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17 Applicative constructions in the Inuit-Yupik-Unangan (Eskimo-Aleut) languages

Abstract: Six applicative constructions can be identified in languages of the Yupik-Inuktitut-Unangan family. The languages show basic ergative/absolutive patterning in nominal case marking, and only definite referents can be core arguments. The applicatives add an argument which is cast as the absolutive of a transitive clause. The base clause may be intransitive or transitive, but if it was transitive, the original absolutive is expressed as an oblique or not mentioned. One general applicative, with cognates across the family, is quite productive and can add a recipient, a beneficiary, a referent affected by natural phenomena, a companion, an instrument, or a reason. Within the Yupik-Inuktitut branch, one additional applicative built on this can add a reason in Yupik, and an instrument, means, cause, or reason in Kalaallisut (Greenlandic). Another can add a spatial goal. Yup'ik also contains an adversative applicative and a replacive applicative 'in place of'. Kalaallisut also contains a comitative applicative. Applicative clauses can be nominalized to form terms referring to the applied absolutive. Within discourse, applicatives can function to bring topical referents into the core, but because they are derivational, their use depends on the inventories of derived lexical items in each language.

1 Introduction

Languages of the Inuit-Yupik-Unangan family are spoken over a wide area of the Arctic from Siberia to Greenland. The family consists of two main branches, Inuit-Yupik and Unangan (Aleut). Relations among the languages essentially as laid out by Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan are in Figure 1. **Languages** are listed in boldface and major *dialects* in italics.

Views on the prehistory of the family, based on archaeological and linguistic evidence, are summarized in Dorais (2010: 95–105). It is estimated that about 4500 years ago, speakers of the common parent language were living in what is now Alaska, their language having replaced those of earlier communities there. Around this time ancestors of the Unangan (Aleut) began migrating to the Aleutian Islands. Between 3000 and 2000 years ago the remaining group split. The Sireniksi crossed the Bering Strait to Chukotka. (The place of Sireniksi, as a separate subbranch within Inuit-Yupik, or part of the Yupik subbranch, remains under discussion.) The Yupik peoples then spread out: the Sugpiat (Alutiit) made their way to south central Alaska, and the ancestors of the Central Siberian Yupiget and the Naukanski followed the Sireniksi to Chukotka. Between 1000 and 800 years ago the Iñupiat moved into Yupik territory on the Seward

Inuit-Yupik (Eskimoan)

Inuit-Iñupiaq

Greenlandic Inuit

North Greenlandic = Polar Eskimo (Inuktun, Inughuit), West Greenlandic = Kalaallisut, East Greenlandic (Tunumiisut, Ivin)

Eastern Canadian Inuit

Aivilik, South Baffin, Tarramiut, North Baffin-Iglulik, Itivimmiut, Labrador = Nunatsiavummiutet

Western Canadian Inuit

Siglit, Copper, Caribou, Netsilik

North Alaskan Inupiaq

Malimiut, North Slope

Seward Peninsula Iñupiaq

Bering Strait, Qawiaraq

Yupik

Sireniksi**Central Siberian Yupik**

Chaplinski = Ungazigmiistun, St. Lawrence Island = Sivuqaghmiistun

Naukanski = Nuvuqaghmiistun**Central Alaskan Yup'ik**

General Central Alaskan Yup'ik = Yugtun, Hooper Bay/Chevak = Cup'ik, Egegik, Nunivak = Cyp'ig, Norton Sound = Cugtun

Alutiiq = Pacific Gulf Yupik = Sugpiaq

Koniag = Alutit'stun, Chugach = Sugt'stun

Unangan (Aleut)**Unangan = Aleut**

Eastern, Western

Figure 1: The Inuit-Yupik-Unangan family (Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan 2010).

Peninsula in Alaska. The ancestors of the modern Inuit, the Thule, began moving eastward across the Arctic, reaching Greenland by around 1600 (McGhee 2015).

It should be noted that the term *Eskimo* is no longer used among some groups. *Yupiit* is used by many for peoples in southwestern Alaska, *Inuvialuit* by those in the Mackenzie region of the Northwest Territories, *Inuktun* in much of western Canada, *Inuit* ('human beings') in eastern Canada, and *Kalaallit* in Greenland. Other groups do not generally object to the term.

One applicative construction has cognates across the family, but additional constructions have developed in the Yupik and Inuktitut languages. The Yupik branch is represented here by General Central Alaskan Yup'ik (Yup'ik; ISO esu), spoken in southwestern Alaska, the Inuit-Iñupiaq group by Kalaallisut (ISO kal), spoken on the west coast of Greenland, and Unangan (ISO ale) by the Eastern and Western dialects of the Aleutian Islands. The discussion has benefited greatly from work with Yup'ik speakers Elena Charles, George Charles, and Elizabeth Ali, and Kalallisuut linguist and first-language speaker Carl Christian Olsen. Modern published works on each of these languages contain important discussions of applicatives. For Central Alaskan Yup'ik there is a detailed pedagogi-

cal grammar (Jacobson 1995), a comprehensive dictionary (Jacobson 2012), and a monumental reference grammar (Miyaoka 2012) among others. A grammar of the Chevak dialect of Yup'ik is in Woodbury (1981). For Kalaallisut there is an extensive dictionary (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927) and grammars by Fortescue (1984/1997), Sadock (2003), and Kahn and Valijärvi (2021). For Unangan there is a substantial dictionary and a reference grammar (Bergsland 1994, 1997). In what follows, Section 2 describes the basic structures of the languages, Section 3 their applicative constructions, and Section 4 interactions with morphology, syntax, and discourse. Section 5 provides a summary.

2 Basic grammatical structure

All of the languages are polysynthetic and nearly exclusively suffixing. There are three lexical categories: verbs, nouns, and particles. Verbs and nouns consist of a single root (termed a *BASE* in the literature), optionally followed by any number of suffixes (termed *POSTBASES*), and ending in an obligatory inflectional complex. The verb structure is summarized in Figure 2.

Root = Base	(Suffixes) (= Postbases)	Inflectional Ending	
		Mood	Pronominal suffix

Figure 2: Verb template.

The relative order of postbases is for the most part hierarchical, reflecting scope, though frequently-recurring sequences of suffixes have fused. Inuit-Yupik languages have four independent moods: Indicative, Interrogative, Imperative, and Optative, as well as various dependent moods. Some moods, including the Indicative, distinguish transitivity. The pronominal suffixes identify the core arguments, whether or not coreferential nominals are also present: one for intransitives and two for transitives. As can be seen in the Yup'ik examples in (1) and (2), verbs can stand alone as complete clauses in themselves.¹

- (1) Yup'ik intransitive (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)
Kipusvigtellinilria.
kipute-vig-te-llini-lria
 buy-LOC.NMLZ-go.to-apparently-INTR.PART.3SG
 'He apparently went to the store.'

¹ Examples are presented here in the current standard orthographies.

- (2) Yup'ik transitive (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

*Tangersuumiitamken.**tangerr-yuumir-ite-a-mken*

see-want-NEG-TR.IND-1SG>2SG

'I do not want to see you.'

The ending on nouns specifies number, case, and optionally possession. Core cases follow an ergative/absolutive pattern. Ergative forms (traditionally called *relative* in the literature) match genitives. Absolutes are generally unmarked. Additional cases in Yup'ik are Ablative, Allative, Locative, Vialis (for instruments and paths), and Aequalis. Possessive suffixes identify both the possessor and possessed, which is normally third person. Basic noun structure is in Figure 3.

Root = Base	(Suffixes) (= Postbases)	Inflectional Ending
		Number, Case (Possession)

Figure 3: Noun template.

Uses of the various cases are for the most part as would be expected.

- (3) Yup'ik Absolutive (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

*Anngacayaqa**tamaantuq?**annga-qayaq-ka**tamaante-u-q*

older.brother-baby-1SG>3SG.ABS.SG be.there-IND.INTR-3SG

'Is my older brother (**ABS**) there?'

- (4) Yup'ik Ergative (Susan Charles, speaker)

*Ilumun yungcaristem**tagesqaaten.**ilumun yungcari-ste-em**tage-sqe-a-aten*indeed treat.medically-AGT.NMLZ-**ERG.SG** go.up-request-TR.IND-3SG>3SG'Indeed the doctor (**ERG**) has asked you to go up [to the hospital].'

- (5) Yup'ik Ablative (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

*Nunamnek**watua**avaii**ayallruunga.**nuna-mnek**watua**avai**ayag-llru-u-nga*land-1SG>3SG.**ABL** right.now yonder leave-PAST-INTR.IND-1SG'I just traveled **from** my home (**ABL**).'

- (6) Yup'ik Allative (Elena Charles, speaker)

Tacomamun *alguta.**Tacoma-mun* *age-lu-ta*

PLACENAME-ALL.SG go.over-SUBORD-1PL

'We went over **to** Tacoma (ALL).'

- (7) Yup'ik Locative (Geroge Charles, speaker)

Utaqallruut-qaa *misvigmi?**utaqa-llru-u-t=qaa* *mit'e-vik-mi*

wait-PAST-INTR.IND-3PL=Q alight-LOC.NMLZ-LOC.SG

'Did they wait **at** the airport (LOC)?'

- (8) Yup'ik Vialis (George Charles, speaker)

Ayaumalriaci-qaa *nunakuarcuutkun?**ayag-uma-lria-ci=qaa* *nuna-kuar-cuun-kun*

go-for.long.time-INTR.PRTCP-2PL=Q land-go.by.way.of-INS.NMLZ-VIA.SG

'Did you travel for a long time **by** car?'

- (9) Yup'ik Aequalis (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

Qanemcilria *elli-gguq, yugtun.**qanemci-lria* *ellii=gguq yuk-tun*

talk.about.things-INTR.PRTCP.3SG 3SG=HRS person-AEQ.SG

'He talks, **in** Yup'ik.'

The case inventories are similar across the Inuit-Yupik languages, though the terminology used to describe them varies slightly. The Kalaallisut cases are Absolutive, Relative (=Ergative), Ablative, Allative, Locative, Instrumental, Perlative or Prolative, and Equative.

In the Inuit-Yupik languages, Absolutives of transitives must be definite. Referents cast as indefinite objects in other languages are expressed as obliques: Ablatives in Yup'ik and the cognate Instrumentals in Kalaallisut. In the Yup'ik sentence in (10), the newly introduced beaver was indefinite. The noun 'beaver' was Ablative and the clause was grammatically intransitive, with the intransitive form of the Indicative mood marker and reference only to the agent in the pronominal suffix.

- (10) Yup'ik indefinite patient (George Charles, speaker)

Paluqtamek *tangerrlinilria,**paluqtaq-mek* *tangerr-llini-lria*

beaver-ABL.SG see-apparently-INTR.PRTCP.3SG

'Then he saw **a** beaver'

<i>kuimalriamek</i>	<i>kuigmi.</i>
<i>kuimar-lria-mek</i>	<i>kuik-mi</i>
swim-NMLZ-ABL.SG	river-LOC.SG
'swimming in the river.'	

Inuit-Yupik verb roots vary according to their possible argument structures (without further derivation). A good discussion is in Jacobson (1995, Chapter 8). Some are used only as intransitives and some only as transitives, but many, termed ambitransitives, can be inflected as either. For some of these, termed *agentive*, the intransitive absolutive corresponds to the transitive Ergative. But for others, termed *patientive*, the intransitive Absolutive corresponds to the transitive Absolutive. The categories are summarized in (11).

(11) Yup'ik verb transitivity categories (Jacobson 1995, 2012)

Intransitive only	<i>igt-u-q</i>	'it is falling'
Transitive only	<i>tegu-a</i>	's/he is taking it'
Ambitransitive		
Agentive	<i>kenir-tu-q</i>	's/he is cooking'
	<i>kenir-a-a</i>	's/he is cooking it'
Patientive	<i>alleg-tu-q</i>	'it tore'
	<i>allg-a-a</i>	's/he tore it'

For some transitive verbs, the Absolutive is comparable to an English direct object: *kenir-a-a* 's/he is cooking **it**'. For others, the Absolutive is a recipient, beneficiary, etc.: *qilug-a-a* 'it is barking **at him/her/it**'. Derivational processes can of course alter the argument structures.

The Unangan inflectional system is slightly different, though cognate relationships can be discerned. There are Ergative, Absolutive, Ablative, and Locative nominal cases, but the Allative, Instrumental, Vialis, and Aequalis cases have been lost.

Unangan sentence structure is also slightly different. As throughout the family, a verb may constitute a complete clause on its own or be accompanied by lexical nominals. In intransitives, the Absolutive is identified by a pronominal enclitic if it is first or second person, and just a number suffix on the verb if it is third.

(12) Unangan intransitive (Bergsland 1997: 343)

Awa-ku-ŋ=txin.
work-PRS-SG=2SG
'You are working.'

(13) Unangan intransitive (Bergsland 1997: 126)

Awa-ku-ŋ.
work-PRS-SG
'S/he is working.'

If there is a lexical nominal, it is Absolutive.

- (14) Unangan intransitive (Bergsland 1997: 126)

Tayaġu-ġ *awak-ku-ġ*.
 man-**ABS.SG** work-PRS-**SG**
 ‘The man is working.’

For transitives, both core arguments are marked in the verb, but a lexical agent is marked as Ergative only if there is no lexical Absolutive.

- (15) Unangan transitive (Bergsland 1997: 138)

Hlam *kidukuu*.
hla-m *kidu-ku-aa*
 boy-**ERG.SG** help-PRS-**3SG>3SG**
 ‘The boy is helping him/her.’

If both arguments are identified by lexical nominals, both are inflected as Absolutes, and only the first is marked in the verb.

- (16) Unangan transitivity (Bergsland 1997: 138)

Hla-ġ *asxinu-ġ* *kidu-u-ġ*.
 boy-**ABS.SG** girl-**ABS.SG** help-PRS-**SG**
 ‘The boy is helping the girl.’

Basic clause structure in all languages of the family is SOV, with alternatives for pragmatic purposes. Because of potential ambiguities, order is somewhat less fluid in Unangan.

3 Applicatives

Six applicative constructions can be identified among these languages. One has cognates across the family. Two more have cognates across the Inuit-Yupik languages. A fourth and fifth can be seen primarily in Yup’ik, and a sixth in Kalaallisut. All are marked by derivational suffixes in verbs. All usually add a core argument, which is cast as a full-fledged Absolutive and behaves like other transitive Absolutes syntactically. Since clauses in these languages can have no more than two core arguments, the addition of this argument results in the displacement of an original transitive Absolutive from the core. The displaced participant may be expressed as an oblique or not mentioned at all. There are no ‘double-object’ constructions. Verb bases formed with the applicative suffixes show the same inflectional possibilities as other verb bases. All show some allo-

morphy conditioned primarily by phonological context, but the conditions vary somewhat across the languages.

3.1 General applicative *-utə-

All of the languages in the family share an applicative construction formed with a derivational suffix reconstructed by Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan as *-utə- ‘do with or for’ (2012: 475–478). It is quite productive in all of the languages and shows a range of meanings.

The Yup’ik applicative suffix *-ute-* triggers certain changes in preceding sounds. The initial *u* is lost after a full vowel *i*, *a*, or *u*, and the final *e* does not appear before any other vowel. This applicative can add a recipient.

- (17) Yup’ik *-ute-* with recipient (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

Qanrucarturluki

qaner-ute-yartur-lu-ki

speak-APPL-go.in.order.to-SUBORD-R>3PL

‘He went to **tell**’

taukut kipusviliurtet,

tauku-t kipute-vik-liur-ta-t

that-ABS.PL buy-place-work.with-AGT.NMLZ-ABS.PL

‘**the storekeepers**’

assiitelriamek-gguq, tunelliniit.

assiite-lria-mek=gguq tune-llini-ke-iit

be.bad-NMLZ-ABL.SG=HRS sell-apparently-TR.PRTCP-3PL>3SG

‘that they had sold him a bad one.’

It can add a referent affected by natural phenomena.

- (18) Yup’ik *-ute-* as malefactive (Jacobson 2012: 881)

Aniullugutai.

aniu-llug-ut-a-i

snow.on.ground-have.bad-APPL-TR.IND-3SG>3PL

‘Soft melting snow came **upon them**.’

(They encountered soft snow conditions while traveling.)

It can add a beneficiary.

- (19) Yup'ik *-ute-* as benefactive (Elena Charles, speaker)

Taukuk-llu,
tauku-k=llu
those-DU=also
'And those two'

<i>Tommy-m</i>	<i>aaniin</i> ,
<i>Tommy-m</i>	<i>aana-in</i>
NAME-3SG>3SG.GEN.SG	mother-3SG>3SG.ERG
'and Tommy's mother'	

kalukaulluta.
kalukar-ute-lu-ta
 have.feast-APPL-SUBORD-3R>1PL
 ‘made a feast **for us.**’

It can add a companion. This construction is frequently used where a co-causative might be used in some other languages.

- (20) Yup'ik *-ute-* as comitative (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

Elliin *ayaulhua.*
ellii-n *ayag-ute-lu-a*
 3SG-ERG.SG go-APPL-SUBORD-3R>1SG
 ‘He went **with me**.’ = ‘He took me along.’

It can add a reason.

- (21) Yup'ik *-ute-* with reason (Jacobson 2012: 66)

Aaryuutaa.
aaryug-ute-a-a
 be.wary-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG
 ‘S/he feels concerned **on account of** what might happen to him/her.’

This applicative is added to intransitive-only bases, transitive-only bases, agentive ambitransitive bases, and patientive ambitransitive bases.

- (22) Yup'ik derivational possibilities (Jacobson 2012)

Intransitive

<i>arenqig-</i>	'be satisfactory, feasible, comfortable'
<i>arenqig-tuq</i>	'it is satisfactory'
<i>arenqi-ut-aa</i>	'it is satisfactory to him/her'

Transitive

<i>piqer-</i>	‘strike, hit, whack, whip’
<i>pigr-aa</i>	‘s/he whacked it’
<i>pigr-ut-aa</i>	‘s/he hit it against something’

Agentive ambitransitive

<i>ekrar-</i>	‘cross over’
<i>ekrar-tuq</i>	‘s/he is crossing over’
<i>ekrar-aa</i>	‘s/he is crossing over it’
<i>ekra-ut-aa</i>	‘s/he going across with it’ = ‘taking it across’

Patientive ambitransitive

<i>arulair-</i>	‘stop moving’
<i>arulair-tuq</i>	‘it stopped’
<i>arulairt-aa</i>	‘s/he stopped it’
<i>arulair-ut-aa</i>	‘s/he stopped for him/her’

When the applicative is added to a transitive base, the added argument usually displaces the original Absolutive. (In the Subordinative mood, only the Absolutive is overtly marked, but case marking on lexical nominals is as in other moods.) As noted, the Absolutives of some basic transitives, like *angussaag-* ‘hunt’ correspond to direct objects in languages like English. The Absolutives of other basic transitives, like *igaq-* ‘mark, write’, correspond to English indirect objects: recipients, goals, beneficiaries, etc. The applicative *-ute-* affects these two types of transitive bases in opposite ways. To the first it can add what would be a recipient, goal, beneficiary, companion, etc., and eliminate the original Absolutive from the core: ‘s/he is hunting (it) **for** him/her’. To the second, it can add a patient/theme and eliminate a recipient, goal, beneficiary, companion, etc.: ‘s/he is writing **it**’ (to him/her).’ The demoted referent can still be expressed as an oblique, inflected for case according to its semantic role.

(23) Yup’ik argument configurations (Jacobson 2012)

Agentive ambitransitive

<i>angussaag-</i>	‘hunt, try to catch game’
<i>angussaag-tuq</i>	‘s/he is hunting’
<i>angussaag-aa</i>	‘s/he is hunting it’
<i>angussaaq-ut-aa</i>	‘s/he is hunting for him/her, providing for him/her’

Agentive ambitransitive

<i>igaq-</i>	‘mark, write’
<i>igar-tuq</i>	‘s/he is writing’
<i>igar-aa</i>	‘s/he is writing to him/her’
<i>iga-ut-aa</i>	‘s/he is writing it ’

Since applicatives add an argument, they form transitive verb bases. With the verb *agu-* ‘go over’, the general applicative *-ute-* adds comitative meaning ‘go over with’ = ‘take over’. The added argument is the person or thing taken over, as in (24).

(24) Yup’ik comitative applicative (George Charles, speaker)

Kuigkun agukutelliniki.

kuik-kun agu-ute-llini-ke-ii

river-VIALIS go.over-APPL-apparently-**TR.PRTCP-3SG>3SG**

‘He took **him** across the river.’

The root *agu-* is an agentive ambitransitive. It can be inflected as an intransitive with just an agent, as in (25b) ‘s/he went over’, or inflected as a transitive, as in (25c) with two core arguments ‘s/he went over it’ (or more idiomatically ‘it covered it’, as snow covering a mountain). The applicative adds a new absolutive argument, the person or thing taken, as in (24) above and (25d) below. But only definite referents can be transitive Absolutives. If the person or thing taken over is indefinite, the verb is simply inflected as intransitive as in (25e). The indefinite participant, if mentioned, is oblique.

(25) Yup’ik *age-* ‘go over’ (Jacobson 2012: 69)

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. <i>age-</i> | ‘go over’ | Basic agentive ambitransitive root |
| b. <i>ag’-u-q</i> | ‘s/he or it went over’ | Basic intransitive |
| c. <i>ag-a-a</i> | ‘s/he went over it, ‘it covered it’ | Basic transitive |
| d. <i>ag-ut-a-a</i> | ‘s/he took him/her/it over’ | Transitive applicative |
| e. <i>ag-ut-u-q</i> | ‘s/he took something over’ | Intransitive applicative |

Constructions like that in (25e) are much like antipassives. They indicate that there is a second participant, but they eliminate that participant from the core. They differ from prototypical antipassives in that there is no antipassive suffix.

This construction has served as the foundation for an extension of sequences of applicatives and intransitive inflection to antipassive markers in certain contexts. One involves transitive-only bases. The root *tegu-* ‘take, pick up’ can be inflected as a transitive, as in (26b), but it cannot be inflected directly as an intransitive. An antipassive-like construction can be formed, however, by means of the applicative suffix *-ute-* and intransitive inflection, as in (26c). The suffix does not actually add any applicative meaning.

(26) Yup’ik basic transitive (Jacobson 2012: 627)

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. <i>tegu-</i> | ‘take, pick up’ | Basic transitive-only root |
| b. <i>tegu-a</i> | ‘s/he took it’ | Basic transitive verb |
| c. <i>teg-ut-u-q</i> | ‘s/he took something’ | Antipassive-like intransitive |

A second context involves patientive ambitransitive bases, those which occur inflected as both intransitive and transitives, but whose sole intransitive argument corresponds to the absolutive of the transitive. An example is the root *nalke*- ‘find’.

(27) Yup’ik patientive ambitransitive: *nalke*- ‘find’

- a. *Nalkaa.* Transitive
nalke-a-a
 find-TR.IND-3SG>3SG
 ‘S/he found **it**.’
- b. *Nalkuq.* Intransitive
nalke-u-q
 be.found-INTR.IND-3SG
 ‘**It** has been found.’

Simply inflecting the transitive base as intransitive will not produce the counterpart of an antipassive ‘s/he found an X, found something’. Here, too, a sequence consisting of the applicative *-ute*- and intransitive inflection is exploited for this function. The suffix adds no applicative meaning. The verb ‘find’ in (28) is formally intransitive, with just one argument, the agentive finder, but it is clear that something was found, here the indefinite rhubarb.

(28) Yup’ik antipassive (George Charles, speaker)

- Tauna cali yuaryaaqelria*
tauna cali yuar-yaaqe-lria
 that.one again search-in.vain-INTR.PRTP.3SG
 ‘He looked once again’
- nalkuteksaunani tamakunek cuassaa~~nek~~.*
nalke-ute-ksaite-lu-ni tamaku-~~nek~~ cuassaaq-~~nek~~
 find-APPL-not.yet-SUBORD-3R.SG those-ABL.PL rhubarb-ABL.PL
 ‘but didn’t find **any** wild rhubarb.’

Applicatives formed with the suffix *-ute*- can also be inflected as intransitives with dual or plural arguments to indicate reciprocal or joint activity, as in (29) and (30).

(29) Yup’ik intransitive reciprocal applicative *-ute*- (George Charles, speaker)

- Tua-i-llu-gguq tuakenirnek, tauna tulukaruq,*
tuai=llu-gguq tuakenir-nek tauna tulukaruq
 so.then=and=HRS there-ABL.PL that.ABS.SG raven.ABS.SG
 ‘And from that time on, that Raven,’
- tauna-llu angun ciuqliq,*
 that=and man.ABS.SG first.one.ABS.SG
 ‘and that first man’

qalarulutek *pillinilriik.*
qalarte-ute-lu-tek *pi-llini-lri-ik*
 talk-**APPL**-SUBORD-2DU do-apparently-INTR.PRTCP-3DU
 ‘would talk **to each other**.’

- (30) Yup’ik intransitive joint applicative *-ute-* (Jacobson 1995: 160)
Aqitut.
aqui-ute-tu-t
 play-**APPL**-INTR.IND-3PL
 ‘They are playing **together**.’

The cognate applicative in Kalaallisut is *-ut(i)-*. The initial *u* shifts to *a* following another *a* and unpredictably following certain consonants. Before an indicative mood suffix, the final *i* disappears and the *t* assimilates to the following stop. It functions much like its Yup’ik cognate.

- (31) Kalaallisut applicative in *-ut(i)-* (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)
Piniartup *pisani* *qujaruppa.*
piniartu-p *pisa-ni* *qujar-ut-pa-a*
 hunter-ERG catch-3R>3SG.ABS thank-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG
 ‘The hunter is thankful **for** his catch.’

As in Yup’ik, this applicative is used as a comitative with verbs of motion where causatives might be used in other languages.

- (32) Kalaallisut applicative *-ut(i)-* (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)
Aavartup *tuttutani*
aavartu-p *tuttu-t-taq-ni*
 caribou.hunter-ERG caribou-catch-PASS.PRTCP-3R>3SG.ABS
kuukkut *ikaaruppa.*
kuu-kkut *ikaar-ut-pa-a*
 river-VIA cross-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG
 ‘The caribou hunter crossed **with** his caught caribou through the river.’
 = ‘brought his caribou over through the river.’

- (33) Kalaallisut applicative *-ut(i)* (Carl Christian Olsen)
 Natural phenomena
apivoq ‘there is snow on it, it is covered with snow’
appuppaa ‘there also falls snow **on** it’
 Instrumental
eqqorpaa ‘s/he hits him or it’
eqquppaa ‘s/he hits **with** it’

Also as in Yup'ik, this suffix occurs with intransitives, transitives, agentive ambitransitives, and patientive ambitransitive bases.

(34) Kalaallisut applicatives in *-uti-* (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927)

Intransitive

assorpoq 's/he rows, drives against the wind, has the wind against him'

assoquppaa 's/he goes to windward **of** it'

Intransitive

imarorpoq 'it becomes open water, the ice breaks up'

imaruuppaa 'it becomes open water **for** him/her'

Transitive

akilerpaa 's/he pays him or it'

akili-up-paa 's/he pays **for** him or **on his behalf**, pays his debt'

Agentive ambitransitive

erlippoq 's/he is stingy, chary'

erligaa 's/he is stingy with it'

erliguuppaa 's/he is stingy **towards** him'

Patientive ambitransitive

immerpoq 'it is filled'

immerpaa 's/he fills it'

immiuppaa 's/he fills or empties it **into** something'

Here, too, bases formed with this applicative may be inflected as intransitives with a plural pronominal suffix and used to signal reciprocal or joint activity.

(35) Kalaallisut reciprocal (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927: 7)

a. *Assortorpaa.*

assortor-pa-a

fight-TR.IND-3SG>3SG

'S/he contradicts him, resists him, quarrels with him.'

b. *Assortuupput.*

assortor-ut-pu-t

fight-APPL-INTR.IND-3PL

'They fight **with each other**, they contradict **each other**, they quarrel.'

(36) Kalaallisut joint activity (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927: 209, Fortescue 1997: 165)

a. *Kaffisorpoq.*

kaffi-sor-pu-q

coffee-consume-INTR.IND-3SG

'S/he drank coffee.'

- b. *Kaffisuupput.*
kaffi-sor-ut-pu-t
 coffee-consume-APPL-INTR.IND-3PL
 ‘They drank coffee **together**.’

A detailed discussion of the Kalaallisut *-ut-* is in Woodbury (1977).

Cognates of this applicative suffix in other Inuit-Yupik languages listed by Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan (2010: 475–476) include Eastern Canadian Inuit *-uti-* ‘do with or for, in a group, reciprocally’; Western Canadian Inuit *-(yy)uti-* ‘do with or for, reciprocally’; North Alaskan Inuit *-uti-* ‘do with, for, reciprocally’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *-uti-* ‘do with, for’; Sireniki *-əta-* ‘do with’; Central Siberian Yupik *-utə-* ‘do with, for, reciprocally’; Naukanski *-utə-* ‘do for’; and Alutiiq *-utə-* ‘do with, for, reciprocally’.

The Unangan cognate has the basic forms *-usa-/asa-*. The alternation between the two forms is not fully predictable. It functions as a goal, instrumental, comitative, and reason applicative.

- (37) Unangan *-usa-/asa-* (Bergsland 1994: 488–489)
- a. Goal
 - aqi-* ‘to flee, run away, get away’
 - aqi-isa-* ‘to flee **toward**’
 - b. Instrumental
 - chuhni-* ‘to stab’
 - chuhn-usa-* ‘to stab **with**’
 - c. Comitative
 - aygag-* ‘to walk’
 - aygag-usa-* ‘to walk **with**’
 - kim-* ‘to descend’
 - kim-usa-* ‘to go down **with**, take down’
 - d. Reason
 - qida-* ‘to cry’
 - qida-asa-* ‘to cry **because of**’
 - e. *nana-* ‘to ache’
 - nana-sa-* ‘to cause pain’ ([body part] to be painful **because of**)
 - f. *susi-* ‘to hurry up’
 - sus-usa-* ‘to worry **about**’ (‘to be hurried because of’)

Like its cognates in other languages, it is added to both intransitive and transitive bases.

- (38) Unangan applicative *-usa-/asa-* (Bergsland 1994: 488–489)
- Intransitive
- tanaanu-* ‘to approach land’
 - tanaan-usa-* ‘to take ashore’ (‘approach land **with**’)

Transitive

- a. *ch̥uuġ-* 'to wash'
atxaġ-asa 'to wash **with**'
- b. *taya-* 'to visit the market, shop', 'to buy'
taya-asa- 'to buy **with**'
- c. *aluġ-* 'to write, write on'
aluġ-asa 'to write **with**'

As in the other languages, when it is added to an intransitive base, it produces a transitive.

- (39) Unangan intransitive → transitive (Bergsland 1994: 488)

Tanaġ aqiisanaġ.
tana-ġ aqi-usa-na-ġ
 land-ABS flee-**APPL**-INTR.REM-3SG
 'He fled **toward** the shore.'

When it is added to most transitive bases, it displaces the second argument. If the displaced argument is a lexical nominal, it is inflected as a dative.

- (40) Unangan transitive → transitive (Schultz-Lorentzen 1997: 162)

Chahmamaan uluġ ch̥adusakuq.
chahma-maan ulu-ġ ch̥at-usa-ku-q
 dish-**DAT** meat-ABS fill-**APPL**-PRS-3SG
 'I filled the dish **with** meat.'

3.2 Applicative *-utəkə-

A second applicative occurs in just the Inuit-Yupik branch of the family, reconstructed by Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan (2010: 476) as 'have as means or reason for doing'.

The Yup'ik form behaves phonologically like the *-ute-* applicative. It can trigger changes in preceding sounds, the initial *u* is lost after a full vowel *i*, *a*, or *u*, and the final *e* does not appear before any other vowel.

- (41) Yup'ik applicative *-uteke-* 'on account of' (Jacobson 2012: 883)

Angniutekaa qetunrami kassuutellra.
angni-uteke-a-a qetunraq-mi kassuute-llreq-a
 be.happy-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG son-3R.SG>3GEN marry-NMLZ-3SG>3SG.ABS.SG
 'She is rejoicing **over** son's wedding.'

(42) Yup'ik applicative *-uteke-* 'on account of' (Jacobson 2012)

- a. *quyauq* 's/he is thankful, glad'
- quya-tek-aa* 's/he is thankful **for it**'
- b. *ngel'artuq* 's/he is laughing'
- ngela-utek-aa* 's/he is laughing **at** him/her'
- c. *qalriaguq* 'it cried out'
- qalria-tek-aa* 's/he is begging **for it**'
- d. *aptuq* 's/he asked'
- aptaa* 's/he asked him/her'
- apy-utek-aa* 's/he asked **about it**'

It is attached to both intransitive and transitive bases.

(43) Yup'ik applicative *-uteke-* 'on account of' (Jacobson 2012)

Intransitive

- a. *qia-tuq* 's/he is crying'
- qia-tek-aa* 's/he is crying **on account of it**'
- b. *nag-tuq* 'it got snagged'
- nag-utek-aa* 's/he is being held back **by it**'

Transitive

- qalart-uq* 's/he is talking'
- qalart-ua* 's/he is talking to him/her'
- qalar-utk-aa* 's/he is talking **about it**'

Some of the same bases appear with both *-ute-* and *-uteke-* applicatives.

(44) Yup'ik applicatives based on *qaner-* 'to speak, converse' (Jacobson 2012)

- qanert-uq* 's/he is speaking'
- qaner-aa* 's/he said it'
- qanr-ut-aa* 's/he said **to** him/her, told him/her'
- qanr-utk-aa* 's/he is speaking **about it**'

The Kalaallisut cognate has the basic form *-utig(i)-*, with phonological adjustments similar to those for *-ut(i)-*. In combination with a following indicative suffix there is contraction: *-utigivaa* > *-utigaa*. This applicative can add an instrument, means, cause, or reason to the set of arguments.

(45) Kalaallisut applicative *-utig(i)-* (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Illuliortup</i> | <i>kiffiutissat</i> | <i>nutaat</i> |
| <i>illu-lior-tu-p</i> | <i>kiff-utiss-at</i> | <i>nuta-at</i> |
| house-build-AGT.NMLZ-ERG.SG | insulate-INS.NMLZ-PL.ABS | new-PL.ABS |

kiffiutigai.

kiff-utigi-va-i

insulate-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3PL

‘The builder insulated it **with** new insulation.’

- (46) Kalaallisut applicative -*utig(i)*- (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)

Angutip tusilarnini

innarluutigaa.

anguti-p tusiliar-niq-ni

innarlu-utigi-va-a

man-ERG be.deaf-NMLZ-3R>3SG.ABS.SG be.handicapped-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG

‘The man is handicapped **by** his deafness.’

- (47) Kalaallisut applicative -*utig(i)*- (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)

Meeqqap innarluteqarnini

ittoorutigaa.

meeqqa-p innarlu-t-qar-ni-ni

ittoor-utigi-va-a

child-ERG handicap-NMLZ-have-NMLZ-3R>3SG.ABS.SG be.shy-**APPL**-TR.IND.3SG>3SG

‘The child is shy **because of** his handicap.’

- (48) Kalaallisut applicative -*utig(i)*- (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)

Inuup sallusorineqarnini

innu-p sallu-sori-neqar-ni-ni

person-ERG.SG lie-think.that-PASS-NMLZ-3R>3SG.ABS.SG

mamiasuutigaa.

mamiasu-utigi-va-a

offended-**APPL**-TR.INDIC-3SG>3SG

‘The person was insulted **at** his being thought a liar.’

- (49) Kalaallisut applicative -*utig(i)*- (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)

Arnap uimi

toquneraa

arna-p ui-mi

toqu-ner-a

woman-ERG.SG husband-3R>3GEN.SG die-NMLZ-3SG>3SG.ABS.SG

aliasuutigaa.

aliasu-utigi-va-a

mourn-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG.>3SG

‘The woman is grieving **over** her husband’s death.’

A form -*ssutiki*- has a similar range of meanings, most often adding a means, reason, or cause.

- (50) Kalaallisut applicative -*ssutig(i)*- (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927)

a. *ilungersuavoq* ‘s/he is anxious’

ilungersua-ssutig-aa ‘s/he is anxious **about** it’

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|--|
| b. | <i>pakitsivoq</i> | ‘s/he is ashamed’ |
| | <i>pakatsi-ssutig-aa</i> | ‘s/he is ashamed of it’ |
| c. | <i>pisuuvoq</i> | ‘s/he is rich’ |
| | <i>pisu-ussutig-aa</i> | ‘s/he has become rich by it’ |
| d. | <i>puuppoq</i> | ‘s/he is confused, not quite right in the head’ |
| | <i>puu-ssutig-aa</i> | ‘s/he gets confused by it’ |
| e. | <i>nangaavoq</i> | ‘s/he is doubtful, does not know what to decide’ |
| | <i>nanga-ssutig-aa</i> | ‘s/he is in doubt as to it’ |
| f. | <i>siooravoq</i> | ‘s/he is fearful’ |
| | <i>siioragaa</i> | ‘s/he is afraid of him or it’ |
| | <i>sioora-ssutig-aa</i> | ‘s/he is afraid for that reason ’ |

Schultz-Lorentzen lists alternative forms, with and without the *ss*, among them *nakim-matigaa* / *nakimassutigaa* ‘s/he is in doubt **about** it’, and *naqquutigaa* / *naqqissutigaa* ‘s/he corrects, confirms something by it, gives evidence about him or it, corroborates something for that reason, was revived by it’ (1927: 361). Fortescue (1997: 91) observes that the form with *ss* is more productive, and that there are some lexicalized distinctions, such as *allaatigaa* ‘he wrote about (or with) it’ and *allassutigaa* ‘he wrote for that reason’.

This applicative, too, is added to bases of various transitivity types.

(51) Kalaallisut applicative *-utig(i)-* (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927)

Intransitive

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>isumalior-poq</i> | ‘s/he reflects’ |
| <i>isumaliu-utig-aa</i> | ‘s/he reflects on it’ |

Agentive ambitransitive

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>qujavoq</i> | ‘s/he says thanks’ |
| <i>qujavaa</i> | ‘s/he says thanks for him’ |
| <i>quja-ssutig-aa</i> | ‘s/he says thanks for it’ |

Patientive ambitransitive

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <i>kalerrippoq</i> | ‘s/he gets a hint of something, is scared’ |
| <i>kalerriipaa</i> | ‘s/he gives him a hint of something, scares it (an animal)’ |
| <i>kalerri-ssutig-aa</i> | ‘s/he gets a hint of something through it, is scared by it’ |

There are also multiple applicative constructions built on the same base.

(52) Kalaallisut multiple applicatives (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927)

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>isussorpoq</i> | ‘s/he whispers’ |
| <i>isussorpaa</i> | ‘s/he whispers it’ |
| <i>isussu-up-aa</i> | ‘s/he whispers something to him/her’ |
| <i>isussu-utig-aa</i> | ‘s/he whispers something about him/it’ |

Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan (2010: 476) list cognates in other Inuit-Yupik languages: Eastern Canadian Inuit *-utiŷi-*; North Alaskan Inuit *-utiŷi-* ‘have as means or reason for -ing’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *-utiŷi-* ‘have as means or reason for -ing’; Central Siberian Yupik *-utkə-* ‘on account of’; and Alutiiq *-utəkə-* ‘concerning, on account of’.

The source of this suffix can still be discerned (Jacobson 1995: 297). A number of roots in all of the languages have noun and verb counterparts, such as the Yup’ik *qalleq* ‘rust’, *qaller-* ‘to rust, be rusty’ and *qanuk* ‘snowflake’, *qanug-* ‘to snow’. (Velar and uvular stops and fricatives alternate according to context. Only stops can occur word-finally.) In some cases, it is clear that the noun came into the language first, in others it is clear that the verb came first, and in still others, it is difficult to know. A count of bases in the Jacobson 2012 dictionary showed that 12% had doublets (Mithun 2017.) Similarly, a number of suffixes have doublets, one deriving nouns, another deriving verbs. The applicative **-utə-* has a nominalizing counterpart which derives instrumental and reason nominals, with varying productivity across the languages. Describing Yup’ik, Jacobson (1995: 297) notes that this suffix is no longer productive as a nominalizer, but it is still evident in many words. Its word-final form in Yup’ik is *-un*, as in the noun *cav-un* ‘oar’, derived from the verb root *cave-* ‘to row’; in the noun *ipu-un* ‘ladle’ from the verb root *ipug-* ‘to scoop’, in the noun *anguar-un* ‘paddle, propeller blade’ from the verb root *anguar-* ‘to paddle’, and more. The fuller form appears word-medially, as in *ciki-un* ‘gift’, *ciki-ute-kaq* give-NMLZ-FUT = ‘future gift’. Kalaallisut has a cognate instrumental nominalizer *-uti-* with word-final form *-ut*, as in the noun *angu-ut* ‘paddle’ from the verb root *anguar-* ‘to paddle’, in *atungi-ut* ‘sewing needle, for soles’ from the verb *atunngi-* ‘prepare sole skins’; and in the noun *ilisarnaq-ut* ‘mark, emblem’, from the verb *ilisarnar-* ‘be easily known, recognizable’ (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927: 56, 83, 135). The Unangan cognate has a corresponding instrumental/locative/manner nominalizer *-usa/-asa-*, as in the noun *ayxa-asi-* ‘boat’ derived from the verb *ayxa-* ‘to go by sea’; the noun *taanga-asi-* ‘place for drinking’ from the verb *taanga-* ‘to drink’, and the noun *hag-usi-* ‘growth, stature’ from the verb *hag-* ‘to grow up’ (Bergsland 1997: 109). The Proto-Inuit-Yupik applicative **-utəkə-* is an amalgamation of this nominalizer and the Proto-Inuit-Yupik verbalizing derivational suffix **-kə-* ‘have as one’s’.

- (53) Yup’ik suffix *-ke-* ‘have as’ (Elena Charles, speaker)

Ataakenritcaaqaat.

ataa-ke-nrite-yaaqe-a-at

father-**have.as**-NEG-actually-TR.IND-3PL>3SG

‘They do not actually **have** him as their father.’

= ‘He is not actually their natural father.’

3.3 Proto-Inuit-Yupik applicative *-*ḍvikə*-

This third suffix functions primarily as a locative applicative, adding spatial specification to the set of core arguments. The Yup'ik cognate *-vike-* can affect preceding sounds, and the final *e* does not appear before vowels.

- (54) Yup'ik applicative *-vike-* (Elena Charles, speaker)

<i>Tamaai-llu,</i>	<i>anguyautellratni,</i>	<i>anguyiit,</i>
<i>tamaai=llu</i>	<i>anguyag-ute-tur-llru-atni</i>	<i>anguyak-it</i>
back.then=too	fight-APPL-repeatedly-PST.CONTEMP-3PL	warrior-ABS.PL
'And at that time, when they used to war with each other, the warriors,'		
<i>iirvikaqluki</i>	<i>aglenrraraat.</i>	
<i>iir-vike-aqe-lu-ki</i>	<i>aglenrraq-aat</i>	
hide-LOC.APPL-HAB-SUBORD-3PL	one.having.first.menstruation-3PL>3SG.ABS.PL	
'they would hide in the first-menstruating women's huts.'		

Some additional formations are in (55).

- (55) Yup'ik applicative *-vike-* (Jacobson 2012: 900, 88, 131, 205, 256, 305, 433)

- a. *aqume-* 'to sit down'
- aqum-vik-aa* 's/he sat down **on** it'
- b. *kuve-* 'to spill'
- kuve-vik-aa* 's/he spilled something **on** him/her'
- c. *alair-* 'to appear, come into view, come on the scene'
- alair-vik-aa* 'it came **into his/her view**'
- d. *angllur-* 'to dive under water, submerge, be baptized'
- angllur-vik-aa* 's/he dived **after** him/her'
- e. *ciktaar-* 'to bow repeatedly, worship by bowing, pay one's respects'
- ciktaar-vik-aa* 's/he is worshipping it, bowing down **before** it'
- f. *ellngar-* 'to leak liquids from a container, to drip'
- ellngar-vik-aa* 'it is leaking liquid **out of** it'
- g. *iqu-* 'to fall over from an upright position'
- iqu-vik-aa* 'it fell **on** it'
- h. *nau-* 'to grow'
- nau-vik-aa* 's/he descends **from** him/her, it is growing **on** it (plant, cancer)'

The Kalaallisut cognate has the basic shape *-figi-*. It interacts with the preceding phonological context, and in combination with certain inflectional endings, it is usually contracted. With the Indicative mood suffix *-va-* and the transitive pronominal suffix 3SG>3SG *-a* the result is *-figi-va-a* > *-figaa*.

- (56) Kalaallisut applicative *-figi-* (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)
Umiarsuup nunaqarfik akunniffigaa.
umiarsu-up nuna-qar-fik akunni-figi-va-a
 ship-ERG land-have-LOC.NMLZ.ABS.SG spend.time-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG
 ‘The ship spent a short time **in** the village.’

- (57) Kalaallisut applicative *-figi-* (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)
Nunaqqatini perulluliormata
nuna-qati-ni perullulior-mata
 village-fellow-3RSG>3PL.ABS do.violence-CONSEQ.3PL
 ‘Because his fellow villagers did something violent,’

ilaquuttani qimaaffigai.
ilaqut-ani qimaa-figi-va-a
 family-3SG>3SG.ABS leave-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG
 ‘he fled **to** his family.’

- (58) Kalaallisut applicative *-figi-* (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)
Angutip arnaq ajortuliffigaa.
anguti-p arnaq ajortuli-figi-va-a
 man-ERG.SG woman.ABS.SG do.harm-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG
 ‘The man did something sinful **toward** the woman.’

Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan reconstruct a Proto-Inuit-Yupik form **δvikə-* ‘have as place or time of doing’ (2010: 440), with cognates Eastern Canadian Inuit +*viyi-*; Western Canadian Inuit +*viyi-*; North Alaskan Inuit +*viyi-*; Central Siberian Yupik +*vikə-*; and Alutiiq +*wikə-* ‘have as place or time of -ing or person toward whom one is -ing’. The source of this suffix is traceable to a development much like that of the previous one. There is a pervasive locative nominalizer reconstructed by Fortescue, Jacobson, and Kaplan as Proto-Inuit-Yupik **-əviy-* or **-viy-* (2010:440). This suffix can be seen in (59) and (60).

- (59) Yup’ik locative nominalizer (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)
Ellvia muiraan, . . .
elli-vik-aa muir-a-an
 put-**LOC.NMLZ**-3SG>3SG.ABS.SG become.full-CONSEQ-3SG
 ‘Because his container was full, . . .’

 (60) Kalaallisut locative nominalizer (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)
Akiminni qaloortarfeqartarput.
aki-minni qaloor-tar-fik-qartar-pu-t
 place.on.other.side-3R>3.LOC scoop-HAB-**LOC.NMLZ**-have-INTR.IND-3PL
 ‘They have scooping places on the other side of their village.’

The locative applicative was formed by fusion of this locative nominalizer with the same suffix *-kə- ‘have as’ seen in the reason applicative *-utəkə- in the previous section.

This applicative also appears with some of the same bases as other applicatives.

(61) Yup’ik multiple applicatives

- quyauq* ‘s/he is thankful, glad’
quya-tek-aa ‘s/he is thankful or glad **because** of it’
quya-vik-aa ‘s/he is thankful **to** him/her’

(62) Kalaallisut multiple applicatives (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927: 263)

- a. *kanngusup-poq* ‘s/he is ashamed’
kanngusu-uti-gaa ‘s/he is ashamed **of** it’
kanngusu-ffi-gaa ‘s/he is ashamed **before** him/her’
 b. *isumalluar-poq* ‘s/he is confident’
isumallu-utig-aa ‘s/he feels confident **because** of it’
isumalluar-fig-aa ‘s/he places confidence **in** him/her’

3.4 Yup’ik adversative *-(g)i-*

Yup’ik contains what at first looks like a straightforward adversative applicative, a suffix *-(g)i-* which derives transitive verbs whose Absolutive argument is a person adversely affected. The suffix triggers certain changes in a preceding base, and the *g* appears after bases ending in two vowels. The construction is described in rich detail by Miyaoka (2012: 1096–1109).

(63) Yup’ik adversative *-(g)i-* (Miyaoka 2012: 1100)

- Ner-i-a-nga* *neqe-m* *neqca-mnek*.
 eat-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>1SG fish-ERG.SG bait-1SG>3PL.ABL
 ‘The fish ate my bait (**on** me).’

(64) Yup’ik adversative *-(g)i-* (Miyaoka 2012: 1103)

- Nulia-ni* *tamar-i-lu-ku* *tau-m* *nukalpiarta-m*.
 wife-3SG>3SG lose-**APPL**-SUBORD-R>3SG that-ERG.SG hunter-ERG.SG
 ‘That great hunter had his (own) wife disappear (**on** him).’

A closer look at the full range of constructions involving this suffix reveals a more complex picture. As noted, some verb bases in Yup’ik and related languages can be classified as intransitive only, transitive only, agentive ambitransitive, or patientive ambitransitive. These categories were laid out earlier in (11), repeated here.

(11) Verb transitivity categories (Jacobson 1995, 2012)

Intransitive only	<i>igt-u-q</i>	‘it is falling’
Transitive only	<i>tegu-a</i>	‘s/he is taking it ’
Ambitransitive		
Agentive	<i>kenir-tu-q</i>	‘s/he is cooking’
	<i>kenir-a-a</i>	‘s/he is cooking it ’
Patientive	<i>alleg-tu-q</i>	‘ it tore’
	<i>allg-a-a</i>	‘s/he tore it ’

The adversative construction in (63) is built on the agentive ambitransitive *nere-* ‘eat’, and that in (64) is built on the patientive ambitransitive *tamar-* ‘lose, be lost’.

Adversative constructions are also built on what are termed ‘elemental’ bases (Jacobson 2012: 27). These generally denote processes of nature and can be inflected as both intransitives and transitives, with only a subtle difference in meaning. Discussing the root *-ciku-* ‘freeze’, Jacobson describes the difference.

With the intransitive the emphasis is on result, while with the transitive the emphasis is on process. Thus, one would say *cikuuq* (intransitive) to suggest that freezing had occurred and was now probably complete, while one would say *cikua* (transitive) to suggest that freezing had occurred and perhaps was still occurring. There is no lexical subject. Since the difference is mainly one of emphasis and since various speakers might differ in their use of the intransitive or transitive of these verbs to describe the same situation, we translate the intransitive and transitive of elemental verbs the same way. (Jacobson 2012: 27)

Miyaoka provides the example in (65) of an adversative construction built on this verb ‘freeze’. The ‘net’ is oblique (Ablative).

(65) Yup’ik adversative *-(g)i-* (Miyaoka 2012: 1103)

<i>Ciku-i-ga-anga</i>	<i>kuvya-mnek.</i>
freeze- APPL -TR.IND-3SG>1SG	net-1SG>3SG.ABL.SG
‘My net froze on me.’ (Lit. ‘It froze my net on me.’)	

Such constructions are sometimes termed “transimpersonal” (Malchukov 2008).

Adversative constructions can also be built on intransitive-only bases, but there is a surprising shift in argument structure. The verbs are transitive and the experiencer, the person adversely affected, is coded as the Ergative.

(66) Yup’ik adversative *-(g)i-* (Miyaoka 2012: 1097)

<i>Kic-i-a-qa</i>	<i>maklaar-t-a-qa.</i>
sink- APPL -TR.IND-1SG>3SG	young.seal-catch-NMLZ-1SG>3SG.ABS.SG
‘The young bearded seal I caught sank on me (to my disadvantage).’	
(Lit. ‘I had my caught seal sink.’)	

This structure occurs both with intransitive-only bases whose single argument is a semantic patient, like ‘sink’ in (66) above and those whose single argument is a semantic agent, like ‘go out’ in (67) below.

- (67) Yup’ik adversative *-(g)i-* (Miyaoka 2012: 1098)

An-i-a-qa *kaviaq* *igti-nek*.
 go.out-APPL-TR.IND-1SG>3SG fox-ABS.SG den-3SG>3SG.ABL
 ‘I let the fox out **on** me from his hole.’
 = ‘The fox got out **on** (got away from) me from the hole.’

Furthermore, both of these applicative constructions can be inflected as intransitives, in which the only core argument is the experiencer, and the stimulus is oblique (Ablative).

- (68) Yup’ik adversative *-(g)i-* (Miyaoka 2012: 1098)

Kic-i-u-nga *maklaar-i-mnek*.
 sink-APPL-INTR.IND-1SG young.seal-catch-NMLZ-1SG>3SG.ABL
 ‘The young bearded seal I caught sank **on me** (to my disadvantage).’

- (69) Yup’ik adversative *-(g)i-* (Miyaoka 2012: 1099)

Kaviar-mek *an-i-u-q* *angun*.
 fox-ABL.SG go-APPL-INTR.IND-3SG man.ABS.SG
 ‘A fox got out (escaped) **on** the man.’

These constructions have meanings similar to what are termed adversative passives in other languages; the single core argument is the experiencer, and the stimulus is oblique. There is, however, no passive morphology on the verb.

It is likely that there is considerable variation across the Yup’ik dialects. Anthony Woodbury (p.c.) notes that this suffix is relatively rare in the Chevak dialect of Central Alaskan Yup’ik. The suffix is discussed further in Section 4.4.

3.5 Yup’ik *-ucite-* ‘in place of’

An additional applicative suffix has developed in Yup’ik which adds the meaning ‘in place of’ or ‘instead of’. The added Absolutive argument is the person replaced. It shows the same phonological alternations as the Yup’ik applicatives *-ute-* and *-uteke-* described earlier. Jacobson provides examples.

- (70) Yup'ik substitutive applicative (Jacobson 2012: 753)

Calicitaa.

cali-ucite-a-a

work-APPL-TR.IND-3SG>3SG

'S/he is working **in his/her place.**'

It is added to intransitive and transitive bases, both transitives with patient Absolutives and those with recipient/beneficiary/etc. Absolutives.

- (71) Yup'ik substitutive applicative on intransitive (Jacobson 2012: 380, 754)

a. *Maantuuq.*

'She, he, or it is here.'

b. *Maanlucitaa.*

maante-ucite-a-a

be.here-APPL-TR.IND-3SG>3SG

'S/he is here **instead of him/her.**'

- (72) Yup'ik substitutive applicative on agentive ambitransitive (Jacobson 2012: 531, 754)

a. *Qanertuuq.*

'S/he is speaking.'

b. *Qaneraa.*

'S/he said it.'

c. *Qanerucitaa.*

qaner-ucite-a-a

speak-APPL-TR.IND-3SG>3SG

'S/he spoke **in his/her place.**'

- (73) Yup'ik substitutive applicative on agentive ambitransitive (Jacobson 2012: 402, 754)

a. *Mertartuuq.*

'S/he is fetching water.'

b. *Mertaraa.*

'S/he is fetching water for him/her/it.'

c. *Mertaucitaa.*

mertar-ucite-a-a

fetch.water-APPL-TR.IND-3SG>3SG

'S/he is packing water **in place of him/her.**'

- (74) Yup'ik substitutive patientive ambitransitive (Jacobson 2012: 427, 754)

a. *Elitnaurtuuq.*

'S/he is attending school.'

b. *Elitnauraa.*

'S/he is teaching him/her' or 's/he is endeavoring to learn it.'

- c. *Elitnauristeci* *naulluungan*
elite-naur-i-sta-ci *naulluu-nga-n*
 teach-HAB-ANTIP-AGT.NMLZ-2PL>3SG be.ill-CONSEQ-2SG>3SG
 ‘Because your teacher is ill’
- elitnauriciciiqaqa.*
elite-naur-i-ucite-ciige-a-qa
 teach-HAB-ANTIP-**APPL**-FUT-TR.IND-1SG>3SG
 ‘I shall teach **in his place**.’

The same verb can serve as the base for a variety of applicatives.

- (75) Yup’ik applicatives (Jacobson 2012: 523, 753)

<i>Qalartuq.</i>	‘S/he is talking’		
<i>Qalarutaa.</i>	‘S/he is talking to him/her’	-ute-	‘to’
<i>Qalarutkaa.</i>	‘S/he is talking about it’	-uteke-	‘about’
<i>Qalarucitaa.</i>	‘S/he spoke in his/her place .’	-ucite-	‘in place of’

Miyaoka (2012: 1094) provides an account of the development of this applicative suffix as an amalgamation of the basic applicative suffix *-ute-*, the antipassive *-(g)i-*, and a second occurrence of the applicative *-ute-*.

3.6 Kalaallisut *-qatig(i)-* comitative applicative

A Kalaallisut suffix *-qatig(i)-* functions as a comitative applicative, adding a companion or associate.

- (76) Kalaallisut comitative applicative *-qatig(i)-* (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)

<i>Aanaasup</i>	<i>ernuttani</i>	<i>asiaqatigigaa</i>
<i>aannas-up</i>	<i>ermutaq-ni</i>	<i>asia-qatigi-ga-a</i>
grandmother-ERG	grandchild-3R>3SG.ABS	go.out- APPL -TR.PRTCP-3SG>3SG
<i>ippassaq</i>	<i>takuara.</i>	
<i>ippassaq</i>	<i>taku-a-ra</i>	
yesterday	see-TR.IND-1SG>3SG	
‘Yesterday I saw the grandmother walking with her grandchild through nature.’		

Some additional examples are in (77).

- (77) Kalaallisut comitative applicative *-qatig(i)-* (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927)

a. <i>isummerpaa</i>	‘s/he gets an idea, makes a resolution’
<i>isumme-qatig-aa</i>	‘s/he agrees with him/her’

- b. *naguigaa* 's/he descends from him'
naggue-qatig-aa 's/he has a common origin with him, is of the same race as him/her'
- c. *sakkuarpaa* 's/he carries weapons against him, attacks him/her'
sakkuuaa-qatig-aa 's/he fights **with** him/her'

Such constructions, like applicatives seen earlier, can be inflected intransitively with a plural argument for actions carried out jointly.

- (78) Kalaallisut comitative applicative *-qatig(i)-* (Carl Christian Olsen, speaker)

Sakkutuut umiarsuarmiut ilaat
sakkutu-ut umiarsuar-miu-t ila-at
 soldier-PL ship-dweller-PL member-3PL>3PL
alloraqatigillutik ingerlasarput.
allorar-qatigi-llu-tik ingerlasar-pu-t
 march-**APPL**-INTR.CONTEMP-3R.PL move-INTR.IND-3PL
 'The sailors marched **together**.'

This suffix also occurs in similitive constructions.

- (79) Kalaallisut similitive (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927: 53)

Nukki angeqatigaa.
nuk-i angi-qatigi-va-a
 younger.brother-3R.SG>3SG.ABS.SG be.big-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG
 'His younger brother is **as large as** he.'

The source of this suffix is clear. It is an amalgamation of a nominalizer suffix *-qat(i)-* 'fellow, companion' and the verbalizer suffix *-gi-* 'have as'. The first element is added to both noun and verb bases: *illu* 'house', *illo-qat* 'house-mate'; *innuvoq* 's/he lives, is born, is a man', *inoo-qat* 'he who lives with him, his contemporary'.

4 Morphological, syntactic, and discourse interactions

The applicatives described here are for the most part prototypical: they are derivational suffixes added to intransitive verb bases or transitive verb bases with either patient/theme or recipient/beneficiary/etc. Absolutes, to derive new transitive verb bases. They generally add a recipient, beneficiary, patient, theme, goal, instrument, companion, location, or reason to the set of core arguments, coded as an Absolute. If the tran-

sitive base had a semantic patient/theme Absolutive, the applicative can add a recipient/beneficiary/etc. If the transitive base had a recipient/beneficiary/etc. Absolutive, it can add a patient/theme. The addition of an applicative to a transitive base usually results in the displacement of an original transitive Absolutive.

The fact that the primary function of applicatives is to add a core argument raises questions concerning their relation to other patterns affecting argument structure. In 4.1 the issue of noun incorporation is discussed, in 4.2 the role of applicatives in nominalization, in 4.3 their interactions with passives, in 4.4 their interactions with antipassives, and in 4.5 their functions within larger discourse contexts.

4.1 Noun incorporation?

None of the Inuit-Yupik-Unangan languages have noun incorporation in the strict sense, that is, noun-verb compounding: verbs contain one and only one root. They do, however, have likely descendants of noun incorporation. Each of the languages has a sizeable set of derivational suffixes with relatively concrete meanings typical of verb roots in many other languages. Jacobson's 2012 Yup'ik dictionary includes such suffixes as *-ci* 'buy', *-cugnite* 'smell or taste like', *-cur/-ssur* 'hunt, check', *-(ng)icag-* 'need, lack', *-(ng)ir-* 'deprive or be deprived of', 'remove from', *-(ng)ir(ar)te-* 'injure or be injured one's', *-(ng)ite-* 'lack', *-kegte-* 'be good X', *-kite-* 'give, supply with', *-ksagute-* 'acquire', *-li-* 'make', *-liqe-* 'catch a lot of', *-lir-* 'have a lot of', *-lliqe-* 'have poor', *-mirte-* 'act like', *miuyaar-* 'speak the language or dialect of the residents of', *-nge-* 'acquire', *-ngqerr-* 'have', *-qu-* 'hunt with', *-rpagnite-* 'smell or taste strongly of', *-rapu-* 'be or have a large X', *-te-* 'catch (game animal)', *-te-* 'apply (liquid, etc.)', and *-tu-* 'be well endowed with' and more. These verbalizing suffixes never serve as the foundation of words on their own, but must always be attached to a nominal base.

(80) Yup'ik verbalizing suffix (Elena Charles, speaker)

<i>Iciugg'</i>	<i>Frankiq</i>	<i>angyangqellrul'</i>
<i>iciugg</i>	<i>Frankieq</i>	<i>angyaq-ngqerr-llru-lria</i>
remember	NAME.ABS.SG	boat-have-PAST-SUBORD-3SG
'Remember Frankie had a boat.'		

As in noun incorporation in other languages, the initial noun does not serve a specific semantic or grammatical role: it is not a syntactic argument. It simply narrows the scope of the verb in some useful way.

There is little significant interaction between the noun bases in such constructions and the applicatives. Applicative suffixes are simply applied to verb bases built on nouns plus verbalizing suffixes as they are to other verb bases, simplex or complex. The Yup'ik verbs in (81)–(82) are based on the noun *umugaq* 'mind'.

- (81) Yup'ik applicative (Jacobson 2012: 675)
Umyuarniurtuq.
umyaq-niur-tu-q
 mind-endure.difficulty.pertaining.to-INTR.IND-3SG
 'S/he is worried.'
- (82) Yup'ik applicative (Jacobson 2012: 675)
Umyuarniurutkaa.
umyuaq-niur-uteke-a-a
 mind-endure.difficulty.pertaining.to-**APPL**-TR.IND-3SG>3SG
 'S/he is worried **about** it.'

A sentence may contain additional lexical nominals further identifying or describing the item evoked by the initial noun base, but these are in the default oblique case, in Yup'ik the Ablative. In (83) the verb is intransitive, and the question word 'what' is Ablative.

- (83) Yup'ik cooccurrence (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)
Camek *neqengqercit?*
ca-mek *neqe-ngqerr-tsi-t*
 what-**ABL.SG** food-have-INTERR-2SG
 'What do you have to eat?'

In (84) the verb 'they bowl have' is intransitive, and 'big ones' is oblique.

- (84) Yup'ik cooccurrence (Elena Charles, speaker)
Qantangqelalriit *angelrianek.*
qantar-ngqerr-lar-lria-t *ange-lria-nek*
 bowl-have-HAB-INTR.PRTCPT-3PL be.big-NMLZ-**ABL.PL**
 'They have large **bowls**.'

4.2 Nominalization and relativization

The Inuit-Yupik-Unangan languages are rich in both event and participant nominalizing constructions. A common Yup'ik nominalizer is *-lria*. It can form participant nominalizations designating the Absolutive of the base, either intransitive or transitive. In (85), 'the ones coming from other villages' was built on an intransitive verb base 'approach from a distance', and 'the ones they invited', on a transitive verb base 'invite'.

- (85) Yup'ik nominalization with *-lri-* (Elena Charles, speaker)
 ['When you could see them approaching by dogsled across the lake'],
nunanek *agiirtellriit*,
nuna-mek *agiirte-lri-it*
 village-ABL.PL approach.from.distance-NMLZ-PL
 'the ones that were coming from other villages,'

kelellriit,
keleg-lri-it
 invite-NMLZ-3PL>3PL
 'the ones they invited,'
 ['then my grandmother would light some Labrador tea leaves.']

Both of these nominalizations designate the Absolutive argument of the verb base. When the base is transitive, the ending is actually a transitive possessive suffix, with the agent as possessor, here 'their invited ones'. The nominalization built on the transitive verb 'hear' with past nominalizer *-lleq* in (86) shows the same pattern.

- (86) Yup'ik nominalization with *-lleq* (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)
Wanirpak *qanemciqatartua*,
wani-rpak *qanemci-qatar-tu-a*
 here-present tell.story-FUT-INTR.IND-1SG
 'Now I am going to relate a story,'

niitellemnek, . . .
niite-lleq-mnek
 hear-NMLZ-1SG>3SG.ABL.SG
 'about something I heard . . .'

There are no relative clause constructions built with relative pronouns, but comparable ideas can be expressed by nominalizations which may be appositive to other nominals, including demonstratives.

- (87) Yup'ik appositive nominalization (George Charles, speaker)
Aataka *imkut-llu* *allanret* *tekillriit*
aata-la *irnku-t=llu* *allaner-t* *tekite-lri-it*
 father-1SG>3SG.ABS.SG aforementioned-PL=also guest-PL arrive-NMLZ-3PL
 'My father and the others who arrived'

qulirinaurtut.
quliri-naur-tu-t
 tell.legend-HAB-INTR.IND-3PL
 'would tell stories.'

Nominalizations are formed on applicative constructions just as on other transitives, to designate the applied object (transitive Absolutive).

- (88) Yup'ik nominalized applicative (Elena Charles, speaker)

GC: ['What would you like to talk about?']

EC: *Augkunek* *qanruteksaiteltellrenka.*
angku-nek *qaner-ute-ksaite-lrii-nka*
 that.extended-ABL.PL tell-**APPL**-not.yet-**NMLZ**-1SG>3PL
 'Those things I have not talked **about** before.'

4.3 Passivization

The languages differ in their uses of passives. Passivization is rare in Yup'ik, but Kalaallisut contains several passive constructions. The most basic involves a suffix *-neqaq-*. The sentence in (89), from a text in Berge (1997), contains a passivized applicative. The applicative brings the father into the core, then the passive eliminates an unidentified agent, leaving the father as the sole argument of the intransitive clause.

- (89) Kalaallisut passivized applicative (Berge 1997: 423)

Ataataga

ataata-ga

father-1SG>3SG.ABS.SG

'My father'

imaannaanngitsorsuartut

imaannaanngit-soq-suaq-tut

not.without.importance-NMLZ-big-EQ

'**was said** to be an exceptional person.' ('like one not without importance')

oqaatigineqarsinnaavoq.

uqa-utigi-neqaq-sinnaa-v-oq

say-**APPL-PASS**-can-INTR.IND-3SG

As observed by Berge, however, passivization is much more common in Unangan [Aleut].

The passive is used very frequently in Aleut, far more so than in any other Eskimo-Aleut language. By way of comparison, in Greenlandic texts totaling over 600 clauses, there are fewer than 20 passive constructions, as opposed to over 100 passives in similar numbers of clauses in Aleut texts. Some of the Aleut passives are the result of a distancing strategy whereby first plural is expressed as third singular passive; in the Eastern dialect of Aleut, this has become grammaticized. More generally, the passive is used to focus on the topic and de-emphasize other participants. (Berge 2003: 196)

Unangan contains basic passive suffixes *-lga-/sxa-* (and late Atkan also *-lġa-/sġa-*, and Attuan *-lu-/sxa-*), which are applied to both transitive and intransitive bases (Bergsland 1997: 117).

- (90) Unangan passive (Bergsland 1997: 117)

Hla-s kidu-lga-qa-s.

boy-PL help-PASS-INTR.REMOTE-PL

'The boys **were helped**.'

There are special forms for the passives of the applicatives *-usa-/asa-* and *-ula-/ala-* (Attuan -*Vlu-*).

- (91) Unangan applicative passive (Atkan 1860) (Bergsland 1994: 93, 100; 1997: 117)

a. *haqa-* 'to come'*haqa-asa-* 'to come **with**, bring, hand over, give*haaqa-ala-* 'to **be** come **with**, to be brought'b. *asxat-* 'to kill'*asxa-asa-* 'to die of'*asxad-usa-* 'to kill **with**'*asxad-ula-* 'to **be** killed **with**'c. *quganas ngiin asxadulazaaxtas**qugana-s ngiin asxat-ula-zaa-xta-s*

stone-PL 3PL.DAT kill-PASS.APPL-DISTR-OPT-3PL

'that they should **be killed** with stones, be stoned'

4.4 Antipassivization

As described in earlier sections, counterparts to antipassive constructions are often formed by simply inflecting a transitive verb as an intransitive. The clause is formally intransitive, with an intransitive mood suffix on the verb and just the agent is mentioned in the pronominal suffix, and the demoted argument implied but cast as oblique or unexpressed. This is obligatory for indefinites but not restricted to them. Such a construction can be seen with the Yup'ik verb 'buy' in (92).

- (92) Yup'ik antipassive counterpart (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

*Tua-i-llu-gguq tauna angukara'urluq,**tuai=llu-gguq tauna angute-karaq-urluq*

and.then=also=hrs that.ABS.SG man-little-dear.ABS.SG

'And so that dear old man'

*kiputellinilria**im'umek**levaamek.**kipute-llini-lria**im'u-mek**levaaq-mek*

buy-apparently-INTR.PRTC.3SG the.aforementioned-ABL.SG motor-ABL.SG

'bought this motor.'

Applicative constructions are agentive ambitransitives: the applicative suffix creates a transitive verb with added Absolutive argument. This verb may be inflected as an intransitive, however, whose single argument is the agent. As described in Section 3.1, sequences consisting of the general applicative *-ute-* and intransitive inflection have been extended to function as antipassives, added to transitive-only and patientive ambitransitive bases.

The suffix *-(g)i-*, which functions as an adversative applicative in Yup'ik, also serves this antipassive function. Miyaoka notes that some constructions formed from patientive ambitransitives with this suffix can in fact have two interpretations. The verb *tegu-* means 'take' when inflected as a transitive and 'lose' when inflected as an intransitive. With the suffix *-(g)i-*, it can be understood as either an adversative applicative or an antipassive.

(93) Yup'ik patientive ambitransitive (Miyaoka 2012: 1106)

Tegu-i-gu-kut *yug-mek.*

take-*gi*-INTR.IND-1PL person-ABL.SG

'We (a village) lost, were deprived of a person.' Adversative applicative

'We took a person.' Antipassive

Miyaoka observes that the antipassive construction is highly productive, occurring with the majority of patientive ambitransitives. The adversative applicative construction is less so.

By contrast, use of the adversative *-(g)i-* varies widely among speakers, generations, and (possibly) dialect areas, as well as depending on the verb stems concerned and according to whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. It thus comes as no surprise if at least some (or many) of the adversative verbs cited should be unheard of, taken as strange, or (almost or totally) unacceptable, by many speakers, especially younger speakers. It happens, however, that even these speakers may use some lexicalized remnants. (Miyaoka 2012: 1106)

Cognates of the suffix *-(g)i-* are pervasive throughout the family, but for the most part with just the antipassive function. A few adversative formations can be found in some of the languages, however: a relic in Central Siberian Yupik, a semi-productive construction in Iñupiaq, and a number of lexicalized transitives in Kalaallisut. Miyaoka sees a link between the two functions, noting that the implication that an event is accidental or involuntary is not unrelated to an adverse effect on the only core argument.

4.5 Discourse uses

The arguments added by applicatives are in general topical within the discourse, though there is not the extensive manipulation of roles seen in some other languages. Their uses depend on the inventory of lexicalized derivations that speakers have to choose from.

Uses of the various available argument structures of the Yup'ik verb *qaner*- 'speak, say' can be compared in the following examples. This verb is an agentive ambitransitive. It can be inflected as both an intransitive and a transitive, the single argument of the intransitive matches the agent of the transitive, and the Absolutive of the basic transitive is what is said, what would be a direct object in languages like English. An applicative form can add a recipient, the hearer.

- (94) Yup'ik ambitransitive, agentive, indirective *qaner*- 'speak'

<i>qaner</i> -	'speak, utter, converse'	
<i>qanertuq</i>	's/he is speaking, spoke'	Intransitive
<i>qaneraa</i>	's/he said it'	Basic transitive
<i>qanrutaa</i>	's/he told him/her'	Applicative transitive

A basic intransitive use with only an Absolutive can be seen in (95).

- (95) Yup'ik basic intransitive *qaner*- 'speak' (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

<i>Yuut</i>	<i>qanyuunateng.</i>
<i>yug-t</i>	<i>qaner-yu-ite-na-ten</i>
person-ABL.PL	speak-customarily-NEG-SUBORD-3R.PL
'The people do not speak.'	

As an intransitive, this verb can appear with various additional oblique participants. In (96) it appears with an Allative nominal naming the addressee 'you'. The speaker was introducing a new topic for discussion. This new topic 'something' was indefinite at this point, so could not be cast as a core argument, but the addressee 'you' was inherently definite, so could have been. The speaker chose to cast it as oblique, however, because this was not about the addressee.

- (96) Yup'ik intransitive *qaner*- 'speak' with Allative recipient (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

<i>Atam</i>	<i>qanerqangssakua</i>	<i>elpenun.</i>
<i>atam</i>	<i>qaner-qar-ngssak-u-a</i>	<i>elpe-nun</i>
listen	speak-briefly-non-vitally-INTR.IND-1SG	2SG-ALL
'Listen, I have a little something to talk to you about.'		

The intransitive in (97) appears with an oblique naming the subject matter in the Ablative case.

- (97) Yup'ik intransitive *qaner*- 'speak' with Ablative content (Elena Charles, speaker)

<i>Alerquutinek</i>	<i>qaneryugyaaqua.</i>
<i>alerqur-ute-inek</i>	<i>qaner-yug-yaaqe-u-a</i>
instruct-device-3SG>3PL.ABL	talk-want.to-actually-INTR.IND-1SG
'I actually want to talk about their prescriptions .'	

Applicatives can be used to bring topical referents into the core. In (98), the recipient, Raven, was mentioned immediately before the applicative clause ‘she spoke to him’.

- (98) Yup’ik applicative *qaner-ute*- ‘speak to’ (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

Tulukara’urluq *caukii*,
tulukaruk-urluq *cau-ke-ii*
 raven-dear.ABS.SG face-TR.PRTCP-3SG>3SG
 ‘She faced **Raven**,’

waten-llu *qanruskii*, “. . .”
waten=llu *qaner-ute-ke-ii*
 like.this=and speak-**APPL**-TR.PRTCP-3SG>3SG
 ‘and spoke **to him** thus, “. . .”

Mrs. Ali and her brother had been discussing a group of students. When she referred to them as recipients in (99), she brought them into the core with the applicative ‘speak to’ = ‘tell’.

- (99) Yup’ik applicative *qaner-ute*- ‘speak to’ (Elizabeth Ali, speaker)

[‘**They** ask me about you, ask how you’re doing.’]

Qanrutelaranka, *assirluten-gguq*.
qaner-ute-lar-a-nka *assir-lu-ten=gguq*
 speak-**APPL**-HAB-TR.IND-1SG>3PL be.good-SUBORD-2SG=HRS
 ‘I tell **them** you’re good.’

A question was posed about the woman Nayagaq. In the answer, she was cast as part of the Absolutive by the applicative.

- (100) Yup’ik applicative *qaner-ute*- (George Charles, Elena Charles, speakers)

GC: *Nayagam-qaa* *tauna* *nallunritellrua?*
Nayagaq-m=qaa *tauna* *nallu-nrite-llru-a-a*
 NAME-ERG=Q that.ABS not.know-NEG-PAST-TR.INDIC-3SG>3SG
 ‘Did **Nayagaq** know that?’

EC: *Aaniin-wa*
aana-an=wa
 mother-3SG>3SG.ERG=probably
 ‘I guess her mother’

ilalrin *qanrutelallrulliki*,
ila-ller-in *qaner-ute-lar-llru-li-ki*
 relative-PAST-3SG>3PL.GEN talk-**APPL**-HAB-PAST-OPT-3SG>3PL
 ‘used to tell **them** her deceased relatives’

atritnek.
ater-itnek
 name-3PL>3PL.ABL
 ‘names.’

A similar pattern can be seen with verbs based on *kenir*- ‘cook, make a fire’. This verb is similarly an agentive ambitransitive. An applicative form adds a beneficiary.

(101) Yup’ik *kenir*- ‘cook’

<i>kenir</i> -	‘cook, make a fire’	
<i>kenirtuq</i>	‘s/he is cooking, making a fire’	Intransitive
<i>keniraa</i>	‘s/he is cooking it, making a fire under it’	Basic transitive
<i>keniutaa</i>	‘s/he is cooking for him/her’	Benefactive applicative

George Charles was discussing his father’s dogs. As the main topic of conversation, they were cast as a core argument of the applicative ‘cook for’, rather than as oblique.

(102) Yup’ik *kenir-ute*- ‘cook for’ (George Charles, speaker)

[‘When I was small, when we lived in Kasigluk and in Bethel, my father used to travel around with dogs. I used to watch my father taking good care of those dogs. He used to feed the dogs every day in winter. He would feed them dried fish. Sometimes he would have more than ten dogs. And during the summer, he would take care of the dogs and try to fatten them up.’]

Aataqa, *nerevavkarilukilu,* *cal’,* *keniulluki.*
aata-qa *nere-vkar-lu-ki=llu* *cali* *kenir-ute-lu-ki*
 father-1SG>3SG eat-CAUS-SUBORD-R>3PL=too and cook-APPL-SUBORD-R>3PL
 ‘My father would feed them and cook **for** them.’

Similar patterns appear in the other languages. In Unangan, a passive applicative can bring a topical participant into the core and eliminate an agent, leaving that topical participant as the only argument.

(103) Unangan passive applicative (Eastern) (Bergsland 1997: 174)

Ulaan *nuguun* *aaluulalix.*
ula-an *nu-guun* *aalu-ula-lix*
 house-LOC come-COND.3R laugh-PASS.APPL-CONJ.3SG
 ‘When he got back to the house, **he was laughed at.**’

The same pattern can be seen in (104). The passive applicative in the first clause brings the water into the core and leaves it as the only argument, and the applicative in the

second ensures that it remains in the core. (Bergsland 1997: 97 notes that in anterior clauses, the subject is marked by possessives in the Locative case.)

- (104) Unangan passive applicative and applicative (Bergsland 1997: 174)

<i>Taangam</i>	<i>anġaġii</i>	<i>igiim</i>	<i>uulaangan,</i>
<i>taanga-m</i>	<i>anġaġii</i>	<i>igiim</i>	<i>u-ula-angan</i>
water.LOC.POSS	live	3R.DAT	go- APPL.PASS -ANTERIOR.3SG

‘When the living water **was brought** to him,’

<i>igiim</i>	<i>ġulaasaqalikuġ</i>	<i>awa.</i>
<i>igiim</i>	<i>ġula-asa-qali-ku-ġ</i>	<i>awa</i>
3R.DAT	wash- APPL -begin-IND-SG	over:there

‘he began to wash himself **with** it.’

Applicatives do not appear to play a special role in focus constructions. Focused constituents occur as obliques as often as Ergatives or Absolutives, like the foci of questions in (105) and (106):

- (105) Yup’ik oblique focus of question (George Charles, speaker)

<i>Bobankuni-qaa</i>	<i>uitaciquten?</i>
<i>Bob-aq-nkut-ni=qaa</i>	<i>uita-ciqe-u-ten</i>
NAME-LK-ASSOC.PL- LOC.PL =Q	stay-FUT-INTR.IND-2SG

‘Will you stay **with** Bob and his family?’

- (106) Yup’ik oblique focus of question (George Charles, speaker)

<i>Aqvaluci</i>	<i>nunakuarcuutkun-qaa?</i>
<i>aqva-lu-ci</i>	<i>nuna-kuar-cuute-kun=qaa</i>
fetch-SUBORD-R>2PL	land-go.by.way.of-device- VIA =Q

‘Did they get you **with** a car?’

5 Conclusion

The languages of the Inuit-Yupik-Unangan family contain applicative constructions marked by verbal suffixes. Six are described here, one of which can be reconstructed for the common parent Proto-Inuit-Yupik-Unangan, two for the Proto-Inuit-Yupik branch of the family, two more for Yup’ik, and one more for Kalaallisut.

Morphology

- A general applicative reconstructed as *-utə- for Proto-Inuit-Yupik-Unangan can add a recipient, goal, beneficiary, companion, reason, or instrument.

- A reason applicative reconstructed as **-utəkə-* for Proto-Inuit-Yupik was formed by the amalgamation of an instrumental nominalizer of the same shape as the general applicative, **-utə-* and a verbalizer **-kə* ‘have as’.
- A locative applicative reconstructed as **δviyə-* for Proto-Inuit-Yupik is an amalgamation of a locative nominalizer **-δvik-* and the verbalizer **-kə* ‘have as’.
- A Yup’ik adversative *-(g)i-* adds an adversely affected participant. The same marker also functions as an antipassive here and in related languages.
- A Yup’ik substitutive applicative *-ucite-* ‘in place of’ may have developed from an amalgamation of the general applicative **-utə-*, the antipassive **-(g)i-*, and a repetition of the general applicative.
- A Kalaallisut comitative applicative *-qatig(i)-* was formed from a suffix *-qati-* ‘fellow’ and the verbalizer **-kə* ‘have as’.
- The suffixes show some allomorphy, but it is phonologically conditioned.

Syntax

- Applicative suffixes can be added to intransitive bases, transitive bases, and ambitransitive bases, those which can be inflected as either intransitive or transitive. Agentive ambitransitives are those whose intransitive argument is a semantic agent, and Patientive ambitransitives are those whose intransitive argument is a semantic patient. Applicatives can be added to both.
- All applicatives add an argument to the clause, which usually assumes the role of transitive Absolutive. In this capacity the added argument has all the same characteristics as other transitive Absolutives.
- Applicative verb stems are inflected in the same ways as other verb stems.
- When applicatives are added to transitive bases, the original base Absolutive is inflected as oblique or not mentioned at all.
- There are no double-object constructions.
- The languages have no noun incorporation, though all have a likely descendant of noun incorporation, consisting of a noun base and following verbalizing suffix. These derived bases function like other verb bases for the formation of applicatives.
- The languages all contain participant nominalizers which derive nominals designating the Absolutives of their bases, either intransitive or transitive. Nominalizations of transitive bases are inflected with possessive endings, with the base Ergative cast as the possessor and the Absolutive as the possessed. What is expressed by relative clause constructions in many other languages can be expressed simply by nominalized clauses in these languages, appositive to nouns or other nominals, to demonstratives, or on their own. Applicative constructions are nominalized in the same ways as other transitives for these purposes.
- Passivization is rare in Yup’ik, somewhat more pervasive in Kalaallisut, and considerably more frequent in Unangan. In Kalaallisut, applicative constructions can be passivized. In Unangan, a special passive applicative suffix has developed. The

most common way of detransitivizing transitive verbs is simply to inflect them as intransitive.

- In these languages only definite referents can be transitive Absolutives. Indefinite patients, themes, etc. are cast as obliques. Like other ambitransitives, applicative constructions are obligatorily inflected as intransitives if the introduced argument is indefinite. The result is similar to that of antipassives. The counterpart of the transitive Ergative is cast as the intransitive Absolute, and the counterpart of the transitive Absolute is oblique. Unlike prototypical antipassive constructions, there is no antipassive marker in these applicatives. The functions of sequences of applicative suffixes and intransitive inflection have, however, been extended to serve as antipassive marking on transitive-only bases and patientive ambitransitive bases, without adding applicative meaning.

Semantics

- Applicative suffixes are derivational: they are used to create new lexical items. The meanings of these new lexemes are usually relatively transparent, but the precise meanings added by the applicatives vary.
- Transitive verb bases can have a semantic patient/theme as Absolute, or a recipient/beneficiary, etc. as Absolute, among other roles. If the base Absolute was a patient or theme, the applicative can introduce a recipient/beneficiary/etc. as a core argument. If the base Absolute was a recipient/beneficiary/etc., the applicative can bring a semantic patient/theme into the core. The cases of any other obliques in the base construction remain unchanged.
- Like other ambitransitives, applied verb stems can be inflected as intransitives with dual or plural pronominal suffixes for reciprocal or joint actions.
- Speaker choices between basic and applicative constructions, where those exist, are motivated primarily by topicality. More topical participants are generally cast as core arguments where the vocabulary permits, and as obliques otherwise.

Appendix

1. General Central Alaskan Yup'ik: Jacobson (2012: 47)

<u>Consonants</u>	labial	apical	velar	uvular	labio-velar	labio-uvular
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>ūk</i>	<i>ūq</i>
Voiced fricatives	<i>v</i>	<i>l s/y</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ūḡ</i>	<i>ūr</i>
Voiceless fricatives	<i>vv</i>	<i>ll ss</i>	<i>gg</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>w'</i>	<i>ūr'</i>
Voiced nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ng</i>			
Voiceless nasals	<i>m'</i>	<i>n'</i>	<i>n'g</i>			

<u>Vowels</u>	front	back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
	<i>e</i>	
Low	<i>a</i>	

The symbol *c* represents an affricate. All of the vowels are lowered before uvulars. The vowel *e* represents a schwa. Full vowels *i*, *u*, and *a* may occur in sequence. Numerous phonological adjustments occur at morpheme boundaries.

2. Kalaallisut: Kahn and Valijarvi (2021: 17–22)

An older orthography established by Kleinschmidt in 1851 was revised in 1977 to the mostly phonemic system below.

<u>Consonants</u>	labial	apical	velar	uvular
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>
Voiced fricatives	<i>v</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>r</i>
Voiceless fricatives	<i>f</i>	<i>ll s</i>	<i>gg</i>	<i>rr</i>
Voiced nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ng</i>	
Voiced lateral, glide		<i>lj</i>		

<u>Vowels</u>	front	back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
	<i>e</i>	
Low	<i>a</i>	

All consonants except *j* and *v* may be geminated. Words end only in a vowel, stop, or rarely *n*. As in Yup'ik, the mid vowels are allophones of the high vowels occurring before uvulars *q* and *r*.

3. Unangan: Bergsland (1997: 16)

Sounds in parentheses occur only in Russian and English loanwords.

<u>Consonants</u>	labial	apical	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
Stops	(<i>p</i>)	<i>t</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	
(Voiced stops)	(<i>b</i>)	(<i>d</i>)		(<i>g</i>)		
Voiced fricatives	(<i>v</i>)	<i>d</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ġ</i>	
Voiceless fricatives	(<i>f</i>)	<i>hd</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ġ</i>	
Voiced nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ng</i>		
Voiceless nasals	<i>hm</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>hng</i>			

Voiced approximants	<i>w</i>	<i>l(r)</i>	<i>y</i>	
Aspirated approximants	<i>hw</i>	<i>hl</i>	<i>hy</i>	<i>h</i>
<u>Vowels</u>	front		back	
High	<i>i, ii</i>		<i>u, uu</i>	
	<i>(e, ee)</i>		<i>(o, oo)</i>	
Low	<i>(ää)</i>		<i>a, aa</i>	

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
AEQ	aequalis
AGT	agentive
ALL	allative
ANTIP	antipassive
APPL	applicative
ASSOC	associative
CAUS	causative mood
COND	conditional mood
CONJ	conjunctive mood
CONSEQ	consequential mood
CONTEMP	contemporative mood
DAT	dative
DISTR	distributive
DU	dual
EQ	equative
ERG	ergative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HRS	hearsay
IND	indicative mood
INS	instrumental
INTERR	interrogative mood
INTR	intransitive
LK	linker
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
OPT	optative mood
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRS	present

PRTCP	participial mood
PST	past
Q	question marker
R	coreferential
REM	remote
SG	singular
SUBORD	subordinative mood
TR	transitive
VIA	vialis
x>y	x acts on y

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