SOME DISCOURSE FEATURES IN SIBERIAN YUPIK ESKIMO NARRATIVE

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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).¹

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.²

0.1 The phonemes of CSY are: stops p, t, k, kw, q, qw; voiced and voiceless continuants v, z, y, y', y', r, l, y, f, s, x, x', x', f, h; voiced and voiceless nasals m, n, o, o', o', o'; 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 əxaχtəqamken
I shall see you tomorrow
qəpxaχtuna
I am working
anıyaχtalıyuq
He has a big boat
yuyam naγaa kayu
The man ate a fish

The participial has both verbal and nominal uses and is marked by the morphemes -lìjìi 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nəqəlyii} & \quad \text{he ate} \\
\text{nəqəlyiiŋa} & \quad I \text{ ate} \\
\text{nəqəxkəŋa} & \quad \text{he ate it} \\
\text{nəqəxkəka} & \quad I \text{ ate it}
\end{align*}
\]

For the nominal use of the participial, the morphemes -liii 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.3

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nəqəlyii} & \quad \text{the one who ate} \\
\text{nəqəlyiiŋa} & \quad \text{from the one who ate} \\
\text{nəqəxkəka} & \quad \text{the thing I ate} \\
\text{nəqəxkəŋa} & \quad \text{from the thing I ate}
\end{align*}
\]

The infinitive is marked by -lu ~ -lu 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.4

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aanlun piyaxtuq} & \quad \text{going outside he walked} \\
\text{nəqəqəqəuka tayisqaa} & \quad \text{he told him to come eat} \\
\text{nəqəlutən} & \quad \text{Eat!}
\end{align*}
\]

1. Four texts5 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).6 An Alaska version of the Arepaki Ama Qalu story written by Grace Siwooko7 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.
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! Qalu is the best champion, he is light on his feet." (59) Then Arepaki was angry; she hollered (to the crowd), "Hey, you (pl.). A woman took off Qalu's arms! (60) You (pl.) kill him and take away his things." (61) And so, they killed Qalu and took away his things. (62) When Qalu died, the hunters kept their seals.

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

1.2 Annotated text.

arepaki ama qalu

(1) iimnaq// (2) uŋazlumilt nəxəyatum// umlilyat ayuqetayili//

it is the
aforementioned one
Siberians
they had
their
he was cruel
many houses
chief

aatxa qalu// (3) ama kiyaxəxili aynaq aklumayili//

his name Qalu
and
one lived
woman
who was poor

uyiłək avaqutaŋtuqayq/ aatxa arəpaki// (4) muýutuneyata/

having
who has a family
her name Arepaki
when they hunt

aatxa aŋsanyi kiyaxtaŋayii// (5) unayluten/ yuŋət

chief
at beach
he repeatedly
stayed
catching game
the men
Dep	umillyem
when they came the chief (home)  he took them (game) away repeatedly
he did that way all the time

(7) maatən ilangani arepaki'm uyiŋa unanumayili nəxšaməng/

now some other Arepaki’s her hus- he caught seal
band game

Inf
(8) unanuluni/ taylaasimakanə/
he catching he came home with it at that it was night
game time

Pr
kaatusimakanə maŋteγamunun/ (10) taaχken II itxusimakanə/
he arrived to his home next in the he entered it
with it sequence of action

Inf
(11) itxu+uku nuliini tuq̂+umakanə/ arepakiy/ nəxšaxsimanə/
entering his wife he called her Arepaki I got a seal
it

Pr
(12) nulixan pimakaŋa/ kaay/ warqun waranxwa
his wife she said Oh at least a little bit
to him

Ind
avaqutxaxtan nəγəɬequt/ ama uqiɬeqqutuŋ/ (13) arepaki
your family they will eat and we will have fuel Arepaki
na̞qsaq itxusimakaña  aayramun // (14) taaxkən II aftamakaña //

seal  she entered  to the reindeer curtain  then next in  she skinned it of action

(15) apəyiyiluku/ arəpaki yaaumləyi// (16) yaaumləlu/y
when she fin - Arepaki  she cooked  cooking it

qalum qərəqtaŋə  təyimalyi// (17) taaxkən II qinəxsiyimalyi//
Qalu's  his worker  he came  then next in the  he looked in sequence of action

(18) qinəxtuni/ pimalyi/ qalu pilq/ na̞qsəxtaxaxsinoŋ
looking in  he said  Qalu  he said  the seal which was caught

Imp tuunitəxu// (19) arəpakim akisimakaña/ tuunaanyitaŋput/ xəŋkutatu
you give it  Arepaki  she answered  we will not give  we also it

Ind nəyə+qəŋput// (20) qalum qərəqtaŋə  aylaamalyi//
we will eat it  Qalu's  his worker  he went (home)

(21) kəa+tuni qinəxsiyimalyi// (22) qinəxtuni/ qalu pemakaña/
arriving  he looked in  looking in  Qalu  he said to him

Ind tuunaanyitaŋputŋuq/ aŋnitaŋputŋuq  nəyə+qaat//
she will not give it  they also  they will eat it
(23) qalum pimakaŋa/  piyaxtuqlq/  (24) w warangyq

Qalu he said to him go tell them at least

Opt
amiiraŋa taŋiyaliŋxu/  (25) ayanxwa/ qalum qapxaxtəŋa
its skin let them give it and so Qalu's his worker

Pr ayilaamyiŋi/ (26) qinexuni/ pimalyiŋiŋ w waran amiiiraŋaŋuŋ
he went looking in he said at least its skin

Imp tuuniŋxu/  (27) aŋpakim pimakaŋa/ tuunaŋyiŋtaxput/ xwaŋkutaŋu
you give it Arepaki she said we will not we also
to him give it

Ind
kaamkə+eqaxput/  (28) ayanxwa/ ayilaamyiŋi/
we will make boots of it and so he went (home)

Inf  Pr
kaaluni/ qinexsimyiŋi/  (30) qinexuni pimalyiŋi/
arriving he looked in looking in he said

Ind
kuunaŋyiŋtaŋnuŋ/  aŋqitaŋnuŋ qamkə+eqaat/
she will not give it they also they will make boots of it

Imp  Ind
piyaxtuqlq/  iliywəŋnuŋ/  xwaŋamnəŋ  wəayayaxtuqwaŋanka/
go tell them he threatened I myself I will go take it
away from them
(32) ʔaayaaŋwə qəpɔɛxtə aylaamalyli//

Pr

and so his worker he went (over)

(33) kaa+uni/ qinəxsimalyli// (34) qinəx+uni/ pimalyli/

arriving he looked in Looking in he said

Ind

iiyənuŋq ətmiŋəŋ ɣ̣ə̣ỵə̣ỵə̣x̣tux̣təq̣ịlịsị

he threatened he himself he will go take it away from you

(35) arepaki mimaŋa/ təỵịḷịnuŋq ɣ̣ə̣ỵə̣ỵə̣x̣tỵụḷịnḳut//

Arepaki she said let him let him take it away
to him come from us

(36) yuuk qəpɔɛxta aylaamalyli// (37) kaa+uni/ qinəxsimalyli//

man his worker he went arriving he looked in

(38) qinəx+uni/ pimalyli/ əpənuŋq ayla/ ɣ̣ə̣ỵə̣ỵə̣x̣tux̣qi//

looking in he said you yourself you go you take it away
from them

(39) təəkən I qalu piluyuyluni/ ətmiŋəŋ aylaamalyli//

soon after Qalu dressing he himself he went (over)
that

(40) kaa+uni/ iiləxmalyli nətyəmun// (41) iiləyuni/ pimalyli/

arriving he entered to the storm entering he said shed
qamaay/ nə̃xə̃sə̃si tə̃yivə̃xtə̃xu// (42) aɾəpəki mə̃pə̃kə̃nə̃a/  
hey you inside your seal you give it Aɾəpəki she said to him

Ind  
ahaa tuunə̃qaqa// (43) aɾəpəki nə̃tə̃yə̃mə̃n aatə̃xumə̃lə̃yii//  
yes I will give it Aɾəpəki to storm she went out shed

Inf  
(44) ə̃tə̃yə̃lə̃nii/ qə̃lə̃m tə̃tə̃lə̃kə̃n kə̃nə̃lə̃xə̃kə̃nə̃n tə̃yə̃mə̃kə̃n//  
going out Qalu’s his arms on their ends she grabbed them

Ind  
(45) tə̃ãxə̃kə̃n II tə̃tə̃lə̃kə̃n ayãmə̃qumə̃kə̃n/ ayãmə̃qumə̃kə̃n/  
then next in his arms she broke them she broke them

Ind  
ayãmə̃qumə̃kə̃n/ iyeẽyãyãyə̃nun kə̃nə̃nə̃n // (46) qalu  
she broke them to his fingers until Qalu

Pr  
tə̃tə̃lĩyusə̃nalə̃yii// (47) yũyə̃m mə̃pə̃kə̃nə̃a/ ukũxə̃liĩy// apẽyə̃yãqunə̃nə̃a//  
he was without arms man he said hey you don’t tell about me

(48) tə̃yə̃mãqə̃mə̃n tuunə̃tə̃qamsi/ saama sanqutə̃mə̃n// (49) tə̃ãxə̃kə̃n I  
tobacco I will give you (pl) something else then soon after that

Pr  
aanə̃nalə̃yii (50) aanə̃lə̃nii/ ayãlə̃mə̃nalə̃yii// (51) kaatə̃nuni/  
he went out going out he went home arriving
he entered then next his wife he said Arepaki in sequence to her of action

something and tobacco take it to her and so

his wife something and tobacco she took to her

then next in the there they lived now sequence of action

some other when it Siberians they played blanket toss

Qalu to blanket toss he went arriving

Qalu to blanket toss he went arriving

to dried walrus hide he climbed then next in the they hollered sequence of action to him
ahahahahahaa owok/ (59) qalu pinixqalyii/ qogestaañaq/
"ahahahahahaa owok"
qalu he was best he is light weight

(60) taaxkən I arepaki ayqumalyyii/ araamalyyii/
then soon after that Arapaki she was angry she hollered

maakuṣliy// qalu aynam tailiyusimaa/ (61) tuqu+uku/
hey you Qalu woman she took off kill him

Imp
sanqutaña ḡwayaaxtəxu// (62) ḡayanwa/ qalu tuqusimakanat/
his things take it away and so Qalu they killed him

Pr
ama sanqutaña ḡwayaasimakanat// (63) qalu tuquyalyyimi/
and his things they took it away Qalu when he died

Pr
muuyqiixtet nəxsaxtaten piksamusimakanit//
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 ('Tefaay')

Stories are traditionally begun with a formal opening, or aperture, such as iimmarnuq 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) uniqupayaniyuq 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 (tefaay!) 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 ilagani (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 qaqxakə the man's servant. Also note Sentence 47, after Arepaki broke Qalu's arms, rendering him helpless, he is referred to as yuym 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 Qalü, praising his skill in the blanket toss. But at this moment of glory, Arepakí 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, 36, 41, 42, 47, 48, 52, 61.

2.2.2 Episode Change Markers

*maaten 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.

*taaxkan* 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 *maaten ilagani*. For this function *taaxkan* will be identified as *taaxkan I*. The following portion of text illustrates the use of *taaxkan I*:
2.2.3 taaxken 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 taaxken II then. In this context the particle, taaxken, 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: aynlqumalylj// araamalylj//

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 ta+lyusimalyi/ yuyam pimaka+... Qalu he was without arms man he said to her

2.2.4 Consequential action marker.

+aayanw'a 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

1 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.


4 Ibid. page 73.

5 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.

6 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.

7 Slwook, Grace. Sivugam Ungipaghaatangi, St. Lawrence Island Legends, National Bilingual Materials Development Center, University of Alaska, Anchorage, 1977.

8 mulunyiltuq before too long
    qonwat until
    watku until
    unuyuyayu when it was night
    unami next day/tomorrow
    taytalmi in time
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