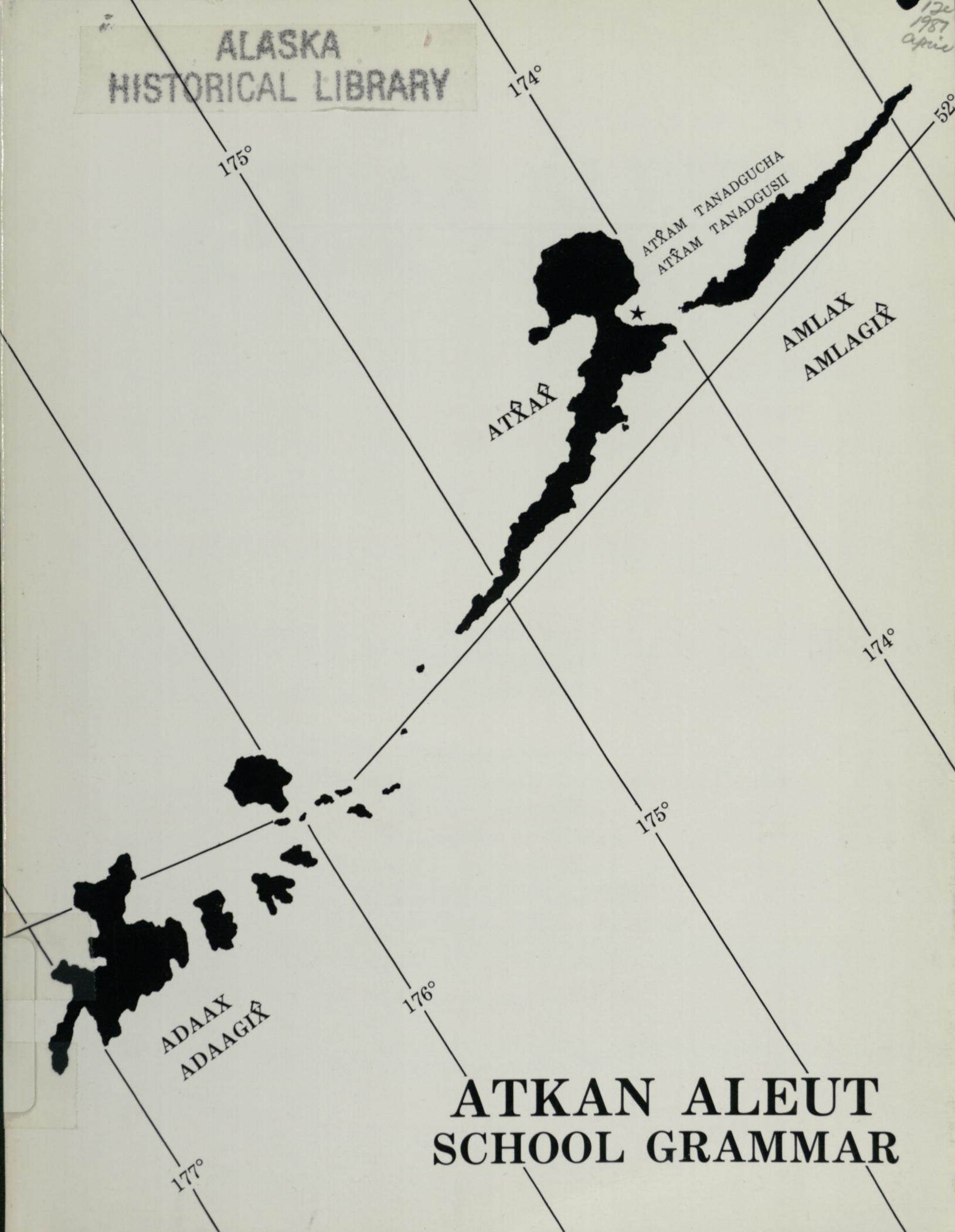


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**ATKAN ALEUT  
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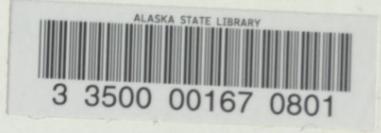


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## PREFACE

This is a tentative grammar, designed for use in the high school of Atka and for other people interested in the Aleut language. It does not pretend to cover all the features or rules of Atkan Aleut, only what we think are the most important for the young Aleuts to keep up the language for the future.

Like the Atkan Aleut-English Dictionary printed in 1980 by the National Bilingual Materials Development Center, the grammar is ultimately based upon information furnished by the people of Atka over a long period of time: in 1950, 1952 and 1971, when the Senior Author visited Atka (with grants from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society, 1950 and 1952, and from the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities, 1952 and 1971) and got invaluable information from the late William Henry Dirks, Sen. (1882-1965) and his son Larry, and the late Cedor Leonty Snigaroff (1890-1965) and his daughter Vera, and from others; in 1973, in connection with the Atka Bilingual-Bicultural Education Program, then under the Alaska State-Operated School System, when we worked together with Nadesta Golley and Sally (Snigaroff) Swetsoff, and got invaluable information from many older people of the village, and so also later on, in connection with work sponsored by the Division of Rural Education Affairs' National Bilingual Materials Development Center, University of Alaska. Some few sentence examples are taken from Rev. L. Salamatov's translation of the Gospels (St. Mark, St. Luke, St. John) from about 1860.

In the course of these thirty years the language has been changing to a considerable extent (all languages change in the course of time). In the grammar, the more important ones of the differences between the old and the modern language are pointed out, but all could not be mentioned.

The grammar presupposes reading knowledge of Atkan Aleut but really no previous knowledge of grammar in general. The rules are given in as simple language as possible, with a minimum of technical terminology, and to illustrate the rules the simplest possible examples are used. Grammar, however, is an abstract matter, so to be of any benefit even the present simple exposition will demand work and concentration.

Our thanks go to all the Atkan collaborators, and to the staff of the National Bilingual Materials Development Center for correcting our English style and for seeing to the printing of the grammar.

Anchorage, Alaska  
July 25, 1981

Knut Bergsland  
Moses Dirks

## SURVEY OF THE LETTERS AND THE SOUNDS

Alphabet:

a, aa, b, ch, d, (e), f, g, x,  
 ġ, ȡ, h, i, ii, (j), k, l, hl,  
 m, hm, n, hn, ng, hng, (o), p,  
 q, r, s, t, u, uu, v, w, hw, y,  
 hy, z

(The letters e, j, and o are used only in names or loanwords.)

	<u>Labial</u>		<u>Dental</u>		<u>Palatal</u>		<u>Velar</u>		<u>Uvular</u>		<u>Glottal</u>
<u>Consonants</u>	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
<u>Stopped</u>	(p b)		t (d)		ch		k (g)		q		
<u>Fricative</u>	(f v)		d		s z		x g		ȡ ġ		
<u>Nasal</u>	hm m		hn n				hng ng				
<u>Lateral</u>			hl l								
<u>Trilled</u>			(r)								
<u>Glide</u>	hw w				hy y						h

Vowels, Short/Long

<u>high</u>	u/uu	i/ii	
<u>(mid)</u>	(o/oo)	(e/ee)	
<u>low</u>			a/aa

The consonants under 1 are voiceless or aspirated (h), those under 2 voiced (more or less).

Sounds in parentheses ( ) are found only in loanwords. The difference between the stopped d and g (in loanwords) and the fricative d and g is fluctuating and not indicated in the orthography.

While the letter combination ng indicates a single sound, the voiced velar nasal, the combination of the sounds n and g is written n'g, as in gan'giȡ 'winter', and the combination of n and ng is written n'ng, as in un'ngulakan 'be not becoming'.

# ATKAN ALEUT SCHOOL GRAMMAR

## Chapter 1 NUMBER

1.1 Nouns, the names of human beings, animals, and things, in Aleut have three grammatical numbers:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
hlaḡ a boy/the boy	hlax two boys	hlas boys/the boys
qawaḡ a sea lion	qawax two sea lions	qawas sea lions
ukinaḡ a knife	ukinax two knives	ukinas knives
asxinuḡ a girl/the girl	asxinux two girls	asxinus girls/the girls
haanuḡ a red salmon	haanux two red salmon	haanus red salmon
asxuḡ a nail	asxux two nails	asxus nails
asḡudgiḡ a wench	asḡudgix two wenches	asḡudgis wenches
chagiḡ a halibut	chagix two halibut	chagis halibut
biilkiḡ a fork	biilkix two forks	biilkis forks

In the modern language, the dual number is not much used. The numerals ataqan 'one', alax 'two', qankus 'three', etc. are found in Chapter 9.

1.2 The endings are -ḡ for the singular, -x for the dual, -s for the plural, and the stems end in a vowel:

	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Ending</u>
Stem vowel a:	hla- qawa- ukina- } +	{ -ḡ sg. -x du. -s pl.
Stem vowel u:	asxinu- haanu- asxu- } +	{ -ḡ sg. -x du. -s pl.



(The English it refers to nothing.)

2.3 A predicate can have two or more subjects conjoined by ama 'and'. For example:

Mariiyaŋ ama Piitraŋ hilakux (dual, modern plural: hilakus).  
Mary and Peter are reading.  
Mariiyaŋ ama Piitraŋ ama Viiraŋ hilakus.  
Mary and Peter and Vera are reading.

Two singular subjects conjoined by asxuunulax 'or', have the predicate in the singular. For example:

Mariiyaŋ asxuunulax Piitraŋ qungtugikuŋ.  
Mary or Peter is snoring (only one of them is).

2.4 The predicate usually includes a dating in relation to the time of speech. For example:

Hlaŋ mikakuŋ. The boy is playing: now, at the time when I am telling you about the boy playing.  
Hlaŋ mikanaŋ. The boy played, was playing: sometime in the past, before the time when I am telling you about it.

Here the time endings are as follows:

present	-ku-	} + number
past	-na-	

The verb stem mika- ends in a vowel, but there are also, in the older language, verb stems ending in a consonant (cf. 1.3), for example:

present	aygagikuŋ	he/she is walking
past	aygagnaŋ	he/she was walking, walked
present	hitikuŋ	he/she is going out, just went out
past	hitnaŋ	he/she went out (in the past)

Thus, in the older language, consonant stems have an additional vowel i before -ku-, but not before -na-. In the modern language, they often have the i also before -na-: aygaginaŋ, hitinaŋ, so they have become stems in i: aygagi-, hiti-.

In Aleut the verbs have also many other time forms, to be treated in 11-12.

2.5 A predicate may also be negated:

Hlaŋ mikalakaŋ.	The boy is not playing.
Hlas mikalakaŋis (old), or mikalakas.	The boys are not playing.
Hlaŋ aygaglakaŋ or aygagilakaŋ.	The boy is not walking.
Hlas hitlakaŋis (old) or hitilakas.	The boys do not go out.

The endings for the negated present are as follows:

		<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
old	}	-lakaŋ	-lakaŋix	-lakaŋis
modern			(-lakax)	-lakas

(In the old language -lakaŋ is a consonant stem, cf. 1.3).

If you put the sentences above in the past, you get in the old language:

Hlaŋ mikanaŋulax.	The boy did not play.
Hlas mikanazulax.	The boys did not play.
Hlaŋ aygagnaŋulax.	The boy did not walk.
Hlas aygagnazulax.	The boys did not walk.

Here you add the negation -ulax to the simple form:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
simple past	-na-ŋ	-na-x	-na-s
negated	-na-ŋ-ulax	-na-g-ulax	-na-z-ulax

In the modern language you have:

Hlaŋ mikanaŋulaŋ.	The boy did not play.
Hlas mikanaŋulas.	The boys did not play.
Hlaŋ aygag(i)naŋulaŋ.	The boy did not walk.
Hlas aygag(i)naŋulas.	The boys did not walk.

Here the negation is -ŋula- followed by the number endings:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
simple past	-na-ŋ	-na-s
negated	-na-ŋula-ŋ	-na-ŋula-s

The negation will be treated in more detail together with the different time forms etc. in 11-14.

Note that the negation often turns the meaning into the opposite, for example:

Chāayuŋ iŋamanakuŋ.	The tea is good.
Chaayuŋ iŋamanalakaŋ.	The tea is no good = bad.
Ulaŋ tagadakuŋ.	The house is new.
Ulaŋ tagadalakaŋ.	The house is not new = old.

2.6 The sentences in 2.1-5 are "declarative", statements of some sort. A sentence may also be a question, with or without the question word ii and a rising tone (on question words see 8), for example:

Hlaŋ mikal ii?	Is the boy playing?
Hlaŋ mikanaŋ ii?	Did the boy play?
Hlaŋ mikalakan ii?	Isn't the boy playing?
Hlaŋ mikanaŋulaŋ ii?	Didn't the boy play?

Aygaxs (aygagil) ii?	Is he/she walking?
Aygagnaŝ (aygaginaŝ) ii?	Did he/she walk?
His (hitil) ii?	Did he/she go out (now)?
Hitnaŝ (hitinaŝ) ii?	Did he/she go out (then)?
Ayglakan ii?	Isn't he/she walking?
Hitlakan (hitilakan) ii?	Didn't he/she go out (right now)?

As the examples show, to a declarative sentence in the present (-ku-, neg. -laka(ŝ)-) usually corresponds a question in the so-called conjunctive, which after a vowel stem has the ending -l (older -lix): mika-l, after a consonant stem the ending -s (older-six): aygax-s, his (the stem consonant t disappears before -s), or the negative -lakan after all sorts of stems. The conjunctive has no numbers.

In a question, the past in -na- simply has the ii added and/or the appropriate intonation.

The matter will be treated in more detail in connection with the various time forms (11-12). Later on also commands and wishes will be discussed (14).

2.7 The predicate can tell many different things about the subject, depending upon the nature of the subject, for example:

Activity of living beings:

Hlaŝ mikakuŝ.	The boy is playing.
Asxinas hilakus.	The girls are reading.
Qawaŝ tunukuŝ.	The sea lion is roaring.
Qagmangiŝ igaŝtakuŝ.	The emperor goose is flying.

State of living beings or things:

Piitraŝ saŝakuŝ.	Peter is sleeping.
Quganas husakus.	The rocks are rolling.
Kdaŝ hulmakuŝ.	The ice is melting.
Ukinaŝ iŝduxtakuŝ.	The knife is rusty.
Qawaŝ sadagikuŝ.	The sea lion is fat.
Qawaŝ sadaglakaŝ.	The sea lion is not fat = skinny.

Age:

Tayaŝuŝ aliŝikuŝ.	The man is old.
Ulaŝ tagadakuŝ.	The house is new.
Ulaŝ tagadalakaŝ.	The house is old.

Quality:

Asxinuŝ lunakuŝ.	The girl is trustworthy.
Ayŝaasis iŝamanakus.	The boats are good.

Color:

Aamgiŝ uluudakuŝ.	The blood is red.
Saahmlas quhmakus.	The eggs are white.

Size:

Qawaŝ angunakuŝ.	The sea lion is big.
Iŝchiŝ angunalakaŝ = chuqudakuŝ.	The worm is not big = is small.
Hyaagaŝ adukuŝ.	The log is long.
Karandaasiŝ adulakaŝ.	The pencil is short.
Stuuluŝiŝ slagikuŝ.	The table is wide.
Kdaŝ sxiixtukuŝ.	The ice is thick (flat object).
Qiduŝ tumtatukuŝ.	The rope is thick (round object).
Iŝchiŝ iŝiŝidakuŝ.	The worm is thin.

Quantity:

Slukas hasinakus.	The seagulls are numerous.
	There are many seagulls.
Slukas hasinalaka(ŝi)s.	The seagulls are not numerous.
	There are few seagulls.

Time:

Vaskrisiiniyaŝ angalikuŝ.	Sunday is today.
	It is Sunday today.

2.8 Many Aleut words (stems) are used both as nouns and as verbs, for example as (1) subject or (2) predicate:

(1) Chaayuŝ iŝamanakuŝ.	The tea is good.
(2) Viiraŝ chaayukuŝ.	Vera is drinking tea.
(1) Hmiichiŝ quhmakuŝ.	The ball is white.
(2) Asxinas hmiichikus.	The girls are playing ball.
(1) Aliŝiŝ (Aliŝ) qungtugikuŝ.	The old man is snoring.
(2) Tayaŝuŝ aliŝikuŝ.	The man is old.
(1) Suganŝis xaadagnaŝikus.	The young people are running.
(2) Piitraŝ suganŝikuŝ.	Peter is young.

A noun may also function (3) as a predicate together with the verb a-'to be', for example:

(3) Piitraŝ suganŝiŝ akuŝ.	Peter is a young man.
(3) Piitraŝ uchiitilaŝ akuŝ.	Peter is a teacher.
cf. (2) Piitraŝ uchiitilakuŝ.	Peter acts as a teacher, does the teaching.
(2) Qichitiŝ iŝamanakuŝ.	The money is good = valid.
(3) Qichitiŝ iŝamanaŝ akuŝ.	Money is something good.
(2) Qichitiŝ iŝamanalakaŝ.	The money is no good = invalid.
(3) Qichitiŝ iŝamanaŝulax akuŝ.	Money is something no good, an evil.

A predicate noun does not necessarily agree in number with the subject, for example:

<u>subject</u>	<u>predicate noun</u>	<u>verb</u>
Anŝaŝinas (pl.) The people were Christians.	kamgadaŝ (sg.)	anas (pl.)

### Chapter 3 OBJECT

3.1 In the following sentences there are two nouns. The first one serves as the subject, the actor of the action indicated by the predicate verb. The second one serves as the object, the result of the action, or the person, or thing affected by the action:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Object</u>	<u>Verb</u>
Hlaḥ The boy is making a play boat.	suunaadaḥ	agukuḥ.
Hlas The boys are making a play boat.	suunaadaḥ	agukus.
Piitraḥ Peter is helping John.	Ivaanaḥ	kidukuḥ.
Ivaanaḥ John is helping Peter.	Piitraḥ	kidukuḥ.
Asxinuḥ The girl is helping the boys.	hlas	kidukuḥ.
Hlas The boys are helping the girl.	asxinuḥ	kidukus.
Hlaḥ The boy made a couple of play boats.	suunaadax	agunaḥ.
Asxinux Two girls helped the boy.	hlaḥ	kidunax.

The predicate verb agrees in number with the subject noun, irrespective of the number of the object noun:

	<u>subject</u>	<u>object</u>	<u>predicate</u>
singular	-ḥ	du. -x	-ḥ
plural	-s	pl. -s	-s
dual	-x	sg. -ḥ	-x

3.2 If the subject is known beforehand, it may be left out as in the case of a predicate without an object (2.2), for example:

<u>subject</u>	<u>object</u>	
Piitraḥ	Ivaanaḥ kidukuḥ.	Peter is helping John.
Asxinus	Ivaanaḥ kidukuḥ.	He is helping John.
	hlaḥ kidukus.	The girls are helping the boy.

Hlaḥ kidukus. They are helping the boy.

If the object is known beforehand, the object word may be left out, but then the predicate gets an ending which shows the number of the object, and the subject noun has in the singular the ending -m (the so-called relative case), for example:

<u>subject</u>	<u>object</u>	
Piitraḥ	Ivaanaḥ kidukuḥ.	Peter is helping John.
Piitram	kidukuu.	Peter is helping him.
Asxinus	hlaḥ kidukus.	The girls are helping the boy.
Asxinus	kidukuu.	The girls are helping him.
Piitraḥ	asxinus kidukuḥ.	Peter is helping the girls.
Piitram	kidukungis.	Peter is helping them.
Asxinus	hlas kidukus.	The girls are helping the boys.
Asxinus	kidukungis.	The girls are helping them.
Asxinuḥ	hlax kidukuḥ.	The girl is helping the two boys.
Asxinum	kidukukix.	The girl is helping them (two).
Hlax	asxinuḥ kidukux.	The two boys are helping the girl.
Hlax	kidukuu.	The two boys are helping her.
Hlaḥ	suunaadaḥ agunaḥ.	The boy made a play boat.
Hlam	aguqaa.	The boy made it.
Hlaḥ	suunaadax agunaḥ.	The boy made a couple of play boats.
Hlam	aguqakix.	The boy made them (two).
Hlaḥ	suunaadas agunaḥ.	The boy made play boats.
Hlam	aguqangis.	The boy made them.

Thus, if the object word is included in the sentence, the predicate shows the number of the subject:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
present	-kuḥ	-kux	-kus
past	-naḥ	-nax	-nas

The subject will have the same number endings, in the so-called absolute case: sg. -ḥ, du. -x, pl. -s.

If, on the contrary, the object word is not included, the predicate shows the number of the object:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
present	-kuu	-kukix	-kungis
past	-qaa	-qakix	-qangis

The number of the subject is then shown by the subject word itself, in the so-called relative case: sg. -m, du. -x, pl. -s. (In the dual and plural, the absolute and relative cases are alike.) Names ending in ii, like Andrii (Andrew), have a relative form in -gan: Andriigan (cf. 5.5).

If the subject in the relative case is left out, the number of the subject will be included in the predicate, for example:

Piitram kidukuu. Kidukuu.	Peter is helping him (or her). He/She is helping him/her.
Asxinus kidukuu. Kidukungis.	The girls are helping him/her. They are helping him/her.
Piitram kidukungis. Kidukungis.	Peter is helping them. He is helping them.
Asxinus kidukungis. Kidukungis.	The girls are helping them. They are helping them.
Hlam aguqakix. Aguqakix.	The boy made them (two). He/She made them (two).
Hlax aguqaa. Aguqakix.	The two boys made it. They (two) made it.

The negated forms are as follows:

Present:	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
old	-lakağa	-lakağikix	-lakağis, -lakağingis
modern	-lakaa		-lakangis, -lakakix
Past:	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
old	-qaa(y)ulax	-qakigulax	-qangizulax
modern	-qağulaa		-qağulangis, -qağulakix

For example:

Piitram kidulakağa (kidulakaa). Peter is not helping him.  
Hlam suqangizulax (suqağulangis). The boy did not take them.

In the conjunctive (2.5), the old forms are as follows:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
vowel +	-lka	-lkix	-lkis
consonant +	-sxa	-sxix	-sxis
negative	-lakanka	-lakankix	-lakankis

In the modern language, one mostly uses -kan, neg. -lakakan (from Eastern Aleut) without distinction of number. For example:

Piitram kidukan (kidulka) ii? Is Peter helping him?

Piitram kidulakakan (kidulakankis) ii? Isn't Peter helping them?

3.3 As indicated in 3.1, a noun as an object may indicate the product of an action, or the person or thing affected by the action. For example:

Hlağ suunaadağ agukuğ.	The boy is making a play boat.
Asxinuğ hlağ kidukuğ.	The girl is helping the boy.
Kuusxiğ kriisağ asğatinağ.	The cat killed a rat (or the rat).
Quganağ ukuusxiğ qadgikuğ.	The rock went through the window.

An object noun may also indicate the place of an activity, for example:

Asxinuğ chalikuğ.	The girl is fishing (no object).
Asxinuğ chiğanağ chalikuğ.	The girl is fishing in the creek.
Asxinum chalikuu.	The girl is fishing in it.
Tayağuğ hangakuğ.	The man is ascending (no object).
Tayağuğ qayağ hangakuğ.	The man is ascending the hill.
Tayağum hangakuu.	The man is ascending it.

Some verbs (with certain endings) can have both an object of place and an ordinary object, for example:

<u>subject</u>	<u>object</u>	<u>place</u>	
Tayağuğ	aniqduğ	qayağ	hangaasakuğ.
The man is ascending	the hill	with the child.	(Cf. 20.1.)
Tayağuğ	aniqduğ	qayağ	hangachğikuğ.
The man lets (or makes)	the child	ascend the hill.	(Cf. 18.6(2))

3.4 An object of the verb hit- combines with a predicate noun (cf. 2.7), for example:

<u>subject</u>	<u>object</u>	<u>predicate noun</u>	<u>verb</u>
Anğağinas	Piitrağ	tukuğ	hitikus.
The people made	Peter	a leader.	
Anğağinas		tukuğ	hitikuu.
The people made	him	a leader.	
cf. Piitrağ		tukuğ	akuğ.
Peter is a leader (or a rich man).			
Piitrağ			tukukuğ.
Peter is rich.			
	Laavkiğ	tukuğulax	hitzakus.
They make the store	poor (by buying the	insufficient supplies).	
Piitrağ	saraayağ	spaalnağ	hitnağ.
Peter turned the shed	into a bedroom.		
Piitram		spaalnağ	hitigaa (hitxaa).

Peter turned it into a bedroom.

3.5 The word as (old asix) 'with', 'together with', takes an object, for example:

Viiraḥ Mariiyaḥ as mikakuḥ.  
 Mariiyaḥ as mikakuḥ.  
 Viiram as mikakuu.  
 As mikakuu.

Vera is playing with Mary.  
 She is playing with Mary.  
 Vera is playing with her.  
 She is playing with her.

## Chapter 4

### REFERENCE TO THE SPEAKER AND THE PERSONS SPOKEN TO

4.1 The subject of a sentence may represent

- (1) the speaker, the so-called grammatical first person (1.p.)
- (2) the person or persons spoken to, the so-called second person (2.p.)
- (3) another person, a so-called third person (3.p.), for example:

1.p. sg.	Hilakuq.	I am reading.
2.p. sg.	Hilakuḥt.	You(one) are reading.
pl.	Hilakuḥtxichix.	You(pl.) are reading.
du.	Hilakuḥtxidix.	You(two) are reading.
3.p. sg.	Viiraḥ hilakuḥ.	Vera is reading.
	Hilakuḥ.	She/He is reading.
pl.	Asxinus hilakus.	The girls are reading.
	Hilakus.	They are reading.
du.	Hlax hilakux.	The two boys are reading.
	Hilakux.	They(two) are reading.

The so-called 1.p. plural, that is, the speaker together with one or several other persons (possibly the person or persons spoken to) may be shown as a subject in two ways:

- (a) by the same form as the 3.p. plural:  
 Hilakus. We (or they) are reading.
- (b) by a form with the ending -lga- (before the time ending) which removes the grammatical subject:  
 Hilalgakuḥ. "It is being read" = We are reading.
- cf. also Piitraḥ as ayuxtanaq. I went out (in a boat) with Peter, Peter and I went out.

The endings for the different subject persons are as follows:

	<u>1.p.</u>	<u>2.p.</u>	<u>3.p. (=number)</u>
singular	-q	-ḥt	-ḥ
dual		-ḥtxidix	-x
plural	-s	-ḥtxichix	-s

The negated forms:

	<u>1.p.</u>	<u>2.p.</u>	<u>3.p.</u>
singular	-lakaq	-lakaḥt	-lakaḥ
dual		-lakaḥtxidix	-lakaḥix
plural	-lakaḥis, -lakas	-lakaḥtxichix	-lakaḥis, -lakas

Past:		<u>1.p.</u>	<u>2.p.</u>	<u>3.p.</u>
singular	-naġulaq	-naġulaġt	-naġulax	
dual		-naġulaġtxidix	-naġulax	
plural	-nazulas, -naġulas	-naġulaġtxichix	-nazulax, -naġulas	

For example:

Hilalakaq.  
Haqanaġulaġtxichix.

I am not reading.  
You (pl.) did not come (at that time in the past).

The conjunctive forms:

Vowel stem +:

	<u>1.p.</u>	<u>2.p.</u>	<u>3.p.</u>
singular	-ting	-t	} -l, older -lix
dual		-txidix	
plural	-tingin	-txichix	
old	-timas		

Consonant stem +:

	<u>1.p.</u>	<u>2.p.</u>	<u>3.p.</u>
singular	-siting	-sit	} -s, older -six
dual		-sitxidix	
plural	-sitingin,	-sitxichix	
old	-sitimas		

Negated:

	<u>1.p.</u>	<u>2.p.</u>	<u>3.p.</u>
singular	-lakating	-lakat	} -lakan
dual		-lakatxidix	
plural	-lakatingin,	-lakatxichix	
old	-lakatimas		

For example:

Chaayuutut ii?  
Qungtuksiting ii?

Do you want to drink tea?  
Did I snore (right now)?

(For other time forms see 11-14.)

4.2 Also verbs with a 1.p. or 2.p. subject may of course have an object, for example:

Suunaadaġ agukuġ.  
Ivaanaġ kidukuġt.  
Hlas kidukuġtxichix.

I am making a play boat.  
You (sg.) are helping John.  
You (pl.) are helping the boys.

If the object is known beforehand, the object word may be left out, but then the number of the object is shown by the ending of the predicate (cf. 3.2), for example:

Suunaadaġ agunaġ.  
Aguġang.  
Suunaadaġ agunaġ.  
Aguġaking.  
Suunaadas agunaġ.  
Aguġaning.  
Hlaġ kidukuġt.  
Kidukuun.  
Kiduġaan.  
Hlax kidukuġt.  
Kidukukin.  
Hlas kidukuġt.  
Kidukut.

I made a play boat.  
I made it.  
I made a couple of play boats.  
I made them (two).  
I made play boats.  
I made them.  
You (sg.) are helping the boy.  
You are helping him/her.  
You helped him/her.  
You are helping the two boys.  
You are helping them (two).  
You are helping the boys.  
You are helping them.

If, however, the subject is a 1.p. or 2.p. plural or dual, the number of the object is not specified:

Suunaadaġ agunas.  
Suunaadas agunas.  
Aguġangin.  
In the older language:  
Aguġamas.

We made a play boat.  
We made play boats.  
We made it or them.  
We made it or them.

Hlaġ/Hlas kidukuġtxichix.  
Kidukuchix.  
Hlaġ/Hlas kidukuġtxidix.  
Kidukudix.

You (pl.) are helping the boy/the boys.  
You are helping him/them.  
You (two) are helping the boy/the boys.  
You are helping him/them.

The endings are as follows:

Subject 1.p.	sg.	pl.		
Object	sg.	-ng	} -ngin or -mas	
	du.	-king		
	pl.	-ning		
Subject 2.p.	sg.	du.	pl.	
Object	sg.	-Vn*	} -dix	-chix
	du.	-kin		
	pl.	-t		

\*/ -Vn means long vowel + n : -kuun, -qaan

The endings for the negated forms:

Present:

Subject 1.p.	sg.	pl.	
Object	sg.	-lakaġing, -lakang	} -lakaġingin, -lakangin, -lakaġmas (old)
	du.	-lakaġiking	
	pl.	-lakaġning	

		-lakaning		
Subject 2.p.	sg.		du.	pl.
Object	sg.	-lakaġiin	} -lakaġdix	-lakaġchix, -lakachix
	du.	-lakaan		
	pl.	-lakaġikin		
		-lakaġit, -lakat		

Past, old forms:

Subject 1.p.	sg.		pl.	
Object	sg.	-qangulax	} -qamazulax, -qanginulax	
	du.	-qakingulax		
	pl.	-qaningulax		
Subject 2.p.	sg.		du.	pl.
Object	sg.	-qaanulax	} qadigulax	qachigulax
	du.	-qakinulax		
	pl.	-qatulax		

Past, modern forms:

Subject 1.p.	sg.		pl.	
Object	sg.	-qaġulang	} -qaġulangin	
	pl.	-qaġulaning		
Subject 2.p.	sg.		pl.	
Object	sg.	-qaġulaan	} qaġulachix	
	pl.	-qaġulat		

For example:

Haqatalakaġing (haqatalakang). I don't know it/him/her.  
Suqachigulax (suqaġulachix). You (pl.) did not take it.

The conjunctive forms:

Subject 1.p.	sg.		pl.	
+ object		-kating		-katingin
negative		-lakakating		-lakakatingin
Subject 2.p.	sg.		du.	pl.
+ object		-kat	-katxidix	-katxichix
negative		-lakakat	-lakakatxidix	-lakakatxichix

The old forms:

Subject 2.p.	sg.		du.	pl.
object	sg.	-lkat	} -lkidix	-lkichix
	pl.	-lkit		
negative	sg.	-lakankat	} -lakankidix	-lakankichix
	pl.	-lakankit		

With consonant stem -sxat, etc.

For example:

Ukuġtakat (Ukuġtalkat) ii? Did you see it?  
Qanahligan aġikat (aġsxat)? Where did you put it?  
Sukat (sulkit) ii? Did you take them?

4.3 As an object, the speaker and the person or persons spoken to are represented by a so-called personal pronoun, in Aleut a stem ti-/txi- with the respective person endings (cf. 4.2 and 5.3):

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
1.p.	ting 'me'		tingin (tingis), timas 'us'
2.p.	txin 'you'	txidix 'you two'	txichix 'you several'

Examples:

Ivaanaġ ting achixakuġ.	John is teaching me.
Ting achixakuġt.	You (sg.) are teaching me.
Tingin achixakuġtxichix.	You (pl.) are teaching us.
Txin achixakuġ.	I am teaching you (sg.).
Asxinus txichix achixakus.	The girls are teaching you (pl.).
Txichix achixakus.	They/We are teaching you (pl.).

These pronouns are easily recognized in most of the subject endings for the 1.p. and 2.p., most clearly in the conjunctive (see 4.1). Thus the order of the subject person and the object person in Aleut is the opposite of the English one, for example:

<u>object</u>		<u>subject</u>
Tingin	achixakuġ-	txichix
<u>subject</u>		<u>object</u>
You (pl.)	are teaching	us.

The personal pronouns can also be used to stress the subject, for example:

Ting kay qaatukuġ.  
I too (I) am hungry.

(Same as qaatumakuq, cf. 23.4.)

4.4 The subject and the object may also represent the same person:

1.p. sg.	Ting achixakuq.	I am teaching me (myself) = I am learning.
pl.	Tingin achixakus.	We are teaching us (ourselves) = We are learning.
2.p. sg.	Txin achixakuxt.	You are teaching you (yourself) = You are learning.
du.	Txidix achixakuxtxidix.	You (two) are teaching you (yourselves) = You are learning.
pl.	Txichix achixakuxtxichix.	You are teaching you (yourselves) = You are learning.

If the subject is a 3.p., it is represented as an object by a so-called reflexive pronoun: sg. txin (or tiim), du. and pl. txidix or txichix.

Asxinuḡ txin (tiim) achixakuḡ.	The girl is teaching herself = The girl is learning.
Asxinus txidix (txichix) achixakus.	The girls are teaching themselves = The girls are learning. or The girls are teaching each other.
Txidix as tunuḡtakus.	They are talking with each other.

Some verbs are used mostly or only with a reflexive object (a personal pronoun for the same person as the subject), for example:

Txin quyukuḡ.	He/she is going to bed.
Ting aygaxtikuq.	I walk off, start walking.

Also such objects may be combined with a predicate noun (cf. 3.4), for example:

Piitraḡ tukuḡ txin hitikuḡ.	Peter made himself = became a leader (or rich).
Anḡaḡinas kamgadaḡ txidix hidgunas.	The people became Christians.
Kamgadaḡ txin hiyakuḡ.	He/She tries to become a Christian.
Chiḡtal aguun chiḡanas taangatuḡ txidix hitzas.	When it is raining, the creeks become full of water.
cf. Chiḡanas taangatukus.	The creeks are full of water.

4.5 For stressing the identity of the subject, there is a special word with endings for the 1., the 2., and the reflexive 3. person:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
1.p.	inaqating or inaqang 'I myself'		inaqangin or inaqamas 'we ourselves'
2.p.	inaqamis 'you yourself'	inaqamdix 'you yourselves'	inaqamchix 'you yourselves'
refl.3.p.	inaqaam 'he himself, she herself'	inaqamdix, inaqamchix, or inaqamax (old) 'they themselves'	
Inaqating (inaqang) aguqang.		I myself made it. I made it myself.	
Inaqamis txin achixakuḡt.		You yourself are teaching you = You are teaching yourself.	
Inaqaam haḡtikuḡ.		He himself or she herself is waking up = He/She is waking up by himself/herself.	
Inaqamax (inaqamdix, inaqamchix) txidix (txichix) asḡadgunas.		They themselves killed them- selves = They killed themselves, or: they killed each other (no- body else did it).	
Txidix as tunuḡtakus.		They are talking with each other.	

For contrasting a 3. person with another person there is another word: sg. agacha, du. agatikix, pl. agatingis, for example:

Piitraḡ agacha kurizaḡ.	Peter smokes (not I).
Hlas agatingis qasizas.	Only the boys go fishing (not the girls).

In the modern language, this word is mostly reduced to agach without distinction of number.

## Chapter 5 POSSESSION

5.1 Possession (ownership and other relations such as kinship) can be expressed by a noun in the relative case, representing the possessor, followed by a noun representing the possessed, with an ending showing its number:

	<u>Possessor</u>	<u>Possessed</u>		
sg.	hlam	ukinaa	sg.	the boy's knife
	hlam	ukinangis	pl.	the boy's knives
	hlam	ukinakix	du.	the boy's two knives
pl.	hlas	ukinaa	sg.	the boys' knife
	hlas	ukinangis	pl.	the boys' knives
	hlas	ukinakix	du.	the boys' two knives
du.	hlax	ukinaa	sg.	the two boys' knife
	hlax	ukinangis	pl.	the two boys' knives
	hlax	ukinakix	du.	the two boys' two knives

If the possessor word is left out, its number is included in that of the possessed (cf. 3.2 end):

ukinaa	sg.-sg.	his/her knife
ukinangis	pl.-sg.	his/her knives or
	sg./pl.-pl.	their knife or knives
ukinakix	du.-sg.	his/her two knives or
	sg./du.-du.	their (2) knife or two knives

With a vowel stem like ukina- the endings for the possessed noun are sg. - V (long vowel), pl. -ngis, du. -kix.

With a consonant stem (cf. 1.3) the endings are:

sg. -a,	pl. -is,	du. -kix
---------	----------	----------

For example:

kanuuğa	(modern kanuuğii)	his/her heart
uliiga	(uliigii)	his/her mukluk
uliigis	(uliigingis)	his/her mukluks
uliikix	(uliigikix)	his/her pair of mukluks
qanaağucha = qanaağusii		his/her seine
(the simple sg. is qanaağusiğ, pl. qanaağusis.)		

In the modern language the dual ending -kix tends to be used as a plural instead of -ngis, which has come to mean 'our' (cf. 5.3), for example:

tayağum hlakix	the man's sons (two or more)
----------------	------------------------------

hlangis                      our son or sons

Nouns conjoined by ama 'and' (2.3) may get the relative ending only in the last term, for example:

Piitrağ ama Mariiyam anaa.      The mother of Peter and Mary.

5.2 A possessed noun may function as a simple noun, for example as a subject or as an object:

### subject

Mariiyam	adaa	hilakuğ.
Mary's	father	is reading.

### object

Ivaanam	hlangis	kidukuğ.
I am helping	John's	sons.

### subject

### object

Asxinus anaa	Piitram	ukinaa	ukunağ.
The girls' mother	found	Peter's	knife.

If the possessor is known beforehand, and the possessor word is left out, the number of it will show up in the possessed noun and/or in the ending of the predicate, for example:

### subject

### predicate

<u>possessor</u>	<u>possessed</u>		
Mariiyam	adaa	hilakuğ.	Mary's father is reading.
	Adaa	hilakuğ.	Her/his father is reading.
Hlas	adaa	awakuğ.	The boys' father is work-
			ing.
	Adangis	awakus.	Their father is working.

(The pl. -s refers to hlas, not included in the sentence.)

Mariiyam	huyungis	mikakus.	Mary's brothers are play-
			ing.
	Huyungis	mikakuğ.	Her brothers are playing.

(The sg. -ğ refers to Mariiyam, or to Mariiyağ 'Mary', not included in the sentence.)

### object

### predicate + l.p. sg. subject

<u>possessor</u>	<u>possessed</u>		
Mariiyam	adaa	kidukuğ.	I am helping Mary's
			father.
	Adaa	kidukung.	I am helping her father
			(-ng I-her).

Hlas	adaa	kidukuq. I am helping the boys' father.
	Adangis	kidukuning. I am helping their father (-ning I-them).
Mariiyam	huyungis	kidukuq. I am helping Mary's brothers.
	Huyungis	kidukung. I am helping her brothers (-ng I-her).

Likewise, a possessed noun may function as a predicate noun (cf. 3.4, 4.2), for example:

Hlas uchiitilaa akuq.	I am the boys' teacher.
Uchiitilangis akuning.	I am their teacher.

5.3 A noun may be possessed also by the speaker (1.p.) or the person or persons spoken to (2.p.), for example:

Possessor 1.p. sg.

Possessed sg.	ukinang	my knife
pl.	ukinaning	my knives
du.	ukinaking (ukinak)	my two knives

Possessor 1.p. pl. ukinangin (ukinangis) or ukinamas (old) our knife or knives

Possessor 2.p. sg.

Possessed sg.	ukinaan	your (sg.) knife
pl.	ukinat	your (sg.) knives
du.	ukinakin	your (sg.) two knives

Possessor 2.p. pl. ukinachix your (pl.) knife or knives  
du. ukinadix your (du.) knife or knives

Also a noun with such endings can be used as a subject or as an object, for example:

Adaan hilakuḡ.	Your (sg.) father is reading.
Anang kidukuḡt.	You (sg.) are helping my mother.
Huyuning adachix kidukus.	My (of a girl or woman) brothers are helping your (pl.) father.

To emphasize the possessor, one can use the word inaq- (4.5), for example:

inaqating ukinang	my knife (not yours)
inaqamas ulamas, or inaqangin ulangin	our own house

5.4 The possessor of an object may be the same person as the subject of the sentence, for example:

Anang kidukuq.	I am helping my mother.
Huyuning kidukuq.	I (a girl or woman) am helping my brothers.
Adaan kidukuḡt.	You (sg.) are helping your father.
Hlat kidukuḡt.	You (sg.) are helping your sons.
Anachix kidukuḡtxichix.	You (pl.) are helping your mother (or your mothers).

If the subject is a 3. person, the possessed object has a reflexive ending (cf. 4.4):

Piitraḡ adaan (or adaam) kidukuḡ.	Peter is helping his (his own) father.
cf. Piitram adaa kidukuu.	Peter is helping his (another one's) father.
Piitram adaa kidukuḡ.	She/He is helping Peter's father.
Mariiyax huyut kidukuḡ.	Mary is helping her (her own) brothers.
cf. Mariiyam huyungis kidukuu.	Mary is helping her (another one's) brothers.
Mariiyam huyungis kidukuḡ.	She/He is helping Mary's brothers.
Asxinus anadix (or anachix) kidukus.	The girls are helping their (own) mother.
cf. Asxinus anangis kidukungis.	The girls are helping their (some other ones') mother.
Asxinus anangis kidukus.	They are helping the girls' mothers.

5.5 A possessed noun, like a simple noun, may be the subject in the relative case (cf. 3.2):

cf. Piitraḡ suunaadaḡ agunaḡ.	Peter made a play boat.
Piitram aguqaa.	Peter made it.
Hlam adaa suunaadaḡ agunaḡ.	The boy's father made a play boat.
Hlam adagan aguqaa.	The boy's father made it.
Adaan suunaadaḡ agunaḡ.	Your (sg.) father made a play boat.
Adamis aguqaa.	Your father made it.
Adachix suunaadas agunas.	Your (pl.) father made play boats.
Adamchix aguqangis.	Your (pl.) father made them.
Anax hlat sihmikuḡ.	The mother spanked her sons.
Anangin (anangis) sihmikungis.	Their mother spanked them.

A noun possessed by a 3. person in the older language has the following endings, in the two cases (cf. 3.2 and 5.2):

	singular	dual	plural
absolute case, vowel +	-V	} -kix	-ngis
consonant +	-a		-is
relative case, vowel +	-gan	} -kin	-ngin
consonant +	-an		-in

In the modern language the absolute forms tend to be used for both cases, and the dual -kix tends to replace the pl. -ngis (5.2), so the

set tends to be reduced to:

sg. -V vs. pl. -kix

With a 1.p. possessor there is no distinction between the cases (cf. 4.2):

Possessor 1.p.	sg.	pl.	
Possessed	sg. -ng	} -ngin, -mas	
	du. -king		
	pl. -ning		

In the modern language the dual -king (or -k) is rarely used, and -ngis has come in for -ngin and the old Atkan -mas: adangis, adangin, adamas 'our father'.

For the 2.p. possessor, the old endings are:

Possessor 2.p.	sg.	du.	pl.			
Possessed	sg. abs.	-Vn	} abs.-dix	abs.-chix		
	rel.	-mis				
	du. abs.	-kin			rel.-mdix	rel.-mchix
	rel.	-kimis				
pl. abs./rel.	-t					

In the modern language the dual endings are barely used, and the pl. abs. -chix tends to be used also for the rel. -mchix:

Possessor 2.p.	sg.	pl.	
Possessed	sg. abs.	-Vn	} -chix
	rel.	-mis	
	pl.	-t	

(The reflexive endings are given in 5.6.)

5.6 A possessed noun may in turn be a possessor noun, in the relative case, followed by a possessed noun (in the absolute or the relative case), for example:

- Mariiyam huyugan hlangis qasikus.  
Mary's brother's sons are fishing.
- Adamis ulagan kamuu ichagikuḡ.
- The roof of your father's house is dripping.
- Adang braatagan hlagan aguqaa.
- The son of my father's brother built it.
- Mariiyam huyugan ukinaa ukunaq.
- I found Mary's brother's knife.

The possessor of a possessor noun that is an object may be the same person as the subject of the sentence, for example:

- Adang ukinaa ukunaq.
- I found my father's knife.
- Adamis ukinangis ukunaḡt.

You found your father's knives.

If the subject of the sentence is a 3.person, the possessor noun will have a reflexive ending, in the relative case:

- Piitraḡ adaam ukinaa ukunaḡ. Peter found his (own) father's knife.
- cf. Piitram adagan ukinaa ukuqaa. Peter found his (another one's) father's knife.
- Piitram adagan ukinaa ukunaḡ. He/She found Peter's father's knife.
- Mariiyaḡ huyut asxinungis. Mary loves the daughters of her brothers.
- cf. Mariiyam huyungin asxinungis. Mary loves the daughters of her (another one's) brothers.
- yaxtakuḡ.
- Mariiyam huyungin asxinungis. He/She loves the daughters of Mary's brothers.
- yaxtakuḡ.
- Hlas adamchix (adamdix, The boys are repairing their father's house.
- adamax) ulaa atxaḡtikus.

In the older language, the reflexive endings are as follows, in the two cases (with a vowel/consonant stem):

Possessor refl. 3.p.	sg.	pl.		
Possessed	sg. abs.	-Vn/-iin	} abs. -dix, -chix	
	rel.	-Vm/-iim		
	du. abs.	-kin		rel. -mdix, -mchix,
	rel.	-kiim		-max (old)
pl. abs./rel.	-t			

In the modern language the dual forms are barely used, and the relative sg. -Vm tends to be used instead of the absolute sg. -Vn, for example:

- adaam (of) his/her own father
- huyuum (of) her brother, instead of adaan, huyuum (which also mean your father, your brother):

Possessor refl. 3.p.	sg.	pl.	
Possessed	sg.	-Vm	} -chix
	pl.	-t	

5.7 Possession includes several kinds of relationship, for example:

Ownership:

- Piitram ukinaa Peter's knife
- ukinang my knife
- uḡing my possession, mine

Kinship:

- Mariiyam anaa Mary's mother
- Mariiyam asxinuu Mary's daughter

Local connection:

Atkam tanadgusii	Atka village
Atkam kamgagan ulaa (kamgam ulaa	the church of Atka "house of service or prayer")
Amlagim angaḡinangis	the people of Amlia
-also Amlagingis	"those of Amlia",
cf. Amlagidix aḡiḡtaasal	leaving their people of Amlia
ayuxtanas	they went out
-likewise Atungis = Atum	the people of Attu,
anḡaḡinangis	

Whole -and- part:

tayaḡum kamgii	the/a man's head
channing, old chaking	my hands
ayḡaasim changii	the bow of the/a boat
Amlagim chuga	the north side of Amlia

Species and sex or age group or the like:

isuḡim aliḡii (old aliḡa)	male seal
isuḡim ayagaa	female seal
isuḡim aniidaa	seal pup
chagim hudaa	dried halibut
(hudaḡ)	dried fish or meat)

If the possessor (the term in the relative case) represents an individual, a definite person, or thing etc., it is marked for number as explained in 5.1: hlam ukinaa 'the boy's knife', hlas ukinaa 'the boys' knife', etc. If the "possessor" indicates a general kind or species, etc., rather than an individual, it remains in the singular (ending -m) and only the "possessed" is marked for number, for example:

uuquchiingim tanangis	fox dens
tayaḡum ulungis	bodies of men, corpses
isuḡim aniidangis	seal pups
chagim hudangis	dried halibut

Also a possessed possessor may be in the general singular, for example, dagan taangangis (older du. taangakix) his/her tears, "his/her eye's waters" (the water from his/her eyes).

5.8 Constructions of the possession type may also correspond with the subject - predicate relation of a simple sentence (cf. 2.7):

State:

taangam qinganaa	cold water
taangaḡ qinganakuḡ	the water is cold

Age:

ulam tagadaa	a new house
ulaḡ tagadakuḡ	the house is new
ulam tagadaayulax (tagadaḡulaa)	an old house
ulaḡ tagadalakaḡ	the house is old

Quality:

tayaḡum iḡamanaa	a good man
tayaḡuḡ iḡamanakuḡ	the man is good

Color:

saahmlam quhmangis	white eggs
saahmlas quhmakus	the eggs are white

Size:

hyaagam aduu	a long log
hyaagaḡ adukuḡ	the log is long
hlam angunangis	big boys
hlas angunakus	the boys are big

Quantity:

slukam hasinangis	numerous seagulls
slukas hasinakus	the seagulls are numerous, there are many seagulls
slukam hasinangizulax	few seagulls
slukas hasinalakaḡis	the seagulls are not numerous, there are few seagulls

5.9 Quantifiers, words which indicate a certain amount or part, have the quantified item as a possessor (in the relative case):

huzu-

tanadgusim huzuu	all, whole, both
asxinum huzukix	the whole village
tayaḡum huzungis	both girls
Atkam tayaḡugan (or	all the men
tayaḡungin) huzungis	all the Atkan men
huzumas tanadgusimas	the village of all of us
huzung chiḡtnaḡ	"all of me got wet" = I got all wet

ila-

hyaagam ilaa	part, piece, some
gichitim ilaa	a piece of wood
chuḡtaḡam ilangis	some money
agiichigaan ilakuchaa	some clothes
ukuḡtazaḡang	sometimes I got a glimpse of him

anga-

qayam angangis	hill sides
qam angaa	half a fish (split lengthwise)
chasim angaa	half an hour
kitamis angaa	(only) the one of your feet ("the match of your foot")
angangis	another party of them
angta-	end; half (across)
anagimis angtaa	the end of your club
qam angtaa	half a fish (cut across)
angtakix	both ends of it, or both halves
yaasikaḡ angtaan akiitaḡ	the box is half full ("has content up to its half")
imdaḡikuḡ	another, some
agiit-	another person
anḡaḡinam agiicha	some of his words I hear
tunungin (tunungis)	
agiitingis tutakung	

agitaada-	partner, the other, the one-the other
ayxaasim agitaadaa	the other boat
agitaadaa hilakuŋ,	the one is reading and the other one is playing
agitaadaa mikakuŋ	the other ones
agitaadangis	only
uhli-	only the boy was left
hlam uhlii txin	
aŋiisanaŋ	they had only animal hides for boots, had boots made only of animal hides
algam igluŋangin	
uhlingis uliixtanās	
uhling ayuxtanaq	only I went out
cf. uudahling ayuxtanaq	even I went out

## Chapter 6 LOCAL COMPLEMENT

6.1 In Aleut there is a particular class of words which indicate various relations, mostly local. They take a "possessor" like a noun (cf. 5) and most of them can also be used as a noun, for example:

As a subject:

Ayxaasim naga chugutukuŋ.	The interior of the boat is sandy,
Ulas quchxingis qaniixtukus.	The boat is sandy inside. The space between the houses has much snow, There is much snow between the houses.
Ulaŋ ama saraayam quchiga (quchxa) chiqitukuŋ.	The space between the house and the shed is muddy, it is muddy between the house and the shed. (cf. 5.1)

As an object (cf. 3.3):

Kuusxiŋ kitang kuu agikuŋ.	The cat is passing "the surface of my foot" = over my foot.
Agaling agikuŋ.	He/She passed "my backside" = behind me.
Amlagim hadaa ukuŋtakuq.	I am looking (at) "Amlia's direction" = towards Amlia.

As a "possessor" in the relative case (cf. 5.6):

Laavkim agalan ulaa quhmakuŋ.	The house "of the store's backside" = behind the store is white.
Laavkim agalan hadaa ukuŋtakuq.	I am looking in the direction of the space behind the store.

In addition, these words have special forms which are used as the complement of various kinds of verbs.

6.2 In the following sentences the local complement indicates where the subject is located or in which direction the subject is moving:

Aniqduŋ ayxaasim nagan akuŋ.	The child is in the boat.
Kuusxiŋ kitang kugan unguchikuŋ.	The cat is sitting on my foot.
Piitram ulagan hadan huyakuŋ.	She/He is going towards Peter's house.
Viiraŋ hadaming huyakuŋ.	Vera is coming towards me.
Aniqduŋ kuming unguchikuŋ.	The child is sitting on me.

If a possessor noun is left out, its number will show up in the local term and/or in the verb, as in the case of a possessed object (cf. 5.2), for example:

Piitraḡ tayaḡum hadan huyakuḡ.	Peter is going towards the man.
Piitram hadan huyakuu.	Peter is going towards him.
cf. Piitram hadan huyakuḡ.	She/He is going towards Peter.
Tayaḡus hadan (hadangin) huyakuḡ.	I am going towards the men.
Hadan (Hadangin) huyakuning.	I am going towards them.
cf. Hadaming huyakus.	They are coming towards me.

If the "possessor" is the same person as a 3.p. subject, the local term will have a reflexive ending (cf. 5.6), for example:

Hlakuchaḡ kuum tugaadikuḡ.	The little boy urinated on himself.
Sunas hadamchix (hadamdix, hadamax) huyakus.	The ships are moving towards each other.

These forms of the local terms are called the "locative case". The full set of locative forms in the older language are as follows:

hada-	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	hadan	hadakin	hadangin
1.p.	hadaming		
2.p.	hadamis	hadamdix	hadamchix
refl.3.p.	hadaam	hadamax, hadamdix, hadamchix	
ku-	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	kugan	kukin	kungin
1.p.	kuming		
2.p.	kumis	kumdix	kumchix
refl.3.p.	kuum	kumax, kumdix, kumchix	
nag-	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	nagan	nagikin	nagin, nangingin
1.p.	nagming		
2.p.	nagmis	nagimdix	nagimchix
refl.3.p.	nagiim	nagmax, nagimdix, nagimchix	

The locative forms of the important local term *ila-* or *ili-* 'in', 'at', are as follows:

	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	ilan	ilakin	ilangin
1.p.	ilaming		ilingin
	iliming		
2.p.	ilamis	ilamdix	ilamchix
	ilimis	ilimdix	ilimchix
refl.3.p.	ilaam	ilamax, ilamdix, ilamchix	
	iliim	ilimax, ilimdix, ilimchix	

Note that the locative case is like the relative case except in the 1.p.sg.: locative -ming, relative = absolute -ng, cf. hadaming 'towards me', ulang hadan 'towards my house'.

6.3 Most of the local terms also have a so-called ablative case,

which indicates from where a movement goes or the like, for example:

Piitraḡ ulam ilagaan hitikuḡ.	Peter went out of the house.
Piitram ilagaan hitikuu.	Peter went out of it.
Mariiyaḡ unguchiiluḡim kugaan agakuḡ.	Mary got off the chair.
Mariyam kugaan agakuu.	Mary got off it.
Piitraḡ ilamiing agakuḡ.	Peter went away from me.
Piitraḡ nagmiim hitikuḡ.	Peter went out from his place (house).
Hlas ilamchiix (ilamdix, ilamaax) agakus.	The boys departed from each other.

The ablative forms corresponding with the locative forms in 6.2 are as follows:

hada-	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	hadagaan	hadakiin	hadangiin
1.p.	hadaan		
2.p.	hadamiing	hadamdix	hadamchiix
refl.3.p.	hadamiis	hadamax, hadamdix, hadamchiix	
	hadamiim		
ku-	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	kugaan (kugagaan)	kukiin	kungiin
1.p.	kumiing		
2.p.	kumiis	kumdiix	kumchiix
refl.3.p.	kumiim	kumax, kumdiix, kumchiix	
nag-	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	nagaan	nagikiin	nagiin, nangingiin
1.p.	nagagaan		
2.p.	nagmiing	nagimdix	nagimchiix
refl.3.p.	nagmiis	nagmax, nagimdix, nagimchiix	
	nagmiim		
ila-, ili-	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	ilagaan	ilakiin	ilangiin, iliin
1.p.	ilaan	ilikiin	
	ilamiing		
2.p.	ilimiing	ilamdiix	ilamchiix
	ilamiis	ilimdiix	ilimchiix
refl.3.p.	ilimiis	ilamax, ilamdix, ilamchiix	
	ilimiim	ilimax, ilimdix, ilimchiix	

6.4 If, as usual, a subject noun comes before the local complement, it will normally be understood as definite, as known beforehand, and, as explained in 6.2, it will be in the relative case if the "possessor" of the local term is left out, for example:

Qalgadaḡ stuuluḡim kugan akuḡ.	The food is on the table.
Qalgadam kugan akuu.	The food is on it.

If, on the contrary, the subject noun comes after the local comple-

ment, it will be understood as indefinite, as something new (new information), and it will remain in the absolute case if the "possessor" of the local term is left out:

Stuuluġim kugan qalgadaġ akuġ.      There is food on the table.  
Qalgadaġ kugan akuu.                    There is food on it.

Likewise:

Kuusxiġ stuuluġim sitxan unguhikuġ.	The cat is sitting under the table.
Kuusxim sitxan unguhikuu.	The cat is sitting under it.
Stuuluġim sitxan kuusxiġ unguhikuġ.	A cat is sitting under the table.
Kuusxiġ sitxan unguhikuu.	A cat is sitting under it.
Tayaġuġ ulam nagaan hitikuġ.	The man went out of the house.
Tayaġum nagaan hitikuu.	The man went out of it.
Ulam nagaan tayaġuġ hitikuġ.	A man went out of the house.
Tayaġuġ nagaan hitikuu.	A man went out of it.

Thus, to the difference in English between (a) the man (definite) and (b) a man (indefinite), corresponds in Aleut a difference of order if the local complement is fully specified: (a) subject-local complement, (b) local complement-subject, and a difference in grammatical case if the "possessor" of the local term is left out:

- (a) relative case (tayaġum)
- (b) absolute case (tayaġuġ)

6.5 A local complement can be used also together with an object (in the absolute case, see 3.1). If the object comes before the local complement, it is usually definite, and indefinite if it comes after the local complement (cf. 6.4), for example;

Ivaanaġ kanfiixtas yaasikam nagan aġikuġ.  
John put the candies in a box.

Ivaanam yaasikam nagan aġikungis.  
John put them in a (or the) box. (cf. 3.2)

Ivaanaġ yaasikam nagan kanfiixtas aġikuġ.  
John put candies in the box.

Ivaanam kanfiixtas nagan aġikuu.  
John put candies in it. (cf. 6.2)

Ivaanam nagan aġikungis.  
John put them into it.

Ivaanaġ Piitram ilagaan saġ atxazakuġ.  
John got a duck from Peter.

Ivaanaġ saġ Piitram ilagaan atxazakuġ.  
John got the duck from Peter.

Piitraġ Ivaanam nagaan saġ aġikuġ.

Peter gave John a duck.

Piitraġ saġ Ivaanam nagaan aġikuġ.  
Peter gave the duck to John.

Piitram saġ nagaan aġikuu.  
Peter gave him a duck or the duck.

In the older language, the important term nagaan 'to or for him/her/-it', is joined with its "possessor" as follows:

Ivaanamaan aġikuu.                    He/She gave it to John.  
cf. Ivaanam nagaan aġikuu.            John gave it to him/her.

The corresponding plural ngiin 'to or for them' is joined likewise with its plural "possessor", for example:

Hlaziin aġikuu.                         He/She gave it to the boys.  
cf. Hlas ngiin aġikungis.                The boys gave it to them.

In the modern language one says in both cases hlas nagaan. In the older language ngiin can mean also 'to or for us', but note the difference in the verb:

Piitram saġ ngiin (modern nagaan) aġikungis.  
Peter gave them a duck or the duck.

Piitraġ saġ ngiin aġikuġ.  
Peter gave us a duck, or the duck.

cf. Piitraġ saġ ngus aġikuġ.  
Peter gave me a duck, or the duck.

In the modern language, ngiin 'to or for us', is often replaced by ingin (or ingis), and ngus 'to or for me', by iming. The full set of forms is as follows:

	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	ngaan	ikin	} ngiin
1.p.	ngus		
mod.	iming		ingin (ingis)
2.p.	imis	imdix	imchix
refl.3.p.	igiim (iim)	imax (old), imdix, imchix	

Examples for the reflexive 3.person:

Piitraġ saġ igiim sukuġ.  
Peter took the duck for himself.

Hlas saġ imdix (imax, imchix) sukuġ.  
The boys took the duck for themselves.

6.6 Also a predicate noun may have a local complement, for example:

Piitraḡ anḡaḡinaziin (anḡaḡinas ngaan) unanaḡ anaḡ.  
Peter was a cook for the people.

Piitram unanaḡ ngiin aḡangis.  
Peter was a cook for them.

6.7 The local terms express a large variety of relations. The details must be looked up in the dictionary. What follows here are only some summary indications, mostly confined to the locative 3.p. sg.:

Direction:

hadan	towards it
kadan	in front of it, ahead of it
agalan	behind it
qusan	above it, over it
achan	below it, at the mouth of it (river)

Side:

angan	at the side of it, beside it
qudgan	over it, on top of it
sitxan	under it
kangan	on top of it (e.g. of a hill)
hangadan	on it, on top of it (e.g. the ground)
kugan	on it, upon it
ilan	in it, at it
nagan	in it (e.g. a house, a boat)
sinigan	within it (no opening)
qalan	at the bottom of it
hachan	outside of it (e.g. of a house or a bay)
sadan	outside it, at the frontside of it
adangan	behind it
alixchan	in the middle of it
utman	in the middle of it
utmingin	among them
quchxingin	
quchigin,	
du. quchigikin	
quchikin	between them
chidaḡan	beside it, by it (e.g. the table)
daḡan	attached to it

Time, Age:

alixum kadagaan	(ablative) before the war
alixum aslagaan	at the time of the war
alixum agalagaan	after the war
qan'gim silan	towards winter, before winter
qan'gim utman	in the middle of the winter
ugnam tugidagan nagan	in the course of the month
kugan	of September
ludamiing (ablative)	I respect people older than
axtas iḡayuḡtazaq	myself

Means, Instrument:

Damax ilan ukuḡtaqangis. They saw it with their own eyes.  
Chaan ukinam ilagaan He cut his hand with the isikuḡ. knife.  
Chakiim kadan He lifted it with both of his kumsiḡtakuu. hands.

Value:

Uuquchiingim isxanan qichitim ilaa atxazanaḡ.  
For the fox he got some money.

Reason:

Haagam ilagaan kayuḡiqadanaq.  
I got weak from hunger.

Aniqduning qulagaan awazaq.  
I work for the sake of my children.

Subject matter:

Hlam hadagaan tunuḡtanaḡ.  
He/She talked about the boy.

Qulagaan ahmayaaḡtakung.  
I asked about him.

Comparison:

Chavichaḡ haanum ilagaan angunazaḡ.  
A king salmon is bigger than a red salmon.  
(ilagaan from = as compared with)

6.8 Many of the local terms are used also in the simple relative sg. form as the "possessor" of hadaa (direction), to specify various directions, for example:

Qusam hadaa ukuḡtakuuḡ.	He/She is looking upward.
vs. Atim hadaa ukuḡtakuuḡ.	He/She is looking downwards.
Angam hadan aḡikuning.	I put them aside, in a different place.
Kadim hadan unguchikuḡ.	He/She is sitting in the front (as in a boat).
vs. Agalim hadan unguchikuḡ.	He/She is sitting in the rear.
Kadim hadagaan (hadaan)	from the front (to meet) or at first, in former times

6.9 From some of the local terms are derived words like the following:

qusaagiiḡ 'the higher' vs. achuuḡiiḡ or sitxuuḡiiḡ 'the lower'  
iluuḡiiḡ or qaluuḡiiḡ 'the inner' vs. hachuuḡiiḡ or saduuḡiiḡ 'the outer'

Such words are normally used in two ways:

- (a) as contrastive terms, preceding a noun, for example:  
 iluuḡiḡ or qaluuḡiḡ tanaḡ 'the inner island' vs.  
 hachuuḡiḡ tanaḡ 'outer island' in relation to a bay: udam  
 ilan 'in the bay', udam qalan 'in the bottom of the bay'  
 vs. udam hachan 'outside of the bay'. In the relative case:  
 iluuḡiḡ tanam (kugan) '(on) the inner island', etc.
- (b) as new local terms, with a "possessor", for example:  
 ulam iluuḡii the inside of the house  
 vs. ulam saduuḡii the outside of the house  
 udam qaluuḡii the inside of the bay,

locative udam qaluuḡigan 'at the inside of the bay  
 (rather than at the outside of it)'.

6.10 From local terms are also derived many verbs, for example:

	kadmudaḡikuḡ	it is moving forwards
vs.	agalmudaḡikuḡ	it is moving backwards (as of a boat)
	kaduunukukḡ	he/she is going ahead or advancing (as in school)
	kaduutxakuḡ	it is too far in front, protrudes (as in a boat)
	kuuḡakuḡ	it appears, comes to the surface (as from the sea)

From the first mentioned type of verbs are derived forms  
 indicating a direction, for example:

	kadmudaḡan	forwards
vs.	agalmudaḡan	backwards
	qusamudaḡan	upward
vs.	atmudaḡan	downward

## Chapter 7 POINTING WORDS

7.1 For pointing to a person, animal, thing or place, the speaker  
 of Aleut has a greater choice than the speaker of English, for example  
 wan 'this one', wang 'here (at the place of the speaker)'; hingan  
 'that one', hiing or hingang 'there (closer to the person spoken to,  
 etc.)'; hakan 'that one way up there', hakang 'way up there', etc.  
 (more details in 7.9). The Aleut pointing words also have more forms  
 and uses than the English ones.

7.2 Used as nouns, the pointing words have forms like the follow-  
 ing ones for number (cf. 1.1) and case (cf. 3.2):

	sg.	du.	pl.
absolute case	wan	} wakux	wakus
relative case	waan		
absolute case	hingan	} hiikux or	hiikus or
relative case	hingan		

For example:

Wan sukuq.	I took this one (the one I show you now).
Wakus sukuq.	I took these.
Waan sukungis.	This one (the person by my side) took them.
Hingan ngus axchḡida!	Let me pass there ("that one", for -da see 14.1).
Ukan hnudaqadakuḡ.	He/She never comes in here any more (ukan this one in here = the room in which we are now).
Waan anḡaḡinangis.	The people of this one: of this village (where I am now).

Pointing words may also have a possessor, for example:

Ayagamis hinganii stuuluḡim kugan akuḡ.	That one of your wife's (for example, her kit) is on the table.
Ayagamis hinganigan kugan akuḡ.	It is on that one of your wife's (for example, on her dress).
Waniin sukuq.	I took this one of yours (this one that belongs to you).
Hinganimis sukuu.	That one of yours (for example your daughter) took it.
Wakuning chaqugnaḡ.	It (the puppy) chewed these ones of mine (for example, socks).

7.3 The numbered forms are used also before a noun, to indicate the position of that person, animal, or thing, in relation to the speaker and the person or persons spoken to, for example:

Wan ukinaŋ tayakuq.	I bought this knife (rather than the other).
Ikakus ayagas qasikus.	The women over there (at the other side of the bay) are fishing.
Waan tayaġum aguqaa.	This man (by my side) made it (for example: a boat).

In the modern language the forms tend to be shortened to wa(n), ika(n), etc., with no distinction of case or number.

7.4 If a noun with a pointing word before it, being used as a subject, object or possessor, is left out, the pointing word comes after the predicate, with no ending, stressing the predicate, for example:

Ikakus ayagas qasikus. Qasikus ika.	The women over there are fishing. They are fishing over there (rather than doing something else).
Wan ukinaŋ tayakuq. Tayakung wa.	I bought this knife. I bought this one (rather than found it or the like).
Piitraŋ hingan ulam ilan anġaġikuŋ.	Peter is living in that house (you know).
Piitram ilan anġaġikuu hinga.	Peter is actually living in it.

A final pointing word can be used also in sentences without a subject (cf. 2.2), for example:

Achunakuŋ uma. It is blowing now (I can feel it).

7.5 The pointing words also have locative and ablative forms (cf. 6.2-3), for example:

locative		ablative	
wang	here	waax	from here, by here
hiing	there	hingaax	from there
hakang	up there	hakaax	from up there

These forms can be used alone as a local complement, or together with a local complement (possessed local term) in the same case, for example:

Wang unguchikuŋ.	I am sitting here (for example, on this chair: waan unguchiiluġim kugan).
Hakaax itikuŋ.	It dropped down from up there.
Haax (hawaax) ayŋanas.	They travelled along there.
Hikang qayam kangan unguchikuŋ.	He/She is sitting up there on top of the hill.
cf. Hikaan qayam kangan unguchikuŋ.	He/She is sitting on top of the hill up there (which is up there,

rather than another hill).

Locative and ablative forms with the additional ending -hli- are contrastive, for example:

Wahligan hagnaŋ.	He/She grew up here (in this village, rather than elsewhere).
Hingahligaax anġiŋtakuŋ.	He/She is from there (rather than from another place).
(hingahligaax	also temporal: at once)

The Eastern Aleut ablative forms, often used also at Atka, are as follows: waagan, (h)ingaagan, (h)akaagan, etc., and (h)ingaligaagan, etc.

7.6 With the ending -y, a pointing word may call attention to a happening, or situation, for example:

Way hitikuŋ.	(Look,) he went out right now.
Hingay unguchikuŋ.	Look, he/she is sitting there.

Expanded by a- (to be) with 3.p. endings, the forms are as follows:

sg.	du.	pl.
wayaa (waya)	wayakix	wayangis
hingayaa (hingaya)	hingayakix	hingayangis

Such forms can be used as a predicate with or without a subject, for example:

Wayaa hlang.	This is my son (I introduce him).
Wayaa.	Look, here he is.
Kukutuŋ, hingayaa kasamim chiidaa.	"kukutuŋ", that's the young of an eider duck
Hingayangis.	Look, there they are.

These forms can also be used together with a verb, for example:

Wayaa haqakuŋ.	Here he comes.
Hingayangis ayugikus.	Look, there they are going out (in a boat).

Note wayaam 'now, nowadays', wayahliim 'right now', and hamahliim 'a long time ago'.

7.7 From most of the pointing words are derived verbs with the ending -ma- which indicate a way of behaving or fix the action or state in terms of time and the persons involved, for example:

Hingamalagada!	Don't behave like that! (cf. 14.1)
Haqal hingamakuŋ.	He's coming there. (cf. 11.3)
Qaatul wamakuq (gumakuq).	I'm hungry, I tell you.
Achunal umamakuŋ.	It is blowing now (has been blowing for some time).

7.8 A pointing word may also combine with hadaa direction, and

take endings much like a local term (cf. 6.8-10), for example:

Wahadaa huḡnaazakuḡ.	It is warm in here.
Tanḡim udaaḡii agikuḡ.	It (the boat) passes along this side of the island.
Akang Amlagim chugan akaaḡigan qasinas.	They were fishing out there beyond the north point of Amlia.
Akaaḡiḡ tanḡim kugan chalanas.	They landed on the island beyond (beyond some point or the like).
Wangudaḡikuḡ.	He/She comes this way, is heading here.
Wangudaḡan	in this direction
Waanukuḡ.	It (a boat) is coming this way, is approaching.
Waatxakuḡ.	It is near, close to here (to me or us).
Waaḡakuḡ.	He/She has come back here.

Note also ukalḡa 'the village in here', 'this village', ukalḡan tunuu 'the language of this village, Atkan Aleut', ukalḡaax angixtakuḡ 'he/she originates from, is a native of, this village'.

7.9 In the old language, there were close to thirty different pointing words, but some of them, here marked (old), are barely used as pointing words any more.

wa here!	(look here, take this), wan 'this one,', pl. wakus 'these', etc., closest to the speaker. Note the verb gumakuḡ beside wamakuḡ.
uma	uman 'this one', etc., close to the speaker but invisible: heard, smelled, behind my back (or at the other side of the island), or the like, for example umayangis 'here they are (I hear them coming)', alqum ilgaḡii umamakuḡ uma 'what smell is in here?'
hinga	hingan 'that one', pl. hiikus or hingakus, locative hiing or hingang (rare) 'there', closer to the person spoken to, or appealing to that person's knowledge or attention ("that one, you know," "that one you see" ); just mentioned. Note maḡ hing 'that's it (as you say)'. (Eastern inga.)
hawa	hawan 'that one', pl. haakus or hawakus, locative haang or hawang 'there', ablative haax or hawaax 'from there, along there', implies motion or more than one involved, for example suda hawa 'grab it!' (for example a child dropping into the sea); furaaskidix chuḡtakus hawa 'they have their caps on', cf. furaaskiin chuḡtakus hinga 'he has his cap on (you see)'; hawamakuḡ or hagumakuḡ 'behaves like that'. (Eastern awa.)
hama	haman 'that one', etc., hidden (as behind a hill), or mentioned previously. hamaax 'from there, then,

or some, any', for example hamaax anḡaḡinaḡ ilaming akuḡ 'some person, somebody, is by me, lives in my house'. Note maḡ ham 'that's it (what I had in mind)'. (Eastern ama.)

inga (old)	ingan 'that one right there (as of a person sitting some feet away in front of a standing speaker)'; ingaaḡiḡ tugidaḡ 'next month'.
awa (old)	awan 'that one over there', implies motion, for example awan aygagikuḡ 'he is walking there'; awaaḡiḡ nidilim kugan 'in the course of next week'.
ama- (old)	Old locative amangus aḡakuḡ ' (the sea lion) got away, out of sight'. amaahadaa or amaadaa ukuḡtakuḡ 'he is looking far, away'; amaanukuḡ 'he is going away, out of sight. - ama 'further, and', for example angaliḡ ama amgiḡ 'day and night'.

The following words are more definitely local (some of them also temporal):

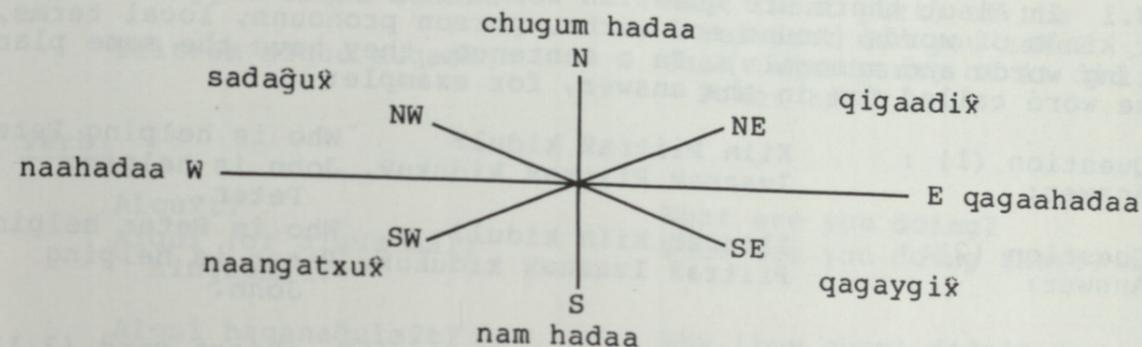
uka	ukan 'the one in here', for example ukan ulaḡ 'the house in here (where we are now)'; ukaaḡakuḡ 'he/she comes in here'.
uda	udan 'this one', pl. udakus, implies extension, for example udan Atxaḡ 'Atka here'; udang aḡada (aḡida) 'put it here, on the floor, by my feet'.
ika	ikan 'that one, over there, across (for example across the bay)', pl. ikakus, etc.
iku	ikun 'that one, over there, to the side', pl. ikukus, etc. ikun sluḡ 'next summer, next year'.
aka	akan 'that one, out there', for example akan tanaḡ 'the island out there' (like Amlia as seen from Atka), pl. akakus, etc. Akan sluḡ 'last summer, last year'.
aku	akun 'that one out there to the side', pl. akukus etc. akungudaḡan 'out of the way!' (as when brushing somebody away).
aga	agan 'that one over there, extended, as on the other side of a creek'; chiḡanam aḡaḡigan 'on the other side of the creek'.
hika	hikan 'that one right up there', pl. hikakus etc. hikayangis qixyam kugan 'they are up there on the shelf'.
hiku	hikun 'that one up there, aslant, as on top of the bank as seen from the seashore', pl. hikukus etc.

- haka hakan 'that one way up there (as in the air)', pl. hakakus, etc. hakang anqaŕtakuŕ 'he stands up, or is standing upright'.
- haku hakun 'that one up there, aslant, for example inland as seen from the sea', pl. hakukus, etc.
- haga (old) hagan 'that one up there, extended', pl. hagakus 'those up along there', for example clothes on a line or reindeer along a hillside; hagamug tugichada 'hang them up there!'
- saka sakan 'that one vertically down there (vs. haka)' or 'out on the open ocean', pl. sakakus, etc. Sakang tanam kugan higitikuŕ. 'He jumped down on the ground'.
- ukna (old) uknan 'that one down there, aslant', for example at the beach as seen from the bank (vs. hiku), or at some point out on the ocean (for example an island).
- una (old) unan 'that one down there, extended', unakus tanas 'the islands out there, in the bay'.
- qika qikan 'that one out there by the door, in the corridor or the like', pl. qikakus, etc.
- qiku qikun 'that one in there, as by the back wall, or in the interior of a bay', pl. qikukus, etc.
- qaka qakan 'that one out there, the speaker being inside', pl. qakakus; ablative qakaax 'from outside' (for example in relation to a speaker in a cave), or from the East: qakaax aŕtaŕ 'wind holding from the East'.
- qaku qakun 'that one in there, as in another room, or in a bay on the other side of the island', pl. qakukus, etc.
- qaga qagang akuŕ qaga 'it's out there' (old). In the modern language only about the East, for example qagaan ayagaa 'a woman from the east, an eastern woman'; qagang 'there in the east', qagaax 'from the east'.

7.10 In old Aleut (Eastern), there was also a pointing word qigan 'that one (person) standing inside by the door', vs. qagan 'that one standing outside by the door'. In modern Atkan both refer to the East, cf. qigan ukuŕ 'tide turning northeast' vs. ikun ukuŕ 'tide turning southwest (in Amlia Pass)'; Qiga-changanaŕ 'East Valley' vs. Na-changanaŕ 'West Valley' (two pairs of place names); qigaaŕiŕ or qagaaŕiŕ 'eastern' vs. naaŕiŕ 'western' (in many place names); qagaahadaa 'the East' vs. naahadaa 'the West'. Thus also na- 'west' has the same kind of endings as the pointing words.

The other main points of the compass are more like local terms: nam hadaa (old ngam hadaa) 'the South' vs. chugum (or chugim) hadaa 'the North' (cf. 6.8); Atŕam nguu 'the South side of Atka', locative Atŕam ngugan, vs. Atŕam chuga 'the north side of Atka'; nguuŕiŕ 'the southern' vs. chuguuŕiŕ 'the northern', etc.' (See the dictionary.)

The full Atkan compass looks like this:



## Chapter 8 QUESTION WORDS

8.1 In Aleut there are question words corresponding with most other kinds of words (nouns and verbs, person pronouns, local terms, pointing words and numerals). In a sentence, they have the same place as the word called for in the answer, for example:

Question (1) :	Kiin Piiitraŋ kidul?	Who is helping Peter?
Answer:	Ivaanaŋ Piiitraŋ kidukuŋ.	John is helping Peter.
Question (2):	Piiitraŋ kiin kidul?	Who is Peter helping?
Answer:	Piiitraŋ Ivaanaŋ kidukuŋ.	Peter is helping John.

In Aleut, the subject word always comes before the object word (3.1), so also in question (2), where kiin, 'who', is the object. In English, on the contrary, the question word (who) always comes first, also in question (2), where who is the object, but here too the subject (Peter) comes before the main verb (helping), as in question (1), where the subject is who, and Peter the object, after the main verb. In Aleut, such questions have the same kind of tone (melody) as the corresponding answers. Questions which call for yes or no as an answer (questions of fact), have a rising tone, with or without the question word ii (cf. 2.6 and 8.6 below), for example:

Ivaanaŋ Piiitraŋ kidul ii?                      Is John helping Peter?

Also a sentence with a question word like kiin may have the rising tone and a final ii, but then it is a question about a question:

Kiin haqal ii?                      Who came? - Is that your question?

8.2 Kiin who, dual kiinkux, plural kiinkus, is strictly personal:

Kiin hinga?	Who's that?
Uchiitilaŋ hinga.	That's the teacher.
Kiin aŋt?	Who are you?
Kiin aŋ?	Who is he/she?
Ting aŋ.	It's me (as in a picture).

Kiin aguqaa?	Who made it?
Piitram aguqaa.	Peter made it.

8.3 Alqu- what, be or do what, is used both as a noun and as a verb:

Noun:

Alquŋ hinga?	What's that?
Quganaŋ hinga.	That's a rock.

Tayaġuŋ hinga.

That's a man.

Alquŋ aŋ hinga?  
Uchiitilaŋ akuŋ hinga.

What is he/she?  
He/She is a teacher.

Alqum kigiqaa (kikaa)?  
Alqum sunaa anaŋ?  
Itŋaygim alquu sunaŋt?

What (animal) bit him/her?  
What kind of ship was it?  
What (what part) of the reindeer did you take?  
What (what part) of it did Peter take?

Piitram alquu suqaa?

Verb:

Alquŋt?  
Alqul (or alqus mal) hingaŋt?

What are you doing?  
What are you doing there?

Alqul haqanaġulaŋt?

Why (how come) didn't you come?

Alqus (stem alqut-) agukat?  
Alqutat?

How did you make it?  
How are you?  
How do you feel now?

8.4 Qana- which, is used like a pointing word:

(1) Noun forms (cf. 7.2-3):

	sg.		du.	pl.
absolute case	qanan	}	qanakux	qanakus
relative case	qanaan			

Qanan axsit (agit)?  
Qanakus kamlixtat?  
Qanan tanaŋ hinga?  
Qanaan tanam kugan al slut?

Where did you pass?  
Which ones did you shoot at?  
Which island is that?  
On which island did you pass the summer?

(2) Locative  
qanang  
qanahligan

Ablative (cf. 7.5):  
qanaax, qanaagan  
qanahligaax

Yaasikaŋ qanang aŋsit (aġit)?  
Qanaax haqat?

Where did you put the box?  
Where did you come from?

(3) Verbs in -ma- (cf. 7.7):  
Qanamas suuq?  
Qanamatal

How do I grab it?  
doing how?

(4) Words with different endings (cf. 7.8):  
Qanaa-hadaa?  
Qanaaġiŋ?

Which direction?  
Which one?

Tanġim qanaaġii axsit (agit)?  
Qanangudaġiimis,

On which side of the island did you pass?  
Which way are you

Qanangudağan huyaamis? going?  
 Qanaanuumis? In which direction are you  
 going?  
 Qanaatxal? Which side is it closest to?  
 Qanaaḡal? Where is he now?

(5) Qanayaam, qanayiim 'when'? (cf. 7.6 end).

(6) Qanaang 'how many'?  
 Qanaangidim 'how many times'?  
 (cf. 9.1-2).

cf. also qanan azaḡ isux 'how many seals ("being repeatedly which seal")'?

8.5 The question word corresponding with pointing words like wayaa (7.6) is qaataa or qataa, pl. qatangis or qatangis, for example:

Qa(a)taa hlaan? Where is your son?  
 Qa(a)tangis? Where are they?  
 Hingayangis. Look, there they are.

8.6 As mentioned in 8.1, the question word ii always has a rising tone. It can come last in the sentence, making the whole sentence a question, or after any term that one wants to put in question, for example:

Qilagan Piitraḡ hlaḡ tugal saḡanaḡ ii?  
 Did Peter knock the boy yesterday (or maybe he did not)?

Qilagan Piitraḡ hlaḡ tugal ii saḡanaḡ?  
 Did Peter really knock the boy yesterday (or maybe just scolded him)?

Qilagan Piitraḡ hlaḡ ii tugal saḡanaḡ?  
 Was it the boy (or somebody else) that Peter knocked yesterday?

Qilagan Piitraḡ ii hlaḡ tugal saḡanaḡ?  
 Was it Peter (or somebody else) who knocked the boy yesterday?

Qilagan ii Piitraḡ hlaḡ tugal saḡanaḡ?  
 Was it yesterday (or some other day) that Peter knocked the boy?

(For the construction qilagan -l saḡanaḡ see 11.8-9.)

8.7 The answer to a question with a final ii (or just the rising tone) may be affirmative or negative, with the verb repeated or replaced by ma- do, possibly introduced by aang, which expresses consent: "you are right", or nangaa, which expresses the opposite: "on the contrary", for example (question and answer relating to the present time):

Mariiyaḡ hilal ii? Is Mary reading (or not)?  
 (1) Hilakuḡ. (Yes,) She is reading.  
 or Aang, makuḡ. Yes, she is.  
 (2) Hilalakaḡ. (No,) She is not reading.  
 or Nangaa, hilalakaḡ. No (on the contrary), she is not reading.

Mariiyaḡ hilalakan ii? Isn't Mary reading?  
 (1) Aang, hilalakaḡ. (You are right:) No, she is not reading.  
 (2) Nangaa, hilakuḡ. (On the contrary:) Yes, she is reading.

Whereas the Aleut aang and nangaa express the speaker's consent and non-consent, the English yes and no follow the form of the verb, positive (yes-does) or negative (no- does not).

## Chapter 9 NUMERALS

9.1 The lower Atkan numerals are as follows:

1 ataqan	6 atuung
2 alax	7 uluung
3 qankus	8 qamchiing
4 sicing	9 sichiing
5 chaang	10 hatiḡ

(Old variants for counting: 1 taḡatax and 10 haazak.)

These numerals can be used as nouns (hatiḡ has a relative form hatim), or together with nouns as follows:

ataqan tayaḡuḡ	one man
ataqan aluḡ	a single letter
old pl. ataqakus aluḡis	one book
alax tayaḡux (dual) or tayaḡus	two men
qankus tugidas (pl.)	three months
sicing tugidas	four months
chaang tugidaḡ(sg.) or tugidas(pl.)	five months
hatiḡ tugidaḡ or tudidas	ten months

The numerals below 10 hatiḡ can be used also as verbs, for example:

ataqakuḡ	he/she got or scored one
isuḡis sichikuḡ	he got four seals
itḡaygis sichiinginaḡ	he got nine reindeer (in the past)

For 11-19, hatim (relative case) or hatiḡ is put before the lower numeral:

11 hatim ataqan--19 hatim sichiing.

In the old language one said hatim ataqan signaḡtaa "ten having one as a surplus (signa-)", etc. In the modern language one says in reference to the hours: ataqan signaḡtaḡ 'eleven o'clock', alax signaḡtaḡ 'twelve o'clock'.

9.2 From the simple numerals are formed multiplication forms:

1 x ataqadim	6 x atuungidim
2 x algidim	7 x uluungidim
3 x qankudim	8 x qamchiingidim
4 x sichidim	9 x sichiingidim
5 x chaangidim	10 x hatidim

With the forms for 2x to 9x are formed the higher tens:

20 = algidim hatiḡ, 90 = sichiingidim hatiḡ

The intermediate numerals are formed as in English, for example:

21	algidim	hatiḡ	ataqan	
99	sichiingidim	hatiḡ	sichiing	
10 x 10,	hatidim	hatiḡ	= 100	sisax

The hundreds are counted as in English:

alax sisax (sg.) two hundred, etc.

10	x	100	hatidim	sisax	=	1000	tiisichaḡ	(from Russian)
100	x	100	sisadim	sisax	=	10,000		
1000	x	1000	tiisichadim	tiisichaḡ	=	1,000,000	miliyuunaḡ	(from Russian).
9,999,999 sichiing miliyuunaḡ, sichiing sisax sichiingidim hatiḡ sichiing tiisichaḡ, sichiing sisax sichiingidim hatiḡ sichiing.								

9.3 Ordinal numerals are formed in two ways:

(a) cardinal numeral + hiisiḡ, with lengthening of the first vowel of the lower numerals:

aalax hiisiḡ	the second
qaankus hiisiḡ	the third
siiching hiisiḡ	the fourth
sisax hiisiḡ	the hundredth, etc.

(b) treating the cardinal numeral (the lower ones only) as possessed, for example:

angalis qankuu (old)	the third day
qankungis	the third one

The first is itaangiḡ, for example itaangiḡ ugii 'her first husband', agalugan itaangii 'his/her first tooth'.

The last is inaaḡuliiti-x, rel. -m, or inaaḡuliisiḡ (from ina- be finished).

9.4 Other kinds of numerals:

alaalus	double
qankuulus	triple

cf. also angaa 'half of it (divided lengthwise)', angtaa 'half of it (divided across)' in 5.9. angagan angtaa 'one fourth of it'.

## Chapter 10 INDEFINITE EXPRESSIONS

10.1 If one does not know, or does not want to specify, who does or did what the predicate says, the subject can be avoided, left indefinite, by using the ending -lga- as explained in 4.1 (cf. also 19.1), or in the way illustrated by the following sentences:

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| (1) Piitraŋ qangukuŋ.   | Peter comes in.<br>(specified subject: Piitraŋ)   |
| (2) Qangukuŋ.           | He (or She) comes in.<br>(known subject, cf. 2.2) |
| (3) Qangunax akuŋ.      | Somebody comes in.<br>(indefinite subject)        |
|                         |   |
| (1) Anŋaŋinas waaŋanas. | The people came back here.                        |
| (2) Waaŋanas.           | They came back here.                              |
| (3) Waaŋanas anas.      | Some (certain people) came back here.             |
| cf. Ilangis waaŋanas.   | Some of them (5.9) came back here.                |

In (3), the predicate verb of (1-2), provided with the ending -na-ŋ, pl. -na-s, takes the place of the subject, and the verb a- (to be) takes the place of the predicate:

gangu-(na-ŋ a-)ku-ŋ (present)  
waaŋa-(na-s a-)na-s (past)

With an object (cf. 3.2), the sentences come out like this:

- |                              |                            |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) Ivaanaŋ Piitraŋ kidukuŋ. | John is helping Peter.     |
| (2)(a) Piitraŋ kidukuŋ.      | He is helping Peter.       |
| (b) Ivaanam kidukuu.         | John is helping him.       |
| (3)(a) Piitraŋ kidunaŋ akuŋ. | Somebody is helping Peter. |
| (b) Kidunam akuu.            | Somebody is helping him.   |

In (3)(b), the verb form with -na- is in the relative case: -m, just like the subject Ivaanam in (2)(b), and a-kuu includes the reference to the object (him), just like the predicate kidu-kuu in (2)(b): kidu-(na-m a-)kuu.

Likewise with a local complement (cf. 6.2):

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) Hlas Piitram hadan hingaaŋaŋtazanas.    | The boys used to go there to Peter. |
| (2)(a) Piitram hadan hingaaŋaŋtazanas.      | They used to go there to Peter.     |
| (b) Hlas hadan hingaaŋaŋtazaqaa.            | The boys used to go there to him.   |
| (3)(a) Piitram hadan hingaaŋaŋtazanas anas. | Some used to go there to Peter.     |
| (b) Hadan hingaaŋaŋtazanas aqaa.            | Some used to go there to him.       |

Note the following:

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| (2a) Uchiitilaŋ idaŋtanazulax (idaŋtanaŋulas). | They knew the teacher. |
| (3a) Uchiitilaŋ idaŋtanax anazulax (anaŋulas). | Some knew the teacher. |

The verb idaŋta- always has a negation ("ignore" + negation = know), and in (3a) the negation remains in the predicate: a-na-z + ulax (a-na-ŋula-s).

10.2 An indefinite object can be expressed by anaŋ (a-na-ŋ) something, anything, or anaŋiŋ something, anything, pl. anaŋis (certain) things, for example:

Tachim anaŋ atxazalakaŋ.  
I have not yet caught anything.

Anaŋis manaŋ txin hitanaŋ.  
He pretended to be doing something. (cf. 4.4 end)

Another way is to remove the object by the ending -qaŋi- (cf. 20.3), for example:

Haqataqaŋilakaŋ.	I don't know anything.
cf. Haqatalakaŋiŋ.	I don't know it.

10.3 To express that there is no subject (nobody), one can use the present in -kuŋ followed by a negative form of a- 'to be', cf.

Piitraŋ qasikuŋ.	Peter is fishing. (specified subject)
Qasikuŋ.	He is fishing. (known subject)
Qasilakaŋ.	He is not fishing. (known subject)
Qasikuŋ alakaŋ.	There is nobody to fish, nobody is fishing.
Qasikuŋ aqadakuŋ.	Nobody is fishing any more.
Qasikuŋ anaŋulax.	Nobody was fishing.

With an object:

Hlas kidukuŋ anaŋulax. There was nobody to help the boys, nobody helped the boys.

If the object word is left out, its number will show up in the final verb:

Kidukuŋ anaŋulas (anazulax). Nobody helped them.

Likewise:

Haakus sas isxangis ukuŋtakuŋ alakaŋ.  
Nobody can see the nests of those birds.  
Isxangis ukuŋtakuŋ alakaŋis (alakas).  
Nobody can see their nests.

With a local complement:

Hamakus ulas nagan (nagingin) anŋaŋikuŋ alakaŋ.

Nobody can live in those houses.  
 Nagan (nagingin) anġaġikuŋ alakas (alakaġis).  
 Nobody can live in them.

10.4 To express that an object of a specified kind does not exist, the ending for the subject is changed from (a) to (b):

	(a)	(b)	
3.p. sg.	-ku-ŋ	-kuu	} + alakaŋ etc.
pl.	-ku-s	-kungis	
1.p. sg.	-ku-q	-kung	
pl.	-ku-s	-kuningin	
2.p. sg.	-ku-ŋt	-kuun	
pl.	-ku-ŋtxichix	-kuchix	

For example:

Piitraŋ uuquchiingis kavkaanakuŋ.	Peter is trapping foxes.
Piitraŋ uuquchiingis kavkaanalakaŋ.	Peter is not trapping foxes.
Piitraŋ uuquchiingis kavkaanakuu alakaŋ.	There are no foxes for Peter to trap.
Hlas uuquchiingis kavkaanakus.	The boys are trapping foxes.
Hlas uuquchiingis kavkaanalakaġis.	The boys do not trap foxes.
Hlas uuquchiingis kavkaanakungis alakaŋ.	There are no foxes for the boys to trap.
Uuquchiingis kavkaanakuq.	I am trapping foxes.
Uuquchiingis kavkaanalakaq.	I am not trapping foxes.
Uuquchiingis kavkaanakung alakaŋ.	There are no foxes for me to trap.

If a 3.p. subject is left out, as known beforehand, its number will show up in the final verb:

Uuquchiingis kavkaanakungis alakaġis (alakas).  
 There are no foxes for them to trap.

To express that there is no object at all, the reference to a known object (as explained in 3.2) is removed by the negated form of a-, for example:

Piitram qakuu.	Peter is eating it (or just ate it).
Piitram qakuu alakaŋ.	There is nothing for Peter to eat, Peter has nothing to eat.
Hlas qakungis.	The boys are eating (or ate) them.
Qakungis anazulax (anaġulas).	They had nothing to eat.
Hiŋtakung.	I said it.
Hiŋtakung aqadakuŋ.	I have nothing more to say.

The "nothing" can be stressed by adding the word asla, for example:

Asla qakung alakaŋ. I have nothing to eat.

The subject can be left unspecified by using the ending -lga- (cf. 4.1) followed by -kuŋ, for example:

Malgakuŋ aqadakuŋ. or Asla malgakuŋ aqadakuŋ. There is nothing more to do, we have nothing more to do.

10.5 To show that there is no place for the action or state expressed by the predicate, the local complement is treated in the same way as an object, for example:

Piitram ilan anġaġikuu.	Peter is living there.
Piitram ilan anġaġikuu alakaŋ.	Peter has nowhere to live.
(Hamakus anġaġinas) ilan anġaġikungis alakaġis (alakas).	They (Those people) have nowhere to live.
Bruudnaning ilan aġikung.	I put my boots there.
Bruudnaning ilan aġikung alakaŋ.	There is no place where I could put my boots.
Ilan aġikuning.	I put them there.
Ilan aġikuning alakaġis (alakas).	There is no place where I could put them.

As a final verb, also hit- 'to make, become' (cf. 3.4), can be used, for example:

Piitram ilaan awaŋ ukukuu.  
 Peter found work there.

Piitram ilaan awaŋ ukukuu hitanaġulax.  
 It became impossible for Peter to find work anywhere.

Piitram ilaan awaŋ ukukuu hitanazulax (hitanaġulas).  
 They made it impossible for Peter to find work anywhere.

Ilaan awaŋ ukukuu hitaġangizulax (hitaġaġulangis).  
 They made it impossible for him to find work anywhere.

10.6 The word masxangaan (in a way, in any way), together with the types of expressions explained in 10.3-5, stresses the impossibility, for example:

Masxangaan ayuxtakung alakaŋ.  
 There is no way for me to go out (in a boat), it is impossible for me to go out.

Masxangaan ayuxtakung hitanaġulax.  
 It became impossible for me to go out.

Masxangaan Piitram mayaaġikuu hitanazulax (hitanaġulas).  
 They made it impossible for Peter to go trapping.

Hamakus ulas nagan masxangaan anġaġikungis alakaġis.  
 It is impossible for them to live in those houses.

Masxangaan tanadgusim hadan huyakung hitanaġulaŋt.  
 You made it impossible for me to go to the village.

10.7 In a statement marked by kum (old) or kam as a possibility contrary to fact (cf. 13.7), the main verb has no time ending and a-

no negation, for example:

Ayuxtal imyaḡnaḡ aguung kum qaḡ imis achxuusang akuḡ.  
If I had gone out fishing, I would have had a fish to give you  
(but I didn't go out). (For aguung see chapter 28.)

Piitraḡ angunaḡulax kum ngus hiḡtaa akuḡ.  
Peter could have had a little to tell me (but he hasn't).

Angunaḡulax kum ngiin hiḡtaning akus.  
I could have a little to tell them (but I haven't).

## Chapter 11 PRESENT AND PAST

11.1 The grammatical "present", marked by the ending -ku- or the negative -laka(ḡ)- (cf. 2.4-5, 3.1-2, 4.1-2), may refer to a state or a continuous process that takes place at the time of speech, or to an event that took place a short time before the act of speech, for example:

Ulaḡ quhmakuḡ.	The house is white.
Adang saḡakuḡ.	My father is sleeping.
Mariiyaḡ hilakuḡ.	Mary is reading.
Piitraḡ waaḡakuḡ.	Peter is coming back (now, at the time I am telling you about it), or: Peter just came back, Peter has come back.
Ivaanaḡ asxuḡ sukuḡ.	John is taking the nail, or a nail, is in the process of taking the/a nail, or (more commonly): John took the/a nail (right now).
Ivaanam sukuu.	John took it.
Viiraḡ hilalakaḡ.	Vera is not reading (but doing something else).
Piitraḡ (tachim) waaḡalakaḡ.	Peter has not come back (yet).
Ivaanaḡ asxuḡ sulakaḡ.	John did not take the nail.
Ivaanam sulakaa (sulakaḡa).	John did not take it.

The Aleut grammatical present corresponds with four different time forms (tenses) in English: the simple present (is white), the progressive present (is reading), the simple past (came, took) and the perfect (has come). Cf. 2.7.

11.2 To statements in the present correspond two types of questions:

- (a) questions in the conjunctive (-l/-s, negative -lakan, etc., cf. 2.6, 3.2 end, 4.1-2 end, 8.7, 3-4, 7), asking whether or not the state or process or event in question is a fact (whether or not it happens or just happened, etc.),
- (b) questions in the "general", that is, with no time ending and number and person endings like the simple past (cf. 2.4, 3.2, 4.1-2, no negation), concerned with the nature of the predicate, as different from another possibility, or the like, for example:
  - (a) Mariiyaḡ hilal ii?  
Is Mary reading (or not)?  
Mariiyaḡ hilalakan ii?  
Isn't Mary reading?  
(For the possible answers see 8.7.)
  - (b) Mariiyaḡ hilaḡ ii?

Is Mary reading? (presently, reading rather than doing something else).

- (a) Hilat ii?  
Are you reading (or not), or: Did you read?
- (b) Hilaŋt ii?  
Are you reading (or doing something else)?
- (a) Namigit (Namixsit) ii?  
Do you feel sore?  
Namiglakat ii?  
Don't you feel sore?
- (b) Namigiŋt ii?  
Are you sore?
- (a) Ukuŋtakat ii?  
Did you see it?  
Ukuŋtalakat ii?  
Didn't you see it?
- (b) Ukuŋtaan ii?  
Do you see it now?  
(Are you in the process of seeing it?)
- (a) Sukat ii?  
Did you take it?  
Sulakakat ii?  
Didn't you take it?
- (b) Suun ii?  
Are you taking it now?
- (a) Kriisaŋ asŋatit (asŋasit) ii?  
Did you kill the rat (or not)?
- (b) Kriisaŋ asŋatiŋt ii?  
Are you killing the rat (is that what you are doing in there, or the like)?
- (b) Ayŋaŋ ii hinga?  
Is it (the boat) moving (presently)?  
Qanangudaŋan huyaŋ hinga?  
In which direction is it moving?  
(There are several possibilities.)

A question in the 1.person sg. may be a real question or a question about a question (cf. 8.1), for example:

- (a) Qungtuxsiting ii?  
Did I snore? (A question you could ask when waking up.)
- (a) Txin sasulititing (sasulisiting) ii?  
Am I disturbing you?
- (a) Sukating ii?  
Did I (really) take it?  
or: Did I take it? - is that your question?
- (a) Hilating ii?  
Am I reading? - is that your question?
- (b) Hilaq ii?  
Am I reading (rather than doing something else) - is that your question?

11.3 A state, or a process or event that is taking place before the speaker's eyes, or is otherwise directly observable to the speaker, is often indicated by a pointing verb in -ma- (7.7) with the main verb in the conjunctive, for example:

Adang saŋal hingamakuŋ.  
My father is sleeping there (you see).

Piitraŋ waaŋal hingamakuŋ.  
There (you see) comes Peter.

Ayuxs hawamakus (hagumakus).  
They are going out (in a boat), you see.

His (Hitil) hingamakuŋ.  
He is going out (out of the house).

Uyminalakan gumakuŋ (wamakuŋ).  
I'm not feeling well (now).

In a question, the pointing verb is in the general form, for example:

Ichingul hingamaŋt?                      Do you feel chilly?  
Aang, mal gumakuŋ.                      Yes, I do.

Alqul hingamaŋt?                      What are you doing there? (cf. 8.3)

11.4 The general form, with or without the negation -ulax (as in the simple past, cf. 2.5, 3.2, 4.1-2), is used in general statements, sentences that are true or false not only at the time of speech but also before it and possibly later, and in corresponding questions, for example:

Isuŋiŋ alaŋum algaa aŋ.  
The seal is a sea animal.

Qawaŋ angunazaŋ.  
A sea lion is big, is a big animal. (-za- usually, cf. 22.8).

Asxinus mikazas.  
Girls or the girls usually play.

Iqanas mikazaŋulas (mikazazulax).  
Old women usually do not play.

Piitraŋ kurizaŋ ii?  
Does Peter smoke (is Peter a smoker)?

Piitraŋ kurizaŋulax.  
Peter does not smoke, never smokes (is a non-smoker).

vs. Piitraŋ kurilakaŋ.  
Peter is not smoking (now).

Haagaŋulaq.  
I do not starve (I have plenty of food).

vs. Haagalakaq.  
I am not hungry (now).

Qazaŋulang.  
I never eat it.

vs. Qalakang (Qalakaŋing).

I did not eat it.

Atxam ilaan angixtaq.

I come from Atka, I am a native of Atka.

vs. Atxam ilaan angikuq.

I just came from Atka (possibly as a visitor only).

11.5 The simple past in -na- or -qa- (cf. 2.4-5, 3.2, 4.1-2) usually refers to a comparatively remote past, for example:

Piitrax waaḡanaḡ.	Peter came back here (at least one day earlier than the moment of speech).
Piitrax waaḡanaḡ ii?	Did Peter come back here (in the past)?
Piitrax waaḡanaḡulax.	Peter did not come back (then).
Piitram ukuqaa.	Peter found it.
Piitram ukuqaaḡulaa (ukuqaaayulax).	Peter did not find it.

With -lga- (cf. 4.1 and 19.1) the time ending is -qa- rather than -na-, for example:

Ukulgaqaḡ.	It was found, we found it.
Ukulgaqaḡulax.	It was not found, we did not find it.

Before the ending -qa-, the consonant stems in the modern language have the vowel i, but in the older language the combinations are as follows:

old		=	modern
akaa	he passed it	=	agiqaa
aqaa	he gave it	=	aḡiqaa
kumkaa	he poured it	=	kumiqaa
asḡatxaa	he killed it	=	asḡatiqaa

11.6 The recent past is expressed by aḡta- in the present (-ku-) or, in questions, in the conjunctive, with the main verb in the so-called "intentional" (cf. 14.7), for example:

Piitrax waaḡaaḡan aḡtakuḡ.	Peter came back a while ago.
Piitram ukuuḡan aḡtakuu.	Peter found it a while ago.
Piitrax waaḡaaḡan aḡtal ii?	Did Peter come back (a while ago)?
Piitrax waaḡalagaḡan aḡtakuḡ.	Peter did not come back (as we had expected).
Piitram ukuuḡan aḡtakan ii?	Did Peter find it?
Piitram ukulagaḡan aḡtakuu.	Peter did not find it.
Unalagaangan aḡtakuq.	I did not cook (for dinner, earlier today).

With the stem waaḡa-, the full set of forms is as follows:

3.p.sg.	waaḡaaḡan aḡtakuḡ
du.	waaḡaakin aḡtakux
pl.	waaḡaaḡan aḡtakus
(old)	waaḡaaḡin aḡtakus)
1.p.sg.	waaḡaangan aḡtakuq
pl.	= 3.p. pl.

2.p.sg.	waaḡaamis aḡtakuḡt
du.	waaḡaamdix aḡtakuḡtxidix
pl.	waaḡaamchix aḡtakuḡtxichix

In fast speech, the combinations are shortened to waaḡaa-aḡtakuḡ etc. In the modern language, they are shortened down to single words:

waaḡaaḡtakuḡ etc.;	
ukuḡtakung	I found it a while ago, etc.

11.7 The remote past is expressed by amu- in the simple past, with the main verb in the intentional, for example:

Piitrax waaḡaaḡan amunaḡ.	Peter came here a long time ago.
Piitrax waaḡaaḡan amunaḡ ii?	Did Peter come here long ago?
Piitram ukuuḡan amuqaa.	Peter found it a long time ago.

Also these combinations are shortened in fast speech: waaḡaa-amunaḡ, ukuu-amuqaa, etc., in the modern language waaḡaamunaḡ, ukuumuqaa, etc.

The modern simplified forms tend to be used instead of the simple past (11.5), with approximately the same meaning as the English past forms (came, found, etc.).

The remote past is not used with a negation. The negated simple past is used instead: Piitrax waaḡanaḡulax etc. (11.5). (The time of an event that did not take place, can not easily be specified.)

11.8 For dating a sentence more precisely, there are several temporal verbs which combine with the main verb in the conjunctive (positive or negative), for example:

angali- (angaliḡ day)

Piitrax waaḡal angaliḡ.	Peter came back today (earlier today).
Piitrax waaḡal angaliḡ ii?	Did Peter come back today?

qilaḡsi- (qilaḡ morning)

Mariiyaḡ waaḡalakan qilaḡsiḡ.	Mary did not come back this morning.
-------------------------------	--------------------------------------

angalikingi- (angalikinga evening)

Ukuḡtal angalikingiḡ.	I saw him/her this evening.
-----------------------	-----------------------------

amaxsi- (amḡix night)

Qungtuxs amaxsiḡt.	You snored last night.
--------------------	------------------------

These verbs can also be used with a time ending, in a somewhat different sense, for example:

Chiḡtal angalikuḡ.	It has been raining today (and still is).
cf. Hamang awal slukuq.	I passed the summer working there. I

worked there in the summer (sluḡ  
summer).

saḡa- (sleep: pass a night)  
Uqis saḡanaḡ.

He/She returned yesterday (returned  
and passed a night).

Piitraḡ waaḡal saḡanaḡ  
ii?

Did Peter come back yesterday?

Ukul saḡaqang.  
Saḡalakan saḡanaḡ.

I found it yesterday.  
I did not sleep yesterday.

haḡit-

Waaḡal haḡitikuḡ.  
Waaḡal haḡitnaḡ.

He came back a couple of days ago.  
He came back the other day.

11.9 Temporal words may also be used as nouns, with a pointing  
word, a numeral or a quantifier (5.9), indicating a point of time or  
the duration of a process, for example:

Wan qilaḡ waaḡakuḡ (or waaḡal qilaḡsiḡ).  
I came back this morning.

Wan angaliḡ qaḡtalakaḡ.  
Today I have not eaten.

Alax angalix qaḡtalakaḡ.  
I have not eaten for two days.

Alax angalix qaḡtanaḡulaḡ.  
I did not eat for two days (in the past).

Angalim huzuu saḡanaḡ.  
I slept the whole day.

Slum huzuu chiḡtal slukuḡ.  
It has been raining the whole summer.

Qilagan (3.p. sg. relative case) waaḡal saḡanaḡ (or waaḡanaḡ).  
He/She came back here yesterday. (Cf. 8.6)

Qilagan qilaa ayuxtal saḡanaḡ.  
He went out yesterday morning.

11.10 A habit or a usual behavior is expressed by the verb  
maḡaḡta-za- (cf. 22.8) with the main verb in the simple form in -ḡ,  
for example:

Txidix agiidaḡ maḡaḡtazakus.  
They usually visit each other.  
vs. Txidix agiidakus.  
They are visiting each other (now).

Kukutus chiidaḡtaḡ maḡaḡtazanas.  
They used to have young eider ducks as pets.

Chiidaḡtaḡ maḡaḡtazaqangis.

They used to have them as pets.  
vs. Chiidaḡtaqangis.  
They had them as pets.

The simple verb ma-, 'to do', with a main verb in -hli-ḡ (cf. 23.1) or  
-ḡ + agacha (cf. 4.5) indicates a contrast, for example:

Saḡaḡulaḡ, quyuḡihliḡ makuḡ.  
I was not sleeping, I was just lying down.

Angaachaḡiḡ agacha manaḡ.  
He/She did nothing but singing.

Chapter 12  
TIME: FUTURE

12.1 The immediate future is expressed by the verb aḡ- in the present (aḡiku-) or, in a question, in the conjunctive (aḡs, aḡil), with the main verb in the intentional (cf. 11.6 and 14.7), for example.

Piitraḡ waaḡaaḡan aḡikuḡ.  
Peter is coming, is about to come.

Piitram suuḡan aḡikuu.  
Peter is going to take it.

Piitraḡ waaḡaaḡan aḡil (aḡs) ii?  
Will Peter be coming?

Hadan huyaamis aḡikat (aḡsxat) ii?  
Will you be going to him?

In fast speech such combinations are shortened to waaḡaa-aḡikuḡ, suu-aḡikuu etc., in the modern language to single words: waaḡaaḡikuḡ, suuḡikuu etc. (cf. 11.6).

12.2 The remoter future, that is, when some other action is supposed to come in between, is expressed by aḡna- or aqa- with the main verb in the intentional:

Piitraḡ waaḡaaḡan aḡnaḡ.	Peter will come back later.
Piitram suuḡan aqaa.	Peter will take it later.
Saxtahliḡ maaḡan aḡnaḡ.	He'll just be lazy.
Txin ukuḡtahliingan aḡnaḡ.	I'll see you again later.
Haqaamis aḡnaḡt ii?	Are you coming later?

Also these expressions are shortened in fast speech: waaḡaa-aḡnaḡ etc., in the modern language: waaḡaanaḡ, suuqaa, txin ukuḡtahliinaḡ, haqaanaḡt etc.

12.3 The verb amu-, which in the simple past indicates a remote past (11.7), in the present and conjunctive indicates a near future:

Piitraḡ waaḡaaḡan amukuḡ.	Peter will come soon.
Piitraḡ waaḡaaḡan amul ii?	Will Peter be coming soon?
Waaḡaaḡan amuḡalikuḡ.	He/She is about to arrive.
(For -qali- see 24.5.)	

12.4 Saḡa- (-na-, -qa-), which with the conjunctive means yesterday (11.8), with the intentional means tomorrow (in both cases a night will be passed), for example:

Piitraḡ waaḡaaḡan saḡanaḡ.	Peter will come back tomorrow.
Piitraḡ waaḡaaḡan saḡal ii?	Will Peter be coming tomorrow?

Maangan saḡaqang.

I shall do it tomorrow.

In this connection also qilagan means tomorrow:

Qilagan haḡaaḡan saḡanaḡ.	He/She will come tomorrow.
vs. Qilagan haḡal saḡanaḡ.	He/She came yesterday.

12.5 The expressions for the future in 12.1-4 can not be negated. A negated future means a prediction of what is not going to happen. This is expressed by the ending -ḡuuka- or -zuuka- with a negation,

(a) for the foreseeable future in the present (-laka(ḡ)-),

(b) for the unlimited future in the general (-ḡulax etc.), for example:

Foreseeable future:

Piitraḡ waaḡaduukalakaḡ.	Peter probably won't come back (now).
Piitraḡ waaḡaduukalakan ii?	Isn't Peter coming?
Txin saḡaatuchḡiduukalakaḡ.	I shall not be keeping you awake ("let you be sleepy"). (I shall leave and let you go to sleep.)
Wan angaliḡ uqitduukalakaḡ.	I shall not be returning today.
Qilagan haḡaaḡutaduukalakaḡ.	I shall not be coming tomorrow either.

Unlimited future:

Piitraḡ waaḡazuukaḡulax.	Peter will probably never come back here.
Piitraḡ waaḡazuukaḡulax ii?	Isn't Peter ever coming?

Note:

The verb idaḡta-, which (in the older language) always has a negation (cf. 10.1 end), can also have future forms with aḡ- (12.1-2), for example:

- (a) Idaḡtalagaamis aḡikuun = Idaḡtaduukalakaḡiin.  
You'll recognize it.
- (b) Idaḡtalagaamis aqaan = Idaḡtazuukaḡulaan (-zuukaanulax).  
You'll know it sometime.

The negated haḡata-, not to know, has only the regular negated future forms:

- (a) Haḡataduukalakaḡiin.  
You'll not know it (so far).
- (b) Haḡatazuukaḡulaan (-zuukaanulax).  
You'll never know it.

12.6 The negated general (-ḡ-ulax) with the negated a-zuuka- or a-duuka- (a- to be), expresses a strong prediction, or a future obligation, for example:

Ulaam ilagaan hitiḡulax azuukaḡulax.  
He/She has to get out from his/her house sometime (sooner or later).

Maḡulax azuukaḡulaa.  
He has to do it sometime.

Hadan huyaḡulax azuukaḡulaa.  
He/She has to go there, sooner or later.

## Chapter 13 INFERENCE AND DOUBT

13.1 The simple present in -ku-, negated -laka(ḡ)- (11.1), indicates a fact directly experienced, sensed, for example seen or heard, by the speaker, for example:

Piitraḡ waaḡakuḡ.	Peter is coming (now), or Peter just came:
Ukuḡtakung	I see him, or I just saw him, or
Tutakung	I heard him, etc.

The verb aḡta-ku- with the main verb in the conjunctive (cf. 11.2-3) expresses an inference about the present or the immediate past:

Piitraḡ waaḡal aḡtakuḡ.	Peter apparently is coming:
Ngus hiḡakuḡ	it is said to me, or Peter apparently has come:
Ukuḡtakung	I see him now (but did not see him come),
Ayḡaasii ukuḡtakung,	I see his boat,
or Chalanaa tutakung.	I heard him land, etc.

Piitraḡ waaḡalakan aḡtakuḡ.	Peter apparently has not come:
Ukuḡtalakang (-lakaḡing)	I did not see him.

Uluḡ txin chaknatiqalil aḡtakuḡ.	The meat is getting spoiled (I think).
Ugunul aḡtakung.	I must have forgotten it. (The fact of forgetting is not experienced.)

13.2 The inferential verb aḡtaku- may follow the general (11.4), the simple past (11.5) and the remoter past (11.7), carrying the ending for the subject number or person (cf. 4.1), for example:

### General:

Piitraḡ kurizaḡulax aḡtakuḡ.	Peter apparently does not smoke.
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### Simple past:

Hamakus tayaḡus waaḡanaḡ aḡtakus.	Those men came here (as they say).
Ting saḡaninaḡ aḡtakuḡ.	I must have fallen asleep (at that time).

### Remoter past:

Haman ulaḡ aguuḡan amunaḡ aḡtakus.	That house they must have built a long time ago.
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If the main verb is marked for number of a known object (3.2, 4.2) or a local complement (6.2, etc.), axtaku- has the same number, for example:

Piitram ukuqaa axtakuŋ.	Peter found it (they say).
Piitram ukuqangis axtakus.	Peter found them (they say).
Ugunuqang axtakuŋ.	I must have forgotten it (at that time).
Ugunuungan amuqaning axtakus.	I must have forgotten them long time ago.

With the simple past, axta- may also be in the simple past, indicating remoteness, for example:

Kadim hadaan Qawalangis Niiŋuŋis huzuugizangis txidix ilaŋtal anŋaŋiqalinas axtanas.  
Originally all the Eastern Aleuts and the Atkans had started to live in friendship (so the story goes).

(The recent past in axtaku-, 11.6, does not admit another axtaku-.)

13.3 In the conjunctive form axtal, the inferential verb combines with temporal verbs (11.8), for example:

Piitraŋ waaŋal axtal qilaŋsiŋ.  
Peter apparently came back this morning.

Kalul axtal saŋaŋangis.  
He shot them yesterday (he or they said - I wasn't there).

Hachitikung, hamaax anŋaŋinam haxsiqaa axtal amaxsiŋ.  
I closed it (the door), but some person must have opened it last night.

Masinangis siŋs hamamanaŋ axtal haŋitikuŋ.  
His motor had apparently broken some time ago. (Cf. 7.7.)

13.4 The verb liida-, to resemble, with the main verb in the form in -na-ŋ, indicates what a state or action looks like or seems to be, for example:

Chiŋtaakanaŋ liidaqalikuŋ.  
It now looks as if it could start raining.  
cf. Chiŋtaakakuŋ.  
It could be raining.

Hadangin haqanaŋ liidakus.  
They seem to be coming towards us.

Aniqdudix yaxtanaŋ liidakus.  
They seem to love their children.  
cf. Aniqdudix yaxtakus.  
They love their children.

Hingan aahmaaŋiŋ ukuŋaa kituŋ kugan anaŋ liidazaŋ.  
That flower looks as if it had a louse on it ("being looked at,

resembles one that has a louse on it").

cf. Kituŋ kugan akuu.

There is a louse on it (cf. 6.4).

Hawakus tayaŋus ilagaan awaŋ ukukungis anaŋ liidaqadokus.  
It seems that those men can no more find work anywhere. (Cf. 10.5.)

13.5 A guess or supposition is expressed by the ending -masu- (cf. 24.7), or by a-masu- 'maybe', combined with the main verb in the general (11.4), the simple past (11.5), or in the intentional with or without aŋna-/aqa- (12.1), for example:

Atxaŋamasukuŋ.  
He is right, I guess.

Haqaduukamasulakaq.  
I'll probably not come.

Hingamatazaŋ amasukuŋ.  
It is like that, I suppose.

Aniqdudix sihmizanas amasukus.  
Perhaps they used to spank their children.

Qilagan agach waaŋaaŋan amasukuŋ.  
Maybe he'll come back tomorrow.

Ayuxtaangan amasulakaq.  
I probably won't go out (I suppose).

Haqahliiŋan aŋnas amasukus.  
They will come again later, I guess.

Qilagan kamgalgaaŋan aqaŋ amasukuŋ.  
Tomorrow we will have service, I guess.

13.6 For the expression of doubt, in wondering questions, there are special verb forms, the so-called dubitative, for example:

Haqaaŋtaa?  
Did he come? I wonder whether he came.

Haqaaŋtaŋulaa (Haqaaŋtaayulax)?  
Didn't he come (I wonder)?

Kiin ayŋaasii akum haqal hingamaaŋtaa?  
I wonder whose boat is coming there?

Txin sasulitiiŋtaang?  
Did (or do) I disturb you, perhaps I disturbed (or disturb) you?

Hiikus alaaŋtaan?  
Perhaps you like to have those?

Igaŋtaŋ haqanaa ukuŋtaaŋtachix?

Did you (pl.) see the plane coming (I wonder)?

The ending is -V̄xta- after a vowel (the vowel is lengthened), -iīxta- after a consonant (cf. 14.3), and the forms are as follows (after a vowel):

	sg.	du.	pl.
3.p.	-V̄xtaa	-V̄xtakix	} -V̄xtangis
1.p.	-V̄xtaang		
2.p.	-V̄xtaan	-V̄xtadix	-V̄xtachix

13.7 The word kam, old kum, marks a statement or question as a possibility contrary to fact, for example:

Piitrāx kam ting kidukūx.  
Peter would have helped me (now, but he isn't here).

Piitrāx kam ting kidunāx.  
Peter would have helped me (in the past, but he was not there).

Kam maasakung.  
I would have done it (now, but I have other things to do, or the like).

Kam maasaqang.  
I would have done it (then, in the past).

Kam maasakuun?  
Would you do it (if you could)?

Kam maasaqaan?  
Would you have done it (in the past)?

Malakan agumchix kum ugunuumchix agachix.  
If you don't do it (write it down), you might forget it.  
cf. 10.7. For agumchix see chapter 28.

## Chapter 14 COMMANDS AND WISH

14.1 A command or an invitation to a single person can be expressed by the so-called imperative (2p.sg.), that is, with the ending -da or the negative -laga-da, for example:

Qanquda!	Come in (please come in)!
Qada!	Eat!
Suda!	Take it (or them)!
Hingamalagada!	Don't do that!
Sulagada!	Don't take it!

After a consonant stem, in the older language, the ending is -ada, and before it the stem consonant t is changed into ch, for example:

Ngus aḡada (Iming aḡida)!	Give it to me!
Hiing aḡlagada (aḡilagada)!	Don't put it there!
Hyuchada (Hyutida)!	Pour it out!
Hyutlagada (Hyutilagada)!	Don't spill it.

14.2 A warning can be expressed by the so-called prohibitive, for example:

Sisaḡanāxt?	Don't get lost (take care not to get lost)!
Sisaḡanātxichix!	(same in the plural).
Hingan ukināx suuḡanāxt!	Don't take that knife!
Suuḡanaan!	Don't take it!
Suuḡanat!	Don't take them!
Suuḡanachix!	Don't (you pl.) take it/them!
Ugunuuḡanaan!	Don't forget it!

The prohibitive ending is -V̄ḡana- (the stem vowel is lengthened), and the person endings the same as for the 2.person in the simple past (4.1-2).

After a stem in t, in the older language, the prohibitive ending is -aḡana-, and before it the t changes into s, for example:

Dakiin agasaḡanakin (agatiiḡanakin)!	Don't take them (two) apart!
Hyusaḡanaan (Hyutiiḡanaan)!	Don't spill it (take care not to spill it)!

After other consonant stems the ending is -iiḡana-, for example:

Kimiiḡanāxt!	Don't go down!
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14.3 A wish addressed to one or more persons (2.person sg., du. or pl.) can be expressed by the so-called optative, with or without the negation -laga-, for example:

Haqaaxt!	Come now! (More impatient than haqada!)
Qaaxt!	Eat now!
Ukinax suuxt!	Take the knife!
Suuqaan!	Take it?
Ukinax sulagaaxt!	Don't take the knife!
Haqaaxtxichix!	Come now (you pl.)! or: Please, come!
Qaaxtxichix!	Eat (please)!
Ukinas suuixtxichix!	Take the knives!
Suuqachix!	Take them (or it)!
Ukinas sulagaaixtxichix!	Don't take the knives!
Sulagaaqachix!	Don't take them (or it)!

After a vowel stem, the endings are as follows:

	sg.	du.	pl.
subject 2.p.	-Vxt	-Vxtxidix	-Vxtxichix
+ object sg.	-Vqaan	} -Vqadix	-Vqachix
du.	-Vqakin		
pl.	-Vqat		

After a stem in t, in the old language, the endings are -axt etc., and -aqaan etc., and before them the t changes to s, for example:

Hisaxt (Hitixt)!	Go out now!
Huzuqil hisaxtxichix!	Get out all of you!

After other consonant stems the endings are -iixt etc. and -iiqaan etc., for example:

Kimixt!	Go down now!
Hiing aqiiqaan!	Put it there!

14.4 The optative 1.p.sg. is used in questions, asking the person spoken to whether he or she wants the speaker to do something or not do it, for example:

Agaq? Shall I go away? (Do you want me to go away?)

possible answers:

Agada!	Go away!
Agaaxt!	Go away now!

Agalagaaq? Shall I not go away?

Agalagada!	Don't go away!
Agalagaaxt!	You don't go away!

Ukinax suuq? Shall I take the knife?

Suuq? Shall I take it?

Suda!	Take it!
Suuqaan!	You take it!

Haluusis sulagaaq? Shall I not take the needles?

Sulagaaqaning? Shall I not take them?

Sulagada!	Don't take them!
Sulagaaqat!	Don't take them!

In the old language:

Aqisaq ii? (Aqitiiq ii?)	Shall I take it off?
Aqichada (Aqitida)!	Take it off!
Aqisaqaan (Aqitiiqaan)!	You take it off!

Note that the 1.p. sg. ending -q corresponds both with -q (1.p.sg. subject only) and with the -ng (I-him/her) of the present (-kuq vs. -kung) and other time forms.

14.5 In the optative, the 1.p. plural (we) is expressed indirectly only, in two ways:

(a) by the ending -lga-, which removes the grammatical subject (cf. 4.1 and 19.1), for example:

Qalgaaxt (Qalgaaxtax)!	Let's eat!
Qalgaaxt (Qalgaaxtax)?	Shall we eat?
Taangasxaaaxtaax!	Let's get water! (Stem taangat-)

Agalgalagaaxt (Agalgalagaaaxtaax)!

Let's not go away!

Agalgalagaaxt (Agalgalagaaaxtaax)?

Shall we not go away?

Sulgaaxt (Sulgaaaxtaax)!

Let's take it (let it be taken)!

Sulgaaxtas!

Let's take them (let them be taken)!

(b) by indefinite constructions of the type -na- a- (10.1), for example:

Amaxunaax aaxtaax!	Let's go racing!
Tanadgusim hadan huyaasa-naaqnam aqaa!	Let's try and bring it to the village!
Agalaan xaadagnaanaaqnam aqaa!	Let's try and run after it!

14.6 The 3.person optative expresses wish, permission or concession, for example:

Haqaaxt (Haqaaaxtaax)!

May he come (I wish he may come)!

or: Let him come!

Haqaaxtas!

May they come!

or: Let them come!

Ukinax suuixt (suuixtaax)!

Let him (or her) take the knife!

Suutul aguun suuqaa!

If he wants to take it, let him (I permit him to) take it!

Haqalagaaxtas.

May they not come (I wish they

Ukinaŋ sulagaax̄tas.  
Sulagaax̄qangis.

may not come).  
May they not take the knife.  
May they not take it (or them)!  
(or: May he not take them,  
cf. 3.2).

14.7 As the examples in 14.3-6 show, the optative expresses a wish that another person do or not do something:

- 2.p.: I want you to do something,
- 1.p.: Do you want me to do something?
- 3.p.: I want him/her to do something etc.

By contrast, the so-called intentional expresses a wish, or the intention, of the same person as the subject, for example:

- 1.p. (the speaker talks about himself):
  - Qaang (Qaangan). I'll eat (I have the intention to eat now).
  - Qalagaang (Qalagaangan). I'm not going to eat (now).
  - Suung (Suungan). I'll take it (now).
  - Suutuguung suung (suungan)? If I want to take it, may I take it?
  - Sulagaang (Sulagaangan). I'll not take it.
  - Sulagaang (Sulagaangan)? May I not take it?
  - Qaangin? Shall we eat?
  - Qalagaangin? Shall we not eat?
  - Suungin? Shall we take it?
  - Sulagaangin? Shall we not take it?

- 2.p. (question to the person or persons spoken to):

Qaamis? Are you going to eat?  
Qaamdix? (dual)  
Qaamchix? (plural)  
Qalagaamis?  
Sulagaamis?  
Ayuxtaamis?  
Qanaanuumis?  
Are you not going to eat?  
Are you not going to take it?  
Are you going out?  
Where (in which direction) are you going? (cf. 8.4).

Old forms with a consonant stem:

Hisangan (Hitiing). I'll go out.  
Hisamis (Hitiimis)? Are you going out?

The 3.p. intentional, like qaaḡan, waaḡaaḡan etc., is used only together with another verb in the same 3.person, see 11.6-7, 12.1-4 and chapter 27.

## Chapter 15 NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERBS

15.1 As pointed out in 2.7, many Aleut words are used both as nouns and as verbs, for example:

noun: Chaayuŋ iḡamanakuŋ. The tea is good.  
verb: Viiraŋ chaayukuŋ. Vera is drinking tea.

There are also endings which turn verbs into nouns (and vice versa, cf. 17), for example una- to cook + -na- = unanaŋ a cook:

verb: Mariiyaŋ unakuŋ. Mary is cooking.  
noun: Unanaŋ saḡakuŋ. The cook is sleeping.

The noun unanaŋ is derived from the verb unal (una-) to cook with the ending -na-.

Like chaayu-, the word unana- may also be used as a verb; cf.

noun: Unanaŋ saḡakuŋ. The cook is sleeping.  
verb: Mariiyaŋ unanakuŋ. Mary acts as a cook, does the cooking.

Cf. uchiitilaŋ 'teacher', uchiitilakuŋ acts as a teacher, does the teaching (2.7).

Like uchiitila- and chaayu-, however, unana- is primarily a noun, a noun derived from a verb, and it is not the case that any noun could be used as a verb; tayaḡuŋ man, for example, is only a noun.

Unanaŋ also happens to be a verb form: the simple past of una- to cook (cf. 11.5), for example Mariiyaŋ unanaŋ. Mary cooked, was cooking. Similarly, qaqa- is both a noun and a verb in the simple past:

Qaqaŋ qaatunanaŋ. The food was delicious.  
Mariiyam qaqa. Mary ate it.

This is true, however, only of the endings -na- and -qa-. The other endings to be listed in this and the following chapters are used only for deriving new words.

15.2 -na- (1) who does-:  
unanaŋ a cook, from unal to cook.

(2) the more or most-:  
hlam angunanaa the biggest boy, from angunal to be big. Cf. 2.7, 5.8.

15.3 -qa- what is or has been -:

qaqaŋ food, from qal to eat.

Ukinaŝ sulagaaŝtas.  
Sulagaaqangis.

may not come).  
May they not take the knife.  
May they not take it (or them)!  
(or: May he not take them,  
cf. 3.2).

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  - Suutuguung suung (suungan)? If I want to take it, may I take it?
  - Sulagaang (Sulagaangan). I'll not take it.
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- Qaamdix? (dual)
- Qaamchix? (plural)
- Qalagaamis? Are you not going to eat?
- Sulagaamis? Are you not going to take it?
- Ayuxtaamis? Are you going out?
- Qanaanuumis? Where (in which direction) are you going? (cf. 8.4).

Old forms with a consonant stem:

- Hisangan (Hitiing). I'll go out.
- Hisamis (Hitiimis)? Are you going out?

The 3.p. intentional, like qaaŝan, waaŝaaŝan etc., is used only together with another verb in the same 3.person, see 11.6-7, 12.1-4 and chapter 27.

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|-------|---------------------|-----------------------|
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There are also endings which turn verbs into nouns (and vice versa, cf. 17), for example una- to cook + -na- = unanaŝ a cook:

- |       |                  |                       |
|-------|------------------|-----------------------|
| verb: | Mariiyaŝ unakuŝ. | Mary is cooking.      |
| noun: | Unanaŝ saŝakuŝ.  | The cook is sleeping. |

The noun unanaŝ is derived from the verb unal (una-) to cook with the ending -na-.

Like chaayu-, the word unana- may also be used as a verb; cf.

- |       |                    |  |
|-------|--------------------|--|
| noun: | Unanaŝ saŝakuŝ.    | The cook is sleeping.                  |
| verb: | Mariiyaŝ unanakuŝ. | Mary acts as a cook, does the cooking. |

Cf. uchiitilaŝ 'teacher', uchiitilakuŝ acts as a teacher, does the teaching (2.7).

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Unanaŝ also happens to be a verb form: the simple past of una- to cook (cf. 11.5), for example Mariiyaŝ unanaŝ. Mary cooked, was cooking. Similarly, qaqa- is both a noun and a verb in the simple past:

- Qaqaŝ qaatunanaŝ. The food was delicious.
- Mariiyam qaqa. Mary ate it.

This is true, however, only of the endings -na- and -qa-. The other endings to be listed in this and the following chapters are used only for deriving new words.

- 15.2 -na- (1) who does-:
  - unanaŝ a cook, from unal to cook.

- (2) the more or most-:
  - hlam angunanaa the biggest boy, from angunal to be big. Cf. 2.7, 5.8.

- 15.3 -qa- what is or has been -:

qaqaŝ food, from qal to eat.

chuṣtaqaṣ clothes, from chuṣtal to wear.

15.4 -snika- who regularly does-:

gasluxsnikaṣ quarreller, from gaslugil (gasluxs) to quarrel

hmiichisnikaṣ ball player, from hmiichil to play ball (cf. 2.8)

itṣayginaaṣsnikaṣ reindeer hunter, from itṣayginaaḡil (-naaṣs) to hunt reindeer (cf. 24.3)

15.5 -ṣta- skilled -er:

awaṣtaṣ a skilled worker, awaṣtakuṣ he/she is a skilled worker, from awal to work

kaluṣtaṣ a sharp shooter, kaluṣtakuṣ he is a sharp shooter, from kalul to shoot

15.6 -usi-, -asi-, -Vsi- means for -:

chahmidusiṣ plug (means for plugging), from chahmitil (chahmis) to plug

aluḡasiṣ means for writing, pencil, from aluḡil (aluṣs) to write

ayṣaasiṣ boat (means for travelling), from ayṣal to travel

chaliisiṣ fish line, from chalil to fish

15.7 -aluḡ-, -Vluḡ- place for -:

chṣuuḡaluṣ place for washing, from chṣuuḡil (chṣuuṣs) to wash

chaliiluṣ fishing place, from chalil to fish

unguchiiluṣ chair, from unguchil to sit

saḡaaluṣ bed room, from saḡal to sleep

Chapter 16  
NOUNS DERIVED FROM NOUNS

16.1 The endings by which nouns are derived from nouns indicate various kinds of relations, quality, size, or evaluation. Some of the endings are transferred to the verb in sentences which do not include the subject word (cf. 2.2), for example:

Hlakuchaṣ hilakuṣ.                   The small boy is reading.  
Hilakuchakuṣ.                         The small one is reading.

16.2 -iigamag-, -Vgamag- major, main, adult:

isuḡiigamax adult seal, from isuḡiṣ (isuṣ) seal  
tiḡlaagamax adult bald eagle, from tiḡlaṣ eagle  
ulaagamax main house, from ulaṣ house

16.3 -aada-, -Vda- minor, young, likeness of -:

isuḡaadaṣ young seal, from isuḡiṣ (isuṣ) seal  
alaadaṣ porpoise, from alaṣ whale  
sunaadaṣ or suunaadaṣ play ship, su(u)naadal to play with a play ship, from sunaṣ ship

16.4 -liga- material for-, future:

ayṣaasiligaṣ material for boat, from ayṣaasiṣ boat  
ulaligaṣ material for house, from ulaṣ house  
hixtuḡaligas wood for kindling, from hixtuḡas kindling wood  
ayagaligaṣ future wife, fiancée, from ayagaṣ woman, wife

16.5 -qasi- fellow, the other:

hlaqasit your fellow boys, the other boys (of your age group), from hlaṣ boy  
iqanaqasiin an old lady like you, from iqanaṣ old woman

16.6 -ḡahlina- every:

tugidaḡahlinaṣ every month, from tugidaṣ month  
tayaḡuḡahlinas ayuxtanas every one of the men, all the men went out, from tayaḡuṣ man

16.7 -ḡgusi- place for putting or finding:

utxidḡusiṣ ash box, ashtray, from utxiṣ ash  
ikladḡusiṣ place where wood is found, from iklaṣ wood  
uuglidḡusiṣ coal bin or coal bucket, from uugliṣ coal

16.8 -chxiza- nice, good, pretty:

slachxizaṣ nice weather, from slaṣ weather  
ulachxizaṣ nice house, from ulaṣ house

qalgadachxizaḥ good food, from qalgadaḥ food  
tukuulkichxizaḥ good axe, from tukuulkiḥ axe  
ayagachxizaḥ pretty woman, ayagachxizakuḥ she is a pretty  
woman, from ayagaḥ woman  
txichxizaan you pretty one, from txin you (cf. 4.3)

16.9 -yuug- poor:

ukinayugiḥ a poor knife, ukinayuuging my poor knife, from  
ukinaḥ knife  
kitayuugiin your poor foot, from kitaan your foot, kitaḥ foot  
anayuuging my poor mother, from anaang my mother, anaḥ mother

16.10 -lḡu- big:

isuḡilḡuḥ big seal, from isuḡiḥ (isuḥ) seal  
galḡuḥ big fish, from qaḥ fish  
Tayaḡulḡuḥ ayuxtakuḥ. The big man is out in the boat.  
Ayuxtalḡukuḥ. The big one is out in the boat, from tayaḡuḥ  
man.  
tilḡung big me, from ting me (4.3)

16.11 -kucha- small, little:

sabaakakuchaḥ small dog, from sabaakaḥ dog  
qakuchaḥ small fish, from qaḥ fish  
qayakuchaḥ small hill, from qayaḥ hill  
hamanikuchaḥ that small one, from haman that one (7.9)  
Cf. 16.1

16.12 -laayakucha- very small, tiny:

tutusilaayakuchaḥ small ear, from tutusiḥ ear  
ayḥaasilaayakuchaḥ small boat, from ayḥaasiḥ boat  
quganalaayakuchaḥ tiny rock, from quqanaḥ rock

16.13 -ḥsiida- poor:

sabaakaḥsiidang my poor dog, from sabaakaḥ dog  
saygiḥsiidang my poor gun, from saygiḥ gun  
ulaḥsiidang my poor house, from ulaḥ house  
Tayaḡuḥsiidaḥ saḡakuḥ. The poor guy is sleeping.  
Saḡaḥsiidakuḥ hama. The poor one is sleeping, from tayaḡuḥ  
man.  
txiḥsiidaan poor you, from txin you

The following are used in the same way:

-iiklu-, -vklu- bad, nasty, clumsy  
-iilkida-, -vlkida- darned  
-naḥchḥi- damned, to heck

Chapter 17  
VERBS DERIVED FROM NOUNS

17.1 -ḡi-(after a consonant stem -aḡi-)

(1) have-:

Asxinuḡiḥt ii? Do you have a daughter? from asxinuḥ  
girl, daughter.  
Kuunaḡikuḥ. He has a horse, from kuunaḥ horse.  
chiidaḡil to have puppies, from chiidaḥ puppy

(2) have - on it or in it:

Amlagiḥ anḡaḡinaḡilakaḥ. Amlia has no people on it =  
There are no people on Amlia (now), from anḡaḡinas  
(pl.) people.  
baankim krisxiḡii can with a lid (cf. 5,8), from krisxiḥ  
lid  
baankim taangaḡii a can with water in it, from taangaḥ  
water

(3) use-:

Ayḥaasiḡil (old ayḥaachaḡil) ayḥakus. They travel using  
a boat = in a boat.

(4) be in or at (a place):

skuuliḡikus we are in school, from skuuliḥ school  
taangam baankiḡii water that is in a can, canned water,  
from baankiḥ can

The meaning of this ending corresponds with possession (cf. 5.7): (1) asxinuun your daughter, kuunaa his horse, chiidangis its puppies, (2) Amlagim anḡaḡinangis the people of Amlia (formerly), baankim krisxii the lid of the can, (3) ayḥaasingis their boat (the boat they own or only use), (4) skuulingin our school.

17.2 -ḥta- (after a consonant stem -ta-) have or use as-:

Adaḥtakung. I have him as a father = he is my father, or: he  
is a father to me, from adaḥ father, adang my father.  
Alquḥ asaḥtaḥt? "What do you have as a name? = What is your  
name?, from asaḥ name.  
Alax braataḥtakuḡ. "I have two as brothers" = I have two  
brothers, from braataḥ brother, alax braataḥ two brothers.  
Skiifaḥ ayḥaasiḥtal waaḡanas. They came here "using a skiff as  
a boat" = in a skiff, from ayḥaasiḥ boat.  
Dalḡus daḥtakus. They have big eyes, from daḥ eye.

To make verbs out of expressions which are more than simple nouns,

this suffix must be used, cf. adaḡikuḡ he/she has a father, daḡikus they have eyes, etc. (17.1).

17.3 -lḡi- (after a consonant stem -sḡi-) provide with -, put - on or into, put into-:

Skuuuvuruudaḡ chadulḡikuḡ. She "provides the frying pan with oil" = puts oil into the frying pan, from chaduḡ oil.  
Ayḡaasiḡ ulalḡikuḡ. "I provide the boat with a house" = I put the boat into the house (the boat house).

17.4 -lḡita- (after a consonant stem -sḡita-) have provided with -, have - on, keep in -:

Asuḡ umnalḡitakuḡ. He/she has a string on the pot, from umnaḡ string.  
Ulalḡitakung. I keep it indoors, from ulaḡ house.  
Karmaanalḡitakung. I have it in my pocket, from karmaanaḡ pocket.

17.5 -tu- have a big -, have much -:

kimlatukuḡ he has a big belly, is big-bellied, from kimlaḡ belly  
chatukuḡ he has big hands, from chaḡ hand, chakix his hands  
akitukuḡ it is expensive, from akiḡ price, akii its price  
Adaagiḡ qayatukuḡ. Adak has lots of hills, is hilly, from qayaḡ hill.

17.6 -diga-, -ziga- have a good-, efficient -, proper -:

kududigakuḡ he/she has good legs, from kuduḡ leg  
Tanḡim taangazigaa aḡ. It is an island with good water (cf. 5.8), from taangaḡ water.  
agudigakuḡ it "has a good make", is well made, from agul to make.

17.7 -ḡsi- (after a consonant stem -si-) make-, build-:

ayḡaasiḡsikuḡ he is making, building a boat, from ayḡaasiḡ boat  
imyāḡsikuḡ he is making a fishline, from imyaḡ, imyaḡiḡ fishline  
chaduḡsikuḡ she is making (preparing) seal oil, from chaduḡ oil

17.8 -txaḡi- catch - (game), find-:

Qawatxaḡit? Did you catch a sea lion?, from qawaḡ sea lion  
Atxidatxaḡit? Did you catch a codfish?, from atxidaḡ cod fish  
Ulatxaḡit? Did you find a house?, from ulaḡ house.

17.9 -li- remove - from:

Agaluning chimchilikuḡ. I am picking my teeth, removing chimchis (something caught between the teeth) from my teeth.

17.10 -liḡta- be busy with-, have had too much of-:

chaanikaliḡtakuḡ he/she is busy with the teapot = is putting on the teapot, is preparing tea, from chaanikaḡ teapot  
taangaliḡtakuḡ he/she has had too much to drink, is intoxicated, from taangaḡ drink (liquor), water (cf. kasakam taangaa vodka)  
saḡaliḡtakuḡ he/she is walking in sleep, from saḡaḡ sleep

17.11 -nu- smell or taste of-:

qanukuḡ it smells of fish, from qaḡ fish  
Chaayuḡ saaxaranukuḡ. The tea tastes of sugar, from saaxaraḡ sugar.

Chapter 18  
 ADDITION OF A SUBJECT

18.1 From verbs without an object, are derived verbs with the ending -t-, which adds a new subject and turns the subject of the simple verb into an object, for example:

Subject

Igluqaḥ qakakuḥ. The hide is dry.

New Subject      Object

Piitraḥ      igluqaḥ qakatikuḥ. Peter made the hide dry, dried the hide.

Here the meaning of the ending is to make -, or put into the state indicated by the simple verb. With a reflexive object (4.4) the meaning is to become:

Subject                      Object

Igluqaḥ                      txin      qakatikuḥ.

The hide "made itself dry" = became dry.

Some other examples:

Adutida (old aduchada 14.1)! Make it longer!, from adul to be long.

amnis (amnitil) to tighten, txin amnitikuḥ it became tight, from amnil to be tight, tightly closed

husas (husatil) to roll, make roll, from husal to roll, be rolling

txin kaduuḡitikuḥ he/she became the first, passed before the other, from kaduuḡil be the first, kaduuḡiḥ the first (6.9)

txin aygaxtikuḥ he/she started to walk, walked off, from aygaxs (aygagil) to walk

Verbs indicating weather conditions or the like have neither a subject nor an object (cf. 2.2):

chiḡtatikuḥ it starts raining vs. chiḡtakuḥ it's raining.

18.2 -dgu- make, put several (into a state, position or motion):

qakadgul to dry (fish, meat), from qakal to be dry  
 txidix aygagidgukus they walked off, from aygaxs (aygagil) to walk

18.3 -ya- (after a consonant stem -aya-) try to make -:

qakayal to try to make dry, let dry, from qakal to be dry

sadagayal to try to make fat, fatten, from sadaxs (sadagil) to be fat

umnayal to tighten, caulk (a boat), from umnal to be tight

18.4 -ni- cause to -, put to (into a process); with a reflexive object, get to, become (gradually) - :

saḡanil to put (a baby) to sleep, txin saḡanikuḥ he/she fell asleep, from saḡal to sleep

Ting tuuhyuniimis aḡikuḡt. You will make me lonesome (by leaving), I'll miss you. txin tuuhyunikuḥ he became lonesome, from tuuhyul to be lonesome.

ayḡanikung I made it run, I started it, from ayḡal to run (of boat, etc.)

18.5 -nisa- wait for to - :

Qagmangis taanganisakuḡ. I am waiting for the geese to come and drink water, from taangal to drink water.

Hlaḡ anaan aqlanisakuḡ. The boy is waiting for his mother to get angry - trying to make his mother angry, from aqlal to be angry.

18.6 -chḡi- make (cause by action), let (allow, not prevent); think,

(1) derived from verbs without an object (like 18.1-5):

Qiigas yaagichḡikuḡ. He/she makes the grass move (by walking through it), from yaagil to move, qiigas yaagikus the grass is moving (in Aleut plural, cf. 1.4).

Ting chalichḡiḡt. Let me fish (allow me to fish), from chalil to fish, chalikuḡ I am fishing.

Waaḡachḡiqang. I let him come here, allowed him to come here, or: I thought he would come here,

Waaḡachḡilakaḡing (-lakang). I don't think he'll come here, from waaḡal to come here.

Chiluḡ taangachḡikuḡ. I let the longspur drink water (I do not prevent it from drinking water), from taangal to drink water.

(2) derived from verbs with a local object (3.3):

Hlaḡ qayaḡ hangachḡikuḡ. I let the boy go up the hill.

from hangal to ascend: Hlaḡ qayaḡ hangakuḡ.  
 The boy is ascending, going up the hill.

(3) derived from verbs with an ordinary object, the subject of the simple verb is turned into a local complement (ngaan etc. 6.5):

Subject      object

Piitraḡ itḡaygiḡ haḡunaḡ  
Peter packed the reindeer.

New subject local complement object

Tayaḡuḡ Piitram ngaan itḡaygiḡ haḡuchḡinaḡ.  
The man let (made or permitted or helped) Peter pack the reindeer.

Tayaḡum itḡaygiḡ ngaan haḡuchḡiqaa.  
The man let him pack the reindeer.

Itḡaygiḡ ngus (iming) haḡuchḡiiḡt!  
Let me pack the reindeer!

Ngus (iming) haḡuchḡiiḡaan!  
Let me pack it!  
(cf. ting haḡuchḡiiḡt let me be packed, let somebody pack me).

Ayagaḡ asxinum ngaan mukaḡ mukadgusim ilagaan  
iguchḡikuḡ.  
The woman let the girl take out some flour from the flour bin, from igul to take out, asxinuḡ mukadgusim ilagaan mukaḡ igukuḡ the girl is taking flour out of the flour bin.

The local complement (the subject of the simple verb) may be left out, for example:

Imliin isichḡil ii aḡtakuḡt?  
So you have had your hair cut (have had somebody cut your hair)?,  
from isil to cut, anaan imliin isikuḡ your mother cut your hair.

(4) derived from verbs with a reflexive object:

Anaa asxinuun chulachḡikuḡ. The mother let her daughter dress herself, from txin chulal to dress herself/himself, asxinuun txin chulakuḡ her daughter is dressing herself.

Cf. Asxinuḡ anaam ngaan txin chulachḡinaḡ. The girl let her mother dress her: Anagan chulaḡaa. Her mother dressed her.

In the old language the first sentence reads as follows: Anaa asxinuun ngaan chulachḡikuḡ "the mother lets her daughter be dressed by her (the daughter)"; the ngaan corresponds with txin as the object of the simple word.

## Chapter 19 REMOVAL OF THE SUBJECT

19.1 As mentioned in 4.1, the ending -lga- removes the grammatical subject: hilalgakuḡ "one (somebody) is reading", "it is being read", which commonly means: we are reading. Here the simple verb has no object, cf. hilakuḡ I am reading, etc. The grammatical subject can be removed also from verbs which have an object or a local complement, for example:

Hlas kidulgakuḡ. "One (somebody) is helping the boys", we are helping the boys, cf. hlas kidukuḡ I am helping the boys.  
Ting kidulgakuḡ. Somebody is helping me.  
Ulam hadan huyalḡaaḡtaḡ. "let one (somebody) go to the house", let's go to the house (cf. 14.5).  
Hadaming huyalḡaḡaḡ. Somebody came towards me (in the past), cf. hadaming huyanas they came towards me.

If the object or the local complement is not included in the sentence, the number of it will show up in the verb (cf. 3.2, 6.2), for example:

Kidulḡaḡas.	They were helped, cf. kiduḡaning I helped them.
Hadan (hadangin) huyalḡaḡas.	Somebody went towards them, cf. hadan (hadangin) huyaqaning I went towards them.

The object of the simple verb may also, however, become the subject of the derived verb:

Hlas kidulḡaḡas. The boys were helped. (The predicate agrees in number with the subject: -s -s, cf. 2.1).  
Kidulḡaḡaḡ. I was helped.

The subject of the simple verbs atxazal to catch, get hold of, and sul to take, grab, may become the stem of the derived word -lga-, replacing the verb, for example:

Kuusxiḡ chiluḡ atxazanaḡ. The cat caught the longspur.  
Chiluḡ kuusxilḡaḡaḡ. The longspur was caught by the cat.

From verbs with the ending -chḡi- (18.6) are derived verbs in -chḡisxa-, for example:

Piitram ngaan itḡaygiḡ haḡuchḡisxaḡaḡ. One (somebody: they or we) had Peter pack the reindeer.  
Anaḡim kayagnangis ngus kumsichḡisxaatuzalakaḡ. They don't like me to lift heavy things. (Cf. 24.2 and 22.8.)

19.2 -ḡa- (after a consonant stem -a-) corresponds with verbs in

-ŋta- (after a consonant stem -ta-), derived from nouns (17.2) or verbs (22.1), for example:

Hingan hlaŋ Mixayiilaŋ ngaan asaŋakuŋ. That boy is called Michael, cf. Hingan hlaŋ Mixayiilaŋ ngaan asaŋtakus or Hingan hlam ngaan Mixayiilaŋ asaŋtakus "they use Michael as a name for that boy" = they call that boy Michael.  
Suŋakuŋ. It is being held, cf. Suŋtakungis. They are holding it.  
Umangudaŋan sisugaaŋan aqaŋ. We ("one") will cross over there later, cf. Umangudaŋan sisuxtaangan aŋnaq. I'll cross over there later (and come back).

Note forms in -na- of verbs derived from nouns (for the construction cf. 5.8):

asxinum aniqduŋanaa a girl baby, cf. asxinuŋ aniqduŋtakuŋ she has a girl baby ("has a girl as a child").  
qiigam ulaŋanangis grass houses  
saahmim quxsuŋanaa iron wedge

19.3 -ŋi- (after a consonant stem -aŋi-) indicates a state resulting from the action:

unaŋikuŋ it is cooked, from unal to cook  
tugichaŋikuŋ it is stretched out, from tugis (tugitil) to stretch

Note that the simple past has the ending -na- (rather than -qa-):  
unaŋinaŋ it was cooked.

19.4 -na- be such that one may or must -:

Haman tanaŋ haaganakuŋ. That island is such that one must starve on it = has hardly any food, tanam haaganaa island with hardly any food, from haagal to starve.  
Susuŋasiŋ alanakuŋ. A file is needed, cf. Susuŋasiŋ alakuŋ. I need a file.  
Qaatunakuŋ. It is such that one wants to eat it = it is good to eat, it is delicious, from qaatul to want to eat (cf. 24.2).

## Chapter 20

### ADDITION AND REMOVAL OF AN OBJECT

20.1 -usa- (after t, d, m), -asa- (after other consonants), -Vsa-, adds an object, meaning with - (together with or by means of), towards - (a place), during - (time), by - (measure),

(1) derived from verbs without an object:

Piitraŋ hlaan waaŋaasakuŋ. Peter came here with his son, cf. Piitraŋ waaŋakuŋ. Peter came here.

Hidusada! Take it out! (go out with it), from his, hitil, to go out (the t of the stem becomes d before -usa-).

Zapuuraŋ qasiisakus. They fish by means of fish traps, they use fish traps to catch fish, cf. qasikus they are fishing.  
Tanaŋ aqiisanas. They fled towards the shore, cf. aqinas they fled.

Sas angaliŋ igaŋtaasal amgiŋ saŋaasazas. The ducks fly in daylight and sleep during the night, from igaŋtal to fly, saŋal to sleep.

Alax dumas braataam ilagaan qayaasakuŋ. He is two inches taller than his brother (taller by two inches).

(2) derived from verbs with a local object (3.3):

Tayaŋuŋ aniqduŋ qayaŋ hangaasakuŋ. The man is ascending the hill with the child, cf. Tayaŋuŋ qayuŋ hangakuŋ. The man is ascending the hill.

(3) derived from verbs with an ordinary object, this object is turned into a local complement (ngaan etc. 6.5):

object

Aniqduŋ chachikuŋ. She/he covered the child.

new object

local complement

Ingtiŋ aniqdum ngaan chachiisakuŋ.

She/he covered the child with a blanket (used the blanket for covering the child).

Ingtiŋ ngaan chachiisakuu. She/he covered it with a blanket.

Unangam tunuu imis achixaasakuŋ. I'm teaching you the Aleut language, cf. txin achixakuŋ I'm teaching you.

Unangam tunuu ngus achixaasakuŋ. I'm learning the Aleut language, cf. ting achixakuŋ I am learning.

Unangam tunuu igiim achixaasakuŋ he/she is learning the Aleut language, cf. txin achixakuŋ he/she is learning (4.4).

Furaaskidix imdix tugamixtaasakus. They are hitting each other with their hats, cf. txidix tugamixtakus they are hitting each other.

20.2 -ula-, -ala-, -Vla-, like -usa-, -asa-, -Vla-, adds an

object, but like -lga- (19.1) removes the subject,

- (1) simple verb without an object:

Hlaa waaḡaalakuḡ. His son was brought here (somebody brought his son here).

- (2) simple verb with a local object:

Aniqduḡ qayaḡ hangaalakuḡ. The child was taken up the hill.

- (3) simple verb with an ordinary object:

Ingtiḡ aniqdum ngaan chachiilakuḡ. The blanket was used for covering the child.

Aniqduḡ ingtiḡ ngaan chachiilakuḡ. The child was covered with a blanket.

Unangam tunuu ngaan achixaalakuḡ. She/he is taught the Aleut language (somebody is teaching her/him the Aleut language: ngaan, rather than igiim, because there is no subject).

Ngiin aygaxtulaaḡtaḡ. Let's walk off with it, cf. ngus aygaxtusakung I walked off with it, ting aygaxtikug I walked off, aygagikuq I am walking.

- 20.3 -qaḡi- (-qa- + -ḡi-, cf. 11.5 and 17.1) removes the object:  
Haqataḡaḡilakaḡ. I don't know anything, cf. haqatalaka(ḡi)ng I don't know it.

Asxatxaḡilagada. Thou shalt not kill (don't kill anything)!

- 20.4 -aata-, -vta-, adds an object of measure to verbs that indicate size or the like (cf. 2.7):

Qankus fuutaḡ aduutakuḡ. It is three feet long, from adul to be long.

Ataḡan sigax slagaatakuḡ. It is one fathom wide, from slaxs (slagil) to be wide.

## Chapter 21 AMOUNT, DEGREE, SPEED

- 21.1 -la- several (subjects or objects), one after the other:

Laavkim hadan huyalakus. They are going to the store (the one after the other).

Hlaḡ ukuusxis chachilakuḡ. The boy is closing the windows.  
Xliibaḡ isilakuq. I'm cutting bread (in several slices).

- 21.2 -tuḡ- in great numbers:

Ayuxtuḡs angalis. They went out today in great numbers, from ayuxs, ayugil to go out (in boat).

Ngaan (ngiin) aḡtuḡikuning. I gave it to them in great numbers, I gave it to a great number of them.

- 21.3 -tuḡsa- in great numbers and in a hurry:

Tayaḡus isxamdix ilagaan haḡtuḡsal qilaḡsis. The men got up this morning in a hurry, from haḡs, haḡtil to get up.

Quganas iganam ilagaan ituḡsanas. The rocks dropped down from the cliff, from is, itil to drop down.

- 21.4 -mig-, -migda-, -mixta- repeatedly:

chlaḡmixs to keep diving repeatedly, from chlaḡs to dive  
katamixs to keep touching, from katal to touch

Ayḡaasiḡ inkaḡ agmigdakuḡ. The boat is bouncing up and down ("passing the air repeatedly").

Hlax txidix tugamixtakux. The two boys are hitting each other.

- 21.5 -nuuqi- somewhat, to some degree:

itxaḡtanuuqikuḡ it is somewhat different  
slagnuuqikuḡ it is somewhat wide

- 21.6 -naaḡta- a little more, almost:

Agitaadaam ilagaan adunaaḡtakuḡ. It is a little longer than the other one.

Kuusxing, kuusxiin as txin sananaaḡtakuḡ. My cat is almost as big as your cat, from sana- to be as big as, to equal.

- 21.7 -laḡsi- with a negation, very:

Qayalaḡsilakan hingamakuḡ. It is very tall.

- 21.8 -iichxuza-, -Vchxuza- much, very, greatly:

Chaayuḡ akinaachxuzakuḡ. The tea is very hot.

Qaatuuchxuzakuq. I am really hungry.  
Txin qağaasaachxuzakuq. I thank you very much.  
hamahliichxuzaam a very long time ago (cf. 7.6 end)

21.9 -iigamaxsi-, -Vgamaxsi- too, too much (cf. 16.2):

sadagiigamaxsikuᵛ it is too fat, from sadaxs, sadagil to be  
fat  
sakunaagamaxsikuᵛ it is too skinny, from saakunal to be  
skinny

21.10 -zu- well, ably:

awazuzaᵛ he is a good worker, from awal to work  
kapitaanazuzaᵛ he is a good captain, from kapitaanal to act  
as a captain, kapitaanaᵛ captain

21.11 -du- fast:

awadukuᵛ he works fast, is a fast worker, from awal to work  
qadukuᵛ is a fast eater, from qal to eat

21.12 -aada- a little, barely:

Igaᵛtaᵛ kiimaadakuᵛ. The airplane is descending a little  
(slowly), from kims, kimil to descend.

21.13 -daḡit- quickly:

Ulam nagan gangudaḡitikuᵛ. He/she entered the house quickly.  
Asᵛatidaḡitada (-daḡichada)! Kill it quickly!

## Chapter 22

### DURATION AND REPETITION

22.1 -ᵛta-, after a consonant stem -ta-,

(1) be or have in a state, from verbs which indicate to get  
into or to put into a state:

Saᵛ igaᵛtakuᵛ. The duck is flying, vs. Saᵛ igakuᵛ. The  
duck took off.

Ukuᵛtakung. I see it (keeping it in sight), vs. Ukukung.  
I got sight of it, or: I found it.

Laampaᵛ aniᵛtakuq. I have a lamp burning, vs. Laampaᵛ  
anikuq. I lit the lamp.

Tachim inaᵛtalakaq. I have not yet finished, I'm not  
through yet, cf. inakuq I came to the end, I'm fin-  
ished.

Igluqaᵛ qakatakuᵛ. He/she keeps the hide dry, vs.  
Igluqaᵛ qakatikuᵛ. He/she dried the hide (18.1).

Txin qaḡatakuᵛ. He/she feels pleasant, vs. Txin  
qaḡatikuᵛ. He/she became happy.

(2) temporarily, for a certain time:

Umangudaḡan sisuxtaangan aḡnaq. I'll cross over there  
later (and come back), vs. Umangudaḡan sisugiingan  
aḡnaq. I'll cross over there later (and stay there).

Amlagiᵛ hnuᵛtat ii? Did you go to Amlia? cf. Amlagiᵛ  
hnunaᵛ. He reached Amlia, came as far as Amlia (but  
maybe did not come back).

The ending can be used over again:

Amlagiᵛ hnuᵛtaᵛtaᵛt ii? Have you ever been to Amlia?  
Amlagiᵛ hnuᵛtaᵛtakuq. I have been to Amlia before.  
Amlagiᵛ tachim hnuᵛtaᵛtaḡulaq. I have not yet been to  
Amlia.

Liidaᵛ tachim ukuᵛtaᵛtamazulax. We have not yet seen  
anything like it (St. Mark 2:12), cf. ukuᵛtal above  
(1).

22.2 -zigata- well, for quite a while (cf. 17.6):

tutazigatakung I hear him well, distinctly, vs. tutakung I  
hear him  
awazigatakus we have been working for quite a while

22.3 -yuka-, -yukat- for a long time:

Wahligan ayukakuᵛ. He has been here, stayed here, for a long  
time.

vs. Wahligan akuᵛ. He is here now.

Qayukaqalikuḡ. He has been eating for a long time now (cf. 24.5),  
vs. qakuḡ he is eating now.

Xaadagnaagiyukalakas. We did not run very long, from  
xaadagnaaxs (-naagil) to run.  
Ayagas unayukatnas. The women cooked for a long time.  
Asxinus qayaḡ hangayukatnas. The girls climbed the hill for a  
long time.

22.4 -yugaaḡ- for a while:

Quyugiyugaaḡingan aḡikuq. I'll lie down (to rest) for a  
while.  
Saygiin ngus haḡuḡtachḡiyugaaḡiiḡt! Let me pack your gun for  
a while!  
Aniqduḡ imis kumsiḡtachḡiyugaaḡiiḡ? Shall I let you hold the  
baby for a while?

22.5 -zaaḡu- recently, newly, a little while ago:

Isxang ilagaan haḡtzaaḡukuq. I got up from my bed a little  
while ago.  
Qazaagukuḡt. You just ate a little while ago.  
wayazaaguum recently, cf. wayaam now, nowadays

22.6 -maaya- at last:

Way qangumaayakuḡ. Now at last he/she came in.  
Ayḡaasis haqamaayaqalikus. The boats are coming now (at  
last).  
Txin saḡanimaayaaḡan aḡtakuḡ. He/she fell asleep at last a  
while ago.  
Uluḡ unamaayaangan aḡikuq. I'm going to cook meat this time.

22.7 -iiḡuta- (with a stem consonant t: old -s-aḡuta-), -vḡuta-  
again:

Aniqduḡ sadaḡiiḡutal angalikuḡ. The baby was out again today,  
from sadaḡil to be outside.  
Ayagaḡ chuḡtaqas haḡuqaliiḡutakuḡ. The woman started packing  
clothes once again (cf. 24.5).  
maqagiqadaaḡutakuq I am alright again (cf. 24.6)  
tatahliiḡutaam once again, over again  
hamaan qilaaḡutaa the next morning again

22.8 -za-, -da- (1) generally:

Saakuḡ kasamiḡ lisngizaḡ. The king eider is similar to a  
common eider (cf. 11.4).  
As unisaatunazaḡ. It is good to go waiting for game with him  
(cf. 24.2).

(2) habitually, usually, with a negation: never:

Qilaax haḡtzaḡ. He/she gets up early in the morning.

Tamaakazaḡulaq. I do not chew tobacco, I never chew  
tobacco.

Anḡaḡinas tanasxan sluzanas. The people used to spend  
the summer at their camps (in the past).  
Wahliḡtal aqadagudix umaanuuḡutazakus. They would come  
here and go home again.

(3) several times:

Qawas gasanangis ukuḡtazanaq. I saw the sea lions  
surfacing, I saw the sea lions each time they  
surfaced.

(4) each:

Aniqdus huzungis kanfiixtaḡ atxazazakus. The children  
got one candy each.

Qankus sisaḡ chngatuḡ guadam ilan aguchḡizanas. They  
had, or used to have, three hundred sea otters caught  
a year.

Chapter 23  
CONTRAST

23.1 -hli- (1) still, further, again, just, nevertheless:

qahlikuŋ he/she is still eating.  
Aniqduŋ qidahlikuŋ. The baby is still crying.  
Chaayuutuhlit ii? Do you want more tea?  
Slaŋuqadahliiŋan aŋikuŋ. Maybe it will stop blowing.  
tatahliim once again, vs. tataam again  
Kum maasahlikung. I am willing to do it (I would just do it,  
cf. 13.7).  
Yaxtahlikung kay hagumaasahlikung. I love him, though, but  
still do so to him (spank him).

(2) in a non-final clause, until:

Tanam Angunagan ilagaan uchigihlikum Chaliiluŋ hnunaŋ. He  
swam from Tanam Angunaa until he reached Chaliiluŋ, to  
Chaliiluŋ.  
Laavkim imdaa tayahligudix tukuŋgulax hitzakus. They buy what  
is in the store until they make it poor (until very little  
is left).

(3) rather, fairly:  
Amaatxahliikuŋ. It is rather distant, fairly distant.  
Tayaŋum qayahlii akuŋ. He is a rather tall man.  
Udam slaxhlii akuŋ. It is a rather wide bay.

(4) just, only:

Xliibahliiŋ qalgagaŋ. We ate just bread, bread only.  
Quganakuchahlim kugan hakang anqaŋtakuŋ. He was standing on  
just a small rock.  
Ilahlingis waaŋanas. Just some of them came here.  
Uhling ayuxtanaq. Only I went out (then).  
Saraayam nagahlii qaxchikdakuŋ. Only the inside of the  
warehouse is dark.

(5) wahligan etc. see 7.5.

23.2 -iiguza-, -Vguza-, after a stem vowel u: -Vgiza-

(1) really, surely, exactly:

Adaluugizaŋulaŋt ii?. Are you really telling the truth?  
Txidix qayaataaguzakux. They (two) are exactly the same  
height.

(2) mostly, often, with agacha: more, most:

Chaduŋ anaŋim suŋaaguzaa azaŋ. Oil is a thing we use

most often.

Atuŋ agacha amaataxanaaguzaŋ akuŋ. Attu is still further,  
furthest (from here).

(3) in a non-final clause: as soon as:

Qaqadaaguzaqadaam txin quyunaŋ. As soon as he had  
finished eating, right after he ate, he went to bed.

(4) real, specifically, quite:

Unangam hlaaguzaa a real Aleut boy  
Chaaguzaan liidaŋ chaŋtakuŋ. He has a hand just like  
yours (resembling specifically yours).  
Tiiguzang ukuŋtaqadaaŋt! Quit looking at me specific-  
ally!  
sakakuugizas (or sakakuuguzas) those out there  
(specifically), from sakakus, plural of sakan (7.9)  
Ataqaniiguzaŋ akuŋ. I am all alone.  
Atiiguzaam akuŋ. It is quite straight, vs. atiim akuŋ it  
is straight.

23.3 -aadahli-, -Vdahli- even:

Qaadahlilakaŋ. He/she did not even eat.  
Slum aslaan akinaŋsiidahlizaŋgulaq. I don't even feel hot in  
the summer.  
Angaliidahlis agnangis haqatalakaq. I don't even remember the  
days past.  
Ayŋaasim nagaadahlii chuguŋ amnixtaasanas. They threw sand  
even in the boat, they even threw sand in the boat.  
Ikukuudahlis chŋuuŋs aŋtakus. Even those over there seem to  
be washing.  
Txiidahling qachŋikuŋ. She even fed me.

23.4 -ma- likewise, too, (not) either:

Uchigiitumakuŋ. I want to swim too.  
Qanan amaataxatamakuŋ. I wonder how far that is.  
Ukuŋtamalakaŋing. I didn't see it either.  
Ting kidumaaŋt. Help me too!

23.5 -Vŋdagali-, -ŋtagali- (only in a non-final clause) although  
-, - but:

Atxidaŋ axchiganaŋ liidaaŋdagalikuŋ kalagam kadatiqaa.  
Although the cod seemed to move fast, the yellow sculpin  
won; the cod seemed to move fast, but the yellow sculpin  
won.  
Ting hiŋtal aŋtagalikuŋ anŋiŋtaqangulax. He called for me but  
I didn't respond.

Chapter 24  
STAGES OF REALIZATION

24.1 -iika- (with a stem consonant t: old -s-aka-), -Vka- (1) can, could:

Aluḡiikat? Can you write?  
Uchigiikaqadanaq. I couldn't swim any more (cf. 24.6).  
Ngus hiḡtaakaan ii? Can you tell me (tell it to me)?

(2) should, must:

Slachxizaḡ malgakuḡ ayuxtalgaakakuḡ. It is a nice day, we should go out.  
Bruudnat agatingis chuḡtal aalḡuudazaakakuḡt. You should wear your boots when you are wading in water.  
Qasxaqadaakakuḡ. He should stop laughing (I wish he would stop laughing).  
Imyaḡiqaliikaan masxakuḡ. It is time for you to go deep sea fishing (cf. 24.5).  
Hisakang (hitiikang) masxakuḡ. I had better go out.

24.2 -aatu-, -Vtu-

(1) want to, like to:

Imis tunuḡtaatukuḡ. I want to talk to you.  
Hichaatur (hitiitut) ii? Do you want to go out?  
Saḡaatuzaq. I like to sleep.  
Saḡaatukuḡ. I want to sleep, I am sleepy.  
Qidaatukuḡ. I want to cry, feel like crying.

(2) tend to:

Ichinguutuzaq. I tend to feel chilly  
hlam aaluḡtaatuu an ever smiling boy

With -na- (10.4): -aatuna-, -Vtuna- be good to:

Chngatum igluḡaa kataatunazaḡ. Sea otter fur is good to touch.  
Kugan unguchiitunakuḡ. It is good to sit on.

24.3 -yuug- with negation: not want to:

aygagiyuuglakaḡ he/she does not want to walk = aygagiitulakaḡ  
(aygagaatulakaḡ)

24.4 -naaḡ- (1) try:

Kumsinaaḡida (kumsinaaḡada). Try to lift it.  
Tunuḡtanaaḡlagada! Try not to talk, refrain from talking!  
Kurizaqadanaaḡiituudahlilakaḡ. I don't even want to try to

quit smoking.

(2) try to catch, hunt for, look for:

isuḡnaaḡs, isuḡnaaḡil hunt seal, also isuḡsaaḡul  
iklanaaḡs, iklasaaḡul look for wood

24.5 -qali- (after m: -kali-, after t: xali-; together with g: -kali-, together with ḡ: -qali-, cf. 11.5) start, begin:

(1) derived from verbs without an object:

Chiḡtaqalikuḡ. It has started to rain, cf. chiḡtatikuḡ in 18.1.  
Chiḡtayukaqalikuḡ. It has been raining for a long time now (cf. 22.3).  
aygagiqalikuḡ or txin aygagiqalikuḡ (aygakalikuḡ) he/she has started walking (of a baby)  
saḡaqalinaḡ he/she fell asleep  
qungtukalinaḡ he/she started to snore, from qungtuxs (qungtugil) to snore  
Ulam ilan txin anḡaḡiqalinaḡ. He/she started to live in the house.  
Txin qiigatxalikuḡ. She is starting to gather grass.  
Hitiqalii-aḡikuḡ (hitxaliingan aḡikuḡ). I'm going out now.

(2) derived from reflexive verbs (cf. 4.4):

Uluḡ txin chaknatiqaliiḡan aḡtakuḡ. The meat started to get stinky.  
Txin quyuqaliimis aḡit (aḡsit) ii? Are you going to bed?

(3) derived from verbs with an object:

Ukuḡtaqalikung. I have begun to see it.  
Kanfiixtas igiim qaqalikuḡ. He/she started to eat candy.  
Qayaḡ igiim kimkalikuḡ. He started going down the hill.

Note the order of the endings in the following sentences:

Hlaḡ txin kurizaqalikuḡ. The boy has started to smoke, has become a smoker.  
Qilam (txin) kuriqalizaḡ. He starts smoking in the morning.

24.6 -qada- (-kada-, -xali-, like 24.5) stop, quit, have already, no more:

Quganas amnixtaasaqadada! Quit throwing rocks!  
Qaqadakuḡ. He/she has already eaten.  
Ayḡaasiḡ ukuḡaqadakuḡ. The boat is no longer seen.  
Hiḡtakung aqadakuḡ. I have nothing more to say (cf. 10.3).  
Unguchiikaqadanaq. I couldn't sit any more.

Note the order of the endings:

Ayuxtazaqadanaq. I quit going out, I did not go out any more.  
 Ayuxtaqadazaqulax. He never stops going out.

24.7 -zuuka-, -duuka- with a negation, see 12.5. Example with  
 -qada- (24.6):

Masinas txidix ayxatiduukaqadakuš. The motor won't start any more.

24.8 -masu- probably, perhaps:

saqamasukuš he/she is probably sleeping  
 qamasukuš he/she is probably eating  
 atxaqimasulakaš it is probably not right  
 guladuukamasulakaš she/he is probably not going for a walk  
 ayuxtamasuštakuš he is probably out in a boat  
 Ting adaluusanaaaiqutamasuštakuš. Perhaps he is trying to  
 fool me once again.  
 Slaquqadamasuhliiqañ aqikuš. It will probably stop blowing.  
 Kurimasuzaš. He probably smokes.  
 Kurizamasukuš. He probably smokes (the one in the other room,  
 or the like).

24.9 -iigatu-masu-, -Vgatu-masu- maybe:

ayuxtaagutamasukuš maybe he is out in a boat  
 atxaaiigatumasulakaš maybe he is wrong  
 inaagutamasukuš maybe it is finished

## Chapter 25 CONJOINED PREDICATES

25.1. Two sentences which have the same subject may be conjoined into a single sentence by turning the first one into a clause in the conjunctive (-l, cf. 11.2-3), for example:

	<u>Mariiyax qangunax.</u>	Mary came in.
+	<u>Mariiyax txin ungutinax.</u>	Mary sat down.
=	<u>Mariiyax qangul txin ungutinax.</u>	Mary came in and sat down.

Of the two conjoined predicates, the last one carries the markers for time and person: simple past -na- (11.5) + 3.p.sg. -š, in agreement with the common subject Mariiyax (2.1). The conjunctive qangu-l, being conjoined with txin unguți-na-š, here has the force of a simple past: qangu-na-š.

Similarly, the following sentences may be conjoined into one:

	<u>Unguchida!</u>	Sit down! Have a seat!
+	<u>Qada!</u>	Please, eat!
=	<u>Unguchil qada!</u>	Please sit down and eat!

The conjunctive unguchil, being conjoined with the imperative qa-da (14.1), here has the force of an imperative: unguchi-da.

	<u>Unguchil hingamakuš.</u>	She is sitting there.
+	<u>Qal hingamakuš.</u>	She is eating there.
=	<u>Unguchil qal hingamakuš.</u>	She is sitting there eating.

Here the conjunctive unguchil, together with the following qal, is specified by the pointing verb hingama- (11.3), marked for present 3.p.sg. by the endings -ku-š.

25.2. Two negated predicates may be conjoined into one as follows:

	<u>Mariiyax unguchinaqulax.</u>	Mary did not sit down.
+	<u>Mariiyax qanaqulax.</u>	Mary did not eat.
=	<u>Mariiyax unguchil qanaqulax.</u>	Mary did not sit down and eat.

The conjunctive unguchil, being conjoined with the negated qa-na-q-ulax (qa-na-qula-š), now has the force of a negated unguchi-na-q-ulax (-na-qula-š). To prevent the first predicate from being negated through the final predicate, one must use a different construction (see 26.4):

	<u>Mariiyax unguchinaš.</u>	Mary sat down.
+	<u>Mariiyax qanaqulax.</u>	Mary did not eat.
=	<u>Mariiyax unguchikum qanaqulax.</u>	Mary sat down but did not eat.

If the final predicate is not negated, the first one can be conjoined with it in the negated conjunctive:

- |   |                                     |   |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|
|   | <u>Mariiyaḡ unguchinaḡulax.</u>     | Mary did not sit down.                                  |
| + | <u>Mariiyaḡ qanaḡ.</u>              | Mary ate.   |
| = | <u>Mariiyaḡ unguchilakan qanaḡ.</u> | Mary ate without sitting down,<br>without being seated. |

Note that it is not possible to say "Mariiyaḡ unguchilakan qanaḡulax" (Mary did not eat without being seated).

25.3. The conjunctive can be used to conjoin predicate verbs with different kinds of complements, for example:

(1) no object - object:

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| (a) | <u>Piitraḡ waaḡaḡtanaḡ.</u>                     | Peter came back here.                   |
| +   | <u>Piitraḡ Paavilaḡ ayuxtaasanaḡ.</u>           | Peter took Paul out (in a boat).        |
| =   | <u>Piitraḡ waaḡaḡtal Paavilaḡ ayuxtaasanaḡ.</u> | Peter came back here and took Paul out. |
| (b) | <u>Piitraḡ waaḡaḡtanaḡ.</u>                     | Peter came back here.                   |
| +   | <u>Piitram ayuxtaasaḡaa.</u>                    | Peter took him out.                     |
| =   | <u>Piitram waaḡaḡtal ayuxtaasaḡaa.</u>          | Peter came back here and took him out.  |

The relative case Piitra-m goes with the final predicate (cf. 3.2).

(2) object - no object:

- |     |                                   |                                      |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (a) | <u>Kuusxiḡ qaḡ sunaḡ.</u>         | The cat grabbed a fish.              |
| +   | <u>Kuusxiḡ amaanunaḡ.</u>         | The cat ran away.                    |
| =   | <u>Kuusxiḡ qaḡ sul amaanunaḡ.</u> | The cat grabbed a fish and ran away. |
| (b) | <u>Kuusxim suḡaa.</u>             | The cat grabbed it.                  |
| +   | <u>Kuusxiḡ amaanunaḡ.</u>         | The cat ran away.                    |
| =   | <u>Kuusxim sul amaanuḡaa.</u>     | The cat grabbed it and ran away.     |

The final verb amaanu-ḡaa contains a reference to the object (not included in the sentence) of the conjunctive su-1, cf. 3.2.

(3) different objects:

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| (a) | <u>Mariiyaḡ haluusiḡ sunaḡ.</u>                | Mary took a needle.                     |
| +   | <u>Mariiyaḡ chuulkiḡ halunaḡ.</u>              | Mary mended the sock.                   |
| =   | <u>Mariiyaḡ haluusiḡ sul chuulkiḡ halunaḡ.</u> | Mary took a needle and mended the sock. |
| (b) | <u>Mariiyaḡ haluusiḡ sunaḡ.</u>                | Mary took a needle.                     |

- |   |                                       |                                   |
|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| + | <u>Mariiyaḡ haluḡaa.</u>              | Mary mended it.                   |
| = | <u>Mariiyaḡ haluusiḡ sul haluḡaa.</u> | Mary took a needle and mended it. |

The relative case Mariiya-m goes with the final verb, the object of which is not included in the sentence.

(4) same object:

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| (a) | <u>Uuḡuchiingiḡ aḡdiikaḡ atxazanaḡ.</u>     | The fox caught a ptarmigan.            |
| +   | <u>Uuḡuchiingiḡ aḡdiikaḡ qanaḡ.</u>         | The fox ate the ptarmigan.             |
| =   | <u>Uuḡuchiingiḡ aḡdiikaḡ atxazal qanaḡ.</u> | The fox caught a ptarmigan and ate it. |

The word aḡdiikaḡ is the object of both verbs, so there is no further reference to it in the final verb: qa-na-ḡ (rather than qa-qa-a 'ate it'), cf. 3.2.

- |     |                                    |                               |
|-----|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (b) | <u>Uuḡuchiingim atxazaḡaa.</u>     | The fox caught it.            |
| +   | <u>Uuḡuchiingim qaḡaa.</u>         | The fox ate it.               |
| =   | <u>Uuḡuchiingim atxazal qaḡaa.</u> | The fox caught it and ate it. |

The conjunctive atxazal-1, being conjoined with qa-qa-a 'ate it', here has the force of atxaza-qa-a 'caught it'.

(5) object - local complement (same thing):

- |     |                                 |  |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|
| (a) | <u>Ulaḡ hnuḡaa.</u>             | I reached the house.                     |
| +   | <u>Ulam ilan ḡanguḡaa.</u>      | I entered into the house.                |
| =   | <u>Ulaḡ hnul ilan ḡanguḡaa.</u> | I reached the house and entered into it. |

Ula-m, the "possessor" of ilan (6.1-2), is left out because the word is already introduced as the object (ulaḡ) of the preceding conjunctive hnu-1.

- |     |                             |                                   |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (b) | <u>Hnuḡaaḡ.</u>             | I reached it.                     |
| +   | <u>Ilan ḡanguḡaaḡ.</u>      | I entered into it.                |
| =   | <u>Hnul ilan ḡanguḡaaḡ.</u> | I reached it and entered into it. |

(6) local complement - object (same person):

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| (a) | <u>Asxinuḡ iḡanam hadan huyanaḡ.</u>       | The girl went to the old lady.                |
| +   | <u>Asxinuḡ iḡanaḡ kidunaḡ.</u>             | The girl helped the old lady.                 |
| =   | <u>Asxinuḡ iḡanam hadan huyal kidunaḡ.</u> | The girl went to the old lady and helped her. |

Iḡanaḡ, the object of the final verb kidunaḡ is left out because the word is already introduced in the local complement of the preceding conjunctive huya-1 (as the "possessor" iḡana-m of the local term

hadan), and for the same reason there is no further reference to it in the final predicate: kidu-na-ŕ (rather than kidu-qa-a 'helped her').

- (b) Asxinum hadan huyaqaa. The girl went to her.  
 + Asxinum kiduqaa. The girl helped her.  
 = Asxinum hadan huyal kiduqaa. The girl went to her and helped her.

25.4. Sentences with the same predicate verb but different complements are conjoined as follows:

- + Piitraŕ iqanam ngaan qaŕ aqnaŕ. Peter gave the old lady a fish.  
Piitraŕ aniqdum ngaan Peter gave the child some  
kanfiixtaŕ aqnaŕ. candy.  
 = Piitraŕ iqanam ngaan qaŕ aŕs Peter gave the old lady a fish  
(or aqil) aniqdum ngaan and the child some candy.  
kanfiixtaŕ aqnaŕ.

In English, the second "gave" is left out: and (gave) the child some candy. In Aleut, the final verb could of course not be left out (carrying the markers for time and person), nor could the conjunctive aŕs (aqil): it is impossible to say "Piitraŕ iqanam ngaan qaŕ aniqdum ngaan kanfiixtaŕ aqnaŕ".

Two or more simple complements, like two or more subjects (2.3), can be conjoined by ama 'and' or asxunnulax 'or', for example:

Viiraŕ ama Mariiyaŕ ama Piitraŕ agiitanaq.  
 I was together with Vera, Mary and Peter.

Sas asxuunulax qagmangis asxuunulax qawas haqaasamasukux.  
 Perhaps he is bringing ducks or geese or sea lions.

25.5. The conjunctive normally has the same subject as the following verb with which it is conjoined. So also in the following sentence where the quantifiers refer to each other and to the common "possessor" (cf. 5.9):

Alas atagan hiisaŕtal akayuŕ axs, agiitingis nam-hadan huyal  
agiitingis chuqum-hadan huyazas.  
 Whales all the time pass the strait, some of them going south,  
 others going north.

(Note that in Aleut the last predicate has the time marker: -za- 'usually' 22.8, general time 11.4, whereas in English the first clause is the main one.)

Also two or more sentences with the subject removed - from the one or from both or all - by the ending -lga- or -qa- (19.1-2), can be conjoined by the conjunctive, for example:

Gulal sunaŕ ukuxtalqaaŕtax!  
 Let's take a walk and look at the ship!

Utilgal (Usxal) chalasxaaŕtax!  
 Let's go down and meet him (the man coming in his boat)!

Qal (or Qalgal) inasxaqaŕ.  
 We ate all of it. ("Eating, Being eaten, it was finished.")

A sentence about the weather, which has no subject (2.2), may be conjoined in the conjunctive with a sentence having a subject, for example:

Slachxizaŕ malgal anqaginas ayuglanas.  
 It was nice weather and the people went out in boats, the one after the other (21.1).

25.6. In most of the examples in 25.1 through 25.5 the actions expressed by the conjoined predicates follow each other. So also in the following two sentences:

Tayaqus ayuxtal isuqnaaqnas.  
 The men went out to hunt seals, went out and hunted seals.

Qiigas laxtal, isxaŕtal, ingtiŕ akiigasal, chachiŕtal saqazanas.  
 "Cutting grass, using it for bed, carrying along a blanket, using it for cover, we used to sleep." = 'We used to sleep on grass we cut for bed, covered by a blanket we carried along.' (Note the different order of the clauses in the two languages.)

The actions may also be alternative, expressed by asxuunulax 'or' or by a negation, for example:

Qal asxuunulax hilaŕ?  
 Is he/she eating or reading? (Cf. 11.2)

Mikal asxuunulax hilanaŕt?  
 Did you play or did you read (then, in the past)?

Hingan sulakan uglaga agacha suda!  
 Don't take that one, take rather the other one! ("Without taking that one, take rather the other one!")

25.7. The conjunctive very often serves to express an action or state which takes place at the same time as that of the following predicate, or more exactly, qualifies it in terms of reason, manner, means, or the like, for example:

Ugunuŕtal suqaqulang.  
 I forgot to take it. ("Forgetting it I did not take it.")

Daqagiisalakan suqaqulang.  
 I was foolish enough not to take it. ("Being foolish about it I did not take it.")

Kasamiŕ atuung kukutukuchas matal txin manitaqalinaŕ.  
 The eider duck was proud to have six little eider ducklings.

("having six little eider ducklings was proud.")

Anqaginaŋ aqlal txin ukuxtachŋidaqulax.

A person should never show that he is angry. ("being angry, never lets himself be seen": seen as such, as angry).

Mariyaŋ anaan kidul qiigas lanaŋ.

Mary helped her mother cutting grass. ("Mary, helping her mother, cut grass.")

Piitraŋ tayaquŋ kidul ayŋaasii sayul angaliŋ.

Peter helped the man pulling up his boat today.

Piitram ayŋaasii kidul sayul angalii.

Peter helped him pulling up his boat today.

Qidal tunuxtakuŋ.

He/She talks weepingly. (qida- 'weep, cry'.)

Achigal gakuŋ.

He/She is eating fast. (achiga- 'move or do something fast'.)

Achigal galakaŋ.

He/She is not eating fast.

Achigalakan gakuŋ.

He/She is eating slowly.

Xaadagnaaxs ukaaŋanaŋ.

He/She came running in here.

Slaquŋ kayutul humsikuŋ.

The wind (storm) is blowing strongly. (kayutu- 'be strong'.)

Piitraŋ skiifaqil ayuxtanax.

Peter went out in a skiff. (skiifa-qi-l 'using a skiff', 17.1.)

Piitraŋ Paavilaŋ skiifaqiisal ayuxtaasanax.

Peter took Paul out in a skiff. (skiifaqiisa- 'use a skiff with', cf. 20.1.)

Chaqil gakuq.

I'm eating with my hand. (qa-qi-l 'having hand'.)

Uluŋ chaqiisal qanaq.

I ate meat with my hand.

Luusxiqilakan qanaŋ.

He/She ate without a spoon. (luusxi-qi-lakan 'not having a spoon'.)

Tukuulkiŋ suxtal iklas quxsukuq.

I'm chopping wood with ("holding") an axe.

Cf. Tukuulkiŋ iklas ngaan quxsuusakuq.

I'm using an axe for chopping wood. (Cf. 20.1.)

Chaan suxtal suqaa.

He/She took it with his/her hand.

Cf. Chaan ngaan suusaqaa.

He/She used his/her hand to take it.

In the last example the conjunctive suxtal 'with' ("holding") does not correspond with any real sentence: one can not say "chaan suxtakuŋ" (he/she is holding his/her own hand).

One can say Piitraŋ agiitanaq 'I was together with, accompanied, Peter', but the conjunctive agiital is equivalent to as (3.5), for example:

Piitraŋ agiital (or as) waaqanaq.

I came back here together with Peter.

25.8. The conjunctive mas 'doing' with a verb in -na- with a reflexive ending (a person ending referring to the subject of the major verb), indicates an action which takes place together with that of the following verb, for example:

Chalizanaan mas haqakuŋ.

He comes fishing (throwing his line as he goes).

Aangsus lazanang mas qayaŋ hanganaq.

I went up the hill picking berries.

Qanaan mas tunuxtakuŋ.

He/She is talking while eating.

Qanang mas tunuxtakuq.

I am talking while eating.

In the later language these expressions are shortened to -naamas or -naamis, without distinction of person, for example, Qanaamas (or Qanaamis) tunuxtakuq, like Qanaamas (Qanaamis) tunuxtakuŋ.

25.9. To express that the first action is finished before the next one takes place, one can use the so-called anterior, for example:

Chalaqadaam ayŋaasiin sayukuŋ.

Having landed, he pulled up his boat.

Itaangis tanadgusim iqanaa achxuqadaam taaman chagiim signaa

achxulaasal angaliŋ.

Only after having given a share to the oldest lady of the village, did he distribute the rest of his halibut today.

Chiŋtaliisiin chuqadaam (or chul aqadaam) hitinaŋ (hitnaŋ).

Having put on his raincoat, he went out.

Chugadaamaan hitxaa (Chugadaam or Chul aqadaam hitiqaa).  
Having put it on, he went out.

Sugadaamingaan (Sugadaaming or Sul aqadaaming) amaanuqang.  
I took it and went away.

(The -aan is used in the old language to refer to the not-included object of the anterior when the following verb has no object.)

The full set of anterior forms is as follows:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
1.p.	<u>-qadaaming</u>		<u>-qadaangin</u>
2.p.	<u>-qadaamis</u>	<u>-qadaamdix</u>	<u>-qadaamchix</u>
refl.3.p.	<u>-qadaam</u>		<u>-qadaamdix, -qadaamchix,</u> old: <u>-qadaamax</u>

In the later language the anterior tends to be limited to a- 'be' (with a preceding conjunctive) and shortened to aqadaa = 'and then'. Cf. 28.4.

The modern anterior contains the ending -qada- 'have already' (24.6). In the old language there were also anterior forms without this ending, for example, ukuum = ukuqadaam '(he/she) having got sight of'.

## Chapter 26 LINKED SENTENCES

26.1. A sentence may be linked to a following sentence by endings or auxiliary verbs which indicate the time relation or contrast between the clauses (the sentences as parts of the complex sentence).

- (1) A simple verb in -ku- (negative -lakaq-), which in a final clause refers to the time of speech (11.1), in a non-final clause indicates the same time as that of the final clause or the time immediately preceding it, for example:

	<u>Alitxuṣ inanaṣ.</u>	The war was over.
+	<u>Atṣam hadan uqitiiḡutanas.</u>	We returned to Atka.
=	<u>Alitxuṣ inakuḡaan Atṣam hadan uqitiiḡutanas.</u>	When the war was over, we returned to Atka.

Here the first sentence is linked to the second one by -kuḡaan : -ku-ṣ + (ng)aan. All by itself the sentence Alitxuṣ inakuṣ would refer to the time of speech: 'The war is over (now).' Being linked to the following clause by -aan, it refers to the time immediately preceding the time of the final clause, which is marked as past by the ending -na- (11.5), so that the whole complex sentence refers to the past, in fact, to the year 1945. In this case the two clauses involve different grammatical persons: alitxuṣ 'the war' and -s 'we' (cf. 4.1). Other types of person relations will be discussed later in this chapter.

- (2) Instead of the simple verb in -ku- one can use the conjunctive in -l/-s together with the auxiliary verb a-ku- 'be', for example:

	<u>Piitraṣ ayunaṣ.</u>	Peter fell.
+	<u>Piitraṣ aqlanaṣ.</u>	Peter got angry.
=	<u>Piitraṣ ayul akuṣ aqlanaṣ.</u>	Peter fell and (then) got angry. = Peter got angry when he fell.

Aaqanaḡim sadan tingin haaḡaniṣtal akus Daniilaṣ tingin hnuuḡan aṣtakuṣ.  
When we had stopped outside of Aaqanaḡiṣ, Dan reached us.

- (3) A verb in -na- or -qa- in a non-final clause indicates the past in relation to the following clause (cf. 11.5). It is mostly combined with the auxiliary a-ku-, for example:

Lunazulax akus txidix lutxalinas aṣtakus.  
They had not believed but then (after some time) they began to have confidence, so the story goes.

The ending -na- in the final clause (-nas aṣtakus) refers the whole complex sentence to the past, so that the -na- in the ini-

tial clause (-nazulax akus) indicates a past in the past (the so-called pluperfect in English: had not believed). Without a-ku-:

Hamaax hitnaqaang (or hitnaq) tataam hamaaḡaaḡutanaq.  
I had gone out from there but then came back there.

On -aang, a variant of -aan after -q-, see 26.3.

- (4) Also temporal verbs (11.8) can be used together with the auxiliary a-ku- in a non-final clause, for example:

Hital angaliḡ akuqaang uqitiiḡutakuq.  
I went out (earlier today) but returned (right now). (In the modern language also Hital angaliq akuqaang . . .)

Qilagan aygaxs saḡanaḡ akuqaang namigikuq.  
Yesterday I was walking and feel stiff (now). = I feel stiff from yesterday's walking.

Without a-ku- (cf. 12.1):

Hitaangan aḡikuqaang uqitiiḡutaangan aḡikuq.  
I'm going out but will be soon back.

- (5) Expressions of inference (13.1-2) may be linked directly to a following clause, for example:

Aliḡ saḡal aḡtakuḡaan hital angaliq.  
The old man was apparently sleeping so I went out.

Sabaakaḡ ulam sitxan changanaḡ aḡtakuḡ ukulakan angaliq (or: angaling)  
The dog apparently had crept under the house so I did not find it.

- (6) Also a question may be linked to a following sentence, taking then the ending -ku- instead of the interrogative form (cf. 11.2), for example:

<u>Alqus maḡt?</u>	What are you doing?
+ <u>Kikagnal hingamakuḡt.</u>	You are so dirty.
= <u>Alqus maḡt kikagnal hingamaḡt?</u>	What are you doing that you get so dirty?

Here the final verb gets the interrogative form: -ḡt instead of -ku-ḡt. This is not the case in the following example:

<u>Alqul tunuḡtadunaaḡsit</u> ( <u>-naaḡit</u> )?	Why do you try to talk so fast?
+ <u>Hiḡtanat tutalakaq.</u>	I don't hear what you say.
= <u>Alqul tunuḡtadunaaḡikuḡtaan</u>	Why do you try to talk so fast, (so that) I can not hear what you say.
<u>hiḡtanat tutalakaq.</u>	

In Aleut, the final clause is the "main clause", the one that

carries the marker of time etc. in relation to the time of speech. In English, a main clause may also come first, followed by one or more subordinate clauses (clauses "dependent" on the main one). For example:

Taanasxaadanaq.  
+ Iḡaḡtaḡ waaḡanaḡ.  
= Taanasxaadakuqaang iḡaḡtaḡ  
waaḡanaḡ.

I was out camping (in the past).  
The airplane came in.  
(a) When I was out camping, the airplane came in.  
(b) I was out camping when the airplane came in.

The order of the clauses is the same in both languages but in English one has the choice between (a), where the last clause is the "main clause" as in Aleut, and (b), where it is the subordinate one, marked by the conjunction 'when'. In other cases also the order of the clauses may be different, compare the examples under (2) above.

26.2. The time relation or contrast between the clauses of a complex sentence may also be specified by derivational endings. Among the more important endings are the following two.

- (1) -hli- 'still' (23.1), for example:

Iklaḡ quxsuhlikuqaang ting hnukuḡt.  
When I was still chopping wood, you came to me. = I was chopping wood until you came to me.

Qalgadaḡ inaḡtahliḡulagaan gan'ḡiḡ ikaaḡazanaḡ.  
The food did not take an end until (before) the winter was over. (The initial clause is in the general form, cf. 11.4, because of the -za- 'each time, each year' in the final clause, cf. 22.8.)

- (2) -ḡtagali- 'although' (23.5), for example:

Ting luusaḡtagalilakaḡtxidigaan, maḡaḡtaning luusaaḡtxichix.  
Although you do not believe me, believe my works. (St. John 10:38).

Slaḡuḡ malḡal aḡtagalikuḡ ayugzaḡ.  
Although it is blowing hard, he would go out.

Atxaḡizulax maasaḡang aḡtagalikum ting an'gaagasaḡulax.  
Although I had done wrong to him he forgave me. I had done wrong to him but he forgave me. (Cf. 26.8.)

26.3. If the clauses involve different grammatical persons, as in 26.1 (1), the following points should be noted.

- (1) The non-final clause is in most cases linked to the following clause by -aan, the reduced form of ngaan after a consonant: -kuḡaan in 26.1 (1); -kuḡtaan in 26.1 (6); -ḡulagaan (-ḡ + -ulax +

-(ng)aan) in 26.2 (1); -lakaŋtxidigaan in 26.2 (2). After the 1.p.sg. in -g, however, the variant -aang is used: -nagaang in 26.1 (3); -kuqaang in 26.1 (4). With the plural -s 'they' or 'we', the old language has the plural (ng)iin: -ziin, later -zaan, for example:

Tanadgusiŋ hnukuziin (hnukuzaan) qaxchikdaŋ masxaaŋan aŋtakuŋ.  
When we reached the village, it had become dark.

In the later language the ending -aan or -aang tends to be reduced to -aa, or else it has been doubled and has become a separate word aanaa 'then', sometimes perhaps used with no apparent meaning.

- (2) To express coincidence (rather than succession) in time, the non-final clause may be linked to the following clause without the -aan, especially if the subject is a 3. person, for example:

Kasakaŋ udakus tanas suŋtakuŋ, aŋŋaŋinas wakus matalŋanas liidas matanazulax aŋtazakus.  
When the Russian dominated these islands, the people did not have the same conditions as now.

- (3) If the subject of the non-initial clause is left out as known beforehand (cf. 2.2), the final clause contains a reference to it (cf. 3.2 and 6.2), compare:

	<u>Hlas tunumkaqadanas.</u>	The boys stopped talking.
+	<u>Ting saŋaninaq.</u>	I went to sleep.
=	<u>Hlas tunumkaqadakuziin ting saŋaninaq.</u>	When the boys stopped talking, I went to sleep. (-g 'I').

	<u>Tunumkaqadanas.</u>	They stopped talking.
+	<u>Ting saŋaninaq.</u>	I went to sleep.
=	<u>Tunumkaqadakuziin ting saŋaniŋaning.</u>	When they stopped talking, I went to sleep. (-ni-ng 'they - I').

In the same way, if the non-initial clause contains a reference to an object or other complement known beforehand (3.2, 6.2), the reference is continued in the final clause, for example:

	<u>Agul inatikung.</u>	I have finished making it.
+	<u>Piitraŋ ukaaŋakuŋ.</u>	Peter came in (recently).
=	<u>Agul inatikunŋaan Piitram ukaaŋakuu.</u>	When I had finished making it, Peter came in.

In the modern language the -aan or -ngaŋ (after a vowel) tends to be left out. In the old language it constituted a complement for the final verb: "for it", the same "it" as in the preceding clause (-ng 'I - it').

26.4. If the clauses have the same subject, the following points should be noted.

- (1) A 3. person subject (a noun) is mentioned only in the initial clause, or else is left out as known beforehand (2.2). The verb of the initial (non-final) clause, without (ng)aan, may have (a) the absolute form (sg. -ŋ), indicating coincidence in time or agreement with the following clause, or (b) the relative form (sg. -m), indicating succession in time or a contrast, for example:

(a) Hlaŋ udam hachan imyaŋikuŋ atxidatxaŋinaŋ.  
The boy was fishing outside of the bay and got a (or several) codfish.

(b) Saŋ uchigihlikum txin iŋas iŋanaŋ.  
The duck was swimming until it got scared and took off.

Wan hyaagaŋ adulakaŋim tumtatukuŋ.  
This log is not long but thick, more thick than long.

Angaliŋ agnaŋan huzuu ukaaŋazanaŋ akum wayaam ukan hnudaqadakuŋ.  
He used to come here every day but now he does not visit us anymore.

In the plural this distinction disappears, the ending being in both cases -s (cf. 3.2), for example:

Txidix aslixtikus amŋiqalinas.  
When they met they began to fight.

- (2) If the subject of the one clause is the same 3. person as the "possessor" of the subject of the other clause, or if the subjects have the same 3. person "possessor" (cf. 5.2), the clauses are linked in the same way as in the simpler case (1), for example:

Tayaŋuŋ uqitikum hlaa ayugnaŋ.  
When the man returned his son went out (in a boat).

Hlaa uqitikum ayagaa ayugnaŋ.  
When his son returned his wife went out.

Likewise in the case of cross-reference with agitaadaa (5.9), for example:

Agitaadaa sayukum agitaadaa hingul angaliŋ.  
The one pulled and the other pushed.

- (3) A 1. or 2. person subject, being expressed by an ending, is of course repeated in each clause, and the clauses are usually linked as in the case of different subjects (26.3), for example:

Hlakuŋaŋ akuxtaan, alŋus mazaŋaŋt?  
When you were a little boy, what did you usually do?

Awahlikuqaang ting asŋaniiŋutakuŋ.  
I was working until I got tired (now). Cf. 26.2 (1).

Alax braatax uhlii matalakaqaang alax sistrax ilaxtaa mataaqtakuq.  
I have not only two brothers but (I have) also two sisters. (Cf. 25.4)

Hlang uqitikuqaan ayugnaq.  
When my son returned I went out.

Hlang uqitikuqaan ayagang ayugnaq.  
When my son returned my wife went out.

- (4) If the non-initial clause contains a reference to an object or other complement known beforehand, the reference is continued in the final clause, as in the case 26.3. (3), for example:

Tutahlikungaan (-kung) ting saqaniqang axtakux.  
I listened to him until I fell asleep, I think.

26.5. If the clauses have both the same subject and the same 3. person object, the object is mentioned only in the initial clause, or else is left out as known beforehand, with a reference to it in the final verb (cf. 3.2). Even if the object is mentioned in the initial clause, there is a reference to it in the verb, for example:

<u>Hlas ilganaq.</u>	I looked for the boys.
+ <u>Hlas ukunaqulaq.</u>	I did not find the boys.
= <u>Hlas ilgakuning ukunaqulaq.</u>	I looked for the boys but did not find them. (-ni-ng 'them - I').

Likewise:

Tayaqux ilgakung hlahlii ukunaq.  
I looked for the man but found his son only. Cf. 26.4 (2).

If the subject is a 3. person, the reference to it in the non-final verb is reflexive (cf. 5.4), for example:

<u>Piitrax kiiquusiix hangal angaliix.</u>	Peter ascended the mountain (today).
+ <u>Piitrax kiiquusiix kangal angaliix.</u>	Peter reached the top of the mountain.
= <u>Piitrax kiiquusiix hangahlikuun kangal angaliix.</u>	Peter ascended the mountain until he reached the top of it.

Hlas kiiquusiix hangahlikudix kangaqalikus, itxaygis ukul kimkaliigutanas.  
When the boys had gone up to the top of the mountain, they saw some reindeer and started to go down again. (kanga-qali-ku-s according to 26.4 (1).)

If the object is not mentioned, there is of course a reference to

it also in the final verb:

<u>Ilgaganing.</u>	I looked for them.
+ <u>Ukuqaningulax (Ukuqaqulaning).</u>	I did not find them.
= <u>Ilgakuning ukuqaningulax (ukuqaqulaning).</u>	I looked for them but did not find them.

<u>Aniqdum sukuu.</u>	The child took it.
+ <u>Aniqdum uqidusaduukalakaqa.</u>	The child won't return it.
= <u>Aniqdum sukuun uqidusaduukalakaqa.</u>	The child took it and won't return it.

The same is true if the local complement of the initial clause is the same person (or thing) as the object of the final clause, for example:

Tayaqum kugan txin ungutikuun chaxtiqaa.  
When the man sat down upon it he cracked it.

If, on the contrary, the object is a 1. or 2. person, expressed by a personal pronoun (4.3), it is repeated in each clause and the clauses are linked as when they have just a common subject, according to 26.4, for example:

<u>Sabaakax txin kignaax.</u>	The dog bit you.
+ <u>Sabaakax txin natnaax ii?</u>	Did the dog hurt you?
= <u>Sabaakax txin kigikum txin natnaax ii?</u>	The dog bit you but did it hurt you? When the dog bit you, did it hurt you?

26.6. If the subject of the first clause is the same grammatical person as the object or local complement of the following clause, the following points should be noted.

- (1) A 3. person (a noun) is mentioned only in the initial clause, for example:

Aniqdux hitnaaqikuix hitichxinaqulaq.  
The child tried to go out but I did not let it go out.

Piitrax qakuix nagan qangunaq.  
While Peter was eating, I went in to him. I went in to Peter while he was eating.

Tayaqux ayxaasiin sayukuix hadan huyaangan axtakuuq.  
While the man was pulling up his boat, I went towards him.

Tayaqux ayxaasiin sayukuqaan hadan huyaangan axtakuuq.  
When the man had pulled up his boat, I went towards him.

If the following clause has a noun as the subject, it is in the relative case and in the verb there is reference to the subject of the initial clause:

Aniqdux hitnaaqikuix Piitram hitichxiqagulaa.

The child tried to go out but Peter did not let it go out.

Piitraḥ qakuḥ tayaḡum nagan ganguḡaa.  
While Peter was eating, the (or a) man went in to him.

Then the initial clause may have -ku-m instead of -ku-ḡ-aan (cf. 26.4):

Ayagaḥ gangukum uchiitilam ungutichḡiqaa.  
When the woman came in, the teacher had her sit down.

Tayaḡuḥ ayḡaasiin sayukum Piitram hadan huyaḡaa.  
When the man had pulled up his boat, Peter went towards him.

If the subject of the initial clause is left out as known beforehand, there is of course a reference to it in the final verb, for example:

Igal amaanukuḥ ilgagang.  
When it flew away I looked for it.

Ayḡaasiin sayukuḥ hadan huyaangan aḡtakung.  
When he pulled up his boat, I went towards him.

Qalgadaan inatikum tataam liidaḥ ngaan aḡiqang.  
When he had finished his food, I gave him another piece.

- (2) If the subject of the final clause is the possessor of the subject of the initial clause, its relation to the object or local complement is implicitly reflexive (cf. 5.4, 6), for example:

	<u>Piitram adaa ganaḥ.</u>	Peter's father was eating.
+	<u>Piitraḥ adaam nagan gangunaḥ.</u>	Peter went in to his father.
=	<u>Piitraḥ adaa qakuḥ nagan gangunaḥ.</u>	Peter went in to his father while he was eating.

	<u>Ayḡaasii ilagaan agaḡaliḡaa.</u>	His boat began to drift away from him.
+	<u>Ayḡaasii sunaḥ.</u>	He grabbed his boat.
=	<u>Ayḡaasii ilagaan agaḡalikuu sunaḥ.</u>	His boat began to drift away from him but he grabbed it.

(suḡaa in the last sentence would mean that the one who grabbed the boat was a person different from the owner: ayḡaasii suḡaa 'he grabbed his - another one's - boat', cf. 5.2).

- (3) If the subject of the initial clause is a 1. or 2. person, expressed by an ending, it must of course be repeated in the following clause, expressed by an object pronoun or a local complement, for example:

Qakuḡaang ting hnunaḥ. He came to me while I was eating.

Qakuḡaang nagming gangunaḥ. He came in to me while I was eating.

- (4) If the initial clause contains a reference to an object or other complement known beforehand, the reference is continued in the final clause (cf. 26.4 (4)), for example:

Sukungan ting sihmiimis aḡtakuun. When I took it, you spanked me.

Hlam sukuungan sihmiingan aḡtakung. When the boy took it, I spanked him.

The -aan or -ngaan (after a vowel), mostly left out in the modern language, constitutes a complement for the final verb: "When I took it, you spanked me for it", cf. 26.3 (3).

- 26.7. If the object or local complement of the first clause is the same grammatical person as the subject of the following clause, the following points should be noted.

- (1) A 3. person object noun becomes the subject of the following clause through a reference to it in the verb of the initial clause, for example:

	<u>Piitraḥ hlaḥ tuganaḥ.</u>	Peter hit the boy.
+	<u>Hlaḥ qidaḡalinaḥ.</u>	The boy started to cry.
=	<u>Piitraḥ hlaḥ tugakuu qidaḡalinaḥ.</u>	Peter hit the boy and he (the boy) started to cry. ( <u>tuga-kuḥ</u> or <u>-kum</u> would imply that Peter started to cry.)

	<u>Piitraḥ ayḡaasiin sakaḡatinaḥ.</u>	Peter pushed out his boat.
+	<u>Piitram ayḡaasii kidugnaḥ.</u>	Peter's boat sank.
=	<u>Piitraḥ ayḡaasiin sakaḡatikuu kidugnaḥ.</u>	Peter pushed out his boat but it sank.

Chahmaḥ imdahlikung anḡtaan aḡikuḥ.  
I filled the cup until it was half full. (Cf. 26.2 (1).)

- (2) A 3. person "possessor" noun of a local term must be repeated, in the absolute case, as the subject of the following clause if the initial clause has a noun as the subject, for example:

Piitraḥ hamaan tayaḡum hadan huyakuḥ tayaḡuḥ ayuxtal aḡtaaḡan aḡtakuḥ.  
When Peter went towards that man (towards his house) the man had gone out (in his boat).

Likewise, with a possessor of the "possessor" as a subject:

Piitraḥ tayaḡum ulagan hadan huyakuḥ tayaḡuḥ ulaam ilaan hitnaḥ.  
When Peter went towards the man's house, the man had gone out of his house.

If the subject of the initial clause is expressed by an ending

only, the "possessor" of the local complement becomes an "outer subject", in the absolute case, with a reference to it in the verb of the initial clause, for example:

Hamaan tayaqum hadan huyaangan axtakuq. I went towards that man.  
 + Haman tayaqux ayuxtal axtaagan axtakux. That man had gone out.  
 = Haman tayaqux hadan huyakung ayuxtal axtaagan axtakux. I went to that man but he had gone out in his boat.

Likewise:

Haman tayaqux ulagan hadan huyakuun ting hnuxtal saqanaq.  
 Yesterday, when you went to that man's house, he visited me. (That man, towards whose house you went, visited me yesterday.)

Tayaqux ngaan tunuhtakung aaluhlix manaq.  
 When I talked to the man, he just laughed.

- (3) If the object or the "possessor" of the local complement is left out as known beforehand, the verb of the initial clause already has the reference sufficient to indicate the subject of the following clause (cf. 3.2 and 6.2-3):

Piitram tugaqaa. Peter hit him.  
 + Qidaqalinaq. He started to cry.  
 = Pitram tugakuu qidaqalinaq. Peter hit him and he started to cry. When Peter hit him he started to cry.

Ukuhtahlikung txin saqaninaq.  
 I looked at him until he fell asleep.

Hlagan umlatikuu haqtnaq.  
 His son woke him up and he got up.

Tayaqum hadan huyakuu txin iqatnaq.  
 When the man went towards him, he got scared.

Tayaqum ayxaasii ngaan sayukuu txin aygaxtnaq.  
 The man pulled the boat up for him and he walked off.

With an object common to both clauses:

Qichitix ngaan akixtaasal axtagalikung sulagaagan axtakuq hinga.  
 I offered him money but he did not take it.

26.8. If the subject of the first clause is the same grammatical person as the object or local complement of the following clause (cf. 26.6) and vice versa (cf. 26.7), the constructions depend upon the type of persons involved (3.p. nouns or 1. or 2.p. pronouns).

- (1) If both grammatical persons involved are 3.p. nouns, the construction may follow the corresponding one in 26.6 (1), for example:

Piitraq Paavilaq tuganaq. Peter hit Paul.  
 + Paavilaq Piitraq kitanaq. Paul kicked Peter.  
 = Piitraq Paavilaq tugakuq (or: Paavilaq kitanaq) Paavilam kitaqaa. When Peter hit Paul, Paul kicked him.

Piitraq Paavilam hadan huyakuq Paavilam kanfiixtaq ngaan aqigaa.  
 When Peter went to Paul, Paul gave him candy.

The same construction is possible in the following case:

Piitraq sabaakaq natnaq ii? Did Peter hurt the dog?  
 + Sabaakaq Piitraq kignaqa. The dog bit Peter.  
 = Piitraq sabaakaq natikuq ii sabaakam kigigaa (kikaa). Did Peter hurt the dog that bit him?

Here, however, the second clause may also be inserted in the first one, with substitution of the reflexive pronoun txin (cf. 4.4.) for the object Piitraq, which is also the subject of the final verb:

Piitraq sabaakaq txin kigikuq natnaq ii?

Similarly, with insertion of the first clause into the second one:

Hlakuchaq Piitram nagan gangunaq. The little boy went in to Peter.  
 + Piitraq hlakucham ngaan kanfiixtaq aqnaq. Peter gave the little boy candy.  
 = Piitraq hlakuchaq nagiim gangukuqaa kanfiixtaq ngaan aqnaq. Peter gave the little boy candy when he came in to him (to Peter).

- (2) If the subject of the first clause is a 3.p. noun and the object a 1. or 2.p. pronoun, the construction follows the corresponding one in 26.6 (1), for example:

Piitraq ting tugakuq. Peter hit me.  
 + Piitraq kitanaq. I kicked Peter.  
 = Piitraq ting tugakuq kitanaq. When Peter hit me I kicked him.

Piitraq ting hiqtakuq hadan uqitiingan axtakuq.  
 When Peter called me, I went back towards him.

- (3) If the object of the first clause is a 3.p. noun and the subject a 1. or 2.p., the construction may follow the corresponding one in 26.7 (1), for example:

Paavilaq tugaqaq. I hit Paul.  
 + Paavilaq ting kitanaq. Paul kicked me.  
 = Paavilaq tugakung ting kitanaq. When I hit Paul he kicked me.

Paavilaŋ hadan huyakung kanfiixtaŋ ngus aŋnaŋ.  
When I went to Paul, he gave me candy.

In the following case the second clause is inserted in the first one, as in the case mentioned above under (1):

<u>Sabaakaŋ natnaŋt ii?</u>	Did you hurt the dog?
+ <u>Sabaakaŋ txin kignaŋ.</u>	The dog bit you.
= <u>Sabaakaŋ txin kigikuŋ natnaŋt ii?</u>	Did you hurt the dog that bit you (when it bit you)?

- (4) If both grammatical persons are respectively 1. and 2.p. subjects and 2. and 1.p. objects (pronoun) or local complements ("possessor" of a local term), the construction does not differ from the general type with different grammatical persons involved (cf. 26.3), for example:

<u>Ting tugakuŋtaan txin kitanag.</u>	When you hit me I kicked you.
<u>Ting hiŋtakuŋtaan hadamis</u>	When you called me I went to
<u>huyaangan aŋtakuŋ.</u>	you.

26.9. The clauses may also have a common object or local complement, but different subjects.

- (1) If only 3.p. nouns are involved, the construction is much like the ones in 26.6 (1) and 26.8 (1), for example:

Piitraŋ itŋaygiŋ algaŋtaqadakuŋ (or: -kum) Viiram unaga.  
When Peter had butchered the reindeer, Vera cooked it.

Tayaŋuŋ ayŋaasiin sakaŋgatikum hlam ayŋaasigan ilan hangagaa.  
When the man had pushed out his boat, the boy entered into it.

If the subject of the final clause is a 1. or 2.p. expressed by an ending, the final verb has a reference to the subject or object of the initial clause only if it is left out as known beforehand, according to the general rule 26.3 (3), for example:

Piitraŋ itŋaygiŋ algaŋtaqadakuŋ unanaŋ.  
When Peter had butchered the reindeer, I cooked it.

Tayaŋuŋ ayŋaasiin sakaŋgaticuŋaan ilan hanganaŋ.  
When the man had pushed out his boat, I entered into it.

Qichitiŋ ngus akiŋtaasal aŋtagalikuŋ ilagaan sulakan angaling.  
He offered me money but I did not take it. (-ng 'he -I').

- (2) If the subject of the initial clause is a 1. or 2.p., the construction is much like the ones in 26.7 (1) and 26.8 (3), for example:

Tayaŋuŋ as tunuŋtaqadakung ayagagan hadan huyagaa.

When I had talked with the man, his wife went to him.

Haman ayagaŋ aslixtakung asxinugan ilan aqaa.  
When I met that woman, her daughter was with her.

Chixtim hadan huyakung, nagaan uuquchiingix hitinaŋ.  
When I went towards the den, a fox came out of it.

Chixtim ilaan agakung, uuquchiingim nagaan hitiqaa.  
When I went away from the den, the fox came out of it.

Ilaan agakung uuquchiingim nagaan hitiqaa.  
When I went away from it, the fox came out of it.

26.10. The auxiliary a-ku- is used in three special ways:

- (1) It is used to expand a term of a sentence into a clause, to bring that term into focus, for example:

<u>Kiin haqal?</u>	Who's coming?
<u>Kiin al?</u>	Who is he/she?
+ <u>haqakuŋ</u>	he/she is coming
= <u>Kiin akuŋ haqal?</u>	Who is (the one who is) coming?

Piitraŋ akuŋ haqakuŋ. It's Peter who is coming.

Haman agitaadang akum haqakuŋ. It's that friend of mine who is coming.

Anŋaŋinam saŋatungis akus txiŋix quyuutuzalakaŋis. People who sleep long (in the morning) do not want to go to bed.

In the later language it is also used more freely, for example:

Kiin ilagaan akuŋ aluŋix atxazanaŋt?  
From whom did you get a letter? (same as Kiin akuŋ ilagaan aluŋix atxazanaŋt?)

Laavkim ngaan anaŋis akus, qan'gim ngaan akuŋ, anaŋis chugaaŋtas akus Atŋam ngaan waaŋaasazas.  
They bring goods to the store on Atka, so there are sufficient goods for the winter.

- (2) It is used to connect clauses, stressing the meaning 'but', for example:

Tanŋix iŋamanakuŋ akuŋ aaliisizigalakaŋ.  
The island is good but has no good landing place.

Karandaasiŋ matakung akuŋ sixsaŋtakuŋ.  
I have a pencil but it is broken. (Cf. 26.7 (1).)

Slumaan ataqadim sunam North Star asaŋtaa anaŋis laavkimaan waaŋaasazakuŋ akungis sanalakan inahliŋ mazakus.

Once a year the ship called North Star brings goods to the store but they are insufficient and just take an end. (a-ku-ngis in reference to anaqis, cf. 26.7 (1).)

- (3) At the beginning of a sentence, it connects with what precedes and is often specified by certain endings (cf. 26.2.), for example: Akuḡ 'But (he/she)', Akuḡaan 'However' (no person connection), Akuḡaang 'But I'; Ahlikuḡaan "While it still is/was" = 'Finally'; Aḡtagalikuḡ "Even though it is" = 'However'.

26.11. The auxiliary ma-l "doing so" (conjunctive) makes the preceding clause a reason for the following clause, for example:

Slachxizaḡ malḡakuḡaan mal ayuxtal angaliḡ.  
It is nice weather, so he went out today.  
Because it is nice weather, he went out today.

Ting asḡanil angaliḡaang mal uyminalakan gumakuḡ.  
I got tired today so I do not feel well now.

Anḡaḡinachxizaḡ akuḡ mal chagiin achxulaḡtaasal angaliḡ.  
Because he is a nice person, he distributed his halibut.

Anangin qachḡikungis mal txidix iniḡsitakus.  
Their mother fed them so they are happy.  
Because their mother fed them, they are happy.

If the clauses have the same subject and object or local complement (cf. 26.5) the form maasal "doing so with" is used, for example:

Usxim ilaa ukukung maasal tmuusiḡtal angaliḡ.  
I found a stick so I used it for a cane.

Likewise if the subject of the preceding clause is the same person as the object or local complement of the following clause (cf. 26.6), for example:

Qaatukuḡ maasal qachḡikung.  
He was hungry so I fed him.  
I fed him because he was hungry.

If the verb of the following clause is in the passive (cf. 19.), the passive form maalal is used, for example:

Qaatukuḡ maalal qachḡisxaḡaḡ.  
He was hungry so he was fed.  
We fed him because he was hungry.

The clause with mal, maasal or maalal, may also come last, introduced by aaḡan "he/she/it to be" or aaḡin "they to be" (cf. 27.), for example:

Wayaam mayaaḡikuḡ azalakan, aaḡan mayaaḡaḡ akiḡiigamaxsilakaḡaan

mal.

Nowadays nobody traps, because the furs have a too low price.

Awaḡ ilḡaaḡin txidix ayḡatzakus, aaḡin waan tanam kugan ilaan  
awaḡ ukukungis alakaḡis mal.

They set out to look for work, because they can find work nowhere on this island.

In the later language, the combination -kuḡaan mal has been reduced to -k aamal, and -lakaḡaan mal to -lak aamal, yielding a new word aamal 'therefore'.

26.12. A clause in -ku- may also be the "possessor" of agalaan, agalagaan 'after' (temporal sense), being in the relative case with the subject indicated by a "possessor" ending (cf. 29.), for example:

Waaḡakumchix agalagaan alḡus manaḡtxidix?  
After you came back, what did you do?

Amrikaanchix sakaḡakugan agalagaan, sayḡis alanaḡadanas aḡtakus.  
After the Americans came out (here), guns became plentiful.

Likewise with ilagaan in the sense of '(more) than' (cf. 6.7):

Mataaḡan aḡtakuum ilagaan angalidigaḡ aguḡtaḡaliiḡutakuḡ.  
It is lighter again now than it was a while ago. (The reflexive -ku-um refers to "it", the weather.)

Chapter 27  
INTENTION

27.1. Clauses which express intention (purpose) or reason (motive) and have the same subject as the following clause, have the verb in the intentional form (cf. 14.7):

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
1.p. old	-Vngan		-Vqin
modern	-Vng		-Vngin, -Vngis
2.p.	-Vmis	-Vmdix	-Vmchix
3.p. old	-Vgan	-Vkin	-Vqin
modern	-Vx		-Vqdix, -Vmdix

The verb of the following clause is often a verb of motion, for example:

Aangsutiingan (Aangsusangan) anqal angaliq.  
I went out to (in order to) pick berries today.

Chihtilagaangan qanguugutal angaliq.  
In order not to get wet I came in again.

Qawanaagiiqdux (Qawanaagiiqin) Kudugnam hadan huyanas.  
In order to hunt sea lion they went to Kudugna.

cf. Kudugnam hadan huyal qawanaaginas.  
They went to Kudugna to hunt (actually hunted) sea lion. (Cf. 25.6)

The intentional, however, is also used in other connections, for example:

Chihtilagaaqan chihtaliisiin chuku.  
In order not to get wet he/she put on his/her raincoat.

Kasami saahmlat huqnataagan, kingtim sitxan isxaqiku.  
In order to keep her eggs warm, the eider duck has her nest under a grass mound.

Ayxaasing aguung (aguungan) asxus alakuq.  
I need some nails to repair my boat.

The sense of the intentional may also be specified by local terms such as ngaan 'for (it)', qulagaan 'for the sake of, in order to', for example:

Ayxaaxaaqan ngaan tingin ha'xsalgaqaliixtax.  
We have better get ready for taking off. (Cf. 14.5.)

Haagalagaaqin (= Haagalagaangin) qulagaan huzugaan qanaagzas.  
In order not to starve we always go fishing.

27.2. If the subject is different from that of the following clause, that is, the same grammatical person as the object or the local complement of the following clause, the verb is in the optative (cf. 14.3-6), for example:

Ludang ting uyal qaaq ting ixchiisal angali.  
My elder brother (or sister) took me home to eat.

Hitlagaaxtax amgiqiang anxtakung.  
I watched it so it should not go out.

Anqaaqinam tutalagaqaa alaaxsil tutusing ilan hihtaqa.  
In order that nobody should hear it he whispered it into my ear.

Anqaaqinaning qaaxtas ngiin unal angaliq.  
I cooked for my people to eat.

Ayxaasiin suxtal Amlaqix hnuxtaaq ngus axtanax.  
He lent me his boat for my going to Amlia.

27.3. The intentional and the optative combine also with mas (matil) and matal, which are more like auxiliary verbs, for example:

Hamaan sunam kugan awaaqin (awaangin) matinas.  
We undertook to work on that ship.

Awaangan makuq.  
I have to, am supposed to, work.

Haman igaxtax ala'um kugan tagaax matal aguqiku.  
That airplane is built for landing (so as to land) on the sea.

Qaaxtas mas hamang aqiang anxtakuning.  
I put them there to dry (making so that they may dry).

For combinations with other auxiliaries see 11.6-7 and 12.1-4, for constructions with verbs of utterance and thought see 30.3.

Chapter 28  
CONDITION

28.1. Condition (in English 'if' or 'when') is expressed by the conditional ending -gu-, which takes person endings as follows (rel. = relative case form; 3 R = reflexive 3.p.):

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
3.p.	<u>-guu</u>	<u>-gukix</u>	<u>-gungis</u>
1.p.	<u>-guung</u>		<u>-gungin</u>
			old <u>-gumas</u>
2.p.	<u>-guun</u>	<u>-gudix</u>	<u>-guchix</u>
rel.	<u>-gumis</u>	<u>-gumdix</u>	<u>-gumchix</u>
3 R	<u>-guun</u>		<u>-gudix, -guchix</u>
rel.	<u>-guum</u>		<u>-gumdix, -gumchix</u>
			old <u>-gumax</u>

The negated conditional in the old language was -sxu- + -ulax, for example haqasxuunulax 'if you don't come' (cf. asxuunulax "if it is not" = 'or').

Besides simple conditional forms such as haqaguung 'if I come', there are combinations of the conjunctive with the conditional of the auxiliary a- 'be', for example haqal aguung 'if I come', haqalakan aguung 'if I don't come'. In the later language such combinations are reduced to new simple forms: haqaluung, haqalakuung. With further abolition of old distinctions the late forms are as follows:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1.p.	<u>-luung</u>	<u>-lungin</u>	<u>-lakuung</u>	<u>-lakungin</u>
2.p.	<u>-lumis</u>	<u>-lu(m)chix</u>	<u>-lakumis</u>	<u>-laku(m)chix</u>
3.p.	<u>-luu(n)</u>	<u>(-lungis)</u>	<u>-lakuu(n)</u>	<u>(-lakungis)</u>

28.2. The conditional is used in a non-final clause of three main types of complex sentences:

(1) with a final clause in the future (cf. 12) or expressing a command or wish (cf. 14), for example:

Haqal agungis agiitaangan aqikuning.  
If they come, I will go with them.

Ixchil chalagumas (chalagungin) timas (tingin) guyuuqin aqikus.  
When we come home, we will go to bed.

Suutugumis suugaan!

If you want to take it, take it! Take it if you want to.

(2) with a final clause in the present, general, or past (cf. 11) expressing repetition, habit or general fact, often with the ending -za- (22.8), for example:

Qanikinga haqaguu tayaqus tanadix imax hagyayaqalizakus.  
When spring comes the men begin to clean up their places.

Aniqdus chiqanam ilan mikal agumdix txidix chiqnizas.  
When the children play in the creek they get wet.

Mayaaqadal hingaaqal agumchix, kampaanim ilagaan Kasakam taangagan akiqiiyulax hiing ngiin axsxazaqas hiilaqtadas.  
When they came back there from hunting, they were given Russian liquor free from the Company, it's said.

(3) with a final clause marked by the particle kam, kum (ancient kuma) as a possibility contrary to fact (cf. 13.7), for example:

Wan angaliq slachxizaguu kum ayuxtal imyaqikuq.  
If it were good weather today I would go out fishing (but the weather is not good, so I don't go out).

Wangus anaq alix aguun, kuma huyung askanaqulax.  
If you had been here, my brother would not have died. (St. John 11.21).

28.3. The conditional clause may express a fact or possibility belonging to the same time as the following clause, as in most of the examples above, or a future or a past in relation to the following clause, for example a future:

Qaangan aqiguung plitang anixtazaq.  
When I am about to eat I usually light my stove.

Alitxuuqin aqigumax chaduqnam ilaa qazanas.  
When they were about to attack they used to eat a piece of blubber.

a past:

Aqadgix aqadaqdigal angalinaq aguun, amgim ilan uqlaangil tanax chiqnixtazaq.

When the sun has been shining the whole day, in the night there will be dew that makes the ground wet.

Haman galqadaq taxsaqaq aguun, anqaqinaziin chisilgaqalizaqaq

aʔtakuʔ.

When that food had been stored, it was distributed to the people.

a past in the future:

Hamaax waaʔgal aʔtaguu ngaan ahmayaaʔtaangan aqang.  
When he has come back from there, I will ask him.

Chiʔtalakan aʔtaguun qilagan waaʔaaʔan saʔanaʔ.  
If it will not be raining, he will be back tomorrow.

28.4. The relation between the clauses may also be specified by derivational endings (cf. 26.2), for example:

-hli- 'still' (23.1):

Laavkim imdaa tayahligudix tukuʔgulax hitzakus.  
They buy the things in the store until they make it empty.

-qali- 'begin' (24.5):

Haagaqaligumax txidix tuuhyutazanas.  
When they began to starve, they used to feel lonesome.

-qada- 'stop, have already' (24.6):

Txin saʔaniqadaguun txin qungtukalizaʔ.  
When he has fallen asleep he starts snoring.

Hlas agiichigaan alaʔum achidan mikal aqadagumdix qayam kugan tatahliim mikaaʔgutazas.  
Sometimes the boys play at the beach and sometimes again up on the hill.

Igaʔtax tagaʔtayukalakan aqadaguun igaaʔan aʔikuʔ.  
The airplane will land for a short time and then take off.

The most important of these is -qada-, with the auxiliary a- used also to connect sentences (cf. 26.10 (3)), for example:

Aqadagumax chiilulal waaʔgalazakus.  
Having done that = Then (later) they return back here.

The forms of a-qada-gu-, regular in the older language, in the later language are reduced as follows:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1.p.	<u>aqaduung</u>	<u>aqadungin</u>
2.p.	<u>aqadumis</u>	<u>aqaduchix</u>
3.p.	<u>aqaduu(n)</u>	<u>(aqadungis)</u>

28.5. The difference between the absolute and relative forms in the 2.p. and the reflexive 3.p., abolished in the later language (28.1), is not clear but sometimes it seems to be comparable with the difference between -ku-ʔ and -ku-m (26.4 (1)). Compare the sentences above and the following, absolute forms (coincidence in time):

Adangis wahligan agudix kum hagumalakaʔis.  
If their father had been here they would not have behaved like that.

Wakus uyuʔtaguun suumis?  
If you like these, will you take them?

relative forms (succession in time):

Qalgadas ilgal lagumax haqaasazakus.  
They look for food and when they get it they bring it back.

Sis agumis txin kahnulugniimis aʔnaʔt.  
If you get sweat you will catch a cold.

In the old language a conditional in the relative case could also be the "possessor" of a local term, in a temporal sense, for example:

Hamaanugumax kadaa pulaatxidix hamang chuhmluzakus.  
Before they move over there (for the summer) they put up their tents there.

Tutaqaʔigungin aslingiin, hingahligaaga hamakus hadangin Sataanax waaʔadaʔ, aasalix kanuuʔingin ilin tunum chisilgaqaa amaanuusadaʔ.  
At the moment when they hear, Satan comes to them and takes away the word sown in their hearts. (Mark 4:15).

28.6. A conditional clause may have the same subject as the following clause, or the subjects may be different. If the clauses share a 3.p. subject, the conditional clause naturally has the reflexive form, as in the examples in 28.4-5 above. If the subjects are different, the conditional clause in the old language has the non-reflexive form, for example:

Haman tayaʔuʔ uqis aguu ahmayaaʔtaangan aʔnaq.  
When that man comes back, I'll ask him.

Uqis aguu ahmayaaʔtaangan aqang.  
When he comes back, I'll ask him. (Cf. 28.2, first example.)

Aniqdum sul aguu anagan uqidusazaa.  
If the child takes it, the mother brings it back.

Clauses about the weather, however, tend to have the reflexive form (cf. 25.5 end), for example:

Slaa txin isxanaguun saalus hulaaʔan amasukuʔ.  
If the wind changes, it will perhaps be dry weather tomorrow.

Ayangilakan aguun qilagan tagaaqan amasukuŕ.  
If there is no fog, it (the airplane) will perhaps land tomorrow.

In the later language the difference has practically disappeared.

If the 3.p. object of a conditional clause is left out as known beforehand, it may be marked for number in the conditional form if it is also the subject or object of the following clause (cf. 26.7, 9), for example:

Sunam haqal uyagungis hamaanul hamang awal sluzakus.  
When the ship comes and fetches them, they go over there to work there in the summer.

Tayaqum ngus aŕs agungis suungan aqikuning.  
If the man gives them to me, I'll take them.

Otherwise, in the old language, the conditional has an additional ngaan, pl. ngiin (cf. 26.3 end, 6 end), for example:

Qaguunganu sadmudaqan hitaangan aqikung.  
When I have eaten it I'll go out. (qa-guung + (ng)aan).

Sugumizaan txin sihmiingan aqikung.  
If you take it I'll spank you. (su-gumis + (ng)aan).

Haagadguŕtangis ulangin hadangin igniguungiin, akaluqim ilan kayuqigadaduukakus.  
If I send them away fasting to their houses, they will faint on the way. (Mark 8:3).

Similarly, with the subject of the conditional clause left out as known beforehand:

Qilam waaqaguunganu kamgalgaaqan aqaŕ amasukuŕ.  
If he (the church elder) comes back here in the morning, we will perhaps have service. (waaqa-guu + ngaan).

## Chapter 29 PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

29.1 A simple sentence like Hlaŕ aygagikuŕ. 'The/A boy is walking.' can be turned into a term of a complex sentence in three ways, for example:

(a) Hlaŕ aygagnaana aŕiqiŕ ukukuŕ.  
The boy, while walking (or: who is walking), found something.

Being part of the complex sentence, the predicate of the simple sentence: aygagikuŕ is replaced by aygag-na-a, with the sg. "possessed" ending -a (cf. 5.1) in agreement with the sg. subject Hlaŕ. The corresponding plural has the ending -ngis:

Hlas aygagnangis aŕiqiŕ ukukus.  
The boys, while walking, found something.

(b) Hlam aygagnaana aŕiqiŕ ukuzax.  
A walking boy usually finds something.

Hlam aygagnangis aŕiqiŕ ukuzas.  
Walking boys usually find something.

Here the subject of the simple sentence, being indefinite (a boy, some boys), in the complex sentence is replaced by Hla-m, a "possessor" in the relative sg., the real number being indicated by the ending for the "possessed": sg. -a, pl. -ngis (cf. 5.8).

(c) Aygagnaŕ aŕiqiŕ ukuzax.  
One who walks, A walker usually finds something.

Aygagnas aŕiqiŕ ukuzas.  
Walkers usually find something.

Here the possessor-subject in (2) has been left out, leaving as the subject of the complex sentence just the predicate of the simple sentence, now marked for number only: sg. -ŕ, pl. -s.

Of the three types, the type (a) hlaŕ aygagnaana, pl. hlas aygagnangis, has the most verb-like predicate part, with the subject in the absolute case, whereas the type (c) aygagnaŕ, pl. aygagnas, is the most noun-like, actually a noun aygag-na 'walker' derived from the verb aygag-, aygaxs (cf. 15.2). Forms like aygag-na-, being used in all three types of constructions, are called participles - words that "participate", "take part", both in the class of verbs and in the class of nouns. And the constructions are called participial, corresponding with clauses (hlaŕ aygagikuŕ etc.) rather than with purely nominal phrases such as hlam ukinaa 'the boy's knife'.

29.2. A participle in -na- is the participial equivalent of the present in -ku- (11.1), indicating an action that takes place at about the same time as the action indicated by the following verb. The main verb may be in the present, as in the examples in 29.1, or, for example, in the simple past (cf. 11.5):

Hlaḡ aygagnaḡ ( <u>aygaginaḡ</u> ).	The boy was walking.
+ Hlaḡ anaḡiḡ ukunaḡ.	The boy found something.
= <u>Hlaḡ aygagnaḡ anaḡiḡ ukunaḡ.</u>	The boy, while walking, found something.

Both actions took place in the past, but the walking took place at the same time as the finding, so the participle aygagnaḡ is a present in relation to the simple past ukunaḡ. (Note the difference between -na- as a participle and -na as a simple past.)

The participial equivalent of the simple past in -na- or -qa- (11.5) is -ga-, indicating a past in relation to the following verb, for example:

Hlaḡ ayuxtal qawanaaḡnaḡ.	The boy was out hunting sea lion (in the past).
+ Hlaḡ isxaam ilan saḡakuḡ.	The boy is sleeping in his bed.
= <u>Hlaḡ ayuxtal qawanaaḡiqaa isxaam ilan saḡakuḡ.</u>	The boy, who was out hunting sea lion (the other day), is now sleeping in his bed.

(Note that it is impossible to say "Hlaḡ ayuxtal qawanaaḡiqaaḡ.")

Also the other past forms have their participial equivalents, for example the recent past (11.6):

Asxinuḡ aangsutiiḡan aḡtakuḡ.	The girl was picking berries.
+ Asxinuḡ txin waaḡatikuḡ.	The girl just came back.
= <u>Asxinuḡ aangsutiiḡan aḡtanaa txin waaḡatikuḡ.</u>	The girl, who has been picking berries, just came back.

Temporal verbs (11.8):

<u>Sunaḡ waaḡal qilaḡsiḡ.</u> <u>sunam waaḡal qilaḡsii</u>	A ship came in this morning. the ship that came in in the morning.
<u>Tayaḡuḡ ayuxtal saḡanaḡ.</u> <u>tayaḡum ayuxtal saḡaḡaa</u>	A man went out yesterday. the man who went out yesterday (or the day before, in the past).

Likewise future forms (cf. 12), for example:

<u>Sunaḡ waaḡaaḡan aḡikuḡ (aḡnaḡ).</u> <u>sunam waaḡaaḡan aḡaa</u>	A ship will be coming in. the ship that will be coming in.
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In addition there is an optative participle (cf. 14.3-6, and 27), for example:

<u>Qax gaaḡiin imis aḡikuḡ.</u>	I've given you a fish to eat.
Cf. <u>Qax qaaxt!</u>	Eat the fish!

The general, marked by no special ending (11.4), is also used as a participle, for example:

<u>Chagiḡ ichaaḡidazaḡ.</u>	A halibut is flat.
<u>Chagiḡ gam ichaaḡidaa aḡ.</u>	The halibut is a flat fish.

It may also be the "possessor" of another participle, being the participial equivalent of a conjunctive in conjoined predicates (cf. 25), for example:

<u>Chagiḡ ichaaḡidal angunazaḡ.</u>	A halibut is flat and big.
<u>Chagiḡ gam ichaaḡidagan angunaa aḡ.</u>	The halibut is a flat big fish.
<u>Tayaḡus anaḡ maakalakan txidix aḡiḡtaasanas.</u>	The man could not do anything (any hunting) and were left.
<u>Tayaḡum anaḡ maakaganulax txidix aḡiḡtaasanangis kartuufilaḡ awaasal sluzanas.</u>	The men who could not do anything and were left, used to work with potatoes in the summer.

As seen from the last example, the negation of a participle is -ulax, cf.

<u>Hyaagaḡ adulakaḡ.</u>	The log is not long (= short).
<u>hyaagam aduuyulax</u> (old: <u>aduu-ulax</u> )	'a short log'.

29.3. Like a noun, a participial construction may be used

(1) as the subject of a sentence, as in most of the examples in 29.1-2, so also in the relative case, for example:

<u>Hlaḡ hikinaḡ akum adaa isuḡnaaḡnagan aslixtiqaa.</u>	The boy had gotten lost but his father, who was hunting seals, found him.
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cf. Hlaḡ hikinaḡ akum adagan aslixtiqaa.  
The boy had gotten lost but his father found him. (Cf. 26.6 (1).)

(2) as a predicate noun, as in Chagiḡ gam ichaaḡidaa aḡ. in 29.2.

cf. <u>Chagiḡ qaḡ aḡ.</u>	The halibut is a fish.
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(3) as an object, for example:

<u>Tayaḡux isuḡnaaḡnaa aslixtinaḡ.</u>	I met the man who was hunting seals.
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- cf. Tayaqux aslixtinaq. I met the man.  
Sunam haqanaa hachiqikuq. I'm waiting for a coming ship.
- cf. Sunaq hachiqikuq. I'm waiting for a/the ship.

(4) as a local complement (the "possessor" of a local term), for example:

Aniqdux qidanagan ngaan kanfiixtax aqnaq.  
 I gave the crying child candy.

- cf. Aniqdum ngaan (Aniqdumaan) kanfiixtax aqnaq.  
 I gave the child candy.

(5) as the possessor of a noun, for example:

Ayagaq kitaan nahtal quyuqinagan ulagan hadan huyanas.  
 They went to the house of the woman who was lying in bed with pain in her foot.

- cf. Ayagam ulagan hadan huyanas.  
 They went to the woman's house.

Note that in the case of a participial construction of type (a), only the participle is put in the relative case, as in the examples (1), (4) and (5) above. In type (b), also the subject part is of course in the relative case, cf.

Itxaygim xaadagnaaqnaa tayaqum xaadagnaaqnanagan ilagaan axchigazax.  
 A running reindeer is faster than a running man. A reindeer runs faster than a man.

29.4. In the examples above, where the participial construction could have been replaced by its subject part (adaa isuqnaaqnanagan / adagan, etc.), the subject is a noun, a 3.p. With a 1.p. or 2.p. subject another construction must be used, cf.

Asxinuq aangsutiiqan axtanaa txin waaqatikuq. (29.2)

Aangsutil agadaaming ting waaqatikuq.  
 Having picked berries I came back here. (anterior, 25.9).

Tayaqus hamaaqagangis hamang saqal hulanas.  
 The men who had come there, slept there all night.

Hamaaqal agadaaming hamang saqal hulanaq.  
 Having come there, I slept there all night.

Piitraq ayuxtal imyaqnaa masinangis sixtinaq.  
 While Peter was out fishing his motor broke.

Ayuxtal imyaqikuqaang masinaning sixtinaq.  
 While I was out fishing my motor broke. (cf. 26.4).

As the equivalent of a verbal clause, however, a participial construction may also express a fact, in a temporal sense, and then the subject may also be a 1.p., 2.p. or a reflexive 3.p., for example:

Piitram qaatu haqanaq.  
 "Peter's wanting to eat came." = 'Peter got hungry.'

Qaatung haqanaq.  
 I got hungry.

Saq igaqagan agalagaan isxagan hadan huyanaq.  
 After the duck had flown up I went to its nest.

Waaqagamis agalagaan atuung angalis agikuq.  
 After you came back here six days have passed.  
 You came back here six days ago.

Tayaqux waaqagan kadagaan sunaq txin ayxatnaq.  
 Before the man came (could come) back here, the ship left.

Hitaaqim kadaa qaaqan aqikuu.  
 He'll eat it before he goes out.

Angalix haqagan aslagaan ayuxtazaq.  
 He usually goes at daybreak (at the time of the daylight coming).

Unangaq aadanaam ilan tunuxxaduzaq.  
 "In his speaking Aleut he talks fast" = He talks fast when speaking Aleut.

Participial constructions expressing a fact are common in reports, that is, with verbs such as ukuhtal 'to see', hihtal 'to say' etc., to be treated in chapter 30. Cf. also

Tayaqux saqanaa ukunaq. I found the man asleep.  
Saqanang ukunaq. He/She found me asleep.

29.5. In most of the examples in 29.1-4 the participial construction is the equivalent of a sentence with a subject and a simple verbal predicate. But also a predicate noun with an auxiliary verb has its participial equivalent, for example:

Kadim hadagaan anqaginas kamgadaq anazulax.  
 Formerly the people were not Christians.

Kadim hadagaan anqaginam kamgadaq aqangizulax txidix kamgadatnas.  
 The people who formerly had not been Christians, let themselves be baptized.

29.6. The participial equivalents of sentences with an object may be

specifications of the subject or the object.

- (1) A simple sentence like the following has a participial equivalent of type (b) (cf. 29.1):

Tayaqum sax kalul angali.  
The man shot a duck today.

tayaqum sax kalul angalii, which has three meanings:

- (i) a specification of the man, the subject, as in

Tayaqum sax kalul angalii aslixtaangan axtakuq.  
I met (a while ago) the man who had shot a duck  
(earlier today).

- (ii) a specification of the duck, the object, as in

Tayaqum sax kalul angalii ukuungan axtakuq.  
I found the duck that the man had shot.

- (iii) the fact of shooting, as in

Tayaqum sax kalul angaligan udaa hnuxtaangan axtakuq.  
I came to the bay where the man had shot the duck.  
("the bay of the man's having shot the duck").

- (2) With the meaning of type (i) the subject may also be in the absolute case (type (a) in 29.1), for example:

Tayaqum ayxaasiin atxaxtinaa kidunaq.  
I helped the man fix his boat.

(Cf. Tayaqum ting kidul ayxaasing ting as atxaxtina.  
The man helped me fix my boat.)

Tayaqum Amlagix hnuxtanagan ilagaan tutaqang.  
I heard it from the man who visited Amlia.

The object (but not the subject) may also be a 1.p. or 2.p. pronoun, for example (optative participle):

Anqaginam ting kiduugii malgalaka.  
There is nobody who could help me.

If the object of the participle is the same 3.p. as the subject of the following verb, it is expressed by a reflexive 3.p. pronoun, for example:

Uuguchiingix tiqlam txin sunaa kigna.  
The fox bit the eagle that grabbed her.

cf. Tiqlax uuguchiingix sukuu uuguchiingim kigiqaa.  
When the eagle grabbed the fox, the fox bit it. (26.8 (1)).

- (3) Constructions with a meaning of type (ii) have variants of the following type, especially in the older language:

Hamayaa tunux Iisuusam hiqaa.  
That's a word that Jesus said. (St. John 4:50).

Tanax (or Tanam) Piitram hnuxtal saqagagan asaa haqatalakaq.  
I don't know the name of the island Peter visited yesterday.  
(= Piitram tanax hnuxtal saqagagan asaa haqatalakaq.)

Here the object is put first as an "outer subject": tunux (Iisuusam hiqaa) 'the word, Jesus said it', and if the participle is in the relative case (here as the possessor of asaa) also the "outer subject" may be in that case. Note also

Chagim ilaa Piitram atxazal saqagagan ilaa atxazaangan axtakuq.  
I got a piece of the halibut that Peter caught yesterday.  
(Same as Piitram chagix atxazal saqagagan ilaa atxazaangan axtakuq.)

In a way, this type corresponds with type (a) in 29.1, for there is also a type (b), with the "outer subject" in the relative case, for example:

tmuusim gidgim yaagiisadanaa  
a reed that the breeze moves, a reed shaken by the wind (St. Luke 7:24).

Alagum achidan chugum alagum hnuqulagan ilan hitzas.  
They (certain plants) grow at the beach in sand that the ocean never touches, in sand never touched by the ocean.

- (4) The 3.p. subject of a construction with a meaning of type (ii) may be left out as known beforehand, or the subject may be a 1.p., 2.p. or reflexive 3.p., for example:

Sax kalul angalii ukuungan axtakung.  
I found the duck that he had shot (earlier today).

Tayaqum sax kalul angaliin ilgal aqakuun ukuukalaka.  
The man looked for the duck he had shot but did not find it.

Tanax hnuxtal saqagamis asaa idaxtalakat ii?  
Do you know the name of the island you visited yesterday?

Chagim ilaa atxazaaqan axtanaam ilaa ngus aqiku.  
He gave me a piece of the halibut he caught yesterday.

Qas qaaqii ngaan aqiqang.  
I gave him some fish to eat.

Qas qaaqing ngus aqna.  
He gave me some fish to eat.

- (5) There is also a type (c), with an object but no subject, for example, used as a predicate noun:

Anaḡis manaḡ txin hitanaḡ.

"He made himself doing something" = He pretended to do something.

Anaḡiḡ ukuduukaḡulax hisxaḡas.

They were put in a position of not finding anything.

Cf. Also the name of the morning star: angalim haḡaa awaasaḡ "the one working with the coming of daylight".

- (6) A participle may also have a subject (any person) but no object word, being then itself more like a noun, for example:

Hlam ludaaḡingim manangis giluzax.

He usually imitates the older boys' doings (what the older boys do).

Adaam mazaḡangis maaḡan aḡtakuḡ.

He did what his father used to do.

Asḡatiikang huzuu asḡatikuḡ.

I killed as many as I could.

Qaaḡing alalakaḡ.

I have plenty to eat.

Qaaḡingim asḡas angalis.

We killed for our eating.

29.7. The participial equivalents of sentences with a local complement are of two types, depending on whether they express a specification of the subject or of the local complement (the "possessor" of the local term).

- (1) The constructions expressing a specification of the subject are of the same types as those in 29.6 (2), for example:

Tayaḡuḡ sunam kugan waaḡal saḡaḡaa ulaam ilan akuḡ.

The man who came back on the ship yesterday is in his house.

Tayaḡuḡ sunam kugan waaḡal saḡaḡagan ilagaan tutaangan aḡtakung.

I heard it from the man who came back on the ship yesterday.

Taangaḡ kuum hyunaa kumiim angadanaḡ.

She wiped off the water that ran over her.

Qawaḡ ayḡaasiim kadagaan gasanaa kalunaḡ.

He shot the sea lion that emerged in front of his boat.

Hikan kiiḡuusim chugum hadan hikang anaa hanganas.

They climbed that mountain that is up there on the north side.

Tayaḡum hadaam huyanaa haḡatanaḡulax.

He did not know the man who was coming towards him.

- (2) The constructions expressing a specification of the "possessor" of the local term have that term put first, as an "outer subject", in the absolute case if the rest of the construction is in the absolute case, in the relative case if the rest is in that case. A 3.p. subject ("inner subject"), if definite, follows in the relative case, before the local term, cf.

Uchiitilaḡ ulasum ilan al sluzanaḡ.

The teacher used to stay in the hut in the summer.

Ulasuḡ uchiitilam ilan al sluzagaḡ imdaḡilakaḡ.

The hut where the teacher used to stay in the summer is empty.

Ulasum uchiitilam ilan al sluzagaḡan hadan huyaangan aḡikuḡ.  
I'm going to the hut where the teacher used to stay in the summer.

Ingtiḡ aniqduum kugan saḡal hulaaḡan aḡtanaa kahmagikuḡ.

She is shaking the blanket upon which her child had slept until the morning.

Udam tayaḡum hadan huyanagan asaa haḡatalakaḡ.

I don't know the name of the bay to which the man is going.

An indefinite 3.p. subject may be in the absolute case, after the local term (cf. 6.4), cf.

Ulaḡtaḡam nagan uuḡuchiingimḡ gangunaḡ.

A fox entered the old house.

Ulaḡtaḡax nagan uuḡuchiingimḡ gangunaa (or: uuḡuchiingim ganguḡalinaa) ukuḡtanaḡ.

I saw the (or: an) old house into which a fox entered.

Ulaḡtaḡam nagan uuḡuchiingimḡ gangunagan hadan huyanaḡ.

I went to the old house into which a fox entered.

Kangaa ilagaan huyḡiḡ hitiiḡii tatxil angalii.

He punched the top of it for smoke to escape out of it.

The subject may also be a 1.p., 2.p. or reflexive 3.p., for example:

Ulasuḡ ilan azaamis amuḡaan hnunaḡ.

He went to the hut where you used to stay.

Ulam ilan al saḡaḡamis hadan huyaangan aḡikuḡ.

I'm going to the house where you were yesterday.

Saḡaḡaliin kugan quyuḡiḡaan sunaḡ.

He took his couch he had lain on. (St. Luke 5:24).

Tanaŋ kugan awaaŋan aqadix hnunas.  
They came to the island where they were supposed to work.

Tanaŋ ilan aaŋdix hnunas.  
They came to the island to stay there.

- (3) Here too, the participle may have no subject, for example:

Qahmigim chidaŋan inkanaŋ suuŋt!  
Take the one hanging beside the door!

Ludamiing axtas iŋayux̄tazaŋ.  
I respect those who are older than me.

- (4) The participle may also have a subject but no "possessor" of the local term, being then itself more like a local noun, for example:

Sam ilagaan iŋaŋaa hnuŋtakuŋ.  
I went to the place from where the duck had flown up.

Adamdix ilan pulaatxiŋizagaŋan hadan huyanas.  
They went to where their father used to have his tent.

Ilan anamax ilan txidix saŋanilanas.  
They went to sleep there where they were.

Ilan aaŋan aqamdix hadan huyanas.  
They went to where they were supposed to stay.

Ilan changaaŋiin alakuŋ.  
He needs a place to creep in. = He is embarrassed.

29.8. A participle may have both an object and a local complement.

- (1) If both the object and the local complement (the "possessor" of the local term) are 3.p. nouns, the mutual order decides which one is the specified term, for example:

Tayaŋuŋ saŋ udam ilan kaluuŋan aŋtanaa asxinum ukugaa.  
The girl found the duck that the man had shot at the bay.

Tayaŋuŋ udam ilan saŋ kaluuŋan aŋtanaa asxinum hnuŋaa.  
The girl came to the bay where the man had shot the duck.

Piitraŋ tayaŋum ngaan (tayaŋumaan) qaŋ aŋnaa idaŋtalakat ii?  
Do you know the man to whom Peter gave the fish?

If the local complement is the specified term, the subject may come after it, as in

Tanŋim kugan tayaŋuŋ sayŋiin hikitiŋaa hnunaŋ. =

Tayaŋuŋ tanŋim kugan sayŋiin hikitiŋaa hnunaŋ.  
I came to the islet where the man had lost his gun.

If the subject comes first, it may also be the specified term, for example:

Hlaŋ yaasikam nagagaan gas suuŋan aŋtanaa ukunaŋ.  
I found the boy who had taken the fish out of the box. or:  
I found the box from which the boy had taken the fish.

If the subject of the participle is the same 3.p. as the subject of the following verb, it is expressed by a reflexive 3.p. ending, for example:

Tayaŋuŋ asxinuŋ udam ilan ukul saŋagaŋan hnuuŋan aŋtakuŋ.  
The man went to the girl that he had seen at the bay yesterday.

Tayaŋuŋ udam ilan asxinuŋ ukul saŋagaŋan hnuuŋan aŋtakuŋ.  
The man went to the bay where he had seen the girl yesterday.

Isuŋis tanŋim kugan kalul saŋagaŋat suuŋan aŋtakuŋ.  
He took the seals he had shot on the islet yesterday.

The participial construction may also be a local complement, the "possessor" of a local term, with the participle in the relative case, for example:

Tayaŋuŋ asxinuŋ udam ilan ukul saŋagaŋam hadan huyanaŋ.  
The man went to the girl that he had seen at the bay the day before.

Tayaŋuŋ udam ilan asxinuŋ ukul saŋagaŋam hadan huyanaŋ.  
The man went to the bay where he had seen the girl the day before.

Piitraŋ tanŋim kugan isuŋis kalul saŋagaŋamis hadan huyaaŋan aŋtakuŋ.

Peter went to the islet where you shot the seals yesterday.

- (2) The participle may also have a 1.p. or 2.p. subject, for example:

Piitraŋ tanŋim kugan isuŋis kalul saŋagaŋan hnuuŋan aŋtakuŋ.  
Peter came to the islet where you shot the seals yesterday.

If the construction expresses a specification of the "possessor" of the local term, the "possessor" may be put first, in the absolute case if the rest of the construction is in the absolute case, in the relative case if the rest of the construction is in that case (cf. 29.7 (2)), for example:

Tayaŋuŋ gas ngaan aŋiqang idaŋtalakat ii?  
Do you know the man to whom I gave the fish?

Tayaŋum gas ngaan aŋiqang hadan huyaangan aŋikuŋ.



I visited the bay where Peter helped me yesterday.

Haman tayaqux udaŋ ilan Piiiram (txin) kidul saŋaŋaa hnuuŋan axtakuŋ.

That man visited the bay where Peter helped him yesterday.

Here the older language does not have the reflexive pronoun txin: the fact that the final verb carries reference only to a subject (sg. -x) and has its explicit object (udaŋ), shows that the object of the participle (-a 'him - he') must be the subject of the final verb, even if the subject noun (Haman tayaqux) were not included in the sentence, cf.

Udaŋ ilan Piiiram kidul saŋaŋaa hnuuŋan axtakuŋ.  
He visited the bay where Peter helped him yesterday.

Udaŋ ilan Piiiram kidul saŋaŋaa hnuuŋan axtakung.  
I visited the bay where Peter helped him yesterday. (-ng 'him - I').

- (6) The participle may have a subject and a local complement but no object, being then more like a noun, for example:

Tayaquŋ ngus hiŋtaŋangis ugunuzuukaŋulaŋ.  
I'll not forget what the man told me.

Hingaŋ tayaquŋ kugan maŋangis ugunuzuukaŋulang.  
I'll not forget what that man did to him. (-ng 'him - I' goes with kugan 'to him').

Hingaŋ tayaqu(m) kugan maŋangis ugunuzuukaŋulang.  
I'll not forget what he did to that man. (-ng goes with the subject or "possessor" of maŋangis "his doings").

Amgiŋnas imax tunumkaasaŋangis quumaliŋtaasanas.  
They wondered at what the shepherds told them. (St. Luke 2:18).

Igiim aŋnang sunaŋ.  
He took what I gave him.

Note the reflexive form igiim in this sentence, cf.

Anaŋis ngaŋ aŋnang sunaŋ.  
He took the things I gave him.

- (7) The participle may have a subject and an object but no "possessor" of the local term, being then more like a local noun, for example:

Piiiram hadan ting huyachŋinagan hadan huyanaŋ.  
I went to the place where Peter sent me.

Ngaŋ inuŋ chiŋilix chiyanang, hamayaa akuŋ.  
The one to whom I give the piece I am dipping, that's the one.

(St. John 13:26).

29.9. A sentence containing a possessor of a noun may be turned into a participial specification of that possessor.

- (1) The possessor, which in the simple sentence is in the relative case, can be put first in the absolute case, for example the possessor of the subject:

Hamaan tayaquŋ adaa iqyaŋizanaŋ.  
That man's father used to go in a kayak.

Haman tayaquŋ adaa iqyaŋizaŋaa ayŋaasim masinaŋii tayaŋan amunaŋ.  
That man, whose father used to go in a kayak, bought a motor boat.

the possessor of the object:

Tayaquŋ ayŋaasii suŋtanaŋ.  
I borrowed the man's boat.

Tayaquŋ ayŋaasii suŋtanang hnunaŋ.  
I went to the man whose boat I borrowed.

cf. Tayaquŋ ayŋaasii suŋtanang hnunaŋ.  
I went to the man's boat that I borrowed.

Tayaquŋ adagan ayŋaasii atxaxs saŋaŋangin uŋis qilaŋsiŋ.  
The man, whose father's boat we fixed yesterday, returned this morning.

the possessor of the local complement:

Hamaan tayaquŋ ulagan nagan al saŋanaŋt.  
You stayed in that man's house yesterday.

Haman tayaquŋ ulagan nagan al saŋaŋaan txin uyaaŋan haŋakuŋ.  
The man, in whose house you stayed yesterday, comes to fetch you.

- (2) The possessor, the "outer subject" in the participial constructions in (1), can again be put in the relative case, as the "possessor" of the participle with its "inner subject", for example:

Tayaquŋ imlii uluudakuŋ.  
The man's hair is red. The man has red hair.

tayaquŋ imlii uluudaa  
a man whose hair is red, a redhaired man.

Hingaŋ yaasikam naga uluudaa suda!  
Take that box which is red inside!

Here the "inner subject" is in the absolute case: imlil, naga.  
But it may also be in the relative case, for example:

Laampam kudu adukuŕ.  
The lamp's foot is long. The lamp has a long foot.

laampam kudugan aduu  
a lamp with a long foot.

kiiquusim kangan imudigaa  
a mountain with a round top.

gam kamgitugan agilqigan angunaa  
a fish with a big head and a big mouth.

hitnisam aangsungin iliin viinaŕ agulgadaa  
a plant of whose berries wine is made (Salamatov's explanation of  
a vine, in a note to St. John 15:1).

29.10 Passive participial constructions have some special features.

(1) In the following case, otherwise comparable with type (a) in  
29.1, the participle has a number ending only:

Qagaan ayagaa Niiquqim ilaan ayagaqaaŕ, hlaqil . . .  
The Eastern woman who was married to ("was had as wife by") the  
Atkan man, had a child and . . .

Also a passive participle, however, may be marked as "possessed",  
for example:

Saraayaŕ ilan ayxaasiŕ agulgaqaa hiing akuŕ.  
The shed, where the boat was built, is over there.

Piitraŕ tanqim kugan isuqis kalulqaaqan aŕtanagan hadan huyakuŕ.  
Peter went to the islet where we shot seals.

Nazareetam, il haxisxaqaam iluun aqanaŕ.  
He came to Nazareth, where he had been raised. (St. Luke 4:16).

Amtim kangan hadan, kugan tanadgusiigamagdix aguqinagan hadan  
aygaxtusaaqangis.  
They took him to the top of the hill where their town was built.  
(St. Luke 4:29).

The following is a normal example of type (b):

galqadam Kasakam aslaan ukuqaaqanginulax huzuugizangis  
all sorts of food not seen in the Russian period

Examples of type (c), cf. 29.6 (5-6), 29.7 (3-4), 29.8 (5-6):

Tayaquŕ kuum hiqanas haqatalakaŕ.  
The man does not know what is said about him.

Hamaax kugaan qigulqaaqan aqam huzuu kugaan qigulgazaqaŕ.  
Whatever could be gathered there was gathered.

Tayaquŕ ilan chalilqagam hadan huyakuŕ.  
The man went to the place where we had fished.

Saganaŕ hiilaŕtam ilan  
in the one (bay) called S.

(2) As the subject of verbs such as iqamana- 'be good', haangina- 'be  
difficult', gyuna- 'be difficult (slippery)', kayuqna- 'be diffi-  
cult (straining)', kayagna- 'be heavy', the general participle  
(no ending) of the passive is used as follows:

Haquŕ haquqaa kayagnakuŕ.  
The pack being packed is heavy = The pack is heavy to carry.

Isuqis kalunaaŕsxangis kayuqnakus.  
Seals being tried to shoot are difficult = Seals are difficult to  
shoot.

Chiqanam qangis agatingis sulilqangis iqamanazas.  
River fish are best for salting.

Kumsiqang kayagnakuŕ.  
My being lifted is heavy = I am heavy to lift.

Similarly:

Ukuqangis Amilaayus liidakus.  
Being seen they are like Americans = They look like Americans.

The general participle of the passive is used also without a  
subject noun, in a general sense, for example:

Halulqaa haanginalakan.  
Sewing, to sew is not difficult.

Adalulqaa igiim taqakuŕ.  
He is learning to lie.

(3) The participle in -na- of -qa-, the passive of -ŕta- 'have as'  
(17.2, 19.2), is used in constructions of type (b) as follows:

asxinum aniqduqanaa 'a girl child', cf. asxinuŕ aniqduŕtal 'have  
a girl (as her) child'.

Qatxayaŕ hiilaŕtam tukuqanaa  
the one called Q. being (had as) chief = the chief called Q.

skuunaŕ hiilaŕtadaaqan aqaŕ matam sunaqanaa  
a ship of the kind one would call a schooner.

smookvas il taxsalgadagan awaagiġanaa  
the time for gathering figs (St. Mark 11:13).

29.11. Here follow some other examples of the general participle, with or without a person ending:

(1) as a subject:

Aġaa angalikuġ.  
His/Her being born is today = It is his/her birthday today.

(2) as an object of masxa- 'be done, occur':

Quyuzang masxakuġ.  
It is time (the usual time) for me to go to bed.

His awaġaliikang masxakuġ.  
It is time for me to go out and start working.

Aniqdus quyuchġiikang masxakuġ.  
It is time for me to put the children to bed.

Quyuchġiikaning masxakus.  
It is time for me to put them to bed.

Aangsusxadaa (or Aangsutnaġ adaa) masxakuġ.  
It is time for picking berries.

(3) as an object of mata- 'have, be such that':

Qalgaakaan matakuk.  
It is such that it can be eaten, it is edible.

Tayaġum kugan aakaa matakuk.  
It is such that a man can be (stand) upon it.

Kugan algaakaan matakuk.  
One can stand upon it.

(4) as an object of aslita- 'be worthy of':

Kamung sitxan qanguun aslitalakaġ.  
I am not worthy of your entering under my roof. (St. Luke 7:6).

Luulaġ aslitalakan.  
He is not worthy of belief (of being believed).

(5) as an object of ala- 'want, need':

Wan chġuuġaġii alakuġ.  
I want this one washed.

Misaayalgang alazaġulaġ.  
I don't want my being disturbed = I don't want to be disturbed.

Unayukaan alazaġulax.  
It does not need long cooking.

(6) as a simple noun, without a person ending:

Haagaġ asġalaasanas.  
They died of starvation.

cf. Haagal asġalanas.  
They starved to death.

Aluġzaġ iġamaġtazaġ.  
I like writing.

Igachis halulġamaan iġamanakus.  
Sinews are good for sewing.

Ting aliġsim hadan aġaġalikuġ.  
I have started to get to becoming old = I'm beginning to get old.

Haġs angaling akiitam ilan awakuġ.  
I have been working since I got up today.

The word akiita-, however, is hardly used as a verb (with a person ending), even though it has an object, here the participial construction haġs angaling 'my having got up today'.

29.12. Participles of derived verbs in -usa-, -ula- (20.1-2) are used without an object (cf. 29.6 (6)) to express an actual fact, for example:

Hamaan achixaasanangis qunġumaaliġtanas anas.  
They were amazed by his teaching. (St. Mark 1:22).

Hamaanuusalikan angalining ngus amtaasakuġ.  
I regret having not gone there, that I did not go there.

ukaaġaasaqaning akiitam ilugaan  
since I came in here (St. Luke 7:45).

Ngus kiduusanat qaġaasakuġ.  
I thank you for helping me. (Cf. Ting kidukuġt. 'You are helping me.')

tununing luusaġatxinulax asxanangin  
because you did not believe my words (St. Luke 1:20).

Amrikaanchim iġamanaasanangis  
how the Americans treated them.

udaan anġaġinanginiin iġamanaalaġtanas  
how the people of this island were treated.

waan tanadgusimaan tanaŋtaalaqas  
how one lived in this village.

## Chapter 30 REPORTS

30.1. Seeing a man going out in his boat, I could say:

Tayaŋuŋ ayugikuŋ. The man is going out.

Reporting that observation later on the same day, I could say:

Tayaŋuŋ ayugikuŋ ukuŋtal angaliq.

I saw that the man went out, I saw the man go out.

Here Tayaŋuŋ ayugikuŋ is a report clause, ukuŋtal the verb of report.

A report may involve a shift of grammatical persons. For example, seeing his or her father going out in his boat, a person could say:

Adang ayugikuŋ. My father is going out.

Later on the same person could say:

Adang ayugikuŋ ukuŋtal angaliq.

I saw my father go out.

But hearing that, talking about that person, I would say:

Adaan ayugikuŋ ukuŋtal angaliŋ (aŋtakuŋ).

He/She (apparently) saw his/her father go out.

The 1.p. form Adang 'My father' of the self-report is shifted to the reflexive 3.p. form Adaan 'His/Her (own) father' when the subject of the verb of report is a 3.p. (-ŋ 'He/She'), cf.

Adaa ayugikuŋ ukuŋtal angaling.

I saw his/her father go out. (-ng 'his/her - I').

Adaa ayugikuŋ ukuŋtal angalii.

She/He saw his/her (another one's) father go out.

The grammatical form of the report clause depends upon the verb of report and the person relation between the clauses. The main verbs of report are the following:

- (1) verbs of observation: ukuŋtal 'to see', tutal to hear (sound or speech) or feel'.
- (2) verbs of knowledge: idaŋtalakan 'to know', haqatalakan 'to not know'.
- (3) verbs of utterance and thought: hiŋtal 'to say or tell', anuxtal

'to think or want'.

(4) verbs of question: ahmas, ahmayaaʔtal 'to ask'.

30.2. With verbs of observation the report clause is a clause in -ku-: a present in relation to the verb of report (cf. 26.1), or a participial construction in -na- (cf. 29.2).

(1) If the report clause has a simple 1.p. or 2.p. subject, the corresponding pronoun follows as the object of the verb of report, for example:

Ayugikuʔt txin ukuʔtal angaliq.  
Ayugikuq ting ukuʔtal angaliʔt?  
Tununaʔ aʔtakuʔtxin, txin ukuʔtakuq.

I saw you go out.  
Did you see me go out?  
I see that you are a  
prophet (St. John 4:19)

If the subject of the report clause is the same 3.p. as the subject of the verb of report, the reflexive 3.p. pronoun follows as the object of the verb of report, for example:

Hitxiqixʔtakuʔtxin ukunaʔ.  
She got to see (in the water) that she had gotten a tail. (from a fairy-tale).

Tayaqũx txin ayʔas halakum qahmigiin chachilakan aʔtakum txin ukuʔtanaʔ.  
When the man had started and turned his head, he saw that he had not shut his door.

Anqaqũikasxakuʔtaan, txin ukuum (= ukugadaam) . . .  
Having seen that he was cured, . . . (St. Luke 17:15).

Here the report clause has the form of a temporal clause: "I saw you when you were going out" etc. (cf. 26.3-4). But it may also be a participial construction:

Ayugnaan ukuʔtal angaliq.  
I saw you going out.

Ting aliʔtinang ukuʔtaqalikuq.  
I see that I'm getting old.

Ziirkalam nagaan txin ukuʔtakum ayagachxizam sugdanaa al aʔtanaan ukuʔtanaʔ.  
When she looked at herself in the mirror, she saw that she was (apparently) a beautiful woman.

(2) If the report clause has a 3.p. subject different from the subject of the verb of report, the subject is of course not repeated as an object of the verb of report, but if it is left out as known beforehand, there is a reference to it in the final verb (cf. 26.6), for example:

Igaʔtaʔ kimikuʔ ukuʔtal angaliq.  
I saw the airplane come down.

Kimikuʔ ukuʔtal angaling.  
I saw it come down.

Participial constructions:

Igaʔtaʔ haqanaa ukuʔtat ii?  
Did you see the airplane coming?

Haqanaa ukuʔta(1)kat ii?  
Did you see it coming?

The report clause may of course express also various other relations, for example:

Aniqdum sukungis ukuʔtaangan aʔtakuning.  
I saw the child take them.

Inaqamis sukuun ukuʔtaaqaan aʔtakuu.  
He/She saw that you yourself took it.

Sunang ukuʔtal angaliin ii?  
Did you see me taking it?

(3) As mentioned in 30.1, a reflexive reference in the report clause may go to the subject of the verb of report, for example:

Tayaqũx hadaam huyakuʔ (or: huyanaa) ukuʔtaaqaan aʔtakuu.  
She saw a man coming towards her.

Ixchikum aniqduun saygit mikaasakuʔ ukuuqaan aʔtakuu.  
When he came home, he saw that his child was playing with his gun.

A reflexive reference in an object or a local complement, however, may also go to the subject of the report clause, cf.

Piitraʔ hlaʔ (inaqaam) ayʔaasiin sunaa ukuʔtanaʔ.  
Peter saw the boy taking his (the boy's) boat.

Piitraʔ hlam ayʔaasiin sunaa ukuʔtanaʔ. or:  
Piitraʔ ayʔaasiin hlam sunaa ukuʔtanaʔ.  
Peter saw the boy taking his (Peter's) boat. (Cf. 29.6 (3).)

(4) The report clause may also have the form of a participial construction of type (c) (29.1), for example:

Ayugiiqũin aʔtanas ukuʔtanaʔt ii?  
Did you see those who went out?

Itaangis waaqanaʔ ukuqaaʔt(aʔ)!  
Let's see who arrives first!

Passive:

Kuming malgaagan aʔs aʔtanax ukuʔtanaq.  
I saw what was going to be done to me.

Ilan Haman aʔsxanaʔ ukuʔtanax.  
They (two) saw where He was placed. (St. Mark 15:47).

- (5) Here follow some examples of tuta- 'hear, feel' as a verb of observation:

Igakuʔ tutaaʔutal angaling.  
I heard it (the airplane) take off again.

Ayagagan ngaan tunuʔtakuu tutanaʔgulax.  
He did not hear what his wife was telling him. (When his wife talked to him, he did not hear. Cf. 26.7.)

Saʔakum mal ugiin haqanaa tutanaʔgulax.  
She was asleep so she did not hear her husband coming.

Ixsanang tutakuq.  
I feel that I am getting better.

The report clause may also represent an utterance, for example:

Atagan ayagaʔ asxinuʔ aniqduʔtal aʔtakuʔ tutakuqaang asxinum aniqduʔanaa giʔtamaanaq.  
When I heard (people say) that a certain woman had gotten a girl child, I too (being pregnant) wanted a girl child.

Qilagan ahmayaaʔtal aʔtakut tatal saʔaqaning.  
I heard that you asked about them yesterday.

Uuʔlilganachix tutaʔtxichix ii?  
Do you hear that you are called to peace (disciplined)?

Hiʔtanat tatalakag.  
I don't hear (understand) what you are saying.

- (6) The verb sngaxtal 'to dream' has similar constructions, for example:

Adang ayuxtal aʔtakuʔ sngaxtanaq.  
I dreamt that my father had gone out (in his boat).

Qanang sngaxtanaq.  
I dreamt that I was eating.

30.3. The construction of verbs of knowledge depends upon the negation.

- (1) With idaʔtalakan ("not ignore") or haqatal (Eastern) 'to know'

the report clause may be in the present in -ku- but participial constructions are more common, for example:

Haman hamangus aʔtakuʔ idaʔtagadaamax . . .  
Having-got to know that He was there . . . (St. John 12:9).

Ayangikuʔ idaʔtalakat ii?  
Did you know that it is foggy?

Ayanginaa idaʔtalakag.  
I know that it is foggy.

Atxaʔgiiguzakuq idaʔtalakag.  
I'm sure that I'm right.

Atxaʔginaan idaʔtalakag.  
I know that you are right.

Inagaam atxaʔginaan idaʔtalakaʔ.  
He knows that he is right.

Anaan idaʔtalakag.  
I know who you are.

Piitraʔ as tunuʔtanaan idaʔtalakag.  
I know that you talked with Peter.

Adamis ngaan asaʔtagaa idaʔtahliinulax ii?  
Do you remember (still know) what name your father had for it?

Ayagagan hamaaʔgaaguzaaʔan aʔnaa idaʔtalakaʔa.  
His wife is sure that he'll be back.

Ilan aʔtanaa idaʔtalakaqing.  
I know where it is.

Ilan lagiʔ kaluqaa idaʔtagangulax mal hadan huyal angaliq.  
Because I knew where he had shot the goose I went there.

(For the two last examples cf. 29.7 (4) and 29.8 (6).)

With the derived verb idaʔtaasalakan or haqataasal 'to know about' (cf. 20.1) the report clause may be in the general (11.4), in a past or in a future, for example:

Adaludaʔgulaxt, Txin idaʔtaasazulax.  
We know that You are truthful. (St. Mark 12:14). Cf. 30.2 (1).

Haman anʔaʔinaʔ tunuʔtaaguʔ aʔ, haqataasakus.  
We know that that person is a sinner. (St. John 9:24).

Aguuʔuʔ Moiseeyaʔ asix tunuʔtanaʔ idaʔtaasazulax.  
We know that Moses talked with God. (St. John 9:29).

Waaqaaqutal aguun ngus aqiiigan aqaa idahtaasalakaqing.  
I know that he will give it to me when he comes back.

- (2) With haqatalakan 'to not know' the report clause (which here is not a report in the proper sense) may be in the present in -ku-, possibly -masu-ku- 'perhaps' (cf. 13.5 and 24.8), or in the dubitative (13.6), for example:

Hingan tayaqux anqaginas tunuxtaasakuu txin haqatalagaaqan axtakux.  
That man did not know what the people were talking about him.  
(Also . . . anqaginas txin tunuxtaasakus . . .)

Anqaginas hadaming ting tunuxtaasakus haqatalakan axtanaq.  
I did not know what the people were talking about me.

Lunamasuku x haqatalakaqing.  
I don't know whether he is reliable.

Kadim hadagaan Unangas asaqizanas amasukus haqatalakaq.  
I don't know whether the Aleuts used to have names formerly  
(before they became Christians).

Anax maasaangan aqang amasuku x haqatalakaqing.  
I don't know whether I can do anything to it.

Ayangiixtaa haqatalakaq.  
I don't know whether it is foggy.

Atxaqiiixtaang haqatalakaq.  
I don't know whether I am right.

Ting achuuqiiixtaan haqatalakan axtakuq.  
I did not know that you answered me.

Haqaaxtaa haqatalgalakaqim txin waaqatna x.  
We did not know that he would be coming but then he came back.  
(Cf. 26.4 (1).)

The report clause may also be a participial construction, of the noun-like type, for example:

Hingan ayxaasi x aguna x haqatalakaq.  
I don't know who built (the builder of) that boat. (Cf. 29.6 (5).)

Agiital ayugnaa haqataqulang.  
I don't know with whom he went out.

Piitram ilan anaa haqatalakaq.  
I don't know where Peter is.

Azaata x guuda x hamang aqang haqatazalakaq.  
I don't know how many years I was there.

Tayaqum ngus hixtanangis haqatalakaq.  
I don't understand what the man said to me.

Qulagaan ting aqlaxtanaa haqatalakaqing.  
I don't understand why he got angry at me.

Maaqan aqnanangis haqatanazaqulax.  
One never knows what he will do. (For -na- see 19.4.)

Ngaan hihtaakanangis haqatalakaqing maasal ilan chugigaqulang.  
I did not know what to say to him (what I could say to him) so I kept silent.

Ngaan achuuqiisaaqidix haqataqangizulax.  
They did not know what to answer Him. (St. Mark 14:40).

Instead of the optative participle, as in the last example, also the intentional is used:

Imis achuuqiisaangan haqatalakaq.  
I don't know what to answer you.

- (3) Some other verbs admit similar participial constructions, for example:

Ayaga x anaa hi xsaasaku x.  
He recognized the lady (who the lady was).

Ayaga x aza x anqagina x waan tanadgusim kugan anaa hi xsaasanaa qna x.  
The lady wanted to find out how many people there are in this village.

Sana x ngaan akiisaqang ugunuqang axtaku x.  
I have forgotten how much I paid for it.

Qilaax txin aykatizaga a ugunuxtazaqulang.  
I remember (never forget) that he used to start early in the morning.

30.4. The construction of the verbs of utterance and thought depends upon the time and person relations.

- (1) If the report clause represents a simple sentence in the present or some other form in -ku-, it is in the conjunctive (cf. 11.2-3) if the subject is different from that of the verb of utterance or thought, for example:

Suna x haqal hi xtanax.  
He said that the ship was coming.  
(He said: Suna x haqaku x. 'The ship is coming.')

Maqaqilakan hi xtakung.  
I said that he was all right.

(I said: Maqaqilakaʃ. 'He is all right.')

Maqaqilakating anuxtakuʃ.

He thinks that I am all right.

(He thinks: Maqaqilakaʃt. 'You are all right.')

Saqating hiʃtal angaliʃ ii?

Did he say that I was asleep?

Saqat hiʃtalakan angaliʃ.

He didn't say that you were asleep.

Saqalakat hiʃtal angaliʃ.

He said that you were not asleep.

Mating hiqazaʃ.

It is said that I do so (am like that).

Txichix chuhnlgazal hiʃtakus.

They said that they were given shots (that one gave them shots).

(Txichix, the object in the report clause, is a reflexive pronoun representing the same person as the subject of the final verb.)

Alquʃ ngus aʃs (aqil) anuxta(l)kat?

What do you think she just gave me?

Ayagagan alqukum uqitlakan hamamatal anuxtaqaa.

His wife wondered why he did not return.

Haman anaʃ amasuʃtal anuxtazang.

I still think that he was that. (Haman anaʃ amasuʃtakux.)

Igaʃtaʃ tagaaqan aʃs anuxtakung anaʃ matnaqulaʃ.

I thought that the airplane was about to land but it didn't.

(I thought: tagaaqan aqikuʃ. 'it is going to land.')

If the report clause has the same subject as the verb of report, that is, if it represents a simple sentence in the l.p. (cf. 30.1), it has the form of a participial construction, for example:

Saahmlas ukunaan hiʃtakux.

He said that he found eggs.

(He said: Saahmlas ukukuq. 'I found eggs, right now.')

Maqaqinaanulax (Maqaqinaqulaan) hiʃtakux.

He said that he is all right.

Maqaqinangulax (Maqaqinaqulang) anuxtakuq.

I think that I am all right.

Ukuqanadix anuxtalakaqis.

They did not think they were seen.

Ukuqanadigulax anuxtakus.

They thought they were not seen.

Piitram anaqis maasaakanaanulax ngus hiʃtaqaa.

Peter said to me that he could not do anything to it.

Haman uuquchiingiʃ aqlaʃtal kam kugan maakaning anuxtal ixchinaq.  
He was angry at that fox, I went home thinking what I could do to it.

Chiidaan hikitiqan amasunaan anuxtal txin iqatanaʃ.

He was afraid of losing his pet. (Thinking that he could perhaps lose his pet, he was afraid.)

Uchiitilaʃ ahmayaaʃtaaqan aqnaan hiʃtanaʃ.

He said that he was going to ask the teacher.

Ilan aqiiqan aqnaan hiʃtaduukalakaqa.

He'll not be saying where he is going to put it.

If, as in the last example, the participle is more noun-like, it may also be in the past:

Ilan aqutxaan hiʃtaatuqaayulax.

He did not want to say where he had hidden it.

Cf. also, with a passive participle:

Ilan aʃsxazaʃ ngus hiʃtaqaa.

He told me where to put it (the place where it is usually put).

- (2) With the derived verbs hiisaʃtal 'to say about' and anuxtaasal 'to think about' the report clause may have the form of a simple sentence (apart from the shift of person), in the past or remoter future (12.2), or in the general, for example:

Sunaʃ kidugnaʃ anuxtaasakuq.

I think (now) that the ship sank (then). vs.

Sunaʃ kiduxs anuxtakuq.

I think that the ship is sinking (now).

Angaliʃ ama amqix saqanaʃ aʃtanaʃtxidix hiisaʃtanas.

They said (telling their story) that they must have slept day and night. (-txidix reflexive subject, the same person as the final -s 'they').

Ukudigal tanaʃ adaaqaasal anuxtaqadigulax hiisaʃtazaqangis.

They used to say that they did not think (then) that they (the enemies) would (at that time) come safely ashore.

Hamakus ukudigal tanaʃ adaaqaasanas anuxtaasaqulaʃtxidix

hiisaʃtazanas hiilaqadas.

It is said that they used to say that they did not think that

those had come safely ashore.

Qanayiim ayugnas qilagan haqaaġan aġnaŋtxidix hiisaŋtal?  
When did those who went out say they would come tomorrow?

Hlam Piitraŋ asaŋtaŋt (or: asaŋtanaan) ngaan hiisaŋtaqaa.  
The boy said to him that he was called Peter.

Slachxizaŋ malgaadahliikaŋ anuxtaasakuġ.  
I hope that it might still be good weather.

Imyaŋchŋiikaŋ anuxtaasakuġ.  
I hope it's possible to fish.

Kugaan mangiqaġiiġan aġamas, timas maasaakaŋt Txin anuxtaasakus.  
We want you to do to us what we will ask (you) about (St. Mark 10:35).

The verbs hiisaŋtal and anuxtaasal are also used with the negative conjunctive, for example:

Iisuusam asŋaduukalakan hiisaŋtaqaaulax.  
Jesus did not say (about him) that he was not going to die.  
(Salamatov.)

Agitaadangin anaġiisiŋ alakan anuxtaasazangis.  
The other ones think (about him) that he is good for nothing.

Anġaġil chiiluduukalakan anuxtaasal ukuŋtaqangis.  
They looked at him thinking (about him) that he would not return alive.

In the passive:

Anġaġil chiiluduukalakan anuxtaalal ukuġaqaŋ.

- (3) With hiŋtal and anuxtal, the report clause may also express a wish, in the optative if the subjects are different, in the intentional if the subject is the same as that of the verb of report (cf. 14.3-7), for example:

different subjects:

Piitraŋ qanguuġ hiŋtanaŋ.  
Peter told me to go in.

Haqaaŋt hiŋtanaqaang alqul haqanaġulaŋt?  
I had told you to come, why didn't you come?

Tayaġum chidaġiim txin unġutiiŋt(aŋ) ngaan hiŋtaqaa.  
The man told him to sit down beside him.

Txin achixaaġ anuxtat ii?  
Do you want me to teach you?

Aluġasaaġ ngus hiŋtaaġan aŋtakuu.  
He told me to write it down.

Sulagaqaangin hiŋtaaġan aŋtakuu.  
He told us not to take it. (also . . . hiisaŋtaaġan . . .).

Aniġdum sulagaqaangis ngaan hiŋtaqaning.  
I told the child not to take them.

Aniġdus adamdix maaġadix hiŋtanangis manas.  
The children did what their father told them to do.

Hadan huyaaqaan imis hiŋtaangan aŋtakung.  
I told you to go to him.

Iġiim tayaġ hiŋtaaġan aŋtakuu.  
He told me to buy it for him.

Same subject:

Sunam hadan huyaaġdix (= huyaaġin) hiŋtal aŋtakus.  
They have said that they were going to the ship.

Huzugaan tingin kiduuġan anuxtazaŋ.  
He is always willing to help us.

Txin suchŋiigān anuxtanaŋ aŋtakuŋ.  
He thought of letting himself be taken (to surrender).

Tayaġum qilagan ngus aġiiġan hiŋtaqaa.  
The man said that he would give it to me tomorrow.

Ilan aġiiġan aġnaan hiŋtaaġan anuxtalakaġa.  
He did not want to say where he is going to put it.

Maamis hiŋtaamis aŋtanat mada!  
Do what you said you would do!

Txin kidulgalagaqaan anuxtazaŋ.  
He does not want anybody to help him.

- (4) Some other verbs are used in a similar way, for example:

Maaġning ngus hiŋtaaŋt txin hayakuġ.  
I ask (request) you to tell me what to do.

Aniġdus uchiitiladix txidix ixchichŋiixtas hayanas.  
The children asked their teacher to let them go home.  
(Cf. Uchiitilangin ixchichŋiqangis. 'Their teacher let them go home.' See 5.2)

Awaangan hayanaġ.  
I asked for work (for doing work).

Maaqan mas angaliŋ.  
He agreed to do so.

30.5. Verbs of question are used mostly with the dubitative (cf. 13.6), for example:

Sabaakam kigiiŋtaa ngaan ahmayaaŋtaqang.  
I asked him whether the dog bit him.

Tayaqum suuŋtaang ngus ahmayaaŋtaaŋan aŋtakuu.  
The man asked me whether I took (had taken) it.

Txin kiduug anuxtaaŋtaa ngaan ahmayaaŋtaqang.  
I asked him whether he wanted me to help him.

Qilagan ayuxtaaŋan aaŋtaa ngaan ahmayaaŋtakung.  
I asked him whether he would go out tomorrow.

Alqus haqataaŋan aaŋtaa ngaan ahmayaaŋtaangan aŋtakung.  
I asked him how he could know that.

Kiin agiital ayuxtaaŋan aŋnaŋ aaŋtaa ahmayaaŋtaqang.  
I asked him with whom he would be going out.

Tayaquŋ qanaang gas agul saŋanaŋ aaŋtaa ngaan ahmayaaŋtaaŋt.  
Ask the man how many fish he got yesterday.

Sugaa aaŋtaa ngaan ahmayaaŋtaangan aŋtakung.  
I asked him whether he had taken it.

Sunang ukuŋtaqaa aaŋtaa ngaan ahmayaaŋtaangan aŋtakung.  
I asked him whether he had seen me taking it.

Some other verbs are used like verbs of question, with the dubitative, for example:

Hamang aaŋtaan ukuŋtanaaŋs angaliq.  
I tried to see whether you were there.

Ayŋaasiŋ maqaŋiiŋtaayulax taŋaŋtaangan aŋtakuq.  
I tried whether the boat was all right.

Igaŋtaŋ akiŋtal Atŋaŋ wan nidiliŋ hnuŋtaamchix aŋiiŋtachix akuŋ hiŋsaasanaaŋs gumakuq.  
I would like to know (to find out) if you are chartering a plane to Atka this week. (For the akuŋ cf. 26.10.)

Sample text (by Moses Dirks)  
with English translation and grammatical analysis

Kasamiŋ.  
The Eider Duck.

(1) Ataqan tanŋim kugan kasamim ayagaa migakuŋ.

On a certain island there was a common eider tending her eggs.

Predicate verb: miga-ku-ŋ.

miga- to sit on eggs.

-ku- present, in relation to what follows, cf. simple past -qa- in (13).

-ŋ sg. (3.p.sg.) in agreement with the subject (2.1).

Subject: kasamim ayagaa female of common eider, cf. 5.7.

Local Complement: Ataqan tanŋim kugan.

ku-ga-n locative 'on it', 6.2.

tanŋi-m relative sg., 6.1.

Ataqan numeral, 9.1.

Coming after the local complement, the subject is indefinite: 'a common eider', rather than 'the common eider', 6.4.

(2) Atuong saahmlaŋtakuŋ.

She had six eggs.

Predicate verb: saahmla-ŋta-ku-ŋ.

saahmla- egg.

-ŋta- have as, 17.2.

-ŋ 'she', referring back to sentence (1), cf. 2.2.

Object: Atuong numeral, 9.1.

(3) Saahmlat huŋnataaŋan, kingtim sitxan isxaŋikuŋ.

In order to keep her eggs warm, she had her nest under a grass mound.

First predicate verb: huŋnata-aŋan.

huḡnata- to keep warm: huḡna-t- (cf. 18.1) -(ḡ)ta- 22.1.

-aḡan intentional 3.p.sg. (cf. 11.6-7, 12.1-4), in agreement with the subject of the following clause, 27.1.

Object: saahmla-t

-t plural with reflexive reference to the subject, 5.4.

Final predicate verb: isxa-ḡi-ku-ḡ.

-ḡi- to have, 17.1.

Local complement: kingtim sitxan.

sitx-a-n locative 'under it', 6.2.

kingti-m relative sg., 6.1.

(4) Isxaa qiigas ama chungum ilagaan aguḡikuḡ.

Her nest was made of grass and down.

Predicate verb: agu-ḡi-ku-ḡ.

-ḡi- passive, 19.3.

-ḡ (3.p.) sg. in agreement with the subject.

Subject: Isxa-a.

-a possessed sg. with reference to sg. possessor (the subject of the sentences (1-3)), 5.1-2.

Local complement: qiigas ama chungum ilagaan.

ila-ga-an ablative 'from it/them', 6.3.

qiigas ama chungu-m relative sg., cf. 5.1 end.

qiiga-s plural, cf. 1.4 (b).

(5) Saahmlat hingamatal huḡnatazaḡ.

This is how she keeps her eggs warm.

Predicate verb: huḡnata-za-ḡ.

-za- usually, 22.8.

general time, 11.4.

Manner: hingamata-l.

hingamata- pointing verb, 7.7.

-l conjunctive, 11.2, 25.7.

Object: Saahmlat, see (3).

(6) Kasamim ayagaa sasulinaachaḡilakan hamang kingtim sitxan migakuḡ.

Undisturbed, the eider kept her eggs warm under the grass mound.

Predicate verb: migakuḡ, see (1).

Subject: Kasamim ayagaa, cf. (1), here before the complements: definite 'the eider', 6.4.

Manner: sasulinaachaḡilakan.

sasulinaach-aḡi- to have disturbance, 17.1 (sasulina-asi- disturbance, 15.6; sasuli-na- 19.4).

-lakan negative conjunctive, 25.7.

Local complement: hamang kingtim sitxan.

hama-ng locative of pointing word, 7.5.

kingti-m sitx-a-n see (3).

(7) Imunaam sam agiitingis mamakut mal saahmlaḡimakus ukuḡtakuḡ.

Looking around, she saw that some other birds had eggs too and were doing likewise.

Final predicate verb: ukuḡta-ku-ḡ.

Report clause: Imunaam... saahmlaḡimakus, 30.2 (2).

Predicate of report clause: saahmla-ḡi-ma-ku-s.

-ma- also, 23.4.

-s (3.p.) plural, in agreement with the subject.

Subject of report clause: sa-m agiiti-ngis.

agiiti-ngis plural quantifier, 5.9.

Manner in report clause: ma-ma-ku-t ma-l.

ma-l conjunctive 'doing', 25.7.

ma-ma-ku-t present 'what she is doing', cf. 26.5.

-ma- also, 23.4.

-t plural with reflexive reference to the subject of the final predicate, 30.1, cf. mamakungis 'they are doing it too', mamakungis makuning 'I am doing what they are doing'.

Local complement: Imunaam.

Imuna-am locative 'round her' with reflexive reference to the subject of the final predicate, 30.1, cf. 6.2.

Coming after the local complement, the subject sam agiitingis is marked as indefinite: 'some other birds', 6.4.

- (8) Anqaqinas ayxaasiqil haqakus ukuxtakum, chalaqadaamdix ayxaasimdix ilagaan igal aqadaamdix sigilaqalikus mal, isxaan aqiisaatulakan aqakum ilagaan igaku.

Then she saw people approaching in a boat. After landing and getting out of their boat, they began to climb up from the shore. Although she did not want to leave her nest, she flew away.

First major predicate: ukuhta-ku-m.

-m 3.p.sg. relative, showing that the subject is the same as that of the following major clause (the final one), 26.4 (1).

Report clause: Anqaqinas ayxaasiqil haqakus, 30.2

Predicate of report clause: haqa-ku-s.

-s (3.p.) plural in agreement with the subject.

Subject of report clause: Anqaqina-s pl.

Manner in report clause: ayxaasi-qi-l (old ayxaach-aqi-l)

-qi- to have, go in, 17.1.

-l conjunctive, 25.7.

Second major predicate: sigi-la-qali-ku-s, joined to the following clause (the final one) by ma-l, as an expression of cause, reason, 26.11.

sig(i)-, sixs go up from the shore.

-la- the one after the other, 21.1.

-qali- begin, 24.5.

-s (3.p.) plural in agreement with the subject of the preceding report clause.

First conjoined predicate: chala-qada-amdix.

-qada- already, 24.6.

-amdix anterior, reflexive 3.p. plural, 25.9.

Second conjoined predicate: iga-l aqadaamdix.

a-qada-amdix anterior of the auxiliary a-, 25.9.

Local complement: ayxaasi-m-dix ila-ga-an.

ila-ga-an, see (4).

ayxaasi-m-dix relative, as the "possessor" of ilagaan, 6.1-3, with reflexive 3.p. plural "possessor" -dix in reference to the subject (ultimately Anqaqinas), 5.4.

Final predicate: iga-ku-x.

Linked clause: isxaan aqiisaatulakan aqakum, 26.4 (1).

Predicate: aqiisa-atu-lakan aaqa-ku-m.

aaqa- auxiliary 'be/do in vain' ('.... but').

-aatu- want, 24.2.

-lakan negative conjunctive, conjoined with the auxiliary.

Object: isxa-an sg. with reflexive 3.p.sg. possessor, in reference to the subject.

Local complement of the final predicate: ila-ga-an 'from it', in reference to the preceding isxa-an, cf. isxaam ilagaan 'from her nest', cf. 25.3 (5).

- (9) Hlaħ kasamim igaqagan agalagaan kasamim ilagaan igaaqan axtanaa hnuxtaku.

After the eider had flown away, a boy approached the spot from where the eider flew.

Predicate verb: hnu-ħta-ku-ħ.

-ħta- temporarily, 22.1.

Subject: Hla-ħ.

Object: kasami-m ilagaan igaaqan aħta-na-a,

participial construction, 29.7 (4).

Local (temporal) complement: kasami-m iga-ga-gan agalagaan,  
participial construction, 29.4.

- (10) Saahmlas! Ukul txin iniḡsinil saahmlas ukunaan hiḡtakuḡ.

Eggs! Delighted at his discovery, he shouted he had found eggs.

Saahmlas! exclamation (as the boy shouted).

Final predicate verb: hiḡta-ku-ḡ.

Report clause: saahmlas ukunaan, 30.4 (1).

Conjoined predicate: ukul txin iniḡsi-ni-l, 25.1.

-ni- 18.4.

uku-l conjoined predicate of reason, 25.7.

- (11) Adaa hamang akuḡ mal, saahmlas haqayaḡtalakan aḡiisaaḡt ngaan hiḡtakuu.

His father was with him and told him not to bother with the eggs and leave them alone.

First predicate verb: a-ku-ḡ, joined to the following by mal, see (8).

Subject: Ada-a, sg. with reference to a singular possessor: the Hlaḡ in (9), 5.2.

Local complement: hama-ng, see (6).

Final predicate verb: hiḡta-ku-u, sg. with reference to a singular: the possessor of Ada-a and of the local complement ngaan 'to him'.

Report clause: saahmlas haqayaḡtalakan aḡiisaaḡt(aḡ), 30.4 (3).

Predicate verb: aḡiisa-aḡt(aḡ), optative 3.p.sg.

Conjoined predicate: haqayaḡta-lakan, 25.1.

Object of both: saahmlas, 25.3 (4).

- (12) "Am'alqul?" adaan ahmatikuḡ.

"But why," he asked his father.

"Am'alqul?" direct question, cf. 8.3.

Final predicate verb: ahmati-ku-ḡ.

-ḡ in reference to Hlaḡ in (9).

Object: ada-an sg. with reflexive 3.p.sg. possessor, in reference to the subject.

- (13) "Chiidatukus" ngaan hiḡakuḡ mal haqayaḡtaqadaqangis.

"There are young ducklings inside," he said, so the boy left them alone.

"Chiida-tu-ku-s" direct answer, representing a report clause of hiḡakuḡ.

-tu- have much, many, 17.5.

-s plural in reference to saahmlas in (11).

First major predicate verb: hi-ḡa-ku-ḡ, passive of hi-ḡta-, joined to the following by mal, see (8).

Local complement: ngaan, the same 3.p. as the subject of the following verbs, cf. 6.5; 26.7 (3).

Final predicate verb: haqayaḡta-qada-ga-ngis.

-qada- no more, 24.6.

-ga- simple past, 11.5.

-ngis 'he - them', 3.2.

- (14) Kasamiḡ ayḡaasim ayugiqagan agalagaan isxaaduḡsiim hadan uḡis, saahmlat hamang ahlil aḡtakus ukuqadaam txin iniḡsitiichxu-zanaḡ.

After the boat took off, the eider returned to her nest, found her eggs safe and was very happy.

First conjoined predicate verb: uḡis (stem uḡit-), 25.1.

Subject: Kasamiḡ.

Local complement: isxaaduḡsi-im hadan.

-iim sg. relative ("possessor" of hadan) with reflexive 3.p.sg. possessor (Kasamiḡ).

Local (temporal) complement: ayḡaasi-m ayugi-ga-gan agalagaan, participial construction, 29.4.

Second conjoined predicate verb: ukuqadaam anterior, 25.9.

Report clause: saahmlat hamang ahlil aḡtakus, 30.2 (2).

Predicate verb: a-hli-l ahta-ku-s, inference, 13.1.

-hli- still, 23.1.

Subject: saahmla-t pl. with reflexive 3.p.sg. possessor, the subject of the verb of report uku-qada-am.

Local complement: hama-ng, see (6).

Final predicate verb: txin iniḡsiti-ichxuza-na-ḡ.

-iichxuza- very, 21.8.

(15) Hamaan agalagaan amaataḡaḡ agulakaḡaan, chiidangis aḡal, atuung kukutukuchas matal txin manitaḡalinaḡ.

Not long after that, her young were hatched, and she was proud to have six little eider ducklings.

Linked predicate verb: agu-lakaḡ-aan, 26.3.

Object: amaataḡ-ḡ ("make far" = take long time).

Local (temporal) complement: Hama-an agalagaan, cf. 7.2.

First conjoined predicate verb: chiidangis aḡal, 25.1.

Subject (inner): chiida-ngis plural with reference to a 3.p. possessor: the subject of the final predicate, cf. 5.2 and 25.5.

Second conjoined predicate verb: mata-l, 25.7 (reason for the following).

Object: atuung kukutu-kucha-s.

atuung numeral, 9.1, with pl. -s.

-kucha- small, 16.11.

Final predicate: txin manita-ḡali-na-ḡ.

txin manita- reflexive verb, 4.4.

-ḡali- 24.5.

-na- simple past, 11.5.

-ḡ (3.p.) sg. in reference to Kasami-ḡ in (14).



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