

On the status of the determiner phrase in St. Lawrence Island Yupik

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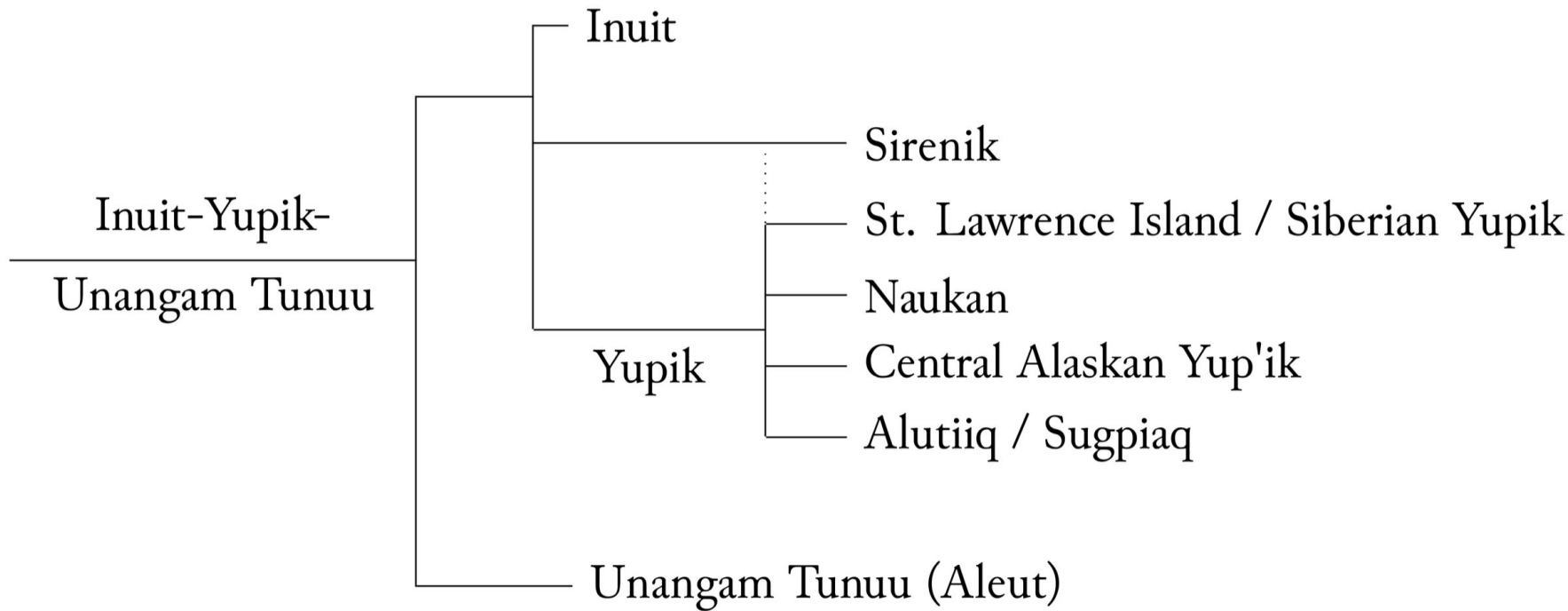
Today

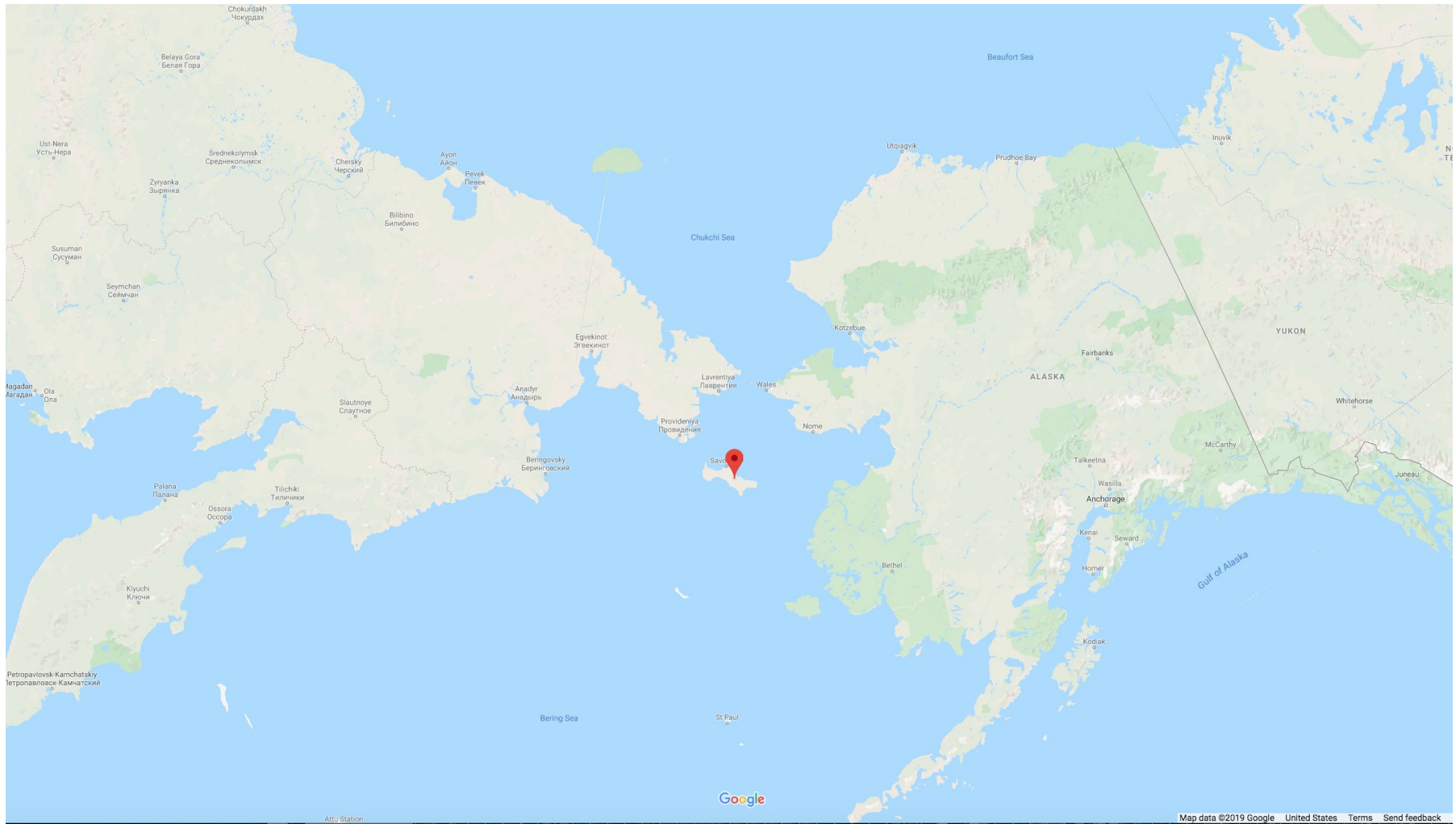
- Yupik & its speakers
- D(P)s in Yupik?
- New documentation





Background





The language

- *Yupik, Yupigestun, Akuzipik*
- English-language literature:
“Central Siberian Yupik”,
“St. Lawrence Island Yupik”
- Russian-language literature:
“Chaplinski Yupik” (when
spoken on the Chukotka
peninsula)



Language status

- Chukotka (~800-1200 Yupiget, ~200 speakers in several villages)
- Sivuqaq (St. Lawrence Island) (~1300 Yupiget, ~500-1000 speakers in Sivuqaq and Sivunga)
- Alaskan mainland (~300-400)



Language situation

- Yupik materials developed in Russia, 1930s-1950s
 - After this, shift away from Yupik
 - Youngest speakers in Russia ~70 years old
- Yupik bilingual-bicultural curriculum developed in Alaska, 1970s-1990s
 - ~1980, nearly all SLI Yupiget speaking Yupik at home; English learned in school
- Now less than half (?) of children speaking/learning Yupik at home; no Yupik-dominant children on SLI to our knowledge

Existing documentation

- Dictionary (Badten, et al. 2008)
- Pedagogical grammar (Jacobson 2001)
- Work on:
 - Phonology, prosody, and orthography (Jacobson 1985, Krauss et al. 1985, Jacobson 1990);
 - Syntax and language contact (Jacobson 1977, 1994, 2001, 2006; de Reuse 1994); Syntax and historical morphology (de Reuse 1992);
 - Semantics (de Reuse 2001);
 - Morphology and morphophonemics (Vakhtin 2009);
 - Polysynthesis (de Reuse 2009);
 - Comparison with Alaskan Yup'ik (Jacobson 2012).

Existing documentation

- Some foundational (largely descriptive) literature in Russian
- A healthy number of Yupik-language texts, and curricular materials (developed in the 1970s-1990s, largely not in use).

Community action/goals

- Maintenance & revitalization group
 - Eventual goal: Immersion curriculum/program
- Our aims:
 - Support language use and language learning (e.g., digitization of existing pedagogical and Yupik-language materials; building a corpus of existing texts and newly recorded productions)
 - Provide computer tools and training for use towards language goals;
 - Expanding existing documentation



Determiner (phrase)s in Yupik?

Grammar points

- Ergative-absolutive; largely free word order; polysynthetic (including noun incorporation)
- 4 persons, 3 numbers, no gender
- 600+ (largely) derivational suffixes (“postbases”); fairly fusional inflectional suffixes; enclitics
- Generally *ROOT-derivation-Neg-TMMA-Person/Number Infl.*

Grammar points

- Lexically distinguished:
 - Noun and verb “bases”
 - Pronouns
 - Uninflected adverbs/particles (typically borrowed from Chukchi)
 - No articles, **but**
 - Extensive system of “demonstratives”

Yupik “demonstratives”

- What category?
 - Can serve adverbially without inflection or with any of the oblique cases

(1)

iqalliniighvimnnun

iqalli -niigh -vig -mnnun
fish -hunt.N -place.to.V -TM(1p-s)

'he went up to our fish camp'

aga

aga
over(DA:E)

pimaaq

pi -(i/u)ma -uq
go -PST -IND(3s)

(de Reuse, 1994)

Yupik “demonstratives”

- What category?
 - Can be used pronominally

(2)

iigna		qilugtuq	
iigna	-∅	qilugh	-tuq
over(D:R)	-ABs	bark	-IND(3s)
'that barked'			

(Jacobson, 2001)

Yupik “demonstratives”

- What category?
 - Can be used in a modification relationship with nouns
 - Case and number agree with the noun
 - Could these be Ns? Adjs? Ds?

Yupik “demonstratives”

(3)

iigna		qikmiq		qilugtuq
iigna	-Ø	qikmigh	-Ø	qilugh -tuq
over(D:R)	-ABs	dog	-ABs	bark -IND(3s)
'that dog barked'				

(de Reuse, 1994)

Yupik “demonstratives”

(4)

iigna		qikmiq		qilugtuq	
iigna	-∅	qikmigh	-∅	qilugh	-tuq
over(D:R)	-ABs	dog	-ABs	bark	-IND(3s)

'that dog barked'

(de Reuse, 1994)

- Jacobson (2001) suggests these are cases of nominal apposition
- General criteria for appositional relations (Quirk, 1985)
 - both index the same referent
 - one lends specificity to the other

Yupik “demonstratives”

- However, they don’t appear to be true nouns
 - No possessive morphology
 - Limited postbase compatibility
 - Those that do, attach after inflection

(5)

awatmiighte

awa -tmun -ighte

over(DA:E) -TM -go.N-ward

‘to go farther away (especially of something drifting away)’

(de Reuse, 1994)

Yupik “demonstratives”

- Bošković (2004) proposes that in languages that otherwise lack determiners, certain “D-like” elements (demonstratives, quantifiers, nominal possessors) are adjectives.

Nominal modification

(6)

angyaghllak

angyagh -ghllagh -∅

boat -big.N -ABs

'big boat'

(7)

aanguq

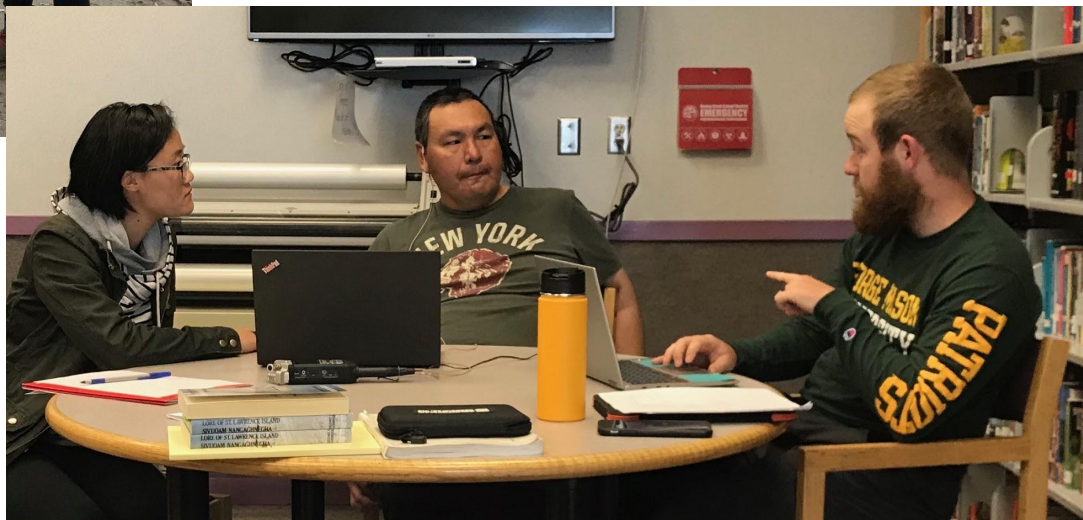
aange -~f(g/t)ugh -∅

be.big -IND -3s

'It is big'



New documentation



Preliminary data

- While we work on building the corpus and making it searchable, we have worked with several speakers to document possible word orders and nominals of different sizes
- This initial work helps establish targets for further elicitation and what to look for in naturalistic production

Ds in Yupik?

- Let's consider the behavior of demonstratives and other N-adjacent elements

Demonstrative + noun

(8) una aghnaq
 una aghnagh-q
 this woman -ABS.SG.UNPD
 'this woman'

(9) aghnaq una
 woman this
 'this woman'

Numeral + noun

- (10) maalghuk apeghtughistek
 maalghuk apeghtughiste -k
 two teacher -ABS.DU.UNPD
 'the two teachers'

- (11) qikmit pingaayut
 qikmi -t pingaayut
 dog -ABS.PL.UNPD three
 'the three dogs'

Demonstrative + numeral + noun

(12)	ukut	pingayut	aghnat
	uku-t	pingayut	aghnat
	near.obscured-PL	three	woman-PL
	'these three women'		

Demonstrative + numeral + noun order

✓ukut aghnat pingayut

✓pingayut, ukut aghnat (needs this prosody)

✓pingayut, aghnat ukut "focus on 'three', not a single phrase—sounds like *ukut aghnat* is an afterthought or clarification"

✓?aghnat pingayut ukut "maybe less common"

✓aghnat ukut pingayut

Pronoun + noun

(13)

Whangkuta	yugni	angyaghyugtut.	
whang -kuta	yug -ni	angyagh -yug	-tut
1	-ABS.PL	man -ABS.PL.UNPD	go.boating -want.to.V -INTR.IND.1PL
'We men wanted to go boating.'			

Pronoun + numeral

(14)

Whangkuta	pingayuni	estuwaghhsiimaakut.
whang -kuta	pingayu -ni	estuwagh -sima -kut
1	-ABS.PL three	-ABS.PL.UNPD go.to.store -PST -INTR.IND.1PL
'We three went to the store.'		

Pronoun + numeral + N

(15)

??Whangkuta	pingayuni	yugni	estuwaghhsiimaakut.
whang -kuta	pingayu -ni	yug -ni	estuwagh -sima -kut
1	-ABS.PL three	-ABS.PL.UNPD	men-ABS.PL.UNPD go.to.store -PST -INTR.IND.1PL
'We three men went to the store.'			

Implications & next steps



Implications

- As we continue to collect data, particularly more generalizable data from more speakers, we are adding to our typological and theoretical understanding of nominals
- We also hope that the additional documentation will be of use to those building and adding to school curricula, and to adult speakers who self-identify as less- or non-fluent and reluctant to ask elders questions about the grammar

Documentation: Next steps

What

- Preferred orders and the contexts/reasons for those preferences
- Eventually, comparison of oral narrative style to spontaneous production style

How

- Multiple speakers together
- Naturalistic production
- Mining the corpus once it is functional (currently mostly oral narrative style)



Igamsiqayugvikemsi!

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