEX	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR		PAR		RVP				
	Word Gloss	Yeah		how		they would learn it				

tamakut .

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
NP			
those ones			

Free Yeah, that's how those ones would learn it.

16.2	**Word** Nsk	*Pituluteng*						,	*maklagnek-llu*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	pi	-tu	-lu	-teg	-t			maklag	-nek	=llu
	Lex. Gloss	to do	to use	APPM	4P.NOM	PL			bearded seal	ABLC/INTC	COO
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM			LEX	FM:GCF	ENC
	Word Cat.	AVP							NP		
	Word Gloss	it was used							for seal and		

pitcaurluteng .

pit	-caur	-lu	-teg	-t
catch game	to be able to V now	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				

they would be able to catch game

Free They used it for seal and to be able to catch game.

17.1 **Word** Nsk [?

Word Eng	They	used	to	put'em	in	the	same	qayaq
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

17.2 **Word** Nsk , , ?]

Word Eng	Their	their	kids	the	aataq's
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	aataqs
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	NP
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	fathers

Free

18 **Word** Nsk *Ut'ruluku* *cenamun* ,

Word Eng					
Morphemes	ut'ru	-lu	-ku	cena	-mun
Lex. Gloss	bring home	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	shore	ALLC.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	AVP			NP	
Word Gloss	it was brought home			to the shore	

yugsayaqameng *pilagluku* ,

yug	-sa	-yaqa	-meg	-t	pi	-lag	-lu	-ku
person	to be many	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL	to do	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NCP					AVP			
as there would be many people					it would be done			

aruquteklallruat .

aruq	-u	-tek	-la	-llru	-a	-a	-t
distribute the catch	to be N	to do it on account of	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP							
they would have split the catch							

Free It was brought home to shore, and whenever there were many people they would do it, they would share the catch.

19 **Word** Nsk [!]
Word Eng Oh
Morphemes oh
Lex. Gloss oh
Lex. Gram. Info. PRT
Word Cat. PRT
Word Gloss oh

Free

20.1 **Word** Nsk *Nangluku* , *pegtevkenaku* , (*est*)
Word Eng

Morphemes	nang	-lu	-ku	pegte	-vke	-na	-ku	***
Lex. Gloss	be no more	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	drop	NEG	APPM.NEG	3P.ACC.SG	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	***
Word Cat.	AVP			AVP				***
Word Gloss	it was all gone			it wasn't dropped				***

esstuartaqameng-llu ,

esstuar	-taqa	-meg	-t	=llu
white (baluga) whale	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL	COO
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
NCP				
and whenever baluga whale				

mangtagtumaan

mangtag	-tu	-ma	-a	-n
whale skin and blubber	to use	PRF	3P.NOM.SGCOM	SG.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				
it's used whale skin				

kemegtumaan-llu .

kemeg	-tu	-uma	-a	-n	=llu
meat	to use	PRF	3P.NOM.SGCOM	SG.LF	COO
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
NCP					
and it's used meat					

Free It was all used, none of it wasted, whenever they had baluga whale, neither it's whale skin nor it's meat.

20.2							
Word Nsk	*Tamalkuan*			*ut'ruluku*			.
Word Eng							
Morphemes	tamalku	-a	-n	ut'ru	-lu	-ku	
Lex. Gloss	all of it	3P.NOM.SGCOM	SG.LF	bring home	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
Word Cat.	PNP			AVP			
Word Gloss	all of it			it was brought home			

Free All of it was brought home.

20.3									
Word Nsk	*Tamakut*					,	*anguteteng*			
Word Eng										
Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t		angu	-te	-teg	-t	
Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL		catch	go obtain	4P.NOM	PL	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
Word Cat.	NP					PNP				
Word Gloss	those ones					their catch				

cekerturluki .

ceker	-tur	-lu	-ki
to give	to V for some duration	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			
it was repeatedly given			

Free Those ones would repeatedly share their catch.

21.1	**Word** Nsk	[							?
	Word Eng	How	they	used	to	bring	the	esstuaq	home
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

21.2	**Word** Nsk		,		?]	
	Word Eng	With	qayaq	tie	it	
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	

Free

22.1	**Word** Nsk	*Qayuga*	*piluq*			*taggulartatgu*							
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	qayuga	pi	-l	-uq	tagg	-u	-lar	-t	-a	-t	-gu	
	Lex. Gloss	how	to do	***	INDM.IN	go up	to be N	HAB	INTRM.3P	3P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	***	FM:REA	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:IRR	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	PAR	RVP			IVP							
	Word Gloss	how	they do			would they have gone up it?							

unaken *imarpigmek* .

*un	-a	-ken	imarpig	-mek
AR2P	FTL	FTL.ABLC	ocean	ABLC/INTC.SG
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP			NP	
down below			from the sea	

Free How would they have done that, and gone up from the sea down below?

22.2	Word Nsk	*Yaqsinrelngurmun*				*tauguam*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	yaqsi	-nrel	-ngur	-mun	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
	Lex. Gloss	distant	NEG	PARTM.IN.NEG	ALLC.SG	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	NP				PAR			
	Word Gloss	it's not too far to				only			

tagciaqata , *mekelnguaraat* ,

tag	-c	-ngi	-aqa	-a	-ta	mekelnguar	-aa	-t
go up	plan to	CAUS	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	child	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP						PNP		
as they plan to come up from the sea						their children		

ullagaqata , *wangkuta* , *ilaput*

ullag	-aqa	-a	-ta	wang	-ku	ta	ila	-pu	-t
to approach	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	I1	FTO.NS	1P.ABS	relative	1P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				PRO			PNP		
as they approach				all of us			our family		

tamakut *ullautaqata* ,

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ulla	-ut	-aqa	-a	-ta
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to approach	with another	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				NCP				
those ones				as they approach us				

wangkuta-llu *malegluki*

wang	-ku	ta	=llu	malig	-lu	-ki
I1	FTO.NS	1P.ABS	COO	to take or bring along	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:PER	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PRO				AVP		
and we				take it along		

tangeqsarturaqlua .

tangeq	-sar	-tur	-aq	-lu	-a
strip of blubber	would	eat	HAB	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP					

I would eat the tangeq (fried strips of blubbler)

Free If only it's not too far as they are coming up from the sea, their children approach, all of us, as our family—those ones— as they approach us we would take it, I would eat the tangeq.

22.3

Word Nsk	*Pilagngananratni*					*tangkenauraput*				,
Word Eng										
Morphemes	pilag	-ngananr	-a	-t	-ni	tangke	-naur	-a	-pu	-t
Lex. Gloss	butcher	CNJ(while)	3P.ERG	PL	LOCC	to see	HAB	INDM.TR	1P.NOM	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NCP					RVP				
Word Gloss	at the time they are butchering					we would watch it				

taqutengaqemeng , *mangtiinek*

taq	-ute	-nga	-qe	-meg	-t	mangtii	-nek
to quit	with another	PRF	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL	whale skin and blubber	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP						LEX	
it they finish it for us						some whale blubber	

kepuluteng , *waten* *ukliuruluki* .

kepu	-lu	-teg	-t	*w	-a	-ten	ukli	-ur	-u	-lu	-ki
to buy	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	cut up	CONT	is	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				NP			AVP				
we would buy it				like this			it would be all cut up				

Free As they butcher it we would watch, if they finish it for us, we would buy some whale blubber and cut it all up like this.

22.4 Word Nsk	*Cikertuqungnauraukut*									
Word Eng										
Morphemes	ciker	-tu	-qu	-ng	-naur	-a	-u	-ku	-t	
Lex. Gloss	to give	to V for some duration	ITR	to begin to V	HAB	ITR	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
Word Cat.	RVP									
Word Gloss	we would begin to share for some time									

mangtagmek .

mangtag	-mek
whale skin and blubber	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF
NP	
the whale blubber	

Free We would all share the whale blubber together.

23 Word Nsk	[	!]
Word Eng	Oh	
Morphemes	oh	
Lex. Gloss	oh	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
Word Cat.	PRT	
Word Gloss	oh	

Free

24 Word Nsk	*Quyaqapegnaurtukut*						
Word Eng							
Morphemes	quya	-qa	-peg	-naur	-tu	-ku	-t
Lex. Gloss	to be thankful	TEL	real or genuine	HAB	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	RVP						
Word Gloss	we would be truly grateful for						

tawaten , *nerluta* .

ta-	*w	-a	-ten	ner	-lu	ta
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	eat	APPM	1P.ABS
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				AVP		
like this				we eat		

Free We would be truly grateful to eat like this.

25.1	**Word** Nsk	[	*Tengmiarsugtun*			*qayuga*	*pissurlallruat*						?
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes		tengmiar	-sag	-tun	qayuga	pissur	-la	-llru	-a	-a	-t	
	Lex. Gloss		fowl	small	AEQC	how	to hunt	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.		NP			PAR	RVP						
	Word Gloss		like small birds			how	they would hunt it						

Free

25.2	**Word** Nsk	*Cup'unerellruci*						?]	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	cup'un	-ire	-llru	-u	-t	-t		
	Lex. Gloss	gun	be deprived	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM		
	Word Cat.	RVP							
	Word Gloss	you all didn't have guns							

Free

26	**Word** Nsk	*Camek*	?	
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	ca	-mek	
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PRT		
	Word Gloss	what		

Free

27	**Word** Nsk	[	*Tengmiamek*	,	*qursuq*	,	*qutraq*	?]	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes		tengmia	-mek		qursuq		qutraq	
	Lex. Gloss		fowl	ABLC/INTC.SG		sandhill crane		sandhill crane	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	FM:GCF		LEX		LEX	
	Word Cat.		NP			NP		NP	
	Word Gloss		the fowl			sandhill crane		sandhill crane	

Free The birds - the crane, sandhill crane?

28	**Word** Nsk	*Qayuga*	*tamakut*			
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	qayuga	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	how	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR	NP			
	Word Gloss	how	those ones			

qungallartaiteki .

qunga	-llar	-ta	-i	-te	-ki
to store	HAB	INTRM.3P	3P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:IRR	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER
RVP					

how would the store it?

Free

29.1	**Word** Nsk	[	*Qayuga*	,	how	*Aapaq*	used	to	hunt'em	?	
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes		qayuga								
	Lex. Gloss		how								
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX								
	Word Cat.		PAR								
	Word Gloss		how								

Free

29.2	**Word** Nsk	With	cup'uq	?	
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes				
	Lex. Gloss				
	Lex. Gram. Info.				
	Word Cat.				
	Word Gloss				

Free

29.3	**Word** Nsk	*Cup'engqellruuq*				?
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	cep'u	-ngqe	-llru	-uq	
	Lex. Gloss	gun	to have N	PST	INDM.IN	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	
	Word Cat.	RVP				
	Word Gloss	he had guns				

Free

29.4	**Word** Nsk	OH	!]
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes		
	Lex. Gloss		
	Lex. Gram. Info.		
	Word Cat.		
	Word Gloss		

Free

30	**Word** Nsk	*Cup'utengqellruuq*				.
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	cup'ute	-ngqe	-llru	-uq	
	Lex. Gloss	gun	to have N	PST	INDM.IN	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	
	Word Cat.	RVP				
	Word Gloss	he had a gun				

Free

31	**Word** Nsk	[	!]
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free

32.1	**Word** Nsk	*Angsarlugangqerluta-ll*						
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	angsar	-lug	-a	-ngqer	-lu	ta	=ll
	Lex. Gloss	boat	departed from natural state	ITR	to have N	APPM	1P.ABS	COO
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC
	Word Cat.	AVP						
	Word Gloss	we had many old boats						

cawiglainarmek .

cawig	-la	-inar	-mek
metal	HAB	RSLT	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
NP			
resulting from metal			

Free We had many old boat-like things made of metal.

32.2	**Word** Nsk	*Angsangemteggun*					*ayagaqluta*			,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	angsa	-nge	-m	-te	-ggun	ayaga	-aq	-lu	ta
	Lex. Gloss	boat	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	PL	PRLC	to travel around	HAB	APPM	1P.ABS
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NCP					AVP			
	Word Gloss	when with our boats					we would travel around			

camp-ayarturluta .

campa	-yar	-tur	-lu	ta
camp	would	to V for some duration	APPM	1P.ABS
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				
we would go away to camp for a while				

Free Because would travel around with our boats and go away to camp for a while.

33	**Word** Nsk	[	*Imna*		*barge-aq*	*Pastulimi*		*paingani*		,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes		*im	-na	barge-aq	Pastuli	-mi	pai	-nga	-ni
	Lex. Gloss		I0	FTO.SG.ABSC	barge	Pastolik	LOCC.SG	river mouth	3P.NOM.SGCOM	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.		DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.		NP		LEX	NP		PNP		
	Word Gloss		that		barge	in Pastolik		at it's river mouth		

camek (*tek* , *cekiu*)

ca	-mek		teki	teki	-ut
Q	ABLC/INTC.SG		to arrive	to arrive	with another
LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX
PRT			LEX	R	
what			to arrive; to reach; to come upon	to arrive; to reach; to come upon	

tekiutellrua ?]

teki	-ute	-llru	-a
to arrive	with another	PST	3P.ERG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
RVP			

*did it arrive together

Free

34	**Word** Nsk	*Kuigerestngullruq-ruq*						
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	kuig	-ire	-st	-ngu	-llru	-uq	=ruq
	Lex. Gloss	river	be deprived	the one who Vs	to be N	PST	INDM.IN	one said
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	ENC
	Word Cat.	RVP						
	Word Gloss	They say it lost it's river-man.						

Free

35	**Word** Nsk	[	*Cam'ek*	?]
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	ca'	-mek	
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP		
	Word Gloss	what		

Free

36	**Word** Nsk	*Kuignek-ruq*			*kitugcessta*	!
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	kuig	-nek	=ruq	kitugce	-ssta
	Lex. Gloss	river	ABLC/INTC	one said	repair	the one who Vs
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX
	Word Cat.	NP			NP	
	Word Gloss	Of the river			repairman	

Free The arranger of the river!

37.1	**Word** Nsk	[*Oh*	!,
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free

37.2	**Word** Nsk	*tuani*				*ciqu*	…]
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	-ni	ciqum	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	break	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	
	Word Cat.	NP				LEX	
	Word Gloss	there				break	

Free It broke apart there...

38	**Word** Nsk	(*Tuai*				) *Tuani*				
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=i	t-	*u	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP				
	Word Gloss	there!				there				

tawaten *pinginanratni*

ta-	*w	-a	-ten	pi	-nginanr	-a	-t	-ni
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to do	CNJ(while)	3P.ERG	PL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NP				NCP				
like this				while they were doing it				

cellangellrunga .

cellange	-llru	-u	-nga	
to obtain awareness / have one's first memory	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	
RVP				
I had a first memory				

Free There! There, while they were saying this, I just remembered something.

39 **Word** Nsk [!]
Word Eng Oh
Morphemes oh
Lex. Gloss oh
Lex. Gram. Info. PRT
Word Cat. PRT
Word Gloss oh

Free

40 **Word** Nsk (*Pisuit*) *Pisuirutnerategun*
Word Eng

Morphemes	***	pissu	-irut	-ner	-a	-te	-gun
Lex. Gloss	***	to hunt	to no longer be	activity of V-ing	3P.ERG	PL	PRLC
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	***	PNP					
Word Gloss	***	along when their hunting stopped					

Free About when their hunting stopped.

41.1	**Word** Nsk	[*Oh*	!
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free

41.2	**Word** Nsk	*Ciqumillruq*				*tuani*				,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ciqum	-ngi	-llru	-uq	t-	*u	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	break	CAUS	PST	INDM.IN	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	RVP				NP				
	Word Gloss	it caused to break				there				

tauna *barge-aq* ?]

ta-	*u	-na	barge-aq
R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	barge
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX
NP			LEX
that one			barge

Free Causing that barge there to break?

42	**Word** Nsk	*Pillian*					
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	pi	-lli	-a	-a	-n	
	Lex. Gloss	to do	to maybe verb	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NCP					
	Word Gloss	their doing was maybe because					

atusuirutellrutki .

atu	-suir	-ute	-llru	-t	-ki
act usefully	to no longer V	with another	PST	PL	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	FM:PER
RVP					
it might not have been useful to them anymore					

Free They might have done it because it might not have been useful to them anymore.

43	**Word** Nsk	[	!]
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free

44.1	**Word** Nsk	*Cellangellrunga*				,
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	cellange	-llru	-u	-nga	
	Lex. Gloss	to obtain awareness / have one's first memory	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	RVP				
	Word Gloss	I remembered				

cellangertallrunga , *tauna*

cellange	-rta	-llru	-u	-nga	ta-	*u	-na	
to obtain awareness / have one's first memory	fetch	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	
RVP					NP			
I just remembered					that one			

barge-aq *tumangqaluni* .

barge-aq	tumangqa	-lu	-ni
barge	assembled	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
LEX	AVP		
barge	it was assembled		

Free I remembered, I just remembered, that barge was assembed.

44.2	**Word** Nsk	*Tuskarlianaq*	.
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	tuskar	-lianaq
	Lex. Gloss	plank	nothing but
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX
	Word Cat.	NP	
	Word Gloss	nothing but planks.	

Free Nothing but planks.

45	**Word** Nsk	[	!]
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free

46	**Word** Nsk	(	*Pap*	)	*Pakmani-llu*				*qaingani*			,	*malruk*
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes		***		*pakm	-a	-ni	=llu	qai	-nga	-ni	malru	-k
	Lex. Gloss		***		AU0E	FTL	LOCC	COO	surface	3P.NOM.SGCOM	LOCC	two	DU
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.		***		NP				PNP			NP	
	Word Gloss		***		that one up there I can't see				on it's surface			two	

waten			,	*mitatcungaak*				.
*w	-a	-ten		mii	-ta	-tcungaa	-k	
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC		loud noise	device for	cute little	DU	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	
NP				NP				
like this				two cute little noise makers				

Free There up on top, two cute little noise makers like this.

47.1	**Word** Nsk	[	!
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free

47.2	**Word** Nsk		]
	Word Eng	Eh	
	Morphemes	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	
	Word Cat.	***	
	Word Gloss	***	

Free

48.1	**Word** Nsk	*Imkuk-llu*				*pilitarpiik*					,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*im	-ku	-k	=llu	pi	-li	-tar	-pii	-k	
	Lex. Gloss	I0	FTO.NS	DU	COO	thing	similar	device for	real or genuine	DU	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP				NP					
	Word Gloss	and those two				two real devices of doing so					

pilitarpikelliik *taukuk*

pi	-li	-tar	-pike	-llri	-i	-k	ta-	*u	-ku	-k
thing	similar	device for	real or genuine	PARTM.IN	3P.NOM	DU	R<	I1	FTO.NS	DU
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
RVP							NP			
two which really make it so							those two			

uitallriik .

uita	-llri	-i	-k
to let be	PARTM.IN	3P.NOM	DU
LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP			
they let it alone			

Free And those two things that really did that, the two which make it really so (loud), they left them there..

48.2	**Word** Nsk	*Akiklerlutek*				*iluani*			,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	akiqlir	-lu	-te	-k	ilu	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	one opposite	APPM	4P.NOM	DU	interior	3P.ERG	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	AVP				NP			
	Word Gloss	being on opposite sides				in the inside			

puyirvingqerlutek .

puyirvi	-ng	-qer	-lu	-teg	-k
stovepipe	to begin to V	suddenly	APPM	4P.NOM	DU
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					
they two had stovepipes installed in a rush					

Free On both sides of the interior they had two stovepipes installed at the same time.

48.3	**Word** Nsk	*Tawaten*					*ayuqngananrani*			
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*w	-a	-ten		ayuq	-ngananr	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC		to resemble	CNJ(while)	3P.ERG	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP					NCP			
	Word Gloss	like this					at the time they resembled			

cellangellrunga .

cellange		-llru	-u	-nga
to obtain awareness / have one's first memory		PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
LEX		LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
RVP				
I remembered				

Free I remembered that they were like that at that time.

48.4	**Word** Nsk	*Naparsarpik-llu*			*taukuk*				,	*caviyagarnek*	
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	naparsar	-pik	=llu	ta-	*u	-ku	-k		caviyagar	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	mast	genuine	COO	R<	I1	FTO.NS	DU		wires	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			NP					NP	
	Word Gloss	And real poles/masts			those two					some wires	

pingqerluteng .

pi	-ngqer	-lu	-teg	-t
to do	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
R				

they got some.

Free And the true masts —those two— got some wires installed.

49.1	**Word** Nsk	*Tegusutengqerluteng*							,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	tegu	-su	-te	-ngqer	-lu	-teg	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	to take or pick up	tend to	plan to	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	AVP							
	Word Gloss	they would plan to take it							

imlall- *yani* *ciungani* .

im	-la	=ll	*i	-a	-ni	ciungani
tear down	major	COO	AD1P	FTL	LOCC	as in the past
LEX	LEX>LEX	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PAR
NP			NP			PAR
and tear it down			those there			as in the past

Free They planned to take it back and tear down those there, like before.

49.2	**Word** Nsk	*Tauguam*				,
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	
	Word Cat.	PAR				
	Word Gloss	only				

atusuirutnerategun ,

atu	-suirut	-ner	-a	-te	-gun
useful thing	to no longer V	activity of V-ing	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL	PRLC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NP					
as they are no longer useful					

cellangellrunga .

cellange	-llru	-u	-nga
to obtain awareness / have one's first memory	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
RVP			
I remembered			

Free Only those that aren't useful anymore, I remember.

49.3	**Word** Nsk	*Imkut-llu*				*pavani*			*cenami*	,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	*im	-ku	-t	=llu	*pav	-a	-ni	cena	-mi
	Lex. Gloss	I0	FTO.NS	PL	COO	AU2P	FTL	LOCC	shore	LOCC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP				NP			NP	
	Word Gloss	and those				up there			at the shore	

pacayagaat , *cuplunek* *uciluteng* .

paca	-yag	-aa	-t	cuplu	-nek	uci	-lu	-teg	-t
barge	to be many	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL	pipe	ABLC/INTC	load	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				NP		AVP			
their many barges				some pipes		they loaded			

Free Those up at the shore, their many barges, they unload some pipes.

49.4	**Word** Nsk	*Tamani*				*ellimaluteng*				
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	elli	-ma	-lu	-teg	-t
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	put	over and over	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP				AVP				
	Word Gloss	there				they place				

cenami .

cena -mi
shore to V also
LEX LEX>LEX
NP
at the shore

Free They place them there at the shore.

50.1	**Word** Nsk	[	!
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free

50.2	**Word** Nsk						,					...			..
	Word Eng	When	you	guys	get	sick	how	you	guys	used	to	When	you	get	sick
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

50.3	**Word** Nsk			?
	Word Eng	in	Pastulik	
	Morphemes	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	
	Word Cat.	***	***	
	Word Gloss	***	***	

Free

51	**Word** Nsk	(	Caq	)	Qayuga	(	pil		)	pilartuci					?]
	Word Eng														
	Morphemes		***		qayuga		pi	-lar		pi	-lar	-tu	-t	-t	
	Lex. Gloss		***		how		to do	HAB		to do	HAB	INDM.IN	PL	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***		LEX		LEX	LEX>LEX		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.		***		PAR		LEX			RVP					
	Word Gloss		***		how		to make			would you do					

Free

52.1	**Word** Nsk	*Qayuga*	*pilallrunritukut*							,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	qayuga	pi	-la	-llru	-nri	-tu	-ku	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	how	to do	HAB	PST	stop	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	PAR	RVP							
	Word Gloss	how	we would stop doing							

wangkuta-ll				*iliit*		*iqanremta*			
wang	-ku	-ta	=ll	ilii	-t	iqa	-nre	-m	-ta
I1	FTO.NS	PL.LF	COO	time	PL	dirty	NEG	1P.ERG	PL.LF
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PRO				NP		NCP			
and we				that time		we weren't dirty			

uitauqelluta					.
uita	-u	-qe	-llu	ta	
to stay	to be N	ITR	APPM	1P.ABS	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
AVP					
we would stay that way					

Free How we would stop our activities, and we at the time weren't dirty, so we stayed that way.

52.2	**Word** Nsk	*Canek*		*tauguam*				*aspirin-nanek*		(	*a*	)	(
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	ca	-nek	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	aspirin.na	-nek		a		
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	aspirin	ABLC/INTC		GWP		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF		PRT		
	Word Cat.	NP		PAR				NP			PAR		
	Word Gloss	something		only				some aspirin			!stutter!		

pilallek)

pi	-la	-lle	-k
to do	HAB	one that was	to have as one's N
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX
RVP			

to do; to say

pilallekiatekut .

pi	-la	-lle	-ki	-a	-te	-ku	-t
to do	HAB	one that was	PARTM.TR	3P.ERG	PL	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP							

that which was would have been done or said to us

Free Only some aspirin, that is what they would have done for us.

52.3									
	Word Nsk	*Clinic-kaunateng-llu*						, *cat*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	clinicka	-u	-na	-teg	-t	=llu	ca	-t
	Lex. Gloss	clinic	to be N	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	COO	Q	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	AVP						NP	
	Word Gloss	and there was no clinic						whatever	

tauguam *tekiluteng* , *nurse-at-llu*

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	teki	-lu	-teg	-t	nursea	-t	=llu
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	to arrive	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	nurse	PL	COO
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	ENC
PAR				AVP				NP		
only				they arrived				and nurses		

tekiluteng , *kepuriaturnaurtut* .

teki	-lu	-teg	-t	kepur	-ngi	-a	-tur	-naur	-tu	-t
to arrive	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	buy various things	CAUS	ITR	to use	HAB	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
AVP				RVP						
they arrived				they would use all these things they bought.						

Free There was no clinic, only what things they had arriving, and nurses arrived using all these things they bought.

52.4	**Word** Nsk	*Taukununram*						*tangkellua*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*u	-ku	-nun	=ga	=am	tangke	-llu	-a
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTO.NS	ALLC	CAT	EMPH	to see	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP						AVP		
	Word Gloss	to this (which I will say)						we were shown		

tamana *kinguneqa* , *neqaqluku* .

ta-	*ma	-na	kingune	-qa	neq	-aq	-lu	-ku
R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	home	1P.NOM.SG	eat	HAB	APPM	1P.ABS
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			PNP		AVP			
those			our home		we would eat			

Free At here, we were shown these, (at our home), they would feed us.

52.5	**Word** Nsk	*Pilallrullinilellriit*							
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	pi	-la	-llru	-lli	-nile	-llri	-i	-t
	Lex. Gloss	to do	HAB	PST	to maybe verb	smell like	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	RVP							
	Word Gloss	they which would have maybe tasted like							

avani , *manetesstun* .

*av	-a	-ni	mane	-te	-t	-tun
AD2P	FTL	LOCC	tundra grass	PL	PL	AEQC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NP			LEX			
those there			tundra grass			

Free They would have maybe tasted like—those there— like tundra grass.

52.6	**Word** Nsk	*Neqsuraqameng-llu*						*neqkateng*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	neq	-sur	-aqa	-meg	-t	=llu	neqka	-teg	-t
	Lex. Gloss	eat	to want to V	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL	COO	food ready for consumption	4P.NOM	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NCP						PNP		
	Word Gloss	and when they wanted to eat						their food		

kinerserluki .

kinerser	-lu	-ki
dried salmon eggs	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP		
it was dried salmon eggs		

Free And when we were hungry, the food would would be dried salmon eggs.

52.7

Word Nsk	*Neqlerluteng*					.
Word Eng						
Morphemes	neq	-ler	-lu	-teg	-t	
Lex. Gloss	eat	to V suddenly and willfully	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
Word Cat.	AVP					
Word Gloss	we would eat willingly					

Free We would eat willingly.

53.1

Word Nsk	[	*Tamerpitci*			*ikaiyuqellruci*						?
Word Eng											
Morphemes		tamar	-pit	-t	ikaiyu	-qe	-llru	-u	-t	-t	
Lex. Gloss		all	2P.ERG	PL	to help; to bless	ITR	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL	
Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
Word Cat.		PNP			RVP						
Word Gloss		all y'all			helped you all						

Free You all helped eachother?

53.2

Word Nsk	You	,	*Ang'ka*	,	*Aapaq*	?]
Word Eng						
Morphemes			ang'	-ka	aapaq	
Lex. Gloss			older brother	1P.NOM.SG	grandfather	
Lex. Gram. Info.			LEX	FM:PER	LEX	
Word Cat.			PNP		NP	
Word Gloss			my older brother		grandfather	

Free You, my older brother, grandfather?

54 **Word** Nsk
Word Eng yeah
Morphemes
Lex. Gloss yeah
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX
Word Cat. PRT
Word Gloss Yeah

Free Yeah

55 **Word** Nsk [*Cegeq* ?]
Word Eng
Morphemes ceg -uq
Lex. Gloss cut fish for drying INDM.IN
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX FM:REA
Word Cat. RVP
Word Gloss he cut fish

Free

56 **Word** Nsk *Aapauruluq* *kiimi* *cegnaurtuq* .
Word Eng
Morphemes aapa -uruluq kii -mi ceg -naur -tuq
Lex. Gloss grandfather dear only 4P.ERG.SG cut fish for drying HAB INDM.IN
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX LEX>LEX LEX FM:PER LEX LEX>LEX FM:REA
Word Cat. NP PNP RVP
Word Gloss dearest grandfather they alone would cut fish

Free Only dearest grandfather would cut fish.

57 **Word** Nsk [!]
Word Eng Oh
Morphemes oh
Lex. Gloss oh
Lex. Gram. Info. PRT
Word Cat. PRT
Word Gloss oh

Free

58.1	**Word** Nsk	*Cegsaurpailegma*					*wii-llu*	,
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	ceg	-saur	-paileg	-m	a	wii	=llu
	Lex. Gloss	cut fish for drying	it is now V	CNJ (before)	1P.ERG	***	I	COO
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	***	PRO	ENC
	Word Cat.	NCP					PRO	
	Word Gloss	before I began to cut the fish					and I	

mertaucetaqluku *tauguam* .

mer	-ta	-ucet	-aq	-lu	-ku	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
water	fetch	for (someone)	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP						PAR			
would fetch water for him						only			

Free And before I began to cut fish, I would only fetch water for him.

58.2	**Word** Nsk	*Carlugkuanek-llu*					*qaturcilunuk*			.
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	carrlug	-ku	-a	-nek	=llu	qatur	-ci	-lu	-nuk
	Lex. Gloss	dust	CNJ (Conditional)	3P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	COO	gathered	FUT	APPM	DU.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NCP					AVP			
	Word Gloss	and if it was dusty					we two will get together			

Free And if it was dirty we two will get together.

58.3	**Word** Nsk	*Smokehouse-amun*		*itrutciaqameng*					
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	smokehousea	-mun	itrut	-ci	-aqa	-meg	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	smokehouse	ALLC.SG	bring it in	FUT	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP		NCP					
	Word Gloss	to the smokehouse		as they will be brought in					

ikaisururnauraput

ikaisur	-ur	-naur	-a	-pu	-t
to help; to bless	CONT	HAB	INDM.TR	1P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					
we would continue to help it					

cikirturnaurapuk

cikir	-tur	-naur	-a	-pu	-k
to give	to V for some duration	HAB	INDM.TR	1P.NOM	DU
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					

we two would give for some time

Free As it will be brought in to the smokehouse, we would clean it and we two would give it some time.

59 **Word** Nsk [ ]
Word Eng Mm
Morphemes mm
Lex. Gloss mm-m
Lex. Gram. Info. PAR
Word Cat. PAR
Word Gloss mm-m

Free

60.1 **Word** Nsk *puyurqaqatarqameng* .
Word Eng

Morphemes	puyurqaq	-a	-tar	-qa	-meg	-t
Lex. Gloss	smoked food	ITR	for there to be	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NCP					
Word Gloss	whenever there would be smoked food					

Free Whenever there would be smoked food

60.2 **Word** Nsk *Kitumek* *ikaissusunata* .
Word Eng

Morphemes	kitu	-mek	ikaissu	-su	-na	-ta
Lex. Gloss	who	ABLC/INTC.SG	to help; to bless	to want to V	APPM.NEG	PL.LF
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP		AVP			
Word Gloss	about who		we didn't want to help			

Free Who wouldn't want to help us?

61	**Word** Nsk	[	*Dogteam-allruq*		?]
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes		dogteama	-llru	-uq
	Lex. Gloss		dog team	PST	INDM.IN
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
	Word Cat.		RVP		
	Word Gloss		he dog teamed?		

Free

62	**Word** Nsk	*Em*	?	
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	em		
	Lex. Gloss	huh / what?		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT		
	Word Cat.	PRT		
	Word Gloss	huh / what?		

Free

63	**Word** Nsk	[	*Dogteam-angqellruuq*			?]
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes		dogteama	-ngqe	-llru	-uq
	Lex. Gloss		dog team	to have N	PST	INDM.IN
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
	Word Cat.		RVP			
	Word Gloss		he had a dog team			

Free Did he have a dog team

64	**Word** Nsk	*Kimugtengqellunuk*				*qavcinek*		*tayima*			.
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	kimugte	-ngqe	-llu	-nuk	qavci	-nek	ta-	*yim	-a	
	Lex. Gloss	dog	to have N	APPM	DU.LF	how many	ABLC/INTC	R<	I0	FTL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	
	Word Cat.	AVP				NP		PAR			
	Word Gloss	we had dogs				lots of		back then			

Free We had a lot of dogs, back then.

65.1	**Word** Nsk	[	*Oh*	!								
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes		oh									
	Lex. Gloss		oh									
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PRT									
	Word Cat.		PRT									
	Word Gloss		oh									

Free

65.2	**Word** Nsk	*Pitcurellartuq*				?]
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	pit	-cure	-llar	-tuq	
	Lex. Gloss	catch game	seek or hunt for	HAB	INDM.IN	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	
	Word Cat.	RVP				
	Word Gloss	he would hunt				

Free He would hunt?

66	**Word** Nsk	*Ai*	?	
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	ai		
	Lex. Gloss	huh / what?		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT		
	Word Cat.	PRT		
	Word Gloss	huh / what?		

Free Huh?

67	**Word** Nsk	[	*Otter-amek*		,	*paluqtaq*	,	*ah*	,	*paluqtaq*	*an*	*cenkaq*	(			
	Word Eng															
	Morphemes		ottera	-mek		paluqtaq		ah		paluqtaq	and	cenkaq				
	Lex. Gloss		otter	ABLC/INTC.SG		beaver		ah		beaver	and	land otter				
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	FM:GCF		LEX		PRT		LEX	PAR	LEX				
	Word Cat.		NP			NP		PRT		NP	PAR	NP				
	Word Gloss		otter			beaver		ah		beaver	and	land otter				

pilall) *pisurlallruuk* ?]

pi	-la	-llru	pisur	-la	-llru	-u	-k
to do	HAB	PST	to hunt	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	DU
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
LEX			RVP				
would have done			they two would have hunted				

Free Otter, beaver, ah, beaver and land otther (would have ..) they two would have hunted?

68.1										
Word Nsk	*Yeah* ,	*pissurluteng*				*tamakuneng*			
Word Eng									
Morphemes	yeah	pissur	-lu	-teg	-t	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
Lex. Gloss	yeah	to hunt	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	PAR	AVP				NP			
Word Gloss	Yeah	they hunt				these			

kaviarmek-llu , *akikengngaqeqluteng* .

kaviar	-mek	=llu	aki	-keng	-nga	-qeq	-lu	-teg	-t
red fox	ABLC/INTC.SG	COO	money	to do it	PRF	-ITR/-HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			AVP						
and red foxes			they would be sold						

Free Yeah, they hunt these, and red foxes too, they would sell them.

68.2							
Word Nsk	*Imarmiutagnek* ,	*pisurluteng* ,					
Word Eng							
Morphemes	imarmiutag	-nek	pisur	-lu	-teg	-t	
Lex. Gloss	mink	ABLC/INTC	to hunt	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
Word Cat.	NP		AVP				
Word Gloss	mink		they hunt				

kapkanarluteng .

kapkanar	-lu	-teg	-t
steel animal trap	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			
they are caught in traps			

Free They hunt mink, catch 'em in traps.

68.3	**Word Nsk**	*Dad-tiarpenun*			,	*camani*			*mamteraami*		,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	dadtiar	-pe	-nun		*cam	-a	-ni	mamteraa	-mi	
	Lex. Gloss	dad	2P.ERG	ALLC		AR0P	FTL	LOCC	storehouse	LOCC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PNP				NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	to our dad				there below			in the storehouse		

kapkaniarurai

kapkaniar	-ur	-*	-a	-i
steel animal trap	CONT	CNJ(to be)	3P.ERG	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER
RVP				
he traps them				

uitalalellriit *cali* ?

uita	-la	-le	-llri	-i	-t		cali
to stay	HAB	to V suddently and willfully	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL		also
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM		PRT
RVP							PAR
those which would live there willfully							also

Free Along with your dad, there below in the storehouse, he would trap those which are infesting it also?

69	**Word Nsk**	[	*Emil-am*		,	*um*	,	(	*tuq*	)	*tugulrua*			,	*aturlara*		,
	Word Eng																
	Morphemes		Emila	-m		um			tuqu		tuqu	-lru	-a		atur	-lar	-a
	Lex. Gloss		Emil	ERGC		um			die		die	PST	3P.ERG		to use	HAB	3P.ERG
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	FM:GCF		PRT			LEX		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
	Word Cat.		NP			PRT			LEX		RVP				RVP		
	Word Gloss		Emil			um			die		he died?				he would use?		

Emil-aq .]

Emilaq
Emil
LEX
NP
Emil

Free Emil, um, he died? he used? Emil. (Emil used them to kill those)

70	**Word** Nsk	!
	Word Eng	Oh
	Morphemes	oh
	Lex. Gloss	oh
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT
	Word Cat.	PRT
	Word Gloss	oh

Free

71	**Word** Nsk	[ ]
	Word Eng	Yeah
	Morphemes	yeah
	Lex. Gloss	yeah
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
	Word Cat.	LEX
	Word Gloss	Yeah

Free

72	**Word** Nsk	*Pissuturninanremeni*					*tamakunek*				,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	pissu	-tur	-ninanr	-meg	-ni	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	
	Lex. Gloss	to hunt	to use	CNJ(while)	4P.ERG	LOCC	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NCP					NP				
	Word Gloss	while they were hunting					these				

cenkagnek , *piurutellruuq* *dad-tin* .

cenkag	-nek	pi	-ur	-ute	-llru	-uq	dad	-ten
land otter	ABLC/INTC	to do	CONT	with another	PST	INDM.IN	dad	2P.ABS.SG
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	LEX	FM:PER
NP		RVP					PNP	
land otters		he would do it for					your father	

Free While they were hunting these otters, he would do it for your father.

73	**Word** Nsk	[	*Ciin*	(	*nag*	)											
	Word Eng																
	Morphemes		ciin		nugtarte												
	Lex. Gloss		why		move on from one place to another												
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PAR		LEX												
	Word Cat.		PAR		LEX												
	Word Gloss		how come		move on from one place to another												

nugtallruci *Pastulimek* , *Caniliamun* ?]

nugta	-llru	-u	-t	-t	Pastuli	-mek	Canilia	-mun
move on from one place to another	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL	Pastolik	ABLC/INTC.SG	Caneliak	ALLC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
RVP					NP		NP	
did you all move					from Pastolik		to Caniliak	

Free Why did you all move from Pastolik to Caniliak?

74	**Word** Nsk	*Ai*	?
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	ai	
	Lex. Gloss	huh / what?	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	huh / what?	

Free Huh?

75	**Word** Nsk	[	*Ciin*	*nugtallruci*								(	*Pales*	)	
	Word Eng														
	Morphemes		ciin	nugta	-llru	-u	-t	-t					***		
	Lex. Gloss		why	move on from one place to another	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL					***		
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PAR	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM					***		
	Word Cat.		PAR	RVP									***		
	Word Gloss		how come	did you all move									***		

Pastuliramun , *Caniliamun* ?]

Pastulira	-mun	Canilia	-mun
Pastolik	ALLC.SG	Caneliak	ALLC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
LEX		NP	
Pastolik		to Caniliak	

Free Why did you all move to Pastolik to Caniliak?

76	**Word** Nsk	[	*Ciin*	*nugtallruci*				?]
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes		ciin	nugta	-llru	-u	-t	-t
	Lex. Gloss		why	move on from one place to another	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PAR	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.		PAR	RVP				
	Word Gloss		how come	did you all move				

Free Why did you all move?

77.1	**Word** Nsk	*Married-tarngama*				*wii*	*dad-terpinek*			,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	marriedtar	-nga	-m	a	wii	dadter	-pi	-nek	
	Lex. Gloss	married	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG	I	dad	2P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRO	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NCP				PRO	PNP			
	Word Gloss	when I got married				I	your dad			

tawavet				*Canilianun*		*tailuta*			.
ta-	*u	-a	-vet	Canilia	-nun	tai	-lu	-ta	
R<	I1	FTL	DEF.ALLC	Caneliak	ALLC	to come	APPM	PL.LF	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	
NP				NP		AVP			
in there				to Caniliak		we came			

Free When I married your dad, we came there to Caniliak.

77.2	**Word** Nsk	*School-arestengngqerusauqugut*									,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	schoolar	-sta	-ng	-ngqer	-u	-saur	-quq	-u	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	school	the one who Vs	to begin to V	to have N	to be N	it is now V	one that is	INDM.IN	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	RVP									
	Word Gloss	they are able to now begin to have those that are school teachers.									

tauguam , *taivakassunani* .

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	tai	-vaka	-ssu	-na	-ni
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	to come	so much	to seek	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PAR				AVP				
only				didn't come to seek so many				

Free They wanted to bring in a bunch of new school teachers, only not too many came.

77.3	**Word** Nsk	*Kassateng*			*tekirqungluteng*					
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	kassa	-teg	-t	teki	-rqu	-ng	-lu	-teg	-t
	Lex. Gloss	white person	4P.NOM	PL	to arrive	this many times	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PNP			AVP					
	Word Gloss	their foreigners			they were beginning to arrive this many times					

mavet .

*ma	-a	-vet
I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP		
here		

Free Many white people were beginning to arrive time and again here at this time.

77.4	**Word** Nsk	*Canilianun-llu*			*meeting-aquqluteng*				
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	Canilia	-nun	=llu	meetinga	-quq	-lu	-teg	-t
	Lex. Gloss	Caneliak	ALLC	COO	meeting	one that is	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP			AVP				
	Word Gloss	and to Caneliak			those that are meeting				

Free And they were meeting those in Caneliak.

77.5	**Word** Nsk	*Cunawa*		*umek*			,	*school-avigmek*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	cuna	=wa	*u	-u	-mek		schoola	-vig	-mek
	Lex. Gloss	and so	Anaphor	I1	FTO.SG	ABLC/INTC.SG		school	place to V	ABLC/INTC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP				NP		
	Word Gloss	it turns out that		this one				school		

pingnaqelleminek .

pingnaqe	-lle	-mi	-nek
try	CNJ (Contemporative)	4P.ERG.SG	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NCP			
for it's attempt			

Free Turns out that this school would attempt ...

77.6	**Word** Nsk	*School-ariluteng*					,	*school-amek*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	schoolar	-ngi	-lu	-teg	-t		schoola	-mek
	Lex. Gloss	school	CAUS	APPM	4P.NOM	PL		school	ABLC/INTC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	AVP						NP	
	Word Gloss	for the purpose of schooling						a school	

piliiluteng .

pilii	-lu	-teg	-t
to make	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			
was made			

Free for the purpose of schooling, to make a school.

77.7	**Word** Nsk	*Taqngan*				*ataam*	*Caniliarmiut*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	taq	-nga	-a	n	ataam	Canilia	-rmiu	-t
	Lex. Gloss	to quit	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	SG	again	Caneliak	resident of	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NCP				PAR	NP		
	Word Gloss	when it was finished				again	the people of Caniliak		

imkut , *tairquqiilet*

*im	-ku	-t	tai	-rqu	-qii	-l	-i	-t
I0	FTO.NS	PL	to come	this many times	FUT (OPTM only)	OPTM	3P.ERG	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			OVP					
these hidden ones			they will come this many times					

mavet .

*ma	-a	-vet
I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP		
here		

Free When it was finished then, those lost people of Caniliak, they came time and again here.

78 **Word** Nsk [ ]
Word Eng Oh
Morphemes oh
Lex. Gloss oh
Lex. Gram. Info. PRT
Word Cat. PRT
Word Gloss oh

Free

79.1 **Word** Nsk *Caniliani* *school-artairuluni* .
Word Eng

Morphemes	Canilia	-ni	schoolar	-ta	-iru	-lu	-ni
Lex. Gloss	Caneliak	LOCC	school	for there to be	to no longer be	APPM	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP		AVP				
Word Gloss	in Caneliak		there would no longer be a school				

Free

79.2

Word Nsk	*Wangkuta-llu*				*David-tankut*		,	*Emma*	,	*Qatcellaq-llu*		
Word Eng												
Morphemes	wang	-ku	ta	=llu	Davidta	-nkut		Emma		qatce	-llaq	=llu
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTO.NS	1P.ABS	COO	David	and family		Emma		chest	thing of	COO
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:PER	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX		LEX		LEX	LEX>LEX	ENC
Word Cat.	PRO				NP			NP		NP		
Word Gloss	and we				David and his family			Emma		and the shouting,		

school-arsaurceta , *taiqerluta* *mavet* ,

schoolar	-saur	-ce	-ta	tai	-qer	-lu	-ta	*ma	-a	-vet	
school	it is now V	INTRM	PL.LF	to come	suddenly	APPM	PL.LF	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:IRR	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
RVP				AVP				NP			
do we get to go to school now?				we quickly came				here			

nenglirluni *kanaugun* .

nenglir	-lu	-ni	kana	-u	-gun
cold	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	to walk around	to be N	PRLC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
AVP			NP		
it was cold			walking here		

Free We and David and Emma's family, and yelling [from the chest] do we get schooling now? We quickly came here, the walk over was cold.

79.3

Word Nsk	*Alianiurnaurtua*				*tawaten*					*wii* .
Word Eng										
Morphemes	alianiur	-naur	-tu	-a	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	wii	
Lex. Gloss	lonley	HAB	INDM.IN	ITR	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	LEX>LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRO	
Word Cat.	RVP				NP				PRO	
Word Gloss	I would be lonely				like this				I; me	

Free In this way I would be lonely.

79.4

Word Nsk	*Mancungretcauqellua*					.
Word Eng						
Morphemes	man	-cungret	-caur	-qe	-llu	-a
Lex. Gloss	show	not want to	to be able to V now	ITR	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
Word Cat.	RVP					
Word Gloss	I wouldn't want to show it.					

Free I wouldn't want to show it.

80.1	**Word** Nsk	[	*Oh*	, *oh*	, *nakleng*	.
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes		oh	oh	nakleng	
	Lex. Gloss		oh	oh	poor thing!	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PRT	PRT	LEX	
	Word Cat.		PRT	PRT	LEX	
	Word Gloss		oh	oh	poor thing!	

Free Oh, oh poor thing!

80.2	**Word** Nsk	*Qayuga*	,	*um*	,	(	*Quni*	,	*quni*	)	*um*	,	how	they	used	to	bury	them	?
	Word Eng																		
	Morphemes	qayuga		um			quni		***										
	Lex. Gloss	how		um			***		***										
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		PRT			***		***										
	Word Cat.	PAR		PRT			***		***										
	Word Gloss	how		um			***		***										

Free How did they used to bury them?

80.3	**Word** Nsk	How	come	in	Pastuliq	they	had	box	,	small	box	even	for	big	*people*	?]
	Word Eng															
	Morphemes															
	Lex. Gloss															
	Lex. Gram. Info.															
	Word Cat.															
	Word Gloss															

Free How come in Pastuliq they had boxes, small boxes, even for big people?

81	**Word** Nsk	
	Word Eng	yeah
	Morphemes	
	Lex. Gloss	yeah
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
	Word Cat.	PRT
	Word Gloss	Yeah

Free Yeah

82	**Word** Nsk	[	*Ciin*	*tuaten*			
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes		ciin	t-	*u	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss		why	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PAR	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.		PAR	NP			
	Word Gloss		how come	like that			

pilruat ?]

pi	-lru	-a	-a	-t
to do	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP				
they did it				

Free How come they did it like that?

83.1	**Word** Nsk	*Ak'a*	*tamani*				.
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	ak'a	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	DIST	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PRT	NP				
	Word Gloss	DIST	there				

Free Long ago there

83.2	**Word** Nsk	*Tuaten-guq*						
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	-ten	=guq		
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	one said		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC		
	Word Cat.	NP						
	Word Gloss	they say that						

qunguicilallruut , *nunamun*

qungu	-ici	-la	-llru	-u	-t	nuna	-mun
grave	to have no N	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	land	ALLC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
RVP						NP	
they would have no graves						in the village	

laagutevkenaku .

laag	-ute	-vke	-na	-ku
dig	with another	NEG	APPM.NEG	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				

they wouldn't dig 'em

Free They say that they would have no graves in the village, they wouldn't dig 'em.

83.3										
	Word Nsk	*Nunavet*		*tauguam*				*qaingan*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	nuna	-vet	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	qai	-nga	-n
	Lex. Gloss	land	DEF.ALLC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	surface	3P.NOM.SGCOM	SG.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP		PAR				PNP		
	Word Gloss	within the village		only				on it's surface		

elliluki .

elli	-lu	-ki
put	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP		

they were put

Free Within the village they were only placed on the surface.

83.4											
	Word Nsk	*Qungulilukuu*				*negqililuku*					,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	qungu	-li	-lu	-ku	negq	-ngi	-li	-lu	-ku	
	Lex. Gloss	grave	make it	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	north	CAUS	make it	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	AVP				AVP					
	Word Gloss	the graves were made				it was to the north					

aqumluku .

aqum	-lu	-ku
sit	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP		

it was sitting

Free The graves were made to sit towards the north.

83.5	**Word** Nsk	*Erurluku*			, *qungululuku*				.
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	erur	-lu	-ku	qungu	-li	-lu	-ku	
	Lex. Gloss	wash	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	grave	make it	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	AVP			AVP				
	Word Gloss	it was cleaned			the graves were made				

Free It was cleaned, it was set in the grave.

83.6	**Word** Nsk	*Cellangellrunga*					, *Pastulimi*		,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	cellange			-llru	-u	-nga	Pastuli	-mi
	Lex. Gloss	to obtain awareness / have one's first memory			PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	Pastolik	LOCC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX			LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	RVP						NP	
	Word Gloss	I remembered						in Pastolik	

yani , *qungurugaat* *amleret* *box-at*

*i	-a	-ni	qungu	-rugaa	-t	amlere	-t	boxa	-t
AD1P	FTL	LOCC	grave	many	PL	to be many	PL	box	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM
NP			NP			NP		NP	
those there			many graves			lots of		boxes	

tawaten , *amlerqapigluteng* .

ta-	*w	-a	-ten	amler	-qapig	-lu	-teg	-t
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to be many	to be very V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				AVP				
like this				they were very many				

Free I remember in Pastolik, those there, there were very many graves, lots of boxes like this.

84 **Word** Nsk [ ]
Word Eng Mm
Morphemes mm
Lex. Gloss mm-m
Lex. Gram. Info. PAR
Word Cat. PAR
Word Gloss mm-m

Free Mm-m

85.1 **Word** Nsk *Aatatcet-llu* *aunrutmek*
Word Eng

Morphemes	aatat	-t	-t	=llu	au	-ner	-ut	-mek
Lex. Gloss	uncle	2P.ABS	PL	COO	gather	activity of V-ing	for the sake of	ABLC/INTC.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	PNP				LEX			
Word Gloss	and your uncle				gathering for him			

imkucingqelallruuq *naparsanek* .

imkuci	-ngqe	-la	-llru	-uq	naparsa	-nek
that thing	to have N	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	pole	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	LEX	FM:GCF
RVP					NP	
that thing he would have					poles	

Free And they gathered up for your uncle that thing he had with the poles.

85.2 **Word** Nsk *Cait* *tayima* *casskait-llu*
Word Eng

Morphemes	ca	-i	-t	ta-	*yim	-a	casska	-i	-t	=llu
Lex. Gloss	Q	3P.ACC.PL	PL	R<	I0	FTL	cup	3P.ACC.PL	PL	COO
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
Word Cat.	NP			PAR			PNP			
Word Gloss	whatever			hopefully			and his cup			

ellinaurait *tamavet* , *qunguat*

elli	-naur	-a	-i	-t	ta-	*ma	-a	-vet	qungu	-a	-t
put	HAB	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL	R<	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	grave	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					NP				NP		
they put them					that place				his graves		

avatiini .

*av	-a	-t	*ii	-ni
AD2P	FTL	PL	AD2E	LOCC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	FM:GCF
NP				
those across there				

Free Hopefully his things, and his cup they put them there, in his grave, all these across there.

85.3	**Word** Nsk	*Egatait-llu*					,	*egtevkenaki*			
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	egart	-a	-i	-t	=llu		egte	-vke	-na	-ki
	Lex. Gloss	toss	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL	COO		throw	NEG	APPM.NEG	3P.ACC.PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	RVP						AVP			
	Word Gloss	they toss them						they be not thrown			

natetmun , *tamavet* *tauguam*

nate	-tmun	ta-	*ma	-a	-vet	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
what part	INDF.ALLC	R<	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
LEX	LEX>LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP		NP				PAR			
towards somewhere		that place				only			

eyaitmun , *yuqelletnun* (*egg*)

eyai	-t	-mun	yuqe	-lle	-t	-nun	***
traditional things	PL	ALLC.SG	to sing or dance in the Eskimo style	CNJ (Contemporative)	PL	ALLC	***
LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	***
PNP			NCP				***
according to their traditions			when they were dancing				***

egciaqluteng .

egc	-i	-aq	-lu	-teg	-t
throw	to V something	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					
they would suffer it to be tossed away					

Free They would toss it, but they would not throw them just anywhere, only at that place according to tradition, when they were dancing, would they suffer it to be tossed away.

86 **Word** Nsk [*Citen* *tawaten*

Word Eng							
Morphemes	ci	-ten	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	
Lex. Gloss	why	FTL.AEQC	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	PAR		NP				
Word Gloss	like why		like this				

pillruat ?]

pi	-llru	-a	-a	-t
to do	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP				
they did it				

Free Why did they do it like this?

87 **Word** Nsk *Naamik* *tawaten-gua* ,

Word Eng							
Morphemes	naamik	ta-	*u	-a	-ten	=wa	
Lex. Gloss	I don't know	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	Anaphor	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	
Word Cat.	PAR	NP					
Word Gloss	I don't know	this					

pituluteng *pilellriit* .

pi	-tu	-lu	-teg	-t	pi	-le	-llri	-i	-t	
to do	to use	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to do	to V suddently and willfully	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
AVP					RVP					
it was used					that which they did willfully					

Free I don't know why they did it this way.

88 **Word** Nsk [*Wata* *wani* ,

Word Eng					
Morphemes	*uat	-a	*w	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	I1	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	PAR		NP		
Word Gloss	there		this here		

iningqauralarait , *watawa*

ini	-ngqa	-ur	-a	-lar	-a	-i	-t		*wat	-a	=wa
hang in the air	state of having been	CONT	ITR	HAB	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL		I1	FTL	Anaphor
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM		DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
RVP									PAR		
they would make it so that it hung in the air									right now		

tuqulriit .]

tuqu	-lri	-i	-t
die	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP			
those which die			

Free Here and now, they make it so that they would hang in the air, right now, those who die.

89

Word Nsk	*Ai* ??
Word Eng	
Morphemes	ai
Lex. Gloss	huh / what?
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT
Word Cat.	PRT
Word Gloss	huh / what?

Free

90

Word Nsk	[			,										?]
Word Eng	How	come	they	how	come	they	change	from	that	one	to	let'em	lay	down
Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

91	**Word** Nsk	*Naamik-guq*		*qayuga*	*tayima*			
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	naamik	=guq	qayuga	ta-	*yim	-a	
	Lex. Gloss	I don't know	one said	how	R<	I0	FTL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	ENC	LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	
	Word Cat.	PAR		PAR	PAR			
	Word Gloss	I said I don't know		how	back then			

piameng , *tawaten*

pi	-a	-meg	-t	ta-	*w	-a	-ten
to do	CNJ (because/when)	4P.ERG	PL	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP				NP			
when they do it				like this			

laagutcet …

laag	-ut	-ce	-t
dig	with another	INTRM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:IRR	FM:NUM
IVP			
you dig for them?			

Free I don't know how they did it back then, do you dig them like this?

92.1	**Word** Nsk	[*Tawaten*				*kassat*	,
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	kassa	-t
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	white person	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP				NP	
	Word Gloss	like this				white people	

kassatcetun *ellimlruut* ,

kassa	-t	-te	-tun	ellim	-lru	-u	-t
white person	PL	PL	AEQC	request to do	PST	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	FM:NUM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
NP				RVP			
like white people				they requested to do			

tawaten ??

ta-	*w	-a	-ten
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			
like this			

Free White people, lke this, like white people requested to do, like this.

92.2	**Word** Nsk	*Manacingkaat*					,	(	*agai*)	*agaiyus* ...
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	manaci	-ng	-ka	-a	-t			***	agaiyustar
	Lex. Gloss	that thing	to begin to V	PARTM.TR	3P.ERG	PL			***	priest
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM			***	LEX
	Word Cat.	RVP							***	LEX
	Word Gloss	those which began to do that thing							***	priest

yustii *tawaten* (*piler*), they tell'em to

agaiyu	-sti	-ngi	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	pi	-ler	
***	***	CAUS	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to do	to V suddenly and willfully	
***	***	LEX>LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	
NP			NP				NP		
their priests			like this				willfully say		

do that ?

Free Those which began to do it, (priest...) their priests, like this, (tell) they tell 'em to do that?

92.3	**Word** Nsk	No	more	like	this	?	
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes						
	Lex. Gloss						
	Lex. Gram. Info.						
	Word Cat.						
	Word Gloss						

Free It doesn't happen like this any more?

92.4	**Word** Nsk	Only	let'em	lay	*down*	?	
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes						
	Lex. Gloss						
	Lex. Gram. Info.						
	Word Cat.						
	Word Gloss						

Free They only let them lay down?

92.5	**Word** Nsk	After	the	agaiyustaq	come	,	*cimellruut*	?]
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes						cime -llru -u -t	
	Lex. Gloss						to change PST INDM.IN PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.						LEX LEX>LEX FM:REA FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.						RVP	
	Word Gloss						it changed	

Free After the priest came, did it change?

93	**Word** Nsk	!	
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free Oh

94	**Word** Nsk	[	*Qa*	?]
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes			
	Lex. Gloss			
	Lex. Gram. Info.			
	Word Cat.			
	Word Gloss			

Free What?

95	**Word** Nsk	*Pilellriit*					(*tat*	)…
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	pi	-le	-llri	-i	-t		***
	Lex. Gloss	to do	to V suddently and willfully	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL		***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM		***
	Word Cat.	RVP						***
	Word Gloss	that which they did willfully						***

Free They did it on their own ..

96	**Word** Nsk	[	!]
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free

97.1	**Word** Nsk	*tawatan*				.
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	ta-	*u	-a	-ten	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP				
	Word Gloss	like those				

Free Like that

97.2	**Word** Nsk	*Tuquvaqasuitellrut-llu*						,
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	tuqu	-vaqa	-suite	-llru	-u	-t	=llu
	Lex. Gloss	die	so much	never	PST	INDM.IN	PL	COO
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	ENC
	Word Cat.	RVP						
	Word Gloss	and they would never die as much						

nangtekqumarauluteng *tauguam*

nangtekqu	-mar	-au	-lu	-teg	-t	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
disease	over and over	contine for a long time	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP						PAR			
they got sick over and over for a long time						only			

tuqunaurtut .

tuqu	-naur	-tu	-t
die	HAB	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP			
they wouldn't die			

Free And they would never die as much, they got sick over and over for a long time but they wouldn't die.

97.3												
	Word Nsk	*Makut*			*taugkun*				*imkut*			
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	*ma	-ku	-t	ta-	*ug	-kun		*im	-ku	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.NS	PL	R<	AR1E	PRLC		I0	FTO.NS	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP			NP				NP			
	Word Gloss	these			from there on				these hidden ones			

yaassiigarmun *ekumalriit* , *cam* *tayima*

yaassiigar	-mun	ekuma	-lri	-i	-t	ca	-m	ta-	*yim	-a	
box	ALLC.SG	be inside	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL	Q	ERGC	R<	I0	FTL	
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	
NP		RVP				NP		PAR			
in boxes		they would be inside				something		thing I have said			

poison-arluki , *camek* *tayima*

poisonar	-lu	-ki	ca	-mek	ta-	*yim	-a
poison	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	R<	I0	FTL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
AVP			PRT		PAR		
they were poisoned			something / whatever kind		thing I have said		

nerevkarluki *pingatait* ,

nere	-vkar	-lu	-ki	pi	-nga	-ta	-i	-t	
to eat	to compel oneself to V	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to do	PRF	INDM.TR	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
AVP				RVP					
would force them to eat				they did it to them					

tawaten *niitellallrunga* .

ta-	*w	-a	-ten	niite	-lla	-llru	-nga
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to hear	HAB	PST	1P.ABS.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
NP				AVP			
like this				I would listen			

Free From then on, these would be inside boxes. Something as I said poisoned them, as I said they would force them to eat something, they did it to them, I would listen like this.

97.4

Word Nsk	*Tuqualuteng*					*yugugaat*			*imkut*		
Word Eng											
Morphemes	tuqu	-a	-lu	-teg	-t	yug	-ugaa	-t	*im	-ku	-t
Lex. Gloss	die	ITR	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	person	many	PL	I0	FTO.NS	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	AVP					NP			NP		
Word Gloss	they repeatedly died					many people			these hidden ones		

Pastulimi , *Caniliani-llu* *nangluteng* .

Pastuli	-mi	Canilia	-ni	=llu	nang	-lu	-teg	-t
Pastolik	LOCC.SG	Caneliak	LOCC	COO	be no more	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		NP			AVP			
in Pastolik		in Caneliak too			they are no more			

Free They repeatedly died, many people, these in Pastolik, and in Caneliak, they are no more.

98	**Word** Nsk	[(	*Civun*	)	*TV-mun*	*wallu*	*ca'mek*	??]
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes		civun		TV -mun	wallu	ca' -mek	
	Lex. Gloss		***		television ALLC.SG	or	Q ABLC/INTC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***		LEX FM:GCF	PAR	LEX FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.		***		NP	PRT	NP	
	Word Gloss		***		on theTV	or	what	

Free On the TV or what?

99	**Word** Nsk	*Ca'mek*		*tayima*				*piluki*		,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ca'	-mek	ta-	*yim	-a		pi	-lu	-ki
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	R<	I0	FTL		to do	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP		PAR				AVP		
	Word Gloss	what		thing I have said				it was done		

Free What thing I said, it happened.

100	**Word** Nsk	[	??]
	Word Eng	Poison	
	Morphemes	poison	
	Lex. Gloss	poison	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	
	Word Cat.	LEX	
	Word Gloss	poison	

Free Poison?

101.1	**Word** Nsk	*Naamik*	*qayuga*	*tayima*				*piluki*		.
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	naamik	qayuga	ta-	*yim	-a		pi	-lu	-ki
	Lex. Gloss	I don't know	how	R<	I0	FTL		to do	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	PAR	PAR	PAR				AVP		
	Word Gloss	I don't know	how	thing I have said				it was done		

Free I don't know this thing I said was done.

101.2	**Word** Nsk	*Tayima*			,	*una-wani*					
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	ta-	*yim	-a		*u	-na	*w	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I0	FTL		I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM		DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP					
	Word Gloss	thing I have said				that one there					

unevkaraqlallikiit *tamakut* .

unevkaraq	-la	-lli	-ka	-nga	-t	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t
legend	HAB	to maybe verb	PARTM.TR	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
RVP						NP			
those which he would maybe tell as legend						those ones			

Free Hopefully that one would maybe share it, those traditional stories.

101.3	**Word** Nsk	*Kalikani*		,	*unevkaralukell*			
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	kalika	-ni		unevkara	-lu	-ki	=ll
	Lex. Gloss	paper	LOCC		legend	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	COO
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC
	Word Cat.	NP			AVP			
	Word Gloss	on paper			and legends were shared			

ellilallikait .

elli	-la	-lli	-ka	-i	-t
put	HAB	to maybe verb	PARTM.TR	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					
those which they might put down					

Free And maybe the legends would be shared and put down on paper by them.

102	**Word** Nsk	[*Mekelnguat*			*watawa*		
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	mekelngu	-a	-t	*wat	-a	=wa
	Lex. Gloss	child	3P.ERG	PL	I1	FTL	Anaphor
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	NP			PAR		
	Word Gloss	his children			right now		

alingsuitnani .]

aling	-suit	-na	-ni
to be afraid	never	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			

they would never be afraid

Free His children now, they would never be afraid of it.

103 **Word** Nsk

Word Eng	yeah
Morphemes	
Lex. Gloss	yeah
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
Word Cat.	PRT
Word Gloss	Yeah

Free Yeah

104 **Word** Nsk [*Yuut*]

Word Eng		
Morphemes	yuu	-t
Lex. Gloss	person	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP	
Word Gloss	people	

Free People

105.1 **Word** Nsk *Watawa* *makut* *yun'erraat*

Word Eng								
Morphemes	*wat	-a	=wa	*ma	-ku	-t	yun'erraa	-t
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	Anaphor	I2	FTO.NS	PL	young man	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	PAR			NP			NP	
Word Gloss	right now			these			young people	

teen-ager-at-llu *augkut* , *alingnariut* .

teenagera	-t	=llu	*aug	-ku	-t	aling	-nar	-ngi	-u	-t
teenager	PL	COO	AD2P	FTO.NS	PL	to be afraid	CAUS	CAUS	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
NP			NP			RVP				
teenagers			those			they are frightening				

Free Right now, these young people and teenagers—those ones— they make one feel afraid.

105.2

Word Nsk	*Augkutcetun*				*imkut-tun*			
Word Eng								
Morphemes	*aug	-ku	-t	-cetun	*im	-ku	-t	-tun
Lex. Gloss	AD2P	FTO.NS	PL	AEQC	I0	FTO.NS	PL	AEQC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP				NP			
Word Gloss	like these				like these can't see			

ciuqlertun , *ayuqenarqenritut* ,

ciu	-qlur	-tun	ayuqe	-narqe	-nrit	-u	-t
time previously	poor dear	AEQC	to resemble	to tend to cause one to (feel) V	NEG	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
NP			RVP				
like those dear ones from before			they don't make one feel like this				

alingnarqut .

aling	-narq	-u	-t
to be afraid	to tend to cause one to (feel) V	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP			
they make one feel afraid			

Free Like these across there, these poor dear unseen ones from before, they don't make one feel like this, they make one feel afraid.

105.3

Word Nsk	*Tamakut*				*imkut*			*yuut*		,
Word Eng										
Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	*im	-ku	-t	yuu	-t	
Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	I0	FTO.NS	PL	person	PL	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	
Word Cat.	NP				NP			NP		
Word Gloss	those ones				these hidden ones			people		

imkut-llu *wani* *unevqarauluriik* (*a*)

*im	-ku	-t	=llu	*w	-a	-ni	unevqar	-au	-lurii	-k	a
I0	FTO.NS	PL	COO	I1	FTL	LOCC	tell a story	contine for a long time	good old	DU	GWP
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	PRT
NP				NP			NP				NP
and these				this here			two long, good old stories				!stutter!

unuamek-tang , *tawaten* , *yuulret*

unuamek	=tang	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	yuulre	-t
today	look	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	one who lives a traditional life	PL
PAR	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM
NP		NP				NP	
of today		like this				traditional people	

tamakut , *tamani* *yuut*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	yuu	-t
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	person	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM
NP				NP				NP	
those ones				there				people	

tamakut *nalluvenaki* ,

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	nallu	-ve	-na	-ki
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to not know	NEG	APPM.NEG	3P.ACC.PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				AVP			
those ones				they aren't unaware			

uitallruut .

uita	-llru	-u	-t
to live (at)	PST	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP			
they stayed that way			

Free Those, these people, and these here good, old, long stories of how it is today, like this, those traditional people there, those people weren't unknowing, they lived right.

105.4	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-ll*				*angliluteng*				,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=ll	angli	-lu	-teg	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	to grow or become big	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	PAR				AVP				
	Word Gloss	and then				they grew up				

cimerluteng .

cimer	-lu	-teg	-t
to change	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			
they change			

Free And then they grew up and changed.

105.5	**Word** Nsk	*Taugkun*			*cimerluteng*				*yuut*		,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-kun	cimer	-lu	-teg	-t	yuu	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	PRLC	to change	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	person	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP			AVP				NP		
	Word Gloss	from there on			they change				people		

irniaret , *allaurluteng*

irniare	-t	alla	-ur	-lu	-teg	-t
children	PL	different	CONT	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		AVP				
children		they continue to be different				

allakaurluteng .

alla	-ka	-ur	-lu	-teg	-t
different	small bit	CONT	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					
they continue on being different					

Free From then on people changed, children continue to be different, they continue on being different.

105.6	**Word** Nsk	*Wani-wa*				*mavet*			*tekiluni*		.
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*u	-a	-ni	=wa	*ma	-a	-vet	teki	-lu	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	to arrive	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP				NP			AVP		
	Word Gloss	in this case				here			they arrive		

Free Here in this way, they reach it.

105.7	**Word** Nsk	*Tawaten*				,	*imkut*			*yuut*		
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	ta-	*w	-a	-ten		*im	-ku	-t	yuu	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC		I0	FTO.NS	PL	person	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP					NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	like this					these hidden ones			people		

qanruteklallruit ,

qanru	-tek	-la	-llru	-i	-t
to tell	to do it on account of	HAB	PST	3P.ACC.PL	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					

they tell them about it

qanerlallrut-guq .

qaner	-la	-llru	-u	-t	=guq
to speak	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	one said
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	ENC
RVP					

they say they spoke about it

Free Like this, these people told them about it (the change), they say they spoke about it.

105.8	**Word** Nsk	*Tamakut*				*yuut*		*ak'allaat*		,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	yuu	-t	ak'allaa	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	person	PL	old person	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP				NP		NP		
	Word Gloss	those ones				people		elders		

mekelnguraat-guq *makut*

mekelngur	-aa	-t	=guq	*ma	-ku	-t
child	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL	one said	I2	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
PNP				NP		
they say of their children				these		

alingnariciqut , *cimerlutengluguq* ,

aling	-nar	-ngi	-ciq	-u	-t	cimer	-lu	-teg	-t	=llu	=guq
to be afraid	CAUS	CAUS	FUT	INDM.IN	PL	to change	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	COO	one said
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	ENC
RVP						AVP					
they will cause one to be afraid						and so they say they change					

cassuiruluteng .

ca	-ssuiru	-lu	-teg	-t
Q	no longer	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
they no longer what				

Free Those people, the elders, they say these children of their will cause one to be afraid, and thus they say that they change, they are no longer what (they used to be).

105.9	**Word** Nsk	*Mamani-llu*				*tamana*			*aturluku*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	mam	-a	-ni	=llu	ta-	*ma	-na	atur	-lu	-ku
	Lex. Gloss	healing	3P.ERG	LOCC	COO	R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to use	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP				NP			AVP		
	Word Gloss	and in their healing				those			it was used		

qanurteqelallruat .

qanur	-teqe	-la	-llru	-a	-a	-t
to speak	to do it on account of	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP						
they would speak about it to them						

Free And in their healing, they use it, they speak about it to them.

105.10	**Word** Nsk	*Nalluvkenateng*					*qayuga* .
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	nallu	-vke	-na	-teg	-t	qayuga
	Lex. Gloss	to not know	NEG	VOL	4P.NOM	PL	how
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX
	Word Cat.	AVP					PAR
	Word Gloss	they aren't unaware					how

Free They aren't unknowing of how things are.

106	**Word** Nsk	[	*Mm-m*	,	*qayuga*	(	*eg*	)	*eralruci*					*without*
	Word Eng													
	Morphemes		Mm-m		qayuga		egler		era	-lru	-u	-t	-t	***
	Lex. Gloss		mm-m		how		to be in motion		boil	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.		PAR		LEX		LEX		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	***
	Word Cat.		PAR		PAR		LEX		RVP					***
	Word Gloss		mm-m		how		to be in motion		you all cook					***

stove , *uqumek* , *wallu* *qayuga* ?]

***	uqu	-mek	wallu	qayuga
***	oil	ABLC/INTC.SG	or	how
***	LEX	FM:GCF	PAR	LEX
***	NP		PRT	PAR
***	oil		or	how

Free How did you all cook without a stove or oil. How?

107	**Word** Nsk	*Piletamegellriamek*					
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	pilia	-ta	-mig	-llria	-mek	
	Lex. Gloss	home-made	related thing	put in	the one who is V-ing	ABLC/INTC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP					
	Word Gloss	With a home-made thing we could put it in					

Free With a home-made thing we could put it in

108	**Word** Nsk	[	,		?]
	Word Eng	Oh	with	the	
	Morphemes	oh	***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	***	***	
	Word Cat.	PRT	***	***	
	Word Gloss	oh	***	***	

Free Oh, with the ...

109	**Word** Nsk	
	Word Eng	yeah
	Morphemes	
	Lex. Gloss	yeah
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
	Word Cat.	PRT
	Word Gloss	Yeah

Free Yeah

110	**Word** Nsk	[	*Cellangellrunga*				(	*down*	)	*down*	*there*	,
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes		cellange	-llru	-u	-nga		***		***	***	
	Lex. Gloss		to obtain awareness / have one's first memory	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG		***		***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER		***		***	***	
	Word Cat.		RVP					***		***	***	
	Word Gloss		I remembered					***		***	***	

alaparnaurtuq *unuamek* .]

alapar	-naur	-tuq	unuamek
be cold	HAB	INDM.IN	today
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	PAR
RVP			PAR
it is cold			today

Free I remembered down there, it is cold today.

111	**Word** Nsk	*Yeah*	,	*heater-angvialemta*				
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	yeah		heatera	-ng	-viale	-m	-ta
	Lex. Gloss	yeah		heater	to begin to V	worthless	1P.ERG	part or tool for
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	LEX>LEX
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP				
	Word Gloss	Yeah		our heater is worthless				

Free Yeah, our heater is useless.

112	**Word** Nsk	[	,			]
	Word Eng	Yeah	no	electricity	too	
	Morphemes	yeah		***	***	
	Lex. Gloss	yeah	no	***	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	***	***	
	Word Cat.	LEX	PRT	***	***	
	Word Gloss	Yeah	no	***	***	

Free Yeah, no electricity too.

113	**Word** Nsk	
	Word Eng	mm-m
	Morphemes	mm-m
	Lex. Gloss	mm-m
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR
	Word Cat.	PAR
	Word Gloss	mm-m

Free Mm-m

114	**Word** Nsk	[	*Pastulimi*	*qayuga*	,		,								,
	Word Eng				um	you	guys	used	to	have	lantern	or	lamp	or	candle
	Morphemes				***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss				***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.				***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.				***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss				***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

?]

in Pastuliq
*** ***
*** ***
*** ***
*** ***
*** ***

Free How in Pastuliq, um, you guys used to have a latern or lamp or candle, in Pastuliq?

115	**Word Nsk**	*Waten*			*lamp-ararmek*			,
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	lampar	-ar	-mek	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	lamp	resembles	ABLC/INTC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP			NP			
	Word Gloss	like this			thing which resembles a lamp			

Free Like this, using a lamp-like thing.

116	**Word Nsk**	[	!]
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free Oh

117	**Word Nsk**	*gas-sarturliarmek*				,	*naniqelallrukut*					.
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	gassar	-tur	-liar	-mek		naniqe	-la	-llru	-ku	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	gas	to use	to participate in	ABLC/INTC.SG		light	HAB	PST	1P.ABS	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP					RVP					
	Word Gloss	using some of the gas					we would light the room					

Free We would light up (the room) using some gas.

118 **Word** Nsk [ ]
Word Eng Mm
Morphemes mm
Lex. Gloss mm-m
Lex. Gram. Info. PAR
Word Cat. PAR
Word Gloss mm-m

Free mm-m

119.1 **Word** Nsk *Waten-llu* , *blaz-surtulriamek* ,

Morphemes	*u	-a	-ten	=llu	blazsur	-tu	-lria	-mek
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	COO	blaze	to V for some duration	the one who is V-ing	ABLC/INTC.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP				NP			
Word Gloss	and like this				one that blazes for a while			

ilait *akikaturtut*

ila	-i	-t	aki	-ka	-tur	-tu	-t
relative	3P.ACC.PL	PL	money	TEL	to V for some duration	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
PNP			RVP				
their related parts			they would use it to make money				

pilallriit .

pi	-la	-llri	-ngi	-t
to do	HAB	PARTM.IN	CAUS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM
RVP				
those which did it				

Free And like this, this thing that would blaze for a while, those which make their related parts would sell them for a living.

119.2 **Word** Nsk *Pingqeraqluteng* .

Morphemes	pi	-ngqer	-aq	-lu	-teg	-t
Lex. Gloss	thing	to have N	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	AVP					
Word Gloss	they would have the thing					

Free They would have those things.

120	**Word Nsk**	[				(		),			
	Word Eng	All	of	you	k	all	of	you	guys	used	to
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***

Free

121	**Word Nsk**	mingquq	?]	
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	mingq	-uq	
	Lex. Gloss	sew	INDM.IN	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:REA	
	Word Cat.	RVP		
	Word Gloss	he sews		

Free All of you, all of you guys used to sew?

122.1	**Word Nsk**	*Yeah*	,	*wangkuta*			*arnani*			,	*wii-lu*		.
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	yeah		wang	-ku	ta	arna	-ni			wii	=llu	
	Lex. Gloss	yeah		1I	FTO.NS	1P.ABS	woman	4P.NOM.SG			I	COO	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER			PRO	ENC	
	Word Cat.	PAR		PRO			PNP				PRO		
	Word Gloss	Yeah		all of us			their woman				and me		

Free Yeah, all of us, the women and me.

122.2	**Word Nsk**	*Assingaam*				
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	assi	-ng	-a	-a	=am
	Lex. Gloss	to be good; to be nice; to be well	to begin to V	INDM.TR	3P.NOM.SGCOM	EMPH
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	ENC
	Word Cat.	RVP				
	Word Gloss	it began to make it good				

tauguam *elitesslua* ,

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	elite	-ss	-lu	-a
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	to learn	to want one to	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PAR				AVP			
however				I asked if I could learn			

Iqallungnaugaam-llu .

iqallung	-na	-tu	-g	-a	=am	=llu
dark cloud	VOL	to V for some duration	INTRM.3P	3P.ERG	EMPH	COO
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:IRR	FM:PER	ENC	ENC
RVP						
and then it decided to cloud over for a while						

Free However it began to go well, I asked if I could learn, and then came a really dark clouding over for a while.

122.3

Word Nsk	*Mom-airutellemteni*					,
Word Eng						
Morphemes	moma	-irute	-lle	-m	-te	-ni
Lex. Gloss	mom	to no longer be	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NCP					
Word Gloss	at the time we no longer had mom					

naklengnarqellrukut , *mingqestairluta*

nakleng	-narqe	-llru	-ku	-t	mingqe	-sta	-ir	-lu	-ta
poor thing!	to tend to cause one to (feel) V	PST	1P.ABS	PL	sew	the one who Vs	be deprived	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
RVP					AVP				
we felt so sad					we were deprived of the one who sews				

tayima , *egastairluta* .

ta-	*yim	-a	ega	-sta	-ir	-lu	-ta
R<	I0	FTL	boil	the one who Vs	be deprived	APPM	PL.LF
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
PAR			AVP				
thing I have said			we were deprived of the one who cooked				

Free It was the time we no longer had mom, we felt very destitute, we didn't have our sewer anymore like I said, we didn't have our cook.

122.4	**Word** Nsk	*Aatavut*			*tauguam*			
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	aata	-vu	-t	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
	Lex. Gloss	father	1P.NOM	PL	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	NP			PAR			
	Word Gloss	our father			only			

tauna , *egaaqeluni* , *qaqiaqelluni-llu* *qayuga*

ta-	*u	-na	egaaqe	-lu	-ni	qaqiaqe	-llu	-ni	=llu	qayuga
R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	boiled food	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	bread	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	COO	how
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC	LEX
NP			AVP			AVP				PAR
that one			boiled fish or food			and it was bread				how

tayima .

ta-	*yim	-a
R<	I0	FTL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
PAR		
thing I have said		

Free Only our father—that one— he cooked, and he made bread, like how I said.

122.5	**Word** Nsk	*Pisaurpialama*						*wii* .
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	pi	-saur	-pia	-la	-m	a	wii
	Lex. Gloss	thing	it is now V	real or genuine	major	1P.ERG	SG	I
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRO
	Word Cat.	NP						PRO
	Word Gloss	my primary real thing or activity now						I; me

Free It is my primary activity now.

123	**Word** Nsk	[*Elitcallrua*)				
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	elitc	-a	-llru	-u	-a
	Lex. Gloss	to learn	ITR	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	RVP				
	Word Gloss	I would learn				

Elitcallruan						*aatan*	,	(	*qa*	)	*qaqirluten*			?	]
elitc	-a	-llru	-*	-a	-n	aatan			=qa		qaqit	-lu	-ten		
to learn	ITR	PST	CNJ(to be)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	father			***		finish	APPM	2P.ABS.SG		
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX			***		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		
NCP						PNP			ENC		AVP				
it's learning was						father			Q		you finish				

Free (I would learn) you finish with what your father was learning?

124 **Word** Nsk
Word Eng no
Morphemes
Lex. Gloss no
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX
Word Cat. PRT
Word Gloss no

Free No

125 **Word** Nsk [ ]
Word Eng Oh
Morphemes oh
Lex. Gloss oh
Lex. Gram. Info. PRT
Word Cat. PRT
Word Gloss oh

Free Oh

126 **Word** Nsk	*Tangqaqluku*				*wii*	(	*qaq*	)
Word Eng								
Morphemes	tang	-qaq	-lu	-ku	wii		***	
Lex. Gloss	to see	-ITR/-HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	I		***	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	PRO		***	
Word Cat.	AVP				PRO		***	
Word Gloss	it was seen				I; me		***	

qaqurqiurakan , *mukamek*

qaqur	-kiur	-aq	-a	-n	muka	-mek
bread	to prepare smth. to be N	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	flour	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP					NP	
whenever bread was prepared					with flour	

mumugciaqan

mumugc	-ngi	-aq	-a	-n
turned over	CAUS	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				
whenever it was flipped				

Free I watched whenever it was prepared with flour, whenever it was turned over.

127 **Word** Nsk [ ]
Word Eng Mm
Morphemes mm
Lex. Gloss mm-m
Lex. Gram. Info. PAR
Word Cat. PAR
Word Gloss mm-m

Free Mm-m

128.1 **Word** Nsk *Ukliaqan-llu* *egaarkamek* ,
Word Eng

Morphemes	ukli	-aq	-a	-n	=llu	eegaar	-ka	-mek
Lex. Gloss	cut up	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	COO	boiled food	material for	ABLC/INTC.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NCP					NP		
Word Gloss	and whenever it was cut up					some stuff for boiled food		

tangqaqluku .

tang	-qaq	-lu	-ku
to see	-ITR/-HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			
it was seen			

Free And whenever some stew ingredients were cut up I watched.

128.2	**Word** Nsk	*Kituani*			*uklevqarsaurtanga*						,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	kitu	-a	-ni	ukli	-vkar	-saurt	-a	-a	-nga	
	Lex. Gloss	who	3P.ERG	LOCC	cut up	to compel oneself to V	to be able to V now	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	1P.ABS.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	NP			RVP						
	Word Gloss	at his who			he is able to get me to compel myself to cut it up now						

aqesginek-llu *apertullua* .

aqesgi	-nek	=llu	apertu	-llu	-a
ptarmigan	ABLC/INTC	COO	to tell what to do	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			AVP		
and some ptarmigan too			I was told what to do		

Free At his (place), he is able to get me to cut it up myself now, and some ptarmigan too, I was told what to do.

128.3	**Word** Nsk	*Watawa*			,	*naklengnairutut*					.
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*wat	-a	=wa		nakleng	-na	-irut	-u	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	Anaphor		poor thing!	VOL	to no longer be	INDM.IN	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	PAR				RVP					
	Word Gloss	right now				so as to no longer be pitiful or sad					

Free It's no longer so sad anymore.

128.4	**Word** Nsk	*Mom-ateng-llu*				*tuqungraata*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	Momar	-teg	-t	=llu	tuqu	-ngra	-a	-ta
	Lex. Gloss	mom	4P.NOM	PL	COO	die	CNJ (even if)	3P.ERG	PL.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP				NCP			
	Word Gloss	and mom				even though she died			

naklengnarqevkenateng .

nakleng	-narqe	-vke	-na	-teg	-t
poor thing!	to tend to cause one to (feel) V	NEG	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					

it's not so sad anymore.

Free And mom, even though she died, it's not so sad anymore.

128.5	**Word** Nsk	(*Akluk*)	*Aklukegciluteng*						*cali* ,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	***	aklu	-keg	-ci	-lu	-teg	-t	cali
	Lex. Gloss	***	clothing	to be good N	FUT	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	also
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT
	Word Cat.	***	AVP						PRT
	Word Gloss	***	and good clothing will be made						also

kaigpeknateng-llu .

kaig	-pek	-na	-teg	-t	=llu
hungry	to not V	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	COO
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
AVP					

and they aren't hungry.

Free And we can make good clothes now also, and we aren't hungry.

129	**Word** Nsk	[*School-allruten* ?]			
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	schoola	-llru	-u	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	school	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	RVP			
	Word Gloss	you went to school			

Free You went to school?

130	**Word** Nsk							
	Word Eng	no						
	Morphemes							
	Lex. Gloss	no						
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX						
	Word Cat.	PRT						
	Word Gloss	no						

Free No

131	**Word** Nsk	[					]	
	Word Eng	Mm						
	Morphemes	mm						
	Lex. Gloss	mm-m						
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR						
	Word Cat.	PAR						
	Word Gloss	mm-m						

Free Mm-m

132	**Word** Nsk	*School-aristaitellrukut*						
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	schoolar	-ista	-ite	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	school	the one who Vs	to have no N	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	RVP						
	Word Gloss	they didn't have any school teachers						

Free They didn't have any school teachers.

133	**Word** Nsk	[					]	
	Word Eng	Oh						
	Morphemes	oh						
	Lex. Gloss	oh						
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT						
	Word Cat.	PRT						
	Word Gloss	oh						

Free Oh

134	**Word** Nsk	*Wangkuta*			*Pastuliarmi*	
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	wang	-ku	-ta	Pastuliar	-mi
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTO.NS	PL.LF	Pastolik	to V also
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX
	Word Cat.	PRO			NP	
	Word Gloss	all of us			at Pastolik	

Free All of us at Pastolik

135	**Word** Nsk	[	*Angkan-llu*	?]
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes		angkan	=llu
	Lex. Gloss		***	COO
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***	ENC
	Word Cat.		NP	
	Word Gloss		and Angkaq	

Free And Angkaq?

136.1	**Word** Nsk	*Angkaq*	*tauguam*				*Caniliani*	,	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	angkaq	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	Canilia	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	Angkaq	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	Caneliak	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP	PAR				NP		
	Word Gloss	Angkaq	only				in Caneliak		

school-atcuaqallruuq .

schoola	-tcu	-aqa	-llru	-uq
school	to seek	HAB	PST	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
RVP				

would be seeking a school

Free Angkaq only looked for a school in Caneliak.

136.2	**Word** Nsk	*Elicalleremini*				,	*Holy cow manner-saramek*		.
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	elica	-ller	-mi	-ni		Holy cow manner	-sara	-mek
	Lex. Gloss	to teach	CNJ (Contemporative)	4P.ERG.SG	LOCC		holy cow manner	way of	ABLC/INTC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NCP					NP		
	Word Gloss	as for it's teaching					using the holy cow manner		

Free The holy cow manner was used whenever he taught.

136.3	**Word** Nsk	*Elicalleremini*			
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	elica	-ller	-mi	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	to teach	CNJ (Contemporative)	4P.ERG.SG	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NCP			
	Word Gloss	whenever it was taught			

school-aristengqengqellruuq (*tam*)

schoolar	-iste	-ngqe	-ngqa	-llru	-uq	ta-	*mat
school	the one who Vs	to have N	state of having been	PST	INDM.IN	R<	I2
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI
RVP						PRT	
it was in the state of having been having school teachers						tho...	

tawani .

ta-	*w	-a	-ni
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			
this one here			

Free He taught that way whenever we had school teachers—this one here.—

136.4	**Word** Nsk	*Wangkuta*			*taugkun*		
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	wang	-ku	-ta	ta-	*ug	-kun
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTO.NS	PL.LF	R<	AR1E	PRLC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PRO			NP		
	Word Gloss	all of us			from there on		

pillemteni *school-aristaunateng* .

pi	-lle	-m	-te	-ni	schoolar	-ista	-u	-na	-teg	-t	
to do	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC	school	the one who Vs	to be N	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
NCP					AVP						
whenever we did it					there weren't any school teachers						

Free From then on, we did it this way whenever we didn't have school teachers.

137													
	Word Nsk	[*Taukut*				(*a*)	*when*	*people*	*catch*	, *tamarmun*			
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	ta-	*u	-ku	-t	a	***	***	***	tamar	-mun		
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTO.NS	PL	GWP	***	***	***	all	ALLC.SG		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	PRT	***	***	***	LEX	FM:GCF		
	Word Cat.	NP				PAR	***	***	***	NP			
	Word Gloss	those one's				!stutter!	***	***	***	to all			

yuut *cikernauraat* ?]

yuu	-t	ciker	-naur	-a	-a	-t
person	PL	to give	HAB	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		RVP				
people		they give to it				

Free When people catch those ones, all the people give it to everyone.

138				
	Word Nsk	*Ca'mek*	?	
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	ca'	-mek	
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP		
	Word Gloss	what		

Free What?

139	**Word** Nsk	[Whale	, *maqlaq*	]
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes		maklak	
	Lex. Gloss		bearded seal	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	
	Word Cat.		NP	
	Word Gloss		seal	

Free Whale, seal

140	**Word** Nsk	!	
	Word Eng	yeah	
	Morphemes		
	Lex. Gloss	yeah	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	Yeah	

Free Yeah

141	**Word** Nsk	[*Tamarmun*		?]
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	tamar	-mun	
	Lex. Gloss	all	ALLC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP		
	Word Gloss	to all		

Free To all?

142	**Word** Nsk	*Ullautaqan*				*cikiraqluku*				.
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ullaut	-aq	-a	-n	cikir	-aq	-lu	-ku	
	Lex. Gloss	approach	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	to give	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	NCP				AVP				
	Word Gloss	whenever he approached				it was given				

Free To whomsoever approached, it was given.

143.1	**Word** Nsk	[			?
	Word Eng	You	guys	had	net
	Morphemes	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gloss	***	***	***	***
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	***	***	***
	Word Cat.	***	***	***	***
	Word Gloss	***	***	***	***

Free You guys had net?

143.2	**Word** Nsk		,]
	Word Eng	Oh	
	Morphemes	oh	
	Lex. Gloss	oh	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	
	Word Cat.	PRT	
	Word Gloss	oh	

Free Oh

144	**Word** Nsk	*Kuvsaq*	?
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	kuvsaq	
	Lex. Gloss	net	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	
	Word Cat.	NP	
	Word Gloss	net	

Free Net?

145	**Word** Nsk	[	]
	Word Eng	uh huh	
	Morphemes	uh huh	
	Lex. Gloss	***	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	
	Word Cat.	***	
	Word Gloss	uh huh	

Free Yes

146.1	**Word** Nsk	*Yeah*	,	*kuvsangqelallruukut*					.
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	yeah		kuvsa	-ngqe	-la	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	yeah		net	to have N	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR		RVP						
	Word Gloss	Yeah		we had a net						

Free Yeah, we had nets.

146.2	**Word** Nsk	*Aataqa*		*tauna*			*caluquan*						
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	aata	-qa	ta-	*u	-na	calu	-qu	-a	-n			
	Lex. Gloss	father	1P.NOM.SG	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	storm	CNJ (Conditional)	3P.ERG	SG.LF			
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM			
	Word Cat.	PNP		NP			NCP						
	Word Gloss	my father		that one			if there was a storm						

mavet , *kuvsaliiluni* .

*ma	-a	-vet	kuvsa	-lii	-lu	-ni
I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	net	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			AVP			
here			he would set a net			

Free And my father—that one— if there was a storm here, he would set the nets.

146.3	**Word** Nsk	*Piluvkanek*		*keputeraluni*				,	*naken*
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	piluvka	-nek	kepute	-ra	-lu	-ni		naken
	Lex. Gloss	rope	ABLC/INTC	to buy	just a little bit	APPM	4P.NOM.SG		where
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		PAR
	Word Cat.	NP		AVP					PAR
	Word Gloss	some rope		buy just a little bit					where

tayima .

ta-	*yim	-a
R<	I0	FTL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
PAR		
hopefully		

Free He would buy a bit of rope, where hopefully ...

146.4	**Word** Nsk	*Taqutaqluni*				*neqsutemek*			,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	taqu	-taq	-lu	-ni	neqsu	-ta	-mek	
	Lex. Gloss	braid	part or tool for	APPM	LOCC	fishing	the V-er	ABLC/INTC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	AVP				NP			
	Word Gloss	it was used to braid				some fishermen			

qilagnaurtuq .

qilag	-naur	-tuq
make a fishnet by tying knots	HAB	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
RVP		

he make a fishnet by tying knots

Free ... some fishermen used it to braid, he would make a fishnet by tying knots.

146.5	**Word** Nsk	*Watawa*			*tawaten*				*makut*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*wat	-a	=wa	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	*ma	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	Anaphor	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I2	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR			NP				NP		
	Word Gloss	right now			like this				these		

yun'erraat , *teen-ager-at* , *camegam* *nalluluteng* .

yun'erraa	-t	teenagera	-t	ca	-mek	=am	nallu	-lu	-teg	-t
young man	PL	teenager	PL	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	EMPH	to not know	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		NP		NP			AVP			
young people		teenagers		anything			they don't know			

Free Now a days this (skill), these young people, like those teenagers, don't know it.

147 **Word** Nsk [
Word Eng
Morphemes
Lex. Gloss
Lex. Gram. Info.
Word Cat.
Word Gloss

Alingngeqevkenisuitkiutaqnarautut

aling	-nge	-qe	-vke	-ni	-suit	-kiu	-taq	-nar
to be afraid	to begin to V	ITR	NEG	to claim that	never	to prepare smth. to be N	by disposition	CAUS
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX

-au	-tu	-t
contine for a long time	INDM.IN	PL
LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP		

they continue to be predisposed to make preparations in order to claim that they will never ever begin to be afraid.

.]

Free They have been acting like they are never afraid of anything.

148 **Word** Nsk *Yeah* , *tamakut-llu* *yuut*
Word Eng
Morphemes yeah ta- *ma -ku -t =llu yuu -t
Lex. Gloss yeah R< I2 FTO.NS PL COO person PL
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX DEI:(Displacement) DEI DEI>DEM FM:NUM ENC LEX FM:NUM
Word Cat. PAR NP NP
Word Gloss Yeah those too people

tamakunek *teen-ager-anek* ,

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	teenagera	-nek
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	teenager	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP				NP	
these				some teenagers	

katurciluteng-guq						*qanacilallruut*					
katur	-ci	-lu	-teg	-t	=guq	qana	-ci	-la	-llru	-u	-t
gathered	FUT	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	one said	to speak	occurance of	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
AVP						RVP					
they say they will get together						they would have spoken					

Free Yeah, those people too, these teenagers say they will all get together, they would get together and talk.

149	**Word** Nsk	[*Qasqirmun*	?]
	Word Eng		
	Morphemes	qasqir	-mun
	Lex. Gloss	men's community house	ALLC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP	
	Word Gloss	at the men's community house	

Free At the men's community house?

150	**Word** Nsk	*Ilug*	…	*Ai*	?
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	ilug		ai	
	Lex. Gloss	interior		huh / what?	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		PRT	
	Word Cat.	LEX		PRT	
	Word Gloss	inside		huh / what?	

Free Inside what?

151	**Word** Nsk	[(*Qasi*)	*Qasgermun*	?]
	Word Eng			
	Morphemes	***	qasger	-mun
	Lex. Gloss	***	men's community house	ALLC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	***	NP	
	Word Gloss	***	to the men's community house	

Free To the men's community house?

152.1	**Word** Nsk	*Yeah*	,	*qasgermi*	.
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	yeah		qasger	-mi
	Lex. Gloss	yeah		men's community house	LOCC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX		LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	LEX		NP	
	Word Gloss	Yeah		in the men's community house	

Free Yeah, in the men's community house.

152.2	**Word** Nsk	*Yugsarluteng*				*mekelnguaraat*			.
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	yugsar	-lu	-teg	-t	mekelnguar	-aa	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	many people	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	child	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	AVP				PNP			
	Word Gloss	there were many people				their children			

Free There were many people, their children.

152.3	**Word** Nsk	*Qanataqluki*				*tamakut*				(*a*)
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	qana	-taq	-lu	-ki	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	a
	Lex. Gloss	to speak	related thing	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	GWP
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	PRT
	Word Cat.	AVP				NP				NP
	Word Gloss	they are speaking and things				those ones				!stutter!

ak'allaat	*qayuga*	(*piller*	)	*yuulerkaitnek*	.

ak'allaa	-t	qayuga	pi	-ller	yuu	-lerka	-i	-t	-nek
old person	PL	how	to do	CNJ (Contemporative)	person	FUT	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX	FM:CNJ	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NP		PAR	LEX		PNP				
elders		how	doing whenever...		about their living / to live their lives				

Free Those elders are speaking and stuff, about how to live their lives.

152.4	**Word** Nsk	*Ilii-guq*			,	*una*		*anqerlartuq*			,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	ila	-nga	=guq		*u	-na	anqer	-lar	-tuq	
	Lex. Gloss	relative	3P.NOM	one said		I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	to dash out	HAB	INDM.IN	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	ENC		DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	
	Word Cat.	PNP				NP		RVP			
	Word Gloss	this one's family said				this one		would rush out			

niicugpekenani .

niicu	-gpeke	-na	-ni
to hear well; to listen and heed	to not V	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			
he doesn't listen			

Free They said that this one would rush out and wouldn't listen.

152.5	**Word** Nsk	*Qanernganan rani*				,	*niicugnissugpekenani*					,
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	qaner	-ngananr	-a	-ni		niicugni	-ssu	-gpeke	-na	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	to speak	CNJ(while)	3P.ERG	LOCC		listen	to seek	to not V	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	NCP					AVP					
	Word Gloss	while in their speaking					they wouldn't seek to listen					

anqerluni-guq *tayima* , *blame-marnaluki* .

anqer	-lu	-ni	=guq	ta-	*yim	-a	blamemar	-na	-lu	-ki
to dash out	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	one said	R<	I0	FTL	blame	VOL	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				PAR			AVP			
they say he would dash out				thing I have said			they could be blamed.			

Free In the middle of while they were speaking, they wouldn't even pretend to listen, they say they would just dash out like I said, they were to blame.

153	**Word** Nsk	[ ]
	Word Eng	Oh
	Morphemes	oh
	Lex. Gloss	oh
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT
	Word Cat.	PRT
	Word Gloss	oh

Free Oh

154.1	**Word** Nsk	*Tauna-guq*					*tuana*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*u	-na	=guq		ta-	*u	-na
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	one said		R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
	Word Cat.	NP					NP		
	Word Gloss	they say this one					that one		

qanrutcetiit *qanertuq* , “ *augna-guq* ,

qanrut	-cetii	-t	qaner	-tuq	*aug	-na	=guq	
to tell	something used to cause it	PL	to speak	INDM.IN	AD2P	FTO.SG.ABSC	one said	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:REA	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	
NP			RVP		NP			
those used to tell			he says		they say this one			

avani *ciunerqarkiaruq* , *qayuga-guq*

*av	-a	-ni	ciunerqar	-ki	-ar	-uq	qayuga	=guq
AD2P	FTL	LOCC	future	small	ITR	INDM.IN	how	one said
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	LEX	ENC
NP			RVP				PAR	
those there			he has a short future				they say how	

tayima (*ciun*) *ayuqciuquq* .”

ta-	*yim	-a	ciun	ayuq	-ciuq	-uq
R<	I0	FTL	ear	to resemble	PST.PRF	INDM.IN
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
PAR			NP	RVP		
hopefully			ear	he comes to be like this		

Free They say that this one, that one, he says this saying: They say that those will have a short future, unless they give ear and become like this.

154.2	**Word** Nsk	*Qayuga*	*tauna*			*pinaurtuq*			,	*wallu*	*qayuga*
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	qayuga	ta-	*u	-na	pi	-naur	-tuq		wallu	qayuga
	Lex. Gloss	how	R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	to do	HAB	INDM.IN		or	how
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA		PAR	LEX
	Word Cat.	PAR	NP			RVP				PRT	PAR
	Word Gloss	how	that one			he would do				or	how

pitcurlarluni .

pit	-cur	-lar	-lu	-ni
catch game	seek or hunt for	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				
he would hunt				

Free How that one would act, or how one would hunt.

154.3

Word Nsk	*Kiumauratulet-llu-guq*								
Word Eng									
Morphemes	kiuma	-ur	-a	-tu	-l	-i	-t	=llu	=guq
Lex. Gloss	talk back	CONT	ITR	HAB	OPTM	3P.ERG	PL	COO	one said
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	ENC
Word Cat.	OVP								
Word Gloss	and they say they would decide to keep on talking back								

tamakut , *qayuga* *pilartut* ,

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	qayuga	pi	-lar	-tu	-t
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	how	to do	HAB	INDM.IN	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
NP				PAR	RVP			
those ones				how	they would do			

ciunerqartat-llu (*tup*).

ciunerqar	-ta	-t	=llu	***
future	the V-er	PL	COO	***
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	ENC	***
NP				***
and the future ones				***

Free And they say those ones would decide to keep on talking back, how they and the future ones would do that

155

Word Nsk	[*Pastulimi*		, *yuut*		(*tuqua*)	*tuqutellrani*						,
Word Eng												
Morphemes	Pastuli	-mi	yuu	-t	***	tuqute	-llr		-a	-ni		
Lex. Gloss	Pastolik	LOCC.SG	person	PL	***	to kill	CNJ (Contemporative)		3P.ERG	LOCC		
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	***	LEX	FM:CNJ		FM:PER	FM:GCF		
Word Cat.	NP		NP		***	NCP						
Word Gloss	in Pastolik		people		***	when someone was killed						

qayuga *pillruci* ?]

qayuga	pi	-llru	-u	-t	-t
how	to do	PST	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PAR	RVP				
how	you all did				

Free In Pastolik, when people were killed, what did you all do?

156 **Word** Nsk

Word Eng	uh huh
Morphemes	uh huh
Lex. Gloss	***
Lex. Gram. Info.	***
Word Cat.	***
Word Gloss	uh huh

Free Uh huh

157.1 **Word** Nsk [*Yuut* (*tuqull* , *tunqunr*) *tuqunrallret* ,

Word Eng									
Morphemes	yuu	-t	***	***	tuqu	-ngra	-llre	-a	-t
Lex. Gloss	person	PL	***	***	to kill	state of having been	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	***	***	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP		***	***	RVP				
Word Gloss	people		***	***	those which have been killed				

qayuga , you guys used to bury'em ?

qayuga
how
LEX
PAR
how

Free Those people which have been killed, how did you guys used to bury 'em?

157.2	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-llu*				nothing ?
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	
	Word Cat.	PAR				
	Word Gloss	and then				

Free And then nothing?

157.3	**Word** Nsk	Never	,	never	have	church	or	*church-amun*		*piluku*			
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes							churcha	-mun	pi	-lu	-ku	
	Lex. Gloss							church	ALLC.SG	to do	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.							LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.							NP		AVP			
	Word Gloss							to church		it's done			

tua-llu bury'em ??]

t-	*u	-a	=llu
R<	I1	FTL	COO
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR			
and then			

Free You never had a church to do it, and then bury 'em?

158	**Word** Nsk	
	Word Eng	no
	Morphemes	
	Lex. Gloss	no
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX
	Word Cat.	PRT
	Word Gloss	no

Free No

159 **Word** Nsk [*Qayuga* *pillruci* ?]
Word Eng
Morphemes qayuga pi -llru -u -t -t
Lex. Gloss how to do PST INDM.IN 2P.ABS PL
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX LEX LEX>LEX FM:REA FM:PER FM:NUM
Word Cat. PAR RVP
Word Gloss how you all did

Free How did you all do it?

160 **Word** Nsk *Agasulertaita* *kemta* *wangkuta* *Pastulimi* ,
Word Eng
Morphemes agasulerta -i -ta kem -ta wang -ku ta Pastuli -mi
Lex. Gloss priest 3P.ACC.PL PL.LF meat the one who Vs I1 FTO.NS 1P.ABS Pastolik LOCC.SG
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX FM:PER FM:NUM LEX LEX>LEX DEI DEI>DEM FM:PER LEX FM:GCF
Word Cat. PNP NP PRO NP
Word Gloss their priest the dead body all of us in Pastolik

piicaularaat , *piicaruluteng*

piica -u -lar -a -a -t
prayer to be N HAB INDM.TR 3P.ERG PL
LEX LEX>LEX LEX>LEX FM:REA FM:PER FM:NUM
RVP
they would say a prayer

piicag -u -lu -teg -t
prayer to be N APPM 4P.NOM PL
LEX LEX>LEX FM:APP FM:PER FM:NUM
AVP
they would be praying

tuwani *eniini* , *inangelluku* .

t- *u -a -ni enii -ni inar -nge -llu -ku
R< I1 FTL LOCC house LOCC lie down PRF PST 3P.ACC.SG
DEI:(Displacement) DEI DEI>DEM FM:GCF LEX FM:GCF LEX LEX>LEX LEX>LEX FM:PER
NP NP AVP
there in the house he is laid down

Free Their priest, all of us would say a prayer for the dead body, we would be praying here in the house, he is laid down.

161 **Word** Nsk [ ]
Word Eng Mm-m
Morphemes Mm-m
Lex. Gloss ***
Lex. Gram. Info. ***
Word Cat. ***
Word Gloss mm-m

Free Mm-m

162.1	**Word** Nsk	*Qungulleraluku-llu*					,
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	qungu	-ller	-a	-lu	-ku	=llu
	Lex. Gloss	grave	one that was	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	COO
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC
	Word Cat.	AVP					
	Word Gloss	he would be entombed					

nunakaunek-llu *yuilqumi* *piraluku* , *ataam*

nuna	-ka	-u	-nek	=llu	yuilqu	-mi	pi	-ra	-lu	-ku		ataam
ground	small bit	to be N	ABLC/INTC	COO	wilderness	LOCC.SG	to do	just a little bit	APPM	3P.ACC.SG		again
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		PRT
NP					NP		AVP					PAR
and using the ground					in the wilderness		it was done a bit					again

asauluku *pekluteng* .

asa	-u	-lu	-ku	pek	-lu	-teg	-t
to go away	to be N	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	to move	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				AVP			
it was gone away				they would move			

Free And he would be entombed using the earth and in the wilderness they did it, again they brought him away, they walked there.

162.2	**Word** Nsk	*Piicarluteng*				*ataam*	*tawavet*				
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	piicar	-lu	-teg	-t	ataam	ta-	*u	-a	-vet	
	Lex. Gloss	prayer	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	again	R<	I1	FTL	DEF.ALLC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	AVP				PAR	NP				
	Word Gloss	they prayed				again	in there				

tekiuluku *nunakaunun* .

teki	-u	-lu	-ku	nuna	-ka	-u	-nun
to arrive	is	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	land	future N	to be N	ALLC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
AVP				NP			
it is reached				to the future plot			

Free They prayed again there, once they reached the future burial plot.

162.3	**Word** Nsk	*Nutaan*	*tawavet*				*nunamun*		*ekluku*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	nutaan	ta-	*u	-a	-vet	nuna	-mun	ek	-lu	-ku
	Lex. Gloss	just now	R<	I1	FTL	DEF.ALLC	land	ALLC.SG	put in	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	PAR	NP				NP		AVP		
	Word Gloss	just now	in there				in the place		it's put in		

, *patuluku* *agasulluku* *tawani* .

patu	-lu	-ku	agasu	-llu	-ku	ta-	*w	-a	-ni
cover	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	to pray	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP			AVP			NP			
it's covered			they pray for him			this one here			

Free Just now, in there, in the place, he's put in, he's covered. They pray for this one here.

162.4	**Word** Nsk	*Pastuliimi*		*tawaten*			
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	pastulii	-mi	ta-	*w	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	Pastolik	LOCC.SG	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP		NP			
	Word Gloss	in Pastolik		like this			

pilallruut , *Caniliani* *tauguam*

pi	-la	-llru	-u	-t	Canilia	-ni	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
to do	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	Caneliak	LOCC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
RVP					NP		PAR			
they would do					in Caneliak		only			

agasulirtengqerlallruut .

agasulirte	-ngqer	-la	-llru	-u	-t
priest	to have N	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP					
they would have had a priest					

Free They would do it like this in Pastolik, but in Caneliak only when they would have a priest.

163	**Word** Nsk	[	*Uitarnaurtuci*					*enemni*			,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes		uita	-rnaur	-tu	-t	-t	ene	-m	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss		to stay	HAB	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL	house	1P.ERG	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.		RVP					PNP			
	Word Gloss		you all would stay					in my house			

tuqul …?]

tuqu	-l
die	to V suddenly and willfully
LEX	LEX>LEX
LEX	
dying..	

Free You would all stay in my house, dying?

164.1	**Word** Nsk	*Em-m*	,	*uitauqeluta*				*enemteni*				.
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	mm		uita	-uqe	-lu	-ta	ene	-m	-te	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	mm-m		to stay	CONT	APPM	PL.LF	house	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PRT		AVP				NP				
	Word Gloss	mm-m		we stayed				in our house				

Free Mm-m, we stayed in our hosue.

164.2	**Word** Nsk	*Alianiurluta*			,	*cavkenata*				,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	alianiur	-lu	-ta		ca	-vke	-na	-ta	
	Lex. Gloss	lonley	APPM	PL.LF		Q	NEG	APPM.NEG	PL.LF	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	AVP				AVP				
	Word Gloss	we were lonely				we weren't whatever				

cassuunateng , *nersunateng-llu* .

ca	-ssuu	-na	-teg	-t	ner	-ssu	-na	-teg	-t	=llu
Q	to seek	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	food	to seek	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	COO
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
AVP					AVP					
we didn't go out looking for things					and we didn't go get food					

Free We were lonely, we wouldn't do things, we didn't go out looking for things, and we didn't go get food.

164.3	**Word** Nsk	(*Agas*)	*Tamakut*				*tauguam*			
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	agas	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
	Lex. Gloss	***	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
	Lex. Gram. Info.	***	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	***	NP				PAR			
	Word Gloss	***	those				only			

paqcesstait *agasutaqluku*

paqce	-ssta	-i	-t	agasu	-taq	-lu	-ku
to go to check up on	the one who Vs	3P.ACC.PL	PL	to pray	DIM	APPM	FTO.NS
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	DEI>DEM
NP				AVP			
their caregiver				he would pray			

tangqeraluku-llu , *utertaqluteng* .

tangqe	-ra	-lu	-ku	=llu	utert	-aq	-lu	-teg	-t
to see	just a little bit	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	COO	to return	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					AVP				
would see him every now and then					they would return				

Free Only those, their (the dead person's) caregivers, they would pray for him, and they would see him every now and then, they would return.

165	**Word** Nsk	[*Nepaunani* ?]			
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	nepa	-u	-na	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	noise	to be N	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	AVP			
	Word Gloss	wasn't he noisy?			

Free Wasn't he noisy?

166.1	**Word** Nsk	*Qunguiciaqameng-ll*						*ataam*	*kiavet*			,
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	qungu	-ici	-aqa	-meg	-t	=ll	ataam	*ki	-a	-vet	
	Lex. Gloss	grave	to have no N	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL	COO	again	AB1P	FTL	DEF.ALLC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NCP						PAR	NP			
	Word Gloss	and whenever they didn't have a grave						again	there inside			

laaguciaqameng *utertengermeng*

laag	-uci	-aqa	-meg	-t	uterte	-nger	-meg	-t
dig	of the same kind of	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL	to return	CNJ (even if)	4P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP					NCP			
whenever they would dig one like that					even if they returned			

cassuunateng , *alianiarluteng*

ca	-ssuu	-na	-teg	-t	alianiar	-lu	-teg	-t
Q	to seek	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL	lonley	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					AVP			
we didn't go out looking for things					they were lonely			

tauguam .

ta-	*ug	-u	=am
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR			
only			

Free And whenever they didn't have a grave, again as they would go and dig one like that, even as they came back, they didn't go out looking for things, only they were very lonely.

166.2	**Word** Nsk	*Naklengnaqluteng*					, *alianaqluni*			,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	nakleng	-naq	-lu	-teg	-t	alianaq	-lu	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	poor thing!	one that causes V-ing	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	find it lonely	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	AVP					AVP			
	Word Gloss	they felt so sad					it was lonely			

anglanaqevkenani .

anglanaqe	-vke	-na	-ni
enjoyable	NEG	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			
it wasn't enjoyable			

Free They felt so asd, it was lonely, it wasn't enjoyable.

166.3	**Word** Nsk	*Watawa*			,	*makunun*		
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	*wat	-a	=wa		*ma	-ku	-nun
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	Anaphor		I2	FTO.NS	ALLC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP		
	Word Gloss	right now				to these ones		

iillayuglartua , *tuquigaqmeng*

iilla	-yug	-lar	-tu	-a		tuqu	-ngi	-gaq	-meg	-t
amazing	to want to V	HAB	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG		die	CAUS	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP						NCP				
I would be amazed						when they would die				

anglaniqapignaurtut .

anglani	-qapig	-naur	-tu	-t
to have fun	to be very V	HAB	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP				
they would have a lot of fun				

Free Right now, with these ones, I am often amazing that when they die, they would go have a lot of fun.

166.4	**Word** Nsk	*Dad-ten-ll*			*imumi*			*tuqullrani*				,
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	dad	-ten	=ll	*im	-u	-mi	tuqu	-llr	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	dad	2P.ABS.SG	COO	I0	FTO.SG	LOCC.SG	die	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.NOM	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PNP			NP			NCP				
	Word Gloss	And your dad			in that place			when he died				

avani *waqvani* *aqumgalua* *wii* ,

*av	-a	-ni	uaqva	-ni	aqumga	-lu	-a	wii
AD2P	FTL	LOCC	far downriver	LOCC	to be sitting	APPM	SG.LF.1	I
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	PRO
NP			NP		AVP			PRO
those there			far downriver		I'm sitting			I; me

kankut-llu *nayangalriit* , *ukut-llu*

*kan	-ku	-t	=llu	nayanga	-lri	-i	-t	*u	-ku	-t	=llu
AR1P	FTO.NS	PL	COO	woman's dance	PARTM.IN	3P.NOM	PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL	COO
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC
NP				RVP				NP			
and there				those which are saying hello				and those			

causalriit , *anglanirencauqlua* *wii-ll*

causa	-lri	-i	-t	anglani	-irun	-cauq	-lu	-a	wii	=ll
drum	PARTM.IN	3P.NOM	PL	to have fun	to no longer be	it is now V	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	I	COO
LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	PRO	ENC
RVP				AVP					PRO	
those which are drumming				I am now no longer having fun					me too	

tawani .

ta-	*w	-a	-ni
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			
this one here			

Free And your dad, when he died there, there far downriver, I'm sitting there and also those who are greeting, and those which are drumming. I'm no longer having fun here.

166.5	**Word** Nsk	*Ciin*	*tawaten*			
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	ciin	ta-	*w	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	why	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR	NP			
	Word Gloss	how come	like this			

pilallretnek *umsuarteqlua* .

pi	-la	-llr	-a	-t	-nek	umsuarteq	-lu	-a
to do	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	PL	ABLC/INTC	to think	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NCP						AVP		
whenever they would do it						I think		

Free How come they are doing it like this? I think.

166.6	**Word** Nsk	*Waten-gem*			
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	*u	-a	-ten	=gem
	Lex. Gloss	I1	ITR	FTL.AEQC	indeed
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	ENC
	Word Cat.	NP			
	Word Gloss	just like this			

pisuilallruut , *elarangluteng*

pi	-su	-ngi	-la	-llru	-u	-t	elar	-ang	-lu	-teg	-t
to do	to want to V	CAUS	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	dig	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP							AVP				
they would have wanted to do it							they began to dig				

tawaten *anglaniluteng* .

ta-	*w	-a	-ten	anglani	-lu	-teg	-t
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to have fun	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				AVP			
like this				having fun together			

Free Just like this they would have wanted to do it, they began to dig like this, having fun together.

166.7	**Word** Nsk	(	*Kiag*	)	*Thomas-angkuk*			,	*Thomas Prince-anuk*	
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes		***		Thomasang	-ku	-k		Thomas Princea	-nuk
	Lex. Gloss		***		Thomas	1P.ABS	DU		Thomas Prince	DU.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.		***		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.		***		PNP				NP	
	Word Gloss		***		our Thomas				Thomas Prince	

iterlutek , *feeling good-tallinilutek* ,

iter	-lu	-te	-k	feeling good ta	-lli	-ni	-lu	-te	-k
to enter	APPM	4P.NOM	DU	feeling good	to maybe verb	to claim that	APPM	4P.NOM	DU
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				AVP					
we two entered				those two claimed that they maybe felt good					

Nayangvaraqata *kanani* , *nayangarnaurtuq* .

nayang	-vara	-qa	-ta	*kan	-a	-ni	nayanga	-rnaur	-tuq
woman's dance	so much	CNJ (Constantive)	PL.LF	AR1P	FTL	LOCC	woman's dance	HAB	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
NCP				NP			RVP		
while we were all greeting so much				down there			he would be saying hello		

Free With Thomas Prince, we came in, we said that maybe we felt so good, that we were all greeting each other so much, that he would be saying hello down there.

167	**Word** Nsk	[	]
	Word Eng	Hee-hee-hee	
	Morphemes	Hee-hee-hee	
	Lex. Gloss	hee-hee-hee	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PAR	
	Word Cat.	PAR	
	Word Gloss	hee-hee-hee	

Free Ha ha

168.1	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-ll*				,	(	*icat*	)	*cat*		*iliitni*
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=ll			icat		ca	-t	iliitni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO			***		Q	PL	sometimes
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC			***		LEX	FM:NUM	LEX
	Word Cat.	PAR						***		NP		PRT
	Word Gloss	and then						***		any kind / whatever		sometimes

nayangarlutek , *Thomas Prince-am* *tangkellua* ,

nayangar	-lu	-te	-k	Thomas Prince	=am	tangke	-llu	-a
woman's dance	APPM	4P.NOM	DU	Thomas Prince	EMPH	to see	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				NP		AVP		
we are greeting				Thomas Prince		I saw		

temciyungkeli *dad-ten* *neqaqluku* .

temciyu	-ng	-ke	-l	-i	dad	-ten	neqaq	-lu	-ku
find something funny	to begin to V	to feel V toward	OPTM	3P.ERG	dad	2P.ABS.SG	to remember	APPM	1P.ABS
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
OVP					NP		AVP		
he would decide to begin to find it funny					your dad		we remember		

Free And then, sometimes, we are doing the greeting, I see Thomas Prince, he would begin to laugh, we remember your dad.

168.2	**Word** Nsk	*Piuraurlallruakuk*							*dad-terpet*	.
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	piura	-ur	-la	-llru	-a	-ku	-k	dadter	-pet
	Lex. Gloss	goodbye	CONT	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	1P.ABS	DU	dad	2P.ERG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	RVP							PNP	
	Word Gloss	we said goodbye to him							your dad	

Free We two said goodbye to your dad

168.3	**Word** Nsk	*Tangqurqulaaku*						,	*Sting-kaq*	*ataam*
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	tang	-qur	-qu	-la	-a	-ku		Sting-kaq	ataam
	Lex. Gloss	to see	ITR	ITR	OPTM	3P.ERG	1P.ABS		sting	again
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER	FM:PER		LEX	PRT
	Word Cat.	RVP							NP	PAR
	Word Gloss	I decide to go see him							sting	again

nayangaqiili , *nayangvagluni*

nayanga	-qii	-l	-i	nayang	-vag	-lu	-ni
woman's dance	FUT (OPTM only)	OPTM	3P.ERG	woman's dance	so well	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
OVP				AVP			
he will greet				its so good to greet			

tawaten *pelartevkenani* ,

ta-	*w	-a	-ten	pi	-lar	-te	-vke	-na	-ni
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to do	HAB	plan to	NEG	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				AVP					
like this				it wouldn't be planned to do it					

waten *tawaten* *piaqami* ,

*w	-a	-ten	ta-	*w	-a	-ten	pi	-aqa	-mi
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to do	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG.SG
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER
NP			NP				NCP		
like this			like this				when it is done		

iqusarpiarnaurtuq .

iqu	-sar	-piar	-naur	-tuq
end	would	the salient one	HAB	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
RVP				
it would just end up that way				

Free I'll go and see Sting again, he will greet me with a good greeting like this, it wouldn't be planned to do it like this, whenever it's done like this, it would just end up that way.

C.7 Amiksuwin's Univkaraq

Narrated by: Micheal 'Amiksuwin' Hunt
Interlocutors: Nicholas Bunderson-Toler
Narrator's Birth Place: Caniliaq
Narrator's year of Birth: 1943
Narrator's Residence: Kotlik

Recorded by: Nicholas Bunderson-Toler
Year: 2016
Location: Amiksuwin's Dining Room
Transcribed by: Theresa George
Translated by: Theresa George
Interlinear Analysis and Annotation by: Nicholas and Jason Bunderson-Toler

Context: At the end of the field season in 2015, I was told that if I could find somebody to boat me across the river, I could work with Amiksuwin. When I finally managed my way across in 2016, Amiksuwin invited me in, and we sat in his dining room. I asked him to introduce himself, and he launched into a forty-minute narrative about his life's history and the traditional ways of life, all in Yugtun. This was the first connected narrative I recorded. It is also the longest purely Yugtun narrative in the linguistic corpus used for this dissertation. Amiksuwin did attend boarding schools outside of the Kotlik region and relearned Yup'ik later in life. His narrative is a mix of Norton Sound Kotlik Yugtun using local demonstratives such as *iini*, but he also uses grammatical constructions like conjuncts more as they are described in General Standard Yup'ik.

C.7.1 MH2016: Amiksuwin's Univkaraq

Wiinga, Caniliamnek yuurtellrunga, atqa-llu Amiksuwinauguq.

Aka' tamani, yuurtellemni, Caniliani [uitall***], tamani anglellrunga.

Anglellemni tamani, anaguluteng yuut amllellrunretut.

Tamarmeng-llu yuut yugturlianaq qanerluteng.

Yugturlianaq ikaiyulluteng, qanaaruraqluteng, anglaniluteng.

Yuuyaranek makunek, aka' awani miklemni ayaglua, qanrulallruatnga qayuga yuuk, qayuga anglikuma yuuyarkamnek.

Tamatum nalliini, atauciq, malrunek tauguam, kassanek ilangqellruukut, naaqistemek, agayulirtemek-llu, taukunek tauguam.

Ca'nek qanersaraanek nalluamta, nalluluku yuunginanemni.

Anglaniluta tawaten ilakluta, ikaiyuluta-llu cali, angliurallruukut.

Tamatum nalliini, makut mani teggnerput, aanaput, aataput-llu takaqluki yuuyuralallruukut, takarnaqluteng tamarmeng, tauguam takarnarngemeng, qaturluta waten qasigmi-llu uitaqamta.

Qasigmi maqilallruut tamani augkut awani ak'allaraat pissuryaramek, pissurarqameng.

Atakumi tikitaqameng maqiluteng, tua-llu maqiraaluteng taq'ngameng, qanemciluteng ca'nek, yuut, kingunemegni elluarluteng yuullerkaitnek.

Iliitni-llu, arenqiallurutnek augkunek qanaaruaqluteng qayuga kingunemegni yuukuneng eglerellerkaitnek.

Tamani cali, yuuyuallemni, ataucimek, tauguam atanengqellrukut, ak'allarmek, ataucimek.

Tuam tuani ataanemta, yuut tamarmeng takaqluku uitalallruut.

Qanraqan camek, maligtaquluku matum arcaqerluku yuuyararkaitnek kingunemegni.

Arcaraqluki neqket makut amlletullruameng tamatum nalliini.

Qanrulallrui tuam tuani ataanemta, waten tauguam, amllertalrianek, neqkanek elpeci unang'ngaaquvci pissuraqluci piniartuci.

Cali-llu tuai, neqket makut, elluarluki, takaqluki, aulukaqluki, nerlerkaitnek arcaqerluki, kelekluki pilaaqeskeluki qanrut'lallruakut.

Neqket mani amlletulruut tamatum nalliini, makut mani, aipaimta kassanek pilallrit tikipailgata.

Makut-llu mani imarpigmi uitalriit, cali-ll takaqluki pitullruit.

Imarpigmi makut makliit, esstuat, neqket-llu, tamakunek tamani.

Uksuarcan-llu waniwa, angayuqaurput, makunek melqulegnek pissurluteng, yuurqaqaaraitnek pinangnaqtulruut, tamatum nalliini.

Cali-llu wani, laavkangqelruukut tuai, laavkaam iluani tuai amllernek ca'nek aturarkatnek pitangqetulrunrituq.

Ca'nek tuam caarralaarranek, ca'nek imanek-llu, mukaanek-a, tarsunek, caayunek tamakunek amllerengnuarnek imangqutulruut, akiituvkenateng, tamatum nalliini.

Can'eg makunek, neqkanek watawa tangerlartukut mani laavkaamtngi, neqket ayuqenelnguut tuai tamakunek tamani tangsuitellrukut tamatum, tamatum nalliini, angliurallemni.

Kiagmi tauguam, neqket, tamakut tailallruut, tikilallruut pacakun qakmaken Tacimek, taigaqluteng kiagmi.

Tua-llu utciraqluki.

Nunapiggluugamek pitangqelruuq allami nunami kiani.

Tamakut cat'a neqkaraat, tuskat-llu, caneg aturarkanek, angyarkaanek tuaten tamakunek pitangqutulruut cararnek-llu kassaalinaraarnek, machine-anek-llu tuai pitangqutuluni.

Angliurallemni, tuai, yugtun, yugturlainaq qanaaluta taringsuunata-llu kassatun.

Caliqlirlua waniwa anglingengama allrakunglua arvinlegen tua-llu naqiwiggmun iterlua.

Iterngama tuai qanrulluta tuam naaqistemta, yugtun qanerngaituci tamatum nalliini, watum nalliini.

Mani witainanerpecni, kassaturlianaq tuam qanerciquci.

Kassatun man'a qanersaraq man'a, elpeci eliitarqaaqaci.

Yugtun qanquvci, elluarluci aulukciqamcetci, tawaten qanernaunaci watawa matum nalliini.

Nalluluta ca'nek-a yugtun qanersaranek tamatum, kassatun qanersaranek tamatum nalliini, esskuularqamta uitalallruukut.

Cali-llu taman, esskuulainanemni, neqkanek pitangqutullrunriituq, mulruraanek, wall' pingayuraanek tauguam neqkanek esskuulainanemni uksuum taktatciatun neqenglallruukut.

Massaararmek cali-llu cuggalirarnek, taukunek tauguam kingan esskuularqamta uksurpak tuai neqeqluku tuai nerlallruukut.

Mulukuaraamek-llu piaqameng makunek, imkunek powder-anek imarluteng tamakunek meliluteng mulukuarcugcelallruitekut.

Cali-llu taugkunek kantirarnek ca'nek-a iquliqerluku, tamakut tamani neqelallruaput.

Tua-llu tamatum nalliini arvinlegen allrakungerlua aanairutka catairutellruuq tamatum nalliini.

Tua-llu upnercaurcan, tuai qanruulunuk piipaqallu tuai qanruulunuk tuai asauciqniluta natmun esskuuliartuarkauluta ayagluta maken.

Ayaglua maken wangkuk piipiqallu, kinguqliqa-llu. Uksurtengani, tamatum tuani, tengssuutem agum qavirliurluni milluni unavet kuigpagmun, tamatum nalliini.

Tengssuutengqelallruut ataucemek tauguam qang'a-llu malrunek-a taigaqluni augkuneka kalikararnek ca'nek tailluni. Tamakucinek qiivet Ungalaqlernun asauluci taugkun-llu tuani esskuulaawikamnun awavet-a, Wrangle-amun ayaglua.

BIA-am watum aulukleniiluku tamana esskuulaq.

Tawani ataam, cararnek tuam taringsaurlua, tuani esskuuliananemni, kingunemni Caniliaremi, amlleringnguarnek.

Taugken tawani, taugken tawani, tawani Wrangle-ami esskuularlua tuai, man'a mani, eighth grade-taq tikiluku.

Esskuuliananemni cali, tuani, yugtun qanersaramek inurqualuki tamatum.

Qansuirutukut kiituani kassaturlainaq tauguam qanaaraqluta.

Man'a mani, qanersaraput waken wani, BIA esskuulam navgurulrua qanersaraput, man'a, elliat ayagneqluku tuaten yugtun qansuirutengngellruut mai.

Qavciraurtukut tauguam waniwa, kingunemteni wani, Qerruliggmiuni yugtun, qanersaraq, qanersarangertukut man'a.

Tuam tuani, umyuarniurlartua cakneq, ciin waten, qanersaraput man'a kataraluku ataam utetmun ataam tegungnaqluki pilranek.

Umyuaqa tamana assiilinanriituq tamatum nalliini, yuuyaraput man'a yugtun qanersaraq.

Assikluku, takaqluku-llu pilallruamta tamatum nalliini.

Tauguam ukut wani BIA-am, allarquuteni maliggtaquluki piataa, tamana tamani katagtulluarput.

Wata-waniwa, wani kingunemteni, yuut, ukut wani yuuyuralriit, ayagyuaput, kassaturlianaq tuam qanerlartut.

Kavciraat tauguam waniwa, amlleriruanek wangkuta yugturlianaq qanaalartukut.

Cali-llu mumigtaqluki makut maani qanersaraput, tamatum nalliini, tuai tawaten qanerlarput waten.

Wrangle-amek taqngama, Mount-Edgecumbe-amun ayaglua, high school-anun esskuulaliartullrunga.

Cali-llu taugken tuani, graduate-aama awani 1964-ami, uterlua mavet kingunemni.

Ataairuturluqa tuani ikaiyualuku tuai ca'nek-a ikaiyunaqellruan tamatum nalliini, kingunemni mani uitalua.

Ikaiyuqerluku ca'nek. Pissuryaranek-llu makunek eliilua mani, tangvalallruamki, agkut anngangka pissurturlallret.

Tua tamatum eliilua imarpik-llu unani pissuryaraput unani eliiluki qayuga neqket, makut aturluki, ukut wani, ilangka ukut ikaiyualuki.

Cali-llu, aipanglua, umek, qamaken, angyani calilallruama paacami.

Utertauluci makunek neqkaitnek, nunacuaraat qatwatmun, Masserculleq tikiluku.

Aiyuqlallrukut tamatum tamakucinek, tamaken, calilua tauten, akingnguanglallrukut.

Aipaqa-llu unawani aipaqliutellemegni.

Waken wani, neqsuyaramek, neqlitulruuq tawatum, awani tarsaqviit-llu makut, neqket amllerluteng.

Ukut wani NC Company-iit, neqnek kiputuluteng cali company-iit allat amlleriluteng.

Neqsurlua tuam tamatum waten, akiinek unanglallrunga.

Qiivet-llu aiyaglua iqalluarpanek pissuraqlua tuai.

Ukut wani, irniangka wani anglingengata, tallimanek irniaqellrunga tuai, malrunek tuam waniwa arnaraaleranek kimallertut.

Pingayun augkut qetunrangka, akacarluteng tayima tamarmeng nangellruut.

Anglirillratni tamatum nalliini, irniangka ukut makunek yuuyarakaitnek elicarluki, elicarlallruangka mani nunam qaingani ca'nek elitellemnek ukutnek angaiyuqaumnek anngairutemnek-llu makunek.

Cali-llu ukut ilaitnek, tamakunek tamani murelkelluki imarpigmiutanek unkunek pissuryaranek taukut tuani qetunrangka elicarlallruangka.

Makut-llu kuigaat makut, atretnek tamakunek elicaraqluki tuai, asautaqluki qiivet.

Machine-nangamta, machine-anek makunek pingellruamta tamatum aka'awani.

Snow-machine-anek, angyanek-llu, makunek pingluta.

Tamakutgun tamaani aiyataqluki qiivet, pissuryaranek makunek elicarluki, kingunemta neqkaitnek, cali-llu, tengmianek makunek upnerkami pissuraqluteng tamakunek.

Asauluki ukut wani qetunrangka eliicaqluki.

Anglingaata-llu waten esskuulamek mani Qerrullirmi.

Tamani 1959-ami nuggtartellrukut mani, mavet Canilianek.

Cali-llu allat nunat ukut Pastulirmiut, Kangirkilngiurmiut, Nunapiggluggarmiut-llu mavet nuggtarluki ikani.

BIA-aq naaqiwuingellruuq malrunek Elementary-esskuulanek naaqiwuingellruuq tamani 1959-ami.

Tua-llu taugken tuani aiyagluteng, piuraqluteng ukunek high school-aneng naparciluteng mani.

Naparcilruat tamatum nalliini, ukut irniangka esskuulaluteng wani wani, elementaryni esskuularluteng, BIA-am aulukellrua tamatum nalliini.

Cali-llu, awani uqaqvarni tamani 1980 yaqsinriqerluku, ukut wani, Alaskam, State of Alaskam, esskuulat makut tegungluki, BIA-am aulukinringluki.

Tua-llu high school-at makut naungata ukut irniangka high school-arluteng, graduatetarluteng-llu, graduate-talrat tamatum nalliini.

Makunek assiryaraitnek qang'a esskuulaayuukata esskuulaayarkauluki, piarkauluki tamatum tauni, qanurtaqluki.

Iliat ukut wani irniangka waten, ca'nek calisaurluteng, weld-tarikuni augum Iliit qetunrama.

Cali-llu, makunek calisaranek, carpenter-anek caliaqluteng.

Wii-llu, tamakut tamani augken aiyagluki awani esskuulallemni, Mount Edgecumbeami, tamakut esskuulallema iluani weld-arilua, carpenter-yaraq, mechanic-kaligget tamakut tamani elitellruangka tuani esskuuliananemni.

Makut nallunriluki elitellruamki, tamakunek elitcaraqluki ukut irnangka pissuryarkaitnek tuai tamakunek, elliata tuai aulukluta pilruitekut.

Awani-llu tuai, aipaqa-llu aipaqliutellem kinguani, esskuulaawirmi, Massercullermiuni witaqellrukuk allrakum iluani, tuani calillemni.

Makuni headstart-ani calillemni akaacalrunga tuai qenrem pitaqcarpiarlua tuai ullua cakneq tuai.

Wani-llu, yungcawirmi uitalua.

Uitalua pingayun allrakunek tuai, untatengka-llu makut mani keggnaqa-llu navruluni.

Tamani, assiilellma kinguani doctor-ama uum qanrullua, mana mani, elpet tuai waniwa cassciggganak yuuciquten, yuutciput takcatciatun.

Camek cali ca'nek caungerpet cassciggganak uitaciquten.

Uteryugluk-llua aipaqa-llu, kingunellunuk, ciuqleq augna qetunraput tamani, yungcawiggmi witangngemni yuurluni.

Utercama mavet kingunetcimaumam mavet Qerrullirmun, ilurangka augkun tangerluki, ca'nek pingnaqlallret, neqsuluteng-llu pitullruat umyuaqluki tamana.

Mana-mani, akingyiaranek, anguyiagtem akingyuarcellua tamatum nalliini, waten disable-larlua pillemni tuai tamakunek akiinek unanglallruama, nanguaqlua allrakum, iralum iluani.

Anglanaqenrilamku tamana pegluku.

Wangnek calugturlua mani yuuyararqaka tuam utelmun tegungnaqluku, unatengkallu ukut navugmiita tamaugun caliaqluki pilallruamtek.

Tuani, qaillukuarlua tuai, aipama-llu, assikenricaqluku tuai, unatengka-llu aurnarnaurtut waten neqsungngnanemni, piaqama, neqlitullruami tamatum nalliini.

Kassugpaqarlua, tuai unaqurianarluku, aipaqa-llu ilaklunuk ukut-llu irniangka angliluteng talliman.

Tua-ll elliat, elliata-llu ikaiyuanglua neqsurlallemni tamatum nalliini, tuai.

Cali-llu tuai neqsunriama, makunun, school board-anun ilagaullua.

School board-ani ekumaqalrunga waten esskuularaat, esskuulaq mana aulukluku.

Waten qaillun, mikelnguuput mani, Lower Yukon School District-am iluani.

Iluani, quyugtaqamta, meeting-araqluta tuai, tamana, arenkerluku mana esskuularput pikliucamteggu wangkuta.

Taugken tuani tuai, mana tikiluku, elluariluteng, cali-llu makut esskuularviit mikesskelaguluki, yuut esskuularaput, amlleriata.

Awavet-a Juneau-mun aiyaglua, waten akiikanek unangngnaqluki esskuulaawigkait mana angelrianek esskuulaawigkanek pingngnaqluku, unakutengnaqluki.

Piwakurluta unakuluki tuai, nutaramek allamek esskuulangluteng.

Angelriamek, watawa ik'na ikani, tamareng elementary and high school-aat, esskuulaawingluteng, cali-llu mana aquiviat mana gymnasium-uluteng.

Augkut atauciugut wani wani, Lower Yukon School District-ami, nunacuaraat, waten aulukelrui, school board-ani witainanemni.

Tamareng waniwa nutaramek esskuulawingluteng.

Tuai, allanun-llu ataam, State-ani, State-ani board-ani eklua, waten wani elitnausarat ilararluki tuai, kiima-llu yupiulua, ataam allamek aipanglua, kassarpalurluteng taukut quyurluta.

Quyurtaqluta allrakum pingyurkunek iliikun quyurtaqluta, tuani nunarpamun Anchorage-amun, Juneau-mun-llu aiyagaqlua tuai.

Makunek qanaaraqlua tuai qayuga elluarluku mekelnguput mana, yuuyuralerkaat. Arcarakluku mana Yup'ik, Yup'ik pitciryarait ataam utelmun tugungnaqellerkaitgun.

Tua-llu tuai elitnaurtekaanek makut nunamtenek tamalkuita ukut wani, qula atauciq, ukut wani, esskuularviit, neqestekaitnek piluki tuai.

Tamaugun tuai elitcarluteng tamakut, mekelnguput watua, tamakutgun tamani eliiluteng ca'nek cauyaryaraanek aturyaraanek piaqluteng.

Cali-llu ataam pinaanemni ukut health board-aat, health board-ani tamani ekumalua.

Ekevkarlua tuani-llu ataam tuai, ataam calilua, mana mani, Lower Yukon-aq tamalkucian.

Atengerluni Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation-aq tawani ekumalemni tuai. Yuinaq ataucinek board-anek imangqertuq, 58-anek village-anek aulukingukut mani.

Kuigpagmiut, Kuskuqvarmiut iluatni tuai, tamakut tamani, tuani cali watawa kingan tauguam ekumaurartua.

Tamatum, mana mani yuucirput mani, ukut mani, yuuput mani yuullret temait, makutqa nangsutet-llu makut tamakunek calilartukut tuai, tuam iluani.

Cali-llu manigngengemni augkut awani, organization-aat, Tribal-council-aat makut mani, nauluteng 1958-ami.

Ugum wani teggnemta, tailuni qanrullua tuai mana mani tribal, Tribal Government-aq qananiluki napartaqatarnaluku.

Kitumek yuaraqsaaqluni, umyuaqellua wii, tailuni pianga, "elpet-qa mana caliaqsumaan, naucirilerkaunun yaavet? ", umyuaqumaqerluku piaqa "kita naspaqerlakuwa tuai, qaillun ayuqniartua ".

Tuai ikani calivigkamnek office-amek cikerlua tuai, tamakut tamani kalikat naaqiluki.

Naaqiluki qaillun mana Tribal Government-am eglerellerka, kangngnaqluku caliqlerluku kangngiaqliamku tuai.

City-council-aat ukut kiagawikluki qaillun tayima akiinek unangniaqeramnek qanaaluki tuai.

Caliqlerluteng tarngnaqliameng qaillun unanerkamnek piameng.

Bingo-mek permit-amek ungangucilua, tuai taugken tuani, akiinek bingo-yaramek taugken tuani, unangsaurluni taum tauna caliaqa.

Cali-llu umek wani, arnamek, arnaralermek, graduate-tarluni tamatum nalliini. Taumek tuani kiagawikluki, ikaiyualua tuai, puqiyiararngan nallunrilamku tuam tuani, kalikiurtekamnek unanglua.

Taugkun-llu tuani, taugkun aiyagluku naururalruuq cat makut mani, anguyiagtemta akiitautait unaksaurluki tuai.

Waten ayuqliluku Tribal Government-tarput mana anglellruuq.

Watauga waniwa, elluarluni eglengarcaaquq tauguam awani cat makut allat, naunaqluteng piameng, Ca'nek-a tumyararkanek iini naparciluteng cali-llu, Yup'ik makut mani qaillukuarluteng piaqata tamakut-llu tamani elliat caliaqaqluki.

Caliaqaqluki wangkuta, wangkutnun Yup'ik makut.

Ukut wani itercugwivmun asautellret mana utumarcengnaqluku qanaruqurluki, unakluku Tribal Court-amek taqutellruuluta.

Tauguam tuani matum nalliini tayima akiikaq tayima, augkut calilriit awani elluarluku caliaqenilameggtegu tamartuq, tauguam ataam unakengunarkait.

Allanek akiinek-a akiinek unangsaurluteng.

Waniwa tauguam tuai, tawaten pitaqapitellriamek amllerilnuarmek, tutgarangka ukut wani, anglicarluki piamki tuai.

Tamakut tamani, umyuaqluki piamki, kitum elluarluki anglicarnailaaki, ca'nek pitciryararkanek mani anglikuneng qanaalerkaitnek.

Tamakunek tamani taigaqata-llu mani, qanaataqluki,calilarkaitnek, qang'a natmun aiyaalerkaitnek anglikata.

Waten wani, yuulerkaitnek, waniwa tamatum tauguam.

Ukut-llu nunaput, Qerrullirmiut, qang'a-llu nani allani aiyagaqama, qanaataqluki yuut qaturtaqaata.

Elluarluku yuurlerkaitnek, ikaiyuqluteng qaillun yuulerkaitnek qanaataqluki tamalkuita.

Waten quyugtaqaata qang'a-llu yuranek makuni, yuramtuamta-llu mani taqluta.

Tamana, pissiryaraput mana, augken wani ciuliamta atullrit atungnaqluki tuai, yuralartut-llu mani tuai.

Ukut mani aiyagyuaput-a yurayaranek elitengluteng.

Cali-llu ukut wani esskuulaawirmi iluani yuraqluteng tamakunek tamani cali.

Quyalartua tamakut tamani katagkestevkenaki nani mani.

Ataam mana Yugtun qanersaraq assiirluni, umyuaqlemni elluarluku qanaasarlarkut tamamta, nunani, ukut wani, auluksumaat cali-llu, mana mani, caknanaremeni tuam caliaqsurnarquq.

Waten wani pitaqerluku tuai, ataam cali ca'nek allanek calisaranek makunek qanaasumaunga, piuraqerli, tuaten pitaqerli.

C.7.2 MH2016: Interlinear Glossing

MH - Michael (Amiksuwin) Hunts' Univkarat

MH2016

1	**Word** Nsk	*Wiinga*		,	*Caniliamnek*				*yuurtellrunga*				,
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	wii	-nga		Canilia	-m	-nek		yuurte	-llru	-u	-nga	
	Lex. Gloss	I	1P.ABS.SG		Caneliak	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC		to be born	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRO	FM:PER		LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	PRO			PNP				RVP				
	Word Gloss	I/me			in my village of Caniliak				I was born				

atqa-llu			*Amiksuwinauguq*			.
atq	-ka	=llu	Amiksuwin	-au	-guq	
name	1P.NOM.SG	COO	Amiksuwin	is	INDM.IN	
LEX	FM:PER	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	
NP			RVP			
and my name is			it is Amiksuwin			

Free I was born in the village of Chaneliak, and my name is Amiksuwin.

2	**Word** Nsk	*Aka'*	*tamani*							,					
	Word Eng														
	Morphemes	aka'	ta-		*ma	-a	-ni								
	Lex. Gloss	DIST	R<		I2	FTL	LOCC								
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	DEI:(Displacement)		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF								
	Word Cat.	PAR	NP												
	Word Gloss	A long time	there												

yuurtellemni						,	*Caniliani*		[	*uitall*			***],		
yu	-urte	-lle		-m	-ni		Canilia	-ni		uita	=ll				
person	INCH	CNJ (Contemporative)		1P.ERG	LOCC		Caneliak	LOCC		to stay	COO				
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ		FM:PER	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	ENC				
NCP							NP			LEX					
when I was born							Caneliak			I lived					

tamani *anglellrunga* .

ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	angle	-llru	-u	-nga
R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	to grow or become big	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
NP				RVP			
there				I grew up			

Free It was long time ago when I was born in Chaneliak, where I grew up.

3											
Word Nsk	*Anglellemni*						*tamani*				,
Word Eng											
Morphemes	angle	-lle	-m	-ni			ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	
Lex. Gloss	to grow or become big	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC			R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF			DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	NCP						NP				
Word Gloss	When I grew up						there				

anaguluteng *yuut* *amllellrunretut* .

anagu	-lu	-teg	-t	yuu	-t	amlle	-llru	-nre	-tu	-t
to misbehave	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	person	PL	to be many	PST	NEG	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
AVP				NP		RVP				
misbehaving				people		were not too many				

Free At the time when I was growing up, there weren't very many people misbehaving there.

4											
Word Nsk	*Tamarmeng-llu*				*yuut*		*yugturlianaq*				
Word Eng											
Morphemes	Tamar	-meg	-t	=llu	yuu	-t	yug	-tur	-lia	-naq	
Lex. Gloss	all	4P.ERG	PL	COO	person	PL	person	to use	to participate in	one that causes V-ing	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	
Word Cat.	NP				NP		NP				
Word Gloss	All of them too				people		only in Yup'ik				

qanerluteng .

qaner	-lu	-teg	-t
to speak	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			
the spoke/talked			

Free Also, all the people only spoke as Yup'ik

5	**Word Nsk**	*Yugturlianaq*					*ikaiyulluteng*				,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	yug	-tur	-lia	-naq		ikaiyur	-lu	-teg	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	person	to use	to participate in	one that causes V-ing		to help; to bless	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP					AVP				
	Word Gloss	only in Yup'ik					they helped each other				

qanaaruraqluteng					,	*anglaniluteng*					.
qanaa	-ruraq	-lu	-teg	-t		anglani	-lu	-teg	-t		
to speak	CONT	APPM	4P.NOM	PL		to have fun	APPM	4P.NOM	PL		
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM		
AVP						AVP					
they spoke/talked to each other						having fun together					

Free They helped, spoke, and had fun together only as Yup'ik.

6	**Word Nsk**	*Yuuyaranek*			*makunek*			,	*aka'*	*awani*				
	Word Eng													
	Morphemes	yuu	-yara	-nek	*ma	-ku	-nek		aka'	*aw	-a	-ni		
	Lex. Gloss	live	way of	ABLC/INTC	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC		DIST	AD2P	FTL	LOCC		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		
	Word Cat.	NP			NP				PRT	NP				
	Word Gloss	the way of life			of these				a long time	at there				

miklemni			*ayaglua*			,								
mikle	-m	-ni	ayag	-lu	-a									
smaller	1P.ERG	LOCC	to begin	APPM	SG.LF.1									
LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM									
NCP			AVP											
when I was small			in my beginning											

qanrulallruatnga								*qayuga*	*yuuk*	,	*qayuga*			
qanru	-la	-llru	-a	-a	-t	-nga		qayuga	yuuk		qayuga			
to tell	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL	1P.ABS.SG		how	person		how			
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER		LEX	LEX		LEX			
RVP								PAR	NP		PAR			
they would tell me								how	a person		how			

anglikuma *yuuyarkamnek* .

angli	-ku	-m	-a	yuu	-yar	-ka	-m	-nek
to grow or become big	CNJ (Conditional)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	live	would	TEL	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NCP				NP				
when I grow up				will I use my way of life				

Free This was the way the Yup'ik lived long ago in my beginning when I was small, they often told me how I would come to be a person, how I will grow up and live the Yup'ik way of life. (ALT: They would tell me to begin these ways of living long-ago then in my youth how two people - how if I grew up in the way of life)

7

Word Nsk	*Tamatum*				*nalliini*	, *atauciq*	, *malrunek*		
Word Eng									
Morphemes	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini	atauciq	malru	-nek	
Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of	one	two	ABLC/INTC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	LEX	LEX	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	NP				PAR	NP	NP		
Word Gloss	there				like at the time of	one	two, two of them		

tauguam , *kassanek*

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	kassa	-nek
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	white person	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
PAR				NP	
only				white person	

ilangqellruukut , *naaqistemek* , *agayulirtemek-llu* ,

ila	-ngqe	-llru	-u	-ku	-t	naaqiste	-mek	agayulirte	-mek	=llu	
relative	to have N	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	teacher	ABLC/INTC.SG	priest	ABLC/INTC.SG	COO	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	
RVP						NP		NP			
were living with us						a teacher		and a priest			

taukunek *tauguam* .

ta-	*u	-ku	-nek	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
R<	I1	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP				PAR			
those two				only			

Free About that time, we began adopting (bringing into our homes) just these one or two Kassaqs, a teacher and a priest, but just those two.

8	**Word** Nsk	*Ca'nek*		*qanersaraanek*			
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	ca'	-nek	qaner	-sara	-a	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC	to speak	way of	CNJ (because/when)	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP		NCP			
	Word Gloss	Q		because language or instructions			

nalluamta , *nalluluku* *yuunginanemni* .

nallu	-a	-m	-ta	nallu	-lu	-ku	yuu	-nginane	-m	-ni
to not know	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	to not know	APPM	1P.ABS	live	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NCP				AVP			NCP			
because we did not know				not knowing them			while in our life			

Free And we didn't know what kinds of words (they spoke), and they didn't know how we lived.

9	**Word** Nsk	*Anglaniluta*			*tawaten*			
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	anglani	-lu	ta	ta-	*w	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	to have fun	APPM	1P.ABS	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	AVP			NP			
	Word Gloss	we had fun/enjoyment			like this			

ilakluta , *ikaiyuluta-llu* *cali* ,

ilak	-lu	ta	ikaiyu	-lu	ta	=llu	cali
to be related to	APPM	1P.ABS	to help; to bless	APPM	1P.ABS	COO	also
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC	PRT
AVP			AVP				PAR
along with us			and they helped us too				also

angliurallruukut .

angli	-ura	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
to grow or become big	CONT	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					
that's how we grew up					

Free We had fun including them in that (our lives), and they helped us too - that's how we grew up.

10	**Word** Nsk	*Tamatum*				*nalliini*	,	*makut*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini		*ma	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of		I2	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP				PAR		NP		
	Word Gloss	at that time				like at the time of		these		

mani			*teggnerput*			,	*aanaput*			,	*aataput-llu*			
*ma	-a	-ni	teggner	-pu	-t		aana	-pu	-t		aata	-pu	-t	=llu
I2	FTL	LOCC	elder	1P.NOM	PL		mother	1P.NOM	PL		father	1P.NOM	PL	COO
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
NP			PNP				NP				NP			
here			our elders				our mothers				our fathers too			

takaqluki			*yuuyuralallruukut*								,
takaq	-lu	-ki	yuu	-yura	-la	-llru	-u	-ku	-t		
to be respectful	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	live	way of	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL		
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM		
AVP			RVP								
be respectful to them			that's how we lived								

takarnaqluteng				*tamarmeng*			,	*tauguam*			
takarnaq	-lu	-teg	-t	tamar	-meg	-t		ta-	*ug	-u	=am
to be intimidating	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	all	4P.ERG	PL		R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP				PNP				PAR			
they were highly intimidating				all of them				only			

takarnarngemeng				,	*qaturluta*			*waten*		
takarnar	-nge	-meg	-t		qatur	-lu	-ta	*w	-a	-ten
to be intimidating	CNJ (because/when)	4P.ERG	PL		gathered	APPM	PL.LF	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP					PAR			NP		
because they are intimidating					we gathered			like this		

qasigmi-llu *uitaqamta* .

qasig	-mi	=llu	uita	-qa	-m	-ta
men's community house	LOCC.SG	COO	to stay	CNJ (Constantive)	1P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NCP			
in the men's steam house			when we stayed here/home			

Free In those years, the people here - our mothers and fathers - lived the way that repsected our Elders, who were all very intimidating; but even though they were intimidating we gathered together in the men's steam house like this when we stayed at home.

11

Word Nsk	*Qasigmi*		*maqilallruut*				
Word Eng							
Morphemes	qasig	-mi	maqi	-la	-llru	-u	-t
Lex. Gloss	men's community house	LOCC.SG	to take a steam bath	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP		RVP				
Word Gloss	in the steam house		they took steam baths				

tamani *augkut* *awani* *ak'allaraat*

ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	*aug	-ku	-t	*aw	-a	-ni	ak'allaraa	-t
R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	AD2P	FTO.NS	PL	AD2P	FTL	LOCC	old person	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM
NP				NP			NP			NP	
there				those			back then			past elders	

pissuryaramek , *pissurarqameng* .

pissur	-yara	-mek	pissur	-arqa	-meg	-t
to hunt	way of	ABLC/INTC.SG	to hunt	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NCP			
talk of their hunting skills (of hunting skills)			when they go out hunting			

Free In the men's steam house there, the elders back then would often take steam baths to ?<talk about>? hunting and how they hunt.

12	**Word** Nsk	*Atakumi*		*tikitaqameng*			
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	ataku	-mi	tikit	-aqa	-meg	-t
	Lex. Gloss	to be evening	LOCC.SG	to arrive	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP		NCP			
	Word Gloss	in the evening		when they arrive			

maqiluteng , *tua-llu*

maqi	-lu	-teg	-t	t-	*u	-a	=llu
to take a steam bath	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	R<	I1	FTL	COO
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP				PAR			
they would take steam baths				and then			

maqiraaluteng *taq'ngameng* ,

maqi	-raa	-lu	-teg	-t	taq	-nga	-meg	-t
to take a steam bath	RET.PRF	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to finish	CNJ (because/when)	4P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					NCP			
after bathing					when they're done			

qanemciluteng *ca'nek* , *yuut* , *kingunemegni*

qanemci	-lu	-teg	-t	ca'	-nek	yuu	-t	kingune	-meg	-ni
to tell	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	Q	ABLC/INTC	person	PL	home	4P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
AVP				NP		NP		PNP		
they would tell stories				of many kind		people		back at their home		

elluarluteng *yuullerkaitnek* .

elluar	-lu	-teg	-t	yuu	-llerka	-i	-t	-nek
to be perfect	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	live	FUT	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
AVP				PNP				
a good way				person / to live in their lives				

Free When it is evening once they arived they take a steam bath, and then when they've finished bathing they tell many kinds of stories, for people living their lives in a good way back home. (it's good when people back home plan to really live.)

13	**Word** Nsk	*Iliitni-llu*	,	*arenqiallurutnek*			*augkunek*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	Iliitni	=llu	arenqialluru	-t	-nek	*aug	-ku	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	sometimes	COO	distress	PL	ABLC/INTC	AD2P	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	and sometimes		the hard times			of back then		

qanaaruaqluteng *qayuga* *kingunemegni*

qanaa	-ruaq	-lu	-teg	-t	qayuga	kingune	-meg	-ni
to speak	CONT	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	how	home	4P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
AVP					PAR	PNP		
they would speak of					how	back at their home		

yuukuneng *eglerellerkaitnek* .

yuu	-ku	-meg	-t	eglere	-llerka	-i	-t	-nek
live	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL	to move	FUT	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NCP				PNP				
as they live				and live on to the future				

Free And some times, they would speak of the hard times back then, how they live back home and live on in the future.

14	**Word** Nsk	*Tamani*				*cali*	,
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	cali	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	also	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	
	Word Cat.	NP				PAR	
	Word Gloss	there				also	

yuuyuallemni , *ataucimek* ,

yuu	-yua	-lle	-m	-ni	atauci	-mek
person	way of	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC	one	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP					NP	
when I was younger					one	

tauguam *atanengqellrukut* ,

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	atane	-ngqe	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	boss	to have N	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PAR				RVP					
only				we had a boss/leader					

ak'allarmek , *ataucimek* .

ak'allar	-mek	atauci	-mek
old person	ABLC/INTC.SG	one	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP		NP	
an elder		only one	

Free There also, when I was younger, we had only one leader, only one elder.

15	**Word** Nsk	*Tuam*				*tuani*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=am	t-	*u	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP			
	Word Gloss	that one				there			

ataanemta , *yuut* *tamarmeng* *takaqluku*

ataane	-m	-ta	yuu	-t	tamar	-meg	-t	takaq	-lu	-ku
boss	1P.ERG	PL.LF	person	PL	all	4P.ERG	PL	to be respectful	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PNP			NP		PNP			AVP		
our leader			people		all of them			respected him		

uitalallruut .

uita	-la	-llru	-u	-t
to stay	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP				
that's how we lived/that's how we stayed/lived				

Free All the people respected that there (elder) our leader and continued to live that way.

16	**Word** Nsk	*Qanraqan*				*camek*	,
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	qanr	-aq	-a	-n	ca	-mek
	Lex. Gloss	to speak	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NCP				NP	
	Word Gloss	when he speaks				something	

maligtaquluku *matum*

malig	-ta	-qu	-lu	-ku	*mat	-u	-m
to take or bring along	to be V to a certain degree	ITR	APPM	1P.ABS	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP					NP		
to take or bring along, we followed					these		

arcaqerluku *yuuyararkaitnek* *kingunemegni* .

arcaqer	-lu	-ku	yuu	-yarar	-ka	-i	-t	-nek	kingune	-meg	-ni
to favor	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	live	way of	future N	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	home	4P.ERG	to claim that
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	LEX>LEX
AVP			PNP						NP		
importantly			their way of life						back at their home		

Free When he said something, we followed that, especially how to live life back home.

17	**Word** Nsk	*Arcaraqluki*			*neqket*		*makut*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	arcaraq	-lu	-ki	neqke	-t	*ma	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	to favor	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	food ready for consumption	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	AVP			NP		NP		
	Word Gloss	very importantly			fish		these		

amlletullruameng *tamatum*

amlle	-tu	-llru	-a	-meg	-t	ta-	*mat	-u	-m
to be many	HAB	PST	CNJ (because/when)	4P.ERG	PL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP						NP			
were plenty (when there would be many)						at that time			

nalliini .

nalliini
like at the time of
PRT
PAR
like at the time of

Free Very importantly, there were plenty of these fish back at that time.

18	**Word** Nsk	*Qanrulallrui*					*tuam*			
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	qanru	-la	-llru	-a	-i	t-	*u	-a	=am
	Lex. Gloss	to tell	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	RVP					PAR			
	Word Gloss	he told them					that one			

tuani *ataanemta* , *waten*

t-	*u	-a	-ni	ataane	-m	-ta	*w	-a	-ten
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	boss	1P.ERG	PL.LF	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP				PNP			NP		
there				our leader			like this		

tauguam , *amllertalrianek* ,

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	amller	-ta	-lria	-nek
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	to be many	to be V to a certain degree	the one who is V-ing	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
PAR				NP			
only				certain amount			

neqkanek *elpeci*

neqka	-nek	el	-pet	-t
food ready for consumption	ABLC/INTC	social.distal	2P.ERG	PL
LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		PRO		
fish		you all		

unang'ngaaquvci *pissuraqluci*

unang	-nga	-a	-qu	-vt	-t	pissur	-aq	-lu	-t	-t
to obtain something	PRF	ITR	CNJ (Conditional)	2P.ERG	PL	to hunt	HAB	APPM	2P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP						AVP				
if you.PL catch						you all often hunt				

piniartuci .

pi	-niar	-tu	-t	-t
to do	FUT	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP				
you.PL will do				

Free That there our leader would tell them, you can only catch this many fish, if you catch them, hunting as you do.

19	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*tuai*				,	*neqket*	
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	t-	*u	-a	=i		neqke	-t
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM		food ready for consumption	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		LEX	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR		PAR					NP	
	Word Gloss	also		that one!					foods	

makut , *elluarluki* , *takaqluki* ,

*ma	-ku	-t	elluar	-lu	-ki	takaq	-lu	-ki	
I2	FTO.NS	PL	to be perfect	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to be respectful	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
NP			AVP			AVP			
these			very carefully, successfully			be respectful to them			

aulukaqluki , *nerlerkaitnek* *arcaqerluki*

auluk	-aq	-lu	-ki	ner	-lerka	-i	-t	-nek	arcaqer	-lu	-ki		
to watch	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	food	FUT	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	to favor	APPM	3P.ACC.PL		
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		
AVP				NP					AVP				
in good care				when they have fish					importantly				

, *kelekluki* *pilaaqeskeluki*

kelek	-lu	-ki	pila	-aq	-eske	-lu	-ki
to invite to one's house	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	called	HAB	DSDR	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			AVP				
take care of them			to do them that way				

qanrut'lallruakut .

qanrut	-la	-llru	-a	-a	-ku	-t
to tell	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP						
he told us						

Free And also this! These fish must be prepared very careully, respectfully, he would tell us to do it that way so that they're taken good care of.

20						
Word Nsk	*Neqket*		*mani*			
Word Eng						
Morphemes	neqke	-t	*ma	-a	-ni	
Lex. Gloss	food ready for consumption	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	NP		NP			
Word Gloss	foods		here			

amlletulruut *tamatum* *nalliini* ,

amlle	-tu	-lru	-u	-t	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini	
to be many	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	
RVP					NP				PAR	
they would be many					at that time				like at the time of	

makut *mani* , *aipaimta*

*ma	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni	aipai	-m	-ta	
I2	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC	counterparts (esp. white people)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
NP			NP			PNP			
these			here			our partners			

kassanek *pilallrit* *tikipailgata* .

kassa	-nek	pila	-llri	-i	-t	tiki	-pailg	-a	-ta
white person	ABLC/INTC	called	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL	to arrive	CNJ (before)	3P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		RVP				NCP			
white person, caucasians, (the) caucasians		when they called them				before they arrived			

Free Back then, there would be many foods here, before these partners of ours arrived, who we called 'Kassaqs'.

21	**Word** Nsk	*Makut-llu*				*mani*			*imarpigmi*	
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	*ma	-ku	-t	=llu	*ma	-a	-ni	imarpig	-mi
	Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.NS	PL	COO	I2	FTL	LOCC	ocean	LOCC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP				NP			NP	
	Word Gloss	DEM				here			here in the ocean	

uitalriit , *cali-ll* *takaqluki*

uita	-lri	-i	-t	cali	=ll	takaq	-lu	-ki
to stay	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL	also	COO	to be respectful	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
RVP				PAR		AVP		
that stay there				again		be respectful to them		

pitullruit .

pi	-tu	-llru	-a	-i	-t
to say	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					
they would say to them					

Free All this that lives here in the ocean, we must respect them too, they would say to them.

22	**Word** Nsk	*Imarpigmi*		*makut*			*makliit*		, *esstuat*		,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	imarpig	-mi	*ma	-ku	-t	maklii	-t	esstua	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	ocean	LOCC.SG	I2	FTO.NS	PL	bearded seal	PL	white (baluga) whale	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP		NP			NP		NP		
	Word Gloss	here in the ocean		these			seals		whales		

neqket-llu , *tamakunek* *tamani* .

neqke	-t	=llu	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
food	PL	COO	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			NP				NP			
and fish too			DEM				there			

Free All these were here in the ocean: seals, whales, fish too, they were all there.

23 **Word** Nsk *Uksuarcan-llu* *waniwa* ,

Word Eng									
Morphemes	Uksuar	-ca	-a	-n	=llu	*w	-a	-ni	=wa
Lex. Gloss	to become autumn	CNJ(indirect)	3P.ERG	SG.LF	COO	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
Word Cat.	NCP					NP			
Word Gloss	and becoming autumn					this one here			

angayuqaurput , *makunek* *melqulegnek* *pissurluteng*

angayuqaur	-pu	-t	*ma	-ku	-nek	melquleg	-nek	pissur	-lu	-teg	-t
parent	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	bird	ABLC/INTC	to hunt	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PNP			NP			NP		AVP			
our parent's			of these			as birds		they hunt			

, *yuurqaqaaraitnek*

yuurqa	-qaa	-ra	-i	-t	-nek
to drink by sipping	-ITR/-HAB	just a little bit	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NP					
for they will not have drunk (for they would drink just a bit)					

pinangnaqtulruut , *tamatum*

pi	-na	-ngnaq	-tu	-lru	-u	-t	ta-	*mat	-u	-m
to do	VOL	to try to	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP							NP			
they would try to go out and do it							at that time			

nalliini .

nalliini
like at the time of
PRT
PAR
like at the time of

Free And when in autumn, our parents would hunt these birds, for they would drink just a bit and try to go out and do it, back then.

24	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*wani*			,	*laavkangqelruukut*					
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	*w	-a	-ni		laavka	-ngqe	-lru	-u	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	I1	FTL	LOCC		store	to have N	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP				RVP					
	Word Gloss	and again		this here				we had a grocery store					

tuai , *laavkaam* *iluani*

t-	*u	-a	=i	laavkaa	-m	ilu	-a	-ni
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	store	ERGC	interior	3P.NOM.SGCOM	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
PAR				NP		NP		
that one!				the stores'		it's inside		

tuai *amllernek* *ca'nek*

t-	*u	-a	=i	amller	-nek	ca'	-nek
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	to be many	ABLC/INTC	Q	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
PAR				NP		PAR	
that one!				very plenty of		Q / anything	

aturarkatnek *pitangqetulrunrituq* .

aturar	-ka	-t	-nek	pita	-ngqe	-tu	-lru	-nrit	-uq
article of clothing	material for	PL	ABLC/INTC	to be a certain size	to have N	HAB	PST	NEG	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
NP				RVP					
as clothing (fabric)				it would not have been the right amount (there would never the right size)					

Free And here also, we had that grocery store! Inside that store was a lot of stuff, like clothes, but it would never have been the right size.

25	**Word** Nsk	*Ca'nek*		*tuam*				*caarralaarranek*			,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	ca'	-nek	t-	*u	-a	=am	caarralaa	-rra	-nek	
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	sugar	just a little bit	ABLC/INTC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP		PAR				NP			
	Word Gloss	Q / anything		that one				were some sugar			

ca'nek *imanek-llu* , *mukaanek-a* , *tarsunek* , *caayunek*

ca'	-nek	ima	-nek	=llu	mukaa	-nek	=a	tarsu	-nek	caayu	-nek
Q	ABLC/INTC	contents	ABLC/INTC	COO	flour	ABLC/INTC	GWP	salt	ABLC/INTC	tea	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP		NP			NP			NP		NP	
Q		of contents as			flour			salt		tea	

tamakunek *amllerengnuarnek*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	amller	-engnuar	-nek
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to be many	inauthentic	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
NP				NP		
these things				and not so many		

imangqutulruut , *akiituvkenateng* ,

imaq	-ngu	-tu	-lru	-u	-t	akiitu	-vke	-na	-teg	-t
contents	to be N	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	to be expensive	NEG	APPM.NEG	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP						AVP				
was the content of the store						and not very expensive				

tamatum *nalliini* .

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
NP				PAR
at that time				like at the time of

Free Some sugar, and some othe stuff, flour, salt, tea, these things, but not a lot was in the store, and it wasn't too expensive, back then.

26	**Word** Nsk	*Can'eg*		*makunek*			,	*neqkanek*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ca	-nek	*ma	-ku	-nek		neqka	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC		food ready for consumption	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP		NP				NP	
	Word Gloss	many kind		of these				fish	

watawa *tangerlartukut* *mani*

*wat	-a	=wa	tanger	-lar	-tu	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni
I1	FTL	Anaphor	to see	HAB	to V for some duration	1P.ABS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC
DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PAR			RVP					NP		
right now			we always see					here		

laavkaamtngi , *neqket* *ayuqenelnguut*

laavkaa	-m	-t	-ni	neqke	-t	ayuqe	-nel	-nguu	-t
store	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC	food ready for consumption	PL	to resemble	NEG	PARTM.IN.NEG	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
PNP				NP		RVP			
in our stores				foods		which are different			

tuai *tamakunek*

t-	*u	-a	=i	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PAR				NP			
that one!				these			

tamani *tangsuitellrukut*

ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	tang	-suite	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	to see	never	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				RVP					
there				we never see before					

tamatum , *tamatum* *nalliini* ,

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini	
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	
NP				NP				PRT	
at that time				at that time				like at the time of	

angliurallemni .

angli	-ur	-a	-lle	-m	-ni
to grow or become big	CONT	ITR	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NCP					
when I was growing up					

Free Many kinds of these fish right now we always see here in our store, this fish is very different, these there we never saw before at the time, like at the time when I was growing up.

27 **Word** Nsk *Kiagmi* *tauguam* , *neqket* ,

Word Eng								
Morphemes	kiag	-mi	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	neqke	-t
Lex. Gloss	summer	LOCC.SG	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	food ready for consumption	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP		PAR				NP	
Word Gloss	in the summer		only				fish	

tamakut *tailallruut* ,

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	tai	-la	-llru	-u	-t
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to come	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
NP				RVP				
those ones				would come				

tikilallruut *pacakun* *qakmaken*

tiki	-la	-llru	-u	-t	paca	-kun	*qakm	-a	-ken
to arrive	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	barge	PRLC	AB0E	FTL	FTL.ABLC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP					NP		NP		
arrive by					barge		from way out there of		

Tacimek		,	*taigaqluteng*						*kiagmi*	.
Taci	-mek		tai	-gaq	-lu	-teg	-t		kiag	-mi
St. Michaels	ABLC/INTC.SG		to come	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL		summer	LOCC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:GCF
NP			AVP						NP	
St. Michael's			they would arrive						in the summer	

Free Only in the summer would those fish come, they arrive by barge from way out by St. Michael's, they would arrive in the summer.

28	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-llu*				*utciraqluki*				.
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu	utcir	-aq	-lu	-ki	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	unload	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	PAR				AVP				
	Word Gloss	and then				unload the barge				

Free And then unload the barges.

29	**Word** Nsk	*Nunapiggluugamek*		*pitangqelruuq*				
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	nunapiggluuga	-mek	pi	-ta	-ngqe	-lru	-uq
	Lex. Gloss	Old Hamilton	ABLC/INTC.SG	thing	related thing	to have N	PST	INDM.IN
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
	Word Cat.	NP		RVP				
	Word Gloss	old Hamilton		there was one too				

allami			*nunami*		*kiani*			.
alla	-m	=i	nuna	-mi	*ki	-a	-ni	
different	1P.ERG	EXLM	land	LOCC.SG	AB1P	FTL	LOCC	
LEX	FM:PER	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
NP			NP		NP			
in different			land across		there upriver			

Free Old Hamilton had one too, a different village there upriver.

30	**Word** Nsk	*Tamakut*				*cat'a*		*neqkaraat*	,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ca	-ta	neqkaraa	-t
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	Q	PL.LF	any little bit of food	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP				NP		NP	
	Word Gloss	those ones				what things as		many foods	

tuskat-llu , *caneg* *aturarkanek* , *angyarkaanek*

tuska	-t	=llu	ca	-nek	aturar	-ka	-nek	angyar	-kaa	-nek
plank	PL	COO	Q	ABLC/INTC	article of clothing	material for	ABLC/INTC	boat	material for	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
NP			NP		NP			NP		
plywood too			many things		fabrics			boat materials		

tuaten *tamakunek*

t-	*u	-a	-ten	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP				NP			
like this				from over here			

pitangqutulruut *cararnek-llu* *kassaalinaraarnek*

pita	-ngqu	-tu	-lru	-u	-t	carar	-nek	=llu	kassaalinaraar	-nek
to be a certain size	to have N	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	a little bit	ABLC/INTC	COO	gasoline	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
RVP						NP			NP	
they would have						small amount too			of gasoline	

, *machine-anek-llu* *tuai*

machinea	-nek	=llu	t-	*u	-a	=i
snowmobile	ABLC/INTC	COO	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP			PAR			
machine parts too			that one!			

pitangqutuluni .

pita	-ngqu	-tu	-lu	-ni
to be a certain size	to have N	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				
they used to have around				

Free Those ones had things like prepared food, and plywood, many things, fabric, boat materials like this from over there, and they would have a small amount of gasoline too, and machine parts too, that they used to have there.

31 **Word** Nsk *Angliurallemni* ,

Word Eng						
Morphemes	angli	-ur	-a	-lle	-m	-ni
Lex. Gloss	to grow or become big	CONT	ITR	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NCP					
Word Gloss	when I was growing up					

tuai , *yugtun* , *yugturlainaq* *qanaaluta*

t-	*u	-a	=i	yug	-tun	yugtu	-rlainaq	qanaa	-lu	-ta
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	person	AEQC	in the Yup'ik lang.	nothing but	to speak	APPM	PL.LF
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
PAR				NP		NP		AVP		
that one!				in Yup'ik		only yup'ik		we all spoke		

taringsuunata-llu *kassatun* .

taring	-suu	-na	-ta	=llu	kassa	-tun
understand	never	APPM.NEG	PL.LF	COO	white person	AEQC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
AVP					NP	
could not understand					(in) English	

Free And when I was growing up, that one, in Yup'ik, only in Yup'ik would we speak, and we couldn't undersnad English.

32	**Word** Nsk	*Caliqlirlua*				*waniwa*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	caliq	-lir	-lu	-a	*w	-a	-ni	=wa
	Lex. Gloss	a job done	one who Vs	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
	Word Cat.	AVP				NP			
	Word Gloss	when I finally				this one here			

anglingengama *allrakunglua*

angli	-nge	-nga	-m	-a	allraku	-ng	-lu	-a
to grow or become big	to begin to V	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	year	to begin to V	APPM	ITR
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	LEX>LEX
NCP					AVP			
as I grew older					and my age reached			

arvinlegen *tua-llu* *naqiwiggmun* *iterlua* .

arvinlege	-n	t-	*u	-a	=llu	naqiwigg	-mun	iter	-lu	-a
six	PL	R<	I1	FTL	COO	school	ALLC.SG	to enter	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP		PAR				NP		AVP		
6 years old		and then				to the school		I entered		

Free When I finally, in this way, grew older, I grew to 6 years old and then I entered school.

33	**Word** Nsk	*Iterngama*				*tuai*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	iter	-nga	-m	-a	t-	*u	-a	=i
	Lex. Gloss	to enter	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	NCP				PAR			
	Word Gloss	when I entered				that one!			

qanrulluta *tuam* *naaqistemta* , *yugtun*

qanru	-llu	-ta	t-	*u	-a	=am	naaqiste	-m	-ta	yug	-tun
to tell	APPM	PL.LF	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	teacher	1P.ERG	PL.LF	person	AEQC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
AVP			PAR				PNP			NP	
they told us			that one				our teacher			in Yup'ik	

qanerngaituci *tamatum* *nalliini* ,

qaner	-ngait	-u	-t	-t	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
to speak	to not V in the future	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
RVP					NP				PAR
you will not speak					at that time				like at the time of

watum *nalliini* .

*wat	-u	-m	nalliini
I1	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
DEM			PAR
I1			like at the time of

Free When I entered that, our teacher told us: 'you will not speak Yup'ik' at that time, back at that time.

34 **Word** Nsk *Mani* *witainanerpecni* ,

Word Eng								
Morphemes	*ma	-a	-ni	wita	-inaner	-pet	-t	-ni
Lex. Gloss	I2	FTL	LOCC	to stay	CNJ(while)	2P.ERG	PL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP			NCP				
Word Gloss	here			as you all stay				

kassaturlianaq *tuam*

kassa	-tur	-lianaq	t-	*u	-a	=am
white person	to use	nothing but	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP			PAR			
nothing but English			that one			

qanerciquci .

qaner	-ciq	-u	-t	-t
to speak	FUT	INDM.IN	2P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP				
you will speak				

Free While you are living here, you will speak nothing but English, only that.

35	**Word** Nsk	*Kassatun*		*man'a*		*qanersaraq*	*man'a*		,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	kassa	-tun	*man	-na	qanersaraq	*man	-na	
	Lex. Gloss	white person	AEQC	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	language	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM	
	Word Cat.	NP		NP		NP	NP		
	Word Gloss	(in) English		this ones		language	this ones		

elpeci *eliitarqaaqaci* .

el	-pet	-t	eliit	-arqaaq	-a	-t	-t
social.distal	2P.ERG	PL	to learn	will or must be	INDM.TR	2P.ABS	PL
DEI	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PRO			RVP				
you all			will have to learn it				

Free This English language—this one—, you will all have to learn it.

36	**Word** Nsk	*Yugtun*		*qanquvci*				,	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	yug	-tun	qan	-qu	-vt	-t		
	Lex. Gloss	person	AEQC	to speak	CNJ (Conditional)	2P.ERG	PL		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM		
	Word Cat.	NP		NCP					
	Word Gloss	in Yup'ik		if you speak it					

elluarluci *aulukciqamcetci* ,

elluar	-lu	-t	-t	auluk	-ciq	-a	-m	-t	-t	-t	
to be perfect	APPM	2P.ABS	PL	to watch	FUT	INDM.TR	1P.ERG	PL	2P.ABS	PL	
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
AVP				RVP							
carefully				we will take care of you							

tawaten *qanernaunaci* *watawa*

ta-	*w	-a	-ten	qaner	-nau	-na	-t	-t	*wat	-a	=wa	
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to speak	HAB	APPM.NEG	2P.ABS	PL	I1	FTL	Anaphor	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	
NP				AVP					PAR			
like this				for you to not speak it					right now			

matum *nalliini* .

*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
NP			PAR
these			like at the time of

Free If you speak in Yup'ik, we will care for you carefully, for you cannot speak like this now, back at that time.

37	**Word** Nsk	*Nalluluta*			*ca'nek-a*			*yugtun*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	nallu	-lu	-ta	caa	-nek	=a	yug	-tun
	Lex. Gloss	to not know	APPM	PL.LF	Q	ABLC/INTC	GWP	person	AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	AVP			NP			NP	
	Word Gloss	We all did not know			with anything			in Yup'ik	

qanersaranek *tamatum* , *kassatun*

qaner	-sara	-nek	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	kassa	-tun
to speak	way of	ABLC/INTC	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	white person	AEQC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP			NP				NP	
words of speaking			at that time				(in) English / english	

qanersaranek *tamatum* *nalliini* ,

qaner	-sara	-nek	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
to speak	way of	ABLC/INTC	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
NP			NP				PAR
words of speaking			at that time				like at the time of

esskuularqamta *uitalallruukut* .

esskuular	-qa	-m	-ta	uita	-la	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
to go to school	CNJ (Constantive)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	to stay	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				RVP					
when we attended school, when we attended school				we just stayed still here					

Free We did not know any Yup'ik language at the time, English language like at the time when we attended school, we lived there.

38	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*taman*			,	*esskuulainanemni*				,
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	ta-	*ma	-na		esskuula	-inane	-m	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC		to go to school	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM		LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP				NCP				
	Word Gloss	also		PROX.EXT				while I go to school				

neqkanek *pitangqutullrunriituq* ,

neqka	-nek	pita	-ngqu	-tu	-llru	-nriit	-uq
food ready for consumption	ABLC/INTC	to be a certain size	to have N	to use	PST	NEG	INDM.IN
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
NP		RVP					
fish		was scarce					

mulruraanek , *wall'* *pingayuraanek* *tauguam*

mulruraa	-nek	wall'u	pingayuraa	-nek	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
two	ABLC/INTC	or	three	ABLC/INTC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
LEX	FM:GCF	PAR	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP		PAR	NP		PAR			
two		or	three		only			

neqkanek *esskuulainanemni* *uksuum*

neqka	-nek	esskuula	-inane	-m	-ni	uksuu	-m
food ready for consumption	ABLC/INTC	to go to school	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	LOCC	to become winter	ERGC
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP		NCP				NP	
meals		while I go to school				to become winter/with winters	

taktatciatun *neqenglallruukut* .

taktatci	-a	-tun	neqe	-ng	-la	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
duration	CNJ(to be)	AEQC	food	to begin to V	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP			RVP						
long season			we had that much food						

Free Also, that, while I went to school, food was scarce. Two or three meals only when I went to school during the long winters we had just that much food.

39	**Word** Nsk	*Massaararmek*		*cali-llu*		*cuggalirarnek*		,
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	massaarar	-mek	cali	=llu	cuggalirar	-nek	
	Lex. Gloss	mush	ABLC/INTC.SG	also	COO	cracker	ABLC/INTC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	PRT	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP		PAR		NP		
	Word Gloss	oatmeal		and also		crackers		

taukunek *tauguam* *kingan*

ta-	*u	-ku	-nek	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	kii	-nga	-n
R<	I1	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	only	3P.NOM.SGCOM	SG.LF
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				PAR				PNP		
those two				only				it's only		

esskuularqamta *uksurpak* *tuai*

esskuular	-qa	-m	-ta	uksur	-pak	t-	*u	-a	=i
to go to school	CNJ (Constantive)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	to become winter	big	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NCP				NP		PAR			
when we attended school, when we attended school				all winter		that one!			

neqeqluku *tuai*

neqe	-q	-lu	-ku	t-	*u	-a	=i
food	to have as one's N	APPM	1P.ABS	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP				PAR			
those were our foods				that one!			

nerlallruukut .

ner	-la	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
food	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					
we ate those					

Free Oatmeal, and also crackers, those two only, only while we attended school in the winter, those were our meals, that is what we ate.

40	**Word** Nsk	*Mulukuaraamek-llu*			*piaqameng*			
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	Mulukuaraa	-mek	=llu	pi	-aqa	-meg	-t
	Lex. Gloss	milk	ABLC/INTC.SG	COO	to do	CNJ (Constantive)	4P.ERG	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP			NCP			
	Word Gloss	milk too			when they have it			

makunek , *imkunek* *powder-anek*

*ma	-ku	-nek	*im	-ku	-nek	powdera	-nek
I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	I0	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	powdered milk	ABLC/INTC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP			NP			NP	
of these			them kind			powder brand	

imarluteng *tamakunek*

imar	-lu	-teg	-t	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
contents	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP				NP			
included				from over here			

meliluteng

me	-li	-lu	-teg	-t
water	one who Vs	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
they put water into it				

mulukuarcugcelallruitekut .

mulukuar	-cug	-ce	-la	-llru	-ite	-u	-ku	-t
milk	to want to V	compel or allow	HAB	PST	to experience it	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP								
and made us (we were made to) drink it (milk)								

Free And milk, when they had these kinds of powdered stuff from over there they put water into it and made us drink it.

41	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*taugkunek*				*kantirarnek*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	ta-	*ug	-ku	-nek	kantirar	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	R<	AR1E	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	candy	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP				NP	
	Word Gloss	also		from there those				candies	

ca'nek-a *iquliqerluku* ,

caa	-nek	=a	iqu	-li	-qer	-lu	-ku
Q	ABLC/INTC	GWP	end	one who Vs	simultaneously	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			AVP				
with anything			at last ending meal				

tamakut *tamani*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP				NP			
those ones				there			

neqelallruaput .

neqe	-la	-llru	-a	-pu	-t
food	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	1P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					
we would eat it/them					

Free And also candy from over there, at the end of any meal, we would eat those there.

42	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-llu*				*tamatum*				*nalliini*
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP				PRT
	Word Gloss	and then				at that time				like at the time of

arvinlegen		*allrakungerlua*				*aanairutka*		
arvinlege	-n	allraku	-nger	-lu	-a	aana	-irut	-ka
six	PL	year	to begin to V	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	mother	to no longer be	1P.NOM.SG
LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
NP		AVP				PNP		
6 years old		years old I became				my mother		

catairutellruuq						*tamatum*				*nalliini*
catai	-ir	-u	-te	-llru	-uq	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
absent	be deprived	to be N	suddenly	PST	INDM.IN	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
RVP						NP				PAR
died						at that time				like at the time of

.

Free And then, at the time when I became 6 years old, my mother died back then.

43	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-llu*				*upnercaurcan*				
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu	upner	-caurc	-a	-a	-n
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	to become spring	it is now V	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR				NCP				
	Word Gloss	and then				when spring came				

, *tuai* *qanruulunuk* *piipaqallu*

t-	*u	-a	=i	qanruu	-lu	-nuk	piipaqa	=llu
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	to tell	APPM	DU.LF	baby	COO
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	ENC
PAR				AVP			PNP	
that one!				we were told			my baby too	

tuai				*qanruulunuk*			*tuai*			
t-	*u	-a	=i	qanruu	-lu	-nuk	t-	*u	-a	=i
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	to tell	APPM	DU.LF	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR				AVP			PAR			
that one!				we were told			that one!			

asauciqniluta *natmun*

asa	-u	-ciq	-ni	-lu	ta	natmun
to go away	is	FUT	to claim that	APPM	1P.ABS	to where, somewhere
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX
AVP						NP
they will send us away						anywhere

esskuuliartuarkauluta *ayagluta* *maken* .

esskuuliar	-tu	-arkau	-lu	-ta	ayag	-lu	-ta	*ma	-a	-ken
to go to school	to V for some duration	supposed to	APPM	PL.LF	to begin	APPM	PL.LF	I2	FTL	FTL.ABLC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP					AVP			NP		
I attend school					we left			from here		

Free And then when spring came, we were told that, and my baby too—that one— we were told that they wll send us away somewhere because we were supposed to be at school, we left from here.

44	**Word** Nsk	*Ayaglua*			*maken*			*wangkuk*			
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	ayag	-lu	-a	*ma	-a	-ken	*ua	-nga	-ku	-k
	Lex. Gloss	to go away	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	I2	FTL	FTL.ABLC	I1	1P.ABS.SG	FTO.NS	to have as one's N
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	FM:PER	DEI>DEM	LEX>LEX
	Word Cat.	AVP			NP			PRO			
	Word Gloss	I left			from here			both of us			

piipiqallu , *kinguqliqa-llu* .

piipiqa	=llu	kinguqliqa	=llu
baby	COO	youngest sibling	COO
LEX	ENC	LEX	ENC
PNP		PRO	
my baby too		my younger sibling	

Free I left from here, both of us, my baby too, my younger sibling.

45	**Word** Nsk	*Uksurtengani*					,
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	uksur	-te	-nga	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	to become winter	suddenly	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NCP					
	Word Gloss	when spring arrived					

tamatum				*tuani*				,	*tengssuutem*	
ta-	*mat	-u	-m	t-	*u	-a	-ni		tengssuute	-m
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC		airplane	ERGC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF
NP				NP					NP	
at that time				there					a plane	

agum			*qavirliurluni*					*milluni*		
*ag	-u	-m	qavir	-li	-ur	-lu	-ni	mi	-llu	-ni
AD2E	FTO.SG	ERGC	red	one who Vs	CONT	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	landing from the air	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			AVP					AVP		
from far away			it was red					landed		

unavet			*kuigpagmun*		,	*tamatum*				*nalliini*	.
*un	-a	-vet	kuigpag	-mun		ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini	
AR2P	FTL	DEF.ALLC	Yukon River	ALLC.SG		R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	
NP			NP			NP				PAR	
down there			on the Yukon			at that time				like at the time of	

Free When spring arrived, at that time a red plane from far away landed down on the Yukon, back then.

46	**Word** Nsk	*Tengssuutengqelallruut*						*ataucemek*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	tengssuute	-ngqe	-la	-llru	-u	-t	atauce	-mek
	Lex. Gloss	airplane	to have N	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	PL	one	ABLC/INTC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	RVP						NP	
	Word Gloss	they had a plane						one	

tauguam				*qang'a-llu*		*malrunek-a*		
ta-	*ug	-u	=am	qang'a	=llu	malru	-nek	=a
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	no	COO	two	ABLC/INTC	GWP
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	PRT	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC
PAR				PAR		NP		
only				and without		two		

taigaqluni				*augkunek-a*				*kalikararnek*		*ca'nek*	
tai	-gaq	-lu	-ni	*aug	-ku	-nek	=a	kalikarar	-nek	ca'	-nek
to come	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	AD2P	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	GWP	paper	ABLC/INTC	Q	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
AVP				NP				NP		NP	
would come here				with those				mail		anything	

tailluni			.
tai	-llu	-ni	
to come	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
AVP			
it would bring			

Free They only had one plane, and not two, would come here with mail and anything it would bring.

47	**Word** Nsk	*Tamakucinek*					*qiivet*	
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-ci	-nek	qii	-vet
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	ABLC/INTC	outside or north	DEF.ALLC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP					NP	
	Word Gloss	those kinds					up north, from up north	

Ungalaqlernun		*asauluci*					*taugkun-llu*			
Ungalaqler	-nun	asa	-u	-lu	-t	-t	ta-	*ug	-kun	=llu
Unalakleet	ALLC	to go away	to be N	APPM	2P.ABS	PL	R<	AR1E	PRLC	COO
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	ENC
NP		AVP					NP			
Unalakleet		would send you all away					beginning from			

tuani *esskuulaawikamnun*

t-	*u	-a	-ni	esskuulaa	-wik	-a	-m	-nun
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	to go to school	place to V	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	ALLC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NP				NCP				
there				when we are at school location				

awavet-a , *Wrangle-amun* *ayaglua* .

*aw	-a	-vet	=a	Wranglea	-mun	ayag	-lu	-a
AD2P	FTL	DEF.ALLC	GWP	Wrangle	ALLC.SG	to go away	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				NP		AVP		
far away				to wrangle		I left		

Free Those kinds from up north in Unalakleet would send you all away and beginning from there, when we were at school far away, I left to Wrangle.

48	**Word** Nsk	*BIA-am*		*watum*			*aulukleniiluku*			
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	BIAa	-m	*wat	-u	-m	auluk	-lenii	-lu	-ku
	Lex. Gloss	BIA	ERGC	I1	FTO.SG	1P.ERG	to watch	apparently	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP		NP			AVP			
	Word Gloss	BIA		that			were in control			

tamana *esskuulaq* .

ta-	*ma	-na	esskuulaq
R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to go to school
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX
NP			NP
those			school

Free That BIA was in control of that school.

49	**Word** Nsk	*Tawani*				*ataam*	,	*cararnek*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*w	-a	-ni	ataam		carar	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	again		a little bit	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT		LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP				PAR		NP	
	Word Gloss	this one here				again		very little	

tuam *taringsaurlua* ,

t-	*u	-a	=am	taring	-saur	-lu	-a
R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	understand	it is now V	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PAR				AVP			
that one				I started understanding			

tuani *esskuuliananemni* , *kingunemni*

t-	*u	-a	-ni	esskuul	-ianane	-m	-ni	kingune	-m	-ni
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	to go to school	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	LOCC	home	1P.ERG	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NP				NCP				PNP		
there				while I was in school				in my home		

Caniliaremi , *amlleringnguarnek* .

Caniliare	-mi	amller	-ing	-nguar	-nek
Caneliak	LOCC.SG	to be many	to have no N	inauthentic	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
NP		NP			
in Chaneliak		but very very few			

Free This one here, again I only starting understanding that a little, there while I was at school, in my home in Caniliak, but only a small amount.

50

Word Nsk	*Taugken*			*tawani*			
Word Eng							
Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-ken	ta-	*w	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTL.ABLC	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP			NP			
Word Gloss	from there on			this one here			

taugken *tawani* ,

ta-	*ug	-ken	ta-	*w	-a	-ni
R<	AR1E	FTL.ABLC	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			NP			
from there on			this one here			

tawani				*Wrangle-ami*		*esskuularlua*		
ta-	*w	-a	-ni	Wranglea	-mi	esskuular	-lu	-a
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	Wrangle	LOCC.SG	to go to school	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				NP		AVP		
this one here				Wrangle		I attended school		

tuai				,	*man'a*		*mani*			,	*eighth grade-taq*
t-	*u	-a	=i		*man	-na	*ma	-a	-ni		eighth grade-taq
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM		I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	I2	FTL	LOCC		eighth grade
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX
PAR					NP		NP				NP
that one!					this ones		here				Eighth grade

tikiluku			.
tiki	-lu	-ku	
to arrive	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
AVP			
I reached it			

Free From there on, this, from there on here, this here, at Wrangl, I attended school —that one— this here 8th grade I reached.

51	**Word** Nsk	*Esskuuliananemni*				*cali*	,	*tuani*				,
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	esskuul	-ianane	-m	-ni	cali		t-	*u	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	to go to school	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	LOCC	also		R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	PRT		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NCP				PAR		NP				
	Word Gloss	while I was in school				also		there				

yugtun		*qanersaramek*			*inurqualuki*		
yug	-tun	qaner	-sara	-mek	inurqua	-lu	-ki
person	AEQC	to speak	way of	ABLC/INTC.SG	warn not to	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP		NP			AVP		
in Yup'ik		speaking			was instructed not to use		

tamatum .

ta-	*mat	-u	-m
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			
at that time			

Free Also, while I was at school there, we were instructed not to speak Yup'ik at that time.

52	**Word** Nsk	*Qansuirutukut*					*kiituani*	*kassaturlainaq*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	qan	-suiru	-tu	-ku	-t	kiituani	kassa	-tur	-lainaq
	Lex. Gloss	to speak	to no longer V	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	thereafter	white person	to use	nothing but
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PAR	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX
	Word Cat.	RVP					PAR	NP		
	Word Gloss	we stop speaking the language					thereafter	English		

tauguam *qanaaraqluta* .

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	qanaa	-raq	-lu	-ta
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	to speak	HAB	APPM	PL.LF
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
PAR				AVP			
only				we spoke			

Free We stopped speaking the language after that and only spoke English.

53	**Word** Nsk	*Man'a*		*mani*			,	*qanersaraput*			
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*man	-na	*ma	-a	-ni		qaner	-sara	-pu	-t
	Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	I2	FTL	LOCC		to speak	way of	1P.NOM	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP		NP				PNP			
	Word Gloss	this ones		here				our language			

waken *wani* , *BIA* *esskuulam*

*w	-a	-ken	*w	-a	-ni	BIA	esskuula	-m
I1	FTL	FTL.ABLC	I1	FTL	LOCC	BIA	to go to school	ERGC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX	FM:GCF
NP			NP			NP	NP	
from right			this here			BIA	school	

navgurulrua *qanersaraput* , *man'a* ,

navgur	-u	-lru	-a	-a	qaner	-sara	-pu	-t	*man	-na
destroy	to be N	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	to speak	way of	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM
RVP					PNP				NP	
destroyed					our language				this ones	

elliat *ayagneqluku* *tuaten* *yugtun*

elli	-a	-t	ayagneq	-lu	-ku	t-	*u	-a	-ten	yug	-tun
3.SG	3P.ERG	PL	to begin	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	person	AEQC
pn	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
PRO			AVP			NP				NP	
they			started			like this				in Yup'ik	

qansuirutengngellruut *mai* .

qan	-suirute	-ngnge	-llru	-u	-t	*ma	-a	=i
to speak	to no longer V	to begin to V	PST	to be N	PL	I2	FTL	EXLM
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
RVP						PAR		
they stop speaking						now days		

Free This here, our language right here, the BIA school destroyed our language—this one— they began to only speak in Yup'ik now days.

54 **Word** Nsk *Qavciraurtukut*

Word Eng						
Morphemes	qavci	-ra	-urt	-u	-ku	-t
Lex. Gloss	how many	just a little bit	INCH	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	RVP					
Word Gloss	very few of us					

tauguam *waniwa* , *kingunemteni*

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	kingune	-m	-te	-ni
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	home	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
PAR				NP				PNP			
only				now				in our homes			

wani , *Qerruliggmiuni* *yugtun* *qanersaraq* ,

*w	-a	-ni	Qerruligg	-miu	-ni	yug	-tun	qanersaraq
I1	FTL	LOCC	Kotlik	resident of	LOCC	person	AEQC	language
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX
NP			NP			NP		NP
here			Kotlik residents			in Yup'ik		language

qanersarangertukut *man'a* .

qanersaraq	-nger	-tu	-ku	-t	*man	-na
language	to begin to V	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM
RVP					NP	
we got our language					this ones	

Free Only very few of us, now, in our homes—here, the people of Kotlik speak the Yup'ik language—this.

55	**Word** Nsk	*Tuam*				*tuani*				,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=am	t-	*u	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP				
	Word Gloss	that one				there				

umyuarniurlartua *cakneq* , *ciin* *waten* ,

umyuar	-niur	-lar	-tu	-a	cakneq	ciin	*w	-a	-ten	
thought	endure	HAB	to use	ITR	very hard	why	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	PRT	PAR	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
RVP					PAR	PAR	NP			
I always think lots about					very hard	how come	like this			

qanersaraput *man'a* *kataraluku* *ataam*

qaner	-sara	-pu	-t	*man	-na	katar	-a	-lu	-ku	ataam
to speak	way of	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to fall out	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	again
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	PRT
PNP				NP		AVP				PAR
our language				this ones		after dropping it				again

utetmun *ataam* *tegungnaqluki*

utert	-mun	ataam	tegu	-ng	-naq	-lu	-ki
to return	ALLC.SG	again	to take or pick up	to begin to V	one that causes V-ing	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:GCF	PRT	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP		PAR	AVP				
returning it		again	and trying to get it back				

pilranek .

pi	-lra	-nek
to do	(old) thing of N	ABLC/INTC
LEX	R>R	FM:GCF
NP		
like that		

Free This here, I always think very hard about it, how come our language like this—this one— after dropping it again, returning to it again and trying to get it back like this?

56	**Word Nsk**	*Umyuaqa*		*tamana*		
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	umyua	-qa	ta-	*ma	-na
	Lex. Gloss	thought	1P.NOM.SG	R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
	Word Cat.	PNP		NP		
	Word Gloss	my thoughts		those		

assiilinanriituq *tamatum* *nalliini* ,

assii	-li	-nanrii	-tuq	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
to be good; to be nice; to be well	CAUS	stop forever	INDM.IN	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
RVP				NP				PAR
is not good (stopped causing good)				at that time				like at the time of

yuuyaraput *man'a* *yugtun* *qanersaraq* .

yuu	-yara	-pu	-t	*man	-na	yug	-tun	qanersaraq
live	way of	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	person	AEQC	language
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX
PNP				NP		NP		NP
our way of life				this ones		in Yup'ik		language

Free Those are my thoughts, it stopped causing good, the Yupi'k way of life, this Yup'ik language.

57										
Word Nsk	*Assikluku*			,	*takaqluku-llu*					
Word Eng										
Morphemes	assik	-lu	-ku		takaq	-lu	-ku	=llu		
Lex. Gloss	to be good; to be nice; to be well	APPM	3P.ACC.SG		to be respectful	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	COO		
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	ENC		
Word Cat.	AVP				AVP					
Word Gloss	enjoy and approve				by respecting it					

pilallruamta *tamatum* *nalliini* .

pi	-la	-llru	-a	-m	-ta	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
to do	HAB	PST	CNJ(to be)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
NCP						NP				PAR
we always did						at that time				like at the time of

Free We enjoyed it, and we always respected it back then.

58												
Word Nsk	*Tauguam*				*ukut*			*wani*				
Word Eng												
Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni		
Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC		
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		
Word Cat.	PAR				NP			NP				
Word Gloss	only				these			this here				

BIA-am , *allarquuteni* *maliggtaquluki*

BIAa	-m	alla	-rq	-uu	-te	-ni	maliggtaqu	-lu	-ki
BIA	ERGC	different	deliberate	is	PL	LOCC	to obey	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP		NP					AVP		
BIA		by their rules					following their way		

piataa , *tamana*

pi	-a	-ta	-a	ta-	*ma	-na
to do	ITR	INDM.TR	3P.NOM.SGCOM	R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
RVP				NP		
we did (it did it)				those		

tamani *katagtulluarput* .

ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	katag	-tu	-llu	-ar	-pu	-t
R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	to fall out	to use	PST	INDM.TR	1P.NOM	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				RVP					
there				we lost our language					

Free Only this here BIA, as we followed their rules—those there— we lost our language.

59	**Word** Nsk	*Wata-waniwa*						, *wani*			
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*wat	-a	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	*w	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP						NP			
	Word Gloss	right now here						this here			

kingunemteni , *yuut* , *ukut* *wani*

kingune	-m	-te	-ni	yuu	-t	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni	
home	1P.ERG	PL	LOCC	person	PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC	
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
PNP				NP		NP			NP			
in our homes				people		these			this here			

yuuyuralriit , *ayagyuaput* , *kassaturlianaq*

yuu	-yura	-lria	-a	-t	ayagyua	-pu	-t	kassa	-tur	-lianaq	
person	way of	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL	adolecent	1P.NOM	PL	white person	to use	nothing but	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	
RVP					PNP			NP			
one's who are young					and teenagers			in English			

tuam *qanerlartut* .

t-	*u	-a	=am	qaner	-lar	-tu	-t
R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	to speak	HAB	INDM.IN	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
PAR				RVP			
that one				they speak			

Free Right now here, here in our homes, these people here, those which are young, and teenagers, they all speak English—that one—.

60 **Word** Nsk *Kavciraat* *tauguam*
Word Eng
Morphemes kavci -raa -t ta- *ug -u =am
Lex. Gloss how many just a little bit PL R< AR1E FTO.SG EMPH
Lex. Gram. Info. LEX LEX>LEX FM:NUM DEI:(Displacement) DEI DEI>DEM ENC
Word Cat. NP PAR
Word Gloss very few only

waniwa , *amlleriruanek* *wangkuta*

*w	-a	-ni	=wa	amller	-iru	-a	-nek	wang	-ku	-ta
I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	to be many	to no longer be	3P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	I1	1P.ABS	PL.LF
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				PNP				PRO		
this one here				not to many				1.PL		

yugturlianaq *qanaalartukut* .

yug	-tur	-lianaq	qanaa	-lar	-tu	-ku	-t
person	to use	nothing but	to speak	HAB	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			RVP				
only in Yup'ik			we speak				

Free Only very few here, not too many of us speak Yup'ik.

61 **Word** Nsk *Cali-llu* *mumigtaqluki* *makut* *maani*
Word Eng
Morphemes cali =llu mumigtaq -lu -ki *ma -ku -t *ma -a -ni
Lex. Gloss also COO translation APPM 3P.ACC.PL I2 FTO.NS PL I2 FTL LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info. PRT ENC LEX FM:APP FM:PER DEI DEI>DEM FM:NUM DEI DEI>DEM FM:GCF
Word Cat. PAR AVP NP NP
Word Gloss also translate these here

qanersaraput , *tamatum* *nalliini* ,

qaner	-sara	-pu	-t	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
to speak	way of	1P.NOM	PL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
PNP				NP				PAR
our language				at that time				like at the time of

tuai *tawaten*

t-	*u	-a	=i	ta-	*w	-a	-ten
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PAR				NP			
that one!				like this			

qanerlarput *waten* .

qaner	-lar	-pu	-t	*w	-a	-ten
to speak	HAB	1P.NOM	PL	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PNP				NP		
our language				like this		

Free And also translate these ways of speaking. Back then, that one like this language. like this,

62	**Word** Nsk	*Wrangle-amek*		*taqngama*				, *Mount-Edgecumbe-amun*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	Wranglea	-mek	taq	-nga	-m	-a	Mount.Edgecumbe.a	-mun
	Lex. Gloss	Wrangle	ABLC/INTC.SG	to quit	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	Mount Edgecumbe	ALLC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP		NCP				NP	
	Word Gloss	from Wrangle		when I completed				Mount Edgecumbe	

ayaglua , *high school-anun*

ayag	-lu	-a	high school a	-nun
to begin	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	high school	ALLC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
AVP			NP	
in my beginning			to the high school	

esskuulaliartullrunga .

esskuula	-liar	-tu	-llru	-u	-nga
to go to school	to participate in	to use	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
RVP					
I attended for school					

Free When I finished at wrangle, I began at Mount Edgecumbe, I attended for high school.

63	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*taugken*			*tuani*				,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	ta-	*ug	-ken	t-	*u	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	R<	AR1E	FTL.ABLC	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP			NP				
	Word Gloss	also		from there on			there				

graduate-aama *awani* *1964-ami* ,

graduatea	-a	-m	-a	*aw	-a	-ni	1964a	-mi
graduate	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	AD2P	FTL	LOCC	1964	LOCC.SG
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP				NP			NP	
I graduated				at there			of 1964	

uterlua *mavet* *kingunemni* .

uter	-lu	-a	*ma	-a	-vet	kingune	-m	-ni
to return	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	home	1P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
AVP			NP			PNP		
and I returned			here			in my home		

Free And also, after that, I graduated there in 1964 and I return here to my home.

64	**Word** Nsk	*Ataairuturluqa*				
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	ata	-irut	-ur	-luq	-ka
	Lex. Gloss	father	to no longer be	CONT	departed from natural state	1P.NOM.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	AVP				
	Word Gloss	my (deceased) father				

tuani *ikaiyualuku*

t-	*u	-a	-ni	ikaiyu	-a	-lu	-ku
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	to help; to bless	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				AVP			
there				I helped him			

tuai *ca'nek-a*

t-	*u	-a	=i	caa	-nek	=a
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	Q	ABLC/INTC	GWP
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC
PAR				NP		
that one!				with anything		

ikaiyunaqellruan

ikaiyu	-naqe	-llru	-a	-a	-n
to help; to bless	to tend to cause one to (feel) V	PST	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP					
because he needed help					

tamatum *nalliini* , *kingunemni* *mani*

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini	kingune	-m	-ni	*ma	-a	-ni
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of	home	1P.ERG	LOCC	I2	FTL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP				PRT	PNP			NP		
at that time				like at the time of	in my home			here		

uitalua .

uita	-lu	-a
to stay	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP		
I stayed		

Free I helped my late father there—that one—with anything because he needed help back then when I was living at home.

65.1

Word Nsk	*Ikaiyuqerluku*			*ca'nek*	.
Word Eng					
Morphemes	ikaiyuqer	-lu	-ku	ca'	-nek
Lex. Gloss	to help; to bless	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	Q	ABLC/INTC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	AVP			NP	
Word Gloss	I helped him			anything	

Free I halped him with anything.

65.2	**Word** Nsk	*Pissuryaranek-llu*				*makunek*			*eliilua*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	pissur	-yara	-nek	=llu	*ma	-ku	-nek	elii	-lu	-a
	Lex. Gloss	to hunt	way of	ABLC/INTC	COO	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to learn	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP				NP			AVP		
	Word Gloss	hunting skills too				of these			I learned		

mani , *tangvalallruamki* ,

*ma	-a	-ni	tangva	-la	-llru	-a	-m	-ki
I2	FTL	LOCC	to look at	HAB	PST	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	3P.ACC.PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER
NP			TCP					
here			because I watched them					

agkut *anngangka* *pissurturlallret*

*ag	-ku	-t	annga	-ngka	pissur	-tur	-la	-llr	-a	-t
AD2E	FTO.NS	PL	older brother	1P.NOM.SG	to hunt	to use	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			PNP		NCP					
those across there			older brothers of mine		whenever using hunting skills					

.

Free And I learned these hunting skills here, because I watched my older brothers over there whenever they used their hunting skills.

66	**Word** Nsk	*Tua*			*tamatum*			
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	ta-	*mat	-u	-m
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR			NP			
	Word Gloss	and then			at that time			

eliilua *imarpik-llu* *unani* *pissuryaraput*

elii	-lu	-a	imarpik	=llu	*un	-a	-ni	pissur	-yara	-pu	-t
to learn	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	ocean	COO	AR2P	FTL	LOCC	to hunt	way of	1P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			NP		NP			PNP			
I learned			the ocean too		down coast			our hunting grounds			

unani *eliiluki* *qayuga* *neqket* ,

*un	-a	-ni	elii	-lu	-ki	qayuga	neqke	-t
AR2P	FTL	LOCC	to learn	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	how	food ready for consumption	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX	FM:NUM
NP			AVP			PAR	NP	
down coast			I learned them too			how	fish	

makut *aturluki* , *ukut* *wani* ,

*ma	-ku	-t	atur	-lu	-ki	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni
I2	FTO.NS	PL	to use	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			AVP			NP			NP		
these			we use			these			this here		

ilangka *ukut* *ikaiyualuki* .

ila	-ngka	*u	-ku	-t	ikaiyu	-a	-lu	-ki
relative	1P.NOM.SG	I1	FTO.NS	PL	to help; to bless	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PNP		NP			AVP			
my relatives		these			I helped them			

Free And then at that time I learned the ocean too, down the coast at our hunting grounds down the coast I learned how to fish too. We used these skills here and I helped my family.

67 **Word** Nsk *Cali-llu* , *aipanglua* ,

Word Eng

Morphemes	cali	=llu	aipa	-ng	-lu	-a
Lex. Gloss	also	COO	counterparts (esp. white people)	to begin to V	APPM	SG.LF.1
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	PAR		AVP			
Word Gloss	also		I married			

umek , *qamaken* , *angyani*

*u	-u	-mek	*qam	-a	-ken	angya	-ni
I1	FTO.SG	ABLC/INTC.SG	AB0P	FTL	FTL.ABLC	boat	LOCC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP			NP			NP	
this one			from up river			in the boats	

calilallruama *paacami* .

cali	-la	-llru	-a	-m	-a	paaca	-mi
to work	HAB	PST	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	barge	LOCC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP						NP	
because I worked						in the barge	

Free And also, I married one from up river, on a boat because I worked on the barge.

68	**Word** Nsk	*Utertauluci*					*makunek*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	utert	-au	-lu	-t	-t	*ma	-ku	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	to return	contine for a long time	APPM	2P.ABS	PL	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	AVP					NP		
	Word Gloss	Back and forth we went					of these		

neqkaitnek , *nunacuaraat*

neqka	-i	-t	-nek	nuna	-cuar	-a	-a	-t
food ready for consumption	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	land	a little bit	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				NCP				
for their food				passing small villages				

qatwatmun , *Masserculleq* *tikiluku* .

*qa	-a	-t	*w	-a	-tmun	Masserculleq	tiki	-lu	-ku
AB2P	FTL	PL	I1	FTL	INDF.ALLC	Marshall	to arrive	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX>LEX	LEX	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP						NP	AVP		
towards the one up river						to Marshall	I reached it		

Free We went back and forth with food, passing small villages up river until I came to Marshall.

69	**Word** Nsk	*Aiyuqlallrukut*					
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	aiyuq	-la	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	to resemble	HAB	PST	to be N	1P.ABS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	RVP					
	Word Gloss	we did the same thing					

tamatum *tamakucinek* ,

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	ta-	*ma	-ku	-ci	-nek
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NP				NP				
at that time				with those				

tamaken , *calilua* *tauten* ,

ta-	*ma	-a	-ken	cali	-lu	-a	ta-	*u	-ten
R<	I2	FTL	FTL.ABLC	to work	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	R<	I1	FTL.AEQC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF
NP				AVP			NP		
starting that time				I worked			like this		

akingnguanglallrukut .

aking	-ngu	-a	-ng	-la	-llru	-u	-ku	-t
to earn money	one that V-s	ITR	to begin to V	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP								
we all earned our pay								

Free We did those things back then with those, starting at that time, I worked like this and made an income.

70	**Word** Nsk	*Aipaqa-llu*			*unawani*				
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	aipa	-qa	=llu	*u	-na	*w	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	counterparts (esp. white people)	1P.NOM.SG	COO	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	I1	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			NP				
	Word Gloss	and (my) spouse			this one here				

aipaqliutellemegni .

aipaq	-li	-ute	-lle	-meg	-ni
counterparts (esp. white people)	one who Vs	with another	CNJ (Contemporative)	4P.ERG	to claim that
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	LEX>LEX
NCP					
when we became as one					

Free My spouse too, this one here, when we became as one.

71	**Word** Nsk	*Waken*			*wani*			,
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ken	*w	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.ABLC	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP			NP			
	Word Gloss	I1			this here			

neqsuyaramek , *neqlitulruuq*

neq	-su	-yara	-mek	neq	-li	-tu	-lru	-uq
food	to be able to V well	way of	ABLC/INTC.SG	food	one who Vs	HAB	PST	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
NP				RVP				
commercial fishing				was very plenty *we would prepare fish				

tawatum , *awani* *tarsaqviit-llu*

ta-	*wat	-u	-m	*aw	-a	-ni	tarsaqvii	-t	=llu
R<	I1	FTO.SG	ERGC	AD2P	FTL	LOCC	king salmon	PL	COO
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	ENC
NP				NP			NP		
around there				at there			king salmon too		

makut , *neqket* *amllerluteng* .

*ma	-ku	-t	neqke	-t	amller	-lu	-teg	-t
I2	FTO.NS	PL	food ready for consumption	PL	to be many	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NP		AVP			
these			fish		were very many in amount			

Free This commercial fishing here, we would prepare fish around there, and king salmon too there, the fish were very plentiful.

72	**Word** Nsk	*Ukut*			*wani*			*NC Company-iit*	,	*neqnek*	
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni	NC Companyii	-t	neq	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC	NC Company	PL	food	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			NP			NP		NP	
	Word Gloss	these			this here			NC Company		some fish	

kiputuluteng *cali* *company-iit* *allat*

kipu	-tu	-lu	-teg	-t	cali	companyii	-t	alla	-t
to buy	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	also	company	PL	different	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM
AVP					PAR	NP		NP	
would buy					also	companies		different things	

amlleriluteng .

amller	-i	-lu	-teg	-t
to be many	to V something	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
became more				

Free This here NC Company would buy a lot of fish, also different companies got more.

73	**Word** Nsk	*Neqsurlua*				*tuam*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	neq	-sur	-lu	-a	t-	*u	-a	=am
	Lex. Gloss	food	tend to	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	AVP				PAR			
	Word Gloss	I fished				that one			

tamatum *waten* , *akiinek*

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	*w	-a	-ten	akii	-nek
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	money	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP				NP			NP	
at that time				like this			like money	

unanglallrunga .

unang	-la	-llru	-u	-nga
to obtain something	HAB	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
RVP				
I used to earn				

Free I fish that at that time, I used to earn money like this.

74	**Word** Nsk	*Qiivet-llu*			*aiyaglua*			*iqalluarpanek*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	qii	-vet	=llu	aiyag	-lu	-a	iqalluarpa	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	outside or north	DEF.ALLC	COO	to go away	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	herring	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			AVP			NP	
	Word Gloss	up north too			I left			herrings	

pissuraqlua *tuai* .

pissur	-aq	-lu	-a	t-	*u	-a	=i
to hunt	HAB	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP				PAR			
I often hunt				that one!			

Free And i left for up north to go hunt herrings—that one—

75	**Word** Nsk	*Ukut*			*wani*			,	*irniangka*		*wani*		
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni		irnia	-ngka	*w	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC		children	1P.NOM.SG	I1	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			NP				PNP		NP		
	Word Gloss	these			this here				my children		this here		

anglingengata , *tallimanek*

angli	-nge	-nga	-ta	tallima	-nek
to grow or become big	to begin to V	CNJ (because/when)	PL.LF	five	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP				NP	
as they grew up				five	

irniaqellrunga *tuai* , *malrunek*

irniaqe	-llru	-u	-nga	t-	*u	-a	=i	malru	-nek
children	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	two	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
RVP				PAR				NP	
children I had				that one!				two	

tuam *waniwa* *arnaraaleranek*

t-	*u	-a	=am	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	arnaraa	-lera	-nek
R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	girl	the one who is V-ing	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
PAR				NP				NP		
that one				this one here				young girls		

kimallertut .

kimaller	-tu	-t
be alone	INDM.IN	PL
LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
RVP		
are now alone		

Free These here children, here as they grew up, I had five children, two that are here, young girls who are now alone.

76 **Word** Nsk *Pingayun* *augkut* *qetunrangka* , *akacarluteng*

Word Eng											
Morphemes	pingayun	*aug	-ku	-t	qetunra	-ngka		akacar	-lu	-teg	-t
Lex. Gloss	three	AD2P	FTO.NS	PL	son	1P.NOM.SG		accident	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP	NP			PNP			AVP			
Word Gloss	three	those			my sons			had accidents			

tayima *tamarmeng* *nangellruut* .

ta-	*yim	-a	tamar	-meg	-t	nange	-llru	-u	-t
R<	I0	FTL	all	4P.ERG	PL	be no more	PST	INDM.IN	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
PAR			PNP			RVP			
are gone			all of them			are not here			

Free The other three, my sons, they had accidents and are gone, they are all not here.

77 **Word** Nsk *Anglirillratni*

Word Eng						
Morphemes	angli	-ri	-llr	-a	-t	-ni
Lex. Gloss	to grow or become big	to V something	CNJ (Contemporative)	3P.ERG	PL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NCP					
Word Gloss	when they grow up					

tamatum *nalliini* , *irniangka* *ukut*

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini		irnia	-ngka	*u	-ku	-t
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of		children	1P.NOM.SG	I1	FTO.NS	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT		LEX	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
NP				PAR		PNP		NP		
at that time				like at the time of		my children		these		

makunek *yuuyarakaitnek*

*ma	-ku	-nek	yuu	-yara	-ka	-i	-t	-nek	
I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	live	way of	to have as one's N	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	
NP			PNP						
of these			for their living						

elicarluki , *elicarlallruangka* *mani*

elicar	-lu	-ki	elicar	-la	-llru	-a	-ngka	*ma	-a	-ni		
to teach	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to teach	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	1P.NOM.SG	I2	FTL	LOCC		
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		
AVP			RVP					NP				
I taught them			I used to teach them					here				

nunam *qaingani* *ca'nek* *elitellemnek*

nuna	-m	qai	-nga	-ni	ca'	-nek	elite	-lle	-m	-nek	
land	ERGC	surface	3P.NOM.SGCOM	LOCC	Q	ABLC/INTC	to learn	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
NP		PNP			NP		NP				
of the land		surface			anything		that I learned				

ukutnek *angaiyuqaumnek*

*u	-ku	-t	-nek	angaiyuqa	-u	-m	-nek
I1	FTO.NS	PL	ABLC/INTC	parent	to be N	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NP				PNP			
from these				parents of mine			

anngairutemnek-llu *makunek* .

annga	-irute	-m	-nek	=llu	*ma	-ku	-nek
older brother	to no longer be	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	COO	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PNP					NP		
and my (deseased) older brothers					of these		

Free At the time when they grew up, my children—these— I taught them how to live, I used to teach them of the landscape, anything that I learned from my parents and my late older brothers—these.

78 **Word** Nsk *Cali-llu* *ukut* *ilaitnek* ,

Word Eng									
Morphemes	cali	=llu	*u	-ku	-t	ilai	-t	-nek	
Lex. Gloss	also	COO	I1	FTO.NS	PL	relative	PL	ABLC/INTC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	PAR		NP			NP			
Word Gloss	also		these			of their relatives			

tamakunek *tamani* *murelkelluki*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	murilke	-llu	-ki
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	attention	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				NP				AVP		
from over here				there				I paid attention		

imarpigmiutanek *unkunek* *pissuryaranek*

imarpig	-miu	-ta	-nek	*un	-ku	-nek	pissur	-yara	-nek	
ocean	resident of	PL.LF	ABLC/INTC	AR2P	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to hunt	way of	ABLC/INTC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	
NP				NP			NP			
to the ocean animals				DEM / those ocean ones			hunting skills			

taukut *tuani* *qetunrangka*

ta-	*u	-ku	-t	t-	*u	-a	-ni	qetunra	-ngka
R<	I1	FTO.NS	PL	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	son	1P.NOM.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER
NP				NP				PNP	
those one's				there				my sons	

elicarlallruangka .

elicar	-la	-llru	-a	-ngka
to teach	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	1P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
RVP				
I used to teach them				

Free And also of these their relatives, from over there, I brought attention to those ocean animals, with those hunting skills there I used to teach my sons.

79

Word Nsk	*Makut-llu*				*kuigaat*				*makut*		
Word Eng											
Morphemes	*ma	-ku	-t	=llu	kuig	-a	-a	-t	*ma	-ku	-t
Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.NS	PL	COO	river	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
Word Cat.	NP				NCP				NP		
Word Gloss	DEM				as rivers				these		

, *atretnek* *tamakunek* *elicaraqluki*

atre	-t	-nek	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	elicar	-aq	-lu	-ki
name	PL	ABLC/INTC	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to teach	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			NP				AVP			
of the names			these				I would teach them			

tuai , *asautaqluki* *qiivet* .

t-	*u	-a	=i	asa	-ut	-aq	-lu	-ki	qii	-vet
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	begin	with another	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	outside or north	DEF.ALLC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
PAR				AVP					NP	
that one!				and bring them					up north, from up north	

Free And these rivers—these— the names of these I would teach them that, and bring them up north.

80

Word Nsk	*Machine-nangamta*					, *machine-anek*	
Word Eng							
Morphemes	machine	-na	-nga	-m	-ta	machinea	-nek
Lex. Gloss	snowmobile	VOL	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	snowmobile	ABLC/INTC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NCP					NP	
Word Gloss	when we got a machine					machines	

makunek *pingellruamta*

*ma	-ku	-nek	pi	-nge	-llru	-a	-m	-ta
I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to do	to begin to V	PST	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	PL.LF
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NCP					
of these			we came to own					

tamatum *aka'awani* .

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	aka	*aw	-a	-ni
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	DIST	AD2P	FTL	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP				NP			
at that time				DIST			

Free When we got a machine, these machines we came to own at that time ...

81	**Word** Nsk	*Snow-machine-anek*		,	*angyanek-llu*			,	*makunek*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	snow.machine.a	-nek		angya	-nek	=llu		*ma	-ku	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	snowmobile	ABLC/INTC		boat	ABLC/INTC	COO		I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF	ENC		DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			NP				NP		
	Word Gloss	snow machines			and boats				of these		

pingluta .

pi	-ng	-lu	-ta
to do	to begin to V	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
AVP			
we owned			

Free We owned these snow machines and boats too.

82	**Word** Nsk	*Tamakutgun*					*tamaani*			
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	-gun	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	PRLC	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP					NP			
	Word Gloss	DEM					PROX.EXT			

aiyataqluki *qiivet* , *pissuryaranek*

aiya	-taq	-lu	-ki	qii	-vet	pissur	-yara	-nek
to go away	DIM	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	outside or north	DEF.ALLC	to hunt	way of	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
AVP				NP		NP		
I brought them				from up north		hunting skills		

makunek *elicarluki* , *kingunemta*

*ma	-ku	-nek	elicar	-lu	-ki	kingune	-m	-ta
I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to teach	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	home	1P.ERG	PL.LF
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			AVP			PNP		
of these			I taught them			family at home		

neqkaitnek , *cali-llu* , *tengmianek*

neqka	-i	-t	-nek	cali	=llu	tengmia	-nek
food ready for consumption	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	also	COO	fowl	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	PRT	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
NP				PAR		NP	
for their food				and again		birds	

makunek *upnerkami* *pissuraqluteng*

*ma	-ku	-nek	upnerka	-mi	pissur	-aq	-lu	-teg	-t
I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to become spring	LOCC.SG	to hunt	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NP		AVP				
of these			in the spring		often hunt				

tamakunek .

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			
these			

Free From here to there I brought them up north, I taught them of these hunting skills, food for family at homes, and also of the birds, these that are hunted in the spring.

83	**Word** Nsk	*Asauluki*				*ukut*			*wani*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	asa	-u	-lu	-ki	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	to go away	to be N	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	AVP				NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	I brought them				these			this here		

qetunrangka *eliicaqluki* .

qetunra	-ngka	eliica	-aq	-lu	-ki
son	1P.NOM.SG	to teach	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PNP		AVP			
my sons		I would teach them			

Free I brought these my sons here, I would teach them.

84	**Word** Nsk	*Anglingaata-llu*					*waten*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	angli	-nga	-a	-ta	=llu	*w	-a	-ten
	Lex. Gloss	to grow or become big	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	COO	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NCP					NP		
	Word Gloss	when they grew up					like this		

esskuulamek *mani* *Qerrullirmi* .

esskuula	-mek	*ma	-a	-ni	Qerrullir	-mi
to go to school	ABLC/INTC.SG	I2	FTL	LOCC	Kotlik	LOCC.SG
LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP		NP			NP	
in the school they attended		here			Kotlik	

Free When they grew up, they attended school like this here in Kotlik.

85	**Word** Nsk	*Tamani*				*1959-ami*	
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	1959.a	-mi
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	1959	LOCC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP				NP	
	Word Gloss	there				in 1959	

nuggtartellrukut *mani* ,

nuggtarte	-llru	-u	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni
move on from one place to another	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP					NP		
we moved					here		

mavet *Canilianek* .

*ma	-a	-vet	Canilia	-nek
I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	Caneliak	ABLC/INTC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP			NP	
here			to Caneliak	

Free There, in 1959, we moved here, up here to Caneliak.

86	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*allat*		*nunat*		*ukut*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	alla	-t	nuna	-t	*u	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	different	PL	land	PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP		NP		NP		
	Word Gloss	also		different things		villages		these		

Pastulirmiut , *Kangirkilngiurmiut* , *Nunapiggluggarmiut-llu*

Pastulir	-miu	-t	Kangirkilngiur	-miu	-t	Nunapiggluggar	-miu	-t	=llu
Pastolik	resident of	PL	Bill Moore Slough	resident of	PL	Old Hamilton	resident of	PL	COO
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	ENC
NP			NP			NP			
people of Pastolik			people of Bills Moore Slough			people of Old Hamilton too			

mavet *nuggtarluki* *ikani* .

*ma	-a	-vet	nuggtar	-lu	-ki	*ik	-a	-ni
I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	move on from one place to another	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	AD1E	FTL	LOCC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			AVP			NP		
here			they moved			across there		

Free And also different villages, the people of Pastolik, of Bill Moores Slough, and the people of Old Hamilton moved here and over there.

87	**Word** Nsk	*BIA-aq*	*naaqiwuingellruuq*				*malrunek*		*Elementary-esskuulanek*	
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	BIA-aq	naaqiwui	-nge	-llru	-uq	malru	-nek	Elementary.esskuula	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	BIA	school	to begin to V	PST	INDM.IN	two	ABLC/INTC	Elementary school	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP	RVP				NP		NP	
	Word Gloss	BIA	had begun to get schools				two		Elementary school	

naaqiwuingellruuq *tamani* *1959-ami* .

naaqiwui	-nge	-llru	-uq	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	1959.a	-mi
school	to begin to V	PST	INDM.IN	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	1959	LOCC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
RVP				NP				NP	
had built schools				there				in 1959	

Free The BIA had built two Elementary schools there in 1959.

88	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-llu*					*taugken*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu		ta-	*ug	-ken
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO		R<	AR1E	FTL.ABLC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR					NP		
	Word Gloss	and then					from there on		

tuani *aiyagluteng* ,

t-	*u	-a	-ni	aiyag	-lu	-teg	-t
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	begin	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				AVP			
there				beginning			

piuraqluteng *ukunek* *high school-aneng*

piuraq	-lu	-teg	-t	*u	-ku	-nek	high school a	-neg	-t
keep on acting as one is	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	I1	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	high school	4P.ERG	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				NP			PNP		
they kept working				those			high school		

naparciluteng *mani* .

napar	-ci	-lu	-teg	-t	*ma	-a	-ni
to be erect	FUT	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP					NP		
they build					here		

Free And from there on, beginning from there, they kept working on those, building a high school here.

89											
Word Nsk	*Naparcilruat*					*tamatum*					
Word Eng											
Morphemes	napar	-ci	-lru	-a	-t	ta-	*mat	-u	-m		
Lex. Gloss	to be erect	FUT	PST	INDM.TR	PL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC		
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		
Word Cat.	RVP					NP					
Word Gloss	they build it					at that time					

nalliini , *ukut* *irniangka* *esskuulaluteng*

nalliini	*u	-ku	-t	irnia	-ngka	esskuula	-lu	-teg	-t
like at the time of	I1	FTO.NS	PL	children	1P.NOM.SG	to go to school	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PAR	NP			PNP		AVP			
like at the time of	these			my children		went to school			

wani *wani* , *elementary-ni*

*w	-a	-ni	*w	-a	-ni	elementary	-ni	
I1	FTL	LOCC	I1	FTL	LOCC	Elementary school	LOCC	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	
NP			NP			NP		
this here			this here			in elementary		

esskuularluteng , *BIA-am* *aulukellrua*

esskuular	-lu	-teg	-t	BIAa	-m	auluke	-llru	-a	-a
to go to school	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	BIA	ERGC	to care for	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
AVP				NP		RVP			
they attended school				BIA		was in control			

tamatum *nalliini* .

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
NP				PAR
at that time				like at the time of

Free At the time they built them, these children of mine when to school here, here in elementary the attended school, BIA was in control at that time.

90 **Word** Nsk *Cali-llu* , *awani* *uqaqvarni*

Word Eng

Morphemes	cali	=llu	*aw	-a	-ni	*uk	-a	-qvar	-ni	
Lex. Gloss	also	COO	AD2P	FTL	LOCC	I3	FTL	very very far	LOCC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	PAR		NP			NP				
Word Gloss	also		back then			very recently				

tamani *1980* *yaqsinriqerluku* ,

ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	1980	yaqsi	-nri	-qer	-lu	-ku
R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	1980	distant	NEG	suddenly	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				NP	AVP				
there				1980	and not very long ago				

ukut *wani* , *Alaskam* , *State of Alaskam* ,

*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni	Alaska	-m	State of Alaska	-m	
I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC	Alaska	ERGC	Alaska	ERGC	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	
NP			NP			NP		NP		
these			this here			Alaska		the state of Alaska		

esskuulat *makut* *tegungluki* , *BIA-am*

esskuula	-t	*ma	-ku	-t	tegu	-ng	-lu	-ki	BIAa	-m	
to go to school	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to take or pick up	to begin to V	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	BIA	ERGC	
LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF	
NP		NP			AVP				NP		
these schools		these			they took in charge				BIA		

aulukinringluki .

auluki	-nri	-ng	-lu	-ki
to watch	NEG	to begin to V	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP				

was not in control anymore

Free And also, over there very recently, there in 1980 not very long ago, these here schools—these— the State of Alaska took charge, BIA was not in control anymore.

91	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-llu*				*high school-at*		*makut*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu	high school a	-t	*ma	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	high school	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP		NP		
	Word Gloss	and then				the high school		these		

naungata *ukut* *irniangka*

nau	-nga	-a	-ta	*u	-ku	-t	irnia	-ngka
to grow	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	I1	FTO.NS	PL	children	1P.NOM.SG
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER
NCP				NP			PNP	
started growing				these			my children	

high school-arluteng , *graduate-tarluteng-llu* ,

high school ar	-lu	-teg	-t	graduate.tar	-lu	-teg	-t	=llu
high school	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	graduate	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	COO
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
AVP				AVP				
started high school				and they graduated too				

graduate-talrat *tamatum* *nalliini* .

graduateta	-lria	-t	ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini
graduate	PARTM.IN	PL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of
LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
RVP			NP				PAR
when graduation was held			at that time				like at the time of

Free And then these high schools started growing, these children of mine started high school, and they graduated too, at the time graduation was held.

92	**Word** Nsk	*Makunek*			*assiryaraitnek*				*qang'a*
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	*ma	-ku	-nek	assir	-yarai	-t	-nek	qang'a
	Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to be good; to be nice; to be well	way of	PL	ABLC/INTC	no
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	PRT
	Word Cat.	NP			NP				PAR
	Word Gloss	of these			as good role models				no

esskuulaayuukata *esskuulaayarkauluki* ,

esskuulaa	-yuu	-k	-a	-ta	esskuulaa	-yarkau	-lu	-ki
to go to school	to want to V	CNJ (Conditional)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	to go to school	way of	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NCP					AVP			
if they want to attend school					to further their schooling			

piarkauluki *tamatum*

piarka	-u	-lu	-ki	ta-	*mat	-u	-m
cousin	to be N	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
AVP				NP			
they be cousins to them *they would help them				at that time			

tauni , *qanurtaqluki* .

t-	*u	-a	-ni	qanur	-taq	-lu	-ki
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	to speak	DIM	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				AVP			
DEM				would talk to them a bit			

Free These ways of being good, no, if they want to attend school to further their schooling, they are cousins to them at that time there, they would talk to them a bit.

93	**Word** Nsk	*Iliat*			*ukut*			*wani*			*irniangka*	
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	ili	-a	-t	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni	irnia	-ngka
	Lex. Gloss	part of it	3P.ERG	PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC	children	1P.NOM.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP			NP			NP			PNP	
	Word Gloss	some of			these			this here			my children	

waten , *ca'nek* *calisaurluteng* ,

*w	-a	-ten	ca'	-nek	cali	-saur	-lu	-teg	-t
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	Q	ABLC/INTC	to work	it is now V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NP		AVP				
like this			anything		they started working				

weld-tarikuni *augum* *Iliit*

weld.tar	-i	-ku	-ni	*aug	-u	-m	ila	-nga	-t
welder	CAUS	CNJ (Conditional)	LOCC	AD2P	FTO.SG	ERGC	relative	3P.NOM.SGCOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				NP			NP		
as a welder				one (deceased) gone			one of them		

qetunrama .

qetunra	-m	-a
son	1P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PNP		
my son		

Free Some of these here children of mine, like this, start some work, one of them, my late son, was a welder.

94

Word Nsk	*Cali-llu*		, *makunek*			*calisaranek*			, *carpenter-anek*	
Word Eng										
Morphemes	cali	=llu	*ma	-ku	-nek	cali	-sara	-nek	carpenter.a	-nek
Lex. Gloss	also	COO	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to work	way of	ABLC/INTC	carpenter	ABLC/INTC
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	PAR		NP			NP			NP	
Word Gloss	also		of these			of working skills, working skills			as carpenters	

caliaqluteng .

cali	-aq	-lu	-teg	-t
to work	CNJ (Constantive)	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
they would work as those				

Free Also these working skills, they would work as carpenters.

95	**Word** Nsk	*Wii-llu*	,	*tamakut*				*tamani*			
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	wii	=llu	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	I	COO	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRO	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PRO		NP				NP			
	Word Gloss	And me		those ones				there			

augken *aiyagluki* *awani*

*aug	-ken	aiyag	-lu	-ki	*aw	-a	-ni
AD2P	FTL.ABLC	to go away	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	AD2P	FTL	LOCC
DEI	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP		AVP			NP		
DEM		starting			at there		

esskuulallemni , *Mount Edgecumbe-ami* ,

esskuula	-lle	-m	-ni	Mount Edgecumbe a	-mi
to go to school	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC	Mount Edgecumbe	LOCC.SG
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP				NP	
when I attended school				at mount edgecumbe	

tamakut *esskuulallema*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	esskuula	-lle	-m	-a
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to go to school	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	SG.LF
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP				NCP			
those ones				when attending school			

iluani *weld-arilua* , *carpenter-yaraq* ,

ilu	-a	-ni	weld.ar	-ngi	-lu	-a	carpenter	-yaraq
interior	3P.ERG	LOCC	weld	CAUS	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	carpenter	way of
LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX
NP			AVP				NP	
inside			I welded				carapenter skills	

mechanic-kaligget *tamakut* *tamani*

mechanic.ka	-ligge	-t	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
mechanic	good at	PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			NP				NP			
the mechanic skills			those ones				there			

elitellruangka *tuani*

elite	-llru	-a	-ngka	t-	*u	-a	-ni
to learn	PST	INDM.TR	1P.NOM.SG	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP				NP			
I learned them				there			

esskuuliananemni .

esskuul	-ianane	-m	-ni
to go to school	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NCP			
as I attended school, while I was in school			

Free And I, those ones there, like those, started there when I attended the school at Mount Edgecumbe, when I attended school, I welded, worked wood, worked with machines, I learned all those skills there while I was in school.

96

Word Nsk	*Makut*			*nallunriluki*			
Word Eng							
Morphemes	*ma	-ku	-t	nallu	-nri	-lu	-ki
Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.NS	PL	to not know	stop	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
Word Cat.	NP			AVP			
Word Gloss	these			I became to know			

elitellruamki , *tamakunek*

elite	-llru	-a	-m	-ki	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek
to learn	PST	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
TCP					NP			
because I learned them					these			

elitcaraqluki *ukut* *irnangka*

elitcar	-aq	-lu	-ki	*u	-ku	-t	irna	-ngka
to teach	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL	children	1P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER
AVP				NP			PNP	
I taught them				these			my children	

pissuryarkaitnek *tuai*

pissur	-yar	-ka	-i	-t	-nek	t-	*u	-a	=i
to hunt	would	to have as one's N	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL	ABLC/INTC	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP						PAR			
of hunting skills						that one!			

tamakunek , *elliata* *tuai*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	elli	-a	-ta	t-	*u	-a	=i
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	3.SG	3P.ERG	PL.LF	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	pn	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP				PRO			PAR			
with those				themselves			that one!			

aulukluta *pilruitekut* .

auluk	-lu	-ta	pi	-lru	-i	-te	-ku	-t
to watch	APPM	PL.LF	to do	PST	3P.ERG	PL	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
AVP			RVP					
took care of us			they did that to us					

Free I came to know these as I learned them, I taught these to these children of mine, of hunting skills—that one— and with those they took care of us, and did that for us.

97 **Word** Nsk *Awani-llu* *tuai* ,

Word Eng								
Morphemes	*aw	-a	-ni	=llu	t-	*u	-a	=i
Lex. Gloss	AD2P	FTL	LOCC	COO	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
Word Cat.	NP				PAR			
Word Gloss	in the years back				that one!			

aipaqa-llu

aipa	-qa	=llu
counterparts (esp. white people)	1P.NOM.SG	COO
LEX	FM:PER	ENC
NP		
and (my) spouse		

aipaqliutellem *kinguani* ,

aipaq	-li	-ute	-lle	-m	kingu	-a	-ni	
counterparts (esp. white people)	one who Vs	with another	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	rear	3P.ERG	LOCC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
NCP					NP			
after marriage					the time after			

esskuulaawirmi , *Masserculler**miuni*

esskuulaa	-wir	-mi	Masserculler	-miu	-ni
to go to school	place to V	LOCC.SG	Marshall	resident of	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
NP			NP		
in the school			at Marshall		

witaqellrukuk *allrakum* *iluani* ,

wita	-qe	-llru	-u	-ku	-k	allraku	-m	ilu	-a	-ni	
to stay	ITR	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	DU	year	ERGC	interior	3P.ERG	LOCC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
RVP						NP		NP			
we lived there						in the year		it's inside			

tuani *calillemni* .

t-	*u	-a	-ni	cali	-lle	-m	-ni
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	to work	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NP				NCP			
there				when I worked			

Free And years ago, that one and my spouse after we married, in the school at Marshall we lived during the year, when I worked there.

98	**Word** Nsk	*Makuni*			*headstart-ani*		*calillemni*			
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	*ma	-ku	-ni	headstarta	-ni	cali	-lle	-m	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.NS	LOCC	headstart program	LOCC	to work	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			NP		NCP			
	Word Gloss	DEM			headstart program		when I worked			

akaacalrunga *tuai* *qenrem*

akaaca	-lru	-u	-nga	t-	*u	-a	=i	qenre	-m
accident	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	fire	ERGC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
RVP				PAR				NP	
I fell to an accident				that one!				fire	

pitaqcarpiarlua *tuai* *ullua*

pitaq	-car	-piar	-lu	-a	t-	*u	-a	=i	uu	-llu	-a
caught	would	the salient one	APPM	SG.LF	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	burn	APPM	3P.ERG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP					PAR				RVP		
almost take my life					that one!				I burned		

cakneq *tuai* .

cakneq	t-	*u	-a	=i
very hard	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
PRT	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR	PAR			
very hard	that one!			

Free There at the headstart program, when I worked there, I had an accident—that one fire almost got me—that one burned me alot—that one.

99	**Word** Nsk	*Wani-llu*				, *yungcawirmi*		*uitalua*			.
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ni	=llu	yungcawir	-mi	uita	-lu	-a	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	LOCC	COO	hospital	LOCC.SG	to stay	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	NP				NP		AVP			
	Word Gloss	DEM / and here				in the hospital		I stayed			

Free And I stayed in the hospital for a while.

100	**Word** Nsk	*Uitalua*			*pingayun*	*allrakunek*		*tuai*			
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	uita	-lu	-a	pingayun	allraku	-nek	t-	*u	-a	=i
	Lex. Gloss	to stay	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	three	year	ABLC/INTC	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	AVP			NP	NP		PAR			
	Word Gloss	I stayed			three	years		that one!			

, *untatengka-llu* *makut* *mani* *keggnaqa-llu*

untate	-ngka	=llu	*ma	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni	keggna	-qa	=llu
hand	1P.NOM.SG	COO	I2	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC	face	1P.NOM.SG	COO
LEX	FM:PER	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	ENC
PNP			NP			NP			PNP		
my hands too			these			here			and my face		

navruluni .

navru	-lu	-ni
destroy	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP		
was destroyed		

Free I stayed in that one for three years, and my hands, these here, and my face was destroyed.

101	**Word** Nsk	*Tamani*				,
	Word Eng					
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP				
	Word Gloss	there				

assiilellma *kinguani*

assii	-le	-ll	-m	-a	kingu	-a	-ni
to be good; to be nice; to be well	to V suddenly and willfully	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	rear	3P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NCP					NP		
my recovery					the time after		

doctor-ama			*uum*			*qanrullua*			,	*mana*	
doctor.a	-m	-a	*u	-u	-m	qanru	-llu	-a		*ma	-na
doctor	1P.ERG	SG.LF	I1	FTO.SG	ERGC	to tell	APPM	SG.LF.1		I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM		DEI	DEI>DEM
PNP			NP			AVP				NP	
my doctor			this one			told me				this one	

mani			,	*elpet*		*tuai*				
*ma	-a	-ni		elpe	-t	t-	*u	-a	=i	
I2	FTL	LOCC		PRO.2.PL	PL	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		PRO	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	
NP				PRO		PAR				
here				PRO.2.PL		that one!				

waniwa				*casscigganak*			*yuuciquten*				,
*w	-a	-ni	=wa	ca	-ssciggan	-aq	yuu	-ciq	-u	-ten	
I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	Q	not be able to	thing that resembles	live	FUT	INDM.IN	2P.ABS.SG	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	
NP				NP			RVP				
this one here				(the thing that you won't be able to do) you will not be active			in your living				

yuutciput				*takcatciatun*					.
yu	-utci	-pu	-t	tak	-ca	-tci	-a	-tun	
live	CNJ (as, soon as)	1P.NOM	PL	long	to be many	CNJ (as, soon as)	3P.ERG	AEQC	
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
NCP				NCP					
as our living				as a long time length					

Free There, after my recovery, my doctor—this one— told me, this one here, 'You—this one here— will not be able to live actively, as we live, for a long time.

102	**Word** Nsk	*Camek*		*cali*	*ca'nek*		*caungerpet*			
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	ca	-mek	cali	ca'	-nek	ca	-u	-nger	-pet
	Lex. Gloss	Q	ABLC/INTC.SG	also	Q	ABLC/INTC	Q	to be N	to begin to V	2P.ERG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	PRT	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	PAR		PAR	NP		NCP			
	Word Gloss	something / whatever kind		also	Q		even you do			

casscigganak *uitaciquten* .

ca	-ssciggan	-aq	uita	-ciq	-u	-ten
Q	not be able to	thing that resembles	to stay	FUT	INDM.IN	FTL.AEQC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:GCF
AVP			RVP			
you will not be active			as you stay here			

Free Also, you will be able to do things again, (if) you aren't active living here..

103

Word Nsk	*Uteryugluk-llua*						*aipaqa-llu*		,
Word Eng									
Morphemes	uter	-yug	-l	-uk	=llu	=a	aipa	-qa	=llu
Lex. Gloss	to return	to want to V	OPTM	DU.LF	COO	GWP	counterparts (esp. white people)	1P.NOM.SG	COO
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:NUM	ENC	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	ENC
Word Cat.	AVP						NP		
Word Gloss	we two yeared to be home						and (my) spouse		

kingunellunuk , *ciuqleq* *augna* *qetunraput*

kingune	-llu	-nuk	ciuqliq	*aug	-na	qetunra	-pu	-t
home	APPM	DU.LF	the first one	AD2P	FTO.SG.ABSC	son	1P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			NP	NP		PNP		
we wanted to be home			the first	the one who's gone		our son		

tamani , *yungcawiggmi*

ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	yungcawigg	-mi
R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	hospital	LOCC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP				NP	
there				at the hospital	

witangngemni *yuurluni* .

wita	-ng	-nge	-m	-ni	yuur	-lu	-ni
to stay	to begin to V	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	LOCC	person	APPM	4P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NCP					AVP		
as we stayed					he was born		

Free I yearned to be home, and also my spose, we wanted to be home, there, our first late son was born there as we stayed at the hospital.

104	**Word** Nsk	*Utercama*				*mavet*		
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	uterc	-a	-m	-a	*ma	-a	-vet
	Lex. Gloss	to return	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NCP				NP		
	Word Gloss	when I returned home				here		

kingunetcimaumam *mavet* *Qerrullirmun* ,

kingune	-tci	-m	-a	=um	=am	*ma	-a	-vet	Qerrullir	-mun
home	CNJ (as, soon as)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	GWP	EMPH	I2	FTL	DEF.ALLC	Kotlik	ALLC.SG
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP						NP			NP	
after returning home						here			at Kotlik	

ilurangka *augkun* *tangerluki* , *ca'nek*

il	-ura	-ngka	*aug	-kun	tanger	-lu	-ki	ca'	-nek
relative	CONT	1P.NOM.SG	AD2P	PRLC	to see	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	Q	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	DEI	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
PNP			NP		AVP			NP	
my relatives			DEM / from the past		I saw them			anything	

pingnaqlallret , *neqsuluteng-llu*

pi	-ngnaq	-la	-llre	-t	neq	-su	-lu	-teg	-t	=llu
to do	to try to	HAB	PARTM.IN	PL	food	to be able to V well	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	COO
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
RVP					AVP					
they try to do					their fishing too					

pitullruat *umyuaqluki*

pi	-tu	-llru	-a	-a	-t	umyuaq	-lu	-ki
to do	HAB	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL	mind	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
RVP						AVP		
what they did						have them in mind		

tamana .

ta-	*ma	-na
R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
NP		
those		

Free When I returned home here, after returning here to Kotlik, I saw my ancestors from the past, anything they tried to do and to fish too, that which they did I had in mind.

105	**Word** Nsk	*Mana-mani*					, *akingyiaranek*		,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	*ma	-na	*ma	-a	-ni	aking	-yara	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	I2	FTL	LOCC	to earn money	method of	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP					NP		
	Word Gloss	here, now					to earn money		

anguyiagtem *akingyuarcellua*

anguyiagte	-m	aking	-yu	-ar	-ce	-llu	-a	
government	ERGC	to earn money	to be able to V well	suddenly	compel or allow	PST	1P.ABS.SG	
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	
NP		AVP						
the government		started giving me income						

tamatum *nalliini* , *waten* *disable-larlua*

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini	*w	-a	-ten	disable.lar	-lu	-a	
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	disabled	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
NP				PAR	NP			AVP			
at that time				like at the time of	like this			my disability			

pillemni *tuai*

pi	-lle	-m	-ni	t-	*u	-a	=i
to do	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NCP				PAR			
what I had				that one!			

tamakunek *akiinek*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	akii	-nek
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	money	ABLC/INTC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NP				NP	
these				like money	

unanglallruama ,

unang	-la	-llru	-a	-m	-a
to obtain something	HAB	PST	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP					
I used to recieve					

nanguaqlua *allrakum* , *iralum* *iluani*

nang	-u	-aq	-lu	-a	allraku	-m	iralu	-m	ilu	-a	-ni
be no more	to be N	HAB	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	year	ERGC	moon	ERGC	interior	3P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF
AVP					NP		NP		NP		
playing with me					within the year / in the year		every month		it's inside		

.

Free Here, now, as way of income, the government suddenly allowed me to receive money at the time, this disability that I had—that one—, because I used to receive this money, they will stop within the year, within the month.

106

Word Nsk	*Anglanaqenrilamku*					*tamana*			
Word Eng									
Morphemes	anglanaqe	-nril	-a	-m	-ku	ta-	*ma	-na	
Lex. Gloss	enjoyable	NEG	ITR	1P.ERG	FTO.NS	R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	DEI>DEM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	
Word Cat.	RVP					NP			
Word Gloss	I did not enjoy it					those			

pegluku .

peg	-lu	-ku
drop	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP		

I had it dropped

Free I didn't enjoy that, so I dropped it.

107	**Word** Nsk	*Wangnek*		*calugturlua*				*mani*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	wang	-nek	calug	-tur	-lu	-a	*ma	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	I1	ABLC/INTC	***	to V for some duration	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	I2	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	FM:GCF	***	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PRO		AVP				NP		
	Word Gloss	myself		fought my way				here		

yuuyararqaka *tuam* *utelmun*

yuu	-yararqa	-ka	t-	*u	-a	=am	utel	-mun
person	way of	1P.NOM.SG	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	to return	ALLC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
PNP			PAR				NP	
my living			that one				to return / to return it back	

tegungnaqluku , *unatengka-llu* *ukut*

tegu	-ngnaq	-lu	-ku	unate	-ngka	=llu	*u	-ku	-t
to take or pick up	to try to	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	hand	1P.ABS	COO	I1	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
AVP				PNP			NP		
to take it back				my hands too			these		

navugmiita *tamaugun* *caliaqluki*

navug	-mi	-i	-ta	ta-	*ma	-u	-gun	cali	-aq	-lu	-ki
destroy	GWP	3P.ERG	PL.LF	R<	I2	FTO.SG	PRLC	to work	HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NCP				NP				AVP			
were destroyed				That way				I worked with my hands			

pilallruamtek .

pi	-la	-llru	-a	-m	-te	-k
to do	HAB	PST	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	PL	DU
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:NUM
TCP						

as I have done

Free I fought my own way here in my own way of living, I'mg going to try and return back to that, and my hands, these that were destroyed, because I will work will my hands.

108	**Word** Nsk	*Tuani*				,	*qaillukuarlua*		
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	-ni		qaillukuar	-lu	-a
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC		to mess around	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP					AVP		
	Word Gloss	there					I did anything		

tuai , *aipama-llu* ,

t-	*u	-a	=i	aipa	-m	-a	=llu
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	counterparts (esp. white people)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	COO
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
PAR				PNP			
that one!				even my spouse			

assikenricaqluku

assi	-ke	-nri	-caq	-lu	-ku
to be good; to be nice; to be well	to feel V toward	no longer	would	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP					

did not like it

tuai , *unatengka-llu* *aurnarnaurtut*

t-	*u	-a	=i	unate	-ngka	=llu	au	-rnar	-naur	-tu	-t
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	hand	1P.NOM.SG	COO	blood	CAUS	HAB	INDM.IN	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM
PAR				PNP			RVP				
that one!				my hands too			would both bleed				

waten *neqsungngnanemni* ,

*w	-a	-ten	neq	-su	-ngngnane	-m	-ni
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	food	to be able to V well	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	LOCC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NP			NCP				
like this			while I am fishing				

piaqama ,

pi	-aq	-a	-m	-a
to do	HAB	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				
When I did				

neqlitullruami *tamatum*

neq	-li	-tu	-llru	-a	-a	-mi	ta-	*mat	-u	-m
food	one who Vs	to use	PST	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	LOCC.SG	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP							NP			
when there was many fish							at that time			

nalliini .

nalliini
like at the time of
PRT
PAR
like at the time of

Free I did all of that, and my spouse didn't like that, and my hands would both bleed like this while I am fishing, I did because there so many fish at the time.

109

Word Nsk	*Kassugpaqarlua*					, *tuai*			
Word Eng									
Morphemes	kassug	-pa	-qar	-lu	-a	t-	*u	-a	=i
Lex. Gloss	encircle	big	to immediately V	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
Word Cat.	AVP					PAR			
Word Gloss	I fought for my actions					that one!			

unaqurianarluku , *aipaqa-llu*

unaq	-urainar	-lu	-ku	aipa	-qa	=llu
recover	finally	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	counterparts (esp. white people)	1P.NOM.SG	COO
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER	ENC
AVP				PNP		
I finally recovered				and (my) spouse		

ilaklunuk *ukut-llu* *irniangka*

ila	-k	-lu	-nuk	*u	-ku	-t	=llu	irnia	-ngka
relative	to have as one's N	APPM	DU.LF	I1	FTO.NS	PL	COO	children	1P.NOM.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER
AVP				NP				PNP	
we together				DEM				my children / children of mine	

angliluteng *talliman* .

angli	-lu	-teg	-t	talliman
to grow or become big	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	five
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX
AVP				NP
grew up				five of them

Free I immediately encircled that (problem) until finally I recovered, and together with my spouse and those children of mine grew up, all five.

110

Word Nsk	*Tua-ll*				*elliat*			, *elliata-llu*			
Word Eng											
Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=ll	elli	-a	-t	elli	-a	-ta	=llu
Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	3.SG	3P.ERG	PL	3.SG	3P.ERG	PL.LF	COO
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	pn	FM:PER	FM:NUM	pn	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC
Word Cat.	PAR				PRO			PRO			
Word Gloss	and then				they			those too			

ikaiyuanglua *neqsurlallemni*

ikaiyu	-ang	-lu	-a	neqsur	-la	-lle	-m	-ni
to help; to bless	to begin to V	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	fishing	HAB	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
AVP				NCP				
started helping me				when I fished				

tamatum *nalliini* , *tuai* .

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	nalliini	t-	*u	-a	=i
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP				PAR	PAR			
at that time				like at the time of	that one!			

Free And then they and those started helping me at the time when I fished—at that time.

111 **Word** Nsk *Cali-llu* *tuai*

Word Eng							
Morphemes	cali	=llu	t-	*u	-a	=i	
Lex. Gloss	also	COO	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	
Word Cat.	PAR		PAR				
Word Gloss	also		that one!				

neqsunriama , *makunun* , *school board-anun*

neqsu	-nri	-a	-m	-a	*ma	-ku	-nun	school board a	-nun
fishing	stop	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	SG.LF	I2	FTO.NS	ALLC	school board	ALLC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
NCP					NP			NP	
when I was done fishing					to these ones			to the school board	

ilagaullua .

ilag	-a	-u	-llu	-a
to be tangled among	ITR	to be N	PST	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER
AVP				
I joined in				

Free Also, when I was done fishing, to these ones, the school board, I joined in.

112 **Word** Nsk *School board-ani* *ekumaqalrunga*

Word Eng							
Morphemes	school board a	-ni	ekuma	-qa	-lru	-u	-nga
Lex. Gloss	school board	LOCC	be inside	TEL	PST	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
Word Cat.	NP		RVP				
Word Gloss	with the school board / in the school board		I was included in				

waten			*esskuularaat*			,	*esskuulaq*	*mana*	
*w	-a	-ten	esskuula	-raa	-t		esskuulaq	*ma	-na
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to go to school	RET.PRF	PL		to go to school	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM		LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM
NP			NP				NP	NP	
like this			to the schools				school	this one	

aulukluku			.
auluk	-lu	-ku	
to watch	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
AVP			
I took care of it			

Free With the school board I was included in the school system, I took care of this school.

113	**Word** Nsk	*Waten*			*qaillun*	,	*mikelnguuput*			*mani*		
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	qaillun		mikelnguu	-pu	-t	*ma	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	how (are you)		child	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			PAR		PNP			NP		
	Word Gloss	like this			how		our children			here		

,	*Lower Yukon School District-am*		*iluani*			.
	Lower Yukon School District a	-m	ilu	-a	-ni	
	Lower Yukon School District	ERGC	interior	3P.ERG	LOCC	
	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
	NP		NP			
	with Lower Yukon School District		it's inside			

Free This is how our children here are within the Lower Yukon School District.

114	**Word** Nsk	*Iluani*			,	*quyugtaqamta*					,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	ilu	-a	-ni		quyug	-taq	-a	-m	-ta	
	Lex. Gloss	interior	3P.ERG	LOCC		gather together	DIM	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP				NCP					
	Word Gloss	it's inside				when we gathered					

meeting-araqluta *tuai* , *tamana*

meeting.ar	-aq	-lu	-ta	t-	*u	-a	=i	ta-	*ma	-na
meeting	HAB	APPM	PL.LF	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM
AVP				PAR				NP		
we had meetings				that one!				those		

, *arenkerluku* *mana* *esskuularput*

arenker	-lu	-ku	*ma	-na	esskuular	-pu	-t
agreeable	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to go to school	1P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP			NP		PNP		
we made it easier			this one		here our school		

pikliucamteggu *wangkuta* .

pi	-kliu	-ca	-m	-te	-ggu	wang	-ku	-ta
thing	claim	CNJ(indirect)	1P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.SG	I1	FTO.NS	PL.LF
LEX	Lexical Root	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
TCP						PRO		
because it became ours						1.PL		

Free When we gathered inside, we had these meetings, we made that easier for this, our school, because it became ours.

115

Word Nsk	*Taugken*			*tuani*			
Word Eng							
Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-ken	t-	*u	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTL.ABLC	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP			NP			
Word Gloss	from there on			there			

tuai , *mana* *tikiluku* ,

t-	*u	-a	=i	*ma	-na	tiki	-lu	-ku
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to arrive	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PAR				NP		AVP		
that one!				this one		I reached it		

elluariluteng , *cali-llu* *makut*

elluar	-i	-lu	-teg	-t	cali	=llu	*ma	-ku	-t
to be perfect	to V something	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	also	COO	I2	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
AVP					PAR		NP		
it has improved					and again		these		

esskuularviit *mikesskelaguluki* ,

esskuular	-vii	-t	mike	-sske	-lag	-u	-lu	-ki
to go to school	place to V	PL	to be little or small	DSDR	HAB	to be N	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			AVP					
all the school / school buildings			became too small					

yuut *esskuularaput* , *amlleriata* .

yuu	-t	esskuulara	-pu	-t	amller	-a	-a	-ta
person	PL	to go to school	1P.NOM	PL	to be many	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		PNP			RVP			
people		our children			had grown in numbers			

Free From that point on, it reached this point where it has improved, and also all these school buildings have become too small, for the people, our children, had grown in number.

116

Word Nsk	*Awavet-a*				*Juneau-mun*		*aiyaglua*		
Word Eng									
Morphemes	*aw	-a	-vet	=a	Juneau	-mun	aiyag	-lu	-a
Lex. Gloss	AD2P	FTL	DEF.ALLC	GWP	Juneau	ALLC.SG	to go away	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
Word Cat.	NP				NP		AVP		
Word Gloss	far away				to Jeneau		I left		

,

waten *akiikanek* *unangngnaqluki*

*w	-a	-ten	akii	-ka	-nek	unang	-ngnaq	-lu	-ki
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	money	material for	ABLC/INTC	to obtain something	to try to	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			NP			AVP			
like this			the funds			I worked to receive income			

esskuulaawigkait *mana*

esskuulaa	-wig	-ka	-i	-t	*ma	-na
to go to school	place to V	future N	3P.ACC.PL	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM
PNP					NP	
for their school					this one	

angelrianek *esskuulaawigkanek*

ange	-lria	-nek	esskuulaa	-wig	-ka	-nek
to grow or become big	the one who is V-ing	ABLC/INTC	to go to school	place to V	material for	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
NP			NP			
a bigger one			for their school			

pingngnaqluku , *unakutengnaqluki* .

pi	-ng	-ngnaq	-lu	-ku	unak	-ute	-ngnaq	-lu	-ki
to do	to begin to V	to try to	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	to obtain something	with another	to try to	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP					AVP				
I tried to get it					worked to get more income				

Free

117	**Word** Nsk	*Piwakurluta*				*unakuluki*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	piwak	-ur	-lu	-ta	unak	-u	-lu	-ki
	Lex. Gloss	to boast	CONT	APPM	PL.LF	to obtain something	to be N	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	AVP				AVP			
	Word Gloss	we kept trying				soon we received it			

tuai , *nutaramek* *allamek*

t-	*u	-a	=i	nutara	-mek	alla	-mek
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	new thing	ABLC/INTC.SG	different	ABLC/INTC.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
PAR				NP		NP	
that one!				new one / brand new		another / different one	

esskuulangluteng .

esskuula	-ng	-lu	-teg	-t
to go to school	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
they got a new school				

Free

118

Word Nsk	*Angelriamek*			,	*watawa*		
Word Eng							
Morphemes	ange	-lria	-mek		*wat	-a	=wa
Lex. Gloss	to grow or become big	the one who is V-ing	ABLC/INTC.SG		I1	FTL	Anaphor
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF		DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
Word Cat.	NP				PAR		
Word Gloss	a big one				right now		

ik'na *ikani* , *tamareng* *elementary and high school-aat* ,

*ik	-na	*ik	-a	-ni	tamar	-meg	-t	elementary and high school aa	-t
AD1E	FTO.SG.ABSC	AD1E	FTL	LOCC	all	4P.ERG	PL	elementary and high school	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM
NP		NP			NP			NP	
that one		across there			all/both			elementary and high school	

esskuulaawingluteng , *cali-llu* *mana*

esskuulaa	-wi	-ng	-lu	-teg	-t	cali	=llu	*ma	-na
to go to school	place to V	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	also	COO	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM
AVP						PAR		NP	
they received the school buildings						and again		this one	

aquiviat *mana* *gymnasium-uluteng* .

aquivi	-a	-t	*ma	-na	gymnasiumu	-lu	-teg	-t
gymnasium	3P.ERG	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	gymnasium	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			NP		AVP			
activity space			this one		gymnasium?			

Free

119	**Word** Nsk	*Augkut*			*atauciugut*				*wani*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*aug	-ku	-t	atauci	-u	-gu	-t	*w	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	AD2P	FTO.NS	PL	one	to be N	INDM.IN	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			XXXx				NP		
	Word Gloss	those			are one				this here		

wani , *Lower Yukon School District-ami* , *nunacuaraat* ,

*w	-a	-ni	Lower Yukon School District a	-mi	nuna	-cuaraa	-t
I1	FTL	LOCC	Lower Yukon School District	LOCC.SG	land	a little bit	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM
NP			NP		NP		
this here			in Lower Yukon School District		passing small villages / the small villages		

waten *aulukelrui* , *school board-ani*

*w	-a	-ten	auluke	-lru	-a	-i	school board a	-ni
I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to care for	PST	INDM.TR	3P.ACC.PL	school board	LOCC
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
NP			RVP				NP	
like this			were in charge				with the school board / in the school board	

witainanemni .

wita	-inane	-m	-ni
to stay	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	LOCC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
NCP			
when I stay / as I was selected in			

Free

120	**Word** Nsk	*Tamareng*			*waniwa*				*nutaramek*	
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	tamar	-meg	-t	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	nutara	-mek
	Lex. Gloss	all	4P.ERG	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	new thing	ABLC/INTC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP			NP				NP	
	Word Gloss	all/both			this one here				new one / brand new	

esskuulawingluteng .

esskuula	-wi	-ng	-lu	-teg	-t
to go to school	place to V	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					
were granted school buildings					

Free

121	**Word** Nsk	*Tuai*				, *allanun-llu*			*ataam*	, *State-ani*	,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=i	alla	-nun	=llu	ataam	state.a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	different	ALLC	COO	again	state	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	PRT	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP			PAR	NP	
	Word Gloss	that one!				a different position			again	in the state	

State-ani *board-ani* *eklua* , *waten*

state.a	-ni	board.a	-ni	ek	-lu	-a	*w	-a	-ten
state	LOCC	board (group)	LOCC	put in	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP		NP		AVP			NP		
in the state		board		I joined into			like this		

wani *elitnausarat* *ilararluki*

*w	-a	-ni	elit	-nau	-sara	-t	ila	-rar	-lu	-ki
I1	FTL	LOCC	to learn	HAB	way of	PL	part of it	just a little bit	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			NP				AVP			
this here			teachers				I joined them			

tuai , *kiima-llu* *yupiulua* ,

t-	*u	-a	=i	kii	-m	-a	=llu	yupi	-u	-lu	-a
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	only	1P.ERG	SG.LF	COO	Yup'ik person	to be N	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PAR				NP				AVP			
that one!				by meself too				only Yup'ik person			

ataam *allamek* *aipanglua* ,

ataam	alla	-mek	aipa	-ng	-lu	-a
again	different	ABLC/INTC.SG	counterparts (esp. white people)	to begin to V	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
PRT	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
PAR	NP		AVP			
again	another / different one		I married			

kassarpalurluteng *taukut*

kassa	-rpau	-lar	-lu	-teg	-t	ta-	*u	-ku	-t
white person	to be large N	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	R<	I1	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
AVP						NP			
majority were caucasians						those one's			

quyurluta .

quyur	-lu	-ta
gather together	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
AVP		
we had gatherings		

Free

122 **Word** Nsk *Quyurtaqluta* *allrakum* *pingyurkunek*

Word Eng

Morphemes	quyur	-taq	-lu	-ta	allraku	-m	pingyu	-rqu	-nek
Lex. Gloss	gather together	DIM	APPM	PL.LF	year	ERGC	three	this many times	ABLC/INTC
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	AVP				NP		NP		
Word Gloss	We met together				within the year / in the year		three times		

iliikun *quyurtaqluta* , *tuani*

ilii	-kun	quyur	-taq	-lu	-ta	t-	*u	-a	-ni
time	PRLC	gather together	DIM	APPM	part or tool for	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	LEX>LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP		AVP				NP			
throughout time		We met together				there			

nunarpamun *Anchorage-amun* , *Juneau-mun-llu* *aiyagaqlua*

nuna	-rpa	-mun	Anchorage.a	-mun		Juneau	-mun	=llu	aiya	-gaq	-lu	-a
land	to be large N	ALLC.SG	Anchorage	ALLC.SG		Juneau	ALLC.SG	COO	to go away	HAB	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			NP			NP			AVP			
in the big town			in Anchorage			and to juneau			I travel there			

tuai .

t-	*u	-a	=i	
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	
PAR				
that one!				

Free

123.1	**Word** Nsk	*Makunek*			*qanaaraqlua*				
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	*ma	-ku	-nek	qanaa	-raq	-lu	-a	
	Lex. Gloss	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	to speak	HAB	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
	Word Cat.	NP			AVP				
	Word Gloss	of these			I would speak about				

tuai *qayuga* *elluarluku* *mekelnguput*

t-	*u	-a	=i	qayuga	elluar	-lu	-ku	mekelngu	-pu	-t
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	how	to be perfect	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	child	1P.NOM	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PAR				NP	AVP			PNP		
that one!				how	succesfully, not successfully / carefully, succesfully			our children		

mana , *yuuyuralerkaat* .

*ma	-na	yuu	-yura	-ler	-ka	-a	-t
I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	person	way of	to V suddently and willfully	PARTM.TR	3P.ERG	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		RVP					
this one		to live their lives					

Free

123.2	**Word** Nsk	*Arcarakluku*			*mana*		*Yup'ik*	,	*Yup'ik*
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	arcarak	-lu	-ku	*ma	-na	yup'ik		yup'ik
	Lex. Gloss	to favor	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	Yup'ik person		Yup'ik person
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX		LEX
	Word Cat.	AVP			NP		NP		NP
	Word Gloss	importantly			this one		Yup'ik		Yup'ik

pitciryarait *ataam* *utelmun*

pitcir	-yara	-i	-t	ataam	utel	-mun
extent of	way of	3P.ACC.PL	PL	again	to return	ALLC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	LEX	FM:GCF
PNP				PAR	NP	
way of life				again	to return / to return it back	

tugungnaqellerkaitgun .

tugu	-ngnaqe	-llerka	-i	-t	-gun
toward	to try to	FUT	3P.ACC.PL	PL	PRLC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
PNP					
by trying to go towards their future					

Free

124	**Word** Nsk	*Tua-llu*				*tuai*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=llu	t-	*u	-a	=i
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	COO	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	PAR				PAR			
	Word Gloss	and then				that one!			

elitnaurtekaanek *makut* *nunamtenek*

elit	-naur	-tekaa	-nek	*ma	-ku	-t	nuna	-m	-te	-nek
to learn	HAB	to do it on account of	ABLC/INTC	I2	FTO.NS	PL	land	1P.ERG	PL	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NP				NP			PNP			
educators				these			in our villages			

tamalkuita			*ukut*			*wani*			,	*qula*	*atauciq*	,
tamalku	-i	-ta	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni		qula	atauciq	
all of it	3P.ACC.PL	PL.LF	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC		ten	one	
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX	
PNP			NP			NP				LEX	NP	
all of them / to all of them			these			this here				ten	one	

ukut			*wani*			,	*esskuularviit*			,
*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni		esskuular	-vii	-t	
I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC		to go to school	place to V	PL	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	
NP			NP				NP			
these			this here				all the school / school buildings			

neqestekaitnek					*piluki*			*tuai*			
neqeste	-ka	-i	-t	-nek	pi	-lu	-ki	t-	*u	-a	=i
teacher	TEL	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	to do	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP					AVP			PAR			
their teachers					we got them			that one!			

.

Free

125	**Word** Nsk	*Tamaugun*				*tuai*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-u	-gun	t-	*u	-a	=i
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.SG	PRLC	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	NP				PAR			
	Word Gloss	That way				that one!			

elitcarluteng					*tamakut*				,	*mekelnguput*		
elitc	-ar	-lu	-teg	-t	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t		mekelngu	-pu	-t
to learn	ITR	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL		child	1P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					NP					PNP		
they teached					those ones					our children		

watua		,	*tamakutgun*						*tamani*			
*wat	=wa		ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	-gun		ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
I1	Anaphor		R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	PRLC		R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
DEI	ENC		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			NP						NP			
at this time			DEM						there			

eliiluteng				*ca'nek*		*cauyaryaraanek*			*aturyaraanek*		
elii	-lu	-teg	-t	ca'	-nek	cauyar	-yaraa	-nek	atur	-yaraa	-nek
to learn	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	Q	ABLC/INTC	drum	way of	ABLC/INTC	sing	way of	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
VP				NP		NP			NP		
they learned				of many kind		as drumming skills			and singing songs		

piaqluteng .

pi	-aq	-lu	-teg	-t
to do	HAB	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
they did				

Free

126	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*ataam*	*pinaanemni*				*ukut*		
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	ataam	pi	-inaane	-m	-ni	*u	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	again	to do	CNJ(while)	1P.ERG	LOCC	I1	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	PRT	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR		PAR	NCP				NP		
	Word Gloss	also		again	as I was thriving				these		

health board-aat		,	*health board-ani*		*tamani*					*ekumalua*		
health board aa	-t		health board a	-ni	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni		ekuma	-lu	-a
health board	PL		health board	LOCC	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC		be inside	APPM	SG.LF
LEX	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
NP			NP		NP					AVP		
health board			to the health board		there					I joined in		

.

Free

127	**Word** Nsk	*Ekevkarlua*				*tuani-llu*					
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	eke	-vkar	-lu	-a	t-	*u	-a	-ni	=llu	
	Lex. Gloss	get in	to compel oneself to V	APPM	SG.LF	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	COO	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	
	Word Cat.	AVP				NP					
	Word Gloss	they made me join				and DEM/and there					

ataam	*tuai*				,	*ataam*	*calilua*			,	*mana*			
ataam	t-	*u	-a	=i		ataam	cali	-lu	-a		*ma	-na		
again	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM		again	to work	APPM	1P.ABS.SG		I2	FTO.SG.ABSC		
PRT	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		PRT	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		DEI	DEI>DEM		
PAR	PAR					PAR	AVP				NP			
again	that one!					again	I worked				this one			

mani		,	*Lower Yukon-aq*	*tamalkucian*					.	
*ma	-a	-ni	Lower Yukon-aq	tamalku	-t	-t	-a	-n		
I2	FTL	LOCC	Lower Yukon	all of it	PL	PL	3P.ERG	SG.LF		
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX	FM:NUM	FM:NUM	FM:PER	FM:NUM		
NP			NP	NCP						
here			Lower Yukon	all locations						

Free

128	**Word** Nsk	*Atengerluni*				*Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation-aq*	
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	ate	-nger	-lu	-ni	Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation-aq	
	Lex. Gloss	name	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	
	Word Cat.	AVP				NP	
	Word Gloss	the name they had				is Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation	

tawani				*ekumalemni*				
ta-	*w	-a	-ni	ekuma	-le	-m	-ni	
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	be inside	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
NP				NP				
this one here				as I joined	them			

tuai .

t-	*u	-a	=i
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR			
that one!			

Free

129	**Word** Nsk	*Yuinaq*	*ataucinek*		*board-anek*		*imangqertuq*			,
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	yuinaq	atauci	-nek	board.a	-nek	ima	-ng	-qer	-tuq
	Lex. Gloss	twenty	one	ABLC/INTC	board (group)	ABLC/INTC	contents	to begin to V	suddenly	INDM.IN
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
	Word Cat.	NP	NP		NP		RVP			
	Word Gloss	twenty	one of		board members		included			

58-anek *village-anek* *aulukingukut* *mani* .

58.a	-nek	village.a	-nek	auluk	-i	-gu	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni
58	ABLC/INTC	village	ABLC/INTC	to watch	to V something	3P.ACC.SG	1P.ABS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP		NP		RVP					NP		
there are 58		villages		we take care of					here		

Free

130	**Word** Nsk	*Kuigpagmiut*			,	*Kuskuqvarmiut*		
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	kuigpag	-miu	-t		Kuskuqvar	-miu	-t
	Lex. Gloss	Yukon River	resident of	PL		Kuskokwim	resident of	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP				NP		
	Word Gloss	Yukon people				Kuskokwim people		

iluatni *tuai* ,

ilu	-a	-t	-ni	t-	*u	-a	=i
interior	3P.ERG	PL	LOCC	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PNP				PAR			
within				that one!			

tamakut *tamani* ,

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
NP				NP				
those ones				there				

tuani *cali* *watawa* *kingan*

t-	*u	-a	-ni	cali	*wat	-a	=wa	kingan	
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	also	I1	FTL	Anaphor	time after	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	PAR	
NP				PRT	PAR			NP	
there				also	right now			only now	

tauguam *ekumaurartua* .

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	ekuma	-ur	-ar	-tu	-a	
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	be inside	CONT	ITR	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	
PAR				RVP					
only				I am still participating in					

Free

131

Word Nsk	*Tamatum*				,	*mana*		*mani*				
Word Eng												
Morphemes	ta-	*mat	-u	-m		*ma	-na	*ma	-a	-ni		
Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC		I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	I2	FTL	LOCC		
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		
Word Cat.	NP					NP		NP				
Word Gloss	at that time					this one		here				

yuucirput *mani* , *ukut* *mani* ,

yuu	-cir	-pu	-t	*ma	-a	-ni	*u	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni		
person	occurance of	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC		
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		
PNP				NP			NP			NP				
our living				here			these			here				

yuuput			*mani*			*yuullret*			*temait*			,
yuu	-pu	-t	*ma	-a	-ni	yuu	-llre	-t	tema	-i	-t	
person	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC	person	PARTM.IN	PL	body	3P.ACC.PL	PL	
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
PNP			NP			RVP			PNP			
our people			here			lived before			their bodies			

makutqa				*nangsutet-llu*			*makut*			
*ma	-ku	-t	=qa	nangsute	-t	=llu	*ma	-ku	-t	
I2	FTO.NS	PL	Q	illness	PL	COO	I2	FTO.NS	PL	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	
NP				NCP			NP			
PROX.EXT				as their illnesses			these			

tamakunek					*calilartukut*					
ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek		cali	-lar	-tu	-ku	-t	
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC		to work	HAB	INDM.IN	1P.ABS	PL	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
NP					RVP					
these					we worked on					

tuai				,	*tuam*				*iluani*			.
t-	*u	-a	=i		t-	*u	-a	=am	ilu	-a	-ni	
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM		R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	interior	3P.ERG	LOCC	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
PAR					PAR				NP			
that one!					that one				it's inside			

Free

132	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*manigngengemni*				*augkut*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	manignge	-nge	-m	-ni	*aug	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	smooth or flatten	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	LOCC	AD2P	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	PAR		NCP				NP		
	Word Gloss	also		my work smoothly going				those		

awani			,	*organization-aat*		,	*Tribal-council-aat*		*makut*		
*aw	-a	-ni		organization.aa	-t		tribal.council.aa	-t	*ma	-ku	-t
AD2P	FTL	LOCC		organization	PL		tribal council	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
NP				NP			NP		NP		
at there				the organizations			Tribal council		these		

mani			,	*nauluteng*					*1958-ami*		.
*ma	-a	-ni		nau	-lu	-teg	-t		1958.a	-mi	
I2	FTL	LOCC		to grow	APPM	4P.NOM	PL		1958	LOCC.SG	
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	FM:GCF	
NP				AVP					NP		
here				were established					in 1958		

Free

133	**Word** Nsk	*Ugum*			*wani*			*teggnemta*			,
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	*ug	-u	-m	*w	-a	-ni	teggne	-m	-ta	
	Lex. Gloss	AR1E	FTO.SG	ERGC	I1	FTL	LOCC	elder	1P.ERG	PL.LF	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP			NP			PNP			
	Word Gloss	this one			this here			our elder			

tailuni			*qanrullua*			*tuai*					*mana*	
tai	-lu	-ni	qanru	-llu	-a	t-	*u	-a	=i		*ma	-na
to come	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	to tell	APPM	SG.LF.1	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM		I2	FTO.SG.ABSC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC		DEI	DEI>DEM
AVP			AVP			PAR					NP	
came to me / he came			told me			that one!					this one	

mani			*tribal*	,	*Tribal Government-aq*	*qananiluki*			
*ma	-a	-ni	tribal		Tribal Government-aq	qana	-ni	-lu	-ki
I2	FTL	LOCC	Tribal Government		Tribal Government	to speak	to claim that	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX		LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			NP		NP	AVP			
here			tribal		the tribal government	has been talking about			

napartaqatarnaluku .

napar	-taqa	-tar	-na	-lu	-ku
to be erect	HAB	for there to be	VOL	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP					
establishing it					

Free

134.1 **Word** Nsk *Kitumek* *yuaraqsaaqluni* ,

Word Eng								
Morphemes	kitu	-mek	yuar	-aq	-saaq	-lu	-ni	
Lex. Gloss	who	ABLC/INTC.SG	search	HAB	in vain	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
Word Cat.	NP		AVP					
Word Gloss	who		he has been searching for					

umyuaqellua *wii* , *tailuni* *pianga* , "

umyuaqe	-llu	-a	wii	tai	-lu	-ni	pi	-a	-nga
mind	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	I	to come	APPM	LOCC	to do	INDM.TR	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	PRO	LEX	FM:APP	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
AVP			PRO	AVP			RVP		
he (I) thought about			I; me	came to me / he came			and said to me		

elpet-qa *mana* *caliaqsumaan* ,

el	-pet	=qa	*ma	-na	cali	-aq	-suma	-a	-a	-n
social.distal	2P.ERG	Q	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to work	HAB	to be able to V	CNJ(to be)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
DEI	FM:PER	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PRO			NP		NCP					
would you			this one		be able to work					

naucirilerkaunun *yaavet* ?

nau	-ci	-ri	-lerka	-nun	*ya	-a	-vet
to grow	FUT	to V something	FUT	ALLC	AD1P	FTL	DEF.ALLC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP					NP		
to have it grow					to that point		

Free

134.2	**Word** Nsk	",	*umyuaqumaqerluku*						*piaqa*			"	*kita*
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes		umyuaq	-uma	-qer	-lu	-ku		pi	-a	-qa		kita
	Lex. Gloss		mind	PRF	suddenly	APPM	3P.ACC.SG		to do	INDM.TR	1P.NOM.SG		here it is
	Lex. Gram. Info.		LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER		LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER		PAR
	Word Cat.		NP						RVP				PAR
	Word Gloss		I thought about it a long time						I said to him				OK

naspaqerlakuwa *tuai* , *qaillun*

naspa	-qer	-la	-ku	=wa	t-	*u	-a	=i	qaillun
try	suddenly	OPTM	3P.ACC.SG	Anaphor	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	how (are you)
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX
OVP					PAR				PAR
I can try it					that one!				how

ayuqniartua ".

ayuq	-niar	-tu	-a
to resemble	FUT	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER
RVP			
I can be with it			

Free

135	**Word** Nsk	*Tuai*				*ikani*		
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	t-	*u	-a	=i	*ik	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	AD1E	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP		
	Word Gloss	that one!				across there		

calivigkamnek *office-amek* *cikerlua*

cali	-vig	-ka	-m	-nek	office.a	-mek	ciker	-lu	-a
to work	place to V	future N	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	office	ABLC/INTC.SG	to give	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP					NP		AVP		
for my work place					an office for me		they gave me		

tuai , *tamakut*

t-	*u	-a	=i	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
PAR				NP			
that one!				those ones			

tamani *kalikat* *naaqiluki* .

ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	kalika	-t	naaqi	-lu	-ki
R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	paper	PL	read	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP				NP		AVP		
there				papers		I read them		

Free

136	**Word** Nsk	*Naaqiluki*			*qaillun*	*mana*		*Tribal Government-am*	
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	naaqi	-lu	-ki	qaillun	*ma	-na	Tribal Government.a	-m
	Lex. Gloss	read	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	how (are you)	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	Tribal Government	ERGC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	AVP			PAR	NP		NP	
	Word Gloss	I read them			how	this one		the tribal government	

eglerellerka , *kangngnaqluku*

eglere	-llerka	kanging	-naq	-lu	-ku
to move	FUT	understand	one that causes V-ing	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP		AVP			
performs		I try to understand it			

caliqlerluku *kangngiaqliamku*

caliq	-ler	-lu	-ku	kanging	-aq	-li	-a	-m	-ku
a job done	to V suddenly and willfully	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	understand	HAB	one who Vs	ITR	1P.ERG	3P.ACC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:PER
AVP				RVP					
so when				I understood it					

tuai .

t-	*u	-a	=i
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR			
that one!			

Free

137	**Word** Nsk	*City-council-aat*		*ukut*			*kiagawikluki*				
	Word Eng										
	Morphemes	City.council.aa	-t	*u	-ku	-t	kiag	-a	-wik	-lu	-ki
	Lex. Gloss	city council	PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL	summer	ITR	place to V	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
	Word Cat.	NP		NP			AVP				
	Word Gloss	city council		these			during the summer [I asked them]				

qaillun *tayima* *akiinek*

qaillun	ta-	*yim	-a	akii	-nek
how (are you)	R<	I0	FTL	money	ABLC/INTC
LEX	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:GCF
PAR	PAR			NP	
how	hopefully			money	

unangniaqeramnek *qanaaluki*

unang	-nia	-qer	-a	-m	-nek	qanaa	-lu	-ki
to obtain something	FUT	suddenly	CNJ(to be)	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	to speak	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NCP						AVP		
can I earn it						I spoke to them		

tuai .

t-	*u	-a	=i
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR			
that one!			

Free

138	**Word** Nsk	*Caliqlerluteng*					
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	caliq	-ler	-lu	-teg	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	a job done	to V suddenly and willfully	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	AVP					
	Word Gloss	finally when					

tarngnaqliameng *qaillun*

taring	-naq	-li	-a	-meg	-t	qaillun
understand	one that causes V-ing	make it	CNJ (because/when)	4P.ERG	PL	how (are you)
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX
NCP						PAR
they understood it						how

unanerkamnek *piameng* .

unaner	-ka	-m	-nek	pi	-a	-meg	-t
to obtain something	small bit	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	to do	3P.ERG	4P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NCP				PNP			
to get the funds				starting too / was their concern, starting to			

Free

139	**Word** Nsk	*Bingo-mek*		*permit-amek*	
	Word Eng				
	Morphemes	Bingo	-mek	permit.a	-mek
	Lex. Gloss	bingo	ABLC/INTC.SG	permit	ABLC/INTC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP		NP	
	Word Gloss	bingo		permit	

ungangucilua , *tuai*

ungang	-uci	-lu	-a	t-	*u	-a	=i
to obtain something	of the same kind of	APPM	1P.ABS.SG	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP				PAR			
was granted for me				that one!			

taugken *tuani* , *akiinek*

ta-	*ug	-ken	t-	*u	-a	-ni	akii	-nek	
R<	AR1E	FTL.ABLC	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	money	ABLC/INTC	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	
NP			NP				NP		
from there on			there				like money		

bingo-yaramek *taugken* *tuani* ,

bingo	-yara	-mek	ta-	*ug	-ken	t-	*u	-a	-ni		
bingo	way of	ABLC/INTC.SG	R<	AR1E	FTL.ABLC	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC		
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		
NP			NP			NP					
from bingo			from there on			there					

unangsaurluni *taum*

unang	-saur	-lu	-ni	ta-	*u	-u	-m	
to obtain something	it is now V	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	R<	I1	FTO.SG	ERGC	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
AVP				NP				
started getting funds				this here				

tauna *caliaqa* .

ta-	*u	-na	cali	-a	-qa		
R<	I1	FTO.SG.ABSC	to work	thing	1P.NOM.SG		
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER		
NP			PNP				
that one			to my job				

Free

140.1

Word Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*umek*			*wani*			,	*arnamek*		,
Word Eng												
Morphemes	cali	=llu	*u	-u	-mek	*w	-a	-ni		arna	-mek	
Lex. Gloss	also	COO	I1	FTO.SG	ABLC/INTC.SG	I1	FTL	LOCC		girl	ABLC/INTC.SG	
Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	PAR		NP			NP				NP		
Word Gloss	also		this one			this here				a girl		

arnaralermek , *graduate-tarluni* *tamatum*

arnara	-ler	-mek	graduate.tar	-lu	-ni	ta-	*mat	-u	-m
girl	one that was	ABLC/INTC.SG	graduate	APPM	4P.NOM.SG	R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			AVP			NP			
a young girl			she graduated			at that time			

nalliini .

nalliini
like at the time of
PRT
PAR
like at the time of

Free

140.2 **Word** Nsk *Taumek* *tuani*
Word Eng

Morphemes	ta-	*u	-mek	t-	*u	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	R<	I1	ABLC/INTC.SG	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP			NP			
Word Gloss	that one			there			

kiagawikluki , *ikaiyualua*

kiag	-a	-wik	-lu	-ki	ikaiyu	-a	-lu	-a
summer	ITR	place to V	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to help; to bless	ITR	APPM	SG.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
AVP					AVP			
during the summer [I asked them?]					and she helped me			

tuai , *puqiyiararngan*

t-	*u	-a	=i	puqi	-yiarar	-nga	-a	-n
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	intelligent	way of	CNJ (because/when)	3P.ERG	SG.LF
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PAR				NCP				
that one!				because she was smart				

nallunrilamku *tuam*

nallu	-nril	-a	-m	-ku	t-	*u	-a	=am	
to not know	NEG	CNJ (because/when)	1P.ERG	3P.ACC.SG	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH	
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	
RVP					PAR				
and I knew her					that one				

tuani , *kalikiurtekamnek*

t-	*u	-a	-ni	kaliki	-urte	-ka	-m	-nek	
R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	paper	INCH	material for	1P.ERG	ABLC/INTC	
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	
NP				PNP					
there				for my paperwork					

unanglua .

unang	-lu	-a
to obtain something	APPM	1P.ABS.SG
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP		
I was granted for her help		

Free

141

Word Nsk	*Taugkun-llu*				*tuani*				,
Word Eng									
Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-kun	=llu	t-	*u	-a	-ni	
Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	PRLC	COO	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	NP				NP				
Word Gloss	beginning from				there				

taugkun *aiyagluku* *naururalruuq*

ta-	*ug	-kun	aiyag	-lu	-ku	nau	-ru	-ra	-lru	-uq
R<	AR1E	PRLC	to go away	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	to grow	big	just a little bit	PST	INDM.IN
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
NP			AVP			RVP				
from there on			starting			the program grew				

cat *makut* *mani* , *anguyiagtemta*

ca	-t	*ma	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni		anguyiagte	-m	-ta
Q	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC		government	1P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF		LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		NP			NP				PNP		
any things		these			here				our government		

akiitautait *unaksaurluki*

akii	-ta	-uta	-i	-t	unak	-saur	-lu	-ki	
money	fetch	part or tool for	3P.ACC.PL	PL	to obtain something	it is now V	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	
PNP					AVP				
the money					start receiving it				

tuai .

t-	*u	-a	=i
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR			
that one!			

Free

142 **Word** Nsk *Waten* *ayuqliluku*

Word Eng

Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	ayuq	-li	-lu	-ku
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to resemble	one who Vs	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
Word Cat.	NP			AVP			
Word Gloss	like this			making it same			

Tribal Government-tarput *mana* *anglellruuq* .

Tribal Government.tar	-pu	-t	*ma	-na	angle	-llru	-uq
Tribal Government	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to grow or become big	PST	INDM.IN
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
PNP			NP		RVP		
our tribal government			this one		got huge		

Free

143														
	Word Nsk	*Watauga*			*waniwa*				,	*elluarluni*				
	Word Eng													
	Morphemes	*wat	-a	=wa	*w	-a	-ni	=wa		elluar	-lu	-ni		
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	Anaphor	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor		to be perfect	APPM	LOCC		
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC		LEX	FM:APP	FM:GCF		
	Word Cat.	NP			NP					AVP				
	Word Gloss	like this / right now			this one here					very successfully				

eglengarcaaquq *tauguam* *awani*

egleng	-ar	-caaq	-uq	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	*aw	-a	-ni
to begin to move	suddenly	to ty to V	INDM.IN	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	AD2P	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP				PAR				NP		
it is going now				only				at there		

cat *makut* *allat* ,

ca	-t	*ma	-ku	-t	alla	-t
Q	PL	I2	FTO.NS	PL	different	PL
LEX	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:NUM
NP		NP			NP	
any things		these			different things, others / other	

naunaqluteng *piameng* ,

nau	-naq	-lu	-teg	-t	pi	-a	-meg	-t
to grow	one that causes V-ing	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to do	CNJ(to be)	4P.ERG	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP					NCP			
trying to form					starting too / was their concern, starting to			

Ca'nek-a *tumyararkanek* *iini*

ca	-nek	=a	tumyararka	-nek	*ii	-a	-ni
Q	ABLC/INTC	GWP	road	ABLC/INTC	AD2E	FTL	LOCC
LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP			NP		NP		
with anything, anything, and whatever kind			board walks		across there		

naparciluteng *cali-llu* , *Yup'ik* *makut*

napar	-ci	-lu	-teg	-t	cali	=llu	yup'ik	*ma	-ku	-t
to be erect	FUT	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	also	COO	Yup'ik person	I2	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	ENC	LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
AVP					PAR		NP	NP		
they build, they build					and again		Yup'ik	these		

mani *qaillukuarluteng* *piaqata*

*ma	-a	-ni	qaillukuar	-lu	-teg	-t	pi	-aqa	-a	-ta
I2	FTL	LOCC	to mess around	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	to do	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			AVP				NCP			
here			do crazy things				when they do			

tamakut-llu *tamani* *elliat*

ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	=llu	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	elli	-a	-t
R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	COO	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	3.SG	3P.ERG	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	pn	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP					NP				PRO		
those too					there				they		

caliaqaqluki .

cali	-aqaq	-lu	-ki
to work	-ITR/-HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			
we worked on them			

Free Here and now, things are going very successfully, but years ago when these things were starting to take shape, things like, you know, the board walks across the river they keep building - the Yup'ik here do those crazy things too - I worked with others there (on the board walks).

144	**Word** Nsk	*Caliaqaqluki*				*wangkuta*			,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	cali	-aqaq	-lu	-ki	wang	-ku	-ta	
	Lex. Gloss	to work	-ITR/-HAB	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	I1	FTO.NS	PL.LF	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	AVP				PRO			
	Word Gloss	we worked on them				1.PL			

wangkutnun *Yup'ik* *makut* .

wang	-ku	-t	-nun	yup'ik	*ma	-ku	-t
I1	FTO.NS	PL	ALLC	Yup'ik person	I2	FTO.NS	PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
PRO				NP	NP		
we us alone				Yup'ik	these		

Free

145 **Word** Nsk *Ukut* *wani* *itercugwivmun*

Word Eng								
Morphemes	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni	itercugwiv	-mun
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC	jail	ALLC.SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP			NP			NP	
Word Gloss	these			this here			to the jail	

asautellret *mana* *utumarcengnaqluku*

asa	-ute	-llre	-t	*ma	-na	utumarce	-ngnaq	-lu	-ku
to go away	with another	PARTM.IN	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to improve	to try to	APPM	FTO.NS
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	DEI>DEM
RVP				NP		AVP			
that are sent to				this one		we try to make it better			

qanaruqurluki , *unakluku* *Tribal Court-amek*

qaner	-u	-qur	-lu	-ki	unak	-lu	-ku	Tribal Court.a	-mek
to speak	is	ITR	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to obtain something	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	Tribal Court	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
AVP					AVP			NP	
we would speak to them					soon it was granted			a tribal court	

taqutellruuluta .

taq	-ute	-llru	-u	-lu	-ta
to quit	with another	PST	to be N	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
AVP					
was completed					

Free

146	**Word** Nsk	*Tauguam*				*tuani*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ug	-u	=am	t-	*u	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	R<	I1	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR				NP			
	Word Gloss	only				there			

matum *nalliini* *tayima* *akiikaq*

*mat	-u	-m	nalliini	ta-	*yim	-a	akii	-kaq
I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	like at the time of	R<	I0	FTL	money	future N
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX
NP			PAR	PAR			NP	
these			like at the time of	are gone			the money	

tayima , *augkut* *calilriit*

ta-	*yim	-a	*aug	-ku	-t	cali	-lri	-i	-t
R<	I0	FTL	AD2P	FTO.NS	PL	to work	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PAR			NP			RVP			
are gone			those			that are working			

awani *elluarluku*

*aw	-a	-ni	elluar	-lu	-ku
AD2P	FTL	LOCC	to be perfect	APPM	3P.ACC.SG
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NP			AVP		
at there			succesfully, not successfully / carefully, succesfully		

caliaqenilameggtegu *tamartuq* ,

caliaqe	-ni	-la	-megg	-te	-gu	tamar	-tuq
a job done	to claim that	HAB	4P.ERG	PL	3P.ACC.SG	all	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:PER	LEX	FM:REA
TCP						RVP	
and are working good						has been lost	

tauguam *ataam*

ta-	*ug	-u	=am	ataam
R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH	again
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	PRT
PAR				PAR
only				again

unakengunarkait .

unake	-ngu	-nar	-ka	-i	-t
to obtain something	to be N	CAUS	PARTM.TR	3P.NOM.PLCOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
RVP					
I guess are granted					

Free only then, at this time, all that money-that which is gone, those people working across there to be successful, all the good work is lost, only again I guess thats taken for granted.

147	**Word** Nsk	*Allanek*		*akiinek-a*			*akiinek*	
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	alla	-nek	akii	-nek	=a	akii	-nek
	Lex. Gloss	different	ABLC/INTC	money	ABLC/INTC	GWP	money	ABLC/INTC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	ENC	LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP		NP			NP	
	Word Gloss	some different, different		as money			like money	

unangsaurluteng .

unang	-saur	-lu	-teg	-t
to obtain something	it is now V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				
they started receiving				

Free

148	**Word** Nsk	*Waniwa*				*tauguam*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ni	=wa	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
	Word Cat.	NP				PAR			
	Word Gloss	this one here				only			

tuai , *tawaten*

t-	*u	-a	=i	ta-	*w	-a	-ten
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PAR				NP			
that one!				like this			

pitaqapitellriamek

piteq	-a	-pi	-te	-llria	-mek
reason	ITR	to have a large N	PL	the one who is V-ing	ABLC/INTC.SG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
NP					
one who plans to have many reasons [very plentiful story?]					

amllerilnuarmek , *tutgarangka* *ukut*

amller	-il	-naur	-mek	tutgara	-ngka	*u	-ku	-t
to be many	to have no N	HAB	ABLC/INTC.SG	grandchild	1P.NOM.SG	I1	FTO.NS	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
NP				PNP		NP		
and not very many				my grandchildren		these		

wani , *anglicarluki* *piamki*

*w	-a	-ni	angli	-car	-lu	-ki	pi	-a	-m	-ki
I1	FTL	LOCC	to grow or become big	would	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to do	CNJ(to be)	1P.ERG	3P.ACC.PL
DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER
NP			AVP				TCP			
this here			raising them				I am doing / I am giong			

tuai .

t-	*u	-a	=i
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR			
that one!			

Free

149	**Word** Nsk	*Tamakut*				*tamani*			,
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP				NP			
	Word Gloss	those ones				there			

umyuaqluki *piamki* , *kitum* *elluarluki*

umyuaq	-lu	-ki	pi	-a	-m	-ki	kitu	-m	elluar	-lu	-ki
mind	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	to do	CNJ(to be)	1P.ERG	3P.ACC.PL	who	ERGC	to be perfect	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
AVP			TCP				NP		AVP		
have them in mind			I am doing / I am giong				who else		very carefully, successfully		

anglicarnailaaki , *ca'nek*

angli	-car	-nail	-a	-a	-ki	ca'	-nek
to grow or become big	would	to tend to not cause one to feel	CNJ(to be)	3P.ERG	3P.ACC.PL	Q	ABLC/INTC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:PER	LEX	FM:GCF
TCP						NP	
will not raise them						anything	

pitciryararkanek *mani*

pitcir	-yarar	-ka	-nek	*ma	-a	-ni
extent of	way of	future N	ABLC/INTC	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP				NP		
like a way of life style				here		

anglikuneng *qanaalerkaitnek* .

angli	-ku	-neg	-t	qanaa	-lerka	-i	-t	-nek
to grow or become big	CNJ (Conditional)	4P.ERG	PL	to speak	FUT	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
NCP				PNP				
if they grow older				and of their language				

Free

150	**Word** Nsk	*Tamakunek*				*tamani*			
	Word Eng								
	Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni
	Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	NP				NP			
	Word Gloss	these				there			

taigaqata-llu *mani* , *qanaataqluki* ,

tai	-gaqa	-a	-ta	=llu	*ma	-a	-ni	qanaa	-taq	-lu	-ki
to come	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	COO	I2	FTL	LOCC	to speak	DIM	APPM	3P.ACC.PL
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER
NCP					NP			AVP			
when they come					here			I talk to them			

calilarkaitnek , *qang'a* *natmun*

cali	-lar	-ka	-i	-t	-nek	qang'a	natmun
to work	HAB	future N	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	no	to where, somewhere
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	PRT	LEX
PNP						PAR	NP
about their jobs						no	anywhere

aiyaalerkaitnek *anglikata* .

aiyaa	-lerka	-i	-t	-nek	angli	-k	-a	-ta
to go away	FUT	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	to grow or become big	CNJ (Conditional)	3P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PNP					RVP			
they going to go					when they get older			

Free

151	**Word** Nsk	*Waten*			*wani*			,
	Word Eng							
	Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
	Word Cat.	NP			NP			
	Word Gloss	like this			this here			

yuulerkaitnek , *waniwa*

yuu	-lerka	-i	-t	-nek	*w	-a	-ni	=wa
person	FUT	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	I1	FTL	LOCC	Anaphor
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	ENC
PNP					NP			
about their living / to live their lives					this one here			

tamatum *tauguam* .

ta-	*mat	-u	-m	ta-	*ug	-u	=am
R<	I2	FTO.SG	ERGC	R<	AR1E	FTO.SG	EMPH
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NP				PAR			
at that time				only			

Free

152	**Word** Nsk	*Ukut-llu*				*nunaput*			,	*Qerrullirmiut*			,
	Word Eng												
	Morphemes	*u	-ku	-t	=llu	nuna	-pu	-t		Qerrullir	-miu	-t	
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTO.NS	PL	COO	land	1P.NOM	PL		Kotlik	resident of	PL	
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	ENC	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM		LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:NUM	
	Word Cat.	NP				PNP				NP			
	Word Gloss	DEM				our villages				Kotlik people			

qang'a-llu *nani* *allani* *aiyagaqama* ,

qang'a	=llu	nani	alla	-ni	aiya	-gaqa	-m	-a
no	COO	from where	different	LOCC	to go away	CNJ (Constantive)	1P.ERG	SG.LF
PRT	ENC	PAR	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
PAR		PAR	NP		NCP			
and without		where	different		when I travel			

qanaataqluki *yuut* *qaturtaqaata* .

qanaa	-taq	-lu	-ki	yuu	-t	qatur	-taqa	-a	-ta
to speak	DIM	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	person	PL	gathered	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				NP		NCP			
I talk to them				people		when we gathered			

Free

153 **Word** Nsk *Elluarluku* *yuurlerkaitnek* ,

Word Eng									
Morphemes	elluar	-lu	-ku	yuur	-lerka	-i	-t	-nek	
Lex. Gloss	to be perfect	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	live	FUT	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF	
Word Cat.	AVP			PNP					
Word Gloss	succesfully, not successfully / carefully, succesfully			to live their lives					

ikaiyuqluteng *qaillun* *yuulerkaitnek*

ikaiyuq	-lu	-teg	-t	qaillun	yuu	-lerka	-i	-t	-nek
to help; to bless	APPM	4P.NOM	PL	how (are you)	person	FUT	3P.ACC.PL	PL	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	FM:GCF
AVP				PAR	PNP				
how to work together				how	about their living / to live their lives				

qanaataqluki *tamalkuita* .

qanaa	-taq	-lu	-ki	tamalku	-i	-ta
to speak	DIM	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	all of it	3P.ACC.PL	PL.LF
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
AVP				NP		
I talk to them				all of them		

Free

154 **Word** Nsk *Waten* *quyugtaqaata* *qang'a-llu*

Word Eng									
Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	quyu	-gaqa	-a	-ta	qang'a	=llu
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	gather together	CNJ (Constantive)	3P.ERG	PL.LF	no	COO
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	ENC
Word Cat.	NP			NCP				PAR	
Word Gloss	like this			when they gathered				and without	

yuranek *makuni* ,

yura	-nek	*ma	-ku	-ni
to sing or dance in the Eskimo style	ABLC/INTC	I2	FTO.NS	LOCC
LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP		NP		
when they sing / dance		DEM		

yuramtuamta-llu *mani*

yura	-mt	-u	-a	-m	-ta	=llu	*ma	-a	-ni
to sing or dance in the Eskimo style	be at	is	CNJ(to be)	1P.ERG	PL.LF	COO	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NCP							NP		
we sing/dance too							here		

taqluta .

taq	-lu	-ta
to quit	APPM	PL.LF
LEX	FM:APP	FM:NUM
AVP		
all the time		

Free

155 **Word** Nsk *Tamana* , *pissiryaraput* *mana* ,
Word Eng

Morphemes	ta-	*ma	-na	pissir	-yara	-pu	-t	*ma	-na	
Lex. Gloss	R<	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	to hunt	way of	1P.NOM	PL	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	
Word Cat.	NP			PNP				NP		
Word Gloss	those			our way of hunting				this one		

augken *wani* *ciuliamta* *atullrit*

*aug	-ken	*w	-a	-ni	ciulia	-m	-ta	atu	-llri	-i	-t
AD2P	FTL.ABLC	I1	FTL	LOCC	ancestor	1P.ERG	PL.LF	useful thing	PARTM.IN	3P.ERG	PL
DEI	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP		NP			PNP			RVP			
DEM / back then, way back		this here			our ancestors			they used			

atungnaqluki *tuai* ,

atu	-ngnaq	-lu	-ki	t-	*u	-a	=i
useful thing	to try to	APPM	3P.ACC.PL	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
AVP				PAR			
we try to use				that one!			

yuralartut-llu *mani*

yura	-lar	-tu	-t	=llu	*ma	-a	-ni
to sing or dance in the Eskimo style	HAB	INDM.IN	PL	COO	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:NUM	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP					NP		
they sang/dance too					here		

tuai .

t-	*u	-a	=i
R<	I1	FTL	EXLM
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
PAR			
that one!			

Free

156	**Word** Nsk	*Ukut*			*mani*			*aiyagyuaput-a*		
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	*u	-ku	-t	*ma	-a	-ni	aiyagyua	-pu	-ta
	Lex. Gloss	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I2	FTL	LOCC	adolecent	1P.NOM	PL.LF
	Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	NP			NP			PNP		
	Word Gloss	these			here			our young people		

yurayaranek *elitengluteng* .

yura	-yara	-nek	elite	-ng	-lu	-teg	-t
to sing or dance in the Eskimo style	way of	ABLC/INTC	to learn	to begin to V	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			AVP				
sings/dance			they are learning, they are learning				

Free Our young people here are beginning to learn how to sing and dance traditionally.

157	**Word** Nsk	*Cali-llu*		*ukut*			*wani*			*esskuulaawirmi*		
	Word Eng											
	Morphemes	cali	=llu	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni	esskuulaa	-wir	-mi
	Lex. Gloss	also	COO	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC	to go to school	place to V	LOCC.SG
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF
	Word Cat.	PAR		NP			NP			NP		
	Word Gloss	also		these			this here			in the school		

iluani *yuraqluteng*

ilu	-a	-ni	yuraq	-lu	-teg	-t
interior	3P.ERG	LOCC	to sing or dance in the Eskimo style	APPM	4P.NOM	PL
LEX	FM:PER	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	FM:NUM
NP			AVP			
it's inside			they sing/dance			

tamakunek *tamani* *cali* .

ta-	*ma	-ku	-nek	ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	cali
R<	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC	R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	also
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	PRT
NP				NP				PAR
DEM				there				also

Free And also, these (young people) here do traditional song and dance in the school - they also do these things.

158	**Word** Nsk	*Quyalartua*					*tamakut*			
	Word Eng									
	Morphemes	quya	-lar	-tu	-u	-a	ta-	*ma	-ku	-t
	Lex. Gloss	to be thankful	HAB	HAB	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	R<	I2	FTO.NS	PL
	Lex. Gram. Info.	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM
	Word Cat.	RVP					NP			
	Word Gloss	I be thankful					those ones			

tamani *katagkestevkenaki*

ta-	*ma	-a	-ni	katag	-ke	-ste	-vke	-na	-ki
R<	I2	FTL	LOCC	to fall out	to find (it) to be V	the one who Vs	NEG	FTO.SG.ABSC	3P.ACC.PL
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	DEI>DEM	FM:PER
NP				AVP					
there				they never let it disappear					

nani *mani* .

nani	*ma	-a	-ni
from where	I2	FTL	LOCC
PAR	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
PAR	NP		
where	here		

Free I am often thankful these (songs/dances) there aren't left behind by them (young people) around here.

159							
	Word Nsk	*Ataam*	*mana*		*Yugtun*		*qanersaraq*
	Word Eng						
	Morphemes	ataam	*ma	-na	yug	-tun	qanersaraq
	Lex. Gloss	again	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	person	AEQC	language
	Lex. Gram. Info.	PRT	DEI	DEI>DEM	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX
	Word Cat.	PAR	NP		NP		NP
	Word Gloss	again	this one		in Yup'ik		language

assiirluni , *umyuaqlemni*

assiir		-lu	-ni	umyuaq	-le	-m	-ni
to be good; to be nice; to be well		APPM	4P.NOM.SG	mind	CNJ (Contemporative)	1P.ERG	LOCC
LEX		FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF
AVP				NCP			
is good				in my thinking			

elluarluku *qanaasarlarkut*

elluar	-lu	-ku	qanaa	-sar	-lar	-*	-ku	-t	
to be perfect	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	to speak	would	HAB	INDM.IN	FTO.NS	PL	
LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	
AVP			RVP						
succesfully, not successfully / carefully, succesfully			we should speak it						

tamamta , *nunani* , *ukut* *wani* ,

tama	-m	-ta	nuna	-ni	*u	-ku	-t	*w	-a	-ni	
all	1P.ERG	PL.LF	land	LOCC	I1	FTO.NS	PL	I1	FTL	LOCC	
LEX	FM:PER	FM:NUM	LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:NUM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	
NP			NP		NP			NP			
all of us			in the villages		these			this here			

auluksumaat *cali-llu* , *mana* *mani* ,

auluk	-sum	-a	-a	-t	cali	=llu	*ma	-na	*ma	-a	-ni
to watch	to be able to V	INDM.TR	3P.ERG	PL	also	COO	I2	FTO.SG.ABSC	I2	FTL	LOCC
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	FM:NUM	PRT	ENC	DEI	DEI>DEM	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
RVP					PAR		NP		NP		
they can control it					and again		this one		here		

caknanaremeni *tuam*

cakna	-nare	-me	-ni	t-	*u	-a	=am
to labor hard	CNJ (even if)	1P.ERG	LOCC	R<	I1	FTL	EMPH
LEX	FM:CNJ	FM:PER	FM:GCF	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC
NCP				PAR			
even it's a struggle				that one			

caliaqsurnarquq .

caliaq	-sur	-nar	-quq
a job done	to want to V	CAUS	INDM.IN
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA
RVP			
can be worked on			

Free Again, speaking in Yup'ik here is good, I think we should all speak well and regularly in the villages/region so that the people here can care for it (the land), it is a difficult task to do.

160

Word Nsk	*Waten*			*wani*		
Word Eng						
Morphemes	*w	-a	-ten	*w	-a	-ni
Lex. Gloss	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	I1	FTL	LOCC
Lex. Gram. Info.	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
Word Cat.	NP			NP		
Word Gloss	like this			this here		

pitaqerluku *tuai* , *ataam* *cali*

pita	-qer	-lu	-ku	t-	*u	-a	=i	ataam	cali
to be a certain size	to find (it) to be V	APPM	3P.ACC.SG	R<	I1	FTL	EXLM	again	also
LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:APP	FM:PER	DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	ENC	PRT	PRT
AVP				PAR				PAR	PAR
this long				that one!				again	also

ca'nek		*allanek*		*calisaranek*			*makunek*		
ca'	-nek	alla	-nek	cali	-sara	-nek	*ma	-ku	-nek
Q	ABLC/INTC	different	ABLC/INTC	to work	way of	ABLC/INTC	I2	FTO.NS	ABLC/INTC
LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:GCF	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF
NP		NP		NP			NP		
anything		some different		working skills			of these		

qanaasumaunga , *piuraqerli* ,

qanaa	-su	-ma	-u	-nga	piura	-qer	-l	-i
to speak	to be able to V well	PRF	INDM.IN	1P.ABS.SG	goodbye	suddenly	OPTM	3P.ERG
LEX	LEX>LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:REA	FM:PER	PRT	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER
RVP					OVP			
I can speak					but now I can stop			

tuaten *pitaqerli* .

t-	*u	-a	-ten	pita	-qer	-l	-i
R<	I1	FTL	FTL.AEQC	to be a certain size	to find (it) to be V	OPTM	3P.ERG
DEI:(Displacement)	DEI	DEI>DEM	FM:GCF	LEX	LEX>LEX	FM:OPT	FM:PER
NP				OVP			
like this				I should end here			

Free I find this here to be a certain size; I have finished a good talk on all these different ways of working, so Goodbye, I have decided this size of all this (is good).