

AGENTIVE AND PATIENTIVE VERB BASES IN NORTH ALASKAN IÑUPIAQ

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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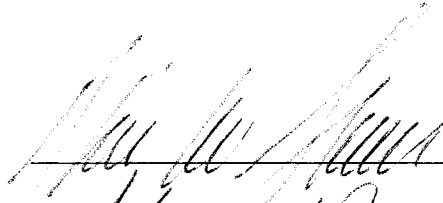
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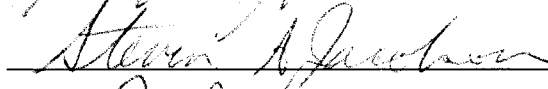
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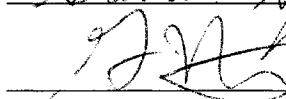
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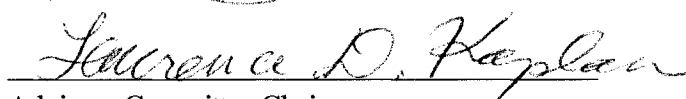
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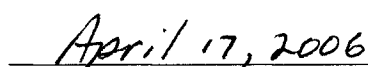
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Abstract

This dissertation is concerned with North Alaskan Iñupiaq Eskimo. It has two goals:

- (i) to provide a grammatical sketch of the Upper Kobuk dialect of this language;
- (ii) to investigate agentive and patientive verb bases.

Chapter 2 is a grammatical sketch of the Upper Kobuk dialect of North Alaskan Iñupiaq.

Chapters 3 through 5 deal with two types of verb bases in this language, called agentive and patientive. As we see in Chapter 3, agentive and patientive verb bases are verb bases that can inflect either intransitively or transitively, and they differ in the following ways:

- (i) prototypical agentive bases have the intransitive subject corresponding with the transitive subject, and do not require a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive;
- (ii) prototypical patientive bases have the intransitive subject corresponding with the transitive object, and require a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive.

In Chapter 4, I present the polarity—the property of being agentive or patientive—of all the verb bases that can inflect either intransitively or transitively, sorted by meaning, in order to uncover semantic features that characterize agentive and patientive bases. I identify 13 semantic features, such as indicating the agent's process for agentive bases and the lack of agent control for patientive bases. All these semantic features are related with the saliency of the agent or patient.

In Chapter 5, I investigate several pieces of evidence that show that the dividing line between the agentive and patientive classes is not rigid:

- (i) There are verb bases that can have the intransitive subject corresponding with either the transitive subject or object.
- (ii) Some verb bases may or may not take a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive.
- (iii) Certain postbases or a certain verb mood turn agentive bases into patientive or patientive bases into agentive.

Although two classes of verbs similar to the agentive and patientive classes in Iñupiaq are found in many languages, such phenomena as described in this chapter are seldom studied. This chapter purports to be the first coherent study of its kind.

The appendices contain two Iñupiaq texts.

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Abbreviations and symbols

A	the more agent-like argument of transitive verbs; anaphoric prefix of demonstratives; 'across there' value of the location parameter of demonstratives
ABL	ablative case
ABS	absolutive case
ACC	accusative case
ADV	interjectional form of demonstrative adverb
ADVERS	adversative
ANTIP	antipassive
APPLIC	applicative
B	'back there' value of the location parameter of demonstratives
CAUS	causative
CAY	Central Alaskan Yup'ik
CND	conditional mood
CNS	consequential mood
CSY	Central Siberian Yupik
CTN	contemporative negative mood
CTR	contemporative realized mood
CTU	contemporative unrealized mood
D	'down there' value of the location parameter of demonstratives
D	dual
DUB	dubitative mood
E	'extended' value of the dimension parameter of demonstratives

ECI	Eastern Canadian Inuktitut
EMP	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
H	'there' value of the location parameter of demonstratives
HS	hearsay
HT	half-transitive
I	'in there' value of the location parameter of demonstratives
IIM	immediate imperative mood
IND	indicative mood
INT	interrogative mood
KSM	kiisaimma mood
LOC	localis case
MOD	modalis case
N	'non-visible' value of the dimension parameter of demonstratives
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative case
NP	noun phrase
NSP	non-specific
O	the more patient-like argument of transitive verbs
P	'here' value of the location parameter of demonstratives (mnemonic for 'Proximal')
P	plural
PF	perfect
PRH	prohibitive mood
PRES	present

PRT	participial
PRV	proverbial mood
R	‘restricted’ value of the dimension parameter of demonstratives
REL	relative case
RESULT	resultative
RIM	remote imperative mood
S	the sole argument of intransitive verbs; ‘in the past’ value of the location parameter of demonstratives
S	singular
SIM	similaris case
SMVI	simultaneitive I mood
SMVII	simultaneitive II mood
SMVIII	simultaneitive III mood
T	‘out there’ value of the location parameter of demonstratives
TR	unproductive causative (transitivizer)
TRM	terminalis case
TRMII	second terminalis case
U	‘up there’ value of the location parameter of demonstratives
V	‘over there’ value of the location parameter of demonstratives
VIA	vialis case
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
4	fourth person

Conventions in glossing examples

Noun endings

Unpossessed: case + ‘.’ + number

e.g., ABS.D ‘absolute dual.’

Possessed: case + ‘.’ + person of possessor + number of possessor + number of possessum

e.g., REL.3SP ‘relative case, third-person singular possessor of a plural possessum.’

Intransitive verb endings: mood + ‘.’ + person of subject + number of subject

e.g., IND.2S ‘indicative mood, second-person singular subject.’

Transitive verb endings

Except in contemporative mood:

mood + ‘.’ + person of subject + number of subject + person of object + number of object

e.g., INT.2D1P ‘interrogative mood, second-person dual subject, first-person plural object.’

In contemporative mood: mood + ‘.’ + ‘/’ + person of object + number of object

e.g., CTR./3P ‘contemporative realized mood, third-person plural object.’

Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns:

(anaphoric prefix +) location parameter + dimension parameter + ‘.’ + case + ‘.’ + number

e.g., VR.LOC.S ‘demonstrative pronoun, ‘over there, restricted’, localis singular.’

Demonstrative adverbs:

(anaphoric prefix +) location parameter + dimension parameter + ‘.’ + case

e.g., ABN.VIA ‘demonstrative adverb, ‘anaphoric, back there, non-visible’, vialis’.

Chapter 1. Introduction

This work is concerned with the Kobuk dialect of North Alaskan Iñupiaq, an Eskimo language. Its purpose is two-fold:

- (i) to provide a grammatical sketch of the Kobuk dialect of North Alaskan Iñupiaq, or Kobuk Iñupiaq.
- (ii) to investigate Kobuk Iñupiaq verb bases that can inflect either intransitively or transitively.

The intent of the former should be straightforward, so let me briefly elaborate on the latter.

In North Alaskan Iñupiaq, as in other Eskimo languages, there are verb bases that can inflect either intransitively or transitively. Consider the following examples from Kobuk Iñupiaq:

- (1) a. Anjun niġiruaq.
 aṅuti+∅ niġi+tuq
 man-ABS.S eat-IND.3S
 ‘The man ate.’
- b. Anutim niġiyaa niqi.
 aṅuti-m niġi+kaa niqi+∅
 man-REL.S eat-IND.3S3S meat-ABS.S
 ‘The man ate the meat.’
- (2) a. Ayaupiaq naviktuq.
 ayaupiaq+∅ navik+tuq
 cane-ABS.S break-IND.3S
 ‘The cane broke.’
- b. Anutim navikkaa ayaupiaq.
 aṅuti-m navik+kaa ayaupiaq+∅
 man-REL.S break-IND.3S3S cane-ABS.S
 ‘The man broke the cane.’

Both niġi- ‘eat’ (1) and navik- ‘break’ (2) can inflect either intransitively (a) or transitively (b). But notice that these two verb bases differ in the argument of the transitive version (b) with which the

argument of the intransitive version (a) corresponds. With *niġi-* ‘eat’ (1), the sole argument of the intransitive version (let us call it ‘S’ (Andrews (1985), Dixon (1994))) corresponds with the relative case-marked argument of the transitive version (‘A’), whereas with *navik-* ‘break’ (2), the S corresponds with the absolutive case-marked argument of the transitive version (‘O’). Thus, we can distinguish two types among verb bases that can inflect either intransitively or transitively. Verb bases like *niġi-* ‘eat’ (1) are called agentive, while those like *navik-* ‘break’ (2) are called patientive. The investigation of agentive and patientive verb bases is the second topic with which this work is concerned.

In the rest of this chapter, I will present the basic facts of the Eskimo-Aleut language family, to which North Alaskan Iñupiaq belongs (1.1), and give an outline of each of the following chapters (1.2).

1.1. Eskimo-Aleut language family

The Eskimo-Aleut language family is spoken in the Arctic and Subarctic areas of Far-Eastern Russia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland.

First, a comment may be in order on the term ‘Eskimo.’ In fact, this term has a pejorative connotation in Canada, where the term ‘Inuit,’ which is actually a term for one Eskimo language, is used as an alternative to ‘Eskimo’ to refer to all Eskimo languages, in linguistic literature as well as in general context. Being aware of that, this work will still use the term ‘Eskimo,’ for the following reasons:

- (i) This term does not have any negative connotation in Alaska, where North Alaskan Iñupiaq, our main object of investigation, is spoken.
- (ii) Using ‘Inuit’ to refer to all Eskimo languages as well as to one of them can be confusing.

The seven languages of the Eskimo-Aleut language family, as well as the dialects of one of them, relate to each other as follows (languages are in boldface):

- A. Aleut branch: **Aleut**
- B. Eskimo branch
 - B-a. Yupik sub-branch
 - B-a-i. **Alutiiq**
 - B-a-ii. **Central Alaskan Yup'ik**
 - B-a-iii. **Naukanski**
 - B-a-iv. **Central Siberian Yupik**
 - B-b. Sirenikski sub-branch: **Sirenikski**
 - B-c. Inuit sub-branch: **Inuit**
 - B-c-i. Seward Peninsula Inupiaq
 - B-c-ii. North Alaskan Inupiaq
 - B-c-iii. Western Canadian Inuktitun
 - B-d-iv. Eastern Canadian Inuktitut
 - B-d-v. Greenlandic

Geographical distribution of each language or dialect is shown in Figure 1.

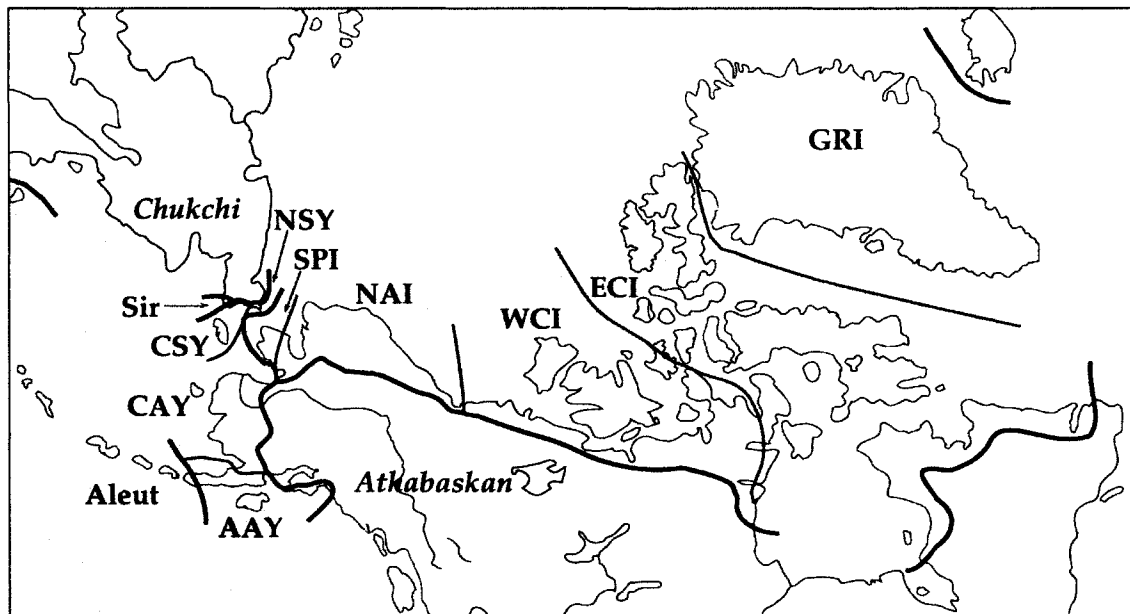


Figure 1. Eskimo-Aleut languages

(after Fortescue *et al.* (1994: viii))

Abbreviations used in the map

AAY (for Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik):	Alutiiq
CAY:	Central Alaskan Yup'ik
CSY:	Central Siberian Yupik
ECI:	Eastern Canadian Inuktitut
GRI (for Greenlandic Inuit):	Greenlandic
NAI:	North Alaskan Iñupiaq
NSY (for Naukan Siberian Yupik):	Naukanski
Sir:	Sirenikski
SPI:	Seward Peninsula Inupiaq
WCI:	Western Canadian Inuktitun

Now let us turn to each of the languages individually to illustrate where it is spoken and the extent of documentation.

A. Aleut is spoken on the Aleutian chain and the Pribilof Islands and at the southern end of the

Alaska Peninsula, as well as on Bering Island on the Russian side. It is described comprehensively by Bergsland (1997, 2001).

B-a-i. Alutiiq, or Sugpiaq, is spoken in south-central Alaska. It is described by Leer (1979, 1990).

B-a-ii. Central Alaskan Yup'ik, hereafter CAY, is spoken in southwestern Alaska, north of Aleut and Alutiiq. It is described by Reed *et al.* (1977), Woodbury (1981), Jacobson (1984, 1995, 1998), Miyaoka (1996) and Amos and Amos (2003), among others.

B-a-iii. Naukanski, or Naukan Yupik, is spoken in Lavrentiya, Uelen and Lorino on the Chukchi Peninsula in Russia. It is described by Menovščikov (1975) and Dobrieva *et al.* (2004).

B-a-iv. Central Siberian Yupik, or Chaplinski, hereafter CSY, is spoken in the villages of Gambell and Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island in Alaska and in several villages on the Chukchi Peninsula in Russia. It is described by Menovščikov (1962, 1967a), Badten *et al.* (1987), Vaxtin (1987, 1995), de Reuse (1994), Jacobson (2001) and K. Nagai (2004), among others.

B-b. Sireniksi, now extinct, was spoken in the village of Sireniki on the Chukchi Peninsula in Russia. It is described by Menovščikov (1964) and Vaxtin (2000).

B-c. Inuit is spoken in Alaska, Canada and Greenland and was formerly spoken in Russia. It is a dialect continuum often assumed to be one language, although its varieties at the two extremes are as unintelligible to each other as two different languages. In Fortescue *et al.* (1994), it is subdivided into five dialects: Seward Peninsula Inupiaq, North Alaskan Iñupiaq, Western Canadian Inuktitun, Eastern Canadian Inuktitut and Greenlandic. Since Inuit includes North Alaskan Iñupiaq, the

dialect of concern in this work, let us look at each of the dialects in more detail.

B-c-i. Seward Peninsula Inupiaq is spoken in Alaska.¹ It is divided into two subdialects: Bering Strait and Qawiaraq Inupiaq. Bering Strait Inupiaq is spoken in the western Seward Peninsula area and Little Diomedede Island, and was formerly spoken on Big Diomedede Island in Russia as well, where it was called Imaklikski. Qawiaraq Inupiaq was originally spoken on the central Seward Peninsula and has extended along the Norton Sound coast. Seward Peninsula Inupiaq prosody is described by Kaplan (1985, 2000); Imaklikski grammar is described by Menovščikov (1980).

B-c-ii. North Alaskan Iñupiaq is spoken mainly in Alaska, and will be discussed and presented fully in Chapter 2.

B-c-iii. Western Canadian Inuktun is spoken in the western Canadian Arctic. It is described by Lowe (1985a, 2001).

B-c-iv. Eastern Canadian Inuktitut, hereafter ECI, is spoken in the eastern Canadian Arctic. It is described by Mallon (1974, 1976, 1995, 1999a, b), Schneider (1976, 1985) and Spalding (1992, 1993, 1998), among others.

B-c-v. Greenlandic is spoken in Greenland. It is described by Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851]), Schultz-Lorentzen (1927, 1945), Bergsland (1955), Fortescue (1984), Robbe and Dorais (1986), Berthelsen *et al.* (1990) and Mennecier (1995), among others.

¹ Seward Peninsula Inupiaq lacks /ñ/ (Kaplan (1985)). Hence the lack of a tilde on *n* in *Inupiaq* for Seward Peninsula Inupiaq, as opposed to its presence for North Alaskan Iñupiaq.

More information on the Eskimo-Aleut language family is found in Krauss (1973, 1979, N.d.), Menovščikov (1979), Woodbury (1984), Collis, ed. (1990) and Dorais (1990, 1996).

1.2. Overview of the dissertation

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 presents a grammatical sketch of North Alaskan Iñupiaq. This sketch is also meant to serve as a background for later chapters.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 presents the definition of agentive and patientive bases.

Although agentive and patientive bases as illustrated in the beginning of the present chapter have been much addressed in Eskimo linguistics, they have not always been conceived in the same way by all past works. Chapter 3 will discuss how those two types of verb bases have been defined and treated in the past and then present working definitions of them for use in later chapters.

Chapter 4

In Chapter 4, I will attempt to isolate the differences between the agentive and patientive bases in Iñupiaq: what makes agentive bases agentive and what makes patientive bases patientive? I will claim that there are semantic principles behind the distribution of these two verb bases, that is, a verb base is assigned to one class or the other based on its meaning. There are various semantic parameters involved here, as we will see, but they all revolve around the saliency of the agent or patient. Agentive bases are verb bases that denote events in which the agent is salient in one way or another, while patientive bases are verb bases that denote events in which the patient is salient in one way or another.

I will also compare 100 verbs from four languages, English, Japanese, CAY and North Alaskan Iñupiaq, and find that their polarity shows a higher percentage of correspondence than expected if the polarity were assigned randomly. This suggests that the assignment of polarity is conditioned by similar semantic principles across languages.

Chapter 5

In Chapter 5, we will address the question of whether the distinction between the agentive and patientive classes is clear. Although the agentive and patientive classes have been treated as mutually exclusive in Eskimo linguistics, there is some evidence to the contrary:

- (i) Some verb bases may have the S corresponding with either the A or O. Such verb bases refer to either motion, change-of-state, or body care actions.
- (ii) As we will see in Chapter 3, agentive bases do not take a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive, while patientive bases do take a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive. Some verb bases are either like agentive or patientive bases in that they may or may not take a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive. They take a half-transitive postbase when they imply a fair amount of impact; otherwise they do not take a half-transitive postbase.
- (iii) There are cases in which an agentive base behaves like a patientive base or a patientive base behaves like an agentive base thanks to certain postbases or a certain mood. Specifically, postbases that focus on the agent's propensity for action tend to condition the agentive behavior of patientive bases, while postbases that focus on the result of the event tend to condition the patientive behavior of agentive bases.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the description of these phenomena. Although two classes of verbs similar to the agentive and patientive classes in Iñupiaq are found in many languages, such phenomena as described in this chapter are seldom studied. This chapter purports to be the first coherent study of its kind.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of the preceding chapters, and furnishes concluding remarks.

Appendix

The Appendix contains two texts in the Kobuk dialect of North Alaskan Iñupiaq.

Chapter 2. Grammatical sketch of the Kobuk dialect of North Alaskan Iñupiaq

2.1. The language and its speakers

North Alaskan Iñupiaq is a variety of the Inuit language spoken mainly in Alaska, but also in Canada. The language name ‘Iñupiaq’ comes from the ethnonym, Iñupiaq, ‘real person,’ whose plural form is Iñupiat, ‘real people.’

North Alaskan Iñupiaq is divided into two dialects: North Slope Iñupiaq and Malimiut Iñupiaq. The latter of these is further divided into Coastal and Kobuk dialects. Thus, in a tabular form:

North Alaskan Iñupiaq
North Slope Iñupiaq
Malimiut Iñupiaq
Coastal dialect
Kobuk dialect

North Slope Iñupiaq is spoken along the coast of the Arctic Ocean, from Kivalina / Point Hope in the west to the Canadian border in the east. In Canada it is called Uummarmiutun. The Coastal dialect of Malimiut Iñupiaq is spoken on the Kotzebue Sound and in the Noatak River valley, while the Kobuk dialect is spoken along the Kobuk River.

Distribution of the North Alaskan Iñupiaq-speaking villages, as well as that of the Seward Peninsula Inupiaq-speaking villages, is shown in Figure 2.

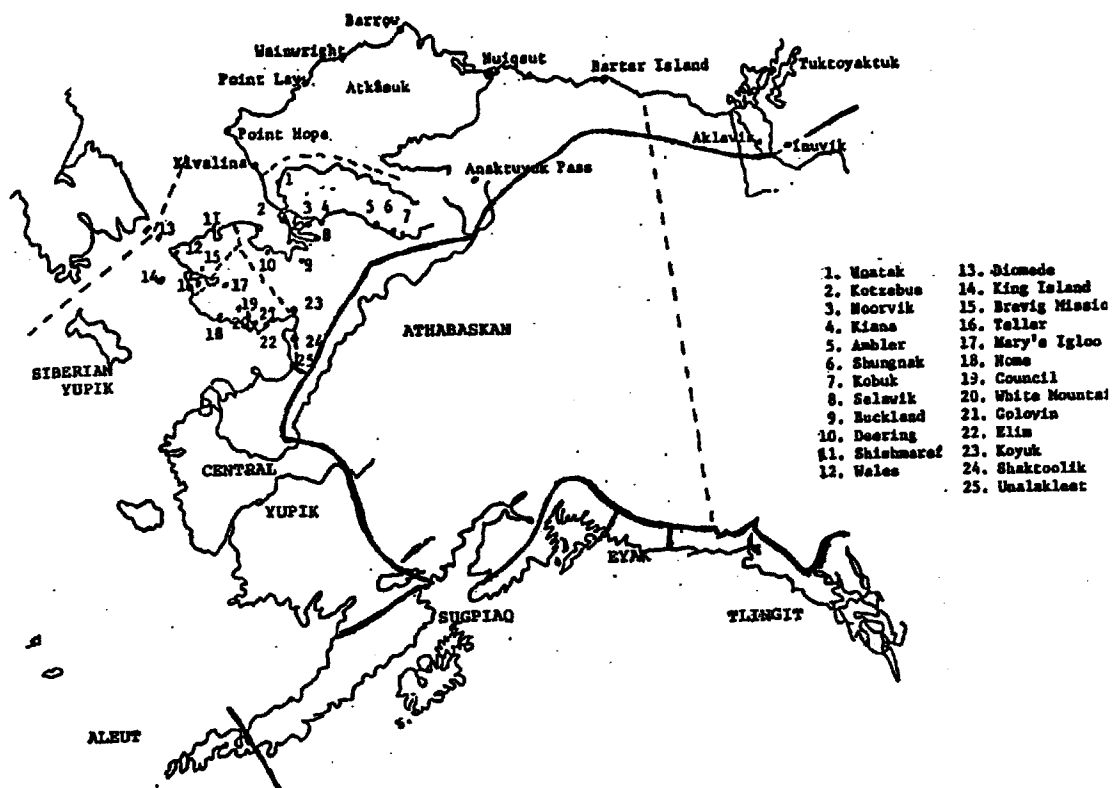


Figure 2. North Alaskan Inupiaq- and Seward Peninsula Inupiaq-speaking villages

(after MacLean (1986a: XI))

North Alaskan Inupiaq

North Slope Inupiaq: the villages whose names are given on the map

Malimiut Inupiaq: villages 1-10

Coastal dialect: villages 1, 2, 9, 10

Kobuk dialect: 3-8

Upper Kobuk subdialect: 5-7

Seward Peninsula Inupiaq

Bering Strait Inupiaq: 11-16

Qawiaraq Inupiaq: 17-25

This sketch, as well as this entire work, deals mainly with the Upper Kobuk subdialect of Malimiut Inupiaq, a variety of the Kobuk dialect, which is the variety with which I am most

familiar. As shown in Figure 2, this dialect is spoken in three villages, Kobuk (Laugviik in Iñupiaq), Shungnak (Nuurviuraq), and Ambler (Ivisaappaat), or the former Kuuvaum Kaniagmiut Nation (Burch (1998)).

Hereafter, ‘Iñupiaq’ will be used to refer specifically to the Upper Kobuk subdialect of Malimiut Iñupiaq, unless otherwise noted.

2.1.1. Linguistic type

Iñupiaq has a suffixing, polysynthetic structure and free constituent order.

The Iñupiaq word classes are nominal (noun, demonstrative, interrogative, and personal pronoun), adverb (demonstrative and interrogative adverb), verb, and particle.

All nominals distinguish singular, dual, and plural forms. There are two classes of third person in possessors of non-subject arguments and arguments of subordinate verbs depending on whether or not they are coreferent with the main clause subject.

There is a system of eight cases for nominals. There are two systems of case marking for the main syntactic functions of S, A and O. Singular nouns, possessed dual and plural nouns, demonstrative pronouns, and third-person pronouns distinguish absolutive (S and O) from relative, or ergative (A) case, whereas unpossessed dual and plural nouns and first- and second-person pronouns have the same form for the three functions.

The other six cases are oblique in nature, indicating such meanings as ‘with’, ‘to’, ‘from’, ‘at’, ‘through’ and ‘like’.

Nouns are marked for number and cross-reference possessors in person and number.

Adverbs inflect for six forms, five of which are functionally parallel to nominal cases.

Verbs cross-reference S, A and O in person and number. They inflect for mood in a broader sense, partially for tense, and not for aspect, which is taken on by derivational suffixes. Verbal inflections comprise three types of indicative, interrogative, two types of imperative, prohibitive,

and five types of subordinate.

Particles are mostly interjectional or adverbial in function.

There are hundreds of derivational suffixes, which can be used recursively. They elaborate or change the class of stems.

There are far fewer enclitics, which function as sentence modifiers and other, similar elements.

2.1.2. Present situation

Krauss (1997) notes that the “[a]ge of [the] youngest speakers [of the Alaskan varieties of the Inuit language] varies from twenties in Shungnak, Ambler, Kobuk, to fifty in Nome and Kotzebue” (1997: 5), which implies the following:

- (i) The youngest speakers of Kobuk Iñupiaq are in their thirties at the time of this writing.
- (ii) The youngest speakers of the Alaskan varieties of the Inuit language probably include those of Upper Kobuk Iñupiaq.

Let us turn to the number of speakers of Iñupiaq. There were 547 Upper Kobuk Iñupiat as of 1995 (Krauss (1995)). From this figure, as well as Krauss’ (1997) statement of the age of the youngest speakers, it would follow that the current number of speakers of Upper Kobuk Iñupiaq does not far exceed 200.

As for the number of speakers of all the varieties of the Inuit language in Alaska, Krauss (1997: 32) gives the following figures: 13,500 for the total population and 3,100 for the number of speakers.

Clearly, North Alaskan Iñupiaq is in danger of extinction in the not-too-distant future, in stark contrast with situations found in some Inuit varieties to the east, especially Greenlandic, and with some of the Yupik languages, namely some varieties of CAY and CSY. (For the situation of other Eskimo languages, see Krauss (1980, 1995, 1997).)

2.1.3. Previous work

North Alaskan Iñupiaq is not as well documented as other Inuit varieties to the east.

Webster and Zibell (1970) is a dictionary of both the North Slope and Malimiut varieties of North Alaskan Iñupiaq. MacLean (1980, n.d.-a) are dictionaries of North Slope Iñupiaq, while Seiler (2005) is a dictionary of Malimiut Iñupiaq. And Sun *et al.* (1979) is a dictionary of Kobuk Iñupiaq.

Webster (1968) is a brief pedagogical grammar of North Slope Iñupiaq. MacLean (1986a, b and n.d.-b) are a series of more thorough pedagogical grammars of North Slope Iñupiaq. Lowe (1985b) is a grammar of a variant of North Slope Iñupiaq spoken in Canada.

Kaplan (1981b) deals with the phonology of North Alaskan Iñupiaq, and Kaplan (n.d.) is a collection of noun and verb paradigms of Kobuk Iñupiaq. Seiler (1978, 1997) discusses the syntax of Coastal Iñupiaq. MacLean (1995) deals with the interaction of grammar and discourse in North Slope Iñupiaq.

Anderson *et al.* (1998 [1976]) and Burch (1998) are mostly ethnographic, but the former contains a list of animal and plant names in Kobuk Iñupiaq, and the latter contains toponymic studies of Malimiut Iñupiaq.

2.1.4. My fieldwork

I carried out ten field trips to Ambler between 1996 and 2003 (July-October 1996; February-April 1997; July-September 1997; July-September 1998; July-September 1999; February 2000; March 2001; June-August 2001; December 2002-January 2003; July-August 2003). Ambler is a village of about 300 people, 80-90% of whom are Iñupiat. For its location see Figure 2. For ethnographic information on people living in this and nearby villages, see Giddings (1956, 1961), Anderson *et al.* (1998 [1976]) and Burch (1998: 123-150), among others.

Let me briefly comment on how I settled in Ambler. First, I decided to do fieldwork on an

Eskimo language after taking Osahito Miyaoka's course in Eskimo linguistics in 1995. As I learned a Yupik language (CAY) from him, I thought it would be interesting to study the other branch of the Eskimo languages, Inuit. Then, consulting with Lawrence Kaplan, I decided to study Upper Kobuk Iñupiaq. The criteria for choosing it were the amount of research done and viability; I wanted to study a dialect which (i) was not well studied and which (ii) was relatively viable so that I could learn to speak it on a daily basis. (I was not well aware of language endangerment problems at that point, so I did not think of studying a less viable dialect.) Thus:

- (i) Malimiut Iñupiaq is underdescribed compared to North Slope Iñupiaq, for which there are MacLean's grammars (1986a, b, n.d.-b).
- (ii) Of the Malimiut Iñupiaq dialects, the Upper Kobuk dialect seemed relatively well preserved according to Krauss (1982), where the three Upper Kobuk villages are the only Malimiut villages marked as 'Some of the children speak the language,' while all the other Malimiut villages are marked as 'Very few or none of the children speak the language.' So I figured I would be exposed to the language more in the Upper Kobuk villages than in other Malimiut villages.

Having decided on Upper Kobuk Iñupiaq, I consulted with Wolf Seiler in Kotzebue and was informed of several contact persons in the Upper Kobuk villages. And in July, 1996, I went to Ambler, planning to meet those persons and to move to Shangnak or Kobuk if I did not find anyone to work with me in Ambler. The reason I chose Ambler as the first village to visit is that it seemed more accessible to an outsider because there was a lodge. Then, on the second day of my stay in Ambler, I met Minnie Gray, who lived near the lodge, and started to work with her.

Since then, I have worked almost exclusively with her. I first worked with her just because she was the first Iñupiaq elder I met in Ambler, but soon afterwards I decided to work exclusively with her rather than working with a number of speakers, for the following reasons:

- (i) Since she used to teach Iñupiaq at school in Ambler (see Text 29 in the Appendix), she knew

how to write in the standard orthography, which helped me immensely in transcribing texts.

- (ii) Having worked with linguist Wilfried Zibell (cf. Webster and Zibell (1970)) and (co-)authored several books in Iñupiaq (Gray *et al.* (1979) etc.) and the Kobuk Iñupiaq Junior Dictionary (Sun *et al.* (1979)), she was willing to do linguistic work with me.
- (iii) Having listened to her father, Robert Nasruk Cleveland (cf. Cleveland (1980)), a distinguished storyteller, she had many narratives to offer.
- (iv) She was a very reliable consultant, very insightful and always consistent in judgment.

Only when she was not available, I worked with other Iñupiaq speakers: Truman Cleveland, Sr., Clara Lee, Sarah Tickett, Mary Williams, the late Arthur Douglas, Sr. and the late Tommy Douglas.

I worked with the speakers at their houses for one to four hours a day, at most two hours at a time, mostly in the evening and sometimes in the morning, five days a week. I only taped texts, not other sessions.

2.1.5. Sources

The Iñupiaq examples provided in this work are based on the material obtained during my fieldwork in Ambler. It is of two kinds:

- (i) citations from Gray *et al.* (1996-2002); or
- (ii) material from Nagai (1996-2003).

Gray *et al.* (1996-2002) is a collection of texts which I recorded, transcribed, translated and analyzed with the help of Minnie Gray. The speakers were all born in Kobuk in the 1920's and lived in Ambler during my field trips. These are all volunteered texts, rather than translations of English or other texts. When I recorded them, I just made a broad request, saying 'Please talk about the history of Ambler' or 'Please talk about your father,' and everything other than that, such as the specific content, the style, and the length of the text, was the speaker's choice. A list of these texts follows. The titles are of my own creation and have no ethnological significance.

No.	Date	Speaker(s)	Title	Length (min.)
1	9/1/96	Tommy Douglas	Talk from Bible	7
2	9/4/96	Tommy Douglas	History of Onion Portage	6
3	9/18/96	Clara Lee and Minnie Gray	How to cut fish	8
4	9/18/96	Clara Lee and Minnie Gray	History of Ambler, I	6
5	9/18/96	Clara Lee and Minnie Gray	History of Ambler, II	6
6	9/25/96	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: How Mudshark prepares to go out	2
7	2/13/97	Minnie Gray	How to cook cranberries	3
8	2/13/97	Minnie Gray	How to cook caribou	4
9	2/13/97	Minnie Gray	How to cook black bear	3
10	2/13/97	Minnie Gray	How to use seal oil	4
11	9/16/98	Minnie Gray	How to cook blueberries	3
12	9/16/98	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: How caribou lost his teeth	4
13	9/16/98	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: Porcupine trying to cross the river	4
14	8/28/99	Minnie Gray and Clara Lee	Folk tale: A young woman who disappeared	15
15	3/14/01	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: A boy and his villagers	3
16	3/14/01	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: A man who stayed with hawk owls	5
17	6/12/01	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: Blackfish that was dried up	2
18	6/13/01	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: A woman turned into a caribou	8
19	6/15/01	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: A man who was teased by a mouse	3
20	6/19/01	Minnie Gray	How to make birch-bark baskets	5
21	6/20/01	Minnie Gray	How to seine	4
22	6/21/01	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: Pike and Mudsucker's fight	1
23	6/21/01	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: A young man good at spearing	1
24	6/21/01	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: A man who became a sheefish	3
25	7/3/01	Minnie Gray	History of Ambler, III	5
26	7/9/01	Minnie Gray	Autobiography: Childhood	7
27	7/10/01	Minnie Gray	Autobiography: School days	11
28	7/12/01	Minnie Gray	Autobiography: Marriage	16
29	7/14/01	Minnie Gray	Autobiography: As a bilingual teacher	19
30	7/18/01	Minnie Gray	Father's biography	11
31	7/19/01	Minnie Gray	Father's memories	9
32	7/25/01	Minnie Gray	Mother's memories	4
33	7/30/01	Minnie Gray	How to camp	8
34	8/4/01	Minnie Gray	How the life has changed in Ambler	10
35	8/7/01	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: Another version of Text 17	2
36	8/10/01	Minnie Gray	Autobiography: Making books	7

37	8/11/01	Minnie Gray	How to pick and cook berries	8
38	12/19/02	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: A boy whose face was like an ulu	23
39	12/21/02	Minnie Gray	Folk tale: An orphan who went up the river	17

Total length (min.): 267

In the examples in this work, sources are distinguished by indicating the text number and the sentence number if the example is taken from Gray *et al.* (1996-2002). Thus, the indication '(10: 25)' will mean that the example is sentence 25 in text 10 ('How to use seal oil'). The absence of such an indication will mean that the example is from Nagai (1996-2003), elicited material.

2.1.6. Notation

The examples are presented in the standard orthography, first devised by Roy Ahmaogak, a North Slope Iñupiaq, and linguist Eugene Nida, making it the only standard orthography of any Alaska Native language devised by a Native speaker (cf. Krauss (1973: 830, n.d., ch. 7: 34-35)). The orthography will be presented in Section 2.2.1.

Unassimilated English words are underlined and separated from Iñupiaq portions of words by hyphens.

2.2. Phonology and morphophonology

This section presents the phonemes of Iñupiaq and their interaction with each other in morphophonological processes.

2.2.1. Phoneme inventory

Iñupiaq has 24 consonant phonemes and three vowel phonemes. Below is the inventory of the phonemes in IPA, each accompanied by its representation in the standard orthography.

consonants:	/p/	/t/	/tʃ/			/k/	/q/	/ʔ/
	p	t	ch			k	q	'
	/v/	/ʌ/	/ʌ/	/j/	/z/	/ɣ/	/ʒ/	
	v	l	ʌ	y	r	g	ḡ	
		/ʌ/	/ʌ/	/s/	/ʃ/	/x/	/χ/	/h/
		ʃ	ʃ	s	sr	kh	qh	h
	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/			/ŋ/		
	m	n	ɲ			ŋ		
vowels:	/i/	/a/	/u/					
	i	a	u					

Long consonants and vowels are indicated by doubling the letter, except that long CH is written tch. For an explication of the orthography, see Kaplan (1980, 1998 [1976]).

No more than two consonants can cluster, except word-initially or word-finally, where consonant clusters are not allowed.

No more than two vowels can cluster. Any cluster of two vowels is possible. However, some clusters are phonetically leveled. Thus, the following are the nine possible vowel clusters and their phonetic realizations:

ii [i:]	ia [e:]	iu [iu]
ai [e:]	aa [aa]	au [o:]
ui [u:]	ua [o:]	uu [uu]

Some examples follow:

- (3) a. panai [pane:] 'his spears'
 b. pania [pane:] 'his daughter'
 c. qauq [qo:q] 'forehead'
 d. quaq [qo:q] 'frozen meat'
 e. niu [ni:] 'leg'

For more on vowel-cluster leveling, see Kaplan (1981b: 158-162).

Some base-final vowel clusters have what I call a 'hidden consonant' between them, the

historical existence of which is confirmed by comparison with other Eskimo languages. But there is also internal synchronic evidence that suggests the existence of such consonants. ‘Hidden’ consonants appear on the surface when followed by certain suffixes that trigger gemination of a preceding single consonant. Consider the following examples:

- (4) a. nanuq ‘-k → nannuk
 ‘polar bear’ ABS.D ‘two polar bears’
 b. nanuq ÷nun → nannunun
 ‘polar bear’ TRM.P ‘to polar bears’
 c. niġi- ‘-iñ → niġġiñ
 ‘eat’ IIM.2S ‘eat!’

These examples show that the suffixes ‘-k (4a), ÷nun (4b) and ‘-iñ (4c) trigger gemination of a preceding single consonant (for details on these suffixes, see Section 2.2.3). Compare (4) with the following examples:

- (5) a. kuuk ‘-k → kurrak
 ‘river’ ABS.D ‘two rivers’
 b. puuq ÷nun → puggunun
 ‘seal skin poke’ TRM.P ‘to seal skin pokes’
 c. qai-² ‘-iñ → qaġġaiñ
 ‘come’ IIM.2S ‘come!’

These examples show that kuuk ‘river’ (5a) turns out to have a ‘hidden’ r, puuq ‘seal skin poke’ (5b) a ‘hidden’ g, and qai- ‘come’ (5c) a ‘hidden’ ġ between the vowels. For more on ‘hidden’ consonants, see Kaplan (1981b: 182-188, 1982) and MacLean (1986b: 25).

The phonemes i and q each have two sub-types, or, it may be more correct to say that each of them consists of two phonemes, as evidenced by the following:

² In the Kobuk dialect, qai- ‘come’ is defective, used only in imperative forms. But it is found, for example, in qai-t- ‘give’ as well.

- (i) *i* has two sub-types, called strong *i* and weak *i* (cf. MacLean (1986a: 19)). The former comes from Proto-Eskimo *i*, and the latter from Proto-Eskimo *ə*. In this section on phonology and morphophonology, I will differentiate them by writing strong *i* as *î* and weak *i* as *ï*, when differentiation is needed; in the following sections and chapters, they will be differentiated only on morphemes given in isolation (and not in morpheme breakdowns on the second line of the examples). The reason for distinguishing them is not only historical but synchronic as well. They behave differently in the following ways:

a. *î*, but not *ï*, palatalizes succeeding alveolars or velars. For example:

- (6) a. *niġî* +*niaq* +*kaa* → *niġîniagaa*
 ‘eat’ ‘will’ IND.3S3S ‘he will eat it’
- b. *apiġï* +*niaq* +*kaa* → *apiġïniagaa*
 ‘ask’ ‘will’ IND.3S3S ‘he will ask her’

Notice that *î* turns the following *n* into *ñ* (6a), but not *ï* (6b).

b. *ï*, but not *î*, alternates with *a* when next to another vowel. Consider the following examples:

- (7) a. *tapsî* :*u* +*tuq* → *tapsiuruq*
 ‘belt’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is a belt’
- b. *atigï* :*u* +*tuq* → *atigauruq*
 ‘parka’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is a parka’

Notice that *î* in *tapsî* does not change when followed by *u* (7a), whereas *ï* in *atigï* turns into *a* when followed by *u* (7b). Despite their different phonological behaviors, *î* and *ï* sound exactly alike. So we can see whether *i* is strong or weak only when it is followed by particular suffixes; elsewhere we cannot tell whether *i* is strong or weak. Thus, we cannot tell whether the first *i* of *niġî* (6a) and that of *apiġï* (6b) are strong or weak, because these *i*’s are never directly followed by suffixes. For a fuller explication of two types of *i*, see Kaplan (1981a, 1981b: 110-165) and MacLean (1986a: 19-23).

(ii) q also has two sub-types: strong q and weak q (cf. Kaplan (1981b: 241)). In this section on phonology and morphophonology, I will differentiate them by writing strong q as Q and weak q as ĩ, when differentiation is needed. Q and k make up one class as opposed to ĩ in terms of some morphophonological processes. The former are called strong consonants, while the latter is called a weak consonant. Strong consonants and weak consonants differ in the ways they interact with suffixes, which will be explicated in Section 2.2.3. Here are some examples:

- (8) a. ivik ÷mun → ivinqmun
 ‘grass’ TRM.S ‘to grass’
- b. aiviQ ÷mun → aiviqmun
 walrus TRM.S ‘to a walrus’
- c. qipmiĩ ÷mun → qipmimun
 dog TRM.P ‘to a dog’

As is shown in (8a-b), strong consonants are not dropped when followed by a suffix ÷mun, while, as in (8c), weak consonants are dropped when followed by this suffix. For a fuller explication of two types of q, see Kaplan (1981b: 241-245) and MacLean (1986a: 45-46).

2.2.2. Phonemic alternations

The process of suffixation conditions various phonemic alternations at morpheme boundaries. Some alternations are phonological in that they work not only at morpheme boundaries but throughout the language: thus, phoneme combinations avoided by these alternations at morpheme boundaries are not found elsewhere. Other alternations are morphophonological in that they work only in the process of suffixation: thus, phoneme combinations avoided by these alternations in the process of suffixation can be found elsewhere—within single morphemes, for example. I will

examine each of them below. Symbols before suffixes such as + and - are explicated in Section 2.2.3., so they need not concern us here.

2.2.2.1. Phonological alternations

In this subsection I will look at those alternations that are not restricted to morpheme boundaries.

(i) *ĩ* alternates with *a* when next to another vowel, as illustrated by the following example:

(7) b. atigĩ :u +tuq → atigauruq
 ‘parka’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is a parka’

(ii) *s*, *sr*, and *y* becomes *ch* when preceded by *t*, as illustrated by the following examples:

(9) a. nuqit +sruu +kaa → nuqitchuugaa
 ‘pull’ ‘always’ IND.3S3S ‘he always pulls it’
 b. iput +yuvich → iputchuvich
 ‘row’ CND.2S ‘if you row’

(iii) Palatalization: when (a) directly preceded by *î* or (b) preceded by a consonant preceded by *î*, alveolars and velars become palatal, thus:

t becomes *ch* (word-finally) or *s* (otherwise),
 k *ch*,
 g *y*,
 ʃ ʃ,
 l *l*, and
 n *ñ*.

For example:

- (10) a. qaqqî +pkaq +kaa → qaqqipchaġaa
 ‘bake bread’ ‘make’ IND.3S3S ‘he made him bake bread’
- b. iqpiq +fugu → iqpiqfugu
 ‘uncover’ CTR./3S ‘uncovering it’
- c. katchî +lu → katchiġu
 ‘wall’ ‘and’ ‘and a wall’
- d. ani +niaq +tuq → aniñiaqtuq
 ‘go out’ ‘will’ IND.3S ‘he will go out’

2.2.2.2. Morphophonological alternations

There are several types of assimilations that take place only in the process of suffixation.

(i) When followed by a nasal:

- k becomes ŋ,
 q ġ, and
 t n.

For example:

- (11) a. siñik +niaq +tuq → siñiŋniaqtuq
 ‘sleep’ ‘will’ IND.3S ‘he will sleep’
- b. aqpaqsruq +niaq +tuq → aqpaqsruġniaqtuq
 ‘run’ ‘will’ IND.3S ‘he will run’
- c. aquviġ +niaq +tuq → aquvinniaqtuq
 ‘sit down’ ‘will’ IND.3S ‘he will sit down’

See (v) below for exceptions.

(ii) When followed by a vowel or a continuant v, l, or !:

- k becomes g, and
 q ġ.

For example:

- (12) a. **atuq** +**uta** → **atuguta**
 ‘sing’ CTU.1P ‘we singing’
 b. **aglak** +**luni** → **aglagluni**
 ‘write’ CTU.4S ‘he writing’

(iii) When flanked by vowels:

p becomes v,
 k g, and
 t r.

For example:

- (13) a. **iga** +**paa** → **igavaa**
 ‘cook’ KSM.3S3S ‘he suddenly cooked it’
 b. **iga** +**kaa** → **igagaa**
 ‘cook’ IND.3S3S ‘he cooked it’
 c. **iga** +**tuq** → **igaruq**
 ‘cook’ IND.3S ‘he cooked’

See (viii) and (ix) below for exceptions.

(iv) q and k combine into ġ when adjacent.

For example:

- (14) **qiñiq** +**kaa** → **qiñigaa**
 ‘see’ IND.3S3S ‘he saw her’

(v) The first stop of a suffix is deleted in cases where three successive consonants would otherwise result. Alternations described thus far do not take place across deleted stops. Consider the following examples:

- (15) a. ui +kniq +ka → uikniāga
 ‘husband’ ‘poor’ ABS.1SS ‘my poor husband’
 b. iġñiq +kniq +ka → iġñiqniāga
 ‘son’ ‘poor’ ABS.1SS ‘my poor son’

In (15a), *k* remains, because keeping it does not result in three successive consonants, but in (15b), *k* is deleted, to avoid the occurrence of three successive consonants (**qkn*). Also note that in (15b), *q* does not become *ġ* as stipulated in (i) above, because of the deleted *k* between *q* and *n*. For more on this rule, see Kaplan (1981b: 45-50).

(vi) The final *i* of a base is deleted when preceded by *t* and followed by a postbase beginning with *r* or *l* (for postbases see Section 2.3.1). For example:

- (16) a. agġiq :uti +rġ +tuq → agġiutruruq
 ‘come’ ‘with’ ANTIP IND.3S ‘he brought something’
 b. tuti +liq +kaa → tutliġaa
 ‘step on’ ‘quickly’ IND.3S3S ‘he quickly stepped on it’

(vii) The final *i* of a base is deleted when preceded by *t* and followed by an oblique case ending beginning with *m* (for oblique case endings see Section 2.3). Alternations described thus far do not take place across deleted *i*'s. For example:

- (17) anjuti ÷mun → anjutmun
 man trm.s ‘to a man’

Notice that *t* does not become *n* as stipulated in (i), because of the deleted *i*. For more on this rule see Kaplan (1981b: 50-55).

(viii) No alternation takes place when attaching ‘-’ suffixes (for which see Section 2.2.3.1).

Compare (13a) with:

- (18) pana -piaq → panapiaq
 'spear' 'real' 'real spear'

where **p** does not turn into **v** as stipulated in (iii), because of the '-' suffix -piaq.

(ix) A mora being a vowel or a coda, **kk** following more than one odd mora counting from the beginning of a word is reduced to **k**. For example:

- (19) a. tautuk +kaa → tautukaa
 'see' IND.3S3S 'he saw it'
 b. nuttak +kisi +tuq → nuttakisuruq
 'jump' 'will' IND.3S 'he will jump'

where **kk** is reduced to **k** because it follows three moras (ta-u-tu, nu-t-ta).

Compare these with the following examples:

- (20) alik +kaa → alikkaa
 'tear' IND.3S3S 'he tore it'

where **kk** is not reduced to **k** because it follows two moras (a-li).

A single **k** resulting from this reduction is not subject to further alternations. Thus, **k** in tautukaa (19a) and nuttakisuruq (19b), which is flanked by vowels, does not become **g** as stipulated in (iii).

2.2.3. Types of suffixes

Suffixes may be classified according to how they attach to a base. I will indicate by several symbols preceding the suffix how each suffix attaches to a base. Most of these symbols have been

commonly used in Alaskan Eskimo linguistics (cf. MacLean (1980, 1986a, b, n.d.-b), Jacobson (1984, 1995, 2001), Badten *et al.* (1987)). Let us look at each of the classes of suffixes in turn.

(i) ‘-’ suffixes

Some suffixes delete the final consonant, if any, of the base. Such suffixes are marked by ‘-’ at the beginning. Consider the following example:

(21) atuq -tla +tuq → atutlaruq
 ‘sing’ ‘can’ IND.3S ‘he can sing’

where q of atuq- is deleted because of the suffix -tla.

(ii) ‘+’ suffixes

Some suffixes attach to the base without deleting the final consonant of the base. Such suffixes are marked by ‘+’ at the beginning. Consider the following example:

(22) siñik +kisi +tuq → siñikkisiruq
 ‘sleep’ ‘will’ IND.3S ‘he will sleep’

where k of siñik is not deleted when +kisi- follows.

Recall from the preceding sections that no more than two consonants can be combined in a cluster. Therefore, if a ‘+’ suffix that begins with a consonant cluster is attached to a base that ends in a consonant, resulting in three successive consonants, the first consonant of the ‘+’ suffix is deleted, as we saw in Section 2.2.2.2. (v). For example:

(23) qipmiq +kmatun → qipmiqmatun
 ‘dog’ ‘sounding like’ ‘sounding like a dog’

where k of kmatun is deleted to avoid three successive consonants (*qkm).

(iii) ‘ suffixes

Some suffixes geminate the consonant preceding the semi-final short vowel of the base, changing semi-final *i* to *a*. Such suffixes are marked by ‘ at the beginning. (Note that ‘ and ’ are different signs: ‘ indicates consonant gemination, while ’ indicates /ʔ/ morpheme.)

Thus, consider the following examples:

- (24) a. iñuk ‘-k → iññuk
 ‘person’ ABS.D ‘two people’
 b. iri ‘-k → irrak
 ‘eye’ ABS.D ‘eyes’
 c. nigaq ‘-k → niggak
 ‘rainbow’ ABS.D ‘two rainbows’

However, when the consonant to be geminated (a) is *g* or *ġ* and (b) is not the first consonant of the second syllable preceded by a single vowel, the consonant is geminated to *kk* or *qq* (cf. Kaplan (1981b: 221-268), MacLean (1986a: 27)). For example:

- (25) a. iyaġak ‘-k → iyaqqak
 ‘stone’ ABS.D ‘two stones’
 b. tulugaq ‘-k → tulukkak
 ‘raven’ ABS.D ‘two ravens’

Compare (24c) and (25b). In (24c), *g* is geminated to *gg*, because it is the first consonant of the second syllable preceded by a single vowel, while in (25b), the same consonant is geminated to *kk*, because it is not the first consonant of the second syllable.

This consonant gemination is obligatory in some cases and optional in others. Generally, it is obligatory where it is the only marker of the suffix, but is otherwise optional. Thus, with *iññuk* ‘two people’ (24a), the gemination is obligatory, since otherwise the dual and singular forms would

be identical, whereas with *irrak* (24b), the gemination is not crucial, since the final *k* already indicates dual. So *irik* is possible alongside of *irrak*.

These suffixes geminate ‘hidden’ consonants (for which see Section 2.2.1.) as well, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (26) a. *aqiak* ‘-k’ → *aqirrak*
 ‘belly’ ABS.D ‘two bellies’
 b. *sisuaq* ‘-k’ → *sisurrak or sisuak*
 ‘beluga’ ABS.D ‘two belugas’

In some cases, especially when the base has a consonant cluster rather than a single consonant preceding the semi-final vowel, rendering consonant gemination impossible, the vowel after the consonant cluster is lengthened instead. *ĩ* becomes *aa* when thus lengthened (Recall that *ĩ* becomes *a* when adjacent to another vowel. See Section 2.2.2.1. (i)). Thus, for example, we have *iyagaak* alongside of *iyaaqqak* ‘two stones’ (25a). The following are some examples in which vowel lengthening is the only possibility due to the presence of a consonant cluster:

- (27) a. *aqpiik* ‘-k’ → *aqpiik*
 ‘salmonberry’ ABS.D ‘two salmonberries’
 b. *akkak* ‘-k’ → *akkaak*
 ‘uncle (father’s brother)’ ABS.D ‘two uncles’

For more details on this type of suffix, see Kaplan (1981b: 225-250) and MacLean (1986a: 26-27).

(iv) ‘±’ suffixes

Some suffixes retain the final *t*, but drop the final *k* or *q*, of the base. Such suffixes are marked by ‘±’ at the beginning. For example:

- (28) a. *tuqut* ±*qqayaq* +*kaa* → *tuqutqayaḡaa*
 ‘kill’ ‘almost’ IND.3S3S ‘he almost killed her’

b.	kunik	±qqayaq	+kaa	→	kuniqqayaḡaa
	'kiss'	'almost'	IND.3S3S		'he almost kissed her'

In (28a), t of tuqut is not dropped when followed by ±qqayaq; instead, the first q of ±qqayaq is dropped to avoid three successive consonants (*tqq). On the other hand, in (28b), k of kunik is dropped when followed by ±qqayaq; the first q of ±qqayaq is not dropped, because the failure to drop it would not result in three successive consonants.

(v) ^ suffixes

Some suffixes drop the final t, but retain the final k or q, of the base. Such suffixes are marked by '^' at the beginning. For example:

(29) a.	iput	^tit	+kaa	→	iputitkaa
	'row'	'make'	IND.3S3S		'he made her row'
b.	savak	^tit	+kaa	→	savaktitkaa
	'work'	'make'	IND.3S3S		'he made her work'

In (29a), t of iput is dropped when followed by ^tit; in (29b), k of savak is not dropped when followed by ^tit.

(vi) '÷' suffixes

Some suffixes drop final weak consonants, but retain final strong consonants of the base. Such suffixes are marked by '÷' at the beginning. For example:

(30) a.	narvaq̃	÷mun	→	narvamun
	'lake'	TRM.S		'to the lake'
b.	tupiQ	÷mun	→	tupigmun
	'house'	TRM.S		'to the house'
c.	aglagvik	÷mun	→	aglagvinmun
	'school'	TRM.S		'to the school'

In (30a), *ġ* of *narvaq* is dropped when followed by *÷mun*, whereas *Q* of *tupiQ* (30b) and *k* of *aglagvik* (30c) are not dropped when followed by *÷mun*.

When weak final consonants are dropped, they geminate the preceding consonant in compensation. For example:

- (31) a. *tulugaġ ÷mun → tulukkamun*
 ‘raven’ TRM.S ‘to the raven’
- b. *amaġuġ ÷mun → amaqqumun*
 ‘wolf’ TRM.S ‘to the wolf’
- c. *qanusriġ ÷mun → qanutchimun*
 ‘how many’ TRM.S ‘to how many’

(vii) : suffixes

Some suffixes drop the semi-final *i* of the base. Such suffixes are marked by ‘:’ at the beginning.

For example:

- (32) a. *ivik :u +tuq → ivguruq*
 ‘grass’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is grass’
- b. *imiġ :u +tuq → imġuruq*
 ‘water’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is water’

These suffixes do not drop *i* when doing so would yield three successive consonants. For example:

- (33) a. *paŋniġ :u +tuq → paŋniġuruq*
 ‘bull caribou’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is a bull caribou’
- b. *ikniġ :u +tuq → ikniġuruq*
 ‘fire’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is fire’

If the base does not have a semi-final *i* and ends in a consonant, the final consonant of the base is dropped. For example:

- (34) a. savîk :u +tuq → saviuruq
 ‘knife’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is a knife’
 b. natchîq :u +tuq → natchiuruq
 ‘seal’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is a seal’

If the base ends in a vowel, the suffix is just attached to the base without dropping anything. For example:

- (35) a. katchî :u +tuq → katchiuruq
 ‘wall’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is a wall’
 b. niqî :u +tuq → niqauruq
 ‘meat’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is meat’

If the base ends in *t*, *t* is replaced with *rr*. For example:

- (36) nalaut :uti +tuk → nalaurrutiruk
 ‘meet’ ‘each other’ IND.3D ‘they met each other’

If three successive vowels would result, *ŋ* is inserted before the suffix, or, if the base ends in *k*, *g* is inserted. For example:

- (37) a. palapkaa :u +tuq → palapkaanuruq
 ‘tent’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is a tent’
 b. naluagmiu :u +tuq → naluagmiunuruq
 ‘white person’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘he is a white person’
 c. kikiak :u +tuq → kikiaguruq
 ‘nail’ ‘be’ IND.3S ‘it is a nail’

(viii) Replacive suffixes

Some suffixes drop the semi-final vowels of the base as well as whatever follows them and geminate the now-final consonant. Such suffixes are marked by ‘R’ (mnemonic for ‘replacive’) at the beginning. For example:

- (38) a. qayaq Rî +tuq → qayyiruaq
 ‘kayak’ ‘make’ IND.3S ‘he made a kayak’
 b. panik Rî → panni
 ‘daughter’ ABS.4SS ‘his own daughter’

t followed by semi-final i becomes sr, and s followed by semi-final i becomes tch, when thus geminated. For example:

- (39) a. iputi Rî +tuq → ipusriruaq
 ‘oar’ ‘make’ IND.3S ‘he made an oar’
 b. akisi Rî +tuq → akitchiruaq
 ‘pillow’ ‘make’ IND.3S ‘he made a pillow’

Hidden consonants show up when these suffixes attach. For example:

- (40) a. asriaq Riuq +tuq → asrirriuaqtuaq
 ‘berry’ ‘cook’ IND.3S ‘he cooked berries’
 b. tasriuaq Riq :uti +kaa → tasrirriutigaa
 ‘hold by hand’ ‘quickly’ APPLIC IND.3S3S ‘he quickly grabbed her by the hand’

Replacive suffixes have an alternative form beginning with -l or -n (the latter is found only in Rî ~ -nî ‘ABS.4SS’). Thus, alongside (38a, b) and (40a, b), the following forms are also possible:

- (41) a. qayaq -li +tuq → qayaliruaq
 ‘kayak’ ‘make’ IND.3S ‘he made a kayak’
 b. panik -nî → paniñi
 ‘daughter’ ABS.4SS ‘his own daughter’

- c. asriaq -liuq +tuq → asrialiuqtuq
 ‘berry’ ‘cook’ IND.3S ‘he cooked berries’
- d. tasriuq -liq :uti +kaa → tasriuliutigaa
 ‘hold by hand’ ‘quickly’ APPLIC IND.3S3S ‘he quickly grabbed her by the hand’

For more details on replacive suffixes, see Kaplan (1981b: 250-254).

2.3. Morphology

The principal parts of speech in Iñupiaq are nominals, adverbs, verbs and a small residual set of particles. Of those three, nominals are marked by obligatory endings for case and number and, if possessed, for person and number of possessor as well. Adverbs are marked for case. Verbs are marked by obligatory endings for mood, and person and number of the arguments. Intransitive verbs cross-reference S, while transitive verbs cross-reference both A and O. Particles do not inflect.

As to the constituent order, Eskimo languages are generally considered to have SOV order, as Fortescue (1984: 93) states for West Greenlandic. In this respect, Iñupiaq may be exceptional in freely allowing SVO order, as is seen from the ample examples in this work. In fact, in North Slope Iñupiaq, SVO is the preferred order for many speakers, apparently due to influence from English (Lawrence Kaplan (p.c.)). At any rate, SVO is a well-entrenched order in present-day Iñupiaq.

In the following sections, we will discuss the makeup of a word, nominals and adverbs, verbs, postbases, enclitics and particles in that order.

2.3.1. Makeup of a word

The structure of a word may be formulated as follows:

(42) Structure of a word

base + (any number of postbases) + ending + any number of enclitics
 stem

Endings fall into two types, one of which is further subdivided in two:

- (i) noun endings, which yield nouns, marking case and number and, if possessed, number and person of possessor.
- (ii) verb endings, which yield verbs, marking mood as well as person and number of one or two arguments. They are subdivided in two:
 - (a) intransitive verb endings, which yield intransitive verbs, marking mood as well as person and number of one argument (S).
 - (b) transitive verb endings, which yield transitive verbs, marking mood as well as person and number of two arguments (A and O).

Accordingly there are two types of bases:

- (i) noun bases, which will be followed by noun endings, if not by postbases.
- (ii) verb bases, which will be followed by verb endings, if not by postbases.

Besides nouns, nominals include demonstrative, interrogative and personal pronouns, which also inflect for case and number (but not for person and number of possessor). There is also a class of adverbs (demonstrative and interrogative adverbs), which inflect for case. They all differ from nouns in that they do not allow postbases between the base and the ending (so that the division between the stem and the ending is hard, if not impossible, to draw). So here, of the sub-categories of nominals and adverbs, we will be concerned only with nouns, which can freely take a number of postbases between the base and the ending.

Now, consider the following examples:

- (43) a. tupiḡa
 tupiq+ka
 house-ABS.1SS
 ‘my house’

- b. uqaqtunja
 uqaq+tunja
 talk-IND.1S
 'I talked'
- c. tautukiga
 tautuk+kiga
 see-IND.3S1S
 'I saw it'

In (43a) *tupiq* is a noun base, and *+ka* a noun ending; in (43b) *uqaq-* is a verb base, and *+tunja* an intransitive verb ending; and in (43c) *tautuk-* is a verb base and *+kiga* a transitive verb ending. Verb bases will be followed by a hyphen and noun bases by no hyphen. The reason for differentiating verb bases from noun bases by the presence or absence of a following hyphen is that verb bases must always be followed by some non-zero ending, whereas noun bases may occur with a zero ending, which marks absolutive singular.

In the examples in (43), the stem is made up of a base, so the noun base *tupiq* (43a) functions as a noun stem, the verb base *uqaq-* (43b) as an intransitive verb stem, and the verb base *tautuk-* (43c) as a transitive verb stem. But, as (42) shows, it is possible to put a postbase after the base to make a larger stem. Postbases attach to bases to modify them. We will refer to the base that the postbase attaches to as its input, and to the resultant base as its output. Thus, compare (43) with:

- (44) a. tupitchiaga
 tupiq-tchiaq+ka
 house-new-ABS.1SS
 'my new house'
- b. uqaquurunja
 uqaq+uu+tunja
 talk-always-IND.1S
 'I talk (habitually)'

- c. tautugukkiga
 tautuk+uk+kiga
 see-want.to-IND.1S3S
 ‘I want to see it’

In (44a), the input of the postbase -tchiaq is the noun base tupiq, and its output is the noun base tupitchiaq, which functions as a noun stem. In (44b), the input of +uu- is the verb base uqaq- and its output is the verb base uqaġuu-, which functions as an intransitive verb stem. And in (44c), the input of +uk- is the verb base tautuk- and its output is the verb base tautuguk-, which functions as a transitive verb stem.

Now, in the examples of (44), the type of the output of the postbase is the same as that of the input, for example, the input and the output of the postbase -tchiaq (44a) are both noun bases; but this is not always the case. Postbases may change the base they attach to from one type to another.

Compare (43, 44) with:

- (45) a. tuppirona
 tupiq-li+tuna
 house-make-IND.1S
 ‘I built a house’
- b. uqaqti
 uqaq^ti
 talk-Ver
 ‘preacher’

In (45a), the input of the postbase -li- is a noun base (tupiq), but its output is a verb base (tuppi-), which functions as a stem. In (45b), the input of the postbase ^ti is a verb base (uqaq-), but its output is a noun base (uqaqti).

In (45), the bases are followed by only one postbase, but this is not always the case, either. As (42) shows, a base may be followed by any number of postbases, semantics permitting. Thus, consider:

- (46) a. iññitkisirutin
 iñuk-lit+kisi+tutin
 person-reach-will-IND.2S
 ‘you will reach people’ (14: 50)
- b. anaqaksrisiraġigaatigut.
 anaqa-ksraq-li:uti+raġi+kaatigut
 night-early-spend-APPLIC-always-IND3S1P
 ‘he always spent evenings with us’ (31: 71)

(46a) contains two postbases. The first postbase (-lit-) turns the noun base (iñuk) into a verb base (iññit-), and the second (+kisi-) then turns it into another verb base (iññitkisi-), which functions as a stem. (46b) has four postbases. The first postbase (-ksraq) turns the noun base (anaqa) into another noun base (anaqaksraq), the second (-li-) turns it into a verb base (anaqaksri-), the third (:uti-) turns it into another verb base (anaqaksrisi-), and finally, the fourth (+raġi-) turns it into still another verb base (anaqaksrisiraġi-), which functions as a stem.

That is how bases, postbases and endings interact in Iñupiaq word-building. Let us now move on to look at two principal parts of speech: nominals and verbs.

2.3.2. Nominals and adverbs

In this section, I will mainly examine nominals, which inflect for case and number. We will also look at adverbs, which inflect for case but not for number, because of their formal and functional similarity to nominals that will be apparent later. Nominals and adverbs fall into four sub-categories: nouns, demonstratives, personal pronouns and interrogatives. Let us look at each of them in turn:

2.3.2.1. Nouns

Nouns are an open class. Besides eight cases and three numbers (singular, dual and plural), they

inflect for person and number of possessor if possessed, unlike other nominals. In the citation form, or absolutive singular form, nouns end in a vowel, k, q, or n. The base form for those that end in n in the citation form is achieved by replacing n with ti, whereas for others, the citation form and the base form are identical, as illustrated by the following examples:

(47) citation form	base form	
tuttu	tuttu	‘caribou’
qaluk	qaluk	‘fish’
aḡnaq	aḡnaq	‘woman’
aḡun	aḡuti	‘man’

We will examine each of the three categories for which nouns inflect: case, number, and person and number of possessor.

2.3.2.1.1. Case

Nouns inflect for eight cases. These eight cases are: absolutive, relative, modalis, terminalis, ablative, localis, vialis and similaris (the case labels are from MacLean (1986a) and Jacobson (1995)). We will look at each of them in turn:

(i) Absolutive case

The absolutive case marks S or O. It also functions as a citation form. Its endings appear in Table 1:

Table 1. Absolutive case endings

possessor possessum	s	d	p
Unpossessed	+∅	‘-k	-t/:ich ¹
3S	:(η)a	‘-k	-(η)î
3D	:(η)ak	-ŋîk	-(η)îk
3P	:(η)at	-ŋich	-(η)ich
1S	+ka/+a ²	‘-ka/Raka ³	-tka/Ratka ³
1D	+kpuk/-vuk ³	‘-vuk	-vuk/Ravuk ³
1P	+kput/-vut ³	‘-vut	-vut/Ravut ³
2S	-n/:iñ ⁴	‘-kiñ	-tin
2D	+rik/+tik ⁵	‘-tik	-tik
2P	+ri/+si ⁶	-sri	-sri
4S	-nî/Rî ⁷	-(‘)ŋnî	-nî
4D	+rik/+tik ⁵	-tik	-tik
4P	+riŋ/+tiŋ ⁸	-tiŋ	-tiŋ

¹ -t after a vowel or a weak consonant; ich after a strong consonant.

² +ka after a vowel; +a after a consonant.

³ Alternate forms.

⁴ -n after a vowel or a weak consonant; :iñ after a strong consonant.

⁵ +rik after a vowel, deleting stem-final i; +tik after a consonant.

⁶ +ri after a vowel, deleting stem-final i; +si after a consonant.

⁷ Alternate forms. -nî deletes stem-final i.

⁸ +riŋ after a vowel, deleting stem-final i; +tiŋ after a consonant.

The above table contains fourth person for the person of possessor, in addition to first, second, and third persons. It is reflexive third person, referring back to the subject of the clause, as in ‘He_i lost his_i pen’ as opposed to ‘He_i lost his_j pen’. For details on fourth person, see Section 2.3.2.1.3.

The following is an example in which the absolutive case marks S:

- (48) Tittaaliġġuuq tara una paqnauraagaqsiġgataqtuq.
 tittaaliq+∅=ġġuuq paqna:uraaq-aqsi-lġataq+tuq
 mudshark-ABS.S=HS H.ADV PR.ABS.S get.ready-slowly-start-finally-IND.3S
 ‘It is said that Mudshark has finally started getting ready to go.’ (6: 1)

The following is an example in which the absolutive case marks O:

- (49) Taragguuq piyaarja unnii qakitkaa.
 tara=gguuq piyaaq:a qakit+kaa
 H.ADV=HS child-ABS.3SS even bring.up.out.of.water-IND.3S3S
 ‘It is said that he even brought up its (a monster’s) child out of water.’ (38: 224)

The following is an example in which the absolutive case is used as a citation form:

- (50) Taapkunani tasramma ‘Mamirutit’ itna makpigaani, ...
 mamirutit-t makpigaaq=ni
 AVN.LOC.P APN.ADV way.of.healing-ABS.P this way book-LOC.P
 ‘And in that book titled ‘Mamirutit’, ...’ (36: 53)

(ii) Relative case

The relative case marks A or possessor of another noun. Its endings appear in Table 2:

Table 2. Relative case endings

possessor possessum	S	D	P
Unpossessed	-m/(')-m/:um ¹	‘-k	-t/:ich ²
3S	:(η)an	‘-kkiñ	-(η)iñ
3D	:(η)aknik	-ηiknik	-ηiknik
3P	:(η)ata	-ηisa	-(η)isa
1S	+ma ³	‘-kma	+ma
1D	-mnuk	‘-mnuk	-mnuk
1P	-pta	‘-pta	-pta
2S	+pich	‘-kpich	-vich
2D	-ptik	‘-ptik	-ptik
2P	-psî	‘-psî	-psî
4S	+mî ³	‘-kmî	+mî
4D	+mik ³	‘-kmik	+mik
4P	+miñ ³	‘-kmiñ	+miñ

¹ -m after a vowel; (‘)-m after a weak consonant; :UM after a strong consonant.

² -t after a vowel or a weak consonant; :ich after a strong consonant.

³ Deletes stem-final ï.

There are two irregular nouns: *taata* ‘father’ and *aana* ‘mother.’ Their 1SS relative case forms are *taataa* ‘my father’ and *aanaa* ‘my mother,’ respectively, rather than the expected **taatama* and **aanama*.

The following is an example in which the relative case marks A:

- (51) *Tautuqutlaitchaa* *maamanan.*
tautuk-qu-tla:it+kaa *maama:an*
 see-want_{to}.V-can-not-IND.3S3S mother-REL3.SS
 ‘His mother didn’t want him to be seen.’

(38: 48)

And the following is an example in which the relative case marks possessor:

- (52) Niqaanlu amianlu qitqakni ittuq
 niqi:an=lu amiq:an=lu qitqak÷ni it+tuq
 meat-REL.3SS=and skin-REL.3SS=and between-LOC.3SD be-IND.3S
 natchium uqsrua.
 natchiq:um uqsruq:a
 seal-REL.S fat-ABS.3SS
 ‘The seal’s fat is between its meat and its skin.’ (10: 15-16)

(iii) Modalis case

The modalis case has various functions. Let us first look at its endings, set out in Table 3:

Table 3. Modalis case endings

possessor possessum	S	D	P
Unpossessed	÷mik	‘-ɲnik	÷nik
3S	:(ɲ)anik	‘-knik	:(ɲ)ĩñik
3D	:(ɲ)aknik	-ɲiknik	-ɲiknik
3P	:(ɲ)atnik	-ɲitñik	-ɲitñik
1S	-mnik/Ramnik ¹	‘-mnik	-mnik
1D	-ptiknik	‘-ptiknik	-ptiknik
1P	-ptitnik/-ptiknik/Raptitnik/Raptiknik ¹	‘-ptiknik	-ptitnik
2S	+pnik/-pnik ¹	‘-pnik	-pnik
2D	-ptiknik	‘-ptiknik	-ptiknik
2P	-psitñik	‘-psitñik	-psitñik
4S	+miñik ²	‘-ɲmiñik	+miñik
4D	+miknik ²	‘-ɲmiknik	+miknik
4P	+miknik ²	‘-ɲmiknik	+miknik

¹ Alternate forms.

² Deletes stem-final ï.

The modalis case marks, first of all, instruments, as illustrated by the following example:

- (53) Uuminjagguuq saumianik itna paksraqugaa.
 uumiṅa=gguuq saumik:anik paksrak-qu+kaa
 PR.MOD.S=HS left.hand-MOD.3SS this.way dig-want_to.V-IND.3S3S
 ‘He wanted her to dig with her left hand.’ (18: 66)

Second, it marks topic of speech, as illustrated by the following example:

- (54) Unipchaaqtuallanṅniaqtuṅa uvva iṭuuqiṅimik.
 unipchaaq+tuaq-llak+niaq+tuṅa iṭuuqiṅiṅ÷mik
 tell.a.story-slowly-long-will-IND.1S PR.ADV blackfish-MOD.S
 ‘I am going to tell a story about a blackfish.’ (17: 1)

Third, it marks the theme (thing transferred) of the verbs of giving and receiving. For example:

- (55) ‘Uvva argaaksratin’ itnaqṭugu aatchulgitchaa argaanik.
 argaaq-ksraq-tin itnaq+ṭugu aatchuq-lgit+kaa argaaq÷nik
 PR.ADV glove-future-ABS.2SP say-CTR./3S give-again-IND.3S3S glove-MOD.P
 ‘Saying ‘Here are gloves for you’ to him, she gave him gloves again.’ (14: 138)

Finally, it marks nouns that modify other nouns that are followed by a postbase. For example:

- (56) Qitunḡauraqḡniqsuk atautchimik.
 qitunḡauraq-qaq+niq+tuk atausriḡ÷mik
 small.child-have-EVID-IND.3D one-MOD.S
 ‘The two of them evidently had one child.’ (18: 2)

where atautchimik ‘one-MOD.S’ modifies qitunḡauraq ‘small child,’ which is followed by the postbase -qaq- ‘have,’ which turns a noun base into a verb base.

Here is another example:

- (57) Qatlumik atilṅmik iḷaqatnitqiksunḡa.
 Qatlu÷mik atiq-lik÷mik iḷaqati+nik-tqik+tuṅa
 Qatlu-MOD.S name-N.haver-MOD.S spouse-get-V.again-IND.1S
 ‘I got married again to one named Qatlu (one who had a name Qatlu).’ (28: 95)

where Qatlumik ‘Qatlu-MOD.S’ modifies atiq- ‘name,’ which is followed by the postbase -lik- ‘one who has N,’ which turns a noun base into another noun base.

(iv) Terminalis case

The terminalis case is used for goal-of-action in a broad sense. The terminalis case endings are the same as the corresponding modalis case endings (Table 3) except that they end in mun/nun instead of the modalis mik/mik.

Most often, the terminalis case indicates the place to which the action is directed, as illustrated by the following example:

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|-------------|----------|
| (58) | Tatkigga | isingitchuġunnii | tupiġmun. | |
| | | isiq-nġit+tuq=unnii | tupiq+=mun | |
| | ATR.ADV | come.in-not-IND.3S=even | house-TRM.S | |
| | ‘Out there he didn’t even come into the house.’ | | | (28: 12) |

It also marks the purpose, as illustrated by the following example:

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------|
| (59) | Ukiumun | niqiksraq | katitlugu. | |
| | ukiuq+=mun | niqi-ksraq+∅ | katit+lugu | |
| | winter-TRM.S | food-future-ABS.S | gather-CTR./3S | |
| | ‘(We) gathered food for winter.’ | | | (31: 48) |

It also marks the beneficiary, as illustrated by the following example:

- | | | | | |
|------|---|----------|--------------------------------|----------|
| (60) | Kikmiññaq | una | siksisaktuamun | |
| | kikmiññaq+∅ | | siksisaq+tuaq+=mun | |
| | cranberry-ABS.S | PR.ABS.S | have.shingles-one.who.Vs-TRM.S | |
| | <u>medicine</u> -giraqniġaat. | | | |
| | -gi+raqniq+kaat | | | |
| | -use.as-used.to-IND.3P3S | | | |
| | ‘They used to use cranberry as medicine for people who had shingles.’ | | | (36: 13) |

Finally, it marks the addressee as well.

- (61) Aglaan Jesus niviaqsiamun uqaḡniqsuq.
 niviaqsiaq=mun uqaq+niq+tuq
 but young.woman-TRM.S speak-EVID-IND.3S
 ‘But Jesus evidently spoke to a young woman.’ (1: 23)

There is another case that is formally and semantically related to the terminalis case, called second terminalis case (cf. Jakobson (1995: 102)). This case marks the destination toward which a movement is made. Thus, whereas the terminalis case indicates ‘to,’ the second terminalis case indicates ‘toward.’ This case is limited to a small number of nouns that indicate relative position, called positional nouns, and to demonstrative adverbs (Section 2.3.2.2). For positional nouns, the second terminalis case ending is invariably +tmun. It marks neither number nor possessor. An example with a noun in the second terminalis case follows:

- (62) Ulḡunaqsi’ami kilutmunguuq ulḡullaḡniqsuq napaaqtuq.
 ulḡu+naqsi+’ami kilu+tmun=gguuq ulḡu-llak+niq+tuq napaaqtuq+∅
 fall-it.is.time.to.V-CNS.4S back-TRMII=HS fall-really-EVID-IND.3S tree-ABS.S
 ‘When it was time for it to fall down, the tree fell down backwards.’ (25: 25)

Nouns other than positional nouns, which cannot take second terminalis case, express a similar meaning by combining the noun in the relative case with the possessed form of tunji ‘direction’ in the terminalis case, as illustrated by the following example:

- (63) Ulḡuḡaḡaḡaqtuq kuugum tunjaanun.
 ulḡuḡa+uqaq+aq+tuq kuuk:um tunji:anun
 lean-continuously-always-IND.3S river-REL.S direction-TRM.3SS
 ‘It leaned toward the river.’ (25: 24)

If we count the terminalis case and the second terminalis case as two separate cases, then

Iñupiaq would turn out to have nine cases in all. Here, I opt for counting them as one case, to accord with other works on Eskimo grammar.

(v) Ablative case

The ablative case marks the place from which a motion is made. The ablative case endings are the same as the corresponding modalis case endings (Table 3) except that they end in *miñ/nĩ* instead of the modalis *mik/nik*. Here is an example with a noun in the ablative case:

- (64) Qayaq taunna kuunmiñ nusaagaqsiruq tagraqhuni.
 qayaq+ø kuuk+miñ nusaag-aqsi+tuq tagraq+huni
 kayak-ABS.S ADE.ABS.S river-ABL.S appear-start-IND.3S go.up.river-CTR.4S
 ‘That kayak appeared from the river, going up the river.’ (13: 5)

(vi) Localis case

The localis case marks the place at, in or on which the event takes place. The localis case endings are the same as the corresponding modalis case endings (Table 3) except that they end in *mĩ/nĩ* instead of the modalis *mik/nik*. An example with a noun in the localis case follows:

- (65) Nuliaġiigguuq kuugum siñaani iñuuniaqtuak.
 nuliaq+iiq-k=gguuq kuuk:um siñi:ani iñuuniaq+tuak
 wife-N.and.partner-ABS.D=HS river-REL.S edge-LOC.3SS live-PRT.3D
 ‘It is said that a man and his wife were living at the bank of a river.’ (14: 5)

(vii) Vialis case

The vialis case is used for things or places through which something is done. Its endings appear in Table 4:

- (68) Itqil̄isigun aullaqpalun̄niqsuq.
 Itqil̄iq÷tigun aullaq+paluk+niq+tuq
 Indian-VIA.P go-may-EVID-IND.3S
 ‘He may have gone with Indians (led by them).’ (30: 85)

It also marks the topic of speech, as illustrated by the following example:

- (69) Uqaksraq uumuuna nunakun piłgataqapta
 uqaq-ksraq+∅ nuna÷kun pi-l̄gataq’-apta
 speech-material-ABS.S PR.VIA.S village-VIA.S do-long-CNS.1P
 iñugiakkaluqtuq.
 iñugiak+kaluq+tuq
 be.many-though-IND.3S
 ‘When we talk about this village, there is a lot to say.’ (6: 74)

Finally, it marks part of a whole by which the whole is affected, as illustrated by the following example:

- (70) Kaviqsuaq una siulgum sipkagun siktallan̄niġaa.
 kaviqsuaq+∅ siulik:um sipik:agun siktaq-l̄lak+niq+kaa
 mudsucker-ABS.S this.ABS.Spike-REL.S tail-VIA.3SS shoot-really-EVID-IND3S3S
 ‘The pike evidently shot this mudsucker in the tail.’ (22: 6)

(viii) Similaris case

The similaris case marks likeness (‘as,’ ‘like’). Its endings appear in Table 5:

Table 5. Similaris case endings

possessor possessum	S	D	P
Unpossessed	÷tun	‘-ktun	÷titun
3S	:(ŋ)atun	‘-ktun	-ŋisun
3D	:(ŋ)aktitun	‘-ktun	-ŋiktitun
3P	:(ŋ)atitun	-ŋisitun	-ŋisitun
1S	-ptun	‘-ptiktun	-ptun
1D	-ptiktun	‘-ptiktun	-ptiktun
1P	-ptitun	‘-ptitun	-ptitun
2S	-ptun	‘-ptun	-ptun
2D	-ptiktun	‘-ptiktun	-ptiktun
2P	-psitun	‘-psitun	-psitun
4S	+misun ¹	‘-kmisun	+misun
4D	+miktitun ¹	‘-kmiktitun	+miktitun
4P	+mittitun ¹	‘-kmittitun	+mittitun

1 Alternate forms.

The following is an example with a noun in the similaris case:

- (71) Taatna nutaatun asriaqtuuraagaqsiplutiŋ asriaviŋñik.
 nutaaq÷tun asriaq+tuq:uraaq-aqsi+plutiŋ asriavik÷nik
 that.way fresh.one-SIM.S berry-eat-slowly-start-CTR.4P blueberry-MOD.P
 ‘That way they started eating blueberries as if they were fresh.’ (11: 24)

The similaris case is unlike other cases, as its endings can follow not only noun stems but also full nominals with case endings or particles, in which case it means ‘as if.’ The following is an example with a case-marked demonstrative pronoun followed by a similaris case ending:

- (72) Taatna maanisun iññiaŋniqsuŋa.
 maani÷tun iññiaq+niq+tunja
 that.way PE.LOC-SIM.S visit-EVID-IND.1S
 ‘I went to visit as if I had been here at home.’ (29: 59)

And the following is an example with a particle followed by a similaris case ending:

- (73) Qanutun silalum aġitchaatin unnii alatkaġniaqnak.
 qanuq=tun silaluk:um aġit+kaatin alatkaq+niaq-nak
 how-SIM.S rain-REL.S wet-IND.3S2S even go.to.check-try.to.V-PRH.2S
 ‘No matter how much you get wet with rain, don’t come to check.’ (38: 188)

These are the eight cases in Iñupiaq. Of these eight cases, the absolutive and relative cases have in common that the nouns they mark are cross-referenced by the head, that is, the verb when they are S, A or O, or the possessum when they are possessor. In all the examples given, the absolutive noun is cross-referenced by the verb, and the relative noun is cross-referenced by the verb if it is A or by the possessed noun if it is possessor. This is not true of the other six cases, collectively called oblique cases.

2.3.2.1.2. Number

Nouns are marked for one of the three numbers: singular, dual and plural. In addition to the previous examples, the following is an example with a singular noun:

- (74) Uqautiaqsiyaa iliappauraq taavruma aġnam.
 uqauti-aqsi+kaa iliappak:uraq+∅ aġnaq-m
 speak.to-start-IND.3S3S orphan-small-ABS.S AVN.RELS woman-REL.S
 ‘That woman started speaking to the small orphan.’ (39: 91)

Singular is used as a generic number, which may be expressed by plural in other languages such as English, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (75) Tuttu uvva una qanupayaaq iganaqtuq.
 tuttu+∅ qanuq=payaaq iga+naq+tuq
 caribou-ABS.S PR.ADV PR.ABS.S how=every cook-can.be.Ved-IND.3S
 ‘Caribou can be cooked in any way.’ (7: 7)

The following is an example with a dual noun:

- (76) Uvva aasriñ taapkuak aglaktik ikayuḡaḡigaakḡa.
 aglakti-k ikayuq+raḡi+kaakḡa
 PR.ADV and that.REL.D teacher-REL.D help-always-IND.3D1S
 ‘And now those two teachers helped me.’ (28: 63)

And the following is an example with a plural noun:

- (77) Taragguuq ukalliurat uutmagich niḡitchuagaqsiruuq.
 tara=gguuq ukalliḡ:uraq-t uut+kmagich niḡi+tuaq-aqsi+tuuq
 H.ADV=HS rabbit-small-ABS.P be.cooked-CNS.3S3Peat-slowly-start.Ving-IND.3S
 ‘When the rabbits were cooked, he started eating.’ (16: 24)

2.3.2.1.3. Person and number of possessor

Besides case and number, nouns inflect for person and number of possessor, if possessed.

Examples of a noun with first-person possessor include (43a) and (44a) as well as the following:

- (78) Tara nukatchiaḡa aglaktigaqsigiga.
 nukatchiaq+ka aglak^tit-aqsi+kiga
 H.ADV younger.sibling-ABS.1SS go.to.school-CAUS-start-IND.1S3S
 ‘I started making my younger sibling go to school.’ (28: 76)

And here is an example with second-person possessor:

- (79) Ilipi kamagiyumagiksi aapari suli maamari.
 kamagi+yuma+kiksi aapa+ri maama+ri
 2P.REL respect-should-IND.2P3S father-ABS.2SS and mother-ABS.2SS
 ‘You_{pl} should respect your father and your mother.’ (1: 11)

Examples of a noun with third person possessor include (52), (53) and (70) as well as the following:

- (80) Tara niviaqsiam tuvliiñik sipiksraktuq.
 niviaqsiaq-m tuvliq:iñik sipik-ksraq+tuq
 H.ADV young.woman-REL.S braids-MOD.3SP tail-get-IND.3S
 ‘He [Mudsucker] took a young woman’s braids for his tail.’ (6: 3)

There is an additional complication in the marking of person of possessor. That is, two types of persons are distinguished in what corresponds to third person in other languages: third and so-called fourth. This distinction arises when the possessed noun is anything other than main clause S or A. Third person is used when the possessor is not coreferent with S or A, whereas fourth person is used when the possessor is coreferent with S or A. Thus, consider the following examples:

- (81) a. Itnağaagguuq panni.
 itnaq+kaa=gguuq panik:ni
 tell.this.to-IND.3S3S=HS daughter-ABS.4SS
 ‘It is said that he told this to his (own) daughter.’ (16: 30)
- b. Itnağaagguuq pania.
 itnaq+kaa=gguuq panik:a
 tell.this.to-IND.3S3S=HS daughter-AS.3SS
 ‘It is said that he told this to her daughter.’

(81a), in which panik ‘daughter’ is marked for fourth-person possessor, indicates that the possessor of panik ‘daughter’ is coreferent with S, whereas (81b), in which panik ‘daughter’ is marked for third-person possessor, indicates that the possessor of panik ‘daughter’ is not coreferent with S.

2.3.2.2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are a closed class. They are deictic in nature, describing entities or places with regard to their location and dimension.

Demonstratives are divided into two types depending on whether they refer to entities or

‘restricted’ values.

- (ii) Over there (abbreviated as ‘V’): Demonstratives with this value refer to entities or places that are located far from the deictic center, without further specifying the spatial relation between the referent and the deictic center. Examples with a demonstrative that has this value include (85) and the following:

- (87) Sauninjik tasramma taapkuak
 sauninik-
 bone-ABS.3DD APN.ADV AVN.ABS.D
 itna qaġrupiatun sauniquqtuk akiguaralinnik
 qaġruq-piaq÷tun sauniq-qaq+tuk akiguq:uraq-lik÷nik
 this.way arrow-real-SIM.S bone-have-IND.3D branch-small-N.with_-MOD.P
 ‘That’s why the bones of those two [Mudsucker and Pike] have small branches like an
 arrow.’ (23: 10-11)

where *taapkuak* ‘those two non-visible over there’ is a demonstrative pronoun in the absolutive dual form with ‘over there’ and ‘non-visible’ values.

- (iii) Up there (abbreviated as ‘U’): Demonstratives with this value refer to entities or places that are located higher than the deictic center (‘up there’). An example follows:

- (88) Tatpichuġa ikigauraġmiknun qakitlugu aullaqsiuruq.
 ikigaq:uraq+miknun qakit+lugu aullaq-aqsi+tuq
 AUR.TRM open.cache-small-TRM.4DP bring.up-CTR./3S go-start-IND.3S
 ‘He brought her up to their small open cache and started going.’ (39: 15)

where *tatpichuġa* ‘up there restricted’ is a demonstrative adverb in the terminalis case with ‘up there’ and ‘restricted’ values.

- (iv) Down there (abbreviated as ‘D’): Demonstratives with this value refer to entities or places that are located lower than the deictic center (‘down there’). This value may indicate not only ‘down’ along the vertical axis, but also ‘down’ along a river (‘downriver’). An example

there' and 'extended' values.

- (vii) Across there (abbreviated as 'A'): Demonstratives with this value refer to entities or places that are located across a road or a river from the deictic center ('across there'). For example:

- (92) lkautiaqsiyaa taichuᅇa nalimun.
 ikaaᅇ:uti-aqsi+kaa
 cross-applic-start-IND.3S3S AAR.TRM straight
 'He took him straight across the river.' (13: 34)

where taichuᅇa 'across there restricted' is a demonstrative adverb in the terminalis case with 'across there' and 'restricted' values.

- (viii) Back there (abbreviated as 'B'): Demonstratives with this value refer to entities or places that are located behind the deictic center ('back there'). An example follows:

- (93) Aullaᅇman tatpavuᅇa aᅇniᅇuᅇmiᅇluni.
 aullaᅇ+kman aᅇniᅇ+uᅇ+kmi+pluni
 go-CNS.3S ABE.TRM be.stormy-become-too-CTR.4S
 'When she went back there, it became stormy.' (38: 92)

where tatpavuᅇa 'back there extended' is a demonstrative adverb in the terminalis case with 'back there' and 'extended' values.

- (ix) In the past (abbreviated as 'S'): Demonstratives with this value refer to entities or places that are located in the memory or consciousness of the speaker. This value indicates that the speaker assumes the referent is locatable only in his or her memory or that the speaker is not interested in the location of the referent at the time of speech. Thus, this value differs from other location values in locating the referent not physically but mentally, if you will. Unlike the location values we have seen thus far, this value does not differentiate three dimension values. An example of a demonstrative with this value follows:

- (94) Taipchuali taatna nigiraqniġaat taamna kikmiññaq.
 taipchua=li niġi+raqniq+kaat kikmiññaq+∅
 AS.REL.P=as.for that.way eat-used-IND.3P3S AVN.ABS.S cranberry-ABS.S
 ‘As for the ancestors, they used to eat cranberries that way.’ (7: 12)

where *taipchua* ‘those in the past’ is a demonstrative pronoun in the relative plural form with an ‘in the past’ value. In fact, as in this example, *taipchua* is most often used in the meaning ‘ancestor’.

- (x) There (abbreviated as ‘H’): Demonstratives with this value are anaphoric in nature; they refer back to places that have been mentioned in the discourse. Thus, this value differs from other location values in locating the referent not in the real world but in the discourse. Like ‘in the past’ value, this value does not differentiate three dimension values. Also, unlike all the other location values, there are no demonstrative pronouns with this value; all the demonstratives with this value are demonstrative adverbs. An example of a demonstrative with this value follows:

- (95) Aviññaauraq aniġiqami tarakġa
 aviññaq:uraq+∅ ani-liq-’ami
 mouse-small-ABS.S go.out-suddenly-CNS.4S H.ABL
 aatchallaqhuni akpittuq.
 aatchallaq+huni akpit+tuq
 open.one’s.mouth.wide-CTR.4S start.singing-IND.3S
 ‘A small mouse came out from there, opened his mouth wide and started singing.’
 (19: 31)

where *tarakġa* ‘from there’ is a demonstrative adverb in the ablative case with ‘there’ value.

We have looked at the parameters of location and dimension. The deictic center for these parameters can be someone other than these. Consider the following example:

- (96) Unitchaat tatpauna qipaluam qaananuutiuraḡniaqḷugu.
 unit+kaat qipaluaq-m qaa:anun-k:uti:uraq+niaq+ḷugu
 leave-IND.3P3SAUE.TRM bank-RELS top-TRM.3SS-go.to-APPLIC-just-try-CTR./3S
 ‘They left her, bringing her to the top of the bank up there.’ (30: 49)

Here, the top of a bank to which ‘they’ brought ‘her’ is referred to as *tatpauna* ‘up there extended.’ This does not mean that the top of the bank is located above the speaker, but that it was located above ‘them’ and ‘her.’ Thus, in this example, the location value of the referent of *tatpauna* ‘up there extended’ is determined in relation to someone other than the speaker. Also, the text from which this example is excerpted is the narrator’s retelling of what her father had told her about his youth. So the referent of *tatpauna* ‘up there extended’ is non-visible to the narrator at the time of narration. However, it has ‘extended’ value, rather than ‘non-visible’ value, of the dimension parameter. It should be extended only from the viewpoint of ‘them’ or ‘her.’ So here, the dimension value is also determined from the viewpoint of someone other than the speaker. Thus, in this example, both the location and dimension values are determined with regard to someone other than the speaker.

Also let us consider Text 13. This is a folk tale about a porcupine waiting at the shore of a river for someone to take him across to the other side. A kayak comes from downriver. The porcupine asks the kayak to take him across, and then comes the next sentence:

- (97) Taatnaqmanigguuq kiugaa taurruma qayyam.
 taatnaq+kmani=gguuq kiu+kaa qayaq’-m
 say.that-CNS.3S4S=HS answer-IND.3S3S ADE.RELS kayak-RELS
 ‘When he said so to the kayak, the kayak coming upriver answered him.’ (13: 9)

Here, the kayak, the referent of *taurruma* ‘down there extended,’ is downriver in relation to the porcupine, rather than to the speaker; and it is extended (moving in this case) from the viewpoint of the porcupine, rather than from that of the speaker. Thus, in this example as well, both the location

and dimension values are determined in relation to someone other than the speaker.

Thus, in Iñupiaq, the deictic center of spatial deixis may be someone other than the speaker (and addressee). This may be uncommon amongst the world's languages, considering Anderson and Keenan's (1985) statement that "All languages identify locations by reference to that of the *Sp* [speaker]. It is also possible to determine locations by reference to that of the *Adr* [addressee], and many (but not all) languages utilize this possibility as well" (1985: 277).

Thus, the dimension parameter has three values; 'restricted,' 'extended,' and 'non-visible,' while the location parameter has ten values; 'here,' 'over there,' 'up there,' 'down there,' 'in there,' 'out there,' 'across there,' 'back there,' 'in the past,' and 'there.' These two parameters would combine to give us 30 series of demonstratives in theory, but since, as we said above, the 'in the past' and 'there' values of the location parameter do not differentiate dimension values, we actually have 26 series of demonstratives, as tabulated below:

location	dimension	Restricted	Extended	Non-visible
here (Proximal)		PR	PE	PN
oVer there		VR	VE	VN
Up there		UR	UE	UN
Down there		DR	DE	DN
In there		IR	IE	IN
ouT there		TR	TE	TN
Across there		AR	AE	AN
Back there		BR	BE	BN
in the paSt		S (not differentiated with regard to the dimension parameter)		
tHere		H (not differentiated with regard to the dimension parameter)		

Table 6 provides the absolutive singular, relative singular, absolutive/relative plural forms of demonstrative pronouns and the interjectional form of demonstrative adverbs for each of the 26 series of demonstratives: (I will expound on the rightmost column later.)

Table 6. ABS.S, REL.S, ABS.P/REL.P and ADV forms and the prefix of demonstratives

series form	ABS.S	REL.S	ABS.P/REL.P	ADV	prefix
PR	una	uuma	ukua	uvva	—
PE	manna	marruma	makua	marra	ta-
PN	samna	savruma	sapkua	samma	ta-
VR	iñña	irruma	itchua	iñña	ta-
VE	amna	avruma	apkua	avva	ta-
VN	amna	avruma	apkua	amma	ta-
UR	pikña	piksruma	pichigua	pitcha	tat-
UE	paṅna	pagruma	pakkua	pagga	tat-
UN	pakimna	pakivruma	pakipkua	pakma	tat-
DR	kanna	karruma	katkua	kanna	ta-
DE	unna	urruma	utkua	unna	ta-
DN	samna	savruma	sapkua	samma	ta-
IR	kimña	kivruma	kipchua	kivva	tat-
IE	qamna	qavruma	qapkua	qavva	tat-
IN	qamna	qavruma	qapkua	qamma	tat-
TR	kiṅña	kigruma	kikkua	kigga	tat-
TE	qaṅna	qagruma	qakkua	qagga	tat-
TN	qakimna	qakivruma	qakipkua	qakma	tat-
AR	ikña	iksruma	ichigua	itcha	ta-
AE	aṅna	agruma	akkua	agga	ta-
AN	akimna	akivruma	akipkua	akma	ta-
BR	piñña	pirruma	pitchua	piñña	tat-
BE	pamna	pavruma	papkua	pavva	tat-
BN	pamna	pavruma	papkua	pamma	tat-
S	imña	ivruma	ipchua	imma	ta-
H	—	—	—	tara	—

The following are examples of some of these in sentences:

- (98) a. Nunaaqqiqqaanupluni tatqamna.
 nunaaqqiq±qqaq:u+pluni
 village-first-be.N-CTR.4S AIN.ABS.S
 ‘That up one river [Kobuk] was the first village.’ (26: 3)
- b. Paniuranikmiuguglu taavruma unitchaaja.
 panik:uraq+nik+kmi+tuguk=lu unit+kaaja
 daughter-little-get-too-IND.1D=and AVN.REL.S leave-IND.3S1S
 ‘Then after we got a baby girl, that man [died and] left me.’ (25: 21)
- c. Tatktivva aasrii Niyaliami itluta.
 Niyaliaq÷mi it+luta
 AIR.ADV and Niyaliaq-LOC.S be-CTR.1P
 ‘There upriver, we were at Niyaliaq.’ (4: 10)

All the other forms of demonstratives can be formed on the basis of the relative singular, absolutive/relative plural and interjectional adverb forms. All the other singular forms of demonstrative pronouns can be formed by replacing the final part of the relative singular form. The modalis, terminalis, ablative, localis, vialis and similaris singular forms of una ‘PR.ABS.S,’ built on its relative singular form, appear in Table 7, where the replaced portion is underlined:

Table 7. The singular case forms of una ‘PR.ABS.S’

REL.S	uuma <u>a</u>
MOD.S	uumi <u>na</u>
TRM.S	uum <u>na</u>
ABL.S	uumak <u>na</u>
LOC.S	uuman <u>i</u>
VIA.S	uum <u>uuna</u>
SIM.S	uumat <u>un</u>

Here are some examples with a singular form of some demonstrative pronouns:

- (99) a. Pakaktuagraqhuni tamaani atuuraaqhuni taavrumiᅇa.
 pakak+tuaq:uraaq+huni atuq:uraaq+huni
 search-long-keep.Ving-CTR.4SAPE.LOC sing-keep.Ving-CTR.4S AVN.MOD.S
 ‘He searched here, singing about that person.’ (15: 16)
- b. Taavrumuᅇa siksisaᅇanun
 siksisaq:anun
 AVN.TRM.S shingles-TRM.3SS
 mattutigiraqniᅇaat.
 matu:uti+gi+raqniq+kaat
 cover-tool.for.Ving-have.as._N-used.to.V-IND.3P3S
 ‘They used to use it as a cover for those shingles of his.’ (7: 19)
- c. Samma nukatpiaᅇuᅇataqhuni taavani taavrumani
 nukatpiaq+uq+ataq+huni
 PN.ADV young.man-become-finally-CNS.4S AVE.LOC AVN.LOC.S
 iᅇuuniaqsimasruknaqtuq Itqilimi.
 iᅇuuniaq+srima+suknaq+tuq Itqiliq+mi
 live-PF-I.think-IND.3S Indian-LOC.S
 ‘He became a young man when, I think, he stayed with that Indian over there.’ (30: 96)

All the other dual and plural forms of demonstrative pronouns can be formed by replacing the final part of the absolutive/relative plural form. The dual and plural forms of una ‘PR.ABS.S,’ built on its absolutive/relative plural form, are shown in Table 8, where the replaced portion is underlined:

Table 8. The dual and plural case forms of una ‘PR.ABS.S’

case number	D	P
ABS/REL	uku <u>ak</u>	uku <u>a</u>
MOD	ukun <u>niᅇa</u>	ukun <u>iᅇa</u>
TRM	ukun <u>nuna</u>	ukun <u>una</u>
ABL	ukun <u>nakᅇa</u>	ukun <u>akᅇa</u>
LOC	ukun <u>nani</u>	ukun <u>ani</u>
VIA	ukun <u>nuuna</u>	ukun <u>uuna</u>
SIM	ukun <u>naktun</u>	ukun <u>atun</u>

The following are some examples with a dual or plural form of some demonstrative pronouns:

- (100) a. Makununa qattanun five gallon-nun piligaich.
 qattaq÷nun -nun pi-liq+kaich
 PE.TRM.P bucket-TRM.P -TRM.P put-start-IND.3P3P
 ‘They started putting them in these five-gallon buckets.’ (10: 25)
- b. Tara aglaan iñuuniafigmik ilitchunaptuuq taapkunakna.
 iñuuniaq-ñiq÷mik ilit+tuna=ptuuq
 H.ADV but live-Ving-MOD.S learn-IND.1S=too AVN.ABL.P
 ‘And I learned how to live from those people.’ (28: 31)
- c. Taapkuñnanjigguuq tara anjugaatchaanjini iñuuniagaqsiruuq.
 taapkuñnanjini=gguuq anjugaatchiaq-ñjini iñuuniaq-aqsi+tuuq
 AVN.LOC.D=HS H.ADV old.man-LOC.D live-start-IND.3S
 ‘He started living with that old couple.’ (39: 172)

All the other forms of demonstrative adverbs can be formed by replacing the final part of the interjectional adverb form. The adverb case forms of UVVA ‘PR.ADV,’ built on its interjectional form, are displayed in Table 9, where the replaced portion is underlined:

Table 9. The case forms of UVVA ‘PR.ADV’

ADV	uv <u>va</u>
TRM	uv <u>na</u>
TRMII	uv <u>natmun</u>
ABL	uv <u>akna</u>
LOC	uv <u>ani</u>
VIA	uv <u>uuna</u>

The examples below show case forms of some demonstrative adverbs.

- (101) a. Uwa aasriñ taavrumani aniñamni, nuunniqsut
 aniñiqRamni nuut+niq+tut
 PR.ADV and AVN.LOC.S be.born-Ving-LOC.1SS move-EVID-IND.3P
 kanuᅇa Shungnak-mun.
 -mun
 DR.TRM -TRM.S
 ‘And in that year I was born, they moved downriver to Shungnak.’ (26: 5)
- b. Taagakᅇa akiptitniñ masrunniagaqtugut.
 aki-ptitniñ masru+t+niaq+aq+tugut
 AA.E.ABL place.across-ABL.1PS Eskimo.potato-pick-try.to-used.to-IND.1P
 ‘We used to pick Eskimo potatoes across from us.’ (31: 37)
- c. Pichuuna igalikun kataktigaqsiᅇigai.
 igaliq-kun katak^tit-aqsi-liq+kai
 UR.VIA window-VIA.S fall-CAUS-start-quickly-IND.3S3P
 ‘He threw them down through a window up above.’ (16: 13)

Notice from the examples given thus far that many demonstratives have some extra element in front of them. For example, reconsider the following demonstratives found in the examples given thus far:

tatpaᅇa	paᅇa	‘UE.TRM’	(96)
tauruma	uruma	‘DE.REL.S’	(97)
tatqamna	qamna	‘IN.ABS.S’	(98a)
taavruma	avruma	‘VN.REL.S’	(98b)
tatkivva	kivva	‘IR.ADV’	(98c)

From Tables 6 through 9 we would expect those forms to the right, but in these examples we actually find those forms to the left, which are preceded by *ta-* or *tat-*. Demonstratives, except those of series ‘PR’ or ‘H’, are often preceded by a prefix. This is actually the only prefix found in the language. The function of this prefix is very difficult to pinpoint, but generally, it appears that demonstratives with this prefix tend to be anaphoric, referring back to entities or places already alluded to. There are two variants of this prefix: *ta-* and *tat-*. Each series of demonstrative takes

Table 10. The case forms of personal pronouns

	3S	3D	3P	1S	1D	1P
ABS	ilaa	ilinjik	ilinjich	uvaŋa	uvaguk	uvagut
REL	ilaan	ilinjiknik	ilinjisa			
MOD	ilaanik	ilinjiknik	ilinjitiñik	uvamnik	uvaptiknik	uvaptitnik
VIA	ilaagun	ilinjikkun	ilinjisigun	uvapkun	uvaptikkun	uvaptigun
SIM	ilaatun	ilinjiktun	ilinjisitun	uvaptun	uvaptiktun	uvaptitun
	2S	2D	2P	4S	4D	4P
ABS	ilvich	iliptik	ilipsi	—	—	—
REL				—	—	—
MOD	ilipnik	iliptiknik	ilipsitiñik	injimiñik	injimiknik	injimiknik
VIA	ilipkun	iliptikkun	ilipsigun	injimigun	injimikkun	injimiktigun
SIM	iliptun	iliptiktun	ilipsisun	injimisun	injimiktun	injimiktun

The terminalis, ablative and localis cases are the same as the corresponding modalis case except that they end in nun, niñ and ni, respectively, instead of the modalis nik.

Personal pronouns are not used often, for the following reasons:

- (i) The notional import of personal pronouns in the absolute and relative cases is always carried by the ending of the verb of which they are the argument or the possessed noun of which they are the possessor. So, personal pronouns in the absolute or relative case are always redundant.
- (ii) Demonstrative pronouns (Section 2.3.2.1.2) are much more commonly used in place of third person pronouns.

So only the first, second, and fourth person pronouns in an oblique case constitute requisite elements of the clause. The following are some examples of such personal pronouns that cannot be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence:

- (103) a. Uvaptiktun ingitchuq.
 it-ngit+tuq
 1D.SIM be-not-IND.3S
 ‘He is not like us.’ (1: 34)
- b. Aasriñ tarani simmiliutivak ilipnun kisuk?
 simmilq:uti+pak kisu-k
 and H.LOC change-APPLIC-INT.3D 2S.TRM who-ABS.D
 ‘And then who took your place?’ (5: 14)
- c. Inmiñun naagga piñiaqhuni isragutiraqtuq qanuqmatni
 pi+niaq+huni israguti+raq+tuq qanuq+kmatni
 4S.TRM or do-try.to.V-CTR.4S start-always-ind.3s do.how-CNS.3P4S
 aᅇayuuqaami.
 aᅇayuuqaaq=-mi
 parent-REL.4SP
 ‘He tries to kill himself when his parents scold him.’ (34: 77)

Other personal pronouns are used for such purposes as emphasis and contrast. The following are some examples in which personal pronouns are used for such purposes:

- (104) a. 1958-mi qamakᅇa Shungnak-miñ nuuttusri uvuᅇa Ambler-mun.
 -mi -miñ nuut+tusri -mun
 -LOC.S IN.ABL -ABL.S move-IND.2P PR.TRM -TRM.S
 ‘In 1958, you_{pl} moved from Shungnak upriver to Ambler here.
 Uvagugli aasrii samuᅇa Noorvik-suguk tara 1958-mi.
 uvaguk=li -tuguk -mi
 1D-ABS=as.for and DN.TRM -go.to-IND.1D H.ADV -LOC.S
 As for us₂, we₂ went to Noorvik in 1958.’ (4: 2-3)
- b. 4 years-tun tasramma ittuk tarani.
 -tun it+tuk
 -SIM.S APN.ADV stay-IND.3D H.LOC
 ‘The two of them stayed there about four years.
 Iliptik aasrii...
 2D.ABS and
 And as for you two ...’ (5: 10-11)

- b. Taatnaqman sumik pakiksilaanja kanjiksiñgitchaat.
 taatnaq+kman su÷mik pakik^tilaaq:a kanjiksi-ngit+kaat
 say.that-CNS.3S what-MOD.S look.for-Ving-ABS.3SS understand-not-IND.3P3S
 ‘When he said that, they didn’t understand what he was looking for.’ (38: 175)

There is also an interrogative verb base SU- ‘do what,’ as illustrated by the following example:

- (107) Taimma sutilaanja nalullakaak paninmik.
 su^tilaaq:a nalu-llak+kaak panik÷mik
 AS.ADV do.what-Ving-ABS.3SS not.know-really-IND.3D3S daughter-REL.4DS
 ‘They didn’t know what their daughter did.’ (14: 157)

‘Why’ is expressed by *sukman*, which is the third person singular subject intransitive consequential mood form (Section 2.3.3.1) of SU- ‘do what,’ as illustrated by the following example:

- (108) Sukman uvva aggiutingitpiun?
 su+kman aggiq:uti-ngit+piun
 do.what-CNS.3S PR.ADV come-APPLIC-not-INT.2S3S
 ‘Why didn’t you bring him here?’ (Sun *et al.* (1979: 295))

na- is an interrogative adverb base ‘where.’ It inflects in its own way. Its case forms are shown in Table 11:

Table 11. The case forms of the interrogative adverb base *na-* ‘where’

TRM	napmun
ABL	nakîñ
LOC	nani
VIA	naukun

b.	Puqiksaat	iñuich	taavakŋa	<u>government</u>
	puqik^taaŋ-t	iñuk:ich		
	be.wise-one.that.Vs-ABS.P	person-ABS.P	AVE.ABL	
	atauksraqtaagiplugich	nakipayaaq.		
	atauksraqtaagii+plugich	nakiñ=payaaq		
	invite-CTR./3P	where.ABL=every		
	‘[They] invited wise people from the government, from everywhere.			(2: 41-42)

2.3.3. Verbs

Verbs are an open class of words that inflect for (i) mood and (ii) person and number of one or two arguments. Those that inflect for person and number of one argument (S) are intransitive verbs, while those that inflect for person and number of two arguments (A and O) are transitive verbs (with the exception of those in contemporative mood, for which see below). Verb bases end in a vowel, k, q or t. Let us look at mood and person and number of arguments in that order.

2.3.3.1. Mood

There are twelve moods. These twelve moods are: indicative, participial, kiisaimma, interrogative, immediate imperative, remote imperative, prohibitive, contemporative, consequential-conditional, simultaneitive, dubitative and proverbial (the mood labels are from MacLean (1986a, b, 1995, n.d.-b), unless otherwise noted). The first seven moods are collectively called independent moods, because they form independent or main clauses, whereas the rest of the moods are collectively called dependent moods in that they mainly form dependent clauses. Some dependent moods distinguish third from fourth person (for which see Section 2.3.3.2). Let us look at each of the moods in turn:

(i) Indicative mood

The indicative mood is the most frequent independent mood for making statements. Its intransitive

endings are displayed in Table 12, and its transitive endings in Table 13:

Table 12. Intransitive indicative mood endings⁴

S		S		S		S	
3S	+tuq	1S	+tuŋa	2S	+tutîŋ	4S	+tumî
3D	+tuk	1D	+tuguk	2D	+tutîk	4D	+tumîk
3P	+tut	1P	+tugut	2P	+tusrî	4P	+tumîŋ

Table 13. Transitive indicative mood endings

S	O									
	3S	3D	3P	1S	1D	1P	2S	2D	2P	
3S	a	k	î	aŋa	atiguk	atigut	atîŋ	atik	asrî	
3D	ak	ŋîk	ŋîk	akŋa	atiguk	atigut	atîŋ	atik	asrî	
3P	at	ŋîch	(ŋ)îch	atŋa	atiguk	atigut	atîŋ	atik	asrî	
1S	+kî	ga	ka	tka				kpîŋ	ptîk	psî
1D		kpuk	vuk	vuk				ptikkîŋ	ptigîŋ	ptigîŋ
1P		kput	vut	vut				ptigîŋ	ptigîŋ	ptigîŋ
2S	+kî	ñ	kîŋ	tîŋ	kma	ptiguk	ptigut			
2D		ktîk	tîk	tîk	ptikŋa	ptiguk	ptigut			
2P		ksî	srî	srî	psitŋa	ptiguk	ptigut			

Besides the examples previously provided, the following shows an intransitive verb in the indicative mood:

⁴ In this table I tentatively place endings +tumî, +tumîk and +tumîŋ as fourth-person subject intransitive indicative endings, because of their morphological similarity to other intransitive indicative endings (+tu) and fourth-person possessor relative endings (mî, mîk and mîŋ). But they actually have no functional similarity to other indicative endings. They yield 'although' clauses followed by unnii 'even.' For example:

- (i) Siñiktumi unnii nakuuruq.
 siñik+tumi nakuu+ruq
 sleep-IND.4S even be.good-IND.3S
 'It's OK even though he sleeps.'

Their real place in the mood system is yet to be determined.

- (116) Tallimat malġuṅni ukiuni taavani ittuq Hawaii-mi paniga.
 malġuk-ḡni ukiuq-ṅni it+tuq -mi panik+a
 five two-LOC.D year-LOC.P AVE.LOC be-IND.3S-LOC.S daughter-ABS.1SS
 ‘My daughter lived over there in Hawaii for seven years.’ (29: 111)

And the following is an example with a transitive verb in the indicative mood:

- (117) Anġugaatchiaq Taaqsisagat itna atilik nalaunnigaa.
 anġugaatchiaq+∅ Taaqsisagat atiq-lik+∅ nalaut+niq+kaa
 old.man-ABS.S Taaqsisagat thus name-N.haver-ABS.S meet-EVID-IND.3S3S
 ‘He evidently met an old man named Taaqsisagat.’ (30: 87)

(ii) Participial mood

The participial mood is an independent mood for making statements. The participial mood specifically indicates past tense, as opposed to the indicative mood which is neutral in this regard.

Its intransitive endings are shown in Table 14, and its transitive endings in Table 15:

Table 14. Intransitive participial mood endings

S		S		S	
3S	+tuag	1S	+tuamî	2S	+tuatin
3D	+tuak	1D	+tuanġnî	2D	+tuatik
3P	+tuat	1P	+tuanî	2P	+tuasrî

Table 15. Transitive participial mood endings

		O					
S		3s	3D	3P	1s	1D	1P
3S	V+kka	ŋa	k	ŋî	ŋani	ŋatiguk	ŋatigut
3D		ŋak	ŋîk	ŋîk	ŋakni	ŋatiguk	ŋatigut
3P		ŋat	ŋîch	ŋîch	ŋatni	ŋatiguk	ŋatigut
1s		ġa	ka	tka			
1D		qpuk	vuk	vuk			
1P		qput	vut	vut			
2S		n	kîñ	tin	qma	ptiguk	ptigut
2D		qtik	tik	tik	ptikŋa	ptiguk	ptigut
2P	k, q-kka	qsî	srî	srî	psitña	ptiguk	ptigut
		O					
S		2s	2D	2P			
3S		ŋatin	ŋatik	ŋasrî			
3D		ŋatin	ŋatik	ŋasrî			
3P		ŋatin	ŋatik	ŋasrî			
1S		qpîñ	ptik	psî			
1D		ptikkîñ	ptigîñ	ptigîñ			
1P	t-ta	ptigîñ	ptigîñ	ptigîñ			

Examples with an intransitive verb in the participial mood include (65) as well as the following:

- (118) Tatpakimna aasrii iñġim qaanjani ittuaq.
 iñġiq-m qaa:ani it+tuaq
 AUN.ABS.S and mountain-RELS top-LOC.3SS be-PRT.3S
 ‘That was on top of the mountain.’ (2: 47)

And the following is an example with a transitive verb in the participial mood:

- (119) Tara aanamniñli ilisaagikkağa killaiyañiq.
 aana-mniñ=li ilisaq-aq+i-kkağa killaiyaq-ñiq+ø
 H.ADV mother-ABL.1SS=as.for learn-one.Ved-have.as-PRT.1S3S sew-Ving-ABS.S
 ‘Then from my mother I learned to sew.’ (27: 82)

(iii) Kiisaimma mood

The kiisaimma mood is an independent mood for making statements. It is so called in Iñupiaq grammar (MacLean (n.d.-b)) because verbs in this mood are often accompanied by the particle kiisaimma ‘suddenly.’ To use a more general term, this mood is mirative (DeLancey (1997)); it conveys the suddenness or unexpectedness of an event. This mood is infrequently seen. Its intransitive endings are set out in Table 16, and its transitive endings, yet to be completed, in Table 17:

Table 16. Intransitive kiisaimma mood endings

S		S		S	
3S	+puq	1S	+puña	2S	+putin
3D	+puk	1D	+puguk	2D	+putik
3P	+put	1P	+pugut	2P	+pusñi

Table 17. Transitive kiisaimma mood endings

		O								
S		3s	3D	3P	1s	1D	1P	2s	2D	2P
3s	+pa	a	gik	î	ŋa	tiguk	tigut	tin	tik	sŋi
3D		tku	tkik	tkik	kŋa	tiguk	tigut	tin	tik	sŋi
3P		at	tigik	tigik	tŋa	tiguk	tigut	tin	tik	sŋi
1s		ġa	ka	tka				qpîñ	ptik	psŋi
1D		qpuk	vuk	vuk				ptigiñ	ptigik	psigich
1P		qput	vut	vut				ptigiñ	ptigik	
2s		n	kîñ	tin	qma	ptiguk	ptigut			
2D		qik	tik		ptikŋa	ptiguk	ptigut			
2P		qsî	sŋi	sŋi	psitŋa	ptiguk	ptigut			

The following is an example with an intransitive verb in the kiisaimma mood:

- (120) Ilaatni kiisaimmatai aqsrautraġuiliqpuq.
 kiisaimma=tai aqsrautraġ-lġu:it-liq+puq
 one.time suddenly=NSP play.football-well-not-start-KSM.3S
 ‘One time she suddenly became unable to play football well.’ (38: 23)

And the following is an example with a transitive verb in the kiisaimma mood:

- (121) Kiisaimmatai ilaatni tutiniqpa tuttum.
 kiisaimma=tai tuti+niq+paa tutu-m
 suddenly=NSP one.time step.on-EVID-KSM.3S3S caribou-RELS
 ‘Evidently one time the caribou suddenly stepped on her.’ (18: 45)

(iv) Interrogative mood

The interrogative mood is an independent mood for asking questions, either yes/no or content. Its intransitive endings are shown in Table 18, and its transitive endings in Table 19.

Table 18. Intransitive interrogative mood endings

S		S		S	
3S	+pa	1S	+pîk	2S	+pîch
3D	+pak	1D	+piñuk	2D	+pisik
3P	+pat	1P	+pisa	2P	+pisî

Table 19. Transitive interrogative mood endings

		O								
S		3s	3D	3P	1s	1D	1P	2S	2D	2P
3s	+pa	uŋ	gik	gîch	ŋa	tiguk	tigut	tîn	tîk	sî
3D		tku	tkik	tkik	kŋa	tiguk	tigut	tîn	tîk	sî
3P		truŋ	tigik	tigik	tŋa	tiguk	tigut	tîn	tîk	sî
1S	+pî	yu	sik	gîch				gîñ	sik	sî
1D		tchu	sigik	sigik				sigîñ	tchik	sî
1P		sigu	sigik	sigik				sigîñ	sigîñ	sigîch
2S		uŋ	gik	gîch	ña	siguk	sigut			
2D		tchu	sigik	tchik	sitŋa	siguk	sigut			
2P		siuŋ	sigik	sigik	sitŋa	siguk	sigut			

The following is an example with an intransitive verb in the interrogative mood:

- (122) Qanutnamun suli qalugruaq una siinñaqpa?
 qanutnaq÷mun qalugruaq+∅ siik+naq+pa
 which.way-TRM.S and salmon-ABS.S PR.ABS.S cut-should.be.Ved-INT.3S
 ‘Which way should this salmon be cut?’ (3: 54)

And the following is an example with a transitive verb in the interrogative mood:

- (123) Aasrii Pamiuqtatkuk tuvliġingitpatkik Browns?
 Pamiuqtaq-*tkuk* tuvliq+i-*ngit*+patkik
 and Pamiuqtaq-N.and.spouse.RELD next-have_as-not-INT.3D3D -ABS.D
 ‘Weren’t Browns after Pamiuqtaq and his wife?’ (5: 42)

(v) Immediate imperative mood

The immediate imperative mood is an independent mood for giving commands, suggestions or exhortations that request the action to take place immediately. Its intransitive endings are shown in Table 20, and its transitive endings in Table 21.

Table 20. Intransitive immediate imperative mood endings

S		S		S	
3S	+lî/-llî ¹	1S	+lanja/-llanja ²	2S	+(g)îñ/‘+iñ/‘+iñ/+tîñ ³
3D	+lik/-llik ⁴	1D	+luk/-lluk ⁵	2D	‘+titik/+itik/+titik ⁶
3P	+lich/-llich ⁷	1P	‘+ta/+ta ⁸	2P	‘+titchî/+itchî/+titchî ⁹

¹ +lî is used after a vowel, k or q, and -llî after t.

² +lanja is used after a vowel, k or q, and -llanja after t.

³ (g)îñ is used after a vowel, except that ‘+iñ is used when the stem has the form #(C)VCV-; ‘+iñ is used after k or q; and +tîñ is used after t.

⁴ +lik is used after a vowel, k or q, and -llik after t.

⁵ +luk is used after a vowel, k or q, and -lluk after t.

⁶ ‘+titik is used after a vowel, +itik after k or q, and +titik after t.

⁷ +lich is used after a vowel, k or q, and -llich after t.

⁸ ‘+ta is used after a vowel, and +ta after a consonant.

⁹ ‘+titchî is used after a vowel, +itchî after k or q, and +titchî after t.

Table 21. Transitive immediate imperative mood endings

		O					
S		3S	3D	3P	1S	1D	1P
3S	V+lî	uŋ	gîk	gîch	ña	siguk	sigut
3D	k,q+lî	tchu	tchîk	tchîk	tŋa	siguk	sigut
3P	t-lî	truŋ	sigîk	sigîch	tŋa	siguk	sigut
1S	V+la	gu	gîk	gîch			
1D	k,q+la	kpuk	vuk	vuk			
1P	t-lla	kput	vut	vut			
2S		(see below) ¹	‘±kkîk	‘±kîch	-ŋŋa	+tiguk	+tigut
2D		‘-tku	‘-tkîk	‘-tkîk	+titŋa	+tiguk	+tigut
2P		‘+sriuŋ	‘+srigîk	‘+srigîch	+sritŋa	+tiguk	+tigut
		O					
S		2S	2D	2P			
3S	V+lî	sîŋ	sîk	sî			
3D	k,q+lî	sîŋ	sîk	sî			
3P	t-lî	sîŋ	sîk	sî			
1S	V+la	kpîñ	ptîk	psî			
1D	k,q+la	ptigîñ	ptikkîñ	ptigîñ			
1P	t-lla	ptigîñ	ptîk	psî			

¹ +uŋ is used after a vowel, except that ‘+uŋ is used when the stem has the form #(C)VCV-; +uŋ is used after k or q preceded by a single vowel, and +iuŋ is used after k or q preceded by a two successive vowels; -ruŋ is used after t.

The following is an example with an intransitive verb in the immediate imperative mood:

- (124) Ani’amigguuq piyaa: ‘Isigîñ,’ itnaġaa.
 ani+’ami=gguuq pi+kaa isiq+iñ itnaq+kaa
 go.out-CNS.4S=HS do-IND.3S3S come.in-IIM.2S say.this.to-IND.3S3S
 ‘When he_i came out, he_i said to him: ‘Come in,’ he said to him.’ (39: 112)

And the following is an example with a transitive verb in the immediate imperative mood:

- (125) *llumun Agaayyutim igñiqkpatin, uvakña piiqsigut.*
Agaayyuti-m igñiq+i+kpatin piiq+tigut
 truly God-RELS son-have_as.N-CND.3S2D PR.ABL take.out-IIM2S1P
 ‘If you are really God’s son, take us out from here.’ (1: 31)

Verbs in this mood with first or third person S or A may be called optative (MacLean (1986b)).

The following is an example with a verb in an optative function with a first person S:

- (126) *Uumaa, atigiptiknik simmiĵluk.*
atigi-ptiknik simmiq+luk
 female.friend.of.same.age parka-MOD.1DP exchange-IIM.1D
 ‘Friend, let’s exchange our parkas.’ (18: 9)

And the following is an example of a verb in an optative function with a third person S:

- (127) *Qammagguuq anugaatchiaq Kituq tatqamuñaglichguuq.*
qamma=gguuq anugaatchiaq+∅ Kituq+∅ tatqamuñ-q-lich=gguuq
 INA.ADV=HS old.man-ABS.S Kituq-ABS.S AIN.TRM-go.to-IIM.3P=HS
 ‘There was an old man Kituq upriver, who said: Let them come up.’ (30: 70)

(vi) Remote imperative mood

The remote imperative mood is another independent mood, in addition to the immediate imperative, for giving commands. Unlike the immediate imperative, this mood requests that the action be done not immediately, but in the future. This mood appears to have only forms for second person S or A. Its endings are shown in Table 22.

Table 22. Remote imperative mood endings

intransitive		transitive		O					
S		A		3S	3D	3P	1S	1D	1P
2S	+kna	2S	+kî	uŋ	gik	gîch	ña	siguk	sigut
2D	+kisik	2D		tchu	tchik	tchik	sitŋa	siguk	sigut
2P	+kisî	2P		siuŋ	sigik	sigîch	sitŋa	siguk	sigut

The following is an example with an intransitive verb in the remote imperative mood:

- (128) Anaqaksri||luataqna.
 anaqa-ksraqRi-lluataq+kna
 evening-future.N-make-well-RIM.2S
 ‘Have a good evening.’

And the following is an example with a transitive verb in the remote imperative mood:

- (129) “Sumik uvva una niġiraqtuaq?” itnaqpatin,
 su÷mik niġi+raq+tuq itnaq+kpatin
 what-MOD.S PR.ADV PR.ABS.S eat-always-PRT.3S say.this.to-CNS.3P2S
 “Avatramik samma niġiraqtuq” itnaġigich.
 avatraq÷mik niġi+raq+tuq itnaq+kigich
 flipper-MOD.S PN.ADV eat-always-IND.3S say.this.to-RIM.2S3P
 ‘If they say, “what did this [child] eat, tell them “He ate flippers.”’ (38: 116-117)

(vii) Prohibitive mood

The prohibitive mood is an independent mood for expressing prohibition. In spite of its function as an independent mood, its endings are formally parallel to those of the contemporative mood, a dependent mood, which we will examine next. This mood appears to have only forms for second person S or A. Its intransitive endings are shown in Table 23, and its transitive endings in Table 24.

Table 23. Intransitive prohibitive mood endings

S		
2S	V+na/C+'na	k
2D	V+na/k,q+'a/t+'na	tik
2P	V+na/k,q+'a/t+'na	sri

Table 24. Transitive prohibitive mood endings

		O					
S		3S	3D	3P	1S	1D	1P
2S	V+na/C+'na	gu	gik	gich	na	tiguk	tigut
2D	V+na/k,q+'a or k,q+'na/t+'na	tku	tkik	tkik	tikna	tiguk	tigut
2P	V+na/k,q+'a or k,q+'na/t+'na	sriun	tkik	srigik	sritna	sriguk	srigut

The following is an example with an intransitive verb in the prohibitive mood:

- (130) Tara iqsiniqnak.
 iqsi+niaq-'nak
 H.ADV be.afraid-will-PRH.2S
 'Don't be afraid.' (39: 90)

And the following is an example with a transitive verb in the prohibitive mood:

- (131) Qiniqqautraqnagu iyaalugruaq.
 qiniqqaq:uti+raq-'nagu iyaalugruaq+ø
 be.angry-APPLIC-always-PRH.3S child-ABS.S
 'Don't get mad at the child.' (1: 17)

(viii) Contemporative mood

The contemporative mood is a dependent mood for expressing the manner in which the main clause action is carried out, comparable to English *-ing* clauses. It has two series of aspects: realized and unrealized. The realized aspect expresses events that have occurred prior to or

simultaneous with the time of speech, whereas the unrealized aspect expresses events that may occur after the time of speech. The endings of this mood are displayed in Table 25.

Table 25. Contemporative mood endings

S or O		
3S	(realized) V+plu/k,q+lu/t+lu	gu
3D	(unrealized) V,k,q+lu/t-llu	gik
3P		gich
1S		ŋa
1D	(realized) V+plu/k,q+hu/t+lu	nuk
1P	(unrealized) V+lu/k,q+u/t-llu	ta
2S		tin
2D		tik
2P		sri
4S		ni
4D		tik
4P		tin

Notice in Table 25 that this mood has only one series of endings and does not formally differentiate intransitive from transitive endings. This mood also has the following unique characteristics:

- (a) One and the same ending cross-references either S or O.
- (b) A is never cross-referenced, being coreferent with main clause S or A.

Examples with an intransitive verb in realized contemporative mood include (64) and (71) as well as the following:

- (132) Aanaruŋa ifuŋgiquhuni tuqullaktuq.
 aanaruq:a ifuaq-ŋgiqu+huni tuqu-llak+tuq
 grandmother-ABS.3S be.well-not.any.longer-CTR.4S die-really-IND.3S
 ‘Having got sick, his grandmother died.’ (39: 13)

Examples with a transitive verb in realized contemporative mood include (55) and (59) as well as the following:

- (133) Puuyuqfugu ilaŋa samma uqautigisruknaitchaluagiga.
 puuyuq+fugu ila:a uqautigi+sruknaq:it+kaluaq+kiga
 forget-CTR./3S part-ABS.3SS PN.ADV tell.about-must-NEG-though-IND.1S3S
 ‘Having forgotten some part of it, I must have failed to tell about it, though.’ (41: 179)

The following is an example with an intransitive verb in unrealized contemporative mood:

- (134) Qalunmik siifigmik uqauraallagunuk pisaaqsiruguk.
 qaluk÷mik siik-fiq÷mik uqaq:uraaq-llak+unuk pi+saaqsi+tuguk
 fish-MOD.S cut.fish-Ving-MOD.Stalk-long-long-CTU.1D do-start-IND.1D
 ‘We are starting to talk about cutting fish.’ (3: 4)

And the following is an example with a transitive verb in unrealized contemporative mood:

- (135) Nunamlu silamlu akunqak tautuglugu panalikkisirutin.
 nuna-m=lu sila-m=lu akuniq:ak tautuk+lugu panalik+kisi+tutin
 land-REL.S-andsky-REL.S-and between-ABS.3SS see-CTU./3S run-will-IND2S
 ‘You will run seeing the place between the land and the sky (the horizon)’ (18: 75)

The negative version of the contemporative mood may be formed by using the negative postbase -nqît- or :îŋ- (Section 2.3.4.4.1), but this mood also has special negative endings. The negative contemporative mood does not differentiate between realized and unrealized aspects. Its endings appear in Table 26:

Table 26. Negative contemporative mood endings

S or O		
3S	-sruᅇaqna	gu
3D		gik
3P		gîch
1S		ᅇa
1D	-sruᅇaqa	nuk
1P		ta
2S	-sruᅇaqna	k
2D	-sruᅇaqa	tik
2P		sŕî
4S		nî
4D		tik
4P		tîᅇ

An example follows:

- (136) ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ taatna avusruᅇaqnagu, niqausriᅇaqniᅇaat.
 ᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ avu-sruᅇaqnagu niqi:unRi+ᅇaqniᅇ+kaat
 part-REL.3PP that.way add-CTN./3S food-store.of.N-make-always-IND.3P3S
 ‘Some of them used to store it [food made of caribou fat] without adding it [marrow].’
 (8: 27)

The contemporative mood is used not only to express the manner in which the action is done, but also to mark all but one of the members of semantically coordinated clauses. Thus, (132) may mean ‘His grandmother got sick and died’ as well. Here is another example:

- (137) Aniᅇᅇᅇᅇ ukalligᅇiuraagaqsᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ.
 aniᅇ+ᅇᅇᅇᅇ ukalliq+t+nik:uraaq-aqsî-liᅇ+tuᅇ
 go.out-CTR.4S rabbit-hunt-try.to.V-keep.Ving-start.Ving-quickly-IND.3S
 ‘He went out and started trying to hunt rabbits.’
 (16: 11)

In narratives, the contemporative mood is often used in place of the indicative mood when the

(ix) Consequential-conditional mood

The consequential-conditional mood is a dependent mood used to express events prior to the event of the main clause, comparable to English ‘when’ or ‘if’ clauses. It has two series of aspects: consequential and conditional. The former is used for realized events (‘when in the past’), while the latter is used for unrealized events (‘if’ or ‘when in the future’). Its intransitive endings appear in Table 27, and its transitive endings in Table 28.

Table 27. Intransitive conditional-consequential mood endings

S			S	
3S	(consequential) +kma	n	2S	vich
3D	(conditional) +kpa	knik	2D	(consequential) V,k,q+'a/t+na ptik
3P		ta	2P	psí
1S	(consequential) V,k,q+'a/t+'na	ma	4S	mî
1D	(conditional) V,t+yu/k,q+ku	mnuk	4D	(conditional) V,t+yu/k,q+ku mik
1P		pta	4P	mîñ

Table 28. Transitive consequential-conditional mood endings

S		O					
		3s	3D	3P	1s	1D	1P
3S	(consequential) +kma	gu	gik	gich	ŋa	tiguk	tigut
3D	(conditional) +kpa	tku	tkik	tigik	tŋa	tiguk	tigut
3P		truŋ	tigik	tigik	tŋa	tiguk	tigut
1S	(consequential)	pku	pkik	pkich			
1D	V,k,q+'a	ptigu	ptigik	ptigich			
1P	t+'na	ptigu	ptigik	ptigich			
2S		pku	pkik	pkich	pŋa	ptiguk	ptigut
2D	(conditional)	ptikku	ptigik	ptigik	ptitŋa	ptiguk	ptigut
2P	V,t+yu	psiun	psigik	psigich	psitŋa	ptiguk	ptigut
4S	k,q+ku	miun	migik	migich	miŋa	misiguk	misigut
4D		mitchu	mitchik	mitchik	mitŋa	misiguk	misigut
4P		mitruŋ	misigik	misigich	mitŋa	misiguk	misigut

Table 28. Transitive consequential-conditional mood endings (continued)

S		O					
		2s	2D	2P	4s	4D	4P
3S	(consequential) +kma	tin	tik	sri	ni	tik	tiŋ
3D	(conditional) +kpa	tin	tik	sri	kni	tik	tiŋ
3P		tin	tik	sri	tŋi	tik	tiŋ
1S	(consequential)	pkin	ptik	psi	mní	ptik	ptiŋ
1D	V,k,q+'a	ptikkiŋ	ptikkiŋ	ptigiŋ	ptikni	ptikkik	ptigik
1P	t+'na	ptigiŋ	ptigiŋ	psigiŋ	ptitni	ptigik	ptigich
2S					pni	pkik	pkich
2D	(conditional)				ptikku	ptikkik	ptitkik
2P	V,t+yu				psiun	psigik	psigich
4S	k,q+ku	misin	misik	misí			
4D		misin	misik	misí			
4P		misin	misik	misí			

The following is an example with an intransitive verb in the consequential mood:

- (139) 59-mi takku aggiguknaqtuk ukiagmi
 -mi aggiq+uknaq+tuk ukiaq=mi
 -LOC.S because come-must-IND.3D fall-LOC.S
 agaayyuvijisaaqsikmata.
 agaayyuvik-li+saaqsi+kmata
 church-make-start-CNS.3P
 ‘They_i must have come in the fall of 1959 when they_j started building the church.’ (5: 7)

The following is an example with a transitive verb in the consequential mood:

- (140) Taitchua tuttut taku’amitruᅇ upaktuaqsiliᅇniᅇaat.
 tuttu-t taku-’amitruᅇ upaktuq-aqsi-liᅇ+niᅇ+kaat
 AVR.RELP caribou-REL.S see-CNS.4P3S run.after-start-quickly-EVID-IND.3P3S
 ‘When those caribou_i saw him, evidently they_j started running after him.’ (12: 10)

The following is an example with an intransitive verb in the conditional mood:

- (141) Suapayaaq uvva nakuuruq taatna itnami.
 sua-payaaq+∅ nakuu+tuq it-’nami
 what-every-ABS.S PR.ADV be.good-IND.3S that.way be-CNS.4S
 ‘Everything_i is good (if it_i is) that way’ (1: 15)

And the following is an example with a transitive verb in the conditional mood:

- (142) Utigumiñaitchuq tara aksisuaqpakni.
 utiq+umiñaq:it+tuq aksik-tuaq+pakni
 come.back-will-not-IND.3S H.ADV touch-ever-CND.3D4S
 ‘She_i wouldn’t come back if they ever touched her_i.’ (14: 178)

(x) Simultaneitive mood

The simultaneitive mood is a dependent mood for expressing ‘while’ clauses. It has three sub-moods: I, II and III. The simultaneitive I and III moods are used when its S or A is coreferent with the main clause S or A, whereas the simultaneitive II mood is used when its S or A is not

coreferent with the main clause S or A. The difference between the simultaneitive I and III moods is not known to me. The intransitive endings of this mood, yet to be completed, are shown in Table 29, and its transitive endings, yet to be completed, in Table 30.

Table 29. Intransitive simultaneitive mood endings

S			S		
3S	(I) -lla	an	2S	(I) -lla	qpích
3D	(II) ±ηηα		2D	(II) ±ηηα	ptík
3P	(III)	isa	2P	(III)	psí
1S	V+mma	ǵma	4S	V+mma	ǵmí
1D	k,q+simma	mnuk	4D	k,q+simma	ǵmik
1P	t-srimma	pta	4P	t-srimma	ǵmiñ

Table 30. Transitive simultaneitive mood endings

S		O					
		3S	3D	3P	1S	1D	1P
3S	(I)	an			ǵmiña	ǵmisiguk	ǵmisigut
3D	-lla					ǵmisiguk	ǵmisigut
3P						ǵmisiguk	ǵmisigut
1S		an	aknik	itñik			
1D	(II)	an	aknik	itñik			
1P	±ηηα	an	aknik	itñik			
2S		an	aknik	itñik	ǵma	mnuk	pta
2D		an	aknik	itñik	ǵma	mnuk	pta
2P	(III)	an	aknik	itñik	ǵma	mnuk	pta
4S	V+mma	an	aknik	itñik	ǵmiña	ǵmisiguk	ǵmisigut
4D	k,q+simma	an	aknik	itñik		ǵmisiguk	ǵmisigut
4P	t-srimma	an	aknik	itñik		ǵmisiguk	ǵmisigut

Table 30. Transitive simultaneitive mood endings (continued)

S		O					
		2s	2D	2P	4s	4D	4P
3S	(I)	ǵmisiin	ptik/ǵmisik ¹	ǵmisî			
3D	-lla	ǵmisiin	ǵmisik	ǵmisî			
3P		ǵmisiin	ǵmisik	ǵmisî			
1S		qpîñ	ptik	psî			ptin
1D	(II)	qpîch	ptik	psî	ptikni		
1P	±nŋa	qpîch	ptik	psî	ptitni		
2S							
2D							
2P	(III)						
4S	V+mma	ǵmisiin	ptik/ǵmisik ¹	psî/ǵmisî ¹			
4D	k,q+simma	ǵmisiin	ǵmisik	psî/ǵmisî ¹			
4P	t-srimma	ǵmisiin	ǵmisik	ǵmisî			

¹ Alternate forms.

The following is an example with a verb in the simultaneitive I mood:

- (143) Aviññaauram sisauraja tautuktuaġutigillaan,
 aviññaq:uraq-m sisiaq:uraq:a tautuktuaq:uti+gi-llaan
 mouse-small-REL.S hole-small-ABS.3SS watch-tool.for.Ving-have_as-SMVI.3s3s
 avallauraagaqsiruq.
 avallak:uraq-aqsi+tuq
 turn.to.cross.river-slowly-start.Ving-IND.3S
 ‘As he_i kept watching the mouse hole, he_i turned to cross the river.’ (19: 28-29)

The following is an example with a verb in the simultaneitive II mood:

- (144) Taimani, freezer-nik makuniŋa qiqitchiivŋiik piiŋŋaisa,
 -nik qiqitchiivik=nik pi:it+ŋŋaisa
 AS.LOC -MOD.P PE.MOD.P freezer-MOD.P thing-not.have-SMVII.3P
 qattaŋrunmun asriusriuraŋniagnaqtuq.
 qattaŋruk+mun asriaq:unRi:uraq+niaq+naq+tuq
 wooden.barrel-TRM.S berry-store.of.N-make-just-try.to.V-should.be.Ved-IND.3S
 ‘In those days, when they did not have these freezers, berries were stored in wooden
 barrels.’ (37: 21-22)

And the following is an example with verbs in the simultaneous II and III moods:

- (145) Kapuaqsimmaanguuq iyaŋaich kavisich akunŋatigun
 kapuaq+srinnaan=gguuq iyaŋak:ich kavisiq-t akuniq:atigun
 poke-SMVIII.3S3S=HS rock-REL.P scale-REL.P between-VIA.3PS
 niŋluqtigutigillaan, niŋluqtigataqsimaniqsut.
 niŋluq^tiq:uti+gi-llaan niŋluq^tiqataq+srima+niq+tut
 cut.throat-quickly-tool-have.as-SMVII3S3S cut.throat-once.in.a.while-PF-EVID-IND.3P
 ‘He poked it through between rock scales and cut it by the throat, and they were cut by
 the throat.’ (38: 226-228)

(xi) Dubitative mood

The dubitative mood (cf. Spalding (1993: 20-21)) is a dependent mood for expressing ‘whether’ clauses. Its intransitive endings are displayed in Table 31, and its transitive endings in Table 32.

Table 31. Intransitive dubitative mood endings

S			S		S		
3s		n	1s	+kmaŋaa	ŋma	2s	qpich
3d	+kmaŋaa	knik	1d	+kmaŋaa	mnuk	2d	ptik
3p		ta	1p		pta	2p	psî

Table 32. Transitive dubitative mood endings

		O					
		3s	3D	3P	1s	1D	1P
S	+kmaṇaa	ḡuṇ	ḡik	ḡích	ṇa	tiguk	tigut
3S		kku	tkík	tkích	kṇa	tiguk	tigut
3D		truṇ	tigik	tigích	tṇa	tiguk	tigut
3P		ḡuṇ	knik	pkích			
1S		ptigu	ptigik	ptigik			
1D		ptigu	ptigik	ptigích			
1P		n/qsí	kíñ/tin	ḡích	ḡma	ptiguk	ptigut
2S		kku	pkík/tík	ptigích	kma	ptiguk	ptigut
2D		psiuṇ	psigik/srí	psigích	ḡma	ptiguk	ptigut
2P		O					
		2s	2D	2P			
		tin	tík	srí			
	tin	tík	srí				
	tin	tík	srí				
	pkíñ	ptikkíñ	ptigu				
	pkík	ptigik	ptigik				
	pkích	ptigích	ptigíñ				

The following is an example with a verb in the dubitative mood:

- (146) Taatnatun qasruniḡmi nutqanḡakmaṇaata qiñiḡiaḡnaqtut.
 taatna÷tun qasruniq÷mi nutqanḡa+kmaṇaata qiñiq+iaḡ+naḡ+tut
 that.way-SIM.S eddy-LOC.S stop-DUB.3P see-go.to.V-should.be.Ved-IND.3P
 ‘You should go to see whether they [salmon] have stopped at the eddy like that.’(21: 13)

(xii) Proverbial mood

The proverbial mood is a dependent mood for expressing ‘whenever’ clauses. Its ending is invariably +tunî. Thus, it cross-references no arguments. Its O, if any, is interpreted as coreferent with the main clause S or O. The following is an example in which the O of a proverbial verb is

coreferent with the main clause S:

- (147) Qalugruich tara tamatkua sanjirut qaaktuni.
 qalugruaq:ich sanji+tut qaak+tuni
 salmon-ABS.P H.ADV APE.ABS.P be.strong-IND.3P seine-PRV
 ‘Salmon are strong when you seine them.’ (21: 15)

The following is an example in which the O of a proverbial verb is coreferent with the main clause O:

- (148) Maani itna asriñi itittuni taimma piiñgiḡaḡigai.
 it^tit+tuni piiñgiḡ+aḡi+kai
 PE.LOC this.way outside be-CAUS-PRV AS.ADV spoil-generally-IND.3S3P
 ‘If you put [blueberries] outside [without a cover], they get spoiled [lit: it spoils them].’
 (11: 17)

When the main clause S is impersonal third person, it refers to the proverbial clause. For example:

- (149) Patiqtuqtuni kayumiktuq.
 patiq+tuq+tuni kayumik+tuq
 bone.marrow-eat-PRV be.delicious-IND.3S
 ‘It is delicious to eat bone marrow.’ (Sun *et al.* (1979: 159))

Comparative notes

At this point, it may be in order to provide some comparative notes on the terminology used for moods. Eskimo languages generally have a set of similar moods, but different grammars often use different terms for equivalent moods, so that it is often hard to compare moods in different languages. In Table 33, I provide the mood terminology that has been used for three languages/dialects to facilitate comparison across Eskimo languages: Iñupiaq (this work), Greenlandic (Fortescue (1984)) and CAY (Jacobson (1995)).

Table 33. Mood terminology in this work, Fortescue (1984) and Jacobson (1995)

Iñupiaq (this work)	Greenlandic (Fortescue (1984))	CAY (Jacobson (1995))
indicative	indicative (p. 288)	indicative (p. 17)
participial	participial (p. 289)	participial (p. 382)
kisaimma	---	---
interrogative	interrogative (p. 289)	interrogative (p. 51)
immediate imperative	imperative/optative (p. 291)	optative (p. 67)
remote imperative	---	optative future (p. 68)
prohibitive	---	negative optative (p. 203)
contemporative	contemporative (p. 297)	subordinative (p. 227)
consequential-conditional	causative-conditional (p. 290)	connective (p. 268)
simultaneitive	---	---
dubitative	---	---
proverbial	---	---

2.3.3.2. Person and number of arguments

Intransitive endings cross-reference one argument (S) in person and number, while transitive endings cross-reference two arguments (A and O) in person and number (except those in contemporative mood, which, as we saw above, cross-reference only O). Thus, consider the following example with an intransitive verb:

- (150) Taatniuttuagaqsiłgitchuq iłuqutaq.
 taatniut+tuq-aqsi-łgit+tuq iłuqutaq+ø
 stay.still-slowly-start.Ving-again-IND.3S porcupine-ABS.S
 ‘The porcupine began staying still again.’ (13: 13)

where the ending of the verb, -TUQ, cross-references one argument, iłuqutaq ‘porcupine’, in person (third person) and number (singular).

And consider the following example with a transitive verb:

mashing them' is marked for third person A, so this A is interpreted as not coreferent with the A of the main clause verb *aullautigai* 'he took them with him.' The person who mashed them is different from the person who took them.

2.3.4. Postbases

Postbases are suffixes that follow a base to form a larger base. They modify the semantic and/or grammatical properties of the base they attach to. They may be divided into four types according to the type of their input and output—that is, whether their input is noun or verb bases, and whether their output is noun or verb bases. The four types are:

- (i) Noun-elaborating postbases, whose input is noun bases, and whose output is noun bases;
- (ii) Verbalizing postbases, whose input is noun bases, and whose output is verb bases;
- (iii) Nominalizing postbases, whose input is verb bases, and whose output is noun bases; and
- (iv) Verb-elaborating postbases, whose input is verb bases, and whose output is verb bases.

I will illustrate each type in turn:

2.3.4.1. Noun-elaborating postbases

Noun-elaborating postbases have meanings comparable to those of adjectives in other languages, and meanings such as ' _ and partner,' 'one having _.' Examples of noun-elaborating postbases include (44a), (46b), (55), (57), (59) and (123) as well as the following:

- (154) a. *tuttugaagruich*
 tuttu+gaagruaq:ich
 caribou-many-ABS.P
 'many caribou' (18: 52)
- b. *igñauratuaqniana*
 igñiq:uraq-tuaq+kniaq:a
 son-little-only-poor-ABS.3S3S
 'his only poor little son' (12: 16)

2.3.4.4. Verb-elaborating postbases

Verb-elaborating postbases correspond in meaning to adverbs and auxiliaries in other languages. As they are the most diverse, numerous and frequent, we will examine each of their functional subgroups in turn: polarity, tense, aspect, modality and others. Verb-elaborating postbases that change valency will be examined in Section 2.4.

2.3.4.4.1. Polarity

Except for the imperative moods, which have a corresponding negative mood, namely prohibitive (Section 2.3.3.1), negative polarity is marked by *-ngît-* or *:ît-*. (The contemporative mood has negative forms, but they can be used with these postbases as well.) *-ngît-* is used for verb bases that denote actions. *:ît-* is used for verb bases that denote state, *i.e.*, verbs whose meaning is adjectival or those that are expanded by modality postbases such as *-tla-* ‘can.’ Examples with each of these follow:

- (160) a. *Qayakitlutikguuq* *ikautingitchaak* *iluqutaq.*
qayaq-kit+lutik=gguuq *ikaaq:uti-ngît+kaak* *iluqutaq+∅*
kayak-have.small.N-CTR.4D=HS *cross-APPLIC-NEG-IND.3D3S* *porcupine-ABS.S*
 ‘It is said that, as their kayaks were small, they did not take the porcupine across.’
(14: 49)
- b. *Quptik* *suli siitłaitchaat.*
quptik+∅ *siik-tla:it+kaat*
sharp.nose.whitefish-ABS.S *and cut-can-NEG-IND.3P3S*
 ‘They cannot cut sharp-nose whitefish.’
(3: 87)

-ngîq- and *:îq-* indicate inception of negative state, ‘not V any longer, stop Ving,’ corresponding to *-ngît-* and *:ît-*, respectively. For example:

- (161) a. Sakpakiqsuliqpagitluta uvluvak atuurapiangigivut.
 sakpakiq+tuq-liq+pagit+luta atuq:uraq-piaq-ngiq+kivut
 boots-use-start-very.much-CTR.1P today use-just-really-not.any.more-IND.1P3P
 ‘As we have started using boots, we don’t use them (mukluks) any more today.’
 (11: 45)
- b. Savatlaiqman aglagvinmi savaktuaq.
 savak-tlai:iq+kman aglagvik÷mi savak+tuaq
 work-can-not.any.more-CNS.3S school-LOC.S work-PRT.3S
 ‘When he became unable to work, he was working at school.’
 (28: 54)

2.3.4.4.2. Tense

Whereas present and past tenses are not marked by any specific postbase—the latter being optionally differentiated from the former by the participial mood (Section 2.3.3.1)—future tense is marked by postbases +gisî- and +niaq-. The difference between these two is not clear, but +niaq- seems to be more involved with the subject’s intention than +gisî-; more often than not +niaq- is used with first person S or A and more properly translates ‘try to,’ start to.’ Examples of each follow:

- (162) a. Takugisiyaluaġikma piitkisiruġa timituuġġaġma.
 taku+kisi+kaluaq+kikma piit+kisi+tuġa timi+tuuġġaq+ma
 come.to.see-will-though-IND.2S1S be.gone-will-IND.1S body-with-REL.1SS
 ‘Even though you come to see me, I will be gone with my whole body.’
 (1: 48)
- b. Unipchaaqtuallaġniaqtuġa uvva iġuuqiġiġmik.
 unipchaaq+tuaq-llak+niaq+tuġa iġuuqiġiġ÷mik
 tell.a.story-slowly-for.a.while-will-IND.1S PR.ADV blackfish-MOD.S
 ‘I am going to tell a story about a blackfish.’
 (17: 1)

2.3.4.4.3. Aspect

We will look at perfect, inceptive and habitual aspects in turn.

(i) Perfect

\pm anik- indicates perfect aspect. It marks ‘after’ clause when used in a subordinate clause. For example:

- (163) a. Ipchuak imma aullaqtinaniuktuk.
 aullaq+tiq \pm anik+tuk
 S.ABS.D S.ADV go-quickly-PF-IND.3D
 ‘They were gone.’ (18: 50)
- b. Taragguuq kikmiaqtuanikamiun,
 tara=gguuq kikmiaq+tuq \pm anik-’amiun
 H.ADV=HS step.on.with.heel-keep.Ving-PF-CNS.4S3S
 qayaġmiñun qayaġmiñukhuni ayauraagaqsiyaluaqtuq.
 qayaq+miñun qayaq+miñun-k+huni ayak:uraq-aqsi+kaluq+tuq
 canoe-TRM.4SS canoe-TRM.4SS-go-CTR.4S push.off-just-start.Ving-although-IND.3S
 ‘After he stepped on it, he got into his canoe and went.’ (20: 39-40)

-srima- (after a vowel or t) ~ +sima- (after k or q) or +ma- (after a vowel) also indicates perfect aspect. But, compared to \pm anik-, the present relevance of the past event that -srima- ~ +srima- or +ma- indicates is often almost null, so that it might well be viewed as a past tense marker rather than perfect aspect. For example:

- (164) a. Taatna uvva iñuguġniaqsimarugut.
 iñuguq+niaq+sima+tugut
 that.way PR.ADV grow.up-try.to-PF-IND.1P
 ‘We grew up that way.’ (31: 13)
- b. Takanani Qalugraitchiamigguuq aanaga animaruq.
 Qalugraitchiaq+mi=gguuq aana+ka ani+ma+tuq
 ADR.LOC Qalugraitchiaq-LOC.S=HS mother-ABS.1SS be.born-PF-IND.3S
 ‘My mother was born down at Qalugraitchiaq.’ (32: 10)

(ii) Inceptive

-aqsi- indicates inceptive aspect (‘start Ving’). It is used for inception of actions. For example:

(ii) Event modality

+yuma- (after a vowel or t) ~ +kuma- (after k or q) marks weak obligation ('should'). For example:

- (172) a. Tupigiyumagiksi tumaa Atangum.
 tupigi+yuma+kiksi tumi:a Ataniq:um
 obey-should-IND.2P3S way-ABS.3SS Lord-REL.S
 'You_{pl} should obey the way of the Lord.' (1: 8)
- b. Taatnatun taamani atigivich qaanatnun atqaqumagikma.
 taatna+tun atigi-vich qaa:atnun atqaq+kuma+kikma
 that.way-SIM.S AVN.LOC parka-REL.2SP top-TRM.3PS put.down-should-IND.2S1S
 'You should put me down on the top of your parkas like that.' (38: 114)

+yumu- (after a vowel or t) ~ +kumu- (after k or q) marks a wish. This postbase drops the first t of the intransitive indicative endings. For example:

- (173) a. Ilipsi takitlukumuugli iñuufiqsi nunami.
 taki-tluk+kumu+tuq=li iñuufiq+si nuna+mi
 2PREL be.long-more-wish-IND.3S=as.for life-ABS.2PS earth-LOC.S
 'May your_{pl} life be longer on the earth.' (1: 16)
- b. Qaḡavak tatimannavuk uqsruitchumuuk.
 tati+ma+niq'-vuk uqsruq:it+yumu+tuk
 forever lean.on-one.that.is.Ved-place.to.V-ABS.1DD fat-have.no.N-wish-IND.3D
 'May the parts we leaned on have no fat forever.' (13: 37)

+suḡumiñait- (after a vowel or t) ~ -yuyumiñait- (after k or q) marks fear. For example:

- (174) Marra nuna qiqitiyuyumiñaitchaa.
 nuna+∅ qiqit^tiq-yuyumiñait+kaa
 PE.ADV ground-ABS.S freeze-quickly-fear-IND.3S3S
 'I'm afraid that the ground may be frozen.' (3: 113)

+nayaq- (after a vowel or t) ~ +kayaq- (after k or q) marks apodoses. For example:

- (175) a. Uvva ammimik piñayaġikpiñ atigisrukuvich.
 amiq÷mik pi+nayaq+kikpiñ atigi+suk+kuvich
 PR.ADV skin-MOD.S give.would-IND1S2S put.on.parka-want.to-CND.2S
 ‘I will give you a skin if you want to put on a parka.’ (18: 55)
- b. Ukuak Panitchiatkuk qiaġunniutinayaġaatiguk
 Panitchiaq-tkuk qiaġut+nik:uti+nayaq+kaatiguk
 PR.REL.D Panitchiaq-N.and.spouse.REL.D pick.birch.bark-try.to-APPLIC-would-IND.3D1D
 taagunaqattaallakumnuk.
 taaguna+q±qattaaq-llak+kumnuk
 AAE.TRM-go.to-for.a.trip-really-CND.1D
 ‘Panitchiaq and her husband will help us pick birch bark if we go there.’ (29: 158-159)

-tla- marks abilitive (‘can’). For example:

- (176) a. Killaiyauratlapluna nikniaġuratlapluna taatna ittuna.
 killaiyaq:uraq-tla+pluna nikniaq:uraq-tla+pluna it+tuna
 sew-just-can-CTR.1S cook-just-can-CTR.1S that.way be-IND.1S
 ‘But I could sew and cook.’ (28: 28)
- b. Uqaqatigitlagai Itqilich taataa.
 uqaq±qati+gi-tla+kai Itqiliq-t taata+ma
 talk-partner.in.Ving-have_as-can-IND.3S3P Indian-ABS.P father-REL.1SS
 ‘My father could talk with Indians.’ (30: 98)

The negation of this postbase, -tla:ît-, may indicate not only inability but also emphatic negation (‘never’). For example:

- (177) a. Kikmiññat piungitłaitchai ukiuvak.
 kikmiññaq-t pingiq-tla:it+kai ukiuq-vak
 cranberry-ABS.P spoil-can-NEG-IND.3S3P winter-whole
 ‘Cranberries never spoil all winter long.’ (37: 3)
- b. Uilauraqutlaiññikkanjich.
 uilaaq:uraaq-qu-tla:it+niq-kkanjich
 eat.raw-slowly-tell_to-can-NEG-EVID-PRT.3P3P
 ‘Evidently they never told [us] to eat them raw.’ (9: 16)

-sruk- (after a vowel or t) ~ -uk- (after k or q) indicates desiderative ('want to'). For example:

- (178) a. Naliat unnii tara utiguguni nipliñgitchuq.
 naliq:at utiq+uk+uni nipliq-ngit+tuq
 which-ABS.3Pseven H.ADV go.back-want.to-CTU.4S say-NEG-IND.3S
 'None of them said they wanted to go back.' (4: 81)
- b. Tusraasrunjigaatigut makua nutaat.
 tusraa+sruk-ngiq+kaatigut nutaaq-t
 listen.to-want.to-not.any.more-IND.3PIP PE.REL.P young.one-REL.P
 'These young people don't want to listen to us any more.' (35: 104)

2.3.4.4.5. Other verb-elaborating postbases

Here, I will present some of the more frequent verb-elaborating postbases that do not fit into the categories previously covered:

+kmî- means 'too, also, even.' This postbase drops the first t of the intransitive indicative endings. For example:

- (179) Ukiiviuraqputunnii natchisiqaqtuq taatna napaaqtunik.
 ukiivik:uraq+kput=unnii natchisi-qaq+tuq napaaqtuq=nik
 winter.cabin-small-ABS.1PS=even flooring-have-IND.3S that.way tree-MOD.P
 Quliġuaqaqmiugut napaaqtuniñ uvaptitnik lampaliuqhuta.
 quliġuaq-qaq+kmi+tugut napaaqtuq=niñ lampaq-liuq+huta
 cupboard-have-too-IND.1P tree-ABL.P 1P.MOD lumber-make-CTR.1P
 'Our winter cabin even had wooden flooring. We also had a cupboard from trees we made lumber out of by ourselves.' (31: 11-12)

+kaluaq- means 'though.' For example:

- (180) Aglatlasri'amali samma naangitchitka ukua seventh grade.
 aglak-tlasri+'ama=li naat-ngit+kitka
 go.to.school-start.Ving-CNS.1SPN.ADV finish-not-IND.1S3P PR.ABS.P
Sixth grade naatkaluaqpalukkitka.
 naat+kaluaq+paluk+kitka
 finish-though-may-IND.1S3P
 'When I started school, I didn't finish the seventh grade. I may have finished the sixth
 grade, though.' (26: 29-30)

-tqik- and -lgit- mean 'again.' Their difference is not known to me. For example:

- (181) Ukiutqikman aggilgitñamik aullaquaqsilgitmatiguk
 ukiuq-tqik+kman aggiq-lgit-'namikaulaq-qu-aqsi-lgit+kmatiguk
 be.winter-again-CNS.3S come-again-CNS.4D go-tell_to-start.Ving-again-CNS.3D1D
 tara aullauraġniaqtuguk.
 aullaq:uraq+niaq+tuguk
 H.ADV go-just-try.to-IND.1D
 'When the next winter came, when they came back and told us to go again, we went.'
 (28: 104-105)

-tluk- is used for comparative sentences, meaning 'more'. For example:

- (182) Natchium amia una atutluktug tara.
 natchiq:um amiq:a atuq-tluk+tuq
 seal-RELS skin-ABS.3SS PR.ABS.S be.useful-more-IND.3S H.ADV
 'Seal skin is more useful.' (11: 43)

-piaq- means 'really'. For example:

- (183) Utuqqaupiaqtilaana ilitchuġisraġataqfugu.
 utuqqaq:u-piaq^tilaaq:a ilitchuġi+sraġataq+fugu
 old.one-be-really-Ving-ABS3SS understand-still-CTR./3S
 '(They) understood that it was really old.' (2: 27)

2.3.5. Enclitics

Enclitics are a functionally miscellaneous class of morphemes that are attached to words after endings. I present some of the more frequent enclitics.

=lu ‘and’ coordinates NPs. For example:

- (184) Kikmiññatlu paungatlu piungitlaitchai.
 kikmiññaq-t=lu paungaq-t=lu pingiq-tla:it+kai
 cranberry-ABS.P=and blackberry-ABS.P=and spoil-can-NEG-IND.3S3P
 ‘Cranberries and blackberries never go bad.’ (37: 4)

=lu does not coordinate clauses, because clauses that are semantically coordinated are expressed as the combination of one clause in an independent mood and the other clause(s) in a dependent mood (Section 2.3.3.1). But there is one case where =lu connects two clauses that are both in independent moods. Thus, a verb marked with the postbase +kmî- ‘too’ (Section 2.3.4.4.5), the indicative mood ending, and =lu, is used as a dependent clause meaning ‘when.’ For example:

- (185) Tara sisamat uvlut naatmiyaitlu,
 sisamaq-t uvluq-t naat+kmi+kaich=lu
 H.ADV four-ABS.P day-ABS.Pfinish-too-IND.3P3P=and
 qamakña Kuuvañmiñ tusraqtitkaich.
 Kuuvak÷miñtusraq^tit+kaich
 IN.ABL Kuuvak-ABL.S hear-CAUS-IND.3P3P
 ‘After four days, news came to them from Kobuk upriver.’ (30: 69)

This is the only case that I know of where the indicative mood marks dependent clauses.

=gguuq marks hearsay information (‘it is said’). For example:

- (186) Taragguuq suna uvva taatnaqhutin
 tara=gguuq taatnaq+hutin
 H.ADV=HS what.ABS.S PR.ADV do.that-CTR.4P
 taapkua qjaruat aanaruaġmiknun.
 qia+tuat aanaruaq+miknun
 AVN.ABS.P cry-PRT.3P grandmother.TRM.4PS
 ‘It is said that that is why they cried for their grandmother.’ (16: 45)

=ptuuq means ‘too, also,’ Here is an example with =ptuuq.

- (187) lkayuurallaaplunaptuuq tasramma qanuq uqafiqnik.
 ikayuq:uraq-llaa+plunaptuuq uqafiq÷nik
 help-just-once.in.a.while-CTR.1S=too APN.ADV how word-MOD.P
 ‘I also helped with some words.’ (36: 29)

=ptuuq and +kmi- (Section 2.3.4.4.5), which appear to have similar meanings, differ in that the former can, but the latter cannot, attach to nominals.⁵ For example:

- (188) a. Uvanaptuuq.
 uvaŋa=ptuuq
 1S.ABS=too
 ‘Me, too.’
 b. *uvaŋakmi
 uvaŋa+kmi
 1S.ABS-too

=ŋ marks change of topic (‘as for’). For example:

⁵ I owe this observation to Lawrence Kaplan.

- (189) Qalugruaġli, tara una aṅusralut atlakaaġiiksut
 qalugruaq+ø=li aṅusraluq-t atlakaaq+iik+tut
 salmon-ABS.S=as.for H.ADV PR.ABS.S male-ABS.P different.type-have-IND.3P
 aṅnasralutlu siiksuni.
 aṅnasraluq-t=lu siik+tuni
 female-ABS.P=and cut-PRV
 '[Having discussed how to cut whitefish:] As for salmon, there are different ways of
 cutting for males and females.' (3: 32)

=tai attaches to interrogatives and adds non-specific or indefinite tone, similar in function to English *some* in *somewhere* (Section 2.3.2.4). For example:

- (190) Mr. ZibellAkuġluk maunaqtuq 1964-mi sumitai.
 Akuġluk+ø mauna+q+tuq -mi su÷mi=tai
 Akuġluk-ABS.S PE.TRM-go.to-IND.3S -LOC.S what-LOC.S=NSP
 'Mr. Zibell, or Akuġluk, came here sometime around 1964.' (36: 2)

2.3.6. Particles

Particles are a residual class of unanalyzable words.

Recall from Section 2.2.1 that ai is phonetically leveled to [e:]. In this regard, some particles are unique in that ai is not leveled but pronounced [ai]. Thus, apai 'lots!' is pronounced [apai], not *[ape:] as expected.

I present some of the more common particles. Those in which ai is not leveled are followed by phonetic transcription.

(i) Particles with adverbial function that form part of a sentence:

akku 'a while ago,' kiisaimma 'all of a sudden,' naagga 'or,' qakugu 'when in the future,'
 qanuq 'how,' suli 'and,' takku 'because.'

(ii) Particles with exclamatory function that form utterances on their own:

aarigaa ‘good,’ alappaa ‘cold,’ ai [ai] ‘pardon?’, ami ‘well,’ anaatuk ‘what a pity,’
 aniqsa ‘lucky,’ aᅇᅇua ‘don’t,’ apai [apai] ‘lots, enough,’ arii ‘ouch,’ ii ‘yes,’ ikkii ‘icky,
 messy, yukky,’ ki ‘let’s,’ qaᅇaa ‘no,’ suuᅇᅇuq ‘I envy you,’ taikuu ‘thank you,’ yai [yai]
 ‘fun, happy.’

Some particles are like noun bases in that they may be followed by noun-elaborating or verbalizing postbases. The following is an example in which a particle is followed by a noun-elaborating postbase:

- (191) Taikuuqpauraq.
 taikuu+qpak:uraq+ø
 thank.you-big-small-ABS.S
 ‘Thank you very much.’

And the following is an example in which a particle is followed by a verbalizing postbase:

- (192) Qimiᅇᅇᅇich takku aarigaanurut.
 qimiᅇᅇᅇluk-ᅇich aarigaa:u+tut
 back.of.fish-ABS.3PP because good-be-IND.3P
 ‘Their back parts are good.’ (3: 26)

2.4. Valency

In this section, I will first look at the types of verb bases, particularly agentive and patientive bases, in Section 2.4.1, and then turn to valency-changing operations, in Section 2.4.2.

2.4.1. Agentive and patientive bases

First, we will examine two types of verb bases traditionally referred to in Eskimo linguistics as

agentive and patientive. They will be the main topic of the following chapters, and we will provide our definition of them in Chapter 3. So, here, I will just provide a fairly standard criterion for distinguishing them, to give the reader a general idea of what they are like.

Recall that there are two types of verb endings: intransitive and transitive. Now, we can divide verb bases into three groups according to which endings they can take:

- (i) verb bases that can only take intransitive endings.
- (ii) verb bases that can only take transitive endings.
- (iii) verb bases that can take either type of ending.

Bases of type (i) are called intransitive-only bases, those of type (ii) transitive-only bases. An example of an intransitive-only base follows:

- (193) a. Aggiqsuq.
 aggiq+tuq
 come-IND.3S
 ‘He came.’
 b. * Aggiġaa.
 aggiq+kaa
 come-IND.3S3S

Notice that the verb base agġiq- ‘come’ can take intransitive endings, but not transitive endings.

Thus, it is an intransitive-only base.

And the following is an example of transitive-only base:

- (194) a. Iļisautrigigaa.
 iļisautri+ġi+kaa
 teacher-have_as-IND.3S3S
 ‘He is her teacher; lit.: She has him as her teacher.’
 b. * Iļisautrigiruq.
 iļisautri+ġi+tuq
 teacher-have_as-IND.3S

Notice that the verb base *iljisautrigi-* ‘have _ as a teacher’ can take transitive endings, but not intransitive endings. Thus, it is a transitive-only base.

These two types are fairly straightforward. Bases that belong to type (iii), verb bases that can take either intransitive or transitive endings, are more complicated. Some examples follow:

(195) a. *Anutim* *nigiyaa* *niqi.*
anuti-m *nigi+kaa* *niqi+∅*
 man-REL.S eat-IND.3S3S meat-ABS.S
 ‘The man ate the meat.’

b. *Anun* *nigiruq.*
anuti+∅ *nigi+tuq*
 man-ABS.S eat-IND.3S
 ‘The man ate.’

(196) a. *Anutim* *tammaḡaa* *aluutaq.*
anuti-m *tammaq+kaa* *aluutaq+∅*
 man-REL.S lose-IND.3S3S spoon-ABS.S
 ‘The man lost the spoon.’

b. *Aluutaq* *tammaqtuq.*
aluutaq+∅ *tammaq+tuq*
 spoon-ABS.S get.lost-IND.3S
 ‘The spoon got lost.’

Both *nigî-* ‘eat’ (195) and *tammaq-* ‘lose’ (196) can take either intransitive or transitive endings. Notice that, even though they can both take either ending, they differ in the correspondence among the arguments of the transitive and intransitive versions. Thus, for *nigî-* ‘eat’ (195), S corresponds with A, whereas for *tammaq-* ‘lose’ (196), S corresponds with O. The categories ‘agentive’ and ‘patientive’ are intended to capture this difference. Thus, verb bases for which S corresponds with A, such as *nigî-* ‘eat’ (195), are called agentive, whereas verb bases for which S corresponds with O, such as *tammaq-* ‘lose’ (196), are called patientive.

Now I will examine the semantic relation between the intransitive and transitive versions of

agentive and patientive bases a little more closely.

The intransitive version of agentive bases refers to events with an indefinite or unspecific object, as in (195b). An indefinite or unspecific object may be expressed in an oblique, most often modalis, case. Thus compare (195) with:

- (197) Aḡun niḡiruq niḡimik.
 aḡuti+∅ niḡi+tuq niḡi=mik
 man-ABS.S eat-IND.3S meat-MOD.S
 ‘The man ate meat.’

On the other hand, the intransitive version of patientive bases takes on spontaneous meaning, as in (196b), or reflexive meaning, as in the following:

- (198) a. Aḡutim tuqutkaa aḡnaq.
 aḡuti-m tuqut+kaa aḡnaq+∅
 man-REL.S kill-IND.3S3S woman-ABS.S
 ‘The man killed the woman’
 b. Aḡnaq tuquttuq.
 aḡnaq+∅ tuqut+tuq
 woman-REL.S kill-IND.3S
 ‘The woman killed herself.’

Actually, these two meanings of the intransitive version of patientive bases are neither discrete nor fixed for each patientive base.

To summarize so far, the intransitive version of agentive bases expresses suppression of the O of the corresponding transitive version, while that of patientive bases expresses suppression of the A of the corresponding transitive version, if we observe the intransitive version from the viewpoint of the transitive version. However, whereas the intransitive version of agentive bases may express the suppressed O in an oblique case (197), that of patientive bases cannot express the suppressed A in any way. Of course, it would always be possible to express it in another clause, such as in ‘The

woman killed herself because the man teased her’ with regard to (198b), but it is not possible to express it in an oblique case comparable to ‘by’ phrases in English passives.

The intransitive version of both agentive and patientive bases can express reflexive meanings. As we saw above, the intransitive version of agentive bases may express an indefinite or unspecific object in an oblique case, and that object may be a pronoun coreferent with S, which results in reflexive meaning. Consider the following examples with an agentive base *tautuk-* ‘see’:

- (199) a. *Ajutim tautukaa aġnaq.*
aġuti-m tautuk+kaa aġnaq+∅
 man-REL.S see-IND.3S3S woman-ABS.S
 ‘The man saw the woman.’
- b. *Ajun tautuktuq.*
aġuti+∅ tautuk+tuq
 man-ABS.S see-IND.3S
 ‘The man saw’
- c. *Ajun tautuktuq iġmiñik/iġmiñun.*
aġuti+∅ tautuk+tuq iġmiñik/iġmiñun
 man-ABS.S see-IND.3S 4S.MOD/4S.TRM
 ‘The man saw himself.’

(199c), with a fourth-person oblique pronoun, has reflexive meaning.

On the other hand, turning to patientive bases, as we saw in (198b), the intransitive versions of patientive bases may have reflexive meaning by themselves, so oblique pronouns are not necessary for reflexive meaning with patientive bases. But oblique cases, in this case *modalis* or *terminalis*, may be used to emphasize the reflexive meaning. Compare (198b) with:

- (200) *Aġnaq tuquttuq iġmiñik/iġmiñun.*
aġnaq+∅ tuqut+tuq iġmiñik/iġmiñun
 woman-REL.S kill-IND.3S 4S.MOD/4S.TRM
 ‘The woman killed herself.’

(200) puts more emphasis on the reflexivity of the action than (198b). In the same vein, oblique pronouns may be used to emphasize spontaneous meaning, but here only modalis case, but not terminalis case, is used. Compare (196a) with:

(201)	Aluutaq	tammaqtuq	iqmiñik/*iqmiñun.
	aluutaq+ø	tammaq+tuq	iqmiñik/*iqmiñun
	spoon-ABS.S	lose-IND.3S	4S.MOD/*4S.TRM
	‘The spoon got lost by itself.’		

(201) only has spontaneous meaning, as opposed to (196a), which may have result-state meaning (‘The spoon is lost’).

2.4.2. Valency-changing operations

In Iñupiaq, valency-changing operations are handled by valency-changing postbases. Some of those postbases are valency-decreasing in that they turn transitive bases into intransitive ones, while others are valency-increasing in that they turn intransitive bases into transitive ones, or transitive bases into other transitive ones by rearranging the arguments. We will examine valency-decreasing operations in Section 2.4.2.1 and valency-increasing operations in Section 2.4.2.2.

2.4.2.1. Valency-decreasing operations

Valency-decreasing postbases turn transitive bases into intransitive bases, choosing the A or O of the original transitive base as the S of a new intransitive base. They may be divided according to which argument of the original transitive base they choose as the S of a new intransitive base, as follows:

- (i) those that choose O as S (passive, etc.);
- (ii) those that choose A as S (antipassive);
- (iii) those that choose plural participants acting on each other as S (reciprocal); and

(iv) those that choose participant(s) acting on itself/themselves as S (reflexive).

Of these four possible patterns, we have already seen (iv), reflexive, above. So we will examine the remaining three patterns in turn.

2.4.2.1.1. Operations choosing O as S (passive, etc.)

There are three postbases involved in operations of this kind:

- (a) passive ^tau-
- (b) +naq- ‘should/can be Ved’
- (c) resultative \pm\eta a-

Let us look at each of them in turn:

(a) Passive ^tau-

The postbase ^tau- , which is actually the combination of ^taq ‘one that is Ved’ and :u- ‘be N,’ is often called a ‘passive’ postbase. It attaches to transitive bases and yields intransitive-only bases with the passive meaning, ‘to be Ved,’ with the following results:

- (i) original O becomes new S;
- (ii) original A may be optionally expressed by oblique case.

Formulaically:

Input:	relative	absolute	base-transitive.ending
	A	O	transitive verb
Output:	oblique	absolute	base-tau-intransitive.ending
		S	intransitive verb

The following is an example of a transitive clause and a passive clause derived from it:

- (202) a. $\text{l\~{n}uich}$ anun kikiaktuutigaat.
 $\text{i\~{n}uk:ich}$ anuti+\emptyset $\text{kikiaktuq:uti+kaat}$
 person-REL.P man-ABS.S nail-APPLIC-IND.3P3S
 ‘People nailed the man.’

- b. Anun kikiaktuutrauruq.
 aṅuti+∅ kikiatuq:uti^tau+tuq
 man-ABS.S nail-APPLIC-PASS-IND.3S
 ‘The man was nailed.’ (1: 29)

Although I noted this postbase for the sake of completeness, it is actually very rare. It is mostly used for translating Biblical terms (in fact, (202b) is adopted from a narrative on Jesus Christ), so, functionally, it may be considered as a kind of calque for English passive. Also, in the rare instances of this postbase, original A is almost always not expressed; some speakers tolerate it in the ablative case, so that (202b) would be rendered:

- (203) Anun iñuṅniñ kikiaktuutrauruq.
 aṅuti+∅ iñuṅ÷niñ kikiatuq:uti^tau+tuq
 man-ABS.S person-ABL.P nail-APPLIC-PASS-IND.3S
 ‘The man was nailed by people.’

but many others do not allow it in any oblique case. Overall, it is unclear whether Iñupiaq has a passive, and if it does, passive in Iñupiaq should not be considered as occupying as significant a place in the grammatical system as it does in other languages, such as English. In this respect Iñupiaq may contrast with more eastern Inuit dialects, such as Greenlandic and ECI, for which several linguists treat passive as equally significant to its treatment in other languages (Woodbury (1977a: 323-324), Mallon (1976: 86-87)). The fact that parallel formatives are not accorded a special status as a passive postbase in grammars of Yupik languages (Menovščikov (1962, 1967a, 1975), Jacobson (1995)) may suggest that in Eskimo languages passive becomes more important in the grammatical system as one moves east.

- (b) +naq- ‘should/can be Ved’

The postbase +naq- attaches to verbal bases, either intransitive or transitive, and yields

intransitive-only bases with the meaning, ‘one should/is supposed to/can V, be Ved,’ with the following results:

If the input is an intransitive base:

- (i) new S is third-person singular;
- (ii) original S is never expressed.

If the input is a transitive base:

- (i) original O becomes new S;
- (ii) original A is never expressed.

The agent of the action of the output base is understood to be generic (‘we, you, one,’ etc.).

Formulaically:

- | | | | |
|------|---------|---------------------|--|
| (i) | Input: | absolutive | base-intransitive.ending |
| | | S | intransitive verb |
| | Output: | | base-naq-intransitive(3S) |
| | | | intransitive verb with third-person singular S |
| (ii) | Input: | relative absolutive | base-transitive.ending |
| | | A O | transitive verb |
| | Output: | absolutive | base-naq-intransitive.ending |
| | | S | intransitive verb |

The following is an example of an intransitive clause and a clause derived from it with +naq-:

- (204) a. Qaluᅇnik nutaanik qaluktuqtugut.
 qaluk÷nik nutaaq÷nik qaluk+tuq+tugut
 fish-MOD.P new.one-MOD.P fish-eat-IND.1P
 ‘We eat fresh fish.’
- b. Qaluᅇnik nutaanik qaluktuᅇnaqtuq.
 qaluk÷nik nutaaq÷nik qaluk+tuq+naq+tuq
 fish-MOD.P new.one-MOD.P fish-eat-should-IND.3S
 ‘We are/ One is supposed to eat fresh fish.’
- (33: 17)

And the following is an example of a transitive clause and a clause derived from it with -naq-:

- (205) a. Qalupiat siikkivut atlakun suli.
 qalupiaq-t siik+kivut atla-kun suli
 whitefish-ABS.P cut-IND.1P3P other-VIA.S still
 ‘We cut whitefish in still another way.’
- b. Qalupiat siinjñaqtut atlakun suli.
 qalupiaq-t siik+naq+tut atla-kun suli
 whitefish-ABS.P cut-should.be.Ved-IND.3Pother-VIA.S still
 ‘Whitefish are supposed to be cut (we are supposed to cut) in still another way.’ (3: 22)

This postbase is productive, and, unlike ‘passive’ $\wedge\tau\text{au-}$, is used frequently. That it is productive is evident in the fact that it can follow other productive postbases. Consider the following example:

- (206) Qaugaqsiliğnaqtut.
 qauq-aqsi-liq+naq+tut
 pull.off.from.ground-start-quickly-should.be.Ved-IND.3P
 ‘They (spruce roots) should be pulled out of the ground.’ (20: 27)

where $+naq-$ follows two other productive postbases, $-aqsi-$ ‘start Ving’ and $-liq-$ ‘start Ving’.

(c) Resultative $\pm\eta a-$

The postbase $\pm\eta a-$ attaches to verb bases, either intransitive or transitive, and yields intransitive-only bases with the resultative meaning, ‘to be in the state of Ving or being Ved’ (the term ‘resultative’ is from Vaxtin (1988)), with the following results:

If the input is an intransitive base:

original S becomes new S;

If the input is a transitive base:

(i) original O becomes new S;

(ii) original A is never expressed, the agent of the action being understood to be unspecific.

Formulaically:

- (i) Input: absolutive base-intransitive.ending
 S intransitive verb
 Output: absolutive base-*ŋa*-intransitive
 S intransitive verb
- (ii) Input: relative absolutive base-transitive.ending
 A O transitive verb
 Output: absolutive base-*ŋa*-intransitive.ending
 S intransitive verb

The following is an example of an intransitive clause and a resultative clause derived from it:

- (207) a. *Aŋun sikiruq.*
 aŋuti+∅ siki+tuq
 man-ABS.S put.head.down-IND.3S
 ‘The man put his head down.’
- b. *Aŋun sikinaruq.*
 *aŋuti+∅ siki±*ŋa*+tuq*
 man-ABS.S put.head.down-RESULT-IND.3S
 ‘The man is keeping his head down.’

And the following is an example of a transitive clause and a resultative clause derived from it:

- (208) a. *Aŋutim qiruk saqugaa.*
 aŋuti-m qiruk+∅ saqu+kaa
 man-RELS wood-ABS.S make.crooked-IND.3S3S
 ‘The man made the wood crooked.’
- b. *Qiruk saquŋaruq.*
 *qiruk+∅ saqu±*ŋa*+tuq*
 wood-ABS.S make.crooked-RESULT-IND.3S
 ‘The wood is crooked.’

This postbase is lexically restricted, being only attached directly to verb bases that refer to movement or change.

2.4.2.1.2. Operations choosing A as S (antipassive)

There is a set of postbases that turn original A into new S: +sî-, :î-, +trik- and +kîq-, called half-transitive postbases (cf. Kleinschmidt 1991 [1851]). They attach to transitive bases and yield intransitive-only bases with the following results:

- (i) original A becomes new S;
- (ii) original O becomes optional and may appear in an oblique case (mostly modalis).

Formulaically:

Input:	relative A	absolute O	base-transitive.ending transitive verb
Output:	absolute S	oblique	base-HT-intransitive.ending intransitive verb

Semantically, the input and output of the half-transitive postbases do not appear to differ greatly, and what little difference they do have is beyond the scope of this work. In this work, I will assume the orthodox stance since Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851]) that the O in transitive clauses is definite, while the corresponding oblique NP in half-transitive or antipassive clauses is indefinite, only for the practical reason that this is the easiest way to differentiate half-transitive or antipassive clauses from transitive ones in English translations (I have not yet introduced ‘antipassive,’ which I will cover shortly). The semantico-pragmatic difference between transitive clauses and the corresponding half-transitive or antipassive ones has been one of the most debated topics in Eskimo linguistics, proposed differences including: logical accent, definite vs. indefinite, given vs. new, foregrounding, specificity, topicality, etc. For this topic, on which this work will not offer a definitive commitment, I refer the reader to Barnum (1970 [1901]: 248), Menovščikov (1967b, 1974, 1984), Kalmár (1977, 1979a, b), Klokeid and Arima (1977), Reed *et al.* (1977: 183-184), Seiler (1978), M. Johnson (1980), Fortescue (1982, 1984: 248-249), Bittner (1987), Miyaoka (1987), Vaxtin (1987: 97-105, 1995: 59-67), Benua (1995), Manga (1996), Berge (1997), Johns (1999, 2001), Spreng (2001) and Sadock (2003: 40-41), among others.

The following is an example of a transitive clause and a half-transitive clause derived from it with +Sî-:

- (209) a. Makua uqqat uqafqhich mumikʔugich.
 uqaq'-t uqafiq:ich mumik+ʔugich
 this.ABS.P speech.ABS.P word-ABS.P translate-CTU./3P
 ‘(They) translated these words.’
- b. Makuniņa uqqanik uqafiqnik mumiksiplutik.
 uqaq+nik uqafiq+nik mumik+si-plutik
 this.MOD.P speech-MOD.P word-MOD.P translate-HT-CTU.4D
 ‘They translated these words’ (36: 7)

And the following is an example of a transitive clause and a half-transitive clause derived from it with :î-:

- (210) a. ʔliviġuunikkanat.
 ʔliviq+uu+niq-kkanat
 bury-HT-always-EVID-PRT.3P3S
 ‘Evidently, they used to bury it.’
- b. ʔliviġisuuniqsuat.
 ʔliviq:i+sruu+niq+tuat
 bury-HT-always-EVID-PRT.3P
 ‘Evidently, they used to bury (dead bodies).’ (30: 35)

And the following is an example of a transitive clause and a half-transitive clause derived from it with +tnik-:

- (211) a. Qiaġuq qauġiga.
 qiaġuq+∅ qauq+kiga
 birch.bark-ABS.S peel.off-IND.1S3S
 ‘I peeled off the birch bark.’

- b. Qiaḡumik qauqniktuḡa.
 qiḡuq÷mik qauq+tnik+tuḡa
 birch.bark-MOD.S peel.off-HT-IND.1S
 ‘I peeled off birch bark’

The following is an example of a transitive clause and a half-transitive clause derived from it with +kfiq-:

- (212) a. Qaluich aigitka.
 qaluk:ich ai+kitka
 fish-ABS.P fetch-IND.1S3P
 ‘I fetched the fish.’
 b. Qaluḡnik aikfiqsuḡa.
 qaluk÷nik ai+kfiq+tuḡa
 fish-MOD.P fetch-HT-IND.1S
 ‘I fetched some fish.’

In connection with half-transitive postbases, I need to introduce antipassive clauses.

Antipassive clauses may be defined as intransitive clauses (i) that correspond with transitive clauses and (ii) whose S corresponds with the A of the corresponding transitive clauses.

Formulaically:

Transitive: A O transitive verb
 Antipassive: S intransitive verb

It follows from this definition that the intransitive version of agentive bases (Section 2.4.5.1) is an antipassive corresponding to the transitive version of the same verb base. Thus, in the following examples with an agentive base niḡi- ‘eat’:

- (213) a. Anuḡtim niḡiyaa niqi.
 anuḡti-m niḡi+kaa niqi-∅
 man-REL.S eat-IND.3S3S meat-ABS.S
 ‘The man ate the meat.’

- b. Anjun nigiruuq niqimik.
 anjuti+Ø nigii+tuq niqi÷mik
 man-ABS.S eat-IND.3S meat-MOD.S
 ‘The man ate meat.’

(213b) is an antipassive clause corresponding to (213a). However, the same does not hold for patientive bases, with which the S of the intransitive version corresponds with the O, rather than A, of the transitive version (Section 2.4.5.1). Thus, in the following examples with a patientive base *tammaq*- ‘lose’:

- (214) a. Anjutim tammaḡaa aluutaq.
 anjuti+Ø tammaq+kaa aluutaq+Ø
 man-REL.S lose-IND.3S3S spoon-ABS.S
 ‘The man lost the spoon.’
- b. Aluutaq tammaqtuuq.
 aluutaq+Ø tammaq+tuq
 spoon-ABS.S get.lost-IND.3S
 ‘The spoon got lost.’

(214b) is not an antipassive clause corresponding to (214a), because the S of (214b) does not correspond to the A (but to the O) of (214a). Thus, although we can get an antipassive clause out of agentive bases by simply using their intransitive version, we cannot do the same thing with patientive bases. Here, the half-transitive postbase is required. Thus, the antipassive clause corresponding with (214a) is as follows:

- (215) Anjun tammairuuq aluutamik.
 anjuti+Ø tammaq:i+tuq aluutaq÷mik
 man-ABS.S lose-HT-IND.3S spoon-MOD.S
 ‘The man lost a spoon.’

where the verb is marked by a half-transitive postbase. That is, half-transitive clauses turn out to be antipassive clauses overtly marked with a postbase. As is evident from this statement, I use the

terms ‘antipassive’ and ‘half-transitive’ differently, that is, ‘antipassive’ irrespective of the presence or absence of an overt (half-transitive) postbase, and ‘half-transitive’ where there is an overt (half-transitive) postbase.

Now, considering their function of forming antipassive verbs out of patientive bases, whose simple intransitive version is not antipassive, we may predict half-transitive postbases to be unnecessary for agentive bases, whose simple intransitive version is already antipassive. And this prediction is confirmed by the fact that many agentive bases cannot be followed by any half-transitive postbase.

Having clarified the position of half-transitive postbases in relation to agentive and patientive bases in the grammatical system, let us look at differences among those four postbases.

- (i) They differ slightly in their phonological environments. Thus, for example, :î- appears to be favored over +Sî- after k or q, while it does not appear after vowel or t.
- (ii) Related to the first point, they differ in the verb bases they attach to. That is, they cannot all attach to any verb bases whose phonological environment will allow them. Rather, in many cases the possible choice appears to be fixed for each base. Many verb bases can take only one of them, while quite a few of them can take more than one. I have not been able to discover the principle of this assignment of postbases to each base, if such a principle exists.
- (iii) There is a difference in the number of verb bases they can attach to. In this respect, these four postbases divide into two groups: +Sî- and :î-, on the one hand, and +tɲik- and +kʲiŋq-, on the other. It appears that the former group can attach to just about any verb base as long as the phonological environment allows them. In contrast, the latter group is fairly restricted in occurrence. According to my count, +tɲik- can attach to 30 verb bases, and +kʲiŋq- can attach to six verb bases.
- (iv) There may be some semantic difference among them. Thus, Bittner (1987) describes the semantic difference among the half-transitive postbases in Greenlandic. According to her, the

Greenlandic equivalents of Iñupiaq +sî-, :î- and +tnik- mark imperfective aspects of some sort or allow a frequentative interpretation, while the Greenlandic equivalent of Iñupiaq +kîq- marks some kind of inceptive aspect. In Iñupiaq as well, antipassive sentences are likely to refer to atelic situations as opposed to transitive sentences, which are likely to refer to telic situations, as I have observed the tendency of speakers to translate antipassive sentences into English progressive aspects, and transitive sentences into English non-progressive aspects. I have, however, been unable to uncover any clear semantic difference among these four half-transitive postbases as Bittner did for Greenlandic.

- (v) There is one significant difference between +sî- and :î-, on the one hand, and +tnik- and +kîq-, on the other. That is, the former, but not the latter, have another function besides that of half-transitive. They also function as adversative (this will be discussed in Section 2.4.2.2.3).

As for their productivity, +sî- and :î- are clearly productive. This is because (a) they appear to be able to attach to almost any verb base as long as the phonological environment allows; and (b) they can attach to bases that are already derived by productive postbases. Thus consider the following examples:

- (216) a. Taipchua iñuich qitungaġmiknik iġaqatniktitchiraqniqsuat.
 taipchua iñuk:ich qitungaq+miknik iġaqatnik^tit+si+raqniq+tuat
 that.ABS.P person-ABS.P child-MOD.4PP marry-CAUS-HT-used.to-PRT.3P
 ‘Those people used to make their children get married.’ (28: 6)
- b. Taatna tuqurikmata niġipchaitġaiññiqsut taipchua.
 tuqu+ri+kmata niġi+pkaq:i-tla:it+niq+tut
 that.way die-ADVERS-CNS.3P eat-CAUS-HT-can-not-EVID-IND.3P that.ABS.P
 ‘That way, when somebody died, those people evidently did not feed others.’ (30:60)

In (216a) +sî- follows another productive postbase ^tit- ‘CAUS,’ and in (216b) :î- follows another productive postbase +pkaq- ‘CAUS,’ which shows that +si- and :î- are both productive postbases.

By contrast, +tnik- and +kfiq- are not so straightforward. In terms of the sheer number of verb bases they can attach to, they are not as productive as the other two. However, at least for +tnik-, we have evidence that it is productive. That is, it can attach to verb bases that are already derived by a productive postbase, although I have found only one such productive postbase so far. Consider the following example:

- (217) Anirailitñiktuq.
 ani+raili+tnik+tuq
 go.out-try.not.to.let-HT-IND.3S
 ‘He tried not to let others go out.’

In (217), +tnik- follows another productive postbase +raili- ‘try not to let,’ which shows that +tnik- is productive. As for +kfiq-, I have not found any productive postbase that may be followed by this postbase.

2.4.2.1.3. Operations choosing plural S acting on each other (reciprocal)

For operations of this type, the postbase :uti- is used. This postbase attaches to transitive bases and yields intransitive or transitive bases. It has various functions, but when it yields intransitive bases, it functions as a reciprocal, meaning ‘to V to each other,’ thus changing original A and O collectively into new S.

Formulaically:

Input:	relative	absolute	base-transitive.ending
	A	O	transitive verb
Output:	absolute		base-uti-intransitive.ending
	S		intransitive verb

The following is an example of a transitive clause and a reciprocal clause derived from it:

- (218) a. Siulgum siktaḡaa kaviqsuaq qaḡrupianik.
 siulik:um siktaq+kaa kaviqsuaq+∅ qaḡrupiaq÷nik
 pike-RELS shoot-IND.3S3Smudsucker-ABS.S arrow-MOD.P
 ‘The pike shot at the mudsucker with arrows.’
- b. Siuliglu kaviqsuaḡlu siktautiruk qaḡrupianik.
 siulik+∅=lu kaviqsuaq+∅=lu siktaq:uti+tuk qaḡrupiaq÷nik
 pike-ABS.S=and mudsucker-ABS.S=and shoot-RECIP-IND.3D arrow-MOD.P
 ‘The pike and the mudsucker shot at each other with arrows.’ (22: 3)

Iñupiaq does not have naturally reciprocal verbs such as English *meet*, as in *he met her* and *he and she met*. So verbs that would translate into naturally reciprocal verbs in other languages need :uti- to express reciprocal meaning. Thus, consider the following examples:

- (219) a. Anjutik nalaurrutiruk tumitchiami.
 aḡuti-k nalaut:uti+tuk tumitchiaq÷mi
 man-ABS.D meet-RECIP-IND.3D road-LOC.S
 ‘The two men met on the road.’
- b. *Anjutik nalauttuk tumitchiami.
 aḡuti-k nalaut+tuk tumitchiaq÷mi
 man-ABS.D meet-IND.3S road-LOC.S

which shows that *nalaut-* ‘meet’ has to be overtly marked by :uti- to express reciprocal meaning.

The reciprocal use of this postbase is one of its several uses. Its other uses will be outlined in Section 2.4.2.2.2, because they are valency-increasing in nature.

2.4.2.2. Valency-increasing operations

Valency-increasing postbases turn intransitive bases into transitive bases, or transitive bases into other transitive bases, by adding a new A or O. They may be divided according to whether they add a new A or O:

- (i) those that add a new A;
- (ii) those that add a new O;

(iii) those that add either a new A or O depending on the transitivity of the input.

We will examine each case in turn.

2.4.2.2.1. Operations adding a new A (causative, etc.)

The first and foremost cases of valency-increasing operations of this type are causatives. We will first look at postbases that express causatives, and then at other postbases related to operations of this type.

Causatives

There are four postbases that meet general definitions of causative formatives (cf Nedyalkov and Silnitsky (1973 [1969])): (a) +t-, (b) +saq-, (c) -lĭ- ~ -glĭ- and (d) +pkaq- ~ ^tĭt-. Let us look at each of them in turn:

(a) +t-

The postbase +t- attaches to intransitive bases and yields patientive bases whose transitive version has the meaning 'to cause to V,' with the following results:

- (i) a new A, referring to causer, is added;
- (ii) original S, referring to causee, becomes new O.

Formulaically:

Input:	absolute	base-intransitive.ending	
	S	intransitive verb	
Output:	relative	base-t-transitive.ending	
	A	O	transitive verb

The following is an example of an intransitive clause and a transitive causative clause derived from it by +t-:

- (220) a. Anjun tuquruq.
 aṅuti+∅ tuqu+tuq
 man-ABS.S die-IND.3S
 ‘The man died.’
- b. Aḡnam tuqutkaa aṅun.
 aḡnaq-m tuqu+t+kaa aṅuti+∅
 woman-REL.S die-TR-IND.3S3S man-ABS.S
 ‘The woman killed the man.’

Causatives formed by this postbase express direct causation. Thus, (220b) refers to a situation in which the woman brings about the man’s death by physically murdering him, rather than, say, by telling him to die.

The output of this postbase is a patientive base, which means that it yields not only transitive verbs, as in (220b), but also intransitive verbs as well. Thus compare (220) with:

- (221) Anjun tuquttuq.
 aṅun+∅ tuqu+t+tuq
 man-ABS.S die-TR-IND.3S
 ‘The man killed himself, the man was killed’

This postbase is unproductive, for which we have two pieces of evidence:

- (i) It does not attach to bases that have already been derived, but only to underived bases.
- (ii) It can attach to a limited number of intransitive bases, but never to transitive bases. Thus, the following is a complete list of verb bases that can take this postbase and the resultant transitive base that I have found so far:

(222)	input	output
a.	anî- 'go out'	anîit- 'kick out, throw out, send out'
b.	iki- 'burn'	ikit- 'burn'
c.	ipi- 'choke, drown'	ipit- 'choke'
d.	iqi- 'shrink (of clothes)'	iqit- 'make fist of (hand)'
e.	kati- 'gather'	katit- 'gather'
f.	kitñu- 'capsize'	kitñut- 'capsize'
g.	kivî- 'sink'	kivît- 'sink'
h.	naa- 'finish'	naat- 'finish'
i.	nau- 'grow (of plant)'	naut- 'grow'
j.	nunju- 'be all gone'	nunjut- 'use up'
k.	qai- 'come' ⁶	qait- 'give, hand over'
l.	qaki- 'come up (of boat etc.)'	qakit- 'bring up'
m.	qami- 'go out'	qamit- 'extinguish'
n.	qasru- 'untie'	qasrut- 'untie'
o.	saŋu- 'turn'	saŋut- 'turn'
p.	saqu- 'turn'	saqut- 'turn'
q.	tasrî- 'stretch out'	tasrît- 'stretch out'
r.	tijî- 'fly'	tijît- 'blow away'
s.	tuqu- 'die'	tuqut- 'kill'
t.	ulgu- 'fall (of tree)'	ulgut- 'fell'

(b) +saq-

The postbase +saq- attaches to intransitive bases and yields patientive bases with the meaning 'to cause to V,' with the same side-effects as the postbase +t-. Thus, the following is an example of an intransitive clause and a transitive clause derived from it by +saq-:

⁶ This verb base is found in the whole paradigms in North Slope dialect, but in Kobuk dialect it is found only in the following fossilized form:

- (i) qaġġaiñ
 qai-iñ
 come-IMP.2S
 'come!'

- (223) a. Savik ipiktuq.
 savik+∅ ipik+tuq
 knife-ABS.S be.sharp-IND.3S
 ‘The knife is sharp.’
- b. Anjutim ipiksaḡaa savik.
 anjuti-m ipik+saq+kaa savik+∅
 man-REL.S be.sharp-TR-IND.3S3S knife-ABS.S
 ‘The man sharpened the knife.’

Just as with +t-, causatives derived by this postbase express direct causation. Thus, (223b) cannot be properly translated ‘the man got the knife sharpened (by someone).’

As the output of this postbase is a patientive base, we have an intransitive version corresponding to (223b), as follows:

- (224) Savik ipiksaqtuq.
 savik+∅ ipik+saq+tuq
 knife-ABS.S be.sharp-TR-IND.3S3S
 ‘The knife is sharpened.’

This postbase is unproductive, for which we have two pieces of evidence.

- (i) Just as +t-, it does not attach to bases that have already been derived, but only to underived ones.
- (ii) It can attach to a limited number of intransitive bases, never to transitive bases. The following is a complete list of verb bases that can take this postbase and the resultant transitive bases that I have found so far:

- | (225) | input | output |
|-------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | il'uaq- ‘work properly’ | il'uaqsaq- ‘fix’ |
| b. | ipik- ‘be sharp’ | ipiksaq- ‘sharpen’ |
| c. | itiq- ‘wake up’ | itiqsaq- ‘wake up’ |
| d. | qaiq- ‘be smooth’ | qaiqsaq- ‘iron’ |

Thus, this postbase is in complementary distribution with +t-.

(c) -lî- ~ -glî-

The postbase -lî- (after vowels) ~ -glî- (after t) attaches to intransitive bases with adjectival meaning and yields patientive bases with the meaning ‘to cause to V,’ with the same side effects as the postbases +t- and +saq-. The following is an example of an intransitive clause and a transitive clause derived from it by -lî- ~ -glî-:

- (226) a. Qipmiq anîruq.
 qipmiq+∅ anî+tuq
 dog-ABS.S be.big-IND.3S
 ‘The dog is big.’
- b. Anutim agliyaa qipmiq.
 anutî-m anî-li+kaa qipmiq+∅
 man-REL.S be.big-TR-IND.3S3S dog-ABS.S
 ‘The man raised the dog.’

Just as +t- and +saq-, causatives formed by this postbase express direct causation. Thus, (226b) does not mean ‘the man let the dog grow.’

The output of this postbase is a patientive base, which means we have an intransitive version vis-à-vis (226b), as follows:

- (227) Qipmiq aglîruq.
 qipmiq+∅ anî-li+tuq
 dog-ABS.S be.big-TR-IND.3S
 ‘The dog grew.’

This postbase is unproductive, for which we have two pieces of evidence:

- (i) It does not attach to bases that have already been derived, only to underived bases.
- (ii) It can attach to a limited number of intransitive bases, never to transitive bases. The following

is a complete list of verb bases that can take this postbase and the resultant transitive bases that

I have found thus far:

(228)	input	output
a	amîṭ- 'be narrow'	amigli- 'make narrow'
b	arji- 'be big'	agli- 'make big, raise'
c	ikkat- 'be shallow'	ikkagli- 'make shallow'
d	miki- 'be small'	mikfi- 'make small'
e	saat- 'be thin'	saagli- 'make thin, slice'

Thus, this postbase is in complementary distribution with +t- and +saq-.

(d) +pkaq- ~ ^tîṭ-

The postbase +pkaq- (after vowels) ~ ^tîṭ- (after consonants) attaches to verbal bases, either intransitive or transitive, and yields patientive bases with the meaning 'to cause to V,' with the following results:

(i) If the input base is intransitive:

- (a) a new A, referring to causer, is added;
- (b) original S, referring to causee, becomes new O;

(ii) If the input base is transitive:

- (a) a new A, referring to causer, is added;
- (b) original O becomes new O;
- (c) original A, referring to causee, becomes optional and may now appear in terminalis case.

Formulaically:

(i)	Input:	absolute	base-intransitive.ending
		S	intransitive verb
	Output:	relative	absolute
		A	O
			base-pkaq-ṭit-transitive.ending
			transitive verb

(ii) Input:	relative	absolute	base-transitive.ending
	A	O	intransitive verb
Output:	relative	absolute	base-pkaq- ^{ti} t-transitive.ending
	A	O	transitive verb

The following is an example of an intransitive clause and a causative clause derived from it by +pkaq- ~ ^{ti}t-:

- (229) a. Nukatpiat qilanjmiñ atqaqtut.
 nukatpiaq-t qilak=miñ atqaq+tuq
 youth-ABS.S sky-ABL.S go.down-IND.3P
 ‘The youths went down from the sky.’
- b. lñuich nukatpiat qilanjmiñ atqaqtitkaich.
 iñuk:ich nukatpiaq-t qilak=miñ atqaq^{ti}t+kaich
 person-RELS youth-ABS.S sky-ABL.S go.down-CAUS-IND.3P3P
 ‘People made the youths go down from the sky.’ (24: 1)

And the following is an example of a transitive clause and a causative clause derived from it by +pkaq- ~ ^{ti}t-:

- (230) a. Anjutim nukatpiaq ilitchuğigaa.
 anjuti-m nukatpiaq+∅ ilitchuği+kaa
 man-RELS youth-ABS.S recognize-IND.3S3S
 ‘The man recognized the youth.’
- b. Ağnam anutmun nukatpiaq ilitchuğipkağaa.
 ağnaq-m anjuti÷mun nukatpiaq+∅ ilitchuği+pkaq+kaa
 woman-RELS man-TRMS youth-ABS.S recognize-CAUS-IND.3S3S
 ‘The woman made the man recognize the youth.’

Causatives formed by this postbase express either direct or indirect causation. Thus, (229b) may mean either ‘people let the youth . . .’ or ‘people made the youth . . .’, and (230b) may mean either ‘the woman let the man . . .’ or ‘the woman made the man . . .’

The output of this postbase is a patientive base, so we could have intransitive versions as opposed to transitive versions such as (229b, 230b). In the intransitive version, the A and O of the

transitive clause are collapsed in S. That is, if the input base is transitive, as in (230), the causer and the original object are collapsed in S ('causer_i makes/lets terminalis causee V to him/her_i'). Thus, compare (230) with:

- (231) Aḡnaq aḡutmun iḷitchuḡipkaqtuq.
 aḡnaq+∅ aḡuti÷mun iḷitchuḡi+ḡkaq+tuq
 woman-ABS.S man-TRM.S recognize-CAUS-IND.3S
 'The woman made herself known to the man; The woman_i made the man recognize her_i.'

If, on the other hand, the input base is intransitive, as in (229), the causer and the causee would be collapsed in S ('causer makes/lets him/herself V'), which does not make sense (in the conception of Iñupiaq grammar). So, we do not have an intransitive version to match (229b). However, the intransitive version of output bases with +ḡkaq- ~ ^tīt- from an input intransitive base is possible in other cases. That is, when the input is an elemental intransitive base, the intransitive version of the output base signifies inceptive aspect (literally, 'it_i makes it_i V'). Thus, consider the following examples:

- (232) a. Siḷalukman tara iñuugaqsiruuq.
 siḷaluk+kman iñuu-aqsi+tuq
 rain-CNS.3S H.ADV be.alive-INCEP-IND.3S
 'When it rained, he became alive.'
 b. Siḷaluktitman tara iñuugaqsiruuq.
 siḷaluk^tīt+kman iñuu-aqsi+tuq
 rain-CAUS-CNS.3S then be.alive-INCEP-IND.3S
 'When it started raining, he became alive.'
- (17: 26)

In (232b), +ḡkaq- ~ ^tīt- adds inceptive meaning to the input intransitive base siḷaluk- 'rain.'

In contrast with the three causative postbases we saw above, this postbase is productive, for the following reasons:

- (i) It attaches to any verb base, not just to underived ones. Thus, consider:

- (233) lñuich taatna igliqaqtillakkaatña.
 iñuk:ich igliq+aq[^]tit-llak+kaatña
 person-REL.P that.way travel-always-CAUS-really-IND.3P1S
 ‘People really always made me travel like that.’ (29: 151)

In (233), +pkaq- ~ [^]tit- does not directly attach to an underived base, but after another productive postbase +aq- ‘always.’

- (ii) It can attach to any verb base, intransitive or transitive, including those intransitive bases to which one of the unproductive causative postbases we saw above attach. Thus, compare the following examples:

- (220) b. Añnam tuqutkaa añjun.
 añaq-m tuqu+t+kaa añuti+ø
 woman-REL.S die-TR-IND.3S3S man-ABS.S
 ‘The woman killed the man.’

- (234) Añnam tuqupkañaa añjun.
 añaq-m tuqu+pkaq+kaa añuti+ø
 woman-REL.S die-CAUS-IND.3S3S man-ABS.S
 ‘The woman made the man die.’

This shows that +pkaq- ~ [^]tit- attaches to tuqu- ‘die,’ which +t- can attach to. The difference between (220b) and (234) is, as we saw above, that of direct causation for +t- (220b) and either direct or indirect causation for +pkaq- ~ [^]tit- (234).

We have treated +pkaq- and [^]tit- as phonologically-conditioned suppletive allomorphs: +pkaq- after vowels and [^]tit- after consonants. This is how they have been treated in Eskimo grammar, and it works very well. However, there is a small piece of evidence to suggest that these two postbases are not quite allomorphs. If they are allomorphs, they should be functionally equivalent: they should behave in the same way except that they appear in different phonological

circumstances. This, however, is not the case. There is one case in which +pkaq- and ^tit- behave differently. Thus, consider the following examples:

- (235) a. Niġiruq.
 niġi+tuq
 eat-IND.3S
 'He ate.'
 b. Mayuqtuq.
 mayuq+tuq
 climb-IND.3S
 'He climbed.'

(235a, b) can of course be made causative by the productive causative postbase. niġi- 'eat' (235a) ends in a vowel, so it should take +pkaq-; and mayuq- 'climb' (235b) ends in a consonant, so it should take ^tit-. Compare (235) with:

- (236) a. Niġipchaġaa.
 niġi+pkaq+kaa
 eat-CAUS-IND.3S3S
 'She made him eat; She fed him.'
 b. Mayuqtitkaa.
 mayuq^tit+kaa
 climb-CAUS-IND.3S3S
 'She made him climb.'

Now, we may want second causatives built on (236). niġipchaq- 'make eat' (236a) ends in a consonant, so it should take ^tit-; and mayuqtit- 'make climb' (236b) also ends in a consonant, so it should take ^tit- as well. This is where the discrepancy arises. Compare (236) with:

- (237) a. Niġipchaqtitkaa.
 niġi+pkaq^tit+kaa
 eat-CAUS-CAUS-IND.3S3S
 'He_i made someone make him_j eat; He_i made someone feed him_j.'

- b. *Mayuqtititkaa.
 mayuq[^]t[^]it[^]t[^]it+kaa
 climb-CAUS-CAUS-IND.3S3S
 ‘He_i made someone make him_j climb.’

(237a), with +pkaq- followed by [^]t[^]it-, is felicitous, but (237b), with two [^]t[^]it-'s appearing one after another, is not. The reason for this is unknown to me. Maybe two [^]t[^]it-s in a row (titit) are avoided for euphonic reasons, as Lawrence Kaplan (p.c.) has suggested. Or, perhaps, second causatives cannot be formed with two identical formatives in a row, although this cannot be checked with +pkaq-, which, because it ends in a consonant, would never appear after itself.

Although (237b) is not felicitous, the meaning that (237b) intends can be expressed by making the first [^]t[^]it- half-transitive. Compare (237b) with:

- (238) Mayuqtitchipchaḡaa.
 mayuq[^]t[^]it+si+pkaq+kaa
 climb-CAUS-HT-CAUS-IND.3S3S
 ‘He made her make someone climb.’

Although the unspecific participant is different, (238) expresses a meaning similar to what (237b) intends. But this is possible with (237a) as well. Compare (237a) with:

- (239) Niḡipchaipchaḡaa.
 niḡi+pkaq;i+pkaq+kaa
 eat-CAUS-HT-CAUS-IND.3S3S
 ‘He made her make someone eat; He made her feed someone.’

So it still remains that intransitive bases ending in a consonant, such as mayuq-, have a smaller range of possible expressions than those ending in a vowel, such as niḡi-.

Thus, there is at least one case where +pkaq- and [^]t[^]it- do not behave as equivalent allomorphs.

Parenthetically, it appears that this is not a petty irregularity that somehow happens in Iñupiaq, but something a little more deeply rooted in Eskimo languages, because parallel phenomena are found in other Eskimo languages / dialects as well. This is observed also in ECI (Midori Hayashi (p.c.)). And in CAY, only one instance is found in a corpus where *cete-*, the equivalent of Iñupiaq *^tīt-*, appears after itself (Steven Jacobson (p.c.)); so here it may not be prohibited, but is strictly restricted in occurrence.

Another related issue is the etymological identity of these two formatives. That is, even though *+pkaq-* and *^tīt-* now function as near-allomorphs, their forms are so dissimilar that it is not likely that they were originally a single formative which has now diversified in form. Rather, it would be more plausible to assume that they originate from two different sources and have now merged in function, which may account for the different behaviors noted above; it may be that these two formatives from different sources have not yet merged in function in every respect. Their origin is an interesting consideration. In this respect, comparative data does not help us, since, according to Fortescue *et al.* (1994: 427, 433), these two formatives were in complementary distribution as they are now already in Proto-Eskimo (**-vkaR-* and **-tət-*). The exact origin of *-pkaq-* is not known to me, but there is one hypothesis regarding *^tīt-*, which Anthony Woodbury (p. c.) has suggested: that Proto-Eskimo **-tət-* (> Iñupiaq *^tīt-*) originates in the doubling of the unproductive causative **-t-* (> Iñupiaq *+t-*). Thus: **-t-t-* > **-tət-*. This is an intriguing hypothesis, and indeed matches up with what is observed in languages outside Eskimo. Thus, it is not uncommon to observe that formatives that express direct causation are doubled to portray indirect causation. For instance, in Oromo, direct causation is marked by *-s*, whereas indirect causation is marked by *-si(i)s*, a doubling of the former (Dubinsky *et al.* (1988)). For example:

(240) Oromo (Dubinsky *et al.* 1988: 486)

	non-causative	direct causation	indirect causation
a.	gog- ‘be dry’	gog-s- ‘make dry’	
b.	Dug- ‘drink’		Dug-siis- ‘make drink’

In Hungarian, a marker for indirect causation, *-tat/-tet*, originates in the doubling of *-t*, a marker for direct causation (Hetzron (1976)). For example:

(241) Hungarian (Hetzron (1976: 381))

	non-causative	direct causation	indirect causation
a.	robban ‘blow up’	robban-t ‘blow something up’	
b.	sétál ‘take a walk’		sétál-tat ‘take somebody for a walk’

In Japanese, the productive causative formative *-(s)ase-*, characterized by two /s/s, appears to be the result of a doubling of unproductive causative formatives such as *-se-* and *-as-*, characterized by one /s/. For example:

(242) Japanese

	non-causative	direct causation	indirect causation
a.	ne- ‘lie, go to bed’	ne-se- ‘lay, put to bed’	ne-sase- ‘cause to lie, cause to go to bed’
b.	mi- ‘see’	mi-se- ‘show’	mi-sase- ‘cause to see’

Thus, it is sometimes observed that formatives expressing direct causation are doubled to designate indirect causation. So it would be no surprise if **-t-*, an unproductive causative marker expressing direct causation, were doubled, **-tət-*, to form a productive causative marker expressing indirect causation. If this hypothesis is correct, then Iñupiaq $\wedge\text{t}\dot{\text{t}}\text{-}$ results from the doubling of $\wedge\text{t-}$. If so, this may account for the impossibility of the doubling of $\wedge\text{t}\dot{\text{t}}\text{-}$ noted above. That is, the impossibility of the doubling of $\wedge\text{t}\dot{\text{t}}\text{-}$ may date from a stage when **-tət-* had not yet been fully established as a single formative and retained vestigial properties as a doubling of a formative, since generally doubling of an already doubled element, which would result in quadrupling of an

element, is uncommon or infelicitous.

Other valency-increasing operations that add a new A

There are four more postbases that add a new A: (a) -tqu- ~ -qu-, (b) +raifi- ~ +saifi-, (c) +ni-, and (d) +nasrugi- ~ +kasrugi-. They are all like +pkaq- ~ ^tit-. All these are productive and they attach to either intransitive or transitive bases to yield patientive bases, with the same side effects as those for +pkaq- ~ ^tit-. Now I will briefly examine each of these postbases in turn:

(a) -tqu- ~ -qu-

The postbase -tqu- (after a vowel or t) ~ -qu- (after k or q) means ‘to ask/tell/want original S or A to V.’ The following is an example of an intransitive clause and a transitive clause derived from it with this postbase:

- (243) a. Aikfiuraqama qaluṅnik, ...
 ai+kfiq:uraq-’ama qaluk÷nik
 fetch-ANTIP-just-CNS.1S fish-MOD.P
 ‘When I fetched fish, ...’
- b. Akkanma Inuqtuam aikfiuraqukmanja qaluṅnik, ...
 akkak+ma Inuqtuaq-m ai+kfiq:uraq-qu+kmanja qaluk÷nik
 uncle-REL.1SS Inuqtuaq-REL.Sfetch-ANTIP-just-tell-CNS.3S1S fish-MOD.P
 ‘When my uncle Inuqtuaq told me to fetch fish, ...’
- (27: 53)

And the following is an example of a transitive clause and a transitive clause derived from it with this postbase:

- (244) a. iḡñiṅja iḡaqatigipluṅja
 iḡniq:a iḡaqatigi+pluṅja
 son-ABS.3SS marry-CTR/1S
 ‘his son marrying me’

- b. Iǵñiǵmiñurguuq iłaqatigitqupluna (apiqsruǵiaǵniqsuaq).
 iǵñiq+miñun=gguuq iłaqatigi-qu+pluna (apiqsruq+iaq+niq+tuaq)
 son-TRM.4SS=HS marry-tell-CTR./1S (ask-come.to-EVID-PART.3S)
 ‘(He came to ask) so that, it is said, his son would marry me;
 lit. (He came to ask,) wanting his son to marry me’ (28: 18)

(b) +raif̣i- ~ +saij̣i-

The postbase +raif̣i- (after a vowel) ~ -saij̣i- (after a consonant) means ‘to try not to let original S or A V.’ The following is an example of an intransitive clause and a transitive clause derived from it with this postbase:

- (245) a. Aǵnaq kataktuq.
 aǵnaq+∅ katak+tuq
 woman-ABS.S fall-IND.3S
 ‘The woman fell.’
- b. Añutim aǵnaq kataksaijiyaa
 añuti-m aǵnaq+∅ katak+saiji+kaa
 man-REL.S woman-ABS.S fall-try.not-IND.3S3S
 ‘The man tried not to let the woman fall.’

Since the output of this postbase is a patientive base, we can have an intransitive clause in contrast to (245b). Thus, compare (245b) with:

- (246) Aǵnaq kataksaijiruq.
 aǵnaq+∅ katak+saiji+tuq
 woman-ABS.S drop-try.not-IND.3S
 ‘The woman tried not to fall; lit. The woman tried not to let herself fall.’ (18: 20)

Thus, when the valency of the input and the output do not change, as in (245a) and (246), this postbase, in effect, means ‘try not to.’ The following is another example, in this case based on a transitive clause:

- (247) a. Ağnam amia alikkaa.
 ağnaq-m amiq:a alik+kaa
 woman-REL.S skin-ABS.3SS tear-IND.3S3S
 ‘The woman tore its skin.’
- b. Ağnam amia aliksailiyaa.
 ağnaq-m amiq:a alik+saili+kaa
 woman-REL.S skin-ABS.3SS tear-try.not-IND.3S3S
 ‘The woman tried not to tear its skin.’ (10: 2)

Although +raili- ~ -saili- yields patientive bases, in this case we do not have an intransitive clause corresponding to transitive (247b), which would be as follows:

- (248) * Amiq aliksailiruq.
 amiq+ø alik+saili+tuq
 skin-ABS.S tear-try.not-IND.3S
 Would mean: ‘The skin tried not to get torn.’

which is pragmatically infelicitous.

(c) +nî-

The postbase +nî- means ‘to say that original S or A Ved/Vs.’ The following is an example of a transitive clause and a transitive clause derived from it with this postbase:

- (249) a. tamatkua suurai atuğisiplugich taavruma
 tamatkua su:uraq:i atuq+kisi+plugich taavruma
 APE.ABS.P what-small-ABS.3SP use-will-CTR./3P AVN.REL.S
 ‘that; (person) being going to use those items of his;’
- b. tamatkua suurai atuğisiñiplugich taavrumuᅇa
 tamatkua su:uraq:i atuq+kisi+ni+plugich taavrumuᅇa
 APE.ABS.P what-small-ABS.3SP use-will-say-CTR./3P AVN.TRM.S
 ‘saying that that; (person) is going to use those items of his;’ (30: 29)

The following is an example of an intransitive clause and a transitive clause derived from it with

this postbase:

- (250) a. Aǵnaq pisrugataqtuq.
 aǵnaq+∅ pisruk+ataq+tuq
 woman-ABS.S walk-long-IND.3S
 ‘The woman walked for a long time.’
- b. Anjutim aǵnaq pisrugataǵniyaa.
 anjuti-m aǵnaq+∅ pisruk+ataq+ni+kaa
 man-REL.S woman-ABS.S walk-long-say-IND.3S3S
 ‘The man said that the woman walked for a long time.’

Since the output of this postbase is a patientive base, we can have an intransitive clause in contrast to (250b). Compare (250b) with:

- (251) Aǵnaq pisrugataǵniruq.
 aǵnaq+∅ pisruk+ataq+ni+tuq
 woman-ABS.S walk-long-say-IND.3S
 ‘The woman_i said that she_i walked for a long time.’ (18: 91)

(d) +nasrugǵi- ~ +kasugǵi-

The postbase +nasrugǵi- (after a vowel or t) ~ -kasrugǵi- (after k or q) means ‘to think that original S or A Ved/Vs.’ The following is an example of an intransitive clause and a transitive clause derived from it with this postbase:

- (252) a. Qulit atautchimik tatkivani iñuunიაqaminj ukiuqaqtuq.
 qulit atausriq÷mik tatkivani iñuunიაq-’aminj ukiuq-qaq+tuq
 ten one-MOD.S AIR.LOC live-CNS.4P year-have-IND.3S
 ‘He_i was eleven years old when they₊ lived upriver’

- b. Qulit atautchimik tatkivani iñuuniaqamin
 qulit atausriq÷mik tatkivani iñuuniaq-'amin
 ten one-MOD.S AIR.LOC live-CNS.4P
 ukiuqağasrugigaa.
 ukiuq-qaq+kasrugi+kaa
 year-have-think-IND.3S3S
 'He_i thought that he_i was eleven years old when they_j lived upriver.'

Since the output of this postbase is a patientive base, we can have an intransitive clause in contrast to (252b). Compare (252b) with:

- (253) Qulit atautchimik tatkivani iñuuniaqamin
 qulit atausriq÷mik tatkivani iñuuniaq-'amin
 ten one-MOD.S upriver.LOC live-CNS.4P
 ukiuqağasrugiruuq.
 ukiuq-qaq+kasrugi+tuq
 year-have-think-IND.3S
 'He_i thought that he_i was eleven years old when they_{it} lived upriver.' (30: 39)

These four postbases are all productive just as +pkaq- ~ ^tīt-..

2.4.2.2.2. Operations adding a new O (applicative, possessor ascension)

We can distinguish two types of valency-increasing operations that add a new O:

- (i) Applicatives, which add a new O that does not correspond to the possessor of the original O;
- (ii) Possessor ascensions, which add a new O that corresponds to the possessor of the original O.

Let us look at each of them in turn:

Applicative

Involved in applicative operations is the postbase :utī-, whose function as a reciprocal postbase we have seen in Section 2.4.2.1.3. As an applicative postbase, it attaches to verb bases, either intransitive or transitive, to add a new O or a new terminalis NP. The behavior of this postbase is

somewhat complex, so it will be most convenient to divide it into cases in which the input is intransitive bases and those in which the input is transitive bases. Let us examine each of them in turn:

When the input is intransitive bases, :Utĩ- has the following results:

- (a) a new O is added;
- (b) original S becomes new A;

Formulaically:

Input:	absolute		base-intransitive.ending
	S		intransitive verb
Output:	relative	absolute	base-Utĩ-transitive.ending
	A	O	transitive verb

New Os that are added by :Utĩ- vary widely in semantic range and which meaning is conveyed in each instance appears to depend on the meaning of the input and the context (mainly the former).

Let us look at some of the meanings of the O added by :Utĩ-:

(i) Object of emotion. For example:

- (254) a. Qiniqqaġaqnak.
 qiniqqaq+aq-'nak
 be.angry-always-PRH.2S
 'Don't be angry.'
- b. Qiniqqautraqnagu iyaalugruaq.
 qiniqqaq:uti+raq-'nagu iyaalugruaq+∅
 be.angry-APPLIC-always-PRH.2S3S child-ABS.S
 'Don't be angry at the child.'

(1: 17)

(ii) Addressee. For example:

- (255) a. Taataga isiqami uqaqtuq.
 taata+ka isiq-'ami uqaq+tuq
 father-ABS.1SS enter-CNS.4S speak-IND.3S
 'My father came in and spoke.'
- b. Taataa isiqami uqautigaatigut.
 taata+ma isiq-'ami uqaq:uti+kaatigut
 father-REL.1SS enter-CNS4S speak-APPLIC-IND3S1P
 'My father came in and spoke to us.'

(28: 17)

(iii) Causee of sociative causation ('new A helps new O V'). For example:

- (256) a. Iñuuniahuni taataga ilisaqhuni.
 iñuuniah+huni taata+ka ilisaq+huni
 live-CTR.4S father-ABS.1SS learn-CTR.4S
 'My father living and learning.'
- b. iñuuniutipluta taataa ilisautipluta.
 iñuunik:uti+plutataata+ma ilisaq:uti+pluta
 live-APPLIC-CTR./1P father-REL.1SS learn-APPLIC-CTR./1P
 'My father raising us and teaching us.;
 lit.: My father helping us to live and helping us to learn.'

(31: 14)

(iv) Beneficiary. For example:

- (257) a. Igalihunuk niġipchaġaġigaatiguk Barbara-m.
 iga-liq+huni niġi+pkaq+aġi+kaatiguk Barbara-m
 cook-quickly-CTR.4S eat-CAUS-always-IND.3S1D -REL.S
 'Barbara always cooked and fed us.'
- b. Iggatliqhunuk niġipchaġaġigaatiguk Barbara-m.
 iga:uti-liq+hunuk niġi+pkaq+aġi+kaatiguk Barbara-m
 cook-APPLIC-quickly-CTR./1D eat-CAUS-always-IND.3S1D -REL.S
 'Barbara always cooked for us and fed us.'

(29: 141)

(v) Maleficialry. For example:

- (258) a. Kiisaimmatai tara panigaqsivuuq.
 kiisaimma=tai paniq-aqsi+puq
 suddenly=NSP H.ADV dry-start-KSM.3S
 ‘Suddenly it started drying up.’
- b. Kiisaimmatai tara pangutiaqsivaa ifuuqiñiq.
 kiisaimma=tai paniq:uti-aqsi+paa ifuuqiñiq+ø
 suddenly=NSP H.ADV dry-APPLIC-start-KSM.3S3S blackfish-ABS.S
 ‘Suddenly it started drying up on the blackfish.’ (35: 14)

(vi) There is another use, rather syntactic, of :uti-, when it is combined with the postbase Rîq-. Rîq-, which marks inceptive aspect, has a side effect of turning the transitive base into an intransitive base in such a way that the A of the former corresponds to the S of the latter. Thus, consider the following example:

- (259) a. Malikkaak tiñmiuraq.
 malik+kaak tiñmiuraq+ø
 follow-IND.3D3S bird-ABS.S
 ‘The two of them followed the bird.’
- b. Malliqsuk.
 malikRiq+tuk
 follow-start-IND.3D
 ‘The two of them started following.’

Notice that transitive malik- ‘follow’ (259a) becomes intransitive when followed by Rîq- (259b). malliq- ‘start to follow’ (259b) is an intransitive-only base, since it cannot be followed by transitive endings, as shown by the following example:

- (260) * malliqaak
 malikRiq+kaak
 follow-start-IND.3D3S

Thus, Rîq-, in effect, has syntactic functions similar to half-transitive postbases (Section 2.4.2.1.2). However, it differs from half-transitive postbases in that bases to which Rîq- attaches are agentive.

Thus, compare (259) with the following example:

- (261) **Maliktuq.**
 malik+tuq
 follow-IND.3S
 ‘He followed.’

I have found no patientive base unable to take any of the four half-transitive postbases but *Rîq-*. Also, unlike the four half-transitive postbases, speakers quite explicitly mention the semantic import of the inceptive aspect of *Rîq-* when they translate verbs with this postbase. For these reasons, I chose not to include it in the category of half-transitive postbases in Section 2.4.2.1.2.

In order to inflect such verb bases with *Rîq-* transitively, we need to attach *:uti-* after *Rîq-*. Thus, compare (259) and (260) with:

- (262) **Malliutigaak** **tinmiuraq.**
 malikRiq:uti+kaak tinmiuraq+∅
 follow-start-APPLIC-IND.3D3S bird-ABS.S
 ‘The two of them started following the bird.’ (14: 168)

Thus, *:uti-* has here a function of retransitivizing bases that are made intransitive-only by the postbase *Rîq-*.

When the input is a transitive base, *:uti-* changes the subcategorization of the base. First consider the following two clauses:

- (263) **Taipchua** **uvva** **tuttum** **amia** **killaiyaqtiq̄lugu.**
 taipchua uvva tuttu-m amiq:a killaiyaq̄^{tiq}+lugu
 AS.REL.P here caribou-REL.S skin-ABS.3SS sew-quickly-CTR/3S
 ‘Those people sew the caribou skin.’ (8: 31)

- (264) Taatna aasriiñ killaiyautiaqsiplugu unaqsiqauranun.
 taatna aasriiñ killaiyaq:uti-aqsi+plugu unaqsiq+auraq÷nun
 that.way and sew-APPLIC-start-CTR./3S stick-small-TRM.P
 ‘They started sewing it onto small sticks.’ (20: 23)

As (263) shows, *killaiyaq-* ‘sew’ subcategorizes for what one sews, such as clothes, while, as (264) shows, *killaiya:uti-* ‘sew-APPLIC’ subcategorizes for what one sews on something, such as buttons.

In general, when the input is a transitive base, the verb base with *:uti-* means ‘to do the action designated by the input so that something (let us call it figure or ‘F’) moves to the domain of something (let us call it ground or ‘G’).’ The figure appears as O and the ground appears in the terminalis case. Thus, the addition of *:uti-* has the following results:

(i) If the original O is ground:

- (a) a new O, referring to figure, is added;
- (b) original A becomes new A;
- (c) original O becomes new terminalis NP.

(ii) If the original O is figure:

- (a) a new terminalis NP, referring to ground, is added;
- (b) original A becomes new A;
- (c) original O becomes new O.

Formulaically:

(i) Input:	relative		absolutive	base-transitive
	A		O (= G)	transitive verb
Output:	relative	absolutive	terminalis	base-APPLIC-transitive
	A	O (= F)	(G)	transitive verb
(ii) Input:	relative	absolutive		base-transitive
	A	O (= F)		transitive verb
Output:	relative	absolutive	terminalis	base-APPLIC-transitive
	A	O (= F)	(G)	transitive verb

Thus, the following is an example of a transitive clause and an applicative clause derived from it in which the original O is ground:

- (265) a. Anutim kikiaktuḡaa tupiq.
 anuti-m kikiaktuḡ+kaa tupiq+∅
 man-RELS nail-IND.3S3S house-ABS.S
 ‘The man nailed the house.’
- b. Anutim kikiaktuutigaa qiruk tupiḡmun.
 anuti-m kikiaktuḡ:uti+kaa qiruk+∅ tupiq+mun
 man-RELS nail-APPLIC-IND.3S3S wood-AS.S house-TRM.S
 ‘The man nailed the wood to the house.’

And the following is an example of a transitive clause and an applicative clause derived from it in which the original O is a figure:

- (266) a. Anutim imugaa ulitchiani.
 anuti-m imu+kaa ulitchiaq-ni
 man-RELS fold-IND.3S3S blanket-ABS.4SS
 ‘The man folded his blanket.’
- b. Anutim immutigaa ulitchiani puuksraaḡmiñun.
 anuti-m imu:uti+kaa ulitchiaq-ni puuksraaḡ+miñun
 man-RELS fold-APPLIC-IND.3S3S blanket-ABS.4SS sleeping.bag-TRM.4SS
 ‘The man folded his blanket into his sleeping bag.’

Thus, what is interesting about this postbase used with transitive bases is that we cannot categorically say whether its function is to add a new O or a new terminalis NP. That depends on the meaning of the input base; if the input base subcategorizes for a ground O, then this postbase adds a new O, putting the original O in terminalis case, whereas if the input base subcategorizes for a figure O, then this postbase just adds a terminalis NP, without changing the semantic role of the original O.

That is the usage of :uti- when it attaches to transitive bases. This postbase is productive, as is

shown by examples such as the following:

- (267) Ukua Baptist-tkut taagunjaqattaagutigaatigut.
 -tkut taagunjaq±qattaaq:uti+kaatigut
 this.REL.P -and.others.REL.P go.there-for.a.trip-APPLIC-IND.3P1P
 ‘These Baptists took us over there for a trip.’ (29: 99)

in which :uti- attaches to bases already derived by a postbase, ±qattaaq-.

Possessor ascension

The possessor ascension operation may be applied to a transitive clause to yield another transitive clause, without the aid of any postbase. This operation has the following effects:

- (i) The possessor of the original O becomes new O;
- (ii) The possessed NP in the original O becomes new vialis NP;
- (iii) The original A becomes new A.

Formulaically:

Input:	relative A	relative [possessor possessum] _O	possessed absolutive possessum] _O	base-transitive.ending transitive verb
Output:	relative A	absolutive O	vialis	base-transitive.ending transitive verb

Thus, the following is an example of a transitive clause and a possessor ascension clause corresponding to it:

- (268) a. Aḡnam aqigaa aḡutim niuḡa.
 aḡnaq-m aqi+kaa aḡuti-m niu:a
 woman-REL.S kick-IND.3S3S man-REL.S leg-ABS.3SS
 ‘The woman kicked the man’s leg.’
- b. Aḡnam aqigaa aḡun niuḡagun.
 aḡnaq-m aqi+kaa aḡuti+∅ niu:agun
 woman-REL.S kick-IND.3S3S man-ABS.S leg-VIA.3SS
 ‘The woman kicked the man in the leg.’

The semantic difference between the original clause (268a) and the possessor ascension clause (268b) is parallel to that between their respective English translations. Thus, the possessor ascension clause implies a more holistic impact on the person or thing receiving the action rather than local impact on the specific part that receives the action.

Although we are assuming what we consider as the possessor ascension clause to be derived from what we consider as the original clause, the analysis in the opposite direction would work just as well, as the verb form is the same in both clauses. Our decision on one or the other direction of derivation is immaterial to our ensuing discussions.

2.4.2.2.3. Operations adding either new A or O (adversative)

Here belong two postbases, +S^î- and :î⁻, called adversative. They attach to either intransitive or transitive bases and yield bases that involve an NP referring to a participant adversely affected by the event denoted by the base. They have the following side effects:

(i) If the input is an intransitive base:

- (a) a new A, referring to the adversely affected participant, is added;
- (b) original S becomes new O.

(ii) If the input is a transitive base:

- (a) a new O, referring to the adversely affected participant, is added;
- (b) original A becomes new A;
- (c) original O becomes optional and may appear in an oblique case.

Formulaically:

(i)	Input:	absolute	base-intransitive.ending
		S	intransitive verb
	Output	relative	absolute
		A	O
			base-ADVERS-transitive
			transitive verb

(ii) Input:	relative		absolute	base-transitive.ending
	A		O	transitive.ending
Output:	relative	absolute	oblique	V-ADVERS-transitive
	A	O		transitive verb

The following is an example of an intransitive clause and an adversative clause derived from it:

- (269) a. Tulugaq qiaruaq.
 Tulugaq+∅ qia+tuaq
 Tulugaq-ABS.S cry-PRT.3S
 ‘Tulugaq cried’
- b. Iñuich Tulugaq qiaritchan̄at.
 iñuk:ich Tulugaq+∅ qia+ri-kkan̄at
 person-REL.P Tulugaq-ABS.S cry-ADVERS-PRT.3P3S
 ‘Tulugaq cried on the people.;
 People were adversely affected by Tulugaq’s crying.’ (15: 21)

And the following is an example of a transitive clause and an adversative clause derived from it:

- (270) a. An̄utim aglaun tiglikaa.
 an̄uti-m aglauti+∅ tiglik+kaa
 man-REL.S pen-ABS.S steal-IND.3S3S
 ‘The man stole the pen.’
- b. An̄utim aḡnaq tigligiyaa agloutmik.
 an̄uti-m aḡnaq+∅ tiglik:i+kaa aglauti÷mik
 man-REL.S woman-ABS.S steal-advers-IND.3S3S pen-MOD.P
 ‘The man stole a pen from the woman.’

These adversative postbases are very unproductive in Iñupiaq, found only with a dozen or so verb bases.

Notice that these postbases are identical in form to two of the half-transitive postbases we have seen in Section 2.4.2.1.2. Actually, they are not homonyms, but one and the same postbases, as demonstrated by Miyaoka (1984), who, based on data from CAY, where the adversative postbases are productive, shows that the adversative and half-transitive postbases are the same postbases, and

explains how their adversative and half-transitive uses are related. Because of the significant unproductivity of the adversative uses in Iñupiaq, it is difficult to reproduce his arguments using appropriate Iñupiaq examples, so I would refer the reader to Miyaoka (1984) for details on this point.

This completes our grammatical sketch of North Alaskan Iñupiaq, and should provide an appropriate background to our probe into agentive and patientive verb bases in the rest of this work. In the next chapter, we will examine how agentive and patientive verb bases may be defined in the Eskimo language.

Chapter 3. Defining agentive and patientive bases

From this chapter on, we will start to examine agentive and patientive bases in Iñupiaq as briefly introduced in Chapter 1 and Section 2.4.1. In this chapter, we will look at how they have been treated in Eskimo linguistics, and present the definition of them that we will use in this work.

Although linguists have generally agreed on distinguishing between what we call agentive and patientive bases, their classifications are not identical. In Section 3.1, we will examine how the classification of verb bases has been discussed in Eskimo linguistics, by reviewing how verb bases have been classified by different linguists; in Section 3.2, we will look at the similarities and differences between those classifications; in Section 3.3, we will present a working definition of agentive and patientive bases that will be used in the following chapters; and in Section 3.4, we will look at the terms ‘agentive’ and ‘patientive’ as used in Eskimo linguistics, because their use is unique in Eskimo linguistics.

3.1. Literature on the classification of verb bases

In this section we will review how verb bases have been classified in Eskimo linguistics. Those classifications are made according to morphosyntactic criteria such as the following:

- (i) whether the verb base inflects intransitively, transitively or both;
- (ii) if both, whether S corresponds with A or O.

Though the classifications agree on basic criteria as above, they do not agree on finer points. As a result, proposed classifications are not isomorphic with each other.

Before reviewing each classification, we need to introduce one set of terms here: ‘agent’ and ‘patient.’ First consider the following examples:

(271) Iñupiaq

- a. Añutim niġiyaa niqi.
 añuti-m niġi+kaa niqi+∅
 man-REL.S eat-IND.3S3S meat-ABS.S
 ‘The man ate the meat.’
- b. Añun niġiruq niqimik.
 añuti+∅ niġi+tuq niqi÷mik
 man-ABS.S eat-IND.3S meat-MOD.S
 ‘The man ate meat.’
- c. Añutim tautukaa aġnaq.
 añuti-m tautuk+kaa aġnaq+∅
 man-REL.S see-IND.3S3S woman-ABS.S
 ‘The man saw the woman.’
- d. Añun tautuktuq aġnamik.
 añuti+∅ tautuk+tuq aġnaq÷mik
 man-ABS.S see-IND.3S woman-MOD.S
 ‘The man saw a woman.’
- e. Añutim mayuġaa ikpik.
 añuti-m mayuq+kaa ikpik+∅
 man-REL.S go.up-IND.3S3S bluff-ABS.S
 ‘The man went up the bluff.’
- f. Añun mayuqtuq ikpinmun.
 añuti+∅ mayuq+tuq ikpik÷mun
 man-ABS.S go.up-IND.3S bluff-TRM.S
 ‘The man went up a bluff.’
- g. Añutim navikkaa ayaupiaq.
 añuti-m navik+kaa ayaupiaq+∅
 man-REL.S break-IND.3S3S cane-ABS.S
 ‘The man broke the cane.’
- h. Ayaupiaq naviktuq.
 ayaupiaq+∅ navik+tuq
 cane-ABS.S break-IND.3S
 ‘The cane broke.’
- i. Añun navgiruq ayaupiamik.
 añuti+∅ navik:i+tuq ayaupiaq÷mik
 man-ABS.S break-HT-IND.3S cane-MOD.S
 ‘The man broke a cane.’

All the instances of *anjun* ‘man’ in (271a - g, i) have in common that they are either an A in a transitive clause (271a, c, e, g) or an NP in an intransitive clause that would appear as an A in a corresponding transitive clause (271b, d, f, i). All the instances of *niq̃i* ‘meat’ in (271a, b), of *aḡnaq* ‘woman’ in (271c, d), of *ikp̃ik* ‘bluff’ in (271e, f) and of *ayaupiaq* ‘cane’ in (271g - i) have in common that they are either an O in a transitive clause (*niq̃i* in (271a), *aḡnaq* in (271c), *ikp̃ik* in (271e) and *ayaupiaq* in (271g)) or an NP in an intransitive clause that would appear as an O in a corresponding transitive clause (*niq̃i* in (271b), *aḡnaq* in (271d), *ikp̃ik* in (271f) and *ayaupiaq* in (271h, i)). For our purposes, it is most convenient to have one term to refer to the former class of NPs and another to refer to the latter class of NPs, rather than further differentiating each class with such terms as ‘experiencer’ and ‘location.’ So let us call them ‘agent’ and ‘patient,’ respectively. That is, we will refer to the NP that is an A or would be an A in a transitive clause as ‘agent,’ and to the NP that is an O or would be an O in a transitive clause as ‘patient.’ Thus, we will use the terms ‘agent’ and ‘patient’ as morphosyntactically defined categories, not as semantic categories as they are normally used. Do not mistake my use of these terms to mean that, for example, all the instances of *niq̃i* ‘meat’ in (271a, b), of *aḡnaq* ‘woman’ in (271c, d), of *ikp̃ik* ‘bluff’ in (271e, f) and of *ayaupiaq* ‘cane’ in (271g - i) refer ‘to the entity which is affected by the action of the verb’ (Crystal (2003: 340)). It would be more neutral to use such terms as ‘X’ and ‘Y’ for what I call ‘agent’ and ‘patient,’ but I opt for using ‘agent’ and ‘patient,’ because these match with the terms ‘agentive’ and ‘patientive’ as used in Eskimo linguistics, which are also used as morphosyntactic rather than semantic categories. Thus, agentive bases are verb bases whose S is agent, while patientive bases are verb bases whose S is patient.

We will review each classification of verb bases in turn. For this review, it is convenient to divide works into three regions, (i) Greenland and Canada, (ii) Alaska, and (iii) Russia, since the topic has been investigated independently in each region, especially in Russia. We will look at each

region in the order noted above.

3.1.1. Greenland and Canada

Here, we will examine works on Greenlandic and Canadian Inuit which pertain to the classification of verb bases: Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851]) and Bergsland (1955).

3.1.1.1. Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851])

Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851]: 54-55) is the first attempt to classify verb bases in Eskimo. He classifies verb bases in Greenlandic into three types:

- (i) naturally-transitive ('von natur transitiv');
- (ii) naturally-intransitive ('von natur intransitiv'); and
- (iii) both-transitive-and-intransitive ('beides transitiv und intransitiv').

They are characterized as follows:

- (i) Naturally-transitive bases refer to an action that is directed to a patient ('sie besagen eine auf irgend einen gegenstand gerichtete that des projects'). They inflect transitively, and many of them inflect intransitively as well: when the agent and the patient are distinct, they inflect transitively; whereas (a) when they are coreferent (that is, when a reflexive meaning is involved), or (b) when the identity of the agent is unimportant (that is, when a passive meaning is involved), they inflect intransitively. For example:

(272) Greenlandic (Kleinschmidt 1991 [1851]: 54-55)

	intransitive	transitive
a.	toquppoq	toquppaa
	toqut-poq	toqut-paa
	kill-IND.3S	kill-IND.3S3S
	'he kills himself; he is dead, he has been killed'	'he kills him'
b.	avigpoq	avigpaa
	avik-poq	avik-paa
	cut.up-IND.3S	cut.up-IND.3S3S
	'he cuts himself; he has been cut'	'he cuts it'

(ii) Naturally-intransitive bases refer to an action without regard to who brings about the action. They inflect intransitively, and many of them also inflect transitively, in which case the O, often indicating location, stands in closer relation to the action. For example:

(273) Greenlandic (Kleinschmidt 1991 [1851]: 55)

intransitive	transitive
pisugpoq	pisugpaa
pisuk-poq	pisuk-paa
walk-IND.3S	walk-IND.3S3S
'he walks (around)'	'he walks on it (the ground, the ice, etc.)'

(iii) Both-transitive-and-intransitive bases, which he does not characterize semantically, can inflect both transitively and intransitively. For example:

(274) Greenlandic (Kleinschmidt 1991 [1851]: 55)

intransitive	transitive
sanavoq	sanavaa
sana-poq	sana-paa
work-IND.3S	work-IND.3S3S
'he works'	'he works on it'

To summarize Kleinschmidt's classification, for our purposes, his three classes of verb bases can be grouped into two in terms of correspondence of S with A or O. That is, naturally-intransitive

bases and both-transitive-and-intransitive bases can be grouped together apart from naturally-transitive bases, in that with the former, S corresponds with A, whereas with the latter, S corresponds with O. Actually, the distinction between the former two classes is not very clear, because the only morphosyntactic characterization he gives for both-transitive-and-intransitive bases appears to apply to naturally-intransitive bases as well. As their morphosyntactic behavior is alike in terms of correspondence of S with A or O, the grounds for their distinction should be sought in semantics, but he does not characterize both-transitive-and-intransitive bases semantically. From the few examples he gives, he seems to imply that the meaning of O is the basis of the distinction, so that naturally-intransitive bases have location NPs as O, while both-transitive-and-intransitive bases have other kinds of NPs as O. At any rate, the grounds for dividing them is not on a par with distinguishing them as a unit from naturally-transitive bases. And indeed, later linguists have focused more on the distinction between his naturally-transitive bases and the other two classes as a unit than on the subdivision of the latter.

This three-way classification is adopted by Bok-Bennema (1991: 43-47).

3.1.1.2. Bergsland (1955)

Bergsland (1955: 141-143) distinguishes three classes of bases, one of which is further subdivided into two sub-classes:

(i) Intransitive-only bases, which inflect only intransitively. For example:

(275) Greenlandic (Bergsland 1955: 142)

intransitive	transitive
aŋiwuq	---
aŋi-puq	
be.great-IND.3S	
‘it is great, large’	

(ii) Transitive-only bases, which inflect only transitively. For example:

(276) Greenlandic (Bergsland 1955: 142)

intransitive	transitive
---	aawaa
	ai-paa
	fetch-ind.3s3s
	'he fetches it, goes after it'

(iii) Both-transitive-and-intransitive bases, which inflect both transitively and intransitively. This class is further subdivided in two sub-classes:

(iii-a) Those in which the S of the intransitive forms corresponds regularly to the A of the transitive forms. For example:

(277) Greenlandic (Bergsland 1955: 142)

intransitive	transitive
aŋalawuq	aŋalawaa
aŋala-puq	aŋala-paa
be.in.motion-IND.3S	be.in.motion-IND.3S3S
'he is in motion, he walks about, he is traveling'	'he wanders through it'

(iii-b) Those in which the S of the intransitive forms corresponds rather, or also, to the O of the transitive forms. For example:

(278) Greenlandic (Bergsland 1955: 142)

intransitive	transitive
alippuq	alippaa
alik-puq	alik-paa
tear-IND.3S	tear-IND.3S3S
'it has been torn'	'he tears it to pieces'

Thus, unlike Kleinchmidt's, Bergsland's classification is based on morphosyntactic rather than semantic criteria: whether the base inflects intransitively, transitively or both; and if both, whether

the S corresponds with the A or O.

This four-way classification is most common in the literature, adopted by linguists such as Woodbury (1975: 42-62, 1977b, 1981: 282-289), Fortescue (1984), MacLean (1986b: 81-84), Johns (1987: 87-105), Allen (1996: 15-16) and Mithun (2000).

3.1.2. Alaska

We will next cover the classifications of verb bases by Alaskan linguists. As we saw in Section 1.1, there are four Eskimo languages in Alaska: Inuit, CAY, CSY and Alutiiq, and they are studied in the following works (I only present those works that address verb classification):

Inuit (North Alaskan Iñupiaq): MacLean (1986b)

Alutiiq: Leer (1990)

CAY: Reed *et al.* (1977), Jacobson (1984, 1995), Miyaoka (1984, 1996)

CSY: Jacobson (2001)

Of these, MacLean (1986b) on North Alaskan Iñupiaq uses the same classification as Bergsland (1955), that was summarized above. And Leer (1990) on Alutiiq and Jacobson (2001) on CSY each use the same classification as Miyaoka (1984, 1996) and Jacobson (1984, 1996), respectively. This leaves us with the three sets of works on CAY: Reed *et al.* (1977), Jacobson (1984, 1995) and Miyaoka (1984, 1996). Of these three, Reed *et al.* (1977) is the first one to address this issue, and then the classification presented there is elaborated upon by Jacobson (1984, 1995) and Miyaoka (1984, 1996), both co-authors of Reed *et al.* (1977), slightly differently. We will examine those three sets of works in turn.

3.1.2.1. Reed *et al.* (1977)

Reed *et al.* (1977: 230-231) divides verb bases that can take either transitive or intransitive endings in CAY into two classes: agentive and non-agentive. The former is equivalent to class (iii-a), and

the latter to class (iii-b), of Bergsland (1955) that we have just seen. Thus, agentive bases are verb bases for which S corresponds with A, while non-agentive bases are verb bases for which S corresponds with O. This two-way distinction has been the basis of the verb base classification of Jacobson (1984, 1995) and Miyaoka (1984, 1996).

3.1.2.2. Jacobson (1984, 1995)

Jacobson (1984: 19-20) classifies verb bases into five classes: (i) intransitive-only, (ii) transitive-only, (iii) patientive, (iv) elemental, and (v) agentive. Of these, intransitive-only bases are equivalent to the intransitive-only bases of Bergsland (1995), which we saw in Section 3.1.1.2, so we will focus on the remaining four. They are characterized as follows:

(ii) Transitive-only bases are verb bases that do not normally take intransitive endings directly.

Some of them *can* take intransitive endings, but only marginally and in conjunction with a word such as **ellminek** ‘himself’ and **ak’a** ‘already’ (1984: 19; italic and boldface original), in which case ‘the meaning is reflexive ... or passive’ (1984: 19). For example:

(279) CAY (Jacobson (1984: 19, 86, 365))

	intransitive	transitive
a.	ellminek assikuq	assikaa
	ellminek assike-uq	assike-aa
	4S.MOD like-IND.3S	like-IND.3S3S
	‘he likes himself’	‘he likes her or it’
b.	ak’a teguuq	tegua
	ak’a tegu-uq	tegu-aa
	already take-IND.3S	take-IND.3S3S
	‘it has already been taken’	‘he took it (in his hands)’

(iii) Patientive bases are verb bases that can take both intransitive and transitive endings, and for which the meaning of the intransitive version is passive or reflexive. For example:

(280) CAY (Jacobson (1984: 356, 222))

	intransitive	transitive
a.	tamartuq	tamaraa
	tamar-tuq	tamar-aa
	lose-IND.3S	lose-IND.3S3S
	'it is lost'	'he lost it'
b.	maktuq	maktaa
	makete-uq	makete-aa
	set.upright-IND.3S	set.upright-IND.3S3S
	'he set himself upright; he got up'	'he set it upright'

(iv) Elemental bases are 'a small group of verbs which deal with processes of nature and which take both transitive and intransitive endings' (1984: 20). For them, 'the meaning stays the same if an intransitive ending is replaced by a transitive ending, with what was the subject [S] of the intransitive verb becoming the object [O] of the transitive verb' (1984: 20). For example:

(281) CAY (Jacobson 1984: 20)

intransitive	transitive
cikuuq	cikua
ciku-uq	ciku-aa
freeze-IND.3S	freeze-IND.3S3S
'it froze'	'it froze'

Although it is not clear from the English translation, what froze in the transitive version is the O, rather than the S, which is clarified by looking at the case-marking of an explicit object, as in the following example:

(282) CAY

intransitive	transitive
neqa cikuuq	neqa cikua
neqe-ø ciku-uq	neqe-ø ciku-a
fish-ABS.Sfreeze-IND.3S	fish-ABS.Sfreeze-IND.3S3S
'the fish froze'	'the fish froze'

Notice that *neqa* ‘fish’ appears in the absolutive case not only in the intransitive version but also in the transitive version. This shows that what is frozen in the transitive version of (281, 282) is the O, despite the English translation which may suggest to the contrary.

(v) Agentive bases are verb bases that can take both intransitive and transitive endings, and for which, if the intransitive verb is replaced by the transitive verb, ‘the noun which was the subject [A] of the transitive verb remains the subject [S] of the intransitive verb’ (1984: 20). For example:

(283) CAY (Jacobson 1984: 357)

intransitive	transitive
tangertuq	tangrraa
tangerr-tuq	tangerr-aa
see-IND.3S	see-IND.3S3S
‘he sees (something)’	‘he sees it’

Thus, transitive-only, patientive and elemental bases have in common S corresponding with O, while with agentive bases, S corresponds with A. The former three classes of verb bases differ from one another in that (a) transitive-only bases inflect intransitively only marginally as opposed to patientive and elemental bases, which can always inflect intransitively, and in that (b) elemental bases deal with processes of nature as opposed to transitive-only and patientive bases, which do not.

3.1.2.3. Miyaoka (1984, 1996)

Next let us look at Miyaoka’s (1984, 1996) classification. He first classifies verb bases into monominal, in which only one nominal is involved, and binominal, in which two nominals are involved, and subclassifies the latter into three: agentive, which corresponds to Jacobson’s (1984, 1995) ‘agentive’; non-agentive, which corresponds to Jacobson’s (1984, 1995) ‘patientive’ and ‘transitive-only’; and impersonal, which corresponds to Jacobson’s (1984, 1995) ‘elemental’.

Thus, Miyaoka's (1984, 1996) classification is similar to Jacobson's (1984, 1995), as is expected from the fact that both were derived from Reed *et al.* (1977). However, unlike Jacobson (1984, 1995), he does not divide his non-agentive bases into those that can marginally inflect intransitively (Jacobson's (1984, 1995) 'transitive-only') and those that always inflect intransitively (Jacobson's (1984, 1995) 'patientive').

Another feature of Miyaoka's (1996) classification is that he points out semantic characteristics of agentive and non-agentive bases. Thus, he notes that agentive bases 'generally describe events focusing on the process of the A's [the agent's] action' (1996: 343), while non-agentive bases 'generally describe events focusing on the result of the A's [the agent's] action' (1996: 343). Although his semantic characterization is too vague for us to predict precisely whether a verb base is agentive or non-agentive from its meaning, his statement suggests that the classification into agentive and non-agentive bases—a classification made according to morphosyntactic criteria—has a semantic basis. This is the issue we will take up in depth in Chapter 4.

3.1.2.4. Leer (1990)

Leer (1990: 198-202), on Alutiiq, classifies verb bases into three classes:

- (i) intransitive-only bases, which corresponds to Jacobson's 'intransitive-only' and Miyaoka's 'mononominal';
- (ii) 'agentive,' which corresponds to Jacobson's and Miyaoka's 'agentive';
- (iii) 'patientive,' which corresponds to Jacobson's 'transitive-only,' 'patientive' and 'elemental,' and to Miyaoka's 'non-agentive' and 'impersonal.'

Thus, his classification is the simplest in terms of the number of classes distinguished.

3.1.3. Russia

Now we will examine verb base classification in CSY by Russian linguists. In Russia, the issue has

been addressed somewhat differently than in other areas. We will examine Menovščikov (1967a), Emel'janova (1982), and Vaxtin (1981) in that order.

3.1.3.1. Menovščikov (1967a)

Menovščikov (1967a: 65-73) is the first attempt in Russian Eskimo linguistics to classify verb bases. His criteria for classifying verb bases are as follows:

- (i) whether the verb base can inflect both intransitively and transitively or only intransitively; and
- (ii) if it can inflect only intransitively, whether it can be followed by the postbase '-ta.'

With these criteria, he divides verb bases into two classes, each with two sub-classes:

- (i) Verb bases of type I are underived verb bases that inflect only intransitively. They are subdivided into:

- (i-a) Verb bases of type Ia, to which the postbase '-ta' cannot attach to yield verb bases that can inflect transitively. For example:

(284) CSY

intransitive	transitive	transitive with '-ta'
mulaaghaquq	*mulaaghaqaa	*mulaaghtaqaa
mulaagh-aqe-uq	mulaagh-aqe-aa	mulaagh-te-aq-aa
howl-PROG-IND.3S	howl-PROG-IND.3S3S	howl-'ta'-PROG-IND.3S3S
'it is howling'		

Thus, *mulaagh-* 'howl' belongs to this type.

I refer to the postbase in question with quotation marks ('-ta') because, as will be shown below, there are actually two postbases involved in Menovščikov's allegedly single postbase.

- (i-b) Verb bases of type Ib, to which the postbase '-ta' can attach to yield verb bases that can inflect transitively. For example:

(285) CSY (Menovščikov (1967a: 71))

	intransitive	transitive	transitive with '-ta'
a.	tagiiquq	*tagiiqaa	tagitaqaa
	tagi-aqe-uq	tagi-aqe-aa	tagi-ute-aqe-aa
	come-PROG-IND.3S	come-PROG-IND.3S3S	come-'ta'-PROG-IND.3S3S
	'he is coming'		'he _i is coming with him _j '
b.	taghtughaquq	*taghtughaqaa	taghtughtaqaa
	taghtugh-aqe-uq	taghtugh-aqe-aa	taghtugh-te-aqe-aa
	wake-PROG-IND.3S	wake-PROG-IND.3S3S	wake-'ta'-PROG-IND.3S3S
	'he is waking up'		'he _i is waking him _j up'

Thus, *tagi-* 'come' (285a) and *taghtugh-* 'wake' (285b) belong to this type.

(ii) Verb bases of type II are verb bases which can inflect both intransitively and transitively. They are sub-divided into:

(ii-a) Verb bases of type IIa, which are underived. For example:

(286) CSY (Menovščikov (1967a: 71-72))

	intransitive	transitive
a.	ulimaaquq	ulimaaqaa
	ulima-aqe-uq	ulima-aqe-aa
	make-PROG-IND.3S	make-PROG-IND.3S3S
	'he is making something'	'he is making it'
b.	kuuvaquq	kuuvaqaa
	kuuve-aqe-uq	kuuve-aqe-aa
	spill-PROG-IND.3S	spill-PROG-IND.3S3S
	'it is spilling'	'he is spilling it'

The presence of the postbase *-aqe-* 'PROG' in these examples may appear to contradict the statement that these verbs are 'underived.' However, it is because I put glosses on Menovščikov's examples in a standard way that these verbs appear to be derived. It is a convention in Russian Eskimo linguistics to cite verbs in the form with the progressive postbase *-aqe-*. Or, more precisely, *-aqe-* is treated as part of a 'present indicative' (Menovščikov (1967a: 67)) ending. Thus, it would

suit Menovščikov's conception better to present (286a) as follows:

(287)	intransitive	transitive
	ulimaaquq	ulimaaqaa
	ulima-aquq	ulima-aqaa
	make-PRES.IND.3S	make-PRES.IND.3S3S
	'he is making something'	'he is making it'

Or, it would be more common outside Russia to present them as follows:

(288)	intransitive	transitive
	ulimaaq	ulimaa
	ulima-uq	ulima-aa
	make-IND.3S	make-IND.3S3S
	'he made something'	'he made it'

without *-aqe-*, which is actually optional. (287) and (288) should show more clearly that the verb base involved is underived.

Thus, *ulima-* 'make' (286a) and *kuuve-* 'spill' (286b) belong to this type.

(ii-b) Verb bases of type IIb, which are derived by attaching the postbase *-ta* to verb bases of type Ib. Thus, *tagite-* (< *tagi-ute-*) 'come with' in (285a) and *taghtughte-* (< *taghtugh-te-*) 'wake' in (285b) belong to this type.

It is clear that this classification is very different from those we have examined previously. That is, unlike those classifications we have looked at above, Menovščikov's classification does not take into account the correspondence of S with A or O for verb bases of type IIa, which can inflect both intransitively and transitively. Thus, *ulima-* 'make' (286a) and *kuuve-* 'spill' (286b), which would be classified as agentive and patientive, respectively, by Jacobson's (1984, 1995) criterion, are assigned to one and the same class, type IIa. In its stead, he brings in a criterion that is not found in the classifications we have seen: whether or not the verb base contains the postbase *-ta*. It is

important to note that his concern is not over whether a given verb base contains any postbase, but, as is shown above, over whether it contains the particular postbase *-ta*. Thus, compare (285b) with:

(289) CSY

taghtughtestaqaa
 taghtugh-teste-aq-aa
 wake-CAUS-PROG-IND.3S3S
 ‘he_i is making him_j wake up’

taghtughte- (< *taghtugh-te-*) (285b) and *taghtughteste-* (< *taghtugh-teste-*) (289) are related to *taghtugh-* (285b) in a similar way—that is, in such a way that we may call them both causative in relation to *taghtugh-*.⁷ However, he takes into account only verb bases like the former, treating them as belonging to a special class, type IIb, but not such verb bases as the latter. Thus, although *taghtughte-* and *taghtughteste-* are similar in containing some postbase and in the relation to *taghtugh-*, their positions in the classification are different. One is accorded a special place in the classification, but the other is not. The ground for his different treatment of them is evidently attributed to the difference between the postbases that yield them, and their difference lies in productivity. That is, ‘*-ta*,’ which yields *taghtughte-*, is unproductive, while *-teste-*, which yields *taghtughteste-*, is productive. This is exactly parallel to Iñupiaq *+t-*, which is unproductive, and *+pkaq- ~ ^tīt-*, which is productive, as we saw in Section 2.4.2.2.1. So, just as *+t-* is an unproductive postbase as opposed to *+pkaq- ~ ^tīt-*, which is productive, ‘*-ta*’ is an unproductive postbase as opposed to productive *-teste-*. Thus, his classification is based on the assumption that verb bases derived by an unproductive postbase should be accorded a place in classification, but those derived by productive postbases should not.

⁷ Note that *-teste-* in *taghtughteste-* is a single postbase, which cannot be analyzed as containing *-te-* of *taghtughte-* (cf. Badten *et al.* (1987: 299, 301)). So *taghtughte-* and *taghtughteste-* are derived from *taghtugh-* by two unrelated postbases, despite the partial surface resemblance of the postbases *-te-* and *-teste-*.

Thus, he presents a unique view in the classification of verb bases that is not found in other works. However, there is one deficiency in it, because of his (mis)treatment of the postbase ‘-ta,’ involved in types Ib and IIb. That is, he assumes that a single postbase is involved in all instances of type IIb (and so type Ib), which is not actually the case. In fact, he treats two different postbases, *-te-* and *-ute-*, as a single postbase, ‘-ta’ (which is why I have referred to this allegedly single postbase with quotation marks (‘-ta’)). *-te-* is an unproductive causative postbase that attaches to some intransitive bases to yield verb bases with the meaning ‘to cause to V,’ in the same way as Iñupiaq +t- (Section 2.4.2.2.1). With this postbase, the S of the input verb base corresponds to the O of the transitive output base. Examples include (285b) and:

(290) CSY (Badten *et al.* (1987: 301))

input intransitive	output transitive
tuquuq	tuqutaa
tuqu-uq	tuqu-te-aa
die-IND.3S	die-TR-IND.3S3S
‘it died’	‘he killed it’

On the other hand, *-ute-* is a productive applicative postbase that attaches to any verb bases, semantics permitting, to yield verb bases with the meaning ‘to V for; to V with’ etc., in the same way as Iñupiaq :Utĩ- (Section 2.4.2.2.2). With this postbase, the S of the input intransitive base corresponds to the A of the output transitive base (This postbase can attach to transitive bases as well, but we will disregard such cases because he does not consider them.). Examples include (285a) and:

(291) CSY (Badten *et al.* (1987: 301))

input intransitive	output transitive
inghuuq	inghutaa
inghu-uq	inghu-ute-aa
pick.berries-IND.3S	pick.berries-APPLIC-IND.3S3S
‘he picked berries’	‘he picked berries for her’

Thus, Menovščikov mixes two different postbases in verb bases of type IIb (and so type Ib). If we are right in assuming that what he considers crucial in this type is the unproductivity of the postbase, then type IIb should be made up of only those verb bases that involve *-te-*, such as *taghtughte-* (285b) and *tuqute-* (290), but not those involving *-ute-*, such as *tagite-* (285c) and *inghute-* (291).

This mixing of postbases is apparently partly due to the formal resemblance of these two postbases. In fact, if the input base ends in *a*, *i* or *u*, the output forms are identical in form either with *-te-* or *-ute-*, so that *tuqutaa* (290) could mean ‘he_i died for him_j,’ being interpreted as containing *-ute-* in place of *-te-* (whereas *inghutaa* (291) may not be interpreted as having *-te-*, which is an unproductive postbase). If he had had access to data on other Eskimo languages, where the equivalent of these two postbases is always formally distinguished, he may have distinguished *-te-* and *-ute-* in his classification.

However, the more essential reason for his mixing of these two postbases is that he does not take into account the semantic correspondence of the S with the A or O. The fact that with *-te-*, the original S corresponds to the new O, while with *-ute-*, the original S corresponds to the new A does not provoke him to recognize two different postbases, or two different functions of the allegedly single postbase. This disregard for the correspondence of S with A or O is also found in type IIa, as mentioned above. Of course, his concern may have been solely for the strictly formal criteria of whether a verb base can inflect intransitively or transitively and whether it can take the postbase ‘*-ta*,’ and not over the semantic criterion of whether the S corresponds with the A or O. If so, his concern in the verb base classification would appear even farther from those classifications we have seen previously, all of which have been concerned with the semantic correspondence of the S with the A or O.

To summarize, Menovščikov’s classification of verb bases is unique in two respects:

- (i) he recognizes the involvement of the unproductive postbase *-te-* as crucial to the classification.
- (ii) he does not take into account the correspondence of the S with the A or O.

3.1.3.2. Emel'janova (1982)

Emel'janova (1982) is the only monograph that has ever been devoted exclusively to the classification of verb bases in Eskimo. She adopts Menovščikov's (1967a) dichotomy of verb bases into underived and derived, and examines them separately, the former in Chapter III and the latter in Chapter IV. In Chapter IV, she examines not only verb bases with '*-ta,*' for which she adopts Menovščikov's mixing of *-te-* and *-ute-*, but also those with other 11 main productive postbases, one at a time, which makes this chapter look more a description of each postbase than a classification of verb bases, so it is less pertinent to our topic. More relevant to our issue is Chapter III, in which she discusses underived verb bases. In this chapter, she divides verb bases into three classes, one of them being further subdivided in two sub-classes:

- (i) Verb bases with intransitive semantics, which inflect only intransitively.
- (ii) Labile verb bases, which can inflect either intransitively or transitively. They are subdivided into:
 - (ii-a) Those that cannot yield half-transitive verbs. For example:

(292) CSY (Emel'janova (1982: 23))

intransitive	transitive	half-transitive
aleghqughaquq	aleghqughaqaa	*aleghqughiiquq
aleghqugh-aqe-uq	aleghqugh-aqe-aa	aleghqugh-i-aqe-uq
speak.to-PROG-IND.3S	speak.to-PROG-IND.3S3S	speak.to-HT-PROG-IND.3S
'he is speaking (to someone)'	'he is speaking to her'	

- (ii-b) Those that can yield half-transitive verbs. For example:

(293) CSY (Emel'janova (1982: 24))

intransitive	transitive	half-transitive
aviighaquq	aviighaqaq	aviighiiquq
aviigh-aqe-uq	aviigh-aqe-aa	aviigh-i-aqe-uq
wipe-PROG-IND.3S	wipe-PROG-IND.3S3S	wipe-HT-PROG-IND.3S
'it is being wiped'	'he is wiping it'	'he is wiping something'

(iii) Verb bases with transitive semantics, which inflect only transitively.

Thus, this classification has two criteria:

- (a) whether the verb base inflects intransitively, transitively or both.
- (b) if both, whether the verb base may yield half-transitive forms.

The first criterion is by now familiar to us, whereas the second criterion is new. At any rate, these two criteria are both strictly formal, just as are those in Menovščikov's classification. Thus, her concern is over the verb base classification according to strictly formal criteria, not according to the semantic criterion of the correspondence of S with A or O. In this respect, her classification is similar to Menovščikov's and differs from classifications we saw above.

3.1.3.3. Vaxtin (1981)

Vaxtin (1981), noting that some verb bases inflect only intransitively and others only transitively, classifies the rest of the verb bases, which may inflect either intransitively or transitively, in CSY into four types:

- (i) Verb bases of type I are verb bases whose intransitive version has reflexive meaning vis-à-vis the corresponding transitive version. For example:

(294) CSY (Vaxtin (1981: 270))

intransitive	intransitive
usuqaquq	usuqaqaa
usuqe-aqe-uq	usuqe-aqe-aa
praise-PROG-IND.3S	praise-PROG-IND.3S3S
'he is boasting, he is praising himself'	'he _i is praising him _j '

(ii) Verb bases of type II are verb bases whose transitive version has causative meaning vis-à-vis the corresponding intransitive version. For example:

(295) CSY (Vaxtin (1981: 270))

intransitive	transitive
aliighaquq	aliighaqaa
aliigh-aqe-uq	aliigh-aqe-aa
become.visible-PROG-IND.3S	make.visible-PROG-IND.3S3S
'it is becoming visible'	'he is making it visible'

(iii) Verb bases of type III are verb bases for which a change of transitivity 'does not change the meaning entirely' (1981: 271) but 'has a communicative function and serves for logical apportionment [changes the definiteness/indefiniteness] of the direct object' (1981: 271). For example:

(296) CSY (Vaxtin (1981: 271))

intransitive	transitive
akuziiquq	akuziiqaa
akuzi-aqe-uq	akuzi-aqe-aa
talk-PROG-IND.3S	akuzi-PROG-IND.3S3S
'he is talking (to someone)'	'he _i is talking to him _j '

(iv) Verb bases of type IV are a small class of verb bases that may behave either like those of type II or like those of type III. For example:

(297) CSY (Vaxtin 1981: 271)

intransitive	transitive
gaaghaquq	gaaghaqaa
gaagh-aqe-uq	gaagh-aqe-aa
cook-PROG-IND.3S	cook-PROG-IND.3S3S
'it is cooking' <i>or</i> 'he is cooking (something)'	'he is cooking it'

Thus, with the first reading of the intransitive version coupled with the transitive version, *gaagh-* 'cook' behaves like type II, whereas with its second reading coupled with the transitive version, it behaves like type III.

To summarize, Vaxtin's (1981) classification is more similar to those made outside Russia than to those by Menovščikov and Emel'janova, in that it is based on the correspondence of the S with the A or O. Thus, for verb bases of types I and II, the S corresponds with the O, whereas for those of type III, it corresponds with the A.

Another reason this classification is unique among those we have discussed, which are based on the correspondence of the S with the A or O is that he recognizes a class of verb bases for which the S may correspond either with the A or with O (type IV). This point has been made only by Vaxtin in Eskimo linguistics, but it is a significant point, and we will have more to say about such verb bases in Chapter 5.

This completes our survey of the literature on verb base classification in Eskimo linguistics. In the next section, we will discuss how they are similar and how they differ from one another, to prepare for our definition of agentive and patientive bases.

3.2. Discussion

Having reviewed the literature on classification of verb bases, let us examine the similarities and differences between the classifications. The table below shows how classes correspond among

different classifications.

	Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851])	Bergsland (1955)	Reed <i>et al.</i> (1977)	Vaxtin (1981)	Jacobson (1984, 1995)	Miyaoka (1984, 1996)	Leer (1990)
A	naturally- intransitive	intransitive only	(not labeled)	(not labeled)	intransitive- only	monominal	intransitive- only
B		(not labeled)	agentive	type III	agentive	agentive	agentive
C	both- transitive- and- intransitive						
D	(not noted)	(not noted)	(not noted)	type IV	(not noted)	(not noted)	(not noted)
E	naturally- transitive	(not labeled)	non- agentive	type II	elemental	impersonal	patientive
F					patientive	non-agentive	
G				type I			
H		transitive only	(not labeled)	(not labeled)	transitive- only		

Now, except for Kleinschmidt, we notice three groups of classes on which all the linguists concerned agree: class A, classes B-C, and classes E-H. Class A is a group of verb bases that only inflect intransitively; classes B-C are a group of verb bases that inflect either intransitively or

transitively and for which the S corresponds with the A; and classes E-H are a group of verb bases (a) that only inflect transitively or (b) that inflect either intransitively or transitively and for which the S corresponds with the O. The first two groups do not seem to need further comments, since no linguists subdivide either of them, except Kleinschmidt, who, as we saw in Section 3.1.1.1, does not provide the grounds for distinguishing classes B and C. Greater disagreement is found in classes E-H. Let us look at each dividing line and examine each linguist's rationale for drawing or not drawing a line.

First, let us look at the line between E and F-H. Jacobson (1984) and Miyaoka (1996) draw a dividing line here to distinguish verb bases such as CAY *ciku-* 'freeze,' which deal with processes of nature, and other verb bases such as CAY *tamar-* 'lose.' This distinction is unique in that it is semantically motivated, while all the others are morphosyntactically motivated. Apparently, this is the reason why not all linguists draw a line here. Thus, on the morphosyntactic basis, class E may be viewed as constituting a sub-group of classes E-H, rather than as making up a class of its own on a par with F-H. However, there is some syntactic evidence that speaks for its possible status as a single class. Thus, whereas verb bases from classes F-H can become half-transitive, verb bases from class E cannot. Consider the following examples:

(298) Iñupiaq

- a. Tammaḡaa.
tammaq+kaa
lose-IND.3S3S
'He lost it.'
- b. Tammairuq.
tammaq:i+tuq
lose-HT-IND.3S
'He lost something.'

(299) Iñupiaq

- a. Qiqitkaa.
 qiqit+kaa
 freeze-IND.3S3S
 'It (natural force) froze it.; It froze.'
- b. * Qiqitchiruuq.
 qiqit+si+tuuq
 freeze-HT-IND.3S

Thus, as (298b) shows, *tammaq*- 'lose,' from classes F-H, can become half-transitive, while as (299b) shows, *qiqit*- 'freeze,' from class E, cannot. This morphosyntactic behavior of verb bases from class E is related to the fact that such verb bases always have as their A a third-person singular that vaguely implies natural force, which cannot be foregrounded by being put into the S of half-transitive clauses. That is, the division between E and F-H has a semantic as well as morphosyntactic motivation: verb bases from class E, unlike those from F-H, deal with processes of nature, and they cannot be made half-transitive, unlike the latter.

Next, let us look at a dividing line between class F and class G. Vaxtin (1980) draws a dividing line here. This distinction is motivated by the difference between verb bases for which the S assumes the semantic role of the corresponding O and those for which the S assumes the semantic role of both the corresponding A and O. Thus, their difference may be formulated as follows:

class F: $S = O \neq A$

class G: $S = O = A$

In other words, class F is a class of verb bases whose intransitive version is semantically equivalent to the passive or anticausative of the transitive version, or—viewed in the opposite direction—whose transitive version is semantically equivalent to the causative of the intransitive version, whereas class G is a class of verb bases whose intransitive version is semantically equivalent to the reflexive of the transitive version. This distinction seems well motivated, since passive (or anticausative or causative) and reflexive are different processes in many other

languages. However, it presents a difficulty when actually applied here. That is, one cannot divide the verb bases in question sharply in two. Actually, the intransitive versions of many, though by no means all, of these verb bases can have both passive (or anticausative) and reflexive meanings vis-à-vis the transitive version under appropriate circumstances. Note that Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851]) gives both passive and reflexive meanings for the intransitive version of (272a, b):

(272) Greenlandic (Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851]: 54-55))

	intransitive	transitive
a.	toquppoq	toquppaa
	toqut-poq	toqut-paa
	kill-IND.3S	kill-IND.3S3S
	‘he kills himself; he is dead, he has been killed’	‘he kills him’
b.	avigpoq	avigpaa
	avik-poq	avik-paa
	cut.up-IND.3S	cut.up-IND.3S3S
	‘he cuts himself; he has been cut’	‘he cuts it’

Also, see the following examples from Vaxtin (1981):

(300) CSY (Vaxtin (1981: 269))

a.	Yugem	iqangighaqaa	ilani	anigumeng.
	yuk-em	iqangigh-aqe-aa	ila-ni	anigu-meng
	man-REL.S	clean-PROG-IND.3S3S	friend-ABS.3SS	snow-MOD.S
	‘The man is cleaning his friend of snow.’			
b.	Yuuk	iqangighaquq	anigumeng.	
	yuk-ø	iqangigh-aqe-uq	anigu-meng	
	man-ABS.S	clean-PROG-IND.3S	snow-MOD.S	
	‘The man is cleaning himself of snow.’			
c.	Anuqem	tuma	iqangighaqaa.	
	anuqe-m	tuma-ø	iqangigh-aqe-aa	
	wind-REL.S	road-ABS.S	clean-PROG-IND.3S3S	
	‘The wind is cleaning the road.’			

- d. Tuma iqangighaquq.
 tume-∅ iqangigh-aqe-uq
 road-ABS.S clean-PROG-IND.3S
 ‘The road is being cleaned.’

Vaxtin (1981) claims that, since (300b) has reflexive meaning in contrast to (300a), *iqangigh-* ‘to clean’ in (300a, b) belongs to his type I (our present class G), whereas, since (300c) has causative meaning in contrast to (300d), *iqangigh-* ‘to clean’ in (300c, d) belongs to his type II (our present class F). From such examples, he concludes that in order to tell whether a given verb base is of type I or type II, it is necessary to consider the meaning of the related NPs. However, this is tantamount to saying that the distinction between his type I and type II is not one of verb bases but of clauses. Actually, given that the S of the verb base in question is identified at least with the O, it is predictable that (300b), with animate S, probably has reflexive meaning, the S assuming the role of the corresponding the A and O, and that (300d), with inanimate S, cannot normally have reflexive meaning but passive (or anticausative) meaning, the S assuming only the role of the corresponding O. Thus, the following sentence, with one word added to (300b), is like (300d) rather than (300b) in having passive (or anticausative) meaning:

(301) CSY

- Tuqumalghii yuuk iqangighaquq (anigumeng).
 tuqu-ma-lghii-∅ yuk-∅ iqangigh-aqe-uq anigu-meng
 die-PERF-AN-ABS.S man-ABS.S clean-PROG-IND.3S snow-MD.S
 ‘The dead man was cleaned of snow.’

Thus, it is not clear that this distinction is real in Eskimo grammar, given that one needs to turn to the meaning of other elements in the clause in order to classify the verb base.

Next, let us examine class H as opposed to classes F-G. The criterion of distinguishing class H is purely morphological, that the verb base inflects transitively but not intransitively. For that matter, class H may seem equally distinct from all the other classes: class A, which inflects only

intransitively, and classes B-G, which inflect either transitively or intransitively. However, Kleinschmidt (1851), Miyaoka (1996) and Leer (1990) do not set up a distinct class here, but rather combine it with classes F-G. Their reason for this combination is obviously that the border line between F-G and H is not clear. That is, verb bases in class H not only do inflect intransitively in some cases, but also, when they do, they behave like the verb bases in classes F-G, rather than like those in classes B-C. Thus, Jacobson (1984: 19) notes that in CAY, ‘Some of the verbs in this group [H] *can* take intransitive endings, but only marginally and in conjunction with a word such as **ellminek** ‘himself’ or **ak’a** ‘already’. In such cases the meaning is reflexive ... or passive’ (italics and boldfaces original). This similarity of class H to classes F-G is also confirmed by data in Iñupiaq. Thus, even when speakers reject verb bases from class H inflecting intransitively, they can nevertheless explain what they would mean. For example,

(302) Iñupiaq

- a. nuqitkaa
niqit+kaa
pull-IND.3S3s
‘he pulled it’
- b. ? nuqittuq
nuqit+tuq
pull-IND.3S

As (302) shows, nuqit- ‘pull’ belongs in class H, because it inflects transitively and not intransitively. However, it is not that the intransitive version (302b) has no meaning. When asked why such forms as (302b) are not good, speakers can actually explain by telling how odd their meaning would be. Thus, (302b) would mean something like ‘it pulled itself,’ which would be practically absurd. It is very different from when verb bases in class A inflect transitively. For example:

(303) Iñupiaq

- a. agqisuq
agqiq+tuq
come-IND.3S
'he came'
- b. * agqigaa
agqiq+kaa
come-IND.3S3S

Speakers cannot explain why they reject such forms as (303b) as they do for (302b): it is rejected not because its meaning is strange, but because it is simply not a word. Thus, verb bases in class H normally do not inflect intransitively, but not in the same way as those in class A do not inflect transitively; the former do not inflect intransitively because of the resultant nonsensical meanings, whereas the latter do not inflect transitively because they cannot. Furthermore, when verb bases in class H inflect intransitively, though marginally, they are always like those in class F-G in having the S correspond with the O, as quoted above from Jacobson (1984) and as shown in (302), but never like those in classes B-C. That is, verb bases in class H are not as distinct from those in classes E-G as from those in classes B-C. They are similar to the former in such a way that it is often hard to distinguish clearly, whereas they are clearly distinct from the latter. Kleinschmidt's, Miyaoka's and Leer's lumping together of class H and classes F-G is obviously motivated by this fact, while others still see some significance in setting up a separate class, blurred though its border may be.

Thus, verb bases that are classified by some linguists as inflecting only transitively may marginally inflect intransitively as well. However, there is actually a set of verb bases that always inflect only transitively. Such are verb bases derived from a noun base by the postbase -qj- 'have as.' Consider the following examples:

(304) Iñupiaq

- a. Anutim aḡnaq iļisautrigigaa.
 anuti-m aḡnaq+ø iļisautri+gi+kaa
 man-RELS woman-ABS.S teacher-have.as-IND.3S3S
 ‘The woman is the man’s teacher.; lit.: The man has the woman as his teacher.’
- b. * iļisautrigiruaq

iļisautrigi- ‘have as one’s teacher’ inflects transitively, as in (304a), but not intransitively, as in (304b), like any other verb bases derived from a noun base by -gi-. For these verb bases, unlike such verb bases as nuqit- ‘pull’ (302), the intransitive version is not even marginally possible but is simply not a word, just like the transitive versions of verb bases of class A, as in (303b). Speakers reject such forms as (304b) without being able to explain how strange their meanings would be. Thus, verb bases like iļisautrigi- ‘have as one’s teacher’ are genuine verb bases that inflect only transitively. Actually, such are not restricted to verb bases involving -gi-. Although few in number, some other verb bases, such as itchaqi- ‘enter N’s house’ and pituqqaqi- ‘appear in front of,’ are genuine verb bases that inflect only transitively, like iļisautrigi- ‘have as one’s teacher.’ What is common to all such verb bases seems to be that they all contain some postbase, that is, they are complex verb bases, consisting of a base plus (a) postbase(s), although I have not been able to identify the (probably unproductive) postbase(s) in many cases, as in the cases of itchaqi- ‘enter ___’s house’ and pituqqaqi- ‘appear in front of.’ Class H may then be subdivided into two classes: verb bases such as nuqit- ‘pull,’ which may marginally inflect intransitively, and verb bases such as iļisautrigi- ‘have as one’s teacher,’ which never inflect intransitively. The former would be close to classes F-G, while the latter would be equally distinct from all the other classes, including the former. However, no classification yet examined considers the latter as an independent class. This is apparently due to the assumption implicit in those classifications that they are meant to classify only simplex verb bases, although in Eskimo—a highly polysynthetic language—it is not always easy to clearly distinguish simplex from complex or derived bases. It would be interesting

if we could uncover some or other features, such as semantic, that distinguish verb bases such as nuqit- ‘pull’ from verb bases such as ilisautrigi- ‘have as one’s teacher,’ besides the morphological feature that the former can marginally, but the latter cannot, inflect intransitively. However, no such features are visible to me.

Lastly, some comments on class D are in order. This class is pointed out solely by Vaxtin (1981), but verb bases belonging in this class are by no means irregular or exceptional, nor restricted to CSY, even though they are fewer in number than others. Thus, Iñupiaq does have this class of verb bases. For example:

(305) Iñupiaq

- a. Aḡnam igagaa imiḡauraq.
 aḡnaq-m iga+kaa imiḡauraq+∅
 woman-REL.S cook-IND.3S3S soup-ABS.S
 ‘The woman cooked the soup.’
- b. Aḡnaq igaruq.
 aḡnaq+∅ iga+tuq
 woman-ABS.S cook-IND.3S
 ‘The woman cooked.’
- c. Imiḡauraq igaruq.
 imiḡauraq+∅ iga+tuq
 soup-ABS.S cook-IND.3S
 ‘The soup cooked.’

This finding of Vaxtin’s (1981) has not attracted due attention, but such verb bases invite further consideration. They will be the main topic of Chapter 5.

To summarize, despite various differences, all the classifications (except Kleinschmidt’s on a rather minor point) agree in distinguishing three major classes of verb bases:

- (i) those that inflect only intransitively;
- (ii) those that inflect either transitively or intransitively, with the S corresponding with the A; and
- (iii) those that inflect either transitively or (at least potentially) intransitively, with the S

corresponding with the O.

Most linguists make finer distinctions than these, and that, as we have seen, for good reason. Disagreements arise in where to draw such distinctions. For our purposes, more important than such disagreements is that most linguists agree in distinguishing the three major classes of verb bases as above. And this most basic distinction is the one by which we will recognize agentive and patientive bases. That is, class (ii) above will be agentive bases, and class (iii) will be patientive bases in the following chapters. This turns out to be the same as Leer's (1990) classification (Section 3.1.2.4). It is not that the other classifications are inferior to Leer's and my classification, but rather that, in the following chapters, I want to concentrate on the most basic distinction upon which all the linguists concerned have agreed.

3.3. My definition of agentive and patientive bases

I will now provide my definition of agentive and patientive bases. Agentive bases are verb bases (i) for which the S corresponds with the A or (ii) which do not require a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive, while patientive bases are verb bases (i) for which the S corresponds with the O or (ii) which require a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive. Thus, the following are the tests for determining the class of a verb base:

(306) Tests for determining the class of a verb base

- a. Attach both intransitive and transitive endings to it:
 - i. If transitive endings are impossible, it is an intransitive-only base.
 - ii. If intransitive and transitive endings are both possible:
 - α. If the S corresponds with the A, it is an agentive base.
 - β. If the S corresponds with the O, it is a patientive base.
 - iii. If the intransitive endings are infelicitous, it is either a transitive-only base or a patientive base.
- b. (If transitive endings are possible,) Make it antipassive:
 - i. If it cannot become antipassive, it is a transitive-only base.
 - ii. If it does not require a half-transitive postbase, it is an agentive base.

- iii. If it requires a half-transitive postbase, it is a patientive base.

(306a) should be obvious from the discussion in the preceding section. Thus, intransitive-only bases are verb bases of class A in the preceding section, while transitive-only bases are verb bases that never inflect intransitively, even marginally, such as *il̥isautrigi-* ‘have as one’s teacher’ in class H, which were discussed in the preceding section. All the rest, which can inflect either intransitively or transitively, belong to labile bases.⁸ Labile bases are divided in two: those for which the S corresponds with the A are agentive bases, and those for which the S corresponds with the O are patientive bases. Thus, consider the following examples:

(307) *Iñupiaq*

- a. *Anjun* *iputtuq.*
aṅuti+∅ *iput+tuq*
 man-ABS.S row-IND.3S
 ‘The man rowed.’
- b. *Anutim* *iputkaa* *qayaq.*
aṅuti-m *iput+kaa* *qayaq+∅*
 man-REL.S row-IND.3S3S kayak-ABS.S
 ‘The man rowed the kayak.’
- c. *Ayaupiaq* *piġittuq.*
ayaupiaq+∅ *piġit+tuq*
 cane-ABS.S bend-IND.3S
 ‘The cane bent.’
- d. *Anutim* *piġitkaa* *ayaupiaq.*
aṅuti-m *piġit+kaa* *ayaupiaq+∅*
 man-REL.S bend-IND.3S3S cane-ABS.S
 ‘The man bent the cane.’

iput- ‘row’ (307a, b) is an agentive base, because the S corresponds with the A, whereas *piġit-* ‘bend’ (307c, d) is a patientive base, because the S corresponds with the O.

However, (306a) alone does not always work out. Consider the following examples:

⁸ The term ‘labile’ is from Čikobava (1942).

(308) Iñupiaq

- a. Anjutim nuqitkaa ak'lunaaq.
 anjuti-m nuqit+kaa ak'lunaaq+∅
 man-REL.S pull-IND.3S3S rope-ABS.S
 'The man pulled the rope.'
- b. ? ak'lunaaq nuqittuq
 ak'lunaaq-∅ nuqit+tuq
 rope-ABS.S pull-IND.3S

The intransitive *nuqit-* 'pull' is not commonly accepted, as we saw in the preceding section, but this fact alone does not tell us whether it is not a word, in which case the verb base will be transitive-only, or it is a possible word but rejected because of semantic implausibility, in which case the verb base will be patientive. So we need another reliable test to determine whether verb bases such as *nuqit-* 'pull' are transitive-only or patientive, and that test is antipassivization (306b).

Recall from Section 2.4.2.1.2 that agentive bases do not require a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive, because their intransitive version is already antipassive, whereas patientive bases do. Compare (307a, b) and (307c, d) with the following:

(309) Iñupiaq

- a. Anjun iputtuq qayyami.
 anjuti-∅ iput+tuq qayaq÷mi
 man-ABS.S row-IND.3S kayak-LOC.S
 'The man rowed (in) a kayak.'
- b. Anjun piġitchiruq ayaupiamik.
 anjuti-∅ piġit+si+tuq ayaupiaq÷mik
 man-ABS.S bend-HT-IND.3S cane-MOD.S
 'The man bent a cane.'

iput- 'row,' which is agentive, does not take a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive, whereas *piġit-* 'bend,' which is patientive, does require a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive. This holds true not only for verb bases with well-accepted intransitive versions, but

also for those for which intransitive versions are only marginal. Thus, compare (308) with:

- (310) Anun nuqitchiruaq aklunaamik.
 aᅇuti+∅ nuqit+si+tuq aklunaaq÷mik
 man-ABS.S pull-HT-IND.3S rope-MOD.S
 ‘The man pulled a rope.’

By contrast, transitive-only bases, for which the intransitive version is not a word, do not have antipassives, whether with or without a half-transitive postbase. Thus, compare (304) with:

- (311) * anun ilisautrigiruaq/ ilisautrigisriruaq aᅇnamik
 aᅇuti+∅ ilisautri+gi+tuq/ ilisautri+gi+si+tuq aᅇnaaq÷mik
 man-ABS.S teacher-have.as-IND.3S/ teacher-have.as-HT-IND.3S woman-MOD.S

Thus, verb bases derived by +gi- cannot become antipassive. Therefore, whether or not a verb base requires a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive can be another test for determining whether it is agentive or patientive. That is, if a verb base that can inflect transitively does not require a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive, it is agentive; if it does require one, it is patientive; and if it cannot become antipassive in any way, it is transitive-only.

There is also a set of cases in which the correspondence test (306a) and the antipassive test (306b) do not yield the same result. Consider the following examples:

- (312) Iᅇupiaq
 a. Kuuk qiqittuaq.
 kuuk+∅ qiqit+tuq
 river-ABS.S freeze-IND.3S
 ‘The river froze.’
 b. Kuuk qiqitkaa.
 kuuk+∅ qiqit+kaa
 river-ABS.S freeze-IND.3S3S
 ‘The river froze.’

According to the correspondence test, *qiqit-* ‘freeze’ will be a patientive base, because the S of the intransitive version (312a) corresponds with the O of the transitive version (312b). Thus, we would expect it to become antipassive with a half-transitive postbase. This expectation, however, is not borne out. It cannot become antipassive whether with or without a half-transitive postbase, as illustrated by the following examples:

(313) *Iñupiaq*

* <i>kuun̄mik</i>	<i>qiqitchiruaq/ qiqittuaq</i>
<i>kuuk+̄mik</i>	<i>qiqit+si+tuq/ qiqit+tuq</i>
river-MOD.S	freeze-HT-IND.3S/ freeze-IND.3S

Here we have a discrepancy between the correspondence test and the antipassive test. Actually, such discrepancies are found with all bases that refer to natural phenomena (class E in Section 3.2). We can attribute the impossibility of antipassives with such verb bases to their meanings. Antipassives are not possible with such verb bases because (i) such verb bases have ambient natural force as A and because (ii) the function of antipassive clauses is to foreground A, whereas ambient natural force may not be foregrounded by nature. A piece of evidence that shows that A of such verb bases may not be foregrounded can be seen from the fact that such an A cannot be expressed overtly by a personal pronoun.⁹ Thus, compare (312b) with the following example:

(314) * <i>llaan</i>	<i>kuuk</i>	<i>qiqitkaa.</i>
	<i>kuuk+̄</i>	<i>qiqit+kaa</i>
3S.REL	river-ABS.S	freeze-IND.3S3S

Thus, this discrepancy between the tests can be viewed as resulting from the non-fulfillment of (306b.iii) for semantic reasons, so we can turn only to (306a.ii.β) and consider such bases as patientive.

⁹ I owe this observation to Lawrence Kaplan (p.c.).

Having established the criteria for determining agentive and patientive bases, I will examine how agentive and patientive bases are distributed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4. Distribution of agentive and patientive bases

Having defined agentive and patientive bases in Chapter 3, we will now examine how agentive and patientive bases are distributed, in other words, how the polarity of a labile base is determined. (I use the term ‘polarity’ to mean the property of a verb base of being agentive or patientive. Although this term has another sense, of ‘positive/negative contrastivity’ (Crystal (2003: 358)), which sense is intended in each instance of use will be clear from the context. The term ‘polarity’ in our sense was suggested by Steven Jacobson (p.c.)

4.1. Previous studies

There are several Eskimo linguists who attempt to identify the semantic characteristics of agentive and patientive bases. So let us look at what they have to say.

Kleinschmidt (1991 [1851]), as we saw in the preceding chapter, characterizes classes of verb bases in Greenlandic in semantic terms. That is, his naturally-transitive bases (our patientive bases) are characterized as expressing an action performed by the agent and directed toward the patient, while his naturally-intransitive bases (overlapping with our agentive bases) are characterized as expressing an action autonomous of the agent without regard to who brings about this action.

Mallon (1976: 47-48, 1995: 11-12) notes on ECI that patientive bases ‘are mostly verbs that suggest some sort of action impinging on the object, often but not always violent’ (1995: 11) and that patientive bases denote momentary actions, while agentive bases denote continuous actions.

Woodbury (1981: 287-289), in providing examples of agentive and patientive bases in CAY, divides each class into several semantic groups. Thus, he divides agentive bases into those that refer to communication, eating, sensation, obtaining, bringing about change of state, motion and others, and patientive bases into those that refer to bringing about qualities, speaking, change of state, causing to change position, subjective experience, motion and others.

Hayatsu (1986: 4-5) notes that the transitive version of patientive bases in CAY denotes actions whose primary purpose is to bring about a change in the patient, more specifically: change of shape, such as destruction and cutting; change of quality, quantity or state; movement or change of location; change of configuration, such as adding or removing; change of presence, such as appearance and disappearance; change of posture, direction or course; and so on.

Johns (1987: 90-103), on ECI, characterizes agentive bases as ‘denoting ongoing activities, including those of movement’ (1987: 93), and patientive bases as denoting an event or a change of state, *e.g.* of position, quality, etc., which may or may not have been brought about by an external entity.

Finally, Miyaoka (1996) notes on CAY that agentive bases ‘generally describe events focusing on the process of the A’s action’ (1996: 343), and that patientive bases ‘generally describe events focusing on the result of the A’s action’ (1996: 343).

Thus, all the linguists cited above share the idea that agentive and patientive bases can be characterized in semantic terms, or, to put it differently, that a labile base is assigned to the agentive or patientive class (at least partially) on the basis of its meaning.

In the following sections, I will examine the issue of the distribution of agentive and patientive bases from the same point of view as the linguists cited above, but in more detail. More specifically, I will present the polarity of all the labile bases and identify semantic features that characterize agentive and patientive bases.

4.2. Agentive/patientive distribution

In this section, I will investigate how agentive and patientive bases are distributed in Iñupiaq. For that purpose, I will divide the labile bases into two groups: lexical verb bases and those derived by postbases. I will show that there are several semantic features that characterize agentive and patientive bases that belong to the former group, whereas the polarity of the latter group is

determined by the specific postbase used. I will examine the former group in Section 4.3.1 and the latter group in Section 4.3.2.

4.2.1. Lexical verb bases

In this section I will try to determine what kind of semantic feature makes an agentive base agentive and a patientive base patientive. To investigate this issue, I will present the polarity of all the labile bases that I have learned so far to pick out some semantic features that characterize agentive and patientive bases. To present the polarity of all the labile bases, I will divide them into semantic groups, because that will facilitate the understanding of the data than just presenting them in the alphabetical order. (For dividing them into semantic groups, I consulted such works as Dixon (1988, 2005) and Levin (1993), as well as those works by Eskimo linguists cited in Section 4.1.) And in each semantic group, I will try to find out how the semantic features of each verb base contribute to its polarity.

I will now show the labile bases that belong to each semantic group. I will provide the meaning of the transitive version in double quotes, and that of the intransitive version in single quotes only where it is not predictable from that of the transitive version. In cases where a verb base has selectional restrictions on the patient, the type of patient it takes is indicated in brackets.

A. Motion and rest

Verb bases that refer to motion and rest may be subdivided into those that refer to:

- (a) the agent's motion or rest with respect to the patient;
- (b) the patient's motion or rest caused by the agent.

Let us examine each of them in turn:

A-a. Verb bases whose intransitive version refers to the agent's motion or rest and whose transitive

version refers to the agent's motion or rest with respect to the patient. For example:

- (315) a. Anjutim utigaa tupiq.
 anuti-m utiq+kaa tupiq+∅
 man-REL.S return-IND.3S3S house-ABS.S
 ‘The man returned to the house.’
- b. Anjun utiqtuq tupigmun.
 anuti+∅ utiq+tuq tupiq÷mun
 man-ABS.S return-IND.3S house-TRM.S
 ‘The man returned to a house.’

They may be further subdivided according to the semantic role of the patient. The patient may be:

A-a-i. the goal of a translational motion.

Agentive: akpak- “enter up into”; iññiaq- “go to visit (person)”; isiq- “enter”; mît- “land at”; nakkaagaq- “dive into”; tikia- “come to (of wind etc.)”; tikisaaq- “approach”; tikît- “reach from distance, after a journey”; tulak- “get to the other side of (river etc.)”; utiq- “return to”.

Patientive: utlak- “go up to”.

A-a-ii. the goal of a postural motion.

Agentive: aquvît- “sit down on”; aquvrîk- “fall and sit down on”; kinjaq- “turn one's head forward to”; mau- “step into”; saat- “turn one's body to”; sitquq- “kneel down on”; tati- “lean on”; tutî- “step on”; tutmaq- “step on many times”.

A-a-iii. the locus of a motion.

Agentive: ataaq- “descend”; ataut- “go under”; atqaaq- “go down”; ikaa- “cross slowly”; ikaqtuq- “cross swiftly”; itivrak- “jump over”; maugaq- “walk along”;

mayuaq- “climb (tree)”; mayuq- “go up (hill etc)”; naluk- “swim across”; nuttagaq- “jump over step by step”; nutik- “jump over”; paamguq- “crawl on”; puuvraq- “swim in.”

A-a-iv. the point of passage of a motion.

Agentive: apqusraaq- “pass”; qaarjiq- “pass”; sargut- “pass (something on land) by boat.”

A-a-v. the axis of a rotation.

Agentive: kaivît- “go around (something)”; kaivraaq- “go around (something).”

A-a-vi. the point of departure of a (translational or postural) motion.

Agentive: ayuuq- “go far away from”; qimak- “escape, flee”; tunut- “turn back to.”

A-a-vii. the locus of rest.

Agentive: aquppî- “sit on”; iva- “sit on (eggs) (of bird)”; tukiq- “stand firm on.”

For these types of bases, the patient is location, which may not be viewed as affected by the agent’s motion or rest, and they are agentive.

An exception is utlak- “go up to” (A-a-i), which, nearly synonymous with agentive tikît- “reach from a distance, after travel” (A-a-i) at least as far as English translation goes, is nevertheless patientive. There is also a difference, however, in selectional restriction between these two: utlak- “go up to” subcategorizes for humans or units of humans, such as a village, while tikît- “reach from a distance, after travel” can take any type of NP, including location, as its patient as far as it denotes destination. Thus, compare:

- (316) a. Anjutim tikitchaa aǵnaq/nunaaqqiq/kuuk.
 anjuti-m tikit+kaa aǵnaq+∅/nunaaqqiq+∅/kuuk+∅
 man-REL.S reach-IND.3S3Swoman-ABS.S/village-ABS.S/river-ABS.S
 ‘The man reached the woman/the village/the river.’
- b. Anjun tikitchuq aǵnamun/nunaaqqimun/kuunmun
 anjuti+∅ tikit+tuq aǵnaq÷mun/nunaaqqiq÷mun/kuuk÷mun
 man-abs.s reach-IND.3S woman-TRM.S/village-TRM.S/river-TRM.S
 ‘The man reached a woman/a village/a river.’
- (317) a. Anjutim utlakaa aǵnaq/nunaaqqiq/*kuuk.
 anjuti-m utlak+kaa aǵnaq+∅/nunaaqqiq+∅/*kuuk+∅
 man-REL.S reach-ind.3s3s woman-ABS.S/village-ABS.S/*river-ABS.S
 ‘The man went up to the woman/ the village/ *the river.’
- b. Anjun utlairuq aǵnamik/nunaaqqimik/*kuunmik.
 anjuti+∅ utlak:i+tuq aǵnaq÷mik/nunaaqqiq÷mik/*kuuk÷mik
 man-ABS.S reach-HT-IND.3S woman-MOD.S/village-MOD.S/*river-MOD.S
 ‘The man went up to a woman/a village/*a river.’¹⁰

Notice that *tikît*- “reach,” which does not require a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive, making it agentive (316b), can have a location, such as *kuuk* ‘river,’ as its patient, whereas *utlak*- “reach,” which does require a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive, making it patientive (317b), cannot have a location as its patient. Thus, *utlak*- “reach” differs from other bases found in this semantic group, which have locations as their patient. *utlak*- “reach” has human patients, and is patientive.

A-b. Verb bases whose intransitive version refers to the patient’s motion or state of rest and whose transitive version refers to the agent’s causing the patient to be in motion or at rest. They may be

¹⁰ The difference in case marking for the patient in the antipassive sentence, the terminalis for *tikît*- and the modalis for *utlak*- conforms to the general tendency that antipassive sentences overtly marked with the half-transitive postbase more strongly require the patient to appear in the modalis case than those not overtly marked, which more freely allow the patient to appear in other oblique cases depending on the meaning.

subdivided into:

A-b-i. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's and patient's joint translational motion under the agent's control. For example:

- (318) a. Anjutim akiyaḡaa suluun.
 anjuti-m akiyaq+kaa suluuti+∅
 man-REL.S carry.by.hand-IND.3S3S box-ABS.S
 'The man carried the box by hand.'
- b. Anjun akiyaqtuq suluutmik.
 anjuti+∅ akiyaq+tuq suluuti÷mik
 man-ABS.S carry.by.hand-IND.3S box-ABS.S
 'The man carried a box by hand.'

Agentive: akiyaq- "carry by hand"; amaaq- "carry on the back"; iqsrük- "carry on shoulder"; kakaaq- "carry (person) on shoulders"; kalit- "drag (boat)"; natmak- "carry on the back"; qamuk- "pull (sled) along"; saagaq- "carry by hand"; ukammaq- "pull (boat) upriver with rope"; usriaq- "take in vehicle."

Patientive: aat- "take away"; ai- "fetch"; isiq- "bring in"; uvuḡaq- "bring here."

The difference between agentive and patientive bases, here, is that the former portray the manner in which the agent moves the patient or the specific locus of the agent while the patient is in motion, that is, they have 'highly agent-oriented meaning components' (Haspelmath (1993: 93)), which are lacking in the latter. And those having agent-oriented meaning components are agentive, while those that are neutral in this respect are patientive.

A-b-ii. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's causing the patient's translational motion without the agent making the same motion. For example:

- (319) a. Anutim nuqitkaa ak'lunaaq.
 anuti-m nuqit+kaa ak'lunaaq+∅
 man-REL.S pull-IND.3S3S rope-ABS.S
 'The man pulled the rope.'
- b. Anun nuqitchiruq ak'lunaamik.
 anuti+∅ nuqit+si+tuq ak'lunaaq÷mik
 man-ABS.S pull-ANTIP-IND.3S rope-MOD.S
 'The man pulled a rope.'

Patientive: amu- "pull up (net)"; igit- "throw"; ila- "add"; iqiŋiq- "pull off (blanket etc)";
 kivik- "lift"; manî- "show, bring forward", 'show up'; nuktaq- "move around"; nuqit-
 "pull"; nuut- "move"; piiq- "remove"; qakit- "pull up"; qauq- "lift (something frozen and
 stuck to the ground)"; qiŋattaq- "raise (house etc.)"; simmîq- "exchange, renew";
 tuvvaq- "put away."

These verb bases denote the change of the patient's location, but not that of the agent, and they are all patientive.

A-b-iii. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's causing the patient's non-translational motion and subsequent rest.

Patientive: ayak- "prop up"; makit- "stand up," "get up"; mumîk- "turn over"; nappaq-
 "stand, erect"; palluq- "turn over," "lie on one's stomach"; ulit- "turn inside out"; uviq-
 "cause to list."

The above verb bases refer to the patient's change of posture, and they are patientive.

A-b-iv. A verb base whose transitive version refers to the agent's causing the patient's non-translational motion without implying the patient's subsequent rest.

Agentive: ipsuk- "shake (to take dust or snow off)"

Unlike those in the preceding group, this base does not denote the patient's resultant posture,

and it is agentive.

A-b-v. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's putting the patient at some locus.

Patientive: atalît- "put where it is not exposed to rain"; atqaq- "put down"; iki- "put in box, container, vehicle"; ikiġġaq- "put in cache"; iku- "put into"; iġi- "put onto"; inillak- "put onto"; iñî- "hang (fish)"; irîq- "hide"; kaimît- "put into"; isiġ- "put in"; kilvaq- "take down from stove," 'go back'; kiñî- "put (baby) in the toilet," 'go to the bathroom'; kiñît- "put in the water," 'sink in the tub'; kiñitchiq- "soak"; kivît- "sink"; manî- "put onto"; mayuq- "put up"; misruk- "soak"; naktît- "hang"; ninî- "set (net)"; niu- "unload"; nivinġaq- "hang (rope, tarp etc)"; paunġaq- "put up," 'go up mountain'; qulvaqtaaq- "put higher"; sagvîq- "put out," 'show up'; unît- "leave."

These verb bases may refer to the patient's change of location like those in group A-b-ii, but unlike the latter, their focus is on the subsequent resting place of the patient. They are patientive, just as those in group A-b-ii.

A-b-vi. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's putting the patient at rest at some locus with respect to the agent.

Agentive: amaq- "put on the back"; aqamak- "hold by arm"; israk- "reach (to grab)," 'stretch one's arm' kaiv!uuq- "hold"; pukuk- "pick up, gather"; qulliqsruq- "hold"; tigummi- "hold"; qisruk- "grab, scratch"; qumîk- "put inside the parka"; sagġiaq- "put on the lap"; tiguullaq- "pick one by one," tigu- "grab."

Patientive: akkuaq- "catch (ball)."

Like those in the preceding group, these verb bases refer to the patient's change of location and its subsequent rest, but, unlike the former, they portray the locus of the patient's rest relative to the agent (mostly its hand), that is, they have highly agent-oriented meaning components, and they are

agentive. The only patientive base belonging here, *akkuaq*- “catch (ball),” is unlike the others in that the agent is involved in the event passively. The agent cannot only decide whether to pick up something, but also when to pick up what; on the other hand, although the agent can decide whether or not to catch a coming ball, it is not under his or her control when to catch which ball. The agent can only catch a ball that is coming in his or her direction while it is within his or her reach. In that sense, the agent is more passively involved in the case of *akkuaq*- “catch (ball)” than in the case of the other verb bases in this group. *akkuaq*- “catch (ball)” is the only patientive base in this group.

To summarize group A-b; verb bases that refer to the agent’s causing the patient to be in motion or at rest are mostly patientive. We may consider this as related to the fact that such verb bases refer to the event wherein the locus of the patient is changed. On the other hand, verb bases of this type that have an agent-oriented meaning component are agentive.

To summarize verb bases that refer to motion and rest:

- (i) Verb bases that refer to the agent’s motion or rest are agentive (A-a); and
 - (ii) Verb bases that refer to the patient’s motion or rest are patientive (A-b);
- except that:
- (iii) A verb base with a human patient is more likely to be patientive than not (A-a-i);
 - (iv) A verb base with a highly agent-oriented meaning component is agentive (A-b-i, A-b-vi);
 - (v) A verb base that does not denote any change in the patient is agentive (A-b-iv); and
 - (vi) A verb base that denotes an event in which the agent is passively involved is patientive (A-b-vi).

Of these, (iii), (v) and (vi) are each based on only one example, so their evidence is by no means sure. Note, however, that these statements are only made on the basis of the verb bases designating

motion and rest. In this section, I hope to prove that semantic features such as these recur across various semantic groups. We will see that (iii), (v) and (vi) will be instantiated by other verb bases belonging to other groups. By the end of this section, I hope to have shown enough cases to instantiate these statements.

B. Affect

Next, we will examine verb bases whose transitive version refers to an action of the agent that has more or less impact on the patient. We will divide them according to the degree of impact the action has on the patient.

B-a. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's (or its instrument's) contact with the patient, which usually does not involve physical impact on the patient.

Agentive: aksik- "touch"; aluk- "lick" aktuq- "touch"; kasrak- "beat (drum), ring (bell)";
kauk- "hammer (nail)"; kunik- "kiss"; savit- "pat (dog)."

For such verb bases, the patient does not normally change the state, and they are agentive.

B-b. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's manipulating the surface of the patient:

Agentive: aglagaq- "mark (wood)"; allaq- "clean (gun) with metal"; allaqtiq- "wipe";
miñuñiq- "paint"; qitchuk- "scratch"; titiq- "mark (ground)."

For such verb bases, although the patient's surface may be changed, the patient does not essentially change shape, and they are agentive.

B-c. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's (or its instrument's) contact with the patient, which often involves some physical impact on the patient.

Patientive: anau- “whip”; aqi- “kick”; kigi- “bite”; mi|uq- “throw something and hit it”; patik- “slap once”; putyuk- “pinch”; qakiq- “box”; tigluk- “hit with a fist”; ugjaq- “bite (person) (of dog).”

For such verb bases, the patient may not essentially change shape, but it is affected physically and psychologically, and they are patientive.

B-d. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent’s instrument penetrating the patient.

Verb bases of this class may be further subdivided into two groups depending on whether the patient is (i) things or fish; or (ii) animals higher than fish (I do not know of any verb base whose patient is primarily insects).

B-d-i. The patient being a thing or fish.

Agentive: amatchai- “cut (fish) leaving eggs on the sides”; naulik- “spear”; nivak- “shovel (snow)”; paksrak- “shovel”; putu- “hole”; sanju- “cut wrong way”; siik- “cut (fish) open.”

B-d-ii. The patient being animals higher than fish.

Agentive: pi|ak- “butcher (game animal)”

Patientive: algiq- “skin leg of,” amiiyaq- “peel skin off”; kapi- “stab”; ni|luq- “cut the throat of”; panat- “shoot with quills (of porcupine)”; sik- “shoot.”

Actions denoted by verb bases of this type change the shape of the patient—that is, they have some impact on the patient. But whether that impact on the patient is perceptible to the speaker depends on the degree of animacy in the patient. It is more perceptible to the speaker when the patient is higher in animacy: higher animals’ reaction to the impact is more perceptible to a human than that of lower animals or things. And if it is relatively perceptible (ii), the verb base is mostly

patientive; otherwise (i), the verb base is agentive.

B-e. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's placing something in juxtaposition with the patient.

Patientive: *iluvîq-* "bury"; *matu-* "cover"; *nuvî-* "thread"; *piġu-* "put a weight on (something) to stop the wind from blowing it"; *puuq-* "wrap"; *sau-* "cover (sodhouse) with mud"; *simîk-* "plug"; *ulitchiaq-* "cover with blanket."

The patient's state denoted by such verb bases may be viewed as being altered by the action, and they are patientive.

B-f. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's putting something into the patient's domain.

Patientive: *avu-* "season"; *immîq-* "fill"; *igluġusrîq-* "fill half full"; *mavîq-* "put patch on (clothes)."

Just like the preceding class, the patient's state denoted by such verb bases may be viewed as being changed by the event, and they are patientive.

B-g. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to removing something from the patient.

Agentive: *iġitchaq-* "pluck feathers off (bird)"; *qiaġut-* "peel bark off (birch)."

Patientive: *kiluaq-* "rip stitches out of (clothes)."

We may expect them to be patientive, since they portray mirror images of the case of the preceding group, but they are actually divergent in their polarity. There are no apparent semantic features to distinguish the agentive from patientive bases in this group.

B-h. Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's changing the state of the patient.

Agentive: aṅjula- “wet to tan”; argîq- “roast”; iyamaaqîuk- “boil half-dry”; kilit- “make strip out of”; miullaq- ambiv “put soap on”; nimiq- “sew string rim on (basket)”; sana- “carve”; saqaniqtaq- “fry”; savak- “work on”; sivvuq- “squeeze”; tiktitaq- “clean (berries) with wind”; tilak- “brush off (dust)”; tinik- “knead”; tuuq- “chisel (ice)”; uluk- “twist and rub (skin)”; unjiraq- “crimp sole.”

Patientive: aġît- “wet by spilling water”; aṅmaq- “open”; ayaaq- “open (fish)”; imaġuq- “wet by pouring water”; imaq- “wet to tan”; imu- “fold (cloth-like thing)”; isivîṭ- “unfold”; ivaq- “stretch (animal skin)”; kipîṭ- “stain (clothes)”; kisaq- “anchor”; makpîq- “open (book)”; mulik- “close, put board on (window, door)”; nalġuq- “straighten”; pasriksîq- “heat (birch bark) by stove”; pituiq- “let loose”; pituk- “tie”; puvîq- “inflate”; puyat- “dirty”; qilîq- “tie (string)”; qilu- “stretch (cloth-like thing)”; qiluqqîṭ- “stretch”, ‘sprain one’s back’; qipîṭ- “twist (rope)”; qitummak- “tan”; siamiṭ- “scatter”; tasrîṭ- “stretch”; piġîṭ- “bend”; sipîṭ- “fold (corner of basket)”; talu- “open (door)”; umik- “close, lock”; uunaqsîq- “heat”; uuyu- “lengthen.”

Thus, many such verb bases are patientive, but some of them are agentive. In this respect aṅjula- “wet to tan” contrasts with its apparent synonym imaq- “wet to tan.” The difference between these two verb bases is that the former refers to the agent’s wetting the patient as a process leading to the latter’s state of being tanned. The focus, however, is not on the patient’s changing state from not being wet to being wet, but on the agent’s process of wetting the patient. Thus, even though it implies the agent’s changing the state of the patient, the focus is not on the patient’s change of state, but on the process of the agent’s being engaged in the activity of wetting the patient. On the other hand, imaq- “wet to tan” focuses on the patient’s changing state from not being wet to being wet. This difference is manifest in the following examples, which were composed by a speaker when I asked about the difference between these two verb bases:

- (320) a. Aḡnam imaḡaa amiq.
 aḡnaq-m imaq+kaa amiq+∅
 woman-REL.S wet-IND.3S3S skin-ABS.S
 ‘The woman wet the skin to tan it.’
- b. Aḡnam ukalliq aḡulagaa qitummaḡniaqḡugu.
 aḡnaq-m ukalliq+∅ aḡula+kaa qitummak+niaq+ḡugu
 woman-REL.S rabbit-ABS.S wet-IND.3S3S tan-will-CTU.3S
 ‘the woman wet the rabbit (skin) to tan it’

Those examples show that *aḡula-* does not complete the sentence as *imaq-* does, without another verb indicating the event that completes the series of events involving what *aḡula-* refers to. This shows that *imaq-* focuses more on the patient’s changing state from not being wet to being wet, while *aḡula-* focuses more on the agent’s process of wetting something. And the former, which focuses on the patient’s change of state, is patientive, while the latter, which focuses on the agent’s process, is agentive.

sivvuq- “squeeze” may be understood in a similar fashion. That is, most often an object is squeezed not to change its shape, but as a means of dehydrating it. Its focus is not so much on the change of state *per se* as on the process of the agent’s working on it. Thus, it focuses on the agent’s process, and it is agentive.

Of verb bases of this type, those that focus on the agent’s process are likely to be agentive, while those that focus on the patient’s change of state are likely to be patientive.

Some other agentive bases have a different-but-related semantic feature. Consider *argiq-* “roast”; *iyamaaqḡuk-* “boil half-dry”; *saqaniqtaq-* “fry”; *tinik-* “knead”; *unjiraq-* “sew bottom of mukluk,” all of which are agentive. These verb bases all refer to complex actions that require conscious, intensive, prolonged involvement on the part of the agent. For example, to properly *argiq-* (roast) something, you will need to sit for some length of time and check it occasionally after putting it near fire. Such is not the case with patientive bases, say, *aḡit-* (wet by spilling water) and *aḡalat-* (stir). Such verb bases refer to simple actions that do not require conscious,

intensive, prolonged involvement on the part of the agent. For example, you can *aġġit-* (wet by spilling water) something by tilting a glass that has water in it over that thing, and you can *aŋalat-* (stir) soup by thrusting a ladle into it and moving the ladle around several times. Thus, verb bases that refer to complex actions requiring conscious, intensive, prolonged involvement on the part of the agent are more likely to be agentive than those that do not. It would seem that this feature is related to the feature we have seen above. Actions that require conscious, intensive, prolonged involvement on the part of the agent are more likely than those that do not to attract focus on the agent rather than the patient.

To summarize, verb bases that refer to the state of the patient are generally patientive, except that those that focus on the agent's process are agentive.

B-i. Verb bases that refer to the agent's causing the patient to lose its physical unity.

Agentive: *nuutkutit-* "blast"; *qaagġaq-* "bomb."

Patientive: *alik-* "tear"; *avik-* "cut (food) in two"; *ipiġaq-* "chop"; *iqfġaaq-* "split small piece off"; *kipi-* "cut (rope etc) in two"; *navik-* "break (long object)"; *piiyaaq-* "break (artifact)"; *qaaq-* "bust"; *suqumit-* "cut into pieces"; *qupi-* "split in two"; *quppġiq-* "cut (fish) in two"; *uġiq-* "crack (of glass)"; *uukkaa-* "break."

Verb bases of this group denote the patient's change of state, and they are mostly patientive.

However, *nuutkutit-* "blast" and *qaagġaq-* "bomb" are agentive. They differ from other verb bases in this class in that they refer to events in which the patient loses its physical unity only after the agent's relatively conscious, intensive involvement using a special tool. For example, breaking (*navik-*) branches does not require many processes; it can be done all at once. By contrast, blasting (*nuutkutit-*) and bombing (*qaagġaq-*) require some conscious, intensive processes on the part of the agent. For example, to properly blast (*nuutkutit-*) something, one has to set gunpowder on the object and light a fire. Thus, *nuutkutit-* "blast" and *qaagġaq-* "bomb" refer to events that require

the agent's conscious, intensive involvement more strongly than other verb bases in this group. So they tend to focus more on the agent's process than other verb bases do, and, unlike others, they are agentive.

To summarize verb bases that refer to the agent's interaction with the patient:

- (a) The more impact on the patient a verb base portrays, the more likely it is to be patientive.
- (b) If the patient is higher in animacy, the verb base is more likely to be patientive.
- (c) Verb bases that focus more on the agent's process are more likely to be agentive.

C. Giving and receiving

Next, let us examine verb bases of giving and receiving. By verb bases of giving and receiving we mean those verb bases that refer to the transfer of a (group of) thing(s) (which we will call 'item') from a (group of) person(s) ('source') to another (group of) person(s) ('goal') initiated by either the source or the goal. For example:

- (321) a. Anutim aatchuḡaa aglaun aḡnamun.
 anuti-m aatchuq+kaa aglauti+∅ aḡnaq÷mun
 man-RELS give-IND.3S3S pencil-ABS.S woman-TRM.S
 'The man gave the pencil to a woman.'
- b. Aḡnam aatkaa anjun aglautmik.
 aḡnaq-m aat+kaa anuti+∅ aglauti÷mik
 woman-RELS rob-IND.3S3S man-ABS.S pencil-MOD.S
 'The woman robbed the man of a pencil.'

In both these sentences, *anjun* 'man' is the source, *aglaun* is the item and *aḡnaq* 'woman' is the goal.

Now, verb bases of giving and receiving may be divided into two sub-groups:

- (a) verb bases of giving, which have the source as agent (for example, 'give').

(b) verb bases of receiving, which have the goal as agent (for example, ‘receive,’ and ‘rob’).

Let us look at each in turn.

C-a. Giving

Verb bases of giving may be divided into two types: those that have the item as patient and those that have the goal as patient. By superimposing the agentive/patientive distinction, we get the following four possible types of verb bases of giving:

- (i) agentive bases that have the item as patient;
- (ii) agentive bases that have the goal as patient;
- (iii) patientive bases that have the item as patient; and
- (iv) patientive bases that have the goal as patient.

However, not all of these four possibilities are realized by actual verb bases. They are instantiated by actual verb bases as in the following table:

	patient = item	patient = goal
agentive		aatchuq- “give (to s.o.)” akiqsruq- “owe (s.o.), promise (to s.o.)” payuk- “bring food (to s.o.)” tuyuq- “send (to s.o.)”
patientive	naluk- “hand (s.t.)” qait- “give (s.t.)” tunî- “sell (s.t.)”	akilîq- “pay (to s.o.)” atauksrît- “lend (to s.o.)” atchît- “lend (to s.o.)” attausrîq- “give (to s.o.) to thank” paitchît- “give (to s.o.) as inheritance” piîfît- “give money (to s.o.)”

Thus, if a verb base of giving has the item as patient, it is patientive, whereas if it has the goal as patient, it can be either agentive or patientive. This may be understood by considering that verb bases of giving portray the situation in which the item moves from the source to the goal. Thus, the

item is necessarily viewed as being affected by the event in changing the location, and we saw in section A that those verb bases that refer to the patient's movement are likely to be patientive. The goal, on the other hand, which does not change the location, may not be viewed as affected in the same way. However, it may be viewed as being affected in a less obvious, indirect way, that is, in changing from the state of not having the item to the state of having it, and we saw in the preceding section that those verb bases that refer to the patient's change of state are likely to be patientive. To summarize:

- (i) Verb bases of giving that have the item as patient are patientive;
- (ii) Verb bases of giving that have the goal as patient can be either agentive or patientive.

C-b. Receiving

Just as verb bases of giving have four types as we saw, we have the following four possible types of verb bases of receiving:

- (i) agentive bases that have the item as patient;
- (ii) agentive bases that have the source as patient;
- (iii) patientive bases that have the item as patient; and
- (iv) patientive bases that have the source as patient.

Just like verb bases of giving, not all of those four possibilities are realized by actual verb bases.

They are instantiated by actual verb bases as in the following table:

	patient = source	patient = item
agentive		atauksraq- “borrow (s.t.)” attaqsî- “borrow (s.t.)” tauqsîq- “buy (s.t.)” tiglik- “steal (s.t.)”
patientive	aat- “take away s.t. from (s.o.)” ivayaq- “rob (s.o.) of s.t.”	akuqtuq- “receive (s.t.)” satuq- “get back (s.t.)”

It will help to further divide verb bases of receiving into two types:

- (i) verb bases of forceful receiving; and
- (ii) verb bases of neutral receiving.

The former are verb bases that refer to the transfer of an item where the goal forcefully initiates the transfer and the source is negatively affected, such as robbing, whereas the latter are all the other verb bases, such as those referring to receiving. To the former belong aat- “rob take away s.t. from (s.o.),” ivayaq- “rob (s.o.) of s.t.” and tiglik- “steal (s.t.),” while the others belong to the latter. Let us look at each of them:

C-b-i. Verb bases of forceful receiving

Verb bases of this type are as follows:

	patient = source	patient = item
agentive		tiglik- “steal (s.t.)”
patientive	aat- “rob (s.o.) of s.t.” ivayaq- “rob (s.o.) of s.t.”	

Thus, if the patient is a source, the verb base is patientive, while if the patient is an item, the verb base is agentive. For verb bases of this type, which imply some or other damage to the source by deprivation of the item, the source may be considered as more affected than the item, which just moves, and as we saw above, a more affected patient is more likely to render the verb base

patientive. Thus, in this case, a source-patient has a stronger claim to make the verb base patientive than an item-patient.

C-b-ii. Verb bases of neutral receiving

Verb bases of this type are as follows:

	patient = source	patient = item
agentive		atauksraq- “borrow (s.t.)” attaqsî- “borrow (s.t.)” tauqsîq- “buy (s.t.)”
patientive		akuqtuq- “receive (s.t.)” satuq- “get back (s.t.)”

Thus, atauksraq- “borrow (s.t.),” attaqsi- “borrow (s.t.)” and tauqsîq- “buy (s.t.)” are agentive, while akuqtuq- “receive (s.t.)” and satuq- “get back (s.t.)” are patientive. There is a semantic difference between the former and the latter. The former refer to transactions initiated by the goal-agent, while the latter refer to transactions not initiated by the goal-agent. For example, normally one borrows something when one wants to borrow it and asks the potential source to lend it. On the other hand, one normally receives what the source has previously sent out; and can control the end point of the transference by choosing whether or not to receive it, but cannot control the starting point of the transference. Thus, the latter are similar to akkuaq- “catch,” which refers to events in which the agent is only passively involved (A-b-vi), and thus are patientive.

To summarize on verb bases of giving and receiving:

- (a) Verb bases that refer to the change of location of the patient are patientive (C-a).
- (b) Verb bases that refer to events in which the patient is negatively affected are patientive (C-b-i).
- (c) Verb bases that refer to events in which the agent is passively involved are patientive (C-b-ii).

D. Body care

Let us look at verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's body care action on the patient.

Agentive: akafak- “curl _'s hair”; argaaq- “put gloves on”; atnuġaaqtuq- “dress”;
 atnuġaiyaq- “undress”; iġġuq- “bathe, wash”; illaiq- “comb _'s hair”; ivik- “wipe _'s
 hands, face”; kumik- “scratch to relieve an itch”; mamitaq- “bandage”; nasraq- “put
 hood on”; nanuk- “rub”; sali- “cut _'s hair”; piġġaq- “braid _'s hair”; sinġiq- “tie _'s mukluk
 strip”; umnġiyaq- “shave”; uunnaiyaq- “wipe off _'s sweat”; uvvaq- “bathe.”

Thus, verb bases of this type are all agentive, which may now make sense to us in light of the fact that they all denote the agent's intensive, prolonged process on the patient.

E. Ingesting and expelling

Let us look at verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's taking the patient into or out of the body through the mouth. I will divide them into those denoting the taking of the patient into the body and those denoting the taking of it out of the body.

E-a. Ingesting

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to taking the patient into the body.

Agentive: imiq- “drink”; manġik- “gnaw”; miluk- “suck”; niġġi- “eat”; qaqquq- “crunch
 with teeth”; quaq- “eat frozen”; sikaq- “smoke”; tamuq- “chew”; uiġaq- “eat raw”;
 sikaq- “smoke (cigarette).”

Patientive: ii- “swallow.”

Thus, all the verb bases of this type are agentive, except ii- “swallow,” which is patientive. The characteristic that sets the latter apart from the others is that, unlike the others, it cannot denote the

agent's prolonged process. Thus, one can eat or smoke as long as one wants to, but it only takes a moment to swallow food, so swallowing cannot be of the same duration as eating and smoking. And, as we saw for groups B-h, j, the agent's prolonged involvement in an action is likely to be viewed as the agent's process, and verb bases referring to the agent's process are likely to be agentive.

So, to summarize this group, verb bases that refer to events that can be prolonged—that is, those that may be more easily considered as the agent's process—are agentive; otherwise the verb base is patientive.

E-b. Expelling

Next, let us look at verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's taking the patient out of the body through the mouth.

Agentive: *miġiaq*- “vomit,” *sisuġiaq*- “throw up,” *tuvvuaq*- “spit.”

Verb bases of this type are agentive. In light of our reasoning for the preceding group, this may appear odd. After all, events such as vomiting may be viewed as events in the opposite direction of swallowing, and other than that, the former are like the latter in that they cannot be prolonged; they all refer to more or less instantaneous events. Because of this, we might expect them to be patientive, just as *ii*- “swallow.” However, they are actually agentive, unlike the latter. This difference may be attributed to the fact that the patient tends to be less important for vomiting etc. than for swallowing. That is, in saying that someone swallowed something, the speaker's intention may be either to report the occurrence of the swallowing or to report what was swallowed, whereas in saying that someone vomited something, the speaker's intention is very likely to report the occurrence of the vomiting, rather than to report what was vomited. This is because, whereas a person can choose what to swallow, he or she cannot be selective in what to vomit. Thus, *miġiaq*- “vomit,” *sisuġiaq*- “throw up,” and *tuvvuaq*- “spit” are less likely to put focus on the patient

than is *ii-* ‘swallow,’ and accordingly, the former are agentive unlike the latter.

To summarize on verb bases of ingesting and expelling:

- (a) Verb bases referring to events that can be prolonged are agentive;
- (b) A verb base referring to events that cannot be prolonged is patientive; and
- (c) Verb bases that focus on the patient are more likely to be patientive.

F. Elemental verb bases

Let us examine elemental verb bases (cf. Jakobson (1984)), which refer to events in which some natural force is involved.

Patientive: *aġrak-* ‘get much ash (of stove etc.)’; *auraq-* ‘be summer’; *ikaullak-* ‘flare’; *iki-* ‘burn’; *iknak-* ‘start burning’; *ikniġuuq-* ‘start (of fire)’; *imiatmuk-* ‘flow (of river)’; *imaaq-* ‘get wet by rain’; *iqjat-* ‘lie down without doing anything’; *ivukutaq-* ‘flap’; *ivulula-* ‘flutter’; *kusrîq-* ‘have a leak’; *maptuq-* ‘become thick (of ice)’; *niglaq-* ‘become cold’; *pañiq-* ‘dry up completely’; *panaaġruk-* ‘become half-dry (of food)’; *paniq-* ‘get dry,’ ‘become skinny’ (only if intransitive); *piunġîq-* ‘become spoiled (of food)’; *qakiq-* ‘become old (of food)’; *qañiq-* ‘rust’; *qiġġaq-* ‘become stiff’; *qiqit-* ‘become frozen’; *qitiqquq-* ‘be midday’; *saġvaq-* ‘float with current’; *saupit-* ‘become strong (of wind)’; *siku-* ‘freeze over’; *siñali-* ‘get tanned’; *tipi-* ‘stop at the shore (of driftwood)’; *tipñiq-* ‘become smelly (of food)’; *tuqulluq-* ‘wither’; *ukiaksraaq-* ‘be early fall’; *ukiaksraq-* ‘be fall’; *ukiuq-* ‘be winter’; *unnuk-* ‘be eve’; *upinġaaq-* ‘be late spring’; *upinġaksraaq-* ‘be early spring’; *upinġaksraq-* ‘be spring’; *uquk-* ‘get moldy’; *uut-* ‘be done (of cooked food)’; *uvluq-* ‘be day.’

Verb bases of this type are patientive. Their transitive version takes third-person singular A that refers to natural force, analogous to English *it*, usually without any overt NP. For example:

- (322) a. Nuna qiqittuq.
 nuna+∅ qiqit+tuq
 land-ABS.S freeze-IND.3S
 ‘The land froze.’
- b. Nuna qiqitkaa
 nuna+∅ qiqit+kaa
 land-ABS.S freeze-IND.3S3S
 ‘It froze the land., The land froze.’

The semantic difference between the intransitive and transitive versions of verb bases of this type, such as that between (322a) and (322b), is very elusive at best; I can only say that they are practically the same. But according to Vaxtin (1995: 47-48) on CSY, there is a negligible, yet clearly determinate, semantic difference between them. He notes that the S of the intransitive version is an active participant, the instigator of the action, while the O of the transitive version is an inactive participant, the receiver of the action. He points out some differences in their use that may testify to that abstract generalization: the transitive version is often accompanied by the particle *suna* ‘suddenly,’ and it often denotes unexpected, involuntary, and sometimes unpleasant actions. Such is the case in CSY. There may be some similar differences along this line in Iñupiaq as well, and, *a priori*, we can expect that two different forms will necessarily be different in meaning somehow, but what those differences are in Iñupiaq will have to wait for future research.

Another characteristic of verb bases of this type is the fact that, as noted in Chapter 3, unlike other patientive bases, they cannot become antipassive. As discussed there, this may be related to the fact that the agent of verb bases of this type is a general natural force, which may not be normally foregrounded.

G Unintentional action

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent’s normally unintentional action involving

the patient:

Patientive: katak- “drop”; kiñiq- “cut (person) by accident,” kuvî- “spill”; tammaq- “lose.”

Verb bases of this type are like akkuaq- “catch” (A-b-iv) and akuqtuq- “receive” (C-b-ii) in that the agent is not in full control of the entire process. For example, one normally has no control over whether and when one loses something. And, like akkuaq- “catch” and akuqtuq- “receive,” verb bases of this type are patientive.

H. Perception

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent’s perceiving the patient. Let us look at each of the five senses in turn:

H-a. Visual perception

Agentive: alatkaq- “go to see”; itchauq- “peek at”; naipiqtuq- “inspect, watch”; paqit- “find”; qiñiq- “see”; qiviaq- “turn to see”; siñiqsraq- “look over”; taku- “check”; tautuk- “see”; tikkuq- “point at.”

H-b. Auditory perception

Agentive: naalaḡnî- “listen to”; naalaktuaq- “listen to”; tusraq- “start hearing”; tusraa- “hear.” aula- “dance to” and sayuq- “dance to” may also belong here.

H-c. Olfactory perception

Agentive: nai- “smell.”

H-d. Gustatory perception

Patientive: uuk- “taste.”

Verb bases denoting tactile perception were presented in B-a: *aksík-* “touch”; *aktuq-* “touch,” which are agentive.

To summarize on verb bases of perception: verb bases of visual, auditory, olfactory and tactile perception denote events in which the patient does not change in any way, in terms of shape, state, location, or whatever, and they are agentive.

By contrast, a verb base of gustatory perception implies the agent’s consuming part of the patient, hence the patient’s (partial) change of state. It also differs from verb bases of ingesting, such as *niǰî-* “eat” (E-a), which are agentive, in that events it denotes cannot normally be prolonged as can those denoted by the latter. Thus, to taste soup, one can only take one or two spoonfuls of it; any more than that, and it no longer qualifies as tasting, but eating. Thus, gustatory perception implies the patient’s partial change of state, happens for a shorter period than ingesting; and a verb base denoting it is patientive.

I. Mental activity

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent’s mental activity about the patient.

Agentive: *arguaqtuq-* “not believe”; *alapit-* “forget”; *ijisima-* “know”; *ijit-* “learn”;
injqsruc- “pray to”; *itqac-* “remember”; *kanjqsi-* “understand”; *nalu-* “not know”;
puuyuc- “forget”; *qia-* “cry for.”

Verb bases of this type denote events in which the patient does not change in any way, and they are agentive.

J. Verbal activity

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent’s verbal activity. Their patient is either (a) a

content, (b) an addressee or (c) a topic of speech.

J-a. Those whose patient is a content.

Agentive: agliqi- “read”; akpit- “start singing”; atuq- “sing”; imᅇaluk- “hum”;
unipchaaq- “tell (story).”

Such verb bases denote events in which the patient is non-human and does not change, and they are agentive.

J-b. Those verb bases whose patient is an addressee may be subdivided into: (i) those whose patient is expected to act only as an addressee and (ii) those whose patient is expected to play some other role besides that of addressee. Let us look at each of them in turn:

J-b-i. Verb bases whose patient is expected to act only as an addressee.

Agentive: aglak- “write to”; arjiq- “say yes to”; aviu- “shout to”; isivruk- “whisper to”;
itnaq- “say thus to”; paᅇla- “welcome”; quya- “thank”; tipsisaaq- “joke to”; tuᅇᅇula-
“shout to”; tuᅇᅇuq- “call”; uqaq- “talk to”; uqqaagᅇik- “talk to.”

Patientive: kilik- “tell news to.”

Verb bases of this type denote events where the patient does not change and is not expected to initiate some event after the verbal activity, and they are mostly agentive.

J-b-ii. Verb bases whose patients are expected to play some other role besides that of addressee.

Verb bases of this type refer to verbal activity in which the patient is expected to be more actively involved than those in the preceding group, in that the verbal activity is done in response to what the addressee said or that the addressee is expected to act in some way in response to the verbal activity.

Agentive: apiqsruq- “ask”; nuluqsaq- “wave to come over”; qanniġ- “ask to come”; injġ-
 “ask (someone) for something”; saukataq- “scold.”

Patientive: aiyugaaq- “invite”; alġaqsruq- “warn, advise”; aġallaqġuk- “insult”; arak-
 “comfort (crying child)”; iñiqtġ- “forbid”; isilġġ- “warn, advise”; kiu- “answer to”;
 kiuma- “talk back to”; nanġaq- “praise”; natqġk- “forgive,” ‘get better’; pasġ- “blame”;
 qiñġuaq- “ask for (something, somebody)”; urriqsuq- “show how to do something.”

Verb bases of this type designate events wherein the patient is supposed to be involved more actively than those in the preceding group, and they are more likely than the latter to be patientive, although I cannot pinpoint the difference between the agentive and patientive bases in this class.

Classes J-b-i and J-b-ii do not neatly separate agentive from patientive bases, so the semantic criterion we rely on here—that of the patient-addressee’s active involvedness—may be misdirected. There may be a better criterion that would more neatly separate agentive from patientive bases here.

J-c. Verb bases whose patient is a topic.

Patientive: itqaa- “recall (and talk about)”; saġut- “gossip about (person).”

Although we might now expect them to be agentive, because their patient does not change in any way nor is it actively involved, they are actually patientive. I do not try to account for why they should be so, but just note that saġut- may be a combination of saġu- ‘go wrong way’ and +t-, the unproductive causative postbase (Section 2.4.2.2.1), thus literally meaning “make go wrong way,” in which case the patientivity of saġut- is dictated by +t-, which always yields patientive bases.

To summarize on verb bases of verbal activity, there are many things that I cannot readily account

for, but one thing may be clear: that all the verb bases of group J-a necessarily take non-human patients, while those of group J-b must, and those of group J-c may take human patients. We may see this as correlated with their polarity: those that always take non-human patients are agentive, while those that may or must take human patients are patientive. Recall that the same thing is observed with group A, where *utlak-* “reach,” which always takes patients that are humans or units of humans, is patientive, whereas *tikît-* “reach,” which may take either human or non-human patients, is agentive.

K. Making

Verb bases whose transitive versions refer to the agent’s bringing the patient into existence.

Agentive: *aglak-* “write”; *killaiyaq-* “sew”; *miñuk-* “paint (picture)”; *qilak-* “make (net).”

Patientive: *iñiq-* “finish making (artifact)”; *itqanaiq-* “finish making/cooking”; *nappaq-* “build.”

Verb bases of this type generally refer to events that bring a patient into existence rather than changing an already existing patient, and they are agentive. Besides that, there are three patientive bases belonging here. Of them, *iñiq-* and *itqanaiq-* have an aspectual twist that focuses on the final phase of the event rather than its process as a whole, and they are patientive. As for *nappaq-*, it appears that the meaning “build” of this verb base is metaphorically derived from its other meaning “stand,” “erect” (A-b-iii), which makes it patientive. The evidence that the latter meaning is original is that in all the other Eskimo languages and dialects, the cognate of this verb base means “erect, stand, raise”, and “build” is confined to North Alaskan Iñupiaq (Fortescue *et al.* (1994: 216)).

To summarize,

- (i) Verb bases that denote bringing the patient into existence rather than changing the patient are agentive.

(ii) Verb bases that focus on the final phase of the event are likely to be patientive.

L. Cooking

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's cooking the patient.

Agentive: argîq- “roast”; iga- “cook”; igapiaq- “boil”; iyamaaqłuk- “boil half-dry”;
 nikniaq- “cook”; saqaniqtaq- “fry”; siik- “cut (fish)”; tinik- “knead”; uukłî- “cut as for
 cooking.”

Patientive: aňalat- “stir”; auksîq- “thaw out”; kiniqusrîq- “thicken (soup etc.)”; niglaqsîq-
 “cool.”

Many of the verb bases of this type denote the agent's prolonged process of working on the patient, and they are agentive. Some others do not denote such prolonged processes of the agent. Thus, whereas to properly roast something one would need to sit for some length of time and check it occasionally after putting it near fire, to properly stir or thicken soup one would just need to do some relatively instantaneous actions, such as thrusting a ladle into it and moving it several times (to stir) or to put in more ingredients (to thicken). Besides, as for auksîq- “thaw out” and niglaqsîq- “cool,” their being patientive may be related to the fact that such events may take place without the agent being intentional, just as we saw for group G

M. Acquiring subsistence food

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to acquiring subsistence food (animals, fish, berries, etc.).

Agentive: akit- “hook (fish)”; anuniaq- “hunt”; aullaqsruq- “pick (berries)”; kuvraq-
 “catch (fish) with net”; napit- “snare”; naniq- “trap”; pitchaq- “catch (game animal)”;
 qaak- “seine”; qaluuq- “dip-net (fish).”

This class may be understood in relation to verb bases of making (K). That is, although patients

of these verb bases are not literally brought into existence by the event, in that they exist prior to the event, they are made available to the agent, or come into the agent's control, through the event, as are patients of verb bases of making. In that respect, these verb bases are similar in meaning to group K, and they are agentive just as the latter.

N. Emotion/judgment

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's emotion/judgment with regard to the patient.

Agentive: kaviuq- "be anxious for"; paya- "find too heavy"; sapîq- "find too difficult";
 tusru- "envy."

Verb bases of this type denote events wherein the patient does not change in any way, and they are agentive.

O. Reciprocal actions

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to a reciprocal action between the agent and the patient.

Agentive: anjuyak- "fight with"; avit- "divorce"; i|ali- "greet with"; paaq- "meet"; suġuk-
 "wrestle with"; tasriuq- "join hands with"; uġiġk- "fight with (of dog)."

Patientive: nalaut- "encounter"; paaq- "encounter."

These verb bases denote events wherein the agent is affected in the same way as the patient—that is, the focus on the patient's affectedness is relatively light, and they are mostly agentive.

There are two patientive bases for "encounter": *nalaut-* and *paaq-*. Notice that *paaq-* may mean "meet," in which case it is agentive. Thus, consider the following examples:

- (323) a. Aᅇutim paaᅇaa iᅇani.
 aᅇuti-m paaᅇ+kaa iᅇa-ni
 man-REL.S meet/encounter-IND.3S3S friend-ABS.4SS
 ‘The man met/encountered his friend.’
- b. Aᅇun paaᅇtuᅇ iᅇamiᅇnik.
 aᅇuti-ᅇ paaᅇ+tuᅇ iᅇa+miᅇnik
 man-ABS.S meet-IND.3S friend-MOD.4SS
 ‘The man met his friend.’
- c. Aᅇun paaᅇiruᅇ iᅇamiᅇnik.
 aᅇuti+ᅇ paaᅇ:i+tuᅇ iᅇa+miᅇnik
 man-ABS.S encounter-HT-IND.3S friend-MOD.4SS
 ‘The man encountered his friend.’

paaᅇ- in (323a, b) is agentive, because the antipassive form (323b) does not take a half-transitive postbase; here it means “meet.” On the other hand, paaᅇ- in (323a, c) is patientive, because the antipassive form takes a half-transitive postbase; here it means “encounter.” And following are examples with nalaut-:

- (324) a. Aᅇutim nalautkaa iᅇani.
 aᅇuti-m nalaut+kaa iᅇa-ni
 man-REL.S encounter-IND.3S3S friend-ABS.4SS
 ‘The man encountered his friend.’
- b. Aᅇun nalautchiruᅇ/ *nalauttuᅇ iᅇamiᅇnik.
 aᅇuti+ᅇ nalaut+si+tuᅇ/ nalaut+tuᅇ iᅇa+miᅇnik
 man-ABS.S encounter-HT-IND.3S/ *encounter-IND.3S friend-ABS.4SS
 ‘The man encountered his friend.’

nalaut- can only mean “encounter,” and it is always patientive. Notice from (324b) that its antipassive form requires a half-transitive postbase. Thus, these two verb bases are patientive when they mean “encounter,” but agentive when they mean “meet” (if it is possible at all). Now, the semantic difference between “meet” and “encounter” is that the former, which denotes arranged events, implies that the agent has some control over the patient in that they can make arrangements

and know each other's whereabouts, whereas the latter, which denotes accidental events, implies that the agent has no such control over the patient. In other words, in "encounter," the event is more unintentional than in "meet." And, as we saw in section G, verb bases referring to unintentional actions are likely to be patientive.

To summarize:

- (i) Verb bases that denote events in which not only the patient is affected are agentive.
- (ii) Verb bases that denote events in which the agent is unintentional are patientive.

P. Inducing

Verb bases whose transitive versions refer to the agent's inducing the patient to do some action.

Patientive: qanî- "walk with __ to see off"; sivullîq- "lead"; uqapsaaq- "forbid."

Verb bases of this type denote events in which the agent and the patient cooperate to bring about the event, although, unlike the preceding group, the roles of the agent and the patient in the event are not the same. Thus, with verb bases of this type, the agent does not have total control over the event; whether or not the event proceeds successfully depends on the patient's will, and, like other verb bases denoting events over which the agent does not have total control (e.g., G, O), they are patientive.

Q. Failing to attain the patient

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's failing to attain the patient.

Agentive: ayuq- "cannot reach (something at a high place)"; inuq- "shoot but miss," iñuk- "fail to catch (game animal) by letting it go"; uniuq- "shoot but miss."

Verb bases of this type denote events in which the patient is not attained, that is, not affected in any way, and they are agentive.

R. Trying to attain the patient

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's attempt to attain the patient in some way.

Agentive: itchuq- "hide and wait for (game animal)"; malik- "follow"; irruaq- "imitate (someone)"; natchîk- "cry wanting to follow"; nuvimmî- "aim at"; pakak- "look for"; taqqî- "wait for"; tuvraq- "imitate."

Verb bases of this type denote events in which the patient is not necessarily attained, that is, not affected in any way, and they are agentive.

S. Patient being a place

Verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent's doing something to a patient that is a place or a vehicle in which the agent is located.

Agentive: iput- "row (boat)"; kinitak- "brake (sled)"; nannîq- "put light on"; natchiqi- "mop"; qalu- "bail (boat)"; salummaq- "clean (room etc.)"; sapi- "block (river, road)"; supumîk- "blow (stove etc.) to start fire"; uukkuaq- "curtain (room etc.)."

Verb bases of this type are characteristic in that many of them may mark the patient in the antipassive clause by localis as well as modalis case. Consider the following examples:

- (325) a. Anutim supumikaa ikniġvik.
 anuti-m supumik+kaa ikniġvik+∅
 man-REL.S blow-IND.3S3S stove-ABS.S
 'The man blew the stove (to start fire).'
- b. Anun supumiksuq ikniġviŋmik/ikniġviŋmi.
 anuti+∅ supumik+tuq ikniġvik÷mik/ikniġvik÷mi
 man-ABS.S blow-IND.3S stove-MOD.S/stove-LOC.S
 'The man blew a stove.'

Note that in the antipassive clause with supumîk- "blow" (325b), the patient, ikniġvik 'stove,' may be marked either by modalis or localis case. As this shows, the patient of verb bases of this

type is viewed not so much as something affected by the agent's action as it is a place where the agent acts, and, just as verb bases of movement whose patient is a location (class A-a), they are agentive.

T. Interpersonal activities

Now let us look at verb bases whose transitive version refers to events where a human acts on another human. I will divide them into three groups: (a) those that denote events that change the physical condition of the patient; (b) those that denote negative mental impact on the patient; and (c) others.

T-a. Change of state of the patient

Verb bases denoting events that change the physical condition of the patient:

Patientive: atnîq- "hurt"; atqunaq- "hurt badly"; pisaġi- "kill (monster etc.)."

As other verb bases that denote the change of state of the patient, verb bases of this type are patientive.

T-b. Negative mental impact on the patient

Verb bases denoting negative mental impact on the patient:

Patientive: aṅallaġluk- "treat badly"; ayak- "refuse (someone)"; iġaksia- "sexually harass"; kisiṅnuq- "leave alone"; miniit- "disfavor"; piyuaq- "bother"; saanîq- "stand in (someone)'s way"; tupak- "startle."

As other verb bases that denote mental damages on the patient (C-b-i), verb bases of this type are patientive.

T-c. Others

Other verb bases:

Agentive: ikayuq- “help”; ikkusrîq- “pay _’s plane fare”; nuliaq- “marry”; tiguaq- “adopt”.

Patientive: anju- “catch up with”; atchîq- “name”; inat- “take care of”; iñuuli- “help back to life”; maliğut- “obey”; tai- “call _ by name”; tuvluuq- “protect _.”

As these verb bases do not share any positive semantic characteristics except that their patient is (mostly) human, there is little to say about the correlation between their meaning and polarity.

U. Miscellaneous

Finally, there are some verb bases that do not fit neatly into any of the groups presented above. I will provide them here for the sake of completeness, but without any further comments because these verb bases do not share any positive semantic characteristics correlated with their polarity:

Agentive: atuq- “use”; atuummi- “carry out (plan)”; ilaku- “leave (food)”; kinniçî- “make a mistake on”; paçna- “prepare”; piçit- “let go of”; çasruq- “quit”; uuçtuq- “measure.”

Patientive: iğlutuq- “endure”; upaktuq- “run after (of dog).”

Now that we have examined all the lexical verb bases, let us next move on to postbases.

4.3.2. Postbases

In this section, I will look at how each postbase determines the polarity of the output verb bases. As the number of postbases is naturally much smaller than that of lexical verb bases, it is not worthwhile to divide them into semantic groups, so we will just enumerate those postbases that yield agentive or patientive verb bases. We will first look at verb-elaborating postbases and then at verbalizing postbases.

Verb-elaborating postbases

As we saw in Chapter 2, +t- ‘TR,’ +saq- ‘TR,’ -fi- ~ -gli- ‘TR,’ +pkaq- ~ ^tit- ‘CAUS,’ -tqu- ~ -qu- ‘to ask/tell/want _ to V,’ +raifi- ~ +saifi- ‘to try not to let _ V,’ +ni- ‘to say that _ Ved/Vs,’ +nasugji- ~ +kasugji- ‘to think that _ Ved/Vs’ and :uti- ‘APPLIC’ all yield patientive bases.

Examples with each of these postbases are provided in Chapter 2.

Verbalizing postbases

Many verbalizing postbases yield verb bases whose transitive version has a beneficiary as its patient. Let us look at such postbases first, and then at other postbases.

A. The patient being beneficiary

The following are postbases that yield verb bases whose transitive version has a beneficiary as its patient:

Agentive: :it- ‘have no N for,’ ‘have no N’; -ksraku- ‘save N for,’ ‘save N’; -ksraq- ‘get N for,’ ‘get N’; -ksriaq- ‘go to get N for,’ ‘go to get N’; -fi- ‘make for N,’ ‘make N’; -saq- ‘go to get N for,’ ‘go to get N’; -taq- ‘go to get N for,’ ‘go to get N.’

Below is a set of examples with a verb base derived by -ksraq- ‘get N for,’ ‘get N’:

- (326) a. Anutim igliġutiksraqaa aġnaq.
 anuti-m igliġuti-ksraq+kaa aġnaq+∅
 man-REL.S snow.machine-get-IND.3S3S woman-ABS.S
 ‘The man bought a snow machine for the woman.’
- b. Anun igliġutiksraqtuq aġnamun.
 anuti+∅ igliġuti-ksraq+tuq aġnaq÷mun
 man-ABS.S snow.machine-get-IND.3S woman-TRM.S
 ‘The man bought a snow machine for a woman.’

Verb bases derived with these postbases refer to events wherein the patient does not change its state; it merely receives or expects to receive something denoted by the noun base. And those verb bases are agentive.

B. Others

Other postbases that yield verb bases are:

Agentive: Riqi- ‘work on _’s N,’ ‘work on N’; Riuq- ‘make N out of,’ ‘make N.’

Patientive: -aq- ‘break _’s N (body part),’ ‘break one’s own N’; +ġuq- ‘make _ N,’ ‘become N’; :îq- ‘remove N from,’ ‘have no more N’; Rîq- ‘put _ on N,’ ‘have N’; -niik- ‘provide _ with,’ ‘have N.’

Below is a set of examples with a verb base derived by Riuq- ‘make N out of,’ ‘make N’:

- (327) a. Anjtim qaqquqtuusriugaa asriavik.
 anjuti-m qaqquqtuutiRiuq+kaa asriavik+∅
 man-RELS jam-make-IND.3S3S blueberry-ABS.S
 ‘The man made jam from the blueberries.’
- b. Anjun qaqquqtuusriuqtuq asriaviŋmik.
 anjuti+∅ qaqquqtuutiRiuq+tuq asriavik÷mik
 man-ABS.S jam-make-IND.3S blueberry-MOD.S
 ‘The man made jam from blueberries.’

And the following is a set of examples with a verb base derived by :îq- ‘remove N from,’ ‘have no more N’:

- (328) a. Aġnam imġiġaa qattaq.
 aġnaq-m imiq:iq+kaa qattaq+∅
 woman-RELS water-remove-IND.3S3S bucket-ABS.S
 ‘The woman emptied the bucket.’

- b. Aǵnaq imǵiiruq qattamik.
 aǵnaq+∅ imiq:iq:i+tuq qattaq÷mik
 woman-ABS.S water-remove-HT-IND.3S bucket-MOD.S
 ‘The woman emptied a bucket.’
- c. Qattaq imǵiqsuq
 qattaq+∅ imiq:iq+tuq
 bucket-ABS.S water-remove-IND.3S
 ‘The bucket has been emptied.’

Verb bases derived by Riǵi- “work on _’s N,” ‘work on N’ and Riuq- “make N out of,” ‘make N’ denote the agent’s process of working on the patient, and, like other verb bases that denote the agent’s process, they form agentive bases. By contrast, verb bases derived by other postbases denote a change of state in the patient, whether due to transforming the patient, having some part of the patient broken or removed, or having something added to the patient, and, like other verb bases that denote a change of state in the patient, they are patientive.

Thus, the polarity of verb bases derived by postbases is determined by the postbase. And the polarity that each postbase dictates is correlated with its meaning in a similar way as the polarity of a lexical verb base is correlated with its meaning.

I have presented the polarity of all the lexical verb bases and postbases. It may have been noticed that similar semantic features recur that characterize agentive or patientive bases. In the next section I will summarize these semantic features.

4.3. Semantic features that characterize agentive and patientive bases

The reader may have noticed that the same semantic features recurred during the course of description of the semantic groups in the preceding section. This suggests that we may be able to make a generalization about those semantic features to point out what kind of verb bases are

agentive and what kind of verb bases are patientive. And this is what we attempt to do here.

We may summarize the semantic features we saw related with agentive or patientive bases as in Table 34.

Table 34. Semantic features characterizing agentive and patientive bases

	agentive bases	patientive bases
I.	denote agent's motion or rest (A-a)	denote patient's motion or rest (A-b, C-a)
II.	do not denote patient's change-of-state (A-b-iv)	denote patient's change-of-state (H-d)
III.	focus on the agent's process (B-h, B-i, D, E, L)	
IV.	have agent-oriented meaning component (A-b-i, A-b-vi)	
V.	do not imply the agent's attainment of the patient (Q, R)	
VI.		denote instantaneous actions (E-a, H-d)
VII.		focus on the final phase of the event (K)
VIII.		agent does not have control over the event (A-b-vi, C-b-ii, G, O, P)
IX.	less impact on the patient (B, T-c)	more impact on the patient (B, T-c)
X.		negative impact on the patient (C-b-i, T-b)
XI.	animacy of the patient is low (B-d-i)	animacy of the patient is high (B-d-ii)
XII.	the patient is location (A-a, S)	
XIII.		the patient is actively involved in the event (J-b-ii)

This table does not suggest that all the semantic features shown in the left-hand column are shared by all the agentive bases, or that those in the right-hand column are shared by all the patientive bases. Rather, it indicates that each agentive base is distinguished from patientive bases of similar meaning by the presence of at least one of the features in the left-hand column as opposed to the lack thereof in the latter, while each patientive base is set off from agentive bases of similar

meaning by the presence of at least one of the features on the right-hand column as opposed to the lack thereof in the latter. Thus, the class of agentive bases is characterized by a network of semantic features shown in the left-hand column, while that of patientive bases is characterized by a network of semantic features shown in the right-hand column.

The semantic features in the left-hand column are not unrelated to each other; they are interrelated in such a way that each of them may be considered as a specific realization of some more abstract semantic property. Likewise, the semantic features in the right-hand column are interrelated in such a way that each of them may be viewed as a specific realization of some more abstract semantic property. We may characterize those abstract semantic properties related to agentive and patientive bases as: saliency of agent and saliency of patient, respectively. That is, we may say that agentive bases are those verb bases that denote events in which the agent is salient, or attracts attention, in one way or another, while patientive bases are those verb bases that denote events in which the patient is salient, or attracts attention, in one way or another. Next, we will turn to each of the semantic features in the table to see how they are derived from these abstract semantic properties.

I. 'Denoting the agent's motion or rest' for agentive bases and 'denoting the patient's motion or rest' for patientive bases. Whatever moves or stops moving in the event is apt to attract more attention than any other thing in the event that does not. Thus, if a verb base denotes the agent's motion or rest, the agent is salient for the verb base, while if a verb base denotes the patient's motion or rest, the patient is salient for the verb base.

II. 'Not denoting the patient's change of state' for agentive bases and 'denoting the patient's change of state' for patientive bases. Whatever changes state in the course of the event is apt to attract attention, so if the patient changes state, it is salient. By contrast, if the patient does not change the

state, it is less salient—that is, the agent is apt to be more salient accordingly.

III. ‘Focus on the agent’s process’ for agentive bases. If the meaning of the verb base is such that it focuses on the agent’s process, the agent attracts attention.

IV. ‘Having agent-oriented meaning component’ for agentive bases. If the verb base denotes the specific way in which the agent is involved in the event, the agent attracts attention accordingly.

V. ‘Not implying the agent’s attainment of the patient.’ If the verb base does not imply the agent’s attainment of the patient, it indicates the agent’s engagement in the activity that may not reach the purported endpoint. Thus, the agent attracts more attention than the patient.

VI. ‘Instantaneous actions’ for patientive bases. Instantaneous actions, which cannot be prolonged, are harder to conceive as the agent’s process. That is, it is harder for the agent to attract attention. Accordingly, the patient is more apt to attract attention in such cases.

VII. ‘Focus on the final phase of the event’ for patientive bases. If the verb base focuses on the final phase of the event, the event is less likely to be conceived as the agent’s process, just as instantaneous actions, and accordingly the patient is more apt to attract attention.

VIII. ‘The agent not having control over the event’ for patientive bases. In those events where the agent does not have control, the final phase of the event is more likely to attract attention, since, in such events, the starting time, the agent’s intention, the agent’s manner etc., which would make the agent salient, are lacking. Thus, the patient is more apt to attract attention just as we saw for the two preceding features.

IX. ‘Less impact on the patient’ for agentive bases and ‘more impact on the patient’ for patientive bases. If there is more impact on the patient, the patient is more apt to be conceived as changing state, which will make it more salient. By contrast, less impact on the patient makes it less salient, and accordingly the agent becomes more salient.

X. ‘Negative impact on the patient’ for patientive bases. *A priori*, this semantic feature may not be necessarily more related with the patient’s saliency than positive impact, but in this language it appears that it is.

XI. ‘Animacy of the patient being low’ for agentive bases and ‘animacy of the patient being high’ for patientive bases. In general, entities high in animacy are easier for speakers, who are human, to emphasize than those low in animacy (Kuno and Kaburaki (1977)), and those easier to emphasize are likely to attract attention.

XII. ‘The patient being an immobile thing’ for agentive bases. This is a subtype of the preceding feature. Thus, immobile things, or locations, are lowest in animacy, and like other patients low in animacy, they do not attract attention.

XIII. ‘The patient actively involved in the event’ for patientive bases. This is another subtype of the feature XI. Thus, only human patients can be actively involved in the event, and human patients, which are highest in animacy, are likely to attract attention.

Thus, all the semantic features in the left-hand column of the table may be seen as derived from the agent’s rather than the patient’s being salient in one way or another, while all the semantic

features in the right-hand column of the table (except X, perhaps, which may be specific to this language) may be seen as derived from the patient's rather than the agent's being salient in one way or another. From this we can conclude the basic semantic features that characterize the classes of agentive and patientive bases as the saliency of the agent and the patient, respectively. Thus, agentive bases are verb bases that denote events in which the agent is salient, while patientive bases are verb bases that denote events in which the patient is salient. Here, we can see the isomorphism between form and meaning. That is, agentive bases, for which the agent is semantically salient, select the agent as the sole argument in the intransitive version—that is, they treat the agent as formally salient, while patientive bases, for which the patient is semantically salient, select the patient as the sole argument in the intransitive version—that is, they treat the patient as formally salient.

Thus, I have shown that agentive and patientive bases are each characterized by a bundle of semantic features. The question that arises at this point, as Anna Berge (p.c.) pointed out, is: what if there is a conflict among the semantic features of a verb base?

I was able to single out those semantic features by looking at verb bases with similar meanings. By comparing verb bases with similar meanings, which differ in polarity, I was able to focus on each of the semantic features that differentiate the agentive from patientive bases. But, of course, the lexicon as a whole is much more complicated, each verb base being characterized by several (in fact, in theory, infinite) semantic features. Given that, it is not unlikely for a verb base to have both semantic features that characterize agentive bases and those that characterize patientive bases. And this does indeed happen. For example, *miġġiaq*- “vomit” (Section 4.2.1, E-b) is agentive. In Section 4.2.1, I compared it with patientive *ii*- “swallow,” and said that, although they both refer to instantaneous events, *miġġiaq*- “vomit” is less likely to put focus on the patient than *ii*- “swallow,” and that is the semantic feature that is responsible for *miġġiaq*- “vomit” being agentive and *ii*-

“swallow” being patientive. Thus, agentive *miġiaq*- “vomit” has a semantic feature that characterizes agentive bases—that of less focus on the patient (and accordingly more focus on the agent) (III). This does not mean, however, that it has all the semantic features we saw above that characterize agentive bases. Notice that it normally refers to events wherein the agent does not have control. And the semantic feature of the agent having no control over the event was seen to characterize patientive, rather than agentive, bases (VIII). So agentive *miġiaq*- “vomit” has both semantic features that characterize agentive bases and those that characterize patientive bases. Thus, we see a conflict among semantic features in this verb base. Such cases are not hard to come by. For example, agentive *tikit*- “reach” (A-a-i) has not only the semantic feature of referring to the agent’s motion (I), which characterizes agentive bases, but also the semantic feature of referring to instantaneous actions (VI), which characterizes patientive bases. Or, to take another example, patientive *navik*- “break” (B-i) has the semantic feature of taking patients low in animacy, which characterizes agentive bases (XI), as well as the semantic feature of denoting the patient’s change of state (II), which characterizes patientive bases. These examples show that when there is a conflict among the semantic features of a verb base, some of them override others. Thus, in the case of *miġiaq*- “vomit,” the semantic feature of less focus on the patient wins over that of referring to instantaneous actions, to make it agentive; in the case of *tikît*- “reach,” the semantic feature of referring to the agent’s motion overrides that of referring to instantaneous actions, to make it agentive; in the case of *navik*- “break,” the semantic feature of denoting the patient’s change of state overrides that of taking patients low in animacy, to make it patientive. Thus, there may be hierarchies among the semantic features, such that semantic features higher on the hierarchy would always override those low on the hierarchy. This is an important point in order to fully clarify the semantic nature of agentive and patientive bases, but, at present, there is no obvious solution to this issue. What I can say at present is that all the semantic features uncovered thus far work when that is the only semantic difference between agentive and patientive bases similar in

meaning. There is nothing here to predict what generally happens when there is a conflict. I have to leave this to future research.

Since it is generally a good strategy to attack complex problems under simple conditions, my strategy of comparing verb bases similar in meaning was a reasonable one, through which I was able to uncover relevant semantic features. But it is just a first step, and I would need to look at verb bases in their complexities to solve the problem of conflicts among semantic features. At present, however, this problem must remain unsolved.

4.4. Cross-linguistic survey

In this section, I will compare Iñupiaq and other languages to see whether or not the agentive and patientive classes are distributed similarly in different languages.

If two or more languages have two classes of verbs that are morphosyntactically characterized in a similar way, and if the distribution of those two classes is semantically conditioned, then we would expect that those two classes of verbs will be distributed in a similar way across languages—verbs with similar meanings belonging to the class characterized in a similar way. This is indeed proven with various classes of verbs. Thus, as Hopper and Thompson (1980) show, the class of transitive verbs that are morphosyntactically characterized contains verbs with similar semantic characteristics across languages. Also, as Kemmer (1993) shows, the class of middle verbs, which are morphosyntactically characterized in languages that have them, is seen to contain verbs with similar meanings.

If this is generally the case, then we may expect the same with agentive and patientive bases as well. Thus, if the distribution of agentive and patientive bases in Iñupiaq is semantically conditioned, we would expect it to coincide with other languages with similar classes of verbs in the meanings of verbs that belong to each class. Actually, some linguists point out semantic similarities between agentive and patientive bases in an Eskimo language and similar classes of

verbs in other languages (Hayatsu (1986), Kazenin (1994), Jacobson (1995: 123)). What I want to do in this section is similar in spirit to such works, but I will approach the issue statistically by counting the number of verbs in different languages.

In this section, I will compare 100 verbs in four languages, English, Japanese, CAY and Iñupiaq, to see how many of them share the meaning and syntactic behavior of one type or the other. The choice of the three languages other than Iñupiaq was made partly for a practical reason and partly for a methodological reason:

- (i) These are languages with which I am familiar.
- (ii) I wanted to include one language that is genetically related to Iñupiaq, namely CAY.

To make this comparison, I will first need to show that these four languages do have similar classes of agentive and patientive bases—that is, verbs that can be either intransitive or transitive and for which the S corresponds with the A and those that can be either intransitive or transitive and for which the S corresponds with the O. Let us look at English, Japanese and CAY on this point.

English

It is clear that English has verbs that behave like Iñupiaq patientive bases. Thus, *break* can be either intransitive or transitive and has the S corresponding with the O, as in *he broke it* vs. *it broke*. On the other hand, there are verbs such as *eat*, which may be viewed as functioning either as intransitive or as transitive. Under that assumption, they will have the S corresponding with the A, as in *he is eating lunch* vs. *he is eating*. Actually, it is not uncontroversial whether *eat* in *he is eating* is an intransitive verb or a transitive verb with the O omitted. Some linguists, such as Katz and Postal (1964: 81), consider verbs such as *eat* as always transitive. In that case, verbs such as *eat* will not be exactly parallel to Iñupiaq agentive bases in morphosyntactic terms. However, that issue is not important for our purposes; what is relevant to us is that some verbs, such as *break*, can have

S corresponding with O, while others, such as *eat*, cannot. So let us refer to verbs such as *break*, which can have the S corresponding with the O, as patientive, and to verbs such as *eat*, which cannot have the S corresponding with the O as agentive.

Japanese

In Japanese, some transitive verbs have a corresponding intransitive verb such that the O of the former corresponds with the S of the latter (Hayatsu (1989)). For example:

- (329) a. Otoko-ga enpitu-wo or-u.
 man-NOMPencil-ACC break.TR-PRES
 'The man will break the pencil.'
 b. Enpitu-ga ore-ru.
 pencil-NOM break.INTR-PRES
 'The pencil will break.'

Thus, the pair of transitive *or-* 'break' and intransitive *ore-* 'break' is like patientive bases in Iñupiaq in that it has S corresponding with O. On the other hand, other verbs, such as *tabe-* 'eat,' do not form a pair parallel to patientive bases in Iñupiaq. It is not that verbs such as *tabe-* 'eat' form a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs like agentive bases in Iñupiaq; it is rather that *tabe-* 'eat' is always transitive. What is important for our purposes is that some verbs form a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs for which the S corresponds with the O, while others do not. So let us refer to verbs like *or-* 'break,' which form a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs, as patientive, and to verbs like *tabe-* 'eat,' which do not form such a pair, as agentive.

CAY

CAY, an Eskimo language, does have agentive and patientive bases parallel to those in Iñupiaq.

The following is an example with an agentive base:

- (330) a. Angutem neraa neqa.
 angute-m nere-aa neqe- \emptyset
 man-RELS eat-IND.3S3S fish-ABS.S
 ‘The man is eating the fish.’
- b. Angun ner’uq.
 angute- \emptyset nere-uq
 man-ABS.S eat-IND.3S
 ‘The man is eating.’

And the following is an example with a patientive base:

- (331) a. Angutem navigaa cass’aq.
 angute-m naveg-aa cass’aq- \emptyset
 man-RELS break-IND.3S3S clock-ABS.S
 ‘The man broke the clock.’
- b. Cass’aq navegtuq.
 cass’aq- \emptyset naveg-tuq
 clock-ABS.S break-IND.3S
 ‘The clock broke.’

The only difference between Iñupiaq and CAY in this regard is that CAY has many pairs of intransitive and transitive bases in which the latter is derived from the former with an unproductive postbase *-te-*, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (332) a. Angutem niptaa kenurraq.
 angute-m nipe-te-aa kenurraq- \emptyset
 man-RELS go.out-TR-IND.3S3S light-ABS.S
 ‘The man extinguished the light.’
- b. Kenurraq nip’uq.
 kenurraq- \emptyset nipe-uq
 light-ABS.S go.out-IND.3S
 ‘The light went out.’

The relation between intransitive *nipe-* (332b) and transitive *nipte-* (332a) is the same as that

between the intransitive and transitive versions of patientive bases, such as intransitive *naveg-* (331b) and transitive *naveg-* (331a). Thus, for our purposes of cross-linguistic comparison, pairs such as *nipe-* (332b) and *nipte-* (332a) should be counted as patientive, just as pairs such as *naveg-* (331b) and *naveg-* (331a) (cf. Jacobson (1984: 569)).

In Table 35, I have collected 100 verbs that are translational equivalents in the four languages. I selected these 100 verbs to maximally represent the semantic groups of verb bases in Section 4.3.1; after each Iñupiaq verb base, I indicate the group to which it belongs. For Japanese, I only indicate the transitive verb of a pair. After each verb, I indicate whether it is agentive or patientive; ‘A’ marks that the verb is agentive, and ‘P’ marks that the verb is patientive. If a meaning in question is expressed by an intransitive verb, that intransitive verb is provided, marked by ‘I.’ Where no appropriate verb is found for the meaning concerned, the cell is marked with ‘-.’ In the right-most column, I put together the polarity of the verb in question in four languages, the left-most letter indicating the polarity of the verb in English, the next one indicating the one in Japanese, the next one in CAY, and the right-most one in Iñupiaq.

Table 35. 100 verbs in English, Japanese, CAY and Iñupiaq

English	Japanese	CAY	Iñupiaq	polarity
approach (A)	tikaduk- (I)	alarute- (P)	tikisaaq- (A-a-i; A)	A/I/P/A
await (A)	mat- (A)	utaqa- (A)	taqqi- (R; A)	A/A/A/A
bite (A)	kam- (A)	kegge- (A)	kigi- (B-c; P)	A/A/A/P
blast (A)	bakuhasu- (A)	-	nuutkutit- (B-i; A)	A/A/-P
bother (A)	zyamasu- (A)	tarike- (P)	piyuaq- (T-b; P)	A/A/P/P
break (P)	or- (P)	naveg- (P)	navik- (B-i; P)	P/P/P/P
bury (A)	ume- (P)	tungmagte- (P)	iluvic- (B-e; P)	A/P/P/P
butcher (A)	koros- (A)	pilag- (P)	pijak- (B-d-ii; A)	A/A/P/A
buy (A)	kaw- (A)	kipute- (A)	tauqsic- (C-b-ii; A)	A/A/A/A
call (A)	yob- (A)	qayaga- (A)	tuq'uc- (J-b-i; A)	A/A/A/A
carry (A)	hakob- (A)	pequmpag- (A)	akiyaq- (A-b-i; A)	A/A/A/A
catch (A)	tor- (P)	akuqar- (A)	akkuaq- (A-b-vi; P)	A/P/A/P
chew (A)	kam- (A)	tamua- (A)	tamuq- (E-a; A)	A/A/A/A
clean (A)	souzisu- (A)	carrir- (P)	salummaq- (S; A)	A/A/P/A
climb (A)	nobor- (A)	mayur- (A)	mayuaq- (A-a-iii; A)	A/A/A/A
comb (A)	tokas- (A)	nuyiur- (A)	illaiq- (D; A)	A/A/A/A
cook (A)	ryourisu- (A)	ega- (A)	iga- (L; A)	A/A/A/A
cover (A)	oow- (A)	teq'ar- (A)	matu- (B-e; P)	A/A/A/P
descend (A)	ori- (A)	atrar- (A)	ataaq- (A-a-iii; A)	A/A/A/A
divorce (A)	wakare- (I)	avvute- (A)	avit- (O; A)	A/I/A/A
drink (A)	nom- (A)	mer- (A)	imiq- (E-a; A)	A/A/A/A
drop (P)	otos- (P)	katag- (P)	katak- (G; P)	P/P/P/P
eat (A)	tabe- (A)	nere- (A)	nigi- (E-a; A)	A/A/A/A
endure (A)	tae- (I)	cakviur- (I)	iglutuq- (U; P)	A/I/I/P
enter (A)	hair- (I)	iter- (A)	isiq- (A-a-i; A)	A/I/A/A
envy (A)	netam- (A)	ayuqniar- (A)	tusru- (N; A)	A/A/A/A
escape (A)	nige- (I)	anag (I)	qimak- (A-a-vi; A)	A/I/I/A
fetch (A)	tor- (A)	aqva- (P)	ai- (A-b-i; P)	A/A/P/P
fill (A)	mitas- (P)	imir- (P)	immic- (B-f; P)	A/P/P/P
find (A)	mituke- (P)	nalaqe- (A)	paqit- (H-a; A)	A/P/A/A
follow (A)	ow- (A)	maligte- (A)	malik- (R; A)	A/A/A/A
forbid (A)	kinzi- (A)	inerqua- (P)	uqapsaaq- (P; P)	A/A/P/P
forget (A)	wasure- (A)	nalluyagute- (A)	puuyuc- (I; A)	A/A/A/A

Table 35. 100 verbs in English, Japanese, CAY and Iñupiaq (continued)

English	Japanese	CAY	Iñupiaq	polarity
freeze (P)	kooras- (P)	ciku- (P)	qiqiṭ- (F; P)	P/P/P/P
get moldy (I)	kabiga hae- (I)	mineg- (P)	uquk- (F; P)	I/I/P/P
give (A)	yar- (A)	cikir- (P)	aatchuq- (C-a; A)	A/A/P/A
go (around) (I)	mawar- (A)	negur- (A)	kaiviṭ- (A-a-v; A)	I/A/A/A
grab (A)	tukam- (A)	akuqar- (A)	tigu- (A-b-vi; A)	A/A/A/A
hear (A)	kik- (A)	niite- (A)	tusraa- (H-b; A)	A/A/A/A
help (A)	tasuke- (P)	ikayur- (P)	ikayuq- (T-c; A)	A/P/P/A
hide (P)	kakus- (P)	iir- (P)	iriq- (A-b-v; P)	P/P/P/P
hunt- (A)	kar- (A)	angussaaq- (A)	anjuniaq- (M; A)	A/A/A/A
hurt (P)	kidutuke- (P)	akngirte- (P)	atniq- (T-a; P)	P/P/P/P
invite (A)	manek- (A)	keleg- (P)	aiyugaaq- (J-b-ii; P)	A/A/P/P
kick (A)	ker- (A)	itegmig- (A)	aqi- (B-c; P)	A/A/A/P
kill (A)	koros- (A)	tuqute- (P)	pišaḡi- (T-a; P)	A/A/P/P
lead (A)	mitibik- (A)	ciuliqagte- (A)	sivulliq- (P; P)	A/A/A/P
learn (A)	sir- (A)	elite- (A)	iḡiṭ- (I; A)	A/A/A/A
leave (food) (A)	nooks- (P)	minar- (I)	iḡaku- (U; A)	A/P/I/A
lick (A)	name- (A)	pair- (A)	aluk- (B-a; A)	A/A/A/A
lose (A)	nakus- (P)	tamar- (P)	tammaq- (G; P)	A/P/P/P
meet (A)	aw- (A)	pairte- (A)	paaq- (O; A)	A/A/A/A
miss (A)	nogas- (P)	qulruarte- (A)	uniuq- (Q; A)	A/P/A/A
move (P)	ugokas- (P)	arulate- (P)	nuut- (A-b-ii; P)	P/P/P/P
obey (A)	sitagaw- (I)	maligtaqu- (A)	maligut- (T-c; P)	A/I/A/P
open (P)	ake- (P)	angparte- (P)	anjmaq- (B-h; P)	P/P/P/P
pass (A)	tour- (I)	kitur- (A)	apqusraaq- (A-a-iv; A)	A/I/A/A
pay (A)	haraw- (A)	akilir- (A)	akiliq- (C-a; P)	A/A/A/P
pluck (A)	musir- (A)	eritar- (A)	iḡitchaq- (B-g; A)	A/A/A/A
pull (A)	hik- (A)	amu- (P)	amu- (A-b-ii; P)	A/A/P/P
put (A)	ok- (A)	elli- (P)	iḡi- (A-b-v; P)	A/A/P/P
read (A)	yom- (A)	naaqe- (A)	agliqi- (J-a; A)	A/A/A/A
recall (A)	omoidas- (A)	neq'ar- (A)	itqaa- (J-c; P)	A/A/A/P
receive (A)	moraw- (A)	akurtur- (A)	akuqtuq- (C-b-ii; P)	A/A/A/P
rip (P)	sak- (P)	alpag- (P)	kiluaq- (B-g; P)	P/P/P/P
rob (A)	ubaw- (A)	wayar- (P)	aat- (C-b-i; P)	A/A/P/P
row (A)	kog- (A)	utqerr- (A)	iput- (S; A)	A/A/A/A

Table 35. 100 verbs in English, Japanese, CAY and Iñupiaq (continued)

English	Japanese	CAY	Iñupiaq	polarity
scold (A)	sikar- (A)	nunur- (A)	saukataq- (J-b-ii; A)	A/A/A/A
scratch (A)	kak- (A)	kumeg- (A)	qitchuk- (B-b; A)	A/A/A/A
season (A)	azitukesu- (A)	-	avu- (B-f; P)	A/A/-P
see (A)	mi- (A)	tangerr- (A)	tautuk- (H-a; A)	A/A/A/A
sew (A)	nuw- (A)	mingqe- (A)	killaiyaq- (K; A)	A/A/A/A
shake (A)	hur- (P)	arulate- (P)	ipsuk- (A-b-iv; A)	A/P/P/A
shave (A)	sor- (A)	ungair- (A)	umnjiaq- (D; A)	A/A/A/A
shoot (A)	ut- (A)	nuteg- (A)	sik- (B-d-ii; P)	A/A/A/P
shovel (A)	hor- (A)	aiggar- (A)	nivak- (B-d-i; A)	A/A/A/A
sing (A)	utaw- (A)	atur- (A)	atuq- (J-a; A)	A/A/A/A
sink (P)	sizume- (P)	kit'e- (P)	kivít- (A-b-v; P)	P/P/P/P
sit (down) (I)	suwar- (I)	aqume- (I)	aquvit- (A-a-ii; A)	I/I/I/A
smell (P)	kag- (A)	nare- (A)	nai- (H-c; A)	P/A/A/A
snare (A)	tor- (P)	negar- (A)	napit- (M; A)	A/P/A/A
spear (A)	sas- (P)	-	naulik- (B-d-i; A)	A/P/-/A
spill (P)	kobos- (P)	kuve- (P)	kuví- (G; P)	P/P/P/P
spit (A)	hak- (A)	tevvaar- (I)	tuvvuaq- (E-b; A)	A/A/I/A
squeeze (A)	sibor- (A)	qemrar- (A)	sivvuq- (B-h; A)	A/A/A/A
stand (P)	tate- (P)	naparte- (P)	nappaq- (A-b-iii; P)	P/P/P/P
startle (P)	odorokas- (P)	tatamte- (P)	tupak- (T-b; P)	P/P/P/P
steal (A)	nusum- (A)	teleg- (A)	tiglik- (C-b-i; A)	A/A/A/A
step (A)	hum- (A)	tut'e- (A)	tuti- (A-a-ii; A)	A/A/A/A
stir (A)	maze- (P)	acute- (A)	añalat- (L; P)	A/P/A/P
taste (P)	aziwaw- (A)	alme- (A)	uuk- (H-d; P)	P/A/A/P
tear (P)	yabur- (P)	alleg- (P)	alik- (B-i; P)	P/P/P/P
thank (A)	kansyasu- (I)	quya- (I)	quya- (J-b-i; A)	A/I/I/A
throw (A)	nage- (A)	egte- (P)	igít- (A-b-ii; P)	A/A/P/P
tie (A)	musub- (A)	qillerte- (P)	pituk- (B-h; P)	A/A/P/P
touch (A)	sawar- (I)	agtur- (A)	aksik- (B-a; A)	A/I/A/A
turn (P)	uragaes- (P)	mumigte- (P)	mumík- (A-b-iii; P)	P/P/P/P
vomit (A)	hak- (A)	miryar- (A)	miğjaq- (E-b; A)	A/A/A/A
wipe (A)	huk- (A)	perrir- (P)	allaqtıq- (B-b; A)	A/A/P/A
write (A)	kak- (A)	alngar- (A)	aglak- (K; A)	A/A/A/A

To summarize from the table, the following shows the number of agentive and patientive verbs in each of the languages:

(333) Number of agentive and patientive verbs in the sample

	English	Japanese	CAY	Iñupiaq
Agentive verbs	81/100	63/100	56/100	58/100
Patientive verbs	16/100	26/100	35/100	42/100

Thus, in English, 81 out of the 100 sample verbs are agentive, and 16 out of the 100 sample verbs are patientive. That is, 81% of all the 100 verb concepts correspond with English agentive verbs, and 16% of all the 100 verb concepts correspond with English patientive verbs. And in Iñupiaq, 58 out of the 100 sample verbs are agentive, and 42 out of the 100 sample verbs are patientive. That is, 58% of all the 100 verb concepts correspond with Iñupiaq agentive verbs, and 42% of all the 100 verb concepts correspond with Iñupiaq patientive verbs.

Now, if the agentive and patientive verbs are distributed randomly either in English or in Iñupiaq or in both, we would expect that the ratio of the number of Iñupiaq agentive verbs that correspond with English agentive verbs to the number of all the Iñupiaq agentive verbs will be the same as the ratio of the number of Iñupiaq agentive and patientive verbs that correspond with English agentive verbs to the number of all the Iñupiaq agentive and patientive verbs. And the latter is, as we saw, 81%, so if agentive and patientive verbs are randomly distributed either in English or in Iñupiaq or in both, we would expect that 81% of the Iñupiaq agentive verbs will correspond with English agentive verbs. In the same vein, if agentive and patientive verbs are randomly distributed, we would expect that 16% of the Iñupiaq patientive verbs correspond with English patientive verbs.

The same reasoning applies between Japanese and Iñupiaq and between CAY and Iñupiaq as well. Thus, if agentive and patientive verbs are randomly distributed either in Japanese or in Iñupiaq or in both, we would expect that 63% of the Iñupiaq agentive verbs correspond with

Japanese agentive verbs, and 26% of the Iñupiaq patientive verbs correspond with Japanese patientive verbs. And if agentive and patientive verbs are randomly distributed either in CAY or in Iñupiaq or in both, we would expect that 56% of the Iñupiaq agentive verbs correspond with CAY agentive verbs, and 35% of the Iñupiaq patientive verbs correspond with CAY patientive verbs.

To summarize, we would expect that the following percentage of the Iñupiaq agentive or patientive verbs match the translational equivalent of the other languages in polarity if agentive and patientive verbs are distributed randomly in the two languages concerned:

(334) Expected percentage of Iñupiaq agentive or patientive verbs that match the other languages

	English	Japanese	CAY
Agentive verbs	81%	63%	56%
Patientive verbs	16%	26%	35%

Since Iñupiaq has 58 agentive verbs and 42 patientive verbs in the sample from (334), we would expect that the following number of the Iñupiaq agentive or patientive verbs match the translational equivalents in the other languages in their polarity if agentive and patientive verbs are distributed randomly in the two languages concerned:

(335) Expected number of Iñupiaq agentive or patientive verbs that match the other languages

	English	Japanese	CAY
Agentive verbs	$58 \cdot (81/100) = 47$	$58 \cdot (63/100) = 37$	$58 \cdot (56/100) = 32$
Patientive verbs	$42 \cdot (16/100) = 7$	$42 \cdot (26/100) = 11$	$42 \cdot (35/100) = 12$
Total	54	48	44

Thus, if agentive and patientive verbs are randomly distributed, we would expect to have 47 verb concepts that are agentive in both English and Iñupiaq, 7 verb concepts that are patientive in both English and Iñupiaq, and 54 verb concepts that have the same polarity, either agentive or patientive, in both English and Iñupiaq. And similarly for Japanese and Iñupiaq and CAY and Iñupiaq as well.

Next, let us look at the number of verb concepts that have the same polarity in all the four

languages that we would expect if agentive and patientive verbs are distributed randomly across all the four languages. The following is the number of Iñupiaq agentive verbs that correspond to agentive verbs in all the other three languages we would expect if agentive and patientive verbs were distributed randomly:

$$58 \cdot (81/100) \cdot (63/100) \cdot (56/100) = 17$$

And the following is the number of Iñupiaq patientive verbs that correspond to patientive verbs in all the other three languages that we would expect if agentive and patientive verbs were distributed randomly:

$$42 \cdot (16/100) \cdot (26/100) \cdot (35/100) = 1$$

Thus, if agentive and patientive verbs are randomly distributed across all the four languages, we would expect that the following number of verb concepts have the same polarity in all the four languages:

(336) Expected number of verb concepts that have the same polarity in all the four languages

Agentive verbs	17
<u>Patientive verbs</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	18

Thus, we would expect that 18 verb concepts have the same polarity, either agentive or patientive, in all the four languages.

Let us now compare the figures in (335) and (336) with the actual number that correspond.

The following is the number of the Iñupiaq agentive or patientive verbs that actually match the translational equivalent of the other languages in polarity:

(337) Number of Iñupiaq agentive or patientive verbs that actually match the other languages

	English	Japanese	CAY
Agentive verbs	54	42	44
Patientive verbs	15	19	28
Total	69	61	72

These figures are obtained by counting the number of Iñupiaq agentive or patientive verbs that match the translational equivalents of the other languages in polarity. These figures show us that 54 Iñupiaq agentive verbs correspond with English agentive verbs, 15 Iñupiaq patientive verbs correspond with English patientive verbs, and 69 Iñupiaq verbs match the English verbs in polarity, either agentive or patientive, and similarly for Japanese and Iñupiaq and CAY and Iñupiaq.

And the following is the actual number of verb concepts that have the same polarity in all the four languages:

(338) Actual number of verb concepts that have the same polarity in all the four languages

Agentive verbs	35
Patientive verbs	14
Total	49

These figures are obtained by counting the number of verb concepts that have the same polarity in all the four languages in the table. Thus, in the sample, 35 verb concepts are expressed by agentive verbs in all the four languages, 14 verb concepts are expressed by patientive verbs in all the four languages, and 49 verb concepts are expressed by verbs of the same polarity, either agentive or patientive, in all the four languages.

Now, comparing (335) and (337) shows that all the figures are greater in (337) than in (335). This means that both the agentive and patientive verbs in Iñupiaq match in polarity more translational equivalents than we would expect by pure chance in all the three languages. Also, comparing (336) and (338) shows that all the figures are greater in (338) than in (336). This means that more verb concepts are expressed by verbs with the same polarity in all the four languages

than we would expect by pure chance. In summary, verbs with similar meanings in different languages match in polarity more often than we would expect by pure chance.

Of course, the high figures of correspondence between Iñupiaq and CAY may be attributed to their genetic relatedness; they may express the same meaning with verbs of the same polarity because they inherited the same verbs from the proto-language. However, even if that account works between Iñupiaq and CAY, it does not work between Iñupiaq and the other two languages. To make sense of this high figure of correspondence in polarity between Iñupiaq and all the three languages, the only apparent answer is that the polarity of verb bases is determined similarly on a semantic basis in all the four languages concerned. Thus, in Iñupiaq, as well as in English, Japanese and CAY, the polarity of verb bases is determined on a semantic basis, and the agentive and patientive classes in each language contain verbs with similar meanings, so that verb bases with similar meanings from different languages tend to have the same polarity. As a result, we observe the higher percentage of coincidence in polarity than expected by pure chance when we pick up verbs with similar meanings from Iñupiaq and the other languages.

This completes my survey of how agentive and patientive bases are distributed. In the next chapter, I will address the question of whether or not the dividing line between agentive and patientive bases is clear cut.

Chapter 5. Ambivalency of agentive and patientive bases

So far, I have tacitly assumed that the classes of agentive and patientive bases are clear-cut, such that an agentive base will be always agentive and a patientive base will be always patientive. I hold this assumption because no Eskimo linguist has yet made claims to the contrary. More precisely, the question of whether the classes of agentive and patientive bases are clear-cut or not has never been addressed in Eskimo linguistics. In this chapter, I will address this question. I will show that the classes of agentive and patientive bases are not clearly distinguishable. There are three sets of evidence for this:

- (i) There are some verb bases that have the S corresponding either with the A or O.
- (ii) There are some verb bases that may or may not take a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive.
- (iii) There are cases in which a verb base that normally behaves as an agentive base behaves like a patientive base, or a verb base that normally behaves as a patientive base behaves as an agentive base, thanks to a specific postbase or mood.

Thus, the dividing line between the classes of agentive and patientive bases appears unclear because of the existence of a gray zone between them. The purpose of this chapter is to describe this gray zone.

Although two classes of verbs similar to the agentive and patientive classes in Iñupiaq are found in many languages, such phenomena as described in this chapter are seldom studied. This chapter purports to be the first coherent study of its kind.

5.1. Ambivalent bases

Here I will examine what I call ambivalent bases. By ambivalent bases I mean those verb bases that can have the S corresponding either with the A or O. To briefly illustrate what I mean by this, it

will help to turn to English.

Recall from Section 4.4 that English has at least one verb that behaves like Iñupiaq agentive bases in which the S corresponds with the A, such as *eat*, as in *he is eating* vs. *he is eating lunch*, and verbs that behave like Iñupiaq patientive bases in which the S corresponds with the O, such as *break*, as in *it broke* vs. *he broke it*. There are verbs that are both like *eat* in having the S corresponding with the A and *break* in having the S corresponding with the O. Thus, consider the following examples:

(339) Mallinson and Blake (1981: 177) [c. is my addition]

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|--------------|
| a. | John is cooking. | intransitive |
| b. | The meat is cooking. | intransitive |
| c. | John is cooking the meat. | transitive |

These examples show that *cook* is like both *eat* and *break* in terms of the correspondence of the S with the A or O; it is like *eat* in that the S (339a) corresponds with the A (339c), and it is like *break* in that the S (339b) corresponds with the O (339c). Thus, *cook* turns out to behave either like *eat* or *break*.

So English has at least one verb that behaves either like *eat* or *break*. Some Eskimo languages have verb bases that behave similarly. Consider the following examples from CSY:

(340) CSY (Vaxtin (1981: 271))

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| a. | Gaaghtem | gaaghaqaa | neqa. |
| | gaaghte-m | gaagh-aqe-aa | neqe-ø |
| | cook-REL.S | cook-PROG-IND.3S3S | meat-ABS.S |
| | ‘The cook is cooking the meat.’ | | |
| b. | Gaaghta | gaaghaquq | neqmeng. |
| | gaaghte-ø | gaagh-aqe-uq | neqe-meng |
| | cook-ABS.S | cook-PROG-IND.3S | meat-MOD.S |
| | ‘The cook is cooking meat.’ | | |

- c. Ugkekaghqat gaaghaqut.
 ugkekaghqaq-t gaagh-aqe-ut
 piece.of.meat-ABS.P cook-PROG-IND.3P
 ‘Pieces of meat are cooking.’

These examples show that *gaagh-* ‘cook’ behaves either like an agentive or patientive base; it behaves like an agentive base in that the S (340b) corresponds with the A (340a), and it behaves like a patientive base in that the S (340c) corresponds with the O (340a). Thus, *gaagh-* ‘cook’ is, as it were, both agentive and patientive. We will refer to verb bases such as CSY *gaagh-* ‘cook,’ that can behave either like an agentive or patientive base, as ambivalent bases. Since Vaxtin (1981), who pointed out their existence, ambivalent bases have attracted no attention in Eskimo linguistics. This section is purported to be the first follow-up investigation of them, in Iñupiaq, after Vaxtin (1981).

That Iñupiaq has ambivalent bases is evident in the following examples:

- (341) a. Aḡnam igagaa imiḡauraq.
 aḡnaq-m iga+kaa imiḡauraq+∅
 woman-REL.S cook-IND.3S3S soup-ABS.S
 ‘The woman cooked the soup.’
- b. Aḡnaq igaruq.
 aḡnaq+∅ iga+tuq
 woman-ABS.S cook-IND.3S
 ‘The woman cooked.’
- c. Imiḡauraq igaruq
 imiḡauraq+∅iga+tuq
 soup-ABS.S cook-IND.3S
 ‘The soup cooked.’

This set of examples is exactly parallel to the CSY example (340). Just as *gaagh-* ‘cook,’ Iñupiaq *iga-* is an ambivalent base.

Also consider the following examples:

- (342) a. Anjun atqaqtuq.
 aṅuti+∅ atqaq+tuq
 man-ABS.S go.down-IND.3S
 ‘The man went down.’
- b. Anjutim atqaḡaa ikpik.
 aṅuti-m atqaq+kaa ikpik+∅
 man-RELS go.down-IND.3S3S bluff-ABS.S
 ‘The man went down the bluff.’
- c. Anjutim atqaḡaa suluun.
 aṅuti-m atqaq+kaa suluuti+∅
 man-RELS put.down-IND.3S3S box-ABS.S
 ‘The man took the box down.’

atqaq- behaves like an agentive base in (342a, b); in these sentences, the S (342a) corresponds with the A (342b), because the S in (342a) and the A in (342b) are both movers, as opposed to the O in (342b), which is a locus of motion. On the other hand, it behaves like a patientive base in (342a, c); in these sentences, the S (342a) corresponds with the O (342c), because the S in (342a) and the O in (342c) are both movers, as opposed to the A in (342c), which is a causer of motion. Since atqaq- behaves either like an agentive or patientive base, it is an ambivalent base.

Thus, iga- ‘cook’ and atqaq- ‘go down/take down’ are both ambivalent bases. However, notice that they differ in the mechanism that renders them ambivalent. In the case of iga- (341), there is one usage of the transitive version (341a) and two different usages of the intransitive version (341b, c). In one usage of the intransitive version (341b), the S corresponds with the A of the transitive version (341a), whereas in the other usage of the intransitive version (341c), the S corresponds with the O of the transitive version (341a). On the other hand, in the case of atqaq- (342), there is one usage of the intransitive version (342a) and there are two different usages of the transitive version (342b, c). In one usage of the transitive version (342b), the A corresponds with the S of the intransitive version (342a), whereas in the other usage of the transitive version (342c),

the O corresponds with the S of the intransitive version (342a). Thus, *iga-* and *atqaq-*, both ambivalent bases, differ in why they are ambivalent; *iga-* is ambivalent because it has two different usages of the intransitive version, whereas *atqaq-* is ambivalent because it has two different usages of the transitive version. Let us refer to ambivalent bases such as *iga-* as intransitive-ambivalent bases, and to ambivalent bases such as *atqaq-* as transitive-ambivalent bases. I will look first at transitive-ambivalent bases, and then at intransitive-ambivalent bases.

5.1.1. Transitive-ambivalent bases

Note that when I discussed the polarity of verb bases in Chapter 4, three verb bases were given twice, once in the group A-a, consisting mostly of agentive bases, and once in the group A-b, consisting mostly of patientive bases. Their intransitive versions are *atqaq-* ‘go down,’ *isiq-* ‘go in’ and *mayuq-* ‘go up.’ These three are all transitive-ambivalent bases in Iñupiaq. We have given examples with *atqaq-* ‘go down’ in (342). The other two transitive-ambivalent bases are exactly like *atqaq-* in the semantic contrast that they show in the intransitive version and two transitive versions:

(343)	usages as an agentive base		usages as a patientive base	
	intransitive	transitive ₁	intransitive	transitive ₂
a.	<i>atqaq-</i> ‘go down’	<i>atqaq-</i> ‘go down’	<i>atqaq-</i> ‘go down’	<i>atqaq-</i> ‘take down’
b.	<i>isiq-</i> ‘go in’	<i>isiq-</i> ‘go into’	<i>isiq-</i> ‘go in’	<i>isiq-</i> ‘take in’
c.	<i>mayuq-</i> ‘go up’	<i>mayuq-</i> ‘go up’	<i>mayuq-</i> ‘go up’	<i>mayuq-</i> ‘take up’

Thus, these three verb bases behave either as agentive or patientive bases. Now, recall from Chapter 4 that patientive bases have an antipassive form. In this respect, as well, these three verb bases can behave as patientive bases; they do have an antipassive form. Thus, following is an antipassive form of (342c):

- (344) Anjun atqairuq suluutmik.
 aṅuti+∅ atqaq:i+tuq suluuti=ṁik
 man-ABS.S put.down-ANTIP-IND.3S box-MOD.S
 ‘The man took a box down.’

At this point, let us speculate on the semantic properties of transitive-ambivalent bases from a cross-linguistic perspective. As we see, the transitive-ambivalent bases in Iñupiaq all refer to motion. Although there are very few studies on ambivalent bases, not only in Eskimo but in other languages as well, it may be the case that transitive-ambivalent bases generally have the semantic property of referring to motion cross-linguistically. Thus, Dixon (1988: 206-214) provides seven verbs that behave like what we would call transitive-ambivalent verbs in Fijian, on which he notes: ‘All the verbs I know of with two transitive forms, one of which is O and the other A, are concerned with motion or rest’ (1988: 206). Also, Dixon (2004) gives one verb that behaves like what we would call a transitive-ambivalent verb in Jarawara: *aḡi-na-*, which means ‘bathe, take bath’ in the intransitive version and either ‘jump into water’ or ‘give a bath to, bathe’ in the transitive version (2004: 82-83). Thus, what little information is available on transitive-ambivalent bases in Iñupiaq and verbs behaving similarly in other languages, suggests that they may (at least primarily) have the semantic property of referring to motion.

5.1.2. Intransitive-ambivalent bases

Iñupiaq has a small number of intransitive-ambivalent bases. Thus, consider the following examples:

- (341) a. Aḡnam igagaa imiḡauraq.
 aḡnaq-m iga+kaa imiḡauraq+∅
 woman-REL.S cook-IND.3S3S soup-ABS.S
 ‘The woman cooked the soup.’

- b. Aḡnaq igaruq.
 aḡnaq+∅ iga+tuq
 woman-ABS.S cook-IND.3S
 ‘The woman cooked.’
- c. Imiḡauraq igaruq
 imiḡauraq+∅iga+tuq
 soup-ABS.S cook-IND.3S
 ‘The soup cooked.’

In Chapter 4, we treated bases such *iga-* ‘cook’ as agentive, on the basis of the fact that their antipassive forms do not need a half-transitive postbase, as in (341b). But actually, that treatment disregarded the fact that they have another intransitive version in which the S corresponds with the O, as in (341c). In this section we will focus on this dual nature of the intransitive version of such bases, which we call intransitive-ambivalent bases.

Intransitive-ambivalent bases in Iñupiaq may be divided into two semantic groups: those that refer to change of state of the patient and those that refer to body care actions. We will look at each of them in turn.

5.1.2.1. Intransitive-ambivalent bases referring to a change of state in the patient

In terms of morphosyntactic behavior, it appears as though intransitive-ambivalent bases are both agentive and patientive, in that they can have the S corresponding with either the A or the O. Given that intransitive-ambivalent bases can behave either like agentive or patientive bases, and given that, as we saw in Section 4, the agentive and patientive behavior of verb bases is correlated with their meaning, we may expect that intransitive-ambivalent bases have the semantic properties that characterize both agentive and patientive bases. This does seem to be the case. Now, recall that we saw in Chapter 4 that agentive bases are likely to focus on the agent’s process, while patientive bases are likely to focus on the patient’s state. We may expect intransitive-ambivalent bases to be able to focus either on the agent’s process or on the patient’s state. And, actually, this seems to be

the case. Thus, the following are examples of intransitive-ambivalent bases that I have found so far:

igitchaq- ‘pluck feathers from (goose etc.),’ killaiyaq- ‘sew,’ nivak- ‘dig,’ niurî- ‘unload (boat etc.),’ qatvak- ‘remove oil from (seal),’ qaiqsaq- ‘iron,’ salummaq- ‘clean,’ sannjyaq- ‘sweep,’ sapi- ‘block (river etc.),’ tivli- ‘sew body of (boots)’

The following are examples with salummaq- ‘clean’:

- (345) a. Anjutim salummaġaa ini.
 anjuti-m salummaq+kaa ini+∅
 man-REL.S clean-IND.3S3S room-ABS.S
 ‘The man cleaned the room.’
- b. Anjun salummaqtuq.
 anjuti+∅ salummaq+tuq
 man-ABS.S clean-IND.3S
 ‘The man cleaned.’
- c. Ini salummaqtuq
 ini+∅ salummaq+tuq
 room-ABS.S clean-IND.3S
 ‘The room is clean.’

Those bases all belong to group B, Affect, from Chapter 4. They all refer to the agent’s process, which takes some length of time and which results in a new visible state in the patient. Since the agent’s process takes some length of time, it is easy to focus on; and since it results in some new visible state of the patient, the patient’s resultant state is also easy to focus on. Thus, semantically, those bases can easily focus either on the agent’s process or on the patient’s resultant state. And, as if to reflect this semantic dual nature, they can behave either as agentive or patientive bases.

One subclass of intransitive-ambivalent bases are those that refer to cooking:

argîq- ‘roast,’ iga- ‘cook,’ igapiaq- ‘boil,’ iyamaaqfuk- ‘boil (half-dry food),’ siik- ‘cut (fish),’ tinik- ‘knead,’ uukfi- ‘cut for cooking.’

The following are examples with argîq- ‘roast’:

- (346) a. Anutim argigaa qaluk.
 anuti-m argiq+kaa qaluk+∅
 man-RELS.S roast-IND.3S3S fish-ABS.S
 ‘The man roasted the fish.’
- b. Anjun argiqsuq qalunmik.
 anuti+∅ argiq+tuq qaluk÷mik
 man-ABS.S roast-IND.3S fish-MOD.S
 ‘The man roasted a fish.’
- c. Qaluk argiqsuq.
 qaluk+∅ argiq+tuq
 fish-ABS.S.roast-IND.3S
 ‘The fish is roasted.’

Cooking processes take some length of time and result in a new visible state in the patient; and a number of verb bases that refer to cooking are intransitive-ambivalent bases, such as are seen above.

Also, verb bases that specify the manner in which the agent is involved in the event that results in the patient’s change of state may focus on the agent as well as the patient. Thus, while verb bases that refer to breaking (group B-i of Chapter 4) are generally patientive, such as *navik-* ‘break (long object)’ and *quppiq-* ‘split,’ I stated in Chapter 4 that two such verbs are agentive: *nuutkutit-* ‘blast’ and *qaagaq-* ‘bomb.’ Actually, they do not always behave as agentive bases but behave as patientive bases as well, as in the following examples:

- (347) a. Anutim nuutkutitkaa tupiq.
 anuti-m nuutkutit+kaa tupiq+∅
 man-RELS.S blast-IND.3S3S house-ABS.S
 ‘The man blasted the house.’
- b. Anjun nuutkutittuq tupigmik.
 anuti+∅ nuutkutit+tuq tupiq÷mik
 man-ABS.S blast-IND.3S house-MOD.S
 ‘The man blasted a house.’

- c. Tupiq nuutkutittuq.
 tupiq+∅ nuutkutit+tuq
 house-ABS.S blast-IND.3S
 ‘The house got blasted.’

This dual nature of their intransitive versions appears to be related to their meaning; they can focus either on the manner of the agent’s involvement in the event or the patient’s resultant state.

Another intransitive-ambivalent base, which does not appear to belong to any of the semantic groups above, is *atuq*- ‘use.’ Thus, consider the following examples:

- (348) a. Anutim atuḡaa qamugviutaq qilḡiñi.
 anuti+m atuḡ+kaa qamugviutaq+∅ qilḡiq-ni
 man-RELS use-IND.3S3S bridle-ABS.S sled-LOC.P
 ‘The man uses the bridle on a sled.’
- b. Anun atuqtuq qamugviutamik qilḡiñi.
 anuti+∅ atuq+tuq qamugviutaq÷mik qilḡiq-ni
 man-ABS.S use-IND.3S bridle-MOD.S sled-LOC.P
 ‘The man uses a bridle on a sled.’
- c. Qamugviutaq atuqtuq qilḡiñi.
 qamugviutaq+∅ atuq+tuq qilḡiq-ñi
 bridle-ABS.S use-IND.3S sled-LOC.P
 ‘The bridle is used on a sled’

(Sun *et al.* (1979: 30))

With this verb base, it is not clear how its meaning is correlated with the dual nature of its intransitive version, but the two types of its intransitive version are both frequently used..

Thus, most of the intransitive-ambivalent bases we have seen thus far are verb bases that can focus either on the agent’s process or on the patient’s state.

5.1.2.2. Intransitive-ambivalent bases referring to body care actions

There is another semantically coherent group of intransitive-ambivalent bases, which do not appear to conform to the semantic characterization made in the preceding section. They are verb bases that

refer to body care actions, treated as group D, Body care, in Chapter 4. There, I said they were agentive. Consider the following examples:

- (349) a. Aḡnam akafakaa paniḡmi niaqua.
 aḡnaq-m akafak+kaa panik+mi niaquq:a
 woman-REL.S curl-IND.3S3S daughter-REL.4SS head-ABS.3SS
 ‘The woman curled her daughter’s hair (lit.: head).’
- b. Aḡnaq akafaktuq paniḡmi niaquanik.
 aḡnaq+∅ akafak+tuq panik+mi niaquq:anik
 woman-ABS.S curl-IND.3S daughter-REL.4SS head-MOD.3SS
 ‘The woman curled her daughter’s hair (lit.: head).’

This shows that *akafak-* ‘curl’ behaves as an agentive base. Here is another set of examples:

- (350) a. Aḡutim kumikkaa iḡñiḡmi niaqua.
 aḡuti-m kumik+kaa iḡñiq+mi niaquq:a
 man-REL.S scratch-IND.3S3S son-REL.4SS head-ABS.3SS
 ‘The man scratched his son’s head.’
- b. Aḡun kumiktuq iḡñiḡmi niaquanik.
 aḡuti+∅ kumik+tuq iḡñiq+mi niaquq:anik
 man-ABS.S scratch-IND.3S son-REL.4SS head-MOD.3SS
 ‘The man scratched his son’s head.’

This shows that *kumik-* ‘scratch’ also behaves as an agentive base. For these reasons, I treated such verb bases as agentive in Chapter 4. However, actually, there is more subtlety involved.

Now, some verb bases of this type allow possessor-ascension sentences, such that the possessor of the O of the original sentence corresponds with the O of the possessor-ascension sentence (cf. Section 2.4.2.2.2). Compare (349) and (350) with:

- (351) a. Aḡnam akafakaa panni.
 aḡnaq-m akafak+kaa panik-ni
 woman-REL.S curl-IND.3S3S daughter-ABS.4SS
 ‘The woman curled her daughter(?’s hair).’

- b. Aḡnaq akaḡaktuq paniḡmiñik.
 aḡnaq+∅ akaḡak+tuq panik+miñik
 woman-ABS.S curl-IND.3S daughter-MOD.4SS
 ‘The woman curled her daughter(’s hair).’
- (352) a. Anutim kumikkaa iḡñi.
 anuti-m kumik+kaa iḡñiq-ni
 man-REL.S scratch-IND.3S3S son-ABS.4SS
 ‘The man scratched his son.’
- b. Anun kumiktuq iḡñiḡmiñik.
 anuti+∅ kumik+tuq iḡñiq+miñik
 man-ABS.S scratch-IND.3S son-MOD.4SS
 ‘The man scratched his son.’

In possessor-ascension sentences (351) and (352), the verb bases still behave as agentive bases. For example, the S of (351b) corresponds with the A of (351a) in being the one who does the curling.

What is unique in verb bases of this type is that, in possessor-ascension sentences, they may have the S corresponding with the O if there is no other oblique NP that may be interpreted as a patient.

Thus, compare (351) and (352) with:

- (353) Pania akaḡaktuq.
 panik:a akaḡak-tuq
 daughter-ABS.3SS curl-IND.3S
 ‘Her daughter_i curled her_i (hair).’
- (354) Iḡñiḡa kumiktuq.
 iḡñiq:a kumik+tuq
 son-ABS.3SS scratch-IND.3S
 ‘His son scratched himself.’

Sentences (351a) and (353) show that here *akaḡak-* ‘curl’ behaves as a patientive base, in that the S of (353) corresponds with the O of (351a) in being the one who had one’s hair curled. Thus, in (351a, b) and (353), *akaḡak-* ‘curl’ behaves either as an agentive or patientive base. The same

applies to *kumik-* ‘scratch’ (352a, b, 354). Obviously, this fact is related to their meaning. Thus, such verb bases refer to activities that people normally do to themselves. So in intransitive versions where the S is the only participant, such as (353) and (354), the S is interpreted as acting on itself, while in intransitive versions where patient is explicitly stated, such as (351b) and (352b), the S is interpreted as acting on the patient rather than on itself. This is exactly parallel to the following English examples:

- (355) a. He is scratching her.
 b. He is scratching.

In the absence of an explicit NP referring to a patient, as in (355a), (355b) is normally interpreted as meaning that the S is acting on itself, rather than on some other unspecified entity.

We have examined ambivalent bases, which have the S corresponding with either the A or O. We will now turn to other cases wherein the dividing line between the classes of agentive and patientive bases does not appear to be clear.

Recall that, in Chapter 3, we created two sets of criteria for determining whether a verb base is agentive or patientive: (i) the correspondence of the S with the A or O and (ii) the necessity or option of a half-transitive postbase in forming antipassives. We have seen above that there are cases that lie between the agentive and patientive classes in terms of the first criterion. We may ask ourselves, then, whether there are not some in-between cases in terms of the second criterion as well, and indeed there are. This is the problem we will turn to in the next section.

5.2. Wavering presence of the half-transitive postbase

Recall our second criterion for determining the class of a verb base set out in Chapter 3:

(306) Tests for determining the class of a verb base

- b. (If transitive endings are possible,) Make it antipassive:
- i. If it cannot become antipassive, it is a transitive-only base.
 - ii. If it does not require a half-transitive postbase, it is an agentive base.
 - iii. If it requires a half-transitive postbase, it is a patientive base.

Notice that the determining criterion we set up for whether a verb base is agentive or patientive is not whether or not it *can* take a half-transitive postbase, but whether or not it *requires* a half-transitive postbase. Although we have not taken up any of the effects this difference may cause, those qualifications will actually make a slight difference. That is, verb bases divide into three types according to whether or not they take a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive: those that never take one; those that always take one; and those that may or may not take one. Consider the following examples:

- (356) a. Anjutim tautukaa aḡnaq.
 anjuti-m tautuk+kaa aḡnaq+∅
 man-RELS see-IND.3S3S woman-ABS.S
 ‘The man saw the woman.’
- b. Anjun tautuktuq/*tautuiruq/*tautuksiruq/... aḡnamik.
 anjuti+∅ tautuk+tuq/*tautuk:i+tuq/*tautuk+si+tuq/... aḡnaq÷mik
 man-ABS.S see-IND.3S/*see-HT-IND.3S/*see-HT-IND.3S woman-MOD.S
 ‘The man saw a woman.’
- (357) a. Anjutim katakkaa aḡlaun.
 anjuti-m katak+kaa aḡlauti+∅
 man-RELS drop-IND.3S3S pencil-ABS.S
 ‘The man dropped the pencil.’
- b. Anjun katairuq/*kataktuq aḡlautmik.
 anjuti+∅ katak:i+tuq/*katak+tuq aḡlauti÷mik
 man-ABS.S drop-HT-IND.3S/*drop-IND.3S pencil-MOD.S
 ‘The man dropped a pencil.’

Sentence (356b) shows that *tautuk-* ‘see’ never takes a half-transitive postbase; any form in

which *tautuk-* ‘see’ is followed by one of the half-transitive postbases would not be a word. Thus, it is clearly an agentive base. On the other hand, sentence (357b) shows that *katak-* ‘drop’ always takes a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive; a form in which *katak-* ‘drop’ takes an intransitive ending without a half-transitive postbase would not be antipassive. Thus, it is clearly a patientive base. Those two types of bases constitute the majority of labile bases, and we have so far treated them as though they exhausted all the labile bases. But there are actually bases that are halfway between these two clear cases. Consider the following examples:

- (358) a. *Anutim tamuḡaa niqi.*
aṅuti-m tamuq+kaa niqi+∅
 man-RELS.S chew-IND.3S3Smeat-ABS.S
 ‘The man chewed the meat.’
- b. *Anjun tamuqtuq/tamuqsiruq niqimik.*
aṅuti+∅ tamuq+tuq/tamuq+si+tuq niqi+mik
 man-ABS.S chew-IND.3S/chew-HT-IND.3S meat-MOD.S
 ‘The man chewed meat.’

Sentence (358b) shows that *tamuq-* ‘chew’ may or may not take a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive. That is, it is like *tautuk-* ‘see’ (356b) in being able to be antipassive without a half-transitive postbase, but at the same time it is like *katak-* ‘drop’ (357b) in being able to take one. Thus, *tamuq-* is halfway between bases like *tautuk-* ‘see’ (356b) and those like *katak-* ‘drop’ (357b). In Chapter 4, conforming to criterion (306), I treated such bases as agentive, since they do not require a half-transitive postbase. Actually it was in order to avoid touching on such verb bases in Chapter 4 that I opted for the term ‘require’ rather than ‘take’ in criterion (306). But, however we may classify them, the fact remains that such verb bases are not exactly the same as the majority of the agentive bases, such as *taukuk-* ‘see,’ which cannot take any half-transitive postbase, in that they are like patientive bases, such as *katak-* ‘drop,’ in the ability to take one, albeit optionally. The presence of such verb bases is another piece of evidence that the dividing line

between agentive and patientive classes is not clear. Such verb bases are the topic of this section.

In terms of number, quite a few of those verb bases determined to be agentive under criterion (306) actually turn out to be like *tamuq*- ‘chew’ in optionally taking a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive. Approximately one tenth of those determined to be agentive are actually of this type. I cannot pinpoint the semantic properties characterizing all such verb bases and the conditions that may determine the use or non-use of half-transitive postbases for them, but some of them can be characterized semantically. This is what I am about to address. Let us look at group B-c in Chapter 4—those verb bases whose transitive version refers to the agent’s (or its instrument’s) contact with the patient, which often involves some physical impact on the latter, and which include: *anau*- ‘whip’; *aqi*- ‘kick’; *kigî*- ‘bite.’ In Chapter 4, I stated that they were patientive, but that was a bit of an oversimplification, and I will elaborate on it here.

Such verb bases are indeed patientive if the patient is human. Consider the following examples:

- (359) a. *Anutim tiglukaa aġnaq.*
anuti-m tigluk+kaa aġnaq+∅
 man-REL.S hit-IND.3S3S woman-ABS.S
 ‘The man hit the woman.’
- b. *Anun tigluiruq/*tigluktuq aġnamik.*
anuti+∅ tigluk:i+tuq/tigluk+tuq aġnaq÷mik
 man-ABS.S hit-HT-IND.3S/hit-IND.3S woman-MOD.S
 ‘The man hit a woman.’

Sentence (359b) shows that the verb base must take a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive.

Thus, it behaves as a patientive base here. It is not always patientive, however. When the patient is non-human, it behaves as agentive. Consider the following examples:

- (360) a. *Anutim tiglukaa katchi.*
anuti-m tigluk+kaa katchi+∅
 man-REL.S hit-IND.3S3S wall-ABS.S
 ‘The man hit the wall.’

- b. Anjun tigluiruq katchimik.
 anuti+∅ tigluk:i+tuq katchi=̄mik
 man-ABS.S hit-HT-IND.3S wall-MOD.S
 ‘The man hit a wall.’
- c. Anjun tigluktuq katchimun.
 anuti+∅ tigluk+tuq katchi=̄mun
 man-ABS.S hit-IND.3S wall-TRM.S
 ‘The man hit a wall.’

It may take a half-transitive postbase (360b), but now it is not necessary (360c). So, according to criterion (306), the base is now agentive. Such bases require a half-transitive postbase when the patient is human, but not when the patient is non-human. This difference conditioned by the semantic nature of the patient accords well with the properties of agentive and patientive bases we saw in Chapter 4. As we saw in Chapter 4, verb bases whose patient is human are more likely than others to be patientive.

This phenomenon may also be viewed as related to the expected impact on the patient. That is, hitting someone and hitting something, although they are physically similar on the part of the agent, which is the basis of their assignment to one and the same verb lexeme, are very different mental and social actions in terms of the anticipated impact on the patient. If one hits another, some impact on that person is to be expected; he or she must feel some physical pressure; he or she may be physically damaged; and, even if not physically damaged, he or she may be mentally hurt as a result of being hit. By contrast, if one hits a wall, for example, no apparent impact on the wall is expected; it does not feel anything, nor is it necessarily physically damaged, and it will never be mentally hurt like human patients. Consequently, actions denoted by these verb bases are generally expected to have a greater and further-reaching impact when applied to humans than when applied to non-humans. And, as we saw in Chapter 4, verb bases that imply impact on the patient are more likely to be patientive than those that do not.

In addition, notice from (360b, c) that the antipassive form of tigluk- ‘hit’ has two versions

when the patient is non-human: one with a half-transitive postbase and one without. This fact, together with the fact that a half-transitive postbase is obligatory in the antipassive form when the patient is human (359b), may suggest that the version with a half-transitive postbase is related to the implication that the action has some impact on the non-human patient, whereas the one without a half-transitive postbase is related with the implication that the action does not have any impact on the non-human patient. Although I have not been able to elicit any difference in meaning between two such versions (360b, c) directly from speakers, my reasoning may be confirmed by examining possessor-ascention sentences (cf. Section 2.4.2.2.2). Consider the following examples:

(361) a. Anutim tiglukaa aǵnam talia.
 anuti-m tigluk+kaa aǵnaq-m taliq:a
 man-RELS hit-IND.3S3S woman-RELS arm-ABS.3SS
 ‘The man hit the woman’s arm.’

b. Anutim tiglukaa aǵnaq taliagun.
 anuti-m tigluk+kaa aǵnaq+∅ taliq:agun
 man-RELS hit-IND.3S3S woman-ABS.S arm-VIA.3SS
 ‘The man hit the woman on the arm.’

(362) a. Anutim tiglukaa tupiǵmi talua.
 anuti-m tigluk+kaa tupiq+mi talu:a
 man-RELS hit-IND.3S3S house-REL.4SS door-ABS.3SS
 ‘The man hit the door of his house.’

b. Anutim tiglukaa tuppi taluagun.
 anuti-m tigluk+kaa tupiqRi talu:agun
 man-RELS hit-IND.3S3S house-ABS.4SS door-VIA.3SS
 ‘The man hit his house on the door.’

(361b) and (362b) are possessor-ascention sentences corresponding to (361a) and (362a), respectively. Sentences (361b) and (362b) imply the hitting has an impact on the patient as a whole, not just on the part of it that the agent’s hand touches. The half-transitive sentence corresponding to (361b) is:

- (363) Anjun tigluiruq/*tigluktuq aǵnamik taliagun.
 aṅuti+∅ tigluk:i+tuq/*tigluk+tuq aǵnaq÷mik taliq:agun
 man-ABS.S hit-HT-IND.3S/*hit-IND.3S woman-MOD.S arm-VIA.3SS
 ‘The man hit a woman on the arm.’

As is expected from the fact that the patient is human, it requires a half-transitive postbase. Next, the antipassive sentence corresponding to (362b) is:

- (364) a. Anjun tigluiruq tupiǵmiñik taluagun.
 aṅuti+∅ tigluk:i+tuq tupiq÷miñik talu:agun
 man-ABS.S hit-ANTIP-IND.3S house-MOD.4SS door-VIA.3SS
 ‘The man hit his house on the door.’
 b. *Anjun tigluktuq tupiqmiñun taluagun.
 aṅuti+∅ tigluk+tuq tupiq+miñun talu:agun
 man-ABS.S hit-IND.3S house-TRM.4SS door-VIA.3SS
 ‘The man hit his house on the door.’

Contrary to what we may expect from (360b, c), a half-transitive postbase is now obligatory, the version without it being impossible, despite the fact that the patient is non-human. We may account for this necessity of a half-transitive postbase by the implied impact on the patient. As possessor-ascention sentences generally imply an impact on the patient as a whole, an antipassive sentence without a half-transitive postbase, which implies less impact on the patient, is not allowed (364b), and, consequently, only the version with a half-transitive postbase is now possible (364a). Thus, whether verb bases of this type take a half-transitive postbase or not—that is, whether they behave as patientive or as agentive—is correlated with the amount of impact on the patient. When they imply a fair amount of impact, either because the patient is human or because it implies an impact on the patient as a whole, they behave as patientive; otherwise they behave as agentive. Notice that this is in accordance with the general semantic characteristics of patientive and agentive bases that we saw in Chapter 4: verb bases that imply impact on the patient are more likely to be

patientive than those that do not.

To conclude, verb bases that behave either like agentive or patientive bases, in being able to optionally take a half-transitive postbase in antipassive forms, behave like agentive bases, in not taking a half-transitive postbase, when they are semantically like agentive bases, and behave like patientive bases, in taking a half-transitive postbase, when they are semantically like patientive bases.

This completes our survey of cases in which some verb bases behave either like agentive or patientive bases in terms of (a) the correspondence of the S with the A or O or (b) the presence or absence of a half-transitive postbase in antipassive forms.

In some other cases, however, a verb base's polarity changes due to certain postbases or a certain mood. In the next section, we will examine such cases.

5.3. Agentivizing and patientivizing effects of postbases and a mood

Another way in which the dividing line between the agentive and patientive classes is unclear is illustrated by cases in which an otherwise agentive base may behave like a patientive base when attached by certain postbases or when inflected in a certain mood, or vice versa. In this section we will look at such cases. We will look first at those cases in which a verb base's polarity is changed by certain postbases, and then at those cases in which it is changed by a certain mood.

5.3.1. Postbases with patientivizing or agentivizing effect

There are certain postbases which, when attached to certain agentive bases, change them into patientive, and certain other postbases which, when attached to certain patientive bases, change them into agentive. The former type I will call postbases with patientivizing effect, and the latter type I will call postbases with agentivizing effect. We will now look at them in turn.

5.3.1.1. Postbases with patientivizing effect

Verb bases that behave as agentive bases without any particular postbase attached may become ambivalent or patientive when followed by certain postbases. \pm anik- ‘PF’ is such a postbase. For example:

- (365) a. Anjutim kaukkaa suluun.
 anjuti-m kauk+kaa suluuti+ \emptyset
 man-REL.S hammer-IND.3S3S box-ABS.S
 ‘The man hammered the box.’
- b. Anjun kauktuq suluutmik.
 anjuti+ \emptyset kauk+tuq suluuti÷mik
 man-ABS.S hammer-IND.3S box-MOD.S
 ‘The man hammered a box.’
- c. *Suluun kauktuq.
 suluuti+ \emptyset kauk+tuq
 box-ABS.S hammer-IND.3S

Since the S corresponds with the A (365a, b) but not with the O (365a, c), kauk- ‘hammer’ belongs to the agentive class. Now, compare (365) with:

- (366) a. Anjutim kaujanikaa suluun.
 anjuti-m kauk \pm anik+kaa suluuti+ \emptyset
 man-REL.S hammer-PF-IND.3S3S box-ABS.S
 ‘The man has hammered the box.’
- b. Anjun kaujaniktuq suluutmik.
 anjuti+ \emptyset kauk \pm anik+tuq suluuti÷mik
 man-ABS.S hammer-PF-IND.3S box-MOD.S
 ‘The man has hammered a box.’
- c. Suluun kaujaniktuq.
 suluuti+ \emptyset kauk \pm anik+tuq
 box-ABS.S hammer-PF-IND.3S
 ‘The box has been hammered.’

Here *kauk-* ‘hammer’ is followed by the postbase \pm *anik-* ‘PF.’ Notice that, with the resultant base *kaunanik-* ‘have hammered,’ the S corresponds either with the A (366a, b) or the O (366a, c).

That is, *kaunanik-* ‘hammer-PF’ is now an ambivalent base, more precisely an intransitive-ambivalent base.

Another postbase with patientivizing effect is *-lǰiñaq-* ‘end up _ing’. First, consider the following examples:

- (367) a. Anjutim aqigaa aqsraaq.
 anuti-m aqi+kaa aqsraaq+∅
 man-REL.S kick-IND.3S3S ball-ABS.S
 ‘The man kicked the ball.’
- b. Anjun aqsriuruq/aqiruq aqsraamik.
 anuti+∅ aqi:si+tuq/aqi+tuq aqsraaq+mik
 man-ABS.S kick-HT-IND.3S/kick-IND.3S ball-MOD.S
 ‘The man kicked a ball.’

Since a half-transitive postbase is optional in the antipassive form, as in (367b), *aqi-* ‘kick’ is agentive (It belongs to group B-c, discussed in Section 5.2.). Now, compare (367) with:

- (368) a. Anjutim aqilǰiñagaa aqsraaq.
 anuti-m aqi-lǰiñaq+kaa aqsraaq+∅
 man-REL.S kick-end.up._ing-IND.3S3S ball-ABS.S
 ‘The man ended up kicking the ball.’
- b. Anjun aqsriǰiñaqtuq/*aqilǰiñaqtuq aqsraamik.
 anuti+∅ aqi:si-lǰiñaq+tuq/*aqi-lǰiñaq+tuq aqsraaq+mik
 man-ABS.S kick-HT-end.up._ing-IND.3S/*kick-end.up._ing-IND.3S ball-MOD.S
 ‘The man ended up kicking a ball.’

Here *aqi-* ‘kick’ is followed by the postbase *-lǰiñaq-* ‘end up _ing.’ Notice that the resultant base *aqilǰiñaq-* ‘end up kicking’ cannot become antipassive without a half-transitive postbase (368b).

As the half-transitive postbase is now obligatory in the antipassive form, *aqilǰiñaq-* ‘end up

kicking' is now patientive.

To summarize, \pm anik- 'PF' makes certain agentive bases ambivalent, while -lǫjiñaq- 'end up _ing' makes certain agentive bases patientive. What they have in common is the fact that they pull their input bases toward the patientive side. Now, this morphosyntactic property of pulling the input base toward the patientive side is not independent of their meaning. That is, both of these postbases focus on the result of the event, and that is the common semantic property generally found in patientive bases, as we saw in Chapter 4. Thus, those postbases add to their input base the semantic property characterized by patientive bases, and the resultant bases behave more like patientive bases. This is another piece of evidence that the polarity of a verb base is correlated with its meaning.

Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that similar phenomena are found outside Eskimo as well. Thus, in Tongan (Tchekhoff (1979: 415)), when *tamate* 'kill' appears without a perfective aspect suffix, it behaves like what I would call an agentive verb; in contrast, when it is followed by a perfective aspect suffix, it behaves like what I would call a patientive verb. Thus, in Tongan, the perfective aspect suffix has what I would call patientivizing effect. So Iñupiaq and Tongan have suffixes with similar meanings that have similar patientivizing effect. I do not know whether such phenomena are wide-spread beyond these two languages. We will have to wait for future research to answer that question.

5.3.1.2. Postbases with agentivizing effect

By contrast with what we saw in the previous section, verb bases without any particular postbase that belong to the patientive class may become agentive when followed by certain postbases.

Consider the following examples:

- (369) a. Anutim akkuaḡaa aqsraaq.
 anuti-m akkuaq+kaa aqsraaq+∅
 man-REL.S catch-IND.3S3S ball-ABS.S
 ‘The man caught the ball.’
- b. Anun akkuaḡiruiq/*akkuaqtuq aqsraamik.
 anuti+∅ akkuaq:i+tuq/*akkuaq+tuq aqsraaq+mik
 man-ABS.S catch-HT-IND.3S/*catch-IND.3S ball-MOD.S
 ‘The man caught a ball.’

As the half-transitive postbase is obligatory in the antipassive form, as in (369b), *akkuaq-* ‘catch’ is patientive. Now compare (369) with:

- (370) a. Anutim akkuaqsaḡaa aqsraaq.
 anuti-m akkuaq+saq+kaa aqsraaq+∅
 man-REL.S catch-try.to-IND.3S3S ball-ABS.S
 ‘The man tried to catch the ball.’
- b. Anun akkuaḡisaqtuq/akkuaqsaqtuq aqsraamik.
 anuti+∅ akkuaq:i+saq+tuq/akkuaq+saq+tuq aqsraaq+mik
 man-ABS.S catch-HT-try.to-IND.3S/catch-try.to-IND.3S ball-MOD.S
 ‘The man tried to catch a ball.’
- (371) a. Anutim akkuaḡuugaa aqsraaq.
 anuti-m akkuaq+uu+kaa aqsraaq+∅
 man-REL.S catch-always-IND.3S3S ball-ABS.S
 ‘The man always catches the ball.’
- b. Anun akkuaḡisuuruq/akkuaḡuuruq aqsraamik.
 anuti+∅ akkuaq:i+suu+tuq/akkuaq+uu+tuq aqsraaq+mik
 man-ABS.S catch-HT-always-IND.3S/catch-always-IND.3S ball-MOD.S
 ‘The man always catches a ball.’

Here, *akkuaq-* ‘catch’ is followed by the postbases *+saq-* ‘try to’ and *+sruu-* ~ *+uu-* ‘always.’ Notice that the resultant bases, *akkuaqsaq-* ‘try to catch’ and *akkuaḡuu-* ‘always catch,’ do not need a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive (370b, 371b). As the half-transitive postbase is now optional, the resultant bases are agentive. That is, the postbase *+saq-* ‘try to’ and *+sruu-* ~

+UU- ‘always’ change a patientive base into an agentive base. Other postbases with a similar effect include: -tla- ‘can,’ +sruk- ~ +uk- ‘want to,’ and ±ηηuaq- ‘pretend to.’

Besides those postbases, there is a set of postbases that we may consider as allomorphs. Thus, there are pairs of verb bases related by some unproductive means, one of which refers to semelfactive actions and the other of which to iterative actions. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (372) | semelfactive | iterative |
| a. | patik- ‘slap once’ | pattak- ‘slap many times’ |
| b. | kigî- ‘bite once’ | kihmaq- ‘bite many times’ |
| c. | avik- ‘cut (food) into two’ | avguq- ‘cut (food) into many pieces’ |

The formal relationship between the members of such pairs is irregular, but semelfactive members are always formally simpler than the corresponding iterative members, so we may posit an unproductive iterative postbase that attaches to verb bases that refers to semelfactive actions and whose form depends on the verb base to which it attaches. In Chapter 4, we only considered semelfactive members.

One of the characteristics of such pairs is that, whether the semelfactive member is agentive or patientive, the iterative member is always agentive. Thus, the following are some examples of pairs for which the semelfactive member is patientive and the iterative member is agentive:

(373)	semelfactive: patientive	iterative: agentive
a.	patik- ‘slap once’	pattak- ‘slap many times’
b.	kigî- ‘bite once’	kinmaq- ‘bite many times’
c.	avik- ‘cut (food) into two’	avguq- ‘cut (food) into many pieces’
d.	anau- ‘whip once’	anauliq- ‘whip many times’
e.	avu- ‘season once’	avuuq- ‘season many times’
f.	kapi- ‘stab once’	kapuq- ‘stab many times’
g.	kipi- ‘cut into two’	kipluq- ‘cut into pieces’
h.	mîluq- ‘hit once’	mîlluq- ‘hit many times’
i.	naluk- ‘throw once’	nalluk- ‘throw many times’
j.	putyuk- ‘pinch once’	putyuaq- ‘pinch many times’
k.	tai- ‘name’	taiyuq- ‘name’ ¹¹
l.	qupi- ‘split into two’	qupluq- ‘split into many’
m.	uuyu- ‘lengthen’	uuyuuq- ‘lengthen by adding many pieces’

And the following are some examples of pairs for which the semelfactive and iterative members are both agentive:

(374)	semelfactive: agentive	iterative: agentive
a.	anjîq- ‘say yes once to’	anjîaq- ‘say yes many times to’
b.	aqî- ‘kick once’	aqsqraq- ‘kick many times’

Thus, the iterative member of such pairs is always agentive, regardless of whether the semelfactive member is agentive or patientive. Thus, we may consider that this hypothesized iterative postbase has an agentivizing effect; it changes patientive bases to agentive, and keeps agentive bases as they are.

To summarize, the following postbases have been found to have an agentivizing effect: +saq- ‘try to,’ +sruu- ~ +uu- ‘always,’ -tla- ‘can,’ +sruk- ~ +uk- ‘want to,’ ±ŋjuaq- ‘pretend to,’ and the iterative postbase we have seen above. Now, just as we saw that the two postbases with

¹¹ Although I cannot pinpoint the semantic difference between the semelfactive member and the iterative member of this pair, I included it here because of its formal parallelism to such pairs as avik-: avguq- and avu-: avuuq-.

patientivizing effect have some semantic property in common, those with agentivizing effect share some semantic property. That is, those postbases have in common that they express irrealty or habituality of the action, thus focusing more on the agent's propensity for the action rather than the action's effect on the patient, and this accords with the general semantic property of agentive bases that we saw in Chapter 4. Thus, those postbases add to their input bases the semantic property that characterizes agentive bases, and the resultant bases behave like agentive bases. Here, as well, we see the correlation between the meaning and the polarity of a verb base.

Thus, we have seen that some postbases change patientive bases into agentive bases. But not all patientive bases become agentive when followed by one of these postbases. Compare (369) with the following examples:

- (375) a. Anutim quppiġaa qaluk.
 anuti-m quppiq+kaa qaluk+∅
 man-RELS split-IND.3S3S fish-ABS.S
 ‘The man split the fish.’
- b. Anun quppiiruq/*quppiqsuq qalunmik.
 anuti+∅ quppiq:i+tuq/*quppiq+tuq qaluk÷mik
 man-ABS.S split-HT-IND.3S/*split-IND.3S fish-MOD.S
 ‘The man split a fish.’

This shows that quppiġ- ‘split’ is patientive just as is akkuaq- ‘catch’ (369). Next, compare (370) with the following:

- (376) a. Anutim quppiqsaġaa qaluk.
 anuti-m quppiq+saq+kaa qaluk+∅
 man-RELS split-try.to-IND.3S3S fish-ABS.S
 ‘The man tried to split the fish.’
- b. Anun quppiisaqtuq/*quppiisaqtuq qalunmik.
 anuti+∅ quppiq:i+saq+tuq/*quppiq+saq+tuq qaluk÷mik
 man-ABS.S split-HT-try.to-IND.3S/*split-try.to-IND.3S fish-MOD.S
 ‘The man tried to split a fish.’

Notice that, whereas *akkuaq-* ‘catch’ becomes agentive when followed by *+saq-* ‘try to,’ *quppîq-* ‘split’ does not become agentive when followed by *+saq-*. In fact, *quppîq-* ‘split’ does not become agentive with any of the postbases under consideration. Thus, we can distinguish two types of patientive bases: those that become agentive when followed by such postbases as *+saq-* ‘try to’ and those that do not become agentive even when followed by such postbases. I have not tested all the verb bases on this point, but the former include: *akkuaq-* ‘catch,’ *aqî-* ‘kick’ and *aŋalat-* ‘stir,’ and the latter include: *quppîq-* ‘split,’ *navîk-* ‘break’ and *alîk-* ‘tear.’ So, patientive bases such as *akkuaq-* ‘catch,’ *aqî-* ‘kick,’ and *aŋalat-* ‘stir,’ are morphosyntactically closer to the agentive side than patientive bases like *quppîq-* ‘split,’ *navîk-* ‘break,’ and *alîk-* ‘tear,’ in that the former become agentive, but the latter do not, when followed by the postbases under consideration. This shows that not all patientive bases are equally patientive; patientive bases like *quppîq-* ‘split’ are more patientive than those like *akkuaq-* ‘catch’ in that the former are always patientive, while the latter may become agentive under certain conditions.

To summarize:

- (i) Some agentive bases become patientive when followed by some postbases with the semantic properties that characterize patientive bases.
- (ii) Some, but not all, patientive bases become agentive when followed by postbases with the semantic properties that characterize agentive bases.

From these, it follows that:

- (i) Agentive bases are not always agentive, but may become patientive under certain conditions.
- (ii) Patientive bases are not always patientive, but may become agentive under certain conditions.
- (iii) Not all the patientive bases are equally patientive; some are more likely to become agentive than others.

These facts make us conceive of the polarity of the verb base as not being very solid. Agentive bases may become patientive and patientive bases may become agentive. And the conditioning factors that change the polarity of the verb base can be characterized semantically; postbases that change agentive bases into patientive bases have the semantic features that characterize patientive bases, and those that change patientive bases into agentive bases have the semantic features that characterize agentive bases.

Finally, we may want to ask ourselves if there are agentive bases that do not become patientive, even when followed by postbases with patientivizing effect, just like there are patientive bases that do not become agentive. At present, this question will have to be left for future research.

5.3.2. Mood with patientivizing effect

In this section, I will briefly examine one case in which an agentive base becomes ambivalent when it is in a certain mood. The phenomena described in this section were brought to my attention by Jeff Leer (p.c.). Consider the following examples:

- (377) a. Akkuvak niġiñġitchaa..
 akkuvak niġi-nġit+kaa
 now eat-not-IND.3S3S
 ‘He is not eating it now.’
- b. Akkuvak niġiñġitchuq
 akkuvak niġi-nġit+tuq
 now eat-IND.3S
 ‘He is not eating now.’

These sentences are in the indicative mood. Notice that here niġi- ‘eat’ is an agentive base, as we saw in Chapter 4. Now, compare (377) with:

- (378) a. Akkuvak niġiñġitchumiun niġisukisiruq.
 akkuvak niġi-nġit+kumiunniġisuk+kisi+tuq
 now eat-not-CND.4S3s be.hungry-will-IND.3S
 ‘If he does not eat it now, he will be hungry.’
- b. Akkuvak niġiñġitchumi niġisukisiruq
 akkuvak niġi-nġit+kumi niġisuk+kisi+tuq
 now eat-not-CND.4S be.hungry-will-IND.3S
 ‘If he does not eat, he will be hungry.’
- c. Akkuvak niġiñġitchumi piiñġiġisiruq.
 akkuvak niġi-nġit+kumi piiñġiġiq+kisi+tuq
 now eat-not-CND.4S go.bad-will-IND.3S
 ‘If it is not eaten now, it will go bad.’

These sentences are in the conditional mood. In (378a, b), niġî- ‘eat’ behaves as an agentive base, as expected, but notice that in (378a, c), it behaves as a patientive base. Thus, niġî- ‘eat’ becomes ambivalent in the conditional mood. Also compare (377) with:

- (379) a. Niġiñġitñamiun niġisuliqsuq.
 niġi-nġit+’namiun niġisuk-liq+tuq
 eat-not-CNS.4S3S be.hungry-become-IND.3S
 ‘When he did not eat it, he got hungry.’
- b. Niġiñġitñami niġisuliqsuq.
 niġi-nġit+’nami niġisuk-liq+tuq
 eat-not-CNS.4S be.hungry-become-IND.3S
 ‘When he did not eat, he got hungry.’
- c. Niġiñġitñami piiñġiqsuq.
 niġi-nġit+’nami piiñġiq+tuq
 eat-not-CNS.4S go.bad-IND.3S
 ‘When it was not eaten, it went bad.’

These sentences are in the consequential mood. In (379a, b), niġî- ‘eat’ behaves as an agentive base, but in (379a, c), it behaves as a patientive base. Thus, niġî- ‘eat’ becomes ambivalent in the consequential mood as well. To summarize, niġî- ‘eat,’ which is agentive in the indicative mood, becomes ambivalent in the conditional-consequential mood. It is the only verb base so far known

to behave this way to the present author, who has no explanation for the fact that it alone should behave thus. There may, in fact, be other such verb bases.

The fact that its ambivalent behavior is restricted to dependent clauses rather than to main clauses is well motivated; the ambivalent behavior in a dependent clause is more likely to be interpreted correctly than the one in a main clause, since a dependent clause has an extra clue to the correct interpretation that a main clause lacks—the accompanying main clause. So, we may predict that if a verb base is ambivalent in *either* main or dependent clauses but not in both, it will be ambivalent in dependent, rather than main, clauses.

An alternative account may be available. That is, the conditional-consequential mood is result-oriented in meaning in that it presents the event in relation to a subsequent event that takes place as its result. Thus, the patientivizing effect of the mood is in line with the general semantic properties of patientive bases that we saw in Chapter 4, in focusing on the result of the event.

In connection with this, it is interesting to note parenthetically that the phenomena viewed this way are reminiscent of Tongan facts, where clauses coordinated by the conjunction *mo* ‘and (simultaneously)’ have the S or the A coreferent in two clauses coordinated, whereas those coordinated by *’o* ‘and as a result’ have the S or the O coreferent (Dixon (1994: 176), Otsuka (2000: 119-138)). Common to these Iñupiaq and Tongan cases is the connection between the result-oriented meaning of a clause and the morphosyntactic prominence of the O in that clause, manifested as a patientivizing effect in Iñupiaq and as coreference of the S and O in Tongan.

5.3.3. Other factors that may change polarity in other Eskimo languages

We have seen in the preceding sections that, in Iñupiaq, the polarity of a verb base may be changed by certain postbases or a certain mood. These are all the currently known factors that change the polarity of a verb base in Iñupiaq, but in other Eskimo languages, namely CSY and CAY, there are two more factors that may change the polarity of a verb base. Let us look at each of them briefly to

see the range of factors that may change the polarity of a verb base in Eskimo languages. I owe the observations in this section to Steven Jacobson (p.c.).

5.3.3.1. Lexical meaning of the verb base in particular instance of use (CSY)

In CSY, the verb base *esghagh-* has two apparently related but distinct meanings: ‘see’ and ‘open one’s eyes.’ Consider the following examples:

(380) CSY (Badten *et al.* (1987: 58))

- a. *esghaghaa*
eaghagh-aa
see-IND.3S3S
‘he saw it, he opened his eyes unto it’
- b. *esghaatuq*
esghagh-ute-uq
see-HT-IND.3S
‘he saw (something)’
- c. *esghaghtuq*
esghagh-tuq
open.eyes-IND.3S
‘he opened his eyes’

In (380a, b), *esghagh-* behaves as a patientive base, because it requires a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive in (380b). (Note that in CSY, *-ute-*, whose equivalent in Iñupiaq, *:uti-*, is an applicative postbase (Sections 2.4.2.2.2, 3.1.3.1), functions as a half-transitive postbase.) In this case, it means ‘see.’ This verb base may behave as an agentive base as well, as in (380a, c). And, in this case, it means ‘open one’s eyes’ rather than ‘see’ (380c). To summarize:

- (i) *esghagh-* has two apparently related but distinct meanings: ‘see’ and ‘open one’s eyes.’
- (ii) When it means ‘see,’ it is patientive; but when it means ‘open one’s eyes,’ it is agentive.

Thus, in this case, the polarity of the verb base is determined by the lexical meaning it conveys in a particular instance of use.

Although we have not looked at CSY in this work, the correlation between the patientive behavior and the meaning ‘see,’ on the one hand, and between the agentive behavior and the meaning ‘open one’s eyes,’ on the other, appears to be conditioned by a similar mechanism as we have seen for Iñupiaq. Thus, of the two meanings ‘see’ and ‘open one’s eyes,’ the former is more patient-oriented and the latter more agent-oriented. The meaning ‘see’ is generally more patient-oriented in that it portrays the agent’s catching sight of the patient without implying the former’s attempt to do so. On the other hand, the meaning ‘open one’s eyes’ is generally more agent-oriented in that it only portrays the agent’s attempt to catch sight of something, without implying whether or not the attempt is successful. And the more patient-oriented meaning, ‘see,’ conditions patientive behavior of the verb base, while the more agent-oriented meaning, ‘open one’s eyes,’ conditions agentive behavior of the verb base. Thus, just as we saw for Iñupiaq, the polarity of the verb base is changed by semantic factors, in this case the lexical meaning of the verb base itself.

5.3.3.2. Register (CAY)

The register, either formal or casual, may change the polarity of a verb base in CAY. Thus, consider the following examples:

(381) CAY, formal register

- a. Angutem kuvaa meq.
 angute-m kuve-aa meq-∅
 man-REL.S spill-IND.3S3S water-ABS.S
 ‘The man spilled the water.’
- b. Meq kuv’uq.
 meq-∅ kuve-uq
 water-ABS.S spill-IND.3S
 ‘The water spilled.’

- c. Angun kuviuq.
 angute-∅ kuve-i-uq
 man-ABS.S spill-HT-IND.3S
 ‘The man spilled (something).’
- d. * Angun kuv’uq.
 angute-∅ kuve-uq
 man-ABS.S spill-IND.3S
 Intended: ‘The man spilled (something).’

These sentences are in a formal register, such as is recorded in Jacobson (1984). In this register, as (381a, b) shows, *kuve-* ‘spill’ is patientive. As is expected, then, it must take a half-transitive postbase to have the person who spills water act as the S, as in (381c); it cannot have the person who spills water act as the S in the plain intransitive version, as in (381d).

Compare this with the following example:

(382) CAY, casual register (Steven Jacobson (p.c.))

Angun kuv’uq.
 angute-∅ kuve-uq
 man-ABS.S spill-IND.3S
 ‘The man spilled (something).’

This example is in a casual register. Such sentences are volunteered in less monitored speech; when asked about the rightness of such sentences, speakers correct themselves and state that they are ‘wrong.’ Nevertheless, such sentences are common in casual registers (Jacobson (p.c.)).

Notice that, in this example, *kuve-* ‘spill’ has the person who spills water as the S in the plain intransitive version, which is impossible in formal registers (381d). Of course, (381a, b, c) is also possible in this register, so here *kuve-* ‘spill’ turns out to be ambivalent.

Thus, in CAY, the register may change the polarity of a verb base; an otherwise patientive base may behave as an ambivalent base in casual registers. In this case, unlike those cases we have seen previously, there are no apparent semantic factors in casual registers that may favor agentive

behaviors of otherwise patientive bases; it is not likely that the casual register will put more focus on the agent's process than the formal register. Rather, we should attribute this agentivizing effect of the casual register to some other factor.

Now, the expression 'He spilled (something)' has the following two forms depending on the polarity of *kave-* 'spill.' If it is patientive, the expression will be:

- (383) *kuvuiq*
 kuve-i-uq
 spill-HT-IND.3S
 'he spilled (something)'

whereas if it is agentive or ambivalent, the expression will be:

- (384) *kuv'uq*
 kuve-uq
 spill-IND.3S
 'he spilled (something)'

Now, (383) and (384) differ in the length of the material. (383) is longer than (384) in two respects:

- (i) In terms of phonetic length. Phonetically, (383) is [kuvviuq] and (384) is [kuvvuq] (see Jacobson (1995: 10)).
- (ii) In terms of the number of morphemes. (383) is made up of three morphemes, while (384) is made up of two morphemes.

And, in general, casual registers favor shorter expressions over longer ones more than formal registers do. (Thus, in English, *want to* is contracted to *wanna* in casual registers more often than in formal registers.) Then, if (383) and (384) are to be used in different registers, we may expect the former, the longer expression, to be used in more formal registers, and the latter, the shorter one, to be used in more casual registers, rather than vice versa. And this is indeed the case.

Thus, in this case, the agentivizing effect of the casual register is attributed to the tendency of

the casual register to drop the half-transitive postbase, rather than to the semantic effect that the casual register may have.

We have briefly looked at two cases in other Eskimo languages wherein the lexical meaning of the verb base or the register is responsible for the change of a verb base's polarity. There are no such cases apparent in Iñupiaq, but, especially with regard to the second case we saw above, it may be because I have had recourse to more monitored registers, such as narratives and elicited examples. I have been unable to utilize less monitored registers, such as sentences overheard from spontaneous conversations, partly because of my lack of knowledge of Iñupiaq and partly because Iñupiaq, unlike CAY, is now used only among a rather small number of older speakers. Similar phenomena as reported here may be found in Iñupiaq as well after more thorough research.

5.4. Summary

We have seen that, in Iñupiaq, the polarity of a verb base is not necessarily completely solid, but may be somewhat fluid. There are several facts that demonstrate this:

- (i) Some verb bases may have the S corresponding with either the A or O (ambivalent bases), as we saw in Section 5.1. Many such verb bases have semantic features that characterize both agentive and patientive bases.
- (ii) Some verb bases may or may not take a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive, as we saw in Section 5.2. The presence or absence of a half-transitive postbase is conditioned by the meaning of the verb base. When the verb base has semantic features that characterize agentive bases, the half-transitive postbase does not appear; but when the verb base has semantic features that characterize patientive bases, the half-transitive postbase does appear.
- (iii) Certain postbases and a certain mood change agentive bases to patientive or patientive bases to agentive, as we saw in Section 5.3. Postbases with agentivizing effects have semantic

features that characterize agentive bases, and postbases with patientivizing effects have semantic features that characterize patientive bases.

Thus, in such fluid cases as well, we observe the same correlation between the polarity and the meaning of the verb base as we saw in Chapter 4.

Chapter 6. Concluding remarks

6.1. Summarizing the findings

After providing a grammatical sketch of Iñupiaq in Chapter 2, this work has focused on agentive and patientive bases in Iñupiaq. Our topics all concern the question: How are agentive and patientive bases distributed? To answer this question, I have examined two interrelated issues:

- (i) What kind of verb bases are agentive bases, and what kind of verb bases are patientive bases?
- (ii) Is the distinction between the agentive and patientive classes solid?

The first issue was addressed in Chapter 4, and the second issue in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 4, to uncover the semantic characteristics of agentive and patientive bases, I provided the polarity of all the lexical labile bases and isolated several recurring semantic features that characterize agentive or patientive bases. For example, other things being equal, verb bases that focus on the agent's process are more likely to be agentive than those that focus on the patient's state resulting from the action; and verb bases that refer to events over which the agent does not have control are more likely to be patientive than those referring to events over which the agent has control. All such semantic features have to do with saliency of the agent or patient. Thus, all other things being equal, verb bases that refer to events wherein the agent is salient are more likely to be agentive, and verb bases that refer to events wherein the patient is salient are more likely to be patientive. To summarize, agentive and patientive bases are distributed on a semantic basis; the meaning of the verb base is responsible for its polarity.

In Chapter 5, I addressed the question of whether or not the distinction between the classes of agentive and patientive bases is clear. To answer this question, I looked at several cases in which an agentive base does not always behave as an agentive base or a patientive base does not always

behave as a patientive base.

In Section 5.1, I examined verb bases that have the S corresponding with either the A or O, which I call ambivalent bases. Some ambivalent bases, called transitive-ambivalent bases, have two usages of their transitive version—one whose A corresponds with the S and the other whose O corresponds with the S. These verb bases all refer to motion. Other ambivalent bases, called intransitive-ambivalent bases, have two usages of their intransitive version, one whose S corresponds with the A and the other whose S corresponds with the O. Some intransitive-ambivalent bases refer to the change of state of the patient, but the events to which they refer are generally those that take some extended length of time or those in which the manner of the agent's involvement is specified. That is, such verb bases may focus either on the agent's process or on the patient's resultant state. Other intransitive-ambivalent bases refer to body care action. Their S may refer either to someone acting on others or to someone acting on him/herself.

In Section 5.2, I examined verb bases that may optionally take a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive. For some of them, the presence or absence of a half-transitive postbase in antipassive forms is correlated with whether the patient is human or non-human. When the patient is human, they require a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive, in line with patientive bases, whereas when the patient is non-human, they do not require a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive, in line with agentive bases.

In Section 5.3, I investigated cases in which certain postbases or a certain mood changes the polarity of a verb base. Thus, agentive bases become patientive when followed by certain postbases with semantic features that characterize patientive bases, and patientive bases become agentive when followed by certain postbases with semantic features that characterize agentive bases. We also saw one case in which the consequential-conditional mood changes an agentive base into a patientive base.

All these data point to the conclusion that an agentive base is not always totally agentive, and a

patientive base is not always totally patientive, but that the distinction between the agentive and patientive classes is more fluid, so that an agentive base may become patientive or vice versa.

6.2. Further implications of the findings

Although this work is concerned with Iñupiaq, its findings have some implications in wider contexts.

We saw that agentive and patientive bases are distributed on a semantic basis. And it is well known that many languages have two morphosyntactically characterized classes of verbs, similar to those of agentive and patientive bases in Iñupiaq. We may ask ourselves, then, how these two classes of verbs are distributed in other languages. Since morphosyntactically coherent classes of verbs, such as transitive verbs and middle verbs, often have coherent semantic characteristics cross-linguistically, we may wonder whether classes of verbs similar to agentive and patientive bases may have similar semantic characteristics cross-linguistically. And, at least to some extent, this seems to be the case. In Section 4.4, I picked out 100 verbs from four languages; English, Japanese, CAY and Iñupiaq, and examined how many of the verbs correspond in polarity between Iñupiaq and one of the other three languages. The result is that between Iñupiaq and any of the other three languages, the percentage of coincidence in polarity was higher than was expected if agentive and patientive verbs were not distributed similarly. In fact, this is in line with past works; there have been several previous studies that compare some languages in terms of semantic characteristics of agentive and patientive bases. These works show that there are some semantic features commonly found in agentive verbs and patientive verbs cross-linguistically. For example, Kazenin (1994) says that agentive verbs tend to denote the agent's activity, actions with a lower effect on the patient, and so on, while patientive verbs tend to denote actions that affect the patient, the patient's motion, and so on. This work reached similar conclusions, by counting the number of

agentive and patientive verbs in different languages. However, at the same time, this work also identified some semantic features conditioning the distribution that are not found cross-linguistically. For example, we saw that, all other things being equal, verb bases that refer to events over which the agent does not have control are more likely than otherwise to be patientive, and verb bases whose patient is high in animacy are more likely than otherwise to be patientive, etc. Such semantic features have not been reported to condition the distribution of the two classes of verbs cross-linguistically by such linguists as Kazenin (1994). That is, some semantic features that condition the distribution may be language-particular. Therefore, we may conclude that languages condition the distribution of the two classes of verbs similarly, but differ on finer points, so that some relevant semantic features may be language-particular.

This work also has implications for the issue of ambivalent bases. Verbs that may have either polarity have been seldom investigated in the literature. This work provides the first coherent study of such verbs in a language. What little evidence this and other works on such verbs provides, suggests that ambivalent verbs are not a totally irregular phenomena, but have some regular patterns. Thus, we saw that transitive-ambivalent bases, whose transitive version has two usages, all refer to motion; and this applies to other languages for which similar verbs are reported.

Another issue that has cross-linguistic implications is the change in polarity effected by postbases or a mood. For example, we have seen that a postbase with perfect meaning has a patientivizing effect in Ifiupiaq, and similar phenomena are found in Tongan as well. Also, we saw that the consequential-conditional mood, which has result-oriented meaning, allows niġji- 'eat,' which is otherwise agentive, to behave as a patientive base; and similarly in Tongan and Japanese, with result-oriented conjunctions the coordinated sentences have the S coreferent with the O.

Thus, phenomena reported here may not be totally language-specific. It would be interesting to ask ourselves whether such phenomena are actually more wide-spread than they may appear from

the fact that they have seldom been reported in the linguistic literature.

6.3. Directions for future research

Let us summarize what remains to be done in the future research with regard to the topic we have been discussing.

Degrees of agentivity/patientivity

In this work I have shown the following two points:

- (i) The polarity of a verb base is correlated with its meaning.
- (ii) The distinction between agentive and patientive bases is not clear.

With these points in mind, we may ask ourselves the question: Are all agentive bases equally agentive, and all patientive bases equally patientive, or are some agentive bases more agentive than others and some patientive bases more patientive than others? That is—is the polarity of the verb base a matter of either-or or more-or-less? I, as well as previous scholars, have been so far tacitly assuming that all agentive bases are equally agentive, and all patientive bases are equally patientive. But the findings in this work provide several pieces of evidence to the contrary.

As we saw in Chapter 4, there are several semantic features that characterize agentive or patientive bases. They are interrelated in that all the semantic features that characterize agentive bases have to do with salience of the agent, while all those that characterize patientive bases have to do with salience of the patient. However, they are independent of each other, in that an agentive base does not necessarily have all the semantic features that characterize agentive bases, and a patientive base does not necessarily have all the semantic features that characterize patientive bases. As a result, a semantic feature that characterizes agentive bases and another that characterizes patientive bases may cooccur in the same verb base. For example, *akkuaq*- ‘catch,’ which is patientive, has the semantic feature of having an agent-oriented meaning component, in that it

implies the agent's hand as the patient's locus of rest, which generally characterizes agentive bases, and the semantic feature of referring to events in which the agent is passively involved, which generally characterizes patientive bases. On the other hand, *quppîq*- 'split,' which is also patientive, has semantic features of referring to the patient's change of state, of referring to instantaneous actions, and of implying impact on the patient, all of which characterize patientive bases, but also has a semantic feature of having a non-human patient, which may condition agentive bases.

Thus, not all the patientive bases have the same set of semantic features that characterize patientive bases, and not all the agentive bases have the same set of semantic features that characterize agentive bases. This is expected given the semantic heterogeneity of verb bases. But we may ask ourselves whether such semantic heterogeneity does not give rise to morphosyntactic heterogeneity in the classes of agentive and patientive bases. And, indeed, it does. As we saw in Chapter 5, there are several pieces of evidence that show that, morphosyntactically, some verb bases behave more like agentive bases than others, and some verb bases behave more like patientive bases than others:

- (i) The existence of ambivalent bases, which have the S corresponding with either the A or O. Morphosyntactically, they are less agentive than *bona fide* agentive bases, and less patientive than *bona fide* patientive bases.
- (ii) Optionality of half-transitive postbases. Morphosyntactically, verb bases that may optionally take half-transitive postbases are more patientive than those that never take half-transitive postbases, and more agentive than those that always take half-transitive postbases to become antipassive.
- (iii) Certain patientive bases may become agentive when followed by postbases with agentivizing effect, but not others. Morphosyntactically, the former are more agentive than the latter.

Thus, we may conceive of agentivity and patientivity not as two mutually exclusive properties,

each of which is homogeneous, but as two extreme properties on a single scale, between which there are various degrees of weaker agentivity and patientivity. Thus, to take *agliq̃i-* ‘read,’ *tamuq-* ‘chew,’ *tigluk-* ‘hit,’ *akkuaq-* ‘catch,’ and *qupp̃iq-* ‘split’ as an illustration, we may arrange them on a scale of agentivity/patientivity as follows:

most agentive most patientive
agliq̃i- ‘read’ < *tamuq-* ‘chew’ < *tigluk-* ‘hit’ < *akkuaq-* ‘catch’ < *qupp̃iq-* ‘split’

agliq̃i- ‘read’ is the most agentive of all these five verb bases; it never takes a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive. *tamuq-* ‘chew’ is more patientive than *agliq̃i-* ‘read,’ because it can optionally take a half-transitive postbase; but the half-transitive postbase is always optional. *tigluk-* ‘hit’ is more patientive than *tamuq-* ‘chew,’ because it requires a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive when the patient is human; however, it differs from *bona fide* patientive bases in that the half-transitive postbase is optional when the patient is non-human. *akkuaq-* ‘catch’ and *qupp̃iq-* ‘split’ are both patientive in that they both require a half-transitive postbase to become antipassive when no specific postbase follows. But *akkuaq-* ‘catch’ is more agentive than *qupp̃iq-* ‘split’ in that the former behaves as an agentive base when followed by a postbase with an agentivizing effect, whereas the latter always behaves as a patientive base, even when followed by a postbase with an agentivizing effect.

Thus, there are degrees of morphosyntactic agentivity and patientivity. By comparing the semantic features of verb bases of different degrees of agentivity/patientivity, then, we may assess which semantic feature is most effective. For example, let us compare the semantic features of *akkuaq-* ‘catch’ and *qupp̃iq-* ‘split’:

	akkuaq- ‘catch’	quppîq- ‘split’
Agentive semantic features	-has an agent-oriented meaning component	-the patient being non-human
Patientive semantic features	-the agent passively involved	-refers to the patient’s change of state -refers to instantaneous action -implies impact on the patient
Morphosyntactically	less patientive	more patientive

From these, we may conclude that the semantic feature of having an agent-oriented meaning component is more effective than that of having a non-human patient in making a verb base more agentive, or that the semantic feature of having a passively involved agent is less effective than those of referring to the patient’s change of state, of referring to instantaneous action and of implying impact on the patient in making a verb base more patientive.

Thus, by comparing the semantic features and the morphosyntactic behaviors of verb bases of various degrees of agentivity/patientivity, we may be able to investigate such questions as follows:

- (i) What kinds of verb bases are morphosyntactically more agentive than others, and what kinds of verb bases are morphosyntactically more patientive than others?
- (ii) Of those semantic features conditioning agentive or patientive bases identified in Chapter 4, which semantic feature is more effective than which in making a verb base agentive or patientive?

To address such issues, however, we will need to look more deeply into the meanings and the morphosyntactic behaviors of the verb bases than we did in this work, so they must be reserved for future research.

Cross-linguistic study on Eskimo languages

In this work, we have almost exclusively focused on Iñupiaq, but other Eskimo languages also have morphosyntactic classes of agentive and patientive bases that are defined similarly to those in Iñupiaq. Then, we may want to ask ourselves the question: How are agentive and patientive bases distributed in other Eskimo languages? First, it is possible that cognates have the same polarity in all the Eskimo languages, so that an agentive base in Proto-Eskimo will be agentive in all the daughter languages, and a patientive base in Proto-Eskimo will be patientive in all the daughter languages. However, actually, this does not seem to be the case, since there are cognates that have different polarities in different languages. Consider the following examples:

- (385) a. Anjutim ikayuḡaa aḡnaq.
 aḡuti-m ikayuq+kaa aḡnaq+∅
 man-RELS help-IND.3S3S woman-ABS.S
 ‘The man helped the woman.’
- b. Anjun ikayuqtuq.
 aḡuti+∅ ikayuq+tuq
 man-ABS.S help-IND.3S
 ‘The man helped out.’

This shows that Iñupiaq ikayuq- ‘help’ is agentive, because it does not require a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive. Compare this with the following examples:

- (386) CAY
- a. Angutem ikayuraa arnaq.
 angute-m ikayur-aa arnaq-∅
 man-RELS help-IND.3S3S woman-ABS.S
 ‘The man helped the woman.’
- b. Angun ikayuutuq.
 angute-∅ ikayur-ute-uq
 man-ABS.S help-HT-IND.3S
 ‘The man is helping out.’

This shows that CAY *ikayur*- ‘help’ is patientive, because it requires a half-transitive postbase to be antipassive. Thus, Iñupiaq *ikayuq*- ‘help’ and CAY *ikayur*- ‘help,’ which are cognates (Fortescue *et al.* (1994: 124)), differ in polarity. This shows that cognates do not necessarily have the same polarity in different languages. This raises the question: are agentive and patientive bases in other languages distributed similarly as in Iñupiaq? There are at least two possibilities:

- (i) Agentive and patientive bases are distributed similarly as are those in Iñupiaq. It is because Iñupiaq *ikayuq*- ‘help’ and CAY *ikayur*- ‘help’ differ, albeit slightly, in meaning that they differ in polarity.
- (ii) Agentive and patientive bases are distributed differently in each language, so that even verbs with apparently the same meaning may have different polarities in different languages.

At present, I have no evidence to say which is right, so I have to leave the question open.

Thus, it will be interesting to carry out research on the distribution of agentive and patientive bases in other Eskimo languages as closely as I did for Iñupiaq in Chapter 4. That will explain how Eskimo languages are similar or different in terms of distribution of agentive and patientive bases. When such studies have been done on a number of Eskimo languages, we may be able to proceed to reconstructing the polarity of each verb base and the distribution of agentive and patientive bases in Proto-Eskimo.

Appendices

In the following, I will provide two texts from Gray *et al.* (1996-2002): texts 14 and 29.

Iñupiaq narratives are divided into two categories: unipchaaq, plural unipchaat, and uqaaqtuaq, plural uqaaqtuat. Unipchaat are ‘stories which stem from myths and legends,’ whereas uqaaqtuat are ‘stories based on actual happenings, or experiences’ (Gray *et al.* (1979: iii)).

Of the two texts presented here, text 14 is an unipchaaq and text 29 is an uqaaqtuaq, as evidenced by the first verb in each text: unipchaaqtuallan̄niaqtun̄a ‘I am going to tell an unipchaaq’ in text 14 and uqaaqtuallan̄nialgitchun̄a ‘I am going to tell another uqaaqtuaq’ in text 29.

Appendix 1. Text 14

Niviaqsiq piitchuaq (A young woman who disappeared)

This text is an unipchaaq recorded in Ambler, Alaska on August 28, 1999. It was told by Minnie Gray, my principal consultant, in conjunction with her sister, Clara Lee. The running time of the text is 14:37. A different version of the English translation of this text is in Kaplan *et al.* (2004).

In the following presentation, ‘M’ indicates the beginning of Minnie Gray’s lines, and ‘C’ Clara Lee’s lines.

1. Uvva unipchaaqtuallanñaqtuᅇa niviaqsiamik taimma
 M: unipchaaq+tuᅇq-llak+niaq+tuᅇa niviaqsiq÷mik
 PR.ADV tell.unipchaaq-slowly-long-will-IND.1S young.woman-MOD.S AS.ADV
 piitchuamik
 piit+tuᅇq÷mik
 disappear-one.that.Vs-MOD.S
 I will tell a story about a young woman who disappeared,
2. anayuuqaak utuqqanaaᅇuᅇataqhutik paniksik
 anayuuqaak-k utuqqaq-naaq+uq+ataq+hutik panik+tik
 parent-REL.3SD old.one-very-turn.into-finally-CTR.4D daughter-ABS.4DS
 piitchiaᅇikkanaᅇnik.
 piitchiaᅇi-kkaq:aknik
 miss-one.that.is.Ved-MOD.3DS
 about a story where her parents became old and missed their daughter.
3. Taavrumiᅇa unipchaaqtuallanñaqtuᅇa.
 unipchaaq+tuᅇq-llak+niaq+tuᅇa
 AVN.MOD.S tell.a.story-slowly-long-will-IND.1S
 I will tell a story about that.

10. Uvva aasriñ ilaatni ukiagmi tara tinmiat
 ukiag÷mi tinmiaq-t
 PR.ADV and one.time fall-LOC.S H.ADV goose-ABS.P
 aullaacsilgataqtuani,
 aullaq-aqsi-lgataq+tuag÷ni
 go-start-finally-one.that.Vs-LOC.P
 And then, one time in fall, when geese were starting to go,
11. tatpavuna kilvaqhuni aullaqsruǵnialgitchuq.
 kilvaq+huni aullaqsruq+niaq-lgit+tuq
 ABE.TRM go.back-CTR.4S pick.berries-go.to.V-again-IND.3S
 she went to the back of the tundra to pick berries again.
12. Aimmauranigguuq immigataqfugu aullaqsruqtuq.
 aimmaq:uraq-ni=gguuq immiq+ataq+fugu aullaqsruq+tuq
 basket-small-ABS.3SS=HS fill-finally-CTR./3S pick.berries-IND.3S
 Filling her small basket, she picked berries.
13. Tara immigataqfugu pikmiuǵlu,
 immiq+ataq+fugu pi+kmi+tuq=lu
 H.ADV fill-finally-CTR./3S do-too-IND.3S=and
 After she filled it,
14. tinmiat takanna uququqfinaananun misiqut,
 tinmiaq-t uququqfinaaq:anun mit^tiq+tut
 goose-ABS.P ADR.ADV place.down.below-TRM.3SS land-quickly-IND.3P
 geese quickly landed below her,
15. tinmiagaagruich, nunamun.
 tinmiaq+aaǵruk:ich nuna÷mun
 goose-many-ABS.P land-TRM.S
 lots of geese, to the land.
16. Taatna aullaqsruǵniaqhuni.
 aullaqsruq+niaq+huni
 that.way pick.berries-try.to-CTR.4S
 She was trying to pick berries.

17. Ukuak nukatpiak tikiñnaniktignigaak.
 nukatpiaq-k tikit±anik^tiq+niq+kaak
 PR.REL.D young.man-REL.D reach-PERF-quickly-EVID-IND.3D3S
 Two young men reached her.
18. Tasrirriutiaqsiliğugaagguuq.
 tasriuqRiq:uti-aqsi-liq+u+kaak=gguuq
 grab.by.hand-start-APPLIC-start-quickly-EMP-IND.3D3S=HS
 They started grabbing her by the hand.
19. Tiguliğugaak.
 tigu-liq+u+kaak
 grab-quickly-EMP-IND.3D3S
 They quickly grabbed her.
20. Tasriuqfugu aullautiaqsiliğaaq
 tasriuq+fugu aullaq:uti-aqsi-liq+kaak
 grab.by.hand-CTR./3S go-APPLIC-start-quickly-IND.3D3S
 They held her by the hand and quickly started taking her.
21. Taragguuq aullağungitłuni kinitakaluaqtuq naami.
 tara=gguuq aullaq+uk-nğit+luni kinitak+kaluaq+tuq
 H.ADV=HS go-want.to-not-CTR.4S brake-though-IND.3S no
 It is said that, not wanting to go, she resisted in vain.
22. Payanğitchaak.
 C: paya-nğit+kaak
 be.weaker.than-not-IND.3D3S
 She was not strong enough for the two of them.
23. li.
 M: yes
 Tara aimmani unisiğaa taatna immiilaktaq.
 aimmaq-ni unit^tiq+kaa immiq-llak^taq+ø
 H.ADV basket-ABS.4Sleave-just-IND.3S3S that.way fill-really-what.is.Ved-ABS.S
 Right. And she just left her basket that was really filled.

31. Qanuq aglaatai igligataqtut tara.
 aglaa=tai igliq+ataq+tut
 how but=NSP travel-for.a.long.time-IND.3P H.ADV
 I don't know how long they traveled.
32. llaatni nullalgitñamin anugaatchaamguuq
 nullaq-iglit+'namin anugaatchiaq-m=gguuq
 one.time camp-again-CNS.4P old.man-REL.S=HS
 uqautiuraagaqsiyaa:
 uqaq:uti:uraaq-aqsi+kaa
 talk-APPLIC-slowly-start-IND.3S3S
 One time, when they were camping again, an old man started telling her slowly.
33. 'Tara una tikisaqput pitlukumiñaitchiñ.'
 tikit^taq+kput pitluk+kumiñaq:it+tiñ
 H.ADV PR.ABS.S reach-what.is.Ved-ABS.1PS go.through-will-not-IIM.2S
 'Don't pass the place where we stop.'
34. Qanusriqtai.
 C: qanusriq=tai
 what.kind=NSP
 I wonder what kind of place it was.
35. 'Pitlukumiñaitchiñ.
 M: pitluk+kumiñaq:it+tiñ
 go.through-will-not-IIM.2S
 Don't pass it.
36. Tara tarakña utiḡnaqsiyaatin.
 utiq+naqsi+kaatin
 H.ADV H.ABL go.back-be.time.to.V-IND.3S2S
 Then it's time for you to go back from there.
37. Utiḡisirutin.
 utiq+kisi+tutin
 go.back-will-IND.2S
 You will go back.

38. Tasramma siqiñgum nui-rağağvian tuñaanun
 siqiñiq:um nui+rağaq+vik:an tunji:anun
 APN.ADV sun-REL.S rise-be.Ving-place.to.V-REL.3SS direction-TRM.3SS
 aullağisirutin.
 aullaq+kisi+tutin
 go-will-IND.2S
 You will go toward the sunrise (eastward).
39. Igligatağutin tasramma.
 igliq+ataq+utin
 travel-long-CTU.2S APN.ADV
 You will travel for a long time.
40. Kurritchuvich sikuiqsuamun tikitkisirutin
 kuukRit+yuvich siku:iq+tuaq÷mun tikit+kisi+tutin
 river-reach-CND.2S ice-have.no.more-one.that.Vs-TRM.S reach-will-IND.2S
 kuunmun.
 kuuk÷mun
 river-TRM
 When you reach the river, you will reach a river that has no more ice.
41. Siñiqfitchuvich tiprat sivuniqsuiğumagitin.
 siñiqfit+yuvich tipraq-t sivuniqsiuq+kuma+kitin
 reach.edge-CND.2S driftwood-ABS.P check-want.to-IND.2S3P
 When you reach the shore, you will check driftwood.
42. Tasramma tiprani tamaani umiaksran ittuq
 tipraq÷ni umiaq-ksraq-n it+tuq
 APN.ADV driftwood-LOC.P here.LOC boat-material.for.N-ABS.2SS be-IND.3S
 ilulik.
 ilu-lik+ø
 inside-one.with.N-ABS.S
 Among the driftwood will be your future boat, which has an inside.

43. Iluagguuq itna iluiqsaq.’
 ilu:a=gguuq ilu:iq^taq+∅
 inside-ABS.3SS=HS this.way inside-take-what.is.Ved-ABS.S
 Its inside is said to have been taken.’
44. Napaaqtuq suatai.
 C: napaaqtuq+∅ sua=tai
 tree-ABS.S what.ABS.S=NSP
 A tree or something.
45. li. Napaaqtuq.
 M: napaaqtuq+∅
 yes tree-ABS.S
 Yes. A tree.
46. ‘Tasramma simiksrana tamaaniittuq nuna.
 simik-ksraq:a it+tuq nuna+∅
 APN.ADV plug-material.for.N-ABS.3SS APE.LOC be-IND.3S mud-ABS.S
 ‘There will be mud to block its hole with.
47. Simiglugu ikiyumuutin.’
 simig+lugu iki+yumu+tutin
 plug-CTU./3S get.in-wish-IND.2S
 Plugging it, you will get in.’
48. Tara piñhiñaanugaluañiqsuq.
 C: pi-ñhiñaaq:u+kaluaq+niq+tuq
 H.ADV do-one.ready.to.V-be.N-though-EVID-IND.3S
 It is ready.
49. li. ‘Malguich tasramma argaatchiat tarani itkisirut.
 M: malguk:ich argaaq-tchiaq-t it+kisi+tut
 yes two-ABS.P APN.ADV glove-new-ABS.P H.LOC be-will-IND.3P
 Yes. ‘There will be two pairs of new gloves.

50. Tasramma saġvaqsiġataġuvich iññitkisirutin.
 saġvaqsiġ+ataġ+kuvich iñukRit+kisi+tutin
 APN.ADV float-long-CND.2S person-reach-will-IND.2S
 If you float down for a long time, you will reach people.
51. Aasriiñ iññitchuvich utlaaqsilijpatin
 iñuk:it+yuvich utlak-aqsi-liġ+patin
 and person-reach-CND.2S approach-start-quickly-CND.3P2S
 And then when you get to the people, if they start approaching you,
52. taapkuniġa argaanik taamna
 argaaq÷nik
 AVN.MOD.P glove-MOD.P AVN.ABS.S
 tikisigikkan aatchuġisigiñ.
 tikit^ti+ġi-kkaġ-n aatchuġ+kisi+kiñ
 come-Ver-have_as.N-one.that.is.Ved-ABS.2SS give-will-IND.2S3S
 you will give those gloves to the one that approaches you,
53. “Qirugiiññiqsuġ” itnaġlugu,
 qiruk+ik:it+niġ+tuġ itnaġ+lugu
 wood-be.good.N-not-EVID-IND.3S say.this-CTU./3S
 saying “It is not a good wood,”
54. itnaġaagguuġ.
 itnaġ+kaa=ġguuġ
 say.this-IND3S3S=HS
 he said so.
55. ‘Aasriiñ tasramma igliġutin,
 igliġ+utin
 and APN.ADV travel-CTU.2S
 ‘Then you will travel,
56. taatna suli apqusraaġisirutin iñuñni iñuuniaqtuani,
 apqusraaġ+kisi+tutin iñuk÷ni iñuuniaġ+tuaġ÷ni
 that.way and pass-will-IND.2S person-LOC.P live-one.that.Vs-LOC.P
 you will pass by (other) people living,

57. igligatalgillutin tasramma.
 igliq+ataq-igiti-llutin
 travel-long-again-CTU.2S APN.ADV
 and you will travel for a long time again.
58. Nutqanasruknağniğuvich sivuniqsiuğisigiñ.
 nutqana+sruknaq+niq+kuvich sivuniqsiuq+kisi+kiñ
 stop-supposedly-EVID-CND.2S check-will-IND.2S3S
 When you fell as if you have stopped, you will check it.
59. Tasramma anayuqaakpich piaknun nutqağisirutin.’
 anayuqaaq-kpich pi:aknun nutqaq+kisi+tutin
 APN.ADV parent-REL.2SD thing-TRM.3DS stop-will-IND.2S
 You will stop at your parents’ place.’
60. Tara kuunjakni itkisiñiqsuq.
 C: kuuk:akni it+kisi+niq+tuq
 H.ADV river-LOC.3DS be-will-EVID-IND.3S
 So it will be on the same river as them.
61. li.
 M: yes
 Yes.
 ‘Tara tikitchuvich ilitchuğikpatin aksiksinniaqnak sisamani
 tikit+yuvich ilitchigi+kpatin aksik^tit+niaq-’nak sisamaq÷ni
 H.ADV arrive-CND.2S find.out-CND3D2S touch-CAUS-will-NEGIMP.2S four-LOC.P
 uvluni.
 uvluq÷ni.
 day-LOC.P
 Yes. ‘When you arrive, when they find you out, don’t let them touch you for four days.
62. Tarani itkisirutin qirunmi taavrumani.
 it+kisi+tutin qiruk÷mi
 H.LOC be-will-IND.2S wood-LOC.S AVN.LOC.S
 You will be in that wood.

63. Aullaġniaqnak taapkua sisamat uvlut naatkaluaqnaġich,
 aullaq+niaq-'nak sisamaq-t uvluq-t naat+kaluaq-'naġich
 go-will-NEG.IMP.2S AVN.ABS.P four-ABS.P day-ABS.Ppass-though-CTN.2S3P
 Don't go without passing those four days.'
64. itnaqfugu alġaqsruġniġaa.
 itnaq+fugu alġaqsruq+niq+kaa
 say.this-CTR./3S advise-EVID-IND.3S3S
 Saying this to her, he advised her.
65. 'Aksiksinniaqnak anjajuqaapnun,' itnaqfugu.
 aksik^tit+niaq-'nak anjajuqaaq-pnunitnaq+fugu
 touch-CAUS-will-NEG.IMP.2S parent-TRM.2SD say.this-CTR..3S
 'Don't let your parents touch you,' he said.
66. Tara siñiktaaqsirut unnuavak siñikhutin
 siñiktaq-aqsi+tut unnuaq-vak siñik+hutin
 H.ADV stay.overnight-start-IND.3P night-whole.N sleep-CTR.4P
 itiqamin.
 itiq+'amin
 wake.up-CNS.4P
 Then they stayed overnight. They had slept all night when they woke up.
67. Qaukman takugaa imña sua
 qau+kman taku+kaa
 brighten-CNS.3S see-IND.3S3S S.ABS.S what.ABS.S
 pitlukumiñaisani.
 pitluk+kumiñaq:it^taq-ni
 pass.through-will-not-what.is.Ved-ABS.4SS
 When it brightened, she saw what she wouldn't pass through.

68. Suagguuq una pakmuᅇa qui,
 sua=gguuq qui+∅
 what.ABS.S=HS PR.ABS.S UN.TRM icicle-ABS.S
 taatna siku piyumiñaitchaagguuq taamna.
 siku+∅ pi+yumiñaq:it+kaa=gguuq
 that.way ice-ABS.S do-will-not-IND.3S3S=HS AVN.ABS.S
 There was this steep ice up there, and it is said that she wouldn't pass through that ice.
69. Pitlukumiñaitchuq.
 C: pitluk+kumiñaq:it+tuq
 pass.through-will-not-IND.3S
 She wouldn't pass through it.
70. li. Tara tautuktuagaqsiyai.
 M: tautuktuaq-aqsi+kai
 yes H.ADV watch-start-IND.3S3P
 Right. Then she started watching them.
71. Aullaqturguuq taatna sikukun mayuuraagaqsirut.
 aullaq+tut=gguuq siku-kunmayuq:uraaq-gaqsi+tut
 go-IND.3P=HS that.way ice-VIA.S go.up-slowly-start-IND.3P
 It is said that when they went through the ice, they started going up slowly.
72. Tiᅇmiaq imñia.
 tiᅇmiaq+∅
 goose-ABS.S S.ABS.S
 They were geese.
73. Iᅇguutiplugu ami.
 iᅇuk+uq:uti+plugu
 person-become.N-APPLIC-CTR./3S well
 They had turned into people to her.
74. Takku tara iᅇguutilgitchaat.
 C: iᅇuk+uq:uti-lgit+kaat
 because H.ADV person-become.N-APPLIC-again-IND.3P3S
 They had turned into people to her.

75. Tara iñuksrui||akmata taimma taututlaiqamigich
 M: iñuksruit-llak+kmata tautuk-tla:iq+'amigich
 H.ADV be.quiet-really-CNS.3P AS.ADV see-can-not.any.more-CNS.4S3P
 aullaqsiruuq.
 aullaq-aqsi+tuq
 go-start-IND.3S
 When they were really quiet and when she couldn't see them any more, she started going.
76. Tarali ilaa.
 C: tara=li
 H.ADV=as.for 3S.ABS
 That's her.
77. li.
 M: yes
 Tara siqiñgum tunjaanun nui rağağvian aullaqtuuq.
 siqiñiq:um tuni:anun nui+rağaq+vik:an aullaq+tuq
 H.ADV sun-RELS direction-TRM.3SS appear-be.Ving-place.to.V-REL.3SS go-IND.3S
 Yes. Then she went toward the sunrise.
78. Iqliqsaatchiagaqsiruuq.
 igliqsaq-tchiaq-aqsi+tuq
 go-fast-start-IND.3S
 She started going fast.
79. Aunniqsrali||anniqsuuq.
 aunniqsraq-li-llak+niq+tuq
 spots.of.melting.snow-make-really-EVID-IND.3S
 The snow was melting.
80. Aunniqsramun tara pi'ami asrianun pipluni,
 aunniqsraq÷mun pi+'ami asriaq÷nun pi+pluni
 spots.of.melting.snow-TRM.S H.ADV do-CNS.4S berry-TRM.P do-CTR.4S
 When she got to the spots of melting snow, after arriving at berries,

81. niġjurallagaqtuq asrianik aunġnignik.
 niġi:uraq-llak+aq+tuq asriaq÷nik aunġniq÷nik
 eat-just-really-always-IND.3S berry-MOD.P spots.of.melting.snow-MOD.P
 she always ate melted berries.
82. Taragguuq igliqhuni taatna.
 tara=gguuq igliq+huni
 H.ADV=HS travel-CTR.4S that.way
 It is said that she traveled that way.
83. Siñinialiqami taatna aunġniqsramun
 siñik+niaq-liq+'ami aunġniqsraq÷mun
 sleep-will-become-CNS.4S that.way spots.of.melting.snow-TRM.S
 siñiktukkallagaqtuq.
 siñiktukkaq-llak+aq+tuq
 go.to.sleep-really-always-IND.3S
 When she got sleepy, she always went to sleep on spots of melting snow.
84. Siñiktualлагаqtuq.
 siñik+tuaq-llak+aq+tuq
 sleep-long-really-always-IND.3S
 She always slept for a long time.
85. Takku uunnaġuġniqsuq.
 C: uunnaq+uq+niq+tuq
 because heat-turn.into.N-EVID-IND.3S
 The weather was getting hot.
86. Tara qanutun aglaatai igliġataqtuq tara.
 M: qanuq÷tun aglaa=tai igliq+ataq+tuq
 H.ADV how-SIM.S but=NSP travel-long-IND.3S H.ADV
 I don't know for how long, she traveled for a long time.
87. Aunġniqsraiqsuq takku.
 aunġniqsraq:iq+tuq
 spots.of.melting.snow-remove-IND.3S because
 (She could travel) Because there were not spots of melting snow any more.

88. Iluqani aukuq.
 auk+tuq
 everything melt-IND.3S
 Everything was melting.
89. Nunaġuqtuq.
 C: nuna+ġuq+tuq
 land-turn.into.N-IND.3S
 It turned into a land.
90. li. Taragguuq igliġataqtuq taatna.
 M: tara=gguuq igliq+ataq+tuq
 yes H.ADV=HS travel-long-IND.3S that.way
 Yes. It is said that she traveled for a long time that way.
91. Iñiqtuġataqtuq igliqpagitluni
 iñiqtuq-ataq+tuq igliq+pagit+luni
 get.tired-finally-IND.3S travel-too.much-CTR.4S
 She finally got tired from traveling too much.
92. Ittuallaatlaiġaaq.
 C: ittuaq-ġaa-tla:ġaaq
 stop.and.rest-once.in.a.while-can-one.that.does.not.V
 She never stopped to take a rest.
93. li. Tara ġaatni igliġitluni kuunmun siñiqfitchuq.
 M: igliq-ġit+luni kuuk=mun siñiqfīt+tuq
 yes H.ADV one.time travel-again-CTR.4S river-TRM.S reach.edge-IND.3S
 Right. Then one time she travelled again and came to the shore of a river.
94. Taatna kuunmun tikilġaniqsuq.
 kuuk=mun tikit-ġlak+niq+tuq
 that.way river-TRM.S reach-really-EVID-IND.3S
 That way she reached a river.

95. Tara kuunmun siñiqłitñami,
 kuuk÷mun siñiqłit+'nami
 H.ADV river-TRMS reach.edge-CNS.4S
 When she came to the shore of the river,
96. makua tiprat sivuniqsiuqtuagaqsiyai.
 tipraq-t sivuniqsiuq+tuqaq-aqsi+kai
 PE.ABS.P driftwood-ABS.P check-long-start-IND.3S
 she started checking the driftwood for a long time.
97. Imña itqagigaa.
 C: itqagi+kaa
 S.ABS.S remember-IND.3S3S
 She remembered it.
98. li.
 M: Yes.
99. Sivuniqsiuqtuqaługich taatna siñiqsrauraaqługich,
 sivuniqsiuq+tuqaq+ługich siñiqsraq:uraaq+ługich
 check-long-CTR./3P that.way walk.by-long-CTR./3P
 She checked it that way for a long time, walking by it for a long time,
100. taatnalugguuq manna napaaqtuq iñuum naammaņa
 taatna=lu=gguuq napaaqtuq+ø iñuk:um naammak:a
 that.way=and=HS PE.ABS.S tree-ABS.S person-REL.S right.size-ABS.3SS
 tikigaqsiyaa.
 tikit-aqsi+kaa
 reach-start-IND.3S3S
 and that way she came across this tree that was the right size for a person.
101. Itchauqmagu sualugguuq una,
 itchauq+kmagu sua=lu=gguuq
 look.into-CNS.3S3S what.ABS.S=and=HS PR.ABS.S
 When she looked inside of this,

102. taatna iluliaq napaaqtuǵraitchiaq iñuum naammaᅇa.
 iluliaq+ø napaaqtuq+raitchiaq+ø iñuk:um naammak:a
 that.way hollow.ABS.S tree-big-ABS.S person-REL.S right.size-ABS.3SS
 (it was) a hollow big tree which was the right size for a person.

103. Tara qanuǵviitchuq.
 qanuq+vik:it+tuq
 H.ADV do.how-place.to.V-have.no.N-IND.3S
 There was no way for her (other than to get into the tree).

104. Taruᅇa ikisraǵumaruq tara.
 iki+saq+kuma+tuq
 H.TRM get.in-try.-have.to-IND.3S H.ADV
 So she had to get in.

105. Takku ikkiviksrautni.
 C: iki+vik-ksraq:uti-ni
 because get.in-place.to.V-material.for.N-store.of.N-ABS.4SS
 That's the place she had to get in.

106. li. Tara ayakʼfugu ikipluni.
 M: ayak+ʼfugu iki+pluni
 yes H.ADV push.down-CTR./3S get.in-CTR.4S
 Yes. Then she pushed it down to the shore and got in.

107. Simiksraᅇa tarani inniqsuq.
 simik-ksraq:a it+niq+tuq
 plug-material.for.N-ABS.3SS H.LOC be-evid-IND.3S
 There was something with which to block it(s hole).

108. Taragguuq simikʼfugu tasramma simiksraᅇanik.
 tara=gguuq simik+ʼfugu simik-ksraq:anik
 H.ADV=HS block-CTR./3S APN.ADV plug-material.for.N-MOD.3SS
 Then she blocked it with something to block it with.

109. Immakumiñaitchuamik tarani simiksraqaqpaluñiqsuq.
 immak+kuminaq:it+tuq÷mik simik-ksraq-qaq+paluk+niq+tuq
 leak-will-not-one.that.Vs-MOD.S H.LOC plug-material.for.N-have-maybe-EVID-IND.3S
 Maybe there was something with which to block, which would not leak.
110. Surguuq ukua malguich argaatchiat tarani.
 su+t=gguuq malguk:ich argaaq-tchiaq-t
 what-ABS.P=HS PR.ABS.P two-ABS.P glove-new-ABS.P H.LOC
 And (there were) two pairs of new gloves there.
111. Ittuaḡniqsut.
 C: ittuaq+niq+tut
 stay-EVID-IND.3P
 They stayed there.
112. li. Tara siñigaqsiruaq.
 M: siñik-aqsi+tuq
 yes H.ADV sleep-start-IND.3S
 Yes. Then she started sleeping.
113. Saḡvaqsiqsiruaq taatna.
 saḡvaqsiq-aqsi+tuq
 float-start-IND.3S that.way
 She started floating that way.
114. Kaivittuq suruqtai taimma taatna.
 kaivit+tuq su+tuq=tai
 roll-IND.3S do.what-IND.3S-NSP AS.ADV that.way
 She was rolling somehow.
115. Ilaatnigguuq iglilgitluni,
 ilaatni=gguuq igliq-iglit+luni
 one.time=HS travel-again-CTR.4S
 One time she was travelling,

123. iñuk anuaqpaluktaqhuni tikigaqsiliġaa
 iñuk+∅ anuaq+paluktaq+huni tikit-aqsi-liq+kaa
 person-ABS.S paddle-can.be.heard.Ving-CTR.4S reach-start-quickly-IND.3S3S
 and a person, heard paddling, reached her.
124. Argaatchianigguuqtai maniġaa.
 argaaq-tchiaq÷nik=gguuq=tai mani-liq+kaa
 glove-new-MOD.P=HS=NSP show-start-IND.3S3S
 She started showing him new gloves.
125. “Qirugiiññiqsuq,” itnaġutin.
 qiruk+ik:it+niq+tuq itnaq+utin
 wood-be.good.N-not-EVID-IND.3S say.this-CTU.2S
 ‘Say “It is not a good wood.”’
126. Uvva argaaksratin,’ itnaq’lugu.
 argaaq-ksraq-tin itnaq+’lugu
 PR.ADV glove-material.for.N-ABS.2SP say.this-CTR./3S
 These will be your gloves,’ she said.
127. Kiñumunguuq aullaqtuq.
 kiñumun=gguuq aullaq+tuq
 backward=HS go-IND.3S
 It is said that he went back.
128. Tara igligaqsilġatalgitchuq.
 igliq-aqsi-lġataq-lgit+tuq
 H.ADV travel-start-finally-again-IND.3S
 Then she finally started traveling again.
129. Saġvaq sukaitchuguuq.
 saġvaq+∅ sukait+sugu+tuq
 current-ABS.S be.slow-EMP-IND.3S
 The current was indeed slow.

130. Tipiyaitchaa.

C: tipi-ya:it+kaa

stop-easily-not-IND.3S3S

The current wouldn't stop her.

131. li.

M: Right.

132. Qanuq aglaatai igligatalgitluni taatna,

aglaa=tai igliq+ataq-lgit+luni

how but=NSP travel-long-again-CTR.4S that.way

I don't know for how long, she traveled, for a long time again that way,

133. quaḡriaqsililgitchuq imma iñunmun

quaḡri-aqsi-liq-lgit+tuq iñuk÷mun

wake.up-start-quickly-again-IND.3SAS.ADV person-TRM.S

uqaqsruktaqtuamun.

uqaq±qsruktaq+tuq÷mun

talk-can.be.heard.Ving-one.that.Vs-TRM.S

and she started to wake up again to a person who could be heard talking:

134. 'Qirulluataq unna,' itnaqhutinguuq tatpamma,

qiruk-lluataq+∅ itnaq+hutin=gguuq

wood-good-ABS.S DE.ABS.S say.this-CTR.4P=HS ABN.ADV

'That down there is a good wood,' they said,

135. iñuk ayakpalilgitchuq.

iñuk+∅ ayak+paliq-lgit+tuq

person-ABS.S push.off-must-again-IND.3S

and a person must have pushed off again.

136. Tara anuaqsruktaqhuni tikitmani,

anuaq±qsruktaq+huni tikit+kmani

H.ADV paddle-can.be.heard.Ving-CTR.4S reach-CNS.3S4S

He could be heard paddling, when he reached her,

137. “Qirugiiññiqsuq,” itnaġutin.
 qiruk+ik:it+niq+tuq itnaġ+utin
 wood-be.good.N-not-EVID-IND.3S say.this-CTU.2S
 ‘Say “It is not a good wood.”’
138. Uvva argaaksratin,’ itnaġfugu aatchulgitchaa
 argaaq-ksraq-tin itnaġ+’fugu aatchuq-lġit+kaa
 PR.ADV glove-material.for.N-ABS.2SP say.this-CTR./3S give-again-IND.3S3S
 argaanik.
 argaaq÷nik
 glove-MOD.P
 These will be your gloves,’ saying this, she gave him gloves again.
139. Tara nunġitchai.
 C: nunġit+kai
 H.ADV pass-IND.3S3P
 She passed by them.
140. li. Tara iñuich malġuich takku uqautigikkañi.
 M: iñuk:ich malġuk:ich uqautigi-kkañi
 yes H.ADV person-ABS.P two-ABS.P because tell.about-PRT.3S3P
 Yes. Because he had told about two people.
141. Iġliġatalġitchuq taimma qanutun aglaatai.
 iġliq+ataq-lġit+tuq qanuq÷tun aglaa=tai
 travel-long-again-IND.3S AS.ADV how-SIM.S but=NSP
 I don’t know how long, she traveled for a long time again.
142. Siñikami qanutun aglaa siñigaġaa.
 siñik+’ami qanuq÷tun siñik+aq+kaa
 sleep-CNS.4S how-SIM.S but sleep-always-IND.3S3S
 When she slept, I don’t know how long she always slept.
143. Arriinalannuliġñāġuguuq.
 nala-nġu-liq+naġ+ugu+tuq
 well be.lying.down-be.tired.of.Ving-become-should.be.Ved-EMP-IND.3S
 It must be tiring to keep lying down.

144. Qapsiñitai uvluni tara igliqpa?
 qapsi÷ni=tai uvluc÷ni igliq+pa
 how.many-LOC.P=NSP day-LOC.P H.ADV travel-INT.3S
 For how many days did she travel?
145. Igligatalgitluni taatna immatai qanutun aglaan siñinjqpa?
 igliq-ataq-iglit+luni imma=tai qanuc÷tun siñik+niq+pa
 travel-long-again-CTR.4S that.way S.ADV=NSP how-SIM.S but sleep-EVID-INT.3S
 How did she sleep, traveling for a long time again?
146. Nutqanauraaqpaluktañiqhunigguuq nuti.
 nutqana:uraaq+paluktaq+niq+huni=gguuq surprise
 stop-long-can.be.heard.Ving-EVID-CTR.4S=HS surprise
 It sounded like she stopped.
147. Taragguuq nutqanauraaqpaluktañiqami aniñiuraagaqsiruq.
 tara=gguuq nutqana:uraaq+paluktaq+niq+'ami ani+nik:uraaq-aqsi+tuq
 H.ADV=HS stop-long-can.be.heard.Ving-EVID-CNS.4S go.out-try.to-slowly.start-IND.3S
 Then, when it sounded like she stopped for a while, she started trying to go out.
148. Aniñiuraaqhuni anikman
 ani+nik:uraaq+huni ani+kman
 go.out-try.to-slowly-CTR.4S go.out-CNS.3S
 She went out,
149. qinigtuagaqsiliqmagu sugguuq itchuak anayuqaak.
 qinigt+tuag-aqsi-liq+kmagu su-k=gguuq anayuqaaq-k
 see-slowly-start-quickly-CNS.3S3S what.ABS.D=HS VR.ABS.Dparent-ABS.3SD
 and she looked for her parents.
150. Tipillanñigaa taruñja.
 tipi-llak+niq+kaa
 stop-long-EVID-IND.3S3S H.TRM
 She stopped for a while.

151. Anayuqaak?

C: anayuqaaq-k
parent-ABS.3SD
Her parents?

152. li. Taatniuttuagaqsiruaq.

M: taatniut-tuaq-aqsi+tuq
yes stay-long-start-IND.3S
Yes. She started staying for a long time.

153. Iiitchuugiipkangitchuq taatniuttuagraaqhuni.
iiitchuugi+pkag-ngit+tuq taatniut+tuaq:uraaq+huni
know-CAUS-not-IND.3S stay-long-long-CTR.4S
She didn't make herself known as she stayed for a long time.

154. Itchuagli anayuqaak.
itchuak=li anayuqaaq-k
VR.ABS.D=as.for parents-ABS.3SD
As for her parents,...

155. Taimma ukiaq paniak piitchuaq.
ukiaq+ø panik:ak piit+tuq
AS.ADV fall-ABS.S daughter-ABS.3DS be.missing-PRT.3S
Since last fall their daughter had been missing.

156. Tara aimmaq tatpavakŋa paqitkalauŋaak.
aimmaq+ø paqit+kaluaq+kaak
H.ADV basket.ABS.S ABE.ABL find-though-IND.3D3S
They two found the basket all right.

157. Taimma sutilaana nalullakaak paniŋmik.
su^tilaaq:a nalu-llak+kaak panik=mik
AS.ADV do.what-Ving-ABS.3SS not.know-really-IND.3D3S daughter-REL.4DS
They did not know what happened to their daughter.

158. Takku tara.

C: because H.ADV
That's how it is.

159. Qirruulgataqtuk paninmiknun takku

M: qirruu-lgataq+tuk panik+miknun
be.crying-long-IND.3D daughter-TRM.4DS because
utuqqaquqmiruak.
utuqqaq+uq+kmi+tuak
old.one-turn.into.N-too-one.that.Vs-ABS.3D
The old couple had been crying for their daughter for a long time.

160. Parisuanak niviaqsiak imma piuq.
panik-tauq:ak niviaqsiak+ø pi+tuq
daughter-only-ABS.3DS young.woman-ABS.S S.ADV do-IND.3S
The young woman was their only daughter.

161. Tara qitungatuanak.

C: qitungaq-tuaq:ak
H.ADV child-only-ABS.3DS
Their only child.

162. li. Tara taatna itluni.

M: it+luni
yes H.ADV that.way stay-CTR.4S
Yes. She stayed that way.

163. Ukuagli anayuqaak.

ukuak=li anayuqaaq-k
PR.ABS.D=as.for parent-ABS.3SD
As for her parents, . . .

164. Tinmiuraq una ijitchugiaqsiliġaak paninmik atiqanik
 tinmiuraq+∅ ijitchugi-aqsi-liq+kaak panik÷mik atiq:anik
 bird-ABS.S PR.ABS.S see-start-quickly-IND.3D3S daughter-REL.4DS name-MOD.3SS
 taiyuqtuaq.
 taiyuq+tuag
 call-one.that.Vs.ABS.S
 They found a bird calling their daughter's name.
165. 'Kigvalu'uutchik. Kigvalu'uutchik,'
 Kigvalu'uutchik+∅ Kigvalu'uutchik+∅
 Kigvalu'uutchik-ABS.S Kigvalu'uutchik-ABS.S
 itnasriġauraqhunigguuq sua una.
 itnasriġaq:uraq+huni=gguuq
 say.this-just-CTR.4S=HS what.ABS.S PR.ABS.S
 'Kigvalu'uutchik. Kigvalu'uutchik,' this bird said.
166. Tara ijimatchaaqsiliqtuk.
 ijimatchak-aqsi-liq+tuk
 H.ADV think-start-quickly-IND.3D
 Then they started thinking.
167. Tinmiuram aullautillakkik.
 tinmiuraq-m aullaq:uti-llak+kik
 bird-REL.S go-APPLIC-really-IND.3S3D
 The bird took them.
168. Malliutigaak tinmiuraq.
 malikRiq:uti+kaak tinmiuraq+∅
 follow-start-APPLIC-IND.3D3S bird-ABS.S
 They followed the bird.
169. Taatna malik'fugu.
 malik+'fugu
 that.way follow-CTR./3S
 They followed it.

170. Suagguuq una paniak aquppiugaqpa qiruum
 sua=gguuq panik:ak aquppi-ugaq+pa qiruk:um
 what.ABS.S=HSPR.ABS.S daughter-ABS.3DS be.sitting-continuously-INT.3S wood-REL.S
 qaṇani.
 qaa:ani
 top-LOC.3SS
 Their daughter was sitting on the wood.
171. Tara aṇayuqaakkiñ qisrayaaqsiḷiḡaak.
 aṇayuqaaq-kkiñ qisraya-aqsi-liq+kaak
 H.ADV parent-REL.3SD want.to.grab-start-quickly-IND.3D3S
 Her parents started to grab her.
172. Tigutqunḡitḷunigguuq itnaḡik:
 tigu-tqu-nḡit+luni=gguuq itnaq+kik
 grab-tell.to.V-not-CTR.4S=HS say-IND.3S3D
 She told them not to grab her.
173. ‘Aṇḡua. Tigunaṇa uvva.
 tigu+nana
 don’t grab-PRH.2S1S PR.ADV
 ‘Don’t. Don’t grab me.
174. Utigisiruṇa.
 utiq+kisi+tuna
 come.back-will-IND.1S
 I will come back.
175. Sisamani uvva uvani inniaqtuna.
 sisamat=ni it+niaq+tuna
 four-LOC.P PR.ADV PR.LOC be-will-IND.1S
 I will be here for four days.

176. Taatna ittuallakitik,' itnaqfugik anayuuqaan̄ni
 ittuaq-llak+itik itnaq+fugik anayuuqaaq-ŋni
 that.way stay.still-really-NEGIMP.2D say.this-CTR./3D parents-ABS.4SD
 uqapsaagaqsiliġik.
 uqapsaaq-aqsi-liq+kik
 plead-start-quickly-IND.3S3D
 Stay still that way,' saying this to them, she started pleading with her parents.
177. Takku piyumiñaitchuq.
 pi+yumiñaq:it+tuq
 because do-will-not-IND.3S
 Because she wouldn't be able to come back.
178. Utiġumiñaitchuq tara aksisuaqpakni.
 utiq+kumiñaq:it+tuq aksik-tuaq+kpakni
 come.back-will-not-IND.3S H.ADV touch-ever-CND.3S4S
 She wouldn't come back if they ever touched her.
179. Tara anayuuqaak qian̄ŋaġmik isragutiruk.
 anayuuqaaq-k qia±ŋaġmik israguti+tuk
 H.ADV parent-ABS.3SD cry-SMV.4D start-IND.3D
 Then her parents started crying.
180. Taatniuttuaqtuk.
 taatniut+tuaq+tuk
 stay-slowly-IND.3D
 They stayed still.
181. Taatnañiñaqfugik tara pingitchik.
 taatnaq±ñiñaq+fugik pi-nġit+kik
 say.that-just-CTR./3D H.ADV do-not-IND.3S3D
 She just told them that and she didn't say anything more to them.
182. Ilaksipchanġitchuq.
 ilaksipchaq-nġit+tuq
 let.touch-not-IND.3S
 She didn't let them touch her.

183. Tara nayuqfiagjaqsiyaak.
 nayuqfiagi-aqsi+kaak
 H.ADV stay.with-start-IND.3D3S
 Then they started staying with her.
184. li. Takku tara.
 C: yes because H.ADV
 Yes. That's how it is.
185. li. Tara sisamani tarani siñiktallaktuq.
 M: sisamat+ni siñiktaq-llak+tuq
 yes H.ADV four-LOC.P H.LOC stay.overnight-long-IND.3S
 Yes. She stayed there for four days.
186. Aa. Naatchipkallakaak.
 C: naat+si+pkaq-llak+kaak
 oh finish-ANTIP-CAUS-really-IND.3D3S
 Oh. They let her finish.
187. li. Paniksik takku annigigaak.
 M: panic+tik annigi+kaak
 yes daughter-ABS.4DS because not.want.to.lose-IND.3D3S
 Yes. Because they didn't want to lose their daughter.
188. Tara aᅇayuqaanmiñun utillaktuq.
 aᅇayuqaaq-ᅇmiñun utiq-llak+tuq
 H.ADV parent-TRM.4SD come.back-really-IND.3S
 Then she came back to her parents.
189. Taragguuq tinmiatigun aullallan̄niqsuq.
 tara=gguuq tinmiaq-tigun aullaq-llak+niq+tuq
 H.ADV=HS goose-VIA.P go-long-EVID-IND.3S
 It is said that she traveled with geese for a while.

190. Taavunja tinmillanniqsuq taimma taatna tinmiatigun
 tinmi-llak+niq+tuq tinmiaq-tigun
 AVE.TRM fly-long-EVID-IND.3S AS.ADV that.way goose-VIA.P
 tinmiaġuqhuni.
 tinmiaq+uq+huni
 goose-turn.into.N-CTR.4S
 She flew with geese, turning into a goose.

191. Tara ayuugutigaat
 C: ayuuq:uti+kaat
 H.ADV go.far.away-APPLIC-IND.3P3S
 They took her far away.

192. li. Tara unipchaaq naaruq.
 M: unipchaaq+ø naa+tuq
 yes H.ADV story-ABS.S end-IND.3S
 Yes. Now the story ends.

6. aglaktausrukmanjaagma lñupiatunguuq.
 aglakti:u+sruk+kmanjaagma lñupiaq÷tun=gguuq
 teacher-be.N-want.to-DUB.1S lñupiaq-SIM.S=HS
 to see if I wanted to be an Iñupiaq teacher.
7. Tara kiugaluagjiga naluağmiuraalguiññipluņa.
 kiu+kaluag+kiga naluağmiuraaq-lgu:it+ni+pluņa
 H.ADV answer-though-IND.1S3S speak.English-much-not-say-CTR.1S
 I answered him that I didn't know how to speak English very much.
8. Naluağmiuraagñianğitchunagguuq.
 naluağmiuraaq+niaq-nğit+tunja=gguuq
 speak.English-will-not-IND.1S=HS
 They told me that I wouldn't speak English.
9. Uqapiagluņagguuq ilisautriñiaqtunja iyaalugruağnik.
 uqapiaq+luņa ilisauti+ri+niaq+tunja iyaalugruaq÷nik
 speak.Iñupiaq-CTU.1S=HS teach-ANTIP-will-IND.1S child-MOD.P
 (They told me that) I would speak Iñupiaq and teach children.
10. Taimma lñupianun lñupiatun ilisautritquliqamin taatna
 lñupiaq÷nun lñupiaq÷tun ilisauti+ri-tqu-liq+'amin
 AS.ADV Iñupiaq-TRM.P Iñupiaq-SIM.S teach-ANTIP-want._to-start-CNS.4P that.way
 katimaplutin
 katima+plutin
 meet-CTR.4P
 When they wanted Iñupiat to teach the Iñupiaq language, they had meetings,
11. inillai'amin taatna uvva apiqsruğiağaatnja.
 inillak:i+'amin apiqsruq+iaq+kaatnja
 settle-ANTIP-CNS.4P that.way PR.ADV ask-go.to.V-IND.3P1S
 and when they decided, they came to ask me.
12. Tara aniqłunja.
 aniq+łunja
 H.ADV say.yes-CTR.1S
 And I said yes.

13. Taavrumani uvva 1972-mi piyaatŋa.
 -mi pi+kaatŋa
 AVN.LOC.S PR.ADV -.LOC.S do-IND.3P1S
 They asked me in 1972.
14. Tara taatnaanikhutiŋ ukiipluta taatna
 taatnaq±anik+hutiŋ ukii+pluta
 H.ADV say.that-PF-CTR.4P spend.winter-CTR.1P that.way
 upiŋaksraaqtuami April-mi
 upiŋaksraaq+tuq÷mi -mi
 start.spring-one.that.Vs-LOC.S -.LOC.S
 After they said that, when we spent winter and spring came, in April,
15. aullaqtigaqsiyaatigut Tilaglu Tatqaviñalu uvaŋalu.
 aullaq^tit-aqsi+kaatigut Tilak+ø=lu Tatqaviña+ø=lu uvaŋa=lu
 go-CAUS-start-IND.3P1P Tilak-ABS.S=and Tatqaviña-ABS.S=and 1S.ABS=and
 they sent Tilak, Tatqaviña and me.
16. Aullaqtugut tiŋmisuutmik.
 aullaq+tugut tiŋmisuuti÷mik
 go-IND.1P airplane-MOD.S
 We went by airplane.
17. Tara Qikiqtaŋrukaluaŋaqtuŋa ami aglaan.
 Qikiqtaŋruk+ø+kaluaq+aq+tuŋa
 H.ADV Qikiqtaŋruk-go.to-though-used.to-IND.1S well but
 I used to go to Qikiqtaŋruk (Kotzebue).
18. Avuŋa napmun nunaqqiñun tiŋimaitchuŋa.
 nunaqqiq÷nun tiŋi+ma:it+tuŋa
 VE.TRM where.TRM city-TRM.P fly-PERF-not-IND.1S
 But I had never flown to other cities.

19. Tara tinjmisuutiqpakun tinjirugut.
 tinjmisuutiqpak÷kun tini+tugut
 H.ADV jet-VIA.S fly-IND.1P
 We flew by jet.
20. Anchorage-amun tara tinjnutigaatigut.
 -aq÷mun tini:uti+kaatigut
 -N-TRM.S H.ADV fly-APPLIC-IND.3P1P
 We flew with them to Anchorage.
21. Iqsigaluaqtuna tara jet-akun usriaqsiqpaalukfunja tarani
 iqsi+kaluqaqtuna -aq÷kunusriaqsiq+paaluk+funja
 be.scared-though-IND.1S H.ADV -N-VIA.S ride-first.time-CTR.1S H.LOC
 aullaġataqama.
 aullaq+ataq+'ama
 go-long-CNS.1S
 I was scared as I flew by jet for the first time, when I was going.
22. Tara suli car-amun ikilġataqsimaitchuna.
 -aq÷mun iki-lġataq+sima:it+tuna
 H.ADV and -N-TRM.S ride-long-PF-not-IND.1S
 And I had never ridden in a car.
23. Naagga tamarra taatna usriaqsiqfunja aullalgitchuna car-akun.
 usriaqsiq+funja aullaq-lgit+tuna -aq÷kun
 or APE.ADV that.way ride-CTR.1S go-again-IND.1S -N-VIA.S
 And then I started going by car.
24. Iqsiruna tara apuqtigasrugaluna taatna.
 iqsi+tuna apuq^tiq+kasruga+luna
 be.scared-IND.1S H.ADV bump-suddenly-MIGHT-CTU.1S that.way
 I was scared that I might bump against something.
25. Mitġalaliqataqtunaunii car-amun ikivaalukama.
 mitġala-liqataq+tuna=unnii -aq÷mun iki+paaluk+'ama
 move.around.keep.Ving-IND.1S=even -N-TRM.S get.into-first.time-CNS.1S
 I even moved around when I got into a car for the first time.

26. Tara nullagvinmun nullaqtitluta katimaraġaaqsirugut.
 nullagvik÷mun nullaq^tit+luta katima+raġaq-aqsi+tugut
 H.ADV hotel-TRM.S stay-CAUS-CTR./1P have.meeting-start-start-IND.1P
 They put us in a hotel and then we started meeting.
27. Nunaqqiqpanmun tara tikitpaaluk'una kapyaruna
 nunaqqiq+kpak÷mun tikit+paaluk+'una kapyaruna
 city-big-TRM.S H.ADV come-first.time-CTR.1S be.worried-IND.1S
 Having come to a big city for the first time, I was worried,
28. taatna itnatchimi iñuuniagalaangit'una.
 itnasriq÷mi iñuuniaq+alaa-nġit+'una
 that.way this.kind-LOC.Slive-before-not-CTR.1S
 as I had never lived in this kind of place before.
29. Uvva taapkunakna qulit atautchimiñ nunaqqiuraniñ
 qulit atausriq÷miñ nunaqqiq:uraq÷niñ
 PR.ADV AVN.ABL.P ten one-ABL.S town-small-ABL.P
 From those eleven villages,
30. piñasrullaanupluta naagga imña malġullaanupluta naagga
 piñasruq-llaa:u+pluta malġuq-llaa:u+pluta=lu
 three-each-be.N-CTR.1P or S.ABS.S two-each-be.N-CTR.1P=and or
 atausriullaapluta
 atausriq:u-llaa+pluta
 one-be.N-each-CTR.1P
 three, two, or one from each village,
31. taatna aullaqtitkaatigut, uvakna nunaqqiuraptitniñ.
 aullaq^tit+kaatigut nunaqqiq:uraq-ptitniñ
 that.way go-CAUS-IND.3P1P PR.ABL town-small-ABL.1PP
 they made us go from our villages.

32. Taapkunakña nunaaqqiuraniñ ami taatna aullaqtitchirut.
 nunaaqqiq:uraq÷niñ aullaq^tit+si+tut
 AVN.ABL.P town-small-ABL.P well that.way go-CAUS-ANTIP-IND.3P
 They made them go from those villages.
33. Tara taakmani Iñupiatun taiyuqhuta sunik.
 Iñupiaq÷tun taiyuq+huta su÷nik
 H.ADV AAN.LOC Iñupiaq-SIM.S name-CTR.1P what-MOD.P
 There we said the names of things in Iñupiaq.
34. Nakitñamiñliqaa nunaaqqiñiñ katirugut.
 nakitñamiñ=liqaa nunaaqqiq÷niñ kati+tugut
 where.ABL=each town-ABL.P meet-IND.1P
 We got together from each village.
35. Taakmani aasrii one week itluta.
 it+luta
 AAN.LOC and stay-CTR.1P
 We stayed there for one week.
36. Tara taavrumani aurgmi aaraqman 73-guqman
 aaraq÷mi aaraq+kman -guq+kman
 H.ADV AVN.LOC.S summer-LOC.S be.summer-CNS.3S -become.N-CNS.3S
 aullaqtitkaatigut Nome-mun.
 aullaq^tit+kaatigut -mun
 go-CAUS-IND.3P1P -TRM.S
 And when summer came in 1973, they made us go to Nome.
37. Taatna nunaaqqiilaaniñ Nome-mun katipkalgitchaatigut
 nunaaqqiq-llaa÷niñ -mun kati+pkaq-lgit+kaatigut
 that.way village-each-ABL.P -TRM.S meet-CAUS-again-IND.3P1P
 They made us get together at Nome from each village,
38. Ijisaqiaqtitluta Iñupiyusrafiqimik.
 Ijisaq+iaq^tit+luta Iñupiaq-yu+sraq-fiq÷mik
 learn-go.to.V-CAUS-CTR./1P speak.Iñupiaq-well-try.to-Ving-MOD.S
 and we learned how to write Iñupiaq words.

39. Taakmani tara tatqimi ittugut,
tatqiq÷mi it+tugut
AAN.LOC H.ADV month-LOC.S be-IND.1P
July-mi Itchavium tatqiani.
-mi Itchavik:um tatqiq:ani
-LOC.S July-REL.S month-LOC.3SS
We stayed there for a month, in the month of July.
40. Tara ukiagu August-mi August-mun ilikman tara
ukiaq-ğu -mi -mun ilj+kman
H.ADV fall-next.N -LOC.S -TRM.S get.in-CNS.3S H.ADV
aglaktitchiaqsirugut.
aglak^tit+si-aqsi+tugut
write-CAUS-ANTIP-start-IND.1P
And next fall, in August, we started teaching.
41. Aglaktitchiñiagaqsirugut İñupiatun.
aglak^tit+si+niaq-aqsi+tugut İñupiaq÷tun
write-CAUS-ANTIP-start-IND.1P İñupiaq-SIM.S
We started teaching in İñupiaq.
42. Qağanangitchaluaqtuq tara taatna aullağniirugut.
qağanaq-nğit+kaluaq+tuq aullağnii+tugut
be.easy-not-thought-IND.3S H.ADV that.way start-IND.3P
It was not easy but we started.
43. Tara ukiuvak savakhuta.
ukiuq-vak savak+huta
H.ADV winter-whole.N work-CTR.1P
We worked the whole winter.
44. Upingaaqman July-ğuqman Nome-amun aasrii tiliğitchaatigut.
upingaaq+kman -ğuq+kman -aq÷mun tili-ğit+kaatigut
be.late.spring-CNS.3S -become.N-CNS.3S -N-TRM.S and ask-again-IND.3P1P
And in late spring, in July, they asked us to go to Nome again.

45. Uvvaliqaa taamna miss-aqtiḡiga.
 uvva=liqaa -aq^tiq+kiga
 PR.ADV=huh AVN.ABS.S -V-suddenly-IND.1S3S
 I missed mentioning that (the following).
46. Taavrumani July-mi aglaktilḡaaqhuta Utqiaḡvinḡmun aullaqtitkaatigut.
 -mi aglak^tit-lḡaaq+huta Utqiaḡvik÷mun aullaq^tit+kaatigut
 AVN.LOC.S -LOC.S write-CAUS-after-CTR/1P Utqiaḡvik-TRM.S go-CAUS-IND.3P1P
 In July, after they taught us, they sent us to Utqiaḡvik (Barrow).
47. Tara aasrii aullaqtitmatḡa Fairbanks-algitchuḡa aasrii.
 aullaq^tit+kmatḡa -aq-lḡit+tuna
 H.ADV and go-CAUS-CNS.3P1S -V-again-IND.1S and
 When they sent me, I went to Fairbanks.
48. Uvva aasrii Iḡupiamun iḡisimakkamnun
 Iḡupiaq÷mun iḡisima-kkaq-mnun
 PR.ADV and Iḡupiaq-TRM.S know-one.that.is.Ved-TRM.1SS
 tukkupkakkatḡatni tarani
 tukku+pkaq-kkatḡatni
 stop-CAUS-PRT.3P1S H.LOC
 They brought me to an Iḡupiaq that I knew,
49. nutaamun taavrumuḡa aḡnamun.
 nutaaq÷mun aḡnaq÷mun
 young.one-TRM.S AVN.TRM.S woman-TRM.S
 to that young woman.
50. Tarani ittuaqsaqtuaḡni piyaḡa.
 ittuaq+saq+tuaḡni pi+kaḡa
 H.LOC stay.still-start-PRT.1D take-IND.3S1S
 When we stayed [I stayed with her], she took me out.
51. Amuḡagguuq iḡḡiallagluk ammagguuq.
 amuḡa=gguuq iḡḡiaq-llak+luk amma=gguuq
 VN.TRM=HS visit-long-IMP.1D VN.ADV=HS
 ‘Let’s go visit over there,’ she said.

52. Taamani ittut il̥isimakkani Iñupiat.
 it+tut il̥isima-kkaq:i Iñupiaq-t
 AVN.LOC be-IND.3P know-one.that.is. Ved-ABS.3SP Iñupiaq-ABS.P
 There were some Iñupiat that she knew.
53. Iññiaqtuᅇa tara.
 Iññiaq+tuᅇa
 visit-IND.1S H.ADV
 I visited.
54. Iññiaqtuguk.
 Iññiaq+tuguk
 visit-IND.1D
 We visited.
55. Tara tarani ittuaᅇaluaqam̥nuk an̥iᅇaagaqsiliqtuᅇ.
 ittuaᅇ+kaluᅇaᅇ'am̥nuk an̥iᅇaaq-aqsi-liq+tuᅇ
 H.ADV H.LOC stay.still-though-CNS.1D go.home-start-suddenly-IND.3S
 We stayed there for a while and she started going home.
56. Naluruᅇa nunaᅇaqqiᅇmiuᅇfiᅇmik.
 nalu+turuᅇa nunaᅇaqqiᅇ=miu-fiq=̥mik
 not.know-IND.1S city-stay.at.N-Ving-MOD.S
 I didn't know how to stay in a city.
57. Ani'ama tara tarani taavrumakᅇa iññiaqsaᅇhunuk
 ani+'ama iññiaq+saᅇ+hunuk
 go.out-CNS.1S H.ADV H.LOC AVN.ABL.S visit-start-CNS.1D
 When I went out of that [house] as we went to visit,
58. tupqum aᅇlaᅇa qiñiqsaᅇᅇiññiᅇiᅇa.
 tupiq:um aᅇlak:a qiñiq+saᅇ-nᅇit+niq+kiga
 house-REL.S number-ABS.3SS see-try.to-not-EVID-IND.1S3S
 I didn't check the house number.

59. Taatna maanisun iññiaḡniqsuḡa.
 maani÷tun iññiaq+niq+tunḡa
 that.way here.LOC-SIM.S visit-EVID-IND.1S
 I went to visit just as if I had been at home.
60. Tarani tara unitmaḡa iññiaqsimagaluaqama
 unit+kmaḡa iññiaq+sima+kaluaq+'ama
 H.LOC H.ADV leave-CNS.3S1S visit-PERF-though-CNS.1S
 anḡlaaqsaḡaluaqtunḡa.
 anḡlaaq+saq+kaluaq+tunḡa
 go.home-try.to-though-IND.1S
 After she left me, I visited for a while and tried to go home.
61. Napmuntai anḡlaaḡisiñiqpik.
 napmun=tai anḡlaaq+kisi+niq+pik
 where.TRM=NSP go.home-will-EVID-INT.1S
 Where shall I go to get home?
62. Tammallaktunḡa tara.
 tammaq-llak+tunḡa
 lose-really-IND.1S H.ADV
 I got lost.
63. Taapkua aniqsa piqatiuma igliḡutigaatḡa takku
 pi±qati+ma igliq:uti+kaatḡa
 AVN.RELP lucky do-partner.in.Ving-REL.1SP go-APPLIC-IND.3P1S because
 uvva aksraktuamik.
 aksraktuaq÷mik
 PR.ADV car-MOD.S
 Luckily, those people I was visiting gave me a ride.
64. Tara tarani siñiktaqtunḡa aglaan.
 siñiktaq+tunḡa
 H.ADV H.LOC stay.overnight-IND.1S but
 I stayed overnight there.

65. Iļisimakkaġma aataņani taruņa tukkuksramnun.
 iļisima-kkaq+ma aat-taņani tukkuq-ksraq-mnun
 know-one.that.is.Ved-REL.1SS take-PRT.3S1S H.TRM host-material.for.N-TRM.1SS
 The person I knew had taken me to the place where I was going to stay.
66. Tasramna call-aġaqʔugu tara uvlaami Utqiaġviņmun
 -aġaqʔugu uvlaaq÷mi Utqiaġvik÷mun
 APN.ABS.S -start-CTR./3S H.ADV morning-LOC.SUtqiaġvik-TRM.S
 tiņiniaqʔuņa piuami.
 tiņi+niaqʔuņa pi+tuami
 fly-will-CTR.1S do-PRT.1S
 And I started calling her as I was going to fly to Utqiaġvik (Barrow) in the morning.
67. Taamuņa aatiġaana tiņjiviksramnun.
 aat^tiq+kaana tiņi'-vik-ksraq-mnun
 AVN.TRM take-quickly-IND.3S1S fly-place.to.V-material.for.N-TRM.1SS
 And she took me to that place where I was going to take off.
68. Taavruma iļisimakkaġa call-aqʔugu.
 iļisima-kkaq+ka -aqʔugu
 AVN.REL.S know-one.that.is.Ved-ABS.1SS -V-CTR./3S
 That woman called the person I knew (that I was going to stay with).
69. Tara tatqakmani Utqiaġviņmi August-mi ilgitchuņa
 Utqiaġvik÷mi -mi it-lgit+tuņa
 H.ADV ATN.LOC Utqiaġvik-LOC.S -LOC.S stay-again-IND.1S
 tatqimi
 tatqiq÷mi
 month-LOC.S
 And I stayed in Utqiaġvik (Barrow) for a month in August
70. August naatlugu.
 +∅ naat+lugu
 -ABS.S finish-CTR./3S
 till the end of August.

71. Tamarra ilisaqtugut taatna aglafiġmik.
 ilisaq+tugut aglak-fiġ-mik
 APE.ADV study-IND.1P that.way write-Ving-MOD.S
 We studied how to write.
72. Iñugiangitçugut aglaan Aaluglu uvva piuguk tarani.
 iñugiak-nġit+tugut Aaluk+ø=lu pi+tuguk
 be.many-not-IND.1P but Aaluk-ABS.S=and PR.ADV do-IND.1D H.LOC
 We were not many, Aaluk and I.
73. Aalugluli tatqamunja ilisaġiaqtitkaatiguk.
 Aaluk+ø=lu=li ilisaq+iaq^tit+kaatiguk
 Aaluk-ABS.S=and=as.for AIN.TRM study-go.to.V-CAUS-IND.3P1D
 They sent Aaluk and me up there to study.
74. Tara upiñġaaġu ukiuvak aglaqqaqhuta 1974-ġuqman
 upiñġaaq-ġu ukiuq-vak aglak±qqaq+huta -ġuq+kman
 H.ADV summer-next.N year-whole.N teach-after-CTR.1P -become.N-CNS.3S
 And next summer, after we taught the whole year, in 1974,
75. tara aasrii Nome-aqtilgitchaatigut.
 -aq^tit-lġit+kaatigut
 H.ADV and -CAUS-again-IND.3P1P
 they sent us to Nome again.
76. Taakmani aasrii one month ilgitluta tatqimi.
 it-lġit+luta tatqiq=mi
 AAN.LOC and stay-again-CTR.1P month-LOC.S
 And we stayed there again for one month.
77. Tara taatna aullaġaaqsilgataqtugut.
 aullaq+aq-aqsi-lġataq+tugut
 H.ADV that.way travel-always-start-finally-IND.1P
 We started to be always traveling.

83. Uvva aasriiñ auraqman ilaatni
 auraq+kman
 PR.ADV and be.summer-CNS.3S one.time
 And one time in summer,
84. taavruma ilisautrigikkapta Iñupiatun Tupou Pulu-m
 ilisautri+gi-kkaq-pta Iñupiaq÷tun -m
 AVN.REL.S teacher-have. _as.N-one.that.is. Ved-REL.1PS Iñupiaq-SIM.S -REL.S
 Tupou Pulu, that Iñupiaq teacher of ours,
85. Qipunmik atchikkaqput Iñupiaqsitchikkaqput
 Qipuk÷mik atchiq-kkaq+kput IñupiaqsisiRiq-kkaq+kput
 Qipuk-MOD.S name-one.that.is. Ved-ABS.1PS Iñupiaq.name-put-one.that.isVed-ABS.1PS
 taamna Hawaii-aǵmiu
 -aq÷miu+ø
 AVN.ABS.S -N-person.from.N-ABS.S
 that Hawaiian whose Iñupiaq name we gave her was Qipuk,
86. taavruma uqautiaqsiyaana
 uqauti-aqsi+kaana
 AVN.REL.S tell-start-IND.3S1S
 that person started telling me
87. taataagguuq unipchaanji taamna taamani
 taata+ma=gguuq unipchaaq:i -mi
 father-REL.1SS=HS story-ABS.3SP AVN.ABS.S AVN.LOC
University-mi Fairbanks-mi ittuat
 -mi -mi it+tuat
 -LOC.S -LOC.S be-one.that.Vs-ABS.P
 to transcribe my father's stories that were at the University of Alaska Fairbanks.
88. aglaglagich.
 aglak+lagich
 write-IMP.1S3P
 [included in the translation of line 87]

89. Tara auraqman taagunagaqtuna
 auraq+kman taaguna+q+aq+tuna
 H.ADV be.summer-CNS.3S AAE.TERM-go.to-always-IND.1S
 And in summer I went there
90. savviaqfuna taapkuniya taataa uqaaqtukkanijik
 savikRiaq+funa taata+ma uqaaqtuq-kkaq:iñik
 work-go.to.V-CTR.1S AVN.MOD.P father-REL.1SS tell-one.that.is.Ved-MOD.3SP
 unipchaaniglu.
 unipchaaq÷nik=lu
 story-MOD.P=and
 to work on those stories that my father told.
91. Tara makpigaaguqtitkaich taapkua taataa
 makpigaag+uq^tit+kaich taata+ma
 H.ADV book-become.N-CAUS-IND.3P3P AVN.ABS.P father-REL.1SS
 uqautigikkani.
 uqautigi-kkaq:i
 tell.about-one.that.is.Ved-ABS.3SP
 And they put my father's stories into a book.
92. Makpigaanun ilirut.
 makpigaag÷nun ili+tut
 book-TRM.P put-IND.3P
 They were put into a book.
93. Taatna uvva aglaktiguqapta
 aglakti+guq+'apta
 that.way PR.ADV teacher-become.N-CNS.1P
 When we became teachers,
94. taimma 73-miñaglaan 1994-munaglaan taatna aglagataqtugut
 -miñ=aglaan -mun=aglaan aglak+ataq+tugut
 AS.ADV -ABLS=but -TRM.S=but that.way teach-long-IND.1P
 we taught from 1973 till 1994,

95. taatna aullaagaqhuta aglagiaqtaqhuta.
 aullaq+aq+huta aglak+iaq+taq+huta
 that.way travel-always-CTR.1P study-go.to.V-back.and.forth-CTR.1P
 always traveling and studying.
96. Iļisauraġniaqhuta taatna aglatlasriñiaġataqtugut.
 iļisaq:uraq+niaq+huta aglak-tlasri+niaq+ataq+tugut
 study-just-try.to.V-CTR.1P that.way teach-learn.to.V-try.to.V-long-IND.1P
 We kept studying and teaching.
97. Uvva savaguiqmijalu retire-kmiunaju avuġa Oklahoma-mun
 savak+uiq+kmi+tunja=lu -kmi+tunja=lu -mun
 PR.ADV work-quit.Ving-too-IND.1S=and -too-IND.1S=and VE.TRM -TRM.S
 igliġutilġitchaatigut.
 igliq:uti-lġit+kaatigut
 travel-APPLIC-again-IND.3P1P
 When I quit working, when I retired, they took us over to Oklahoma.
98. Tara unġavanun igliqtunja tarani car-akun.
 igliq+tunja -aq+kun
 H.ADV far.TRM travel-IND.1S H.LOC -N-VIA.S
 I went very far by car.
99. Ukua Baptist-tkut taagunjaqattaġutigaatigut
 -tkuq-t taagunja+q±qattaq:uti+kaatigut
 PR.RELP -N.and.others-RELP AAE.TRM-go.to-for.a.trip-APPLIC-IND.3P1P
 These Baptists took us over there for a trip,
100. aakauraġalu kinña Paaniikaaluk.
 aakauraq+ka=lu Paaniikaaluk+ø
 older.sister-ABS.1SS=and TR.ABS.S Paaniikaaluk-ABS.S
 one of us being my older sister Paaniikaaluk.

101. Taamani aasrii one week itkaluaqapta utigitluta tara
 AVN.LOC and it+kaluaq+'apta utiq-igit+luta
one week igligataarugut taatna.
 travel-slowly-IND.1P that.way
 We stayed there for one week, and then we came back, traveling for one week.
102. Iñiqullaktugut igliqpagitluta.
 iñiqtuq-llak+tugut igliq+pagit+luta
 get.tired-really-IND.1P travel-much-CTR.1P
 We got tired from traveling so long.
103. Tara suli taamani liqaa Anchorage-misavakama
 taamani=liqaa -mi savak+'ama
 H.ADV and AVN.LOC=huh -LOC.S work-CNS.1S
 When I worked in Anchorage,
104. Kitiglu Hawaii-aqqaagataqtuguk suli, 1988 uvva samma
 Kitik+∅=lu -aq±qqaag+ataq+tuguk
 Kitik-ABS.S=and -V-first-finally-IND.1D and PR.ADV PN.ADV
 maani.
 PE.LOC
 Kitik and I first went to Hawaii, in 1988 I think.
105. Taavani aasrii one week itkaluaqamnuk utiqhunuk.
 it+kaluaq+'amnuk utiq+hunuk
 AVE.LOC and stay-though-CNS.1D return-CTR.1D
 We stayed there for one week and then came back.
106. Uunaḡniqsuq tara qupilḡuukmiuq Hawaii-q.
 uunaq+niq+tuq qupilḡuq:u+kmi+tuq -q+∅
 be.hot-EVID-IND.3S H.ADV bug-have.lots.of.N-too-IND.3S -N-ABS.S
 Hawaii was hot and had lots of bugs too.

107. Paniga aasriñ uvva
 panik+a
 daughter-ABS.1SS and PR.ADV
 And my daughter,
108. taavuna anuyyiuqtautyahuni anutaat nukaqium
 anuyyiuqti:u+tyaq+huni anuti:at nukaqfiq:um
 AVE.TRMsoldier-be.N-go.to.V-CTR.4S man-ABS.3PS youngest.daughter-REL.S
 Qafhaqpaum anutaat.
 Qafhaqpak:um anuti:at
 Qafhaqpak-REL.S man-ABS.3PS
 my youngest daughter's husband, Qafhaqpak's husband was a soldier there.
109. Taavunaagatqigaqtuna samma.
 taavuna+q+ataq-tqik+aq+tuna
 AVE.TRM-go.to-finally-twice-always-IND.1S DN.ADV
 I went there twice.
110. Taavani iñuuniaqman takku
 iñuuniaq+kman
 AVE.LOC live-CNS.3S because
 As he lived there,
111. tallimat malgunni ukiuni taavani ittuq Hawaii-mi paniga
 malguq-ni ukiuq=-ni it+tuq -mi panik+a
 five two-LOC.D year-LOC.P AVE.LOC be-IND.3S-LOC.S daughter-ABS.1SS
 my daughter lived there in Hawaii for seven years,
112. malgunnik qitungauraqaqhuni.
 malguq-nik qitungaq:uraq-qaq+huni
 two-MOD.D child-small-have-CTR.4S
 and she has two children.
113. Uvva taatna igligallaktuna.
 igliaq+aq-llak+tuna
 PR.ADV that.way travel-always-long-IND.1S
 I have been traveling long.

114. Itnialilgataq'una uvva katimmatyiağaqtuna suli.
 itniali-lgataq+ʔuna katima+tyiaq+aq+tuna
 be-up.to.today-CTR.1S PR.ADV meet-go.to.-always-IND.1S and
 Up to today, I have been going for meetings.
115. Tamatkununa Alaska Rural Systemic ukununa suli
 APE.TRM.P PR.TRM.P and
 katimmatyiaqtaqtuna
 katima+tyiaq+taq+tuna
 meet-go.to.V-back.and.forth-IND.1S
 I have been going for meetings to Alaska Rural Systemic,
116. qapsiñitai ukiuni uvva.
 qapsiq÷ni=tai ukiuq÷ni
 how.many-LOC.P=NSP winter-LOC.P PR.ADV
 I don't know for how many years.
117. Piñasruni sisamani qapsiñitai ukiuni every year
 piñasrut÷ni sisamat÷ni qapsiq÷ni=tai ukiuq÷ni
 three-LOC.P four-LOC.P how.many-LOC.P=NSP year-LOC.P
 Maybe for three or four years, every year,
118. katimmaviksraq tikitman katimmatyiağaqtuna.
 katima'+vik-ksraq+ø tikit+kman katima+tyaq+aq+tuna
 meet-time.to.V-material.for.N-ABS.S come-CNS.3S meet-go.to.V-always-IND.1S
 when the time comes to have meetings, I have been going for meetings.
119. Malgūñniaglaan katimarağağaqtugut ukiumi.
 malgūq-ñni=aglaan katima+rağaq+aq+tugut ukiuq÷mi
 two-MOD.D=but meet-be.Ving-always-IND.1P year-LOC.S
 We have meetings twice a year.
120. Iyaalugruich qanuq aṅalafiksranatigun
 iyaalugruaq:ich aṅalat-ʔiq-ksraq:atigun
 child-REL.P how handle-Ving-material.for.N-VIA.3PS
 About how to handle children,

121. taatna katimmatyiaqtaqtunja taapkununja.
 katima' +tyiaq+taq+tunja
 that.way meet-go.to.V-back.and.forth-IND.1SAVN.TRM.P
 I go for meetings about that.
122. Tara suli avunja Canada-mun Vancouver Islands-nun
 -mun -nun
 H.ADV and VE.TRM -TRM.S -TRM.P
 And over to Vancouver Islands, Canada,
123. Barbara-m aullautilgitchaanja
 -m aullaq:uti-lgit+kaanja
 -REL.S go-APPLIC-again-IND.3S1S
 Barbara took me,
124. samma savaguiqmiunalu.
 savak+uiq+kmi+tunja=lu
 PN.ADV work-quit.Ving-too-IND.1S=and
 when I quit working.
125. Inimiñun tupiqaqtuq.
 ini+miñun tupiq-qaq+tuq
 place-TRM.4SS house-have-IND3S
 She has a house to her land.
126. Qikiqtat ilanjatni Cortes-mik atilijmi iniquaqtuq.
 qikiqtaq-t ila:atni -mik atiq-lik+mi ini-qaq+tuq
 island-RELP one-LOC.3PS -MOD.S name-one.with.N-LOC.S lot-have-IND.3S
 She has lot on one of the islands named Cortes.

127. Tara taamuᅇa taamuᅇautiraᅇiᅇaᅇaᅇa suli
 taamuᅇa+q:uti+raᅇi+kaaᅇa
 H.ADV AVN.TRM AVN.TRM-go.to-APPLIC-always-IND.3S1S and
 taamuᅇautiᅇaᅇaᅇa suli atautchimi.
 taamuᅇa+q:uti+kaaᅇa atausriᅇ' =mi
 AVN.TRM-go.to-APPLIC-IND.3S1S and one-LOC.S
 She once took me there.
128. Taamani aasrii one week tupqani itlunuk.
 tupiq:ani it+lunuk
 AVN.LOC and house-LOC.3SS stay-CTR.1D
 We stayed at her house for one week.
129. Taamapkua tara iᅇuich nakuurut.
 iᅇuk:ich nakuu+tut
 AVN.ABS.P H.ADV person-ABS.P be.good-IND.3P
 People over there were good.
130. Itna qitkutiksriuraᅇutin iyaalugruich
 qitik:uti-ksraqRi:uraᅇ+utin iyaalugruaq:ich
 this.way play-tool.for.Ving-material.for.N-make-just-CTU.4P child-ABS.P
 tigliktuuraᅇutin
 tilgik+tuᅇ:uraᅇ+utin
 steal-keep.Ving-just-CTU.4P
 Children don't mess things up or steal.
131. iᅇuuniaqtuanᅇunᅇiᅇᅇiqsut.
 iᅇuuniaq+tuaᅇ:u-nᅇit+niᅇ+tut
 live-one.that.Vs-be.N-not-EVID-IND.3P
 [Included in the translation of line 130.]
132. Taatna tara tupitin aᅇmaruat
 tupiq-tiᅇ aᅇma+tuaᅇ-t
 that.way H.ADV house-ABS.4PP be.unlocked-one.that.Vs-ABS.P
 They leave their houses unlocked

140. makuniŋa clams itna taiyukkanjitñik pukukhunuk
 taiyuq-kkaq:itñik pukuk+hunuk
 PE.MOD.P this.way call-one.that.is.Ved-MOD.3PP pick-CTR.1D
 niqiksrağniagaqtuguk.
 niqi-ksraq+niaq+aq+tuguk
 food-get-try.to-always-IND.1D
 we picked what are called clams for food.
141. Aarigaa iggatliqhunuk niğipchağagığaatiguk Barbara-m.
 iga:uti-liq+hunuk niği+pkaq+aği+kaatiguk -m
 good cook-APPLIC-quickly-CTR./1D eat-CAUS-always-IND.3S1D -RELS
 (They were) very good when Barbara cooked (them) for us and fed us.
142. Taamna qikiqtaq iivaqsaagagnaqtuq.
 qikiqtaq+ø iivaq+saaq+aq+naq+tuq
 AVN.ABS.S island-ABS.S go.around-slowly-always-should.be.Ved-IND.3S
 We used to go around the island.
143. Akmaniananunlu taatna taagunaağagığaqtuguk.
 akmaniaq:anun=lu taagunaaq+ağaq+tuguk
 other.side-TRM.3SS=and that.way across.there.TRM-go.to-start-IND.1D
 We went to the other side of the island.
144. Uvva aasri ukiutqikman Paaniikaaluglu Saiğaglu
 ukiuq-tqik+kman Paaniikaaluk+ø=lu Saiğaq+ø=lu
 PR.ADV and be.year-again-CNS.3S Paaniikaaluk-ABS.S=and Saiğaq-ABS.S=and
 taagunautilgitchaatigut.
 taagunaaq:uti-lgit+kaatigut
 AAE-TRM-go.to-APPLIC-again-IND.3S1P
 And the next year, she took Paaniikaaluk, Saiğaq and me there again.
145. Taagani aasri one week itluta.
 it+luta
 AAE.LOCand stay-CTR.1P
 And we stayed over there for one week.

146. Aarigaa iñuuniuraalgitchugut.
 iñuunik:uraaq-lgit+tugut
 good stay-long-again-IND.1P
 We stayed there very well again.
147. Maanisuntuuq itluni nigliñaaqhuni nakuuruq.
 maani÷tun=ptuuq it+luni nigliñaaq+huni nakuu+tuq
 PE.LOC-SIM.S=too be-CTR.4Sbe.cool-CTR.4S be.good-IND.3S
 Just like up here, it was cool and good.
148. Uviļunniagaqtugut.
 uviļu+t+niaq+aq+tugut
 shell-get-try.to-always-IND.1P
 We always picked shells.
149. Uviļut aarigaa.
 uviļu-t
 shell-ABS.P good
 Shells were very good.
150. Tara taatnali uvva iñuuniafiğa ittuq.
 taatna=li iñuuniaq-fiğ+ka it+tuq
 H.ADV that.way=as.for PR.ADV live-Ving-ABS.1SS be-IND.3S
 That's how my life has been.
151. Taatna sutipluņa iñuich taatna
 su:uti+pluņa iñuk:ich
 that.way do.what-APPLIC-CTR./1S person-REL.P that.way
 igliğaqtillakkaatņa.
 igliq+aq^tit-llak+kaatņa
 travel-always-CAUS-really-IND.3P1S
 That's how people have helped me and let me travel.
152. Tara qiağunnialilgitchugut.
 qiağut+niaq-liq-lgit+tugut
 H.ADV pick.birch.bark-try.to-start-again-IND.1P
 And we started picking birch barks.

153. Fairbanks-mun aullaqhuta qiaġunnialilgitchugut.
 -mun aullaq+huta qiaġut+niaq-liq-lgit+tugut
 -TRM.S go-CTR.1P pick.birch.bark-try.to-start-again-IND.1P
 We started picking birch barks, going to Fairbanks.
154. Taakmakŋa aglaksraqhuta
 aglak-ksraq+huta
 AAN.ABL letter-get-CTR.1P
 When we get permission from there,
155. taatna tikiġaliqirit makua aglitmatigut
 tikiġaliqiri-t aglakRit+kmatigut
 that.way forester-REL.P PE.REL.P letter-give-CNS.3P1P
 qiruktaġniaġvinmiñ
 qiruk+taq+niaq+vik+=miñ
 wood-fetch-try.to-place.to.V-ABL.S
 when these foresters give us permission from the Bureau of Land Management,
156. qiaġunniaqtaaqsiruguk.
 qiaġut+niaq+taq-aqsi+tuguk
 pick.birch.bark-try.to-many.times-start-IND.1D
 we start going to pick birch bark.
157. Paaniikaaluglu taagunaqqaagataqtuguk
 Paaniikaaluk+ø=lu taaguna+q±qqaq+ataq+tuguk
 Paaniikaaluk-ABS.S=and AAE.TRM-go.to-first-finally-IND.1D
 qiaġunniaġiaqhunuk.
 qiaġut+niaq+iaq+hunuk
 pick.birch.bark-try.to-go.to.V-CTR.1D
 Paaniikaaluk and I went first to pick birch bark.

158. Taatna ukuak Panitchiatkuk uvvagguuq
 Panitchiaq-*tkuk* uvva=*gguuq*
 that.way PR.REL.D Panitchiaq-N.and.spouse.REL.D PR.ADV=HS
qiaġunniutinayaġaatiguk
qiaġut+nik:uti+nayaq+kaatiguk
 pick.birch.bark-try.to.v-APPLIC-would-IND.3D1D
 Panitchiaq and her husband would help us pick birch bark,
159. taagunaqattaallakumnuk.
taaguna+q±qattaaq-llak+kumnuk
 AAE.TRM-go.to-for.a.trip-really-CND.1D
 if we go there.
160. Taagunaqattaahunuk tara qiaġuliaqtuguk.
taaguna+q±qattaaq+hunuk tara *qiaġuq-liaq+tuguk*
 AAE.TRM-go.to-for.a.trip-CTR.1D H.ADV birch.bark-go.to.pick.N-IND.1D
 We go there and pick birch bark.
161. Qiaġunniagataqhunuk aasrii tuyuġiplugich aasrii
qiaġut+niaq+ataq+hunuk aasrii *tuyuq:i+plugich* aasrii
 pick.birch.bark-try.to.V-long-CTR.1D and send-ADVERS-CTR./3P and
mail-aqfugich qiaġutavuk
-aq+fugich qiaġut^taq-vuk
 -V-CTR./3P pick-one.that.is.Ved-ABS.1DP
 After we picked birch bark, we mailed what we picked,
162. tara suna uvva aullaġniiliqtuani
 aullaġnii-liq+tuani
 H.ADV what.ABS.S PR.ADV start-quickly-PRT.1P
qiaġunniatigmun.
qiaġut+niaq-fiq÷mun
 pick.birch.bark-try.to-Ving-TRM.S
 and from then on we started picking birch bark.

163. Tara qiaġunniġataqtugut taatna every summer
 qiaġut+niaq+ataq+tugut
 H.ADV pick.birch.bark-try.to-long-IND.1P that way
 We pick birch bark every summer,
164. qiaġuliaqtaqhuta Fairbanks-mun.
 qiaġuq-liaq+taq+huta -mun
 birch.bark-go.to.pick.N-many.times-CTR.1P -TRM.S
 going to Fairbanks.
165. Saiġamik piñatchiqhunuk aullaġaliqsugut.
 Saiġaq÷mik piñasruqRiq+hunuk aullaq+aq-liq+tugut
 Saiġaq-MOD.S three-put-CTR.1D go-always-start-IND.1P
 And later, Saiġaq started going with us.
166. Uvva qitungaqaqtunja sisamanik, piñasrunik aġnauranik.
 qitungaq-qaq+tunja sisamat÷nik piñasrut÷nikaġnauraq÷nik
 PR.ADV child-have-IND.1S four-MOD.P three-MOD.P girl-MOD.P
 I have four children, three daughters.
167. Taamna anayukfiq uvaŋa paniga sivulliġmiñ
 anayukfiq+∅ panik+a sivulliġ÷miñ
 AVN.ABS.S oldest.child-ABS.S 1S.REL daughter-ABS.1SS first.one-ABL.S
 iġaqatimniñ.
 iġaqati-mniñ
 spouse-ABL.1SS
 The oldest child is my own daughter from my first husband.
168. Taapkua aasrii tiguatka piñasrut,
 tiguaq-tka
 AVN.ABS.P and adoptee-ABS.1SP three.ABS.P
 nukatpialugruaq atausriq nukaqfiq.
 nukatpialugruaq+∅ atausriq+∅ nukaqfiq+∅
 boy-ABS.S one-ABS.S youngest.child-ABS.S
 And the other three are adoptees, one boy the youngest.

169. Tutitchiaqaqtuᅇa qulit atautchimik taapkunakᅇa.
 tutitchiaq-qaq+tuᅇa atausriq÷mik
 grandchild-have-IND.1S ten one-MOD.S AVN.ABL.P
 I have eleven grandchildren from those children.
170. Atausriq tuqupluni Tirᅇum pania aᅇayukfiq.
 atausriq+∅ tuqu+pluni Tiriq:um panik+a aᅇayukfiq+∅
 one-ABS.S die-CTR.4S Tiriq-REL.S daughter-ABS.3SS oldest.child-ABS.S
 One grandchild died, Tiriq's oldest daughter.
171. Aasrii tutitchiatquraqaqtuᅇa akimiaq atausrimik
 tutichiatqik:uraq-qaq+fuᅇa atausriq÷mik
 and great.grandchild-small-have-CTR.1S fifteen one-MOD.S
 tutitchiatquraqaqtuᅇa.
 tutitchiatqik:uraq-qaq+tuᅇa
 great.grandchild-small-have-IND.1S
 And I have sixteen great-grandchildren.
172. Uwa 76 year-ᅇataqfuᅇali taatna iᅇuuniaᅇataqtuᅇa.
 -q+ataq+fuᅇa=li iᅇuuniaq+ataq+tuᅇa
 PR.ADV -V-long-CTR.1S=as.for that.way live-long-IND.1S
 And I have lived for 76 years. That is how my life is.
173. Taruᅇaaglaan.
 taruᅇa=aglaan
 H.TRM=but
 That's it.

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