
ESKIMO

BY

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§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Eskimo language is spoken by hardly forty thousand individuals, who live in small groups on the northernmost shores of America, from Alaska to East Greenland. Their territory extends south of Bering sea and includes the easternmost point of Asia. Since the main groups have been separated for at least six hundred years,¹ more likely for a thousand years or longer, it is but natural that their language should have split up into a number of dialects. It becomes evident, from a comparison of these widespread dialects² as recorded by different authorities, that their differentiation has developed largely through phonetic and sematological changes, and only to a slight degree through intercourse with Indians. The dialectic differences are important, although not so extensive as to obscure the identity of the Eskimo languages of Alaska and of Greenland. We even find dialectic deviations from fiord to fiord. Nowadays an East Greenlander does not understand a West Greenlander until both have become accustomed to each other's speech; and the Greenlander has to learn the peculiarities of the dialect of the Baffin-land Eskimo to carry on conversation with him.³ The dialects of western Alaska differ fundamentally from the Greenland dialects, about as much as English and German or English and French differ from each other. Owing to lack of material, it is at present difficult to draw safe conclusions concerning the historical relations of these dialects as regards

¹The ancestors of the present Central and South Greenlanders (the *Kalaallit* tribe) appeared in Greenland in the fourteenth century, but they must have separated more than a hundred years before that time from their fellow-tribes on the opposite shores of Davis strait (G. Storm, *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ*, 76, 205; Thalbitzer III, 111-112, and IV, 208).

²H. Rink, in his "Eskimo Tribes" (*Meddelelser om Grønland*, XI, 1887-91), was the first to undertake such a comparison; Thalbitzer, I, 181-269 (Phonetic differentiations in the Eskimo dialects).

³This was tested by a Greenlander who had an opportunity to meet with some Eskimos of Baffin land. See *Atuaguglliutit* (the Greenlandic periodical), No. 1, pp. 2-3 (Godthaab, 1861).

their common origin. All that can be done is to indicate some of the main lines of dialectic differentiation.

It is not known how many dialects there are. In Greenland at least five may be distinguished, three of which (those of Upernavik, Disco bay, and Ammassalik) have been closely examined by me.¹ In this sketch I shall describe the dialect of the largest two fiords of West Greenland,—that of Disco bay (69°–70° N. lat.) and of the neighboring Oomannaq fiord (70°–71° N.). Of course this does not imply that that dialect is more typical than any of the others.

Notwithstanding the fact that the dialects of western Alaska differ essentially from the Eskimo dialect which is spoken at the mouth of the Mackenzie river, yet these dialects have certain peculiarities in common which show that genetically they belong together. We may speak of a western Eskimo group of dialects, comprising the many different dialects of Kadiak island, Bristol bay, the mouth of the Yukon river, Norton sound and Kotzebue sound, Point Barrow, and the mouth of the Mackenzie river, as opposed to the eastern Eskimo group of dialects; namely, those of Labrador, Baffin land, and Greenland. Within the eastern Eskimo branch I have presumed a closer relationship to exist between the dialects of Labrador and Central or South Greenland (from about 63° to 66° N. lat. on the western coast) than between those of the other parts of the group.² The latter comprises the four northernmost dialects, which are now widespread, but which perhaps less than a thousand years ago were still a unit,—the dialects of Baffin land, Smith sound, Upernavik, and Ammassalik (East Greenland). It is probable that these Eskimo reached the shores of Davis strait at a later period than the Labrador and South Greenland Eskimo. Finally, I shall only touch on the group of dialects that are spoken on the western shores of Hudson bay, Southampton island, Melville and Boothia peninsulas, and in part of Baffin land,—properly the central dialects. It remains undecided as yet with which group these dialects must be classed.

It is fitting to add here that I feel indebted to Professor Franz Boas for his kind and valuable assistance in the revision and finishing of this grammar.

¹The Danish Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Explorations in Greenland arranged for two investigations of the Eskimo language in Greenland,—first, in 1900–01, in West Greenland (see *Meddelelser om Grønland*, XXXI, Copenhagen, 1904), and again, in 1905–08, in East Greenland.

²Thalbitzer I, 237, 260, 262–265.

The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M., stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river, respectively.

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PHONETICS (§§ 2-12)

§ 2. Sounds and Sound-Symbols

Following is the system of sounds, or phones, of the dialect of Disco bay, West Greenland, symbolized by phonetic symbols:

CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Dental	Velar	Uvular	
Stopped consonants . . .	p	t	k	q	voiceless
	m	n	$ŋ$	$q̃ [N]$	voiced
Open consonants (fricatives) .	$w [b̥]$	$l \text{ } s \text{ } j$	g	$r [x]$	voiced
	f	$L \text{ } s \text{ } s$	x	$R [x]$	voiceless

VOWELS

Normal		U ularized, being followed by $r, x, g, \text{ or } q̃$.
Closed vowels . . .	$i \quad ü \quad u$	
	$I \quad Y \quad U$	
Semi-closed . . .	$e \quad o$	$E \quad O$
	$ə$	$ə$
Semi-open . . .	$ä$	$ε \quad o$
	$ä$	
Open . . .	a	

The majority of the symbols here used are in accordance with the signs employed by the Association phonétique internationale.¹ I prefer the simple *r* instead of the *x*, and *w* instead of *b* of the Association, that the Eskimo words may not look more difficult than necessary; nevertheless, *r* and *w* in the Eskimo language mean something very different from the English *r* and *w*. The same is true of my signs for the *s*- and *a*- sounds, and, of course, of all the uvularized vowels, all of which only in part agree with sounds of any other language that I know of.

: indicates length of the preceding vowel or consonant; e. g., *a:* = *aa* or *ā*; *m:* = *mm* or *m̄*.

I prefer in ordinary orthography to double the sign to indicate length of sound: thus, *aa*, *mm*, *ss*, etc. A single consonant is always to be considered short.

' stands before the stressed syllable of a word. Degrees of stress are indicated thus: ' *a*, strong stress; " *a*, very strong stress; , *a* or *a*, weak stress.

~ indicates nasalization: *ã*, *q̃*, *ř̃*.

ʹ, ^u mean glides of the preceding vowel: *a'* [*aʹ*] or [*aʹ̣*], *a^u* [*aʹ*] or [*aʹ̣*].

^w, ^r mean labialization and uvularization.

Following is a detailed description of these sounds:

^a uvularized *a*, or followed by a uvular, in my ordinary² transcription *ar*, or pronounced with the soft palate (the velum) strained and lifted. It is like *a* in English FAR, followed by the Eskimo fricative *r* (or *q*); see under *r*.

arssaq a ball

a as in French ÂME, PATTE (rarely like French PÂTE, PAS, or English FATHER).

arnaa his woman, mother

ataa beneath it

â about as in MAN; a short *a* modified by closed consonants and point-consonants (or dentals) (Sweet, "A Primer of Phonetics," §§ 50 and 190).

qilâk sky

nânoq bear

pimmât as he came

¹ Le Maître phonétique, 1905: Exposé des principes de l'Association phonétique internationale.— Cf. Paul Passy, Petite Phonétique comparée (Leipsic et Berlin, 1906).

² In my ordinary transcription I have tried to avoid diacritical marks.

meerqät children

aäppaa his companion

ä about like the vowels in French LAIT, German DENN; between *ε* and *ä* of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, "Petite phonétique comparée," §§ 241 and 248; Jespersen, "Lehrbuch der Phonetik," §§ 152 and 156), rather wide than narrow.

arnät [*Arn:ät*] plural of *arnaq* woman

'nätt'eq a seal

kisi'änne but

c stopped front palatal, voiceless (Passy, l. c., § 187; Jespersen, l. c., §§ 118 and 168); in ordinary transcription *tj* or *kj*. Common in some Eskimo dialects; for instance, Mackenzie river, *ṭṭitamät* [*citamat*] FOUR; also in the dialects of Upernavik and Ammassalik in Greenland. (Thalbitzer I, 90, 190-191, 209, 221, 259.) *ʔ* is the same sound very far forward.

ç as in German ICH.

ixxia [*iç:ia*] his throat (see under *x*).

o see after *o*.

e more closed than *e* in French *été*, and a little more forward. When it is used long, it sounds about like a long *i*.

qaane over it, on its surface

neesaq [*ni:saq*] a porpoise

The "European" *e*, as in German SEE, may, however, occasionally be heard. Notice the different pronunciations of my *ee* pure, and *eer* which I use in my ordinary transcription for *eer*. The first sound is about like a long *i*; the latter, rather like *ä*.

ɛ=e, uvularized *ä* (cf. *ɹ* and *r*).

erneq [*Ern:Eq*] son

meeraq [*mE:raq*] child, plural *meerqät* [*mE:rqaät*]

ɛ=e uvularized, farther back than *ɛ*, and sometimes like *ä* (Thalbitzer I, 107, 109) on account of the rounding of the innermost part of the mouth.

peerpoq [*pɛ:rpɔq*] it is free, it is off

ɛ=ɔ uvularized, short mid-vowel.

f bilabial fricative.

sarfaq [*sARF:Aq*] a current (Central and South Greenland, Labrador)

g is a *j* articulated as deep in the mouth as a *k*, voiced. It is usually symbolized as *g* in North German REGEN, BOGEN, and in Danish

DAGE, VIGE. Central and South Greenland, East Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river. *q* occurs rarely in the northern part of West Greenland instead of *ɣ*. The corresponding voiceless sound is *x* or partly *ç*.

iga (South Greenland), *iya* (North Greenland), a pot
h is heard sometimes in interjections.
i high narrow vowel (Bell and Sweet), as in French FINL.

ittaq many years ago
iLLit thou

ɾ between *i* and *e*, especially before *n*, *m*, *ɣ*.

inaa [*ma:*] its (the bird's) nest

j like *y* in YARD, or like *j* in German JA.

ajaa his aunt
pujoq smoke

q, *r*, *R*, and *N* are uvular consonants, so called because they are articulated at the uvula. The posterior part of the velum and the root of the tongue are drawn back and up toward the back of the fauces, whereby the space in that part of the mouth seems to become larger. *q* is a stopped voiceless consonant (TENUIS), probably identical with the QOF of the Arab (Passy, l.c., § 189).

qaqqaq [*qaq:Aq*] mountain
arqa [*Aq:a*] his name
erqaane [*Eqa:ne*] in the vicinity

k as in French CAS without aspiration; only before *i*, *e*, and *u*, it may be heard aspirated.

kaapoq he is hungry (pronounce *k* like voiceless *q*), but
keewaa it bit him (more like [*kçe:wa:*])

l and *L* are articulated nearly alike, bilaterally, with the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. They have the latter feature in common with the Eskimo *t* and *n*. The voiceless *l* [*L*] is of rare occurrence in Indo-European languages, but it is well known from many other languages both in America (*lh* of the Nahuatl, *l* of Kwakiutl) and in Africa.

ila certainly
ulo woman's knife
iLLO house
arLuk grampus

L, see *l*.

ʌ a sort of *l*, with the tip of the tongue bent up toward the alveolar arch, in some districts assuming the character of an untrilled palatal *r*, like the English *r* in ARAB, but with a firmer pressure against the palate; for instance, in the southern part of Egedesminde district (Disco bay) *aa^wpa^wartaotq* instead of *aa^wpaluartaotq* RED.

m as in English, but it is often long in Eskimo.

ammassät [*am:as:ät*] capelans.

n articulated like *t* and *L*, at the lower edge of the upper teeth or at their posterior surface.

ŋ like *ng* in SING, SINGER (notice that the combination *ŋg* does not occur in Eskimo). Frequently this sound is so loosely articulated that it may be described rather as a nasalized *g* [*g̃*] fricative.

ayakkoq shaman

eya pot

ayut man, father

paniŋa or *paniŋa* my daughter

ŋ see *g̃*.

o is a little more closed than the French *o* in ROSE.

sakko implement (used for hunting)

anore wind

oo is more like a long *u* (q. v.); but *oor* means, in ordinary transcription, uvularized *o* [*o̠*] or [*ɔ̠*], which is more open.

ooneq [*u:neq*] a burn

o uvularized *o* rather closed like *o* in *so*, followed by the Eskimo fricative *r* or *q*.

qooq urine

ornippua he comes to him

ɔ uvularized *o*, more open, like *o* in English MORE, or like *a* in ALL, followed by *r* or *q*. See *o*, *o*.

orssoq [*ɔrs:ɔq*] blubber

p as in French PAS without aspiration.

paa mouth of a river

g̃ uvular nasal = *ŋ* (Passy, l. c., § 196).

ernit (dialect of Disco bay) lakes=*ernit*, singular *imeq* fresh water; in Oomannaq fiord also intervocalic: *anone*=*anoŋe* WIND, instead of *anore*.

r uvular fricative, voiced, is related to *q* as *q* is to *k* and *w* to *p*; usually articulated as far back in the mouth as *q*. It is quite another sound than the English *r*, but it has some resemblance to the French and German back -*r*, when untrilled, and especially to the Danish *r*, produced by friction right by the back of the fauces (Jespersen, "Lehrbuch der Phonetik," § 141; Passy, l. c., § 222). It is the *x* of the Association phonétique internationale. Its articulation is especially tense when it is followed by *q*; e. g.,

sarqaq the sunny side
aarqât gloves

rq is nothing but a modified form of long *q* [*q:*]; other combinations with *r* in Greenlandic are *rt*, *rs*, *rf*, *rl*, *rq*, *rm*, *rn*, *rŋ*, *rn*. A vowel preceding one of these sound-groups is always strongly uvularized. The *r* modifies the character of the vowel, and is anticipated in its pronunciation. The two sounds—the vowel + the *r*—in reality make up a phonetic whole (Thalbitzer I, pp. 110 and 152), and the following consonant is nearly always geminated (long). It might be symbolized thus:

arqa his name = *aʳqqa* [*Aq:a*]
orssog blubber = [*ʳs:ɔq*]
erneq son = [*Eʳn:Eq*]

When the *r* stands alone between vowels, its place of articulation is often somewhat advanced, and the friction not very tense; e. g., in *nerivoq* EATS. In some districts (for instance, in the Oommannaq fiord) the outgoing air is apt to escape through the nose-passage, causing *r* to be nasalized, or [*ř*]; this nasal is related to *ř* [*N*] as *ř* to *ŋ* or as *w* to *m*.

nerřivoq (Oommannaq) eats

r indicates a voiceless *r*, short or long, = *x* of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, l. c., § 222). It is something like *ch* in German (Swiss) BACH.

marraq clay
errorpa washes it

∞ see after *L*.

s is usually voiceless. In *rs* it resembles the English *s*, only that the articulation is a little looser and the aspiration stronger. In *ts* the articulation of *s* is tenser and it is farther forward than

the English sound, because the *t* is nearly interdental. Therefore there is a difference between the *s*-sounds in *arsaq* A BALL, and *nåtseq* A SEAL. In other words, an *s* [s] is heard, which, although not quite identical with the *ś* or *ʃ* of the phoneticians, as in English SHE, bears some resemblance to it; e. g.,

aaseet [a:se:t] (West Greenland) of course

aa^wsaq [a:^wsaq] summer

saa [sa:] its front

In the articulation of this *s*, not only the blade, but the whole anterior portion of the surface, is raised; the blade of the tongue being a little retracted and formed like a shallow groove, through which the air escapes without any strong pressure.

t as in French, without aspiration, especially before the vowels *a* and *o*.

taa^wna [da:^wna] that there

tooq [do:q] a mattock

But before *i*, *e*, *u*, often aspirated, especially when the *t* is long, as in the imperative plural *-itte* in Northwest Greenland (= *-itse* in Central and South Greenland). It might be symbolized as *ɾ*.

areq a name

nåreq the floor or bottom

rikeq forefinger

arerpôq he goes down

tårriit the lakes (nearly like [tåtsit])

The articulation of *t* is very different from that of the English *t*, the tip of the tongue being stretched against the lower edge of the upper teeth. The Eskimo *t*, like the *n*, *l*, *L*, are alike in this respect, being sometimes nearly interdental.

ɾ see *t*; *ʔ* see *c*.

u like *ou* in French JOUR, ROUGE.

uffa there!

una he (she, it)

v between *o* and *u* stands for long *u* [u:]; e. g.,

kook [kuvuk] river

oomannaq [v:m:ân:Aq] common place-name

w is the voiced sound that corresponds to *F*, articulated alike, the lips hardly touching each other; but in West Greenland often so that the under lip is slightly drawn toward the upper front teeth. It differs from the English *w* in that the lips are

not rounded and there is no raising of the back surface of the tongue. *w* is the [ɔ] of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, l. c., § 210; Jespersen, l. c., § 125).

awaa the back part of the head

sawik iron, knife

x the *ç* of the Association phonétique internationale, see under *c*. It stands also for the *x* of the Association (Passy, l. c., § 221; Thalbitzer I, 86-87).

axxertog (Central and South Greenland, Labrador) approaching *ü* between [u] and [y] in French *JOUR* and *RUE*, German *FRÜH*; mid-vowel with slight lip-rounding. Occurs especially between *s*, *n*, *j*, *t*; for example:

tojosünnippoq it is sweet (to taste)

toossüt a beam of the house

nüjüittoq tame, not shy

itüippoq goes across

r is related to *ü* as *ɪ* to *i*, *ʊ* to *u*.

suna [sɪna] what

tuttut [tɪttɪt] reindeer

z voiced *s*, occurs rarely, if ever, in the Eskimo dialects (Thalbitzer I, 209, 215).

§ 3. Accent and Quantity

In the Eskimo language two or more long sounds may follow each other in a word without being shortened. Every sound of the language, whether consonant or vowel, may be short or long (geminated), apart from the fact that the voiced consonants, in case they are lengthened, become unvoiced (the nasals only excepted). The combination of the sounds being thus entirely independent of their quantity, four types of combinations are possible, and do occur (the same, e. g., as in Finnish):

- (1) Short vowel + short consonant, as in *nuna* LAND.
- (2) Short vowel + long consonant, as in *manna* THIS.
- (3) Long vowel + short consonant, as in *maane* HERE.
- (4) Long vowel + long consonant, as in *maanna* NOW.

The dynamic accent in a great many words is uncertain or only slightly differentiated. Examples are:

pania his daughter
nulia his wife
awoŋa toward the north
unnummat as it became night
ornippaa he comes to him

There is always a marked stress on the vowel before a long (geminated) consonant, or on a long vowel. Accordingly, all the syllables of the words just mentioned—*unnummat*, *ornippaa*—are stressed. Besides, the final syllable has a tendency to attract the stress to itself: *tí'keq*, *pamí'oq*, *seqí'neq*, *iy'ut'taq*, *a'níŋa'me*. Words of irregular form prove, if distinctly pronounced, to be very irregularly stressed; or the stress undulates through the syllables in varying degrees of strength, according to the psychic importance of each syllable or according to the traditional rhythmical formation of the language. But even the longest Eskimo word, in the flow of conversation, is kept together as a whole, or stamped as a unit, by means of a true word-stress concentrated on a single syllable, which in most instances will be found to be near the end of the word. In most words consisting of more than three syllables we may distinguish at least three, or even four, degrees of stress (1, weak; 2-3, middle; 4, strong); e. g.,

3 2 1 1 4 1 3 3 1 2 1 4 3 2 2 3 1 1 1 4 1 3 4 1 1 1 2 4
Kaasasorujoyuuy ALLineq ajormat tigumissaraluarloŋo attanut ipítar-
 3 1 3 1 1 2 4 3 1 1 4 2 3 3 3 1 1 4 3 3 2 1 1
pau't ílaai oqassapput ujaraŋŋittoq ALLiunnaarpoq íLLut aŋi-
 4 1 3 1 1 3 1 2 1 1 4 2
sorsuit piniartunik ulikaartut.

According to their stress, we may distinguish between two kinds of primary words or word-stems,—oxytone, having strong stress on the last syllable; and paroxytone, having stress on the penultima.

Oxytone:

tu'peq tent
a'teq name
a'ŋut man, male
tí'pik smell
sa'wik knife

tí'keq forefinger
a'put snow
a'naa her elder brother
ne'qe meat

Paroxytone:

'*orssoq* blubber
 'iLLo house
 'er^{neq} son

'*tippik* piece of the framework of
 a kayak
 'sakko implement for hunting

It is noteworthy that in the development of the language, in a great many words a shift of stress has taken place, whereby oxytones have become paroxytones, or *vice versa*. This is shown by many inflected forms and derivations in the Greenland dialect here mentioned, and also by comparison of other dialects.

Greenland	<i>a'meq</i> a skin	> plural	' <i>ammit</i> skins
Greenland	<i>ma'lik</i> a wave	> verbal	' <i>maLLerpoq</i> the sea is rolling
Greenland	' <i>ILLit</i> thou	< casus obl.	' <i>linnut</i> to thee
Greenland	<i>a'teq</i> a name	= Alaska	' <i>ätëq</i> (Barnum 325)
Greenland	<i>aku'taq</i> bastard	= Alaska	<i>a'kutak</i> mixed dish
Greenland	<i>ilu'mut</i> yes, truly	= Alaska	' <i>lumun</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 336)
Greenland	<i>uki'oq</i> winter	= Alaska	' <i>ukshuk</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 372)
Greenland	' <i>täLLimät</i> five	= Alaska	<i>tu'Lemän</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 367)
Greenland	<i>a'taa^wseq</i> one	= Labrador	<i>attauseq</i> = ' <i>attaa^wseq?</i>
Labrador	' <i>sittamat</i> four	= Alaska	<i>st'amen</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 365)
Greenland	<i>nä'teq</i> bottom, } floor	= Alaska	{ ' <i>nätrok</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 355) hoot- sole ' <i>nätük</i> (<i>ibid.</i>) floor
Greenland	' <i>u^wLLume</i> to-day	= Caribou lake ¹	<i>upélumi</i> to-day
Greenland	' <i>qALLit</i> the upper- } most	= Caribou lake	<i>kpalépit</i> (superposés)
Greenland	' <i>aaxerpoq</i> ap- } proaches	{ Alaska	<i>agg'e'irqtōa</i> [<i>ak:é'irt:oa</i>] (Barnum 319) I draw near, come in view

§ 4. Changes of Palatal Consonants

The following instances show that shifting of consonants occur partly in connection with the shifting of stress and partly without such.

If the final syllable of a word that ends in *q* or *k* becomes penultima by the addition of a suffix, the syllable loses its stress and the consonant may assume an intervocalic position. In these cases the consonant becomes voiced, *q* shifting to the voiced *r*, and *k* to *g*, which, in turn, changes to *ŋ*. The same changes of these sounds sometimes occur when the part added is not a suffix, but an independent word.

q > r. *q* becomes *r* in the plurals of many nouns; e. g.,

Singular	Plural	
<i>tí'keq</i>	<i>tikerit</i>	forefinger
' <i>nerLeq</i>	<i>nerLerit</i>	goose

¹ Mackenzie river, Petitot Vocabulaire, p. 7.

For further examples see Thalbitzer I, 245.

qa'noq how; *qano'rippa* how is it; *qano'runna* how is that; *qanor-o'qarpa* how did he say
'ern'neq son; *'ernne'ra* (< *erneq*+*a*) his son
sooq why; *'sooruna* yes, certainly (*sooq una* why do you ask)
oqarpoq (West Greenland) he says; *orarpoq̃* (East Greenland);
orarpoq (Mackenzie river, Petitot, p. xxxiv, *opakluartuark*)
seqineq (West Greenland); *seriniktenga* (Baffin land, Boas I)
 the sun
neqe (West Greenland) meat; *neriwoqa* (West Greenland) I eat
 (cf. Southwest Alaska *nugrhōa* I eat)

q > r. The shift *q > r* in the Mackenzie-river dialect is doubtful; e. g., in *uwagut* (Southwest Greenland) *wε*, *uwarut* (?) (Mackenzie river, Petitot) *wε*.

q > q̃[N]. This shift is found in the terminal sound of many words of the Baffin-land, Smith-sound, and Ammassalik dialects, which have their terminal sounds nasalized, whereas the other dialects keep the oral tenuis *q*. Also the dialect of the Mackenzie-river Eskimo bears evidence of a similar tendency, as shown by some few examples of it; e. g.,

Smith sound <i>tuluang</i> [<i>tuluax</i>] raven	Central Greenland <i>tulu^vaq</i>
Baffin land <i>sirinirn</i> [<i>serinix</i>] the sun	Central Greenland <i>seqineq</i>
Mackenzie river <i>ateñ</i> [<i>aten</i>] a name	Central Greenland <i>ateq</i>

r > q̃. This shift takes place in the dialect of Oommannaq fiord in North Greenland in those words in which *r* occurs between vowels; e. g., in—

Oommannaq Fiord	Disco Bay
<i>neq̃iwoq</i>	<i>neriwoq</i> he eats
<i>anoq̃e</i>	<i>anore</i> wind

k > g. This shift appears in a comparison of some of the possessive and verbal endings of the Greenland and Southwest Alaska dialects.

Southwest Alaska	South Greenland
- <i>ka</i> my, I	- <i>ga</i> my, I
<i>ātkūkā ātōrākā</i> (Barnum 312), my coat I put it on (<i>atkuk</i> na- tive fur coat)	<i>kapitaga atoriga</i> my coat I who use it (<i>kapitak</i> a kayak- ing coat)
- <i>kū</i> , - <i>kē</i> it, them	- <i>go</i> , - <i>git</i> it, them
<i>atorlūkū</i> (Barnum 312)	<i>atorLugo</i> he using it
<i>atoryakōnākū</i> (<i>ibid.</i>)	<i>atoqinago</i> do not use it
<i>atoq'luke</i> (<i>ibid.</i>)	<i>atorLugo</i> he using them

k > ŋ, probably through an intermediate *g*, is a shift well known in the Greenland grammar; e. g.,

Singular	Plural	Possessive
<i>kīLLik</i> boundary	<i>kīLLīŋit</i>	<i>kīLLīŋa</i> its boundary
<i>toOLLik</i> loon	<i>toOLLīŋit</i>	
<i>assik</i> picture, portrait	<i>assīŋit</i>	<i>assīŋa</i> his portrait

The older *g*, from which the *ŋ* developed, may be traced in the long vowel in the plural of such words as *mannik* egg, plural *manneet*, probably < *mannigit* (Thalbitzer I, 250).

The shifting from terminal *k* to *ŋ* is known in many other dialects. *ŋ* appears as a final sound in nearly all the dialects, excepting those of West Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river; but most of the dialects that present forms with *ŋ* abound in examples of other words ending in *k*. We get the impression that either the speakers' own pronunciation must have been somewhat fluctuating on this point, or else the recorders must have vacillated in their interpretation of the sounds heard.

Baffin land *saviŋ*; West Greenland and Labrador *savi'k* knife

Baffin land *inuy*; West Greenland and Labrador *inuk* man, etc.; (*ŋ passim* in Baffin land); but also—

Baffin land *izaluk* (Boas IV, 47); West Greenland and Labrador *eqaluk* salmon

Baffin land *qarodluk* (*ibid.* III, 127); West Greenland and Labrador *qaqulluk* fulmar

Baffin land *kōuk* (*ibid.* IV); West Greenland and Labrador *kook* river

[The differences in pronunciation in Baffin land are individual differences. In 1884 the old men from the east coast of Cumberland sound used throughout the oral stops; while women and young men used nasalized consonants. It seems that the nasalization is in this case due to an extension of the characteristic pronunciation of women to the male sex.—F. B.]

Smith Sound *qopanung* [*qopanuy*] Greenland *qupalu* (*arsu*) sparrow

Smith Sound *marluŋ* or *maqgoŋ* Greenland *marlluk* two

Point Barrow *madrivīñ* [*-riŋ*] Greenland *marlorvek* twins

Point Barrow *ujarūñ* [*ujaraŋ*] Greenland *ujarak* a stone

Point Barrow *-wiñ* [*wiŋ*] Greenland *-vik* place (suffix)

For examples of forms ending in *ŋ* from Southwest Alaska, see Barnum, "Grammatical Fundamentals," the stories *passim*, e. g., p. 286; but in his vocabulary, and elsewhere in his grammar, the words end in *k* or *q*.

g > ŋ. In most of the dialects the fricative *g* is frequently used; but in the northeastern group it is regularly replaced by *ŋ*, sometimes by *ǰ*. *g* is found also in Labrador and in the southern part of West Greenland, between Holstensborg and Julianehåb (61°–66° N. lat.); whereas north of Holstensborg the same words are pronounced with *ŋ* instead of *g*.

Southern West Greenland	North of Holstensborg
<i>ajagaq</i>	<i>ajanaq</i> cup and ball
<i>naalagaq</i>	<i>naalanaq</i> master
<i>igippaa</i>	<i>inippaa</i> he throws it away
<i>iga</i>	<i>ina (ina)</i> kettle
<i>paniga</i>	<i>panina</i> my daughter
<i>qaqugo</i>	<i>qanoŋo</i> when (in the future)

Cf. the Labrador forms *ajagaq*, *iga*, *panniga*, *qaqugo*, *toogaq* walrus-tusk

Another example is:

South Greenland *oqarfigaa* he says to him; North Greenland *oqarfiŋaa* (Upernavik *oqarpiŋaa*; Ammassalik *orarpeewaa*)

g and **w** shift in the Labrador and North Greenland forms; e. g., in—

Labrador (and South Greenland)	Northwest Greenland
<i>tulugaq</i>	<i>tuluwaq</i> raven
<i>oogaq</i>	<i>oowaq</i> codfish
<i>inugaq</i>	<i>inurak</i> toe

The interchange between *ŋ* and *g* in *wana* I, and *wagut* WF, may also be appropriately mentioned here. It suggests that *-na* in *wana* may have originated from *-ga*, although at a very early period, since the Southwest Alaska form of this word is *hwēngǎ* (Barnum 68); i. e., **wēna*.

§ 5. Changes of Dental and Labial Consonants

t > *n* as terminal sounds: e. g.,

West Greenland *i*put
West Greenland *a*put

West Greenland *q*ulit
West Greenland *q*amutit

West Greenland *a*put

Baffin land *i*pun oar
Smith sound *a*pun snow on the
ground
Smith sound *q*olin ten
North Alaska *q*amotin (Thal-
bitzer I, 225) sledge
Mackenzie river *a*pun man,
male

n takes the place of *t* at the end of words in all the dialects except those of Labrador and West Greenland, but including that of Smith sound, though terminal *t* may occur sporadically in most of the dialects.¹ The *n* may have originated through the nasalization of *t*, corresponding with the shifting of *k* > *ɣ*.

We see this shift in the Northwest Greenland dialect, too, in some instances:

kikkun uko who are they; *soon u'ko* what are they. *Kikkun* and *soon* are special forms of *kikkut* and *soot* (in the singular *k'ina* WHO, and *suna* WHAT).

The same shift may have stamped the declension of nouns in the plural, since the suffixes in the oblique cases are added to a nominal plural stem ending in *n* instead of *t*; e. g.,

qaqqat mountains; *qaqqanut* to the mountains; *qaqqane* in, on, the mountains (but in the singular *qaqqamut*, *qaqqame*)²

p > *m*. This shift is of rare occurrence now in Greenland. It may occasionally take place in the relative (or genitive) juxtaposition of two nouns, the latter of which begins with a vowel (cf. Egede, "Grammar," p. 2, "*B* finale mutatur in *M*, sequente voce a vocali incipiente" [this *B* means *p*]; e. g.,

illum isertarria the entrance of the house (instead of *illup*)

The same shift is attested by records from other dialects; e. g.,

West Greenland *aap* yes; Ammassalik *aam* or *eem* in *aamila*, *eemila* yes, certainly; Cape York *eem* yes

[¹ In Baffin land the old pronunciation of men was *t*; that of women and of younger men is *n* (see p. 985).—F. B.]

[² In some irregular plurals these suffixes, *-nut -ne*, really seem to be added to the full plural form; e. g., *kikkut* WHO, plural *kikkunnut* (<*kikkutnut*) TO WHOM, *kikkenne* (<*kikkutne*) IN, AT WHOM (plural). The above-mentioned regular endings may have been formed after the analogy of these "irregular" ones.

Southwest Alaska *am'im kol'anun* [*amim qOL* . . .] above the door (Nelson, tale from St. Michael, Norton sound, in "Eskimo of Bering Strait"); cf. Greenland *ammip qulaanut* above the skin

Southwest Alaska *nunam* of the land (Barnum, 9), cf. Greenland *nunap*

[In Baffin land both *p* and *m* occur in the same way as *r* > *q̄*, *r* > *ɣ*, *t* > *n*, are found. See p. 985, and note 1, p. 987.—F. B.]

m > *w* or *w̄*.

Labrador <i>imnaq</i>	Gr. <i>i^wnnaq</i> steep declivity
Baffin land <i>taimna</i>	Gr. <i>taa^wna</i> that one
Baffin land <i>imna</i> (Boas II, 348)	Gr. <i>i^wna</i> that
Baffin land <i>wamnule</i> but to me (<i>ibid.</i>)	Gr. <i>uwā^wnnut</i> to me
North Alaska <i>uūmnun</i> [<i>uamnun</i>] (Ray 56)	Gr. <i>uwā^wnnut</i> to me
Southwest Alaska <i>kūmlōk</i>	Gr. <i>ku^wLLOq</i> thumb
Southwest Alaska <i>pēkamkin</i> mine thou art	Gr. <i>piḡa^wkkit</i> I have thee

p (*f*) > *w* or *w̄*.

Greenland (Egede, 1750) <i>iblit</i>	Gr. (1900) <i>'illit</i> thou
Greenland (Egede, 1750) <i>illipse</i>	Gr. (1900) <i>i'li^wsse</i> you
Labrador (nowadays) <i>igvit</i>	Gr. (1900) <i>illit</i> thou
Labrador <i>uibvak</i>	Gr. (1900) <i>u'iffaq</i> a fern
Baffin land <i>taipkoa</i>	Gr. <i>taa^wkoa</i> those
Mackenzie river <i>tapkoa</i>	
North Alaska <i>kablun</i>	Gr. $\left. \begin{array}{l} qāwLLut \text{ or} \\ qāLLut \end{array} \right\}$ eyebrow
Greenland (Egede, 1750) <i>kablo</i>	
Greenland (Egede, 1750) <i>kablunak</i>	Gr. <i>qāLLunaaq</i> European
Mackenzie river <i>kpaptçi</i>	Gr. <i>qā^wssit</i> how many
Southwest Alaska <i>kafchin</i> [<i>qārcin</i>]	
Southwest Alaska <i>'chupplu</i>	Gr. <i>su^wLLOq</i> tube
Southwest Alaska <i>'aprūn</i> main trail, regular passage	Gr. <i>a^wqqut</i> or <i>a^rqqut</i> pathway
Mackenzie river (coast of Hudson bay) <i>nippiakkiak</i>	Gr. <i>niviarsiaq</i> girl

§ 6. Shifting of Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives

It is a characteristic feature of the Greenland language, and probably of the Eskimo language as a whole, that no voiced consonant occurs which is long (geminated), with the sole exception of the nasal consonants, *m* (*ammit* SKINS), *n* (*anneq* THE GREATEST ONE), *ɣ* (*izḡik*

TOP OF A MOUNTAIN), *N* (*ONNA* ARMPIT). The other voiced consonants of the language (*w*, *l*, *j*, *g*, *r*) are always short, and are found only between weak (unstressed) syllables or in the transition from a weak to a strongly stressed syllable. If the weak syllable has the stress owing to derivation or inflection of the word, the fricative consonant becomes unvoiced and long; e. g.,

r > *RR*.

West Greenland <i>ma'ralluk</i>	Greenland 'marrag	clay
morass, swamp		
West Greenland <i>neri'woq</i>	Greenland 'nerriwik	eating-
eats	place (table, etc.)	
West Greenland <i>taa</i>	Greenland 'tarrag	shadow, re-
ness, shadow		
Mackenzie river <i>tapapk</i>		
OMBRE		
Southwest Alaska <i>a'rifitaka</i>	Greenland {	'arrivoq hastens
I quarrel with him		
		a passion

g > *XX*.

Southwest Greenland <i>ni'gaq</i>	West Greenland 'nixxät	snares	
a snare	(plural)		
Southwest Greenland <i>i'ga</i>	West Greenland 'ixxavik	the	
a pot	pot-place (kitchen, etc.)		
Southwest Greenland <i>ni'geq</i>	West Greenland 'nixxerpoq	it	
south wind			is south wind
Mackenzie river <i>niyepk</i>			
east wind			

l > *LL*.

West Greenland <i>a'loq</i>	West Greenland <i>allut</i>	soles
a sole	(plural)	
West Greenland <i>il'inne</i>	West Greenland 'illit	thou
at, by thee		

w > *FF*.

West Greenland <i>i'wik</i>	West Greenland 'iffit	grass	
(a blade of) grass	(plural)		
West Greenland <i>awa</i>	West Greenland 'affa	there in	
north	the north		
West Greenland <i>a'wippaa</i>	West Greenland 'affaq	the half	
divides it in two pieces			part
Mackenzie river <i>avitoak</i>			
DIVORCER			

j > s. In the evolution of the Greenland group of dialects the shift *j > s* appears to have been of special importance. In a great many words the dialects west of Davis strait have *j*, which has grown into voiceless *s* in Greenland.¹

Mackenzie River	Labrador	Greenland	
(?)	<i>puije</i>	<i>puise</i>	seal
(?)	<i>angmajet</i>	<i>ammassät</i>	capelans
<i>iyik</i> (pl. <i>iyit</i>) or <i>iyipk</i> }	<i>ijje</i> (or <i>ijje</i>)	<i>i'se</i> (pl. <i>i'sit</i>)	eye
<i>nuvüya</i> , pl. } <i>nuvüyat</i> }	<i>nuvuja</i> , pl. <i>nuvujet</i>	<i>'nuia</i> (pl. <i>nu'issät</i>)	cloud
<i>kpéyuk</i>	<i>qejuk</i>	<i>q'i'suk</i>	wood
<i>mikiyopk</i>	<i>mikiyoq</i>	<i>mikisooq</i>	little

c (cc) > ss.

Mackenzie River	Labrador	Greenland
<i>tamadja</i> or <i>madjia</i> [<i>mac:a</i>] VRAIMENT, CERTAINEMENT	<i>tamadja</i> (Bourquin § 192) here it is	<i>tamassa</i> here it is <i>massa</i> here is; to wit
<i>kpapiopk</i> FLÛCHE	<i>kargjok</i> arrow	<i>qarsoq</i> arrow
<i>ugiuk</i> = <i>ogjiuk</i> [<i>oc:uk</i>]	<i>ugjuk</i> seal	<i>ussuk</i> seal (<i>Phoca barbata</i>)
PHOQUE		
<i>itjek</i> [<i>ic:ek</i>] FROID	<i>itje</i> frost	<i>isse</i> frost, cold
<i>todjiapk</i> [<i>to:c:aq</i>]	<i>tootjaq</i> beam	<i>toosaq</i> beam of a house
POUTRE		
(?) <i>-tuapk</i> (verbal ending)	<i>-djuaq</i> big, great	<i>-ssuaq</i> big, great
(?) <i>-yuapk</i>		

t > s.

tt > ts.

North Alaska (Ray)	Mackenzie River	
	<i>tçitamat</i> [<i>çitamat</i>]	four
	<i>tçuna</i> [<i>çuna</i>]	what
<i>nutjä</i> [<i>nuç:ä</i>]	<i>nutçet</i> or <i>nudjiat</i>	hair
<i>netyä</i>	<i>natçepk</i> or <i>nadjèpk</i>	seal (<i>Phoca vitulina</i>)
<i>naityüü</i>	<i>naitopk</i> (FIN)	short
<i>akityüü</i>	<i>apitopk</i>	soft

¹ The original sound may still be traced in some words of the dialects of Ammassalik (*kjcarma* ALONE: *-kajik* [suffix] BAD) and of Smith sound (Thalbitzer I, 192, 215).

Labrador	Northwest Greenland	Central and South- ern Greenland	
<i>sittamat</i>	<i>sisamat</i>	<i>sisamat</i>	four
<i>su'na</i>	<i>'suna</i>	<i>'suna</i>	what
<i>nutset</i>	<i>nuttüt</i>	<i>nutsät</i>	hair
<i>netseq</i>	<i>nütteq</i>	<i>nätseq</i>	seal (<i>Phoca vitulina</i>)
<i>naitok</i>	<i>naa'ttoq</i>	<i>naa'tsoq</i>	short
<i>akkitik</i>	<i>aqittoq</i>	<i>aqitsoq</i>	soft

In Southwest Alaska the *j* seems to have changed to *s*, too, in some few words; e. g.,

Southwest Alaska	Greenland
<i>'uksuk</i> winter < * <i>[ukjuk]</i> ?	<i>uki'oq</i> winter
<i>nešqoq</i> head < * <i>[näjqoq]</i> ?	<i>niaqoq</i> head < <i>najaqoq</i> ?
<i>'kashprük</i> (Barnum 341) water- proof shirt	Mackenzie River <i>kaypak</i> ROBE DE POIL
<i>kashbruk</i> (Schultze) storm- coat < * <i>(kaj^Frak)</i>	

§ 7. Shifting of Voiceless Fricatives and Stopped Consonants

The *R*, *X*, and *F* do not exist in the dialects of Upernavik, Smith sound, and Ammassalik. In this "northeastern group" these sounds are replaced by *q*, *k*, and *p*. In addition to this, the Ammassalik dialect has even carried this shifting of open and stopped consonants through in changing *L* to *t* (Thalbitzer I, 202).

Central and South- west Greenland	Upernavik	Ammassalik	
R-q.			
<i>ARRctumik</i>	<i>aqqeesumik</i>	—	slowly
<i>ERRORLoŋo</i>	<i>eqqorLoŋo</i>	<i>eqqertino</i>	washing it
X-k.			
<i>naaxxa</i>	<i>naakka</i>	—	no
<i>axxerpoq</i>	<i>akkerpoq</i>	<i>akkerpoq̃</i>	approaches
<i>säxxaq</i>	<i>säkkaq</i>	<i>säkkaq̃</i>	a thin-haired skin
F-p.			
<i>sarfaq</i>	<i>sarpaq</i>	<i>sarpaq̃</i>	current
<i>arFäq</i>	<i>arpäq</i>	<i>arpäq̃</i>	whale
<i>oqarFingaa</i>	<i>oqarpingaa</i>	<i>oqarpeewaa</i>	he says to him
L-t.			
<i>ijnerLune</i>	—	<i>iggertine</i>	singing
<i>iLLua</i>	—	<i>ittiva</i>	his house

The following words of the Baffin-land and Labrador dialects may be compared with those just mentioned:

North Labrador *naa^wkak* (South: *aukak*)=Upernavik *naakka no*
 Labrador *magguk* [*ma^rruk*] Bourquin § 6=Smith sound *maq^ooy* =
 Central West Greenland *marluk* two
 Baffin land *itirbing* [*itirpi^o*] Boas I, 660=Ammassalik *iserpik* =
 West Greenland *iserfik* entrance-place
 Baffin land *majoartune*, *ingertune* Boas II=Ammassalik *-tine* (ver-
 bal ending)= West Greenland *-Lune*

§ 8. The Greenlandic *s* Sounds

The Greenlandic *s* (*ss*) sounds may be traced to different sources. Some have originated from *j*, others from *c*, and others again from *t*. *ss* [*s:*] has in many cases originated from a consonant *j* (voiced or voiceless?).

Greenland	Labrador	Mackenzie River	Alaska
<i>s</i> < <i>t</i>.			
<i>sisamat</i>	<i>sittamat</i>	<i>tçitamam</i> [<i>ci</i>]	<i>stamen</i> four
<i>sisit</i>	<i>sitte</i> lair of a fox	<i>tchiti</i> [<i>çiti</i>] ANTRE	—
<i>iserpoq</i>	<i>itterpoq</i>	<i>itertoapik</i> he en- ters	<i>t'rautakã</i> I bring it in with me
<i>ss</i> < <i>tj</i> [<i>c</i>].			
<i>timmissat</i>	<i>timmitjãt</i>	(sing. <i>tinmiapik</i>)	(sing. <i>tingmëiyãk</i> [<i>tim : i'aa^ojaq</i>]) bird
<i>s</i> < <i>ts</i> [<i>t</i>].			
<i>apersoot</i>	<i>appertsuk</i>	<i>?atep^otçion</i>	('äpp ^o rën) question
<i>ss</i> [<i>s:</i>] < <i>kj</i>, <i>gj</i>.			
<i>nässuk</i>	<i>nakjuk</i> antler	<i>nagiuk</i> or <i>nakd- j^ouk</i> [<i>nac:uk</i>]	(?= <i>nëshk^ok</i> head [Barnum 355] cf. §6)
<i>sissaq</i>	<i>sigjak</i> shore	<i>tçigd^oja^oik</i> RIVAGE	—
<i>^wss</i> < <i>pj</i>, <i>wj</i>.			
<i>tⁱwssarluk</i>	<i>tipjarluk</i> driftwood	—	—
<i>ss</i> < <i>rc</i>.			
<i>issaa^ok</i>	<i>iggak</i> [<i>ixxa:k</i>]	(<i>itçipa^oik</i> LU- NETTES)	('ikchãun [<i>irca.^wn</i>] medicine for the eyes)

The shift $t > s$ may be observed in those grammatical forms, in which a suffix the usual initial of which is t has to be added after a word ending in i , since t between two i 's will change to s ; e. g., in the optative *takulisit* WOULD HE WOULD SEE YOU, $< *li-tit$ but *takulittit* WOULD THEY WOULD SEE YOU, $< -lit-tit$. Likewise in *takoyamisit* AS HE SAW YOU (cf. *takoyamittit* AS THEY SAW YOU).

aa^wlaaisit your gun, the guns ($< aa^wlaa^t$ a gun)
illuisigut through his houses ($< illuatigut$ through his house)
kamisit = *kamittit* (both in use) your boots
-sippaa = *-tippaa* (verbal suffix, causative)

The shift $j > s$ has left few traces only in the Greenland grammar; e. g., in the inflection of some few nouns.

kana'joq, plural *ka'nassut* ($< *kanajjut$) a sea-scorpion
qarajaq, locative *qarasame* (place-name in Oommanaq fiord)
pinasut three, plural $< *pinajoq$ (cf. *pinajuat* the third, etc.)
 (Thalbitzer I, 177)

§ 9. Shifting of Consonants with Change of Place of Articulation

The shifts mentioned in the preceding sections are all alike, in that the place of articulation does not change. The following examples of shift are chiefly due to a shifting of the place of articulation:

k-q.

Labrador	Mackenzie River	Greenland
<i>qikkertaq</i>	<i>kpikepktapk</i>	<i>qe'qerttaq</i> island
<i>nellunaikutaq</i>	<i>nelunaykutapk</i> (SIG- NAL)	<i>nalunaarqutaq</i> a mark
<i>erqerqoq</i>	<i>kpikepktpopk</i> = <i>ék-</i> <i>kaikok</i> coast of Hudson bay	<i>e'qerqoq</i> fourth finger

The latter word may be compared with the Alaska forms of the same word, northern Alaska *yiukutko* (Ray), northwest Alaska *etitkook* (Wells and Kelly), southwest Alaska *ikkilthkōk* (Barnum) [*ik:izqoq*], cf. Thalbitzer I, 263.

The same shift may be observed by a comparison of the West Greenland *teqerqoq* A CORNER OF A HOUSE, and the East Greenland *t'kerqoq̃*.

These differences are probably due to analogy, and not to successive shiftings of the parts of articulation. The same is true of the examples

of this shift in the Greenland language, where it appears in double forms of words, like *nuerLoq*=*nuerLuk*, etc. (Thalbitzer I, 176).

Labrador	East Greenland	West Greenland	
wF-X.			
<i>ubra</i>	<i>uppa</i>	<i>uxxa</i> or <i>uffa</i>	perhaps
	Mackenzie River		
XF-wss.			
<i>nagvârpoq</i> [<i>naxfa:r-</i>]	<i>nadžuvaptoqk</i>	<i>nâ^wssaarpoq</i>	finds, invents something
wX-F.			
<i>kivgak</i>	<i>kivgapk</i>	<i>ki^wFFaq</i>	a servant

g-w. As for this shift, see § 4.

§ 10. Vocalic Shifts

The shifting of *o* > *e*, *u* > *i*, is one of the principal differences between the dialects of West and East Greenland (Thalbitzer I, 196 et seq.). Likewise many words of the western dialects, as spelled by the different recorders, bear evidence of vocalic changes of no less importance. In Alaska we often find *u* in the base of the word, corresponding to *i* or *e* in Greenland.

u-i.

West Greenland	East Greenland	
<i>aLLerqut</i>	<i>atteqin</i>	jaw-bones
<i>sikut</i>	<i>sikin</i>	sea-ice
<i>marLLuk</i>	<i>martik</i>	two
<i>aLLättooq</i>	<i>attätteeq̄</i>	a seal
<i>nānoq</i>	<i>naneq̄</i>	a bear

u-i.

Southwest Alaska (Barnum)	West Greenland	
<i>nappa</i> (sound, noise)	<i>nipe</i>	voice
<i>tuppsakok</i> (it stinks)	<i>tipe</i>	smell
<i>tâmchinak</i>	<i>ti^wsinak</i>	fun
<i>nâq'yûqtôd</i>	<i>neri'suppona</i>	I want to eat
<i>kûv'lârstök</i>	<i>qi^wLLertoq</i>	it glitters
<i>mammok</i>	<i>mamiippoq</i>	it heals
<i>i'rkûchêk</i>	<i>î erisaag</i> or <i>ermalisaq</i> ¹	waterproof boots
<i>kel'lûg'vok</i>	<i>ki'liFFaq</i>	the mammoth

¹ = Baffin land *îmadlin* a piece of skin used to lay in the bottom of a kayak.

a-i, e.

West Greenland

*imanna**aap ila**aa^wḡooq*

East Greenland

*iminna**{aamila}*
*{eemila}**eeḡḡooq*

thus

yes, certainly

yes is said

Baffin Land

aqaarpoq he says no¹

East Greenland

eerqe no

Southwest Alaska

West Greenland

a-i.*a'māndāk* or *mūk*‡ = *i'muk*

milk

u-e.*mūk* or *moq**i'meq*

water

*nātuk**na'teq*

floor

*nēguk**ni'geq*

north

*'livruk**ili'veq*

grave

*'kinōk**iki'neq*

fire

*'känük**qa'neq*

mouth

uj-ui.

Mackenzie River

nuvūya (pl. *nuvū-*
yat)

Labrador

nuvūja (pl. *nu-*
vujät)

Greenland

nuia (pl. *nu'issät*)
cloud**iw-uj.***ivalok* (pl. *ivalut*)*ivalo* (pl. *ivaluit*)*ujalo* or *ujaloq*
sinew

Vowel changes like those here mentioned have left distinct traces in many derivatives of the present Greenlandic language; e. g.,

a-i.*aa^wsaq* summer*aa^wsi-wik* summer-place*upernaag* spring*uperni-wik* spring-place*illu^wtta* our house's*illu^wttiqut* through our house*ernerata* of his son*erneratigut* through his son**u-i.***aput* snow on the ground*apiwoq* (the ground) is covered
with snow*ernutaq* grandchild*erniwoq* gives birth to a child
erneq son*ikumawoq* is on fire, burns*iki-ppaa* sets it on fire*kapuiwoq* is one who stabs*kapiwaa* stabs him*itu'ippoq* goes over land,
crosses over the ice*i'ti^wLLeq* place where one crosses*iliwaa* lays it (or him) down*iliwoq* or *ilwoq* a grave¹ Boas II, 334.

The same sounds are used vicariously in several words in West Greenland.

a-i.

kamik and *kamak* boot (*kammikka* = *kammakka* my boots)

u-i.

kalu^wssarpoq = *kali^wssarpoq* pulls and jerks in order to advance

isu^wtterpaa = *isi^wtterpau* unfolds or stretches it out

qappiorpoq = *qappuarpoq* foams, froths; chatters incessantly

§ 11. Mutation

Thus far I have treated the established vowel-shifts belonging to older periods of the language. In addition to these, there is a steady tendency to produce certain slight shiftings of the vowels, in order to accommodate them to the following sounds. This is the Greenlandic (or probably general Eskimo) form of *mutation*. There are two classes of mutation, based on the same principle as the bipartition of the vowel system :

<i>a</i> > <i>ä</i> (<i>ä</i>)	<i>a</i> > <i>Λ</i>
<i>e</i> > <i>i</i>	<i>i, e</i> > <i>E</i> (<i>ε</i>)
<i>o</i> > <i>u</i>	<i>o, u</i> > <i>o</i> (<i>ɔ</i>)
<i>u</i> > <i>ü</i> (<i>ʏ</i>)	

Examples:

a > ä.

nä'saa his hood

arnaa his woman (mother)

tä'seq lake

sapiwaa to dike, dam

awa'taq a sealing bladder

uwaŋa I

nä'sät pl.

arnät women

'tätt'it pl.

sä^wssät a dike, dam

a'wättät pl.

u'wä^wttut as I *u'wä^wnne* at me

a > ä.

a'torpa is it used

sisä'maat the fourth

qu'laane above it

a'torpät are they used

'sisämät four

qu'länne above them

e > i.

puise seal

tupeq tent

sule yet

taleq arm

puisit pl.

tupine his (own) tent

sulilo and yet

talia his arm

o > u.

<i>a'loq</i> sole	<i>alua</i> his sole	' <i>allut</i> soles
<i>illo</i> house	<i>illua</i> his house	<i>illut</i> houses
<i>a'torpoq</i> it is used	<i>a'torput</i> they are used	

u > ü.

<i>nju'arpoq</i> (a dog) is shy	<i>njüüttoq</i> not shy, tame
<i>aju-bad</i> , useless	<i>a'jüssüsee</i> how bad it is

A shifting in the vowels produced by the intrusion of a following uvular consonant may be termed **UVULAR MUTATION**. The result of this juxtaposition of a vowel + *r*, *q*, or *x* is the uvularization by which the vowel changes according to the scheme just mentioned. The uvularized vowels are symbolized in ordinary transcription as *ar* (*aq*, *ar*), *er* (*eq*, *er*), *or* (*oq*, *or*). The vowel and the consonant in reality make up a phonetic unit. The vowel is pronounced with uvular friction, while an enlargement of the innermost part of the mouth-chamber takes place (cf. § 2 under *q* and *r*). The vowels which are affected in this way have a remarkable hollow and grating sound; in case of *o* and *e* it is occasionally somewhat like *ö* on account of the rounding in the posterior part of the mouth. An *e* between two *n*'s and an *e* between two *r*'s are acoustically widely different sounds.

a > A.

näsaä his hood; *näsAQ* a hood
arnaa his woman (mother); *arnaq* [*Arn:Aq*] woman; *arnara* [*Arn:ARA*] my mother
qarsaaq [*qArs:A:q*] a loom; pl. *qarsaa't* [*qArs:aät*]
qaqqame [*qAQ:ame*] on, in, the mountain; *qaqqaq* [*qAQ:Aq*] a mountain

e > E.

amia or *amee* his (its) skin; *ameq* [*a'mEQ*] a skin
éqe = *éqeq* [*eqEQ*] corner; *eqia* his corner of the mouth
nerüwoq eats; *neré'eerpoq* [*nərs'rē:rpq*] has finished eating
ernikka my sons; *er nera* [*ErNEra*] my son; *erneq* [*EQ*] a son; *erne* [*Erne*] his (own) son

o > O.

niaqua his head; *niaqoq* [*niaqOq*] a head
nano = *nanoq* a bear
illo a house; *illorssuaq* [*iL:Ors:uaq*] a big house
Kaasasuk (name) + *rujuk* + *yuag*: *Kaasasorujoyuaq* the little poor wretched Kaasasuk

§ 12. Retrogressive Uvularization

Retrogressive uvularization is the name of a phonetic tendency toward uvular anticipation,¹ which may have begun in the earliest history of the language, since it can be traced in all dialects. Its transforming activity has asserted itself at different stages in the development of the language, and has penetrated the eastern dialects in a far higher degree than those of the west. It shows itself in the present state of the Eskimo language, in that many words in the Greenland and Labrador dialects have *ar*, *er*, or (uvularized vowels), when the western and partly also the central dialects have retained the original sounds, *a*, *i*, *u*. In the majority of cases this change may probably be traced back to a shift of the word-stress whereby the vowel of the syllable that lost its stress has in the course of time disappeared. By this contraction of the word, two consonants have come into contact, and either have been assimilated or have shifted places (cf. Alaska *nimra*² and Greenland *nerma* HIS [ITS] BINDING, both formed from *nimeq* + suffix *a*, HIS, ITS). The Alaska form suggests that the *r* of *nerma* may be explained as the final uvular of *nimeq*, shifted to *r*; and this supposition is strongly supported by the fact that the Mackenzie-river dialect (cf. the vocabulary of Petitot), and the dialects west of Hudson bay, contain some transitional forms stressed in the original manner; e. g., *atépeit* [*a'tereet*], the plural of *atén* [*a'teñ*] NAME, regularly formed, likewise *atépa* MY NAME (in Alaska *atqa*, in Greenland *arqa*). A metathesis of the consonants has taken place in the Greenland *marluk* TWO, which may be compared with Alaska *malruk* and Mackenzie-river *malærok*. On account of the assimilation or metathesis of the consonants, the uvular consonant which belonged originally to the suffix or final part of the word has been displaced, and is now found in the middle of the word in the forms east of Hudson bay. In most of the eastern dialects the preceding vowel has thus been uvularized: *nirma* has become *nerma*, *qitqa* ITS MIDDLE (Mackenzie river) has become *qerqa* (through **qiqqa*). Intermediate forms are found in the Baffin-land dialect (*iq*, *ir*; *uq*, *ur*; etc.); but in some instances the assimilation of the consonants (*rl*) has been carried further, in the dialects of Labrador and Baffin land (Smith sound), than in West Greenland.

¹The uvular position of the palate, which originally belonged to the end of the word, is anticipated in the base of the word (Thalbitzer I, 241-242).

²Ray *nimra* THE LASHING OF THE HARPOON-SHAFT.

Examples:¹

West Eskimo	East Eskimo (Greenland and Labrador)
<i>alr, aLr > arl, arL.</i>	
<i>malruk</i> (Barnum) two	<i>marLuk</i> (Gr.) two; <i>marruk</i> (Lab.) two
<i>alpāné</i> (Petitot Vocab. LXII) } JADIS	} <i>arlaane</i> (Gr.) in the other one; <i>arraane</i> (Lab.) last year
<i>ālththrākū</i> [<i>alra:ko</i>] (Barnum) next year	
<i>nālthk'irtōk</i> [<i>nalqirtoq</i>] (Barnum) it is straight	<i>narLwwoq</i> (Gr.) it is straight; (<i>u > i</i> see § 10)
<i>kāttrāā</i> [<i>kalra:</i>] (Barnum 342) } white	} <i>naxxowōq</i> (Erdman: <i>naggovok</i>) (Lab.) it is straight <i>qa'qortōq</i> (Gr.) white
<i>katlecha</i> (Schultze 66) white	
<i>qarsortōq</i> (Gr.) bleached	
<i>elr > erL.</i>	
<i>amelrartut</i> (S. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328) } <i>amalleraktok</i> (N. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328) many	} <i>amerLasoot</i> (Gr.) many <i>amerLaqaa^{wt}</i> (Gr.) they are many
<i>anthlerrūt</i> (Barnum 75) many	
<i>naklrit</i> (Rink II, 83, no. 21) } geese	} <i>nerLeq</i> , pl. <i>nerLerit</i> goose
<i>nokdleret</i> (Schultze 55); <i>kdl</i> = [L] or [rL]?	
<i>nəgalek</i> (Ray 55) goose-town	
<i>ulr, uLr > orL.</i>	
<i>kulthkrvēt</i> (Barnum 348) } [<i>qulqvōit</i>] the shelves in native houses	} <i>qorLor-</i> e. g., in <i>qorLorpoq</i> (Gr.) water falling or streaming down <i>qullarterpaa</i> (< * <i>qu^wLLar-</i>) ² (Gr.) lifts it up in the air
<i>kulvā'raka</i> (Barnum) I put it up high [<i>qulwaraka</i>]	
<i>a'tulrāa</i> (Barnum 327), verbal form < <i>ātōqtōā</i> I sing, use, wear, etc.	* <i>atorL-</i> , e. g., <i>atorLune</i> (Gr.) using

¹The abbreviations Al., C., Gr., Lab., M., stand respectively for Alaska, Coast of Hudson bay, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river.

²Perhaps the same word as Lab. *kugvirtipa* LIFTS UP IN HIS TROUSERS, etc., which becomes more evident by comparison with Gr. *qallerpaa* COVERS IT (= Lab. *kagvirtipa* [Thalbitzer I, 230] = Al. *kūraqtaka* [l. c., 231; Barnum 339]).

West Eskimo

enr, emr, eijr > ern, erm, ery.

- openrak* (Rink) spring-time
- openachkāk* (Schultze 43)
- 'up'naqkak* (Barnum 373)
- pēnrūk* socks woven from grass (Barnum)
- chāpīngrātok* (Barnum) it is nothing, it is not an actual thing
- īngrik* (Barnum) mountain

- péninra* (Barnum 67) the stronger, its stronger one
- 'ēnrū* (Barnum) a talisman, a charm
- nīmra* [*nīmra*] (Ray) its lashing, band

unr > orn.

- un'kāl* [*unra*] (Barnum) his arm-pit
- katunra* (Barnum) son
- tungra* (Barnum) a spirit
- kinggnunra* (Barnum) that or those behind
- kīñunra-pa* (Petitot)

sr > rs, gr (cr) > *rj > rs > ss.

- až'rācharak* (Barnum 327) adultery
- āzhrāūgna* PECCARE CONTRA VI
- ezrekoak* (Wells a. Kelly) frost-bite
- katzrak* (Woldt-Jacobsen) white
- egra* (Wells a. Kelly) (my?) eye
- ēqka* [*ijirka*] (Barnum) my eyes (*iqka* my eye)
- nazruk* (Wells a. Kelly) abdomen
- kug'ru* (Wells a. Kelly) a swan
- uq'ru* (Wells a. Kelly) bearded seal
- iggru* (Wells a. Kelly) testicles

East Eskimo (Greenland and Labrador)

u'pernaaq (Gr.) spring-time

pinne (Gr.) straw that is
perjit (Lab.) stuck in the boots
saperna- (Gr.) it is impossible (to do)

īyīk (Gr.) top of a mountain
pīmmak (Gr.) skilled through practice
pīmariovok, pīmmariuterpok (Lab.) thinks he is a strong man
aarnuaq (Gr.) charm, amulet
aar < *eer*?
nerma (Gr.) its band, lashing

orna (Gr.) his arm-pit

qitornaq (Gr.) child
toornaq (Gr.) a spirit

kijorna (Gr.) after that

arssaurpaa (Gr.) deprives him violently of something, robs

irsekau (Gr. Egede, 1750)
isseqaa^wq (Gr. now) it is strong cold

qarsortog (Gr.) bleached
irse (Gr. Egede, 1750) eye (< **irje*)
isse (Gr. now) eye; *'sikka* my eyes

nāssūt (Gr.) abdomen (< **ar-jät*)

qussuk (Gr.) a swan (< **qurjuk*)
ussuk (Gr.) seal (< **urjuk*)

issuk (Gr.) testicles (< **irjuk*)

Here I may mention an Alaska word, part of which is apparently influenced by retrogressive uvularization: *ir'shnñnhřđt* (Barnum 337) MOUNTAIN SPIRITS is the same word as Gr. *isserqat* (< **irsinñngat*?), singular *isseraq*, spelled by Egede (1750) *irserak*. The same is true of the Al. *'kđkrlok* (Barnum) THROAT, *'kđchluk* (Schultze) LIP=Gr. *qđrLoq* LIP.

tq, Lq, sq > rq.

Alaska	Mackenzie River (Pettit)	Baffin Land (Boas)	Labrador (Bourquin)	Greenland
<i>atkra</i> (Woldt-Jacobsen)	<i>atkpa</i> his name		<i>arqa</i>	<i>arqa</i> his name
<i>atra</i> (Barnum) his name	<i>atępa</i> my name			
<i>nđtrok</i> (Barnum)	<i>natkpo</i> FOND DU BARK		(<i>netteq, nat-teq</i>)	<i>narqa</i> floor, bottom
<i>mittqon</i> (N. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen)	} <i>metkpon</i> AIGUILLE	<i>miqun</i>	<i>merqut</i>	<i>merqut</i> needle
<i>minqon</i> (S. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen) needle				
	<i>mitkpořk</i> POIL	<i>miqung</i>	<i>merqoq</i>	<i>merqoq</i> hair of animals
<i>ikkilthkok</i> [<i>ik:ilqoq</i>] (Barnum)	} <i>ekkaikok</i> (C.) <i>kpikeřtkpořk</i> (M.)	<i>ixiqoq</i>	<i>erqerqoq</i>	<i>eqerqoq</i> the little finger
<i>ekkitkaurak</i> (Woldt-Jacobsen) the little finger				
<i>'ikqua</i> (Schultze) the end	(<i>itřuk</i> FIN)	<i>iqoa</i>	<i>erqua</i>	<i>erqua</i> the back end of it
(<i>křka</i> [Barnum] middle)	<i>kpitkpa</i> MILIEU	* <i>qiqa</i>	<i>qerqa</i>	<i>qerqa</i> the middle of it
<i>řirkklũ</i> (Barnum) evil	} <i>epklo</i> INTESTIN	<i>iqawik</i>	<i>erchavik</i>	<i>erLawik</i> intestines
<i>'guluk</i> (Schultze) intestines				[<i>er:awik</i>] <i>erLoq</i> rectum
(<i>'iqta</i> [Barnum] his den)	(<i>itřuk</i> ANGLE) <i>iqe</i>		<i>erqe</i>	<i>eqe, eqeq</i> corner

Alaska	Mackenzie River (Petitot)	Baffin Land (Boas)	Labrador (Bourquin)	Greenland
<i>akkizhzhigik</i> [<i>ao:is:igiq</i>] (Barnum) ptarmigan		<i>axi'girn</i> [<i>axi'xiq̄</i>]	<i>aqigeq</i>	<i>a'yisseq</i> ptarmigan
' <i>chiskōkā</i> [<i>cisyo-</i> <i>ka</i>] (Barnum) my knee	}' <i>chāt̄k̄pōp̄k</i> GENOU	<i>si'yoq</i>	<i>seerqoq</i>	<i>seerqoq</i> knee
' <i>ōkōk</i> [<i>oq:oy</i>] blubber		}' <i>ōp̄k̄t̄çōk</i> GRAS	<i>uxsuq</i> [<i>ursuq</i>]	<i>orssōq</i> ber
<i>uskogtoqtākā</i> (Barnum) I hold him with a cord (dog, etc.)	}' I		<i>uqsirn</i>	<i>orssēq</i>

The importance of retrogressive uvularization in the evolution of the Eskimo language is evident. Indeed, this phonetic process has deeply impressed itself on the morphology of the eastern dialects, the vocabulary as well as the grammar. The following sections, treating of the general grammatical features of the language, contain many examples of inflectional forms, that may be understood only when we bear this fact in mind.

Retrogressive uvularization is one of the most influential forces of transformation, due to the change of the word-stress mentioned in § 3.

CLASSES OF WORDS, BASE AND STEM (§§13-16)

§ 13. General Remarks on the Structure of the Eskimo Language

The structure of the Eskimo language is of a highly synthetic character, which apparently testifies to a typical tendency of the Eskimo mind to concentrate and condense its notions into as few word-complexes, or units of speech, as possible. Therefore a single Eskimo word may represent a whole sentence as compared with our usual mode of expression; e. g.—

anerguwaatit he (*a*) begs (*quwa*) you (*tit*) to go out (*aner*)

aneiaarqerquwaatit he begs you again (*qer*) to go out early (*iaar*)

As a rule, such an Eskimo word or word-sentence can be analyzed and divided into an initial base-word (*aner* TO GO OUT), one or several

middle suffixes (*iaar*, *qer*, *quwa*), and a final element (*atit*). In this chapter we shall consider only the final elements, which are the proper inflectional forms and represent the most important, because the most frequently used, grammatical elements of the language.

§ 14. Base and Stem

Most words of the Eskimo language have two or several inflectional stems. The shortest stem is often identical with the base, and may be an obsolete stem. The base, from this point of view, is the primary stem, or the smallest number of sounds of which the word can consist, without losing its close resemblance to the actual forms of the word; we will call this the **BASE OF DERIVATION**.

The inflectional stem, or stems, are the secondary or expanded stems, which have originated in the history of the language, owing partly to suffixation and partly to phonetic changes in the bases of the word.

In the dialects of West Greenland (the northernmost at Smith sound excepted), all words end either in one of the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, or in one of the consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, *q*. Of these sounds, only final *p* is confined to a certain class of words (viz., nouns), whereas the other final sounds are common to all classes of words. Words that end in *a*, *e*, or *o*, or in *q*, whether nouns or verbs, are always singular forms; *k* is the dual character, *t* the plural character; but there are nouns that end in *k* or *t* in the singular; e. g., *inuk* A MAN, AN ESKIMO; *sännät* TOOL.

In studying the bases of Eskimo words we shall soon see that several of them end in other sounds than we are accustomed to find in actual words of modern Eskimo; e. g., in *i*, *u*, or *l* (*z*) (see § 15). The Eskimo bases are either monosyllabic or bisyllabic; the stems appear to be bases widened by one or two sounds, and sometimes also affected by change of stress. From this point of view, the bases are hypothetical forms, secondary as compared with the words of the modern language; i. e., they have been reconstructed from these words for purposes of comparison. They are the explanatory connecting-links between related modern words, which may often be found to be very dissimilar.

On the other hand, if bases of this language occur which may end in other sounds than those nowadays found as the terminations of modern words, we are not bound to think that they end thus merely

because they have been artificially obtained by analyses, nor that such endings have never existed. There may have been a period in the development of the Eskimo language when the words occurred in forms different from any words that exist now.

§ 15. Examples of Bases and Stems ¹

Bases	Derivative stems			
	Stage I (a, e, o).	Stage II (k, l, p).	Stage III (q).	Stage IV.
* <i>ciua</i> Al. <i>chēū</i> front, bow of a boat M. <i>čivulepk</i> the first, foremost Gr. <i>siua</i> , <i>syua</i> bow of a boat	* <i>ciua</i> <i>syuaq</i> front tooth	* <i>ci'uk</i> , <i>ci'ul</i> Al. <i>ch'ūtika</i> my ear Gr. <i>siut</i> ear Gr. <i>si'ulleq</i> foremost	* <i>ciuaq</i> <i>syuarpoq</i> is before	* <i>cior</i> <i>syoraq</i> front
* <i>kui</i> Gr. <i>kuiuaa</i> pours it Al. <i>kwq</i> river=Gr. <i>kook</i> <* <i>kuit</i>		* <i>kuit</i> (> <i>ku:k</i>) Gr. <i>kooppoq</i> streams down Al. <i>'kveḡum</i> of the river	* <i>kooq</i> <i>kooroq</i> valley = M. <i>kopkinepk</i>	
* <i>agu</i> Al. <i>'aḡnān</i> man, male Gr. <i>ay'ut</i> , man, male Gr. <i>ayuuooq</i> pursues, hunts		* <i>a'ḡut</i> Al. <i>a'ḡnātfak</i> stag, big buck		* <i>ayule</i> , * <i>ayuleq</i> (* <i>ayula</i>) <i>ayutit</i> the men <i>ayulaa</i> his father <i>ayulerput</i> our father
* <i>ca</i> (* <i>ca</i> ?)	* <i>caa</i> -* <i>cao</i> Gr. <i>caa</i> its front Al. <i>'chāōkkk</i> the first, foremost Al. <i>chāōkkk</i> the one before me	* <i>cauk</i> <i>sūlleq</i> < * <i>sakleq</i> the front-most, foremost		* <i>caak</i> Gr. <i>saappoq</i> turns front <i>saappaa</i> turns to, speaks to
* <i>ca</i> -* <i>can</i> Al. <i>chā</i> what thing? Al. <i>'chāpik</i> an actual thing Al. <i>chānōk</i> a thing	* <i>cana</i> Al. <i>chā'nāsin</i> knife Gr. <i>sānawooq</i> cuts, works	* <i>canri</i> > <i>sānni</i> Al. <i>chān'rētnōk</i> nothing Al. <i>chān'rlḡnōk</i> a thing of no value Gr. <i>sānnit</i> dust (* <i>sanik</i> a mote of dust) ²	<i>sanneq</i> <i>'sānnerpaa</i> soils it with dust (* <i>sā'nerpaa</i> cleans it of dust) ³	

¹The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M., stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river, respectively.

²*sanik* thus appears to be a derivative of the plural collective *sānnit*.

³*sānnerpaa* may have been formed after the analogy of *i'maaerpaa* TO EMPTY (TAKE [THE CONTENT] [ima] AWAY), cf. *imnerpaa* FILLS IT (with *ima*).

§ 15

Bases	Derivative stems			
	Stage I (a, e, o)	Stage II (k, t, p)	Stage III (q)	Stage IV
<p>*cane Gr. <i>sania</i> its side</p> <p>Gr. <i>sanimut</i> side-wards, athwart</p>		<p>*sa'nik Gr. <i>sani'nerpaa</i> takes place at his side Al. <i>chán'niká</i> my nearness, vicinity</p>	<p>*sanneq <i>sannerpoq</i> turns athwart of it¹ <i>chá'nérqnak</i> cross-way</p>	
<p>*qul Al. <i>'kúlmá</i> my elevation Gr. <i>quLLeq</i> the uppermost Gr. <i>qummut</i> < *<i>qulmut</i> upwards, up</p>	<p>*qula-*qule Al. <i>'kúld</i> straight up above Al. <i>kú'lmé</i> up Gr. <i>qulaancabove</i> it Gr. <i>qulequt</i> upper appurtenance</p>		<p>*qulq > *qorL Al. <i>qhlúrád</i> a waterfall Al. <i>kúqtóq</i> it is high Gr. <i>qorLortoq</i> waterfall</p>	<p>*qulva > *qurva Al. <i>qá'váráka</i> I put it up high Gr. <i>qullarpara</i> I lift it, elevate it</p>
<p>*at (or atj) Gr. <i>aLLeq</i> nethermost Gr. <i>ammut</i> < <i>atmut</i> downwards Al. <i>?ammad'kautáká</i> I throw it down</p>	<p>*ata-atje Gr. <i>ataa</i> under it Al. <i>d'chē</i> below Al. <i>a'chēdnē</i> under it Al. <i>achimné</i> under me</p>		<p>*atq, *ateq Al. <i>átráqáá</i> I come down Gr. <i>a'terpoqa</i> I go down</p>	<p>*arq (Gr.) Gr. <i>arqarpoya</i> I descend Gr. <i>arguppara</i> I bring it down</p>
<p>*tim Gr. <i>time</i> body; inland Gr. <i>timmut</i> landwards (on the sea) Al. <i>t'má</i> torso, body</p>	<p>*tima-*time <i>timaane</i> in the inland <i>timia</i> his body</p>	<p>*timak Al. <i>t'máthlák</i> dried fish</p>	<p>*timeq Gr. <i>timerLeq</i> nearest to the inland</p>	
<p>*aw Gr. <i>awna</i> < <i>*awna</i> he in the north Gr. <i>awpa</i> < <i>*awpa</i> there in the north</p>	<p>*awa-*awo Gr. <i>'awane</i> in the north Gr. <i>awoya</i> to the north Al. <i>a'wádnē</i> over there somewhere Al. <i>a'wáwát</i> over there</p>	<p>*awat or *awak Gr. <i>awammut</i> outwards Gr. <i>awáLLeq</i> outermost Gr. <i>awaypa</i> from the north Gr. <i>awannaq</i> north wind</p>	<p>*awata Gr. <i>awataane</i> outside of it Gr. <i>awataq</i>, in pl. Gr. <i>awáttát</i> bladder²</p>	
<p>(*u)?-*uw (or uwx)? Gr. <i>una</i> he there Lab. <i>uPfa</i> or <i>uXXa</i> there Lab. <i>ubva</i> perhaps Al. <i>únd</i> he</p>	<p>*uwa-*uwo, *uwxo Gr. <i>uwane</i> there; <i>ooqa</i> < <i>*uwoqa</i> (?) to there; <i>ooma</i> < <i>*uwo-ma</i> (?) of him there; <i>uwxoona</i> through there Al. <i>'hwádnē</i> here; <i>hwákan</i> from here</p>	<p>*uwak <i>u'waypa</i> from there</p>		

¹Gr. *sannerut* a crossbar.²*awataq* means properly SOMETHING THAT HAS ITS PLACE OUTSIDE; i. e., on the deck of the kayak.

Bases	Derivative stems			
	Stage I (a, e, o)	Stage II (k, l, p)	Stage III (q)	Stage IV
	* <i>uwa</i> -* <i>uwoe</i> Gr. <i>uwapa</i> I; <i>uwayut</i> we Al. <i>hw'ing</i> I; <i>hw'ink'ud</i> we Al. <i>hw'e</i> I: <i>hw'e'n-</i> <i>ga</i> of me	* <i>uwap</i> or * <i>uwat</i> or * <i>uwak</i> Gr. <i>u'w'innut</i> to me Gr. <i>u'w'it'la</i> of our Al. <i>'hwang'n'än</i> to me		
* <i>ta</i> - <i>tax</i> (?) Lab. <i>tagva</i> < * <i>tax'ra?</i> then Lab. <i>tagga</i> [<i>tax:a</i>] there it is	* <i>taa</i> -* <i>tao</i> Lab. <i>täwa</i> < * <i>tao-</i> <i>ra</i> then, so it was Gr. <i>taawa</i> so it was Gr. <i>taa'na</i> < * <i>taona</i> he there			* <i>taoso</i> Gr. <i>taawuma</i> of him there
* <i>ta</i> <i>j</i> Gr. <i>tässa</i>	* <i>tä</i> <i>ja</i> -* <i>tä</i> <i>jo</i> Gr. <i>tä</i> <i>ja</i> it is --, it is enough Gr. <i>tä</i> <i>ssane</i> there; <i>tä</i> <i>soo-</i> <i>na</i> through there		* <i>täl</i> <i>jak</i> <i>tä</i> <i>ssayya</i> from there	
* <i>ma</i> Al. <i>mänlök</i> it is here Al. <i>mäh'n</i> hence by this way (cf. Gr. <i>maona</i> through here)	* <i>maa</i> -* <i>mao</i> Gr. <i>maane</i> here Gr. <i>maa'na</i> < <i>maona</i> through here		* <i>maak</i> <i>maayya</i> from here <i>maanna</i> < * <i>ma-</i> <i>akna</i> now, the present mo- ment	
* <i>mat</i> <i>j</i> Gr. <i>massa</i> -this is --; here is -- Gr. <i>manna</i> < * <i>matna</i> this one M. <i>tamadja</i> surely	* <i>mat</i> <i>ja</i> -* <i>mat</i> <i>jo</i> Gr. <i>massa</i> Gr. <i>massame</i> certainly, of course Gr. <i>matuma</i> = <i>masuma</i> of this here		* <i>mat</i> <i>jak</i> Gr. <i>massaktut</i> now, for the time being	

§ 16. Classes of Words

The lines of demarcation between classes of words are vague, because a great many of the inflectional and derivative endings (suffixes) are common to words that we are accustomed to consider as belonging to separate classes, such as nouns and verbs. On the other hand, we can not assert that the evolution of this language has not tended toward a fixed grouping of some of the suffixes around certain classes of words (e. g., demonstratives; temporal particles; the terms I and THOU; WHOLE and ALONE). No doubt the Eskimo language shows

a tendency similar to that of our own, of distinguishing between nouns and verbs; but this tendency has been crossed by other tendencies toward demarcation which partially neutralize the former, as will become evident in the following discussions.

Accordingly, instead of basing the distinction between Eskimo word-classes on the same principles as those of Latin grammar, I have chosen to depart from the category of the latter without completely giving up its technical terms of expression, which are useful because they are easily understood. In all branches of science, when proceeding from the known to the unknown, it is necessary to interpret the latter in the light of the former.

Following this method, we may distinguish between the following classes of words:

α. BASE-WORDS

- I. Words with full typical inflection { 1. Nouns (*ilLo* HOUSE, *ateq* NAME).
2. Verbs (*ikivooq* IS IN, *aterpoq* GOES DOWN).
- II. Words with defective inflection (*tamaq* ALL, *wowa* I, the numerals, etc.).
- III. Words with atypical inflection: demonstrative and interrogative words (*una* HE THERE, *kina* WHO).
- IV. Words without any inflection { 1. Interjections.
2. Particles, temporal (*qana* WHEN), modal (*qanortoq* UTINAM), local (*uffa* THERE), etc.

β. SUFFIXES (ACTUAL AND OBSOLETE)

- I. Common to all kinds of words.
II. Confined to certain groups of words.

INFLECTION (§§ 17-50)

Typical Inflection (§§ 17-44)

§17. *Plural and Dual Inflection*

This is the most general kind of inflection in the Eskimo language, applying to all sorts of words with the exception of particles and interjections.

There are two set of typical signs of the plural common to both nouns and verbs. Here we are concerned chiefly with the first set, or the pure dual and plural endings. The dual or plural signs of the other set are closely connected with or incorporated into the other inflectional endings, for which reason they have been more or less completely united with them in form as well as in meaning: e. g., the plural *n* in *illune* IN THE HOUSES, as compared with the *m* in *illum* IN THE HOUSE; or *k* in *ernikka* MY SONS, as compared with *r* in *ernera* MY SON.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
West Greenland .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \quad o \quad e \\ q \quad k \quad t \end{array} \right.$	(by adding <i>k</i>) <i>ak uk ik</i>	<i>at ut it</i>
		(by substitution) <i>k</i>	<i>t</i>

Examples:

Nouns: <i>nuna</i> land	<i>nunak</i> two lands	<i>nunät</i> lands
<i>illo</i> house	<i>illuk</i> two houses	<i>illut</i> houses
<i>isse</i> eye	<i>issik</i> two eyes	<i>issit</i> eyes
Verbs: <i>atoraa</i> he using it	<i>atorak</i> they two using it	<i>atorüt</i> they using it
<i>atorpoq</i> it is used	<i>atorpuk</i> they two are used	<i>atorput</i> they are used
	<i>atorik</i> he using two	

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Baffin land . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a^1 \quad o^2 \quad e^3 \\ q^4 > n^5 \quad k^6 > \eta^7 \quad n^8 \end{array} \right.$	$k^9 > \eta^{10}$	$t^{11} > n^{12}$

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| ¹ <i>nūna</i> land (Boas VI, 109) | ⁷ <i>irdning</i> son (<i>ibid.</i> , 102) |
| ² <i>igdlu</i> house (<i>ibid.</i> , 101) | ⁸ <i>angun</i> paddle (Boas I, 659) |
| ³ <i>ale'rtse</i> stocking (<i>ibid.</i> , 98);
<i>anu're</i> wind (<i>ibid.</i> , 99) | ⁹ <i>patalaugluk</i> let us two strike
(Boas II, 347) |
| ⁴ <i>tulugaq</i> raven (<i>ibid.</i> , 113) | ¹⁰ <i>inung maqong tikitong</i> two
men are coming (Boas I, 621) |
| ⁵ <i>nigirn</i> south wind (Gr. <i>nigry</i>);
<i>nirdlirn</i> goose (Boas I, 664),
cf. Gr. <i>nerleg</i> | ¹¹ <i>qingmit</i> dogs (Boas VI, 105);
<i>ujarpā</i> he searches for
them (<i>ibid.</i>) |
| ⁶ <i>uqjuk</i> a thong-seal (Boas VI,
114) | ¹² <i>tigmidjen</i> the birds (Boas II,
340) |

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Mackenzie river (cf. Petitot p. L)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a^1 \quad o^2 \quad e^3 \\ q^4 > n^5 \quad k^6 > \eta^7 \quad t^8 > n^9 \end{array} \right.$	$k^{10} \text{ or } q^{11}$	t^{12}

§ 17

Examples:

- ¹ *tçilla* weather
- ² *epklo* intestines
- ³ *apnè* woman
- ⁴ *talepk* arm
- ⁵ *ateñ* name
- ⁶ *wyapak* stone
- ⁷ *apañ* father
- ⁸ *aggut* man

- ⁹ *ipun* oar
- ¹⁰ *nunak* two lands (Petitot XLIX)
- ¹¹ *atekpepk* two names (*ibid.*, L)
- ¹¹ *tupapkρ* two tents (*ibid.*, XLIX)
- ¹² *nunat* lands; *tupkpeit* tents; *amit* skins; *ublut* days

Alaska (see Bar-num)	{	Singular				Dual			Plural	
		<i>a</i> ¹	<i>u</i> ²	<i>i</i> ³		<i>k</i> ⁵	<i>n</i> ⁶		<i>k</i> ⁷ (<i>y</i> ⁸ ?) <i>q</i> ⁹ ?	

Examples:

- ¹ *sla* weather
- ² *irkklū* evil
- ³ *inglu* half
- ³ *snè* [*snū*] its bank or edge
- ⁴ *pūyōk* smoke *k*=[*q*]?
- ⁵ *ingrik* mountain
- ⁶ *ippān* native spoon or ladle
- ⁶ *cha'nasun* native knife
- ⁶ *slin* whetstone
- ⁷ *snāk* the banks (dual); cf. also Barnum 283

- ⁸ *iyārōlūtūng*, see Barnum 281-282
- ⁹ *chivoaqka* my upper front teeth (Barnum 6); cf. the verb forms
- ¹⁰ *nunat* village (lands)
- ¹⁰ *ingrit* mountains
- ¹¹ *n* occurs as plural sign only in the numerals: *stāmèn* four, etc. (Barnum 219)

In the Greenland dialects the formation of the plural of nouns is often accompanied by change of stress: e. g.,

<i>a'meq</i> a skin	<i>pl. 'ammīt</i>
---------------------	-------------------

The dual form is much less used than the plural; and I think a great many nouns are never used in the dual, this form being replaced by the plural. On the other hand, there are some few words that occur only in the dual form: e. g.,

- marluk* two; *marLoḡḡuik* two small ones
- pussook* the claw of a crayfish; the thumb and the forefinger
- issaa'k* goggles

The following words are collective plurals:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>attāt</i> a dung-hill | <i>nāssāt</i> the stomach |
| <i>norlut</i> ligature | <i>qa'tixxāt</i> the back (of man or animal) |
| <i>ullut</i> a bird's nest (especially the down in the nest) | <i>assaa't</i> the hand (< <i>assak</i> a finger) |
| <i>arssarnerit</i> aurora borealis | <i>umiāt</i> the boat rowed by women (< <i>umiaq</i> the empty boat) |

Examples of words that form no plural are:

<i>orssog</i> blubber	<i>oquk</i> mould
<i>niläk</i> freshwater ice	<i>nuak</i> snot

Nouns (§§ 18-29)

§ 18. CLASS I. PLURAL INFLECTION WITHOUT SHIFT OF STRESS

The examples given in § 17 show that two principles are applied in the formation of the plural,—single addition of the plural sign to the singular form; and substitution of the plural sign for the final consonant. We observe the first principle in *İLLO*, pl. *İLLut*; the latter, in *ULLOq*, pl. *ULLut*. In the latter instance, *t* has been substituted for *q*. These two principles may be observed in the whole inflectional treatment of the noun.

On the whole, the plural stems of the nouns are prototypes of their inflection. Many nominal stems are affected by a shift of stress in the plural, which has often been followed by phonetic shifting in the stems of the words. We shall first treat words that show no shift of stress.

The plural ending is regularly *t*, but in some cases *it*.

1.

Singular	Plural	
<i>pana</i>	<i>panät</i>	knife
<i>tutto</i>	<i>tuttut</i>	reindeer
<i>sise</i>	<i>sisit</i>	fox's den

2.

<i>qaqqaq</i>	<i>qaqqät</i>	hill, mountain
<i>aḡakkog</i>	<i>aḡakkut</i>	pagan priest
<i>qimmeq</i>	<i>qimmit</i>	dog
<i>tikippog</i>	<i>tikipput (they)</i>	he has come

3. *-it* is added to the consonantal stem (i. e., the absolutive) of words ending in *t* (which *t*, when following an *i*, is regularly changed into *s* [cf. § 8]) and to the absolutive of certain words that end in *-eq* and *-ik* (the *q* and *k* being changed into *r* and *ḡ* [cf. § 4]).

Singular	Plural	
<i>sännät</i>	<i>sännätit</i>	tool
<i>merqut</i>	<i>merqutit</i>	needle
<i>siLLit</i>	<i>siLLisit</i>	whetstone

4.

Singular	Plural	
<i>ikeq</i>	<i>ikerit</i>	bay, sound
<i>erneq</i>	<i>ernerit</i>	son
<i>tikeq</i>	<i>tikerit</i>	forefinger
<i>ilLeq</i>	<i>ilLerit</i>	sleeping-place in the house

5.

<i>uppik</i>	<i>uppenit</i>	owl
<i>nukik</i>	<i>nukeyit</i>	sinew, tendon
<i>mamik</i>	<i>mamigit</i> or <i>mamit</i>	the fleshy side of a hide
<i>i^wkkik</i>	<i>i^wkkiyit</i>	gum
<i>assik</i>	<i>assegit</i>	image, picture

6. *-it* is added to the vocalic stem of many words that end in *k* in the absolute case:

Singular	Plural	
<i>unnuk</i>	<i>unnuit</i>	night
<i>inuk</i>	<i>inuit</i> or <i>innuit</i>	man (human being)
<i>assak</i>	<i>assaat</i> (< <i>assait</i>)	finger

7. *-it* is added to many words that end in *aq* in the absolute, especially to all words ending in *-innaq* and *-ttiaq*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sorqaq</i>	<i>sorqaat</i>	whalebone
<i>utorqaq</i>	<i>utorqaat</i>	old (man or woman)
<i>naa^wjaa^tnnaq</i>	<i>naa^wjaa^tnnaat</i>	only a gull
< <i>naa^wja</i> + <i>innaq</i>		
<i>umiättiaq</i>	<i>umiättaat</i> < <i>umiüt</i> +	a medium-sized boat
< <i>umiaq</i> + <i>ttiaq</i>	<i>ttaa^t</i> < <i>ttiaait</i>	

8. *-it* is added to some words ending in *-oq* or *-eq* in the absolute case:

Singular	Plural	
<i>nuloq</i>	<i>nuloot</i> < * <i>nuloit</i>	rump
<i>ilorLeq</i>	<i>ilorLeet</i> < * <i>ilorLeit</i>	innermost

§ 19. CLASS II (a). PLURAL INFLECTION WITH SHIFT OF STRESS

The following nouns all agree in having in the singular strong stress on their final syllable, and weak stress on the preceding syllable; but in the plural the latter becomes strongly stressed, and accordingly, as a rule, lengthened (cf. § 3). The stress shifts, being thrown back toward the beginning of the word; and this shifting is combined with a change of the quantity of the sounds of the last two syllables, the short consonant between them being either geminated or changed, or displaced by a uvular, in the plural.

9.

Singular	Plural	
<i>a'meq</i>	<i>'animit</i>	skin, hide
<i>i'maq</i> the sea	<i>'immät</i>	places of open water (in the ice)
<i>nä'noq</i>	<i>'nännut</i>	bear
<i>sä'nik</i>	<i>'sännit</i> or <i>sayyit</i>	dust
<i>ka'mik</i>	<i>'kammit</i>	boot
<i>u'mik</i>	<i>'ummät</i> or <i>uyyit</i>	beard
<i>wri'nik</i>	<i>u'winnit</i> or <i>u'wiygit</i>	flesh (of a living animal)

10.

<i>awä'taq</i>	<i>a'wättät</i>	a buoy
<i>juälw'taq</i>	<i>'taä'luttät</i>	little sledge

11. In the next following examples the penult consonant of the words becomes unvoiced in the plural:

Singular	Plural	
<i>isü'gak</i>	<i>i'sikkät</i>	foot
<i>'naala'yaq</i>	<i>'naä'lak'kät</i>	one who is obeyed, <u>mas-</u> ter
<i>'alla'yaq</i>	<i>'alläk'kät</i>	letter

12.

<i>ne'yaq</i>	<i>'nixxät</i>	a snare, gin
<i>qaté'gak</i>	<i>qa'tixxät</i>	back (of man)

13.

<i>tä'leq</i>	<i>'tällit</i>	arm
<i>uka'leq</i>	<i>u'källit</i>	hare
<i>ma'lik</i>	<i>'mällit</i>	wave, billow
<i>'nättora'lik</i>	<i>'nättö'rällit</i>	eagle
<i>a'loq</i>	<i>'allut</i>	sole
<i>ui'loq</i>	<i>u'i'llut</i>	mussel
<i>asa'loq</i>	<i>a'sällut</i>	place of the harpoon- line on the kayak

14.

<i>nu'jaq</i>	<i>'nuttät</i> (South Gr. = <i>nutsät</i>)	hair
<i>ku'jäk</i>	<i>'kuttät</i>	loin
<i>nara'jaq</i>	<i>'nä'rattät</i>	bait

15.

Singular	Plural	
<i>ná'saq</i>	'náttät (South Gr. nátsät)	hood, cap
<i>kí'saq</i>	'kittät	anchor
<i>tá'seq</i>	'tättit	lake
<i>o'qaa^wseq</i>	<i>o'qaa^wtsit</i>	word
<i>qoŋa'seq</i>	<i>qo'ŋätt^sit</i>	neck

16.

<i>aju'aq</i>	<i>a'jussät</i>	boil
<i>saatu'aq</i>	'saat ^s 'sät	crab
<i>kan'og</i>	<i>ka'nissut</i>	sea-scorpion
<i>ilul'iq</i>	<i>ilu'lissät</i>	iceberg
<i>'ixxi'aq</i>	'ix'xissät	throat, gullet
<i>qaseŋiaq</i>	<i>qase'ŋissät</i>	Phoca vitulina
<i>napari'aq</i>	<i>napa'rissät</i>	upright, rear piece of the sledge
<i>nu'kappi'aq</i>	<i>nu'kap'pissät</i>	bachelor

In the last-mentioned examples the *ss* of the plural seems to have originated from a semi-vowel (or *j*) that has become audible between the vowels, instead of the hiatus of the singular; so that, for instance, *ka'nissut* has developed from a plural form *kanijjut*, corresponding to a singular *kani'joq*, which form may sometimes really be heard instead of *kaniog*. The shift *j > s* has been treated in § 6.

17.

Singular	Plural	
<i>iwik</i>	'iffrit	grass, reed
<i>sa'wik</i>	'saffrit or sa'weet	knife, iron

18.

<i>q'pik</i>	'qi ^w kkit	feather-bed, blanket
<i>inu'waq</i>	i'nukkät	toe
<i>tulu'waq</i>	tu'lukkät	raven

§ 20. CLASS II (b). PLURAL INFLECTION AFFECTED BY RETRO-
GRESSIVE UVULARIZATION¹

In the following examples (nos. 19–24) the plural stems admit a uvular which causes a shifting of vowel (uvular mutation) in their penultima.

¹ See § 12, p. 998.

19.

Singular	Plural	
<i>si'o'raq</i> [<i>si'oraq</i>]	<i>si'orqât</i> [<i>si'oq:ât</i>]	sand, granule
<i>pi'a'raq</i>	<i>pi'arqât</i> [<i>pi'aq:ât</i>]	a young one
<i>o'qaq</i>	<i>'orqât</i> [<i>Oq:ât</i>]	tongue
<i>tale'roq</i>	<i>ta'lerqut</i> [<i>talEq: ut</i>]	fore-paw of a seal

20.

<i>a'teq</i> [<i>ateq</i>]	<i>'arqit</i> [<i>Aq: it</i>]	name
<i>na'teq</i>	<i>'narqit</i>	floor, bottom
<i>pa'teq</i>	<i>'parqit</i>	marrow
<i>i'teq</i>	<i>'erqit</i>	anus
<i>qi'teq</i>	<i>'qerqit</i>	center, middle
<i>mi'teq</i>	<i>'merqit</i>	eider-duck

21.

<i>i'peq</i>	<i>'e^wqqit</i>	dirt, filth
<i>tu'peq</i>	<i>'to^wqqit</i> or <i>'torqit</i>	tent

22.

<i>ilu'weq</i>	<i>i'lor^rrit</i> or <i>ilorrit</i>	grave
<i>ni'geq</i> (South Gr.)	<i>'nerrit</i>	south wind
<i>qa'tik</i>	<i>'qarrit</i> or <i>'qakkit</i>	bird's breast

23.

<i>a'leq</i>	<i>'arlit</i>	harpoon-line
<i>qonul'leq</i>	<i>qon'orlit</i>	cabbage

24.

<i>i'meq</i>	<i>'erqit</i>	lake
<i>,arfi'neq</i>	<i>'ar'ferqit</i>	six
<i>ni'meq</i>	<i>'nerqit</i> or <i>nermit</i>	binding, string
<i>qa'neq</i>	<i>'qarnit</i>	mouth
<i>saa^wneq</i>	<i>'saa^wrqit</i> or <i>saa^wrnit</i>	bone
<i>u'neq</i>	<i>'orqit</i> or <i>ornit</i>	arm-pit

§ 21. CLASS III. IRREGULAR PLURAL INFLECTION

Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception *qa'jaq*), takes place in the following nouns:

25.

Singular	Plural	
<i>qa'jaq</i>	<i>'qâ'nnât</i>	kayak

26.

<i>ka'laaleq</i>	<i>ka'laallit</i>	a South Greenlander
<i>mâ'neelaq</i>	<i>mâ'neeLLât</i>	uneven land or ice

27.

Singular	Plural	
'qaateq	'qaarqit	ferrule
'meeraq	'meerqät	child
a'kunneq	a'korŋit	interval

28.

poaq	puXXut	bag (cf. Al. <i>pugyarak</i>)
u'naaq	u'narrät	harpoon-shaft

29.

aaq	atsit	sleeve (Al. 'amrak)
naaq	nässüt abdomen	(the skin of) the belly
iŋa'laaq	iŋa'lässüt	window
'anno'raaq	'anno'rässüt	shirt, dress

30.

The suffixes *-ŋuaq* LITTLE, *-suaq* GREAT, and *-aluaq* FORMER, ELSE, form their plurals by changing *-uaq* into *-uit*: e. g.,

Singular	Plural	
<i>nunayŋuaq</i>	<i>nunayŋuit</i>	a little land
<i>nunarsuaq</i>	<i>nunarsuit</i>	a great land
<i>nunayaluaq</i>	<i>nunayaluit</i>	former land

§ 22. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IRREGULARITIES IN THE FORMATION OF THE PLURAL

The formation of the plural of nouns is very irregular, notwithstanding the fact that the plural forms all end in *t*. The chief element in these irregular formations is a shift of the word-stress, combined with a consonantal increase in the stem of the word. From this we may conclude that there must be some connection between these phenomena. Since the psychical factor must be considered the *primus motor* in the life of the language, we see the cause of the quantitative change in the shift of the stress. I have set forth elsewhere (Thalbitzer I, § 34) how I think this differentiation in the formation of the plural may be explained. It is not necessary to suppose that the general principle of the plural inflection by adding *t* or *it* has ever been set aside, or had to struggle with some other principle, but in certain words the plural ending *it* was added after the full singular stem (the absolutive) of the word instead of after the vocalic stem: e. g., instead of making *malik* A WAVE assume the regular plural form *maliit*, the ending *it* was added after the final *k*, no matter if this *k* properly pointed out the singularity of the notion; and thus a new

plural form, *malikit*, was introduced. The *k* that came to be between vowels changed to *g*, and *maligit* lost the vowel of its central syllable when the stress was drawn back to the first syllable. *malgit* became *mALLit* in Greenland, the *lg* (or *lx*?) being assimilated into one sound. In the same manner I think most of the geminated consonants in plurals have originated from the final syllable of the singular, the terminal consonant (*g* or *k*) of this syllable having been retained in the plural. In *mm*, *k̄k̄*, *ll*, etc., then, two different consonants appear assimilated in accordance with the phonetic laws of the language, but each of them maintaining its existence in the lengthening (gemination) of the sound.

§ 23. ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE

The relative case, or *p*-case, of nouns is formed by adding *p* or *up* to the same stem of the noun as that from which the plural is formed. In most instances, in forming this case, the plural sign *t* is simply replaced by *p*.

By the addition of the *p*, the *a*-stems take the ending *-ap*; the *o*-stems *-up*; the *e*-stems, *-ip*; e g.,

Absolute	Relative
<i>arnaq</i> woman	<i>arnap</i> of the woman
<i>nuna</i> land	<i>nunap</i> of the land
<i>ayakkooq</i> shaman	<i>ayakkup</i> of the shaman
<i>illo</i> house	<i>illup</i> of the house
<i>taleq</i> arm	<i>tallip</i> of the arm
<i>isse</i> [<i>'ise</i>] or [<i>'se</i>] eye	<i>issip</i> of the eye

-ip is added after those words that end in *t* in the absolute (cf. § 18.3): e. g.,

Absolute	Relative
<i>ayut</i> man, male	<i>ayutip</i> of the man

-up is the relative ending of all the nouns of the series nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30 (§§ 18-21): e. g.,

Absolute	Relative
<i>erneq</i> son	<i>ernerup</i> of the son
<i>inuk</i> man	<i>inoop</i> of man (< <i>inu-up</i>)
<i>iserfik</i> entrance	<i>iserfiup</i> of the entrance
<i>nunayaluq</i> former land	<i>nunayalooq</i> of the former land
<i>nateq</i> floor	<i>narqup</i> of the floor
<i>tupeq</i> tent	<i>to^mqqup</i> of the tent

In the western dialects, *m* stands for *p* in this grammatical function:

Alaska	<i>num</i> <i>áčhādnē</i> beneath the house	Greenland <i>inip</i> <i>ataane</i>
(Barnum 13)	<i>chikun</i> <i>illōanē</i> of the ice in its interior	Greenland <i>sikup</i> <i>ilwane</i>
(<i>Ibid.</i> , 33)	<i>slām</i> of the world	Greenland <i>silap</i>
Mackenzie river	<i>nunam</i> of the land	Greenland <i>nunap</i>
(Petitot XLIX)	<i>tupkib</i> of the tent	Greenland <i>to^wqqup</i>
XXXIV)	<i>anopem</i> of the wind	Greenland <i>anorip</i> or <i>anorrup</i>

§ 24. LOCAL CASES

The local case-endings are alike in the singular and the plural, but they are added to different stems of inflection, the nominal stem in the singular ending in *m*, in the plural in *n*. This is the same in the Greenland and in the Alaska dialects. Only the prosecutive case is excepted; since in the singular it shows a consonantal stem ending in *k*, but in the plural either a lengthened stem ending in *-te*, or a lengthened suffix (*-tiyut*).

	Northwest Greenland Singular	Southwest Alaska Singular
Absolutive	<i>qayqay</i> mountain	<i>ingrik</i> mountain (Barnum 10)
Allative	<i>ut qayqamut</i> to the mountain	<i>un ingrimūn</i> [<i>igri-</i> <i>mun</i>]
Locative	<i>e qayqame</i> in the moun- tain	<i>e ingrimē</i> [<i>igrime</i>]
Ablative	<i>it qayqamit</i> from the mountain	?
Instrumentalis	<i>ik qayqamik</i> by the mountain	<i>uk ingrimük</i> [<i>igri-</i> <i>muk</i>] or [<i>-mik</i>]?
Prosecutive	<i>kut qayqakkut</i> over or through the moun- tain	<i>kun ingrikūn</i> [<i>igri-</i> <i>kun</i>]
Conformative or Æqualis	<i>tut qayqatut</i> like a moun- tain	<i>tun ingritūn</i> [<i>igri-</i> <i>tun</i>]
	Plural	Plural
Absolutive	<i>qayqat</i> mountains	<i>ingrit</i> mountains
Allative	<i>ut qayqanut</i> to the mountains	<i>un ingrinūn</i>
Locative	<i>e qayqane</i> in the moun- tains	<i>e ingrinē</i>

	Northwest Greenland		Southwest Alaska	
	Plural		Plural	
Ablative	<i>it</i>	<i>qaqqanit</i> from the mountains	?	
Instrumentalis	<i>ik</i>	<i>qaqqanik</i> by the mountains	<i>uk</i>	<i>ingrñik</i>
Prosecutive ¹	<i>iyut</i>	<i>qaqqatiyut</i> over the mountains	<i>t'hun</i>	<i>ingrñthün</i> [<i>iyrit-t'hun</i>]
Conformative or Æqualis	<i>tut</i>	<i>qaqqattut</i> like the mountains	<i>tun</i>	<i>ingrñttün</i>
		Northwest Greenland		
		Singular	Plural	
Absolutive		<i>illo</i> a house, the house	<i>illut</i> houses, the houses	
Allative	<i>-ut</i>	<i>illumut</i> to, into, the house	<i>illumut</i> to, into, the houses	
Locative	<i>-e</i>	<i>illumme</i> in the house	<i>illumme</i> in the houses	
Ablative	<i>-it</i>	<i>illumit</i> from the house	<i>illumit</i> from the houses	
Instrumentalis	<i>-ik</i>	<i>illumik</i> by (with) the house	<i>illumik</i> by (with) the houses	
Prosecutive	<i>-kut, -gut</i>	<i>illukkut</i> through the house	<i>illutiyut</i> through the houses	

There is only one kind of irregularity, or of deviation from this type of inflection, arising by the retention of the final consonant of the absolutive case in the other cases, this consonant being assimilated with the initial consonant of the case-suffix. Accordingly, only such words as end in a consonant in the absolutive singular may show irregularities; e. g., *ulloq*, which retains its final *q*, assimilated into *r* in four of the singular cases, but is quite regular in the plural.

	Singular	Plural (regular)
Absolutive	<i>ulloq</i> a day, the day	<i>ullut</i> days
Allative	<i>ullormut</i> to the day	<i>illumut</i> to the days
Locative	<i>ullorme</i> in the day, on the day	<i>illumme</i> in the days
Ablative	<i>ullormit</i> from the day	<i>illumit</i> from the days
Instrumentalis	<i>ullormik</i> with the day	<i>illumik</i> with the days
Prosecutive	<i>ullukkut</i> in or through the day	<i>illutiyut</i> through the days

NOTE: *ullorme* on that day; *illumme* to-day.

¹ The prosecutive plural ends, in Southwest Greenland, in *-iyut* (= Labrador), which form is nearer to the Alaska *-t'hun* (or *t'hun?*) than is the north Greenlandic form.

Other examples:

<i>ná't^seq</i> floor	<i>'ukkaq</i> front wall of house
<i>ná't^sermut</i> to the floor	<i>'ukkarmut</i> to the front wall
<i>ná't^serme</i> (or <i>naryane</i>) on the floor	<i>ukkarme</i> at the front wall
	<i>ukkakkut</i> through the front wall
	<i>ukkatiñut</i> through the front walls
<i>i'meq</i> fresh water	
<i>i'mermut</i> to the water	
<i>i'merme</i> in the water	
<i>imikkut</i> through the water	

Words ending in *-Leq* (local superlative ending):

<i>sí'uLLeq</i> the foremost one	<i>kíy'uLLeq</i> the last one
<i>sí'uLLerme</i> at the foremost one	<i>kíy'uLLerme</i> at the last one
<i>siuLLermik</i> firstly	<i>kíy'uLLermik</i> the last time
<i>i'lorLeq</i> the innermost one	<i>'kíLLeq</i> the most western one
<i>i'lorLermit</i> from the innermost one	
<i>ilorLernut</i> to the innermost ones	<i>'kíLLernut</i> to the most western one
<i>ilorLikkut</i> through the innermost one	<i>'kíLLikkut</i> through the most western one
<i>ilorLertíñut</i> through the innermost ones	<i>kíLLertíñut</i> through the most western ones

§ 25. LOCAL CASES—Continued

In nouns ending in *-k* this sound has been assimilated by the formative endings:

	Singular	Singular
Absolutive . . .	<i>sawík</i> a knife	<i>katak</i> inner doorway in the house
Allative . . .	<i>sawimmut</i>	<i>katammut</i>
Locative . . .	<i>sawimme</i>	<i>katamme</i>
Instrumentalis . . .	<i>sawimmik</i>	<i>katammik</i>
Prosecutive . . .	<i>sawikkut</i>	<i>katakut</i>
Conformative . . .	<i>sawittut</i>	<i>katattut</i>

Examples:

'sarpimmik by means of the tail (of a whale) (< *sarpík*,
uilu'limmut to the mussel-place (< *uilulik* place where there are
mussels)
noõmmít from the point of land (< *nook*)
inuttut as a human being (especially Eskimo) (< *inuk*)

Nouns ending in *-t* either retain this sound in assimilated shape in the singular declension, or form their cases on a lengthened stem (*-te*); e. g.,

aput snow on the earth (*apummut*, *apumme*, *apummik*)
oommat heart (*oommammik* or *oommatimik* by the heart; *oommatinik* by the hearts; *oommatikkut* through the heart; *oommatitigut* through the hearts)
nappaa^{wt} illness (*nappaa^wmmit* or *nappaa^wtimit* from [because of] illness; *nappaa^wtinit* from illnesses; *nappaa^wtikkut* through illness; *nappaa^wtitigut* through illnesses)

A few words ending in final *t* are regularly declined after the type of *ILLO*; e. g., *kammeeumik* or *kammiumik* with the boot-stretcher (<*kammiiut*).

All nouns belonging to Class II (§§ 19-20) and most of the nouns belonging to Class III (§ 21) form their local cases, both singular and plural, on the plural stem. The absolutive case stands isolated among these formations, being apparently irregular. The explanation of this fact is similar to the one set forth in § 22, and I have treated the question more fully in "A Phonetical Study," § 34.

	Singular	Plural
Absolutive . . .	<i>ameq</i> hide, skin	<i>ammit</i>
(Relative) . . .	(<i>ammip</i>)	(<i>anmit</i>)
Allative . . .	<i>ammimut</i>	<i>ammimut</i>
Locative . . .	<i>ammime</i>	<i>ammime</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>ammimit</i>	<i>ammimit</i>
Instrumentalis .	<i>ammimik</i>	<i>ammimik</i>
Prosecutive . .	<i>ammikkut</i>	<i>ammitigut</i>
Absolutive . . .	<i>ujaraq</i> stone	<i>ujarqat</i>
(Relative) . . .	(<i>ujarqap</i>)	(<i>ujarqat</i>)
Allative . . .	<i>ujarqamut</i>	<i>ujarqanut</i>
Locative . . .	<i>ujarqame</i>	<i>ujarqane</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>ujarqamit</i>	<i>ujarqanit</i>
Instrumentalis .	<i>ujarqamik</i>	<i>ujarqanik</i>
Prosecutive . .	<i>ujarqakkut</i>	<i>ujarqatigut</i>
Absolutive . . .	<i>kooroq</i> valley, ravine	<i>koorqut</i>
Allative . . .	<i>koorqumut</i>	<i>koorqumut</i>
Locative . . .	<i>koorqume</i>	<i>koorqune</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>koorqumit</i>	<i>koorqunit</i>
Instrumentalis .	<i>koorqumik</i>	<i>koorqunik</i>
Prosecutive . .	<i>koorqukkut</i>	<i>koorqutigut</i>

	Singular
Absolutive	<i>it^eerog</i> stale urine
Allative	<i>it^eerqumut</i>
Locative	<i>it^eerqume</i>
Ablative	<i>it^eerqumit</i>
Instrumentalis	<i>it^eerqumik</i>
Prosecutive	<i>it^eerqukkut</i>

§ 26. PERSONAL CASES, OR POSSESSIVE INFLECTION, OF NOUNS.

GREENLAND

	Absolutive			Relative		
	Singular of the noun	Plural of the noun	Dual	Singular	Plural	Dual
1st per. sing. . .	<i>ya, ra</i>	<i>kka</i>	<i>kka</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mma</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>t</i>	<i>tit</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>wit, rpit</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>ppit</i>
4th per. sing. ¹ . .	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nne</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mme</i>
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>rpul, ppul</i>	<i>wul, pul</i>	<i>ppul</i>	<i>wta</i>	<i>wta</i>	<i>wnnuk</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>rse, sse</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sse</i>	<i>wsse</i>	<i>wsse</i>	<i>wttik</i>
4th per. pl. . . .	<i>rtik, ttik</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>ttik</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mmik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>a</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>kit</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	<i>at</i>	<i>e, et</i>	<i>yik (<gik)</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>kit</i>

ALASKA (BARNUM 19-25)²

	Singular	Plural	Dual	Singular	Plural	Dual
1st per. sing. . .	<i>ka</i>	<i>nka</i>	<i>rka</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mma</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>ta</i>	<i>tta</i>	<i>rta</i>	<i>hpit, ht</i>	<i>fit</i>	<i>rpit</i>
4th per. sing. . .	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nne</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mme</i>
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>wut, hpul</i>	<i>put</i>	<i>rpul</i>	<i>mta</i>	<i>mta</i>	<i>mmta</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>se, ze³</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>rce</i>	<i>hpice, fce</i>	<i>pice, fce</i>	<i>rpice</i>
4th per. pl. . . .	<i>tiy, ziy</i>	<i>liy</i>	<i>rliy</i>	<i>miy</i>	<i>miy</i>	<i>xrmiy</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>a, e</i>	<i>aj, e</i>	<i>ak, ik</i>	<i>an, in</i>	<i>ajn</i>	<i>rta</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	<i>at</i>	<i>ajn, ayt</i>	<i>rkit</i>	<i>ata, ita</i>	<i>ajta</i>	<i>rmeta</i>

It will be clear from this synopsis that some of the Greenland singular and plural endings must be accounted for in the dual forms of the Alaska dialect. I have especially in mind the endings beginning in *r (<g)*, *rpul* OUR, *rse* YOUR, *rtik* THEIR OWN, *rpit* OF THY, which in Greenlandic indicate the singular of the thing owned; in Alaska, duality. Likewise the Greenland *yik* THEIR OWN TWO ONES, which does not agree in form with the Alaska *rket*, originally must have meant THEIR TWO SELVES' TWO, since it is in form in accord-

¹ I designate by "fourth person" the reflexive, the form expressing that the subject of the sentence is possessor.

² I have here hypothetically transcribed the paradigms of Barnum in accordance with my own spelling of the Eskimo language.

ance with the Alaska possessive suffix of this meaning: *rkik* (in the relative *rkenka*). The dual system is disappearing in Greenland, but it has been recorded by Paul Egede and S. Kleinschmidt, so that all the original Greenland forms are known. I have only cited two-fifths of the forms in the synopsis above presented; namely, such as express duality of the object possessed. The other forms express duality of the possessor: e. g.,

POSSESSIVE DUAL ENDINGS

Possessor dual	Greenland			Alaska			
	Object possessed. Absolute			Object possessed. Absolute			
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural	
1st	<i>puk</i>	<i>ppuk</i>	<i>wuk</i>	<i>wuk</i>	<i>rpuk</i>	<i>puk</i>	
2d	<i>tik</i>	<i>ttik</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>zik</i>	<i>rtuk</i>	<i>tuk</i>	
3d	<i>k</i>	<i>kik</i>	<i>kik</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>rkik</i>	<i>kek</i>	
4th	?	?	?	<i>zik</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>tik</i>	
Possessor dual	Object possessed. Relative			Object possessed. Relative			
	1st	<i>wnnuk</i>	<i>wnnuk</i>	<i>wnnuk</i>	<i>muznuk</i>	<i>zmuznuk</i>	<i>muznuk</i>
	2d	<i>wttik</i>	<i>wttik</i>	<i>wttik</i>	<i>hptuk</i>	<i>rptuk</i>	<i>pütuk</i>
	3d	<i>ata</i>	<i>kil</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>nnuk</i>	<i>rkinka</i>	<i>kinka</i>
	4th	?	?	?	<i>muznuk</i>	<i>zmuznuk</i>	<i>muznuk</i>

In the absolute first person the two dialects of Greenland and Alaska apparently have interchanged their singular and plural forms, *puk* meaning in Greenland OUR TWO SELVES' ONE, in Alaska THOSE BELONGING TO OUR TWO SELVES, and *wuk* vice versa. The double duals especially (of both object possessed and possessor) have been contracted in Greenland, *rp* being assimilated to *pp*, *rt* to *tt*, etc. The Greenland *k'it*, OF THEIR TWO SELVES' TWO, may be the remnant of the Alaska *rk'in(ka)*, exactly as is the Greenland dual absolute *kik* a remnant of the Alaska *rkik*; whereas the last syllable, *ka*, of *rkinka*, seems to be a special suffix, perhaps formed in analogy to the *nka* of the absolute plural first person. It is astonishing to find that the relative endings of the fourth person in the Alaska dialect are identical with those of the first person. The dual forms of that person are probably lost in the Greenland dialect.

The consistent use of the uvular as the general sign of the dual in the Alaska possessive suffixes is worthy of notice, while in the other forms, in the Alaska dialect as well as in the others, the palatal *k* per-

forms the dual function. Does this fact perhaps justify us in assuming that the uvular (i. e., *q*) was once used for marking the dual in the Eskimo language? (cf. §17.)

§ 27. PARADIGM OF THE POSSESSIVE INFLECTION OF NOUNS

GREENLAND DIALECT

	Absolutive <i>illo</i> HOUSE		Relative <i>illup</i> OF THE HOUSE	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. . .	<i>illoya</i> my house	<i>illukka</i> my houses	<i>illuma</i>	<i>illuma</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>illut</i> thy house	<i>illutit</i> thy houses	<i>illuwit</i>	<i>illuwit</i>
4th per. sing. . .	<i>illune</i> his own (SUUS) house	<i>illune</i> his own houses	<i>illume</i>	<i>illume</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>illorput</i> our house	{ <i>illurut</i> or <i>illorput</i> } our houses	<i>illurta</i>	<i>illurta</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>illorse</i> your house	<i>illuse</i> your houses	<i>illurisse</i>	<i>illurisse</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>illortik</i> their own (SUUS) house	<i>illutik</i> their own houses	<i>illumik</i>	<i>illumik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>illua</i> his (EJUS) house	<i>illue</i> his (EJUS) houses	<i>illuata</i>	<i>illuata</i>
3d per. pl. . .	{ <i>illuat</i> their (EORUM) house	{ <i>illuit</i> or <i>illue</i> } their (EORUM) houses	<i>illumik</i>	<i>illumik</i>

It will be noted that most cases are formed from the vocalic stem of the word, except three; namely, the first, second, and fourth plural possessive, singular object, absolutive, which are formed on a lengthened consonantal stem, **illoq*, as if to emphasize the idea of the singular of the object (ONE HOUSE) as against the plurality of the personal endings (OUR, YOUR, THEIR) or of those plural cases which end in *ut* (*put*), *se*, *tik*.

The possessive inflection of nouns is apparently always regular, because the endings are invariably the same. The peculiarities in the inflection of many nouns are due to shifts in the word-stems, not in the endings of the suffixes. Exceptions are such occasional assimilations of the initial sounds of the suffixes as follow the linking to different stems: e. g., *-itit* THY; *illutit* THY HOUSES; *-isit* in *uwisit* THY HUSBANDS (<*uwe*); the shifts of *e* > *i*, *o* > *u*, *a* > *á*, etc. (cf. §§ 5 and 10); *auq* A SLEEVE, *aai* < **aae* HIS SLEEVES (*i* < *e* HIS).

Only two of the possessive suffixes have alternating forms dependent on the word-stem to which they are to be added:

First person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, absolutive, *ya* or *ra*

Second person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, relative *wit*, or *rpit* or *ppit*

-ra is the form of the suffix of the first person singular MY in such words as end in *q* in the absolutive:

erneq a son
arnaq woman
qarssaq arrow

ernera my son
arnara my mother
qarsora my arrow

All words ending in a vowel add *ya*; e. g., *illoya* my house.

-ya is added to the vocalic stem of words ending in *k* in the absolutive:

panik daughter

paniya my daughter

Words ending in *t* in the absolutive form their first person and some of the other personal cases on a longer stem ending in *-te*:

ayut man

ayuteya my father

A remarkable fact is the constant identity of the form of the second person singular possessor, singular object possessed, absolutive (*ILLut* THY HOUSE) and of the plural form of the word (*ILLut* HOUSES). There is probably no exception to this rule. Since many words form irregular plurals, either because of retention of the terminal consonant of the singular or owing to internal changes of their stems (cf. § 22), the same irregularity also appears in their second person singular forms:

taleq arm
talia his arm

tallit thy arm = *tallit* arms

§ 28. IRREGULAR POSSESSIVE INFLECTION

Following are some deviations from the typical paradigm given above:

(a) Many words ending in *e* form their third person possessives exactly as if they were vocalic *a*-stems (cf. § 15 **tim*).

ise [*'ise*] or [*'se*] EYE.

Possessor	Absolutive		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
3d per. sing. . .	<i>isau</i>	<i>isai</i>	<i>isaata</i>	<i>isai^aea</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>isaat</i>	<i>isaat</i>	<i>isaata</i>	<i>isaai^aea</i>

ayut MAN, FATHER < * *ayute*.

Possessor	Absolutive		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. . .	<i>ayuleya</i>	<i>ayutikka</i>	<i>ayutima</i>	<i>ayutima</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>ayutit</i>	<i>ayutitit</i>	<i>ayutiwit</i>	<i>ayutiwit</i>
4th per. sing. . .	<i>ayutine</i>	<i>ayutine</i>	<i>ayutime</i>	<i>ayutime</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>ayuterput</i>	<i>ayulegut</i>	<i>ayutiwtia</i>	<i>ayutiwtia</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>ayuterse</i>	<i>ayutise</i>	<i>ayutiwase</i>	<i>ayutiwase</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>ayutertik</i>	<i>ayutitit</i>	<i>ayutimik</i>	<i>ayutimik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>ayutaa</i>	<i>ayutaai</i>	<i>ayutaata</i>	<i>ayutaa'esa</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>ayutaat</i>	<i>ayutaait</i>	<i>ayutaata</i>	<i>ayutaa'esa</i>

In some of the personal cases this word has double forms, its stem-terminal being assimilated with the suffix-initial.

4th per. sing. *ayutine*=*ayunne* his (SUUS) father

ayutime=*ayumme*

4th per. pl. *ayutimik*=*ayummik*

1st per. pl. *ayuterput*=*ayupput* our father

1st per. sing. *ayutima*=*ayunma*

2d per. sing. *ayutiwit*=*ayuppit*

(b) *tá'leq* (pl. *táLLit*) ARM.

	Absolutive		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. . .	<i>tá'lera</i> my arm	<i>táLLikka</i> my arms	<i>táLLima</i>	<i>táLLima</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>táLLit</i> thy arm	{ <i>táLLitit</i> or <i>táLLisit</i> } thy arms	<i>táLLiwt</i>	<i>táLLiwt</i>
4th per. sing. . .	{ <i>táLLine</i> or } his or her { <i>táLLe</i> or <i>táLine</i> } own arm	{ <i>táLLine</i> or } his, her, own { <i>táine</i> } arms	<i>táLLime</i>	<i>táLLime</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>tá'lerput</i> our arm	<i>táLLiwut</i> our arms	<i>táLLiwtia</i>	<i>táLLiwtia</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>tá'lerse</i> your arm	<i>táLLise</i> your arms	<i>táLLiwase</i>	<i>táLLiwase</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>tá'lerdik</i> their own arm	{ <i>táLLitit</i> or } their own { <i>táLLisik</i> } arms	<i>táLLimik</i>	<i>táLLimik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>tá'ha</i> his, her, arm	<i>tá'lee</i> his (SUUS) arms	<i>táliáta</i>	<i>ta'leesa</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>tá'hiat</i> their arm	{ <i>tá'leet</i> or } their (EORUM) { <i>tá'lee</i> } arms	<i>táliáta</i>	<i>tá'leesa</i>

Thus the word *taleq* is in most of the personal cases declined on the plural stem *táLLe*, with shifting of the word-accent and change of the medial consonant (*l* > *LL*), which becomes geminated and unvoiced in the forms here in question.

The following nouns are declined after the analogy of *taleq*:

Singular	Plural or second person singular	Third and fourth person possessive
	First and second person possessive	
<i>a'loq</i> . . .	' <i>allut</i> soles, thy sole; <i>allukka</i> my soles	<i>allune</i> or <i>alle</i> his own sole
<i>a'meq</i> . . .	' <i>ammit</i> skins, thy skin; <i>ammiwut</i> our skins <i>ammiwit</i> of thy skin (or skins)	
<i>qa'jaq</i> . . .	' <i>qa'nnat</i> kayaks, thy kayak; <i>qa'nnakka</i> my kayaks	<i>qa'nnane</i> their own kayak (or kayaks)
<i>nu'jaq</i> . . .	' <i>nuttat</i> hair, thy hair; ' <i>nuttatit</i> thy hair (pl.)	' <i>nuttane</i> his (own) hair { <i>nu'jaat</i> his (another man's) hair
<i>o'qaq</i> . . .	<i>o'qqat</i> tongues, thy tongue	<i>o'qaa</i> his, its tongue
<i>o'qaawseq</i> . . .	<i>o'qaawsit</i> words, thy word <i>o'qaawtikka</i> my words	

Most of the words that end in one of the suffixes *-yaq*, *-yak*, *-waq*, *-raq*, *-roq*, belong here, but others as well; for instance,

allanaq something written;
a letter

isiyak (pl. *i'sikkat*) a toe, the
foot

iseraq the upper part of the
foot

akeraq enemy, opponent
inuwaq a toe (*inuwai* his toes)

Likewise the words ending in *-iaq* and *-uaq* (*-uak*); e. g.,

assiliaq picture

uluak cheek

(c) The next paradigm is peculiar, in that the third person is declined on the plural stem throughout.

a'teq (pl. *'arqit*) A NAME.

Possessor	Absolute		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. .	<i>alera</i>	<i>atikka</i>	<i>aterma</i>	<i>atima</i>
2d per. sing. .	<i>arqit</i>	<i>atitit</i>	<i>aterpit</i>	<i>ativit</i>
4th per. sing. .	<i>atine</i> or <i>arqe</i>	<i>atine</i>	<i>aterme</i>	<i>atime</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>alerput</i>	<i>aliwut</i>	<i>atiwta</i>	<i>atiwta</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>aterse</i>	<i>alise</i>	<i>atiwase</i>	<i>atiwase</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>alertik</i>	<i>atilik</i>	<i>alermik</i>	<i>atimik</i>
3d per. sing. .	<i>arqa</i>	<i>arqe</i>	<i>arqata</i>	<i>arqisa</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>arqat</i>	<i>arqit</i> or <i>arqe</i>	<i>arqata</i>	<i>arqisa</i>

The explanation of the development of the irregular forms has been given in § 22.

This is the method of declension of the following nouns:

Singular	Plural or second person singular	Third person possessive
	Second person possessive	
<i>a'leq</i>	' <i>arllit</i> harpoon-lines, thy harpoon-line	<i>arllta</i> (<i>a'litka</i> my harpoon-lines)
<i>na'leq</i>	' <i>narqqit</i> floors, bottoms, thy floor, bottom	<i>narqqa</i> (<i>naterput</i> our floor)
<i>pa'leq</i>	' <i>parqqit</i> marrow (pl.), thy marrow	<i>parqqa</i>
<i>qi'leq</i>	' <i>qerqqit</i> middle, mid- (pl.), thy middle	<i>qerqqa</i>
<i>i'leq</i>	<i>erqqit</i> anus (pl.), thy anus	<i>erqqa</i>
<i>na'meq</i>	' <i>nermmit</i> bindings, string, thy binding	<i>nermma</i>
<i>qa'neq</i>	<i>qarnnit</i> mouths, thy mouth	<i>qarnna</i>
<i>saa'wneq</i>	<i>saaornnit</i> bones, thy bone	<i>saaornna</i> (also <i>saaorygit</i> , etc.)
<i>u'neq</i>	' <i>ornnit</i> armpits, thy armpit	<i>ornna</i> (also <i>orygit</i> , etc.)
<i>tu'peq</i>	' <i>lowqqit</i> tents, thy tent	<i>lowqqa</i> (also <i>tupit</i> , etc.)
<i>iluweq</i>	<i>llorrrit</i> graves, thy grave	<i>llorrra</i> or <i>llorra</i>

The following numerals also belong here:

<i>arfineq</i> 6	<i>arferyyat</i> the sixth (properly their number 6, or the number 6 of the fingers)
<i>arqaneq</i> 11	<i>arqaryat</i> the eleventh
<i>arfersaneq</i> 16	<i>arfersaryat</i> the sixteenth

(d) The peculiarities in the declension of the following paradigm remind us of that just mentioned, *ateq*, pl. *arqit*, A NAME, to which it is evidently closely related.

kiLLik (pl. ***kiLLiyit***) A LIMIT, BOUNDARY.

Possessor	Absolute		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. . . .	<i>kiLleya</i>	<i>kiLLikka</i>	<i>kiLlemma</i>	<i>kiLLima</i>
2d per. sing. . . .	<i>kiLleyit</i>	{ <i>kiLLitit</i> or <i>kiLLiit</i> }	{ <i>kiLLippit</i>	<i>kiLLiuit</i>
4th per. sing. . . .	<i>kiLLine</i>	<i>kiLLine</i>	<i>kiLLimme</i>	<i>kiLLime</i>
1st per. pl.	<i>kiLLipput</i>	<i>kiLleyut</i>	<i>kiLLiwta</i>	<i>kiLLiwta</i>
2d per. pl.	<i>kiLLisee</i>	<i>kiLLise</i>	<i>kiLLiwase</i>	<i>kiLLiwase</i>
4th per. pl.	<i>kiLLittik</i>	{ <i>kiLLitit</i> or <i>kiLLiit</i> }	{ <i>kiLLimmik</i>	<i>kiLLimik</i>
3d per. sing. . . .	<i>kiLleya</i>	<i>kiLleye</i>	<i>kiLleyata</i>	<i>kiLleyisa</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>kiLleyat</i>	{ <i>kiLleye</i> or <i>kiLleyit</i> }	{ <i>kiLleyata</i>	<i>kiLleyisa</i>

The paradigm of *kiLLik* will serve as a model for the following noun:

assik picture; *assenit* or *assit* thy picture; *assitit* or *assisit* thy pictures; *asseya* my picture, his or its picture; *assipput* or *asserput* our picture

Some few other nouns that are rarely used except in the third person are treated in the same manner.

**tukik* (third person *tukega*) the long side of it

**missik* (*missegə* or *missaa*) line between two points, proportional line

**terLLik* (*terLLegə*) his or its safe side (the side from which nothing evil is expected)

qilik (*qilegə*) its bone peg (viz., the bone peg of the throwing-stick)

milik (*milegə*) that which obstructs a passage or channel

nalik (*nalegə*) its equivalent

ernej A SON, *t'i'keq* FOREFINGER, *'tilleq* PULSE, PULSATION, also belong here:

ernej (pl. *ernerit*) A SON.

	Absolute		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. .	<i>ernera</i> my son	<i>ernikka</i> my sons	<i>ernerma</i>	<i>ernikka</i>
2d per. sing. .	<i>ernerit</i> thy son	<i>ernittit</i> or <i>ernisit</i> } thy sons	<i>ernerpit</i>	<i>ernisit</i>
4th per. sing. .	<i>erne</i> his own son	<i>ernine</i> his own sons	<i>ernerne</i>	<i>ernine</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>ernerput</i> our son	<i>ernitout</i> or <i>erniyut</i> } our sons	<i>ernitla</i>	<i>ernitla</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>ernerse</i> your son	<i>ernise</i> your sons	<i>ernisse</i>	<i>ernisse</i>
4th per. pl. .	<i>ernertik</i> their own son	<i>ernittik</i> or <i>ernisit</i> } their own sons	<i>ernermit</i>	<i>ernimit</i>
3d per. sing. .	<i>ernera</i> his (EJUS) son	<i>ernere</i> his sons	<i>ernerata</i>	<i>ernerisa</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>ernerat</i> their (EORUM) son	<i>ernere</i> or <i>ernerit</i> } their sons	<i>ernerata</i>	<i>ernerisa</i>

§ 29. LOCAL CASES OF POSSESSIVE FORMS OF NOUNS

The local case-endings (§ 24) may be used with the possessives, the local ending always being placed after the possessive one: (HOUSE) MY IN, YOUR FROM, etc. The combination is not brought about by a mere addition of the endings, but the forces of assimilation and analogy have modified the compounds in the development of the language.

The local endings *-ut*, *-e*, *-it*, *-ik*, are augmented by an *n* (thus, *-nut*, *-ne*, *-nit*, *-nik*) when joined to a possessive inflected noun; and the prosecutive ending *-yut* or *-kut* is apparently augmented by *-ti* (thus, *-tiyut*). In first, second, and fourth persons, *-nut*, *-ne*, *-nit*, *-nik*, seem to be joined to the relative possessive forms of the nouns (though the first

person plural and the second person singular take a very irregular form in the compounds), but in the third person the same endings seem to be joined after the absolutive possessives.

		Endings
Absolutive	<i>illo</i> a house, the house	-o
Relative	<i>illup</i> of the house	-p
Fourth per. possessive	<i>illumé</i> his (her) own house or houses	-me
Allative	<i>illumínut</i> into his own house or houses	-nut
Locative	<i>illumine</i> in his own house or houses	-ne
Ablative	<i>illumínit</i> from his own house or houses	-nit
Instrumentalis	<i>illumínik</i> by his own house or houses	-nik
Prosecutive	<i>illumígut</i> through his own house or houses	-gut
Conformative	<i>illumísut</i> like his own house or houses	-sut

THE LOCATIVE CASE (-ne) POSSESSIVELY INFLECTED

illo HOUSE; *illumé* IN A HOUSE, IN THE HOUSE.

	Singular and plural	Old Eskimo	Modern possessive forms
4th per. sing.	<i>illumine</i> in his house or houses	<*illumene	<i>illumé</i>
2d per. sing.	<i>illumne</i> (also <i>illorne</i>) in thy house or houses	<*illumitne?	<i>illumit</i>
1st per. sing.	<i>illumne</i> in my house or houses	<*illumane	<i>illumá</i>
4th per. pl.	<i>illumínne</i> in their house or houses	<*illumitne	<i>illumik</i>
2d per. pl.	<i>illumssinne</i> in your house or houses	<*illumpsine?	<i>illumesse</i>
1st per. pl.	<i>illumtinné</i> in our house or houses	<*illumptane?	<i>illumtla</i>
	Singular, house		(Absolutive)
3d per. sing.	<i>illumane</i> in his (EJUS) house	<*illumane	<i>illumá</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>illumanne</i> in their (EORUM) house	<*illumatne	<i>illumat</i>
	Plural, houses		
3d per. sing.	<i>illumine</i> in his houses	<*illumene	<i>illumé</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>illumine</i> in their houses	<*illumene	<i>illumé</i> or <i>illumit</i>

In the second person the possessive locative ending *-ne* is also common; e. g.,

ki^wFFarne (= *ki^wFFanne*) at thy servant (< *ki^wFFay* servant, porter)

THE PROSECUTIVE CASE POSSESSIVELY INFLECTED

siut EAR; *siuta-a* HIS EAR; *siutiŋut* THROUGH AN EAR.

	Singular and plural	Old Eskimo	(Relative)
4th per. sing.	<i>siutimiyut</i> through his (own) ear or ears	< <i>siutimeyut</i>	<i>siutime</i>
2d per. sing.	<i>siutikkut</i> through thy ear or ears	< <i>siutikkut</i>	<i>siutil</i>
1st per. sing.	<i>siutiŋkut</i> through my ear or ears	{< <i>siutiŋkut?</i> or <i>siutimakut</i>	<i>siutima</i>
4th per. pl.	<i>siutimikkut</i> through their own ear or ears	< <i>siutimikkut</i>	<i>siutimik</i>
2d per. pl.	<i>siutiŋsiyut</i> through your ear or ears	< <i>siutiŋsiyut</i>	<i>siutiŋsac</i>
1st per. pl.	<i>siutiŋliyut</i> through our ear or ears	< <i>siutiŋliyut</i>	<i>siutiŋ'ia</i>
	Singular, ear		(Absolute)
3d per. sing.	{ <i>siutaayut</i> or <i>siutaatiyut</i> } through his (EJUS) ear	{< <i>siutaayut?</i> or <i>siutaatayut</i>	<i>siutaa</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>siutaatiyut</i> through their (EORUM) ear		
	Plural, ears		(Relative)
3d per. sing.	<i>siutaa'isyut</i>	< <i>siutaatayut?</i>	<i>siutaa'ia</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>siutaa'isyut</i>		<i>siutaa'ia</i>

All the other endings beginning with *n* are joined to the noun in the same manner as *-ne*.

Other examples:

-ne.

i'serriane at the entrance (*iserfik*) of it (*a*)

umiap ataane of the umiak, in (*ne*) the under-space (*ata*) of it (*a*)=
under the umiak

qilaa^wp killiyane of the sky, in (*ne*) the border (*killik*) of it (*a*)=
on the horizon

qa^wnne on the top (*qak*) of me

-nut.

illuminut iserpoq he goes into (*nut*) his (*me*) house (*illo*)

killiyanut to the border of it (*a*)

ilaminut to his or her own (*me*) house-mate (*ila*)

ikiŋuti^wnnut to my (*wn*) friend or friends (*ikiŋut* [*e*])

-nit.

iniminit from his or its own (*mi*) place, nest, etc. (*ine*)

killiyanit from the border of it (*a*), especially from that time

noop kujataanit of the point of land (*nook*), from its (*a*) southern
space (*kujat* [*a*])=from the south of the point of land

qaqqap qaanit of the mountain, from its (*a*) top=from the top of
the mountain

-nik.

'amminik with his own (*me*) finger (*assak*) or fingers
sa'wimminik with his own knife (*sa'wik*) or knives (*sa'weet*)
alermminnik with their own (*min*) harpoon-line (*aleq*)
ame'torqaminnik with their own (*min*) old skin
ammeterqaminnik with their old skins (*ameq*, pl. *ammit*)

-njut, -kut, -tijnut.

qijnaminjut through or by his own (*me*) nose (*qijnajq*)
keenaminjut through or over his own (*me*) face
qonasianjut through or about his (*a*) neck (*qonaseq*)
keenaatinjut through his (EJUS) (*a*) face
niaqoaatinjut through his (*a*) head (*niaqoq*)
timaatinjut through his body (*time*)
siutinjuakkut through or by my little ear or ears

Verbs (§§ 30-44)**§ 30. CONJUGATION**

The conjugation of the Eskimo verb is based on a set of slightly different stems; i. e., they are derivatives from a common base, which in itself need not be of the character of a verb. The personal verb-suffixes follow the stems as terminals. The suffixes (the verb-signs) have different meanings, constituting at the same time the modes of the verb. Accordingly the stem of the verb alternates during the conjugation. From the base *kapi* are formed the verb-stems *kapiñ*, *kapi'wo*, *kapi'wa*, *kapi'le*, *ka'pillo*, etc. (see § 31). Since each of these stems has its own set of six or eight personal endings, it becomes evident that the system of conjugation must be very complex. Moreover, there are four classes of conjugation, according to the difference in form of the bases. Examples of these classes are—

- Class I, **kapi*, the last syllable weak (unstressed), and invariably ending in a normal vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*).
 Class II, **piñe* (*piña*), the last syllable weak, and ending in *e* alternating with *a*.
 Class III, **ti'ki* (*tikik*), the last syllable strongly stressed, but never ending in a uvular.
 Class IV, **a'toq* (*ato*), the last syllable strongly stressed, and ending in a uvular (*q > r*).

Thus the differences in the classes of conjugation depend not only upon the final sound, but also upon the stress, of the bases. These differences affect the constituting suffixes. Class I, for instance, adds

in Greenlandic *woq* in the same modes in which Classes III and IV add *pog*.

A consideration of the endings of the conjugated verb proves that most of them coincide, partially at least, with the possessive suffixes of nouns. The etymological researches strengthen this hypothesis concerning the common origin of these elements. Only some few of the personal verb-endings deviate absolutely from the present system of possessive suffixes of nouns. They may be elements of a foreign origin or obsolete suffixes.

Of a neutral character, lacking any mark of personality, is the ending of the third person singular *-oq* (*-pog*, *-woq*), dual *-uk*, plural *-ut*, which quite agrees with the common absolutive ending of the noun; and in so far we might speak of an absolutive of the verb, but it should be noted that we find no corresponding suffixless relative (*-up*) in the conjugation of the finite verb. On the other hand, we find, in the system of verb conjugation, not one set, but two or three sets, of absolutive possessive endings, and another set of relative possessive endings.

The modal suffixes are inseparable from the personal endings; but they may be, and really often are, severed from the base by the insertion of other suffixes. Many of these infixes are of a modal character; but since they do not affect the endings of the words, we shall not treat them here.

The only indication of tense in the simple forms of the Eskimo verb is expressed by modes X and XI (see § 32). As for the other modes, the past tense may sometimes be expressed by infixing *-aluar* (*pog*), *-sima* (*woq*); and the future tense, by infixing *ssa* (*-ssawoq*, in the third person singular contracted to *-ssooq*), or *-uma* (*woq*), *-umaar* (*pog*).

§ 31. SYNOPSIS OF POSSESSIVE ENDINGS OF NOUNS (N.) AND VERBS (V.)¹

The paradigms in the next following sections are confined to the West Greenland dialect.

¹ The dual endings are left out here (cf. § 26). The Roman numerals refer to the modes (see § 32).

A

Simple Absolute Possessives, or Compounds made up of one of the Absolute Singular or Plural Signs, q, k, t, + Possessive Suffix

	N.		V.	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. . .	<i>ya ra</i>	<i>kka</i>	<i>ya</i> II VI VII <i>ra</i> III V VIII XII IV IX	<i>kka</i> III V IX
2d per. sing. . .	<i>it t</i>	<i>tit sit</i>	<i>tit</i> II VI VII <i>sit</i> V <i>it</i> I <i>rit</i> XII <i>t</i> III VII VIII IX	<i>t</i> III IX
3d per. sing. . .	<i>a</i>	<i>e i</i>	<i>q</i> II VI VII VIII <i>a</i> III VII VIII IX <i>ra</i> XII	<i>t</i> III IX
4th per. sing. . .	<i>e ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i> VI VIII <i>nne</i> IX	<i>ne</i> IX VIII
1st per. pl. . .	<i>rput pput</i>	<i>yut wut</i>	<i>rput</i> III V VIII XII <i>pput</i> IX	<i>yut</i> II VII <i>wut</i> III V VIII IX
2d per. pl. . .	<i>rae sae</i>	<i>ae</i>	<i>rae</i> III VIII XII <i>sae</i> IX	<i>ae</i> II III IV VI VII IX <i>tte</i> I
3d per. pl. . .	<i>at</i>	<i>it e</i>	<i>at</i> III VII IX <i>rat</i> XII	<i>t</i> II IV V <i>it</i> III VIII IX
4th per. pl. . .	<i>rtik tik</i> <i>tik</i>	<i>tik sik</i>	<i>rtik</i> VIII XII <i>tik</i> IX	<i>tik</i> VI VIII IX

In the compounds, *q* changes to *r* before a consonant or between vowels (§ 4).

ks is assimilated to *ss*
tk is assimilated to *kk*
kn is assimilated to *nn*
kt is assimilated to *tt*
kp is assimilated to *pp*

B

Relative Possessives

	N.		V. x, xi	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. . .	<i>ma rma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	--
2d per. sing. . .	<i>wit rpil</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>wit</i>	--
3d per. sing. . .	<i>ata</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>at</i>	--
4th per. sing. . .	<i>me rme</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	--
1st per. pl. . .	<i>wta</i>	<i>wta</i>	--	<i>wta</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>wse</i>	<i>wse</i>	--	<i>wse</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>ata</i>	<i>isa</i>	--	<i>ata</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>mik rmik</i>	<i>mik</i>	--	<i>mik</i>

C

Compound Verbal Endings, Composed of an Unascertained Element (*w* < *p*?) + a Possessive Ending, or of Two Absolutive Possessives, or of a Relative Possessive + an Absolutive Possessive (*B* + *A* or *B* + *D*)¹

SINGULAR OBJECTS

me . . .	thou—me <i>rma</i> III <i>mma</i> IX X XI (<i>yya</i> I?)	you—me <i>sipa</i> I <i>weispa</i> III IX X XI	he—me <i>aya</i> III IX X XI	they—me <i>aypa</i> (<? <i>ya</i>) III IX X XI	he (SE) ² —me <i>miya</i> X <i>niga</i> XI	they (SE)—me <i>miyya</i> (< * <i>mi</i> ka) X <i>niyya</i> (< * <i>ni</i> ka) XI
thee . . .	I—thee <i>wkil</i> (<? <i>gik</i> ?) or <i>ayil</i> III IX X XI	we—thee <i>wtiyil</i> (< * <i>wtagik</i> ?) III IX X XI	he—thee <i>atil</i> III IX X XI	they—thee <i>attil</i> III IX X XI	he (SE)—thee <i>miñil</i> X <i>niril</i> XI	they (SE)— thee <i>mittil</i> X <i>nittil</i> XI
him . . .	I—him <i>wko</i> X XI	we—him <i>wtipa</i> X XI	thou—him <i>kko</i> (<? <i>wgo</i>) X XI	you—him <i>siuk</i> I IV <i>wsiuk</i> X XI	he (SE)—him <i>miuk</i> X <i>niuk</i> XI	they (SE)— him <i>mikko</i> X <i>nikko</i> XI
him (SE) ²	I—him (SE) ² <i>wne</i> IX X XI	we—him (SE) <i>winne</i> IX X XI	thou—him (SE) <i>nne</i> (<? <i>tne</i>) IX X XI	you—him (SE) <i>winne</i> IX X XI	he—him (SE) <i>ane</i> IX X XI	they—him (SE) ² <i>anne</i> (<? <i>tne</i>) IX X XI

PLURAL OBJECTS

us . . .	thou—us <i>wiyul</i> III IX X XI	you—us <i>wsiyul</i> III IX X XI <i>siyul</i> I	he—us <i>atilyl</i> III IX X XI	they—us <i>atilyl</i> III IX X XI	he (SE) ² —us <i>miyul</i> X <i>nilyul</i> XI	they (SE) ² —us <i>miyul</i> X <i>nilyul</i> XI
you (pl.) .	I—you <i>wse</i> III V IX X XI	we—you <i>wse</i> III V IX X XI	he—you <i>ase</i> III IX X XI	they—you <i>ase</i> III IX X XI	he (SE)—you <i>miex</i> X <i>nisex</i> XI	they (SE)— you <i>miex</i> X <i>nisex</i> XI
them . . .	I—them <i>wkil</i> III V X XI	we—them <i>wtikik</i> III V X XI	thou—them <i>kkil</i> V X XI	you—them <i>siyik</i> IV V <i>wsiyik</i> X XI	he (SE)—them <i>miyil</i> X <i>nilyil</i> XI	they (SE)— them <i>mikkik</i> X <i>nikkik</i> XI
them (SE) ²	I—them (SE) ² <i>wtik</i> IX X XI	we—them (SE) <i>wtik</i> IX X XI	thou—them (SE) <i>ttik</i> IX X XI	you—them (SE) <i>ttik</i> IX X XI	he—them (SE) <i>atik</i> IX X XI	they—them (SE) ² <i>atik</i> IX X XI (? <i>siyik</i> (< * <i>isayik</i> ?) V

¹ In this table *wi*, *we*, *wk*, stand throughout for *wil*, *wes*, *wkk*, which are phonetically more correct.

² (SE) i. e., the Latin reflexive pronoun, here only used to indicate a like grammatical function of the Eskimo *me*, *mik*, *tik*, *ne*, *nik*.

D

Simple Personal Suffixes Peculiar to Certain Parts of the System of Conjugation

	VI	(V) IX	I X XI	I IV V	V X XI
1st per. sing. . . .	(<i>ya</i>)	—	—	—	—
2d per. sing. . . .	(<i>tít</i>)	<i>kít, yít</i> (<i>q</i>)	—	—	—
3d per. sing. . . .	<i>yo</i> < <i>go</i>	—	<i>yo</i> (< <i>go</i>) <i>ko, uk</i>	<i>tuk</i> (< * <i>tu</i>)	<i>suk</i> (< * <i>juk</i> ?)
4th per. sing. . . .	<i>ne</i>	—	—	—	—
1st per. pl.	<i>ta</i> (<i>v</i>)	(<i>iyut</i>)	—	<i>tíyut, síyut</i>	—
2d per. pl.	(<i>se</i>)	—	—	—	—
3d per. pl.	<i>yít</i> < <i>gít</i>	—	{ <i>yít</i> (< <i>gít</i>), <i>kít</i>	<i>yít</i> (< <i>gít</i>)	—
4th per. pl.	(<i>tík</i>)	—	{ <i>yík</i> (< <i>gík</i>), <i>kík</i>	<i>yík</i> (< <i>gík</i>)	<i>yík</i> (< * <i>gík</i>)

yo(*go*) in *-máyo*, *-páyo*, *-lóyo* (South Greenland *-mágo*, *-págo*, *-lúgo*), seems to be of the same origin as *suk*, *iuk*, answering to the Alaskan form *-ghwū*, *-ēū* (Barnum 148, 142). The same may be true of *-uk* in—

atoruk use it!

takwíuk do you see it?

atorsiuk you use it!

Thus the original form of this suffix may have been a single *o*; but between *e* and *o* a glide sound (semi-vowel) has sprung up and become self-existent, changing to *g*, *k*, *j*, *s*, *ŋ*, at different stages in the history of the language.

yík, *kík*, probably belonged originally to the dual, but have assumed a plural meaning and stand for *yít*, to avoid confusion with the second-person forms ending in *-yít*. The initial *ŋ* of *yík*, *yít*, of course, is derived from *g*, which sound is otherwise used in these endings instead of *ŋ*, except in North Greenland.

§ 32. SYNOPSIS OF VERBAL MODES OF CONJUGATION (DIALECT OF WEST GREENLAND)

Modes of conjugation	Modal characters					Person endings, A, B, C, D ¹	Name and definition of the mode
	Affirmative		Negative				
	Class of conjugation						
	I	II	III	IV	(V.)		
I	<i>p < q</i>	<i>p, ii²</i>	<i>r</i>	—	—	A, C, D	FINITE VERB Imperative, intransitive, and transitive.
1st per.	—	—	<i>p</i>	—	—	A	
II	<i>o</i>	<i>ppo</i>	<i>rpo</i>	<i>ppia³</i>	<i>ppilla³</i>	A	Middle voice (medium), intransitive } quasi-indicative, quasi-active, or quasi-passive. }
3d per. pl.	—	—	—	—	—	A	
III	<i>ua</i>	<i>ppa</i>	<i>rpa</i>	<i>ppia</i>	<i>ppilla</i>	A, C	Quasi-transitive.
IV, 2d per.	<i>ue</i>	<i>ppe</i>	<i>rpe</i>	<i>ppie</i>	<i>ppile</i>	A, C	
3d per.	<i>ua</i>	<i>ppa</i>	<i>rpa</i>	<i>ppa</i>	<i>ppia</i>	(¹) A	Interrogative, intransitive and transitive.
3d per. pl.	<i>ppa</i>	—	—	—	<i>ppilla</i>	A	
V, 3d per.	<i>le</i>	<i>lle</i>	<i>rle</i>	<i>lle</i>	—	(¹) A, C	Optative, intransitive and transitive.
1st per.	<i>la</i>	<i>lla</i>	<i>rlla</i>	<i>rlla</i>	—	A, C, (D)	

¹ A, B, C, D, refer to § 31.

² *itipit* or *itititit* come.

³ *itipititit* or *ititipitit* thou didst not come.

⁴ In the third person singular, simply used without any suffix.

Modes of conjugation	Modal characters				Person endings, A, B, C, D	Name and definition of the mode
	Affirmative		Negative			
	Class of conjugation					
I	II	III	IV	(V.)		
VI	LO	lo	LLO	rLO	1st per. sing. } A 2d, 4th per. } 1st per. pl. } D 3d per. }	Contemporative or associative, attributive; quasi-active or quasi-passive; 1st, 2d, 4th, per. intransitive, 3d per. transitive.
VII a	(e) se*	(e) ne	lee*	rlee*	A	
b	(e) so	(e) so	tt<*jrio	tt<*jrio	A	Verbal noun or verbal adjective; agent or medial; attributive or predicative.
VIII	sa	sa	ta sa ya	ya< ya	A	
IX, 1st, 2d, 4th per.	ya< gi	ya< gi	kki	ri	C, D	Transitive participle, quasi-active, always comprising both subject and object; predicative (or attributive).
3d per.	ya< gi'	ya< gi'	kku	ra	A	
X, 1st, 2d, 4th per.	ya< gi'	ya< gi'	kka	ra	B, C	Past tense or causal proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive.
3d per.	mna	mna	mna	rma	B, C	
XI, 1st, 2d, 4th per.	ya< gi'	ya< gi'	kku	ru	B, C	Future tense or conditional proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive.
3d per.	ppa	ppa	ppa	rpa	B, C	
XII	ne	ne	nne	ne	A	Verb abstract.

¹ a is the negative character in the third person singular, and the first, second, and third persons plural, of the verbs of class IV: *ierane* he (3rd) not going in < *ier-a-ne*, but *tikinnane* (class III) he not coming.

* May be used without any suffix.

§ 32. SYNOPSIS OF VERBAL MODES OF CONJUGATION (DIALECT OF WEST GREENLAND)

Modes of conjugation	Modal characters					Person endings, A, B, C, D ¹	Name and definition of the mode
	Affirmative		Negative				
	Class of conjugation						
	I	II	III	IV	(V.)		
I	<i>ḡ < ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ < ḡ</i>	<i>ḡ, ḡḡ</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	—	A, C, D	FINITE VERB Imperative, intransitive, and transitive.
1st per.	—	—	—	<i>ḡ</i>	—	A	
II	<i>wo</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ppo</i>	<i>ḡḡo</i>	<i>ḡḡḡḡ</i>	A	Middle voice (medium), intransitive } quasi-active, or quasi-passive. } quasi-indicative.
3d per. pl.	—	—	—	—	<i>ḡḡḡḡḡḡ</i>	A	
III	<i>wa</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ppa</i>	<i>ḡḡa</i>	<i>ḡḡḡḡ</i>	A, C	Quasi-transitive.
IV, 2d per.	<i>we</i>	<i>ḡai</i>	<i>ppe</i>	<i>ḡḡe</i>	<i>ḡḡḡḡ</i>	A, C	Interrogative, intransitive and transitive.
3d per.	<i>wa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ppa</i>	<i>ḡḡa</i>	<i>ḡḡḡḡḡḡ</i>	(¹) A	
3d per. pl.	<i>ppa</i>	—	—	—	—	A	Optative, intransitive and transitive.
V, 3d per.	<i>le</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>LLe</i>	<i>ḡLe</i>	—	(¹) A, C	
1st per.	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>LLa</i>	<i>ḡLa</i>	—	A, C, (D)	

¹ A, B, C, D, refer to § 31.
² *tikitit* or *tikitit* come.

³ *tikitititit* or *tikitititit* thou didst not come.
⁴ In the third person singular, simply used without any suffix.

Modes of conjugation	Modal characters				Person endings, A, B, C, D	Name and definition of the mode
	Affirmative		Negative			
	Class of conjugation					
	I	II	III	IV	(V.)	
VI	LLO	lo	LLO	rLO	nna, a i	PARTICLE Contemporative or associative, attributive; quasi-active or quasi-passive; 1st, 2d, 4th, per. intransitive, 3d per. transitive.
VII a	(s)se*	(s)se	tle*	rle*		
β	(s)so	(s)so	tt<*jrio	tt<*jrio	(s)	Verbal noun or verbal adjective; agent or medial; attributive or predicative.
VIII	sa	sa	ta sa ya	ya<ga	ya	
IX, 1st, 2d, 4th per.	yi<gi	yi<gi	kki	ri	A	Passive participle; attributive.
3d per.	ya<ga	ya<ga	kka	ra	A	
X, 1st, 2d, 4th per.	ya<ga	ya<ga	kka	ra	C, D	Transitive participle, quasi-active, always comprising both subject and object; predicative (or attributive).
3d per.	mna	mna	mna	rma	A	
XI, 1st, 2d, 4th per.	yu<gu	yu<gu	kku	ru	B, C	Past tense or causal proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive.
3d per.	ppa	ppa	ppa	rpa	B, C	
XII	ne	ne	nne	ne	B, C	Future tense or conditional proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive. Verb abstract.

i a is the negative character in the third person singular, and the first, second, and third persons plural, of the verbs of class IV: *iserne* he (SE) not going in <ser-a-ne, but *ifinnane* (class III) he not coming.
* May be used without any suffix.

§ 33. MODE I. IMPERATIVE

INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

	(Class of conjugation)	I. <i>kapi, kapiy</i> TO STAB ONE'S SELF	III. <i>ka'ta, katay</i> TO BE DROPPED, OR TO SHED HAIR, HORNS, ETC.	IV. <i>t'aer, isiy</i> TO ENTER, TO GO IN
2d per. sing. . .		<i>kapi'yit</i> (thou stab)	<i>kata'yit</i> drop!	<i>ise'rit</i> enter!
2d per. pl. . .		<i>kapi'yitte</i> (you)	<i>kata'yitte</i>	<i>ise'ritte</i>

TRANSITIVE

		Singular	Plural	
me	I	thou—me <i>ka'pi'y'ya</i>	you—me <i>ka,piet'ya</i>	A C-endings
	III	<i>ka'tay'ya</i>	<i>kalasiya</i>	
	IV	<i>t'siy'ya</i>	<i>isisiya</i>	
us	I	thou—us <i>kapiyaiyut</i>	you—us <i>kapiyaiyut</i>	D C-endings
	III	<i>kalattiyut</i>	<i>kalattiyut</i>	
	IV	<i>isertiyut</i>	<i>isertiyut</i>	
him	I	thou—him <i>kapiyuk</i>	you—him <i>kapiyiuk</i>	D C-endings
	III	<i>kalayuk</i> ¹	<i>kalasiuk</i>	
	IV	<i>iseruk</i>	<i>isersiuk</i>	
them	I	thou—them <i>kaptikit</i>	you—them <i>kaptiyik</i>	D C-endings
	III	<i>kalakkil</i>	<i>kalasiyik</i>	
	IV	<i>isikkil</i>	<i>iseraiyik</i>	

¹Some verbs end in *-suk* in this class; e. g., *tikisuk* (<*tikippaa*) COME TO HIM OR TO THERE.

§ 34. MODE II. INDICATIVE

INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

	I (<i>wo</i>)	III (<i>ppo</i>)	IV (<i>rpo</i>)	Negative (<i>yyila</i>)		
				I	III	IV
1st per. sing.	<i>kapiwoya</i>	<i>katappoya</i>	<i>iserpoya</i>	<i>kapiyyilaya</i>	<i>katappilaya</i>	<i>iseryilaya</i>
1st per. pl. .	<i>kapiwoyut</i>	<i>katappoyut</i>	<i>iserpoyut</i>	<i>kapiyyilayut</i>	<i>katappilayut</i>	<i>iseryilayut</i>
2d per. sing.	<i>kapiwutit</i>	<i>katapputit</i>	<i>iserputit</i>	<i>kapiyyilatit</i>	<i>katappilatit</i>	<i>iseryilatit</i>
2d per. pl. .	<i>kapiwoyse</i>	<i>katappuse</i>	<i>iserpuse</i>	<i>kapiyyilase</i>	<i>katappilase</i>	<i>iseryilase</i>
3d per. sing.	<i>kapiwoq</i>	<i>katappoq</i>	<i>isepoq</i>	<i>kapiyyilaq</i>	<i>katappilaq</i>	<i>iseryilaq</i>
3d per. pl. .	<i>kapiyyut</i>	<i>katapput</i>	<i>iserpit</i>	<i>kapiyyillaq</i>	<i>katappillaq</i>	<i>iseryillaq</i>

In the positive dual the first person ends in *-nyuk*; the second person, in *-tik*; the third person, in *-puk*.

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§ 35. MODE III. INDICATIVE

TRANSITIVE (C-ENDINGS)

me . . .	I	thou—me		you—me		he—me		they—me	
	III	<i>kapiwarma</i>		<i>kapiwawssiya</i>		<i>kapiwaaga</i>		<i>kapiwaagga</i>	
	IV	<i>kalapparma</i>		<i>kalappawssiya</i>		<i>kalappaaga</i>		<i>kalappaagga</i>	
us . . .	I	thou—us		you—us		he—us		they—us	
	III	<i>kapiwawttiyut</i>		<i>kapiwawssiyut</i>		<i>kapiwaatiyut</i>		<i>kapiwaatiyut</i>	
	IV	<i>kalappawttiyut</i>		<i>kalappawssiyut</i>		<i>kalappaatiyut</i>		<i>kalappaatiyut</i>	
thee . . .	I III IV	I—thee		we—thee		he—thee		they—thee	
		<i>kapiwawkkil</i> or <i>kapiwaayil</i>		<i>kapiwawttiyil</i>		<i>kapiwaatit</i>		<i>kapiwaatitil</i>	
		<i>katappawkkil</i> or <i>katappaayil</i>		<i>katappawttiyil</i>		<i>katappaatit</i>		<i>katappaatitil</i>	
you (pl.)	I III IV	I—you		we—you		he—you		they—you	
		<i>kapiwawsse</i>		<i>kapiwawsse</i>		<i>kapiwaase</i>		<i>kapiwaase</i>	
		<i>kalappawsse</i>		<i>katappawsse</i>		<i>katappaase</i>		<i>katappaase</i>	
him . . .	I III IV	I—him	we—him	thou—him	you—him	he—him	they—him		
		<i>kapiwara</i>	<i>kapiwarput</i>	<i>kapiwat</i>	<i>kapiwarwe</i>	<i>kapiwaa</i>	<i>kapiwaat</i>		
		<i>katappara</i>	<i>katapparpul</i>	<i>katappul</i>	<i>katapparse</i>	<i>katappaa</i>	<i>katappaat</i>		
them . . .	I III IV	I—them	we—them	thou—them	you—them	he—them	they—them		
		<i>kapiwakka</i>	<i>kapiwawul</i>	<i>kapiwatil</i>	<i>kapiwase</i>	<i>kapiwaa</i>	<i>kapiwaa'it</i>		
		<i>katappakka</i>	<i>katappawul</i>	<i>katappatit</i>	<i>katappaase</i>	<i>katappaai</i>	<i>katappaai't</i>		
		<i>iserpakka</i>	<i>iserpawul</i>	<i>iserpatil</i>	<i>iserpase</i>	<i>iserpaai</i>	<i>iserpaai't</i>		

§ 36. MODE IV. INTERROGATIVE

INTRANSITIVE

	I	III	IV	Negative
2d per. sing. . .	<i>kapiwit</i>	<i>katappit</i>	<i>isepit</i>	<i>-yyippit</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>kapiwise</i>	<i>katappise</i>	<i>isepise</i>	<i>-yyippise</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>kapiwa</i>	<i>katappa</i>	<i>isepa</i>	<i>-yyila</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>kappat</i>	<i>katappat</i>	<i>isepat</i>	<i>-yyilat</i>

TRANSITIVE

	Class of conjugation.	Negative			
		thou—me	you—me	thou—me	you—me
me . .	I	thou—me <i>kapiwiya</i>	you—me <i>kapiwiya</i>	} <i>-yyiliya</i>	} <i>-yyiliya</i>
	IV	<i>isepiya</i>	<i>isepiya</i>		
us . .	I	thou—us <i>kapiwisiyut</i>	you—us <i>kapiwisiyut</i>	} <i>-yyilisiyut</i>	} <i>-yyilisiyut</i>
	IV	<i>isepisiyut</i>	<i>isepisiyut</i>		
him .	I	thou—him <i>kapiwiutuk</i>	you—him <i>kapiwiutuk</i>	} <i>-yyiliutuk</i>	} <i>-yyilisiutuk</i>
	IV	<i>isepituk</i>	<i>isepisiutuk</i>		
them .	I	thou—them <i>kapiwiyyit</i>	you—them <i>kapiwiyyit</i>	} <i>-yyiliyyit</i>	} <i>-yyilisiyyit</i>
	IV	<i>isepiyyit</i>	<i>isepisiyyit</i>		

§ 37. MODE V. OPTATIVE

INTRANSITIVE

	I	III	IV	Negative
1st per. sing. . .	<i>kapilaya</i> wish I would stab my- self	<i>katalaya</i>	<i>iserlaya</i> wish I might enter	<i>-yyikkile</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>kapilata</i>	<i>katalata</i>	<i>iserlata</i> \	<i>-yyikkilit</i>

TRANSITIVE

me . .	{ I IV			he—me <i>kapiliga</i> <i>iserliga</i>	they—me <i>kapiligya</i> <i>iserligya</i>
us . .	{ I IV			he—us <i>kapilisyut</i> <i>iserlistyut</i>	they—us <i>kapilisyut</i> <i>iserlistyut</i>
thee .	{ I IV	I—thee <i>kapilawkkil</i>	we—thee <i>kapilawttiyil</i>	he—thee <i>kapilisiit</i>	they—thee <i>kapilisiit</i> or <i>kapilisiit</i> <i>iserlitiit</i> or <i>iserlitiit</i>
you (pl.)	{ I IV	I—you <i>kapilawsee</i> <i>iserlawsee</i>	we—you <i>kapilawsee</i> <i>iserlawsee</i>	he—you <i>kapilise</i> <i>iserlise</i>	they—you <i>kapilise</i> <i>iserlise</i>
him .	{ I IV	I—him <i>kapilara</i> <i>iserlara</i>	we—him <i>kapilarput</i> <i>iserlarput</i>	he—him <i>kapiliuk</i> <i>iserliuk</i>	they—him <i>kapiliuk</i> <i>iserliuk</i>
them .	{ I IV	I—them <i>kapilakka</i> <i>iserlakka</i>	we—them <i>kapilawut</i> <i>iserlawut</i>	he—them <i>kapiliyt</i> <i>iserliyt</i>	they—them <i>kapiliyik</i> <i>iserliyik</i>

Negative forms are—

-yyikkiliuk he—him*-yyikkiliyit* he—them

§ 38. MODE VI. CONTEMPORATIVE

Stabbing or being stabbed

	Intransitive (Active or Passive)	Negative
1st per. sing.	<i>kapilloya</i>	<i>kapinnaya</i> ¹
1st per. pl.	<i>kapilluta</i>	<i>kapinnata</i>
2d per. sing.	<i>kapillutit</i>	<i>kapinnatit</i>
2d per. pl.	<i>kapilluse</i>	<i>kapinnase</i>
4th per. sing.	<i>kapillune</i>	<i>kapinnane</i>
4th per. pl.	<i>kapillutik</i>	<i>kapinnatik</i>
	Transitive or Passive	
3d per. sing.	<i>kapilloyo</i> ²	<i>kapinnayo</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>kapilloyit</i> ³	<i>kapinnayit</i>

¹That is, I WITHOUT BEING STABBED.

²That is, WE, HE, I, etc., STABBING HIM, OR HE BEING STABBED BY US, HIM, ME, etc.

³That is, STABBING THEM, OR THEY BEING STABBED.

§ 39. MODE VII. VERBAL NOUN OR VERBAL ADJECTIVE

α (noun).

Examples:

* *asasse* [*a'sase*], with third person possessive suffix *asassia* THE ONE WHO LOVES HIM, < *asawoq*

* *ikiorte*, in third person possessive *ikiortua* THE ONE WHO HELPS HIM, HIS HELPER, < *ikiortpoq*

β (noun or adjective).

	I	IV	Negative
1st per. sing. . . .	<i>kapisoya</i>	<i>isertoya</i> I who enter	<i>-yyilloya</i> I who don't —
1st per. pl.	<i>kapisoqut</i>	<i>isertogut</i> we who enter	<i>-yyillogut</i>
2d per. sing. . . .	<i>kapisutit</i>	<i>isertutit</i> thou who dost enter	<i>-yyillutit</i>
2d per. pl.	<i>kapisuse</i>	<i>isertuse</i> you who enter	<i>-yyiltuse</i>
3d per. sing. . . .	<i>kapisoq</i>	<i>isertog</i> he who enters	<i>-yyilltoq</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>kapisut</i>	<i>isertut</i> they who enter	<i>-yyilltut</i>

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§ 40. MODE VIII. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Examples:

asâssaq one who is loved
asâssara my beloved

asâssût thy beloved
asâssaa his beloved, etc.

III	
1st per. sing.	<i>katüllara</i> my dropped one (the thing I dropped)
1st per. pl.	<i>katüllarput</i> our dropped one (the thing we dropped)
2d per. sing.	<i>katüllät</i> thy dropped one (the thing thou droppedst)
2d per. pl.	<i>katüllarse</i> your dropped one (the thing you dropped)
3d per. sing.	<i>katüllaa</i> his dropped one (the thing he dropped)
3d per. pl.	<i>katülläät</i> their dropped one (the thing they dropped)
4th per. sing.	<i>katüllane</i> his (SE) dropped one (the thing he dropped)
4th per. pl.	<i>katüllartik</i> their (SE) dropped one (the thing they dropped)

All the typical endings of the possessive inflection of the nouns (§ 26) are available in this mode.

§ 41. MODE IX. TRANSITIVE PARTICIPLE

kapiñija (S. W. Gr. *kapiñiga*) I WHO STAB HIM OR THAT I STAB (STABBED) HIM

thou—me, us <i>kapiyimma</i> <i>kapiyittiyut</i>		you—me, us <i>kapiyiwsiya</i> <i>kapiyiwsiyut</i>		he—me, us <i>kapiyaaya</i> <i>kapiyaatiyut</i>		they—me, us <i>kapiyaayya</i> <i>kapiyaatiyut</i>	
I—thee, you <i>kapiyewkkil</i> <i>kapiyiwse</i>		we—thee, you <i>kapiyewttiyit</i> <i>kapiyiwse</i>		he—thee, you <i>kapiyaatit</i> <i>kapiyaase</i>		they—thee, you <i>kapiyaatit</i> <i>kapiyaase</i>	
I—him, them (SE) <i>kapiyiwne</i> <i>kapiyiwttik</i>	we—him, them (SE) <i>kapiyiwttinne</i> <i>kapiyiwttik</i>	thou—him, them (SE) <i>kapiyinne</i> <i>kapiyittik</i>	you—him, them (SE) <i>kapiyiwssinne</i> <i>kapiyiwttik</i>	he—him, them (SE) <i>kapiyaane</i> <i>kapiyaatik</i>	they—him, them (SE) <i>kapiyaanne</i> <i>kapiyaatik</i>		
him—I, we <i>kapiyija</i> <i>kapiyipput</i>		them—I, we <i>kapiyikka</i> <i>kapiyiwut</i>		him—thou, you <i>kapiyit</i> <i>kapiyise</i>		them—thou, you <i>kapiyitit</i> <i>kapiyise</i>	
him—he (SE), they (SE) <i>kapiyinne</i> <i>kapiyittik</i>		them—he (SE), they (SE) <i>kapiyine</i> <i>kapiyittik</i>		him, them—he <i>kapiyaa</i> <i>kapiyaa:</i>		him, them—they <i>kapiyaat</i> <i>kapiyaat</i>	

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§ 42. MODE X. PAST TENSE AND CAUSAL PROPOSITION

kapiyama WHEN (AS) I STABBED MYSELF, BECAUSE I STABBED (STABBED) MYSELF

INTRANSITIVE

	I	III	IV	Negative
1st per. sing. . .	<i>kapiyama</i>	<i>kalakkama</i>	<i>iserama</i>	<i>kapiyyinnama</i>
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>kapiyyáwta</i>	<i>kalakkáwta</i>	<i>iseráwta</i>	<i>kapiyyinnáwta</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>kapiyawit</i>	<i>kalakkawit</i>	<i>iserawit</i>	<i>kapiyyinnawit</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>kapiyáwesc</i>	<i>kalakka^wesc</i>	<i>iseráwesc</i>	<i>kapiyyinnáwesc</i>
4th per. sing. . .	<i>kapiyame</i>	<i>kalakkame</i>	<i>iserame</i>	<i>kapiyyinname</i>
4th per. pl. . . .	<i>kapiyamik</i>	<i>kalakkamik</i>	<i>iseramik</i>	<i>kapiyyinnamik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>kapimmát</i>	<i>katámmát</i>	<i>isermát</i>	<i>kapiyyimmát</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	<i>kupimmáta</i>	<i>katámmata</i>	<i>isermáta</i>	<i>kapiyyimmáta</i>

TRANSITIVE

thou—me, us <i>kapiyamma</i> <i>kapiyáwttiyut</i>	you—me, us <i>kapiyáwssiya</i> <i>kapiyáwssiyut</i>	he—me, us <i>kapimmaya</i> <i>kapimmattiyut</i>	they—me, us <i>kipimmayya</i> <i>kipimmattiyut</i>	he (SE)—me, us <i>kapiyamiya</i> <i>kapiyamisiyut</i>	they (SE)—me, us <i>kapiyamিয়া</i> <i>kapiyamisiyut</i>
I—thee, you <i>kapiyáwkkil</i> or <i>kapiyaayil</i> <i>kapiyáwesc</i>	we—thee, you <i>kapiyáwttiyil</i> <i>kapiyáwesc</i>	he—thee, you <i>kapimmatil</i> <i>kapimmase</i>	they—thee, you <i>kapimmattil</i> <i>kapimmase</i>	he (SE)—thee, you <i>kapiyamisil</i> <i>kapiyamise</i>	they (SE)—thee, you <i>kapiyamittil</i> or <i>kapiyamisil</i> <i>kapiyamise</i>
I—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiyáwne</i> <i>kapiyáwttik</i>	we—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiyáwttinne</i> <i>kapiyáwttik</i>	thou—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiyáwne</i> <i>kapiyáwttik</i>	you—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiyáwssinne</i> <i>kapiyáwttik</i>	he—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapimmane</i> <i>kapimmattik</i>	they—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapimmanne</i> <i>kapimmattik</i>
I—him, them <i>kapiyáwkkko</i> <i>kapiyáwkkil</i>	we—him, them <i>kapiyáwttiyko</i> <i>kapiyáwttiyik</i>	thou—him, them <i>kapiyáwkkko</i> <i>kapiyáwkkil</i>	you—him, them <i>kapiyáwssiuk</i> <i>kapiyáwssiyik</i>	he—him, them <i>kapimmayko</i> <i>kapimmayil</i>	they—him, them <i>kapimmassuk</i> <i>kapimmatiyik</i>
				he (SE)—him, them <i>kapiyamiku</i> <i>kapiyamiyil</i>	they (SE)—him, them <i>kapiyamikkko</i> <i>kapiyamikkil</i>

§ 43. MODE XI. FUTURE TENSE AND CONDITIONAL PROPOSITION

kapinuma WHEN (in future) I SHALL STAB MYSELF, IF I STAB MYSELF

INTRANSITIVE

	I	III	IV	Negative
1st per. sing. . .	<i>kapinuma</i>	<i>katakkuma</i>	<i>iseruma</i>	<i>kapiyikkuma</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>kapinuwa</i>	<i>katakkuwa</i>	<i>iseruwa</i>	<i>kapiyikkuwa</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>kapinuwit</i>	<i>katakkuwit</i>	<i>iseruwit</i>	<i>kapiyikkuwit</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>kapinuwese</i>	<i>katakkuwese</i>	<i>iseruwese</i>	<i>kapiyikkuwese</i>
4th per. sing. . .	<i>kapinune</i>	<i>katakkune</i>	<i>iserune</i>	<i>kapiyikkune</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>kapinunik</i>	<i>katakkunik</i>	<i>iserunik</i>	<i>kapiyikkunik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>kapippat</i>	<i>katáppat</i>	<i>iserpát</i>	<i>kapiyippát</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>kapippata</i>	<i>katáppata</i>	<i>iserpáti</i>	<i>kapiyippata</i>

TRANSITIVE

thou—me, us <i>kapinuma</i> <i>kapinuwitigut</i>	you—me, us <i>kapinuweseiga</i> <i>kapinuwesigut</i>	he—me, us <i>kapippaya</i> <i>kapippatigut</i>	they—me, us <i>kapippayya</i> <i>kapippatigut</i>	he (SE)—me, us <i>kapinuniga</i> <i>kapinunisigut</i>	they (SE)—me, us <i>kapinunigga</i> <i>kapinunisigut</i>
I—thee, you <i>kapinuwkkit</i> <i>kapinuwese</i>	we—thee, you <i>kapinuwttiya!</i> <i>kapinuwese</i>	he—thee, you <i>kapippatit</i> <i>kapippase</i>	they—thee, you <i>kapippattit</i> <i>kapippase</i>	he (SE)—thee, you <i>kapinunisit</i> <i>kapinunise</i>	they (SE)—thee, you <i>kapinunittit</i> or <i>kapinunisit</i> <i>kapinunise</i>
I—him, them (SE) <i>kapinuwanne</i> <i>kapinuwttik</i>	we—him, them (SE) <i>kapinuwttinne</i> <i>kapinuwttik</i>	thou—him, them (SE) <i>kapinunne</i> <i>kapinuyttik</i>	you—him, them (SE) <i>kapinuwssinne</i> <i>kapinuwttik</i>	he—him, them (SE) <i>kapippane</i> <i>kapippatik</i>	they—him, them (SE) <i>kapippanne</i> <i>kapippatik</i>
I—him, them <i>kapinuwkko</i> <i>kapinuwkkit</i>	we—him, them <i>kapinuwttigo</i> <i>kapinuwttiyik</i>	thou—him, them <i>kapinuykko</i> <i>kapinuykkit</i>	you—him, them <i>kapinuwssiuk</i> <i>kapinuwssiyyik</i>	he—him, them <i>kapippayo</i> <i>kapippayit</i>	they—him, them <i>kapippassuk</i> <i>kapippatyyik</i>
				he (SE)—him, them <i>kapinuniuk</i> <i>kapinunigut</i>	they (SE)—him, them <i>kapinunikko</i> <i>kapinunikkit</i>

§ 44. MODE XII. ABSTRACT NOUN

kapineq THE ACT OF STABBING ONE'S SELF; THE BEING STABBED (BY ANOTHER); A STAB, WOUND.

Absolutive singular	I	II	III	IV	Negative
	<i>kapineq</i>	<i>piyineq</i>	<i>kulánneg</i>	<i>iserneq</i>	<i>-yinneq</i>

§§ 43, 44

These forms are inflected alike, following the paradigm of *etneq* (§ 28); for instance,

1st per. sing. . . .	<i>kapinera</i>	my stab (stabbing, being stabbed)
1st per. pl.	<i>kapinerput</i>	our stab
3d per. sing.	<i>kapinera</i>	his stab
3d per. pl.	<i>kapinerut</i>	their stab, etc.

Defective Inflection (§§ 45-48)

§ 45. Prevalence of Possessive or Absolute Inflection in Certain Words

Some words, or groups of words, can take only certain series of the suffixes previously described. All true nouns may take any of the inflectional suffixes of nouns, though of course in many cases the meaning causes one series to be used more frequently than others, or prevents their being inflected equally through all the forms of declension. We have already mentioned some words that are confined either to the plural, or to the dual, or to the singular (§ 17).

Likewise there are words that are nearly always possessive, while others occur generally without possessive pronouns. To the first group belong such words as signify parts of objects; as, for example,

<i>itsia</i> the white of an egg	<i>isua</i> (< <i>ise</i>) the eye of a man or animal; eye of a needle
<i>siva</i> the bow of a boat	
<i>inua</i> the inhabitant or owner of a thing	

To the latter group belong, for example—

<i>täseq</i> a lake	<i>sila</i> weather
<i>nuna</i> land	<i>nammineq</i> self
<i>ukioq</i> winter	<i>naliginnaq</i> everybody

Altogether incompatible with possessive inflection are the demonstrative words (§ 50) and *kina* WHO, *suna* WHAT, *alla* OTHER.

§ 46. Interrogative and Personal Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns have irregular plurals. They form, however, regular local cases from the stems *ki* (singular), *kikkut*¹ (plural), *su* (singular and plural).

kina WHO, plural *kikkut* (Al. *kinkūt* [Barnum 77]); *kimut* TO WOMAN, plural *kikkunnut*

¹The suffix *-kut* seems to mean SOCIETY, FAMILY.

suna WHAT, plural *soot* [*sv:t*] or [*sr:t*] (M. *cuna*, plural *cuvit*);
sumut TO WHAT OR WHERE (*sume* WHERE)

The Alaskan *cha* [*ca*], plural *chat* (Barnum 80), which is perhaps related to the Greenlandic *suna* WHAT THING, is presented by Barnum as having both local and possessive inflection; but in Greenlandic these words have no possessive inflection.

Combination of first and second persons and local declension is seen in the personal pronouns:

uwaya I; plural *uwayut* we; *waw^wanne* at me, *u^wwtinne* at us;
u^wwnnut to me, *u^wwtinnut* to us; *u^wwtut* like me
illit thou; plural *ili^wasse* or *i'lissee* [*ilisse*] you; *illinnut* to thee,
ili^wssinnut to you; *ilittut* like you, etc.

§ 47. Words Signifying ALONE, WHOLE, ALL

The following three nouns, signifying the abstract concept ALONE, WHOLE, ALL, in relation to persons or things, receive exclusively relative possessive endings, aside from the third person singular. They remind us of the inflection of modes X and XI of the verbs.

1st per. sing.	<i>kisima</i> I or me alone (only)	<i>iloo^garma</i> I or me whole (all over the body)	<i>tamarma</i> I or me whole (wholly)
1st per. pl. .	<i>kisi^wtta</i>	<i>iloo^gar^wtta</i>	<i>tama^wtta</i> all of us
1st per. dual	<i>kisi^wnnuk</i>		
2d per. sing.	<i>kisiwit</i>	<i>iloo^garpit</i>	<i>tampit</i>
2d per. pl. .	<i>kisi^wsse</i>	<i>iloo^gar^wsse</i>	<i>tama^wsse</i>
2d per. dual	<i>kisi^wttik</i>		
4th per. sing.	<i>kisime</i>	<i>iloo^garme</i>	<i>tarme</i>
4th per. pl. .	<i>kisimik</i>	<i>iloo^garmik</i>	<i>tarmik</i>
3d per. sing.	<i>kisiit</i>	<i>iloo^gaat</i>	<i>tamaat</i>
3d per. pl. .	<i>kiseesa</i>	<i>iloo^gaasu</i>	<i>tamaasu</i>

§ 48. Numerals

The distribution of the Eskimo numerals¹ may be symbolized in this manner:

I 2 3 4 5 II 2 3 4 5 (= 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10)
III 2 3 4 5 IV 2 3 4 5 (= 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20)

The word for 20 is *inuk naa^wloyo* A MAN BROUGHT TO AN END, all his fingers (or hands, I and II) and toes (or feet, III and IV) being counted.

¹ Thalbitzer V (1908), 1-25.

The numeral system of the Eskimo is quinary, closely following the fingers and toes of man. An Eskimo always has recourse to his fingers in counting, lifting his hands in front of him. Nevertheless the terms for the numerals are not identical with those for the fingers or toes. (See examples below.)

The numerals lack the possessive inflection except in the third person, by means of which the ordinal numbers are formed.

The following numerals quoted from Thalbitzer (V), Bourquin, Petitot, and Barnum, are slightly transcribed according to my phonetic orthography.

Cardinal numbers	West Greenland	Labrador	Mackenzie River	Southwest Alaska
I 1	<i>ataa^wseq</i>	<i>attauseq</i>	<i>ataociq</i>	<i>atauceq</i>
2	{ <i>marluk</i> or <i>arLaa</i> }	<i>ma^rruk</i> or <i>agga</i> [<i>arza</i>]?	{ <i>mallrok</i> }	<i>malruk</i>
3	<i>piyasut</i>	<i>piyasut</i>	<i>piyacut</i>	<i>piyyajun</i>
4	<i>sisamat</i>	<i>sittamat</i>	<i>cilamat</i>	<i>stamen</i>
5	<i>tällimat</i>	<i>tellimat</i> [<i>tällimat</i>]?	<i>tallimat</i>	<i>tallimen</i>
II (6)	{ <i>ar^rineq</i> or <i>ar^rinillit</i> ¹ }	<i>arvingat</i> ⁴ [<i>ar^rigat</i>]	{ <i>arvenelrit</i> }	<i>arvinlizzin</i>
(7)	<i>marluk</i>	<i>aggrtut</i> ⁵	{ <i>aypak</i> or <i>mallronik</i> }	{ <i>malrunlizzin</i> }
(8)	<i>piyasut</i>	<i>piyasut</i>	<i>piyacunik</i>	<i>piyyajunlizzin</i>
(9)	{ <i>sisamat</i> or <i>qulaa⁴luat</i> ² }	{ <i>sittamat</i> }	{ <i>cilamat</i> or <i>qolinilloat</i> }	{ <i>qolnunraata</i> }
10	<i>qulit</i> ³	{ <i>tellimat</i> or <i>qollit</i> [<i>qollit</i>]?	{ <i>qolit</i> }	<i>qoln</i>
III (11)	{ <i>arqaneq</i> or <i>arqanillit</i> or <i>isikkaneq</i> or <i>isikkaniillit</i> }	{ <i>arqayat</i> or <i>ilikkane</i> }	<i>itännerat</i> or <i>itännelrit</i>	<i>ataucimik cipluku</i> (15) <i>akimiat</i>
IV (16)	{ <i>ar^rersaneq</i> or <i>ar^rersaniillit</i> }		<i>iglün-itännelrit</i> or <i>itännerat arvenelrit</i>	
V (21)	{ <i>unna</i> or <i>unnisut</i> }	<i>ungna</i> or <i>ungnijut</i>	<i>iglul-certut</i> or <i>innuy-citpaq</i> ⁶	<i>juinok ataucimik cipluku</i> ⁶

¹ *-lit*, plural of *-lik* HAVING, SUPPLIED WITH; in plural also *-let*, *let*; same as M. *-jerit*, Al. *-lizzin* (Petitot LIV) (Barnum 41: *lik*, plural *ligüt*).

² *qule* UPPER ONE, in third person possessive *qulaa* + *luat* INNER ONE (i. e., the fourth finger, the forefinger).

³ Plural of *qule* THE UPPER ONES (the hands or fingers as opposed to the toes).

⁴ Corresponds to the Greenland ordinal *ar^rerpat* THE SIXTH.

⁵ Cf. *agga* TWO = Gr. *arLaa* (ordinal).

⁶ *cikpaq*, cf. *cika* RESTE, RETAILLE, Al. *ciptoq* IT EXCEEDS, Gr. *si^wnnera* SURPLUS.

Ordinal numbers	West Greenland	Labrador	Mackenzie River	Southwest Alaska
1	{ <i>stulleq</i> or <i>stulliat</i>	{ <i>sivorleq</i>	<i>civuleq</i>	<i>caokleq</i>
2	<i>a'ppaa</i>			
3	<i>piyajuat</i>	<i>atpapa</i>	<i>ajpak</i>	<i>aipa</i>
4	<i>sisamaat</i>	<i>piyajuak</i>		<i>piyyajuak</i>
5	<i>tállimaat</i>	<i>sittamayak</i>		<i>stameek</i>
6	{ <i>arFernal</i> or <i>arFeryat</i>	<i>tellimayak</i>		<i>taLLimeek</i>
11	{ <i>arqarnat</i> or <i>arqaryat</i>	{ <i>arvinigat</i>		<i>arrinraq</i>
16	{ <i>arFersarnat</i> or <i>arFersaryat</i>	{ <i>arqaydrtuat</i>		
		{ <i>arvertaydrtuat</i>		

Irregular Inflection (§§ 49, 50)

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns *kina* and *suna* have irregular relative cases formed without *p* or other labial modification; thus—

Absolutive	Relative
<i>kina</i> who	<i>kiu</i> of whom
<i>suna</i> what	<i>sua</i> of what (or <i>soop</i> < * <i>so-up</i> ?)

§ 50. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

The demonstrative pronouns are inflected in the following manner:

SINGULAR

Cases	Endings	he (she, it) there	the one referred to (in speech or thought)	this here	that yonder
Absolutive . . .	<i>na, ya</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>taawna</i>	<i>mánna</i>	<i>tyga</i>
Relative . . .	<i>(ssu)ma</i>	<i>ooma</i>	<i>taawsuma</i>	<i>matuma</i>	<i>issuma</i>
Allative . . .	<i>nuyga</i>	<i>oomoyga</i>	<i>taawsumoyga</i>	<i>matumoyga</i>	<i>issumoyga</i>
Locative . . .	<i>mane</i>	<i>oomane</i>	<i>taawsumane</i>	<i>matumane</i>	<i>issumane</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>mayga</i>	<i>oomayga</i>	<i>taawsumayga</i>	<i>matumayga</i>	<i>issumayga</i>
Instrumentalis	<i>niyga</i>	<i>oomiyga</i>	<i>taawsumiyga</i>	<i>matumiyga</i>	<i>issumiyga</i>
Prosecutive . . .	<i>moona</i>	<i>oomoona</i>	<i>taawsumoona</i>	<i>matumoona</i>	<i>issumoona</i>

PLURAL

Absolutive . . .	<i>ko</i> or	<i>'uko</i>	<i>taawko</i>	<i>makko</i>	<i>ikko</i>
(Relative) . . .	<i>koa</i>	<i>'ukoa</i>	<i>taawkoa</i>	<i>makkoa</i>	<i>ikka</i>
Allative . . .	<i>nuyga</i>	<i>ukunoyga</i>	<i>taawkonoyga</i>	<i>makunoyga</i>	<i>ikkunoyga</i>
Locative . . .	<i>nane</i>	<i>ukunane</i>	<i>taawkunane</i>	<i>makkunane</i>	<i>ikkunane</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>nayga</i>	<i>ukunayga</i>	<i>taawkonayga</i>	<i>makunayga</i>	<i>ikkunayga</i>
Instrumentalis	<i>niyga</i>	<i>ukuniyga</i>	<i>taawkoniyga</i>	<i>makuniyga</i>	<i>ikkuniyga</i>
Prosecutive . . .	{ <i>noona</i> <i>(natigut)</i>	{ <i>ukunoona</i> <i>ukunatigut</i>	{ <i>taawkonoona</i> <i>taawkonatigut</i>	{ <i>makunoona</i> <i>makunatigut</i>	{ <i>ikkunoona</i> <i>ikkunatigut</i>

In the same way is inflected *i^wнна* (relative *i^wssuma*) THE ONE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED (Latin ILLE).

There are some other demonstrative pronouns—

ä^wнна he (she, it) in the north

qä^wнна he in the south; he in there (in the house); he out there (outside of the house)

pä^wнна he up there in the east

sä^wнна he down there in the sea

känna he down there

k'iyga he there in the south

p'iyga he up there in the east

All of these follow the paradigms of *taa^wна* and *iyga*. And just as the latter forms with the prefix *ta* *ta^wйга* (THE ONE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED WE ARE SPEAKING OF), so all these pronouns may take the prefix *tu* and signify THE ONE WE ARE JUST NOW SPEAKING OF (OR THINKING OF); as *tamanna*, *taqä^wнна*, *tasä^wнна*, *takänna*, etc.

These words have no possessive inflection. Still more defective is the inflection of the demonstrative local adverbs, in which three of the inflectional endings of the demonstrative pronouns appear; e. g.,—

Cases	Endings	here	there	yonder	in the north
Locative . .	<i>ne</i>	<i>maane</i>	<i>wane</i>	<i>ikane</i>	<i>awane</i>
Allative . .	<i>ya</i>	<i>maayga</i>	<i>ooga</i>	<i>ikoga</i>	<i>awoga</i>
Ablative . .	<i>yga</i>	<i>maayga</i>	<i>wayga</i>	<i>ikayga</i>	<i>awayga</i>
Prosecutive .	<i>ona</i>	<i>maona</i>	<i>uwoona</i>	<i>ikoona</i>	<i>awoona</i>

PARTICLES (§§ 51-54)

Although words lacking inflection are not in themselves affected by the manifold changes due to inflection, some of them at least exert a certain influence on the syntactic structure or on the grammatical forms of the words governed by them. This applies especially to the modal and temporal particles (§ 52 and § 53), and will become clear from the examples given below:

§ 51. Interjections

a amazement or bewilderment.

issse ajüssüser 'a how terrible the cold is! (literally, the cold its badness, ä!)

ta, ata, calls attention to something: LOOK HERE!

aja sighing, especially used by women and children.

aja qasoqaa^wna how tired I am!

eeq or *teeq* expresses scorn or irony.

na 'aa sudden pain.

kakkaak, assaasakak, surprise, wonder, admiration (M. *apkpale*
ah ! [admiration.])

For hunters' calls, see Thalbitzer I, 323-326:

dRRR . . . dRRR . . . used in decoying young gulls.

qu'treeq qu'treeq to old female gulls.

taka'teeq taka'treeq qrg to the three-toed gulls.

haR^om haR^om to auks.

qa^o qa^o to ravens.

§ 52. Modal Particles

aa calling attention to something. In some cases it is used as a prefix:

aa'u'na, 'aana LOOK HERE, HERE IT (*una*) IS! the same as *aa'juna*

In other cases it is used as a suffix; e. g.,

ooma-aa you there, come here! (*ooma* is the relative case of *una*,
thus meaning OF HIM THERE)

aa is very much like the sign of the *a* vocative in such cases as—

ataata-aa father!

aa-makko they, there!

ata'yo lo! behold! (with future tense of the verb following it.)

ata'yo usissayit try it and you shall see you will be all right

sun'aa^wFa (< *suna* what + *uFFa* there) expresses surprise.

u'se (bringing something back to his memory) now I remember.

usi'uFFa (< *use* + *uFFa*) I thought that—. This particle is always
followed by a participle or a noun.

usi'uFFa takussayiya I thought (expected) I should have seen him

qanortoq Latin *UTINAM*, followed by optative of the verb.

na^wk
massa } although (followed by participle).
u^wnnit }

massa takussariya ilisuriyyilara although I have often seen him,
I do not know him

soorLo as, as if.

§ 53. Temporal Particles

ittaq a long time ago (South Gr. *itsaq*).

ippassaq yesterday (M. *ikpektçiapk*).

uLLume to-day.

qilamik soon (M. *kpillamik*).

siorna last year (literally, the one just before).

kiyorna hereafter (M. *kiñunæpagan*).

qana when (in the preterite).

qaqono when (in the future).

qa'qutiyut at times, from time to time

aqano to-morrow.

§ 54. Particles for Expressing Question and Answer

aap yes (M. *ih*).

naaxa no, no (M. *tchvítot*, *diunak*; West coast of Hudson bay *naaga*).

naamik no (there is no; it is not there).

na^wk where } (M. *tchupavit*, *tchuma*).

sooq why

sooruna certainly.

massame certainly, indeed.

ilumut indeed, I do not lie.

immaqa perhaps (M. *tabliu*; West coast of Hudson bay *iluukuni*).

asuktiak I do not know, maybe.

tåssaqa I hardly believe.

ai is it, do you (M. *tutchayotin ain* COMPRENDS-TU?).

qa'noq how (M. *naw-kut*, *naw-naw*, *kpano-kpano*).

i'laa isn't it so?

qujanaq thanks (M. *kroyanapa*).

DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 55-60)

§ 55. General Characteristics of Suffixes

In the Eskimo language suffixes (and infixes) are used to an extent quite unknown to European languages.¹ It has been shown in the preceding chapters that all the grammatical and syntactical ideas of our languages are expressed by this means, and that these forms differentiated into a highly elaborate system. Besides this, many concepts that enrich the subject-matter of our sentences, and which

¹ Thalbitzer II, 60-62.

we express by means of adjectives and adverbs, are in Eskimo suffixes attached to the words expressing fundamental ideas. Nearly one-sixth of the Eskimo "words" (bases, stems, and suffixes) are suffixes.

One suffix may be linked to another, and in this way the fundamental idea of the base-word is gradually more and more specialized and enriched. A whole sentence may be expressed in a word—in a word-sentence.

All suffixes are imperfect words—i. e., sound-complexes or single sounds—each of which has a definite signification. Without much practice it is difficult to recognize the suffixes included in compound words, because at the beginning and at the ending of the suffix phonetic assimilation by the preceding and following sounds occurs.

The order of the suffixes is of importance, and full freedom is not allowed in their use. The independent fundamental word must be placed at the beginning of the word-sentence, and the suffixes are attached to it to explain it more fully. Such suffixes as describe the qualities of the fundamental idea or its modes of action, or which refer to size or time, follow these, and appear inserted between the leading stem and the inflectional endings. These, in turn, are attached more closely to the whole word-cluster than the syntactical suffixes which may terminate it; e. g., *-lo* AND, *-ttaa^oq* ALSO.

The majority of the suffixes may be freely attached to any word. Thus *liorpoq* TO MAKE OR CREATE may be attached to any word which signifies something that can in any way be made or created. But there are also many suffixes the use of which is restricted to a certain class of ideas, and which may be attached to these only. The suffix *-(r)nar-* means FOR THE FIRST TIME, but only in the sense of noticing something for the first time: *takornarpara*, *tusarnarpara* I SEE IT FOR THE FIRST TIME, I HEAR IT FOR THE FIRST TIME. With other words, like TO USE A THING, OR TO MAKE A JOURNEY, FOR THE FIRST TIME, another suffix, *-(r)qaar-*, is used: *atorqaarpara* I USE IT FOR THE FIRST TIME.

There are many adjectival and adverbial notions for which no suffixes exist. When for this reason it is not possible to express a group of ideas in one word, or in one compound, then the cluster will be broken up, or the expression will be divided into two or several parts. The logical relations between these parts are often shown in the inflection of the word expressing the idea that has been separated. In some cases, however, it can not be recognized by the

inflectional form, but must be deduced from the connection. If the Eskimo wants to say I HAVE A LARGE KAYAK, this may be expressed in one word, because there are suffixes to denote LARGE (*ssuaq*), HAVE (*gar[poq]*), and I (*ya, ra*); but I HAVE A RED KAYAK must be expressed in two words, because there are no special suffixes to signify colors, so that the idea RED must be isolated and expressed by an independent word. The former sentence is expressed by *qajarssuaqarpoqa* (KAYAK-LARGE-HAVE-I); the latter by *aa^wpalaartumik qajaqarpoqa*; here the first part (RED) is a participle of the verb *aa^wpalaarpoq* IT IS RED, used in the instrumentalis (*-mik*), so that the whole phrase translated literally means RED (OR REDLY) KAYAK-HAVE-I, very much as one would say I ROW QUICKLY IN A KAYAK.

§ 56. Classes of Derivative Suffixes

The suffixes are divided into two classes, according to their use. Some are employed to *transform* the nominal or verbal quality of the independent words, so that nouns are turned into verbs, and verbs into nouns; others, merely to further *develop* the independent words by enriching them with attributive ideas, but without transforming their nature. Thus it may be seen, in regard both to the suffixes and to the initial stems, that a distinction may be drawn between nouns and verbs, nominal and verbal suffixes, and consequently four fundamental types of arrangement may be observed, and symbolized thus:

$N > v = V$; i. e., a noun transformed by a verbal suffix, and so forming a verb:

<i>illo</i> a house + <i>-liorpoq</i> makes, builds	<i>illLuliorpoq</i> he builds a house
<i>pujoq</i> smoke + <i>-sunnippoq</i> it has a smell or taste of	<i>pujorsunnippoq</i> it has the smell or taste of smoke
<i>ameq</i> skin + <i>-erpa</i> deprives it of something	<i>ameerpa</i> takes the skin off it, skins it (e. g., the seal)
<i>nassuk</i> horn + <i>-mijarpa</i> makes a motion with a part of his body toward some- thing	<i>nassumijarpa</i> horns him, butts him

$V > n = N$; i. e., a verb transformed by a noun suffix, and so making a noun:

<i>tikippoq</i> arrives + <i>-qat(e)</i> com- panion + <i>-a</i> his	<i>tikeryatau</i> his arrival-companion, his fellow-traveller
---	--

$V+v=V$; i. e., a verb developed more fully by a verb suffix, the whole constituting a more complex verbal notion:

uter(poq) he returns + *-asuar-* *uterasuarpoq* he hastens to re-
 (*poq*) hastens (*poq*) turn

$N+n=N$; i. e., a noun more fully developed by a noun-suffix, the whole constituting a more fully developed noun:

iLLO house + *mió* dweller *iLLumio* house dweller
iLLO house + *ko* rest, remnant *iLLuko* a ruin
iLLO house + *ḡḡuaq* little *iLLoḡḡuaq* a small house

Any compound ending in a suffix may be transformed or further developed. The suffixes thus used for purposes of development and transformation may even succeed each other within the same group. Thus *pisivoq* HE GETS (*si*) A THING (*pe*), of the formation $N > v$, may be further developed by verbal suffixes and become *pisinialerpoq* HE BEGINS (*-ler-*) TO TRY (*-niar-*) TO GET A THING (i. e., he begins to buy a thing), which is consequently the formation $N > v+v+v$. The latter is again transformed by a noun-suffix into *pisinialerfik* A PLACE, OR THE PLACE (*-fik*), WHERE ONE (HE) BEGINS (OR BEGAN) TO BUY A THING (OR THE THING), in which change the formation $N > v+v+v > n$ is produced; and this may again be transformed into a verb (*pisinialerfiḡaa*) by means of the verbalizing *-a* (in the third possessive singular) HE HAS IT (OR HIM) AS A PLACE WHERE HE BEGAN TO BUY THE THING (i. e., it was in that place where, or of that person of whom he began to buy the thing). In this case the last change gives the formation $N > v+v+v > n > v$.

§ 57. Comparison of Eskimo and Indo-European Derivative Suffixes

In the first instance the Eskimo suffixes are distinguished from those of our own languages by their number; but they differ no less in the vitality of their meanings and in their movability. Thus the diminutive endings in the German RÖSLEIN, HÄUSCHEN, in the English BROOKLET, and in the Latin HOMUNCULUS, SERVULUS, impress us as being fossils in comparison with the Eskimo adjectival suffixes, which may be attached freely to all words. In quite another sense than in our languages, the words of the Eskimo are born on the tongue on the spur of the moment. Where we possess finished, fully developed words or phrases, the Eskimo create new combinations specially

formed to meet the claim of every situation. In regard to word-formations, the language is incessantly *in statu nascendi*.

The greater number of the suffixes of our languages may be proved to have been originally independent words (e. g., the English -LY, -SHIP, -DOM, -SOME, -FUL, -LESS, etc.). How far the Eskimo suffixes have ever been independent words is extremely doubtful; at any rate, there is nothing to show that such is the case.

The Eskimo mode of expression differs essentially from ours in the peculiar power that the suffixes have of linking themselves not simply to an independent word-stem, but to each other, with the result that a complex of ideas may be developed and enlarged within the limits of a single word. We think in sentences, but the Eskimo's thought lives and moves in the word as an embryo in the womb. Even the object of the verb is included in the word-sentence; e. g., *illoqarpona* I HAVE A HOUSE.

§ 58. Inflection and Polysynthesis

These peculiar characteristics have determined the viewpoint taken by philologists in regard to the Eskimo language. This may be seen in the work of the Danish scholar Rasmus Rask, who knew the language through the grammars of the missionaries Paul Egede (1760) and Otho Fabricius (1791, 2d ed. 1801), and who has described it in a chapter of his "Undersøgelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse" (1818).

H. Steinthal¹ referred the Eskimo and the Mexican languages to a special type, the so-called *EINVERLEIBENDE* type of W. v. Humboldt, which "draws the object into the verb and usually also combines the governing word (regens) and the attribute into a whole. . . . The word-formation has swallowed up the sentence-formation, the sentence merges into the word; those who use these languages do not speak in sentences, but in words." According to Steinthal, this type of language belongs neither to the agglutinative nor to the stem-isolating type; it must be called a "formless" type of language.

Lucien Adam, who, at the Americanist Congress of 1883, spoke on the relation of the Greenland language to other languages, arrived at the conclusion that the Eskimo language is not polysynthetic, as are many other languages of North America, but is only a derivative lan-

¹ H. Steinthal, *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues* (Neubearbeitung von Mistell, Berlin, 1893).

guage. He set forth that the DERIVATION À L'INFINI of this language is due only to exaggeration of a method which is common to all polysyllabic languages, and that the Eskimo language differs from other American languages, and from the Ural-Altai language, merely by the exaggeration of the derivative method.

As regards the descriptive term POLYSYNTHETIC, it would seem that it very appropriately expresses the conglomeration or clustering of ideas which occurs in Eskimo word-sentences. To use this term as applying to the Eskimo language as a whole is an exaggeration, only in so far as that not all ideas are expressed polysynthetically, but articulate sentences also occur.

We are no doubt as fully justified in speaking of form-endings and inflection in the Eskimo language as we are in speaking of them in those languages that are specially regarded as inflectional. Thus in the Eskimo language both nouns and verbs are inflected to indicate number, case, person, etc., and, as mentioned above, the syntactic relation may likewise be expressed by means of special endings.

On the other hand, it can not well be denied that in the signification and use of the forms certain logical and fundamental differences from the grammatical system of our languages occur, which differences give evidence of marked peculiarities in the psychic basis of the Eskimo language.

§ 59. Noun and Verb

In the Eskimo mind the line of demarcation between the noun and the verb seems to be extremely vague, as appears from the whole structure of the language, and from the fact that the inflectional endings are, partially at any rate, the same for both nouns and verbs. This is especially true of the possessive suffixes.

The part played by the possessive suffixes in the Eskimo language extends far beyond the use which our languages make of the "possessive pronouns." The person-suffixes of the Eskimo verbs prove to be identical with the possessive suffixes of the nouns (equivalent to MY, THY, HIS, OUR, etc.), which may be regarded as an evidence of the noun-character of the verb. Even the verb-forming suffixes *-woq* and *-poq* (third person singular, mode II) appear to be inseparable from the structure of the noun. Therefore these endings for the third person indicative must be regarded as impersonal forms (*kapiwoq* THERE IS A STAB, ONE IS STABBED), or as marking the neutral form of the finite verb,

§ 59

which assumes a personal meaning only when the purport of the sentence as a whole forces upon the speaker and hearer the idea of a third person that is in a certain condition (passively or reflexively). Thus it happens that personal and impersonal verbs show the same forms throughout.

si'áLLerpoq rain is, it rains
atorpoq use is, it is used
tikippoq arrival is, he arrives
kapiwoq stab is, he is stabbed, or he stabs himself

Accordingly the inflected verb in the indicative intransitive is properly translated in this manner :

atorpona my use = I am used
atorputit thy use = thou art used
atorpoq use = one is used
 = he, it, is used
tikippona my arrival = I arrive
tikipputit thy arrival = thou arrivest
tikippoq arrival = one arrives
 = he arrives

The same applies to the transitive forms of the finite verb; thus—

atorpara my its use = I use it
atorpat thy its use = thou usest it
atorpaa his its use = he uses it
kapiwara my its stab = I stab it
kapiwat thy its stab = thou stabbest it
kapiwaa his its stab = he stabs it

In case an independent word is added as subject, it is used in the relative case:

Peelip kapiwaana Peele's my-his-stab = Peele stabs me
Peelip kapiwaatit Peele's thy-his-stab = Peele stabs thee
Peelip kapiwaa Peele's his-his-stab = Peele stabs him (another)

It is worth noticing that the base of the verb seems to have a passive or reflexive sense; e. g., *Peele kapiwoq* P. STABS HIMSELF, OR P. IS STABBED. Our transitive sentence construction (HE STABS ME) is based on the idea of an active relation between subject and object. The corresponding Eskimo form of speech is based on a passive or reflexive relation between the subject and the object; that is to say, in the Eskimo language no strictly transitive use of the verb is

known. The verb is treated as a noun + a verb-forming suffix (-*wo*, -*wo*; -*po*, -*pa*) which gives the noun a passive or reflexive signification, + the mark of the absolutive (-*q*) or of the person. If we translate an Eskimo verb as an active relation between subject and object, it is only *quasi-transitive*. Its fundamental idea is rather that of a passive than that of an active verb. The Eskimo does not say HE STABS ME, HE SEES ME, but rather MY BEING STABBED BY HIM IS, MY BEING SEEN BY HIM IS.

Judging from these considerations, we get the impression that to the Eskimo mind the nominal concept of the phenomena of life is predominant. The verbal idea has not emancipated itself from the idea of things that may be owned, or which are substantial. Anything that can be named and described in words, all real things, actions, ideas, resting or moving, personal or impersonal, are subject to one and the same kind of observation and expression. We are accustomed to conceive activities or qualities as essentially different from the things in themselves, and we have a special class of words (viz., the verbs) to express them. They seem to impress the Eskimo mind, or to be reflected by it, as definite phenomena of the same kind as the things, and accordingly are named and interpreted by means of the same class of terms as are used for naming things. The Eskimo verb merely forms a sub-class of nouns.

§ 60. List of Suffixes

The following abbreviations have been used in the list of suffixes:

v. is suffixed to verbs only.

n. is suffixed to nouns only.

N > V is suffixed to nouns after they have been transformed into verbs.

If neither v. nor n. is added, the suffix may be attached to either class of words. The nominal or verbal character of the suffix may be determined by its signification or by its form.

INTR. = intransitive.

NTR. = neutral, i. e., transitive or intransitive, according to the significance of the leading word.

âet, *âit* n. or v. (marks a question or a polite invitation) how? please; e. g., *illit-âit* you, how? i. e., is it you (or yours)?

ajuppoq v. NTR. frequently

aluaq (N.), *aluarpoq* v. N > V, NTR. otherwise; former (with proper names); late; although; certainly, it is true—but — (forms conditional mode in verbs)

- allarpog* v. NTR. preliminarily, provisionally; first, yet
araq N. miniature, diminutive; a young one; a little
araaog v. NTR. is in the habit of. In mode x, first person singular *arinama* or *araanama*.
asuarpoq v. NTR. hastens to —; in a short time, speedily
erpaa N. deprives it of, removes the — of it
erpoq has lost its —; sells
erserpoq has lost something he possessed
ersivoq has some part of his body frozen
fik, *ffik* v. place or time
finaa v. has him (or it) (B) for his (A) place to —, he (it) is his place to —, i. e., he (B) is the object of his (A's) action.
g-, see *η*
iaarpog, see *jaarpoq*
iaq, *liaq*, *siaq* N., in third person possessive, MADE BY HIM; in first person possessive, MADE BY ME
iaq (v.), *iaqarpoq*, *tariaqarpoq* v. INTR. he (it) is to be —ed (the sense of this suffix corresponds to that of the gerundive in Latin)
iarpaa N. deprives it of several parts, or deprives it of its — several times (cf. *erpaa*)
iarpoq N. has got it (his weapon, etc.) injured; broken
iarpoq, *liarpog* N. INTR. goes to (a place); is out hunting —
iartorpoq v. NTR. goes or comes in order to —; more and more
imivoq v. NTR. somewhat, very little more —
innag N., *innarpoq* v. NTR. only; exclusively, constantly; without hesitation
ioq v. NTR. also, too; indeed
iorpoq, *liorpoq* N. WORKS, MANUFACTURES; transitive, WORKS (SOMETHING) FOR HIM
iuppaa, *liuppaa* N. works or makes a — of it, uses it for making a —
ippoq, *lippoq* N. INTR. has arrived at (a place)
ippoq is without; is not —
isorpoq N. INTR. has gone or come to fetch —
issarpog, *lissarpog* N. INTR. takes a — with him; carries (something) with him
jaarpoq v. NTR. early
jawog v. INTR. is apt to, may easily —
juippoq, *suippoq* v. INTR. never
qaa^oq v. NTR. (intensive) very much, strongly
qarpoq N. INTR. has —; there is —
qat, in third person possessive, HIS COMPANION, FELLOW; ANOTHER OF THE SAME KIND
qatinaa has him as (for) his companion

- qattaarpoq* V. NTR. many in succession; several times
qinawoq V. NTR. it might easily come to pass; wish he (it) would not
qut N. or V. appurtenance; instrument by means of which —
kanneq N., *kannerpog* V. towards; nearly, not far from —
karpoq V. INTR. suddenly
kaarpoq V. INTR. with long, equal intervals
kasik N., *kasippog* V. NTR. vexatious, bad; odiously, badly; unfortunately
ka^wssak N., *ka^wssappog* V. INTR. vexatious, vexatiously; ugly
katappog NTR. has got too much of —; is sick of —; is tired by —
kippog N. INTR. has (a) little; has little —
ko N. refuse, waste; remnant; cast off, left off
kootaarput or *-rpaai* N. (by numerals) at the time
kuluk N. pitiable; wretched
kuluppoq V. NTR. rather little, tolerably
kkuppaa V. regards, deems, takes him for —
kkut N., family, society, company
LLäppoq, *LLättiarpoq* V. NTR. a short time, a moment
LLättaarpoq NTR. now and then, from time to time
LLarpoq V. NTR. with speed; with might and main
LLarqippog V. NTR. he is very clever in —
laarpoq V. NTR. but little; slowly
lawoq V. INTR. impulsively; in an unsteady state
le N. or V. but
leriwog, *eriwog* N. INTR. is occupied with, has something to do with —
LLeg N. (local superlative) the extreme one as to place, the — most
lerpoq V. NTR. begins to —; is about to —
lerpaa, *serpaa* (cf. *erpaa*) N. supplies him (it) with a —; places a — on it
lerssaarpoq V. NTR. intends to
lertorpoq V. NTR. in short time
liaq I, see *iaq*; *liarpoq*, see *iarpoq*
liaq II N. one who travels to a (place); one who is out hunting — or gathering —
liorpoq, see *iorpoq*
lik, pl. *LLit* N. having —, supplied with
lo N. or V. and; *lo-lo*, both — and
looneet or; *looneet-looneet*, either — or
LLuarpoq V. NTR. well, right; opportunely; completely; at all
LLuinnarpoq V. NTR. wholly; completely

- LLuppoq*, *luppoq* N. INTR. has (a) bad —; V. INTR. badly —;
has a pain (in some part of his body)
- lussinnarpoq* V. NTR. in vain
- lusooq* N. or V. like, as if it were
- mmaaq* V. one who is practised in —, skilled in —
- mmaarwoq* V. is practised in —, skilled in —
- marwoq* V. NTR. is in the state of —
- me* N. or V. (intensive) indeed, then
- mmersorpoq* V. NTR. long time, long
- mmippoq* *rmippoq* N. (instrumentalis) makes a movement with
— (that part of his body)
- mineq* N. a piece of —, a fragment of —
- mio* N. inhabitant of —
- misaarpoq* V. NTR. by little and little; weakly
- mmioq*, *rmioq* V. NTR. (rare) after all
- miwoq* see *imiwoq*
- mukarpoq*, *mmukarpoq*, N. INTR. goes (is gone) in the direction
of —
- mukaarpoq* N. INTR. is situated in the direction of —, faces —
- naq*, *rnaq* N. peculiar.
- nnaaq*, *nnaayua* N. his dearest one, favorite, pet
- nnaarpoq* V. NTR. enjoys to —, with pleasure, continues to —
- naarvaa*, *nnaarvaa* V. makes it too —; finds it beyond his expect-
ations
- narpoq*, *nnarpoq* V. (this suffix gives the third person of the finite
verb a subjective sense; the third person is used thus for I as a
form of modesty; the impersonality = I); (passive; thus used in
all persons) is to be —ed, is —ed
- naraa* V. he thinks it —ing
- nawiarpoq* V. NTR. there is a risk that —; most probably it
will —
- nawceerpoq* V. NTR. there is no longer any risk that —; now
he (it) can not more —
- nawceersarvaa* V. prevents him from —
- neq* (verb abstract; mode XII)
- neqarpoq* (passive suffix, especially of such verbs as are not used in
mode II)
- nerarvaa* V. says that he (it) —, says that he is —
- ner' Luppoq* V. NTR. wrongly (cf. *LLuppoq*)
- nerpoq* V. NTR. I wonder whether —, or if —
- neruwoq* V. NTR. (comparative) more
- niag*, *niarpoq* NTR. aims at; endeavors
- nnarpoq* (suffixed to local adverbs) goes (to) there
- nnippoq* (verbal derivative, of the verb abstract, mode XII)

ηaa, raa has him (it) for —, he (it) is his —; takes him (it) for —; thinks him (it) to be —

ηajak N., *ηajappoq* V. NTR. nearly, almost

ηasaarpoq N. is much frequented, full of —

ηaarpoq V. NTR. in a high degree, very much

ηeek, ηeet, reet; ηeeput, reeput N. (or V.) pair, joined in pairs; reciprocally, mutually

ηyilaq V. NTR. not (forms the negative conjugation in the verbs; see §§ 32 et seq.)

ηippoq, rippoq N. NTR. is good, has good — or nice —

ηooq (gooq), rooq N. OR V. it is related, it is said to be —

ηyorpoq N. INTR. becomes, grows; TRANS. makes him (it) become —

ηyuaq N., *ηyuarpoq* V. NTR. little —, dear little; with pleasure

ηuppoq (guppoq) N. INTR. longs for —

paüt, passuit N. a multitude, a great many

palaag N., *palaarpoq* V. NTR. worthless; trash

pallappoq, paluppoq NTR. looks as if —, sounds as if —, behaves as if —

paL'laarpoq, see *wallaarpoq*

piluk N., *piluppoq* V. NTR. evil, bad

ppoq, rpoq N. has caught a —; has put — (one's clothes) on *raa*, see *ηaa*

reerpoq V. NTR. has done with —, has already —

riarpoq V. NTR. (in epic style) eagerly

rippoq V. INTR. is skilled in —, is master at —

rqaat'niiooput V. NTR. in emulation; they contend with —

rqajarpoq V. NTR. nearly, had nearly —

rqammerpoq V. NTR. just, just now

rqarpoq V. NTR. hardly, with difficulty

rqaarpoq V. NTR. first

rqippoq V. NTR. again

rqippoq (cf. *LLarqippoq*) V. NTR. is able to

rqissiwog V. INTR. is or can better now than before

rqissaarpoq V. NTR. doing to the best of one's ability; diligently

rqoorpoq V. NTR. presumably, most likely

rqortoog N. has a large —, has a great —

rquppoq, rquppaa N. goes that way, along that side of it

rquuraa V. NTR. wants him to —, bids or asks him to; INTR. wants himself to be — ed by some one else

rlaaq V. newly, recently

rujuk N., *rujuppoq* V. NTR. improper, improperly

rujonηuaq wretched; miserable, pitiable

rujussuaq enormous; awfully —

- rusuppoq* V. NTR. is inclined to —, should like to —
sarppaa V. (causative) works that he (it) —
sarpoq, see *tarpoq*
ssaq N. future; something that may be used for —
 **ssaivoq* V. NTR. (future tense) shall, will (cf. *ssivoq* and *ssua*)
ssaarpog V. INTR. manifoldly
ssaarpog V. NTR. has ceased to —
ssaŋawoq V. NTR. thinks that he shall or will —
serppaa, see *lerppaa*
siaq N. bought; got into one's possession
simarwoq V. NTR. (preterite, especially the perfect tense) presumably, likely
sinnaawoq V. NTR. is able to; can
siorpoq N. is out hunting —; is in search of —; moves, travels in or on —
sivoq, *ssivoq* gets or has got —; comes into possession of —; comes across —
ssippaa N. manufactures (that) to him which he shall have
ssooq < **ssaivoq* (q. v.), 1 sing. *ssooŋa*; 2 sing. *ssootit*; 3 sing. *ssooŋq*;
 1 pl. *ssooŋut*; 2 pl. *ssoose*; 3 pl. *ssapput*
soraa, *soŋaa* V. thinks that he (it) —, supposes that —
ssuaa < **ssarvaa* (see *ssarwoq*), mode III, 1 sing. *ssuara*; 2 sing. *ssuat*; 3 sing. *ssuaa*; 1 pl. *ssuarput*, etc.
ssuaq N., *ssuarpoq* V. great, big; large; wide; greatly, strongly, largely
sunnipog N. INTR. has a smell or taste of
ssuseq V. (verb abstract, cf. *neq*)
ttaa^oq, *ssaa^oq* N. and V. also, too
taaliwaa V. prevents him (it) from —
taq, *saq*, *ssaq* V. (passive participle, mode VIII)
taq, *saq*, N. a part of —; belonging to —
taaq, *saq* N. a new —
taurpoq, *saurpoq* N. has got a new —
tarpoq, *sarpoq* V. NTR. (iterative) often, frequently; used to —, is in the habit of —; knows how to —
te V. (verb noun, mode VII)
tijaa^oq V. INTR. is so, is such
tijaa V. is to him such; has him for his —
tippaa, *sippaa* V. (causative) occasions him (it) to —, makes him —; INTR. makes himself —
toqaa, *soqaa* N. old
torpoq, *sorpoq*, *rssorpoq* employs it several times; eats it; uses it
toorpoq V. NTR. it occurred to him that —
tterppaa, *serppaa*; *tteewoq* V. waits for —
tliaq N., *tliarpoq* V. NTR. middling, moderate; pretty; a short time

- tuag* N., *tuarpoq* V. NTR. the only one; only, only one time
tuinnarpoq V. NTR. assiduously, continuously
tuwoq N. INTR. has a great —; has many —
uarpoq N. has too many —
umaarpoq, *jumaarpoq* V. NTR. (future tense) will or shall in the
 future, not immediately, but later on
umawoq, *jumawoq* V. NTR. (future) will, wishes to —
unnarpoq, *junnarpoq* V. NTR. probably, most likely
unnaarpoq V. NTR. no longer, no more
uppa V. (this suffix transforms an intransitive verb into a transi-
 tive, or gives the transitive verb another object) with regard
 to him (it); and the other one too
useq V. state of —, quality of
usaq, *ussaq*; *russaq*, *ɣussaq* N. similar to —; imitation of —
usaarpoq, *ussaarpoq* N. represents —, makes it represent —;
 plays that it is —
ut (*ssut*; *t*) V. vehicle, instrument, medium, means by which —;
 the cause of —
utijaa V. by means of that; on that occasion, for that reason
ut N. owned; belonging to —
uwoq N. INTR. is —, is a —
wallaarpoq, *pallaarpoq* V. too much; in a very high degree
wik, see *fik*
wijaa, see *fijaa*
wik N., *wippoq* V. NTR. proper; properly, strictly

TEXT

KAASASSUK

(Fragment of a tale from North Greenland, recorded in Disco bay, 1901.)

Kaasasorujonuaq¹ allineq² ajormmat³ tijumissaraluarlojo⁴ attanut⁵
 Kaasasuk wretched little growth because not although they ought to have on the dung-
 able to taken him up hill
 injitarppaa't⁶ ilaa'i⁷ o,qas'sapput⁸ ujaraanjittoq⁹ alliumaarpoq
 they used to throw his place- used to say he being not a stone later on he will grow
 him fellows
 illlut anj'sorssu'it¹⁰ pini'arttunik¹¹ ulikaartut¹² naakisarppaa't¹³
 houses very large with hunters filled they used to pity him
 allisarumâllojo¹⁴ tinussarpaa't¹⁵ allineq ajormmat nulee¹⁶ o,qar-
 wanting to make him grow they used to take him growth because not his wife he
 to them able to
 Fej'issuaa¹⁷ allineq ajukasippoq¹⁸ attanut inj'issuk¹⁹ injippaa't²⁰
 used to say to her growth he is unfortunately on the dung- throw him they threw him
 unable to hill out
 tinjussaârûmmât²¹ arnarquasaap²² tinowaa²³ okkarme²⁴ ineqarLLune²⁵
 (she) being without any an old woman she took him in the front- having her place
 hope of (any other) foster child to her wall platform

¹ *Kaasasorujonuaq* < *Kaasasuk* + *ruju(k)* POOR WRETCH + *juaq* LITTLE. *u* > *o* before *r* and *y* (§§ 10-11). *K.* is the object of *tijumissaraluarlojo injitarppaa't*.

² *allineq* GROWS, *allineq* verb abstract.

³ *ajormmat* mode IX of *ajorpoq* IS UNABLE TO.

⁴ *tijumivaa* (= *tijummiwaa*) HE TAKES HIM WITH HIS HAND OR INTO HIS ARMS. Suffixes: *ssa(r)* + *aluaq* + *lojo* (mode VI).

⁵ Allative of *attâl* (only in the plural).

⁶ *ipi(ppaa)* + *tar(paa)* mode III, third person plural.

⁷ *ila* COMPANION, FELLOW (house-fellow or place-fellow), third person plural possessive.

⁸ *oqa(rpoq)* + *ssa(wog)*.

⁹ *ujara(k)* + *a < u(wog)* + *yji(laq)* mode VII.

¹⁰ *aji(wog)* IS BIG + *soq* (mode VII) + *ssuaq*, in plural *ssuil*.

¹¹ *pe* THING, SOMETHING + *niar(poq)* + *to(q)* mode VII + *nik* instrumentalis.

¹² *ulikaar(poq)* IS FILLED + *toq*, plural *tut*, mode VII.

¹³ *naak(aa)* (conjugation II) + *sar(ppaa)*.

¹⁴ *alli(wog)* (cf. note 2) + *sar(paa)* + *uma(wog)* + *lojo* (mode VI) third person singular.

¹⁵ *tiju(waa)* + *sar(paa)* mode III.

¹⁶ *nule* + *e* fourth person singular.

¹⁷ *oqa(rpoq)* (see note 8) + *fej(aa)* (conjugation II) + *ssua < ssawaa* future tense, mode III, third person singular.

¹⁸ *ajo(rpoq)* + *kasi(k)(poq)*.

¹⁹ Imperative transitive singular (cf. note 6).

²⁰ Cf. note 6.

²¹ *tijusi(wog)* TAKES HIM TO HERSELF (e.g., as her foster-child) [cf. notes 4, 15] + *ssa* + *erup(paa)*, mode X, third person singular (AS, SINCE).

²² *arna(q)* WOMAN + *quasa(aq)* (obsolete) OLD.

²³ The transitive verb corresponding to the intransitive *tijusiwoq* (cf. note 21).

²⁴ Locative singular < *okkaq*.

²⁵ *ine* PLACE + *qar(poq)* + *Lune* mode VI, fourth person singular.

tijummanulo ²⁶	piniartut	kamállutik ²⁷	arnarquasaaq	Kaasássummik	
and after having taken him	the hunters	they being angry	the old woman	Kaasassuk	
tijussimmát ²⁸	torssoonut ²⁹	pissippaa't	torssoneelerppoq ³⁰	ullaakut ³¹	
because she had taken him to her	into the entrance- passage	they moved him	he began to live in the entrance-passage	on the morrow	
anilerunik ³²	kammiut	tijussuaat ³³	anaataralono ³⁴	qimmit ³⁵	torsoo-
when they were about to go out	the boot- stretcher	they would take it	using it to thrash with	the dogs	because they
neetarmmata ³⁶	arnaquasaa'lo ³⁷	ilanullojo ³⁸	anaalertarppaa't ³⁹		
usually stay in the entrance-passage	and the old woman	considering her as his partner	they used to thrash her		
anjuniarunik ⁴⁰	tikikkunik ⁴¹	anjusimállutik ⁴²	katammik	Kaasassuk	
when they caught seals	when they came home	having caught seals	from the inner entrance-hole	Kaasassuk	
nuissooq ⁴³	qinasinut ⁴⁴	assammunik ⁴⁵	qaqissuaat ⁴⁶	ajussatik ⁴⁷	qalatta-
he shall ascend	by the nostrils	with their fingers	they would lift him	their capture	when it
riŋnata ⁴⁸	natsermmut ⁴⁹	poonutaq	ilissuaat	nererqu'sillu'tillo ⁵⁰	
was boiled	on the floor	a dish	they would	and when they were invited	
			put it	to eat	
nerrisissapput ⁵¹	Kaasassuk	kisime ⁵²	saweqarane ⁵³	mikaa'nar-	
they would get the meat	Kaasassuk	he only	having no knife	using only	
LLune ⁵⁴	neresarppoq ⁵⁵	arqalánnera ⁵⁶	sualuppat ⁵⁷	kinutaai	peear-
his teeth	he used to eat	the tearing it off	if he scolded	his teeth	they taking

²⁶ Cf. note 23, mode x + lo AND.

²⁷ <ka'map(poq) mode VI, fourth person plural.

²⁸ The object of an intransitive verb is set in instrumentalis (*Kaasássummik*).

²⁹ <torssoot (only in plural).

³⁰ torssoo(l) + ne (locative) + íp(poq) IS THERE + ler(poq) BEGINS TO, mode II, third person singular.

³¹ ullaa(q) in the prosecutive.

³² ani(woq) + ler(poq) mode XI, fourth person plural.

³³ Cf. note 23, + ssu(aa) mode III, third person plural.

³⁴ *anaawte A STICK TO BEAT WITH + ra + lono VI, third person singular.

³⁵ <qimme(q).

³⁶ Cf. note 30, + tar(poq) mode X, third person plural.

³⁷ Lo AND indicates that they thrashed both Kaasassuk and the old woman.

³⁸ <ilayup(paa) mode VI, third person singular, MAKES IT (OF HIM, HER) A PART (íla) OF SOME OTHER THING.

³⁹ anaaler(paa) + tar(paa) mode III, third person plural.

⁴⁰ ayu(woq) CATCH + niar(poq) mode XI.

⁴¹ <tikip(poq) mode XI.

⁴² ayu(woq) [cf. note 40] + síma(woq) mode VI.

⁴³ nui(woq) + ssu(oq) (future).

⁴⁴ qipa(q) in the prosecutive.

⁴⁵ assak in fourth person possessive and instrumentalis plural.

⁴⁶ qaqi(waa) + ssu(aa).

⁴⁷ Cf. note 40, in mode VIII, fourth person plural.

⁴⁸ qalap(poq) + tar(e) irregular, mode X, third person plural.

⁴⁹ na'tseq in the allative.

⁵⁰ neri(woq) EAT + qu(waa) INVITE + sí(woq) mode VI + lo AND.

⁵¹ <neri(= neqel) + sí + ssa(oq) mode II, third person singular. *nerrit*, cf. *nerritippoq* IS ACCUSTOMED TO EAT ONLY LITTLE (Kleinschmidt, Ordbog, p. 426).

⁵² See § 47.

⁵³ sawi(k) + qar(poq) + a negative.

⁵⁴ mikappoq especially PLUCKS THE HAIR OF A SKIN BY MEANS OF THE TEETH.

⁵⁵ neri(woq) + sar(poq).

⁵⁶ arqalap(paa) + neq verb abstract, third person possessive.

⁵⁷ Mode XI, third person singular.

Lojit ⁵⁸ them out	kiLLinneq the biting	ajulissuaa ⁵⁹ he began to be unable to	nerissane ⁶⁰ his food	kiŋotaarota riŋame ⁶¹ because he was deprived of his teeth
ataatip ⁶² one	nällinileraanamiuk ⁶³ because she (or he) used to pity him	sawimminik ⁶⁴ her (or his) knife	tunisarppaa ⁶⁵ she used to give him	isu- he
maliulerppoq ⁶⁶ begins to ponder	innuit men	pissässartartut ⁶⁷ using to train their strength	nakuarsuaŋorllutillo ⁶⁸ and growing very strong	
ilaa'ne ⁶⁹ once upon a day	it'erame ⁷⁰ when he awoke	qaqqamut on the mountain	majuarppoq he ascended	qaqilloŋolo ⁷¹ and climbing
laarppoq loudly	pissaap strength's	inu ^w a ⁷² its genius	naa ^w k where (are you)?	maaneepona here I am
teriänniaq a fox	anisorujussuaq ⁷⁴ immensely big	maaneepona here I am	ersilerporlo ⁷⁵ and he begins to fear	qaarquaaalo ⁷³ and he calls on him to approach
ersenjaqunnane ⁷⁶ bidding him not to fear him	ɔ'nnippaa ⁷⁷ he went towards him	tikikkaane ⁷⁸ he arriving at him	oqarppoq ⁷⁹ he (the fox) said	pa'miuma ⁸⁰ "Of my tail
nooättinut ⁸¹ by the end of it	tenoŋŋa ⁸² take hold of me"	tinuwaa He took hold of it	immuppaalo ⁸³ and he wrapped it around himself	'pi'ssiporlo ⁸³ and (the fox) made a jump
silaa'na'fmilo ⁸⁴ and in the air	qa'ŋättarppoq he rose aloft	'tukkamilo ⁸⁵ and falling down on the earth	anninŋilaq ⁸⁶ he felt no pain	oqarfinaalo ⁸⁷ and he said to him,

⁵⁸ *pe* (cf. note 11) + *tar*(*poq*) mode VI, third person plural.

⁵⁹ Cf. note 18, + *ler*(*poq*) + *ssu*(*a*).

⁶⁰ Cf. note 55, mode VIII, fourth person singular.

⁶¹ *kiyuta*(*q*) + *erup*(*poq*) + *tare* (cf. note 48).

⁶² *ataaseq* ONE (in the relative *ataatip* or *ataatip*).

⁶³ *nälliLil*(*a*) conjugation I + *ler*(*poq*) + *aa*(*ŋ*) mode X, fourth person subject, third person object, singular.

⁶⁴ *sawi*(*k*) third person possessive, instrumentalis.

⁶⁵ *tuni*(*waa*) + *sar*(*paa*).

⁶⁶ *isuma* THOUGHT + *lio*(*rpoq*) MAKES + *ler*(*poq*).

⁶⁷ *pissa*(*k*) STRENGTH + *sar*(*poq*) GET + *tar*(*poq*) in mode VII.

⁶⁸ *nakua*(*q*) STRONG + *sua*(*q*) GREAT, VERY + *ŋor*(*poq*) mode VI, fourth person plural + *lo* AND.

⁶⁹ *ila* in the locative, literally IN (ON) ONE OF THEM (viz., the days).

⁷⁰ *i'lerpoq* mode X, fourth person singular.

⁷¹ *qa'qip*(*paa*) (mode VI, third person singular) + *lo*.

⁷² *inuk* in third person possessive singular.

⁷³ *-lo* AND.

⁷⁴ *ayi*(*wog*) IS BIG + *so*(*q*) (mode VII) + *ruju*(*k*) + *ssuaq*.

⁷⁵ *-lo* AND.

⁷⁶ *ersiy*(*a*) IS AFRAID OF + *qu*(*waa*) + *na* negative, fourth person singular.

⁷⁷ = *ornippaa* mode III, third person singular.

⁷⁸ Mode IX, fourth person singular HE (Kaasassuk) ARRIVING AT HIM (the fox). The object of ARRIVING AT is the same person as the subject of the governing verb (*oqarpoq*), viz., the fox; therefore the fourth-person suffix is used. If the meaning of the word had been HE (the fox) ARRIVING AT HIM (Kaasassuk), the compound suffix would have been (*k*)*inne*.

⁷⁹ The fox is of course the genius of strength.

⁸⁰ *pamioq* TAIL first person singular, relative.

⁸¹ *nook* (the third person possessive singular *nooda*) prosecutive case.

⁸² Mode I, first person singular < *tiyuwaa* = *tiguwaa*.

⁸³ *-lo* AND = *Lo* (*l* becomes unvoiced after *k*, *q*, *l*).

⁸⁴ *sila* THE SPACE OUTSIDE OF THE HOUSE, THE AIR, THE WEATHER + *-innaq* ONLY, MERE + *me* (locative) + *lo* AND.

⁸⁵ *tup*(*poq*) mode X, fourth person singular + *lo*.

⁸⁶ *anner*(*poq*) SMARTS, ACHES + *ŋyilaq* negative.

⁸⁷ *oqar*(*poq*) SAYS, TELLS + *-fiŋaa* + *lo* AND.

kejumut⁸⁸ **qiviareet**⁸⁹ **takuvaalo** **penjuät** **katasimmällojo**⁹⁰
 " back look behind you!" and he saw playthings (the fox) shaking it off
teriänniarlo **oqarpoq** **allineq**⁹¹ **ajootitit**⁹² **penuaaro'mattooŋa'wit**⁹³
 and the fox said, "growing the reason why because you have been without
 you are unable to any plaything
allineq **ajorputit** **aamälo**⁹⁴ **pa'miu'ma** **nooätinut** **tiŋumma**⁹⁵
 growth you are unable Once more of my tall by the tip of it take hold of me."
 to.
immuppaa **pissipporlo** **orlonjilaq** **oqarfinaalo** **tässa** **nakuarsuanŋoq**⁹⁶
 he wrapped it and he (fox) he (K.) did not and he said to "this is growing very strong
 around made a jump fall down him
a'ternearit⁹⁷ **at'erlune** **imminut**⁹⁸ **malonjilerpoq**⁹⁹ **nakoanŋorlune**¹⁰⁰
 go down" he going down to himself he began to feel himself growing strong
ujarassuillo¹⁰¹ **anj'sörssuit**¹⁰² **sarmmiLlonj**¹⁰³ **artonjilaaj**¹⁰⁴ **illuLlo**¹⁰⁵
 and the big stones enormous upsetting them he mastered them and of the
 (bowlders) house
killinanut¹⁰⁶ **pimmät**¹⁰⁷ **meeraqataäsa**¹⁰⁸ **aluttoraät**¹⁰⁹, etc.
 the border of it as he came his fellow-children they were fascinated etc.
 with him,

⁸⁸ **kejo* (in possessive *keŋua*) THE BACK OF IT; *kejomut* allative.

⁸⁹ = *qiviariit* mode I, second person singular.

⁹⁰ AND HE SAW THE FOX SHAKING PLAYTHINGS OFF HIS BODY (out of his fur) *katap(paa)* + *sima-* (*waa*) mode VI, third person singular.

⁹¹ *alliwog* mode XII.

⁹² < *ajootippaa?* IS UNABLE TO CARRY OUT A WORK, OR TO BUY SOMETHING = *ajooppaa*, mode IX irregular (obsolete form).

⁹³ *peŋua(q)* + *er(paa)* + *up(paa)* + *ma(wog)* + *toor(poq)* mode X.

⁹⁴ *aama* AGAIN + *lo*.

⁹⁵ Cf. note 82, same mode and person, irregular.

⁹⁶ *nakua(q)* STRONG + *sua(q)* VERY, GREATLY + *ŋoq* rare form for -*ŋooq* IT IS SAID.

⁹⁷ *ater(poq)* + *niar(poq)* mode I, second person singular.

⁹⁸ *imme* SELF, allative.

⁹⁹ *malog(aa)* + *ler(poq)*.

¹⁰⁰ *nakua(q)* + *ŋor(poq)* mode VI.

¹⁰¹ *ujara(k)* + *sua(q)* (in the plural *suit*) + *lo*.

¹⁰² *aji(wog)* IS BIG, mode VII + *sua(q)* plural.

¹⁰³ *sarmip(paa)* mode VI, third person plural.

¹⁰⁴ *artor(paa)* DOES NOT MASTER, negative, mode III, third person plural.

¹⁰⁵ *illo* relative + *lo*.

¹⁰⁶ *killi(k)* (possessive *killiŋa*) allative NEAR TO, CLOSE TO.

¹⁰⁷ *pi(wog)* mode X, third person singular.

¹⁰⁸ *meera(q)* + *qal(e)* relative, third person plural.

¹⁰⁹ *aluttora* mode III, third person plural.

