

MOOD MARKING IN UNANGAM TUNUU

By

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## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Aleut people. It is my hope that the pages which follow will serve as a starting point for the budding language activist who is seeking practical linguistic knowledge of Unangam Tunuu. This work is by no means exhaustive but is rather intended as an introductory work for individuals wishing to work with the language for revitalization or documentation purposes.

The category of ‘mood,’ along with other categories which originate from European traditions, appears to be lacking a thorough treatment and description. Unangam Tunuu incorporates a vast array of unique linguistic phenomena which has yet to be explored or fully understood. This thesis is the culmination of a year’s worth of inquiry into the scope of available current literature and primary documentation, and the explications of the language therein. I hope this paper serves the reader in expediting their own research by assisting comprehension of some linguistic features found in this language; I hope also that in some capacity it assists future learners, teachers or researchers in finding their own particular points of interest in our culture and our language.

At the time of this writing, Unangam Tunuu is critically endangered as is our traditional Unangan culture. Many areas of highly specialized language related to hunting, fishing, and cultural rites or practices are rapidly being lost along with the knowledge of our traditional ways. I implore the reader to assist our communities by helping create adequate linguistic descriptions of the language so that learning materials may be passed on to future generations of Unangan and Unangas.

*Kadaliig̃in maqãxtakan txichin aguqangin, ĩx̃taqangin tatalix matalix añgãg̃ iing̃in matakun aniqdun ng̃iin aqaagañ ãgnangin qulingiin akũx̃ gumalgakũx̃.*

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## ABSTRACT

Unangam Tunuu has been recorded since the early days of contact in the mid-1700s; it is the sole representative of the ‘Aleut’ branch in the Eskimo-Aleut language family, and though it shares certain features with Yupik, Inuktitut and other Eskimo languages, it is distinct and employs a host of unique strategies to convey meaning. In this paper I will give an overview of the language, Unangam Tunuu, and background of the Indigenous people who speak it. I will also give a brief introduction to the grammatical category of mood; I will discuss how mood is traditionally understood to function in European languages, and how it is represented in Unangam Tunuu. I will argue that the category of mood and the markers which have been glossed as such, show many irregularities from what is traditionally considered grammatical mood, and argue that this category needs to be critically re-examined. I will also suggest elicitation plans to assist in testing for mood-marking, specifically the indicative as well as subjunctive-like *irrealis* inflections.

## 1.0 BACKGROUND

*Unangam Tunuu* is the highly-endangered language of the Unangan (Eastern Aleut) and Unangas (Western Aleut) people, native to the Aleutian Islands in Alaska. Unangam Tunuu is part of the Eskimo-Aleut language family, and is the sole representative of the “Aleut” branch. There were once many different dialects of Unangam Tunuu spoken throughout the Aleutian chain, however, there are now only 2 distinct dialects—Western (Atkan), and Eastern—with subtle differences and sub-dialects within these two major dialects particular to islands and smaller archipelagos. A creole (or mixed) language once existed as well and was known as Copper Island Aleut, or Mednyj Aleut. The creole was a mixture of the Attuan dialect and Russian, blending Aleut nouns with Russian verbs and loanwords (Sekerina 1994). Copper Island Aleut is likely dormant, though follow-up research to ascertain this should be conducted.

To date, there are around 86 fluent speakers of Unangam Tunuu (APIA 2014); the youngest speakers are in their late 60s, and though language revitalization efforts are underway, there have been no new fluent speakers produced for decades. The total Aleut population as a ‘tribal grouping alone or in any (racial) combination’ reported to the 2010 US Census was 19,282 with a median age of 29.7 years (census.gov); ‘Aleut’ is the second smallest reported Alaska Native population in the US.

### 1.1 Overview and Ethnographic History

The first contact between Unangan and Russian fur traders occurred around 1745 with the conquest of Attu Island (Bergsland 1994; Jochelson 1933). It has been estimated that upward of 15,000 Unangan/Unangas lived along the Aleutian archipelago from the western part of the Alaskan Peninsula to Attu Island, west of the Near Islands, and some 200 or more village

settlements, or *tanadgusin*, existed along what is now known as the Aleutian Chain (Bergsland 1997). Attu Island can either be considered one of the western most points of the US, or, due to its location being beyond the 180° meridian line, it can also be considered one of the eastern most points (USGS 2016). The total distance along the Aleutian Chain which was traditionally inhabited by Unangan/Unangas totals more than 1,200 linear miles (Bergsland 1994), and covers a total of 6,821 square miles (Encyclopedia Britannica 2016). The chain of islands runs along the divide between the Bering Sea and Pacific Ocean.

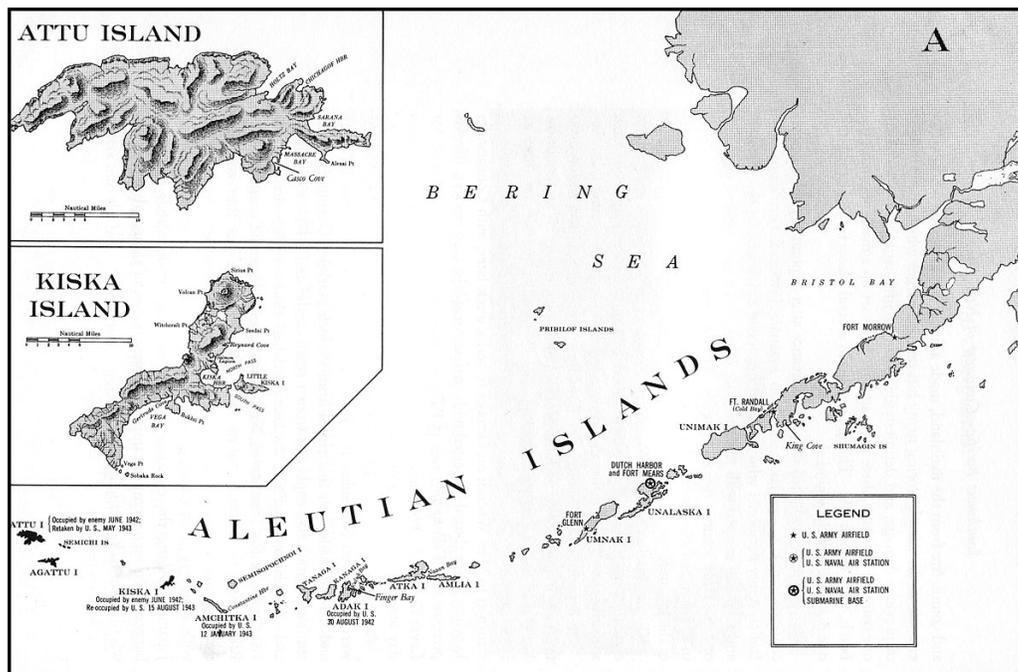


Image credit: ibiblio.org

Not long after initial contact, the Unangan, or ‘Aleut’ as the Russians called them, were conquered and exploited for their expertise in hunting sea mammals. Of particular interest to the Russians were Stellar Seacows which were hunted to extinction within 27 years of its discovery in Alaskan waters (Turvy and Risley 2006), the Pacific Sea otter which were hunted to near extinction in the 1800s, and the Northern Fur Seal whose rookeries are now found

exclusively in the Pribilof islands in the Bering Sea. After successfully conquering the Natives of the Aleutian Islands, the Russians relocated slave populations of Unangan to conserve their efforts in exploitation, and consolidate labor for processing hunted fur mammals. Russian fur trader, Ivan Solovief, was particularly instrumental in the slaughter, enslavement, and relocation of thousands of Unangan. Solovief is regarded as one of the most ruthless slave traders in Alaskan history due to his resentment of the native islander's resistance to traders' sexual exploitation of Unangan women (National Institute of Health 2016).

Relocation had drastic effects on population numbers, and language shift and language mixing. Relocation of Unangan from Unalaska and surrounding islands to the previously uninhabited islands of the Pribilofs (now known as the islands St. Paul and St. George), where the Northern Fur Seal's breeding grounds had been discovered, created an isolated population hundreds of miles north of the Aleutian Islands. Because of this relocation, the islanders of the St. Paul speak a variation of the Eastern dialect of Unangam Tunuu. Many of the Unangas who were relocated to St. George Island were originally from Atka and other Western islands. The proximity of St. Paul and St. George, has made the Pribilovian sub-dialect distinct in some respects due to the blending of Western and Eastern dialects along with heavy Russification; linguistic differentiations from the Eastern dialect proper include lexical and phonological differences, as well as use of auxiliaries and postposing of subjects (Berge 2010:573). The original counting system seems to have been lost around the time of contact—though there are vestigial remnants of the traditional system still present in the numerals used today; the current counting system parallels a Western base 10 system and includes Russian loan words for numbers in the thousands and higher (Bergsland 1994).



Photo: (public domain) St. Paul Island circa 1895

Western Unangas were also relocated to the Commander Islands, Copper Island, and Bering Island west of Attu, thus the dialect of these islands became a mixture of the Attuan and Atkan variety. Between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Unangan/Unangas population declined dramatically. Some island populations were completely eradicated—including all of the communities inhabiting the Islands of The Four Mountains, and Rat Islands (Bergsland 1994). By 1821, when priest Ioann (Ivan) Veniaminov from the Russian Orthodox Church arrived in Unalaska, the total population of Natives along the Aleutian chain had dwindled to less than three thousand. The pressures of exploitation, disease, and relocation played a colossal role in the loss of linguistic variety and traditional cultural practices among the Unangan and Unangas.

In 1867, Alaska was purchased by the United States from the Russian Tsar Alexander II. The purchase was, in part, motivated by the desire to acquire the profitable fur seal industry which had been established in the Pribilof Islands by the Russian American Company (wordpress 2010). Assimilation practices by the U.S. for Native Americans in the lower 48 had just begun by the time of the Alaska purchase, and the government was in full swing relocating

Native populations to smaller parcels of land—some of which would become reservations.

The treaty of cessation between Russia and the U.S. outlined the transferal of citizenship from Russian to U.S. citizenship with a memorandum regarding the exclusion of Alaska Natives: “...with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, [citizens of Alaska], shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The uncivilized tribes will be subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may, from time to time, adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country” (cited in Case and Voluck, 2012:63). This non-citizen status was mediated by government entities in a variety of ways, including granting citizenship to Natives who passed certain intelligence and competence tests (administered by educators), and those who provided sufficient proof they had abandoned their traditional lifestyles, religions, and languages. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, ambiguity regarding whether Alaska Natives should be considered merely ‘uncivilized tribes’ or, fall under the same mandates as Native American Indians of the lower 48, meant that land tracts were denied to most Indigenous groups in the state of Alaska; it was not until 1932 that Alaska Natives were decidedly in the “same position as other Native Americans” (Case 1984:197) and determined to be wards of the federal government.

Assimilation through education was implemented via the Federal Bureau of Education, which in 1905 was charged with the education of Alaska Native children, while the Territory of Alaska was responsible for educating white children and ‘civilized’ children of mixed heritage (Barnhardt 2001). Assimilation practices administered through education became a major factor in language shift among the Unangan, and other Alaska Native groups, as heritage languages were disallowed in these schools. It was not until the mid 1960s when civil rights groups brought

attention to the inequitable circumstances of minorities and Native Americans in the U.S. that reform of the education systems brought about a change in education policy (Barnhardt 2001). During the mid 1960s and into the 1970s, attempts were made to include bilingual education formats in the class room and afford equal access to educational opportunities for all Alaska citizens.

## **1.2 Modern Unangan and Language Revitalization**

Today, Unangan and Unangas live in modern cities such as Seattle, Bellingham, Los Angeles, and Anchorage, as well as in village communities along the Aleutian chain and on the islands of St. Paul and St. George in the Pribilofs. Thirteen distinct federally recognized Aleut Nations exist with independent tribal councils and corporations. Revitalization efforts to recover and maintain traditional cultural and linguistic practices and knowledge systems have been forming in a number of communities within the last decade. There are current active language revitalization projects for both the Western and Eastern dialects in Anchorage, AK. Initiation of a language camp is currently in the process of being established in Atka for the Western dialect, and is projected to commence in the summer of 2016.

On the island of St. Paul, a summer camp was initially piloted in 2014, and at the time of this writing, coordinators are working to prepare for their third three-month long Unangam Tunuu Summer Language Intensive (UTSLI). The language camp on St. Paul is primarily tenanted by 10 interested local high school students, and is organized by the community's appointed Cultural Heritage Director. Funding for these camps has been provided by The Aleut Foundation, the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (APIA), and local tribal corporations. In 2015, organizers at APIA were successful in securing an ANA Grant which is currently being

used to fund the initiatives of the respective language camps to increase the number of speakers, and improve fluency of beginning and intermediate language learners. The St. Paul UTSLI camp takes place at a center in the heart of the St. Paul village. With around 479 people, St. Paul has the largest community population of Aleut in the US (Census Bureau 2010), most of whom are tribal members of the Tanadgusix Village and TDX corporation.

The current language camps and programs in Anchorage, St. Paul, and Atka are utilizing a method of language learning created by Evan Gardner known as Where Are Your Keys?, or WAYK. This method is touted as an “accelerated language learning program” and uses features of Total Physical Response (TPR) learning techniques by way of borrowing ASL sign which learners equate with meanings in their target language. Heritage language phrases are elicited, or “hunted,” from fluent speakers by language learners. These phrases are then “packaged” into lessons, or “rides,” and later taught in an immersion setting with a variety of simple props to assist in comprehension. Repetition and group interaction is encouraged in WAYK activities. The program relies very little on written materials and even discourages use of dictionaries or grammars, and the practice of translation.

## 2.0. UNANGAM TUNUU LITURATURE REVIEW

The following is a review of existing resources on the Aleut language. The language resources within are primarily materials which may be advantageous for individual language learners, or communities learning Unangam Tunuu. Attempts have been made to assess the usability, accessibility and accuracy of the documents, materials, websites, or venues and are organized thematically with regard to the nature of the resource. This review is intended to provide a rounded foreground for future research on the Aleut language (Unangam Tunuu), and/or formulation of pedagogical materials and reference resources for language learners and revitalization efforts. The existing dictionary and grammar compiled by Knut Bergsland remain quite opaque and inaccessible to users not familiar with Bergsland's linguistic terminology; however, these materials are generally considered to be the most accurate and extensive compilations available on the language. Other resources include websites intended for a learning audience, legacy documents from Russian Orthodox priests who translated biblical passages, prayers and hymns, and academic works primarily authored by linguists or anthropologists for an academic audience.

### **Dictionaries and grammar references**

Aleut Grammar: The Unangam *Tunuganaan Achixaasix* (1997) by Knut Bergsland is widely acknowledged as the the most complete grammar on Unangam Tunuu. The grammar is described as a descriptive reference grammar for the Aleutian, Pribilof, and Commander Islands language. It covers the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Aleut language and gives examples of grammatical features in the Eastern, Atkan (Western) and Attuan dialects. Some historical information is given, as are various pronunciations from different island specific dialects. This grammar is the culmination of 50 years' work by Knut Bergsland and is considered

by many to be the definitive grammar source for Unangam Tunuu—though it has been noted by some academics to be rather sparse in description and analyzation. The grammar illuminates syntactic features considered to be unique to this language. This grammar utilizes the practical orthography developed in 1972 for a bilingual education program in the Aleut region which was based off the original works of Ioann (Ivan) Veniaminov who, among other works, translated the Russian Orthodox bible into Unangam Tunuu. Veniaminov, also known as Saint Innocent Metropolitan of Moscow, was trained and ordained by the Irkutsk Theological Seminary in 1817 before traveling to Alaska to conduct missionary work in Unalaska (Garrett 1979). The 1972 orthography utilizes (for the most part) single roman letters. Modern day Unangam Tunuu employs a variety of English and Russian loan-words which are featured in the grammar. The font of this book is clear, rather large and uses bold print for words in Unangam Tunuu. Linguistic terms are used throughout, though few explanations or definitions of the terms can be found making it difficult for the reader who is not familiar with Bergsland's linguistic expressions. The grammar was originally intended for high school and University level studies. There are few linguistic analysis or tables within the grammar. The in-line text style makes recognizing and comprehending grammatical features rather difficult. Since this work is the most thorough compilation of Aleut, it would be imperative for any learner or researcher to procure a copy of *Tunuganaan Achixaasix* as a reference source. This grammar is frequently referenced by current researchers of Unangam Tunuu.

The bulk of Bergsland's dictionary, *Unangam Tunudgusii* (1994), is formatted into two parts: basic words and their derivatives, and suffixes. These are followed by some problematic words and phrases found in the language along with the possible historical occurrences to account for them. There is also a section specifically on loanwords from Russian and English.

The very last section is an English to Unangam index which lists over 14,000 words. This is likely the most comprehensive dictionary available in Unangam Tunuu and is the culmination of over two centuries of documentation which have been compiled and organized by Knut Bergsland.

Aside from lexical terms, it also provides kinship terms and charts, calendars, place names, maps, words for wind directions and numeric counting systems. The general introduction gives historical accounts of where, when and how certain data were obtained. The orthography in this source has been modified (slightly simplified) from the orthography established in the 1970s. Hd, hl, hm, hng, hw and hy have been reduced to d, l, m, n, ng, y, and w respectively. A substantial amount of information regarding pronunciation is included at the beginning of this dictionary. Historical dates referring to the original documentation of terms is given where possible, as is the party responsible for the recording. This source is likely indispensable to any serious language learner or persons interested in Unangam Tunuu.

Qawalangim Tunugan Kaduugingin (1993), compiled by Knut Bergsland with the help of Moses Dirks, is a grammar and lexicon in one. The first half explores grammatical features and the latter half is a dictionary. This book appears to have been painstakingly typed out (on a typewriter) and has print on only one side of each page. Some alterations have been made in ink (by hand) to the original copy. It begins with an introduction of the alphabet, vowels and pronunciation—taking into special consideration the uvular sounds and “rhythm” of the language. A particular section of the book might have a topic, such as “stringed sentences” at the top of the page followed by Aleut phrases (underlined) and the English equivalent of that phrase. A reader may have trouble navigating this book if they are looking for specific grammatical features. The dictionary uses alphabetical order for words in Unangam Tunuu; while this

promotes the importance of the heritage language, a person who does not know the Unangam Tunuu equivalent they are looking for in English may find this dictionary frustrating. It would appear that this book served as some kind of interim language material or prototype, and was likely utilized by educators who had access to other materials or fluent speakers. The existing copy appears to be one-of-a-kind and was once a school library book on the island of St. Paul, Alaska. It incorporates very little linguistic terminology whatsoever and—in observing the content, pictures and phrases included—was likely written for a younger audience. This book can be borrowed from the University of Washington via inter-library loan, or a pdf. can be requested from the Aleut Pribilof Islands Association.

*The Aleut Language*, translated by Geohegan (1944), incorporates works by Ioann (Ivan) Veniaminov. It's dated material is reflective of the social opinions regarding indigenous people of its era and comments throughout the book include laments regarding “corruption” and “attrition” of the language. Comments on the ‘primitive’ ways Aleuts make meaning and understand their world are found in the introduction. The grammar portion begins with an introduction to the alphabet, consonants and vowels, and continues with an introduction to parts of speech. The Aleut words are written in bold lettering with English in regular font. The font is rather small and there are numerous spelling inconsistencies making this source difficult to work with. The orthography used in this reference is outdated and does not often differentiate between ‘q’ and ‘k’ or ‘q’ and ‘x̂’, anyone choosing to use this source will need to take this into account. This grammar and dictionary gives a great many examples but lacks grammatical and morphological analysis. The latter half of the book is a dictionary alphabetically arranged in Unangam Tunuu (first) and in English (second). The extent of the dictionary is limited, and many terms seem to be inconsistent with those found in Bergsland’s (1994) Aleut Dictionary.

### Scholarly articles

Among the prominent few who have studied Unangam Tunuu from a linguistic perspective are Anna Berge of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Alice Taff (retired) of University of Alaska Southeast, and Moses Dirks (retired), who is an Unangas educator and was trained by the late Knut Bergsland in linguistic description. The following scholarly articles were written primarily for an academic audience in the authors' respective linguistic fields of specialty.

The article *Coordination in Pribilof Islands Unangam Tunuu* (2011) by Anna Berge, compares a variety of coordinating structures to clause-chaining which are frequently expressed in the Eastern dialect of Unangam Tunuu for the purpose of expressing coordination between clauses and ideas. The intent of the article is to explore how subtle peculiarities regarding syntactical, pragmatic and idiolectal factors affect coordination strategy.

The author is an avid member of the Alaska Native Language Center Focus Group which is an interdisciplinary group of scholars who seek to further and support Indigenous revitalization efforts across Alaska. She is also an associate professor at the University Alaska Fairbanks in the linguistics department and received her PhD in Linguistics at UC Berkeley.

*In Variations on Polysynthesis* (2009), Berge draws comparisons of topic tracking and anaphoric marking in Greenlandic and Aleut, noting how each language has rather unexpected case and inflectional markings as compared to other polysynthetic and ergative-absolutive languages. Such inflectional and mood marking oddities in Aleut are addressed in several of Berge's works, including *Unexpected non-anaphoric marking in Aleut* (2010), and *Origins of linguistic diversity in the Aleutian Islands* (2010), in which Berge attempts to both acknowledge previous work done in Aleut regarding "the Aleut enigma" concerning ambiguous markings in canonical clause-chaining and anaphoric phrases, and how Aleut goes about denoting

grammatical roles and topic tracking across multiple clauses and disambiguates roles through context.

Anaphoric markings are a topic of some concern for linguists who study “Eskaleut” languages. Keeping with the vein of investigation on the unique way Aleut tracks topics and subjects across clauses, Sadock (2009) takes a new approach to understanding efficacy of anaphoricity in the language. Sadock argues that the relatively “impoverished” morphology of Aleut does not affect a speaker’s ability to comprehend with great clarity the subjects and topics within anaphoric clauses, and—despite what others have observed about the language’s peculiar ambiguous markings—Aleut is actually quite efficient at dispelling ambiguity through use of case and inflectional markings due to a reduction in nominal paradigms which occur with some regularity in most other ergative-absolutive languages. Jerry Sadock PhD is a distinguished professor of Linguistics and Humanities departments at the University of Chicago. Sadock has worked primarily in the fields of pragmatics, semantics, and syntax and takes particular interest in languages with irregular or uncommon syntax and morphology patterns.

Irina Sekerina (1994) argues in her article *Copper Island Aleut (CIA): A Mixed Language*, that, contrary to previous assumptions, Copper Island Aleut (CIA) is more correctly understood as a “mixed language” rather than a creole. Sekerina outlines similarities of CIA to the Michif language—a language which combines French and Cree, and is spoken on Turtle Mountain Indian reservation in North Dakota.

Sekerina gives a sociolinguistic background of both the Metis and Aleut, drawing comparisons between the prevalence of bilingualism among couples who intermarried in communities where Indigenous and European or Russian traders existed side by side. The children of these couples would go on to intertwine the languages, but—curiously—the

languages have distinct discernable and intact forms of French (in the case of Michif) and Cree, and Russian and Aleut (Attuan dialect) in CIA. In both cases, it is assumed that the social status<sup>7</sup> of the “mixed” children were higher than that of children with strictly Indigenous parentage; the mixed languages used by these children is assumed to have retained some prestige over the use of non-creolized Cree or Aleut, as it was not a stigmatized language due to its usefulness in sundry communities. The information and analysis within this article is fairly extensive covering parts of speech and morphological breakdown, and includes hypotheses by Sekerina as to the nature of use, and origins of CIA. This is impressive considering how little data was ever recorded on CIA. Copper Island Aleut has likely slipped into dormancy with the loss of the L1 Kreole (Creole) speakers on Bering Island.

Though joint authorship and contributions, Taff, Rozelle, Cho, Ladeforged, Dirks (L1 speaker of Atkan) and Wegelin combined their collective skill to analyze some of the more unusual phonetic features of Aleut. Aleut has no bilabial stops (except in cases of borrowed Russian and English words which have been “Unangan-ized”), but does have several alveolar, velar and uvular stops and fricatives. Voice Onset Time is considerably shorter for alveolar stops than for uvular, and there is no difference between VOT in velar and uvular stops. This is contrary to many other languages which tend to exhibit a difference in VOT in velar and uvular stops.

Unangam Tunuu distinguishes meanings through elongation of vowels, which is not an uncommon language feature; however, in UT there are only 3 vowels plus elongated—or vowel length—contrasts in the language. The vowel length not only distinguishes different words, but also stress—which *is* an unusual characteristic in vowel-length contrasting languages. This article is dense with technical phonetic information and may be of little use to a researcher or

learner who has little or no understanding of phonetics. The authors are established and prolific researchers in their fields and the data may be evaluable for phoneticians, and other linguistically or aurally oriented researchers.

### **Online resources and websites**

Some of the following sources may be found online. These resources are usually maintained by community members, Universities, corporations, or tribal entities. The majority of these resources are accessible, and many include materials, sound files and templates to assist a beginning Aleut language learner. If access to speakers is not possible, these sources may provide opportunity to hear the language spoken.

**Unangam Tunuu Conversation Corpus:** <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0027>

This page is located on the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAN). It is the online access point for approximately 250 recorded materials including audio and video which were collected from Unangan community members between November 2003 and March 2006. The primary depositor, Alice Taff, is a retired professor from the University of Alaska Southeast. A few of the recordings are interviews; in these cases, certain words or phrases are elicited from the speakers and English is used between interlocutors. Many of the recordings are spontaneous conversations between Elders; generally, no translation accompanies these recordings. It should be noted that most of the deposits are ‘protected access’ and may be inaccessible to the general public. A request must be sent to the ELA for access. Access requires that the requester be either a) a community member or b) an academic researcher.

**The Alaska Native Knowledge Network (ANKN)** is “designed to serve as a resource for compiling and exchanging information related to Alaska Native knowledge systems and ways of knowing.” The menu provides access to publications, academic programs, curriculum

resources and an events calendar. This site is quite extensive in its scope and includes a variety of educational information and material resources. The ANKN site can be cumbersome to navigate if searching for something specific. Some areas of this site are updated frequently, other areas have not been noticed to change or be updated for several years. Many of the contributors are school teachers or higher education professors. The content is primarily pedagogical and geared toward supporting Indigenous learners and educators. This site does offer some grammatical features of Unangam Tunuu, however, most of the “Aleut language” on this site is of the Western dialect—though not all. Unfortunately, the dialect differences are rarely made clear and if a language learner is not privy to common spelling differences, they likely would not be capable of discerning Western from Eastern as it does not often explicitly point out the differences.

The contributors seem intent on a holistic approach to Native education. Learning materials include visuals for representing balanced communities, practices and values which might be shared with Indigenous pupils. A multitude of useful links and contact information are provided, though this information is dispersed over various pages. The site is maintained and funded by the University of Alaska Fairbanks and includes information on degrees which can be obtained in cross-cultural studies, indigenous studies and linguistics.

**Alaska Native Language Center:** <http://www.uaf.edu/anlc/languages/al/>

The Alaska Native Language Center was established in 1972 as a center for research and documentation for the 20 indigenous languages of Alaska. Among other things, the site provides access to publications, learning materials which can be purchased, current event articles, class offerings, contact information, and links to archival materials, and hosts the site for the Language Focus Group. Some language samples of Aleut are posted; these may be greetings and short

phrases but the samples are not extensive. Visitors to the site can also access blogs regarding language revitalization and archived power-point presentations.

The University of Alaska Fairbanks is unique in its offerings of courses in Alaskan Native languages, and the Alaska Native Language Center seeks to assist the cultivation and preservation of these languages. The materials offered for sale here are reliable sources and it is this researcher's experience that the materials are offered at a much discounted rate than can be found elsewhere.

**Alaskool.org:** <http://www.alaskool.org/language/languageindex.htm>

Alaskool.org provides "online materials about Alaska Native history, education, languages and culture for teachers, students and anyone interested in Alaska's first people." Most of the postings seem to be contributed by K-12 educators and the materials available are reflective of the age of their pupils. Alaskool's "Ready-to-go-curricula" has a list of lessons for various grade levels and cover a variety of subjects. Unfortunately, it would appear that Alaskool.org is rarely updated and most of the same content has been posted since 2011 (most of the language material is even older). The Unangam Tunuu font may be downloaded for both PC and Mac at:

[alaskool.org/language/fonts/22nangam/22nangam\\_font.htm](http://alaskool.org/language/fonts/22nangam/22nangam_font.htm)

**Alaska Native Heritage Center:** <http://www.alaskanative.net/en/main-nav/education-and-programs/cultures-of-alaska/unangax-and-alutiiq/>

This is a supporting website for the Alaskan Native Heritage Center Museum. It contains a variety of topical information on many of Alaska's first people (Athabascan, Unangax^ and Alutiiq (Sugpiaq), Yup'ik and Cup'ik, Inupiaq and St. Lawrence Island Yupik, Eyak, Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian). Information can be found regarding historical cultural practices and present day revitalization efforts. The site can be used by individuals who have access to the museum to learn about current courses, workshops and events such as basket weaving classes,

dancing/singing events, kayak building and apprenticeships, and language revitalization classes.

The site is easy to navigate and is well maintained. Financial supporters include a variety of Native corporations, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Rasmuson Foundation, the CIRI Foundation and the US Department of Education. The site is highly polished with few broken links or editing errors.

**Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association** : <http://www.apiai.org/culture-history/>

The APIA site is intended to provide service information for Unangax^ /Aleut of the 13 island nations that make up the Unangan community. Services include those related to health care, subsistence and economic support, job training and cultural heritage preservation.

The current community language learning program (with sites in St. Paul, Atka and Anchorage) is overseen by the Cultural Heritage Director, Millie McKeowen. The Cultural Heritage Committee has employed the services of Where Are Your Keys? (WAYK) creator Evan Gardner in their revitalization efforts, and a brief synopsis of their current efforts are posted on the “culture and history” page. Contact information can be found here for interested language learners along with upcoming events and workshop information.

This site has few educational resources posted with the exception of the “Unangam Tunuu Word of the Week” or “WOW”. The WOW page has a collection of short phrases and words recorded with the voices of community Elders. Any language learner seeking to join the language revitalization efforts currently in process (if they are within the region) might start with making contact with the learning community via the posted events on this site. Interested parties may also like to join the mailing list to keep up to date on events. It should be noted that unless an individual is a community member, access to said events may be limited or denied. Interested

language learners should be cautioned that they may need to provide suitable “proof” of tribal affiliation, or corporate membership.

**Tanam Awa Nations Work:** <http://tanamawaa.com/>

This website is dedicated to the Native Unangan community seeking to learn their heritage language. The site’s primary curator and poster is Aquilina Lestenkof of St. Paul Island, and though she is not fluent herself, she grew up hearing the language and is considered an “understander” or passive speaker of Unangam Tunuu.

Recordings of short phrases in Aleut may be found on a variety of the site’s pages, along with writings and submissions from the wider community regarding a number of cultural aspects of the Aleut/Unangax people both past and present. Many of the recordings include voices of male and female speakers which can be invaluable to learners who lack access to fluent speakers in their own local communities. While the site is easy enough to navigate, many links on this site are faulty. Recordings are often found with no translation of the phrases and there are frequent spellings in Unangam Tunuu which have no English translation or accompanying recordings. This site is frequently updated by the learning community and has incorporated volunteers from local Native high school children who wish to be involved in the current cultural reclamation projects in the region. As this site continues to gain interest and data it should become more useful and reliable to future learners of Unangam Tunuu.

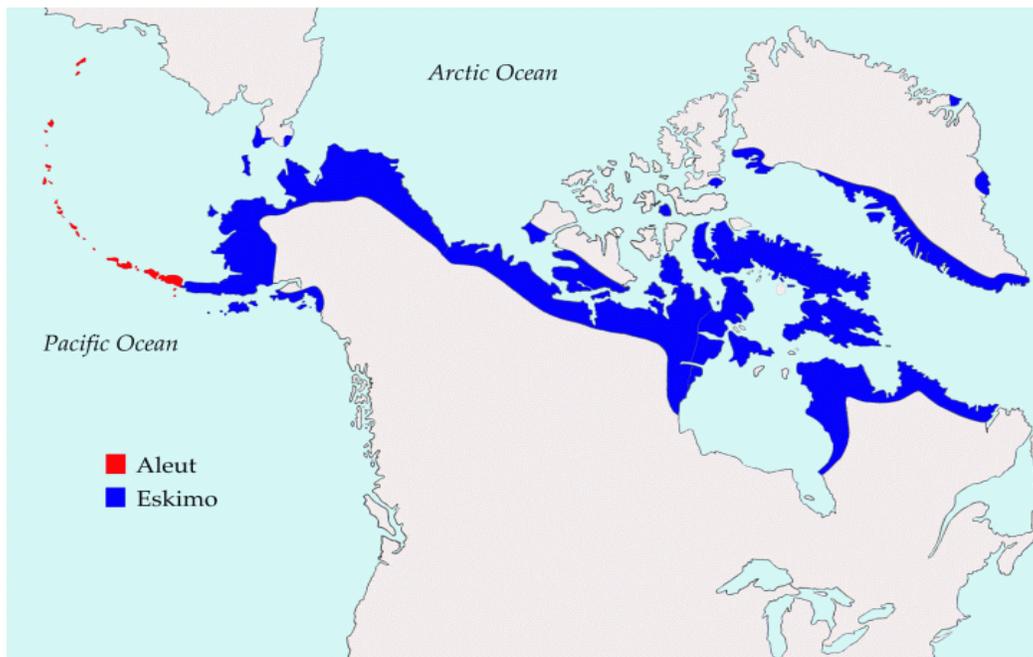
Each of these sources provides valuable data on Unangam Tunuu. Since the language is highly endangered (or ‘moribund’), every resource is a treasure trove of information for the learner and researcher alike. Anna Berge continues to make significant contributions to the field of linguistics analyzing aspects of Aleut, and can be counted on to provide future resources for language revitalization activists, linguists and cognitive scientists. Moses Dirks also continues in

his endeavors to support language learning communities through materials creation, and by offering services as a translator and consultant. There is a small team of language learners utilizing the Where Are Your Keys? (WAYK) accelerated language learning program, created by Evan Gardner, who are currently involved in language revitalization efforts. Any interested learner might check with the Aleut Pribilof Islands Association (APIA) for further information on how to get involved with workshops and events.

Various linguists and language researchers incorporate data and analyses of Unangam Tunuu into their own work, frequently as a means of comparative or contrastive evaluation and exploration. These works should also be considered and reviewed by learners and researchers as they provide valuable insight into how particular features may work in the language, and assist in clarifying certain details which are under-studied in academic research or little understood by speakers or learners. As research progresses on this language, and as data is uncovered or cultivated, this review will need to be expanded upon and cannot be considered an exhaustive source of available information. This review is intended as a starting point for interested parties.

### 3.0 UNANGAM TUNUU: THE LANGUAGE

Unangam Tunuu, or Aleut language as it is sometimes referred to in the literature, is part of the Eskimo-Aleut language family. Languages in the Eskimo-Aleut language family share certain characteristics such as polysynthesis, and a complex and productive derivational and inflectional morphology. The morphological process of these languages is almost exclusively suffixing (Woodbury 2004), with a **base-derivational morpheme(s)-inflectional morpheme(s)**=enclitic word structure. The languages in this family include Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenlandic Inuit), Inuit Nunaat/Nunangat (Canadian Inuktitut), Inupiaq, Siberian Yupik, Alaskan Yup'ik, and Unangam Tunuu. The Yupik and Inuit languages are considered 'Eskimo languages' and are thought to be more closely related than Unangam Tunuu which is the sole branch of the Aleut language.



(map by Merritt Ruhlen)

Verbs consist minimally of a root (Bergsland refers to them as stems), and an affix—or sometimes multiple affixes—which denote mood, person, negation, and number agreement. Eskimo-Aleut languages obligatorily mark nouns with either a singular, dual, or plural (3 or more) inflection. There is no gender marking distinction among the languages. Eskimo-Aleut languages are thought to be among the most polysynthetic languages in the world (Fortescue 2002) and frequently incorporate many morphemes in a single word.

This language family is also known for having ergative marking systems. Other shared features of the Eskimo-Aleut family include a similar phonological inventory: these languages have a fairly small vowel inventory consisting mainly of /a/, /i/ and /u/; in the case of Unangam Tunuu these vowels can either be short or long. Consonant clusters—up to three in Unangam Tunuu—are also a common phonological feature.

Unlike other Eskimo-Aleut languages, Unangam Tunuu (UT for short) is thought to have lost its ergative-absolutive system long ago and is primarily nominative-accusative, relying on word order to establish patient and agent grammatical roles. Like other languages in the Eskimo-Aleut family, UT has a predominantly SOV word order in clauses. Evidence of the lost ergative system still remains in the form of vestigial endings which carry little meaningful information, but have become regular neutral endings in natural speech. This includes the use of  $-\hat{x}$  endings on nouns and pronouns which are glossed in the literature as ABS for absolutive. The absolutive gloss is commonly found in the literature despite its general lack of meaningful denotation.

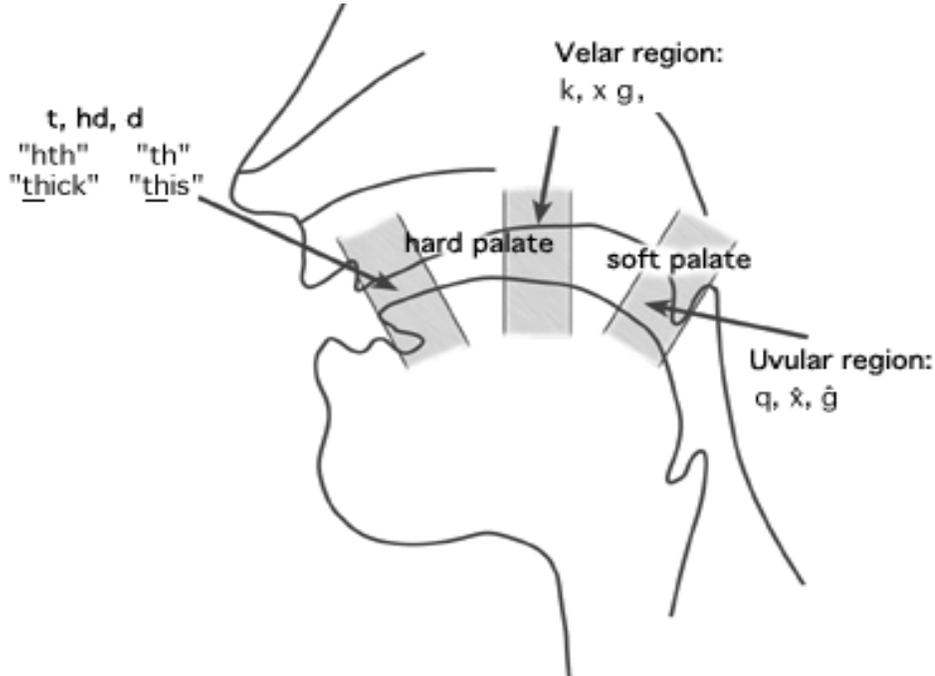
- (1) *hal- $\hat{x}$*       *asxinu- $\hat{x}$*       *kidu-ku- $\hat{x}$*       (adapted from Bergsland 1997:138)  
 boy-SG.ABS    girl- SG.ABS    help-IND-SG  
 ‘the boy is helping the girl’

As previously mentioned, nouns are obligatorily marked with number;  $-\hat{x}$  is both a singular case marker and an absolutive marker which has lost its value as an indicator of the agent and patient relationship. In Ex. 1, the ‘boy’ is the subject and the ‘girl’ is the object—their roles are established by word order. Many morphemes in UT have multiple meanings simultaneously, or take on somewhat different connotations when they are applied to a verb versus a noun or pronoun, or show up in independent versus dependent clauses (these phenomena will be further explored in section 3.2). Like Yupik and Inuit, UT is a clause chaining language in which subordinated clauses generally precede an independent or main clause. Speakers tend to prefer subordinating clauses within a clause chain rather than utilizing coordinating particles (Berge 2011).

### 3.1 Sounds

There are many sounds in Unangam Tunuu which are not found in English and which a native English speaker may find difficult to hear or produce when first learning the language. Among these are uvular fricatives which are produced by restricting airflow near the back of the mouth with the soft-pallet or uvula (see Fig. 1), and the nasalized  $-ng$  sound ( $\eta$  in IPA) which is found in many UT words. This sound is somewhat like the  $ng$  in *sing*, with the sound resonating in the nasal cavity and the airway closed off in the uvular region. Plosives and labial fricatives are rare in native UT, but are common sounds found in borrowed terms from English and Russian. The  $b$  in *braatax̂* (brother) and  $f$  in *kuufyaax̂* (coffee) are examples of such borrowed sounds.

Fig. 1



(image credit: Alaska Native Knowledge Network)

There are six vowels in Unangam Tunuu: /a/, /i/ and /u/, and long /a:/, /i:/, and /u:/. In the current writing system (adapted in the 1970s) these are represented as **a**, **i**, **u**, **aa**, **ii**, and **uu**. The long vowels can distinguish different meaning for otherwise similar sounding words such as *tugidaʁ*, which means ‘the moon’ and *tugiidaʁ* which is ‘a clothesline’. Syncopation of vowels occurring between consonants in the middle of a word is also quite common. More often than not, the phrases *angal(i)kingam iʁam(a)naa* (a calque for ‘good evening’) and *taang(a)kuqing* ‘I am drinking water’ (Bergsland 1994: xxi) have syncopated medial vowels in regular speech.

There are around 32 consonants between the existing dialects, however, some consonants such as **z**, **v**, and **p** are generally only found in loanwords. The plural suffixes for Eastern and Western—or Atkan—differ in that the latter uses an **-s** where the former uses an **-n**, as in Unangan**n** (Eastern dialect) and Unangas**s** (Atkan dialect).

**Table 1. Consonants**

	Labial		Dental		Alveolar	Palatal		Velar		Uvular		Glottal
<b>Stop</b>	/p/ <i>p</i>	/b/ <i>b</i>	/t/ <b>t</b>	/d/ <i>d</i>	/ts/	/tʃ/ <b>ch</b>		/k/ <b>k</b>	/g/ <i>g</i>	/q/ <b>q</b>		
<b>Fricative</b>	/f/ <i>f</i>	/v/ <b>v*</b>	/θ/ <b>hd<sup>†</sup></b>	/ð/ <b>d</b>		/s/ <b>s</b>	/z/ <b>z<sup>‡</sup></b>	/x/ <b>x</b>	/ɣ/ <b>g</b>	/χ/ <b>χ̂</b>	/ʁ/ <b>ġ</b>	
<b>Nasal</b>	/m̥/ <b>hm</b>	/m/ <b>m</b>	/n̥/ <b>hn</b>	/n/ <b>n</b>				/ŋ/ <b>hn</b> <b>g</b>	/ŋ/ <b>ng</b>			
<b>Lateral</b>			/l/ <b>hl</b>	/l/ <b>l</b>								
<b>Approximant</b>	/ʌ/ <b>hw</b>	/w/ <b>w</b>			/ɹ/, /r/ <i>r</i>	/ç/ <b>hy</b>	/j/ <b>y</b>					/h/ <b>h</b>

(adapted from Taff et. al. 2001:234)

† Only found in Eastern Aleut

‡ Only found in Atkan and in loanwords

\*Found in Eastern and Atkan loanwords

As is the case with many Indigenous languages of the Americas and other world languages before contact with Westerners, Unangam Tunuu did not have a traditional writing system. During the time of initial contact in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Unangam Tunuu, along with many other native languages of Alaska, were recorded by Russian tradesmen. In 1794 the first Russian Orthodox missionaries traveled across the Bering Sea and set about their work of converting Alaska Natives to the Orthodox religion. It was the first missionaries and priests who conducted the work of translating passages of the Bible and worship hymns into Native tongues— including Unangam Tunuu.

Ex. 2. A sample of the Cyrillic writing system adopted for Unangam Tunuu in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

А а Б б Г г Д д Е е Ж ж З з И и І і Й й К к К к Л л  
 М м Н н О о П п Р р С с Т т У у Ў ў Ф ф Х х Х х Ц ц  
 Ч ч Ш ш Щ щ Ъ ъ Ы ы Ь ь Э э Ю ю Я я Ө ө V v

The orthography in use today is based off of the Roman alphabet. This system was designed in 1972 by the Alaska State Operated School System for bilingual programs which were introduced throughout the Aleutian region in the mid 1970s (Bergsland 1997). There are several digraphs, including: *hd, hm, hn, ng, and hl*, and one trigraph—*hng*. Most of the characters are single roman letters corresponding to a single uttered sound.

### 3.2 Unangam Tunuu Morphosyntax

Unangam Tunuu has a primarily SOV word order, and like other Eskimo-Aleut languages, is considered by many to be *polysynthetic*. A typical polysynthetic language is one where many morphemes are linked together to form complex words which comprise of many ideas and have a dynamic array of information encoded within words. Specific parameters for the classification of exactly what ‘polysynthesis’ is has been outlined and defined in numerous ways by linguists.

It has been suggested by some that Unangam Tunuu and other Eskimo-Aleut languages lack characteristics which would define them as truly polysynthetic. Mark Baker, who works within the generative framework proposed by Noam Chomsky, suggests that the specific parameters of polysynthesis includes agreement marking on phrasal heads with their argument—or inclusion of the argument within a phrasal head (Baker:1999). This syntactic rule would exclude Eskimo-Aleut languages from consideration as true polysynthetic languages; however,

many still consider these languages to be polysynthetic due to the languages incorporating a large number of morphemes within a single word.

*Synthesis* can be thought of as a spectrum—ranging from isolating to polysynthetic—where such categories are determined by the number of morphemes incorporated into a ‘word’. A *morpheme* is the linguistic term for the smallest unit of language that encodes a unique meaning. For example, the word ‘car’ is a morpheme because it cannot be broken down into any smaller units. However, ‘car’ is also a *word*, because it can ‘stand on its own’. What is meant by this can be shown in the following example: a person, while crossing a busy street with a friend, can alert that there is an oncoming car by pointing to it and saying ‘car!’ This is a case where a morpheme is a word. But the relationship between words and morphemes is not always one-to-one: there are morphemes that are not words, and words can have more than one morpheme. The plural morpheme ‘-s’ in English shows this when it is suffixed to ‘car’ to form the word ‘car-s’. Note that the morpheme ‘-s’ encodes a unit of unique meaning—plurality. The plural ‘-s’ is not a word because it cannot stand on its own: it needs a host to attach to, like ‘car’. Thus car is a *free morpheme* while the plural –s is a *bound morpheme*.

Mandarin is a typical example of an isolating language, and has a nearly one-to-one correlation between morpheme and meaning. Mandarin and many other isolating languages rely on particles to convey meanings which are, in other languages, conveyed through affixing morphemes or by use of inflectional forms of nouns and verbs. These isolating languages are referred to as *analytic* and generally rely on word order to convey grammatical roles like subject, object and indirect object. The basic word order in Mandarin is similar to English—SOV; however, since other information must be conveyed through independent morphemes, word

order is important for relaying other critical information as well. A somewhat complicated phrase might include morphemes for: Subject, Time, Place, Negation, Auxiliary, Verb and Object.

- (2) *Tā huì shuō zhōngwén* (Paul 2009:9)  
 Subj. Manner Verb Obj.  
 3SG can speak Chinese  
 ‘He can speak Chinese’

English is more synthetic than Mandarin. In English, bound derivational and inflectional morphemes can be added to free morphemes to create a new meaning or qualify a noun or verb. For example, *write* is a verb: if we add the bound inflectional morpheme *-ing* we get the present progressive *writing*. If we add the bound derivational morpheme *-er* we get the noun form *writer*. Some bound morphemes are considered to be *productive* and can be affixed to many different free morphemes, such as the plural *-s*, which can attach to many nouns: cats, dogs, cars, trees etc.

Fig. 2 **Spectrum: from isolating to polysynthetic**

Isolating	Synthetic	Polysynthetic
Mandarin	English	Greenlandic

Polysynthetic languages have ‘sentence words’ where many ideas and morphemes are incorporated into one unit—or word. At its maximum, West Greenlandic can convey very complex ideas within a single word.

(3) *Nalunaarasuartaatilioqatigiiffissualiulersaaleraluallaraminngooq*

“It seems that they were well into the process of talking about founding an association for the establishment of a Telegraph Station” (jjx:2014).

In such languages as Greenlandic, Yupik, and Unangam Tunuu, information which is sometimes relayed in more isolating languages through particles and/or independent morphemes are conveyed through combining a series of bound morphemes—or *stems*—to a root verb or noun. This can include temporal information like tense or aspect, mood, number, genitive or relational case, negation, and person—among other things. Because words in these languages obligatorily encode certain information, words can become quite morphologically complex and have as much information in them as an entire sentence in a language like English.

Just like there is a continuum of synthesis from isolating to polysynthetic among the world’s languages there is also a spectrum within polysynthetic languages; some languages, like Unangam Tunuu, are less polysynthetic—incorporating fewer morphemes within words—while others, like West Greenlandic are more polysynthetic. Greenlandic often incorporates as many as nine derivational morphemes following a verbal root (Johns 2014). There are complicated reasons at play which influence this range of synthesis—some of which may have to do with historical changes, language shift, contact with other languages, or isolation of speakers to certain geographical areas. Unangam Tunuu is more reliant on word order than many other polysynthetic languages and is less reliant on certain markings which denote agency. Still, Unangam Tunuu does have the capacity to encode complicated information into word units.

(4) *ting adaluusanaaġiiġutamasuġtkuġ* (Fortescue 2002:265)

*ting adalu-usa-naaġ-iiġuta-masu-ġt-ku-ġ*

1SG lie-do.with-try-again-perhaps-PERF-IND-3SG

‘perhaps he has tried to fool me again’

Ordinary nouns in Unangam Tunuu have suffixes for number (singular, dual and plural), relational case (absolutive and relative), grammatical person, genitive suffixes, anaphoric third person, first, second and reflexive third person (Bergsland 1997:47) and a non-reflexive third person often referred to in the literature as fourth person. Verbs are inflected for mood, person and number. Ideas which in English are expressed with adjectives and adverbs are conveyed through a set of derivational morphemes often referred to as *postbases* that attach to verb and noun roots as suffixes. Postbases can modify or extend a root, change the category of the root (as in the case of the morpheme *-er* changing ‘write’ from a verb to the noun ‘writer’), or modify the valiancy or argument structure of a root; there are estimated to be around 570 postbases in Unangam Tunuu (Johns 2014).

The content morphemes—nouns and verbs—are roots, but are not themselves free morphemes; noun and verb roots are obligatorily marked with suffixing stems. Number and person markings must agree with the inflections on the verb. Unangam Tunuu has a similar templatic word construction to that of Eskimo languages: root-derivational affixes-inflectional affixes=enclitic.

Ex. 5 **Intransitive:** (Eastern dialect)

*Aniqduudaŋ qidukuŋ*

(Berge 2005)

*Aniqdu-uda-ŋ*

*qidu-ku-ŋ*

Child-DIM-ABS

Cry-IND-3SG

‘The baby is crying’

Ex .6 **Transitive:** (Eastern dialect)

(Bergsland & Dirks 1981)

*Piitraŋ asxinuŋ kidukuŋ*

*Piitra-ŋ                  asxinu-ŋ                  kidu-ku-ŋ*

Peter-ABS                  girl-ABS                  help-IND-3SG

‘Peter is helping the girl’

Understanding the morphological structures and syntax of Unangam Tunuu is key to understanding how the language works to convey meaning. Such an understanding is crucial for the development of accurate language teaching/learning materials; the scope of this paper gives only a brief survey of these features.

#### 4.0 GRAMMATICAL MOOD

In this section I discuss the category of *grammatical mood*. I begin by providing a basic introduction to mood and its roots in the European languages. Then, I briefly survey the status of mood in Eskimo-Aleut languages before turning to Unangam Tunuu specifically. I critically evaluate the applicability of a mood analysis un UT by examining the empirical issues involved in supporting such an analysis.

##### 4.1 A basic introduction to grammatical mood

A way of understanding mood is to think of it as a grammatical strategy for allowing speakers to express their opinion on the relative factual nature of what is said in a phrase. This is devised in numerous ways across languages, but in European languages it tends to be marked through verbal inflection. Grammatical mood is found in many European languages including Romance languages such as Spanish and Italian, but also German (present day English has very limited mood, which is now mostly a historical artifact). The three most common moods are the *indicative*, *subjunctive* and the *imperative*; the indicative and subjunctive often have several tenses which can be expressed through different mood forms. The indicative mood in Spanish distinguishes what is believed to be true from what is doubted (Palmer 2001:2) from the perspective of the speaker of the sentence. Note that the indicative (glossed as IND) is a conjugated form of the verb *aprender* (to learn).

- (7) *Creo que aprende* (adapted from Palmer 2001:2)  
 I.believe that learn.3SG.PRES.IND  
 ‘I believe that he is learning’

The indicative form of *aprende*, with the verb-final ‘e’ expresses the speaker’s belief of the truth of the statement such that he is learning; this is much like a declarative statement. The following sentence uses the subjunctive mood (glossed as SUBJ) to indicate the speaker’s doubtfulness that he is learning. Note the verb-final ‘a’ is the subjunctive form of the verb.

- (8) *Dudo que aprenda*  
 I.doubt that learn.3SG.PRES.SUBJ  
 ‘I doubt that he’s learning’

In addition to expressing meanings involving doubt, the subjunctive mood is often used to talk about situations which have not happened yet, or which take place in one’s imagination. These can be wishes and hopes, or conditions in which one might think about the consequences of an action should a certain situation arise. Example (9) is from Latin.

- (9) *modo valeres* (adapted from Palmer 2001:13)  
 only be.well.2SG.IMPRF.SUBJ  
 ‘If only you were well’

In Italian, the present tense subjunctive form of a verb can be used for polite commands or requests. This form is less direct than the indicative—or imperative proper—which expresses an overt command.

- (10) *entri pure* (adapted from Palmer 2001:109)  
 enter.3SG.PRES.SUBJ if.you.please  
 ‘please come in’

Ideas associated with the subjunctive often fall into a grammatical category referred to as *irrealis*. *Irrealis* is in contrast to *realis*; *realis* statements are those which are presumed to be true from the speaker's perspective. *Realis* and *irrealis* are broad grammatical categories of a 'reality status' (Exter 2010; Elliot 2000). *Realis* can be used to express a declarative statement, or to express that the speaker holds something to be true continuously, or has happened in the past, or is currently happening. For these reasons, *realis* is often associated with the indicative mood. In the following example the indicative verb form is used in a declarative statement which asserts that what is said is known to be true continuously. Example (11) in Italian would be considered typical *realis*.

- (11) *So che Davide parla italiano* (Arnaiz 1998:55)  
 I.know that David speakes:IND Italian  
 'I know that David speaks Italian'

*Irrealis* may include events which have not happened, or have yet to happen, such as hypothetical and conditional statements. The following examples from French use a conditional (glossed as COND), and future (glossed as FUT) verb form. Since wanting something means this desire has not been realized, and the future event has not yet transpired, these statements are considered *irrealis*.

- (12) *Je voudrais du pain* (Howard 2009:117)  
 I want-COND some bread  
 'I would like some bread'

- (13) *S'il fait beau, je te rendrai visite* (Howard 2009 :114)  
 If it make-PRES nice, I you render-FUT visit  
 'If the weather is nice, I'll visit you'

Interrogatives, wishes or desires, and anticipated events are generally considered to be *irrealis*. *Realis* and *irrealis* are grammatical categories of a 'reality status' (Exter 2010, Elliot 2000), and are categories which encompass many kinds of speech acts that implicate assertions.

#### 4.2 'Mood' in Unangam Tunuu

As we have seen in the cases of European languages, mood is generally represented as an inflected form of the verb. In UT mood is indicated with specific morphemes which attach to verb roots and often come before person and number markings. While a considerable amount of literature exists on Eskimo-Aleut languages, and unique phenomena which is typical of these languages, an explication of the function, form and parameters of mood in this language family is sparse though it is a fundamental characteristic found among the languages—however, mood is better understood and studied among the 'Eskimo' languages than it is in Aleut (see De Reuse 1988; Jacobson 1990; Mithun 2000). The function of mood in Yupik and Inuktitut is assumed to be similar to that in Unangam Tunuu, but documentation to support this assumption has not yet been produced.

To adequately understand how mood in Aleut works, and to give a thorough description of such a core part of the morphology that makes up the verb stem, it is crucial to understand the semantic function of what has been glossed as 'mood' in Unangam Tunuu—and to explore the paradigms that the category of mood suggests. The first main observation is that, whereas a basic contrast between indicative and subjunctive verb categories is found in many European

languages, we find that while Unangam Tunuu has a specific morpheme labeled the indicative, it—curiously—does *not* have a corresponding subjunctive mood morpheme. Many moods in UT which might fall into an *irrealis* category, such as the optative, interrogative, conditional, and negations, form complicated and sometimes overlapping paradigms. Mood markers in UT tend to carry multiple meanings and serve multiple functions in the language—sometimes simultaneously, and sometimes not.

Bergsland (1997) identifies a variety of morphemes which are glossed with mood-like terms such as indicative, optative, imperative, conjunctive, and conditional. However, little explanation is given as to how these morphemes express mood meanings, as discussed above. The following is a summary of information gathered through various sources regarding mood in Unangam Tunuu.

One of the most common morphemes which has been referred to as a mood-marker, is -*ku-*, usually glossed as the indicative (IND). This morpheme is generally found in declarative statements and statements which refer to actions that occur at the present time when they are spoken.

(14) *awakuŋ* (Newhall, personal notes 2016)

*awa-ku-ŋ*  
work-IND-3SG  
'he is working'

(15) *sagakuqing*  
*saga-ku-qing*  
sleep-IND-1SG  
'I am sleeping'

It is also frequently found in clause chains on the head, or main clause, with subordinated clauses preceding it.

(16) (from Bergsland 1997:85)

*maarsalam waaġaqaa nidilim ilan txin aaġatalakaġim miigum boochukangin adaam aglakuġ.*

‘the marshal who came here has for a week without interruption been hauling barrels of beer to his place’

The above (Ex. 14, 15, 16) are examples of the use of the IND in UT, and in these examples the morpheme *-ku-* functions as we might expect. It is found in *realis* clauses as a statement about current or past events that are understood by the speaker to be true.

The negated form of the indicative is the partially fused morpheme *-laga-* or *-laka-* which refers to a state-of-affairs, or process or event “that does not happen at the time of speech” or did not take place “a short time before the act of speech” (Bergsland 1997:85).

(17) *ayuglakaġ*

*ayug-laka-ġ*

(Bergsland 1997:84)

Go.out-NEG-3SG

‘he did not go out’

(18) *Virraġ hilalakaġ*

*Viira-ġ hila-laka-ġ*

(Bergsland 1997:85)

Viira-ABS READ-NEG-3SG

‘Vera is not reading (but doing something else)’

While asserting the belief that what is said is a true statement is central to the function of an indicative mood-marker, in UT (and other languages) it also plays an essential role in denoting

tense/aspect, specifically related to the present, or referring to events that occurred the same day which the phrase is uttered.

The ‘conjunctive’ (glossed as CONJ) is considered to be a mood-marker in UT, but differs from other mood-markings in that it is not followed by—what are usually obligatory—case or number markings, nor does a verb in the conjunctive form have genitive (possessive) suffixes (Bergsland 1997). This marker is denoted with the suffixing morphemes *-lix* and *-six*, and is often reduced to simply ‘l’ in many words. The negated form is *-lakan-* (Bergsland 1997:86). The conjunctive is often found in clause chains as a subordinated clause, whereas the indicative is generally found on the verb of the main clause; this supports a mood analysis, but one where mood is simply a syntactic reflex with little or no semantic content. When the conjunctive is used in simple phrases—without other verbs—it usually implies a question e.g. *kiiin ngaan tunuḡtaltxin?* ‘who are you talking to/with?’ (Newhall personal notes 2016).

The conjunctive is often translated as a present state ‘to be’ form of the verb e.g. *asḡalix* ‘dying’, (Bergsland 1997:86), or *ilaagḡusalix* ‘to help’ (Newhall personal notes 2016). It may also be used to denote contemporaneous events where a verb marked with the CONJ is co-occurring with the event of the main verb. Note in Ex. 19 that the main verb is marked with the indicative *-ku-*.

(19) *qalix awakuqing*

*qa-lix*            *awa-ku-qing*                            (Berge personal communication 2015)

eat-CONJ        work-IND-2SG

‘while eating, I am working’ (‘I am eating and working’)

Another important function of the conjunctive is to convey a question, or *interrogative*. The conjunctive is found in numerous clauses of everyday speech.

(20) *Alqutaltxin?*

*Alqut-a-l-txin*

(Newhall personal notes 2016)

what/how-be-CONJ-2SG

‘how are you?’

Generally, the conjunctive relates to presently occurring events or states-of-affair, or, when used in clause chains, it is tense-less.

The ‘optative’ mood (glossed as OPT) is a suffix which, in the third person, follows the person marker but in the second or first person, the person marker may come after the optative – *ta*. It appears that some variation on marker placement exists between different dialects; Atkan speakers in the 1950s shortened the suffix to *-Vʔt*, or sometimes just *-t* (Bergsland 1997:91).

The phrase *haqaaʔtaʔ* ‘let him come/may he come’ (Bergsland 1997:91) has the singular anaphoric 3<sup>rd</sup> person marking *-ʔ* following the optative suffix *-ta*, whereas *asʔasxaaʔta* ‘let us kill him’ and *amaanulagaaʔt* ‘don’t go away’ (Bergsland 1997:91) the optative is the final morpheme.

Interestingly, the optative, when used in the second person, may express a wish, or may convey a command, especially when used with common requests such as ‘come,’ ‘sit’ or ‘eat’ and is a more impatient or forceful form than the imperative.

(21) *qaaŋt!* (Bergsland 1997:92)

*qa-aŋt*

eat-OPT

‘eat now!’

(22) *qada* (Bergsland 1997:92)

*qa-da*

eat-IMP

‘please eat’

The optative expresses a speaker’s “wish, permission or concession” (Bergsland 1997:92). Unlike many other mood-markers in UT, the optative does not relate temporal information—however, requests and wishes imply a category of *irrealis* as the actions have not occurred.

The ‘imperative’ is generally a command form of a verb, and in UT is most commonly marked with the suffix *-da*, *-aa*, or (Atkan dialect) *-ada*. This morpheme is found in many everyday phrases such as *qanguda* ‘(please) come in!’ *aqachaa* ‘bring it!’ ‘*sulagada* ‘don’t take it’ *hyutlagada* ‘don’t spill it’ (Bergsland 1997:96); note the negation *-laga-* in the latter two phrases. Many of these phrases have survived in Unangan communities, despite the overall extreme endangerment of Unangam Tunuu, due to their common use in child rearing. People as young as their late 30s may be familiar with and use such phrases in communities like St. Paul and St. George in the Pribilof Islands where the local populations are almost entirely Unangan. While these morphemes do not really refer to a specific time, they are generally used in reference to an immediate future.

### 4.3 Cases where mood meaning is inconsistent with utterance meaning

Some common mood markers, such as the indicative, appear unexpectedly in phrases where it is not predicted. For instance, the phrase I *want* to sleep (Pribilof dialect) includes the indicative morpheme *-ku-*: *sagatkuqing* (Newhall, personal notes 2016). We might suspect that an optative-like suffix would show up in such a statement rather than *-ku-*, as the indicative mood is generally equated with *realis* events which have taken place or are taking place; in this statement however, the speaker would not be sleeping as they have a desire to do so—meaning that they have not achieved this state and thus it is a statement of *irrealis*.

Other cases of seemingly *irrealis* statements—or those which take place in a psychological rather than physical realm—show up regularly in the literature with a clearly marked IND mood.

- (23) *ting adaluusanaaġiiġutamasuġtkuġ* (Fortescue 2002:265)  
*ting adalu-usa-naaġ-iiġuta-masu-ġt-ku-ġ*  
 1SG lie-do.with-try-again-perhaps-PERF-IND-3SG  
 ‘perhaps he has tried to fool me again’

Example (23) is one of the most commonly quoted and widely circulated phrases in UT because it showcases the polysynthetic nature and capacity of UT. The statement appears to be a speculative or reflective thought on the part of the speaker, and not a declarative statement. For the verb to be marked with the indicative is puzzling. What is also interesting is that phrases such as these which are clearly *irrealis* also show up in samples of Eskimoan languages, such as Greenlandic (see Ex. 24), with morphemes which have been labeled indicative.

- (24) *piniartuq immaqa nannu-mik tuqut-si-umaar-puq* (Fortescue 1998:16)  
 hunter.ABS perhaps bear-INST kill-ANT-FUT-3S.INDIC  
 ‘perhaps the hunter will kill a polar bear’

If the traditions of Aleut linguistics have inherited those established in Eskimoan linguistic tradition, then we can see that there are similarities with the tendency to gloss such morphemes with the indicative mood-marker. However, it does not seem that the precise reasons for such glossing have been fully described, and as such, the category of ‘mood’ appears to diverge from what has traditionally been called mood in European languages.

The ‘indicative’ marker *-ku-* multitasks in Unangam Tunuu. Among its capacities are the ability to grammatically encode a declarative statement, and mark headedness on the verb; headedness can be loosely defined as the “word which governs, or is subcategorized for” (Nichols 1986:57). The indicative also tends to refer to events which are presently occurring, are a general state of being (ie: the house is white), or very recently happened. In some phrases it appears to convey conviction or emphasize the certainty that an event will happen.

- (25) *waâgaâgan axtakuŕ*  
*waâga-aâgan a-ŕta-ku-ŕ* (Berge 2013:23)  
 Arrive-INT.3SG AUX-INFR-IND-3SG  
 ‘He is going to arrive.’

Though the above example is an *irrealis* statement in that the event has not definitively happened (yet), it is not equated with a subjunctive-like mood marker. Future events are inherently *irrealis* because they haven’t happened and they can only be postulated about. It is possible that the

indicative is being used to imply certainty that the arrival is imminent, however, since this sample lacks context it is difficult to make such an assessment.

#### 4.4 Typological irregularities in mood-marking

Some morpheme combinations become ossified or fused over time and the division of morphemes can seem unclear. In the case of *helicopter*, it may not be clear that this is a combination of *helix* originating from the Greek word for ‘spiral’ and *pteron*, from the Greek word for ‘wing’. These morphemes would not be considered productive as the word *helicopter* has been established in the language as one unit of meaning, as have words like *smog* derived from a combination of fog and smoke, *motel* from motor and hotel. These kinds of words are sometimes referred to as a *portmanteau*, and also frequently occur in polysynthetic languages such as Unangam Tunuu. The morpheme *-yugaaġ-* means ‘to V-for a while’ or ‘to V-a little’ (Bergsland 1997:105) and combines the morpheme *-yuug-* ‘a little’ with a morpheme *-aaġ-*, the original meaning of which has been forgotten; *-yugaaġ-* is no longer divisible into smaller units of meaning though originally it was two distinct morphemes.

Understanding the origins of some portmanteaus or fusions in Unangam Tunuu can be useful when determining the full scope of meaning or meanings of some common morphemes such as the negation *-laga-* or *-laka(g)-*. The *-ka-* is likely a form of the indicative *-ku-* but has become fused with the negation *-lag-* and is now a single morpheme *-laka-*. The indicative gives some strength of certainty to statements with this morpheme making it more declarative. *Sagalakaqing* is a definitive statement meaning ‘I am not sleeping,’ which is in contrast to the non-negated *sagakuqing* ‘I am sleeping’.

Curiously, when this morpheme is used—even though it is a fusion of a negation and indicative mood marker—in some cases *-laka-* or *-laga-* may be followed by another mood marker. In the example below the optative (glossed as OPT) follows the negation *--laga-* (*-laka-*) giving the word *sixilagaaqaan* a dynamic meaning.

(26) *sixi-laga-a-qa-an* (adapted from Berge 2013:20)

break-NEG.IND-OPT-AN-2SG.AN

STEM-NEG/MOOD-MOOD-AN-SPERSON/NUMBER/AN

‘don’t break it’

In other instances, the morpheme *-laka-* seems to do double duty with the fused form standing in as the negation *and* indicative mood with no additional mood markings succeeding the verb.

(27) *sixi-laka-giin* (Berge 2013:20)

break-NEG.IND-2SSG.AN

STEM-NEG/MOOD-SPERSON/NUMBER/ANA

‘you didn’t break it (just now)’

It is typologically irregular for mood-markers to show up in tandem on a verb; the paradigm of a mood category does not allow for more than one marker to be represented as each of these markers should have distinct meanings which contrast with one another to convey different information which relates to a similar semantic theme.

Another example of seemingly double mood-marking occurs in the word *alikuŋ* which translates to ‘still is’. The meaning is very logical if we break down the semantic meanings of each morpheme i.e. *a-lix* ‘to be/is’ *-ku-* suggesting something presently occurring, and *-ŋ*, 3SG

s/he/it. However, it is not possible for more than one mood marker to occupy a phrase as this would violate what essentially makes up the paradigm of corresponding, but distinctive moods.

- (28) *a-li-kuŋ*  
 be-CONJ-IND  
 ‘still is’

The stem(s) *-alikuŋ* can also be found in more complex words: *tachingtalikuŋ* ‘not yet’. This is suggestive evidence that one (or both) of these morphemes which have been glossed as mood is in fact not mood.

It is also typologically irregular for mood-markers to take up varying positions within the morphological template, however mood-makers in Unangam Tunuu may follow the verb, but are also found separated from the verb by other derivational morphemes; they may even attach to the end of a word after the inflectional morphemes and case makers as in the case of the imperative, *Hichaada*, ‘go out!’ (Bergsland 1997: 96), and optative *tutaqagiiŋta*, ‘may he listen’ (Bergsland 1997:91).

The indicative also appears in some conditional statements—something that is also unexpected. *Tugamikuun* ‘when he knocks’ (Bergsland 1997:99) is an example cited as a ‘conditional’ statement. It is unusual for a conditional statement to contain an imperative mood-marker because such a phrase is inherently hypothetical and thus *irrealis*. Bergsland (1997:99) gives examples where either –gu- or –ku- is used as in the following: *sugumizaan txin sihmiingan agikung* ‘if you take it, I will spank you’. We may conclude that a statement such as this is in fact meant as a promising threat and that the indicative is to imply certainty of punishment if the deed is done; however, it is unclear how the semantics of this morpheme work in the hypothetical context which is reported here. This further suggests that testing for mood in

UT must be done in controlled settings where context of the reported speech is clear, as is the intention of the speaker.

## 5.0 ELICITATION PLAN

In the previous section I identified a number of issues with a mood analysis of various morphemes in UT. One of the main issues is found in the field: the intimate connection between what meanings mood expresses and how this is conditioned by the speaker's perspective on the context of the utterance requires that these parameters were controlled for in collecting data on these morphemes. It is not clear that this was done in Bergsland's descriptions. In this section I outline how we may systematically uncover and test the meanings of these morphemes in order to determine the viability of a mood analysis.

The elicitation process should be simple enough for the speaker to intuit what is being asked of them; a possible method of elicitation could include use of graphics or storyboards. When using visual storyboards, a speaker is shown a series of sequential images which form the basis of a short story. Pre-made stories, such as those provided by Totem Fields are possible resources as these storyboards are already premade for elicitation of certain linguistic features and are open source for community and educational research purposes.

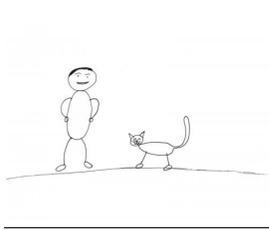
Choosing a storyboard which incorporates elements we would expect to fall into an *irrealis* category, such as hypothetical situations where characters must enter a mental realm to consider an issue, are ideal for determining mood markers which are non-declarative and thus not indicative. We would not expect to find the indicative form *-ku-* in statements where characters are uncertain about the truth of their statement. The following was borrowed from the Totem Fields Storyboard collection (Rolka & Cable 2014).

## 5.1 Storyboards

The following storyboards were borrowed from the Totem Fields website. The storyboard in Fig. 4 is designed to elicit modals, but the *irrealis* conditions which are central to this storyboard are adequate circumstances for the purpose of eliciting natural speech which would include mood-marking.

Fig. 4

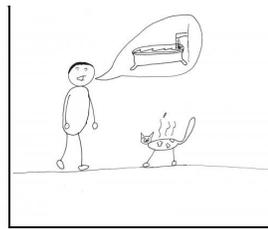
Slide 1.



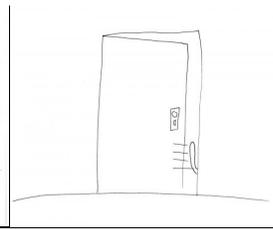
Slide 2.



Slide 3.



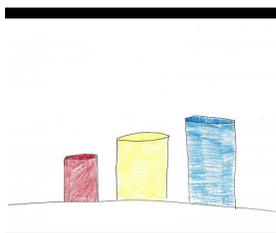
Slide 4.



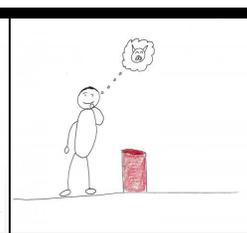
In slide 1-4 we establish the characters Tom and Mittens. Mittens is very dirty and smelly and Tom tells Mittens he must take a bath. Mittens takes off into the garage to hide.

Fig. 5

Slide 5.



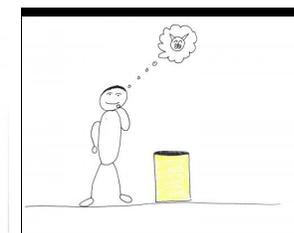
Slide 6.



Slide 7.



Slide 8.



In slides 5-8 we find that in the garage there are three baskets where Mittens could hide. Tom wonders if Mittens is in the red basket. He looks but does not find Mittens. Tom wonders if Mittens is in the yellow basket. This continues until Tom does find Mittens and dispatches him to the tub.

For each slide the native speaker would be asked to come up with a response that would correspond with the images—possibly providing a narration, or speaking in character. In slides 5, 6, 7, 8 Tom is uncertain where Mittens is and wonders whether he may be in one of the baskets. This uncertainty would suggest that any statement Tom would make about Mittens' location would be hypothetical and thus *irrealis*. Tom wonders if Mittens is in the red basket; this thought process takes place in the mental realm as indicated in slide 6 where 'thought bubbles' appear over Tom. We would not, therefore, expect to find the indicative mood marker *-ku-* in any of the statements by Tom in these slides, as the indicative is generally a declarative statement used when a person is sure of the factual nature of their statement.

While the simplistic nature of the slides may seem unsophisticated or even crude, using images which have very obvious and simple meaning is a good approach to elicitation as it avoids elaborate interpretation or confusion regarding the content of the images. Speakers should not struggle to comprehend what is being asked of them, rather, they should easily intuit the target dialogue as this will produce more reliable data and avoid wearisome elicitation sessions.

Performing skits in an effort to elicit language from speakers, is also an effective method. This can sometimes be entertaining for the the fluent speaker(s) who may offer an abundance of language options for addressing the circumstances performed before them. Such skits can be easily arranged with little preparation. The obvious nature of the intentions of the 'characters' should always be clear. One possible skit could involve someone knocking at a door, and

someone on the inside wondering or guessing who might be knocking at the door. Again, since any utterance by the person on the inside would be one of uncertainty, we would not expect this person to use a statement involving the indicative. Testing the paradigm could involve a reveal at the end when the person on the inside opens the door to exclaim who *is* at the door, at this point we would expect use of the indicative.

## 6.0 CONCLUSION

While there are compelling reasons to assume these markings are mood—or at least mood-like—there are inconsistencies with how these morphemes work in UT from how mood is known to function in other well documented European languages. The need for these markings to be thoroughly tested in controlled settings is evident. Past documentation of these markings show inconsistencies in glossing and translation, making the claim that mood is indeed a category in UT difficult. In examples (29) and (30), *-ku-* is glossed as ‘present’ (PRES), referring to a category of tense rather than a category of mood.

(29) *Piitra-m had-a-n huya-ku-u* (Bergsland 1997:127)  
 Peter-SG-REL direction-3A-LOC go-PRES-SG-3A  
 ‘Peter is going toward him’

(30) *tayaġu-ġ awa-ku-ġ* (Bergsland 1997:126)  
 man-SG.ABS work-PRES-SG  
 ‘the man is working’

It is possible that these markers have been misunderstood by linguists, who have struggled with this set of morphemes and their various and compact set of functions in the language.

To the linguistic neophyte—or even seasoned linguists unfamiliar with the traditions of Eskimo-Aleut linguistics—the nature of mood markers in this language family can seem confounding. Due to the significant differences between the mood paradigm in Unangam Tunuu compared to mood paradigms and functions in European languages, it is not enough to label this category of morphemes ‘mood’ without explicit and extensive description of how the paradigm

is composed, and what the semantic scope of each morpheme related to this category entails, as the form and function of this set of morphemes is different enough from traditional notions of mood that one cannot intuit the values or relationships of these markers which have been glossed as mood.

It is apparent that the function of these morphemes have a central and crucial role in Unangam Tunuu on a morphological level, syntactic level, and semantic level. Mood markers in UT minimally allow for the subordinating of multiple clauses within clause chains, denote tense and/or aspect, assist in formulation of indirect statements to facilitate polite conversation, variously affect illocutionary force or speech acts, promote topics within clauses, and contrast *realis* or declarative statements with *irrealis* statements. This list likely grievously underestimates the scope of what has been labeled ‘mood’ in UT. It seems clear that this category of morphemes is a crucial point of investigation for understanding the general nature of this language, and wider related language family.

Since both the conjunctive and indicative have been considered common mood-markers in Unangam Tunuu, but both seem to occur in a multitude of clauses which we would not expect to find such markers, I believe it is imperative that the category of mood in Unangam Tunuu—and possibly other Eskimo-Aleut languages—be strategically investigated and tested for. If ‘mood’ is to be the term for this category of morphemes, then explicit descriptions must be made to describe the similarities *and* differences of mood in Unangam Tunuu as compared to mood as it is understood for European languages as it is clear that the same definitions are not adequate, and are in many ways misleading.

Adequate description of languages which fall far outside the familiar typology of in Indo-European languages may require new terminology, and new sets of categories which are capable

of addressing the specific nature and phenomena encountered in languages such as those found in North America. Reliance on European linguistic traditions and definitions for languages encountered in the Americas may obscure the unique linguistic phenomena found among languages which have little in common with European languages. When categories such as ‘mood’ are forced onto phenomena discovered in non-European languages because of noticeable similarities, such categories are forced into semantic obscurity as the parameters of what this term means is expanded to cover an impossible range of potential phenomena, thus rendering the term virtually useless. It is my hope that the set of morphemes, which are currently glossed with mood-like terms in Unangam Tunuu, will be thoroughly and critically examined, and that—if necessary—new and appropriate terms be employed in the description of this category.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following is a list of some abbreviations found in this paper and which are frequently referenced in other linguistic sources or publications.

ABS = absolutive, ALL = allative, AN = anaphoric, ANTIPAS = antipassive, APP = appositional, AUX = auxiliary, CAUS = causative, CONJ = conjunctive, COP = copula, EV = evidential, DAT = dative, DIM = diminutive, FUT = future, GEN = general, HAB = habitual, INCH = inchoative, IND = indicative, INF = infinitive, INFER = inferential, INT = intentional, INTER = interrogative, INTRANS = intransitivizer, LOC = locative, NEG = negative, NOMZ = nominalizer, OPT = optative, PART = participial, PERF = perfective, PL = plural, POS = possessive, POSM = possessum, PRT = particle, REL = relative, SG = singular

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