

## **Basic vocabulary of Yupik languages: a lexicostatistical analysis<sup>1</sup>**

This article presents a lexicostatistical classification of Yupik languages included in the Eskaleut family, using 110-item wordlists as the basis for comparison. The study aims to refine and expand upon previous lexicostatistical work on Yupik languages, focusing on semantic clarifications and contextual considerations in compiling the word lists. The study includes new data from recent dictionaries and fieldwork, particularly for the Central Siberian Yupik (CSY). The study improves on earlier works by providing a more nuanced approach to word selection, including synonyms, regional variations, and frequency data. It also broadens the scope of the research by including more dialects, specifically five dialects of Central Alaskan Yup'ik (CAY) and two varieties of Alutiiq.

The study's results generally confirm the classification scheme proposed by Vakhtin and Golovko (1987), with some minor adjustments. For instance, Nunivak Yupik is suggested to be a more divergent variety, potentially warranting separate language status. At the same time, the article discusses serious differences from the work of Mudrak (2008), concerning both the aging of certain linguistic nodes and the topography of the language tree. Annotated 110-word lists are included as a Supplement to the article.

*Keywords:* Yupik languages; Naukan language; lexicostatistics; basic vocabulary; phylogenetic classification; Eskimo-Aleut languages.

### **0. Introduction**

The article proposes a lexicostatistical classification for ten languages and dialects of the Yupik group of the Eskimo branch of the Eskaleut family, based on high-quality 110-item wordlists.

The Yupik languages are one of the two constituent families of Eskaleut languages. They are spoken by the Yupik peoples of western and south-central Alaska and easternmost Chukotka.

The subgrouping of Sirenik (extinct since 1997) is controversial. It can be considered as the earliest offshoot of Yupik or as a third branch of Eskaleut, heavily influenced by Central Siberian Yupik, one of the Yupik languages. The data on Sirenik are not included in this paper.

The geographical distribution of Yupik languages and their dialects can be seen in Fig. 1.

Annotated 110-item lists are included as a Supplement to the article; they are also available for download in Excel format so as to allow to reproduce the author's result or use them for alternate computational analyses (available at: [www.jolr.ru/jlr22/koryakov.zip](http://www.jolr.ru/jlr22/koryakov.zip)).

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<sup>1</sup> This research has been supported by the Russian Science Foundation, Grant 23-18-00204 "Dynamics of the linguistic situation in the Far North: diachronic documentation of Naukan Yupik".

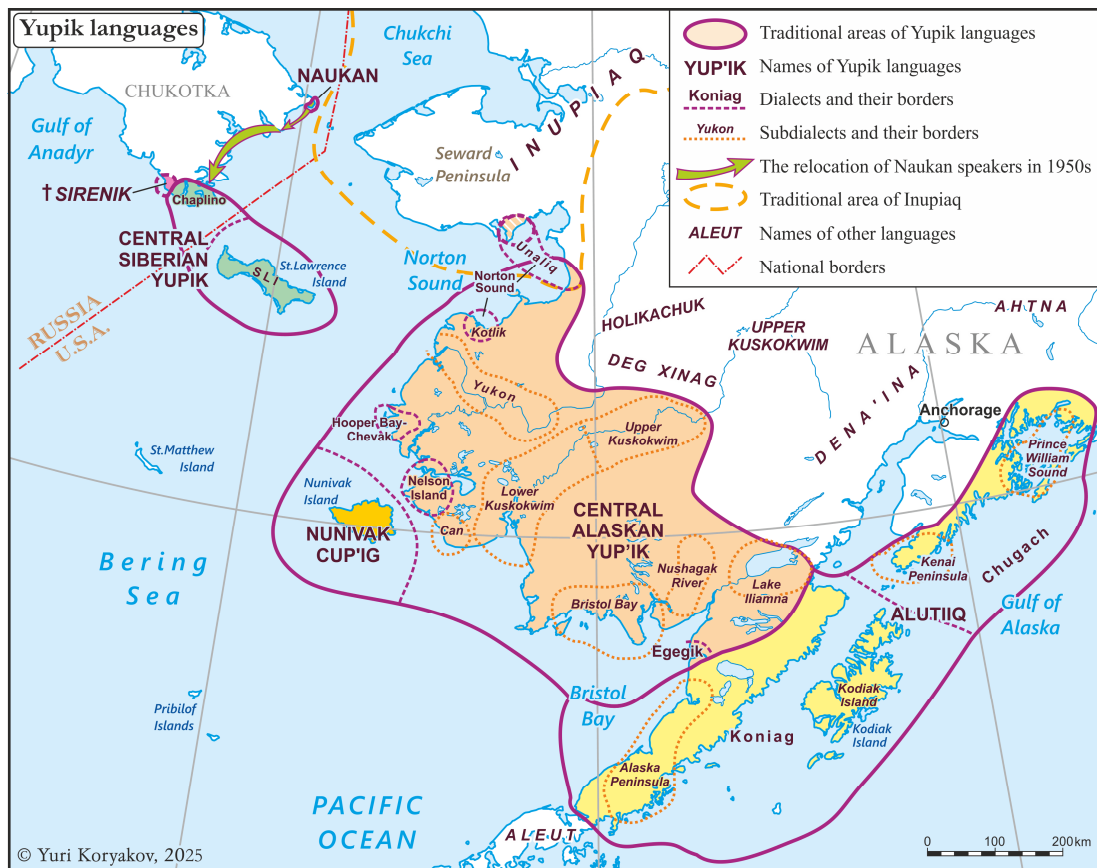


Fig. 1. Map of Yupik languages

## 1. Previous studies

Attempts at lexicostatistical classification of Yupik languages have already been made by other researchers. As a pioneering effort, 100-item wordlists for five Yupik languages and dialects (one list for the four traditionally distinguished languages, as well as two lists for CSY) were published along with lists of other Eskimo and Aleut languages in Vakhtin & Golovko 1987. However, this work was published long before the appearance of semantic clarifications and contexts for collecting 100-item wordlists of basic vocabulary (Kassian et al. 2010). In addition, it used a slightly modified list of words (see the *Wordlists* section). Another attempt is the unpublished 110-item wordlists for five Yupik varieties (including two lists for CAY) which were used in the work of Mudrak (2008) and are available as a .dbf file. Although the purpose of the actual paper was not to make a thorough comparison of the lists with these earlier works, the following main differences can be pointed out:

- semantic clarifications and contexts were used in compiling our lists;
- synonyms were allowed, but every effort was made to identify the main word for each meaning, not only on the basis of semantic clarifications, but also on the basis of usage frequency (in Vakhtin & Golovko 1987 synonyms were completely excluded, in Mudrak's lists they are given in approximately the same quantities as in ours, i.e. from 4 to 13 per language; in our lists the number varies from 6 to 12);
- the number of lists was increased to 10 by including 5 wordlists for 5 main CAY dialects and 2 wordlists for two main dialects of Alutiiq;
- new dictionaries published since then were heavily used;
- field data were used in refining the choice of words for Naukan and Chaplino CSY.

## 2. Methods and materials

### 2.1. Varieties

As already mentioned, our work provides and uses wordlists for the following Yupik languages and dialects:

- **Central Siberian Yupik** with two dialects, both represented by wordlists: St. Lawrence dialect and Chaplino;
- **Naukan Yupik** with no dialectal divergence;
- **Central Alaskan Yup'ik** with five main dialects represented by wordlists: General Central Yup'ik (GCY; represented by Upper Kuskokwim subdialect), Norton Sound (represented by Unaliq sub-dialect), Hooper Bay-Chevak, Nunivak (Cup'ig) and extinct Egegik; although other GCY subdialects are not listed separately, it is indicated for many words in which of subdialects they occur (in curly brackets), for example: {Y, Can, UK, LI};
- **Alutiiq** with two main dialects both represented by wordlists: Koniag (represented by Kodiak Island variety) and Chugach (represented by Kenai Peninsula variety).

The Sirenik language is not considered in this paper. It is more appropriate to consider its data together with the data of the Inuit languages, for a more complete presentation of the overall picture of the classification and relationships within the Eskimo languages.

Sources for each variety are listed below in the Supplement.

### 2.2. Wordlists

Nikolai B. Vakhtin and Eugeni V. Golovko (1987: 4) write that when the Swadesh list is applied to a “new, especially ‘exotic’, language family, a modification of the original word list suggested by M. Swadesh is inevitable” and cite Michael Krauss (1986: 17), who wrote that “because Eskimo is at such environmental extreme, it is penalized by the Swadesh list, perhaps made for every place but the Arctic”.

As a result, they excluded the following words from the Swadesh list (and replaced them with others): ‘yellow’, ‘green’ (as they write, there are only secondary derivatives to indicate these colors in many Yupik languages); ‘warm’, ‘cold’, ‘this’, ‘that’ (as they write, it is impossible to choose between dozens of synonyms designating these notions); ‘tree’, and some other words, such as ‘not’ (and also ‘round’, ‘to say’, ‘seed’), because of its absence in Yupik (Vakhtin & Golovko 1987: 5). The words ‘yellow’, ‘green’, ‘warm’, ‘cold’, ‘this’, ‘that’ do indeed present certain difficulties in choosing the optimal equivalent, but there is nothing insurmountable or specifically Arctic (in comparison with other families or regions) in these cases. Perhaps only two words (‘seed’, and one of the additional 10 words — ‘snake’) are really a bit exotic for the polar regions, but even for them, some Yupik languages have original words.

Despite such modifications, our results and VG87 are quite comparable, both in topology and in cognate percentages. The same cannot be said about Mudrak’s results.

Thus, we use the classic 100-item Swadesh wordlist, plus 10 words (‘far’, ‘heavy’, ‘near’, ‘salt’, ‘short’, ‘snake’, ‘thin’, ‘wind’, ‘worm’, ‘year’) that were added from Sergei Yakhontov’s 100-item wordlist, carried over from the second part of the 200-item Swadesh wordlist (see Burlak & Starostin 2005: 12–13 for details) but not used in the subsequent calculations. To ensure a more precise choice of words, semantic specifications and corresponding contexts defined in Kassian et al. 2010 were used. In addition, in the case of very close synonyms, we used

the frequency of words in the examples. In this case, curly brackets were used to frame notes such as {more frequent word}, {most frequent word}, or {both words are used in the relevant contexts}. If both words are neutral and sufficiently frequent for a given meaning, they are given as synonyms. Synonyms are also considered to be correspondences for distinct sub-entries, for example, ‘round (2D)’ and ‘round (3D)’, or the difference in the two meanings of the word ‘lie’, specific for all Yupik languages: ‘to lie on one’s belly/face down’ and ‘to lie on one’s back’.

In general, there are relatively few loanwords in the basic vocabulary of Yupik languages. Their number varies from zero (in Nunivak) to four (in Chaplino CSY). The main sources of borrowings are Chukchi (for CSY and Naukan) and Russian (for Alutiiq and Chaplino). There are also at least two loanwords from Aleut in Alutiiq: *aarit* ‘liver’, *aikuq* ‘dog’, and one probable borrowing *qamiquq* ‘head’. Another probable borrowing is *taanjaq* ‘liquor’ from Aleut *taanga-* ‘(drinking) water’ (Bergsland 1994: 392), but judging by the Inuit equivalents, it was borrowed already into Proto-Eskimo, so for Yupik we consider it to be inherited.

### 3. Results & Discussion

The cognate percentages between all the studied lects are provided in Table 1.

Lect	Siberian Yupik		Central Alaskan Yup'ik					Alutiiq	
	Chap.	Nauk.	Nun.	UK	NSU	HPC	Eg	Al. Ken.	Al.Kod.
SLI	<b>94</b>	74	59	56	60	57	57	60	60
Chap.		77	62	59	63	61	60	62	63
Nauk.			60	60	64	61	60	64	66
Nun.				87	84	85	84	73	72
UK					<b>91</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>95</b>	79	77
NSU						<b>91</b>	90	80	78
HPC							<b>92</b>	78	76
Eg								77	76
Al. Ken.									<b>94</b>

Table 1. Cognate percentages between Yupik varieties.

Comparison of the obtained results with previous works shows, first of all, a noticeable aging of many tree nodes, and second, a change in tree topography as compared to Mudrak 2008. A comparison of the cognate percentages for the key tree nodes in all three works can be seen in Table 2. The difficulty of the comparison lies in the topography of American Yupik in our work, which is quite different from that of Mudrak’s. According to the latter, Nunivak CSY branches off first, after which CSY and Alutiiq are separated. Moreover, if cognate percentages for GCY CAY and Nunivak CSY look similar in both works (84 and 87), cognate shares for CAY and Alutiiq in Mudrak look extremely high (94) and do not agree with either our results (75) or the data in VG87 (73). The reason for this is most likely incorrect data used for the list for Alutiiq in Mudrak 2008. According to a reference in another work by the same author (Mudrak 2011: 8), the data were taken from the work Birket-Smith 1953 and may have been mistakenly attributed to Alutiiq.

Otherwise, the topography of the trees is the same.

Event	This article	VG 1987	Mudrak 2008
Proto-Yupik (after splitting of Sirenik)	60	66	75
American Yupik (splitting NUN off)	(84)	—	87
American Yupik (splitting CAY and Alutiiq)	73	73	94
CAY	84	—	
Alutiiq	94	—	
Siberian Yupik	74	79	82
CSY	94	97	

Table 2. Cognate percentages for the key tree nodes in different sources.

The results of the calculations for varieties within CSY should be also mentioned. As already suggested, the Nunivak “dialect” turned out to be the most divergent of them, and judging by the cognate percentages, it may well claim the status of a separate language, which has already been indicated in other works (Amos & Amos 2003: viii). The remaining dialects are closer to each other, although NSU stands out a little. However, it should be taken into account that the data on these dialects (except Nunivak) may be incomplete, since the words for them were taken from a common source (Jacobson 2012), in which many words do not have dialectal differentiation and there is no way to check the frequency for peripheral dialects.

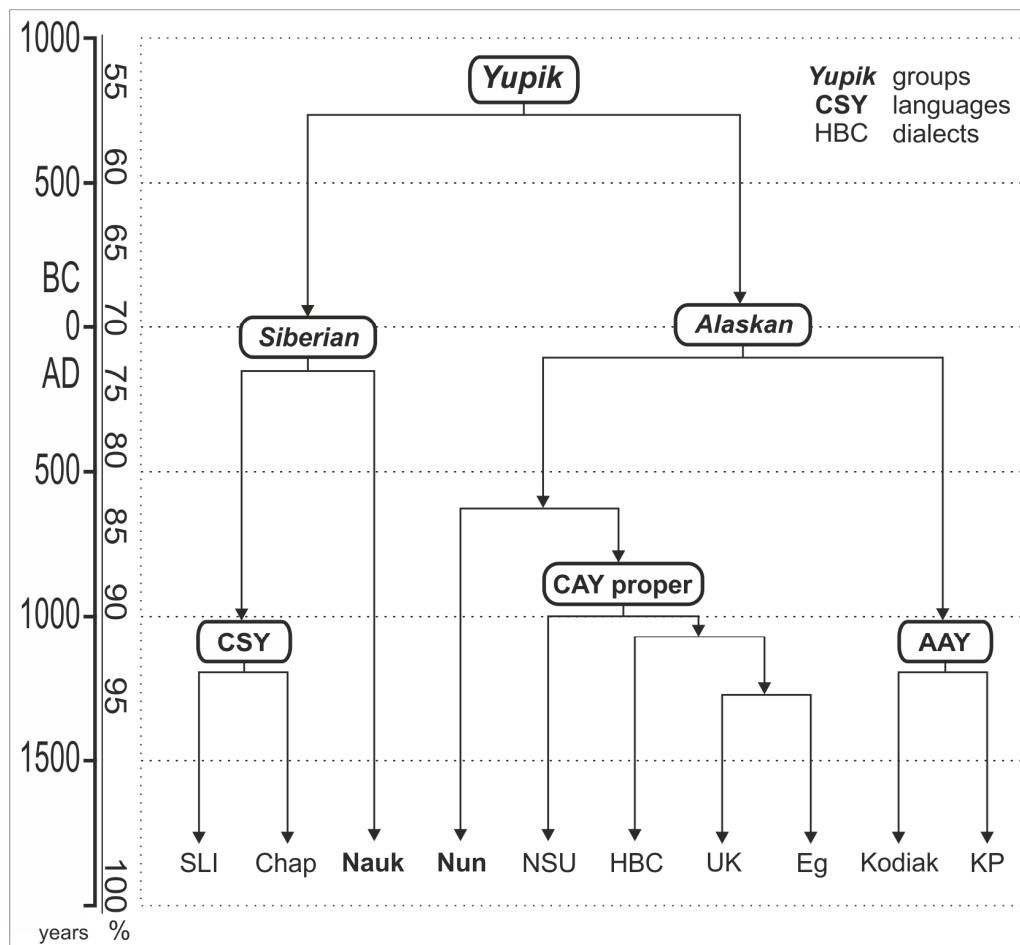


Fig. 2. Classification tree of Yupik languages based on 100-item wordlists

The conducted study on the whole confirms the generally accepted classification scheme of Yupik languages, substantiated back in VG87, although with some shift of their divergence

toward a more distant past. The splitting of CAY and AAY on the one hand, and CSY and Naukan on the other, occurred almost at the same time (75% and 76%), as compared with the larger difference between these nodes in VG87 (73% and 79%). No special similarity was found between Naukan and American Yupik either, if one does not count a small jump between NSU and Naukan: 64% against 60–61% between Naukan/CSY and other CAY varieties. Against this background, the cognate shares between Naukan and Alutiiq (64–66%) look unusually high compared to 61–63% between CSY and Alutiiq.

#### 4. Supplement

The Supplement provides all the wordlists, sorted by alphabetical order.

For each word entry, the words from each variety under consideration are given in a single order, except for those cases where the words for NSK, HBC, Eg coincide with UK CAY.

The line for each language begins with the cognate index. Words with the same index are considered cognates from the point of view of further calculations. Negative indices mark borrowings, which are then removed from the calculations. In the case of synonyms, several indices are given. Words treated as basic for certain meaning are underlined, other words (not underlined) are provided for comparison.

Variants derived from the same root are separated with a slash (/); words derived from different roots are separated with a semicolon. Nouns are given in the natural citation form, but verbs—having no clear-cut natural citation form—are given in their abstract base or stem form with a hyphen, translated by the English infinitive, thus *ni:quk-* ‘to hear’, etc.

Glosses after words are given if their meaning does not completely coincide with the entry meaning. Curly brackets mark (a) explanations of occurrence (usage) and/or frequency; (b) notes on occurrences in different dialects.

For SLI, CAY, Alutiiq, Proto-Eskimo, and Proto-Yupik we employ the orthography used in the corresponding default sources. For Chaplino CSY and Naukan we use IPA transcription. Words from other Cyrillic-based languages (Russian and Chukchi) are given both in their original Cyrillic spelling and IPA phonemic transcription. Table 3 provides a comparison of the spellings used and IPA.

IPA	SLI CSY	CAY	Kodiak Alutiiq	Chugach, AP Alutiiq
a	a	a		a
a:	aa	aa		aa
tʃ	c	c ([ts]_e)		c
ə [ə]	e	e		e
ɛ:			ei*	ei*
ʎ	g	g	—	g
ʎ <sup>w</sup>	w	uḡ (w in NS, HBC)	w	gw
x	gg	gg, g <sup>#</sup>	g	gg, Tg, gT
x <sup>w</sup>	wh	w	gw	ggw, Tgw, gwT
h	h			
i:	ii	ii		i
k	k	k		k

Table 3. Yupik orthographies with IPA correspondences

IPA	SLI CSY	CAY	Kodiak Alutiiq	Chugach, AP Alutiiq
k <sup>w</sup>	kw	ûk (kw in Eg, Nun)		kw
ɕ		– (l <sup>z</sup> in Nun)		
l	l	l		l
ɬ	ll, Tl, lT	ll, Tl, lT		ll [ɬ]
m	m	m		m
m̥	mm, Tm, mT	m̄, Tm		hm, Tm
n	n	n		n
n̥	nn, Tn, nT	n̄, Tn		hn, Tn
nɣ	n'g	n'g	n'g [nx]	n'g
ŋ	ng	ng		ng
ŋ <sup>w</sup>	ngw			
ŋ̥	ngng, Tng, ngT	ńg, Tng		hng, Tng
ŋ̥ <sup>w</sup>	ngngw			
ɔ:			au*	ou*
p	p	p		p
q	q	q		q
q <sup>w</sup>	qw	ûq		
r	r [ɺ]	–		r, ř*
ɣ	gh	r	–	r
ɣ <sup>w</sup>	ghw	ûr	rw	rw
χ	ghh, Tgh, ghT	rr, r#	r	rr, Tr, rT
χ <sup>w</sup>	ghhw, Tghw, ghwT	ûrr	ur, rw#, T_rw	
z	z	s		
s	s	ss, #s		s
ʃ	rr, Tr, rT			
t	t	t		t
u	u	u		u
u:	uu	uu		uu
v	v	v		
f	f	vv, v#		f
w		v (_V_), u- (w in Nun)		w
j	y	y		y
C:		C'		C'

Notes: C = any consonant; T = any voiceless consonant; V = any vowel; #- = beginning of a word; -# = end of a word. \* = in Russian loanwords.

Apostrophe (' or ') is also used to separate conventional letter combinations for single sounds from subsequent sounds, e.g. ng'g [ŋɣ] etc.

Table 3. Yupik orthographies with IPA correspondences

Proto-Eskimo (or Proto-Yupik) forms are given for each entry after the blank line. Proto-forms are taken from CED or from Mudrak 2011. Unfortunately, the etymology of quite a number of words remains unclear, most notably those attested in Alutiiq.

**Default dialects and default (and other) sources for individual languages.**

References to the default sources for corresponding languages in the Supplement contain only page number (e.g.: [236]). References to additional sources use abbreviated forms, indicated below for each source.

**Central Siberian Yupik (CSY)**

St. Lawrence dialect (SLI). Default source: Badten et al 2008.

Chaplino (Chap.). Default source: Radunovič 2014; Rubcova 1971 (R71); Menovsh'ikov 1988 (M88); Vaxtin 2003 (V03).

Naukan (Nauk). Default source: Golovko et al. 2004; additional sources: Menovsh'ikov 1987 (M87), field works (FW24).

**Central Alaskan Yup'ik (CAY)**

General Central Yup'ik (represented by Upper Kuskokwim subdialect – UK; other dialects mentioned: Y, MY, UY, NI, Can, K, LK, mid-K, BB, NR, LI, NSK). Default source: Jacobson 2012.

Egegik (Eg). Default source: Jacobson 2012 (J12).

Hooper Bay-Chevak (HBC). Default source: Jacobson 2012 (J12).

Norton Sound (represented by Unaliq sub-dialect; NSU). Default source: Jacobson 2012 (J12).

Nunivak (Cup'ig; Nun). Default source: Amos, Amos 2003; additional source: Jacobson 2012 (J12).

**Alutiiq (AAY)**

Kenai Peninsula dialect (KP; Chugach group). Default source: Leer 2007 (L07); additional sources: Smelcer 2010 (S10), Fortescue et al. 2010 (CED).

Kodiak Island dialect (Kod.; Koniag group). Default source: Leer 1978 (L78); additional source: Jacobson 2012 (J12).

Other dialects mentioned:

*Chugach group*: Prince William Sound (PWS): Chenega (CH), Tatitlek (T); Kenai Peninsula (KP; Lower Kenai): Nanwalek (NW, English Bay), Port Graham (PG).

*Koniag group*: Alaska Peninsula (AP).

Protoforms. Default source: Fortescue et al. 2010 (CED); additional sources: Mudrak 2011 (M11), Jacobson 2012 (J12); Kassian et al. 2023 (K23). Protoforms which have a reference to K23 are listed there as the basic equivalent for the corresponding meaning in Proto-Eskimo.

Although we tried our best to find etymologies in the sources, the purpose of our work is not to search for new etymologies or to clarify old ones; the protoforms are given mainly to show the (non-)cognacy of words in modern languages.

## ALL (OMNIS)

-1, 1 CSY SLI. *qamagllu* 'all, every one, whole' < subordinative of *qamagte-* 'to go through all; to consume or be consumed entirely; to come to the end; to completely use up; to finish' {most frequent}; *iingunagh-* 'whole; all; every'; cf. *tamaghhagh-* 'all; both (in dual); every'

-1, 2 CSY Chap. *qamaxlu-* 'all, every one, whole'; *tamaxax-* 'all, whole' (for animated only); cf. *i:ηunχaq* 'whole'

1 Nauk. *i:βunaq-* 'all, whole, both'

2 CAY UK. *tamar-*, *tamalkur-* 'all; whole; entire; every'; = NSU, HPC, Eg



2 CAY Nun. *tamarmeng*, *tamamta*, *tamarpeci*

3, 2 AAY KP. *nangluteng/nangluki*; *tamarmeng/tamaita* < *nangluni* ‘come to an end’ {both used}

2 AAY Kod. *tamarmi/tamiin*

Protoforms:

1 PE \**irəku-(na-)* ‘all, whole, complete’ [M11: 321]; apparently not related to PE \**əlu(R)-* ‘all or whole’ [CED 117]

2 PE \**tama-R-* ‘all’ [358; K23: 20]

3 PE \**naŋə-* ‘to be used up’ [234]

-1 possibly < Chuk. *қэмэйвык/qemeywək* ‘to do something together’ [MI05: 76]

#### ASHES

1, 5 CSY SLI. *gaarineq* ‘gun powder; ash’; *panelleq* ‘ash; burned spot; scar from burning’ < *panegh-* ‘to starve to death; to burn; to burn up’

1 CSY Chap. *yariniq* ‘ashes; gun powder’; cf. *paniḷiq* ‘burning; fire, conflagration; result of fire/burning’; *γ<sup>w</sup>ilqa* ‘ashes, slag (from the furnace)’ < Chuk. *wəṭqəṭ* ‘charcoals’ (see -1)

-1 Nauk. *γulqixkəaq* ‘ashes’ < *γulqi* ‘(char)coal’

2 CAY UK. *qamlleq* ‘ash’ < *qame-* ‘to die down (of a fire)’ {more frequent} = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. 6 *araq* ‘ash, dust; in many areas, specifically: ash made from birch-tree fungus and then mixed with chewing tobacco’; *peluq* ‘ash of birch fungus or willow or cottonwood bark; volcanic ash’;

3 CAY Nun. *pelur* ‘ash from bark (or birch fungus) mixed with tobacco to prepare it for chewing’ {it is not clear what is the basic word for ‘ashes’ in this variety; general CAY *qamlleq* is not mentioned in Amos, Amos 2003}

3 AAY KP. *pelut*; *peluq* {NW, PG} [S10]; cf. 6 *araq* ‘ash’ [CED 45]

4 AAY Kod. *paulaq*

Protoforms:

1 PY \**ɣari-nək* ‘ashes’ [M11: 861]; not related to PE \**arða* ‘ash’ [CED 45]

2 PE \**qamə-* ‘go out (fire)’ [307]

3 PE \**pəlu-(R)* ‘dust, dirt’ [278–279]

4 PE \**paɣu-la* ‘soot’ [269]

5 PE \**panə-R-* ‘dry (out)’ [272]

6 Kassian et al. [2023: 20] postulate PE \**arða* ‘ash’ [45] as a basic equivalent for ‘ashes’ in PE and note that it “shifted into such specific meanings as ‘gunpowder’, ‘medicine’, etc. in Yupik.”

-1 < Chuk. *вылқыбыл/wəṭqəwəṭ* (pl *вылқыым/wəṭqəṭ*) ‘charcoals’ [MI05: 26]

#### BARK

1 CSY SLI. *maayghaaq* ‘bark of tree; hollow end of walrus tusk’ < *mayagh-* ‘being or becoming thin’; cf. *qaayghu* ‘tree bark found on beach’

2 CSY Chap. *qa:jkū* ‘bark of tree’; cf. *uqfiyim qa:jŋa* (lit. tree’s top) ‘bark of tree’.

3 Nauk. *avijuaq* ‘(tree) bark’; cf. *qalṭi* ‘fish scales, bark, crust’

4 CAY UK. *qelta* ‘fish scale; bark of tree; eggshell; peel’ {Y, NI, Can, K, BB, NR, LI}; cf. *qasruq*, *kasruq* ‘birch bark’

4 CAY NSU. *qelta*; cf. Nelson 1877–81, listing the word *a-myu-kuk* ‘bark of tree’ for St. Michael {NS + Y} [J2E12.2: D52]

4, 2 CAY HBC *qelta*; *qayruq* ‘tree bark’

- 4 CAY Eg. *qelta*  
 4 CAY Nun. *qelta* ‘peel; rind’; cf. *qasru* ‘birch bark’  
 4 AAY KP. *qallteq*  
 4 AAY Kod. *qellteq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 ? PY \**maj(a)n-* ‘lean, weak’ [M11: 895]. CED mentions CSY *mayax-tə-* ‘lose weight, become thin’ under PE \**ivaya-R-* ‘steal or rob’ < \**ivar-* ‘look for’ [161].  
 2 PE \**qa(C)əRU-(R)* ‘(birch) bark’ [301]; or PE \**qaʔəku-*; morphologically unclear [K23: 21].  
 3 PY \**av(ə)-ŋuq* ‘burl (in wood)’ [62]  
 4 PY-S \**qattə* ‘bark or scale’ [305]

## BELLY

- 1 CSY SLI. *aqsa* ‘belly’  
 1 CSY Chap. *aqsa*  
 1 Nauk. *aqjak, aqjaq*  
 1 CAY UK. *aqsak, aqsaq* ‘abdomen; belly’ / *aqsauq* ‘stomach; belly; stomach organ specifically; gizzard’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *aqsig*  
 1 AAY KP. *aqsaq*  
 1 AAY Kod. *aqsaq*

## Protoforms:

- PE \**aq(ə)ya-R* ‘belly’ [44]; or \**aqya-* [K23: 22]

## BIG, LARGE

- 1 CSY SLI. *aange-* ‘to be big/large’  
 1 CSY Chap. *aŋilvi*  
 1 Nauk. *anluk* ‘big; grown up’  
 1 CAY UK. *aŋe-* ‘to be big, large’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *aŋe-*  
 1 AAY KP. *aŋ-*  
 1 AAY Kod. *aŋ-*

## Protoforms:

- PE \**aŋə-* ‘to be big’ [35; K23: 22]

## BIRD

- 1 CSY SLI. *qawaak* ‘bird; fowl’  
 1 CSY Chap. *qay<sup>w</sup>a:k*  
 2 Nauk. *tīyme:q*  
 3 CAY UK. *yaqulek* ‘bird; duck; fowl’ {more frequent and includes all birds, including flightless ones} < *yaquq-* ‘wing’; cf. *tengmiaq* ‘bird; fowl’  
 2 CAY NSU. *tengmilquq* ‘bird; fowl’; cf. *yaqulek* ‘angel’  
 3 CAY HBC. *caqulek* ‘bird’  
 3 CAY Eg. *caqulek* ‘bird’

2 CAY Nun. *tengmiar* ‘bird of any type; fowl’; cf. *caquleg* ‘angel’

3 AAY KP. *saqulek* ‘bird, duck’

3 AAY Kod. *saqullkaraq/saqullkaa*

Protoforms:

1 PE \**qavə-ya-γ* ‘eider duck’ [318]

2 PE \**təŋ-mi(C)-ar* ‘bird’ < \**təŋə* ‘to fly (up)’ [372]; PE \**təŋ-miy-aɣ* ‘bird’ < \**təŋ-miy-* ‘to be flying’ [K23: 23]

3 PE \**iya-qu-ləɣ* ‘the one having wing’ < \**iya-qu-R* ‘wing’ < \**iya-γ-* ‘extend arm’ [162–163]

#### BITE, TO

1 CSY SLI. *amqeghte-*

1 CSY Chap. *amqixt-*

2a Nauk. *kixməɣ*

2b CAY UK. *kegge-* ‘to bite’; = NSU, HPC, Eg

2b CAY Nun. *kegge-*

2b AAY KP. *kegg-*

2b AAY Kod. *keg-*

Protoforms:

1 PY \**amqar-* [Badten et al. 2008: 46] ? < PE \**aləmq-ar-* ‘eat greedily’ [CED 18]; cf. PE \**amqə-* ‘to bite’ [M11: 118–119]

2a PE \**kəγ-mar-* ‘to bite repeatedly’ < \**kəγə-* ‘to bite’ [179–180]

2b PE \**kəγə-* ‘to bite’ [179–180; K23: 23]

#### BLACK

1 CSY SLI. *tagnegh-* ‘to be black’

1 CSY Chap. *tayniłvi*

1 Nauk. *tanyiv-* ‘to be black’

2 CAY UK. *tungu-* ‘to be black’; = NSU, HPC, Eg

2 CAY Nun. *tungu-*

1 AAY KP. *tan’er-*

1 AAY Kod. *tan’er-*

Protoforms:

1 PE \**tayŋə-/tanyə-* ‘black’ [M11: 701–702]; no separate entry in CED, the relevant words are listed under \**tarəR-nəR-* ‘darkness or dark thing’ [363]

2 PE \**tunju-* ‘to be dark blue (as ripe berry)?’ [384]

Derivations of PE \**qiv-nəv-* ‘black’ [F10: 336] are not attested in Yupik languages with this meaning [K23: 24]

#### BLOOD

1 CSY SLI. *aakw*

1 CSY Chap. *a:k<sup>w</sup>*

1 Nauk. *a:k<sup>w</sup>*

1 CAY UK. *auk* ‘blood’ = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. *qayuuq* ‘soup; broth; blood’

- 1 CAY Nun. *aug*  
 1 AAY KP. *auk*  
 1 AAY Kod. *auk*

Protoforms:

PE \**aḍuy* ‘blood’ [5; K23: 24]

#### BONE

- 1 CSY SLI. *neghqwaaq* < *negh*<*e*> ‘to eat’  
 1 CSY Chap. *naχq<sup>w</sup>a:q/nixq<sup>w</sup>a:q*  
 2 Nauk. *niniq*  
 2 CAY UK. *eneq* ‘bone; frame (of tent, kayak, etc.)’  
 2 CAY NSU. *naneq*  
 2 CAY HBC. *neneq*  
 2 CAY Eg. *naneq*  
 2 CAY Nun. *nener*  
 2 AAY KP. *naneq*  
 2 AAY Kod. *neneq*

Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**nəɾə-* ‘to eat’ [252]  
 2 PY-S \**nənə-q* ‘bone’ [248]; \**nənə-Ɂ* [K23: 25]

#### BREAST

Forms for the meaning ‘male breast’ are provided, according to Kassian et al. 2010.

- 1 CSY SLI. *sakimak* ‘chest’  
 1 CSY Chap. *sakimak*  
 2, 3 Nauk. *qatik*; *saji* ‘chest; front’ {both words are used in the same contexts}  
 2 CAY UK. *qatek* ‘chest (anatomical)’, *qat’gaq*; = HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY NSU. *qategaq*  
 2 CAY Nun. *qat’gar* [qatyaχ] ‘chest (anatomical)’  
 2 AAY KP. *ggaateq*; *qat’aq* ‘chest’; *gateq*, *ggaateq* {NW, PG} [S10]  
 2 AAY Kod. *ggaateq* ‘chest’

Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**caki-(C)ay* ‘rib cage’ [71]  
 2 PE \**qatə-γ* ‘chest’ [316; K23: 25]  
 3 PE \**caḍə* ‘front (of body)’ [67]

#### BURN, TO (TRANS.)

- 1 CSY SLI. *paneghte-* ‘to burn (it); to fry or stir-fry (it)’; cf. *kumagh-* ‘to be on fire; to be lit; to ignite’  
 2a CSY Chap. *kumaxt-* ‘to burn (it), to light, to kindle, to make a fire, to turn on the light’; cf. *panixt-* ‘to burn (usually when it burns spontaneously), to destroy, burn out (food)’ [V03: 156]  
 2a, 4 Nauk. *iquma(Ɂ)-* ‘to burn, to stoke (oven)’; *ilix-(ti)-* ‘to burn (trans.)’  
 2a CAY UK. *ekua-* ‘to burn’ (trans.) {more frequent}; cf. *[e]leg-* ‘to get scorched/singed; to char; to burn (mainly about food)’, *legci-* ‘to burn or char things’; *niitniite-* ‘to burn; to sting’

3 CAY NSU. *matngir-* ‘to be burning’ < *matneq-*

4 CAY HBC. *lege-*

4, 2b CAY Nun. *legevkar-* ‘to burn; to set on fire’ < *legte-* ‘to scorch; to char; to burn’; *kennge-* ‘to burn; to set on fire’

5 AAY KP. *nagkwa-*

2a AAY Kod. *kua-*

Protoforms:

1 PE \**panə-R-* ‘dry (out)’ [272]

2a PE \**ək-uma-* ‘to be burning’; 2b PE \**ək-(ə)nəR* ‘fire’, both < \**əkə-* ‘to burn’ [110–111; K23: 26]

3 PY-S \**mat-nəq* ‘warmth’ [213]

4 PE \**əlay-* ‘get burnt’ [114]

5 PE \**naða-* ‘to be completed’ [225]

#### CLOUD

1 CSY SLI. *qilawaaq* ‘cloud’ < *qilak* ‘heavens’

1, 3 CSY Chap. *qilaxluk* ‘(rain) cloud’ < *qilak* ‘sky’; (*qilak*) *ay<sup>w</sup>ataxpay<sup>w</sup>a:q* ‘cumulous cloud, acorn’ < *awataghpak-* ‘sealskin float or poke’

1, 3 Nauk. *qilaxluk* ‘cloud’ < *qilak* ‘sky, (rain) cloud; ceiling’; *awataxpayjaq* ‘(rain) cloud’ < *awataxpak* ‘sealskin float or poke’

2 CAY UK. *amirlu(q)* ‘cloud’ = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. *makerliit* ‘cumulus clouds’

1 CAY Nun. *qilagglug*

2 AAY KP. *amirlug*; *amihluq* {NW, PG} [S10]

1 AAY Kod. *qilaglluk*

Protoforms:

1 PE \**qilay-tuy* ‘cloud’ < \**qilay* ‘sky’ [331; K23: 27]

2 PY \**amir-luq* ‘cloud’ [26]

3 PE \**ava-tar* ‘(sealskin) float’ [60]

#### COLD

1 CSY SLI. *isekinagh-* ‘to be cold to the touch (of water, metal, etc.)’

1 CSY Chap. *isikinalvi* ‘to be cold (of water, etc.)’

2, 1 Nauk. *xujanav-*, *vujanav-* ‘to be cold’; *isikinav-* ‘cold to the touch’

3, 4 CAY UK. *kumlate-* ‘to be cold (of liquids and objects)’ < *kumla-* ‘coldness’; *nengllir-* ‘to be cold (of weather)’; cf. *qerrute-* ‘to be cold (of humans and animals)’

3, -1 CAY NSU. *kumlate-*; *alap’aar-* ‘to be cold’ < *alap’aa* ‘how cold it is! (exclamatory particle)’ < SPI *alapaa*

4 CAY Nun. *nengllir-* ‘to be cold (of liquids or objects)’; cf. *nengte-* ‘to be cold (of persons)’

5 AAY KP. *paces-*

5 AAY Kod. *paces-*

Protoforms:

1 PE \**itðə* ‘cold’ [160; K23: 28]

2 PY \**qiru-ya-* ‘feel cold’ < PE \**qiru-* ‘freeze to death’ [336–337]

3 PY-S \**kumla* ‘freeze’ [198–199]

4 PE \**nəŋ-tir* ‘to be cold’ < \**nəŋ-ti-* < \**nəŋə-(t)-* ‘to be or get cold’ [249–250; K23: 28]

5 PE \**pat-ət-* ‘to be cold or frozen’ [275] = \**paca-(rtə-)* ‘to be cold, to freeze over’ [M11: 519]

## COME, to

- 1 CSY SLI. *tagi-* ‘come (to speaker)’  
 1 CSY Chap. *tayi-* ‘come here’  
 1 Nauk. *te-* ‘to come (to the speaker)’; cf. *tuti-* ‘arrive, come’, *kasu:ti-* ‘to approach, to come, to bring with oneself’  
 1 CAY UK. *tai-* ‘to come to the area of the speaker’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *taa-* ‘to come’  
 1 AAY KP. *tai-* (*ta-*)  
 1 AAY Kod. *tai-*

## Protoforms:

PY-S \**tayi-* ‘come (toward speaker)’ [354; K23: 29]

## DIE, to

- 1 CSY SLI. *tuqu-* ‘to die; to ferment’  
 1 CSY Chap. *tug-* ‘to die, perish’  
 1 Nauk. *tuqu*  
 1 CAY UK. *tuqu-* ‘to die (animals or humans)’ {the most frequent}; = NSU, HPC, Eg, cf. *nala* ‘to die (plants, animals or in a figurative sense); to wither, to be eclipsed’; *anernerir-* ‘to stop breathing; to breathe one’s last; to die’, *piunrir-* ‘to cease to exist; to die; to annihilate’  
 1 CAY Nun. *tuqu-* ‘to die’; cf. *nala-* ‘to die; to wither; for there to be an eclipse’  
 1 AAY KP. *tuqu-*  
 1 AAY Kod. *tuqu-*

## Protoforms:

PE \**tuqu(-)* ‘die or death’ [386; K23: 29]

## DOG

- 1 CSY SLI. *qikmiq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *qikmi(q)*  
 1 Nauk. *qiqmivaq*  
 2 CAY UK. *qimugta* ‘dog’ < *qimug-* ‘to pull vigorously (of dogs)’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY Nun. *qimugta*  
 3 AAY KP. *piugta*; cf. AP *qikmiq* ‘dog’ [CED 331]  
 3, -1 AAY Kod. *piugta* {Southern Kodiak dialect}, *aikuuq* {Northern Kodiak dialect}

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**qikmi-R* ‘dog’ [331; K23: 29]  
 2 PE \**qimuy-ta* ‘draught dog (or other animal)’ < \**qimuy-* ‘pull (sled)’ [333]  
 3 PE \**pi-yuy-ta* ‘quadruped or walker’ < \**pi-yuy-* ‘walk’ [289]  
 -1 < Aleut *ayku-x̄* ‘dog’ [Bergsland 1994: 120].

## DRINK, to

- 1 CSY SLI. *megh<e>* ‘to drink (any beverage, especially one that is cool); to drink an alcoholic beverage’

1 CSY Chap. *miɣaqit-*

1 Nauk. *imiɣ-*

1 CAY UK. [*eɪmer* ‘drink’, [*eɪmeq* ‘drink (cold liquid)’]; = NSU, HPC, Eg

1 CAY Nun. [*eɪmer-*

1 AAY KP. *mer-*

2 AAY Kod. *pitur-*

Protoforms:

1 PE \**ɔmə-R(-)* ‘fresh water’ [120; K23: 30]

2 Unknown etymology. Cf. KP AAY *pitur-* ‘to eat’ [Leer 2007: 107]

DRY

1 CSY SLI. *kinegh-*

1 CSY Chap. *ki:nɣa-, ki:nqa-*

2 Nauk. *quməŋɣa-* ‘to be dry’ < *quməɣ-* ‘to dry out, to wither’

1 CAY UK. *kiner-* ‘to dry, to be dry’ = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. *qaki-* ‘to be pale; to be dry; to be bleached’

1 CAY Nun. *kiner-*

1 AAY KP. *kiner-*

1 AAY Kod. *kiner-*

Protoforms:

1 PE \**kinə-R-* ‘drip dry’ [191; K23: 31]

2 PE \**quma-(R)* ‘intestinal worm’ [344]

EAR

1 CSY SLI. *sigun*

1 CSY Chap. *siyun*

1 Nauk. *si:ti*

1 CAY UK. *ciun*

1 CAY Eg. *ciun*

1 CAY Nun. *ciun*

1 AAY KP. *cuuteq*

1 AAY Kod. *cuuteq*

Protoforms:

PE \**ciy-un* ‘ear’ [82; K23: 31]

EARTH

1 CSY SLI. *utumek* ‘earth; clay; soil’; cf. *nuna* ‘land; village; place; ground; floor’ & *suna* ‘soil; dirt; earth’

2 CSY Chap. *nuna* ‘earth, ground’; cf. *suna* ‘small debris, dust’

2 Nauk. *nuna* ‘earth, motherland, land, world, village’

2 CAY UK. *nuna* ‘land; place; soil; earth; ground; village; country; vicinity’ = NSU, HPC, Eg

2 CAY Nun. Not found; cf. *nunarpag* ‘earth; big city’; *luna* reported in Curtis [CED 262]

2 AAY KP. *nuna*

2 AAY Kod. *nuna*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PY-S \*utə-vak or \*utə-mak ‘lump of turf or snow’ (maybe rel. to PE \*u(u)tu(γ)) [417]  
 2 PE \*nuna ‘land’ [262; K23: 32]

## EAT, to

- 1 CSY SLI. negh-  
 1 CSY Chap. niɛ-  
 1 Nauk. niɛi  
 1 CAY UK. nere-; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. nere-, nerlassag-  
 2 AAY KP. pitur-  
 1 AAY Kod. ner-

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \*nəɾə- ‘to eat’ [252; K23: 32]  
 2 Unknown etymology. Cf. Kodiak AAY pitur- ‘to drink’ [Leer et al. 1978: 52]

## EGG

- 1 CSY SLI. manik  
 1 CSY Chap. manik  
 1 Nauk. mannik. May be contaminated with mannəq- ‘to be hard or lumpy’ [CED 208]  
 2 CAY UK. peksu(q) ‘bird’s egg’ {Y, LI, UK, mid-K}; cf. kayanguq {NI, Can, LK, BB, NR}  
 2 CAY NSU. manik ‘bird’s egg’  
 3 CAY HBC. kayanguq ‘bird’s egg’  
 3 CAY Eg. kayanguq  
 3 CAY Nun. kayangu  
 2, 1 AAY KP. peksuq; manik, maniq {NW, PG} [S10]  
 1 AAY Kod. manik

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \*manny ‘egg’ [208; K23: 33]  
 2 PE \*pəkyu ‘egg’ [278], «the proto-meaning was apparently ‘wild eggs’» [K23: 33]  
 3 Unknown etymology, maybe a loanword < Inupiaq qayannaq- ‘to be fragile’ [Seiler 2012: 169]

## EYE

- 1 CSY SLI. iya  
 1 CSY Chap. i(ja)  
 1 Nauk. i:  
 1 CAY UK. ij ‘eye’ / iingaaq (softer form)  
 1 CAY Eg. iingalaq  
 1 CAY Nun. iig  
 1 AAY KP. ik  
 1 AAY Kod. iingalaq

## Protoforms:

- PE \*əḏə ‘eye’ [106; K23: 34]



## FAR

1 CSY SLI. *uyatu-* ‘to be far away; to be distant (in space or time)’

1 CSY Chap. *ujatuqaq*

2, 1, 4 Nauk. *tayani* ‘there far away, somewhere far away’ < prefix *ta(j)* + *a:yna* ‘there, behind some obstacle’; *ujavani* ‘far, at a great distance’ < *ujavaŋ*; *awa(ni)* ‘there; far’; cf. *ikihka:ni* ‘далеко’ < *ikihka-* ‘to be far’

3 CAY UK. *yaagsig-* ‘to be distant/far (from)’ < *ya(ni)* ‘over there; yonder’; = NSU, HPC, Eg

3 CAY Nun. *yaqsig-* ‘to be far away’ / *yaqvani* ‘far away’

3 AAY KP. *yag-*

3 AAY Kod. *yag-*

Protoforms:

1 PY \**uya-tu-* ‘to be wide’ [420]

2 PE \**ay-* ‘across’ (extended) [497, 499]

3 PE dem. \**iy-* ‘over’ (restricted) [497, 507]

4 PE \**av-* ‘over’ (ext.) [497, 502]

## FAT (n.)

1 CSY SLI. *uquq* ‘blubber; oil; seal oil; fat’; cf. *quginaq* ‘fat; blubber’; *tunuq* ‘reindeer or caribou back fat’

1 CSY Chap. *uquq* ‘fat’; cf. *quyina(q)* ‘animal fat (except deer)’; *tunu(q)* ‘suet, fat, lard (pig, deer, etc.)’; *misiq* ‘rendered fat’, etc.

1 Nauk. *uquq*

1 CAY UK. *uquq* ‘oil; especially seal oil; blubber; by extension any edible oil/fat’; cf. *tunuq* ‘tallow; back fat’

1 CAY Nun. *uqur* ‘seal oil’

1 AAY KP. *uquq*

1 AAY Kod. *uquq*

Protoforms:

PE \**uqǝu-R* ‘blubber or seal oil’ [412; K23: 34]

## FEATHER

1 CSY SLI. *siluk*; cf. *melquq* ‘fur; feather; body hair’

1 CSY Chap. *siluk*

1 Nauk. *sulu, suluk*

2 CAY UK. *melquq* ‘feather; human body hair; animal fur’ {most frequent} = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. *culuk* ‘wing feather; fin of fish; spine; backbone’; *tuluokuyuggaq* ‘feather’;

2 CAY Nun. *melquqsug* ‘bird feather’ < *melqur* ‘fur; feather’; cf. *niss'ur* ‘wing feather’

1 AAY KP. *culuk*

1 AAY Kod. *culuk*; cf. AP *mellquq* ‘feather, human body hair, animal fur’ [CED 216]

Protoforms:

1 PE \**culu-γ* ‘wing feather’ [100; K23: 35]

2 PE \**məl-quR* ‘body hair (or fur) or feather’ [216]

## FIRE

- 1 CSY SLI. *keneq* ‘fire; electric light; electricity’  
 1 CSY Chap. *kiniiq*  
 1 Nauk. *iqniiq* ‘fire, lamp, light’; cf. *aniiq* ‘spark; lightning; fire’  
 1 CAY UK. *keneq* ‘fire’ {Y, K, NI, BB, NR, LI}; = ? HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY NSU. *keñeq*  
 1 CAY Nun. *kener*  
 1 AAY KP. *keneq*  
 1 AAY Kod. *keneq*

## Protoforms:

PE \**ək(ə)-nəR* ‘fire’ [111; K23: 35]

## FISH

- 1 CSY SLI. *iqalluk* ‘fish; salmon’  
 1 CSY Chap. *iqáľuk*  
 1 Nauk. *iqaluk*  
 2 CAY UK. *neqa* ‘food; fish’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 2, 1 CAY Nun. *neqa* ‘fish; food’; *iqallug* ‘any fish’  
 1 AAY KP. *iqalluk*  
 1 AAY Kod. *iqalluk*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**iqatuy* ‘fish (esp. salmon)’ [154; K23: 36]  
 2 PE \**naqa* ‘food’ [251]

## FLY, TO

- 1 CSY SLI. *tengaa-/tenge-*  
 1 CSY Chap. *tinja-*  
 1 Nauk. *tijiti-*, *tinja:ɤ<sup>w</sup>-* ‘take off, fly’  
 1 CAY UK. *tenge-* ‘to fly; to take off in flight’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *tengaur-*  
 1 AAY KP. *teng-*  
 1 AAY Kod. *teng-*

## Protoforms:

PE \**təŋə-* ‘fly (up)’ [372; K23: 37]

## FOOT

- 1 CSY SLI. *itegaq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *itija(q)* ‘foot, claws’  
 1 Nauk. *itijaq* ‘foot, paw, (seal) flipper’ < *itik* ‘vamp (the upper front part of a boot)’  
 1 CAY UK. *it’gaq* ‘foot’ {NI, Can, K, BB, NR, LI}  
 1 CAY NSU *it’gaq*  
 2 CAY HBC. *tukullek* ‘foot (of human or animal); flipper of seal’  
 1 CAY Eg. *itgaq*

2 CAY Nun. *tukulleg* ‘foot; walrus or seal flipper’

1 AAY KP. *it’aq* [ittaq]

1 AAY Kod. *itgaq*

Protoforms:

1 PE *\*itəy-AR* ‘foot’ < *\*itəy* ‘toe-cap, tip of boot’ [160; K23: 37]

2 PY-S *\*tuku-(q)* ‘foot?’ [380]

#### FULL

1 CSY SLI. *esleqnga-* ‘to be full’ < *esleqe-* ‘to fill up full’

1 CSY Chap. *sl̥iq̥xkaq*

2 Nauk. *imiŋka* ‘to be full’ < *imik-* ‘to fill’

3 CAY UK. *ellmar-* ‘to fill; to be full’; = NSU

4 CAY HBC. *pakte-* ‘to be full; to fill up’

5 CAY Eg. *miur-* ‘to fill; to be full’

3 CAY Nun. *ellmar-* ‘to fill or be filled to the maximum’

6 AAY KP. *tatar-*

6 AAY Kod. *tatar-*

Protoforms:

1 PE *\*cilə-γ-* ‘to be full’ [86; K23: 38]

2 PE *\*im-miR* ‘to fill’ < *\*ima(R)* ‘contents (esp. of sea)’ [142–143]

3 M11 [201] links it with PE *\*ciṭa-m-* (~ *cala-m-*) (= *\*ciləγ-* [CED 86]) ‘full, to fill’

4 PE *\*pak-əm-* (demonstrative root) [497]

5 Unknown etymology

6 PE *\*tatā-* ‘all, to be full’ [M11: 724–725]

#### GIVE

1 CSY SLI. *tuune-*

2 CSY Chap. *tayiva(ɣ)-*

1 Nauk. *tuni-* ‘give back, return’

3 CAY UK. *cikir-* ‘to give’, *cikiuteke-* ‘to give’ < *cikir-*; = NSU, HPC, Eg

3 CAY Nun. *cikir-*

4, 5 AAY KP. *minar-*; *tar-* {unclear distribution}; cf. KP *cikir-* ‘to give (to)’ [CED 83]

4, 5 AAY Kod. *minar-*; *tai-* {unclear distribution}; cf. *tun-* ‘to give it away/back’; Koniag *cikir-* (or rather *caqar-*) ‘to give (to)’ [CED 83]

Protoforms:

1 PE *\*tunə-* ‘to give’ [381–382; K23: 39]

2 PY-S *\*tayi-* ‘to come (toward speaker)’ [354]

3 PY *\*ciki-R-* ‘to give (to)’ [83]

4 PE *\*mina-R-* ‘to set food aside for s.o.’ [220]

5 Unknown etymology.

#### GO, TO

1, 2 CSY SLI. *pi-* ‘to do; to act; to say; to go’; *aglagh-* ‘to go home; to go from one place to another (not too far)’; cf. *piyug-* ‘to walk’; *igleghte-* ‘to travel; to move; to go; to start’

- 1, 2 CSY Chap. *pi-* ‘to do; to act; to say; to go’ {most suitable}; *ayla(ɤ)*- ‘to go (within the village and its environs)’; cf. *pijuy-* ‘to walk’; *iyliχt-* ‘to go (with no direction), to move, to ride, to swim’
- 2 Nauk. *ay-* ‘to go’ [FW24]; cf. *aqui-* ‘to go’, *iyliχti-* ‘to travel, to go’, *pi-* ‘to do, to say, to go’
- 3 CAY UK. *ayag-* ‘to leave; to go away; to depart’ {most suitable and frequent}; cf. *age-* ‘to go from one place to another without crossing something extended (river, road, etc.) in between’; *pi-* ‘to do; to act; to say; to go’; = NSU, HPC, Eg
- 3 CAY Nun. *ayagarte-* ‘to go at a certain point’
- 2 AAY KP. *ag-*
- 2 AAY Kod. *ag-*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**pi-* ‘to do something (or thing)’ [so-called empty root] [282]
- 2 PE \**ayə-* ‘to go (over or past)’ [7]
- 3 PE \**aya-γ-* ‘to thrust or push with a pole’ [62–63]

## GOOD

- 1 CSY SLI. *pinigh-* ‘to be good; to be satisfying; to be fine’ < *pi-neq-ligh-*
- 1 CSY Chap. *pinilki*
- 1 Nauk. *pinixqaq* ‘good, beautiful’ < *pinik-* ‘to be good’
- 2 CAY UK. *assir-* ‘to be good/nice/well’ {NSK, Y, NI, Can, K, BB, NR, LI}
- 1 CAY NSU. *pinir-* ‘to be good/nice’; cf. *aariga’ar-* ‘to be good/nice’ < Inupiaq
- 2 CAY HBC. *assir-*
- 2 CAY Eg. *assir-*
- 1 CAY Nun. *pinir-* ‘to be good/nice’
- 2 AAY KP. *asir-*
- 2 AAY Kod. *asir-*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**pinni-R* ‘to be good or beautiful’ [287]
- 2 PE \**asi-R* ‘to be good’ [51]

## GREEN

- 1 CSY SLI. *sungaghyaak* ‘greenish or bluish color or thing’ < *sungaq-?-* ‘bile; bead; beaded necklace’
- 2, 1 CSY Chap. *qiyuɤmilŋuq* ‘green’ (color of grass); *sunáɤjulki-* ‘blue, blue-green’
- 2, 1 Nauk. *qijulke-* ‘green’ < *qijuk-* ‘to be green’; *sunáɤniti-* ‘to be green’
- 1 CAY UK. *cungagliq* ‘green thing’ < *cungak* ‘gall; bile’; = NSU, HPC, Eg
- 1 CAY Nun. *cungagyag* ‘dark green thing’
- 1, 3 AAY KP. *cungag-* ‘green, blue’; *wegnga-* ‘green, color of grass’ (to distinguish from ‘blue’)
- 1 AAY Kod. *cungag-* ‘green, blue’

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**cunə-γ/cunə-R* ‘to be green’ < \**cunə-(R)* ‘gall; bead’ [101–102; K23: 40]
- 2 PE \**qiyu-(γ)*- ‘(to become) blue (esp. berry)’ [338]
- 3 Unknown etymology

## HAIR

- 1 CSY SLI. *nuyaq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *nuya(q)*  
 1 Nauk. *nujaaq*  
 1 CAY UK. *nuyaaq* ‘hair’ (head)  
 1 CAY NSU. *nuyaaq*  
 1 CAY HBC. *nuyaaq*  
 1 CAY Eg. *nuyaaq*  
 2 CAY Nun. *qiuqlag* ‘hair’ < *qiur-* ‘to shear; to clip off growth’  
 1 AAY KP. *nuyat*  
 1 AAY Kod. *nuyat*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**nuya-R* ‘(head) hair’ [267; K23: 40]  
 2 PE \**qiyu-R* ‘to cut hair’ [330]

## HAND

- 1 CSY SLI. *iigga*  
 1 CSY Chap. *ix(a)*  
 2 Nauk. *taliq*  
 3 CAY UK. *unan* ‘hand; seal flipper’ {Y, K, NI, CAN, BB, NR} < *una* ‘to work on by hand’;  
 cf. *aiggaq* {Y, NR, LI}  
 1 CAY NSU. *aigga* ‘hand; seal flipper’  
 1, 3 CAY HBC. *aiggaq*; *unan* ‘hand; seal flipper’  
 1 CAY Eg. *aiggaq*  
 3, 1 CAY Nun. *unan* ‘hand; seal flipper’; *aaggar* ‘hand’ (in [J12: 61] only)  
 1 AAY KP. *aiggaq*  
 1 AAY Kod. *aigaaq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**aɔya-(R)/aɔya-γ* ‘hand’ [4; K23: 41]  
 2 PE \**tali-R* ‘arm’ [357]  
 3 PY-S \**una-* ‘to handle’ [404]

## HEAD

- 1 CSY SLI. *naasquq* ‘head; leader’  
 1 CSY Chap. *na:squ(q)*  
 1 Nauk. *naʃquq*  
 2 CAY UK. *uqsuq* {UK, UY, LI}; cf. *nasquq* {LY, NI}; *qamiquq* {LK, BB, Can, NI, NR}  
 1 CAY NSU. *nasquq*  
 1 CAY HBC. *nasquq*  
 2 CAY Eg. *uqsuq*  
 3 CAY Nun. *qamiquq*; cf. *iingarar* ‘head; especially fish head; skull of a skeleton’  
 1 AAY KP. *nasquq*  
 1 AAY Kod. *nasquq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**nay(ə)-qur* ‘head’ [243; K23: 42] = PE \**narə-qu-* ‘head’ [M503]  
 2 PY \**uqsu-q* ‘aged fish head’ [414]  
 3 Unknown etymology, maybe borrowed from Aleut *kamg-* ‘head’ [Bergsland 1994: 226]

## HEAR

- 1 CSY SLI. *naga-qugh-* ‘to hear; to understand’ < *naga-te-* ‘to listen’  
 1 CSY Chap. *nayá-qut-*  
 1 Nauk. *ni:-quk-* ‘to hear; to understand’  
 1 CAY UK. *nii-te-*; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *nii-te-*  
 1 AAY KP. *niil-*  
 1 AAY Kod. *niil-*

## Protoforms:

- PE \**naya-(t)-* ‘to hear’ [226]; ‘to listen’ [K23: 43]

## HEART

- 1 CSY SLI. *ighsaquq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *ixsaqu(q)*  
 1 Nauk. *ixsaquq*  
 2 CAY UK. *unguvan* {UY, UK, BB, NR, LI}; cf. *ircaquq* {Y, NI, Can, LK, BB}  
 2 CAY NSU. *unguvan* {NSU}; cf. NSK *ircaquq*  
 1 CAY HBC. *ircaquq*  
 2 CAY Eg. *unguvan*  
 2 CAY Nun. *unguwan* ‘heart; fish heart’ < *unguva* ‘life’  
 3, 2 AAY KP. *napan/napateq*; *ung’an*, *ungu’ateq* {NW, PG} [S10]  
 2 AAY Kod. *unguan*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**irca-qur* ‘(area around) heart’ [15]  
 2 PE \**unju-ma-n* ‘heart’ < \**unju-ma-* ‘to be alive’ [410; K23: 43]  
 3 PE \**napa-* ‘to be standing (upright)’ [236]

## HEAVY

- 1a CSY SLI. *uqigtu-*  
 1a CSY Chap. *uqixtu-*  
 1a Nauk. *uqixtu-* ‘to be heavy’ < *uqig* ‘to be light (in weight)’  
 1b CAY UK. *uqamaite-* ‘to be heavy’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1b CAY Nun. *uqamaate-* < *uqig* ‘to be light (in weight)’  
 2 AAY KP. *artunar-*  
 2 AAY Kod. *artunar-*

## Protoforms:

- 1a PE \**uqi-yit-* ‘to be light’; 1b PE \**uqi-ma-ηit-* ‘to be heavy’, both < \**uqiy-* ‘(light) weight’ (+ negative suffix) [413–414; K23: 84]  
 2 PE \**artur-* ‘to be unable’ [48]

## HORN

- 1 CSY SLI. *sighuneq* ‘antler’  
 1 CSY Chap. *sikuniq*  
 1 Nauk. *sikuniq*  
 1 CAY UK. *ciruneq* ‘horn; antler’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *ciruner*  
 1 AAY KP. *cirunaq*, cf. PWS *ciruaq* ‘horn, antler’ [CED 93]  
 0 AAY Kod. Not found

## Protoforms:

PY-S \**ciru-nəq* ‘horn or antler’ [93] < PY \**ciru-* ‘to cover’ [K23: 44]

## I, ME

- 1 CSY SLI. *whanga*  
 1 CSY Chap. *x<sup>w</sup>anqa*  
 1 Nauk. *wi:*  
 1 CAY UK. *wii*  
 1 CAY NSU. *wii* [ɣ<sup>w</sup>i:], *wiinga* [ɣ<sup>w</sup>i:ŋa]  
 1 CAY HBC. *wii* [ɣ<sup>w</sup>i:], *wiinga* [ɣ<sup>w</sup>i:ŋa]  
 1 CAY Eg. *kwii*  
 1 CAY Nun. *kwi*  
 1 AAY KP. *ggwi*  
 1 AAY Kod. *gwi*

## Protoforms:

PE \**uwa-ŋa*/*\*uwi-ŋa* < dem. proclitic \**uv(a)-* + \**-ŋa* (1<sup>st</sup> person morpheme) [418; K23: 44]

## KILL, TO

- 1 CSY SLI. *tuqute-* ‘to kill’  
 1 CSY Chap. *tuqu-*  
 1 Nauk. *tuquti-*  
 1 CAY UK. *tuqute-* ‘to kill, to choke on a bone (additional K meaning)’ {more frequent};  
 cf. *nalate-* ‘to kill (plants, animals, people)’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *tuqute-*  
 1 AAY KP. *tuqu-*  
 1 AAY Kod. *tuqu-*

## Protoforms:

PE \**tuqu-t-* ‘to kill’ < \**tuqu-* ‘to die or death’ [386; K23: 45]

## KNEE

- 1 CSY SLI. *segesquq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *siyisqu(q)*  
 1 Nauk. *si:χquq*  
 1 CAY UK. *cisquq* {UK}, *ciisquq* {Y, NI, Can, K, BB, NR, LI}

- 1 CAY NSU. *ciisquq*  
 1 CAY HBC. *cisquq*  
 1 CAY Eg. *cisquq*  
 1 CAY Nun. *cisqur*  
 1 AAY KP. *cisquq*  
 1 AAY Kod. *cisquq*

Protoforms:

PE \**ciyǎð-qur* ‘knee’ [81; K23: 45]

KNOW

- 1 CSY SLI. *liisimake-* < *liite-* ‘to learn’  
 1 CSY Chap. *li:simá-*  
 1 Nauk. *ilisima-*  
 2 CAY UK. *nallunrite-* ‘to not know’ < *nallu-* + NEG affix; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY Nun. *nallunrite-*  
 2 AAY KP. *nallugku-*  
 2 AAY Kod. *nallugku-*

Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**ǎli-ci-ma-* ‘to know’ < \**ǎli-t-* ‘to study, to learn’ [116; K23: 46]  
 2 PE \**natu-* ‘to not know’ [231]

LEAF

- 1 CSY SLI. *ququngaq* ‘leaf; edible leaf of low-bush willow; tea’  
 1 CSY Chap. *ququŋa(q)*  
 2 Nauk. *na:sizano:q* < *nay-* ‘grow (of plants)’; cf. *ququŋaq* ‘young leaves; tea; polar willow’  
 3 CAY UK. *cuya(q)* ‘leaf; tobacco, especially leaf tobacco’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 4 CAY Nun. *pellukutar* ‘leaf (in general), leaf of coltsfoot (Petasites sp.)’  
 4, 3 AAY KP. *pellug; cuya* {NW, PG} [S10]  
 3 AAY Kod. *cuyaq*

Protoforms:

- 1 PY-S \**ququŋaq* ‘leaf’ [347]; Mudrak considers it an old borrowing < Proto-Chuk. \**kǎvu-kǎvu-* ‘knot on tree, wart, leaf’ (which yields Chuk. *kokʔoʔyǎn/kʔokoʔyǎn* ‘wart; growth on a tree’ [MI05: 57]) into Proto-Yupik or Proto-Eskimo [M11: 689]  
 2 PE \**nayyu-* ‘to grow’ [227]  
 3 Maybe loanword from or into Aleut: cf. *chuya-x̂* ‘cane, stick, willow twig, white willow’ [105; Bergsland 1994: 157]; not a loan acc. to [M 211] but cognate with PE \**cuja*  
 4 PE \**pǎtu* ‘leaf’ [279; K23: 47]

LIE, to (on one’s back)

- 1 CSY SLI. *nevegh-* ‘lying on the back’  
 1 CSY Chap. *niʋiʔta:k-* ‘to lie on one’s back’  
 1 Nauk. *niʋaŋka-* ‘to lie on one’s back’  
 1 CAY UK. *neverte-* ‘lie on the back’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *newerte-* ‘to lie on one’s back’



- 1 AAY KP. nuger-  
 1 AAY Kod. nurllu-

Protoforms:

PE \*nəvəR-/\*nʲəvəR- ‘to lie down or fall on one’s back’ [255]

LIE, to (face-down or belly-down)

- 2 CSY SLI. suflitagh- ‘lying on stomach’  
 2 CSY Chap. siflitax-/suflitax- ‘lie down face-down or belly-down’  
 3 Nauk. liŋa- ‘to lie’ < li- ‘to put’  
 4 CAY UK. palurte- ‘to lie face-down or belly-down’ < palur- ‘face down’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 4 CAY Nun. palurte- ‘to lie face down on bell’  
 4 AAY KP. palur-  
 4 AAY Kod. palur-

Protoforms:

2 Unknown etymology

3 PE \*əli- ‘put or act a certain way’ [117–118]

4 PE \*pal-lur- ‘to lie down on stomach’ < \*palu- ‘to be lying on one’s stomach’ [271]

LIVER

- 1 CSY SLI. tenguk  
 1 CSY Chap. tinuk  
 1 Nauk. tinuk  
 1 CAY UK. tenguk ‘liver; solar plexus’ {most frequent}; cf. caimik ‘liver’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. tengug  
 1 AAY KP. tenguk  
 -1 AAY Kod. aarit < Aleut aaġi-x̄ [Bergsland 1994: 38]

Protoforms:

PE \*təŋu-γ ‘liver’ [373; K23: 48]

LONG

- 1, 2 CSY SLI. qemightu- ‘to be long’ < qemiq ‘hill with a long profile; elongated mound; leadline or floatline of net; part of back around spinal column’; taake- ‘to be long (in space or time)’  
 2 CSY Chap. takilvi  
 2 Nauk. taki-, takli- ‘to be long’  
 2 CAY UK. take- ‘to be long’ {most frequent} = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. martu- ‘to be long’; {NI} uyatu- ‘to be distant; to be long; to be wide’ < uya-  
 2, 3 CAY Nun. take- ‘to be long’; uyatu- ‘to be long’ {unclear distribution}  
 2 AAY KP. tak-  
 2 AAY Kod. tak-

Protoforms:

1 PE \*qəmi-R ‘ridge’ [323]

2 PE \*takə- ‘to be long’ [355; K23: 49]

3 PE \*uya-tu- ‘to be wide’ [420–421]

## LOUSE

- 1 CSY SLI. *kumak*  
 1 CSY Chap. *kumak*  
 1 Nauk. *kumak*  
 2 CAY UK. *neresta* {Y, NI, Can, K, BB, NR, LI}  
 1 CAY NSU. NSU *kumak*; cf. NS *neresta*  
 2 CAY HBC. *neresta*  
 1 CAY Eg. *kumak*  
 2 CAY Nun. *neresta*  
 2 AAY KP. *neresta*  
 2 AAY Kod. *neresta*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE *\*kuma-γ* ‘louse’ [198; K23: 49]  
 2 PE *\*nəɾə-sta-* < *\*nəɾə-* ‘to eat’ [252]

## MAN (male)

- 1 CSY SLI. *yu(u)k* ‘person; man (male person); mankind; crewman’  
 1 CSY Chap. *juk*  
 1 Nauk. *juk* ‘male human; person’  
 2 CAY UK. *angun* ‘male human; man’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY Nun. *angun*  
 3 AAY KP. *nupallkiaq*  
 3 AAY Kod. *nukallpiaq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE *\*iŋu-γ* ‘human being’ [150] = *\*in<sup>y</sup>u-γ* [K23: 58]  
 2 PE *\*aŋu-n* ‘man (male human)’ [38; K23: 50]  
 3 PE *\*nukal-piyar* ‘young man’ < PE *nukar* ‘younger sibling (of same sex)’ [259–260]

## MAN (person)

- 1 CSY SLI. *yu(u)k* ‘person; man (male person); mankind; crewman’; cf. *taghu* ‘person; man’ (said to be a shaman’s word)  
 1 CSY Chap. *juk*; cf. allegorically *taghu* ‘person’  
 1 Nauk. *juk* ‘male human; person’  
 1 CAY UK. *yuk* ‘person, human being’ {Y, NI, Can, K, BB, NR, LI}; *suk* {MY}  
 1 CAY NSU. *yuk*  
 1 CAY HBC. *yuk* {Hooper Bay}, *cuk* {Chevak}  
 2 CAY Eg. *taru* ‘human being; person’  
 1 CAY Nun. *cug*  
 1 AAY KP. *suk*  
 1 AAY Kod. *suk*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE *\*iŋu-γ* ‘human being’ [150] = *\*in<sup>y</sup>u-γ* [K23: 58]  
 2 PE *\*taru* ‘human being (shamanistic term)’ [364]

## MANY (a lot of)

- 1 CSY SLI. *uglaq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *uylavlu-ku/-ni* ‘many, a lot of’  
 1 Nauk. *uylaq, uylav-*  
 2 CAY UK. *amlleq* ‘much; lots; many; many a’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY Nun. *arnller-*  
 2 AAY KP. *amler-*  
 2 AAY Kod. *amler-*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**uyla-R-* ‘to be many’ [394]  
 2 PE \**amə-l(ə)Ra-(R)-* ‘to be many’ [25; K23: 50]

## MEAT

- 1 CSY SLI. *neqa* ‘food; flesh’; cf. *negh(e)-* ‘to eat’; *kemekrak* ‘seal’s meat; relative’  
 1 CSY Chap. *niq(a)* ‘meat’; cf. *kimikşak* ‘pulp; a piece of meat without skin, fat or bones; relative’  
 1 Nauk. *niqi* ‘meat; food’  
 2 CAY UK. *kemek* ‘meat; flesh’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY Nun. *kemeg*  
 2 AAY KP. *kemek*  
 2 AAY Kod. *kemek*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**naqa* ‘food’ [251; K23: 51]  
 2 PE \**kəməγ* ‘flesh’ [184]

## MOON

- 1 CSY SLI. *tanqiq* ‘moon; month’  
 1 CSY Chap. *tanqi(q)*  
 2 Nauk. *ivaluq* ‘moon, month’  
 2 CAY UK. *iraluq* ‘moon; month’ {Y, NS, HBC, K, Can, BB, NR, LI, Eg}  
 2 CAY NSU. *iraluq*  
 2 CAY HBC. *iraluq*  
 2 CAY Eg. *iraluq*  
 1 CAY Nun. *tanqig* ‘brightness; moon; month’  
 1, 2 AAY KP. *tanqik; iraluq, ya’aluq* {NW, PG} [S10]  
 2 AAY Kod. *iraluq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**tanqi-R/tanqi-γ* ‘light or moon’ [360; K23: 52]  
 2 PY \**ivalu-q* ‘moon’ [157]

## MOUNTAIN

- 1 CSY SLI. *naayghaq*  
 -1 CSY Chap. *na:ɣa(q)*

1 Nauk. *iŋkɪq*

1 CAY UK. *ingri/ingriq* ‘mountain’ {most frequent} = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. *cirmik* ‘mountain; high mountain covered with snow and ice’

1 CAY Nun. *ingri*

1 AAY KP. *ing’iq*

1 AAY Kod. *ing’iq/ingriq*

Protoforms:

1 PE \**iŋri-R* ‘mountain’ [150; K23: 52]

-1 < Chuk. *иэри/иэриэ* ‘mountain, hill’ [Badten et al. 2008: 290; MI05: 103]

#### MOUTH

1 CSY SLI. *qaneq*

1 CSY Chap. *qaniq*

1 Nauk. *qaniq*

1 CAY UK. *qaneq*; = NSU, HPC, Eg

1 CAY Nun. *qaner*

1 AAY KP. *qaneq*

1 AAY Kod. *qaneq*

Protoforms:

PE \**qanə-R-* ‘mouth’ [309; K23: 53]

#### NAIL (fingernail)

1 CSY SLI. *estuk* fingernail; toenail; claw; hoof

1 CSY Chap. *stuk*

1 Nauk. *situk*

1 CAY UK. *cetuk* ‘fingernail; toenail; claw’

1 CAY NSU. *cetuk*

1 CAY HBC. *cituk* ‘fingernail; toenail; claw’

1 CAY Eg. *cituk*

1 CAY Nun. *cetug*

1 AAY KP. *estuk*

1 AAY Kod. *stuk*

Protoforms:

PY-S \**citu-k* ‘nail (of finger or toe)’ [94; K23: 27]

#### NAME

1a CSY SLI. *ateq*

1a CSY Chap. *atiq*

1a Nauk. *atiq*

1a CAY UK. *ateq*; = NSU, HPC, Eg

1b CAY Nun. *acir-*

1a AAY KP. *ateq*

1a AAY Kod. *ateq*

## Protoforms:

1a PE \**atə-R-* ‘name’; 1b PE \**ac-ciR-* ‘name’ < \**atə-R-* ‘name’ [55–56; K23: 54]

## NEAR

1a CSY SLI. *qantaghante-* ‘to be nearby, be close’ < *qantagha-* ‘nearby area; relative’

1a CSY Chap. *qantabaqun*

1a, 5 Nauk. *qantakak-* ‘to be near’; *tawanikakaaq* ‘here close, right here, very close’ < *tawa* ‘there, ready’; cf. *awisi:ti-* ‘to be near; be close; don’t leave one step away’

2, 6 CAY UK. *canimete-* ‘to be near/close’ < *caniq-*; *mallegte-* ‘to be close; to be near’ {both are used} = HBC, Eg; cf. *qante-* ‘to be near; to be close’ {Y}; *uyakite-* ‘to be near; to be short; to be narrow’ {NI} < *uya* ‘neck’

1b, 2 CAY NSU. *qante-*; *canimete-* ‘to be near/close’ < *caniq-*

1b CAY Nun. *qante-* ‘to be near; to be close’

3, 1b AAY KP. *taiqseg-* < *tai-* ‘to come’; *qan-* (*qanel-*) ‘to be near’

4 AAY Kod. *yaagianani* ‘to be near’

## Protoforms:

1a PY-S \**qan-taraq* ‘vicinity’ < PE \**qanə-t-*; 1b PE \**qanə-t-* ‘to be near’ [309; K23: 84]

2 PE \**cani-* ‘area beside’ [73]

3 PY-S \**tayi-* ‘come (toward speaker)’ [354]

4 Unknown etymology

5 PE \**tað-va* ‘there (you are)’ < deictic prefix *ta(ð)-* + demonstrative root *uv-* [352]

6 PY-S \**matəy-* ‘to press up against’ [205]

## NECK

1 CSY SLI. *uyaquq*

1 CSY Chap. *ujaqu(q)*

1 Nauk. *ujaquq*

1 CAY UK. *uyaquq* ‘neck (anatomical)’ = NSU, HPC, Eg

1 CAY Nun. *uyaqur*

1 AAY KP. *yaquq/yaquq*

1 AAY Kod. *uyaquq*

## Protoforms:

PY \**uya-qur* < PE \**uya* ‘neck’ [420; K23: 54]

## NEW

1 CSY SLI. *nutaghaq-* ‘new thing’

1 CSY Chap. *nutáka(q)*

1 Nauk. *nutavínkaq*

1 CAY UK. *nutarau-* ‘to be new’ < *nutaraq-*; = NSU, HPC, Eg

1 CAY Nun. *nutarer* ‘new thing’

1 AAY KP. *nuta’aq* [nu.ta.aq]

1 AAY Kod. *nuta’aq*

## Protoforms:

PE \**nuta-R-aR* ‘new thing’ < \**nutar-* ‘to renew’ [265; K23: 55]

## NIGHT

- 1 CSY SLI. *unuk*  
 1 CSY Chap. *unuk*  
 1 Nauk. *unuk*  
 1 CAY UK. *unuk* ‘night; last night’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *unug*  
 1 AAY KP. *unuk*  
 1 AAY Kod. *unuk*

Protoforms:

PE \**unnu-γ* ‘night’ [407; K23: 56]

## NOSE

- 1 CSY SLI. *qengaq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *qinǰá(q)*  
 1 Nauk. *qinǰaq* ‘nose; belt loop’  
 1 CAY UK. *qengaq*; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *qengar*  
 1 AAY KP. *qengaq*  
 1 AAY Kod. *qengaq*

Protoforms:

PE \**qəŋa-R* ‘nose’ [325; K23: 56]

## NOT

- 1 CSY SLI. *-nghite-* postbase ‘to not V’  
 1 CSY Chap. *-nɤit-/ -iyat-; -ŋiyat-; -siyat-*  
 2, 1 Nauk. *-jit* ‘not to do something; never to do something’ (Present); *-nɤit* ‘not to do something’ (Past); cf. *-naɤut* (Future)  
 1 CAY UK. *-nrite-* ‘to not V’ < *-neq-*; *ngait-* ‘to not V (future)’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *-nrite-*  
 1 AAY KP. *nnətə-*  
 1 AAY Kod. *nnitə-*

Protoforms:

1 PE postbase \**-nri-t-* ‘not’ [460; K23: 57]

2 PE postbase \**-yu(C)it-* ‘never or cannot’ [482]

## ONE

- 1 CSY SLI. *ataasiq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *ata:siq*  
 1 Nauk. *ata:siq*  
 1 CAY UK. *atauciq*; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *ataucir*  
 2 AAY KP. *all’inguq* [aʔʔinguq]  
 2 AAY Kod. *allriluq/all’iluq*

## Protoforms:

1 PE \**atar-uciR* ‘one’ [54; K23: 58]

2 Unknown etymology

## RAIN

1 CSY SLI. *eslalluk* < *esla-* ‘weather; awareness, world; outdoors’; cf. *nepsuk* ‘wet weather’2, 1 CSY Chap. *nipsuk*; *sla:luk* {both words are used regularly in the same contexts}3 Nauk. *imənaq*1 CAY UK. *cellalluk* ‘rain’ {Y, UK, LI} / *ellalluk* {K, Can, BB, NR}; < *ella* ‘world; outdoors; weather’; cf. *ivosuk* {NI}2 CAY NSU. *ivosuk* ‘drizzle; rain’2 CAY HBC. *ioyuk* ‘drizzle; rain’1 CAY Eg. *ellalluk*1 CAY Nun. *ellallug*4 AAY KP. *qiteq*4 AAY Kod. *qiteq*

## Protoforms:

1 PE \**cila-tuy* ‘rain or bad weather’ < \**cila*/\**cita* ‘(spirit of) weather or outside world’ + \**-tuy* ‘bad’ [84–85; K23: 59]2 PY-S \**nəp-yu-k/nʷəpu-k* ‘rain’ [251]3 PE \**imar-nar* ‘rain’ or \**imar-nin* ‘raincoat’ [Golovko et al. 2004: 45] < PE \**ima(R)* ‘contents (esp. of sea)’ [142–143]; or PE \**imav(u)* ‘to be wet, to melt, rain’ [M11: 302]4 PE \**qitə-* ‘fog, drizzle, rain’ [M11: 668]

## RED

1 CSY SLI. *kavite-* ‘to be red’ < *kavigh-te*1 CSY Chap. *kavilŋu(q)*1 Nauk. *kavik-* ‘to be red’1 CAY UK. *kavir-* ‘to be red’; = NSU, HPC1 CAY Eg. *kavisqaq* ‘red color’ < *kavir-* ‘to be red’1 CAY Nun. *kawirpag*1 AAY KP. *kawir-*1 AAY Kod. *kawir-*

## Protoforms:

1 PE \**kavi-R-* ‘to be red’ [177; K23: 60]

## ROAD

1 CSY SLI. *tuma*1 CSY Chap. *tum(á)*2 Nauk. *iyliχfik* ‘path, road, transport’ < *iyliχti-* ‘to travel, to go’; cf. *tumi* ‘trail, path, road’1 CAY UK. *tumyaraq* ‘trail; path; road; route; way’ < *tuma* ‘footprint; track; trail’; = NSU, HPC, Eg1 CAY Nun. *tumyarer*3 AAY KP. *aprun*3 AAY Kod. *aprun* ‘trail; path; road’

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**tumə* ‘track or footprint’ [381]  
 2 PE \**ɣl̩əR-* or \**ɣil̩əR-* ‘to move or travel’ [109]  
 3 PE \**apR-un* ‘trail’ [41; K23: 60]

## ROOT

- 1 CSY SLI. *akuq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *aku(q)*  
 1 Nauk. *akuq* ‘skirt; root’  
 2 CAY UK. *acilquq* ‘plant root; tree stump’ < *aci-* ‘area below; area under’ {most frequent} = HPC, Eg; cf. *nemernaq* ‘root of plant; lamprey (*Lampetra japonica*)’;  
 2 CAY NSU. *acipluk* ‘plant root’  
 2 CAY Nun. *acilqur*  
 3 AAY KP. *nukek*  
 3 AAY Kod. *nukek*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**aku-(R)* ‘space between or lower part (widening out)’ [15; K23: 61]  
 2 PY-S \**aci* ‘area below’ [2–3]  
 3 PE \**nukəɣ* ‘muscle or tendon’ [260]

## ROUND

- 1, 2 CSY SLI. *angqaperuk* ‘round thing, circle, sphere’ 3D < *aangqaq* ‘ball’; *akamkegtaq* ‘cylindrical object; round thing’ 2D < *akamka* ‘circle, ring’ < *akag-*  
 2 CSY Chap. *akámkixta(q)* ‘round, spherical; circle’ 3D~2D < *akag-*; cf. *a:ŋqa:piruxtaq* ‘poorly rounded spherical object’  
 2 Nauk. *akamluq* ‘round 2D+3D’; *akamkixtaq* ‘round 2D+3D’ < *akag* ‘to roll’  
 3, 2 CAY UK. *uivenqegg-* ‘to be spherical/round’ ? 3D < *uive-* ‘to circle/revolve/rotate’; *akagenqegg-* ‘to be circular/spherical/round’ 2D < *akag-* ‘to roll’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 3, 4 CAY Nun. *wivngayag* ‘round thing; circle’ 2D; *aqsamirte-* ‘to have a rounded shape’ 3D < *aqsak, aqsaq* ‘abdomen; belly’  
 2 AAY KP. *akagnga-* or *akanegeg-*  
 0 AAY Kod. Not found

## Protoforms:

- 1 PY-S \**anqa-q* ‘ball’ [37]  
 2 PE \**akða-ɣ-* ‘to roll or to turn over’ [11; K23: 62]  
 3 PE \**uyivə-* ‘to go around (in a circle)’ [421]  
 4 PE \**aq(ə)ya-R* ‘belly’ [44]

## SALT

- 1 CSY SLI. *taghyuq* ‘salt; brine; sea or sea water; ocean’  
 1 CSY Chap. *taɣju(q)*  
 1 Nauk. *taɣjuq*  
 1 CAY UK. *taryuq* ‘salt; brine; ocean; sea’ ; = HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY NSU. *tarsuq*  
 1 CAY Nun. *taryur*



- 1 AAY KP. *taryuq*  
 1 AAY Kod. *taryuq*

Protoforms:

PE *\*tar(ə)yu-R* 'salt' [364; K23: 85] = *\*ta(ð)yu-R* [J12: 622]

SAND

- 1 CSY SLI. *qenaaq* 'grainy sand, gravel'; *qenaavzeghaq* 'fine sand'  
 1 CSY Chap. *qina:q*  
 2 Nauk. *qa:wjaq* 'pebbles, sand'  
 2 CAY UK. *qauḡyaaq*; = HPC, Eg  
 3 CAY NSU. *maqallaq*  
 2 CAY Nun. *qauḡyar*  
 2 AAY KP. *qauḡyaaq*  
 2 AAY Kod. *qauḡyaaq*

Protoforms:

- 1 PY *\*qənu* 'frazil, slush; sand; small parts of ice' [M11: 648] < PE *\*qənu* 'slush ice' [325]  
 2 PE *\*qavə-yar* 'sand' [318; K23: 63]  
 3 PE *\*mar-rar* 'mud' [211]

SAY

- 1 CSY SLI. *pi-* 'to do; to act; to say; to go'; cf. *qaallgute-* 'to tell; to say something to'; *atigh-* 'to name, to call; to say'  
 1 CSY Chap. *pi-* 'to do; to act; to say; to go'; cf. *qa:ḷxaquq* 'to utter something'  
 1 Nauk. *pi-* 'to do; to say; to go'  
 1 CAY UK. *pi-* 'to do; to say' (the meaning comes from suffixes and context) {most frequent} = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. *aper-* 'to say; to pronounce'; *qaner-* 'to speak; to utter; to converse'  
 1 CAY Nun. *pi-* 'say something'  
 1 AAY KP. *pi-* 'to say'; cf. *aper-* 'to say out loud; to pronounce'  
 1 AAY Kod. *pi-* 'to say'; cf. *aper-* 'to say out loud; to pronounce'

Protoforms:

- 1 PE *\*pi-* 'to do something (or thing)' [so-called empty root] [282; K23: 64]

SEE

- 1 CSY SLI. *esghagh-* 'open one's eyes; to see'  
 1 CSY Chap. *sxa(ḷ)-*  
 1 Nauk. *isxax*  
 2 CAY UK. *tangerr-*; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY Nun. *tangerr-*  
 2 AAY KP. *tanger-*  
 2 AAY Kod. *tanger-*

Protoforms:

- 1 PY *\*əs-xar-* < *\*əðə* 'eye' [106]  
 2 PE *\*tanḡ-R-* 'to see' [360]

## SEED

- 1 CSY SLI. *piitun* ‘seed; root of plant; plant’ < *piite-* ‘to sprout’  
 -1 CSY Chap. *semja-*; cf. *pi:tun* ‘plant’  
 2 Nauk. *na:sivaχqaq* ‘grain; seed’ < *na:sivaq* ‘flower, plant’ < *naj-* ‘grow (of plants)’  
 3 CAY UK. *iiqupak* ‘seed’ < *ii* ‘eye’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 3 CAY Nun. *iiqupag*  
 -1 AAY KP. *sim’inaq*  
 -1 AAY Kod. *sim’inaq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PY \**pita-* ‘come up’ [285]  
 2 PE \**nayu-* ‘grow’ [227]  
 3 PE \**əḏə* ‘eye’ [106]  
 -1 < Rus. *семья/s’em’ja*, pl. *семена/s’im’ina* ‘seed’

## SHORT

- 1 CSY SLI. *takestaaghhaa-* ‘to be short’ < *take-staaq* ‘short thing’ < *take* ‘long’ + *-staaq* ‘without, less’  
 1 CSY Chap. *takista:χaq*  
 2 Nauk. *nanitasaq*  
 3 CAY UK. *markite-* ‘to be short’ < *mar-* (dimensional root); = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 2,4 CAY Nun. *nanite-* ‘to be short’; *uyakite-* ‘to be short’  
 2 AAY KP. *nani-*  
 2 AAY Kod. *nani-*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**takə-* ‘to be long’ [355]  
 2 PE \**nani-t-* ‘to be short’ [233; K23: 86]  
 3 PY \**mar-tu-* ‘to be thick or long?’ [211–212]  
 4 PE \**uya-tu-* ‘to be wide’ [420]

## SIT

- 1 CSY SLI. *aqumga-* ‘to be sitting’  
 1 CSY Chap. *aqumya-*  
 1 Nauk. *aqumya*  
 1 CAY UK. *aqumga-* ‘to be sitting’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *aqumga-* ‘to be seated (state)’  
 1 AAY KP. *aqum’a-/aqumga-* ‘to be sitting (in sitting position)’  
 1 AAY Kod. *aqum’a-/aqumga-* ‘to be sitting (in sitting position)’

## Protoforms:

- PY \**aqu-m(ə)-ya-* ‘to be sitting’ < PE \**aqu-mə-* ‘to sit down’ [44; K23: 65]

## SKIN

- 1, 3 CSY SLI. *amighregaq* ‘skin on body’ < *amiq* ‘skin (especially of an animal)’; *uvinek* ‘human skin; close relative; back part of an animal; torso’; cf. *kemek* ‘flesh; skin’

- 1, 4 CSY Chap. *amivriya(q)* ‘human skin’; *iqaxta(q)* ‘human skin, covers’; cf. *ami:ra(q)* ‘hide’; *uviniq* ‘torso (of a person, animal); body surface’  
 2 Nauk. *kimik* ‘(human) skin; flesh’; cf. *qisi* ‘skin, hide’  
 1 CAY UK. *amiq* ‘pelt; skin’ = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. *qecig* ‘hide; skin; pelt’  
 1 CAY Nun. *amir* ‘skin; kayak skin’  
 1 AAY KP. *amiq* ‘skin, hide’  
 1 AAY Kod. *amiq* ‘skin, hide’

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**ami-R* ‘skin’ [25]  
 2 PE \**kamə-γ* ‘flesh’ [184]  
 3 PE \**uvinə-γ* ‘(human) flesh or skin’ [419; K23: 66]  
 4 PE \**iqar-tə* ‘(outer layer of) skin’ [155]

## SLEEP, to

- 1 CSY SLI. *qavagh-*; *qavaq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *qavá(v)-*  
 1 Nauk. *qavak*  
 1 CAY UK. *qavar-* ‘to sleep’ {most frequent} = NSU, Eg; cf. *kanar(ar)-* ‘to sleep; to be falling asleep’  
 1 CAY HBC. *qavar-*; cf. *iss’a-* ‘to sleep’ (baby talk)  
 1 CAY Nun. *qawar-* ‘to sleep; to slumber’  
 -1 AAY KP. *saa-* ‘to sleep’; *saniq*, *saniuq* ‘sleepy’ {NW, PG} [S10]  
 1 AAY Kod. *qawar-*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**qava-R-* ‘to sleep’ [317; K23: 67]  
 -1 borrowed < Aleut *sağa-lix* ‘to sleep, to be asleep’ [Bergsland 1994: 345]

## SMALL

- 1, 2 CSY SLI. *mekesta-q* ‘small thing; little thing’; *amsakaghtaq/amsakeghtaq/amsakelghii* ‘small animal or person’; cf. *palaghmete* ‘to be small, poor or weak; to be young and helpless; to be few’  
 1, 2 CSY Chap. *mikista:xa(q)* ‘small; little’; *amsakilki*; ‘small, short (in stature)’; cf. *palaxa-* ‘a little’  
 1 Nauk. *mikavaq*  
 1 CAY UK. *mike-* {Y, NI, Can, K, BB, NR, LI} / *mikte-* {NI, Can} ‘to be little; to be small in size; to be young’  
 1 CAY NSU. *mike-* ‘to be little; to be small in size; to be young’  
 1 CAY HBC. *mikte-* ‘to be little; to be small in size; to be young’  
 1, 3 CAY Eg. *mikte-* ‘to be little; to be small in size; to be young’; *cakte-* ‘to be small’  
 1 CAY Nun. *mikte-* ‘to be little; to be small in size; to be young’  
 1 AAY KP. *mik-*  
 1 AAY Kod. *mik-*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**mika-* or \**mika-t-* ‘to be small’ [219; K23: 67]  
 2 maybe connected to PE \**amit-* ‘to be narrow’ [26]

3 Mentioned at PE \**caka(t)*- ‘struggle or have a hard time’ with note “probably from a different base” [70]

## SMOKE

- 1, 3 CSY SLI. *agepsuq* ‘smoke; steam’; *qigughruk* ‘smoke; smog; smell of a campfire, barbecue, etc.’; cf. *puyuuq* ‘soot; smoke’  
 2, 1 CSY Chap. *puju(q)* ‘smoke, soot, carbon black’ {more frequent}; *ayipsu(q)* ‘steam, dust, smoke, haze’  
 1 Nauk. *apjuq*; cf. *pujuq* ‘soot; smoke’  
 2 CAY UK. *puyuuq* ‘smoke; steam; water vapor’ = NSU, HPC, Eg ; cf. *apsuq* ‘smoke; haze; dust in air’, *aruvak* ‘smoke (with certain smell or meaning); fumes’  
 2 CAY Nun. *puyur*  
 2 AAY KP. *puiq/puyuuq*  
 2 AAY Kod. *puyuuq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**apyu-R* ‘smoke or haze’ [41]  
 1 PE \**puyuu-R* ‘smoke’ [296–297; K23: 68]  
 1 PE \**qiyu-(γ)(-)* ‘(become) blue (esp. berry)’ [338]

## SNAKE

- 1 CSY SLI. *nemeghyaq* ‘kelp type; snake; serpent’ < *nemeq*- ‘lashing’  
 0 CSY Chap. Not found; cf. *nimiŋja(q)* only means ‘sea snake’  
 1 Nauk. *nimiŋjak* ‘snake; worm’ < *nimiŋ-* ‘tie up, bind up’  
 2 CAY UK. *ciissirpak* ‘serpent; snake; dinosaur’ < *ciissiq* ‘insect; bug; cold-blooded crawling thing’; = NSU, HPC  
 -1 CAY Eg. *smiyyaq*  
 0 CAY Nun. Not found.  
 -1 AAY KP. *shmiyyaq* [smi:jaq]  
 -1 AAY Kod. *smiyyaq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**nəmər-ya-R* ‘eel-like creature’ < \**nəmər(-)* (or *nʷəmər*) ‘wrap around’ [248]  
 2 Unknown etymology  
 -1 < Rus. *змея/zmʲija* ‘snake’

## STAND

- 1 CSY SLI. *nekeogha-* ‘to be standing’ < *nekeve-* ‘to stand up’  
 1 CSY Chap. *nikivva-*  
 1 Nauk. *nukuva-*, *nukuŋa-* < *nukuvi-* ‘stand up’  
 2 CAY UK. *nangernga-/nangengqa-* ‘to be standing’ < *nanger-* {Y, NI, Can, K, BB, NR, LI}  
 2 CAY NSU. *nangernga*  
 2 CAY HBC. *nangernga*  
 1 CAY Nun. *nekva* ‘to be standing’  
 2 AAY KP. *nangar-*  
 2 AAY Kod. *nangar-*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**nəkəvə(t)*- [246] = \**nʲəkəvə*- [K23: 69] ‘to stand up’  
 2 PE \**nanə-R*- ‘to be standing’ [235; K23: 69]

## STAR

- 1 CSY SLI. *ighaleqetaaq*  
 1 CSY Chap. *iḅaliqita:q*  
 1 Nauk. *iḅaliqita:q*  
 2 CAY UK. *agyaq*; = HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY NSU. *agsaq*  
 2 CAY Nun. *agyar*  
 2 AAY KP. *agyaq*  
 2 AAY Kod. *agyaq*; cf. *mit’aq* in Karluk village (Kodiak)

## Protoforms:

- 1 PY \**ira-lə-qitaaq* ‘star’ < PY \**ira-luq* ‘moon, month’ [157]  
 2 PY \**aγ-yaq* ‘star’ [10; K23: 70]

## STONE (rock)

- 1 CSY SLI. *uyghak* ‘rock; stone’  
 1 CSY Chap. *ujḅak*  
 1 Nauk. *ujḅak, ujaḅak*  
 2 CAY UK. *tegalquq* {UK}/*teggalquq* {UY, LK, NI, Can, BB, NR, LI} ‘rock; stone; kidney stone; gallstone’ < *tegge*- ‘to be hard; to be tough’; cf. *ciimaq* ‘stone; rock’ {LY, NR}/*siimaq* {LI}  
 3 CAY NSU. *ciimaq*  
 2 CAY HBC. *tegalquq*  
 3 CAY Eg. *siimaq* ‘stone; rock’  
 3 CAY Nun. *siimar* ‘stone; rock’  
 3 AAY KP. *yaamaq*  
 3 AAY Kod. *yaamaq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**uyara-γ* ‘rock’ [420; K23: 70]  
 2 PY \**təγa-l-quq* ‘rock (in water)’ < PE \**təγə-γ*- ‘to be hard or stiff’ [367]  
 3 PE \**ya(C)a-maq* [J12: 201]; Mudrak [M11: 777–778] reconstructs it as \**jəHa-ma-* and connects with \**uyara-γ* ‘rock’ [CED 420]

## SUN

- 1 CSY SLI. *siqineq* < *siqite-* ‘to splash (it) out’  
 1 CSY Chap. *siqiniq*  
 2 Nauk. *masaq*  
 3, 4 CAY UK. *puqlaneq* {UK}; *akerta* {Y, NSK, NI, Can, K, BB, NR, LI}  
 2 CAY NSU. *macaq*  
 4 CAY HBC. *akerta*  
 3 CAY Eg. *puqlaneq*  
 3 CAY Nun. *puqlaner* < *puqla* ‘warmth; heat’

- 2 AAY KP. *macaq*  
 2 AAY Kod. *macaq*; cf. AP *cinguruuq* ‘sun’ [J12: 211]

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**cīqi-nəR* ‘sun or ray of sunlight’ [91; K23: 71]  
 2 PE \**maca-R* ‘sun’ [201; K23: 70]  
 3 PE \**puqla* ‘heat or hot water’ [293]  
 4 PY \**aki-R-* ‘shine’ [13]

## SWIM

- 1 CSY SLI. *pugimagh-*; *pugime-* < *puge-*  
 1 CSY Chap. *puyima(ɤ)-*  
 2 Nauk. *kuimaɤ*, *kuimɨ-*  
 2 CAY UK. *kuime-* ‘to swim, especially in a direct line from one point to another’; = NSU, HPC,  
 Eg  
 2 CAY Nun. *kuime-*  
 2 AAY KP. *kuimar-*  
 2 AAY Kod. *kuimar-*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**puɣ(ə)-mə-(t)-* ‘to swim’ [291; K23: 72]  
 1 PY \**ku(C)i-mə-* ‘to swim’ [196]

## TAIL

- 1 CSY SLI. *papek* ‘tail of land mammal’  
 1 CSY Chap. *papik*  
 2 Nauk. *pamjuq*  
 2 CAY UK. *pamyuq* ‘tail of animal or kayak’ ; = HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY NSU. *pamsuq*  
 2 CAY Nun. *pamyur*  
 2 AAY KP. *pamyuq* ‘tail’ [CED 272]  
 2 AAY Kod. *pamyuq* ‘tail’ [CED 272]

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**papəɣ-* ‘tail’ [273]  
 2 PE \**pamyu-R* ‘tail (of land animal)’ [272; K23: 72]

## THAT

- 1 CSY SLI. *iigna* ‘that one over there; the one in an east or west direction’  
 1 CSY Chap. *iyna* ‘over that (situated close)’  
 1 Nauk. *iyna*  
 2 CAY UK. *tauna* ‘that (near listener, refers to an entity or area that is in sight and that is restricted in size and is not in motion) < *ta-una*; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 2 CAY Nun. *tauna*  
 2 AAY KP. *taugna*  
 2 AAY Kod. *taugna/tauna*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**iy-* ‘over’ (dem.) [497, 507; K23: 73]  
 2 prefixed form of PE \**uv-* ‘near speaker’ (res.) [497, 526]

## THIN 1D

- 1 CSY SLI. *amestaaghhaa-/amesuwali/ameriigaghaa* ‘thin 1D’ < *amel-*  
 1 CSY Chap. *amista:χa(q)* ‘thin, narrow’  
 1 Nauk. *amitaxaq-* ‘thin 1D, narrow’  
 1 CAY UK. *amite-* ‘thin 1D’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. *amite-* ‘to be thin in diameter, 1D’  
 1 AAY KP. *amita-* ‘to be small in girth, thin’ [CED 26]  
 1 AAY Kod. *aminani* ‘thin 1D’

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**ami-t-* ‘to be narrow’ [26; K23: 87]

## THIN 2D

- 2 CSY SLI. *ugmestaaghhaq* ‘thin thing 2D’ < *ugme-*  
 2 CSY Chap. *uymista:χa(q)* ‘thin (about flat things)’  
 3 Nauk. *saniχtaxaq* ‘thin 1D+2D’  
 4, 5 CAY UK. *mamkite-* ‘to be thin’ (world) < *mam-* (dimensional root); *qecigkite-* ‘to be thin’ (of a skin or similar thing) < *qecik* ‘skin; hide’ {both are used in similar contexts} = HPC, Eg; cf. *can’ggete-* {Y} / *cetgate-* ‘to be thin; to be lanky’  
 3 CAY NSU. *caneggete-* ‘to be thin 2D’  
 4, 5 CAY Nun. *mamkite-* ‘to be thin (of skin, ice, etc.)’, *qeciite-* ‘to be thin (of skin, ice, cloth, etc.) 2D’  
 6 AAY KP. *marki-*  
 6, 3 AAY Kod. *marki-*; *caneglluni/can’ginani* {unclear distribution}

## Protoforms:

- 2 with metathesis < \**um(u)ya-tə-?* < PE *umðu-* ‘to be thick’ [402]  
 3 PY \**canəy-(ə)t-* ‘to be thin’ [73] < PE \**canəy-* ‘thin’ [M11: 176]  
 4 PE \**mam-tu-* ‘to be thick or tough’ < \**mamə* ‘underside of skin’ [206]  
 5 PE \**qəci-γ* ‘skin (of animal)’ [320]  
 6 PE \**mar-tu-* ‘to be thick or tough’ [211]

## THIS

- 1a CSY SLI. *una* ‘this one; this one here; this one near the speaker’; cf. *taana* ‘that’  
 1b, 1a CSY Chap. *ta:na* ‘this (located nearby)’ {more frequent}; *uná* ‘this’  
 1b, 1a Nauk. *ta:na; una*  
 1a CAY UK. *una* ‘this (near speaker, refers to an entity or area that is in sight and that is restricted in size and is not in motion); = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1a CAY Nun. *una* ‘this here’  
 1a AAY KP. *una*  
 1a AAY Kod. *una*

## Protoforms:

1a PE \*uv- ‘near speaker’ (res.) [497, 526; K23: 74]

1b prefixed form of PE \*uv- ‘near speaker’ (res.) [497, 526]

## TONGUE

1 CSY SLI. ulu

1 CSY Chap. ulu

1 Nauk. ulu

1 CAY UK. ulu(q) {Y, NI, Can, UK, LI}; cf. *alungun* ‘tongue’ {LK, BB, NR}, elsewhere ‘dog-feeding trough’

1 CAY NSU. ulu(q)

1 CAY HBC. ulu(q)

3, 1 CAY Eg. *qanerrsuun* < *qaner* ‘mouth’; ulu(q)

1, 2 CAY Nun. ulu(r); *alungun*

1 AAY KP. uluq, uluk

1 AAY Kod. uluq

## Protoforms:

1 PY-S \*ulu-(q) ‘tongue’ [400; K23: 75]

2 PE \*alu(C)-un ‘spoon’ [22]

3 PE \*qanə-R- ‘mouth’ [309]

## TOOTH

1 CSY SLI. *gguta* < *egge-* ‘to crimp boot soles with one’s teeth’

1 CSY Chap. *xut(a)*

1 Nauk. *yuti*, *xuti* {more frequent}; cf. *kixməti* ‘tooth’ < *kixməv-* ‘to bite’

1 CAY UK. *keggun*; = NSU, HPC, Eg

1 CAY Nun. *keggun*

2, 1 AAY KP. *neruteq* [L07]; *ggun*, *gguuteq* (sg), *nehutet*, *kegutet* (pl) {NW, PG} [S10]

1 AAY Kod. *gun/guuteq*

## Protoforms:

1 PE \*kəy-un ‘tooth’ < \**kəyə-* ‘to bite’ [180; K23: 76]

2 Probably PE \*nəRə- ‘to eat’ [252]

## TREE

1 CSY SLI. uqfik

1 CSY Chap. uqfik

2 Nauk. *napa:χtu(q)*

2 CAY UK. *napa* ‘tree; spruce tree’ {most frequent} = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. *uqvik/uqviaq/uqvilaraq/uqvigaq* ‘willow (*Salix sp.*); more generally, tree’

2 CAY Nun. *napa*

2 AAY KP. *napaq*

2 AAY Kod. *napaq*

## Protoforms:

1 PE \*uqvi-γ ‘tree or shrub’ [415]



2 PE \**napa-(R)-aq-tuR* ‘tree’ < \**napa-* ‘to be standing (upright)’ [236; K23: 76]

## TWO

1 CSY SLI. *maalghuk*

1 CSY Chap. *ma:lʷuk*

1 Nauk. *ma:lʷuk*

1 CAY UK. *malruk*; = NSU, HPC, Eg

1 CAY Nun. *malʷrug* [maʷʷux]q

1 AAY KP. *mal'uk*

1 AAY Kod. *mal'uk*

Protoforms:

PE \**malru-γ* ‘two’ [205; K23: 77]

## WARM

1, 3 CSY SLI. *puqlate-* ‘to be warm’ (of places, room, weather, food); *maqagh-* ‘to be warm (of clothing, house, etc.)’; cf. *maatnegh-* ‘to be /get warm(er)’

2, 3 CSY Chap. *ma:tniʷi* ‘warm (about heated objects: liquids, food, stove)’; *maqáʷi* ‘warm (about clothes, things, place)’

2 Nauk. *makniχtuqaq* ‘warm, hot’ < *makniʷ-* ‘to be warm’

3 CAY UK. *maqar* ‘to be warm’ (of clothes, bedding, etc.); = NSU, HPC, Eg

3 CAY Nun. *maqanir-* ‘to be warm (of clothing, insulation, hat, etc.)’; cf. *macari-* ‘for the weather to be warm’

3 AAY KP. *maqar-*

3 AAY Kod. *maqar-*

Protoforms:

2 PY-S \**mat-nəq* ‘warmth’ [213]

1 PE \**puqla* ‘heat or hot water’ [293]

3 PY-S \**maqa-q* ‘heat’ [210–211; K23: 78]

## WATER

1 CSY SLI. *meq*

1 CSY Chap. *miq*

1 Nauk. *imiq* ‘water; spirit’

1 CAY UK. [*e*]meq, imaq; = NSU, HPC, Eg

1 CAY Nun. *emer*

1 AAY KP. *meq* ‘water’; cf. *taangaq* ‘liquor, booze’

2 AAY Kod. *taangaq* ‘water; liquor’

Protoforms:

1 PE \**əmə-R(-)* ‘fresh water’ [120; K23: 79], the same stem as ‘to drink’ (q.v.).

2 PY \**taangaq* ‘liquor’, borrowing from Aleut *taanga-x̄* ‘fresh water’ [Bergsland 1994: 392]; judging by the Inuit correspondences, this borrowing was already present in PE, so we consider it to be inherited in Yupik [351].

## WE

- 1 CSY SLI. whangkuta  
 1 CSY Chap. x<sup>w</sup>anjuta  
 1 Nauk. wanjuta  
 1 CAY UK. wangkuta ‘we (plural)’  
 1 CAY NSU. wangkuta [ɣ<sup>w</sup>anjuta]  
 1 CAY HBC. wangkuta [ɣ<sup>w</sup>anjuta]  
 1 CAY Eg. kwangkuta  
 1 CAY Nun. kwangkuta  
 1 AAY KP. ggwangkuta  
 1 AAY Kod. ggwangkuta

## Protoforms:

PE \*uwa-ku-t, phonetically influenced by \*uwa-ŋa ‘P’ [418; K23: 79]

## WHAT

- 1 CSY SLI. saam  
 1 CSY Chap. sa-  
 1 Nauk. sa  
 1 CAY UK. ca; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. ca  
 1 AAY KP. cacaq  
 1 AAY Kod. caqiq

## Protoforms:

1 PE \*cu-(na) ‘what’ [97; K23: 80]

## WHITE

- 1 CSY SLI. gategh ‘to be white’  
 1 CSY Chap. qatɪlɪ  
 2 Nauk. qixsuq  
 1 CAY UK. qater- ‘to be white’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. qaterpag  
 1 AAY KP. qater-  
 1 AAY Kod. qater-

## Protoforms:

1 PE \*qatə-R- ‘to be white or pale’ [316; K23: 81]

1 PE \*qak-cur- ‘to be (bleached) white’ < \*qakə(R)- ‘to be pale or bleached’ [303]

## WHO

- 1 CSY SLI. kina  
 1 CSY Chap. kiná  
 1 Nauk. kina  
 1 CAY UK. kitu- ‘who (INT base)’ / kina ‘who (ABS)’; = NSU, HPC, Eg  
 1 CAY Nun. kiá

1 AAY KP. kinaq

1 AAY Kod. kina(q)

Protoforms:

PE \*ki-(na) ‘who’ [190; K23: 82]

WIND

1 CSY SLI. anuqa

1 CSY Chap. anuq(a)

1 Nauk. anuq̄i

1 CAY UK. anuqa; = NSU, HPC, Eg

1 CAY Nun. anuqa

2 AAY KP. aqlaq

2 AAY Kod. aqlaq

Protoforms:

1 PE \*anu-qə ‘wind’ [33; K23: 87]

2 PE \*aqla- ‘to be drafty’ [43]

WOMAN

1 CSY SLI. aghnaq ‘woman; female human’

1 CSY Chap. avná(q)

1 Nauk. avn̄aq

1 CAY UK. arnaq ‘woman; female human’; = NSU, HPC, Eg

1 CAY Nun. arnar

1 AAY KP. arnaq

1 AAY Kod. arnaq

Protoforms:

PE \*arna-R ‘woman’ [47; K23: 82]

WORM (earthworm)

1 CSY SLI. kinguk ‘worm, maggot; sand mason, krill’

1 CSY Chap. kiŋuk

2 Nauk. q̄ip̄il̄buq ‘(rain) worm’; cf. n̄im̄ib̄jak ‘snake; worm’

1 CAY UK. kinguk/kinguq ‘worm’ (species ?) = NSU, HPC, Eg; cf. qumaq ‘tapeworm often found in fish or seal’

1? CAY Nun. Unclear; cf. kingug ‘insect; bug’; qumag ‘tapeworm’, wiinguyug ‘inedible red worm found on beaches’

1 AAY KP. kinguk

1 AAY Kod. kinguk

Protoforms:

1 PE \*kiŋuy ‘worm?’ [192]

2 PE \*q̄up̄əl-RUR ‘maggot or worm’ [347]

## YEAR

- 1 CSY SLI. *ayumiquulleq* ‘year’ {most frequent} < *ayumiq* ‘long ago; year’ < *ayu-* ‘to progress; to continue; to keep on going’; cf. *uksughtelleq* ‘year’ < *uksuq* ‘winter; year; last winter’
- 2 CSY Chap. *uks’u(q)* ‘winter; year’ {most frequent}; cf. *ajumiquḷiq* ‘year’ < *ajumiq* ‘last year, in the old days’
- 1 Nauk. *ḡiwi* < Chuk. *зивун/ḡiwin* ‘year’ [MI05: 32]; cf. *ukjuq* ‘winter; year’
- 3 CAY UK. *allrakuq* < *allrag-*; cf. *uksuq* ‘winter; last winter; year’
- 3 CAY HBC. *al’rrakuq* [alχakuq]
- 3 CAY Nun. *allraku-*
- 2 AAY KP. *uksuq*
- 2 AAY Kod. *uksuq*

## Protoforms:

- 1 PE \**ayu-* ‘to go ahead or further’ [65]
- 2 PE \**ukyu-R* ‘winter or year’ [397; K23: 89]
- 3 PE \**alR-ani* & \**alR-aku* ‘next or last year’ < \**alR* ‘other (of pair)’ [18]

## YELLOW

- 1 CSY SLI. *nighugyuk* ‘yellow color’ < *nighug-* ‘to be bright (light); to be daylight’; cf. *kavilleq* ‘egg yolk’; *kavite-* ‘to be red’
- 2, 3 CSY Chap. *tiquchs’uḡni* < *tiq(uq)* ‘urine’; *kavisak* ‘жёлтый, оранжевый, красноватый’; cf. *kaviḡrak*
- 8 Nauk. *pire:q/pirir*
- 4 CAY UK. *esirliq, esirngalnguq* ‘yellow thing’ < *esiq* ‘egg yolk’; = NSU, HPC, Eg
- 5, 7 CAY Nun. *ciwigtar-ngal’ngur* ‘yellow color or paint; gold colored rock’ / *ciwignir* ‘yellow thing’ < *ciwigte-* ‘to urinate on (to mark the area)’; *qapug-ngal’ngur* ‘yellow’
- 6 AAY KP. *arir-* ‘to be brown, yellow, fair’; cf. CH *arriq* ‘yellow’ [S10: 27]
- 0 AAY Kod. Not found.

## Protoforms:

- 1 PY-S \**nəržu-γ/n’əržu-γ* ‘to be bright’ [254]
- 2 PE \**ətəqu-R* ‘urine’ [129]
- 3 PE \**kavi-R-* ‘to be red’ [177]
- 4 PE \**ayyi-(R)* ‘yolk’ [132]
- 5 PE \**cuviḡ-nit-* ‘smell of an animal’ [105]
- 6 Unknown etymology
- 7 PE \**qapu-γ* ‘foam’ [312]
- 8 Unknown etymology. Golovko et al. [2004: 136] propose possible borrowing from Chukchi, but the closest word there is *нырык/ḡərək* ‘to begin to break (of day)’ [Weinstein 2018: 456].

## YOU (thou, 2sg)

- 1 CSY SLI. *elpek*
- 1 CSY Chap. *lpik*
- 1 Nauk. *ilpik*
- 1 CAY UK. *elpet*; = NSU, HPC, Eg
- 1 CAY Nun. *elpet*

1 AAY KP. *ellpet*

1 AAY Kod. *ellpet*

Protoforms:

PE \**al-pə-t* or \**ət-və-t* ‘you’ [116; K23: 74]

### Abbreviations

AAY = Alutiiq language; AP = Alaska Peninsula dialect of AAY; BB = Bristol Bay dialect of CAY; Can = Canineq dialect of CAY; CAY = Central Alaskan Yup'ik language; CH = Chenega dialect of AAY; Chap = Chaplino dialect of CSY; Chuk. = Chukchi language; CSY = Central Siberian Yupik; Eg = Egegik dialect of CAY; FW24 = field work in 2024; GCY = General Central Yup'ik dialect of CAY; HBC = Hooper Bay-Chevak dialect of CAY; K = Kuskokwim dialect of CAY; Kod = Kodiak Island dialect of AAY; KP = Kenai Peninsula (Lower Kenai) dialect of AAY; LI = Lake Iliamna dialect of CAY; LK = Lower Kuskokwim dialect of CAY; mid-K = middle Kuskokwim dialect of CAY; MY = middle Yukon dialect of CAY; Nauk = Naukan language; NI = Nelson Island dialect of CAY; NR = Nushagak River dialect of CAY; NS = Norton Sound (both northern and southern shores) dialect of CAY; NSK = Norton Sound–Kotlik (southern Norton Sound) dialect of CAY; NSU = Norton Sound–Unaliq (northern Norton Sound) dialect of CAY; Nun = Nunivak (Cup'ig) language of CAY; NW = Nanwalek (English Bay) dialect of AAY; PE = Proto-Eskimo; PG = Port Graham dialect of AAY; PWS = Prince William Sound dialect of AAY; PY = Proto-Yupik; PY-S = Proto-Yupik-Sireniski; Rus. = Russian; SLI = St. Lawrence dialect of CSY; SPI = Seward Peninsula dialect of Iñupiaq; T = Tatitlek dialect of AAY; UK = Upper Kuskokwim dialect of CAY; UY = Upper Yukon dialect of CAY; Y = Yukon dialect of CAY.

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Ю. Б. Коряков. Базисная лексика юпикских языков: лексикостатистический анализ

В статье представлена лексикостатистическая классификация юпикских языков, входящих в эскимосско-алеутскую семью языков, на основе сравнения 110-словных списков. Целью работы является уточнение и расширение предыдущих лексикостатистических исследований по юпикским языкам, с упором на семантические уточнения и учёт контекстов, а также частотность синонимов при составлении списков слов. Исследование включает данные из недавно опубликованных словарей и полевых исследований, в частности, по науканскому и чаплинскому языкам. В нашем исследовании также представлен расширенный список юпикских идиомов по сравнению с предыдущими работами, а именно учтены пять диалектов центральноюпикского (СAY) и два диалекта аляутского языков.

Результаты исследования в целом подтверждают классификационную схему, предложенную Вахтиным и Головко (1987), с некоторыми незначительными корректировками. Например, предполагается, что нунивакский является достаточно дивергентным идиомом, чтобы считать его языком, отдельным от центральноюпикского. В то же время в статье обсуждаются серьезные отличия от работы Мудрака (2008), касающиеся как старения определенных языковых узлов, так и общей топографии языкового дерева. В качестве приложения к статье публикуются аннотированные 110-словные списки.

*Ключевые слова:* юпикские языки; науканский язык; лексикостатистика; базовая лексика; лингвистическая классификация; эскимосско-алеутские языки.