

# Definiteness in Yup'ik and Finnish

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March 2019

## 1 Introduction

In many languages the definiteness of noun phrases (NP) is expressed through definite and indefinite articles, clitics or affixes. Typical examples include the English lexical items *the* and *a/an* or the Arabic definite prefix *al-* and indefinite suffix *-n*. Finnish and Central Alaskan Yup'ik (CAY) are two languages that differ in this respect: they do not have articles and thus rely on different strategies to express definiteness. Finnish belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family (Karlsson, 2013). Yup'ik is a language of the Eskimo-Aleut family, spoken in southwestern Alaska by more than 10,000 people (Mithun, 2000). Detailed descriptions of the language are now available through (Jacobson and Jacobson, 1995), (Jacobson, 1984) and (Miyaoka, 2012) among others. Although several scholars have suggested that Eskimo-Aleut languages might be remotely related to Uralic languages (Bergsland, 1959), it is not a widely accepted hypothesis. I will review in Section 2 and Section 3 how definiteness can be expressed in Finnish and Yup'ik respectively. I will show that there are some parallels that can be drawn between the strategies that these languages deploy to express definiteness.

## 2 Definiteness in Finnish

There are no articles in Finnish and hence no direct way to express definiteness. However there are several secondary ways that I will describe briefly in this section. Context and relative clauses can make a noun definite (Sulkala and Karjalainen, 1992). One can also resort to case marking (Section 2.1), word order (Section 2.2), and function words such as demonstratives (Section 2.3). A more detailed coverage can be found in (Chesterman, 2005).

### 2.1 Case marking

Nouns in oblique cases and prenominal genitives usually tend to be read as more definite (Chesterman, 2005), as in

- (1) a. joukko                    sotilaita  
          group-NOM.sg. soldier-PART.pl.

- a group of soldiers
- b. sotilaiden          joukko  
 soldier-GEN.pl. group-NOM.sg.  
 the group of soldiers (Chesterman, 2005):140

However it is the partitive that is the central case for definiteness contrasts in Finnish. Unfortunately the partitive case is also a puzzle (Kiparsky, 1998) which has the most functions of all Finnish cases. Marking partial quantity is only one of them.

I review the following different case contrasts: for quantifier structures (Section 2.1.1), objects (Section 2.1.2), subjects (Section 2.1.3) and subjects in some impersonal structures and participial structures (Section 2.1.4). For all of these cases there is a healthy amount of exceptions that are ignored for the sake of brevity here.

### 2.1.1 Quantity: partitive/elative

Finnish can use the contrast between elative and partitive to distinguish definite and indefinite domains (Lyons, 1999). The partitive case is used to select a part of a generic whole. If this whole is definite, one should use the elative case, as illustrated here.

- (2) a. Saat palase-n juusto-a.  
 get-2sg piece-ACC cheese-PART  
 You will get a piece of cheese.
- b. Saat palase-n juusto-sta.  
 get-2sg piece-ACC cheese-ELA  
 You will get a piece of the cheese. (Lyons, 1999):101

### 2.1.2 Objects: partitive/accusative

Direct objects of transitive verbs can bear either partitive or accusative. The partitive/accusative difference correlates partly with the definite/indefinite contrast, as shown in these two examples:

- (3) a. Poika osti kirjat.  
 boy-NOM bought book-Pl-ACC  
 The boy bought the books.
- b. Poika osti kirjoja.  
 boy-NOM bought book-Pl-PART  
 The boy bought (some) books. (Lyons, 1999):101
- (4) a. Siirsi-n isoäiti-ä  
 move-PST-1sg grandma-PART  
 I moved grandma. (around)

- b. Siirsi-n            isoäidi-n  
 move-PST-1sg grandma-ACC  
 I moved grandma (to another place)

However one should be cautious as the partitive/accusative contrast can also express an action's completeness, alter time reference or express emphasis (Chesterman, 2005).

Finnish marks telicity on verbs. Most atelic verbs have an indefinite reading and require a partitive object. Most telic verbs are interpreted as definite and require an accusative object. Conversely it should be noted that sentences with accusative objects are aspectually unambiguous but sentences with partitive objects are aspectually ambiguous (Kiparsky, 1998), as it could bear either an indefinite meaning for the object or an imperfective interpretation of the verb as in example (b) below.

- (5) a. Tapo-i-n    karhu-t  
 kill-PST-1sg bear-ACC  
 I killed the bears.  
 b. Tapo-i-n    karhu-j-a.  
 kill-PST-1sg bear-PART  
 I killed bears (indefinite).  
 I was killing the bears (imperfective).

### 2.1.3 Subjects: partitive/nominative

Transitive subjects agree with the verb and systematically bear an ambiguous reading, either definite or indefinite.

- (6) Sotilaa-t            tuhos-i-vat            tämä-n    kylä-n.  
 soldier-NOM.pl. destroy-PST-3pl this-ACC village-ACC  
 (The) soldiers destroyed this village.

On the other hand, intransitive subjects are definite if they agree with the verb and indefinite otherwise (internal subjects of existential sentences).

- (7) a. Sotilaa-t            tul-i-vat            tänne.  
 soldier-NOM.pl. come-PST-3pl here  
 The soldiers came here. (definite)  
 b. Tänne tul-i                            sotila-i-ta.  
 here come-PST-(3sg) soldier-PART.pl.  
 Soldiers came here. (indefinite)
- (8) Metsissä            on            tiikereitä.  
 forest-INE.pl. be-3sg tiger-PAR.pl.  
 There are tigers in forests.            (Sulkala and Karjalainen, 1992):270

### 2.1.4 Some subjects: nominative/genitive

Subjects in some impersonal structures and participial structures can go through the nominative/genitive alternation which has been associated with a variation in definiteness.

- (9) a. Kirjeen piti tulla minulle.  
letter-GEN should to-come me-ALL  
*The letter was supposed to come to me.*
- b. Minulle piti tulla kirje.  
me-ALL should to-come letter-NOM  
I was supposed to get *a* letter. (Chesterman, 2005):111

However, topicalization, voice or semantics of the verb can also influence the choice of nominative vs genitive (Chesterman, 2005), which make this case contrast the most problematic. Quantitative studies (Hakulinen et al., 1980) seem to show that genitive subjects occur almost without exception in clause-initial position, which could also explain the tendency to interpret such subjects as definite.

## 2.2 Word order and stress

Word order is the first device mentioned by (Karlsson, 2013) as an alternative to articles in Finnish, as in this very simple example:

- (10) a. Kadu-lla on auto.  
street-ADE is car-NOM  
*There is a car on the street.*
- b. Auto on kadu-lla.  
car-NOM is street-ADE  
*The car is in the street.* (Karlsson, 2013):6

The subject at the end of existential clauses is usually indefinite. More generally, postverbal subjects (if not otherwise marked as definite) are typically read as indefinite. Preverbal subjects (if not otherwise marked as indefinite) and objects are translated with a definite article. New, indefinite referents have a strong tendency to avoid clause-initial position (although there are exceptions to this claim). In these examples the fronted subjects get a definite reading:

- (11) Arvostelun kirjoitti toimittaja.  
review-ACC wrote editor-NOM  
*The review was written by the editor.* (Chesterman, 2005):101
- (12) Riihimäellä mies jäi junasta.  
Riihimäki-ADE man-NOM left train-ELA  
*The man got off at Riihimäki.* (Chesterman, 2005):100

Stress can also play a role according to several scholars, although (Chesterman, 2005) argues that it does not express definiteness directly. An example often discussed in the literature with regard to stress and word order influence is the following (capitalized words are stressed):

- (13) a. Ukko oli tuvassa.  
 old-man-NOM was cottage-INE  
*The* old man was in the cottage.
- b. Tuvassa oli ukko.  
 cottage-INE was old-man-NOM  
 In the cottage was *an* old man.
- c. UKKO oli tuvassa.  
 old-man-NOM was cottage-INE  
*An* old man was in the cottage.

### 2.3 Function words

There are also lexical ways of expressing definiteness, using function words such as demonstratives pronouns or pronominal adjectives with the head word. Despite written Finnish not having articles, (Laury, 1997) has argued that in spoken Finnish the demonstrative determiner *se* has emerged as a definite article over the last century. In this example *tämä* functions indeed as a proper demonstrative, but in contrast *se* functions more as a definite article:

- (14) Hänellä ol tytär, ja tämä nuori pappi ja **se tytär**  
 3sg-ADE be-PST daughter and TAMÄ young minister and SE  
 daughter  
 He had a daughter, and this young minister and the daughter, (...)  
 ((Laury, 1997))

Another simple example of *se* usage as a definite article follows:

- (15) Näin tytön. Se tyttö itki.  
 see-IMPF-1sg girl-ACC. It girl cry-IMPF-3sg.  
 I saw a girl. That girl was crying. (Sulkala and Karjalainen, 1992):269

Quantifiers such as *kaikki* 'all' or *koko* 'whole', possessive suffix or numerals associated with a plural verb form can also play the role of definite articles. Finally, definite and indefinite pronouns are commonly used as determiners. For example indefiniteness can often be expressed through indefinite pronouns such as *yksi* ('one', actually means 'one of some group which the speaker knows and which s/he will later describe to the listener'), *eräs* ('a/an', which means 'one that the speaker knows but will not reveal to the listener'), *joku* ('some, someone'), *jokin* ('some, something') or *muuan* ('a certain').

- (16) Mieleeni tuli eräs ajatus.  
 mind-ILL-PX.1sg come-IMPF-3sg *an* idea  
*An* idea came into my mind. (Sulkala and Karjalainen, 1992):269

On the other hand a definite reference can be made using definite pronouns such as *se* 'it' or *ne* 'they'. (Chesterman, 2005) excludes *tämä* 'this' and *tuo* 'that' which are used as true demonstratives.

- (17) Esine oli *se* kultainen maisterinsormus.  
 thing-NOM was it-NOM gold-NOM ring-NOM  
 The tiny object was *the gold ring*. (Chesterman, 2005):103

The ring was previously mentioned but there is a risk of indefinite reading without the *se*. When the NP appears in clause-final position and must have a definite reading, most people would add *se* at least in natural informal speech. There is no need for *se* if the NP is in clause-initial position, as it will have a definite reading per word order.

- (18) a. Kirja, joka sinulla oli eilen, oli väärä.  
 book-NOM which-NOM you-ADE was yesterday was wrong-NOM  
*The book* you had yesterday was the wrong one.  
 b. Onko tämä *se* kirja, joka sinulla oli  
 is-Q this-NOM it-NOM book-NOM which-NOM you-ADE was  
 eilen?  
 yesterday  
 Is this *the book* you had yesterday? (Chesterman, 2005):104

In this example too *se* seems necessary to keep a definite reading after negation:

- (19) a. Tapasin miehen, jonka näit eilen.  
 met-1sg man-ACC who-ACC saw-2sg yesterday  
 I met the man you saw yesterday. (*sen miehen* would be acceptable)  
 b. Hän ei ole *se* mies /?mies, jonka  
 he NEG-3sg be it-NOM man-NOM /man-NOM who-ACC  
 näit eilen.  
 saw-2sg yesterday  
 He is not the man you saw yesterday. (Chesterman, 2005):105

### 3 Definiteness in Yup'ik

I start by reviewing very briefly the Yup'ik morphology as a preliminary in Section 3.1. For more details I refer the reader to the grammars of (Miyaoaka, 2012) and (Jacobson and Jacobson, 1995). I will then explore different ways of expressing the definiteness of a NP in Yup'ik: context (Section 3.2), inflection (Section 3.3) and nominal demonstratives (Section 3.4).

### 3.1 Yup'ik basic morphology

The terms traditionally used in the literature are in *italic*. Yup'ik is a polysynthetic language and thus what is expressed in other languages through syntax, it expresses through morphology (Miyaoka, 2012). Yup'ik words can either be uninflected (particles) or inflected (nouns and verbs). An inflected word is made of a root (*base*), optionally a theoretically unlimited number of derivational suffixes (*postbases*), and one to three final inflectional suffixes (*ending*). The following word is an example of a complex Yup'ik verb that must be translated with a complete English sentence:

- (20) qayar-pa-li-qa-a-sqe-ssaaqe-llru-aqa.  
kayak-big-make-POL-EV-A'.ask-but-PST-IND.1sg.3sg  
I asked him to make a big kayak (but actually he has not made it yet)  
(Miyaoka, 2012):86)

For nouns the inflections encode number (singular, plural and dual), case and possibly possession (1st, 2nd, 3rd and coreferential person). There are seven cases: two structural cases and five oblique cases. Absolutive (unmarked) and ergative/genitive (*relative*) are structural cases. Ablative ('from, about', *modalis*), allative ('to, towards', *terminalis*), locative ('in, at'), vialis ('through', instrumental 'with') and aequalis ('like') are oblique cases (Miyaoka, 2012; Mithun, 2000). Yup'ik is an ergative language (with exceptions). The subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs take the same case which is absolutive (ABS). The subject of a transitive verb (agent) will take a different case which is relative (REL) (Jacobson, 1984).

A verb root without valency modification can involve up to three arguments, and hence can be classified into intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive. (Miyaoka, 2012) Monotransitive stems are classified into agentive (accusative alignment) and patientive (ergative alignment). Agentive transitive stems usually describe the process itself. Thus they tend to be continuous, progressive or perfective, whereas patientive transitive stems focus on the result or the continuous state. A patientive stem with transitive inflection is semantically transitive, but with intransitive inflection it is medio-passive (with either of two readings, passive or medial, or both). Most verbs can take intransitive or transitive endings. Some verbs can only take intransitive endings (e.g. *igte-* 'to fall') or only transitive endings (e.g. *tegu-* 'to take').

Just like Finnish, according to (Jacobson and Jacobson, 1995) and (Miyaoka, 2012) Yup'ik does not have articles. Thus there are different devices that are employed to express definiteness. Context is the first and most obvious one.

### 3.2 Context

Context is an important cue for definiteness in Yup'ik. First, the contemporary language loss that Yup'ik speakers suffer from leads to an increase of grammatical misuses. Accordingly, context has become more important to elicit meaning,

and definiteness of NP. The following example illustrates this point.

- (21) angun            ner-aa  
 man.ABS.sg eat-IND.3sg.3sg  
 ? (*literally*) *It is eating the man*  
 (accepted reading) The man is eating. (Egalaq, p.c.)

Secondly, another aspect of context is the use of enclitics such as *-gguq* (hearsay, 'one said' or 'it is said') and *-wa* (used for making statements where the verb is understood from context or involving probability, among others, and implies that there is more involved than what is explicitly stated) (Jacobson, 1984). They tend to push towards an indefinite reading in the sentence, regardless of other cues such as inflection. In the following example according to Egalaq it seems that the enclitic *-gguq* bends the original definite reading towards indefiniteness.

- (22) a. Ca-gguq, kina-gguq, carayak tuaten  
 what-HRS someone-HRS ghost.ABS.sg like.that  
 pi-ngait-uq.  
 do-will.not-IND.3sg.  
 They say ghosts won't behave like that.
- b. Carayak-gguq tuaten ayag-ngait-uq,  
 ghost.ABS.sg-HRS like.that leave-will.not-IND.3sg.,  
 qanrut-aqa-ceteng.  
 tell-CNNwv-IND.3pl.3Rpl.  
 A ghost won't leave like that, it is said whenever they told them
- c. Ellii-gguq caray-iim pi-kani,  
 3sg-HRS ghost-REL.sg do-CNNif.3sg.3Rsg,  
 itempag-a-ciq-aa.  
 kick.hard-RPT-FUT-IND.3sg.3sg  
 When they are told, they boast that if a ghost appears to them, they  
 would stomp on it. (Orr and Orr, 1995):205

Saying *carayim pikani* alone would have a definite meaning "if the ghost does something to him/her". The presence of the enclitic *-gguq* shapes a hypothetical situation and turns it into a more indefinite reading. In the second sentence, if it was referring to a specific ghost, the NP would likely lean towards definiteness. Here, context plays a role as well.

The situation at the beginning of a story is also more likely to yield indefinite meanings. In this other example the reading of the river could be either definite or indefinite. The fact that this sentence starts a story tends to favor the indefinite (more fictional) reading. The *-wa* enclitic is the main cue that paints this sentence as the first sentence of a probably story. Note that if however the

narrator was previously talking of a specific river then it could be more definite and point to this specific river.

- (23) Nuna-t-wa            tau-ku-t            et-lini-aqe-lriit  
 land.ABS.pl-ENC that-EX-ABS.pl exist-EVD-CNT-PTP.3pl  
 kuig-em            ciń-i-ini.  
 river-REL.sg shore-EV-LOC.3sg.sg

There was once a village that lay on the bank of *a*(/?the) river. (Woodbury, 1984):59

Note that the allative (*terminalis*) case used in the next example is triggered by the suffix *-ni-* in *nunalqenilarait* which requires the subject of the verb to be in allative case instead of relative case. The grammatical case makes it sound definite (see next section), but the story-telling context (suggested by the reportative suffix *-ni-* "A' says that A/S should do s.t.") leans more toward an indefinite reading.

- (24) Pikegkut            ingri-t            ircinrrar-nun  
 those.up.there mountain-ABS./REL.pl little.people-ALL.pl  
 nuna-l-qe-ni-lar-ait.  
 place-VNnm-have.as-A'.say-CUS-IND.3pl.3pl

They say that some/those little people lived in the mountains upriver. (Tennant and Bitar, 1981)

As a sidenote, the little people (*ircinrraq*) are usually referred to as definite (*those, the* little people) with a hierarchical nuance underlying it.

### 3.3 Inflection

The most common inflection contrast between indefinite and definite reading can be found in the use of absolutive (ABS) versus ablative-modalis (ABM) cases (Section 3.3.1). A less well-known difference opposes absolutive and locative (LOC) cases, mainly for spatial and temporal references (Section 3.3.2).

#### 3.3.1 Absolutive vs ablative-modalis

The definite/indefinite meaning is often expressed through case. A transitive verb with absolutive (ABS) case on the object has a definite interpretation, while an intransitive verb with an object in the instrumental (or ablative-modalis, ABM) case is indefinite. (The latter construction is said to be intransitive even if an indefinite object is expressed with ABM.)

**Agentive verb** An agentive transitive verb can be detransitivized by becoming an antipassive (zero-derived) (Miyaoaka, 2012). The demoted argument of an antipassive takes the ablative-modalis case. Antipassives are morphologically intransitive and semantically transitive, and the demoted patient is semantically an object but not syntactically. The demoted NP may be indefinite but not

necessarily (a/the). The following example illustrates a transitive/antipassive (zero-derived, intransitive) pair of an agentive verb.

- (25) a. Angute-m    nayiq            ner-aa.  
           man-REL.sg seal-ABS.sg eat-IND.3sg.3sg  
           The man is eating/has (just) eaten *the* seal.  
 b. Angun            nayir-mek    ner'-uq.  
           man-REL.sg seal-ABM.sg eat-IND.3sg  
           The man is eating/has (just) eaten *a/the* seal. (Miyaoaka, 2012):903

The non-grammatical sentence in (c) is still acceptable for Egalaag and it will then put more emphasis on indefiniteness through the ablative-modal ending *-mek*.

- (26) a. Angun            tuntuvag-mek    pissur-tuq.  
           man-ABS.sg. moose-ABM.sg. hunt-IND.3.sg.  
           The man is hunting a moose. (non-specific) (intransitive, zero-derived antipassive)  
 b. Angute-m    tuntuvak            pissur-aa  
           man-REL.sg. moose-ABS.sg. hunt-IND.3.sg-3.sg  
           The man is hunting **the** moose. (referring to a specific moose that you see or talked about previously) (transitive)  
 c. (\*)Angun    tuntuvag-mek    pissur-aa  
           man-ABS.sg moose-ABM.sg hunt-IND.3sg.3sg  
           The man is hunting **a** moose. (non-grammatical in theory but acceptable, puts more emphasis on *-mek* as indefinite) (Egalaag, p.c.)

**Patientive verb** A transitive patientive verb can be detransitivized either as an antipassive (suffix-derived) or medio-passive (zero-derived) (Miyaoaka, 2012). The first type is very common and is illustrated by this example:

- (27) a. Arnaq            assik-i-uq            mikelngur-nek.  
           woman-ABS.sg like-APS-IND.3sg child-ABM.pl  
           The woman likes children.  
 b. Arna-m            assik-ai            mikelngu-u-t.  
           woman-REL.sg like-IND.3sg.3sg child-EV-ABS.pl  
           The woman likes *the* children. (Miyaoaka, 2012):918

The second type can be found in this example:

- (28) a. Angute-m    sass'aq            navg-aa.  
           man-REL.sg watch-ABS.sg break-IND.3sg.3sg  
           The man broke *the* watch.

- b. Sass'aq            naveg-tuq.  
 watch-ABS.sg break-IND.3sg  
 The watch broke (medialization) or The watch was broken (rare, passivization).
- c. Angun            sass'a-mek            navg-i-uq.  
 man-ABS.sg watch-ABM.sg break-E-IND.3sg  
 The man broke *a* watch (antipassive) or The man had *a* watch broken (rare, passivization) (Miyaoaka, 2012):900

In both cases, the alternation of cases between absolutive and ablative-modalis reflects the change in definiteness of the object NP.

(Miyaoaka, 2012) has more complex examples of a definite/indefinite contrast using ABS/ABM cases. They are less clear cut and less easily translated with the pair of English articles *the/a*. I show here two of these examples which suggest some semantic definiteness nuances between a NP in absolutive case and the demoted NP in ablative-modalis case.

- (29) a. Ciku-i-gaanga            qalta-mnek  
 freeze-Eadv-IND.3sg.1sg bucket-ABM.1sg.sg  
 My bucket froze on me (possibly implies that the content of the bucket is unknown, trivalent adversative)
- b. Ciku-a            qalta-qa  
 freeze-IND.3sg.3sg bucket-ABS.1sg.sg  
 My bucket froze (lit. it froze my bucket) (possibly the content being known, impersonal patientive bivalent) (Miyaoaka, 2012):755
- (30) a. Ene-kuci-vnek            kipuc-iiq-ua  
 house-kind-ABM-2.sg.sg buy-FUT-IND.1sg  
 I shall buy the house that is the same kind as yours (which house/where unknown yet)
- b. Ene-kuci-n            kipuc-iiq-aqa  
 house-kind-ABS-2.sg.sg buy-FUT-IND.1sg  
 I shall buy the house that is the same kind as yours (already known/decided) (Miyaoaka, 2012):756

(Miyaoaka, 2012) also highlights that interrogative sentences are no exception to this trend:

- (31) a. Ca-mek            ner-yug-cit?  
 what-ABM.sg eat-DES-INT.2sg  
 What (kind of food) do you (sg.) want to eat?  
 (The food may not be currently visible.)

- b. Ca                    ner-yug-ciu?  
 what.ABS.sg eat-DES-INT.2sg.3sg  
 What/which (specific) food do you (sg.) want to eat?  
 (The food may be visible)                    (Miyaoka, 2012):756

### 3.3.2 Absolute vs Locative

There is a semantic contrast between the absolute and locative form of time and space words. The absolute case used for a temporal reference is more definite than one in the locative case, which is more general:

- (32) a. unuk                    (c)ella-rva-llru-uq  
 night-ABS.sg weather-big-ABS.sg  
 it was (we had) a heavy rain last night  
 b. unug-mi                    (c)ella-rva-llru-uq  
 night-LOC.sg weather-big.ABS.sg  
 it was (we had) a heavy rain during the night (Miyaoka, 2012):303
- (33) a. Unuk                    tekit-uq.  
 night.ABS.sg arrive-IND.3.pl  
 The night is here.  
 He came last night.  
 b. Unug-mi                    tekite-llru-uq.  
 night-LOC.sg arrive-PST-IND.3.sg  
 He came at night (not in the daytime).                    (Miyaoka, 2012):735
- (34) a. Unug-pak                    cali-ma-llru-uq.  
 night-big-ABS.sg work-CNT-PST-IND.3sg  
 He worked all night.  
 b. Unug-pag-mi                    ui-gar-tuq.  
 night-big-LOC.sg wake.up-suddenly-IND.3sg  
 He woke up suddenly in the middle of the night.                    (Miyaoka, 2012):735-736

Similarly, in the following example an adverbial demonstrative in the locative case refers to an area more indefinite and more likely to be invisible than if it were using the absolute case *man'a*, which may be something visible.

- (35) a. Ene-n/                    Mamterilleq/ Ma-n'a                    kiircet-uq.  
 house-ABS.2.sg.sg Bethel.ABS.sg this-EX.ABS.sg hot-IND.3sg  
 It [weather] is hot in your (sg) house / in Bethel / in this place  
 (village, house).  
 b. Ene-vni/                    Mamteriller-mi                    -ni kiircet-uq.  
 house-LOC.2sg.sg Bethel-LOC.sg/-pl. hot-IND.3sg  
 It is hot in your (sg.) house / in Bethel.

- c. Ma-a-ni kiircet-uq.  
 this-EX-LOC hot-IND.3sg  
 It is hot here. (Miyaoaka, 2012):735

Although it does not pertain to spatio-temporal references, in this last example the absolutive noun in (b) implies the category of man (as opposed to the woman).

- (36) a. Wii angut-mi iqva-lar-tua.  
 1sg man-LOC.sg pick.berry-CUS-IND.1sg  
 I, a man, go berrypicking.  
 b. [Wii(,) angun], iqva-lar-tua.  
 1sg man-ABS.sg pick.berry-CUS-IND.1sg  
 I, the man, go berrypicking. (Miyaoaka, 2012):793

### 3.4 Nominal demonstratives

Another way of designing NP is nominal demonstratives which are very often used as third person personal pronouns functioning like definite articles in other languages. In Yup'ik thirty demonstrative roots convey location, direction and motion specifications (Miyaoaka, 2012). Very often they are used to convey a definite reading of a NP, as shown in the examples that follow.

The following two examples are taken from a story *The time the evil spirit almost came in* (Orr and Orr, 1995) whose two protagonists are a young and an old man. In Yup'ik the latter is often referred to as "this old man" with a demonstrative where one would use a definite article in English.

- (37) Angulluaq ta-u-na qanrut-lini-luku, angulluam  
 old.man.ABS.sg that-EX-ABS.sg tell-EVD-APP.3sg. old.man.REL.sg.  
 pi-llini-a,  
 do-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg  
 He talked with this old man, and the old man said to him (Orr and Orr, 1995):187

- (38) Itr-an ta-u-m angullugaam  
 Enter-CNNbc.3sg that-EX-REL.sg. old.man.REL.sg  
 pi-llini-a, "Waqaa!"  
 do-EVD-IND.3sg.3sg hello  
 When he entered this old man said to him, "Well now!" (Orr and Orr, 1995):199

Being at the beginning of a story the first sentence of the following example definitely bears an indefinite meaning, despite the use of a demonstrative to refer to the couple (as in *these two people*). However from the next sentence demonstratives are used in addition to the NP, giving it a definite meaning from there on.

- (39) a. Tua-llu            tau-ku-k            uksuiya-llini-uk.  
 Then-also.ENC that-EX-ABS.du go.to.fall.camp-EVD-IND.1.du  
 One day a couple went to their winter camp.
- b. Tau-ku-k            nulirqelriik            qetunra-r-lutek  
 that-EX-ABS.du married.couple.ABS son-have-APP.3.du  
 That husband and wife had a son            (Orr and Orr, 1995)

In the second sentence of the next example the man is referred to as *tauna imna yuk* meaning "the aforementioned/previously known person" (expression made of a double demonstrative, although only *imna* could have been used according to Egalaq). Context (storytelling beginning) wins over the use of a demonstrative in the first sentence, yielding more indefiniteness for the man. After the man has been introduced, it is referred to with a definite reading.

- (40) a. Caqer-luni,            ili-it            ta-u-na  
 happen-APP.3pl, one.of.them.ABS.3pl.sg that-EX-ABS.sg  
 yuk            yuilqu-mi            tau-ku-gnek  
 person.ABS.sg tundra.LOC.sg that-EX-ABM.du  
 yu-y'ag-aa-gnek            malru-gnek            tangrr-ami  
 person-little-two-ABM.du two-ABM.du see-CNNbc.3Rsg  
 uqviga-a-t            akuli-it-nik,  
 willow-EX-REL.pl between-3pl.sg-INS.pl.  
 pissur-yaaqe-llini-ak.  
 hunt-but-EVD-IND.3sg.3du  
 Once when a man saw two elves among the willows, he gave chase.
- b. Tua-llu-gguq            unat-me-gnek            elucira'ar-qa-a-gni,  
 Then-also-HRS hand-be.at-ABM.du gesture-little-EV-LOC.du,  
 ta-u-na            imna            yuk  
 that-EX-ABS.sg that.ABS.sg person.ABS.sg  
 qecnge-llini-uq  
 bounce.off-EVD-IND.3sg  
 With a wave of their hands, the man was sent flying through the air  
 (Tennant and Bitar, 1981)

This last example makes a wealthy usage of demonstratives and possessives for definiteness:

- (41) a. Tua-lli-wa-gguq            ukut, nuna-t  
 Then-oh-ENC-HRS these land-ABS.pl  
 uita-a-qe-llriit            kuig-em  
 be.situated-VNrl-have.as-PTP.3pl river-REL.sg.  
 ceń-i-ini            kuigat-gguq            tamana anuma-luni  
 shore-EV-LOC.3sg.sg river.PX.3pl-HRS that.one flow-APP.3Rsg  
 imarpig-mun,  
 ocean.ALL

There was once these villages located along this river, that river evidently flowed into the ocean

- b. Tau-ku-t-gguq            nukalpiarta-r-luteng            nuna-t,            cali  
that-EX-ABS.pl-HRS rich.man-have-APP.3Rpl land-ABS.pl, and  
elliraar-ar-tar-luni.  
orphan-VNrl-have-APP.3Rsg

It is said those (villages) contained successful hunters and also an orphan.

- c. Ang-luteng-llu    tau-ku-t            nuna-t.  
big-APP.3pl-also that-EX-ABS.pl land-ABS.pl

And those villages were very large.

- d. Ta-u-na            nukalpiaq            qetunr-ar-luni            ataucimek.  
that-EX-ABS.sg rich.man.ABS son-have-APP.3Rsg

That man had a son.

(Tennant and Bitar, 1981)

## 4 Conclusion

Unlike Yup'ik, Finnish can use word order to some extent in order to convey a sense of definiteness. However the use of inflection or case marking to express a definite reading bears resemblance: both can use partitive or oblique cases to express indefiniteness or partial affectedness, and the opposition between transitive/intransitive verbs has some overlap with definite interpretations with respect to subjects and objects. Both languages make use of context to override definiteness readings. Finally, the extensive use of function words such as demonstratives as needed to refer to definite NP is present in both languages.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my friend Christopher W. *Egalaaq* Liu from Bethel, Alaska for his invaluable help in elucidating Yup'ik examples. Finnish examples that are not referenced are from the lecture notes of the seminar 'Structure of Finnish' of Paul Kiparsky, Arto Anttila and Lauri Karttunen. I am also grateful for the inspiration, hospitality and resources offered by the Bibliothek Sprachwissenschaft of the University of Bern.

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## Acronyms

**ABM** Ablative-Modalis case.

**ABS** Absolutive case.

**ALL** Allative (*terminalis*).

**APP** Appositive mood.

**CNNbc** Causal (*because*) connective mood.

**CNNif** Conditional (*if*) connective mood.

**CNNwv** Constantive (*whenever*) connective mood.

**CNT** Continuous.

**CUS** Customary.

**DES** Desiderative.

**E** Extended argument.

**Eadv** Adversative.

**EV** Epenthetic vowel.

**EVD** Evidential.

**EX** Root expander.

**FUT** Futur.

**HRS** Hearsay (enclitic *-gguq*).

**LOC** Locative case.

**POL** Polite.

**PST** Past.

**PTP** Participial (mood or relative clause).

**REL** Relative case.

**RPT** Repetitive.

**VNnm** Nominalizers.

**VNrl** Relativizer.