
Iñupiatun Iñuguglavut Miqliqtuvut:
Let Us Raise Our Children in Iñupiaq

by

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ABSTRACT

Iñupiatun Iñuguḡlavut Miḡliqtuvut is a language learning guide dedicated to reclaiming the Iñupiaq language in the home. Linguists usually create records primarily for scientific purposes and secondarily for language learning needs. Exceedingly often, linguists write descriptions that are typically inaccessible to those who need them most. A decolonial approach to language pedagogy that intertwines peoplehood, language, and cultural context is critical for effective language revitalization. This curriculum will focus on teaching parents to speak Iñupiaq to their children by coupling Iñupiaq child raising practices and Minimal Course methodology. Minimal Course is a methodology specifically designed to help learners face the added challenges of becoming a proficient speaker of a language that is threatened by colonial systems. Minimal Course features a non-technical (yet linguistically informed) presentation of the language's everyday usage and conversation-building patterns in a series of short lessons. The lessons are also taught relationally, where each part reinforces at least one other related part. In the same way, the Minimal Course intends to rebuild whole speech communities versus lone individuals. Diverging from Minimal Course, there is an optional Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar) section for those who wish to understand better how parts of each unit in a word or sentence combine. Given that the curriculum is built around the development of infants and toddlers, songs and hands-on activities are central for families to learn the Iñupiaq language. The Iñupiaq language is our birthright. Uqautchiq Inupiatun kinuvaanaktaaksrautikput.

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Iñupiatun Iñugaglavut Miqłıqtuvut

Let Us Raise Our Children in Iñupiaq

Annauk Denise Olin



Quyanaagun (Acknowledgements)

The inspiration to write this guide came as I was preparing for the arrival of my son Daal̄ Nayokpuk in March 2019. Daal̄ was 5 months old when we moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts and began my graduate program. Although my mom Nuluqutaaq taught Iñupiaq immersion in Utqiagvik, Alaska, I was raised to speak English at home. In the generations where assimilation to Euro-American culture was pervasive and encouraged for social and economic integration, I understand why I was not gifted with the Iñupiaq language as a child. However, my mom gifted me with the love and passion for learning and teaching Iñupiaq. In my generation and my son's generation, we are now ready to work toward reclaiming Iñupiaq in our homes.

The speaking of Iñupiaq did not truly manifest until I began meeting with Dr. Paniattaaq Edna Ahgeak MacLean in 2017. As I step into my fourth year of formally learning from Paniattaaq, I recognize fully that I would not have been in such a strong position to begin speaking Iñupiaq to my son without her. From the breadth and depth of Iñupiaq language learning materials she created throughout her lifetime, to the 200+ hours of Iñupiaq conversational time she generously shared with me, I am so humbled and immensely grateful to her. **Quyanaqpak** for encouraging me to write about the topic of speaking Iñupiaq to children and for always helping me develop the language for it over the last two years. **Quyanaqpauraq ilisautigamña uqaqlunuk Iñupiatun.** *Thank you so very much for teaching me Iñupiaq as we spoke.*

Quyanaq to Aniqsuaq Ronald Brower for meeting with me twice a week from late March to May 2021, entertaining my initial curriculum designs and providing me with Iñupiaq language and cultural teachings infused throughout the guide. Before I became a mother, I felt deprived of many Iñupiaq cultural teachings related to child-raising practices. While this guide is not exhaustive, it begins the process of reclaiming the ways of nurturing and raising well-loved and whole Iñupiaq children. **Quyanaq signataitkaviñ uvamnun.** *Thank you for sharing with me.*

Quyanaqpak to my husband Ataata Freddie Olin IV for being the main caregiver of our son for the first three semesters of my program. All of your efforts set me up for success. **Nakuagipiallakkikpiñ uinj.** *I truly love you my dear husband.* **Quyanaqpak** to my parents Maggie (Nuluqutaaq) and Mark

Pollock for helping to raise our son during my last year of graduate school. Your continual outpouring of love and generosity made everything so much more possible. **Anayuqaagma ataramik iñuguktanġak iġñiġa.** *My parents often raised my son.*

Quyanaq to my advisor Norvin Richards, the kindest, humblest, and most thoughtful professor I have had the pleasure to know at MIT. Your encouragement and careful guidance made a world of difference. **Quyanaqqak** to graduate program director Sabine Iatridou for making the MIT Linguistics Department a second home to my whole family. Sabine tutored me in syntax twice a week my first year and really broke me into the field of linguistics. Thank you for welcoming Daaf and I into your home and for always requesting that he be brought to visit you in your office! For reminding me, by example, that mothers rightfully belong in graduate school and in academia. Norvin and Sabine, you are lifelong friends, whom I will always treasure.

Quyanaq to fellow MITILI students Tracy Kelley, Skeej Paul, and Devon Denny for creating a small, yet mighty Indigenous space at MIT. **Quyanaq** to my dear friend Iyaġak Myles Creed for graciously editing and talking through ideas for my curriculum.

Finally, this guide is dedicated to my son Daaf Nayokpuk and all Iñupiaq children.

Uqautchiq Inupiatun kinuvaanaktaaksrautikput. *The Iñupiaq language is our birthright.*



My brother, Edna, & I



Sabine & Daaf

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Iisimaraksrat

(Introduction)

For every mother and newborn child, it's important to create a strong bond throughout pregnancy and after birth. The teaching of **Iñupiatun atuutit** (Iñupiaq songs) will help the mother express affection to her baby. As early as 26 weeks, the fetus is already influenced by the language(s) they hear, especially their native language through the mother's voice. Amazingly, the newborn's cry shows some of the prosodic features, like stress patterns, of its native language.¹ The basic neural circuits that adults use for language are also fundamentally in place at birth, including differences which are gender specific.² In addition to physically preparing for a child's arrival, it is good to mentally and spiritually prepare to give the gift of the Iñupiaq language.

It is a part of Iñupiaq culture to ensure that a child feels a sense of belonging to the family and wider community. The tradition of naming a baby after a relative who passed away enables the family to accept that the spirit of his or her namesake has lived on through the baby. While there is a focus on the individual in Western culture, Iñupiaq namesake traditions remind us that we are connected to relatives that came before us and those who will come after us. Inuit women also prepared for birth by getting traditional birth tattoos on their thighs. These intricate tattoos welcomed children into the world, showing them that they are immediately part of a strong and beautiful culture³.

¹Wermke K, et al. (2017) e25–e30.

²Perani D, et al. (2011) 641–6.

³Kunaq Marjorie Tahbone, personal communication, 2019; Englehard (2018).

This curriculum will focus on teaching expecting parents, caregivers, and those who desire to speak Iñupiaq to their children in the home. Although it might be helpful to have some experience speaking Iñupiatun already, this curriculum is designed for those who are not yet speakers of the language. It is recommended that couples, partners, or a parent with a child or children attend these classes together. Many of the lessons are designed with the assumption that learners are comfortable with using intimate language together and that family members will continue speaking Iñupiatun together at home.

During the years that I have taught Iñupiaq, I enjoy bringing learners into a circle to develop conversational skills together. Each lesson will involve a task-based activity, with target vocabulary, verbs, and endings. In the beginning, two teachers will model the task or conversation entirely in Iñupiaq multiple times. Then, the conversation will be broken down in steps as learners each try to pronounce and perform a specific action. The action may be accompanied by a related object, task, or gesture to help with remembering. An online recording of Iñupiaq sounds, songs, and activities will accompany each lesson at a later date.

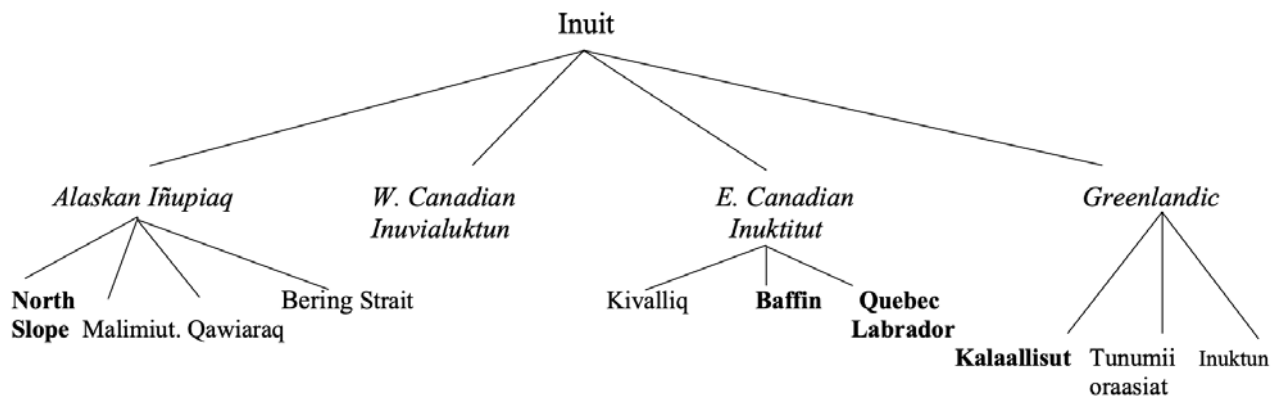
The main focus of this curriculum is to develop Iñupiaq speaking skills through repetition, practice, and the recognition of patterns. A secondary focus will be on reading and writing Iñupiaq. While this curriculum can be taught in a classroom, it also can also be self-taught to family members in the home. **Savaaksrat** (homework) will encourage learners to ritualize Iñupiaq speaking in the home with their relatives. Additionally, writing down phrases and hanging them up around the house will also help prompt speaking at home, especially if an Iñupiaq speaker does not already reside in the home.

For each lesson there will be an optional grammar section written in a contained “blue box”. These sections are optional and supplemental to study the grammar. Learning linguistics is not required to begin speaking Iñupiaq in this guide.

Inuit Nunaat is situated on the top of the world, in what is now known as Russia, Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Inuit people of these lands share similar languages and customs built around their relationships to each other, the land, sea, and all living entities. Iñupiaq is part of the Inuit language family, which extends to Canada and Greenland⁴. If you would like to learn more about the relationship between Iñupiaq, Inuktitut, Labrador Inuttut, or Kalaallisut languages, please consult Appendix B on page XX.

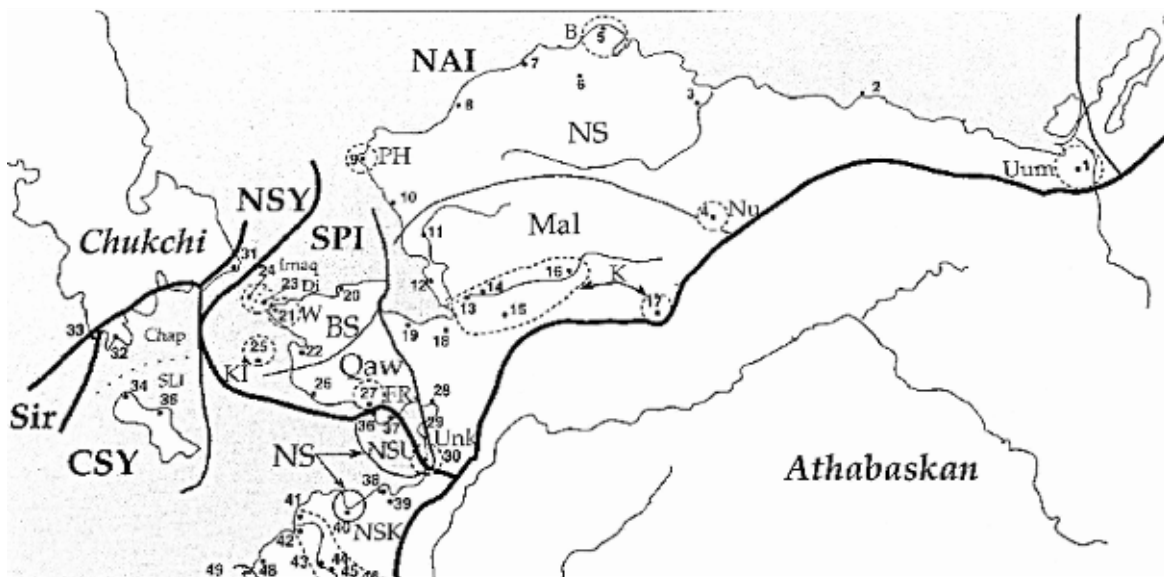
⁴MacLean (2014) p.xiii.

Inuit Language Family⁵



Iñupiat people of Alaska speak four major dialects of the Iñupiaq language: North Slope, Malimiut, Qawiaraq, and Bering Strait.⁶ Iñupiat people have their own ways of speaking in each region or village, although many of these differences are mutually intelligible. It is common for Iñupiat people to have relatives who are from each of the four regions and are familiar with multiple varieties of Iñupiaq.

Inupiaq Language Family⁷



⁵Dorais (2010) p.28-29; Yuan (2020), p.4.

⁶MacLean (2014) p.xiii.

⁷Fortescue, Jacobson, & Kaplan (1994).

NAI = Northern Alaskan Iñupiatun
NS = North Slope
PH = Point Hope
Mal = Malimiut
K = Kobuk
SPI = Seward Peninsula Inupiaq
BS = Bering Straits
Qaw = Qawiaaraq

This guide is written in the North Slope Iñupiaq dialect. If learners know additional Iñupiaq dialects, they are empowered to share their way of speaking. However, the use of the North Slope Iñupiaq way of speaking will be used to encourage consistency. It is my hope that this guide will be translated into other Iñupiaq varieties in the future. For more information about the phonology of Bering Strait Inupiaq varieties, please consult Appendix C on page XX. You can also find materials from a translation project in the Shishmaref Inupiaq dialect in Appendix D on page XX.

Any mistakes made in this guide are my own.

Aliasunitchumausi! Have fun!

Language learning techniques

The **Minimal Course**⁸ is a methodology specifically designed to help learners face the added challenges of becoming a proficient speaker of a language that colonial and/or oppressive systems have marginalized. It attempts to minimize learner anxiety through a series of carefully constructed, easily shareable mini-lessons. Minimal Course features a non-technical (yet linguistically informed) presentation of the language's everyday usage and conversation-building patterns in a series of short learnable lessons. The lessons are also taught relationally, where each part reinforces at least one other related part. In the same way, the Minimal Course intends to rebuild whole speech communities versus an individual learner.

This methodology was first implemented in 2015 in partnership with St. Mary's First Nation for their Wolastoqew (Maliseet) language program and is now a part of Abenaki, Long Island Algonquian, Michif, and Makah revitalization efforts.

Where Are Your Keys? (WAYK)⁹ is a language learning technique developed by Evan Gardner, which incorporates the use of sign language techniques and signs influenced by American Sign Language to facilitate immersion-style learning. Instead of asking for help or clarification in English, language learners can use signs to continue uninterrupted in the language. The approach focuses on equalized learning, where students can learn directed from native speakers, and students can also direct their own learning. WAYK also prepares learners to quickly become teachers, passing on what they have learned fairly quickly to total beginners. WAYK is partially based on TPR and also focuses on connecting physical actions with language correspondences. For a detailed look at WAYK, please visit whereareyourkeys.org.

On the next page, there are examples of the WAYK phrases and gestures that we will use frequently in this guide:

⁸Quinn, C (2021).

⁹Creed, M et al (2018). p.6.

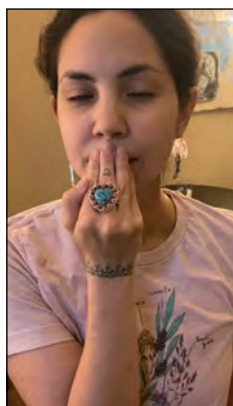
If the teacher would like the students to imitate her, she can say 'uvaptun' ("like me") and make this gesture:



If a partner would like to hear the question asked again, she can say 'suna' (what) by holding one of her palms face up and using her other hand to make an upside down 'u' shape over the palm:



For those wanting a challenge, she can say 'apiqsruvsaanna' (ask me again) by closing the hand at the mouth and then holding the same hand over an open palm.



If someone forgets a word, he can always 'put an angel on his shoulder' and say 'ikayuᅇᅇa' (help me). If you forget how to say 'ikayuᅇᅇa', you can always just tap your shoulder with one of your thumbs making a 'C' shape.



The **Greymorning method**¹⁰, developed by Dr. Steven Greymorning, employs the use of pictures to stay within immersion. In this approach, students learn words and phrases through a series of scaffolded levels. As best suited to Iñupiaq, Level 1 presents persons. Level 2 presents actions verbs. Level 3 presents plural nouns and corresponding verbs, and so on. More information about the Greymorning method can be found here: www.umt.edu/nsilc/.

The **Total Physical Response (TPR)**¹¹ approach was developed by Dr. James Asher, which uses commands in the target language along with physical actions to instill listening skills in students. It is based on the idea that language learning can be greatly accelerated through the use of body movement, and it intends to nurture listening comprehension before learners try to produce speech, read, or write. TPR command sets generally include:

1. The modeling of commands with a volunteer student or teacher's assistant.
2. Commands to small groups, individuals, or a class.
3. The creative combination of learned commands and new words into new commands.

For a comprehensive look at TPR, read Asher's *Learning Another Language Through Actions* (1996).

¹⁰Creed, M et al (2018). p.7.

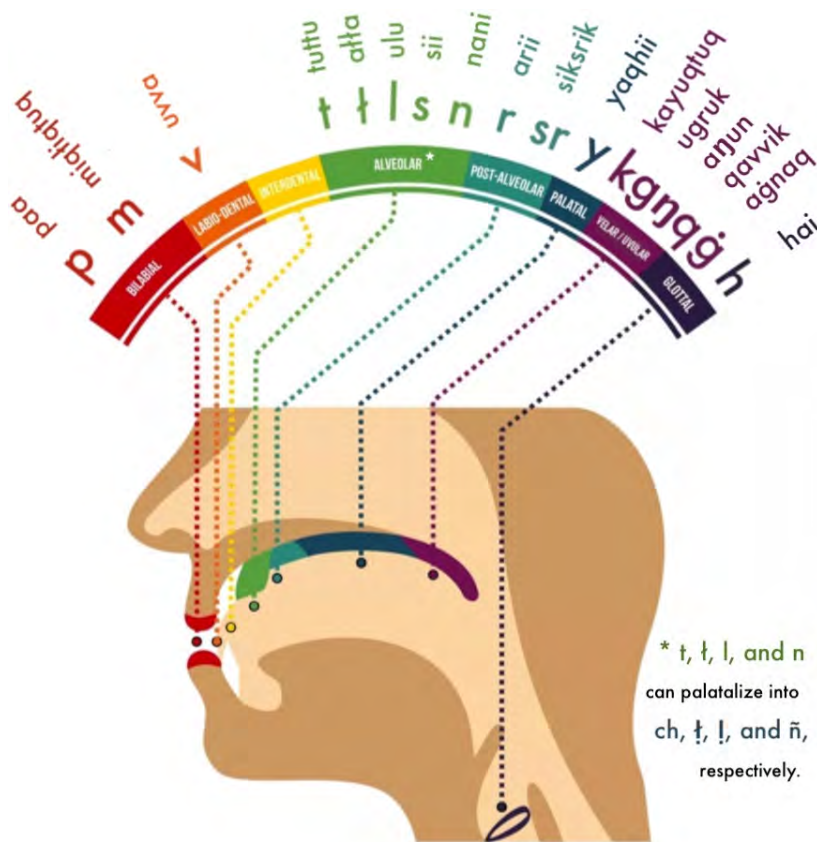
¹¹Ilgance (2016).

Iñupiatun Uqallagniglu Aglañiglu

(Sounds and Symbols of the Iñupiaq Language)

Iñupiaq has many sounds that you will not hear in the English language (for example, **ɭ**, **ɬ**, **ɮ**, **q**, **ǰ**). An Iñupiaq speaker once said that English is a language originating from the front of the mouth, while Iñupiaq is a language from the heart. The most distinct Iñupiaq sounds live in the back of the mouth and the throat. The guttural sounds of Iñupiaq will challenge you to wake up muscles that you are not accustomed to using. This curriculum will provide exercises that will help to train these muscles so that your pronunciation improves.

First we will become familiar with where Iñupiatun sounds are created in the mouth and throat by consulting the image below. All example words below are in the North Slope dialect, except for **alla** which means ‘another one’ in the Shishmaref Iñupiaq dialect. On the next page, you’ll find an Iñupiatun consonant chart organized by the places and manner of articulation. The chart was inspired by Xunei Lance Twitchell’s 2017 *Lingit Yoo X’atangi: Beginning Tlingit Workbook*. The Iñupiatun terms for the places of articulation (MacLean 2014) and the original consonant chart were developed by Edna Ahgeak MacLean (1986, First Year, p.4).



IÑUPIAQ CONSONANTS

Based on an infographic by Language Base Camp

	Qaktu-kuaqtat (lips) “labial”	Labio dental (between lips and teeth)	Kigutit tunuaguaqtat (tongue behind the teeth) “alveolar”	Qangum qitqaguaqtat (bend tip of the tongue toward the back of the teeth) “retroflex”	Qilagakuqtat sivuluat tattuqiflugit (tongue touches the roof of the mouth) “palatal”	Qangum tunuguqtat (middle of tongue against the root of mouth) “velar”	Uqalaura-kuaqtat (back of tongue touches uvula at back of the throat) “uvular”	Iggiakuqtat (vocal cords) “glottal”
Stops (stops of breath) All stops are unaspirated	panik daughter		tuttu caribou		natchiq ringed seal	kigutit teeth	quaq frozen fish	naun’aa where

Fricatives

(breath flows through narrow opening, creating friction)

Voiceless fricatives	Tavsi (makes an [f] sound but written as v)	aktaq bear	iri eye	siktaq pick axe	aakhaa! that’s not right!	aaqhaaliq long tailed duck	hauk oh! i’m so tired
(Vocal cords are partially closed causing vibration)	siku ice	siksrik squirrel	ayak support pole	ilaaq patch	iggiag throat	iggi mountain	
Voiced fricatives (Vocal cords open, no vibration)	aiviq walrus	naluag sun-bleached seal					

Sonorants

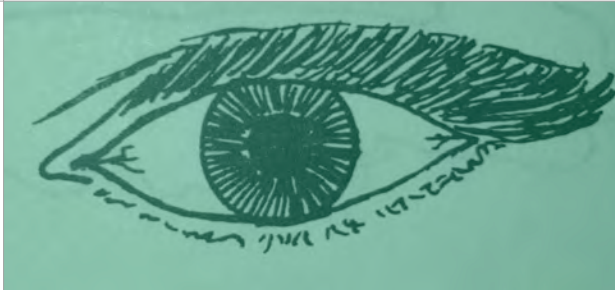

(softer, you can sing them continuously)

Nasals (air through nose)	manik money	naniq light	aiñiq pocket	anun man			
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In this section, we will concentrate on the Iñupiatun sounds that are most difficult. This section also drew inspiration from linguist Myles Creed’s online Iḷisaqativut Qaqasaurakun: an Online Iñupiaq Learning Community (2021) resource. The colors of the images used below conform to the color of the place of articulation found in the chart (dark green for retroflexes, light green for alveolars). All images used in this section are from the North Slope Borough School District “Atchagat Iñupiatun Aglanich” workbook.

Qangum qitqaguaqtat (retroflex sounds) are consonant sounds made by bending the tip of the tongue towards the alveolar ridge. These sounds are represented by **r** and **sr**.

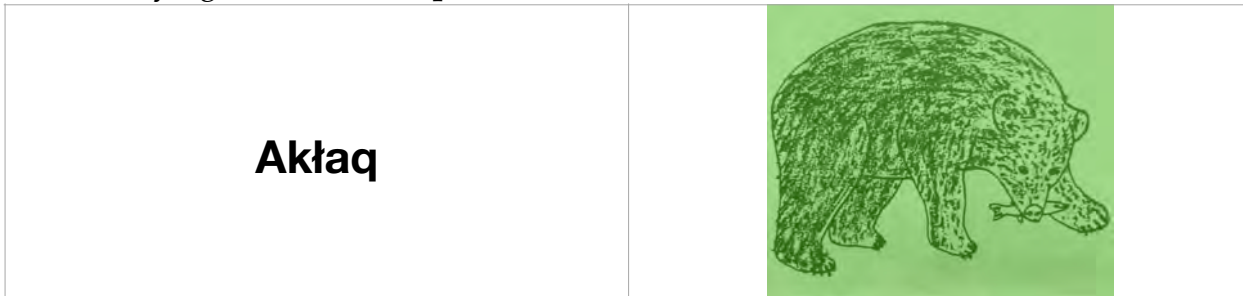
- The **r** sound is similar to English, but you place your tongue differently. Place the inner sides of the tongue on the upper back molars and prevent the tip of the tongue from curling back. Practice saying the word **iri** (eye).
- **Qangum qitqaguaqtaq ‘sr’** is similar to the English word *shrug*. Practice saying the word **siksrik** (ground squirrel).

Iri	
Siksrik	

Kigutit tunuaguaqtat (alveolar consonants) are sounds made just behind the teeth. These sounds include **t**, **s**, **ḷ**, **l**, and **n**. The **s**, **l**, and **n** sounds are basically the same as in English.

- The **ḷ** sound is not found in English, but it is close to the pronunciation of the **l** in the word *please*. To make this sound, put your tongue in the position of making an **l** sound, then expel air on the sides of your tongue (without moving your tongue).

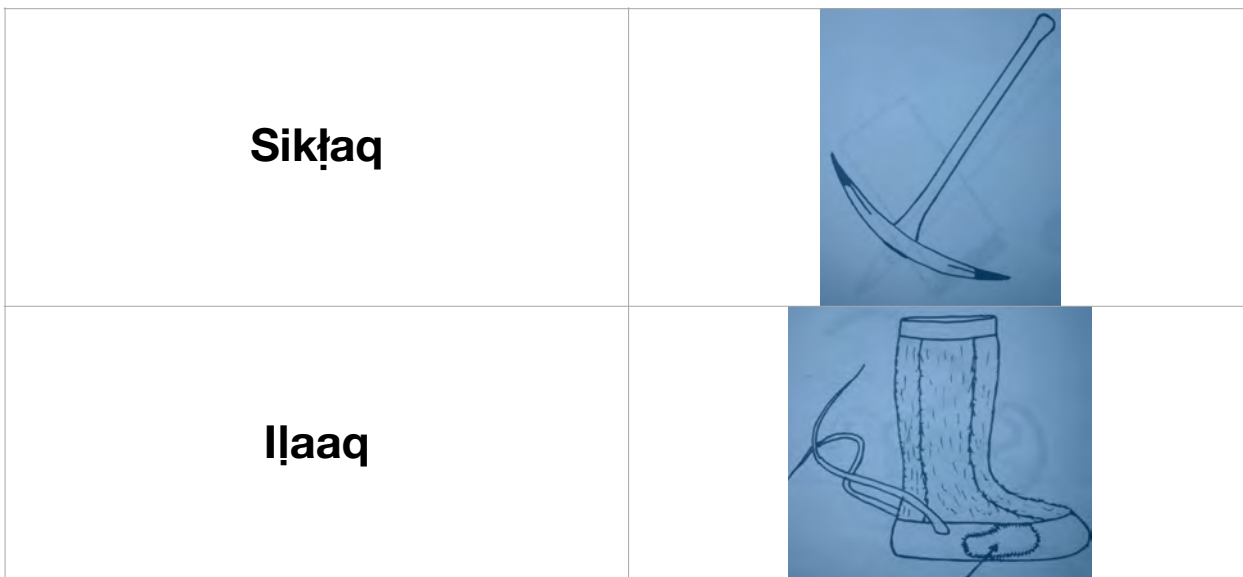
Practice saying the word **akłaq** (brown bear).



There are five **qılagakuaqtat sivuluat tattuqıllıgıt** (palatal consonants), which are sounds made one the hard palate (the middle part of the roof of the mouth). These sounds are **ch**, **ł**, **l̥**, **ñ**, and **y**.

- The **ł** sound is not found in English, but it is similar to the **kıgutıt tunuaguaqtaq** sound **ł**, but pronounced a little further back in the mouth. The tip of the tongue is placed against the front teeth, with air blow through the sounds of the mouth.
- **l̥** is like **l**, but pronounced back with the tip of the tongue on the upper teeth, somewhat like the double *ll* in the word *million*.

Practice saying **sıkłaq** (pickaxe) and **ılaaq** (patch).



Qanğum tunuguaqtat (velar consonants) are sounds that are made in the back of the roof of the mouth. These sounds include **k**, **g**, and **ŋ**.

Uqalaurakuaqtat (uvular consonants) are sounds made by the uvula, at the back of one's mouth. These sounds are represented by **q** and **ğ**, which are not found in English. These sounds can sometimes change by the vowel sound around them.

- The **q** sound is similar to the **k** sound but pronounced further back.
- The **ġ** sound is not found in English, but it is similar to the sound of gargling

It is helpful to contrast the **k** in **kiġutit** (teeth) and the **q** in **qiġaq** (nose). We will also contrast the **g** in **qaugak** (duck) and the **ġ** in **qiġġaaq** (picture).

Kigutit	
Qiqak	
Qaugak	
Qiġġaaq	

Iñupiatun Vowel System¹²

Iñupiatun has three vowel sounds: a, i, and u. Each of these vowels can be long: aa, ii, and uu. Here are a few examples:

a	aviġġak	lemming
aa	aviġġaaq	(two) lemmings
i	natchiq	seal

¹²MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter I.

ii	natchiik	(two) seals
u	nanuq	polar bear
uu	aluuttaun	spoon

Iñupiatun also has diphthongs, which are combinations of two different vowel sounds:

ai	aiviq	walrus	(as in irate)
ia	qasigiaq	spotted seal; harbor seal	(as in fiat)
iu	pamiuqtuuq	otter	(as in cute)
ui	niutuiyiq	lynx	(as in gooey)
au	auruq	fermented fish	(as in how)
ua	quaq	raw frozen meat or fish	(as in quality) ¹³

¹³MacLean (2014) p.xx.

Unit 1: Aarigaa miq̄liqtuuran!

(Congratulations on the birth of your child!)
Developmental Stage: Birth to six months

In this unit, parents will primarily practice phrases that are directed at the baby. Since babies cannot yet respond using language, the speaking exercises will usually be directed at an **iñuᅅᅅuuraq** (doll). While adults will not necessarily be interacting together, this helps ease the pressure off of speakers to speak perfectly. Remember as you begin speaking to your baby, you will be able to make many mistakes before she can even begin talking. The following units will allow more speaking interaction with adults and children (as babies grow).

- During the first six months of an infant's life, parents will first focus on establishing a strong bond with the child in Iñupiaq.
- Parents will learn how to express affection and how to comfort the baby.
- Parents will learn how to greet their baby when they wake up.
- Parents will learn to invite their baby to feed, to burp, and to change his diaper.
- Parents will learn to change the baby's clothes, give a bath, and let her nap.
- Content will mainly be taught through songs, daily routines, and hands on activities.

Child Language Acquisition Timeline

At 4 days old, infants can discriminate their native language from a foreign language. Newborns can disregard irrelevant variations like voice quality, speech rate, and accent.¹⁴

At 6-8 months, all children start to babble, or to produce repetitive syllables.¹⁵

At 10-12 months, children speak their first words,

At 20-24 months, children begin to put words together.¹⁶

¹⁴Guasti (2002) p.24.

¹⁵Guasti (2002) p.5.

¹⁶Guasti (2002) p.5.

Iḷisaaksraq Sivulliq: Piqpagigikpiñ (I love you)



Singing lullabies to babies is a soothing way to strengthen the bond between mother and child. The first lullaby will enable parents to say ‘I love you’ in Iñupiatun. Each learner is encouraged to bring an **iñuṅṅuuraq** (doll) to sing their lullabies. **Atuqta!** Let’s all sing!

Atuun: Piqpagigikpiñ

Iḡñiiṅ/Paniin,	My dear son/my dear daughter,
Piqpagigikpiñ.	I love you.
Piqpagipiallakkikpiñ.	I truly love you.
Piqpaginiagikpiñ taimuṅa.	I will love you forever.

The teacher will sing the song three times to allow learners to get used to the sounds and rhythm of the song. Next, the teacher will say in Iñupiatun “**uvaptun**” (“like me” or repeat after me), after each line, the learners will be tasked to repeat the lines one by one. Go as slow as the learners need to correctly pronounce each word.

Uqallautit (vocabulary)

The *Greymorning* technique will be used to learn vocabulary. The teacher will point to props or pictures to identify each vocabulary word.

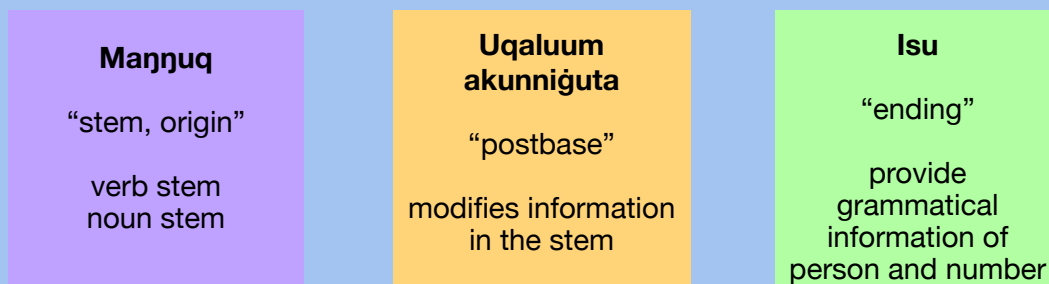
Iḡñiq	son	Iḡñiin	my dear son
Panik	daughter	Paniin	my dear daughter
Aaññaḡḡa	cute one	Aaññaḡḡaan	my dear cute one
Aaka	mom	Aakaan	my dear mom
Aapa	dad	Aapaan	my dear dad

The Vocative Case is used to address someone using a kinship term or calling their attention with love and affection. The ending used is '-ḡ'¹⁷.

Qanuq Iñupiatun uqaluliḡḡaḡḡa? (How are Iñupiaq words built?)

Iñupiatun uqaluk maḡḡuqḡḡuuruq, iḡanni akunniḡutiḡḡuuruq, isuḡḡuuruq suli iḡanni isuktiḡpiaḡḡuuruq.¹⁸ An Iñupiaq word has a *stem*, sometimes one *postbase* (or more) an *ending*, and sometimes an *enclitic*.

We will cover *enclitics* later in the text. However, the graphics below cover the basic structure of an Iñupiaq word that will be used frequently within this unit.



For most lessons, a table will be provided, showing the breakdown of **maḡḡuit**, **akunniḡutit**, and **isut**. This will help Iñupiatun language learners to begin understanding what changes need to occur when the **uqaluurat** (smallest units of meaning or morphemes) of an Iñupiaq word come together. Write the information on the chart below (without the English translations) on the board, so that learners become accustomed with how Iñupiaq words are formed.

¹⁷MacLean (2014) p. 880 of online version.

¹⁸MacLean (2019). p.1.

Manġuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniġutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Piqpagi- 'to love'		+gikpiñ 'I to you'	Piqpagigikpiñ 'I love you.'
Piqpagi- 'to love'	-piallak 'truly'	+kikpiñ 'I to you'	Piqpagipiallakkikpiñ. 'I truly love you.'
Piqpagi- 'to love'	+niaq- 'will'	+kikpiñ 'I to you'	Piqpaginiagikpiñ 'I will love you.'

For all charts in this curriculum (including the first one created for the “Piqpagigikpiñ” song), there will be signs or abbreviations to signify the pattern used to attach postbases to stems. Although the examples in the song do not require complicated changes related to these signs, more information about the signs (such as -, +, :) for later lessons, can be found in a chart under Appendix A adapted from Edna MacLean on page 108.

Savaksraat: Sing the **Piqpagigikpiñ** atuun to a family member every morning as soon as you wake up. Write the song on a piece of paper and hang it up in your bedroom.

Iisaaksrak Aippaak: Igligilakpiñ (Let me cuddle you)

Review “*Piqpagigikpiñ*” *atuun* together.

Iñuuniagniq (Iñupiaq culture)

In the next few lessons, there will be a strong focus on building intimacy between parent and child. Be mindful of the way you speak to a child, as the way you speak imprints on their development and behavior. Although babies cannot speak yet, they can feel emotion. Make sure to express positive emotion and endearment, so that the child feels secure and loved. Vocal communication and physical contact will strengthen the bond between the parent and child. Negative feelings and emotions will create distance and rejection between parent and child. If neglect or too much negativity is expressed, children may learn to get attention by expressing negative behavior.¹⁹

The teacher will use pictures and the *Greymorning* method to identify each vocabulary term.

Uqallautit:

iļilgauraq	baby	iļilgauraaŋ	my dear baby
miqłiqtuuraq	child	miqłiqtuuraaŋ	my dear child
iłamaaq	friend	iłamaaŋ	my dear friend or relative
iñuk	person, spirit	iñuuaŋ	my dear one, spirit
aippaq	partner	aippaaŋ	my dear partner

The teacher will model the following commands²⁰ with a doll three times. First the doll will be sitting in her lap, but after saying the command she will pick the doll up. In a circle, each learner will take turns saying the first command to their doll (or child), followed by the action of cuddling. **Igligi-** can also be defined as ‘to express or show affection or endearment to him, her, it’ or ‘someone or something that is cute, looks huggable or loveable’²¹, but for the purposes of this lesson we will describe it as ‘cuddle’. Next, each learner will say the second command in a ‘cooing voice’ to their doll or child.

Igligilakpiñ! Let me cuddle you!

¹⁹Brower, Ronald Aniqsuaq (April 3, 2021) personal communication.

²⁰MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XV.

²¹MacLean (2014) p. 615.

Qunulakpiñ! Let me talk cooingly to you!

As introduced in the **Piqpagigikpiñ atuun**, the teacher will allow learners to practice future and present “I to you” statements. This form will be practiced in the next few lessons, especially since the relationship between parent and baby is the most important during infancy. Right before saying **‘Igliginiagikpiñ’** (I will cuddle you), the teacher will be standing several feet away from the doll. Once she reaches the doll, the teacher will say **‘Igligigikpiñ’** (I am cuddling you) and then cuddle the doll. The teacher will model these actions with a doll three times before learners will practice with their own dolls.

Igliginiagikpiñ. I am going to cuddle you.

Igligigikpiñ. I am cuddling you.

Qununiagikpiñ. I am going to talk cooingly to you.

Qunugikpiñ. I am talking cooingly to you.

Use the vocabulary to address your partner appropriately (**aippaan, igñiin, paniin, aapaan,** or **aakaan**). Note that the vocative form is used for these terms. Allow partners to practice asking and answering many times.

Manjuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunnigutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Igligi- ‘to cuddle’	+niaq ‘will’	+gikpiñ ‘I to you’ (statement)	Igliginiagikpiñ ‘I will cuddle you’
Igligi- ‘to cuddle’		+gikpiñ ‘I to you’ (statement)	Igligigikpiñ ‘I am cuddling you.’
Qunu- ‘to talk cooingly’	+niaq ‘will’	+gikpiñ ‘I to you’ (statement)	Qununiagikpiñ ‘I will talk cooingly to you.’
Qunu- ‘to talk cooingly’		+gikpiñ ‘I to you’ (statement)	Qunugikpiñ ‘I am talking cooingly to you.’

Using the *Where Are Your Keys* method, the teacher will introduce immersion phrases with associated gestures. If the learner forgets how to ask ‘what’ or ‘I need help’ in Iñupiaq, these gestures can be used to refrain from using English. Reminders to review these terms will arise in successive lessons, although it is encouraged them to review them as often as necessary. On page 13, there are graphics associated with each WAYK phrase:

Uvaptun Do it ‘like me’

Suna? What? (repeat phrase again)

Apiqsruvsaanŋa Ask me again

Ikayunŋa Help me

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Isut

“I to you” statements²²

When a verb stems ends in a **vowel** as in **piqpagi-**, its ending begins with a ‘**g**’ as in **+gikpiñ**.

Piqpagi +gikpiñ = piqpagigikpiñ. (I love you.)

When a postbase like **-piallak** ends in a **consonant**, the suffix is usually **+kikpiñ**,

Piqpagi -piallak +kikpiñ = piqpagipiallakikpiñ.

Akunnigutit

“I to you” future statements²³

For **piqpagi-**, when the stem-final ‘**q**’ in **+niaq** is added to **+kikpiñ**, the **q + k** sounds cannot combine in Iñupiaq, therefore **q + k >> ġ**, and results in **+ġikpiñ**.

Piqpagi +niaq +kikpiñ = piqpaginiġikpiñ. (I will love you.)

Flashcard Drill

Use flashcards to write out the following verb stems: **piqpagi-**, **igligi-**, and **qunu-**. Learners will pick up a card individually and the teacher will ask them to add ‘I to you’ endings.

Learners will pick up a card with either **piqpagi-**, **igligi**, and **qunu-** and the teacher will ask them to add the postbase **+niaq** and the ‘I to you’ ending. Practice as long as learners need to get them right.

Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible, so that they not only understand how words come together, but so they can also internalize what it means.

²²MacLean, 1986, Second Year, Chapter XVII, p.70.

²³MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter II, p.15; Glossary p.261; MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XVII, p.70-71.

Savaksraat: Sing “Piqpagigikpiñ” to a family member every morning as soon as you wake up. Write the song on a piece of paper and hang it up in your bedroom. Practice future and present tense ‘I to you’ statements forms learned in class with a family member at home.

Also practice the following songs:

Igligigikpiñ.

I am cuddling you.

Igligipiallakkikpiñ.

I am truly cuddling you.

Igliginiagikpiñ ataramik.

I am going to cuddle you often.

Qunugikpiñ.

I am talking cooingly to you.

Qunupiallakkikpiñ.

I am truly talking cooingly to you.

Qununiagikpiñ atarmik.

I am going to talk cooingly to you often.

Iᓵsaaksrat Piᓇyuat: Iqillakpiñ (Let me hug you)

Review *Igligigikpiñ* and *Qunugikpiñ atuutik*

Review immersion terms: *uvaptun, suna, apiqsruvsaanna, ikayunna*

Iñuuniagniq (Iñupiaq culture)

In Iñupiaq culture, women and men express affection equally to the child. In Western culture, sometimes only women are encouraged to be affectionate. In Iñupiaq culture, gender roles are more fluid. Sometimes men care for children and do housework and women can hunt depending on the shifting needs of the family.²⁴ In this learning space, we encourage all gender identities to express affection to their child as they speak Iñupiatun.

Iñuusimñi Iñupiatun aᓇnallu aᓇutillu savaqatigiiguurut.
Aasii tuvaaqatigiitlutik aippaᓇiiglutik uiᓇalu nuliaᓇalu
paanagiᓇlutik. Taimma avanmun savautisuurut
ikayutisuurut. Aᓇnam iᓇanni aᓇutim savaᓇa savaktugu
iᓇanni aᓇutit aᓇnam savaᓇa savaktugu.

In Iñupiaq culture, men and women work together. Also, spouses, partners, husband and wife work together as a team. They work for each other and they help each other. Sometimes a woman will do the man's work, sometimes the man will do the woman's work.

(Ronald Brower, personal communication, April 15, 2021)

The following vocabulary will mostly be review, with a few new terms added. The teacher will use pictures and the *Greymorning* method to identify each term.

Uqallautit:	aññaannaᓇ	my dear one
	iñuun	my dear child (of both genders)
	paniin	my dear daughter
	iᓇñiin	my dear son
	qitungaan	my dear child (your own child)
	iᓇmaan	my dear child (from another person)

The teacher will model the following commands²⁵ with a doll three times. First the doll will be sitting in her lap, but after saying the command she will pick the doll up. In a circle, each

²⁴Brower, Ronald Aniqsuaq, (personal communication) April 18, 2021.

²⁵MacLean (1986), Second Year, Chapter XV, p.26.

learner will take turns saying the first set of commands to their doll, followed by the action of hugging. Next, each learner will say the second commands to their doll, followed by the action of kissing.

Iqillakpiñ! Let me hug you!
Kuniglakpiñ! Let me kiss you!

We will continue practicing 'I to you' forms. Right before saying '**kunigniaġikpiñ**' (I will kiss you), the teacher will be standing several feet away from the doll. Once she reaches the doll after walking to it, the teacher will say '**kunikikpiñ**' (I am kissing you). The teacher will model these actions with a doll three times before learners will work with their dolls.

Kunigniaġikpiñ. I am going to kiss you.
Kunikikpiñ. I am kissing you.

Iqinniaġikpiñ. I am going to hug you.
Iqitkikpiñ I am hugging you.

Manġuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniġutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Kunik- 'to kiss'	+niaq 'will'	+kikpiñ 'I to you' (statement)	Kunigniaġikpiñ 'I will kiss you'
Kunik- 'to kiss'		+kikpiñ 'I to you' (statement)	Kunikikpiñ 'I am kissing you.'
Iqit- 'to hug'	+niaq 'will'	+kikpiñ 'I to you' (statement)	Iqinniaġikpiñ 'I will hugging you.'
Iqit- 'to hug'		+kikpiñ 'I to you' (statement)	Iqitkikpiñ 'I am hugging you.'

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Isut

"I to you" statements²⁶

When a verb stems ends in a **consonant** such as 't' or 'k' (like **kunik-**), its ending begins with 'k' as in **+kikpiñ**.

²⁶MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XVII, p.70-71; MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter II, p.15; Glossary p.261.

kunik + kikpiñ = kunikkikpiñ. (I am kissing you).

Akunnigutit

“I to you” future statements²⁷

When a verb stem ends in a **consonant** such as ‘**k**’ (like kunik-) and +niaq is added, the stem-final ‘**k**’ changes to ‘**g**’, yielding kunigniaq-.

When +niaq is added kikpiñ (**k + g >> ġ**) and yields -ġikpiñ.

kunik +niaq +gikpiñ = kunigniaġikpiñ. (I will kiss you).

When a verb stem ends in a **consonant** such as ‘**t**’ (like iqit-) and precedes the postbase +niaq, the ‘**t**’ changes to the ‘**n**’ in niaq, and becomes an ‘**n**’ (**t + n >> nn**), yielding iqinniaq-.

iqit +niaq = iqinniaq-

As we learned previously, when +niaq is added to +kikpiñ, (**k + g >> ġ**), and yields -ġikpiñ.

iqit +niaq +kikpiñ = iqinniaġikpiñ. (I will hug you).

Flashcard Drill

Use flashcards to write out the following verb stems: **piqpagi-**, **igli-**, and **qunu-**. Learners will pick up a card individually and the teacher will ask them to add ‘I to you’ endings.

Learners will pick up a card with either **piqpagi-**, **igli-**, **qunu-**, **kunik-**, and **iqit-** and the teacher will ask them to add the postbase +niaq and the ‘I to you’ ending. Practice as long as learners need to get them right.

Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

Savaksraat: Sing Piqpagigikpiñ to a family member every morning as soon as you wake up. Write the song on a piece of paper and hang it up in your bedroom. Practice future and present tense ‘I to

²⁷MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XVII, p.70-71.

you' statements forms learned in class with a family member at home using *piqpagi-*, *qunu- igligi-*, *kunik-*, and *iqit-*. Hang pictures and the names of vocabulary most useful to you on the wall.

Sing these two additional songs also:

Iqitkikpiñ.	I am hugging you.
Iqipiallakkikpiñ.	I am really hugging you.
Iqinniaġikpiñ ataramik.	I will hug you often.
Kunikikpiñ.	I am kissing you.
Kunipiallakkikpiñ.	I am really kissing you.
Kunigniaġikpiñ ataramik.	I will kiss you often.

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

In the **savaksraat** (homework), you will practice forming the postbase **-piallak** with the stems *iqit-* and *kunik-*. The postbase **-piallak**²⁸ has a minus sign, which means that postbase is added to the stem after deletion of the stem-final consonant:

Iqit-

iqit -piallak = **iqipiallak-** (notice that the 't' in *iqit-* deletes)

Iqit -piallak +kikpiñ = iqipiallakkikpiñ. (I am really hugging you.)

Kunik-

kunik -piallak = **kunipiallak-** (notice that the final 'k' in *kunik-* deletes)

Kunik -piallak +kikpiñ = kunipiallakkikpiñ. (I am really kissing you.)

²⁸MacLean (2014) p.589.

Iᓵsaaksrat Sisamaat: Nuniagikpiñ (I am expressing affection to you)

Review *Kunikkipiñ* and *Iqitkikpiñ atuutik*

Review immersion terms: *uvaptun, suna, apiqsruᓂsaᑎᑎa, ikayuᑎᑎa*

Iñuuniagñiq (Iñupiaq culture)

The term **nuniao-**, whose English translation is ‘to express affection to her, him, or it’ does not do the Iñupiaq meaning justice. Some Iñupiatun speakers describe **nuniao-** as a way of speaking to make sure a child feels special, loved, and treasured. **Nuniao-** can also be represented as a song or string of phrases with made up or ‘real’ words. My mom would stomp her feet around the house singing a song about how my hands were as cold as icicles half in Iñupiatun and half in English. Many Inuit families create their own personal way of making their child feel loved and cared for. The ultimate goal of **nuniao-** is to grab the child’s attention and show them how precious they are. It can be done quietly and intimately or it can be done loudly with the whole family involved!

The teacher will use pictures and the *Greymorning* method to identify each term.

Uqallautit:	aakaan	my dear mom
	aapaan	my dear dad
	paniin	my dear daughter
	igñiin	my dear son
	aippaan	my dear partner
	uiᑎ	my dear husband
	nulian	my dear wife

The teacher will model the following commands²⁹ with a doll three times. First the doll will be sitting in her lap, but after saying the command she will pick the doll up and complete an action. In a circle, each learner will take turns saying the first command to their doll, followed by the action of carrying. Next, each learner will say the second command to their doll, followed by the action of expressing affection (possibly rubbing your nose into the neck of the doll).

²⁹MacLean 1986, Second Year, Chapter XV, p.26.

Tigumiāglakpiñ. Let me carry you.
Nuniaāglakpiñ. Let me express affection to you.

The next exercises will involve practicing again ‘I to you’ forms. Right before saying ‘**Tigumiāgniāgikpiñ.**’ (I will carry you), the teacher will be standing several feet away from the doll. Once she reaches the doll after walking to it, the teacher will say ‘**Tigumiāgikpiñ.**’ (I am carrying you). The teacher will model these actions with a doll three times before learners will work with their dolls.

Tigumiāgniāgikpiñ. I am going to carry you.
Tigumiāgikpiñ. I am carrying you.
Nuniaāgniāgikpiñ. I will express affection to you.
Nuniaāgikpiñ. I am expressing affection to you.

Make sure you address your partner appropriately as either **aakaan**, **aapaan**, **paniin**, **iḡniin**, **aippaan**, **uin** or **nulian**.

Manḡuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniḡutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Tigumiaq- ‘to carry in arms’	+niaq ‘will’	+gikpiñ ‘you to me’ (question)	Tigumiāgniāgikpiñ ‘I will carry you.’
Tigumiaq- ‘to carry in arms’		+ḡikpiñ ‘I to you’ (statement)	Tigumiāgikpiñ ‘I am carrying you.’
Nuniaq- ‘to express affection’	+niaq ‘will’	+gikpiñ ‘you to me’ (question)	Nuniaāgniāgikpiñ ‘I will express affection to you.’
Nuniaq- ‘to express affection’		+ḡikpiñ ‘I to you’ (statement)	Nuniaāgikpiñ. ‘I am expressing affection to you.’

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Isut

When a verb stems that end in ‘**q**’ (like **tigumiaq-**) are added to the ‘**+kikpiñ**’ ending, **q + k** >> **ḡ**, creating **Tigumiāgikpiñ**.³⁰

³⁰MacLean 1986, First Year, Chapter II, p. 15; Glossary p. 261; MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XVII p.70-71.

Tigumiaq +kikpiñ = Tigumiagikpiñ. (I am carrying you).

Akunniqutit

When a verb stem that ends in 'q' (like *tigumiaq-*) and the postbase **+niaq** is added, **q + n >> ġn** , creating *Tigumiagñiaġikpiñ*.³¹

Tigumiaq +niaq +kikpiñ = Tigumiagñiaġikpiñ. (I will carry you).

Here is a summary of grammatical patterns learned in **Iłisaaksrat Aippaak-Piᅇayuat**:

“I to you” statements³²

After a vowel	Endings begin with 'g' as in +gikpiñ
After consonants t or k	Endings begin with 'k' as in +kikpiñ
After q	Endings begin with 'ġ' as in +ġikpiñ (drop q)

“I to you” future statements³³ (adding +niaq)

After a vowel	no changes , '+niaq' is directly added to stem
After t	t changes to an n preceding '+niaq'
After k	k changes to a g or ᅇ preceding '+niaq'
After q	q changes to a ġ preceding '+niaq'

Linguists call '**gikpiñ**', '**ġikpiñ**' and '**kikpiñ**' *allomorphs*, because each of these endings contain the same meaning with slightly different sounds.

³¹MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XVII, p.70-71.

³²MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XVII, p.70-71.

³³MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter II, p.15; Glossary p.261; MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XVII, p.70-71.

Flashcard Drill

Use flashcards to write out the following **akunnigutit**: **piqpagi-**, **igli-**, **kunik-**, **iqit-**, **tigumiaq-** and **nuniaq-**. Learners will pick up a card individually and the teacher will ask them to add 'I to you' endings.

Learners will pick up a card with **isut**: **piqpagi-**, **igli-**, **kunik-**, **iqit-**, **tigumiaq-** and **nuniaq-** and the teacher will ask them to add the postbase **+niaq** and the 'I to you' ending. Practice as long as learners need to get them right.

Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

Savaksraat (Homework)

Sing **Piqpagigikpiñ** to a family member every morning as soon as you wake up. Write the song on a piece of paper and hang it up in your bedroom. Practice future and present tense and future tense 'I to you' statements forms learned in class with a family member at home: **igli-**, **piqpagi-**, **kunik-**, **iqit-**, **tigumiaq-**, and **nuniaq-** with a family member at home. Make it a practice of calling family members by Iñupiaq terms using the vocative form. Write your own flashcards based on the 'flashcard drill' exercise and have a family member quiz you.

Practice the following songs:

Tigumiagikpiñ.	I am carrying you.
Tigumiapiallakikpiñ.	I am really carrying you.
Tigumiagniakikpiñ ataramik.	I will carry you often.
Nuniagikpiñ.	I am expressing endearment to you.
Nuniapiallakikpiñ.	I am really expressing endearment to you.
Nuniagniakikpiñ ataramik.	I will express endearment to you often.

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

In the **savaksraat** (homework), you will practice forming the postbase **-piallak** with the stems **iqit-** and **kunik-**. The postbase **-piallak**³⁴ has a minus sign, which means that postbase is added to the stem after deletion of the stem-final consonant:

³⁴MacLean (2014) p.589.

Tigumiaq-

tigumiaq -piallak = **tigumiapiallak-** (notice that the 'q' in tigumiaq- deletes)

Tigumiaq -piallak +kikpiñ = tigumiapiallakkikpiñ. (I am really holding you.)

Nuniaq-

nuniaq -piallak = **nuniapiallak-** (notice that the final 'k' in kunik- deletes)

nuniaq -piallak +kikpiñ = nuniapiallakkikpiñ. (I am really expressing endearment to you.)

Iᓵsaaksrat Tallimaat: Iqiiqqiñ? (Are you awake?)

Review *Nuniagikpiñ* and *Tigumiagikpiñ atuutik* together.

Review immersion terms: *uvaptun*, *sunā*, *apiqsruvsaanna*, *ikayunna*

Atuqta! Let's sing!

Atuun: Iqiiqqiñ?³⁵

Iqiiqqiñ? Iqiiqqiñ?

Are you awake? Are you awake?

Iñunuluuᅇ.

Dear little one.

Aarigaa, aarigaa iqiiqsimarutin.

It's good, it's good that you woke up.

Iqii!luataqqiñ?

Did you wake up well?

Makkatqiglakpiñ ai?

Let me change your diaper ok?

The teacher will sing the song three times to allow learners to get used to the sounds and rhythm of the song. Next, the teacher will say in Iñupiatun “**uvaptun**” (do like me or repeat after me), after each line, the learners will be tasked to repeat the lines one by one. Go as slow as the learners need to correctly pronounce each word.

Manᅇuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniᅇutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Iqiiq- 'to awaken'		+piñ 'you' (question)	Iqiiqqiñ? 'Did you awaken?'
Iñunuluk- 'little person'		+ᅇ 'my dear'	Iñunuluuᅇ. 'My dear one.'
Iqiiq- 'to awaken'	ᅇsima 'for the speaker to realize that one has V-ed, is V-ing, or is V'	+rutin 'you' (statement)	Iqiiqsimarutin. 'It is evident that you awakened.'
Iqiiq- 'to awaken'	-lluataq 'to V very well'	+piñ 'you' (question)	Iqii!luataqqiñ? 'Did you wake up well?'
Makkak- 'diaper'	-tqik- 'to change'	+lakpiñ 'let me V to you' (command)	Makkatqiglakpiñ. 'Let me change your diaper.'

³⁵Ronald Aniqsuaq Brower, personal communication, March 30, 2021.

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunnigutit

The postbase **-lluataq**³⁶ has a minus sign preceding it, which means the stem final consonant is deleted before the postbase is added.

Iqiiq -!luataq³⁷ +piñ = Iqii!luataqpiñ? (Did you wake up well?)

The postbase **ᐸsima**³⁸ has a minus plus sign (ᐸ), which means that only the stem final consonant 't' is deleted. Since iqiiq- ends in a 'q', it remains.

Iqiiq ᐸsima +rutin = Iqiiqsimarutin. (It seems that you are waking up).

Isut

"You" questions with verb stems that end in a consonant³⁹ **+piñ?**

Iqiiq +piñ = iqiiqpiñ? (Are you awake?).

"You" statements with verb stems that contain a semi-final vowel cluster⁴⁰ **+sutin.**

Iqiiq +tutin = Iqiiqsutin. (You are awake).

"you" statements with verbs stems or postbases that end in a vowel⁴¹ **+rutin.**

Iqiiq ᐸsima +rutin = Iqiiqsimarutin. (It seems that you are awake).

³⁶MacLean (2014) p.518.

³⁷the 'l' in **iqii!luataqpiñ** palatalize to '!l' because the vowel cluster in 'iqiiq' creates an environment where palatalization occurs. Other vowel clusters 'ai' and 'ui' also trigger palatalization (MacLean, personal communication, May 10, 2021).

³⁸MacLean (2014) p.647.

³⁹MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV

⁴⁰MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV

⁴¹MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunniᅇutit**, and **isut**.

iqiiq	-lluataq	+piñ
	ᅇsima	+rutin
		+sutin

Have learners pick from the **akunniᅇutit** and **isut** groups to form a sentence. Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

*Savaksraat: teach the **Iqiiᅇpiñ atuun** to a family member. Sing it before the **Piqᅇagigikᅇiñ atuun** in the morning. Write it on a piece of paper and stick it on the wall if you find yourself forgetting it. Write your own flashcards based on the 'flashcard drill' exercise and have a family member quiz you.*

Iḷisaaksrat Itchaksraat: Iqiiqsutin (You are awake)

Review the *Iqiiqpiñ atuun*

Atuqta! Let's sing!

While Iḷisaaksraat Tallimaat focused on “you” question forms, we will practice “you” statement forms. The teacher will act out the following script three times in front of learners. Using the **Iqiiqpiñ** atuun as a foundation, learners will practice this script with their own dolls. The dolls can be placed in a makeshift crib or blanket.

Iqiiqsutin iñuḷuluuḡ. You are awake my dear little one.

Aarigaa iqiiqsimarutin. It's good to see that you woke up.

iqiiḷuataqtutin. You are waking up well.

Makkatqiglakpiñ ai. Let me change your diaper ok.

Next, the teacher will introduce “I” statement forms. The teacher will model the questions while an assistant answers the questions affirmatively. Next, learners will gather in a circle and practice asking and answering questions using the verbs used in the conversation.

Iqiiqpiñ? Are you waking up?

Ii, iqiiqsuḡa. Yes, I am waking up.

Iqiiqsimaviñ? Are you evidently awake?

Ii, iqiiqsimaruḡa. Yes, I am evidently awake.

Iqiiḷuataqpiñ? Did you wake up well?

Ii, iqiiḷuataqtuḡa. Yes, I am waking up well.

Manḡuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniḡutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Iqiiq- 'to awaken'		+sutin 'you'	Iqiiqsutin. 'You are awake.'

Manġuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniġutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Iqiiq- 'to awaken'	± sima 'for the speaker to realize that one has V-ed, is V-ing, or is V'	+rutin 'you'	Iqiiqsimarutin. 'It seems that you are awake.'
Iqiiq- 'to awaken'	-lluataq 'to V very well'	+tutin 'you'	Iqii!luataqtutin. 'You are waking up well.'
Iqiiq- 'to awaken'		+suġa 'I'	Iqiiqsuġa. 'I am waking up'
Iqiiq- 'to awaken'	± sima 'for the speaker to realize that one has V-ed, is V-ing, or is V'	+ruġa 'I'	Iqiiqsimarutin. 'I am evidently awake.'
Iqiiq- 'to awaken'	-lluataq 'to V very well'	+tuġa 'I'	Iqii!luataqtuġa. 'I am waking up well.'

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunniġutit

The postbase “-lluataq”⁴² has a minus sign, which means the stem final consonant is deleted before the postbase is added.

Iqiiq +!luataq⁴³ +tutin = iqii!luataqtutin (You woke up well).

The postbase ±sima⁴⁴ has a minus plus sign, which means that only the stem final consonant 't' is deleted.

Iqiiq ±sima +rutin = iqiiqsimarutin (It is evident that you are awake).

Isut

⁴²MacLean (2014) p.518-519.

⁴³the 'l' in **iqii!luataqpiñ** palatalize to '!l' because the two 'ii' in 'iqiiq' creates an environment where palatalization occurs. Other vowel clusters 'ai' and 'ui' also trigger palatalization (Edna MacLean, personal communication, May 10, 2021).

⁴⁴MacLean (2014) p. 657.

“You” questions with verb stems that end in a consonant ⁴⁵ Iqiiq +piñ = Iqiiqpiñ? (Are you awake?).	+piñ?
“You” questions with postbases that end in a vowel ⁴⁶ Iqiiq ꝥsima +viñ = Iqiiqsimaviñ? (Is it evident that you are awake?).	+viñ?
“I” statements with verb stems that end in a semi-final consonant cluster ⁴⁷ Iqiiq +tuᅇa = Iqiiqsuᅇa. (I am awake).	+suᅇa.
“I” statements with postbases that end in a vowel ⁴⁸ Iqiiq ꝥsima +ruᅇa = Iqiiqsimaruᅇa. (It is evident that I am awake).	+ruᅇa.

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunnigutit**, and **isut**.

iqiiq-	-lluataq	+piñ or +viñ
	ꝥsima	+suᅇa or +ruᅇa

Have learners pick from the **akunnigutit** and **isut** group to form a sentence. Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

Savaksraat: Teach the **Iqiiqpiñ** atuun to a family member using both the question and statement versions in *Iᅇisaaksrat Talimaat & Itchaksraat*. Sing it instead of the **Piqpagigikpiñ** atuun in the morning. Write it on a piece of paper and stick it on the wall if you find yourself forgetting it. Write your own flashcards based on the flashcard drill exercise and have a family member quiz you.

⁴⁵MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.63.

⁴⁶MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.63.

⁴⁷MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.62.

⁴⁸MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.62.

Iḷisaaksrat Tallimat

Malguat: Makkatqiglakpiñ

(Let me change your diaper)

Review Iqiiqpiñ atuun.

Iñuuniagniq (Iñupiaq culture)

An Inuit elder Naqi Echo from Umanarjuaq, Canada describes how potty training occurred soon after a baby was born:

“In the old days we didn’t have diapers. What we would do was put the baby on our lap, put the feet together and hold the feet up. You would always hang on to their feet. They would start learning at a very young age. You would start immediately after they were born. Every time they would pee you would say, ‘Haa, haa’. The baby that you were holding would start understanding right away to go in the little can. The secret was to hold on to their bare feet with warm hands. Warmth would always make them pee faster.”⁴⁹

Since many Inuit families have adapted to modern times, most parents use store-bought or cloth diapers for their children.

In this lesson, we will review “you” questions, “you” statements, and “me to you” commands. The teacher will repeat these conversations three times so that learners become familiar with the sounds. Practice saying these phrases to your doll in a makeshift changing table with diapers, cloths, and dolls as props.

Makkatqiglakpiñ.	Let me change your diaper.
Makkatqinñiaḡikpiñ.	I will change your diaper.
Nalaḡiñ uvuḡa.	Lay down right here.
Aarigaa, makkatqiksutin.	Good, you have a clean diaper.

⁴⁹Ekho, Naqi and Uqsuralik Ottokie (2000). p.59

	Akunniġutit (postbases)	Akunniġutit 2 (postbases 2)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Makkaq- 'diaper'	-tqIk 'to change'		+lakpiñ 'let me to you'	Makkatqiglakpiñ. 'Let me change your diaper'
Makkaq- 'diaper'	-tqIk 'to change'	+niaq 'will'	+kikpiñ 'I to you'	Makkatqinñiaġikpiñ. 'I will change your diaper.'
Nala- 'to lie on one's side or back'			+ġiñ 'you'(command)	Nalaġiñ. 'You lay down.'
Makkaq- 'diaper'	-tqIk 'to change'		+sutin 'you'	Makkatqiksutin. 'You have a clean diaper.'

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunniġutit

The postbase **-tqIk**⁵⁰ has a minus sign, which means the stem final consonant is deleted before the postbase is added:

In the environment **k + I >> gI**, the 'k' changes to a 'g' before 'I'.⁵¹

Makkaq + tqIk + lakpiñ = Makkatqiglakpiñ. (Let me change your diaper).

You may have noticed from the tables that the postbase **-tqIk** is written with an uppercase I. In the tables and in the grammar lessons, the distinction between 'weak i' (lowercase) and 'strong I' (uppercase) will be shown for learning purposes. Modern Iñupiaq has three vowels: a, i, and u. Older Iñupiatun had a fourth vowel ə. As Iñupiaq evolved, the ə changed to an [I] in most cases. The former ə is 'weak i' and the original i is the 'strong I'. Both 'weak i' and 'strong I' sound the same, but 'strong I' causes a process called palatalization.⁵² You have also seen another form of palatalization in Iġisaaksrat Tallimaat & Itchaksraat when a semi-final vowel cluster also triggers palatalization (as in iqiiq-).

Since the postbase **-tqIk** 'to change' has a 'strong I' and ends in 'k' (or 'q'), the 't' in **-tutin**

⁵⁰MacLean, (2014) p.696.

⁵¹MacLean (1986), Chapter II, p.15.

⁵²MacLean (2014) p.xxiv.

changes to 's'.

Makkaq + tqik + tutin = makkatqiksutin. (You have a clean diaper, literally: you have a changed diaper).

Isut

“You” statements with postbases that end in ‘strong l’+ ‘k/q’.⁵³ **+sutin.**
makkaq -tqik +sutin (You have a clean diaper)

“You” statements with verb stems that end in a semi-final vowel cluster⁵⁴ **+sutin.**
lqiiq +tutin = lqiqsutin (You are awake).

“you” statements with postbases that end in a vowel⁵⁵ **+rutin.**
lqiiq ꝥsima +rutin = lqiqsimarutin. (It seems that you are awake).

“I” statements with verb stems that end in ‘strong l’ + ‘k/q’⁵⁶ **+sunja.**
Tauqslq +sunja = Tauqsiqsunja. (I am buying [something]).

“I” statements with verb stems that end in semi-final vowel cluster⁵⁷ **+sunja.**
lqiiq +tunja = lqiqsunja. (I am awake).

“I” statements with postbases that end in a vowel⁵⁸ **+runja.**
lqiiq ꝥsima +runja = lqiqsimarunja. (It is evident that I am awake).

⁵³MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.63.

⁵⁴MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.63.

⁵⁵MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.63.

⁵⁶MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.63.

⁵⁷MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.63.

⁵⁸MacLean (1986), First Year, Chapter IV, p.63.

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunnigutit**, and **isut**.

makkaq- **-tqik** **+sutin**
 +rutin
 +ruᅇa
 +suᅇa

Have learners pick from the **isut** group to form a sentence. Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

***Savaksraat:** Teach the “iqiᅇpiᅇ” atuun to a family member using both the question and statement versions in Iᅇisaaksrat Talimaat & Itchaksraat. Practice the Makkatqiglakpiᅇ script with a doll. Write it on a piece of paper and stick it on the wall if you find yourself forgetting it. Write your own flashcards based on the ‘flashcard drill’ exercise and have a family member quiz you.*

Iḷisaaksrat Tallimat

Piṇayuat: Miluktillakpiñ

(Let me nurse you)

The teacher will model these commands with their **iñuṇuuraq** (doll) several times. After, learners will also be encouraged to act out with these commands one at a time in a circle.

Miluktillakpiñ. Let me nurse you.

Qalaktillakpiñ. Let me burp you.

Next we will introduce the postbase +[s]uk “to want” and the endings for “when you” perform an action. The teacher will model both mini scripts below by acting with their doll. Learners are encouraged to act the first script while the teacher walks around and helps with pronunciation. Once the first script is learned, learners will move on to the second script.

Milugukpiñ? Do you want to nurse?

Aarigaa milukkaviñ. I’m glad that you’re nursing.

Nakuuqsipayaaqtutin. You feel a bit better.

Qalagukpiñ? Do you want to burp?

Aarigaa qalakkavin. I’m glad that you burped.

Nakuuqsipayaaqtutin. You feel a bit better.

Manṇuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniḡutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Miluk- ‘to nurse’	+ [s]uk ‘to want’	+piñ ‘you’ (question)	Milugukpiñ? ‘Do you want to nurse?’
Miluk- ‘to nurse’		+kaviñ ‘when you’	(Aarigaa) milukkaviñ. (It’s good) when you nurse.
Qalak- ‘to burp’	+ [s]uk ‘to want’	+piñ ‘you’ (question)	Qalagukpiñ? ‘Do you want to burp?’
Qalak- ‘to burp’		+kaviñ ‘when you’	(Aarigaa) qalakkaviñ. (It’s good) when you burp.’
Nakuuqsi- ‘to become well’	-payaaq ‘to be a bit more V’	+tutin ‘you’ statement	Nakuuqsipayaaqtutin. ‘You feel a bit better.’

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunnigutit

The postbase +[s]uk⁵⁹ is an irregular postbase. If a verb stem ends in a **vowel**, then the postbase remains +suk. If the verb stem ends in a ‘k’, the postbase becomes “+uk” and the ‘k’ changes to ‘g’. There are other variations of this postbase, but we will address them in later lessons.

Miluk +[s]uk + piñ? = Milugukpiñ? (Do you want to nurse?)
Qalak +[s]uk + piñ? = Qalagukpiñ? (Do you want to burp?)

The postbase -payaaq⁶⁰ has a minus sign, which means the stem final consonant is deleted before the postbase is added:

Nakuuqsi -payaaq +tutin = Nakuuqsipayaaqtutin. (You feel a bit better.)

Isut

“You” statements with postbases that end in a consonant **+tutin**

Nakuuqsi -payaaq +tutin = Nakuuqsipayaaqtutin. (You feel a bit better.)

The Consequential mood⁶¹ is most commonly expressed in English as “whenever” or “when”. To describe “when you” do something, the ending **+kaviñ** is attached to verb stems ending in ‘k’.

miluk +kaviñ = milukkaviñ. (When you nurse.)
qalak +kaviñ = qalakkaviñ. (When you burp.)

⁵⁹MacLean (2014) p.656-657.

⁶⁰MacLean (2014) p.587.

⁶¹ MacLean (1986), Second Year, Chapter XVIII, p.94.

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **manñuit**, **akunnigutit**, and **isut**.

miluk-	+ [s]uk	+ piñ
qalak-	- payaaq	+ tutin
nakuuqsi-		+ kaviñ

Have learners pick one card from the each group to form a sentence. Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

***Savaksraat:** Practice both scripts related to miluk- and qalak- using your doll. Create your own flashcards that were used in the flashcard drill. Ask a friend or familiar member to quiz you.*

Iḷisaaksrat Qulinngutailaṅat:

Sisugiaktiqtutin (Oh, you spit up)

The teacher will model this script three times with a doll. She will have a burping cloth as a prop and use it to wipe up the pretend 'spit up' from the doll. Then learners will be encouraged to act out the same script.

Sisugiaktiqtutin.

Oh, you spit up.

Aarigaa sisugiakkaviñ.

It's good that you spit up.

Nakuuqsipayaaqtutin.

You feel a bit better.

Nakuuqsipayaaqtutin sisugiakkaviñ.

You feel a bit better after you spit up.

Manḡuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniḡutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Sisugiak- 'to spit up'	ᐱᐅᐅᐅ 'to V quickly'	+tutin 'you' (question)	Sisugiaktiqtutin. 'Oh, you spit up.'
Sisugiak- 'to spit up'		+gaviñ 'when you'	(Aarigaa) sisugiakkaviñ. (It's good) when you spit up.
Nakuuqsi- 'to become well'	-payaaq 'to be a bit more V'	+tutin 'you' statement	Nakuuqsipayaaqtutin. 'You feel a bit better.'

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunniḡutit

The postbase ᐱᐅᐅᐅ⁶² has a minus-plus sign preceding it, which means that stem final consonant 't' is deleted. (Since *sisugiak-* ends in a 'k', it remains).

Sisugiak ᐱᐅᐅᐅ +tutin = Sisugiaktiqtutin. (You are spitting up.)

⁶²MacLean (2014) p.691.

The postbase -payaaq⁶³ has a minus sign, which means the stem final consonant is deleted before the postbase is added:

Nakuuqsi -payaaq +tutin = Nakuuqsipayaaqtutin. (You feel a bit better).

Isut

The Consequential mood⁶⁴ is most commonly expressed in English as “whenever” or “when”. To describe “when you” do something, the ending **+kavin** is used. When the stem **sisugiak-** is added to the ending **+kavin**, **k + k >> kk**, it results in **sisugiakkavin**.

sisugiak + kavin = sisugiakkaviñ. (When you spit up.)

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maññuit**, **akunnigutit**, and **isut**.

miluk-	+[s]uk	+piñ
qalak-	-payaaq	+tutin
nakuuqsi-	-tiq	+kaviñ
sisugiak-		+gaviñ

Have learners pick one card from the each group to form a sentence. Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

*Savaksraat: Practice both scripts related to **miluk-**, **qalak-**, **nakuuqsi-** and **sisugiaq-** using your doll. Create your own flashcards that were used in the flashcard drills from *Iłisaaksrat Tallimat Malguat*, *Tallimat Pijayuat*, and *Qulinñugutailañat*. Ask a friend or familiar member to quiz you.*

⁶³MacLean (2014) p.587.

⁶⁴MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XVIII, p.94.

Iḷisaaksrat Qullinṅugutaat: Ivvagnaqsiruuq (It's time to take a bath)

The teacher will model these commands with their doll several times using a makeshift bathtub and a towel. After, learners will also be encouraged to act out with these commands one at a time in a circle.

Ivvaqtuḡlakpiñ. Let me bathe you.
Imaiyaḡlakpiñ. Let me dry you.

Next we will review the postbase +[s]uk “to want” and the endings for “when you” perform an action. The teacher will model both mini scripts below by acting with their doll. Learners are encouraged to act the first script while the teacher walks around and helps with pronunciation.

Ivvaqtuḡukpiñ? Do you want to take a bath?
Annugaiyaḡniaḡikpiñ. I will undress you.
Aasii ikuniaḡikpiñ ivvavṅinmun. Now I will put you in the tub.
Niaqqiqiqqaḡniaḡikpiñ I will wash your hair first
Aasii iqagilugu timin. and then I will wash your body.
Naatpiñ? Are you done?

Manṅuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniḡutit (postbases)	Akunniḡutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Ivvaqtuq- ‘to bathe’	+ [s]uk ‘to want’		piñ ‘you’ (question)	Ivvaqtuḡukpiñ? ‘Do you want to bathe?’
Annugaiyaq- ‘to undress’	+niaq ‘will’		gikpiñ ‘I to you’	Annugaiyaḡniaḡikpiñ. ‘I am going to dress you.’
Iku- ‘to put them or it in a container or conveyance’	+niaq ‘will’		gikpiñ ‘I to you’	Ikuniaḡikpiñ (ivvavṅinmun). ‘I will put you (in the tub).’
Niaqqiqiqi- ‘to wash their hair’	±qqaq ‘to V first’	+niaq ‘will’	gikpiñ ‘I to you’	Niaqqiqiqqaḡniaḡikpiñ. ‘I will wash your hair first.’
Iqagi- ‘to wash them’			lugu ‘I to them’ sequential activity	Iqagilugu (timin) ‘Next, I will wash (your body).’

Manġuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniġutit (postbases)	Akunniġutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Naat -‘to finish’			piñ ‘you’ (question)	Naatpiñ? “Are you done?”

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunniġutit

The postbase +[s]uk⁶⁵ is an irregular postbase. If a verb stem ends in a vowel, then the postbase remains +suk. If the preceding postbase ends in a ‘q’, the postbase becomes +uk and the stem-final ‘q’ changes to ‘ġ’. There are other variations of this postbase, but we will address them in later lessons.

Ivvaqtuq + [s]uk + piñ? = Ivvaqtuġukpiñ? (Do you want to take a bath?).

The postbase ±qqaq⁶⁶ has a plus-minus sign, which means the stem final consonant is deleted (except t) before the postbase is added. ±qqaq is used to indicate that the subject is or was the first one to do the activity, or that the activity of _____ing is or was the first thing done before performing any other activity⁶⁷.

Niaqqiqi ±qqaq + niaq + gikpiñ = Niaqqiqqqaġniaġikpiñ. (First I will wash your hair).

Isut

Contemporative I verbs⁶⁸ can be used with the conjunction **aasii(ñ)** (and then) to describe an event that is continuous or connected series to event described in the main verb. The main verb is **niaqqiqi-** (to wash hair) which is the part of a series of events. The connected event is **iqaġi-** (to wash them or it).

Niaqqiqqqaġniaġikpiñ aasii iqaġilugu timin.

(First I will wash your hair and then I will wash your body).

⁶⁵MacLean (2014) p.656-657.

⁶⁶MacLean (2014) p.601.

⁶⁷MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XIV, p.11.

⁶⁸MacLean (1986), Second Year, Chapter XIV, p.1.

To show that **iqāgi-** is connected to the main verb, the ending **lugu** is used, which signifies that that ‘I am performing an action on it’ (I am washing the body).

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maṅṅuit**, **akunnigutit**, and **isut**.

ivvaqtuq-	+ [s]uk	+piñ
niaqqiqi-	±qaaq	+gikpiñ
iqāgi-	+niaq	+lugu
naat-		
iku-		

Have learners pick one card from the each group to form a sentence. Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

***Savaksraat:** Practice the conversation related to **ivvaqtuq-**, **niaqqiqi-**, **naat-** and **iqāgi-** using your doll. Create your own flashcards that were used in the flashcard drills from *Iḷisaaksrat Qulinṅugutaat*. Ask a friend or familiar member to quiz you.*

Iḷisaaksrat Aqulliat: Siqtuqignaqsiruuq (It's time for a nap)

The teacher will model these commands with an **iñuḡḡuuraq** (doll) several times using a makeshift bathtub and a towel. After, learners will also be encouraged to act out with these commands one at a time in a circle.

Ivvaqtuḡlakpiñ.	Let me bathe you.
Imaiyaḡlakpiñ.	Let me dry you.
Siqquiñ.	Fall asleep.

Next, we will continue practicing the postbase +[s]uk “to want” and the endings for “when you” perform an action. The teacher will model the mini script below by acting with their doll. Learners are encouraged to act the first script while the teacher walks around and helps with pronunciation.

Aarigaa ivvaqtuḡavin.	I am glad you bathed.
Imaiyaḡniaḡikpiñ.	I will dry you.
Annugaaqtuḡniaḡikpiñ.	I am going to dress you.
Uiñḡaqqiñ? Siqtuqigukpiñ?	Are you tired? Do you want to take a nap?

Manḡuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunnigutit (postbases)	Akunnigutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Ivvaqtuq- ‘to bathe’	+ [s]uk ‘to want’		piñ ‘you’ (question)	Ivvaqtuḡukpiñ? ‘Do you want to bathe?’
Annugaiyaq- ‘to undress’	+niaq ‘will’		gikpiñ ‘I to you’	Annugaiyaḡniaḡikpiñ. ‘I am going to dress you.’
Iku- ‘to put them or it in a container or conveyance’	+niaq ‘will’		gikpiñ ‘I to you’	Ikuniaḡikpiñ (ivvagviḡmun). ‘I will put you (in the tub).’
Niaqqiqi- ‘to wash their hair’	±qqaq ‘to V first’	+niaq ‘will’	gikpiñ ‘I to you’	Niaqqiqiqaḡniaḡikpiñ. ‘I will wash your hair first.’
Iqaḡi- ‘to wash them’			lugu ‘I to them’ sequential activity	Iqaḡilugu (timin). ‘Next, I will wash (your body).’

Maᅇᅇuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunnigutit (postbases)	Akunnigutit (postbases)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Naat -‘to finish’			piñ ‘you’ (question)	Naatpiñ? “Are you done?”

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunnigutit

The postbase +[s]uk⁶⁹ is an irregular postbase. If a verb stem ends in a **vowel**, then the postbase remains +suk. If the verb stem ends in a **‘k’**, the postbase becomes “+uk” and the **‘k’** changes to **‘g’**. There are other variations of this postbase, but we will address them in later lessons.

Siqutqik +[s]uk +piñ? = Siqutqigukpiñ? (Do you want to spit up?).

Annugaaq is the noun form for ‘clothing’. **Annugaaq-** can also serve as a verb form for ‘dressing her/him/it’. The verb form **annugaaq** can also add the post base +tuq, forming **annugaaqtuq-** which also means ‘to dress oneself, or to dress her/him/it. The postbase +tuq⁷⁰ is a versatile postbase, which can mean ‘to wear, eat, chew, use, consume, or experience N or V-ing’. In this case, we are talking about wearing clothing.

Annugaaqtuq +niaq + gikpiñ = Annugaatuᅇniaᅇikpiñ. (I am going to change your clothes).

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunnigutit**, and **isut**.

siqutqik-	+ [s]uk	+piñ
imaiyaq-	+niaq	+gikpiñ or +ᅇikpiñ
annugaaqtuq-		+gaviñ
uiñᅇaq-		

⁶⁹MacLean (2014) p.656-657.

⁷⁰MacLean (2014) p.710.

Have learners pick one card from the each group to form a sentence. Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

Savaksraat: Practice the conversation related to **siqutqik-**, **imaiyaq-**, **anuugaat-** and **uiñgaq-** using your doll. Create your own flashcards that were used in the flashcard drills from *Iłisaaksrat Quliñuğutaat* and *Aqulliat*. Ask a friend or familiar member to quiz you.

Unit 1 Overview

Atiqausit (nouns)

aaka	mom
aapa	dad
aippaq	partner
iġniq	son
iġilgauraq	baby
iġamaaq	friend
iñuk	person, spirit
miġliqtuuraq	child
nuliaq	wife
panik	daughter
qitungaq	offspring, child
ui	husband

Vocative form

aakaan	my dear mom
aapaan	my dear dad
aippaan	my dear partner
iġñiin	my dear son
iġilguraan	my dear baby
iġamaan	my dear child (another persons')
iñuun	my dear one, spirit
miġliqtuuraan	my dear child
nuliaan	my dear wife
paniin	my dear daughter
qitungaan	my dear child (your own child)
uiñ	my dear husband

Maññuit (Verb or noun stems)

annuġaat-	clothing
annugaiyaaq-	to undress
iku-	to place them or it in a container or conveyance
igliġi-	to cuddle or to express endearment; to find somebody so cute, looks huggable
imaiyaq-	to dry
iqaġi-	to wash them or it (face, hands, or body)
iqit-	to hug
ivvaqtuq-	to bathe
kunik-	to kiss
makkak-	diaper
miluk-	to nurse
naat-	to finish
nakuuqsi-	to feel better
niaqqiqi-	to wash their hair
nuniaq-	to express affection or endearment
piqpagi-	to love
qalak-	to burp
qunu-	to talk cooingly
siqut-	to fall asleep
sisugiaq-	to spit up
tigumiaq-	to carry
uiñġaq-	to be tired

Akunnigutit (Postbases)

-lluataq	to V well
+niaq	will
-piallak	truly, really
-payaaq	to be a bit more V

±qqaq	to V first
±sima	to be made evident, to notice
+ [s]uk	to want (after vowel)
(guk)	to want (after k)
(ġuk)	to want (after q)
(chuk)	to want (after strong l)
±tiq	to V quickly
+tuq	to wear, eat, chew, use, consume, or experience N or V-ing

Isut (Endings)

+kikpiñ	I to you (after k or t)
+gikpiñ	I to you (after vowel)
+ġikpiñ	I to you (after q)
+piñ	you (question, after consonant)
+viñ	you (question, after vowel)
+tutin	you (statement, after consonant)
+rutin	you (statement, after vowel)
+sutin	you (statement, after strong l and k/q)
+chutin	you (statement, after strong l and t)
+tuᶇa	I (statement, after consonant)
+ruᶇa	I (statement, after vowel)
+suᶇa	I (statement, following strong l and k/q)
+chuᶇa	I (statement, following strong l and t)
+glakpiñ	me to you (command, after vowel or k)
+ġlakpiñ	me to you (command, after q)
+kaviñ	when you (after t or k)
+gaviñ	when you (after g)
+ġaviñ	when you (after q)
+lagu	and then I V'd 'them or it'

Unit 2: Savaqatiguuruguk!

(We always work together!)

Developmental Stage: Birth to six months

- Parents will continue strengthening their bond with their child. Prior to the formal lesson, there will be a page of endearment phrases that parents can reference.
- Parents will also slowly introduce immediate family and extended family to their baby.
- Parents will learn how to talk to their partner or family member about nursing, bottle-feeding, burping, diaper changing, bathing the baby, and putting the baby to sleep.
- Content will mainly be taught through songs, daily routines, and hands on activities.

Qunnun

(Expressions to talk lovingly/cooingly to a baby)

Here are a few Iñupiatun phrases that can be used to “qunu-“ babies:

Uvamniitin.	Stay by me.
Aattai.	Cute.
Aattai piksuaqtutin.	You are more and more adorable.
Aattaiq sipiksuaqtutin.	You are becoming more and more adorable.
Aaññaᅇᅇa.	Oh how cute; adorable
Aaññaᅇᅇarutin.	You are so cute. You are so adorable.
Piqpagigikpiñ.	I love you dearly.
Nakuagigikpiñ.	I love you or I like you.
Piqpagi pi allaktutin.	I really love you dearly.
Nakuagi pi allaktutin.	I really love you, I really like you.
Iglignaqpaktutin uvamnun. /Igligiqpakkikpiñ.	You are so precious to me.
Iglignaqpaktutin uvaptignun. /Igligiqpakkiptigiñ.	You are so precious to us.
Iglignapi allaktutin.	You are completely precious.
Igliᅇai! aiᅇikpiñ.	I can't stop feeling that you are so precious.
Kuniᅇai! aiᅇikpiñ.	I can't stop kissing you.
Piqᅇaiᅇai! aiᅇikpiñ.	I can't stop loving you.

Iᓵsaaksraq Sivulliq: Iᓵauraat I (Immediate family I)

Review *Kunikkikpiñ* and *Iqiiqpiñ* atuutik together.

Review immersion terms: *uvaptun*, *sunā*, *apiqsruᓂsaᓇᓇᓇ*, *ikayunᓇ*

Prior to this lesson, the teacher will ask learners to bring pictures of their families to class. If they are unable to bring pictures, the teacher will provide sample pictures of a family.

Iñuuniāᓇniq (Iñupiaq culture)

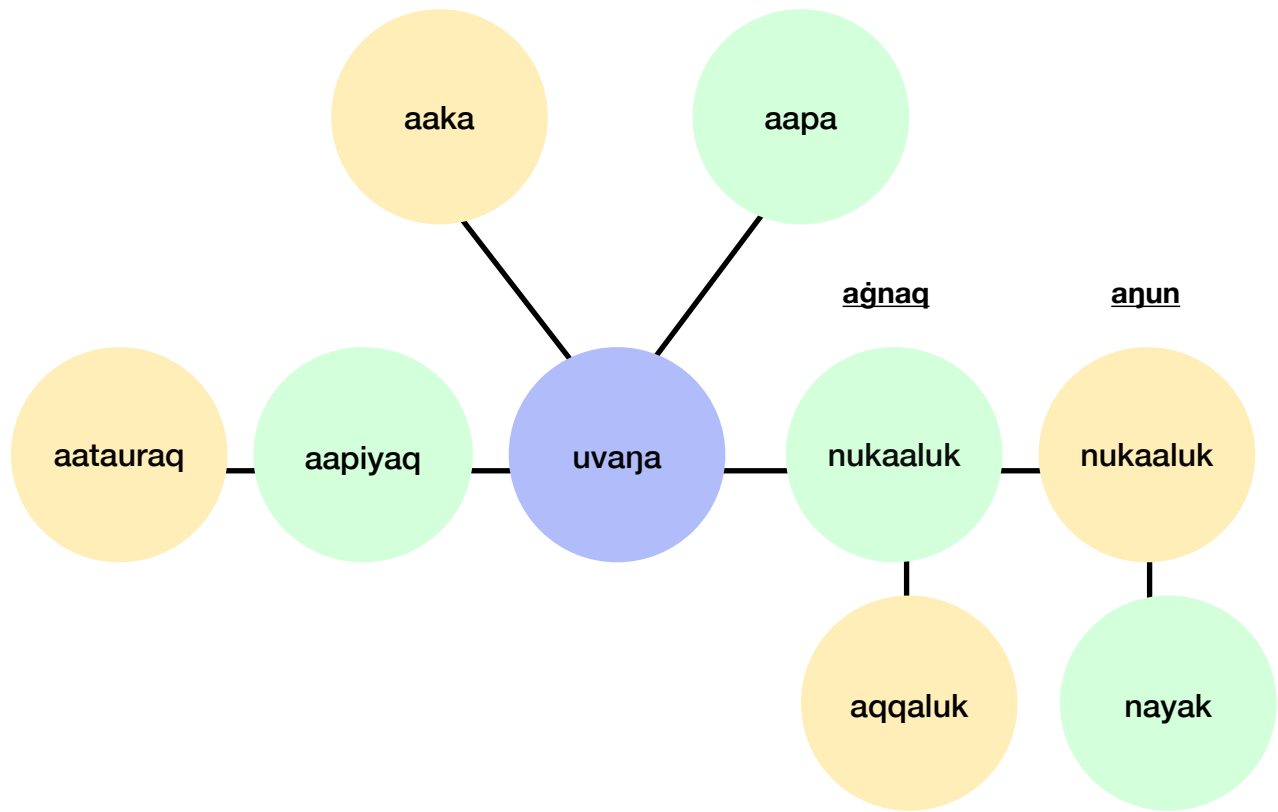
After a baby is born, her parents will likely want to introduce the baby to her immediate family or *iᓵauraat*. Inuit almost never introduced the baby to relatives outside the immediate family or household family to protect the immunity of the newborn child⁷¹. Long ago, parents who introduced their babies to family who lived outside their household did not live as long. Traditionally, the mother was given at least a month to focus solely on the newborn baby before introducing others.⁷² In Shishmaref, the mother stayed in bed for a month after birth, while female relatives of the mother (sisters, aunts, mothers, grandmothers) cared for the newborn and the newborn's mother for a whole month. The new mother's only job was to nurse the child, recover from childbirth, and develop a strong bond with her newborn.⁷³

Using the Greymorning method, pictures of each family member will be identified with the proper term in Iñupiaq. The teacher and all learners will bring a picture(s) of their own family and introduce her *iᓵauraat* using the possessive term 'my'. While presenting, it is important to keep the picture of the family member closer to the teacher in order to properly represent the demonstrative pronoun 'una'. After the teacher covers each family member, learners will gather in a circle. Learners will introduce their family members to the class using the possessive term 'my'. In order to use 'una' properly, learners must be holding the photo as they point to family members.

⁷¹Brower, Ronald Aniqsuaq (April 2021) personal communication.

⁷²Brower, Annie Hopson (April 2021) personal communication.

⁷³Nayokpuk, Karla Agimuaq (April 2019) personal communication.



Tuᅇluᅇautit⁷⁴

Kinship terms

Una aakaga.	This one is my mother.
Una aapaga.	This one is my father.
Una aatauraᅇa.	This one is my older sister.
Una aapiyaᅇa.	This one is my older brother.
Una uvaᅇa.	This one is me.
Una nukaaluga.	This one is my younger sibling (of same gender).
Una aqqaluga.	This one is my younger brother (of a girl).
Una nayaᅇa.	This one is my sister (of a boy).

⁷⁴MacLean, Edna (2014) P.811-812 of print version.

Once each person feels comfortable with introducing their **ilauraat**, the teacher will ask if learners want to introduce their family in front of the class.

If learners master the exercise quickly, challenge them to form the vocative versions of these terms: **aakaan**, **aapaan**, **aatauraan**, **aapiyaan**, **nukaaluun**, **nayaan**, and **aqqaluun**.⁷⁵

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Demonstrative pronouns⁷⁶

In English, demonstrative pronouns are limited to “this” (near the speaker) and “that” (not near the speaker). In Iñupiaq, there are many more specific pronouns that show the position of a person, animal, thing or area in relation to the speaker and the listener. In this lesson, we will only focus on two.

Una -“this” or a visible object closer to you than the listener.

Taamna -“that one there” or reference to an object that is closer to the listener than you.

Demonstrative pronouns highlight the preciseness of Iñupiaq and the deep connection between language and land for the Iñupiat. MacLean writes that:

Demonstratives are used to express ‘distinctions of references, particularly with respect to location’ spatially and temporally. They form an elaborate system of reference in the Iñupiaq language. They indicate a person, an animal, an object or an area by reference to its position with respect to the speaker and the addressee in the concept of ‘downness’ represented by a body of water, a river or a downslope in the outside environs, or the door inside a dwelling....(MacLean, *Inupiaq Narratives*, p. 98-99). The abundant use of demonstratives creates the sensation that has prompted numerous Iñupiat to say that listening to an **unipkaa**q [legend, story] is like watching a movie (MacLean 2004).

⁷⁵MacLean (2014) p. 812 of print version.

⁷⁶MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XIII

Iḷisaaksraak Aippaak: Iḷauraat II (Immediate family II)

Review immersion terms: *uvaptun, suna, apiqsruvsaanna, ikayunna*

Iḷuuniagniq (Iḷupiaq culture)

For Iḷupiat, kinship is defined by familial and ancestral ties by blood, marriage, or adoption. A **tiguaq** (adopted child) is treated as a ‘blood’ related member of the adoptive family. However, the **tiguaq** still maintains connections to his biological family. A **tiguaq** has two sets of parents: adoptive and biological parents.⁷⁸ Kinship ties in traditional Iḷupiat communities were paramount⁷⁹ Kinship ties often defined one’s membership in a hunting crew. Most traditional crews were composed of **aniqatit** (siblings), their sibling's spouses, and their respective children.⁸⁰

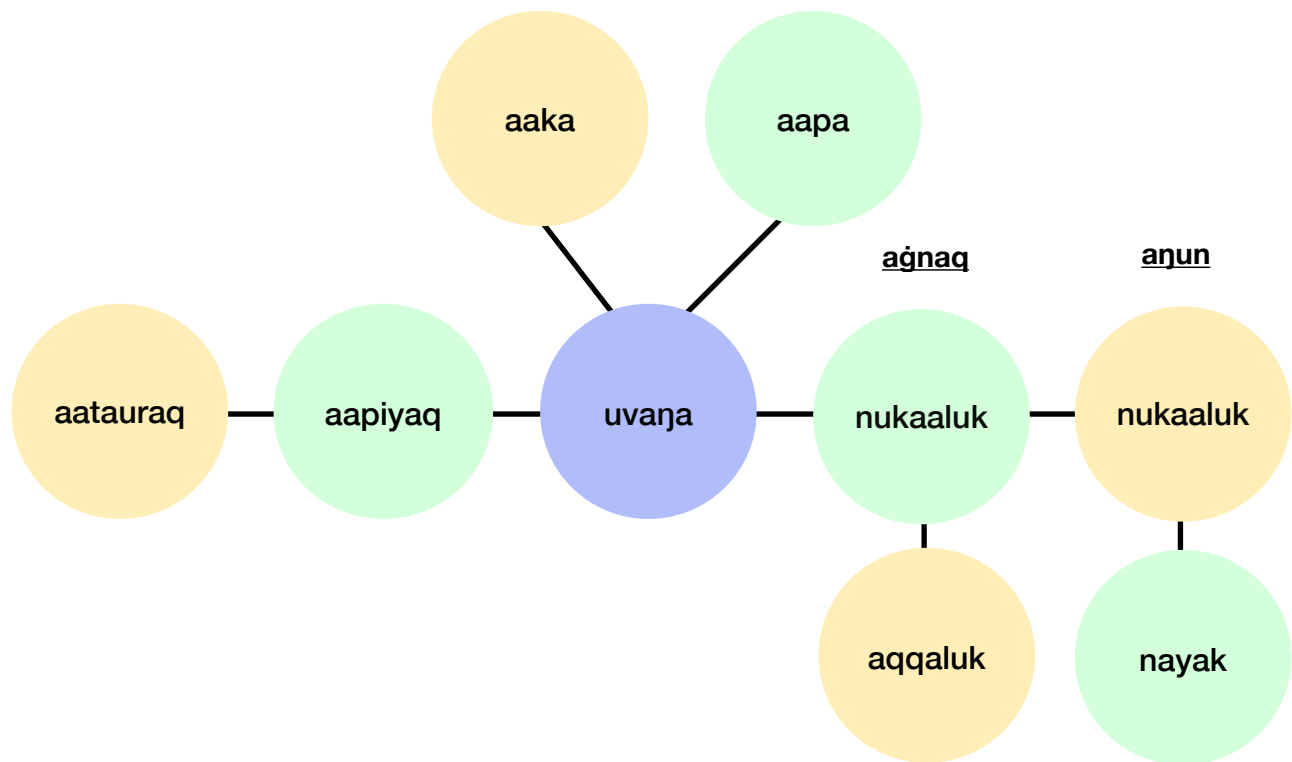
Using the *Greymorning* method, pictures of each family member will be identified with the proper term in Iḷupiaq. The teacher and all learners will bring the same picture of their family to class. However, an assistant will ask who is the in the picture that the teacher is holding using the demonstrative pronoun: ‘**Taamna ____?**’. While presenting, it is important to keep the picture of the family member closer to the teacher (and away from the assistant) in order to properly represent the demonstrative pronoun ‘**taamna**’.

The assistant will also use the possessive pronoun ‘your’: ‘**Taamna aakan?**’ (Is that one your mother?). The teacher will respond, ‘**Ii, una aakaga.**’ (This one is my mother). After the assistant asks about each **iḷauraq** (immediate family member) and the teacher responds, learners will mirror the exercise with a partner.

⁷⁸MacLean (2014) p.1171 of online version.

⁷⁹Burch (1975) p.22-24; MacLean (2014) p.1171 of online version.

⁸⁰Burch (1975) p.22-24; MacLean (2014) p.1171 of online version.



Tuᅇluᅇautit⁸¹

Kinship terms

Taamna aakan?

That one is your mother?

Taamna aapan?

That one is your father?

Taamna aatauran?

That one is your older sister?

Taamna aapiyan?

That one is your older brother?

Taamna iᅇviᅇ?

That one is you?

Taamna nukaaluiᅇ?

That one is your same gender younger sibling?

Taamna nayaiᅇ?

That one is your younger brother (of woman)?

Taamna aqqaluiᅇ?

That one is your younger sister (or man)?

Next, learners will be asked to pair up with someone to model the interaction that the

⁸¹MacLean (2014) p.811-812 of print version.

assistant and teacher shared previously. Once all partners have had adequate time to practice, ask a few pairs if they want to present their families in front of the class.

Review the vocative versions of these terms: **aakaan**, **aapaan**, **aatauraan**, **aapiyaan**, **nukaaluun**, **nayaan**, and **aqqaluun**.⁸²

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Demonstrative pronouns⁸³

In English, demonstrative pronouns are limited to “this” (near the speaker) and “that” (not near the speaker). In Iñupiaq, there are hundreds of specific pronouns that show the position of a person, animal, thing or area in relation to the speaker and the listener.

Una -“this” or a visible object closer to you than the listener.

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Demonstrative pronouns highlight the preciseness of Iñupiaq and the deep connection between language and land for the Iñupiat. MacLean writes that:

Demonstratives are used to express ‘distinctions of references, particularly with respect to location’ spatially and temporally. They form an elaborate system of reference in the Iñupiaq language. They indicate a person, an animal, an object or an area by reference to its position with respect to the speaker and the addressee in the concept of ‘downness’ represented by a body of water, a river or a downslope in the outside environs, or the door inside a dwelling....(MacLean, *Inupiaq Narratives*, p. 98-99). The abundant use of demonstratives creates the sensation that has prompted numerous Iñupiat to say that listening to an **unipkaa**q [legend, story] is like watching a movie (MacLean 2004).

Possession⁸⁴

In Iñupiaq, to express possession of “your” singular family member, an ‘-n’ is added on to the end of the noun as in **aaka(n)** and **aapa(n)**.

If the noun ends in a strong consonant (**k** or **Q**) the ending ‘:ln’ is used as in **nukaalu(iñ)**,

⁸²MacLean (2014) p. 812 of print version.

⁸³ MacLean (1986) Second Year, Chapter XIII

⁸⁴MacLean, 1986, First Year, Chapter X, p.164.

aqqalu(iñ), and naya(iñ).

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **manñuit** and **isut**.

aaka	-ga, -ga (my)
aapa	-n, -In (your)
aatauraq	
aapiyaq	
nukaaluk	
aqqaluk	
nayak	

Have learners pick one card from the each group to form a sentence and form either the first person or second person possessive.

***Savaksraat:** Sing **Piqpagigikpiñ** to a family member every morning as soon as you wake up. Find a family photo and introduce **ilauraat** to your child or partner using **Iñupiaq**. Write possessive forms for 'your' and 'my' family member(s) on a piece of paper and tape them to the wall as a reminder.*

Iḷisaksraat Piṇayuat: Iḷagiit

(Extended Family)

Review **Iqitkikpiñ** atuun together

Iñuuniagniq (Iñupiaq culture)

For the Iñupiaq, kinship is a social system whereby individuals have ancestral ties by blood, marriage, or adoption. Before the influence of non-Iñupiat, members of a kinship system were expected to cooperate for the greater good of the extended family, or **iḷagiit**. The **Iḷagiit** provided each member with the basic human needs of food, shelter, and companionship. The Iñupiaq term **iḷagiit** “those involved in a relationship where each is/has a part” establishes how each person and her/his role is vital to the maintenance of the **iḷagiit**.⁸⁵

In this lesson, you might notice that the term for **amau** can be defined as both great-grandparent and great-grandchild. This practice represents the rebirth of succeeding generations, and the link that binds them together.⁸⁶

The teacher will introduce her **iḷagiit** to the class by using a personal picture, emphasizing the family terms listed below. In contrast with the last lesson, the pictures should be introduced closer to the learners (listeners) to emphasize the term ‘**taamna**’. Next, she will ask learners to go around in a circle and introduce their family members to the class using the possessive term “my”.

The assistant will ask: ‘**Kiña taamna?**’ (Who is that one?). The teacher will respond, ‘**Taamna amauga.**’ (This one is my great-grandparent or great-grandchild). The picture of the extended family member will be held by the teacher. After the assistant asks about each extended family member and the teacher responds, learners will mirror the exercise with a partner.

Tuḷuḡautit⁸⁷

Kiña taamna?

Kinship terms

Who is that one?

Una amauga.

This one is my great-grandparent (or great-grandchild)

Una ataataga.

This one is my grandpa (or great uncle).

⁸⁵MacLean (2014). P.810 of print version.

⁸⁶MacLean, (2014). P. 810

⁸⁷MacLean, (2014). Page 811-812.

Una aanaga. This one is my grandma (or great aunt).

Una atchaga. This one is my aunt.

Una aᅇaga. This one is my uncle.

The teacher will ask: ‘**Kiña una?**’ (Who is this one?). The assistant will respond, ‘**Taamna amaun.**’ (This one is your great-grandparent or great-grandchild). The picture of the extended family member will be held by the teacher. After the assistant asks about each extended family member and the teacher responds, learners will mirror the exercise with a partner.

Tuᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ⁸⁸

Kinship terms

Kiña una?

Who is this one?

Taamna amaun. That one is your great-grandparent (or great grandchild)

Taamna ataatan. That one is your grandpa (or great uncle).

Taamna aanan. That one is your grandma (or great aunt).

Taamna atchaiñ. That one is your aunt.

Taamna aᅇaiñ. That one is your uncle.

Emphasize the difference between the sound ‘**n**’ and ‘**ᅇ**’ in “**aana**” and “**aᅇa**”.

If students master these terms quickly, challenge them to form the vocative versions of these terms: **amaᅇᅇ**, **ataataᅇᅇ**, **aanaᅇᅇ**, **atchaᅇᅇ**, and **aᅇaᅇᅇ**.⁸⁹

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maᅇᅇᅇᅇ** and **isut**.

amau -ga, -ᅇa

ataata -n, -In

aana

atchak

aᅇak

⁸⁸MacLean, Edna Ahgeak. 2014. Iᅇupiatun Uᅇaluit Taniktun Sivuniᅇᅇ. Page 811-812 of print version.

⁸⁹MacLean, Edna Ahgeak. 2014. Iᅇupiatun Uᅇaluit Taniktun Sivuniᅇᅇ. Page 812 of print version.

Have learners pick one card from the each group to form a sentence and form either the first person or second person possessive.

Savaksraat: Sing ***Piqpagigikpiñ*** to a family member every morning as soon as you wake up. Find a family photo and introduce ***ilaġiit*** to your child or partner using *Iñupiaq*. Write possessive forms for 'your' and 'my' extended family member(s) on a piece of paper and tape them to the wall as a reminder.

Iḷisaaksrat Sisamaat: Iñupiaqsiñit (Iñupiat names)

Review immersion terms: *uvaptun, suna, apiqsruvsaḡḡa, ikayunḡa*

Kiña una? Atuun

Kiña una iñuunuluraq?	Who is this little one?
Kiña una? Una_____.	Who is this one? This one is_____.
Sumi itpa_____?	Where is_____?
Suva_____?	What is_____ doing?
Qanuq itpa_____?	How is_____?

This song encourages the parent to repeat the child's Iñupiaq name alongside question words.

Iñuuniḡniq (Iñupiaq culture)

Having an **atiq** or namesake in Iñupiaq helps a child form a strong identity. Sometimes, after a baby is born, her family will try to decipher her behavior or tendencies before giving her a name. The family decides who should give the child an **atiq**, usually it is an elderly relative. As the child grows, her relatives notice that she has carried on similar characteristics or skills as her **atiq**. Relatives will help her develop these characteristics or skills as she grows older. The child learns to think of 'herself' as having multiple 'selves' that intersect with her namesake or namesakes. Eventually, the person may ask herself how her **atiq** behaved or lived as though they are the same person⁹⁰:

Qanuq pisuuvik taimani?

How did I behave back then?

Qanuq iñuusuvik taimani?

How did I live back then?

These type of questions illustrate the strong connection a person may have with his or her **atiq**. In Iñupiaq culture, one can be named after a man even if the person is female. Alternately, one can be named after a woman even if the person is male.

To begin the lesson, the teacher and an assistant will model conversation I below. Next, the class will go around in a circle asking the person to the left "**Kiña atqiñ?**". After responding

⁹⁰ Brower, Ronald Aniqsuaq (March 2021) personal communication.

“**Atiġa**_____” he will ask the person to the left of him “**Kiña atqiñ?**”, until everyone has had a chance to ask and answer the question.

i.

Kiña atqiñ? Who is your namesake?

Atiġa_____. My namesake is_____.

In the next lesson, we will learn how to ask someone what their siblings Iñupiaq name is by using the verb stem **atiqaq-** (to have the name of). The teacher and assistant will model conversation II with corresponding photos, then learners will try the same exercise with a partner. After learners have had plenty of practice, move on to conversation III in the same manner.

ii. *First we will concentrate on the older siblings:*

Kimik aatauran atiqaqpa? Who is your older sister named after?

____**mik atiqaqtuq aatauraġa.** My older sister is named after_____.

Kimik aapiyan atiqaqpa? Who is your older brother named after?

____**mik atiqaqtuq aapiyaġa.** My older brother is named after_____.

iii. *Now, we will concentrate on the younger siblings.*

Kimik nukaaluiñ atiqaqpa? Who is your younger sibling (of same gender) named after?

____**mik atiqaqtuq nukaaluga.** My younger sibling (of same gender) is named after_____.

Kimik aqqaluiñ atiqaqpa? Who is your younger brother (of a girl) named after?

____**mik atiqaqtuq aqqaluga.** My younger brother (of a girl) is named after_____.

Kimik nayaiñ atiqaqpa? Who is your younger sister (of a boy) named after?

____**mik atiqaqtuq nayaga.** My younger sister (of a boy) is named after_____.

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

So far, all nouns we have used been in the *absolute case*. For example, in **kiña atqiñ?** (what is your name?), the subject pronoun is in the *absolute*. In contrast, in **kimik aqqaluiñ atiqaqpa?** (What is your younger brother's name?), the pronoun **kimik** (who) is not in the absolute case. When an intransitive verb (**atiqaq-**) refers to an object pronoun, it must be in the modalis case. The modalis case is formed by adding ÷mik.

Kimik nayaiñ atiqaqpa? Who is your younger sister (of a boy) named after?

Iqilanmik nayaiñ atiqaqtuq. My younger sister (of a boy) is named after Iqilan.

Isut

“He, she, it” questions with stems that end in a consonant.⁹¹ **+pa?**

Atiqaq +pa (what name does he have?)

“He, she, it” statements with stems that end in a consonant⁹² **+tuq.**

Atiqaq +tuq = Atiqaqtuq (He has the name_____).

Savaksraat: Teach the “*kiña una*” *atuun* to a family member using their *Iñupiaqsiñiq* (Iñupiaq name). Use a family photo and introduce your *nukaġiit* (siblings) to a friend and describe who their namesakes are using “_____mik atiqaqtuq nayaga” (My younger sister (of a boy) is named after_____).

⁹¹MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.63.

⁹²MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.62.

Iisaaksrat Tallimaat:

Aarigaa miluktikapu

(It is good when you nurse him)

Review *Kiña una* atuun

Review immersion terms: *uvaptun, suna, apiqsruvsaanna, ikayunna*

Practice the following commands while talking to the doll. The teacher will model three times and then each learner will practice with their own doll:

Milugiñ. Nurse.

Qalagiñ. Burp.

While the singular possessive ‘my’ and ‘your’ was introduced in the last few lessons, we will learn dual possessive ‘our’ to refer to the baby. The teacher will work with an assistant to model the two scripts below line by line.

The assistant will notice that the baby is hungry. The teacher will ask if the baby needs to be nursed. The assistant will pretend to nurse a doll as she confirms that she is able to nurse the baby. The “when you V to him” ending form will be introduced, praising the assistant for feeding the baby. After the script is modeled three times, the teacher will have learners act out each phrase one line at a time. Once they are comfortable, they will practice with a partner.

I.

Ii!lgauraqpuk kaaktuq.

Our baby is hungry.

Miluktitchukpiuñ?

Do you want to nurse him?

Ii, miluktitchukkiga.

Yes, I want to nurse him.

Manjuut (verb or noun stem)	Akunnigutit (postbase)	Akunnigutit (postbase)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
miluk- ‘to nurse’	± tit ‘to allow, cause, permit, or force to V’	+s]uk ‘to want’	+piuñ ‘you to them’ (question)	Miluktitchukpiuñ? ‘Do you want to nurse her?’
miluk- ‘to nurse’	± tit ‘to allow, cause, permit, or force to V’	+s]uk ‘to want’	+kiga ‘I to you’ (statement)	Miluktitchukpiuñ? ‘I want to nurse her.’
miluk- ‘to nurse’	± tit ‘to allow, cause, permit, or force to V’		+kapku ‘when you to them’	(Aarigaa) miluktikapku ‘(I’m glad) when you nurse them’

Aarigaa miluktitkapku.

It is good when you nurse him.

The assistant will notice that the baby is thirsty. The teacher will ask if the baby needs to be bottle fed. The assistant will pretend to bottle feed a doll as she confirms that she is able to bottle feed the baby. The “when you V to him” ending form will be practiced. After the script is modeled three times, the teacher will have learners act out each phrase one line at a time. Once they are comfortable, they will practice with a partner.

II.

Iḡñiqpuḡ imiḡuktuḡ.

Our son is thirsty.

Miluktitchukpiuḡ uumiḡa?

Do you want to feed him (with this ‘bottle’ here)?

Miluktitchukkiga uumiḡa.

Yes, I want to feed him (with this ‘bottle’ here).

Aarigaa miluktitkapku uumiḡa.

It is good when you feed him (with this ‘bottle’ here).

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunnigutit

The postbase \mp tit⁹³ is preceded by a minus and plus sign, which means that only a stem-final ‘t’ is deleted (not ‘k’ in the case of miluk-).

miluk \mp tit = miluktit-

The postbase +[s]uk⁹⁴ is an irregular postbase. If the verb stem or postbase ends in a strong l and ‘t’, the postbase becomes +uk and the ‘t’ changes to ‘ch’.

Miluk \mp tit +[s]uk = miluktitchuk-

Isut

“You to it” question with stems that end in a consonant⁹⁵

+piuḡ?

Miluk \mp tit +suk +piuḡ = miluktitchukpiuḡ? (Do you want to nurse her?)

“You to it” statement with stem or postbase ending in a consonant⁹⁶

+kiga.

Miluk \mp tit +suk +kiga = miluktitchukiga (I want to nurse her)

⁹³MacLean (2014) p.692.

⁹⁴MacLean (2014) p.656-657.

⁹⁵MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.62.

⁹⁶MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.62.

The Consequential mood⁹⁷ is most commonly expressed in English as “whenever” or “when”. To describe “when you V to them” do something, the ending +kapku is attached to verb stems ending in ‘t’.

miluk +tit +kapku = **miluktitkapku**

Possession⁹⁸

In Iñupiatun, to express possession of “our” (dual) family member (singular), an ‘+kpuk’ is added on to the end of the noun as in **ililgaura(qpuk)** and **igñi(qpuk)**.

igñiQ + **kpuk** = **igñiqpuk**

ililgauraq + **kpuk** = **ililgauraqpuk**

Since Iñupiaq cannot have three consonants in a row (**qkp**), the initial consonant ‘k’ of the postbase ‘-kpuk’ is deleted.⁹⁹

Demonstrative pronoun ‘uumiṅa’¹⁰⁰

The demonstrative pronoun **uumiṅa** translates to ‘with this one here’ (restricted and visible). The term ‘restricted’ means that the thing referred to is not long (the length is less than three times the width), is stationary, or moving within a confined area.¹⁰¹

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maṅṅuit**, **akunniḡutit**, and **isut**.

miluk-	ṯtit	+piuṅ
	+[s]uk	+kiga
		+kapku

Have learners pick one card each from the **akunniḡutit** and **isut** groups to add onto **maṅṅuq miluk-** to form a sentence.

⁹⁷MacLean (1986), Second Year, Chapter XVIII, p.95.

⁹⁸MacLean (1986), First Year, Chapter X, p.165.

⁹⁹MacLean (1986) First Year, Appendix, p.261.

¹⁰⁰MacLean (2014) p.390.

¹⁰¹MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter XIII.

Have learners pick from the **isut** group to form a sentence. Encourage learners to act out the phrase if possible. This is important so that they not only understand how words come together, but they can also internalize what the words mean.

***Savaksraat:** Teach the “**kiña una**” **atuun** to a different family member (since the last savaksraat) using their **Iñupiaqsiñiq** (Iñupiaq name). Act out scripts I and II using an **iñuḡḡuuraq** (doll). Write the scripts on the wall, and practice them everyday after eating a meal.*

Iḷisaaksrat Itchaksraat: Qalaktitchukpiuᅅ? (Will you burp her?)

Practice the following commands while talking to the **iᅅuᅅᅅuuraq** (doll). The teacher will model three times and then each learner will practice with their own **iᅅuᅅᅅuuraq**:

Milugiᅅ. Nurse.

Qalagiᅅ. Burp.

The assistant will notice that the baby is uncomfortable. The teacher will ask if the baby needs to be burped. The assistant will pretend to burp the doll and while saying she wants to burp the baby. The “when you V to him” ending form will be practiced. After the script is modeled three times, the teacher will have learners act out each phrase one line at a time. Once they are comfortable, they will practice with a partner.

Panikpuk iluilliqsimaruq. Our daughter seems to be unwell.

Qalaktitchukpiuᅅ? Do you want to burp her?

Qalaktitchukiga. I want to let him burp.

or

(Ii, qalaktillagu.) (Yes, let me burp him.)

Aarigaa qalaktitkapku. I am glad you let him burp.

Manᅅuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniᅅutit (postbase)	Akunniᅅutit (postbase)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
Iluilliq- ‘to become sick, unwell, troubled, grieved’	ᅅsima ‘for the speaker to realize that one has V-ed, is V-ing, or is V’		+ruq ‘he or she’ (statement)	Iluilliqsimaruq. ‘She seems to be unwell.’
qalak- ‘to burp’	ᅅtit ‘to allow, cause, permit, or force to V’	+ᅅjuk ‘to want’	+piuᅅ ‘you to him’ (question)	Qalaktitchukpiuᅅ? ‘Do you want to nurse him?’
qalak- ‘to burp’	ᅅtit ‘to allow, cause, permit, or force to V’	+ᅅjuk ‘to want’	+kiga ‘I to you’ (statement)	Qalaktitchukiga? ‘Do you want to nurse him?’
qalak- ‘to burp’	ᅅtit ‘to allow, cause, permit, or force to V’		+lagu ‘let me to him’ (command)	Qalaktillagu. ‘Let me burp him.’
qalak- ‘to nurse’	ᅅtit ‘to allow, cause, permit, or force to V’		+kapku ‘when you to them’	(Aarigaa) qalaktitkapku ‘(I’m glad) when you burp him’

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunnigutit

The postbase ƣtit¹⁰² is preceded by a minus and plus sign, which means that only a stem-final 't' is deleted.

qalak ƣtit = qalaktit-

The postbase +[s]uk¹⁰³ is an irregular postbase. If the verb stem or postbase ends in a strong l and 't', the postbase becomes +uk and the 't' changes to 'ch'.

qalak ƣtit +suk = qalaktitchuk-

Isut

“You to it” question with stems that end in a consonant¹⁰⁴ **+piuŋ?**
qalak ƣtit +suk +piuŋ = qalaktitchukpiuŋ? (Do you want to burp her?)

“You to it” statement with stem or postbase ending in a consonant¹⁰⁵ **+kiga.**
qalak ƣtit +suk +piuŋ = qalaktitchukiga (I want to burp her.)

The Consequential mood¹⁰⁶ is most commonly expressed in English as “whenever” or “when”. To describe “when you V to them” do something, the ending **+kapku** is attached to verb stems ending in 't'.

qalak ƣtit + kapku = qalaktitkapku-

Possession¹⁰⁷

In Iñupiatun, to express possession of “our” (dual) family member (singular), an **+kpuk** is added on to the end of the noun as in ililgaura(**kpuk**) and pani(**kpuk**). Stem-final 'q' is dropped.

¹⁰²MacLean (2014) p.692.

¹⁰³MacLean (2014) p.656-657.

¹⁰⁴MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.62.

¹⁰⁵MacLean (1986) First Year, Chapter IV, p.62.

¹⁰⁶ MacLean (1986), Second Year, Chapter XVIII.

¹⁰⁷ MacLean (1986), First Year, Chapter X.

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunnigutit**, and **isut**.

miluk-	ᅇtit	+piuᅇ
qalak-	+[s]uk	+kiga
iluilliq-		+kapku
		+lagu

Have learners pick one card each from the **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunnigutit** and **isut** groups to add to form a sentence.

Savaksraat: Act out scripts I and II using an **iᅇuᅇᅇuuraq** (doll). Add the **qalak-** script to the two **miluk-** scripts that you practice after a meal each day.

Iisaaksrat Tallimat

Malguat: Makkatqiglakpiñ (Let me change your diaper)

Practice these commands:

Makkatqiglakpiñ. Let me change her diaper.
Annugaatqiglakpiñ. Let me change his clothes.

The teacher will ask if the baby needs his diaper to be changed. The assistant will pretend to change the doll's diaper as they describe what they are doing. The teacher will thank the assistant for performing the action. After the script is modeled three times, the teacher will have learners act out each phrase one line at a time. Once they are comfortable, they will practice with a partner.

I.

Makkatqigukpiuñ? Do you want to change his diaper?
Ii, makkatqigukkiga. Yes, I want to change his diaper.
Aarigaa makkatqikkapku. I am glad you changed his diaper.

The teacher will ask if the baby needs her clothes to be changed. The assistant will change the doll's clothes as they describe what they are doing. The teacher will thank the assistant for performing the action. After the script is modeled three times, the teacher will have learners act out each phrase one line at a time. Once they are comfortable, they will practice with a partner.

Manjuut (verb or noun stem)	Akunniġutit (postbase)	Akunniġutit (postbase)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
makkaq 'diaper'	-tqik- 'to change'	+s]uk 'to want'	+piuñ 'you to them1' (question)	Makkatqigukpiuñ? 'Do you want to change their diaper?'
makkaq 'diaper'	-tqik- 'to change'	+s]uk 'to want'	+kiga 'I to them1' (statement)	Makkatqigukkiga. 'I want to change their diaper.'
makkaq 'diaper'	-tqik- 'to change'		+kapku 'when you to them1'	(Aarigaa) makkatqikkapku '(I'm glad) when you change their diaper'

II.

Annugaatqigukpiuᅇ?

Do you want to change their clothes?

Ii, annugaatqigukkiga.

Yes, I want to change their clothes.

Aarigaa annugaatqikkapku.

I am glad you changed their clothes.

Manᅇuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniᅇutit (postbase)	Akunniᅇutit (postbase)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
annugaat- 'clothes'	-tqIk- 'to change'	+ [s]uk 'to want'	+ piuᅇ 'you to him' (question)	Annugaatqigukpiuᅇ? 'Do you want to change their clothes?'
annugaat- 'clothes'	-tqIk- 'to change'	+ [s]uk 'to want'	+ kiga 'I to you' (statement)	Annugaatqigukkiga. 'I want to change their clothes?'
annugaat- 'clothes'	-tqIk- 'to change'		+ kapku 'when you to them'	(Aarigaa) annugaatqikapku '(I'm glad) when you change their clothes.'

Iᅇupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iᅇupiaq Grammar)

Akunniᅇutit

The postbase -tqIk¹⁰⁸ is preceded by a minus sign.

Makkaq -tqIk = makkatqik-

The postbase "+[s]uk"¹⁰⁹ is an irregular postbase. If a verb stem ends in a 'k', then the postbase becomes +uk and the 'k' changes to 'g'.

makkaq -tqIk +suk = makkatqiguk-

Isut

The Consequential mood¹¹⁰ is most commonly expressed in English as "whenever" or "when". To describe "when you V to them" do something, the ending +kapku is attached to

¹⁰⁸MacLean (2014) p.692.

¹⁰⁹MacLean (2014) p.656-657.

¹¹⁰MacLean (1986), Second Year, Chapter XVIII, p.95.

verb stems ending in 'k'.

makkaq -tqik +kapku = makkatqikapku-

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunniᅇutit**, and **isut**.

makkak-	-tqIk	+piuᅇ
annugaat-	+[s]uk	+kiga
		+kapku

Have learners pick one card each from the **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunniᅇutit** and **isut** groups to add to form a sentence.

***Savaksraat:** Act out scripts I and II related to makkak- and annugaat- using an **iᅇuᅇᅇuuraq** (doll). Don't forget to practice the qalak- script to the two miluk- scripts, too! Write these on a piece of paper and tape them to your wall until you memorize them.*

Iḷisaaksrat Qulinṅugutaiḷaṅat: Siqupkagukpiuṅ? (Do you want to put her to sleep?)

Iṅuuniāṅniq (Iṅupiaq culture)

As a child grows up it needs to be in close physical contact with its mother. Inuit elder Uqsuralik emphasised:

“We grew up being in constant contact with our mother. We were in her *amauti* while she was doing daily chores. Today parents put their babies in a room, give them a bottle and leave them alone. We used to carry our babies on our backs. As soon as they would fall asleep we would start doing things. Babies were a lot calmer. Babies hardly cried because they were with us all the time and had physical contact with us. When the child and the mother have limited physical contact, then the child becomes hyperactive and difficult to deal with. It is very important to have physical contact when you are raising a child.”¹¹¹

The teacher will ask her assistant if she wants to put the baby to sleep. The assistant will pretend to put the baby to sleep by carrying the baby or doll. The teacher will thank the assistant for performing the action. After the script is modeled three times, the teacher will have learners act out each phrase one line at a time. Once they are comfortable, they will practice with a partner.

I.

Siqupkagukpiuṅ?

Ii, siqupkagukkiga.

Quyanaqpak siqupkagaṅku.

Do you want to put him to sleep?

Yes, I want to put him to sleep.

Thank you very much for putting him to sleep.

¹¹¹Uqsraluk p.12

The teacher will ask the assistant how she would like to put the baby to sleep. The assistant will choose her preferred method of putting the baby to sleep. The teacher will praise the assistant for performing the specific action. After the script is modeled three times, the teacher will have learners act out each phrase one line at a time. Once they are comfortable, they will practice with a partner.

Manġuit (verb or noun stem)	Akunniġutit (postbase)	Akunniġutit (postbase)	Isut (endings)	Uqallautit (sentence)
siqu- 'to fall asleep'	+pkaq- 'to allow, cause'	+ [s]uk 'to want'	+piuġ 'you to him' (question)	Siqupkaġukpiuġ? 'Do you want to put them to sleep?'
siqu- 'to fall asleep'	+pkaq- 'to allow, cause'	+ [s]uk 'to want'	+kiga 'I to you' (statement)	Siqupkaġukkiga. 'I want to put them to sleep.'
siqu- 'to fall asleep'	+pkaq- 'to allow, cause'		+gapku 'when you to them'	(Quyanaqpak) siqupkaġapku '(thank you very much) for putting them to sleep.'

II.

Qanuq siqupkaġukpiuġ?

Siqupkaġukkiga amaġlugu.

Siqupkaġukkiga sagliatuaġlugu.

Siqupkaġukkiga miluktiġlugu.

Siqupkaġukkiga atuġlugu.

Siqupkaġukkiga nallaqasiġlugu.

How do you want to put him to sleep?

I want to put him to sleep on my back.

I want to put him to sleep in my arms.

I want to put him to sleep by nursing him.

I want to put him to sleep by singing to him.

I want to put him to sleep by laying with him.

Iñupiatun Uqautchim Irrusia (Iñupiaq Grammar)

Akunniġutit

You may recall the postbase ƣtit, which means 'to allow, cause, permit, or force V'. This postbase is used when the preceding stem ends in a consonant. However, when a stem ends in a vowel, the postbase +pkaq is used to also mean 'to allow, cause, permit, or force V'.

The postbase +pkaq¹¹² is preceded by a plus sign, which means that it is added on to the stem without deletion.

¹¹²MacLean (2014) p.692.

Siqu +pkaq = Siqupkaq-

The postbase +[s]uk¹¹³ is an irregular postbase. If a verb stem or postbase ends in a 'q', +[s]uk becomes +uk and the 's' changes to a 'ġ'.

Siqu +pkaq +[s]uk = Siqupkaġuk-

Isut

The ending +kiga is added to the postbase +[s]uk, without any changes:

Siqu +pkaq +[s]uk +kiga = Siqupkaġukkiga.

A Contemporative I¹¹⁴ verb tells how or why an action is performed. The main function of a Contemporative is to give more information about the situation that the main verb describes. In this lesson, a parent asks:

Qanuq siqupkaġukpiuŋ?

How do you want to put her to sleep?

Specific endings are attached to the secondary verb, which contains information about how the the baby ('her/him/it') will be put to sleep: **+lugu**

The ending may change slightly depending on what sound precedes it:

amaq +lugu = amaġlugu. (by carrying him on one's back)

sagliaq +lugu = sagliaglugu (by having holding her in my arms)

nallaqasiq +lugu = nalaqasiġlugu. (by lying down with him)

atuq +lugu = atuġlugu (by singing to her)

miluktit +lugu= miġuktillugu. (by nursing him)

¹¹³MacLean (2014) p.656-657.

¹¹⁴MacLean (1986) p.1.

Flashcard Drill

Separate flashcards into three groups: **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunnigutit**, and **isut**.

siqu-	+pkaq	+piuᅇ
amaq-	+[s]uk	+kiga
nallaqasiq-	ᅇtit	+ᅇugu, +glugu, +ᅇlugu
atuq-		
miluk-		

Have learners pick one card each from the **maᅇᅇuit**, **akunnigutit** and **isut** groups to add to form a sentence.

Savaksraat: Act out scripts I and II related to **siqu-**, **amaq-**, **nallaqasiq**, **atuq-** and **miluktit**—using an **iᅇuᅇᅇuuraq** (doll) before bedtime. Write the on a piece of paper and tape them to your wall until you memorize them.

Unit 2 Overview

Question words

kiña	who (subject)
kimik	who (object)
suva	what
sumi	where
qanuq	how

Atiqausit (Nouns)

atiq	namesake
aaka	mother
aapa	father
aana	grandma
aapiyaq	older brother
aatauraq	older sister
amau	great-grandparent or great-grandchild
aniqatit	siblings
aᅇak/akkaaka	uncle
aqqaluk	younger brother (of girl)
ataata	grandpa
atchak/ayaaluk	aunt
iᅇlauraat	immediate family
nukaaluk	younger sibling (of same gender)
nayak	younger sister (of boy)
tiguaq	adopted child

Maᅇᅇuit (Verb stems)

atiqaq-	to have the name of
annuᅇaaqtuq-	to dress oneself, to dress her/him/it
annugaiyaaq-	to undress
amaq-	to carry her/him/it on one's back
atuq-	to sing
iluiᅇᅇiq-	to be unwell, to be troubled
imaiyaq-	to dry
iᅇnuu-	to live, reside
iqiiq-	to awaken
ivvaqtuq-	to take a bath, to bathe her/him/it
nallaqasiq-	to lie down with her/him/it
makkak-	diaper, to put on a diaper, to put a diaper on her/him/it
miluk-	to nurse
nallaqasiq-	to lie down with her/him/it
niaqqiqi-	to wash her/his/its hair
qalak-	to burp
sagliaq-	to hold in one's arms
siqut-	to fall asleep

Personal Pronouns

uvaᅇa	I
iᅇviᅇ	you

Demonstrative Pronouns

una	this one
taamna	that one
taimani	in the past
uumiᅇa	with this one here
uvamniitin	stay by me

uiñgaq- to be tired

Akunnigutit (Postbases)

+niaq will (future)
+pkaq to allow, cause
-piksuaq to V much more
±qqaq to V first
±sima to be made evident, to notice
+ [s]uk to want
(guk) to want (after k)
(ġuk) to want (after q)
(chuk) to want (after strong l)
±tit to V well
-tqlk to change
+tuq to wear

Isut (Endings)

+piñ? you (question, after consonant)
+viñ? you (question, after vowel)
+tutin you (statement, after consonant)
+rutin you (statement, after vowel)
+sutin you (statement, after strong l + k/q or semi-final vowel cluster)
+chutin you (statement, after strong l + t)

+pa? She, he, it (question, after consonant)
+va? She, he, it (question, after vowel)
+tuq she, he, it (statement, after consonant)
+ruq she, he, it (statement, after vowel)
+suq she, he, it (statement, after strong l + k/q or semi-final vowel cluster)
+chuq she, he, it (statement, after strong l + t)

+kikpiñ I to you (after k or t)
+gikpiñ I to you (after vowel)
+ġikpiñ I to you (after q)

+piuñ? You to it (question, after consonant)
+viuñ? You to it (question, after vowel)
+kiga I to it (statement, after consonant)
+giga I to it (statement, after vowel)
+ġiga I to it (statement, after q)

+glakpiñ me to you (command, after vowel or k)
+ġlakpiñ me to you (command, after q)

+kaviñ	when you (after t or k)
+gaviñ	when you (after g)
+ġaviñ	when you (after q)
+kiptigiñ	you to us _d (after t or k)
+kapku	when you to her/him/it (after t or k)
+gapku	when you to her/him/it (after g)
+ġapku	when you to her/him/it (after q)
+lugu	I to her/him/it (dependent verb)
+lagu	and then I V'd them or it

Possession

-ga	my (after vowel)
-ġa	my (after q)
-n	you
-iñ	you (after vowel)
-puk	our (dual)

Phrases for Parents

Siñaiyauruᅇa.	I am pregnant.
Iᅇñisuktuᅇa.	I am in labor.
Aᅇutaiyaaqaqtuᅇa!	I have a boy!
Aᅇnaiyaaqaqtutuᅇa!	I have a girl!
Iᅇñiruaᅇa.	I gave birth to a boy.
Iᅇñiruaᅇa aᅇnaiyaamik.	I gave birth to a girl.
Iᅇñiᅇa aᅇiruaq uvlupak.	My son was born today.
Paniᅇa aᅇiruaq uvulpak.	My daughter was born today.
Qavsiᅇik paniqaqpiᅇ?	How many daughters do you have?
Paniqaqtuᅇa atausimik.	I have one daughter
Paniqaqtuᅇa malᅇuᅇnik.	I have two daughters
Paniqaqtuᅇa piᅇasunik.	I have three daughters.
Paniqaqtuᅇa sisamanik.	I have four daughters.
Paniᅇitchuᅇa.	I don't have any daughters.
Qavsiᅇik iᅇñiqaqpiᅇ?	How many sons do you have?
Iᅇñiqaqtuᅇa atausimik.	I have one son.
Iᅇñiqaqtuᅇa malᅇuᅇnik.	I have two sons.
Iᅇñiqaqtuᅇa piᅇasunik.	I have three sons.
Iᅇñiqaqtuᅇa sisamanik.	I have four sons.
Iᅇñiᅇitchuᅇa.	I don't have any sons.

Phrases for Toddlers¹¹⁵

Aakagnugiñ!	Go to your mom!
Aapagnugiñ!	Go to your dad!
Miqliqtumugiñ!	Go to the baby!
Qairruᅇ.	Bring it.
Qairruᅇ uvamnun.	Bring it to me.
Qairruᅇ aapamun.	Bring to dad.
Qaiñ!	Come here!
Pusikaᅇnak.	Don't fall forward.
Sitquaᅇnak.	Don't hurt your knees.
Nivvaktagnaᅇnak.	Don't fall backward.
Ulᅇgunak.	Don't collapse down.
Aulanak!	Don't you move about.
Aulaniagnaᅇnak!	Don't you dare move about.
Inignugiñ!	Go to your place!
Avuᅇñaᅇgiñ!¹¹⁶	Go away!
Piiqsaagaᅇgiñ!	Move over!
Ikuᅇñaqtaagaᅇgiñ!	Move over (sitting)!
Aᅇmaᅇguᅇ.	Open it.
Tigguuᅇ.	Take it.

¹¹⁵MacLean, Edna (2020) personal communication.

¹¹⁶Literally, go over there (extended and visible)

Taigguuŋ!	You (one) say that!
Taitqiguuŋ!	You (one) say that again!
Uqallautiŋŋa!	You (one) tell me!
Aksraliuktirruŋ uvamnun.	Let it roll to me.
Mayuġluk.	Let's _d go upstairs.
Mayuġluk pisuaġlutin.	Let's _d go upstairs, you walking.
Mayuġluk pisuaġlunuk.	Let's _d walk upstairs.
Tutqukki piuraatin.	Put your toys away.
Kivglakpiñ?¹¹⁷	Let me lift you up?
Kiviŋŋa.¹¹⁸	Lift me up.

¹¹⁷Brower, Ronald (2021) personal communication.

¹¹⁸Brower, Ronald (2021) personal communication.

Getting Dressed

Atigiiñ.	Put on a parka.
Isigvigiñ.	Put on a parka ruff.
Quliksagiñ.	Put on caribou skin pants (or snow pants)
Nasautagiñ	Put on your hat.
Kamikługiñ.	Put on your pants.
Kamikługiñ naisuuragnik.	Put on your shorts.
Qaliguuragiñ	Put a shirt on.
Kamigiñ.	Put a shoe on.
Atikkik kammakiñ.	Put on your shoes _d .
Qaitkin qupigaaq.	Give me the coat.
Qaitkin siłanḡaaq.	Give me the waterproof parka.
Qaitkik atulaak.	Give me the socks.
Qaitkik tagluk.	Give me the snowshoes.
Qaitkik aliqsik.	Give me the knee high fur boots.
Qaitkik iqaqlak.	Give me the waterproof knee high sealskin boots.

Visiting Parents and Grandparents¹¹⁹

Aḡayuqaamnugukpiñ?	Do you want to go to my parents?
Ataataḡnugukpiñ?	Do you want to go to your grandparents?
Ataataḡnuutitquviñ?	Do you want me to take you to your grandparents?
Ataataḡnuutiniagikpiñ.	I am going to take you to your grandparents.

¹¹⁹MacLean (2021) personal communication.

Sugitpiñ?

(What do you have that is hurting?)

Nañittuḡa.	I am sick.
Suna annigñaqpa?	What hurts?
Siutiga annigñaqtuq. Siutikka annigñaqtuk.	My ear hurts. My ears _d hurt.
Siutin annigñaqtuq. Siutikkiñ annigñaqtuk. Siuttakkiñ annigñaqtuk. ¹²⁰	Your ear hurts. Your ears _d hurt. Your ears hurt.
Niaquḡa annigñaqtuq. Niaqun annigñaqtuq.	My head hurts. Your head hurts.
Iggiḡa annigñaqtuq. Iggian annigñaqtuq.	My throat hurts. Your throat hurts.
Qinḡa annigñaqtuq. Qinan annigñaqtuq.	My nose hurts. Your nose hurts.
Iriga annigñaqtuq. Irrakka annigñaqtuk.	My eye hurts. My eyes _d hurt.
Irin annigñaqtuq. Irikkiñ annigñaqtuk. Irrakkiñ annigñaqtuk. ¹²¹	Your eye hurts. Your eyes _d hurt. Your eyes _d hurt.
Narraakka annigñaqtuk. ¹²² Narraakkiñ annigñaqtuk.	My belly hurts. Your belly hurts.
Aqiḡuḡa annigñaqtuq. Aqiḡun annigñaqtuq.	My stomach hurts. Your stomach hurts.
Tunuga annigñaqtuq. Tunun annigñaqtuq.	My back hurts. Your back hurts.

¹²⁰Archaic but still used.

¹²¹Archaic but still used.

¹²²In Iñupiaq, the belly is considered a 'dual' concept.

Uqaqatigiigñik¹²³ (conversation)

I.

Itqumaviñ?	Are you awake?
Itiqpaallukpiñ?	Did you just wake up?
Uiñgaqpiñ sulì?	Are you still sleepy?
Uvllalluataq aññañaan.	Good morning my dear one.
Iglignaqtutin ililgauraan.	You are so cuddly my baby.
Siñilluataqpiñ?	Did you sleep well?

II.

Sumi itpat makkaqtuutin?	Where are your diapers?
Makkan aìlapaluktuq.	Your diaper is wet.
Nalauraagükpiñ?	Do you want to lay down?
Nalagiñ uvuñ.	Lay here.
Makkatqinñiağikpiñ.	I am going to change your diaper.
Makkaqtuqtutin salumaruaq.	You are wearing a clean diaper.

III.

Uuqtuq.	He has a diaper rash.
Minuluglagu nanuun.	Let me rub the lotion in.
Maminñaruq.	It healed.

IV.

Iqaginaqsiruaq kiiñan.	It is time to wash your face.
Iqaginaqsigaik argaktin.	It's time to wash your hands.
Uvva iqaqqun.	Here is the soap.
Ikukkik argaktin immamun.	Put your hands in the water.

Iqagiruksragigitka argaktin nigisañaiññapta.

We must wash your hands before we eat.

Imaiyaqtuksragigitka argaktin nigisañaiññapta.

We must dry your hands before we eat.

¹²³These uqaqatigiigñik were developed between 2019-2021 with Edna MacLean. All mistakes are my own.

V.

Itqanaiyaqtatka niqiksrautitin.

Ikuniagikpiñ aquppiutaġnun.

Aquppiuraaglutin!

Aquppilutin.

Uuktuagukpiuñ niqi?

Ii aaka, uuktuagukkiga.

Ki, nigipiagataġiñ!

I prepared your food.

I will put you in your chair.

You remain sitting!

Sit down.

Do you want to try the meat?

Yes mom, I want to try the meat.

Go ahead, eat as much as you can!

VI.

Narragiiluksuaq uqsruqtuqqaaglutini.

Nigisuiqpiñ?

Ii aaka, nigisuiqsuna.

His stomach hurts after eating seal oil.

Are you done eating.

Yes mom, I am done eating.

VII

Sumi itpat kigutigiksautitin?

Paqitkitka kigutigiksautitin.

Sumi itpa kigusiqun?

Paqitkiga kigusiqun amuraġaaniñ.

Kigutigiksautitin qaniguniglugi.

Kigutigiksaglutin utiqtaqtilugi inna.

Tautuglagi kigutitin.

Where is your toothbrush?

I found your toothbrush.

Where is the toothpaste?

I found the toothpaste from the drawer.

Put your toothbrush in your mouth.

Brush your teeth back and forth like this.

Let me see your teeth.

Kigutigiksaqtuksraurutin malġuiqsuaġlutin uvlumi.

You have to brush your teeth twice a day.

VIII.

Aniiqsuaġnaqsigaatin.

Aiñaqsigaatin.

Nayokpuk aigami qiasuuruq.

Aniiqsuallatumaruq.

Aniiqsuallaturuq Nayokpuk.

Now you're ready to play outside.

It's time for you to go home.

Nayokpuk always cries when he goes home.

It seems like he likes to play outside.

Nayokpuk likes to play outside.

IX.

Kigutiksrañni puisuktut.

Iñugiitchuq kigusivluni.

Miļuqsautivluni niqinñi.

Kigutiksrañni anniġnaqtut.

His teeth are surfacing.

He is cranky because he is teething.

He is throwing his food.

Your teeth are hurting.

X.

Iilgauraaŋ siqutqiguuruq.

My baby always naps.

Iilgauraaq ilivsiŋni siñiguuva?

Does the baby usually sleep with yourselves_d?

Iilgauraaq uvaptigni siñiguuruq.

The baby usually sleeps with us_d.

Siqutkiguuruq aapanilu.

He usually sleeps with his dad.

Qavsiñi ikarrani siqutqiguuva?

How often does he usually sleep.

Siqutqiguuruq atausimi ikarrami naakka malguŋni ikarragni.

He usually naps for one hour or two hours.

XI.

Aarigaa paammallasigaviñ.

It is good that you have become able to crawl.

Kamatchaktuŋa.

I am proud (of you).

Kamatchaigiqma.

You impress me.

Aarigaa pisuallasigaviñ.

It is good that you have become able to walk.

Pisuagiñ aakaŋnun.

Walk to your mom.

Pisuagiñ aapaŋnun.

Walk to your dad.

XI.

Aarigaa puuvrallasigaviñ.

It is good that you have become able to swim.

Immam niglaqtitpatin?

Does the water cool you off?

Ii, immam niglaqtitkaaŋa.

Yes, the water cools me off.

Qaunagilugi qaiilit!

Be careful of the waves.

Imaagnak.

Don't fall into the water.

Aliasuŋisimarusi taŋium siñaani.

You all had so much fun at the beach.

XII.

Qanuq iluaqsillaqpiñ?

How can I help you feel better?

Summan uumisukpiñ?

Why are you upset?

XIII.

Qilagaumuutiniagikpiñ.

I will carry you upstairs.

Ivvanarraqpiñ?

Are you enjoying your bath?

Immiqiviñ?

Are you playing in the water?

Atqagukpiñ?

Do you want to get out?

Amulakpiñ?

Let me lift you up?

Amuŋa.

Lift me up.

Sikiŋaktagnak!

Don't splash!

Sikiŋaktaŋiñ!

Splash!

Atuutit (songs)

Piqpagigikpiñ by Annauk Olin



Piqpagigikpiñ

I love you,

Piqpagipiallakkikpiñ

I truly love you

Piqpaginiagikpiñ taimuḡa

I will love you forever

Ataramik suli taimuḡa

Always and forever

Uumatigma ilaginiagaatin

My heart will be a part of you

Ummatimniittutin

You are in my heart

Piqpagigikpiñ

I love you.

Iñuḡaluuraḡa uuttukuluuraḡa by Ronald Brower

Iñuḡaluuraḡa uuttukuluuraḡa

My little person, my tiny little person

Iñukuluuraḡa agliruḡ

My little person is growing

Iñuḡuluuraḡa uuttukaluraḡa

My tiny little person

Iñukuluuraḡa agliruḡ

My little person is growing

Tatirgaq (Sandhill Crane) by Annauk Olin & Edna MacLean¹²⁴

Tatirgaq tatirgaq qanuq nipatchuuva?

Sand hill crane, sand hill crane, what sound does it make?

Tatirgaq tatirgaq qanuq nipatchuuva?

Sand hill crane, sand hill crane, what sound does it make?

Naluruᅇa aglaan tiᅇmipaluᅇniaqsimaruq!

I don't know but it will have a long flight to go.

Kiuᅇuyakkii by Molly Pederson¹²⁵

Kiuᅇuyakkii, kiuᅇuyakkii

Northern lights, northern lights

aaᅇiyaanᅇiyaa

Aurora borealis

qalutaq piᅇᅇa, qalutaq piᅇᅇa

that big dipper, that big dipper

aaᅇiyaanᅇiyaa-aa

Aurora borealis

¹²⁴MacLean, Edna, personal communication, 2019.

¹²⁵Pederson, Molly (1994) "Iᅇiᅇgaat Iᅇupiatun Atuutinᅇich".

Iqalugauraq Uvaᅇa (I'm a Little Fishy) by Molly Pederson¹²⁶

Iqalugauraq uvaᅇa

I'm a little fishy

Iqalugauraq uvaᅇa

I'm a little fishy

Uvva papiᅇuᅇa aᅇuutigalu

Here is my tail, here is my fin

Aliasuᅇitqatiqagukkama

When I want to have fun with my friend

Papiqᅇilavluna nakkaqtuna

I wiggle my tail and dive right in

¹²⁶Pederson, Molly (1994) "Iᅇilᅇaat Iᅇupiatun Atuutinich".

Tagium Iñuuniagvikput (Sea of our Sustenance) by Molly Pederson¹²⁷



Tagiuq iñuuniagvikput,

Sea of our sustenance,

niġrutaukkaqaktuq.

has many animals.

Tagiuq iñuuniagvikput

Sea of our sustenance

qanusiiñik?

What kind of animals?

Aġviġi!lu, natchii!lu,

There are whales and there are seals,

nanullu, aiviġi!lu,

polar bears and walrus

Aġviq, natchiq, nanuġlu,

There are whales, seals, polar bear

Aiviġi!lu

And walrus



¹²⁷Pederson, Molly. "Iliġaat Iñupiatun Atuutinich".

Piaktuq Iqaluk (Slippery Fish)¹²⁸ by Ronald Brower

Piaktuq iqaluk, piaktuq iqaluk, sialgirusuq immakun	(Argaik aulallugik sialgirusuq)
Slippery fish, slippery fish, sliding through the water	(hand movements making a sliding motion)
Piaktuq iqaluk, piaktuq iqaluk, iiligaa, iiligaa, iiligaa. Anii!	(Argaik kiiñamun ililugik, qaniq anmağlugu tupaktuatun)
Slippery fish, slippery fish, gulp, gulp, gulp. Oh no!	(Hands on side of face, mouth open with surprise)
Niğipkağniqsuq amiqsramun.	(Argaik kuvlugiiksillugik inugaurat papiqqilalugi)
It's been eaten by an octopus.	(Hands connected by thumb fingers wiggling.)
Amiqsraq, amikrsaq papiqqilaruq immami.	(Argaik kiiñamun ililugik, qaniq anmağlugu tupaktuatun)
Octopus, octopus, squiggling in the water.	(Hands on side of face, mouth open with surprise)
Amiksraq, amiksraq, iiligaa, iiligaa, iiligaa. Anii!	(Argaik kuvlugiiksillugik inugaurat papiqqilalugi)
An octopus, and octopus, gulp, gulp, gulp. Oh no!	(Hands connected by thumb fingers wiggling.)
Niğipkağniqsuq iqalukpagmun.	(Argaik utummak saalugik inugaurat aksiktillugi isunı inugaurat)
It's been eaten by a tuna fish.	(Hands palms facing fingers touching openings between fingers)
Iqalukpak, iqalukpak, qivliatitaqtuaq immami.	(Argaik kiiñamun ililugik, qaniq anmağlugu tupaktuatun)
A tuna fish, a tuna fish flashing through the water.	(Hands on side of face, mouth open with surprise)
Iqalukpak, iqalukpak, iiligaa, iiligaa, iiligaa. Anii!	(Argaik kiiñamun ililugik, qaniq anmağlugu tupaktuatun)

A tuna fish, a tuna fish, gulp, gulp, gulp. Oh no!		(Hands on side of face, mouth open with surprise)
Nigipkaḡniqsuq iqaluksuaqruamun		(Argaik utummaak patiktillugik niaquqpit qulaani)
It's been eaten by a great white shark		Hands palms together over the top of the head)
Iqaluksuaqruaq, Iqaluksuaqruaq iriqsimaruq immami		(Argaik aulallugik sialḡiruatuḡ)
A great white shark, a great white shark lurking in the water.		(hand movements making a sliding motion)
Iqaluksuaqruaq, iqaluksuaqruaq iiligaa, iiligaa, iiligaa. Anii!		(Argaik kiiḡamun iḡlugik, qaniq aḡmaḡlugu tupaktuatuḡ)
A great white shark, a great white shark, gulp, gulp, gulp. Oh no!		(Hands on side of face, mouth open with surprise)
Nigipkaḡniqsuq aḡviqpaniḡḡmun		(Tallik isivitpaglugik aḡmaḡtillaangaktuḡ)
It's been eaten by a humongous whale		(Arms stretched open wide)
Aḡviqpaniḡḡluk, aḡviqpaniḡḡluk, iiligaa, iiligaa, iiligaa		(Aasii nanuḡlugu naraan)
Humongous whale, humongous whale, gulp, gulp, gulp		(then rubbing our tummies)
Innagiḡ mmmmm!		
Say mmmmm!		
Apiqsrisuuruḡa 'Kia niḡivaḡuḡ aḡviq?' Uvaḡa!		
I ask, 'Who ate the whale?' I am!		

Appendix A

Postbase signs and abbreviations¹²⁹

Signs	Meaning
-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The minus sign means that the postbase is added to the stem after deletion of the final consonant. If addition of the postbase would result in a cluster of three vowels, g is inserted between the second and third vowels.
+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The plus sign means that the postbase is added to the stem without any deletion. If adding the postbase would result in three vowels, g is inserted between the second and third vowels. If adding the postbase would result in three consonants, the initial consonant of the postbase is deleted.
÷	The division sign indicates that the stem-final weak q is deleted, but not strong Q , k , or n .
±	The plus sign over the minus sign indicates that stem-final consonant t is not deleted but stem-final consonant k or q (including Q) are.
±	The minus sign over the plus sign indicates that stem final consonant t is deleted, but not stem-final consonants k or q (including Q).
:	<p>The colon sign requires several steps to add the postbase:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) delete semi-final 'weak i' when it is preceded by one consent; after voiced consents, q become ġ, and k becomes g (ŋ after a nasal); 2) when the semi-final 'weak i' is not deleted, being preceded by two consonants, the stem-final consonant k or q is not deleted, becoming g and ġ respectively; 3) if there is no semi-final 'weak i' delete the stem-final consonant; 4) if there is no stem-final consonant, attach the postbase directly, inserting a g if the stem ends in two vowels.
=	Indicates deletion of final vowel-consonant cluster.
‘	Indicates gemination of the initial consent of the last syllable.

¹²⁹MacLean (2014) Iñupiatun Uqaluit Taniktun Sivuniñit p.xxvii

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Shifting across Arctic landscapes: Iñupiaq ergativity

1 Introduction

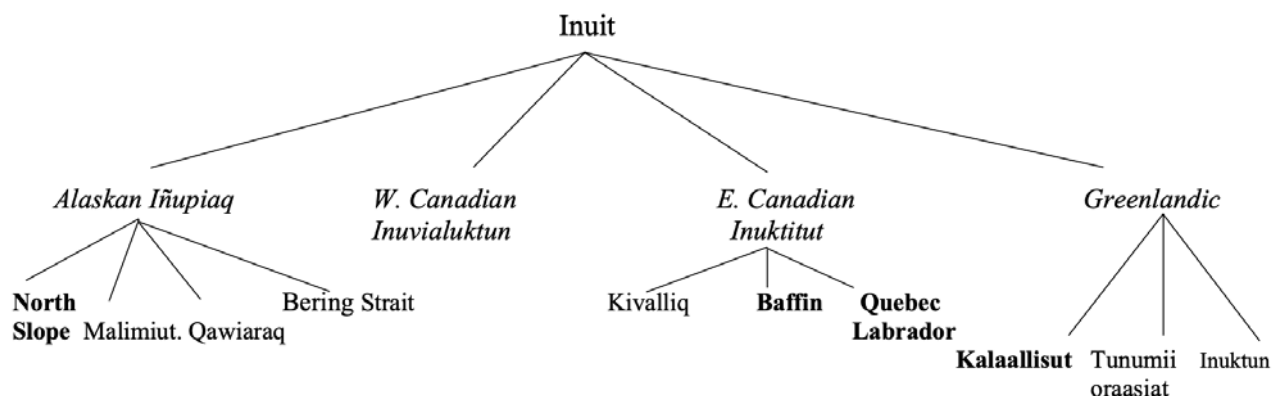
Languages are parametrically split between ergative-absolutive and nominative-accusative languages. Iñuit languages have been described as ergative-absolutive languages whose subjects are phonologically marked in transitive sentences. In Yuan's paper *Ergativity and Object Shift across Inuit* (2020), she proposes that since Inuit languages vary in degree of ergativity across dialects, the notion of 'ergativity' is fundamentally separate from the morphosyntactic properties of transitive subjects. Upon observing patterns in the Kalaallisut, Labrador Inuttut, and Inuktitut languages, Yuan finds that variation exists within the syntactic properties of the transitive object rather than on properties of the transitive ERG-marked subject. In this paper, I intend to build on Yuan's research by exploring how absolutive and modalis objects behave in the Iñupiaq language and compare this phenomenon with the Kalaallisut, Labrador Inuttut, and Inuktitut languages.

2 Overview of the Inuit languages

Inuit languages span from the northwestern Arctic of Alaska, across the Canadian Arctic, and throughout Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland). Iñupiat people of Alaska speak four major dialects of the Iñupiaq language: North Slope, Malimiut, Qawiaraq, and Bering Strait (MacLean 2014). This paper will focus on the North Slope Iñupiaq dialect of Utqiagvik, Alaska and draw comparisons with Labrador Inuttut and Inuktitut (Canadian dialects) and Kalaallisut (Greenlandic dialect).

Inuit languages

(adapted from Dorais 2010 p.28-29, Yuan 2020, p.4)

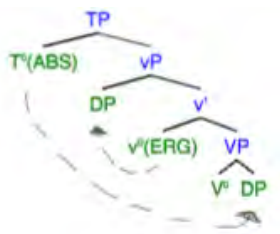


Inuit languages are polysynthetic with free word order and strict morpheme-internal order (Dorais 2010, p.54; Yuan 2020, p.5). In Iñupiaq, the function of a word cannot be determined by its location in the sentence. Instead, case markers and verb endings are used to mark whether the noun is functioning as a subject or a definite object (MacLean 1986, p.96). Sentences in Iñupiaq were obtained by the author from an elder fluent speaker in Anchorage, Alaska on December 9 and 11, 2020.

3 Ergativity

Canonical research assumes that ergative case is inherently assigned to external arguments. This means that case assignment takes place between a nominal and a functional head (Chomsky 2000; Yuan 2020). A transitive construction would be represented in (1) where ABS case is assigned to the determiner phrase (DP) in the internal argument by T^0 and ERG is assigned to the DP in the external argument by v^0 .

(1) **ERG and ABS assigned by functional heads** (Yuan 2020, p. 34)



Inherent ERG case correlates with its theta-role assignment. In Iñupiaq, ERG-ABS case patterns with subject and object ϕ -morphology in transitive sentences (MacLean 1986). Φ -morphology here refers to the features of agreement in person and number that are encoded in transitive endings in Iñupiaq.

If a third person singular subject is marked ergative with an '-m' ending as 'Aapam' is in (2b), this indicates that the noun is a subject of a transitive verb. A noun remains in the absolutive case (no

special change in the ending) when it is the subject of an intransitive verb (like ‘miq̄liqtut ‘children’ in 2a) or the object of a transitive verb (like ‘miq̄liqtut ‘children’ in 2b). Furthermore, Iñupiaq transitive verb endings contain information about the person and number of both the subject and direct object (MacLean 1986). A standard ergative patterning in Iñupiaq are seen below in (2), which are modeled after similar Kalaallisut sentences from Yuan (2020 p.34).

(2) Ergative-absolutive case patterning in Iñupiaq

a. **Miq̄liqtut** tutq̄iksut.
Children.pl.**ABS** content-3p.S
‘The children are content.’

b. Aapa-**m** qaunagigai **miq̄liqtut**.
Dad.**ERG** take.care-3s.S/3p.O children.PL.**ABS**
‘Dad is taking care of the children.’

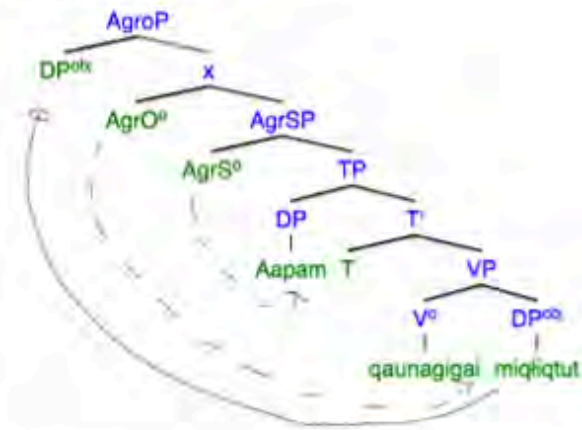
Antipassive

c. Aapa qaunaksr̄ir̄uq miq̄liqtutinik.
Dad.**ABS** watch.out.for-3s.S children.PL.**MOD**
‘Dad is watching out for the children.’

Additionally, a non-ergative construction called the antipassive marks the subject of a transitive verb with ABS (instead of ERG) while the object takes MOD (‘modalis’). In the antipassive, only the subject is marked with ABS case. The antipassive displays ABS-MOD case patterning with subject-only Φ -morphology on intransitive verb ending. Following the logic of Yuan (2020), variation in ergativity across Iñupiaq can be tracked by monitoring the relative distributions of the ergative and antipassive transitive constructions. An example of sentences (2b) and (2c) are provided below to preliminarily illustrate how the ergative and antipassive objects differ structurally. In the ergative construction in (3a), Agree between AgrO⁰ and the ABS object will result in the appearance of Φ -morphology and the movement of the object to the specifier of AgrOP. In (3b), the modalis object in the antipassive construction stay in place, with no overt relationship to AgrOP or Φ -morphology due to lack of successful Agree.

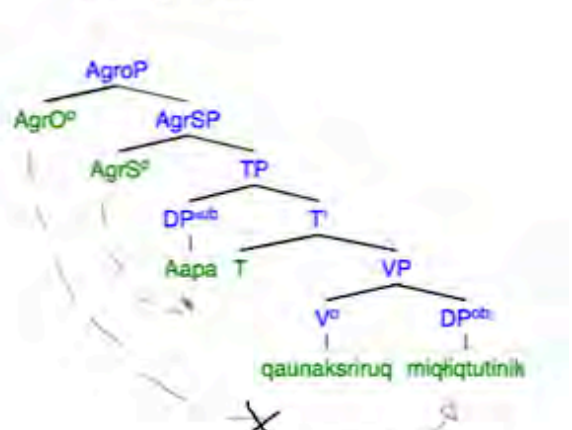
Positions of the transitive object

(3) a. Ergative



Solid lines = movement
Dotted lines = agreement

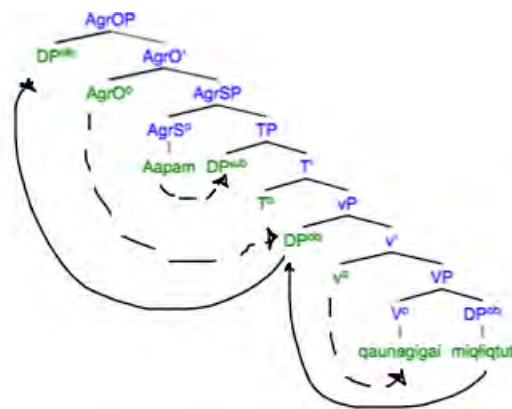
b. Antipassive



(Trees adapted into Iñupiaq based on Yuan 2020, p. 9)

Bittner and Hale (1996a,b), assume that the ABS and MOD case difference on objects in ergative and antipassive constructions relates to whether the object is targeted by Agree. ABS arguments are caseless because they are licensed by Agree with AgrO⁰. As seen in (3b) the in situ object is not targeted by AgrO⁰. If a vP is introduced as a syntactic phase, vP-external probes such as AgrO⁰ cannot access arguments internal to vP. Failure to Agree is identifiable when there is no overt ϕ -morphology. In this instance the vP syntactic phase is a unit head by a core functional category with ϕ -features (Landau and DeGaff, 2003). Introducing vP to the original tree in (3) will produce a more complex tree in (5).

(5) Successive cyclic object movement (Trees adapted into Iñupiaq based on Yuan 2020, p. 10)



3 Syntactic ergativity in Kalaallisut and Iñupiaq

A node α c-commands node β if and only if every node that dominates α also dominates β ; and α does not dominate β , nor β α (Iatridou 2015, p.25). In (5) the DP ‘miqfiqtut’ c-commands the DP ‘aapam’ after movement; and alternatively, the V^0 ‘qaunagigai’ does not c-command the DP ‘Aapam’. The ‘scope’ of a quantified phrase is what it c-commands. Scope ambiguities arise when there are two or more quantifiers or operators in a domain at S-structure and one QP c-commands another. The ‘relative scope’ of the two quantifiers signifies to which quantifier occupies which operator position. If Q1 scopes over Q2, Q1 is said to have ‘wide’ scope and Q2 has ‘narrow’ scope (Tunstall 1998). The term ‘forward’ scoping is used when the first (left-most) quantifier encountered in a sentence takes wide scope. ‘Reverse’ scoping is when the second quantifier has wide scope.

In English, subjects are normally restricted to take wide scope in relation to negation and other VP-level operators, while objects can take narrow or wide scope. In Kalaallisut, ergative subjects can take either narrow or wide scope (Bittner 1994). Yuan focuses on the semantic interpretation of ABS subjects and ABS objects pertaining to scope by examining Kalaallisut ergative and antipassive sentences. Movement of the object to a structurally higher position in the clausal left periphery allows it to take scope above other elements in the sentence. Although object movement is cross-linguistically often associated with the vP-edge as evidenced in (5) and is seen in the examples, this by itself does not account for the data found in (6)-(7).

(6) ABS arguments take wide scope over negation in Kalaallisut

- a. **atuagaq ataasiq** tikis-sima-**nngi**-laq
book.ABS one.ABS come-PERF-NEG-3S.S
‘There is one (particular) book that hasn’t arrived.’ (∃ > NEG; *NEG > ∃)
- b. suli Juuna-p **atuagaq ataasiq** tigu-sima-**nngi**-laa
still Juuna-ERG book.ABS one.ABS get-PERF-NEG-3S.S/3S.O
‘There is one (particular) book Juuna hasn’t received yet.’ (∃ > NEG; *NEG > ∃)
- c. suli Juuna **atukka-mik ataatsi-mik** tigu-si-sima-**nngi**-laq
still Juuna.ABS book-MOD one-MOD get-AP-PERF-NEG-3S.S
‘Juuna hasn’t received (even) one book yet.’ (NEG > ∃; *∃ > NEG)

(Bittner, 1994; Yuan 2020, p.11-12)

Similar sentences in Iñupiaq were obtained by the author from an elder fluent speaker in Anchorage, Alaska on December 9 and 11, 2020. The context provided to the speaker is as follows: Niayuq ordered five dresses. Niayuq got four dresses but not the fifth dress.

(7) *ABS arguments take wide scope over negation in Iñupiaq*

- a. Atausiq qaliġuuraq tikiñġaitchuq.
 one.ABS dress.ABS arrive-NEG-3s.S
 ‘One dress has not arrived.’ (1 > NEG; *NEG > 1)
- b. Atausiq qaliġuuraq Niayum tuyuusiagiñaitkaa suli.
 one.ABS dress.ABS Niayum-ERG receive-NEG-3s.S/3p.O yet
 ‘One dress has not been received by Niayuq yet.’ (1 > NEG; *NEG > 1)
- c. Niayuq tuyuusiaqañaitchuq suli qaliġuurat tallimaannik.
 Niayuq.ABS receive something-NEG-3s yet dresses the.fifth.one.of.the.set-MOD
 ‘Niayuq has not yet received the fifth of the dresses.’ (NEG > 1; *1 > NEG)

It appears that Iñupiaq and Kalaallisut both have ABS arguments that take wide scope over negation, while MOD arguments take narrow scope under negation. Iñupiaq differs from Kalaallisut and aligns with Inuktitut in the respect to how ABS and MOD quantificational nominals interact. For example, both Iñupiaq and Inuktitut show that ABS objects of ergative constructions must take scope over other quantificational elements, resulting in a cumulative reading; while MOD objects of antipassive constructions are semantically ambiguous.

8) *ABS vs. MOD quantificational nominals in Inuktitut*

- a. marruuk surusiit niri-qqau-jangit pingasut sivalaat
 two.ERG child.PL.ERG eat-REC.PST-3P.S/3P.O three.ABS cookie.PL.ABS
 ‘Two children ate three cookies (in total).’ (3 > 2, *2 > 3)
- b. marruuk surusiit niri-qqau-jut pingasu-nit sivalaar-nit
 two.ABS child.PL.ABS eat-REC.PST-3P.S three-PL.MOD cookie-PL.MOD
 ‘Two children ate three cookies (i.e. in total, or each).’ (3 > 2, 2 > 3)

(Beach 2011; Yuan 2020, p.25)

Whereas Kalaallisut has ABS quantifiers that take wide scope over other quantifiers, both Iñupiaq and Inuktitut have semantically ambiguous readings of MOD objects and similar scope patterns with ABS

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An Investigation of Bering Strait Inupiaq Phonology

Tracing the alternations and similarities across the languages of my ancestors across Inuit Nunaat brings strength in identity. Inuit Nunaat is situated on the top of the world, in what is now known as Russia, Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Inuit people of these lands share similar languages and customs built around their relationships to each other, the land, sea, and all living entities. In Alaska, there are four branches of the 'Inuit-Yupik languages. Three of them are Yupik: Siberian Yup'ik, Central Yup'ik, and Alutiiq or Sugpiaq. The fourth language is Inupiaq, which is spoken throughout the northwestern region of the Seward Peninsula, up through Kotzebue and the Kobuk River Valley, and further north to the North Slope Region from Point Hope to Utqiagvik to Kaktovik. Inupiaq is part of the Inuit language family, which extends to Canada and Greenland (MacLean 2014, p.xiii). As a speaker of the North Slope Inupiaq and the Shishmaref Inupiaq dialects of Alaska, I will compare the distinctive features of each of their phonologies: palatalization and assimilation for North Slope and consonant weakening for Bering Strait Inupiaq.

Phonology is the study of the patterns of sounds in a language and across languages. Phonology can also be described as the study of the categorical organization of speech sounds in languages and how these speech sounds are organized in the mind and used to convey meaning. Assimilation occurs when one sound becomes more like a neighboring sound (MacLean 1986). Palatalization occurs when a speaker moves the articulation of an alveolar sound to a palatal sound (MacLean, 2014, p.xviii). A consonant weakening system involves the lenition or deletion of single consonants that are positioned between vowels (Kaplan 1985). By writing this paper, I hope it provides the opportunity for Inuit to learn more about their relations and the similarities found in the Bering Strait and North Slope Inupiaq languages.

First, it is critical to discuss the importance of decolonizing linguistics. Most grammars written for Indigenous languages tend to be established with a European perspective, 'usually built around the belief that the linguist's Eurocentric training is an objective take on grammar and its presentation'

rarely with Indigenous methods or pedagogies acknowledged or utilized (Creed 2021, p.5). Furthermore, linguists usually create records primarily for scientific purposes and secondarily for language learning needs (Leonard 2018). Exceedingly often, linguists write descriptions that are typically inaccessible to those who need them most (Grenoble 2009). Leonard calls for a decolonial approach to language pedagogy where language and peoplehood are strongly intertwined and language data are embedded in their cultural contexts.

As an Inupiaq language speaker and an emerging linguist, I feel the responsibility to convey the linguistic and cultural knowledge that I acquire in a manner that empowers Inuit communities. As I describe Inupiaq phonology, information will be shared in a way that engages the role of speakers and the main actors in language preservation. Writing linguistic material with multilevel descriptions: 1) a pedagogical explanation for language learners and teachers, alongside 2) linguistic-focused description aimed toward linguists can make the information more accessible (Baraby 2012). Indigenous people are increasingly gaining access to the study of linguistics, so it is fair to acknowledge that Indigenous peoples have the capacity to excel in linguistics while also being experts in Indigenous knowledges, languages, and methodologies.

Part of decolonizing linguistics means centering indigenous values and methodologies. Inupiat people have survived by knowing their relatives and taking care of one another. Here are a few ways in which Inupiat across Alaska express the value of family and relations:

Nunakut munaqsriigikut. Ilavut nakliiluit.

‘We take care of our land. We take care of eachother.’

Paul Tiulana (Ugiuvak [KI] Inupiaq)

Munnaklui Ilagit

‘Commitment to the Family’

Bering Strait Inupiaq Values (Sitnasuak Native Corporation, 2018)

Ilisamañiq Ilagiñigmik, Anayuaqaagiich, Iñuuniaqatiunik Ikayuutiliq

‘Knowledge of Family Tree, Family Roles, and Responsibility to Tribe’

Northwest Arctic Inupiaq Values (Iñupiat Ilitqusiat)

Ilagiñiq. Iñupiaguvluta ukpiġuurugut ilisimaruk-srautilaaptinnik ilagiiksilaaptigun. Ilagiñipta atatchimunmuñapkaguugaatigut.

‘Family & Kinship. As Iñupiaq people we believe in knowing who we are and how we are related to one another. Our families bind us together.’

North Slope Iñupiaq Values

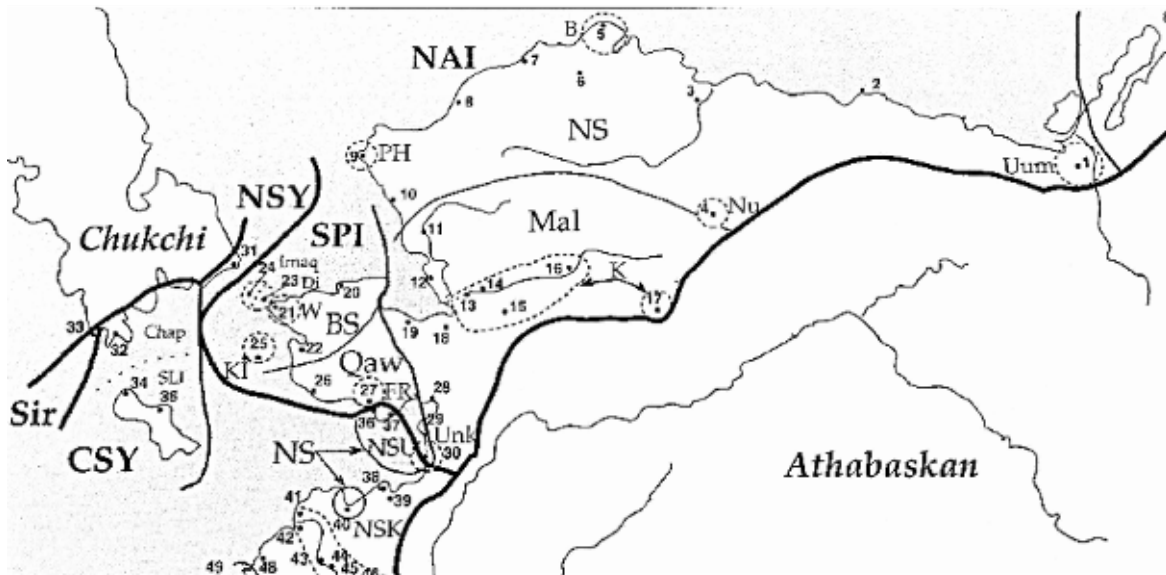
Geography of Alaskan Inupiat Relatives

Inupiat people have their own ways of speaking in each region, although many of these differences are mutually intelligible. While my family speaks a Bering Strait dialect from Shishmaref, Alaska, I primarily speak the North Slope dialect, which originates in the northernmost region of Alaska. I also have relatives who speak the Malimiut and Qawiaaraq dialects. Inupiat people of Alaska speak four major dialects of the Inupiaq language: North Slope, Malimiut, Qawiaaraq, and Bering Strait. It is common for Inupiat people to have relatives who are from each of the four regions and are familiar with multiple dialects.

The North Slope dialect is spoken in the villages of Kivalina, Anaktuvuk Pass, Point Hope, Point Lay, Wainwright, Atkasuk, Utqiagvik, Nuiqsut, and Kaktovik on Barter Island. The Malimiut dialect is spoken in the villages of Unalakleet, Shaktoolik, Koyuk, Deering, Buckland, Noatak, Kotzebue, Kiana, Selawik, Shungank, Ambler and Kobuk (MacLean 2014). Only North Alaskan Inupiaq has varying degrees of palatalization processes, while Seward Peninsula has none. West Greenlandic and a westernmost Canadian dialect Uummannaq also has extensive palatalization (Kaplan, 1981).

Inupiaq-Central Yupik bilingualism was common in the Norton Sound villages of White Mountain, Golovin, Elim, and Unalakleet. The Inupiaq was either Qawiaaraq dialect in White Mountain, Golovin, and Elim or Malimiut and/or Qawiaaraq in Unalakleet (Kaplan, 2000, p.262). The Qawiaaraq dialect is also spoken in Teller, Nome, Mary's Igloo, Council, Golovin, White Mountain, Shaktoolik, and Unalakleet (MacLean, 2014).

The Bering Strait region features both the Inuit and Yupik branches of the 'Eskimo' languages represented, where linguistic features have diffused among neighboring languages and possibly from one Inupiaq dialect to another (Kaplan, 2000, p.262). Linguistic diffusion is the transfer of features across branches of a family tree (Labov 2007). Bering Strait Inupiat had contact with Unaliq Yupiit near Nome, where many Inupiat traveled in the summer, sometimes entering the south coast of Norton Sound into Yupik territory (Kaplan, 2000 p.264). Bering Strait Inupiaq is spoken in the villages of Shishmaref, Wales, Brevig Mission, Teller, King Island, and Little Diomedede (MacLean 2014). Bering Strait Inupiaq is influenced by the Yupik consonant weakening processes.



Inupiat dialect mapping (Fortescue 1994)

- NAI** = Northern Alaskan Inupiatun
- NS** = North Slope
- PH** = Point Hope
- Mal** = Malimiut
- K** = Kobuk
- SPI** = Seward Peninsula Inupiat
- BS** = Bering Straits
- Qaw** = Qawwaraq

IPA Charts

Here are a series of chart that shows the phonemes for NS Inupiat and BS Inupiat. IPA characters are universal symbols across languages to categorize a sound. The letters in (parentheses) are used to show the IPA character that differs from the letter used in the written form. The bolded words show the letters that also share the same IPA phoneme. The [bracketed] words indicate allophones. Allophones are sounds or variants of phonemes. For example, [f] is an allophone of [v]. In Bering Strait Inupiat, [b] is an allophone of [p].

North Slope Iñupiaq Consonants

	Qaqlu kuaqtut (Labial)	Kigutit tunuaguaqtat (Alveolar)	Qilagakuaqtat sivuluat tattuqilugich (palatal)	Qanġum qitqaguaqtat (retroflex)	Qanġum tunuaguaqtat (velar)	Uqalaura kuaqtat (uvular)	Iggiakuaqtat (glottal)
Stops	p	t			k	q	
Affricates			(tʃ) ch				
Voiceless/ Voiced Fricatives	[f] / v	s		(ʂ) sr	(ɣ) g / [x]	(ʁ) ġ / [χ]	h
Laterals/ Lateral fricatives		l / ɭ	(ʎ) ɭ / (ʎ) ɭ				
Approxima nt			(j) y	(ɻ) r			
Nasals	m	n	(ɲ) ñ		ŋ		

Adapted from the chart created by Edna MacLean (1986, p. 4)

North Slope Iñupiaq Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	[i]		
Mid			[u]
Low		[a] stressed [ɛ] unstressed	

Bering Strait Inupiaq Consonants (Shishmaref dialect)

	Qaqlu kuaqtut (Labial)	Kigutit tunuaguaqtat (Alveolar)	Qilagakuaqtat sivuluat tattuqilugich (palatal)	Qanġum qitqaguaqtat (retroflex)	Qanġum tunuaguaqtat (velar)	Uqalaurakuaqtat (uvular)	Iggiakuaqtat (glottal)
Stops	p [b]	t	#		k	q	
Voiceless Fricatives	[f]	s		(ʂ) sr			[h]
Voiced Fricatives	v	z		(ʎ) ɻ	(ɣ) g / (x)	(ʁ) ġ / [χ]	
Laterals/ Lateral Fricatives		l / (ɭ) ɭ	#				
Approximant	(j) w		(j) y	[ɻ] r			
Nasals	m	n	#		ŋ		

Adapted from the chart created by Larry Kaplan (1985)

The # indicates that a sound is found in the North Slope dialect, but not in the Bering Strait dialect
Green text is used to indicate phonemes or allophones in the Bering Strait dialect that are not found in North Slope Iñupiaq.

Bering Strait Iñupiaq Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	[i]		[u]
Mid			
Low		[a] stressed [ɛ]unstressed	

Distinctive Phonological Features of BS and NS Inupiaq Varieties

One of the most distinctive features of the North Slope Iñupiaq dialect is the use of palatalization and assimilation. Assimilation occurs when one sound becomes more like a neighboring sound (MacLean 1986). Palatalization occurs when a speaker moves the articulation of a **kigutit tunuaguaqtat** (alveolar) sound to a **qilagakuaqtat sivuluat tattuqilugich** (palatal) sound (MacLean, 2014, p.xviii).

One of the most distinctive features of Bering Strait Inupiaq is the use of a consonant weakening system. A consonant weakening system involves the lenition or deletion of single consonants that are positioned between vowels (Kaplan 1985). Lenition is defined as a sound change that alters consonants, making them more sonorous. Given that there are far more phonological resources for the North Slope Iñupiaq dialect, this paper will provide more discussion of Bering Strait Inupiaq features.

Assimilation and Palatalization in North Slope Iñupiaq

Iñupiaq words are composed of stems, which are either related to verbs or nouns (verbal or nominal). Noun stems do not require any additional parts to become whole. Verbal stems must have an ending attached to be a sensible and well-formed word. Endings that express grammatical information (like person and number) are called inflectional morphemes. There are also special units that follow stems and precede inflectional endings (suffixes) which are commonly referred to as postbases. Postbases are considered derivational morphemes (in contrast with inflectional morphemes) because they have the ability to change the word class of the verb stem to a new word class. It also produces a greater change in meaning from the original form (MacLean, 2014). When stems, postbases, and endings are combined together, letters along their morpheme boundaries often change from their original form.

North Slope Iñupiaq has strict rules as to which consonants can occur together. Only two consonants maximum are allowed to group together. Most consonant clusters must not contain sounds which come from different rows on the consonant grid. For example, the stop **t** can only cluster with another stop:

pt, tp, tk, kt, tq, and **qt**, but not **tj** or **gt**. The one time a consonant cluster may contain sounds from two different rows is if one is a voiced fricative and the other is a nasal. In Inuit languages, many suffixes are added to stems, creating impossible clusters. It is almost always the first consonant in a cluster that adapts to the second consonant. When one sound becomes like a nearby sound, this sound change is called assimilation (MacLean, 1986, p.15).

Palatalization is the transformation of an alveolar consonant into a palatal consonant. In North Slope Iñupiaq, one can predict where palatalization occurs by locating special features of the vowel **i**. Modern Iñupiaq has three vowels: **a, i,** and **u**. However, Proto-Eskimo had a fourth vowel, **ə** (which linguists sometimes call schwa) (Kaplan 1982). The former **ə** is now termed ‘weak i’ and the original **i** is termed ‘strong I’. Presence of a ‘strong I’ triggers palatalization, while ‘weak i’ does not trigger palatalization (MacLean, 2014, p.xxvii). Both **I** and **i** sound exactly the same, but many learning materials, such as MacLean’s 2014 dictionary distinguish weak and strong I by capitalizing strong I and leaving weak i lowercase.

Here are a set of morphemes before and after they are combined to make a single word using assimilation and or palatalization:

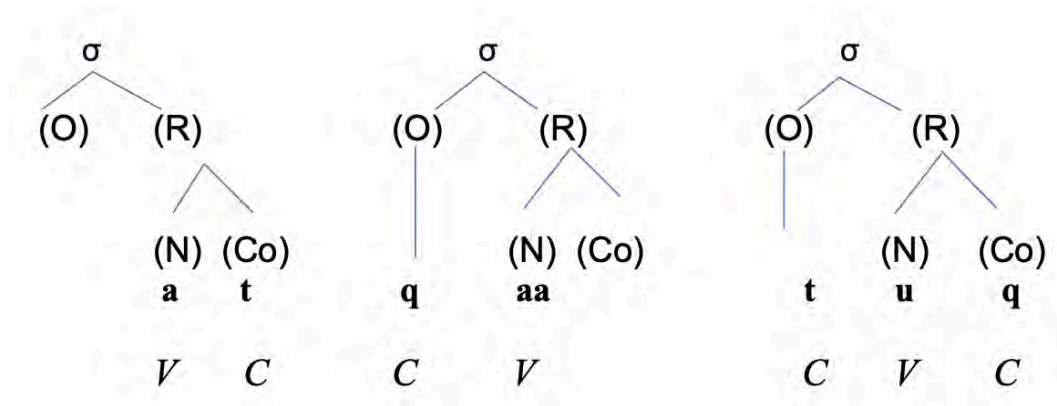
Stem	Postbase	Ending	Word	Change Type
anI ‘to go out’	niaq ‘will’	tuq ‘he’	Aniñiaqtuq ‘he will go out’	n ñ (palatalization)
isiq ‘to enter’	niaq ‘will’	tuq ‘he’	Isigniaqtuq ‘he will enter’	q ġ (assimilation)
tikIt ‘to arrive’		tuᶇa ‘I’	Tikitchuᶇa ‘I arrive’	t ch (palatalization)
makit ‘to stand’		tuᶇa ‘I’	Makittuᶇa ‘I stand’	no change
niġI ‘to eat’	llatu ‘to enjoy’	ruq ‘he’	Niġillaturuq ‘he enjoys eating’	ll ll (palatalization)

Examples in table from Edna MacLean’s ‘Chapter II Phonological Processes in Iñupiaq’ (1986, p. 15-33)

Consonant Gradation in Bering Strait Inupiaq

Before we explore the meaning of a consonant weakening system, it will be important to understand how a syllable is structured. A syllable is a string of segments grouped around one obligatory vowel or syllabic element. The vowel segment is the syllable’s nucleus (N). Any consonants preceding the nucleus are called the onset (O). Following consonants of the nucleus are called the coda (Co)

(Steriade 2002). A rime (R) refers to the vowel(s) and consonant(s) that follow the onset. The diagram of the word *atqaatuq* ‘it descends’ in King Island Inupiaq (a sub-branch of BS Inupiaq), broken into three syllables (σ) is helpful to visualize the structure of a syllable:



The first syllable ‘at’ has no onset, but has a nucleus and coda. The second syllable ‘qaa’ has an onset, a nucleus, and no coda. The final syllable ‘tuq’ has an onset, nucleus, and coda. In King Island Inupiaq, a syllable is considered ‘weak’ if it is open or if it is coda-less. Here are examples of coda-less syllable structure: *V*, *CV*, *CCV*. A syllable is considered ‘strong’ if it is closed (it contains a coda) or is a long vowel (or vowel cluster). Here are examples of a syllable structure with codas: *VC*, *CVC*, *CVCC*.

The basic stress rule for King Island Inupiaq is that non-final closed syllables, all long vowels and diphthongs receive stress. Long vowels (*aa*, *ii*, and *uu*) and diphthongs (*ai* [e:]) and *au* [o:]) are stressed uniformly throughout their entire quantity, while vowel clusters (*iu*, *ui*, *ia*, *ua*) receive stress on their second vowel. This generalization applies except in a word-final syllable, like *ui* (husband) (Kaplan, 1985, p.194). The use of ‘:’ after a vowel or consonant means that it is a long consonant or vowel (e:=ee). Typically, if the first syllable is strong, the successive syllable is weak, with the pattern alternating throughout. Weak and strong syllables alternate from left to right, so every other syllable is the same kind. However, the pattern can be interrupted by a long vowel, which is necessarily strong, and the pattern restarts (Kaplan, 1985 p. 266).

Given the illustration of the syllable structure and the stress patterns in KI Inupiaq, we can figure out how to assign strong and weak syllables to the word ‘*at-qaq-tuq*’. If we assume that NS Inupiaq words are the underlying representation (NS *at-qaq-tuq*) of KI, we can see how CG transforms words as we shift from NS to the KI dialect. Since the first syllable ‘at’ has a coda, it is considered strong. Since the first syllable is strong, it determines that the second syllable is weak and the third syllable is strong. If a consonant or cluster is within the coda position of a weak syllable, it is subject to gradation. Within the weak syllable, pay close attention to the quality of consonant(s) involved and on the preceding vowel when the consonant is uvular (Kaplan, 1985, p.194). Since the uvular following the vowel in ‘*qaq*’ is targeted for weakening, the uvular ‘q’ changes to ‘a’.

For the word *ir-it-uq* ‘it fell’, its syllables would be otherwise equally stressless. After CG applies by lengthening the t and closing the preceding syllable, it becomes stressed [irit:uq]. Stress is on the second syllable of ‘*ir-it-uq*’ because it’s a closed syllable phonetically. The gemination of ‘t’ is automatic in that position, although it is not written. This illustrates how CG does not directly assign stress, but it may condition stress assignment by creating a closed syllable, or, even remove the conditions for stress by creating an open syllable (Kaplan, 1985, p.194).

In KI, *ai-va-tuq-tuq* ‘he is eating walrus’ (NS *ai-viq-tuq-tuq*) begins with vowel cluster that is strong, followed by the weak syllable ‘va’ which undergoes CG. When ‘iqC’ is weakened in KI, it changes to ‘aC’, whereas Shishmaref changes to ‘aiC’: *aivaituqtuq*. Here, we see how a single consonant becomes automatically long after a vowel cluster, removing the contrast between short and long consonants, which is possible in other dialects. Also, in KI, *aiv-ag-tuq* ‘he killed a walrus’ (NS ‘*aiv-vak-tuq*’), the first syllable ‘aiv’ is considered strong, thus the consonant in the second syllable undergoes CG with ‘k’ weakening to ‘g’ (Kaplan, 1985, p.194).

Here is a simplified explanation of the types of changes that occur with CG:

- Stop (p) weakens to voiced fricative (v), and (v) either weakens to (w) or deletes (∅)
- The stop (t) sometimes weakens to a sound more like (d) for some people
- A voiceless lateral fricative (ɬ) weakens to a voiced lateral (l)
- A voiceless fricative (s) weakens to a voiced fricative (z)
- Stop (k) can weaken to (g), and (g) deletes (∅) or weakens to (y)
- Stop (q) can weaken to (ġ) between vowels or deletes (∅) before a consonant

- nasals are unaffected
- glottal stop is deleted (∅)

These statements do not account for several details relating to the behavior of certain consonants, especially in clusters. To ensure that CG is applied correctly, make sure to differentiate between single intervocalic consonants and consonant clusters, since weakening may occur in these two situations (Kaplan, 1985, p. 194). For example, the single intervocalic C in NS *iki* ‘wound’ changes to *igi* in KI or NS *apun* ‘snow on the ground’ changes to *avun* in KI. Whereas the consonant clusters in NS *qĩñigikpiñ* ‘I see you’ changes to *qinigigvin* in KI. Weakening of single intervocalic consonants occurs according to the following chart which shows all the consonant phonemes of King Island Inupiaq with arrows to indicate their weakened forms (alternants which follow unstressed vowels). The chart below is adapted from Kaplan (1985, p.195), showing how single consonants weaken and is complementary to the bulleted information above:

	labials	alveolars	retroflexes	alveolars	velars	uvulars	glottals
stops	p	t			k	q	ʔ
Fricatives		ʃ	sr	s			
Fricatives	v	l	r	z	g	ǰ	
glides	w			y			
(∅ =deletion)					∅		∅
nasals	m	n			ŋ		

Kaplan (1985) discusses how the Shishmaref-Wales subdialect has slightly less productive consonant gradation compared to King Island Inupiaq. On January 13, 2021, I worked with a Shishmaref Inupiaq speaker to find corresponding words to the following KI Inupiaq words that Kaplan originally compiled.

Comparison of King Island and Shishmaref Inupiaq words:

<u>King Island Inupiaq</u>	<u>Shishmaref Inupiaq</u>
(1) pati-qaa-tuq	patiqaatuq
patiq-qaq-tuq	
marrow-have-3s.Intr	
‘It has marrow.’	

(2) atqaa-tuq **atqaatuq**
 atqaq-tuq
 descend-3s.Intr

(3) qatiq-tuq **qatiqtuq**
 qatiq-tuq
 be white-3s.Intr
 ‘It is white.’

(4) igaya-tuᅇa **igazautuᅇa**
 Ikayuq-tuᅇa
 help-1s.Intr
 ‘I am helping.’

(5) anna-tugut **atnaituut** or **atnaitugut**
 anniq-tugut.
 be hurt-1p.Intr

While word pairs in 1-3 were identical in both KI and Shishmaref dialects, differences in (4) and (5) show some basic tenets of dialectal differences. Shishmaref-Wales differs from other BS dialects in the effect which deletion of a cluster-initial uvular has on a preceding vowel. In KI ‘a’ becomes ‘a:’, and ‘i’ and ‘u’ become ‘a’ when a following uvular is deleted by CG. In Shishmaref-Wales, ‘I’ becomes ‘ai’ as in (5) *atnaituq* from /atniqtuq/ or *iglaituq* from /igliqtuq/ as in (9); u becomes ‘au’ as in (4) *igazautuq* from /ikayuqtuq/, and a becomes ‘aa’ as in *iglaatuq* ‘he is laughing’ from /iglaqtuq/ as in (8).

Subdialectal variation in the Bering Strait Consonant Gradation Process

North Alaskan Iñupiaq forms do not undergo CG. Phonemes and segments in the NIA column are matched in other columns by corresponding segments which have undergone CG, with examples (Examples 6-19 and 10 from Kaplan, 1985, p. 200)

	North Alaskan Inupiaq (includes North Slope and Malimiut Iñupiaq)	King Island Inupiaq	Shishmaref Inupiaq
(6)	k paamaktuq ‘she is crawling’	g paamagtuq	g paamagtuq

(7)	ġ atqaġin 'go down' 2s	∅ atqain	∅ atqain
(8)	aq iglaqtuq 'she is laughing'	a.(half-long a) iglatuq	a: (long a) iglaatuq
(9)	iq igliqtuq 'she is traveling'	a iglatuq	ai iglaituq
(10)	p apun 'snow on the ground'	v avun	v avun
(11)	q uqaq 'tongue'	g uġaq 'tongue'	ġ uġaq 'tongue'
(12)	v savik 'knife'	w sawik	w sawik
(13)	s isiq- 'to smoke'	z iziq-	z iziq-
(14)	g igaruq 'she is cooking'	ia iaruq	ia iaruq

Conclusion

This paper helped me develop an appreciation for learning the North Slope Iñupiaq dialect before learning the Shishmaref Inupiaq dialect. It seems as though NS Iñupiaq is the most conservative form of Inupiaq in Alaska. By comparing the strong consonants in NS Iñupiaq words, we are able to see how those same consonants eventually weaken or delete in BS Inupiaq words. It was also eye opening to understand how much the Yupik prosody system has impacted BS Inupiat phonologies. I am immensely thankful for the work done on the neighboring dialect King Island Inupiaq, so that I can better understand my family's Shishmaref Inupiaq dialect. This experience gives me courage to keep working on my family's dialect. If any learners of our language would like to break these concepts down even further, I ask that you reach out to me. Quyanaqpak.

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