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# SOME DISCOURSE FEATURES IN SIBERIAN YUPIK ESKIMO NARRATIVE

David C. and Marilene R. Shinen

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0. This paper presents a tentative analysis of some features of narrative discourse including four discourse markers in Central Siberian Yupik Eskimo (CSY).<sup>1</sup>

This branch of Yupik is spoken by approximately 300 Eskimos in seven villages on the southeastern tip of the Chukotski Peninsula, USSR, and by over 800 speakers on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, and perhaps 200 more speakers in Nome and elsewhere on the US. mainland.<sup>2</sup>

0.1 The phonemes of CSY are: stops p, t, k, k<sup>w</sup>, q, q<sup>w</sup>; voiced and voiceless continuants v, z, ʎ, ʎ<sup>w</sup>, ʎ̣, ʎ̣<sup>w</sup>, r, l, ɣ, f, s, x, x<sup>w</sup>, x̣, x̣<sup>w</sup>, ʃ, t, h; voiced and voiceless nasals m, n, ŋ, ŋ<sup>w</sup>, ṃ, ṇ, ŋ̣, ŋ̣<sup>w</sup>; and vowels i, e, a, u.

0.2 In this paper we follow the traditional terminology found in Eskimo grammars. There are four independent verb moods: indicative, participial, interrogative, optative-imperative; and five dependent verb moods: infinitive, conjunctive, subjunctive, concessive, and precessive. The indicative, participial, and infinitive moods are especially important to parts of the analysis presented in this paper.

The indicative mood is used to make statements:

unami əsɣaxtəqamkən	<i>I shall see you tomorrow</i>
qəpɣaxtuŋa	<i>I am working</i>
aŋyaɣtalɣuuq	<i>He has a big boat</i>
yuyəm nəyaa kayu	<i>The man ate a fish</i>

The participial has both verbal and nominal uses and is marked by the morphemes -lyii for intransitive and -ka for transitive.

For the verbal use of the participial, the morphemes are followed by the final parts of the indicative endings. The verbal use is for statements having a past implication:

nəyəlyii	<i>he ate</i>
nəyəlyiina	<i>I ate</i>
nəyəkkaŋa	<i>he ate it</i>
nəyəkaka	<i>I ate it</i>

For the nominal use of the participial, the morphemes -lyii and -ka should be regarded as nominalizing postbases. The former means "the one that V-ed," and can be used only with stems capable of taking intransitive endings, and only unpossessed noun endings can be used with it. The latter means "the one that possessor V-ed," and can only be used with stems capable of taking transitive endings, and only possessed nouns can be used with it.<sup>3</sup>

nəyəlyii	<i>the one who ate</i>
nəyəlyiiməŋ	<i>from the one who ate</i>
nəyəkaka	<i>the thing I ate</i>
nəyəkamnəŋ	<i>from the thing I ate</i>

The infinitive is marked by -lu ~ -tu in both transitive and intransitive and is used to express an event or state of affairs simultaneously accompanying that expressed by the independent (main) verb, and usually having the same grammatical subject as the main verb. It can often be translated like "-ing" in English, though it can also have a future or a past connotation. Another use of the infinitive is to make requests or give orders.<sup>4</sup>

aanlun piyaxtuq	<i>going outside he walked</i>
nəyəsqətuŋu tayisqaa	<i>he told him to come eat</i>
nəylutəŋ	<i>Eat!</i>

1. Four texts<sup>5</sup> were analyzed in this initial study of Yupik discourse. The text presented in this paper, "Arepaki Ama Qalu" and the other three texts first appeared in S. Rubtsova's important book Materialy po Yazuku i Folkloru Eskimosov (Materials in the Language and Folklore of the Eskimos, Leningrad, 1954).<sup>6</sup> An Alaska version of the Arepaki Ama Qalu story written by Grace Slwooko<sup>7</sup> was also studied.

The indicative, participial, imperative, optative, and infinitive verbs are marked Ind, Pr, Imp, Opt, and Inf in the text, while all other dependent verbs are marked Dep.

## 1.1 Free translation.

## Arepaki and Qalu

(1) It is a story long ago. (2) The Siberians had many dwellings; their chief, Qalu, was cruel. (3) Also a poor woman, named Arepaki, lived (there) who had a husband and many children. (4) When the Siberians went hunting, the chief habitually stayed at the beach. (5) When the men returned home with their catch, the chief always took their game away from them. (6) He did that all the time. (7) Now at another time Arepaki's husband caught a seal. (8) Having obtained game, he returned home. (9) By the time he arrived home, it was night. (10) Then he entered (his home). (11) Entering, he called to his wife, "Arepakiy, I got a seal!"

(12) His wife said to him, "Oh, at least your children will eat a little bit and we will have fuel." (13) Arepaki (took) the seal and entered the reindeer curtain (inner living room). (14) Then she skinned it. (15) When she finished (skinning) it, Arepaki cooked it. (16) While she was cooking it, Qalu's servant came. (17) Then he looked inside. (18) Looking inside, he said, "Qalu said: 'You give the seal which was caught'."

(19) Arepaki answered him, "We won't give it, and (besides) we are going to eat it." (20) Qalu's servant went home. (21) Arriving, he looked in. (22) Looking in, he said to him, "She will not give it, also they are going to eat it."

(23) Qalu said to him, "Go tell them. (24) At least give the seal skin." (25) And so Qalu's servant went over. (26) Looking in, he said, "At least you give the seal skin."

(27) Arepaki answered him, "We will not give it, (furthermore) we will make boots out of it." (28) And so, he went home.

(29) Arriving, he looked in. (30) Looking in, he said, "She will not give it, besides they will make boots of it."

(31) "You go tell them," he threatened, "I myself will go take it away from them." (32) And so the servant went.

(33) Arriving, he looked in. (34) Looking in, he said, "He threatened that he himself will come take it away from you (pl.)."

(35) Arepaki said to him, "Let him come and take it away from us."

(36) The man's servant went. (37) Arriving, he looked in. (38) Looking in, he said, "She said that you yourself should go take it away from them."

(39) Then Qalu, getting dressed, he himself went over. (40) Arriving, he entered the storm shed. (41) Entering, he said, "Hey, you inside! You (pl.) give your seal (to me)."

(42) Arepaki said to him, "Yes, I will give it." (43) Arepaki went out to the storm shed. (44) Going out, she grabbed the ends of Qalu's arms. (45) Then she broke his arms, broke them, broke them, down to his fingers. (46) Qalu was armless. (Without the use of his arms.)

(47) The man said to her, "Hey you! Don't tell (anyone) about me. (48) I will give you tobacco and other things." (49) Then he went out. (50) Going out, he went home. (51) Arriving, he entered (his house). (52) Then he said to his wife, "You take over to Arepaki some tobacco and other things." (53) And so his wife took over to her some tobacco and other things. (54) Then there they lived.

(55) Now at another time, when it was summer, the Siberians were playing blanket-toss. (56) Qalu went to the blanket-tossing. (57) Arriving, he climbed onto the dried walrus hide. (58) Then they hollered at him, "Aha-ha-ha-owok! (59) Qalu is the best champion, he is light on his feet." (60) Then Arepaki was angry; she hollered (to the crowd), "Hey, you (pl.)! A woman took off Qalu's arms! (61) You (pl.) kill him and take away his things." (62) And so, they killed Qalu and took away his things. (63) When Qalu died, the hunters kept their seals.

(64) That is all. (65) Tefaay!

## 1.2 Annotated text.

### arəpaki ama qalu

(1)	iimnaŋuq//	(2)	uŋaziymii	nəxtəyət//	umiilyət	ayuqətalyii/
	<i>it is the</i>		<i>Siberians</i>	<i>they had</i>	<i>their</i>	<i>he was cruel</i>
	<i>aforementioned one</i>			<i>many houses</i>	<i>chief</i>	

aatxa	qalu//	(3)	ama	kiyaxtəxi	aynaq	aktumalyii/
<i>his name</i>	<i>Qalu</i>		<i>and</i>	<i>one lived</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>who was poor</i>

uyilək	avaqutaxtuqaq/	aatxa	arəpaki//	(4)	muɣutunəyata/
<i>having</i>	<i>who has a family her name</i>	<i>Arepaki</i>		<i>when they hunt</i>	
<i>a husband</i>					

umiilək	əsnami	kiyaxtaqəlyii//	(5)	unaŋlutəŋ/	yuyət
<i>chief</i>	<i>at beach</i>	<i>he repeatedly</i>		<i>catching game</i>	<i>the men</i>
		<i>stayed</i>			

Dep		Pr		
taɣlanɣata/	umiilyəm	ɣwayaɣaqəxkaŋi//	(6)	taɣwatəstaxiinaq//
<i>when they come (home)</i>	<i>the chief</i>	<i>he took them (game) away repeatedly</i>		<i>he did that way all the time</i>

				Pr	
(7)	maatən	ilanani	arəpakim	uɣiŋa	unaŋumalyii nəxsaməŋ//
	<i>now</i>	<i>some other time</i>	<i>Arepacki's</i>	<i>her hus- band</i>	<i>he caught seal game</i>

	Inf		Pr		
(8)	unaŋluni/	taɣlaasimakana//	(9)	iiɣwən	unuyaqaa/
	<i>he catching game</i>	<i>he came home with it</i>		<i>at that time</i>	<i>it was night</i>

	Pr			Pr	
	kaatusimakana	maŋtəyaminun//	(10)	taaxkən. II	itxusimakana//
	<i>he arrived with it</i>	<i>to his home</i>		<i>next in the sequence of action</i>	<i>he entered it</i>

	Inf		Pr		Ind
(11)	itxuɬuku	nuliini	tuɣtuumakana/	arəpakiiy/	nəxsaxsimaana//
	<i>entering it</i>	<i>his wife</i>	<i>he called her</i>	<i>Arepacki</i>	<i>I got a seal</i>

		Pr			
(12)	nuliɣan	pimakana/	kaay/	ɣwaranqun	ɣwaranxwa
	<i>his wife</i>	<i>she said to him</i>	<i>Oh</i>	<i>at least</i>	<i>a little bit</i>

		Ind		Ind	
	avaqutxaxtən	nəɣətəqut/	ama	uqixətəqut//	(13) arəpakim
	<i>your family</i>	<i>they will eat</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>we will have fuel</i>	<i>Arepacki</i>

nəxsəq	<sup>Pr</sup> itxusimakaŋa	aayramun//	(14)	taaxkən II	<sup>Pr</sup> aftamakaŋa//
<i>seal</i>	<i>she entered it</i>	<i>to the reindeer curtain</i>		<i>then next in the sequence of action</i>	<i>she skinned it</i>

(15)	<sup>Inf</sup> apəyiiyluku/	arəpaki	<sup>Pr</sup> yaayumalyii//	(16)	<sup>Inf</sup> yaayumaluku/
	.	.	.	.	.
	<i>when she finished it</i>	<i>Arepaki</i>	<i>she cooked</i>		<i>cooking it</i>

qalum	qəpɣaxtəŋa	<sup>Pr</sup> taɣimalyiii//	(17)	taaxkən II	<sup>Pr</sup> qinəxsimalyiii//
<i>Qalu's</i>	<i>his worker</i>	<i>he came</i>		<i>then next in the sequence of action</i>	<i>he looked in</i>

(18)	<sup>Inf</sup> qinəxtuni/	<sup>Pr</sup> pimalyiii/	qalu	piiɣ/	nəxsaxtaxaxsiŋuɣ
	<i>looking in</i>	<i>he said</i>	<i>Qalu</i>	<i>he said</i>	<i>the seal which was caught</i>

<sup>Imp</sup> tuunitəxu//	(19)	<sup>Pr</sup> arəpakim	<sup>Pr</sup> akisimakaŋa/	<sup>Ind</sup> tuunaanyitaxput/	xwəŋkutatu
<i>you give it</i>		<i>Arepaki</i>	<i>she answered him</i>	<i>we will not give it</i>	<i>we also</i>

<sup>Ind</sup> nəyətəqaxput//	(20)	qalum	qəpɣaxtəŋa	<sup>Pr</sup> aylaamalyiii//
<i>we will eat it</i>		<i>Qalu's</i>	<i>his worker</i>	<i>he went (home)</i>

(21)	<sup>Inf</sup> kaatuni	<sup>Pr</sup> qinəxsimalyiii//	(22)	<sup>Inf</sup> qinəxtuni/	<sup>Obj</sup> qalu	<sup>Pr</sup> pimakaŋa/
	<i>arriving</i>	<i>he looked in</i>		<i>looking in</i>	<i>Qalu</i>	<i>he said to him</i>

<sup>Ind</sup> tuunaanyitaanŋuɣ/	<sup>Ind</sup> ətŋitatuŋuɣ	<sup>Ind</sup> nəyətəqaat//
<i>she will not give it</i>	<i>they also</i>	<i>they will eat it</i>







qamaay/	nəxsaxsi	Imp tayivaxtəxu//	(42)	arəpakim	Pr pimakaŋa/
<i>hey you inside</i>	<i>your seal</i>	<i>you give it</i>		<i>Arepaki</i>	<i>she said to him</i>

ahaa	Ind tuunaqəqa//	(43)	arəpaki	natəymun	Pr aatxumalyii//
<i>yes</i>	<i>I will give it</i>		<i>Arepaki</i>	<i>to storm shed</i>	<i>she went out</i>

(44)	Inf atəyluni/	qalum	tatiikək	kənləxkəkun	Ind tuɣumakək//
	<i>going out</i>	<i>Qalu's</i>	<i>his arms</i>	<i>on their ends</i>	<i>she grabbed them</i>

(45)	taaxkən II	tatiikək	Ind ayəmquumakək/	Ind ayəmquumakək/
	<i>then next in the sequence of action</i>	<i>his arms</i>	<i>she broke them</i>	<i>she broke them</i>

	Ind ayəmquumakək/	iɣnəɣwaayanun	kənləŋa//	(46)	qalu
	<i>she broke them</i>	<i>to his fingers</i>	<i>until</i>		<i>Qalu</i>

	Pr tatiiyusimalyii //	(47)	yuyəm	Pr pimakaŋa/	ukuxsiiy//	Imp apeɣyaqunaŋa//
	<i>he was without arms</i>		<i>man</i>	<i>he said to her</i>	<i>hey you</i>	<i>don't tell about me</i>

(48)	taywaqaməŋ	tuunətəqamsi/	saama	sanqutməŋ//	(49)	taaxkən I
	<i>tobacco</i>	<i>I will give you (pl)</i>		<i>something else</i>		<i>then soon after that</i>

	Pr aanumalyii	(50)	Inf aanluni/	Pr aylaamalyii//	(51)	Inf kaaɬuni/
	<i>he went out</i>		<i>going out</i>	<i>he went home</i>		<i>arriving</i>

Pr  
iitxumalyii// (52) taaxkən II nuliini Pr  
pimakəŋa/ arəpaki  
*he entered then next his wife he said Arepaki  
in sequence to her  
of action*

sanqutməŋ ama tayʷaqaməŋ aylaatiyu// (53) taayanxʷa  
*something and tobacco take it to her and so*

nuliḡan sanqutməŋ ama tayʷaqaməŋ aylaasimakəŋa// Pr  
*his wife something and tobacco she took to her*

(54) taaxkən II tayʷani kiyaxsimalyiii// (55) maatən Pr  
*then next in the there they lived now  
sequence of action*

ilanəni/ Dep kiiyayu/ uŋaziymiit Pr  
uvəxtaamalyiii//  
*some other when it Siberians they played blanket toss  
time was summer*

(56) qalu Pr uvəxtalyiimun Pr aylaamalyiii// (57) kaaṭuni/ Inf  
*Qalu to blanket toss he went arriving  
playing*

tanpəxəgnun Pr uuxsimalyiii// (58) taaxkən II Pr araamakəŋat/  
*to dried wal- he climbed then next in the they hollered  
rus hide sequence of action to him*

ahahahahaaaa owok// (59) qalu <sup>Pr</sup> piniḵqalyii/ <sup>Ind</sup> uqəḅəstaaxaq//  
*"ahahahahaaaa owok"* Qalu he was best he is light weight

(60) taaxkən I arəpaki <sup>Pr</sup> ayniqumalyii/ <sup>Pr</sup> araamalyii/  
*then soon after that* *Arəpaki she was angry she hollered*

maakuḵsiiy// qalu aynam <sup>Ind</sup> taṭiiyusimaa/ (61) <sup>Inf</sup> tuquṭuku/  
*hey you* Qalu woman she took off his arms! kill him

sanqutaḅa <sup>Imp</sup> ɣwayaaxṭəxu// (62) <sup>Pr</sup> taayanxwa/ qalu <sup>Pr</sup> tuqusimakanat/  
*his things take it away* and so Qalu they killed him

ama sanqutaḅa <sup>Pr</sup> ɣwayaasimakanat// (63) qalu <sup>Pr</sup> tuquyalḵiimi/  
*and his things they took it away* Qalu when he died

muyunḵiixṭət nəxsaxṭatəḅ <sup>Pr</sup> piksayusimakanit//  
*the hunters their seals they owned them*

(64) qamaxtuq// (65) təfaay//  
*that is all* *təfaay!*

- 2. Analysis
- 2.1 Literary Elements
- 2.1.1 Outline of the Story

The folk stories studied seem to follow a similar outline. This outline is given here with particular reference to the text presented in this paper.

- A. Aperture - Sentence 1 ('In a story long ago')
- B. Background - Sentences 2-6 ("Tension": stated)
- C. Episodes
  - 1. Sentences 7-53
    - a. Resolution of "narrow tension"  
Sentences 45, 46
    - b. Episode closure - Sentence 53
  - 2. Sentences 56-64
    - a. More background - Sentence 54
    - b. Resolution of "broader tension"  
Sentence 62
    - c. Episode closure - Sentence 63
- D. Closure - Sentence 64 ('That is all')
- E. Finis - Sentence 65 ('Tefaaay')

Stories are traditionally begun with a formal opening, or aperture, such as *iimnaquq it is the aforementioned*, or a free translation might be *in a story long ago*. Some story tellers use another aperture (or a variation of it) *uqipayaniquq imani it is the aforementioned story*, roughly equivalent to *once upon a time*.

The theme of this story, as in many Yupik tales, is "tension created, tension resolved". In the background section (sentences 2-6) the tension is stated; a greedy Siberian chief, Qalu, demands all the game from the hunters, depriving them and their families of food and clothing.

In the first episode, Arepaki, a wife and mother of a large family, refused to relinquish the seal caught by her husband, and instead prepared it for their own use. In a private confrontation Arepaki faced Qalu, broke his arms, and, consequently, his power over her and her family. This we have labelled the resolution of the "narrow tension", as the broader tension (oppression over the villagers) continued as before.

In the second episode, Qalu is exposed publicly by Arepaki, and killed by the Siberian villagers, resulting in the resolution of the "broader tension", that of freeing them from Qalu's oppressive control.

The closure consists of a terminating statement *qamaxtuq it is all*. This, and the finis or final statement (*təfaay!*) seem to be connected with old-time traditional story-telling and are not necessarily included in stories today.

### 2.1.2 Identification of Participants

We will define major participants as those having the more active semantic roles in the plot. On the basis of the texts studied, it seems that the major participants are usually named, the next order of participants are referred to by nominals, the next order are described as to their function or relationship to a particular major participant, i.e. wife, servant, son.

Arepaki and Qalu are the major participants of this story. They are named, and are the opposing focal points of the conflict, beginning with conflict through an intermediary, and building up in one instance to direct physical challenge. It should be noted that the use of an intermediary is a common Eskimo cultural pattern. Therefore the interaction between Qalu's servant and Arepaki, which takes up a significant portion of the story, is in reality a conflict between Qalu and Arepaki.

Furthermore, it is apparent that the seal (caught by Arepaki's husband), also ranks as a special participant, perhaps in a different category from Arepaki and Qalu. Although not having an active role, the seal was the focus of tension. In the final resolution of the "broader tension", the result is that the "hunters owned their seals". (Sentence 64) In Sentence 7, Arepaki is named, her husband is referred to in free nominal form, oriented back to Arepaki, and a particular seal is introduced, referred to in nominal form. These all occur in a sentence introduced by *maatən ilanani* (narrative aperture). This particular pattern is used to stage important participants into a narrative.

### 2.1.3 Some Notes on Ranking and Status

A point of interest in this text is the gradual reduction in rank of Qalu, from being the chief to the humble status of being one of the men.

In the first episode, note Sentence 36, after Arepaki repeatedly refused to give the seal to Qalu's servant, he is called *yuuk qəpaxta the man's servant*. Also note Sentence 47; after Arepaki broke Qalu's arms, rendering him helpless, he is referred to as *yuyəm the man*, who bribed her not to tell anyone of his condition. Thereafter to the end of the first episode, reference to Qalu is only in the form of bound

pronouns, rather than by name or by his role as chief. Therefore the name-nominal-pronominal system for ranking participants as to their importance to the story line is also used in this subtle fashion to reflect change of status.

In the second episode the villagers still recognized him as Qalu, praising his skill in the blanket toss. But at this moment of glory, Arepaki exposes him, resulting in his public disgrace and death.

## 2.2 Discourse Markers

Various devices are used in CSY to mark the different relationships that parts of a discourse have to each other and to the discourse as a whole.

### 2.2.1 Participials

A participial is the independent verb form which predominantly carries the event line in a narrative text. It has a past connotation and could be termed "the narrative past" in Yupik stories. Its frequent occurrence in places, where preliminary analysis of the language might lead one to expect the indicative, cause it to stand out all the more.

By contrast the other independent verbs are confined mostly to direct quotes and, in other texts, to summary statements as well. Example of both types of verbs and their respective uses may be seen in Sentences 11, 12, 13, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 47, 48, 52, 61.

### 2.2.2 Episode Change Markers

*maatən ilagani* now another time, along with a list of other time words seen in other texts, are the markers which most frequently signal an episode change or transition from background to event line. These particular time words indicate time elapsed rather than time in the present, or consecutive time. It is this indefinite period of time lapse, in which it is assumed that actions take place that are not important to the story, which marks a shift to another episode. For examples see Sentences 7 and 55. This marker clearly segments the story into its major constituent episodes as outlined in 2.1.1.

*taaxkən* is another prominent member of the class of episode markers whenever its meaning is *soon after that*, indicating a somewhat shorter lapse of time than does *maatən ilagani*. For this function *taaxkən* will be identified as *taaxkən I*. The following portion of text illustrates the use of *taaxkən I*:

...ənta / iɣnəyənka qamaxtuki aqfatəki// xʷavək tayilaya+it//  
*Let's my sons all of them you fetch them to here let them come*

taayanxʷa məkəlyiiyəm anəɣani aqfamakaŋi// taaxkən I  
*and so boy his older he fetched them then soon after that*

anəɣii tayilayasimalyit// tayilayasata pimakaŋi//  
*his brothers they came when they came he said to them*

əlɣata+ nayaxpəsi kayaatqisi...  
*very much your sister she outdid you*

### 2.2.3 taaxkən II

In the event line, participials with their dependent verbs relate sequences of actions with the same participants. Participials are usually separated by intervening dependent verbs. However if a dependent verb does not occur in such a position, the adjacent participials are usually separated by taaxkən II *then*. In this context the particle, taaxkən, has the meaning "next in the sequence of action", connecting one action to the one which follows. See Sentences 7-11, 13-18, and others for examples of the use of this particle in the absence of intervening dependent verbs.

Two exceptions to the above are: (1) Two participial verbs can occur next to each other when the action is tightly-knit and simultaneous as in Sentence 60: aɣniqumalyii/ araamalyii//

*she was angry she hollered*

(2) A participial verb describing a state of being need not be separated from the succeeding participial, as in Sentences 46 and 47:

qalu tatiyusimalyii// yuyəm pimakaŋa...  
*Qalu he was without arms man he said to her*

### 2.2.4 Consequential action marker.

taayanxʷa *and so* indicates consequential action in a



sequence where a participant change occurs. That is, one participant separates himself from the particular action matrix where he finds himself and goes off to do something which is a consequence of something that happened or was said by another while he was still in that action matrix or scene. Sentences 25, 28, 53 and 62. illustrate the use of this marker.

### 3. Conclusion

This initial study of Siberian Yupik discourse has revealed some significant things to the authors. It has shown the benefit of studying a narrative by first attempting to get a "global" feel for the text before getting down to specific detail. This approach enables one to stage the plot as it unfolds and to sense how particular features of grammar, semantics, and literary elements are interacting.

The clues gained from this general approach frequently led to discoveries of the function of specific elements in a total context. These functions were not always apparent in more limited contexts or materials elicited from speakers of the language in a typical language study setting.

The application of global discourse study to texts enabled the authors to view Yupik from a new perspective rather than the more traditional approach of analyzing shorter segments of speech. As a result, the function of certain words, classes of words, and other features in Yupik, came to light.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The authors wish to express their appreciation to Carl H. Harrison of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for directing their study of narrative discourse and for his invaluable assistance in the preparation of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Krauss, Michael E., "St. Lawrence Island Eskimo Phonology and Orthography", Linguistics 152, May 15, 1975.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobson, Steven A. A Grammatical Sketch of Siberian Yupik Eskimo as Spoken on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1977.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. page 73.

<sup>5</sup> These texts, "Arepaki Ama Qalu", "Yuget Tallimat", "Umiilgu", and "Meteghlluk", were taken from Krauss, Michael E. and Badten, Adalinda, Ungazighmiit Ungipaghaatangi, University of Alaska, 1971.

<sup>6</sup> Rubtsova was a teacher at Ungaziq (Chaplino in Russian), Chukotka, USSR from about 1937 to 1941. She recorded the stories in her book in 1940, as told by Ayveghhaq, a 26 year old Eskimo man of Ungaziq.

<sup>7</sup> Slwooko, Grace. Sivugam Ungipaghaatangi, St. Lawrence Island Legends, National Bilingual Materials Development Center, University of Alaska, Anchorage, 1977.

<sup>8</sup> mulunÿituq	<i>before too long</i>
qenwat	<i>until</i>
wetku	<i>until</i>
unuyyayu	<i>when it was night</i>
unami	<i>next day/tomorrow</i>
taytalmi	<i>in time</i>

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