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A Grammatical Outline of the

ESKIMO LANGUAGE

of

West Greenland

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P r e f a c e

The language here outlined belongs to the Eastern group of Eskimo dialects, spoken on the Arctic coast - and in some adjacent inland districts - from Greenland and Labrador in the East to Norton Sound and East Cape in the West. The closely related Western Eskimo dialects (spoken in coastal districts and on islands of Alaska south of Norton Sound to the 56. parallel approximately and on the Siberian shore of Bering Strait) and the more distantly related Aleut dialects had to be left entirely out of account.

The enormous geographical distances (more than 3,500 miles in straight line) taken into consideration the dialects of Eastern Eskimo are remarkably homogeneous - Knud Rasmussen's Greenlandic partners at the Fifth Thule Expedition could converse rather freely with their kinsmen all the way to North Alaska. In details, however, the differences are important enough to make it practically impossible to include the entire group in a study of this scope. The study has therefore been concentrated upon the language of West Greenland, by far the best known of the Eskimo dialects and possessing a rather extensive literature. Within this area too there are dialectal differences but most of the material being edited in a standardized shape it will rarely be necessary to distinguish more than between Southern Greenland (SG) - north to Holstensborg - and Northern Greenland (NG) - north to 71. parallel (from Upernavik no text material available).

Since, however, West Greenlandic is also one of the groups that for the longest time have been in contact with an Indo-European language (Norwegian and Danish, since early XVIII century) it has been thought useful to supplement the modern material with some information from the older sources - to indicate the structural possibilities of Eskimo in general rather than to attempt a historical treatment. For the same reason as much attention as possible has been given to those of the available texts which supposedly are most free of foreign influence, i.e. to the folkloristic texts, - with the risk of masking the differences between archaic or archaistic language and the every day speech of the modern towns.

The study is, in the first place, based upon the following linguistic works, abbreviated as indicated:

- Topp:** Albert Topp, Relation om Grönlændernes brugelige sprog, 1727 (grammatical treatise in manuscript; edition under preparation in Oslo).
- Paul Egede, Dictionarium Grönländico-Danico-Latinum. Copenhagen 1750. 312 pp.
- Egede:** idem, Grammatica Grönländica Danico-Latina. Copenhagen 1760. 256 pp.
- Fabricius:** Otho Fabricius, Forsög til en forbedret Grönländsk Grammatica. Copenhagen 1801 (second edition). 388 pp.
- idem, Den Grönländske Ordbog, forbedret og foröget. Copenhagen 1804. 795 pp. - Source of old examples without specified provenience.
- Kleinschmidt:** S. Kleinschmidt, Grammatik der grönländischen sprache. Berlin 1851. 182 pp. (Summarizing restatement by Morris Swadesh in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology Number Six pp. 30-45. New York 1946.)
- idem, Den Grönländske Ordbog, Copenhagen 1871. 460 pp.
- Rasmussen:** Chr. Rasmussen, Grönländsk Sproglære, Copenhagen 1888. 201 pp.
- Thalbitzer 1904:** William Thalbitzer, A Phonetical Study of The Eskimo Language, Meddelelser om Grönland Vol. XXXI, Copenhagen 1904. 406 pp.
- idem, Eskimo, Handbook of American Indian Languages by Franz Boas, Part 1 pp. 967-1069. Washington 1911.
- Dict.:** Schultz-Lorentzen, Dictionary of the West Greenland Eskimo Language, Meddelelser om Grönland Vol. LXIX. Copenhagen 1927. 303 pp. (Danish edition 1926.) - Source of most modern examples without specified provenience.
- idem, A Grammar of the West Greenland Language, *ibid.* Vol. 129,3. Copenhagen 1945. 103 pp. (Danish edition 1930.)

L.L. Hammerich, Personalendungen und Verbalsystem im Eskimoischen, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, XXIII, 2. Copenhagen 1936. 226 pp.

J.P.: Jonathan Petersen, ordbogêraK, Godthaab 1951. 255 pp.

Bugge: Aage Bugge, Grönlandsk Rejseparlör. Copenhagen 1952. 132 pp.

Most of the sentence examples - some of them illustrating phenomena not accounted for in the above mentioned works - are taken from the following texts:

Egede 1744: Evangelium ... aglekpaka Paul Egede. Copenhagen 1744.

Egede: pp. 206-255 of Grammatica (see above).

1857: reedition of Egede pp. 214-254. Godthaab.

ko.: kaladlit okalluktualliait. Grönlandske Folkesagn I-IV. Godthaab 1859-1865. 136-111-137-123 pp. (Anonymous redaction of H.J. Rink; part of Vol. IV collected by Peter Kragh before 1830.)
 att.: (Jerkjer, atuainiutit (Reader), Vol. I. Copenhagen 1880. 156 paragraphs.)

ko.: Kr. Lyngé, kaládlit okalugtuait okalualáviló I-III. Godthaab 1938-1939. 135-127-147 pp. (Some texts reedited from ko.) - Free translation of most of the same or parallel texts by Knud Rasmussen, Myter og Sagn fra Grönland II. Copenhagen 1924.

att.: Aage Bugge and Augustinus Lyngé, atuainiutitât (New Reader) I-III. Godthaab 1934-1944. 155-254-304 pp.

úm.il.: A. Lyngé, mërKat atuarfiáne ûmassunik ilíniutit (Zoology for the elementary school). Godthaab 1935. 114 pp.

kisits.: M. Gam, kisitsiniutit (Arithmetic Book) I. Godthaab 1935. 197 pp.

nunal.: M. Gam and A. Lyngé, nunalerutit (Geography). Godthaab 1942. 173 pp.

Kal.: Kalâtdlit / Tidsskrift for Foreningen Kalâtdlit. Copenhagen 1940 - .

Some Biblical examples are taken from the 1900 edition Atugarssuit (The Bible) and from the 1936 edition TastamantitâK (The New Testament).

(A couple of western examples, marked Nunam., are transcribed from records brought back from Brooks Range, Alaska, by Helge Ingstad.)

The examples have been phonemicized, a somewhat arbitrary distinction having been made between the older texts, ko. inclusively, and the modern texts which latter have been transcribed according to the present day pronunciation. The translations must be taken with some reservation. At a preparatory stage of the study editor Kristoffer Lynge (native of Godthaab) furnished much valuable information (especially as regards J. P. and koo.) but, to quote from one of his letters, 'there are so many shades of meaning in the Eskimo language that can not be translated but give style and swing to the speech and that may be fully grasped only by those who have gained a complete mastery of the language' - and the author, unfortunately, is not one of them. (Derivation suffixes left untranslated are in most cases referred to by paragraph numbers.)

The organization of the material differs considerably from that of the earlier treatments but could undoubtedly, with more time available, have been made more adequate. To avoid the 'interpretatio latina' an attempt has been made to state the grammatical relations as much as possible in terms of formally established suffix categories but so far this has left the semantic aspects of the language too short of the desirable elucidation.

The author finally apologizes for not having had time to have his imperfect English corrected.

Oslo January 1955.

Knut Bergsland (sign.)

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1. Eskimo utterances may probably be divided into the following kinds of phonemic units: contours, separated by intonational breaks (6.); stretches, separated by pauses (5.); syllables and segmental phonemes.

2. The segmental phonemes of WG may be listed as follows - marginal (morphemically limited) phonemes in (): {

	labial	prelingual			postlingual		(glottal)
		a)	b)	c)	a)	b)	
stop	<u>p</u>	<u>t</u>			<u>k</u>	<u>q</u>	
continuant	<u>w</u>	<u>l</u>	<u>S</u> (<u>j</u>)	<u>s</u> <u>y</u>	<u>ʃ</u>	<u>r</u>	(h)
nasal	<u>m</u>	<u>n</u>			<u>ŋ</u>	(<u>ŋ</u>)	
vowel	<u>u</u>		<u>i</u>		<u>a</u>		

Stops are voiceless, mostly unaspirated lenes; before i, however, they are more or less aspirated and t assibilated. S, s and h are voiceless, the other continuants voiced in single intervocalic position, in other positions (4.) voiceless; voiced w and y are often frictionless (cp. 3.). Labials are bilabial, except that w seems increasingly to become labiodental in the modern language. Prelinguals are a) dental - l, however, alveolar and in certain positions (as in ila) usually having the character of a flapped point r; b) retroflex alveolo-palatal; c) prepalatal, s comprising, however, especially in clusters, also allophones with point articulation. - The full set of prelingual continuants is limited to dialects of central WG (Holstensborg-Fredrikshaab), other dialects having only l, s, y. - Postlinguals are a) mediopalatal; b) postpalatal or uvular.

The vowels u and i are relatively close, a relatively open, but all three comprise a wide range of allophones, wider in close syllable than in open syllable and wider for short (single) vowels than for long (geminated) vowels. The closest and most advanced allophones are conditioned by prelingual consonants, the most open and backed ones by uvular consonants, a following consonant having a stronger effect on the vowel than a preceding one.

Note. The official orthography, introduced about 1850 by Samuel Kleinschmidt, has small capital K for q; v or, after u, partly zero for postvocalic w, f for postconsonantic w; dl for postconsonantic l; ss for S; l' (J. Petersen) for j; j or, after i, zero for y; ng for ŋ; and, before uvular and word final, o, e for u, i. Vowel length (gemination) is indicated by ˆ; consonant length by ˆ over a preceding short vowel, a tilde instead of ˆ over a preceding long vowel, or by letter combinations like tdl, gdl, vdL for ll - with, and often without, etymological foundation. Before Kleinschmidt the spelling was rather ambiguous and fluctuating - k for both k and q; rs for both S and rs, rS, etc. - and can not always be interpreted with absolute certainty.

3. All three vowels occur single (short) and geminated (long) in all positions, e.g. ulu 'woman's knife', ini 'place, room', ata 'attention :'; suu 'why, yes :', iiwaa 'he swallowed it', aayumaarpiyuk 'are you going to fetch it?'. In addition there is a homosyllabic cluster ai, in modern WG limited to word final position, and, in the older language (as well as in other Eskimo dialects), a cluster au, e.g. tiguwai 'he took them', old tiguwait 'they took them' - modern tiguwaat id. and 'they took it' -, old paig 'redbreasted merganser', pauq 'soot' - modern both paaq.

In the older language (as in other Eskimo dialects) u and i may possibly have combined in heterosyllabic clusters with a following different vowel but in modern WG stretch medial hiatus, if occurring at all, marks word limit and the cases referred to do not seem to differ from combinations with an intervening w or y respectively. Thus written suai 'its roe' is pronounced like written suvai (suwai) 'what did he do to them' and written nuia 'cloud' represents nuwiya.

4.1. In intervocalic position all consonants occur single, with the following limitations:

y does not occur between two i's (nor after su-, written sujumut 'forwards', for example, being pronounced siyumut). w between two u's and g between two a's seem to occur at the morpheme border only and in contact with u there is dialectal variation between g and w; in NG intervocalic g is mostly replaced by ŋ.

N is a stretch medial prevocalic variety of word final q, e.g. irniNaa (written erneK-â) 'hie son!', cp. irniqaa (erneKâ) 'has she finally given birth?'.

j is an expressive variety of l (in other dialects a normal phoneme corresponding to WG S) and occurs in a small number of Eskimo morphemes and in some recent loanwords (reflecting r), e.g. pajak (palak) 'excellent, splendid', aṅutikujak (-kulák) 'large limbed, biggish man' (95.3.1.); tujuwui (tuluwui, turuwui) 'trump' (Danish trumf), sipiji 'whim' (Danish spil).

All consonants also occur geminated, except the marginal phonemes j and N, and y, to which latter corresponds the unique homorganic cluster ts - in NG coincided with tt -, cp. 11.

Apart from recent loanwords the only other consonant clusters of modern WG are uvular r followed by a - phonetically geminated - labial or prelingual stop (p, t), continuant (w, l, S, s) or nasal (m, n) or, as a dialectal variety of the latter two, postlingual ŋ, e.g. arturnarpuq, 'it is impossible', qarmarSuwarlu 'and a big wall', irmusiq, irṅusiq 'ladle, etc.', irniinnaq, irṅiinnaq 'at once'. - In the older language there were also clusters of velar consonant followed by the same labial and prelingual consonants as the just mentioned ones, and of labial consonant followed by a prelingual consonant or k, q, g, ŋ. The first member was a stop (k, p) or a continuant (w) before stop, S and s; a continuant (g, w) before the other continuants, k occurring however also before l; and a nasal (ŋ, m) or a continuant (w) before nasal. In most subdialects, at somewhat different rates, all these clusters seem to have been assimilated to geminate clusters in the course of the XIX century, cluster initial labial passing through the stage of labial coarticulation (see Thalbitzer 1904 pp. 162 ff.), e.g. old akpa - modern appa 'guillemot', aṅmakSak (aṅmagSak) - ammaSSak 'caplin', aklunaaq - allunaaq 'strap, thong', agliwuq - alliwuq 'grows', ipsaq, iwsaq - issaq 'the other day, some time ago', simniq - sinniq 'surplus, remainder', akigawni 'when I answered him', akigaŋni 'when you answered him' - modern both akiganni. (In the western dialects of Eastern Eskimo there are several more heterorganic clusters, notably such with a prelingual as the first member, e.g. Metsilik etc. atpa 'merganser'. Thus the monotonous distribution of consonants is an innovation of modern WG.)

4.2. Before vowel, in stretch initial position, single stops, s, m, and n are frequent. In expressive words and recent loan-words other continuants and even clusters occur as well, e.g. waa (ko. I 104) 'oh! (here it is)', Siirpuq 'makes a hissing sound with the mouth', yaayatsiyaarput 'they play rounders', haa 'look there!', truk (ko. I 120) 'pooh!'; wirsi 'verse', laaya 'day laborer' (Danish dag-lejer), yuuli 'July', raatiyu 'radio', hiisti 'horse' (Danish hest), kristumiyu 'Christian'.

4.3. After vowel, in stretch final position, only single stops (or, by southern individuals, nasals) occur normally but in interjections and the like also continuants occur, e.g. maSS (apocopated maSSa) 'no indeed!', sass exclamation used by women to express contempt, uuy uuy exclamation when feeling cold, igg 'poor little dear!'.

5. The syllabic structure of normal WG stretches may thus be summarized in the formula (C)V(V)[(C)CV(V)](C), where () indicates elements that are not necessarily present and [] sequences occurring from zero up to some thirty times, e.g. a 'why, well!', att. II 196 nalunaarasuwartaatiliyuqatigiwwiSSuwaliryulirSaaliraluwallaramiηηuuN -aasiηηuuq 'they said they would by all means have been about intending to make a big place for building a telegraph together but as usual, they say [they did nothing]' (word border after N only). Apparently, however, stretches of more than some fifteen syllables are not very frequent.

The final syllable of a stretch usually has - ceteris paribus - more stress than a non final syllable, and a long syllable - (C)VVC, (C)VV or (C)VC - more stress than a short syllable, the differences being rather small. Thus, at least at this level, stress is not phonemic.

6. Contours, comprising one or several stretches, are characterized by different intonational patterns which, however, have not been properly analyzed. Thalbitzer's notes from NG (1904 pp. 131 ff.) and a couple of recordings from southern dialects suggest that there are at least two general types, the one falling or rising-falling (with or without a slight rise at the very end of the contour), the

other rising or falling-rising, and that both occur at two pitch levels at least. The falling type occurs in declarative and - with higher pitch - in interrogative sentences, the rising type in non final parts of sentences and - with high pitch - in exclamatory sentences. Apparently, however, an interrogative sentence, for example, may also have the same intonation as a declarative sentence and it is uncertain to what extent the punctuation of the texts actually reflects the intonation.

PHONOLOGY II: MORPHOPHONEMICS

7. For the purpose of this chapter a wordform may roughly be defined as a minimal unit capable of filling a stretch. With respect to the phonemic shape, however, wordforms combine in stretches in about the same way as morphemes (minimal significant units) combine in wordforms.

A wordform may contain from one to more than twenty morphemes (cp. 5.). The morphemes may be classified into initial morphemes, which may occur initially in stretches (e.g. nalu- 'ignore' and aasiit 'as usual' in 5.), and suffixes which may not (e.g. the rest of the morphemes - more than twenty - in att. II 196). Apart from the particular morpheme ta(C)- (35.5.) initial morphemes, roots, may also occur finally or are followed by suffixes.

Suffixation is accompanied by a number of phonemic alternations, some more or less mechanically determined by the general phonemic pattern indicated in 3-4., others more special, i.e. implied by individual morphemes.

8. The most common phonemic shape of roots may be indicated by the formula (C)V[(C)C]V(C), that of suffixal morphemes by the formulas -C and -[(C)C]V(C) but longer, synchronically not analyzable, roots and suffixes are also quite numerous, e.g. aa- (old ai-) 'fetch', qilak 'sky', qallu (old qawlu) 'eyebrow', tufugaq 'raven', anakkuq 'shaman'; -t plural, -u- 'be', -lir- 'begin', -kanniq 'almost'.

... in many cases alternates with ... but otherwise roots of the shape (C)V(C) are infrequent, most of them being pronouns and particles.

9. Apart from some of the last mentioned cases the stem consonant, i.e. the last C of the formulas, is limited to the same four possibilities as the stretch final consonants - uvular, velar, prelingual and (suffixal only) labial - the further phonemic quality being determined by what follows, to a certain extent also by what precedes.

9.1. Before the single initial consonant of many suffixes (cp. 12.2.), as well as before word initial consonant, the stem consonants usually appear in shapes determined by the general distribution rules for stretch medial clusters (4.1.). The uvular, however, together with suffix initial g appear as r, and the prelingual together with suffix initial s appears as ss or s more often than as ts. E.g. -puq indicative 3.p.sg., -nar- 'be -able, etc.' (65.), -sima- 'have (done so and so), etc.' (74.5.) with isir- 'go in': isirpuq, isirnar-, isirsima-; with sinig- 'sleep': sinippuq (old sinikpuq, sinigpuq), sininnar- (old sinin̄nar-), sinissima- (old siniksima-, sinigsima-); with tikit- 'have come': tikippuq, tikinnar-, tikissima-; - qanuq 'how', qassit 'how many' with makku 'these': qanurmakku, qassimmakku; (word border case only:) nuuk 'point of land' with qaqurtuq 'white': nuuqqaqurtuq.

However, before the majority of suffixes with initial consonant - single or cluster (12.1.) - the stem consonants are dropped (zero alternant), e.g. isir- etc. with -lir- 'begin' (74.1.): isilir-, sinilir-, tikilir-. But here too the uvular together with suffix initial g largely appears as r, e.g. arnaq 'woman, mother', panik 'daughter' with -gaa 'has him/her for, is his' (49.1.): arnaraa, panigaa.

9.2. Before vowel the stem consonants appear as nasals at the word border, e.g. irniNaa (see 4.1.), suunuku (suut uku) 'what are they', ullumilaa (ullup ilaa) 'part of the day'.

Before suffix initial vowel the stem consonants are in most cases dropped (cp. 10.). In other cases, particularly when i or zero (i.e. morphophoneme ī) precedes, they appear as continuants (r; ɣ or ŋ; SS) or as part of a consonant cluster with a preceding single consonant, e.g. -a 'his', -ut(ī)- 'with, at, etc.' (66.) with irniq 'son': irnira, with atiq 'name': aqqa, with atir- 'go down': aqquppaa, with aSSik 'picture': aSSina, with urnig- 'go, come to': urniguppaa, with kamik 'boot': kamma (old kaŋma), with sinig- 'sleep': sinnuppuq (old sinuppuq) or sinŋuppuq, with mit- 'settle (a bird)': miSSuppaa, with igit- 'throw': iSSuppaa (old ikSuppaa), - cp. with arnaq 'mother': arnaa, with aggir- 'approach': aggiyuppaa, with panik 'daughter': paniya, with uqalug- 'speak': uqaluuppaa, with tikit- 'have come': tikiyuppaa. At least the following zero cases occur, clusters of the old language in ():

medial	plus:	uvular	velar	prelingual
<u>-p-</u>		<u>-qq-</u> (<u>-wq-</u>)	<u>-kk-</u> (<u>-wk-</u>)	
<u>-w-</u>		<u>-rw-</u>	<u>-ww-</u> (<u>-gw-</u>)	
		or <u>-rr-</u> (<u>-wr-</u>)	or <u>-gg-</u> (<u>-wg-</u>)	
<u>-m-</u>		<u>-rm-</u>	<u>-mm-</u> (<u>-ŋm-</u>)	<u>-SS-</u>
<u>-t-</u> , <u>-s-</u>		<u>-qq-</u>	<u>-kk-</u>	
<u>-S-</u>		<u>-rS-</u>		
<u>-l-</u>		<u>-rl-</u>	<u>-ll-</u> (<u>-gl-</u>)	
<u>-n-</u>		<u>-rn-</u>	<u>-nn-</u> (<u>-ŋn-</u>)	<u>-SS-</u>
			or <u>-ŋŋ-</u>	
<u>-k-</u>				<u>-SS-</u> (<u>-kS-</u>)
<u>-g-</u>		<u>-rr-</u> (rare)		<u>-SS-</u> (<u>-kS-</u>)
<u>-ŋ-</u>		<u>-rr-</u> -'-		
<u>-r-</u>		<u>-rr-</u> -'-		

10. As for the vowels it is convenient to split up i into two morphophonemes, i and ī (in North Alaska probably still phonemes). Although there is considerable dialectal and free variation, particularly it seems in the modern language, ī differs from i by not assibilating a following prevocalic t to s and by alternating with zero and with a in cases where the other vowels are invariable, cp. nipi 'voice', kamik 'boot' and aki 'payment, etc.', sinik 'stopper' with -tu-

'have a large' (50.2.), -tur- 'use' (52.3.), -a 'his': nipituwuq, kamitturpaa (old kamik-), nipaa, kamma (old kaṇma) - but also kamiya -, and akisuwuq, simissurpaa (old simik-), akiya, simiya. For the stem this distinction rarely has any synchronic importance beyond the last vowel (cp. iqquppaa from isīr- 'come in' like aquppaa from atīr- in 9.2.) but unlike other morphophonemes i has a zero alternant in word final position as well, viz. when t precedes, e.g. aṇut 'man, father', aṇuti-ga 'my father', aṇuta-a 'his father'.

10.1. Before the initial consonant of most suffixes, as well as before word initial consonant, the stem vowels are invariable. Among the more sporadic alternations may be noted the labial metathesis in a couple of combinations of i with suffix initial w, e.g. ani-gi- (69.5.) -wuq: aniguyuq 'also goes out'. In combinations of inflective suffixes there are several, more or less unique, cases of fusion but here only phonemically storable alternations can be treated.

10.1.1. Stems in -tī- (after i: -sī-) before suffix initial consonant have the vocalic shape in most of the cases where stem consonants are dropped, cp. 9.1. and ukkisi-lirpaa 'begins to stare at it', aṇuti-gaa 'is his father', but the consonantic shape in most other cases. In some of the latter and other more or less isolated cases the final prelingual of then monosyllabic stems in the old language appeared as a velar before a labial, e.g. at(ī)- 'lower part' and qul(ī)- 'upper part' with -mut allative: aṇmut, quṇmut (modern ammut, qummut).

In many, although somewhat isolated, cases i alternates with zero also after a single labial or postlingual, notably before suffixes with initial prelingual (in particular s, l, n), the resulting consonant clusters following the general phonemic rules of distribution, e.g. -Si- (67.1-2., postvocalic alternant, cp. 12.2.), -li- 'become' (74.2.), +lir 'provide with' (50.4.), -nīq action noun (56.) with qipī- 'twist': qiSSi- (besides qipīSi-), qinniq; with nipī 'voice': nillir- (old niwlir-); with ikī- 'put into': iSSi- (besides ikiSi-); with nikī- 'be small': milli- (old mikli-), minniq (old minniq); with tiṇī-: tiSSi- (old tikSi-); with aṇī- 'be large': alli- (old aghi-), anniq (old aṇniq); with niqī 'meat, food': nirilir-; with paarī- 'take care

of': paarSi-; with suffix -uti-: -uSSi-, -unniq; - with initial l, however, final -t(i)- gives s, e.g. attat(i)- 'button': attasir-.

10.1.2. In combinations with certain suffixes with initial l or n or some synchronically indeterminable consonant there is in a large number of cases syncopation of an entire syllable at the morpheme border, in case accompanied by gemination of a preceding - actual or latent - single consonant (11.), synonymous or semantically slightly different unsyncopated forms occurring, however, to a large extent as variants.

In the cases where the suffix vowel is i (+li- 'make, etc.', +lir- 'provide with', etc. 50.3-4., and +ni dependent 4.p.sg.) the stem vowel is dropped together with the stem consonant (uvular, velar) and the suffix initial consonant, e.g. iigaq 'wall covering': iikkir-; atunak 'sole': atunni-; atunaSSaq 'skin for a sole': atunaSSi-; qayug 'soup': qatsir- (and qayulir-), kamik 'boot': kammi- (old id., not -nm- :). Vowel stems rarely have this treatment, e.g. nuna 'land': nunni-, nunnit- (nunalit-). +ni is partly treated as a vowel initial suffix after stems in i plus uvular, e.g. tupiq 'tent': tuqqi (old tuppi) 'his own tent', like tuqq-a 'his (another's) tent' (cp. 9.2.), and so also in sporadic cases like uwi- 'husband': uwii.

In the cases where the suffix vowel is i, on the contrary (nig- 'get' (50.7.), -niq action noun (56.), etc.), the suffix vowel is dropped together with the stem consonant (if any) and the suffix initial consonant, the stem vowel being retained and i having usually the alternant a, e.g. nipi-: nippag- (and nipinig-); amiq 'skin': ammig- (and aminig-); inuk 'human being, etc.': innug- (and inunig-); - with -niq plus -lug-, -(r)lug- 'have a bad' (53.3.) and +gig- 'have a good' (53.2.), kiisi- 'bite at something, take the hook': kiitsirlug- (and kiisinirlug-), kiitsirig-; piniyar- (pi-ni(r)ar-) 'go hunting': pinirrarlug-, pinirrarig-; uqalug- 'speak': uqallurlug-, uqallurig- (and uqaluqqig-); qitiwit- 'twitter, speak a foreign tongue': qitiwarlug-, qitiwarig-; cp. pi- 'do, etc.': pinirlug-, piqqig-; mirSur- 'sew': mirSuqqig-; tikit- 'have come': tikinnirlug-.

In +qqig- the i of -niq has the zero alternant, and similarly there is a suffix -(CV)wik 'place or time of action' (59.2.) which after vowel has the shape -wik with gemination or -wwik without gemination,

e.g. sana- 'work': sannawik, but pi-: piwwik, and after consonant the shape -wik, e.g. mirSurwik, tikiwwik.

10.1.3. It should be noted that this important syllabic syncopation (cp. also 10.2.) is different from the more sporadic cases of haplology and dissimilation, without gemination. Cp. -(K)arī- 'every time' (69.8.) and -uq indicative 3.p.sg., -Suq intr. participial, +ḡḡilaq 'does not', with uqar- 'say'; uqararaaq (full shape), ayullar- 'be very bad': ayullaaraaq (dissimilation of the stem consonant), -llaraaSug (dissimilation of the suffix medial r), uqaraaḡḡilaq (id.), aniSar- 'habitually go out': aniSaraaq, -Sariḡḡilaq (haplology of the first syllable of the suffix).

10.2. The stem vowel - of vowel stems and of consonant stems according to 9.2. - and the initial vowel of suffixes and word-forms are in most cases contracted into one syllable or separated by a more or less mechanically determined continuant, ī having in most cases the alternant a.

10.2.1. The normal treatment may be summarized in the following table:

<u>a-u</u> : <u>aa</u> (old <u>au</u>)	<u>a-i</u> : <u>ai</u> , <u>aaC</u> (<u>aiC</u>)	<u>a-a</u> : <u>aa</u>
<u>aa-u</u> : <u>aa</u> or <u>aayu</u>	<u>aa-i</u> : <u>ai</u> or <u>aawi</u>	<u>aa-a</u> : <u>aa</u> or <u>aawa</u>
<u>ai-u</u> : <u>aayu</u>	<u>au-i</u> : <u>aawi</u>	<u>au-a</u> : <u>aawa</u>
<u>i-u</u> : <u>iyu</u> or <u>ii</u>	<u>i-i</u> : <u>ii</u>	<u>i-a</u> : <u>iya</u>
	<u>ii-i</u> : <u>iiwi</u>	<u>ii-a</u> : <u>iiya</u>
<u>u-u</u> : <u>uu</u>	<u>u-i</u> : <u>uwi</u>	<u>u-a</u> : <u>uwa</u>
<u>uu-u</u> : <u>uu</u> or <u>uuyu</u>	<u>uu-i</u> : <u>uui</u>	<u>uu-a</u> : <u>uwa</u>

Eg. -u-wuq 'is' (48.1.), -uta-a 'his owned' (80.1.), -i 'his several', -a 'his one', with illu 'house': illuwuq, illuwi, illuwa, with amiq 'skin': amiyuwq, amii, amiya, with aḡut(ī-) 'man, father': aḡutaawuq, aḡutai, aḡutaa, with puuq 'bag': puutaa or puuyutaa, puuwa, with siyulliiq 'foreleg': siyulliiwi, siyulliiya, with nutaq 'new': nutaawuq or nutaayuwuq, with aaq 'sleeve': ai or aawi, aa or aawa. suna 'what' and usi 'oh, I almost forgot that' with uwa 'voila': sunaawa, usiyuwa or usiiwa; aa 'hie, etc.' with una 'he, it': aana

or aayuna, but also with iŋŋa 'that over there' and anna 'that in the north': aayiŋŋa, aayanna.

10.2.2. In many cases, however, there is syncope of the same nature as in 10.1.2.

After vowels other than i the vowel of vocalic alternants of inflective suffixes which after vowel stems consist of a single consonant (12.3.) is syncopated together with a uvular stem consonant, in case with gemination of the preceding single consonant, e.g. aluq 'sole': pl. allut, arnaq 'woman': pl. arnat, amiq 'skin': relative sg. ammip; - cp. aliq 'line': pl. arlit, irnīq 'son': pl. irnit, imīq 'water': rel.sg. irmup according to 9.2., and inuk 'human being': pl. inuwit, qilak 'sky': rel. sg. qilaap (old qilaup), urpik 'tree': pl. urpiit, rel.sg. urpiyup according to the general rule above. However, some stems in velar (mostly terms for paired body parts) and even one or two vowel stems are treated like stems in uvular, e.g. itumak 'palm of the hand': pl. itummat, niyu 'leg': pl. nissut. On the other hand some few stems in uvular are treated like the majority of the stems in velar, e.g. utuqqaq 'old': pl. utuqqaat (utuqqait).

After vowel stems in u, i, a the initial vowel of the suffixes -ut(ī)- 'with, at, etc.' (60., 66.) and -Vr- 'become' (74.2.) is syncopated in the same way, e.g. sisu- 'slide downwards': sitsur-, niri- 'eat': nirrit(ī)-, quya- 'thank': qutsat(ī)-, nala- 'lie down': nallar-. Stems in ī, on the contrary, drop their vowel, in some isolated cases without but usually with gemination, e.g. sapī- 'block': saputit pl. 'dike, weir', sapir- 'be unable' (isolated cases) but tiŋi- 'fly': tiŋnut(ī)-. With -ut(ī)- consonant stems are usually treated according to 9.2. but there are also some gemination cases, e.g. uqar- 'say something': uqqat(ī)-, uqqapput 'they quarrel' besides regular uqaat(ī)- 'exhort, etc.'; pigaar- 'keep vigil': piggat(ī)- besides pigaat(ī)-.

11. Gemination of the consonant preceding the last vowel of the stem occurs, as indicated in the preceding section, in connection with syncope of an entire syllable at the morpheme border. Demonstratives, however, occur in forms characterized by gemination only (35.3.), e.g. ikka 'see over there' (cp. taaka, old taika, with

prefixed ta- and no gemination), but in the light of the other cases such forms may be said to contain a suffix -(CV) (which also happens to be historically probable, cp. Aleut ika-ya id.).

Geminates and other clusters are not, of course, subject to further gemination but even within the limits of the general conditions there is, in some individual cases, no gemination, as when the postvocalic alternant of the suffix -Si- is invariable and the dropped stem consonant does not reappear before the postconsonantic alternant -i- of the same suffix, e.g. ili-Si-wik 'place (-(CV)wik) for putting (ili-) something, i.e. shelf', naatsiiwik 'place for waiting for (-tsir-) something to grow (nau-), i.e. garden'. But usually the syllabic syncopation involves gemination of a stem medial single consonant - actual or latent (zero \emptyset including w and y according to 10.2.1.):

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{p} \\ \underline{w}^1 \end{array} \right\} \sim \underline{pp}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{w} \\ \emptyset^3 \end{array} \right\} \sim \underline{ww}$	$\underline{m} \sim \underline{mm}$
$\underline{t} \sim \underline{tt}, \underline{ts}^4$	$\underline{l} \sim \underline{ll}$	$\underline{n} \sim \underline{nn}$
	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{s}^2 \\ \emptyset, \underline{y}^3 \end{array} \right\} \sim \underline{ss}$	
$\underline{s} \sim \underline{ts}$	$\underline{y}, \emptyset^2 \sim \underline{ts}, \underline{ss}^5$	$\underline{y} \sim \underline{inn}^6$
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{k}^2 \\ \underline{g}^3 \end{array} \right\} \sim \underline{kk}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{g} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} \sim \underline{gg}$	$\underline{\eta} \sim \underline{\eta\eta}$
$\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{q}^2 \\ \underline{r}^3 \end{array} \right\} \sim \underline{qq}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{r}^2 \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} \sim \underline{rr}$	

The alternant marked 1) is found as the initial of mood suffixes only, e.g. indicative 3.p.sg. pi-wuq, pl. pipput. The alternants marked 2) are found after the first (single) vowel of roots only, those marked 3) in other positions only, e.g. uqaq 'tongue': pl. uqqat, tiSa- 'split, cut up (meat etc.)': tiSSat(i-) 'means to split etc.', aaq 'sleeve': pl. atsit; but miiraq 'child': pl. miiqqat, issiya- 'sit': issiwasiq 'manner of sitting', narayaq

'bait': pl. naraSSat; - exception: niyaquq 'head': pl. niyaqqut. The unmarked alternants are found in either syllabic position, e.g. qaaq 'skin for sleeping platform, mattress': pl. qaSSat (and qaat), igalaaq 'window': pl. igalaSSat (and igalaat).

The alternant marked 4) is found only before suffixal i (10.1.2.), e.g. awataq 'sealing bladder': awatsi (kop. I 45 etc.) 'his own s.bl.', but pl. awattat. The alternant marked 5) is confined to a couple of cases like niyu 'leg': pl. nissut (old also niyut) - after i apparently no examples for ts -, and the one marked 6) to qayaq 'kayak': pl. qaannat (old qainnat) and nayak 'younger sister': naanni (nainni) 'his/her own y.s.' - but pl. nayaat. In rare cases only, mostly after i (cp. 10.) and beyond the first syllable, do both of the indicated alternation pairs occur in the same vocalic environment, cp. tiSa-: tiSSat above and qiya- 'cry, weep': qiSSat(i) 'reason for crying'.

The alternation sets thus roughly constitute 15 single intervocalic morphophonemes and in addition there is an invariable zero, e.g. paaq 'redbreasted merganser': pl. paaq, qiiq 'grey or white bear': pl. qiiit. But in individual morphemes there is much variation, dialectal or free, cp. the variants qaSSat, qaat, etc. above.

12. It appears from the preceding sections that the stem alternations may, in principle, be viewed as depending upon the general morphophonemic constitution of the morphemes and/or as properties of individual suffixes. Such properties being stated, suffix alternations may in turn largely be described in general morphophonemic terms.

12.1. The great majority of the suffixes before which a stem consonant is dropped (indicated by +) have an invariable initial consonant: any single consonant or some cluster (mostly a geminate). Prevocalic t, however, may be assibilated to s (10.) and g may, with one or two exceptions, be uvularized to r (9.1.) and some suffixes with initial y have doublets with initial s or zero; suffix initial l with preceding t often gives s (10.1.1. end).

Some suffixes otherwise belonging to this group may involve syllabic synecpation (10.1.2.).

12.2. Some of the suffixes before which a stem consonant is retained (indicated by -) also have an invariable initial consonant, viz. p, t, s, l, m or n. Here too there may be syllabic syncopation or the suffix may, through the zero alternant of its vowel, have an initial cluster (10.1.2.).

Other suffixes of this group have an initial cluster after vowel stems but a single consonant after consonant stems: (r)p, (r)t, (r)s, (r)S, (r)l, (t)t, t(s), (t)s, (l)l, (m)m, (n)n, in the old language also (k)l and possibly others; cp. - (r)pallag-, (r)palug- 'audibly, etc.' (54.7) with pi- 'do, etc.': pirpallag-, with isir- 'go in': isirpallag-, with ittug- 'roar': ituppalug-, and +pallag- 'carelessly' (77.16.) with pi-: pipallag-, with aallar- 'leave': aallapallag-, with allag- 'write': allapallag-; cp. also -(CV)wik (10.1.2.); -(t)- 'have caught or killed' (50.5.) with tuttu 'reindeer': tuttut-, tuttuppuq, with tiriyanniyaq 'fox': tiriyanniyarpuq.

Several suffixes of this group have alternating single initial consonants, the main alternants being (capitals for the morphophonemes constituted by the alternants):

$P: \begin{cases} \underline{w} \\ \underline{p} \end{cases}$	$T: \begin{cases} \underline{S} \text{ or } \underline{y}, \emptyset \\ \underline{t} \end{cases}$	$K: \begin{cases} \underline{g} \text{ or } \underline{y} & : \text{ after vowel} \\ \underline{r} & : \text{ with uvular} \\ \underline{k} & : \text{ after consonant} \end{cases} \quad (9.1.)$
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E.g. -Puq indicative 3.p.sg. with asa- 'love': asawuq, with aallar- 'leave': aallarpuq; -Tuq intr. participial sg.: asaSuq, aallartuq; -Tuwar- 'continue' (75.1.): asayuwar- or asaawar-, aallartuwar- (cp. +tuwar- 'only' (89.2.): asatuwar-, aallatuwar-); -Kaluwar- 'otherwise' (72.1.) with taku- 'see': takugaluwar-, with aallar- 'leave': aallaraluwar-, with sinig- 'sleep': sinikkaluwar-, with tuqut- 'kill': tuqukkaluwar-; -Kuma- 'want' (73.2.): takuyuma-, aallaruma-, sinikkuma-, tuqukkuma-.

In the old language, however, to postvocalic y did not correspond k but zero after both uvular and velar (modern -r-, -k-k-) and s after prelingual (modern -k-k-), e.g. tuqutsuma- (No. IV 76 besides tuqukkuma-). Similarly, to postvocalic -yartur- 'go in order to' (74.3.) correspond, with uvular -r-iyartur-, with velar -k-

-kiyartur- (old -g-iyartur-), with prelingual -k-kiyartur- (modern only) or -t-sartur-. A couple of otherwise analogous suffixes have, instead of or besides K, n after vowel and/or prelingual.
- +(g)innar-/sinnar- 'only, just' (89.1.) used to have the post-vocalic/postconsonantic distribution, -Si-/i- medial (67.1-2.) still has it, and it may also be noted that there are doublets with initial n/ø.

12.3. Before the initial vowel of some suffixes the stem consonants are always dropped but in most cases the treatment depends more or less upon the preceding vowel (9.2.) and so does syllabic syncope (10.2.2.). The suffix +araq 'small' (84.5.) has a rather frequent alternant +Vraq, i.e. the initial vowel is quite often assimilated to the stem vowel (any), e.g. sawik 'knife': sawiraq (old sawiyaraq), cp. 10.2.1.

Some suffixes have an initial vowel - subject to syllabic syncope - after consonants only: -[u]p relative sg., -[i]t plural, -[v]k dual (cp. 10.2.2.).

In the following chapters only the most important morpho-phonemic relations can be indicated.

GRAMMAR I: INTRODUCTION

13. As an introduction to the following chapters the last part of a simple, emotionally and stylistically very neutral, text will be roughly analyzed (att. II 7-9, Pavia Petersen):

- | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| (1) <u>taamaalilluni</u>
she behaving thus | (2) <u>pilanniSSamik</u>
with future flensing | (3) <u>qimatuliniSSamillu</u>
and with future laying
winter stores in depot | |
| (4) <u>piyaqqani</u>
her pups | (5) <u>ayuqirsurpai</u> .
she taught them | | |
| (6) <u>ukiyuqaaq</u>
winter came
strongly | (7) <u>iSSiqaluni</u>
it being very
cold | (8) <u>silarlukkayussiqaalunilu</u> .
and it becoming very apt to
be bad weather | |
| (9) <u>imaq</u>
the sea | (10) <u>aḡallawiyurpiyarunnaariyarmat</u>
when it was about to no more
really be a place to wander | (11) <u>qimmit</u>
the dogs | |
| (12) <u>niriSaSSaaliqilirput</u> .
they began to lack what
to be eaten | (13) <u>siSSami</u>
on the beach | (14) <u>aalisakkat</u>
(of) fish | |
| (15) <u>pirlukurpaSSuwi</u>
their masses of re-
mainders of bad
weather | (16) <u>attanilu</u>
and on the re-
fuse heaps | (17) <u>saanikut</u>
bone rests | |
| (18) <u>nutaat</u>
new ones | (19) <u>uyariyanarsiwipput</u> .
they became entirely missed | (20) <u>qimmit</u>
dogs | |
| (21) <u>allat</u>
others | (22) <u>ullurSuwaq</u>
large (i.e.all)
day | (23) <u>niriSaSSarsiyulunnirmit</u>
from in small looking for
what to be eaten | |
| (24) <u>qasullutik</u>
they being tired | (25) <u>tumaḡnullutillu</u>
and they growing
faint | (26) <u>unittitiraanata</u>
when they gradually
came to a stop | |
| (27) <u>qimmiSuwaq</u>
the big dog | (28) <u>piyaqqani</u>
her pups | (29) <u>arwinillit</u>
six | (30) <u>ilagalugit</u>
having them as
fellows |
| (31) <u>qimatuliwimminukartarpuq</u> .
she used to go to her place of laid depot | | | |

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| (32) <u>taamani</u>
at that time | (33) <u>ukiyuq</u>
the winter | (34) <u>qimminut</u>
to dogs |
| (35) <u>ayurSarnaqiSuq</u>
that strongly was
starvation time | (36) <u>qimmirSuup</u>
the big dog | (37) <u>piyaraasalu</u>
and her pups |
- (38) inuulluwarwigiŋnuwaruyaat .
they also nicely had it as time for living 'well

14. The three paragraphs of the printed text (1-5, 6-31, 32-38), each constituting a major meaningful part of the entire story, are perhaps marked off by intonation (cp. 6.). Two of them are connected with what precedes by the anaphoric morpheme ta(C)- (35.5.), which selects an immediately following root of a particular class, viz. demonstratives, in these cases ima 'thus, as follows': taama- 'thus, as just indicated' (1, 32), and which may also connect smaller parts of utterances.

15.1. Apart from ta(C)- and the intonation reflected by the punctuation the six periods of the text have no formally marked mutual connexion but all of them contain a suffix for superordinate mood (see 24-28.), viz. indicative (5 -pa-, 6 -uq, 12, 19 and 31 -puq, 38 -wa-, cp. 10.1.1.). A period, however, does not necessarily contain a suffix for superordinate mood, see 33-35.

15.2. The periods 9-12 and 20-31 may, in the first place, be divided into two clauses, the first of them being in each case characterized by a subordinate mood suffix (see 29-31.), causative (10 -m-, 26 -ŋ-), with concomitant mark of dependence (relative, see 21., 30.). Each of these clauses, as well as the periode 13-19, may further be divided into two parts: 9, 10; 11, 12; 13-18, 19; 20-21, 22-26; 27, 28-31, the first of which is referred to in the second term by a number suffix only (singular zero in 10, 31; plural -t(-) in 12, 19, 26) and may be called an annexment (see 22-23.). In the period 6-8 there is no annexment.

The terms 22-26 and 28-31 may in turn be divided into two parts: 22-25, 26; 28-30, 31, the first of which in each case contains

another subordinate mood suffix, contemporative (24, 25 -llu-, 30 -lu-, so also 1, 7, 8), with an annexed person suffix, in the first case for so called fourth person (18.2.), i.e. reflexive third person (24 -tik, 25 -til-), in the second case for not reflexive third person (30 -git). An annexed person suffix (22.) corresponds to an annexed term (23.) which in the first of these cases is a subject (20-21), in the second case an object (28-29), the latter containing another fourth person suffix (28 -ni) referring to the subject of the whole clause (27).

15.3. The constructions 4-5 and 33-38 are of the same type as 28-30, only that the annexed terms 4 and 33-35 correspond, not to an annexed person suffix as in 30, but to what may be called a referential number suffix, plural -i- in 5, singular -a- in 38. In the former case the referee is indicated, as singular, not only by the fourth person suffix in 4 but also by final zero in 5, and in the latter case the referee is indicated, as plural, by the number suffix -t in 38 and specified by the term 36-37 which is marked as dependent (relative case).

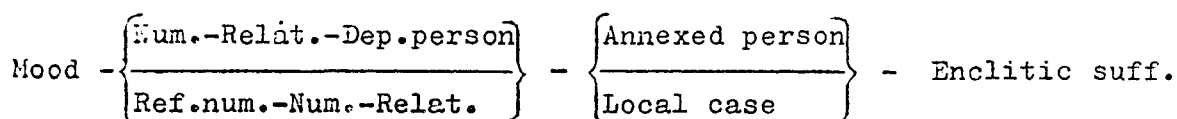
Also 14-15 is a dependence phrase (19-20.) only that the term with the referential number suffix 15 contains no mood suffix as the terms 5 and 38. Similarly, to the second part of the annexed term 33-35 which contains a subordinate mood suffix (35 -Suq participial) correspond the terms 18, 21 and 29 without mood suffix in apposition to the head of the respective annexed terms (see 29.).

15.4. The term 2-3 of the superordinate clause 2-5, the terms 13 and 16 of the periode 13-19 - or of its annexment 13-18 -, the term 23 of the subordinate clause 20-26 and the term 34 of the apposition phrase 34-35 contain a local case suffix (36-42), marking the specific relation to the superordinate term (2-3 -mik sg. instrumental, 13 -mi sg. and 16 -ni pl. locative, 23 -mit sg. ablative, 34 -nut pl. allative). The term 22 is an unmarked subordinate term to the ablative term 23, conditioned by the action noun suffix -nir- of the latter which differs from a mood suffix mainly by never occurring with an annexed person suffix (cp. 23.2.). Mood suffixes, with one exception (participial, 29.), do not occur with local case suffixes,

annexed person and local case being thus in wordforms on the same structural level. In other words, annexed person and mood roughly define verbs and local case roughly defines nouns.

15.5. The subordinate verbal terms 7-8 and 24-25, the annexment 13-18, the dependent relative term 36-37 and the local term 2-3 may all be divided into two parts the relation of which is marked by the enclitic suffix -lu 'and'. Enclitic suffixes, like certain roots, may also mark the relation between periods (see 43-45.).

15.6. The relative order of the suffixes hitherto mentioned is:



16. The parts resulting from the preceding analysis may, most of them, be further analyzed.

16.1. In many cases the immediate constituents may neatly be peeled off from the end, e.g. 23 (-mit 'from', -niq '-ing' see 15.4.), +lug- '(action) in small' (77.17.), -siyur- 'look after, go for (an object)' (52.1.), +SSaq 'future' (82.1.), -Taq 'what is -ed' (58.1.), niri- 'eat'. The analysis of the stem into niqī 'meat, food' and -i- is obvious but synchronically precarious, the suffix -i- occurring only in this and one or two more stems. -siyur-, on the contrary, may easily be analyzed into -si- 'get' and -ur- 'piecemeal' (76.9.), but since -siyur- may follow a large number of stems which do not seem to be easily combined with -si- alone, and vice versa, the analysis should follow at a different level from that indicated for 23 as a whole. So also in 38: (-a-t 'they - it', -Par- indicative, see 15.), -Ki- 'also' (89.5.), +ḡu(-)ar- 'nicely, nice' (87.2.), -(CV)wīk +gī- 'have as a place or time for -ing' (59.2.), -(l)lu(-)ar- 'well' (77.18.), -u- 'be' (48.1.), inuk 'human being', where -(CV)wīk +gī- is a case similar to -si-ur (cp. 49.1.), and -ar- 'a little' (85.2.) is a suffix which does occur alone in several stems but in cases like these alternates with zero depending on what follows, cp. 27 -(r)Su(-)aq 'big' (87.1.) and, with following -[u]p relative, 36 -(r)Su(g)- id.

Thus, there are both simple suffixes (suffixal morphemes) and suffix clusters, and a suffixal morpheme may occur both as simple and in a suffix cluster, and both simple suffixes and suffix clusters may combine, step by step, in larger units.

16.2. What rests, at each step, after peeling off simple suffixes and suffix clusters in the way indicated for 23 and 38 may, in innumerable cases, combine directly with one or other of the suffixes marking the relations between larger units indicated in 15. In other words, each of the stem classes defined by the latter includes both simple roots and roots followed by one or more suffixes, and suffixes may thus be classified into fundamental or, to use the traditional term, inflective (class establishing and/or relation marking) suffixes and derivational suffixes.

16.3. The wordform 31, like 23 and 38, contains both derivational and inflective suffixes: zero sg., -Puq indicative, -Tar- 'be in the habit of -ing' (76.1.), -nut (allative) +kar- 'move towards' (47.2.), -m(-n)i relative sg., dependent fourth person, -(CV)wik 'place for -ing', +(l)i- 'make', qima(+)tu- 'winter stores' (qimag- 'leave'). Here, however, derivational suffixes follow inflective suffixes (-minukartar-) but since still other inflective suffixes follow (-puq) it remains that inflective suffixes follow derivational suffixes.

In certain combinations with suffixes the order is inverse (see 85. ff.) but more important than the order is the fact that derivational stems include units of many different levels, suffixal morphemes (-si-ur- etc. and -nu-kar- above) as well as roots with or without derivational and/or inflective suffixes, wordforms with an annexed or dependent term (cp. 20.2., 23.2-3.) and even short periods. Rather than an appendix to the lexicon Eskimo derivation thus constitutes a dimension of its own, interwoven with the relations marked by the inflective suffixes.

GRAMMAR II: INFLECTIVE CATEGORIES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

17. The inflective suffix categories may be roughly classified in terms of the stem classes constituted by the combination with the different suffixes as

class ^{general transitive} pervasive (both verbal and nominal): number (18.), relative case and dependent - i.e. actor/possessor - person (19-21.);

class distinctive: verbal mood (24-32.) and annexed - i.e. subject/object - person (22.), nominal local case (36-42.);

class free: enclitics (43-44.).

The constructions are treated in terms of their constitutive suffixes and constructions which are not directly marked by suffixes are treated together with the most closely resembling constructions marked by suffixes, viz. nominal apposition and non-verbal sentences together with mood (29., 33-35.).

Number (Pure Number and Person Number).

18. Number belongs to two different levels of analysis: on the one hand pure number, alone or combined with other suffix categories; on the other hand number as one dimension of the different kinds of suffixes referring to person.

18.1. The pure number suffixes (absolute case) are: singular \emptyset (zero), plural $-[i]t$, dual (old only) $-[v]k$, with the pronominal alternants singular $-na$, plural $-ku$ (special dual forms in the Alaskan dialects only).

Alone, the pure number suffixes indicate the number of objects in general or, in verbal forms, refer to a third person subject (annexment) and correspond to annexed person suffixes for the other persons (cp. 22.). E.g. ko. I 92 (koo. II 3) ilaanniyaasiit gainnat tikirugtullartut kunuk imirtarluni aullarpuq, 'once, as usual, / the kayakmen / who (i.e. when they) were well about (77.9., 2.) arriving / Kunuk / fetching (52.2.) water (contemporative 4.p.sg.) / he went'; ko. IV 78 (Umanak 1861) .. tikiraak tauikku pilirpuk 'visitors (du.) / those / they (du.) began to speak'.

Pure number suffixes may combine with a following dependent person suffix or a preceding referential number suffix, see 19.

18.2. In suffixal morphemes the three numbers combine with reference to third person (referential number, primary moods and nouns) and with dependent first, second and fourth person (19.) and, on the other hand, with annexed third person (object only, secondary moods) and annexed first, second and fourth person (subject/object) (22.). With fourth person, however, apart from one case in the oldest language (22.3.1.), plural and dual are not distinguished.

The first and second person suffixes refer, in the familiar way, to the speaker and the addressee respectively. The so called fourth person is a reflexive third person and usually refers to the subject of the clause or sentence itself or to the subject of another - usually superordinate - clause, to the subject (dependent referee) of a transitive verb as well as to the subject (annexment) of an intransitive verb, e.g. koo. I 34 piquusirsuraanami aggiyuSSami ilai aputirpannut payugutigiSarai, ayurSarunnaallaraanamik payugutini kinumit utirtirartittarmatigik. 'whenever (69.8.) she (4.p.sg.) took of (50.4., 76.9.) her provisions / of what she (4.p.sg.) brought (58.1.) / parts of it (3.p.) / to the brothers / she (3.p.sg.) used (76.1.) to bring as gifts, / whenever they (4.p.pl.) no longer (71.2., 77.2.) suffered want / her (4.p.sg.) gifts / back / because they (3.p.pl.) used (76.1.) to bring them (3.p.) by and by (54.2., 76.7., 64.1.)'; koo. I 24 ukiyarsarami kiisa aamma ukiyullarluni sikuwuq 'when it (4.p.) had become fall / finally / again / it (4.p.) becoming winter / it froze' ("unspecified it"). However, the referee of the fourth person suffix may also be a term of a nominal construction (30.6., 31.4.), a latent or wholly unspecified term (30.8., 31.5-6.) or a term in some way outside the period (25., 32.); cp. also 44.3.

18.3. Person reference does not necessarily involve agreement in number (nor does apposition, see 29.3.). A plural person may refer to a singular person and vice versa, in the case of fourth person as well as of first and second person. E.g. att. III 145 ayuqiminnut nalunaariyarturpuq 'to their (i.e. his own and the, not mentioned, other pupils') teacher / he goes (74.3.) to explain'; ko. I 6

qatannutigiik marlik (= marluk) aṅutik suli aninatik aṅayuwa ugarpuq
'siblings (49.2.) / two / men (i.e. two brothers) / still / they
(4.p.pl.) not going out / his (3.p.sg.) elder brother / he said';
koo. I 15 qaammaSSuwaq uqaluwalaartuwaṅṅuwarluni nirilirput 'the
moon-man / he (4.p.sg.) continuing to (75.1., 87.2.) tell stories /
they (i.e. the moon-man and the other one) had started (74.1.) to eat';
koo. I 13 anillutit paaluk 'you coming out / let's fight'.

18.4. Plural (and dual) forms indicate, not only several objects, but in many cases also some composite object one part of which is indicated by the corresponding singular form, inter alia a vessel with its crew as against the singular for the vessel itself. E.g. sakiSSat 'chest' pl. of sakiyak 'rib'; naSSat (old naSSak) 'belly, interior and exterior abdomen' pl. (du.) of naaq 'belly, belly skin'; tummiqqat 'ladder, stairs' pl. of tummiraq 'rung of ladder'; ko. II 2 umiyat atautsit 'umiaq (woman's boat) with crew / one' pl. of umiyaq 'woman's boat', atausiq 'one'; cp. also att. II 107 inuwit ilagiSaat ataatsit 'Eskimos / which (58.1., pl.) they have as (49.1.) part / one, i.e. one group of Eskimos'.

The plural of mass terms and the like indicates pieces of the mass. E.g. att. I 8 nappartat urSunik imallit 'barrels / with pieces of blubber / having (79.1.) content' (urSuq 'blubber, seal oil'); att. III 127 sikurSuwit tunumiṅṅaanniit uwiartut 'big (87.1.) lumps of ice / from East Greenland / passing around the headland', cp. *ibid.* 142 siku nawiyanarunnaarpat 'the ice (sg.) / when it becomes safe'.

The singular may be used generically, not only as in the last example, but also in cases like koo. II 26 iṅammik aataaṅṅuwaq tuquliraraa 'in abundance / saddle-back (87.2.) / he used to (74.1., 69.8.) kill it'.

18.5. Apart from the fourth person and other formally stutable cases of number syncretism (cp. 19.2-3., 22.) the dual apparently was distinguished from the plural as consistently in Greenlandic as in the dialects of most other Eskimo tribes but in the course of the XIX century the dual seems to have been more and more superseded by the plural - first, it seems, in the southern districts centering around the oldest colony Godthaab (founded 1721), a couple

of generations later in the later colonized North Greenland. In the southern texts (north to Holstensborg) of ko., written about 1860, the dual is rare, in the northern ones (especially in the Umanak texts) the dual is used quite consistently, but towards the end of the century the dual had become rare even in NG (Rasmussen Gr.).

It is possible that phrases with the numeral marluk 'two' and terms for natural pairs were among the first cases attained (according to Kleinschmidt § 14 here plural rather than dual), cp. ko. IV 100 (NG before 1830) utuqqan̄uwit (pl.) marluk 'two old people' and ibid. 64 (Umanak 1861) niwiyarsiyak (du.) marluk 'two girls'; ko. III 74 (Egedesminde about 1860) pinnirSup niyuwi (pl.) aulaitsariksiyarturtuk (du.) 'Pinnersoq's / his legs / that were becoming more and more (74.2.) agile' and ko. IV 84 (Umanak 1861) tallik (du.) 'his arms', SG Egede 1760.210 siyutik miliksimmappuk (du.) 'his ears are (74.5.) stopped'. It is perhaps significant that in the prose texts from this century the only dual forms found are first person dual verbal forms (NG: att. III 144-145; SG: imperative forms in koo. like paaluk 18.3. end).

Dependence (Relative Case and Dependent Person).

19. Dependence, which may be simple or double, is marked by the relative case and by dependent person suffixes.

19.1. The simple relative, which is nominal only, differs from the non-relative or absolute case (pure number) in the singular: suffix -[u]p. Demonstratives (104.), however, have both a relative singular, suffix -(S)uma, and a relative plural, suffix -kuwa (-ku-a, cp. also rel.sg. kiya, ki-a 'whose').

19.2. A simple relative form may specify a pure number suffix combined with a preceding referential number suffix (sg. -a-, pl. -i-, du. -k-), the former indicating a third person dependent referee and the latter the number of the referent. In verbal forms (primary moods, transitive) the referential number suffixes indicate the number of a third person object and correspond to annexed person suffixes in other verbal forms (first, second, fourth and, in secondary moods, third person object, see 22.); in nominal forms they indicate the number of

the object referred - in some way or other (20.4.) - to the third person dependent referee. E.g. att. I 17 yaaku-p akiwa-a 'Jack / he answered him', ibid. 8 ataata-p qaya-a 'father's / his kayak' (-a- sg. referent, i.e. 3.p. object/possessum; \emptyset sg. referee, i.e. subject/possessor, corresponding to rel.sg. -p); ibid. 24 niwiyarsiyaranu-up kami-i 'the little girl's / her shoes' (-i- pl. referent, i.e. possessum); ibid. 23 inuw-it .. suwaalirpa-a-t 'the people / they began to shout to him' (-t pl. referee, i.e. 3.p.pl. subject, corresponding to pl. -it).

For the other persons there are dependent person suffixes for the referee with preceding pure number suffixes for the referent, and to a dependent first and second person suffix may correspond a case neutral personal pronoun (see 102.1.). E.g. koo. II 9 uwaṇa piṇṇilara 'I / I did not do it'; att. I 5 qimmira 'my dog' (-ga sg. 1.p.sg. uvularized according to 12.1.); att. I 9 uwaṇa pikka 'I (my) / my things' (-t- pl., -ka alternant of -ga 1.p.sg.); koo. I 125 uwagut piSSarput 'we (our) / our future thing, i.e. our part' (-(r)put sg. 1.p.pl.).

The suffix combinations involve considerable morphophonological fusion:

	sg. referent:	pl. referent:	du. referent:
referee			
3.p.sg.	<u>-a</u>	<u>-i</u>	<u>-[V]k</u>
pl.	<u>-at</u>	<u>-it</u> , <u>-i</u> ¹⁾	<u>+gik</u>
du.	<u>-ak</u>	<u>-ik</u> ²⁾	<u>+kkik</u>
1.p.sg.	<u>+ga</u>	<u>+kik</u> ³⁾	
		<u>+kka</u>	
pl.	<u>-(r)put</u>	<u>+wut</u>	<u>+pput</u> (<u>+kput</u>)
du.	<u>-(r)puk</u>	<u>+wuk</u>	<u>+ppuk</u> (<u>+kpuk</u>)
2.p.sg.	<u>-it</u>	<u>+tit</u>	<u>+kit</u>
pl.	<u>-(r)si</u> (also <u>-Si</u>)	<u>+si</u>	<u>+ssi</u> (<u>+gsi</u>)
du.	<u>-(r)tik</u> (<u>-Tik</u>)	<u>+tik</u>	<u>+ttik</u> (<u>+gtik</u>)
4.p.sg.	<u>(+n)i</u>	<u>+ni</u>	<u>+nni</u> (<u>+ṇni</u>)
pl.	<u>-(r)tik</u> (<u>-Tik</u>)	<u>+tik</u>	<u>+ttik</u> (<u>+gtik</u>)

Notes:

- 1) modern after a: -at (10.2.1.) like sg-pl, after other stems mostly -i like pl-sg.

- 2) so Egede 39 nuneik (nuna-ik) and ko. IV 20 (NG before 1830) kingulfk (kiṅuli-ik) 'the survivors of the two' - if not like du-pl nuna-gik, kiṅuli-gik - and in western dialects (Mackenzie and North Alaska).
- 3) Fabricius nominal pl-du (verbal -kit) and Kleinschmidt pl-du and du-du, - possibly same as +kkik du-du.

19.3. By double dependence is understood the combination of the relative case and dependent person (including third person marked by number suffixes), e.g. att. I 8 illutta iluwa 'of our house / its interior' (+tta, old +w-ta, rel. l.p.pl.). There are, however, two quite different kinds of forms with both relative and dependent person suffixes: on the one hand forms which also distinguish referent number on the other hand forms which do not (see 21.). The former are all nominal, i.e. combinable with local case (cp. 36.1.), and the suffix combinations as follows:

	sg. referent:	pl. referent:	du. referent:
referee			
3.p. modern:	<u>-ata</u> ¹⁾	<u>-isa</u> ²⁾	<u>+kit</u> ³⁾
old: sg.	<u>-at</u>		
pl.	<u>-ata</u>	<u>-isa</u>	<u>+kkit</u> ⁴⁾
du.		<u>+kkit</u> ⁴⁾	
1.p.sg.	<u>-ma</u>	<u>+ma</u>	<u>+mma</u> (<u>+ṅma</u>)
pl.	<u>+tta</u> (<u>+wta</u>)		
du.	<u>+nnuk</u> (<u>+wnuk</u>)		<u>+nnuk</u> (<u>+wnuk</u>)
2.p.sg.	<u>-(r)pit</u> , <u>-Pit</u>	<u>+wit</u>	<u>+ppit</u> (<u>+kpit</u>)
pl.	<u>+ssi</u> (<u>+wsi</u>)		
du.	<u>+ttik</u> (<u>+wtik</u>)		<u>+ttik</u> (<u>+wtik</u>)
4.p.sg.	<u>-mi</u>	<u>+mi</u>	<u>+mmi</u> (<u>+ṅmi</u>)
pl.	<u>-mik</u>	<u>+mik</u>	<u>+mmik</u> (<u>+ṅmik</u>)

Notes:

- 1) before tunī- 'direction' (101.4.) frequently -a, e.g. koo. I 60 saamiya (Dict. saamiyata) tunaa 'his or its left side' - by haplology rather than according to 21.
- 2) after a: -asa (10.2.1.).
- 3) Kleinschmidt, cp. Labrador -ṅata, -ṅita, -kita.

- 4) so Egede for du-sg but Fabricius for du-du only - for the other three cases -kit (orthographic difference only?).

Thus, in combination with the relative case, the referent number syncretizes the number of the third person referee, altogether in the modern language, but in the old language partly only and the dual referee syncretized the referent number. With first and second person, on the contrary, the non-singular referee syncretizes the referent number, but the dual referent syncretized the plural-dual distinction of the referee.

20.1. Nominal relative forms, which contrast with absolutive forms and distinguish number (simple relative forms, 19.1., and relative forms with dependent person, 19.3.), select a referent term, in simple cases either a nominal term with a referential number suffix or a verbal term with a referential number or annexed person suffix, with or without an annexed term. E.g. att. I 22 niwiyarsiyarannuup aappaata arwirup niyaqurSuwa ukkisilirpaa 'the little (87.2.) girl's / her fellow / the whale's / his big (87.1.) head / she began (74.1.) to stare at it, i.e. the other little girl began to stare at the big whale's head'; koo. I 48 añutisiyaata irnirsiyani qiwiyarlugu uqararaaq 'his (i.e. the) foster-father / his (4.p.) foster-son / looking towards him (contemporative with 3.p.sg. annexed object suffix) / he used (69.8.) to say'. As in these examples the relative term usually precedes its immediate referent.

The referential suffix of the referent may be regarded as solidary with a referee - at least with a suffixal or latent one (cp. 19.2.) - but it does not presuppose a relative term as its referee. The referee may also be an absolutive term, the head of an apposition which includes the referent (29.3.) or a term of a nominal sentence corresponding to an annexed subject (35.1. end), or it may be unspecified, e.g. koo. I 12 unnuwa sinikkamik 'its (i.e. that) night / when they had slept'; ibid. 42 siqiniq ikuña ililluwinnariyallaraa 'the sun (annexed object) / over there (i.e. in the west) / it that (i.e. when "it") was quite about to (91.1., 74.4., 77.2.) set it (scil. the sun)'.

20.2. Sometimes the immediate referent must be interpolated by catalysis, e.g. ko. I 106 (koo. II 10) .. qayarpagSuwit tamarmināasiit awatiṅmiqaut niṅimīṅnik, utuqqanṅuwakkuluumaasiit (-kulu-up aasiit) nayuṅaSut marluk inaluwaminīṅṅuwillu marluk 'the many (83.2.) kayakmen / all of them, as usual, / were heavily (77.1.) loaded / with their shares, / the poor (95.3.3.) old man, as usual, / ribs / two / and small (87.2.) gut pieces (83.4.) / two (scil. he only got)!'.

More important is that the referent may be latent only, in verbal suffixes indicating identical or overlapping subject and object (22.4.) and in derivational stems, e.g. with ÷līk (79.1.) Nunal. 65 qaqqap naaSurpalik 'of mountain / provided with lots of [its] flower[s]' (qaqqap naaSuw-i 'mountain flowers'); with action noun -nīq (56.) ko. III 87 piyumaṅṅikkaluwarami nuliyata kayumigsaarnirmit kiisa ilagilirSaalirpai 'although (72.1.) he did not (70.) want to (73.2.) / his wife (rel.) / from encouraging (i.e. because she encouraged him) / finally / he made up his mind to (74.1.) go with them', cp. 20.4.

20.3. To a nominal relative form and its referent correspond, as indicated in 19.2., dependent person suffixes for the referee - with or without a personal pronoun - and preceding number suffixes for the referent. In so far as the latter may be identified with pure number suffixes one may here too say that the referent does not presuppose a dependent referee and the more so because the personal pronouns are case neutral.

A relative term may also have as the referent a term with a dependent fourth person suffix, viz. when it is the same as the subject of a superordinate clause, e.g. ko. I 116 (koo. II 13) kunuup niṅini igpagSarnit mikiwallaallarmata tikikkami uqarpuq 'Kunuk's / his (4.p.) shares / than the day before / because they were much (77.3,2.) smaller / when he (4.p. intr.) came home / he (Kunuk) said'. The fourth person reference here overlies the immediate reference to a dependent referee. Cp. also 29.8.

20.4. The semantic relation between a nominal or suffixal dependent referee and its referent is, if the latter is verbal (with or

without an annexment), one of subject-object (actor -goal) or, if it is nominal, some kind of partitive relation like that of an object or group and a constituent part, possession or some other kind of appurtenance, some kind of level relation like that of kinship or, in the case of verbal nouns, that of actor or goal and action - all depending upon the particular meaning of the terms. Cp. the examples given above and koo. III 79 isurtup uummannaata nuukasiyata timaata innaarSuttakasiya urniinnarpaa 'of (i.e. at) Isortoq / of its Ūánaq (a mountain) / of its naze (86.) / of its inside / its slope (86.) / he headed for it (89.1.)'; koo. I 18 kiisa piniyarluwarnirSaasa ilaata irnirsiyartaaraa 'finally / of the best (77.18., 56.) hunters among (80.2.) them / one of them / he took (50.6.) him as foster-son'; att. I 54 nannup siyulliirSuwarmi illuwa kiwippaa 'the polar-bear / of his (4.p.) big (87.1.) foreleg (sg.) / its (sg.) match (sg.), i.e. one of his big forelegs / he lifted it'; with -niq action noun (cp. 20.2.) att. II 9 unitsiyarnittinnilu 'and in (i.e. during) our stopping for a while (88.1.)', att. III 146 qaSSutit illaarniranni 'of the net (pl. tantum) / in its unravelling, i.e. during the unravelling of the net'; with -Ti agent noun and -Tag passive participle (58.): asaSit 'your loving', asaSara 'my beloved' (letter formulas).
It is useful to note that it would be meaningless to interpret the verbal transitive construction as passive, both because there is no commutation possible between the dependent referee (the subject) and an absolutive term but selection of the referent, and because a fourth person suffix refers, not to the object (the annexment), but to the subject (the dependent referee) of a transitive verb as well as to the subject (the annexment) of an intransitive verb, including an intransitive verb derived from a passive participle (58.1.), cp. ko. IV 34 pugayuk aasiit anulluni tikikkami nuliyañni marluk apiraak:... nuliyakit akiyaak (= akiwaak) 'P. (annexed subject) / as usual / he (4. p.) having caught seals (contemporative) / when he (4.p.) came home (causative) / his (4.p.) wives (du.) / two / he asked them: ... his (3.p.) wives (dependent referee) / they answered him'; Romans 7.2. .. uwiminut .. katititaawuq 'to her (4.p.) husband / she is bound'. (The rule concerning fourth person and passive given by Kleinschmidt § 75 - Swadesh p. 41 - is incorrect, cp. Rasmussen § 83.) Cp. also 29.2.

21. Relative forms which do not distinguish referent number have, with some exceptions, the same suffixes as those for singular referent (cp. the old alternants in 19.3.):

	sg.	pl.	du.
3.p. a)	} -at	-isa	+nnik (+nnik)
b)		-ata	-anik
1.p.	-ma	+tta (+wta)	+nnuk (+wnuk)
2.p.	-Pit	+ssi (+wsi)	+ttik (+wtik)
4.p.	-mi		-mik
b2)	-ni		-nik

Forms with the a) alternants for 3.p. are quasi-nominal, i.e. partly combinable with local case (first and second person forms and forms without person suffix corresponding to third person): kisi 'alone', tamar- 'whole, all, both' (cp. 100.) and deverbal stems with the derivation suffix -(CV)r- indicating state (56.2.), e.g. tuquḡar- 'dead' (tuquḡa- 'be dead').

Forms with the b) alternants for 3.p. are verbal, i.e. combinable with annexed person suffixes for object: the relative subordinate moods causative and, with the b2) alternants for 4.p., conditional (30.).

None of these forms contrast with - but rather correspond to - non-relative forms and they neither constitute a referent for a nominal relative (dependent referee) nor select a referent marked as such. In other words, the verbal forms in question are intransitive - unless, of course, there is also an annexed person suffix for object. (cp. 20.1.), e.g. koo. I 8 nunaqqatini aallallaraḡata .. piyumaSariḡ-ḡilaq 'his (4.p.) fellow-villagers (annexed subject) / when they went away (causative 3.p.pl. intr.) ... he never (76.1., 69.8., 70.) got his will'. See 30.

Annexment (Subject/Object).

22. Annexed person suffixes, which select verbal mood (24. ff.), may be specified by an annexed term (23.) and indicate subject or object. The different moods condition somewhat different sets of person suffixes, especially as regards fourth person (superordinate

versus subordinate moods) and third person (primary versus secondary moods), and in their mutual combinations both the mood suffixes and the person suffixes have somewhat different alternants, cp. the paradigmes in 25-31.

22.1. As indicated in preceding sections, to annexed person suffixes correspond, on the one hand pure number suffixes (18.1.) for 3.p. subject (all moods occurring with 3.p. subject except the relative moods 21.), on the other hand referential and non-final pure number suffixes (19.2.) for 3.p. object. Special annexed person suffixes for 3.p. object occur in secondary moods only:

	after sg. subject:	} after non-sg. subject:
	- <u>Ku</u> / <u>-uk</u> ¹⁾	
3.p.sg.		} - <u>Kik</u> ²⁾
pl.	- <u>Kit</u>	
du.	- <u>Kik</u>	

Notes:

- 1) after i, SS (-t- see 22.3.), imperative 2.p.sg. (see 28. note 1)) and (old only) interrogative 3.p.sg.
- 2) Fabricius for pl. also -Kit.

22.2. The annexed person suffixes for 1., 2. and 4. person indicate object or subject depending on whether or not there is another - positive or negative - person marker (dependent subject, cp. 20. and below), e.g. -na 'me/I' att. I 5 kisima iSigaana (iSigaa-a-na cp. 10.2.) 'me alone (21.) / he looks at me', ibid. 9 aamma uwaṅa sawaaraatiqarpuna 'also / I (cp. 19.2.) / I have (80.1., 50.1.) a lamb!'. In addition to general alternants there are a couple of special alternants for object after certain subject persons and some special subject alternant in secondary moods (in relative moods the suffixes of 21.b)):

	general:	object only:	sec. subject only:
1.p.sg.	- <u>na</u>		- <u>k</u> ³⁾
pl.	- <u>gut</u> ¹⁾	- <u>tigut</u>	- <u>ta</u> ³⁻⁶⁾
du.	- <u>guk</u> ¹⁾	- <u>tiguk</u>	- <u>nuk</u> ^{4,6)} , - <u>luk</u> ⁵⁾
2.p.sg.	- <u>tit</u>	- <u>Kit</u> ²⁾	- <u>t</u> ³⁾ , \emptyset ⁴⁻⁵⁾ , - <u>k</u> ⁷⁾
pl.	- <u>si</u>		
du.	- <u>tik</u>		
4.p.sg.	- <u>ni</u>		
pl.	- <u>tik</u>		

Notes:

- 1) object only after the exceptionally not syncretized 2.p.pl. (22.3.3.).
- 2) after first person.
- 3) interrogative (1.p. old and western only).
- 4) optative.
- 5) imperative, cp. 27-28.
- 6) contemporative. also
- 7) negative contemporative.

22.3. Before annexed person suffixes (object) the subject (dependent referee) is marked, in primary and relative moods by alternants of the relative person suffixes listed in 21., in secondary moods by similar alternants, without the relative element, of general or secondary subject suffixes; the contemporative, however, usually has only one - annexed - person suffix but may occasionally have 1. and 2.p.pl. subject before 3.p. object (cp. 31.). The combination of dependent subject and annexed object involves considerable morphophonological fusion and in the following lists C stands for the first part of any geminate consonant, g (old only) for velar consonant and C.

Object number to a large extent dominates subject number (cp. 19.3.) but otherwise real person ambiguity is rare, being limited both by the person conditioned alternation of the mood suffixes (26-28., 30.) and by the general combination rule for dependent subject and annexed object (22.4.).

22.3.1. Before annexed singular object the subject alternants are, in primary and relative moods: in secondary moods:

3.p.sg.	-a-	∅
pl.	-aC-, -aSS- ¹⁾	-C- ²⁾ , -SS- ¹⁾
du.	-ag-	-C-
1.p.sg.	÷C- (÷w-) ³⁾	∅
pl.	÷tti- (÷wti-) ⁴⁾	-ti- {
du.	÷ttig- (÷wtig-)	-luk- ⁵⁾ , -k- ⁵⁾
2.p.sg.	÷C- (÷g-) ⁶⁾	∅, ÷C- ⁷⁾
pl.	÷ssi- (÷wsi-) ⁴⁾	-si-
du.	÷ttig- (÷wtig-)	-k-, -tig, ⁸⁾
4.p.sg.	-mi-, -ni-	
(pl.	-miSS-, -niSS- ¹⁾) ⁹⁾	
(du.) ⁹⁾ pl.	-miC-, -niC- ²⁾	

Notes:

- 1) before 3.p. -uk.
- 2) before 2.p.sg. also without C.
- 3) before 2.p.sg. indicative and optative also ÷∅.
- 4) before n plus final C.
- 5) imperative before 3.p.
- 6) with 1.p.sg.: indic. -rma; part. and rel. -mma (-rma).
- 7) imperative before 1.p.sg.
- 8) before 1.p.sg.
- 9) Topp (and western dialects) before 3.p.

22.3.2. Before 3.p. non-singular object the same alternants occur as before 3.p. sg., with the following exceptions:

3.p.pl. (and Topp's and western 4.p.pl.) has ti (after i: si) instead of SS;

3.p.du. (and 2.p.du. in secondary moods) according to Kleinschmidt has tik (after i: sik) instead of k (Fabricius);

2.p.sg. imperative has ÷k- instead of ∅.

According to Kleinschmidt dual subject (except 1.p.du. in secondary moods) also represented plural subject before -Kik as dual object (cp. 19.3.).

22.3.3. Before 1., 2. and 4.p. non-singular object there is no number distinction in the subject, except in some combinations with 2.p. subject:

	primary and relative moods:	secondary moods:
3.p.	- <u>a</u> - ¹⁾	∅
1.p.	+C- (+ <u>w</u> -)	
2.p. with 1.pl.:		
sg., du.	+C- (+ <u>w</u> -)- <u>tigut</u>	} ∅ ³⁾
pl.	+ <u>ssi</u> -(+ <u>wsi</u> -)- <u>gut</u> ²⁾	
before 1.du.	+C- (+ <u>w</u> -)	
before 4.pl.:		
sg.	+C- (+ <u>g</u> -)	
pl., du.	+C- (+ <u>w</u> -)	
4.p.	- <u>mi</u> -, - <u>ni</u> -	

Notes:

- 1) Fabricius du. -ag- before 4.p.pl.
- 2) Fabricius also with 1.p.du. -guk.
- 3) after interrogative ∅ as 2.p.du. subject, however, not assibilated -tigut, -tiguk.

22.4. The dependent subject and the annexed object are different grammatical persons in all cases except combinations of two - necessarily different - third persons. Annexed subject, however, not only indicates the subject of an intransitive verb but also united or overlapping subject and object (cp. 18.3.), i.e. the subject of a transitive verb used reflexively or reciprocally, and it may then happen that the subject (dependent referee) and the object (annexment) are specified by different terms (in the relative and the absolute cases respectively) although the verb has an intransitive form. E.g. ko. I 108 (koo. II 10) kunuk inminik taiwuq 'K. / himself (instrumental, cp. 39.3.) / he named himself (said his name)'; ko. I 34 piliyaqarluni misigaaq 'she (4.p.) having lots of provisions (contemp.) / she noticed herself, i.e. noticed that she had etc.'; ko. I 70 taima asaawarpuk imminnut 'thus / they continuously loved themselves / by themselves (allat. 40.5.), i.e. loved each other'; ko. I 104 (koo. II 9) ilaisa ilatik tikiyutiriyaraaḡata uqararaut 'their (3.p.) companions

(rel.) / their (4.p.) companions (absol.) / when they came with (66., 74.4., 69.8.) themselves i.e. bringing each other / they said (69.8.)'. Cp. 29.8.

23. The annexed term usually is a nominal form but in some cases subordinate verb constructions must be recognized as the immediate object, see 29.4., 30.3., 31.3. , }

23.1. A nominal annexed term usually precedes the verb form but may also follow it, the latter order apparently stressing the novelty of what is expressed by the annexed term, e.g. att. I 23 aarimmi silataaniippuq inuk '(she heard somebody coming and went out.) sure enough / outside there was / a man'; ko. IV 18 inirlagamik inirlagamik alakkarpaak tasirSuwaq 'when they advanced / when they advanced / they caught sight of it / a lake'. Cp. 32-33.

An annexed object seems normally to follow a dependent subject (20.) but the inverse order is also frequent, apparently involving emphasis on the object rather than on the subject, e.g. koo. I 28 aappaŋuwa kaaSSaSSuup qaaqquilirpa '(K. has killed one of the girls.) the other one (87.2.) / K. / he bids (64.2., 74.1.) her to come to him'; att. I 33 appaliyarSuk timmiSSat iniquarnirit ilagaat 'the little auk / the birds / the prettiest (56.) / they have it as (49.1.) part, i.e. the little auk is one of the prettiest birds'.

23.2. Also deverbal nouns may have an annexment - or perhaps the verbal annexment phrase may be regarded as the stem of the nominalizing derivation suffix - not only the intransitive participial in apposition (29.3.) but also the action noun (56.) with a local case, e.g. koo. I 65 unnuwaa siniŋŋillat paniŋŋuwartik maqaaSinirmit 'that night / they did not sleep / their (4.p.) little daughter / from (i.e. for) missing (scil. her)'; koo. II 37 qattaap irnini awalattuqaŋŋinniranni kiisaana awalawwigikasillaraa 'Qátâq / his (4.p.) sons / in their (3.p.) having (50.1.) not (70.) who (57.1.) steps forward, i.e. before any of his sons stepped forward / finally him / he (Q.) hurried (86., 77.2.) to step forward to (59.2.) him' (note the difference from att. III 146 in 20.4.).

23.3. As a kind of annexment, or specification in a somewhat broader sense, one may perhaps regard the combination of the action noun and certain verb stems (ayur- 'can not, not be in the habit of', sapir- 'be unable, do not dare, not venture to', artur- 'can not manage', nalu- 'be ignorant', iqiyagī- 'do not feel inclined to', siyuura- 'be afraid of', ilit- 'have learnt', etc.) with suffixes determined by the stem of the action noun. E.g. intransitive att. II 80 miiqqat atuwarniq ayurput 'the children / read / could not'; att. I 34 tamakku tiguniq ayurnaqaat 'these / to take / are impossible (65.), i.e. one may not take these'; transitive ko. I 96 (koo. II 6) urlutinniq artulirpaa 'to make fall / he could (74.1.) not manage him'; cp. action noun as usual annexment (object) koo. I 34 tiSaniq kisiyat suliyarilirpaa 'splitting / that alone / he began (74.1.) to have it as (49.1.) work'.

Mood and Sentence Types.

24.1. Mood stems are defined by the possible combination with annexed person suffixes - with or without a preceding dependent person suffix -, in contradistinction to nominal stems which are defined by the possible combination with local case (36.). In this sense, however, one of the moods is also nominal (29.).

The mood suffixes do not presuppose annexed person suffixes (22.) but in so far as number suffixes are regarded as third person suffixes mood may be said to select person. The relative mood suffixes, however, may be identified with suffixes occurring alone with non-verbal stems (30.10.).

Verbal stems are defined by the possible combination with mood and annexed person suffixes but to a large extent they also occur without any inflective suffix (35.1.) and a large number of verbal stems are also nominal in the above mentioned positive sense.

24.2. In terms of the different suffixes for third person object (22.1.) the moods are classified as primary (indicative, participial) and secondary but in several cases some of the latter have primary suffixes. The primary moods have different alternants for intransitive and transitive forms, the secondary moods have different alternants for forms with third person subject and forms with other

subject persons, except imperative and contemporative which are incompatible with third person subject (unless the pure verb stem is regarded as a third person imperative, cp. 27.2.).

In terms of the fourth person the moods are classified, more importantly, as superordinate (indicative, interrogative, optative and imperative) and subordinate (participial, the relative moods causative and conditional, contemporative). The former are incompatible with fourth person subject (and fourth person object is rare, see 25.). The latter combine with fourth person subject as well as with fourth person object, with certain limitations, however, for the participial and the unipersonal contemporative. The superordinate moods constitute the head of a period but a period with a superordinate mood form as the head may also contain a fourth person suffix referring to a subject other than that of the superordinate mood form (32.) and subordinate mood forms, as well as nominal forms, also occur without a superordinate mood form (33-35.).

Some derivation suffixes are incompatible with some of the moods (69-70.) and some derivation suffixes - in part the same - combine with special alternants of mood suffixes (indicative and interrogative without initial w, contemporative without the first consonant, etc., cp. 49.1., 64.6., 68., 73.1., 77.1.). The most important of them is the negation suffix (70.) which is incompatible with optative and imperative (except with optative 3.p. when it is followed by -Ki- 'also').

24.3. As indicated above the difference between verbal and nominal forms is not absolute, nor is that between verbal and nominal constructions. Both verbal and nominal forms may in many cases be said to be in apposition to the - actual or latent - annexment of a superordinate (or relatively superordinate) verb form or to the dependent referee of a verbal or a nominal form - intransitive participial as well as nouns also to a local term - , and both verbal and nominal forms occur as generally subordinate (not person-connected) terms. Although, of course, the possibility of full agreement in case is limited to nominal forms nominal subordination is therefore treated together with verbal subordination: nominal forms in the strict sense

together with the participial (29.), quasi-nominal forms (21.) together with the relative moods (30.).

Since, however, person suffixes do not select a specifying term (dependent referee 19.2., annexment 22-23.) it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between specification and apposition. In general the relation between the terms of an apposition phrase seems to be combination only (neither selection nor solidarity). It is also difficult to distinguish formally between apposition and simple juxtaposition of parallel terms (cp. 45.).

25. I n d i c a t i v e (superordinate, primary) intr. -Puq (-uq), tr. -Par- (-ar-); with negation +milag, +nilar-.
Person suffixes with postvocalic main alternants:

intr.	sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.	<u>-wuq</u>	<u>-pput</u>	<u>-ppuk</u>
1.p.	<u>-wuŋa</u>	<u>-wugut</u>	<u>-wuguk</u>
2.p.	<u>-wutit</u>	<u>-wusi</u>	<u>-wutik</u>
with object 3.p. sg.			
3.p.sg.	<u>-waa</u>	<u>-wai</u>	<u>-wak</u>
pl.	<u>-waat</u>	<u>-waat(-wait)</u>	<u>-wagik</u>
		<u>-wakik (= -wakkik?)</u>	
1.p.sg.	<u>-wara</u>	<u>-wakka</u>	
pl.	<u>-warput</u>	<u>-wawut</u>	<u>-wapput (-wakput)</u>
du.	<u>-warpuk</u>	<u>-wawuk</u>	<u>-wappuk (-wakpuk)</u>
2.p.sg.	<u>-wat</u>	<u>-watit</u>	<u>-wakit</u>
pl.	<u>-warsi</u>	<u>-wasi</u>	<u>-wassik (-wagsi)</u>
du.	<u>-wartik</u>	<u>-watic</u>	<u>-wattik (-wagtik)</u>
with object 1.p.sg.			
3.p.sg.	<u>-waana</u>	} <u>-waatigut</u>	<u>-waatiguk</u>
pl.du.	<u>-waanŋa</u>		
2.p.sg.	<u>-warma</u>	} <u>-wattigut (-waw-)</u>	<u>-wattiguk (-waw-)</u>
pl.	<u>-wassina (-waw-)</u>		
du.	<u>-watti(ŋ)na (-waw-)</u>		

(forts.)

with object 2.p.sg.		pl.	du.
3.p.sg.	- <u>waatit</u>	}	-waasi -waatik
pl.du.	- <u>waattit</u>		
1.p.sg.	- <u>wakkit</u> (-waw-) or - <u>wagit</u>	}	-wassi (-waw-) - <u>wattik</u> (-waw-)
pl.	- <u>wattigit</u> (-waw-)		
du.	- <u>wattikkit</u> (-waw-)		

with object 4.p. (old language), subject 3.p. only, e.g. koo. I 9-10
anUSSuwani uqarwigigaluttuwaannarpaa: ... akuwirissanŋilaani. 'his
 (4.p.) father / he (the son) could not but (72.1., 89.1.) say to
 (59.2.) him: ... He (the father) was not to (73.1., 70.) agree with him
 (4.p.), i.e. he (the son) waited in vain for a positive answer'; koo. I
 68 agillarami aarimmi amaraluttuwallarpaatik (modern -pai, Kr.L.)
 'when she (4.p.) had come in a rush (77.2.) / well, you see, / there
 (72.1.) she (3.p.) put them (4.p.) in a hurry (77.2.) into her bag'.

The indicative indicates simple statement but other attitudes
 may be implied by the context or be indicated by derivation suffixes
 (cp. 69-72.). It is temporally neutral but unless there is a deriva-
 tion suffix to a different effect (cp. 73.) it implies present or,
 more often, past time. Examples passim.

(In North Alaska these indicative forms, with or without
kiisa 'finally', indicate realization of an expected event, e.g. Nunam.
kiisaimma aggiqput 'finally then / they came', tawjalu paqitpara
paqitniakkara 'and then / I actually found it / what I was trying to
 find'. Cp. 29.1.)

26. I n t e r r o g a t i v e (superordinate, secondary)
 3.p. -Pa (-a), with negation +ŋŋila; 1.p. (obsolete) and 2.p. -Pi-
 (-i-), with negation tr. +ŋŋili-. The special interrogative forms
 (postvocalic main alternants) with person suffixes are (forms with 1.p.
 subject after Fabricius, forms with 3.p. subject - 3.p. object after
 Kleinschmidt):

intr.	sg.		pl.		du.
3.p.	- <u>wa</u>		- <u>ppat</u>		- <u>ppak</u>
1.p.	- <u>wik</u>		- <u>wisa</u>		(western - <u>winuk</u>)
2.p.	- <u>wit</u>		- <u>wisi</u>		- <u>witik</u> (F. - <u>wisik</u>)
with object	3.p.	sg.	pl.		du.
3.p.sg.	- <u>wauk</u>		- <u>wagit</u>		- <u>wagik</u>
pl.	- <u>waSSuk</u>		- <u>watigik</u>	}	- <u>wati(k)kik</u>
du.	- <u>wakku</u>		- <u>wati(k)kik</u>		
1.p.sg.	- <u>wiga</u>		- <u>wikka</u>		
2.p.sg.	- <u>wiyuk</u>		- <u>wigit</u>		- <u>wigik</u>
pl.	- <u>wisiyuk</u>		- <u>wisigik</u>	}	- <u>wisi(k)kik</u>
du.	- <u>wikku</u>		- <u>wisi(k)kik</u>		
with object	1.p.	sg.	pl.		du.
2.p.sg.	- <u>wiᅇa</u>	}	- <u>wisigut</u>		- <u>wisiguk</u>
pl.	- <u>wisiᅇa</u>				
du.	- <u>witi(n)ᅇa</u>		- <u>witigut</u>		- <u>witiguk</u>

For the other person combinations indicative forms are used, but these as well as the special interrogative forms may have vowel lengthening in the last syllable.

The interrogative is temporally neutral in the same sense as the indicative (25.) and indicates question of any kind. E.g. koo. II 22 suli niriᅇᅇila? 'yet / has he not eaten?'; koo. I 46 sukkut taSSa tulassawa? 'where / then / is he to (73.1.) land?'; koo. I 57 immaqaana awannarput allanik inuqaᅇᅇila 'perhaps that / the north of us / with others / has not people'; koo. II 31 suturusuppit? tunnurturusuppit? 'what do you want to eat (52.3., 76.14.)? do you want to eat tallow?'; ko. IV 58 susiyutigaagik? - aullaisisiyutigaakka. 'what do you want for (52.1., 60.1., 49.1.) those two? - I want a gun for them'. So also, for example, koo. I 55 suuq atiᅇᅇila? 'why / doesn't she come down?', but in the XVIII century language the negative interrogative with suuq 'why' had the main alternants, e.g. Dgede 230 suuq nunawut taamainᅇᅇippa (1857 suuq nunarput taimainᅇᅇila)? 'why / our country / is it not like that?', cp. *ibid.* 216 kunᅇᅇip naalagawikSuup nunaanut piᅇᅇilatit? 'the king's / the greatest (90.1., 87.1.) master's / to his country / didn't you go?'.

27. O p t a t i v e and imperative (both superordinate, secondary) never combine immediately with the negation \div nnit-, being both supplemented by the negative contemporative (31.), and in the modern language are practically in complementary distribution as regards subject person. To unite them into one mood, however, would involve the distinction between an exclusive (optative) and an inclusive (imperative) 1.p. non-singular.

27.1. Optative 3.p. -li, 1.p. -la- (-lar), with person suffixes:

intr.	sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.	<u>-li</u>	<u>-lit</u>	<u>-lik</u>
1.p.	<u>-laŋa</u>	<u>-lata</u> (old)	<u>-lanuk</u> (old)
with object	3.p. sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.sg.	<u>-liyuk</u>	<u>-ligit</u>	<u>-ligik</u>
pl.	<u>-liSSuk</u>	<u>-lisigik</u>	(F. <u>-lisigik</u>)
du.	<u>-likku</u>	<u>-lisi(k)kik</u> (F. <u>-likit</u>)	<u>-lisi(k)kik</u> (F. <u>-likik</u>)
1.p.sg.	<u>-lagu</u> or <u>-lara</u>	<u>-lakka</u>	
pl.	<u>-larput</u>	<u>-lawut</u>	<u>-lapput</u> (<u>-lakput</u>)
du.	<u>-larpuk</u>	<u>-lawuk</u>	<u>-lappuk</u> (<u>-lakpuk</u>)
with object	1.p. sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.sg.	<u>-liŋa</u>	} <u>-lisigut</u>	<u>-lisiguk</u>
pl.du.	<u>-liŋŋa</u>		
with object	2.p. sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.sg.	<u>-lisit</u>	} <u>-lisi</u>	<u>-lisik</u>
pl.	<u>-lisit</u> or <u>-littit</u>		
1.p.sg.	<u>-lakkit</u> (<u>-law-</u>) or <u>-lagit</u>	} <u>-lassi</u> (<u>-law-</u>)	<u>-lattik</u> (<u>-law-</u>)
pl.	<u>-lattigit</u> (<u>-law-</u>)		
du.	<u>-lattikkit</u> (<u>-law-</u>)		

These forms indicate request or wish, e.g. koo. I 20 piSSaap inuwa qaali 'of the strength / its lord / may he come': koo. I 27 uumaak, suwiyununa, imirtartuwinnakasiyuwug qaariyanawarii 'you there (35.2.), / why do you do that (scil. regret to hav. squeezed her to death) / she was just a poor (89.1., 86., 48.1.) water fetcher

(52.2., 57.1.) / let her burst (74.4., 87.2.)'; koo. I 93 ukiyuwinnag
uuqattaarakkit maanna uuqattaarlakkit: 'only (89.1.) last winter /
because I tried you / now / let me try you'; ko. III 94
nuliyartaarilakkinait 'let me have you for (50.6., 49.1.) wife,
please (ait)'; ko. IV 122 takugallallarpulluunniit (probably = taku-
-gallar-lar-put-luunniit) 'let us (may we) first (75.6.) look at it,
though'.

27.2. The suffix -na, usually listed as 2.p.sg. intr. imperative, may perhaps (with the old grammarians) be regarded as the pure stem form of the optative derivation suffix -na-. It seems to indicate invitation or recommendation, especially for the not immediate future, rather than plain order, e.g. koo. I 73 naapirturnarsiriyarpat tuqqurniyarna! 'when he is about (74.4.) to be expected to come (conditional) / you have better (73.3.) hide'.

28. Imperative 1.p. non-singular and 2.p. tr. \emptyset , 2.p. intr. -git-, with person suffixes:

intr.	sg.	pl.	du.
1.p.		<u>-ta</u>	<u>-luk</u>
2.p.	<u>-git</u> ¹⁾	<u>-gitsi</u>	<u>-gittik</u>
with object	3.p. sg.	pl.	du.
1.p.pl.	<u>-tigu</u>	<u>-tigik</u>	
du.	<u>+kku, -lukku</u>	<u>+kkik, -lukkik</u>	
2.p.sg.	<u>-uk</u> ¹⁾	<u>+kkit</u>	<u>+kkik</u>
pl.	<u>-siyuk</u>	<u>-sigik</u>	<u>-sikkik</u> (F. <u>-sigit</u>)
du.	<u>+kku</u>	<u>-sikkik</u> (F. <u>+kkit</u>)	<u>(F.<u>+kkik</u>)</u>
with object	1.p. sg.	pl.	du.
2.p.sg.	<u>+nna</u>	} <u>-tigut</u>	} <u>-tiguk</u>
pl.	<u>-sina</u>		
du.	<u>-tinna</u>		

Note:

1) with vowel stems: akirit - akiguk 'answer', takuuk 'look at it', tusaayuk 'listen to it', qarriit or paarigit - paaruk 'guard', irregular qarriit (qa- 'hear here'); with uvular stems: tusarit - tusaruk 'hear', irregular -Kallaat - -Kallaak (-Kallar-)

'for the time being' (75.6.); with velar stems: naalagit - naalaguk 'obey'; with prelingual stems: tikigit or tikittit - tikiguk or tikiSSuk 'come (to)'.

These forms indicate order or appeal, the addressee being included in the 1.p. non-singular. E.g. att. I 6 qaa, siSSamut atirta 'well then, / to the beach / let's go down'; ko. IV 82 qainnawuk taurtigiikkik: 'our kayaks / let's (du.) exchange (49.2.) them'; koo. I 26 tamaana iliinnakkit uwagut mayuutissawawut 'here / just (89.1.) put them / we (the others) / we'll (73.1.) take them up'; St. Matthew 6.11. inuutiSSattinnik ullumi tunisigut 'with our future (82.1.) provision / today / gift us'.

29. The p a r t i c i p i a l (subordinate, primary) is, as already indicated, in part nominal. The transitive participial in the modern language has only one local case form (3.pl.-3.pl. locative, see 37.3.; old also 3.p. instrumental, see 39.3.) but the intransitive participial combines freely with local case (pure number forms and also forms with dependent person suffixes) and corresponds both to the transitive participial and to deverbal and other nouns, in particular to the passive participle (cp. 57-58.).

29.1. Participial intr. -Tuq, tr. -Ki(g)-, with person suffixes (postvocalic alternants):

intr.	sg.	pl.	du.
(3.p.)	- <u>Suq</u>	- <u>Sut</u>	- <u>Suk</u>
1.p.	- <u>Suna</u>	- <u>Sugut</u>	- <u>Suguk</u>
2.p.	- <u>Sutit</u>	- <u>Susi</u>	- <u>Sutik</u>
with object	3.p.sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.sg.	- <u>gaa</u>	- <u>gai</u>	- <u>gik</u>
pl.	- <u>gaat</u>	- <u>gaat</u> (- <u>gait</u>)	- <u>gigik</u>
du.	- <u>gaak</u>	- <u>gi(k)kik</u>	
1.p.sg.	- <u>giga</u>	- <u>gikka</u>	
pl.	- <u>gipput</u> (- <u>gik</u> -)	- <u>giwut</u>	- <u>gipput</u> (- <u>giltut</u>)
du.	- <u>gippuk</u> (- <u>gik</u> -)	- <u>giwuk</u>	- <u>gippuk</u> (- <u>gilkuk</u>)
2.p.sg.	- <u>git</u>	- <u>girit</u>	- <u>giki</u>
pl.	- <u>gissi</u> (- <u>gig</u> -)	- <u>gisi</u>	- <u>gissi</u> (- <u>gigsi</u>)
du.	- <u>gittik</u> (- <u>gig</u> -)	- <u>gitik</u>	- <u>gittik</u> (- <u>gigitik</u>)

4.p.sg.	<u>-ginni</u> (<u>giŋ-</u>) or <u>-gini</u>	<u>-gini</u>	<u>-ginni</u> (<u>-ginni</u>)		
pl.	<u>-gittik</u> (<u>-gig-</u>)	<u>-gitik</u>	<u>-gittik</u> (<u>-gigtik</u>)		
with object 1.p.sg.		pl.	du.		
3.p.sg.	<u>-gaana</u>	}	}		
pl.du.	<u>-gaanna</u>			<u>-gaatigut</u>	<u>-gaatiguk</u>
2.p.sg.	<u>-gimma</u> (<u>-giŋ-</u>)	}	}		
pl.	<u>-gissina</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)			<u>-gittigut</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)	<u>-gittiguk</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)
du.	<u>-gitti(ŋ)na</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)			<u>-gissigut</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)	
		<u>-gittigut</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)			
with object 2.p.sg.		pl.	du.		
3.p.sg.	<u>-gaatit</u>	}	}		
pl.du.	<u>-gaattit</u>			<u>-gaasi</u>	<u>-gaatik</u>
1.p.sg.	<u>-gikkit</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)	}	}		
pl.	<u>-gittigit</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)			<u>-gissi</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)	<u>-gittik</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)
du.	<u>-gitti(k)kit</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)				
with object 4.p.sg.		pl.			
3.p.sg.	<u>-gaani</u>	}	}		
pl.	<u>-gaanni</u>			<u>-gaatik</u>	
du.	<u>-gaanni</u> (<u>-gaanni</u>)				
1.p.sg.	<u>-ginni</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)	}	}		
pl.	<u>-gittinni</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)			<u>-gittik</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)	
du.	<u>-gittinni</u> (<u>-giwtiŋ-</u>)				
2.p.sg.	<u>-ginni</u> (<u>-giŋ-</u>)	}	}		
pl.	<u>-gissinni</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)			<u>-gittik</u> (<u>-gig-</u>)	
du.	<u>-gittinni</u> (<u>-giwtiŋ-</u>)			<u>-gittik</u> (<u>-giw-</u>)	

The participial is temporally neutral in the same sense as the indicative (25.).

(In North Alaska this is the semantically neutral indicative, the intransitive participial having a longer form -Tuaq; e.g. Nunam. tawja umialiktaqarniqsut tawjani inuuniaqtuat tautsimik 'then / they had leader among them / there / who were living / one'; tawja uqautiaqsiŋirik taatajuagni 'then / he began to talk to them / his (4.p.) parents-in-law'.)

29.2. The nouns most frequently occurring in constructions analogous to participial constructions are deverbal nouns (56-61.),

nouns with the derivation suffixes -līk 'provided with (79.1.) and -(1)liq 'the -most' (81.1.), and nouns indicating some other relationship, quality, material or the like but, of course, the semantic relations are not necessarily the same. Thus the passive participle (with dependent person suffixes) and the transitive participial (the most decidedly verbal of the forms in question), which both correspond closely to the intransitive participial, involve different semantic stress on the terms of the action relation, e.g. att. I 151 (Raven shouts:) uwaṅaana arwiq tuqutara! uwaṅaana arwiq tuqukkiga! 'I it (una) / whale / my killed one (pass. part.), i.e. it's a whale that I have killed! / I it / whale / I who killed it (tr.part.), i.e. it's me who killed the whale!' (for the sentence type cp. 34.).

In apposition, which - like dependence (20., especially 20.4.) - may have several terms, also numerals and demonstrative pronouns occur frequently but not always at the same levels as other nominal forms.

29.3. Both participial and nominal terms may be a dependence phrase and/or have an annexment. Annexed object, of course, is limited to the transitive participial but both the intransitive participial and a purely nominal term may have an annexed subject (in the absolutive case irrespective of the case of the head) with a suffix referring directly to the head (i.e. not fourth person reference, cp. 20.1. and 44.3.) and indicating a part of what is expressed by the head, e.g. koo. I 60 (instrumental) natsirnik miqquwi qummukartunik 'fiord seal skins / their hair (pl.) / going upward's; J.P. (definition of nasiluqaq:) arnap annuraawa miqquwi qalliit 'woman's / her dress / its hair / outermost, i.e. a woman's dress with the hair out'; cp. 34.3.

Thus an apposition does not necessarily agree in number with its head and in old texts also simple singular forms with -(1)liq are found in apposition to plural forms, the superordinate verb agreeing in number with the apposition, e.g. ko. IV 116 tauSSuma utuqqarSuup taukkuwa nukariit aṅayulliq apiraa 'that / old one / those / brothers (49.2.) / the oldest one / he asked him' (modern probably dependence phrase with 80.2. -taq 'appertaining': aṅayullirsaat, cp. koo. I 18 in 20.4.).

The lack of case agreement (i.e. composition) in att. II 81 iwwiyaq-qaqurtumik (instrumental sg.) 'bread / white' (Danish: franskbrød) is probably an innovation of the present day language.

29.4. Sometimes an entire participial construction may or must be regarded as the object of a superordinate verb, e.g. att. II 84 taawali amma paasissawarput siniriSSami sumiluunniit nunaqartugut tamatta kalaaliyuSugut 'but then / also / we shall (73.1.) realize it / on the coast / wherever (44.2.) / we who live / all of us / we who (i.e. that we) are (48.1.) Greenlanders'. In koo. I 37 tamanna isumaliyutigiSaannarpaa, suuq taama piSaraani 'that / he every time (76.1., 89.1.) thought of (60.1.) it / why / thus / he used to (76.1.) treat him (4.p.)' the pronoun tamanna is the immediate object (cp. 45.3.) and usually the participial is connected with some single term of the superordinate clause, or else there is no formal connection.

29.5. The head of the construction may be the object of the superordinate (or relatively superordinate) verb and, in the case of the participial, the subject or the object of the subordinate form. The subject of the superordinate verb may at the same time be the object or the subject respectively of a transitive participial (in case fourth person, annexed resp. dependent). The construction has more or less predicative force, depending on the semantic character and the order of the terms - ceteris paribus more, it seems, when the subordinate term follows the superordinate verb (cp. 33.) than when it precedes it (cp. 23.).

29.5.1. With superordinate verba sentiendi et dicendi and the like the participial construction usually has, from the Indo-European point of view, the force of an object clause, e.g. ko. III 84 igluni tammartuq uyarini unnirlugu 'his (4.p.) cousin / who was lost (cp. below 2.) / whom he (4.p.) was looking for / saying of him, i.e. saying that he was etc.'; ko. III 83 uqautigaatit aggirsutit 'he said about (60.1.) you / you who (i.e. that you) were underway'; koo. I 20 ilaanniyaasiit aqutip utuqqarSuwannaqurtup kaaSSaSSuup ikiᑎᑎutaata aniirluni iSigiinnaraluwaramigit kaaSSaSSukasik ilaasa naalliyuttitari-gaat .. 'once as usual / the man / elderly (87.2., 48.1.) / k.'s / friend / he being out (contemp.) / when he looked at them (causat. with

89.1., 72.1.) / poor (86.) K. / his companions / who were in the habit of (76.1., 69.8.) making (64.1.) him suffer, i.e. when he saw how the others used to make poor K. suffer'; att. I 113 takuriyakkit qaawi kayurtinnirsut 'go and (74.4.) look at them / their surfaces / that perhaps (69.7.) become (64.1.) brown, i.e. whether they become brown on their surface'; koo. III 5 sunu siyunirtarigaa taSSa arnaata naluyunnaarpaa 'what / that he has set as his aim / well, then / his mother / she knew it already (71.2.)'; koo. I 50 piniyagaSSaq taama attigiSuq qanuq ittuq nalugamiyuk 'game / like that / which is so (68.) big / how / that is / because he did not know it'.

So also nominal constructions, e.g. att. II 108 ... ilisimani-qartilirpaat taayannarsuwaq kalaallit ilagisaannik inulik 'they began (74.1.) to make (64.1.) it known (56.4.) / the far (87.1.) north there / (of) Greenlanders / with their had as (49.1., 58.1.) a part / supplied with (79.1.) people, i.e. that there was a group of Greenlanders far north there'; ko. II 68 panarsuup nuuwa takuwaa aawinarsuwaq 'the knife's / its point / he saw it / just (89.1., 87.1.) blood, i.e. that it was full of blood'; ko. IV 56 qayaq irnirlugu ilisaraa nuliartartaami anuSSuwa 'the kayak-man / at once him / he recognized him / his (4.p.) new (80.2., 50.6.) wife's / her father, i.e. as her father'.

29.5.2. In other cases the construction corresponds to an IE relative or temporal clause, e.g. ko. I 102 (koo. II 8) atiramik gainni umiyap ataanut ilisimagaa tikippaat 'when they (4.p.) went down (causat.) / his (4.p.) kayak / (of) the umiak / under it / that he had placed / they came to it'; att. II 15 qaqqaq qaawa tuqqiyuSartuq igaaSaq awaqqullugu 'the mountain / its surface / that is approximately level / I. (name of the mountain) / going (47.8.) outside it'; ko. II 78 ugpatai tuqunaSut aiwaat, aamma paaSaSSat 'his thighs / that are (54.5.) dead / they went after him, / also / your future (82.1.) fought (58.1.), i.e. they have gone after the one with the dead thighs, also one to be fought by you'; koo. II 28 itirsarniyariyassagaat uqarwigai 'them who were about to (73.3., 74.4., 73.1.) rouse them / he said to (59.2.) them'; koo. I 26 inuppaSSuwit palliinnaraatik asaSuwatsiyannurpaat 'the crowd (83.2., pl.) / they (4.p.) whom he only (89.1.) came close up to (i.e. when he only came close up to them) / they became

(48.1.) quite (88.1.) loving (57.1.) towards him'; att. I 38 atirtuᅇa antriyasip tikikkamiᅇa 'me who (i.e. when I) went down / A. / when he came to me (causat.)'.

Nominal constructions: ko. I 132 (koo. II 19) uyaragSuwaq qaa natsiᅇnaq tikikkamikku 'a big (87.1.) rock / its surface / an even plane / when they came to it'; ko. III 72 aarit qilaluarSuwaq tuugaalikSuwaq silu qaniᅇᅇaarpaat 'there: / big (87.1.) white whale / supplied with (79.1.) tusk (i.e. a big narwhale) / carcass / they came unexpectedly upon it'; koo. II 39 takuyumaarparsi naqqup qiqqani puugutakasik qiSuk qarasarSuwarmik aalatikkamik ulikkaartuq 'you will (73.2.) see it / of the floor / in its middle / dish (86.) / wood (i.e. a wooden dish) / with brain (87.1.) / stirred (scil. with blubber) / that is full'; att. I 104 iirtaaSat puuguttap imai arᅇanut nakka-lattissawakka 'peas / of dish / its contents (i.e. a dish-full of peas) / into the ashes / I'll (73.1.) sift them'.

29.6. The head of the construction may also be the subject of an intransitive superordinate verb and, as above, the subject or the object of a participial, e.g. koo. II 12 isumaqarami aasiit tuukkini 'because he thought / as usual / he (4.p.) who (i.e. that he) had killed him'; ko. II 6 (koo. III 128) qawlunaallu kalaallillu suli iSigiᅇᅇaaraatik qawlunaaq kalaallimut ikiᅇᅇutiminut uqarpuq 'and (i.e. both) Norsemen / and Greenlanders / still / they (4.p.) whose spectators they were (i.e. while both the N. and the G. were looking at them) / the Norseman / to the Greenlander / to his friend / he said'; att. II 9 uwagut utuqqaanirusugut marluk unikkaluwarpugut 'we / we who were the oldest (56.3.) / two / we would (72.1.) have remained'; ũm. il. 59 sigguwi tannirusut siyurartuunik taaniqartarput 'their beak (pl.) / that are longest (56.3.) / kingducks (instr. 39.3.) / they (scil. the eiderducks) are (56.4.) called'; att. I 17 ila umiyatsiyaat aalisqa-tiwut amirlaqaat 'sure / boats / our fellow (61.)-fishers / were very (77.1.) many'; att. II 81 ilaat sapiinnirit anurirSuwartumi allaat qamasinnaapput 'some of them / the ablest (56.) ones / in storm / even / were able to (89.1.) hunt seal from kayak'.

29.7.1. Through an annexed object suffix (in case fourth person) the transitive participial may also be connected with the de-

pendent subject of a transitive superordinate verb, e.g. ko. I 118 (koo. II 14) ilami irñinnaq naalagarsiyurwigilillaraanni sakiirpaa 'yes indeed / at once / he (4.p.) whom they began (74.1., 77.2.) to be subservient to (i.e. while they etc.) / he cut up its breast'; ko. IV 2 qainnap arwanniyat tikiliriyallaraatik umiyatsiyaaq niñilirpaat 'the kayak-man / the whalers / they (4.p.) whom he was about to (74.1,4., 77.1.) come to (i.e. when he was about etc.) / a boat / they began to (74.1.) lover it'.

For the combination of a participial and a superordinate verb with the same subject but different objects no clear examples have been found.

29.7.2. An intransitive participial combined directly with a dependent subject - or with the dependent referee of a nominal form - seems to be purely nominal, i.e. without person suffix in combination with first or second person dependent referee, e.g. att. III 145 (takuyumaarpat) qanuq qaSSutit qaattursimaSut paSSuttariwut '(you will (73.2.) see it) how / the net (pl.) / who are net-hunting / we treat it', cp. att. II 9 -Sugut in 29.6. (and att. II 83 in 44.2. with separating sumiluunniit 'wherever') and the nominal constructions koo. I 58 taqqaSSuma inuwi nuñummigikka: 'the one out there (rel.) / its inhabitants / I, fancy! (69.6.), who finished them off, i.e. it's me out here who finished etc. '; Kal. 1954 IV-V 10 (and passim) kalaallit nunarput 'of Greenlanders / our country, i.e. our, the Greenlanders', country' - cp. the simple dependence phrase kalaallit nunaat 'Greenlanders' / their country, i.e. Greenland'.

Apposition to third person dependent referee: ko. IV 120 ukiyuliguni nanurSuup kiinaa miqquqaññitsurSuup tikiraaqqippasi 'when winter comes / a big (87.1.) polar-bear / its face / that has (50.1.) no (70.) hair (i.e. with a hairless face) / when again (75.9.) it comes to you'; ko. II 8 (koo. III 129) uyaragSuwarmiyut qawlunaat nawaranaaq kalaaliq kiwartaaraat 'the people at (48.2.) Ujaragssuit / Horsemen / N. / Greenlander / they took (50.6., 49.1.) her in their service'.

29.8. With reflexively used transitive verba dicendi the participial seems to be obsolete, being mostly replaced by the contemporary (cp. 22.4., 29.5.1. and 31.3.).

29.8.1. The transitive participial was - and perhaps may still be - used in about the same way as with other intransitive verbs, e.g. ko. IV 120 taunna ilartik tasamuṅa qimakkitik unnirput 'that one / their (4.p.) partner / out there / they (4.p.) who had left him / they said of themselves, i.e. said that they had left etc.'; ko. IV 104 uqalugtuwarmat aṅutisugSuup malikkaluwaqigaani unnirluni 'when he told (causat.) / A. / himself whom he had pursued (in vain: 72.1., 77.1.) / saying of himself, i.e. told that A. had etc.'.

29.8.2. Rasmussen (§ 100) still includes constructions with first and second person forms of the intransitive participial (besides causative, cp. 30.5.) of the type Egede 246 (and 1857) kilaṅmut piSusi unnirlusi 'to heaven / you who are going / saying of yourselves, i.e. saying that you are etc.'.

For 3.p.sg. Egede (p. 186) and Fabricius (p. 375) give a construction - obsolete according to Kleinschmidt (§ 78 - Swadesh p. 45) and not found in the texts - with the intransitive participial in the relative case in apposition to a latent dependent referee of the reflexively used transitive verb, e.g. irmiksup unnirpuq 'who washed himself / says of himself, i.e. he says that he has washed himself'. For 3.p.pl. they give an entirely different construction, with the participial in the instrumental case sg. (cp. 39.2-3.): irmiksumik unnirput, cp. ko. IV 70 pisiyumaSumik isumaṅṅikawsaqaut ukuwa 'in the way of (or: about) who wants (73.2.) to trade / they do not (70., 86., 77.1.) think / those'; according to Rasmussen this construction is limited to the singular, cp. ko. III 83 aullartumik unnirluni 'in the way of (or: about) who has left / saying of herself, i.e. saying that she had left'.

29.9. The connexion between the participial or the noun (mostly temporal nouns) and the superordinate verb may finally be marked by no suffix at all, or there is just a dependent person suffix in some other term than a connecting annexment or dependent referee.

29.9.1. The participial construction may, from an IE point of view, have the force of an object or subject clause, e.g. ko. III 78 kaṅaarSuṅmiyuṭ tusaamalirput kiitiyuṭ pamliṭ tuṅukkaa 'the Kangârssuk people (48.2.) / heard (74.1.) people tell (intr.) / Gideon / Pamêq

(rel.) / he whom he had killed, i.e. that P. had killed G.'; att. I 107 kunñip irnira piqquSiwuq aggissaSuq 'the king's / his son / gave order / she who (i.e. that she) should (73.1.) come'; koo. II 3 (Kr. L.'s note) .. ilimanarniruwurlu indiyaanirusimassaSut 'and it is most (56.3.) probable / who (i.e. that they) may have (74.5., 73.1.) been (48.1.) Indians'; koo. I 58 quyanaq inuwi tikilirsut 'lucky / its owners / who (i.e. that they) come (74.1.).' /

29.9.2. In other cases the participial construction corresponds rather to a temporal clause, e.g. ko. IV 68 (koo. III 126) kiisa tamaasa kapurlugit nuñuppai suli niwiyarsiyak sinaa tikiñnikkaat 'finally / all of them / stabbing them / he finished them off / yet / the two girls / the edge of it (scil. of the ice) / they who did not (70.) reach, i.e. before the girls etc.'; koo. I 10 nipaaniit itilirpuq allamik uqaasiqarpaluñqitsaq 'from his voice / he woke (74.1.) up / with other / he who was not (70.) heard to (54.7.) have (50.1.) word, i.e. he being heard to say nothing but ...'; koo. I 82 uwinilu uqartuq taamak nallarpuq 'and her (4.p.) husband / who spoke / away / she lay down, i.e. and she lay down as her husband told her to'; att. I 19 taama unnuwaatigiSuq suuq anirlaññilasi? 'like that / that is (48.1.) so (68.) night (i.e. it being that late at night) / why / don't (70.) you go home?'; ko. I 94 (koo. II 4) taimaittuq kunukkut iqqurniqaññillat 'that is thus (i.e. nevertheless) / the Kunuk's / they were (56.4.) not (70.) hit'; koo. I 13 kinami qasuñasusSaq imminnut urnigutiliramik 'but who / a future (82.1.) being slack (i.e. neither intending to give in) / towards each other / when they approached (66., 74.1.)' (cp. 33.3.).

Similarly with pure nouns, e.g. att. I 110 pisinnaaSarsi tamaat qisuSSanik katirSuwiniyaritsi 'what (58.1.) your are able to (89.1.) / all of it (i.e. all you can) / (future, 82.1.) pieces of wood (instr. cp. 39.3.) / gather'; att. I 11 ullut qassiit usiñiyarput 'days / several / it (the ship, pl.) is unloading'; ko. II 66 aamma aqagu qaunmat uwlaañnuwaq aullarpuq 'again / next day (cp. 30.10.) / when daylight came (causat.) / early (87.2.) morning / he left'.

ippaSSaq 'yesterday', issaq 'the other day', itsaq 'in the old days', etc. are used in the same way but have no contrasting relative form; cp. also 35.1.

30. The relative moods causative and conditional (subordinate, secondary) have all possible person combinations but the distribution of the intransitive forms is in part similar to that of the quasi-nominal relative forms (21.). The mood suffixes also occur in some non-verbal forms.

30.1. C a u s a t i v e 3.p. -(m)m-, old -(ŋ)m-; 1., 2. and 4.p. -Ka-, after negation (old and western after any prelingual stem) -na-; after -Ka(r)ĩ- (69.8.) -ŋ-, -ŋa- (-Kaŋ-, -Kaŋa-); with person suffixes (postvocalic alternants):

intr.	sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.	<u>-mmat</u>	<u>-mmata</u>	<u>-mmanik</u> (<u>-ŋmanik</u>)
1.p.	<u>-gama</u>	<u>-gatta</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gannuk</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)
2.p.	<u>-gawit</u>	<u>-gassi</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gattik</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)
4.p.	<u>-gami</u>	<u>-gamik</u>	
with object	3.p. sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.sg.	<u>-mmagu</u>	<u>-mmagit</u>	<u>-mmagik</u>
pl.	<u>-mmaSSuk</u>	<u>-mmatigik</u>	(F.- <u>ŋmatigik</u>)
du.	<u>-mmakku</u>	<u>-mmatikkik</u> (F.- <u>ŋmakkit</u>)	<u>-mmatikkik</u> (F.- <u>ŋmakkik</u>)
1.p.sg.	<u>-gakku</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gakkit</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gakkik</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)
pl.	<u>-gattigu</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gattigik</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	(F.- <u>gawtigik</u>)
du.	<u>-gattikku</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gattikkik</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gattikkik</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)
2.p.sg.	<u>-gakku</u>	<u>-gakkit</u>	<u>-gakkik</u>
pl.	<u>-gassiyuk</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gassigik</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	(F.- <u>gawsigik</u>)
du.	<u>-gattikku</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gattikkik</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gattikkik</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)
4.p.sg.	<u>-gamiyuk</u>	<u>-gamigit</u>	<u>-gamigik</u>
(du.)pl.	<u>-gamikku</u>	<u>-gamikkik</u>	
(Topp pl.	<u>-gamiSSuk</u>	<u>-gamisigik</u>)	
with object	1.p. sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.sg.	<u>-mmana</u>	<u>-mmatigut</u>	<u>-mmatiguk</u>
pl.du.	<u>-mmanaŋa</u>		
2.p.sg.	<u>-gamma</u> (<u>-gaŋ-</u>)	<u>-gattigut</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gattiguk</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>) (F.pl. <u>-gawsiguk</u>)
pl.	<u>-gassiŋa</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gassigut</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	
du.	<u>-gatti(ŋ)ŋa</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	<u>-gattigut</u> (<u>-gaw-</u>)	
4.p.sg.	<u>-gamiŋa</u>	<u>-gamisigut</u>	<u>-gamisiguk</u>
pl.	<u>-gamiŋŋa</u>		

with object 2.p.		sg.	pl.	du.
3.p.sg.	- <u>mmatit</u>	}	- <u>mmasi</u>	- <u>mmatik</u>
pl.du.	- <u>mmattit</u>			
1.p.sg.	- <u>gakkit</u> (-gaw-)	}	- <u>gassi</u> (-gaw-)	- <u>gattik</u> (-gaw-)
pl.	- <u>gattigit</u> (-gaw-)			
du.	- <u>gattikkit</u> (-gaw-)			
4.p.sg.pl.	- <u>gamisit</u>		- <u>gamisi</u>	- <u>gamisik</u>
with object 4.p.		sg.	pl.	
3.p.sg.	- <u>mmani</u>	}	- <u>mmatik</u>	(F. - <u>mmattik</u>)
pl.	- <u>mmanni</u>			(F. - <u>mmagtik</u>)
du.	- <u>mmanni</u> (- <u>mmanni</u>)			
1.p.sg.	- <u>ganni</u> (-gaw-)	}	- <u>gattik</u> (-gaw-)	
pl.	- <u>gattinni</u> (-gaw-)			
du.	- <u>gattinni</u> (- <u>gawtin-</u>)			
2.p.sg.	- <u>ganni</u> (- <u>gan-</u>)	}	- <u>gattik</u>	(-gag-)
pl.	- <u>gassinni</u> (-gaw-)			(-gaw-)
du.	- <u>gattinni</u> (- <u>gawtin-</u>)			

The causative indicates an event realized prior (or at least not posterior) to what is expressed by a superordinate term and frequently implies cause. It also occurs without a superordinate term, see 33.2-3.

30.2. C o n d i t i o n a l 3.p. -(p)p-, old -(k)p-; 1., 2. and 4.p. -Ku-; with the same person suffixes as the causative except that the 4.p. subject suffixes have n instead of m (21.).

The conditional selects, in the superordinate term, some derivation suffix indicating future time or irrealis (73.1-2., 72.2., etc.) or the optative or imperative mood. It indicates an event prior to the realization of what is expressed by the superordinate term and thus frequently implies condition.

30.3. The causative may be the immediate object of the superordinate verb ('gebrochene rede' according to Kleinschmidt § 78), e.g. att. II 16 iqqaamawara ilaanni kanirSuwit awaqqukkiyarturattigik 'I remember it/once/K. (pl.) /when (i.e. that) we were about (74.3.) passing (47.8.) outside them', cp. 29.4. Usually the subordinate term is connected -

more or less loosely - with the superordinate clause through a term of the latter, or else there is no formal connection other than that indicated by the mood and relative suffixes.

30.4. The subordinate term may be connected with the object of the superordinate verb (4.p. excluded), with the force of an object clause (causative) or that of a relative or temporal clause. E.g. causative: ko. II 4 (koo. III 127) qawlunaatsiyait ilagilirpait malugigamikkik inminnut asannigtuummata (att. II 100 changed to intr. part. asannittuuSut) 'the Norsemen / they (scil. the Greenlanders) began to (74.1.) be together with them / when they (4.p. according to 30.5.) noticed them / to themselves (the G.) / that they (the N.) were (48.1.) friendly (67.1., 57.1.)'; ko. II 78 (koo. II 126) tikiraawnuuq unilagtaqi tuqulirmat takusarliyuk 'the visitor, he says, / U. / when he is (74.1.) dying (i.e. the dying U.) / may he visitate him'; ko. IV 120 iglurtik qanaamat urniglugu 'their house / when it had been some time (i.e. their former house') / going to it'. - Conditional: koo. I 12 piSarigaluwarukku qaammaSSuup tarniqqayaaqatit 'if you had (72.1.) caught it / the Moon-man / he would have (72.2.) deprived (51.3.) you of your soul'. - Quasi-nouns: Acts 20.28. sawarpaallu iluunqaasa misiSSurlugit 'and all (83.2.) the sheep / them wholly / taking head of them'; ko. IV 2 tamañnik qaqiriyarlugik 'both of them / pulling (74.4.) them up'; koo. III 5 uwaña kisima anuwartiSSaraarma 'me / me alone / you have me as (49.1.) a future (82.1.) rower (58.2.)'.

30.5. The subordinate term may also quite freely be connected with the annexed or dependent subject of the superordinate verb (in case 4.p. subject or object). The causative may have the force of an object clause, e.g. ko. I 94 (koo. II 3) kiisa iqqailirpuq arpagturnik tusartarami 'finally / he remembered (74.1.) / about 'runners' / that he (4.p.) had heard (76.1.)', but more often the subordinate term has the force of a temporal or other circumstantial term. E.g. causative: ko. II 6 qawlunaap taima uqarwigiñmani inuk uqarpuq 'the Norseman / thus / when he talked to (59.2.) him (4.p.) / the Eskimo / he said'; koo. III 6 nakuwarSuup takugamiyuk sawippuq 'the strong man (87.1.) / when he (4.p.) saw it / he inserted the harpoon into the shaft'; att. I 13 kiñumut utiramik tulapput. tulukkamik niñiyuñnuwat

niyuwug 'back / when they (4.p.) had returned / they touched land. / when they (4.p.) had touched land / their matron / she got out of the boat'. - Conditional: att. I 18 aatsaalli ilimatsappatik pañalilluwarumaarput 'but just / when he gives them (4.p.) the signal / they will (73.2.) go in nice (77.18.) gallop'; ko. I 110 (koo. II 11) innarumaguwsi ukununga innarniyaritsi 'if you want to (73.2.) go to bed / to those / please (73.3.) go to bed'. - Quasi-nouns: ko. I 66 niwiyarsiyak taukku qiyannarmik sikumut awalassaarpuk 'girls (du.) / those / they (4.p.) crying / out on the ice / they put out from the shore'; att. I 38 kikkut tamarmik sikumi analaarsinnaalirsarput 'who (pl.) / they (4.p.) all (i.e. everybody) / on the ice / they begin to (74.1., 76.1.) be able to (89.1.) move'.

30.6. The superordinate term may also be the dependent referee of a nominal form (mostly verbal nouns), in case referred to by a fourth person suffix of the subordinate term. E.g. causative: ko. I 34 taSSaguug parpaap tuqulirami uqausii kinullit 'voilà, it's told, / Parpaq's / when he died (74.1.) / his words / last ones'; ko. I 110 (koo. II 11) taqqama uwaña inuusukkallarama ipirautara umiyap ataaniippuq 'out there / I (my) / when I was still (75.6.) young / my whip / (of) the umiak / under it it is'. - Quasi-nouns: St. Luke 2.10. inuwit tamarmik piSSaannik (instr.) 'people's / all of them / their share'.

In ko. I 42 aggiramik aggiramik uwaña nipip anuyunnalirai suwaartaatiliramik 'when they (4.p., cp. 33.1.) approached / when they approached / there / the voice / more and more distinctly (71.2., 74.1.) reached them / as they (the people on land) were all (76.1., 66., 74.1.) shouting' the last fourth person may be explained according to 18.3. and / or as referring to a latent dependent referee of nipip: 'the voice of people shouting'.

30.7. In cases like the following the fourth person may be said to refer to the latent (suppressed) subject of the superordinate passive verb: ko. I 89 siñnasuttuqarniyaraluwaruni immaqa anuniqar-nawirpugut 'although (72.1.) there may be (50.1., 73.3.) somebody (57.1.) bound to (76.15.) be envious / perhaps / we are no longer in danger of (71.3.) being (56.4.) reached'; ko. I 98 (koo. II 6) qanigtumik (-mi) inuqaruni iluwatinnaqaut 'with who is near (koo.: in the

neighborhood) / if there is (50.1.) human being / they (the seals) come to use', - cp. the usual fourth person reference in att. II 79 uSSuup inaluwinik putuqanņikkunik itsuwarwiginig ayurtartunik (intr.-part. instr.) 'of barbed seal / its intestines / if they have (50.1.) no (70.) hole / looked through (59.2.) / that can not be (65.)'.

30.8. When there is no immediate person connection the causative may still have the force of an object or subject clause (cp. 29.9.1.), e.g. att. II 82 ayuraluwarpurli siyuliwut allassinnaanatillu atuwarsinnaanņimmata 'but it is bad (72.1.) / our forefathers / and they being unable (89.1., 70.) to write (cp. 44.3.) / because (i.e. that) they could (89.1.) not (70.) read', cp. (conditional) att. I 18 piSariyaqarpalli sukkasuumik inirlassaag 'but if it is necessary (59.1.) / fast / he will (73.1.) go'. In ko. I 134 (koo. II 20) kunuguuq nukki tuqunmat kinurna aitsaannuq qunuyuummirataaqauq 'Kunuk, it's told, / his (4.p.) younger brother / when he died / after it / only then, it is told / he then at last (72.4.) smiled a little (75.4.)' the juxtaposed absolutive term kinurna (cp. 29.2.2.) specifies the temporal force of the causative clause.

Quasi-nouns in similar cases seem to select a preceding nominal term, e.g. koo. I 42 anutisiyarSuwaataasiit (-ata aasiit) kalitani aalaņņasa ilaminit anillaatiinnaqaaq 'his foster-father's, as usual, / his (4.p., see 20.3.) towed ones (58.1.) / they (3.p.) un-abandoned (i.e. without abandoning the seals he was towing) / from his (4.p.) companions / he just the same (89.1., 77.1.) got ahead'; att. I 22 ullut tamaasa arwirSuwaq tikiyuttarpuq 'days / all of them / the big (87.1.) whale / it used to (76.1.) come back'.

30.9. Some causative and conditional forms with the derivation suffix +li- 'make, etc.' (50.3.) have a unique fourth person sg. subject suffix which must be said to refer just to the time implied by the superordinate term, e.g. ko. IV 10 taSSa iwsaligami pisuktuwaraanama 'voilà / the other day (cp. issaq 29.2.2. end) / when I was walking', ko. IV 120 ukiyuliguni .. 'when winter comes ..' (quoted in full 29.7.2.), cp. the personal contemporative ko. IV 44 iwsalitsiyarlutik, kiisami naanmaap akirai aullalirput 'they (4.p.) passing some (88.1.) time / finally / N.'s / enemies / they were (74.1.) leaving'. Cp. 36.3.

30.10. The causative alternant -na- may be identified with the suffix of qa-na 'when?, some time in the past', and the conditional alternant -Ku- with the future suffix -gu in qaqu-gu (Alaska also qa-ku) 'when?, some time in the future', aq-a-gu 'tomorrow, next day', aqagu-a-gu 'the day after tomorrow', aappa-a-gu 'next year' (aappa-a 'its other one'), ukiyaru 'in fall' (J.P.: = ukiyarpat 'when fall comes'), uwilaru 'this afternoon', etc. E.g. att. I 18 unnugu aalisariyalirutta ilaaniyarna: 'this evening (unuk) / when we go out (74.4, 1.) fishing / please (73.3.) be (48.1.) a companion'; att. I 8 taSSa ukiyuru qiSuSSawut 'voila / for the winter (ukiyuq) / our future (82.1.) fuel'.

31.1. C o n t e m p o r a t i v e (subordinate, secondary) -(l)lu-, old -(w)lu-, after certain i-stems -lu-; with negation -na- (after pi- 'do, etc.' -nna-), after uvular usually -a- before 4.p. and (Rasmussen) subject 1. and 2.p. pl. It selects annexed person suffixes and has no suffix for 3.p. subject; occasionally, however, a 3.p. object suffix may follow a non-singular 1. or 2.p. subject suffix (according to Rasmussen mostly in forms with the derivation suffix +qqu- 'bid, order, etc.').

Subject/object	sg.	pl.	du.
1.p.	<u>-lluna</u>	<u>-lluta</u>	<u>-llunuk</u>
2.p.	<u>-llutit</u>	<u>-llusi</u>	<u>-llutik</u>
4.p.	<u>-lluni</u>	<u>-llutik</u>	
object 3.p.	sg.	pl.	du.
	<u>-llugu</u>	<u>-llugit</u>	<u>-llugik</u>
(1.p.pl.)	<u>-llutigu</u>	<u>-llutigik</u>	
(2.p.pl.)	<u>-llusiyuk</u>	<u>-llusigik</u>	

The negative contemporative, which supplements the lacking negative optative and imperative, has a special subject suffix for 2.p.sg.: -na-k, e.g. ko. IV 76 taima isumaliyuqinak: 'thus / do not think', cp. att. I 19 qiyaqinasi 'don't cry' (and 69.4.), koo. II 25 kiqurnaguq qarSuwirniyartuqallariyaanani! 'later on, he said, / there be care not (69.3.) to be (50.1.) anybody who (57.1.) tries (73.3.) to sell (51.3.) arrows'.

Apart from the independent use (cp. 33.2.) and combinations with coordinating enclitics (44.3.) the contemporative hardly constitutes a (relatively) superordinate term for another subordinate verbal form but indicates an event concomitant with what is expressed by the superordinate term.

31.2. In the majority of cases the contemporative and the superordinate (or relatively superordinate) verb have, at least in part (cp. 18.3.), the same subject, annexed or dependent.

31.2.1. The contemporative of an intransitive or reflexively used transitive verb has, of course, in case an annexed 4.p. subject suffix, e.g. att. I 19 isirnatilli illup silataani unillutik uqarput 'but they not going in (i.e. before going in) / of the house / outside of it / they stopping / they said'; att. I 46 niwiyarsiyaq sikkirluni kiinannuwa nuwiratannuwarpuq 'the girl (i.e. the willow herb) / she coming out / her (NB. 3.p., cp. 29.3.) little (87.2.) face / at last (72.4., 87.2.) appeared'; ko. III 74 pinnirsuq iqsiliqauq tunumigut nakkartinnaſugaluni 'P. / was (74.1.) much (77.1.) afraid / on his (4.p.) back / thinking (64.6.) himself to be (64.1.) thrown down'. 1.p.du.: ko. IV 82 niyuwlunuk imirtuwarluk 'we going ashore / let's drink (75.1.)'.

31.2.2 Since the contemporative is unipersonal the contemporative of transitive verbs has no subject suffix (apart from the occasional 1. and 2.p.pl. suffixes) and there may be a 4.p. object suffix only if it refers to a 4.p. object suffix of a relatively superordinate verb (participial, causative or conditional), e.g. ko. II 62 irnini taukku marluk uqautilirarai iqminik maliſniyaqquwluni inuſnik tuqutsiqqunagit 'his (4.p.) sons / those / two / he used to (74.1., 69.8.) exhort them / himself (instr. 39.3.) / bidding (64.1.) himself to be imitated (4.p. according to above 1.) / people (instr. 39.3.) / not (70.) bidding (64.2.) them (the sons) to kill (67.1.)'; ko. I 114 (koo. II 12) kunuup ilagalugit aullarpuq 'Kunuk (rel.) / being together with them / he went out'; ko. II 70 aſutiruyugSuwaq siligturuyugSuwaq aawirSuwaq uniyarlugu tikilirsuq 'a huge (95.2.1.) man (absol.) / immensely (95.2.1.) broad / a big (87.1.) walrus / trailing it / who was (74.1.) coming'; ko. III 79 qurwiyup-pamiip-naſſak-sawinmik siigpai annarlugu

'Qorfik / Pamêq's / his belly (du.) / with a knife / he cut it up / opening him'; - 4.p. object: att. I 23 sunaawwa anayuqqaami qiyaariga-anni tuqusuraluni 'what: [it was she] / her (4.p.) parents / she (4.p.) whom they had been crying over / thinking (64.6.) her (4.p.) to be dead'; koo. I 15 tikiyulluni kaawillutik iniyallurtarilirmatik manuwaqqap takuriyallaramiyuk nalukkaakasii suna ataniSSaa 'he (4.p. according to above 1.) having come / walking around them (4.p.) / when he (3.p.) began to (74.1.) keep (76.1., 69.8.) company with them (4.p.) / M. / when he (4.p., scil. M.) looked (74.4., 77.2.) at him (3.p.) / the crotch of his trousers (86.) / what / his future (82.1.) connection, i.e. he discovered that the crotch of his trousers was hardly hanging together' (for the sentence types cp. 35.)

31.3. In some cases the contemporative must be regarded as the object of a transitive verb having the same subject as the contemporative, e.g. ko. IV 58 ipaksarnit sukkaniruwlutik malugaa 'than the day before / themselves going faster / he discovered it'; att. I 109 nalulluwinnalirpaa qanuq ililluni niriSaSSarsiniyassalluni 'he did not at all (91.1., 74.1.) know it / how / himself behaving / himself being about to (73.4., 73.1.) get (52.1.) something to (58.1., 82.1.) eat, i. e. how he should get etc.'; koo. I 40 aamma iliqquriliruyaa illuwanik qumiinaanalirluni 'also / he began to (74.1., 69.5.) have it as (49.1.) a habit / with the one / himself beginning to (74.1.) always (89.1.) stand with arm pulled back from the sleeve, i.e. to always stand with the one arm etc.'.

The superordinate verb (verba sentiendi etc.), however, may also be a reflexively used transitive verb (cp. 29.8.), e.g. koo. I 36 putusawilluni misigaaq issiyalluni 'he (4.p., 31.2.1.) staring confusedly / he noticed himself / himself sitting, i.e. that he was sitting'; koo. I 9 aluSSuwaq nunagilirakku suli qimallugu misiginnilana 'Aluk (87.1.) / since I began to (74.1.) live there / yet / leaving it / I have not (70.) noticed myself'. - In other cases too the contemporative may semantically (from the IE point of view) but not formally be the object of the superordinate verb, e.g. koo. I 35 uqaasirluttaanna-liqaat tuqukkumallugu 'they began to (74.1.) constantly (70.1.) talk badly (56.3.) / [about] wanting (73.2.) to kill her'; koo. I 48 nulii qualuttuuppa irnirsiyaq awunnaakkumallugu kayumissaassagamiyuk 'his

wife / he told her / the foster-son / wanting (73.2.) to go (47.3.) north with (66.) him / that he would (73.1.) encourage him (causat.)'.

31.4. The object of the contemporative may also be the subject of a superordinate intransitive (including passive) verb. Here too, of course, the contemporative has no subject suffix and the subject may also contextually remain unspecified, (E.g. koo. I 62 mannik nuliyarpaSSuwisa isumagiliriyannuwallarlugu tikiratanquwarpuq 'M. / his (3.p. :) many (83.2.) wives' (dep. subject) / being about to get (74.1., 4., 87.2., 77.2.) anxious about him / he at last (72.4., 87.2.) came home'; koo. I 30 aatsaat tasiyallanniyariyarlugu kitturaraaq 'well, one never : / [he] twitching (73.13., 73.3., 74.4.) it / it (the line) tore every time (69.8)'; att. II 114 killisaat sanimut pinasuulluni naammakkayuppuq issiyawigissallugu 'the edge of the sleeping platform / to the side / it being (48.1.) three (i.e. having three sides) / it is often (76.3.) sufficient / being about to (73.1.) sit on (59.2.) it, i.e. to sit on'.

In ko. II 78 qinmirSuwani pituuSSairlugit qinmiisa aligturpaat 'his (4.p.) dogs (87.1.) / letting them loose / his dogs / tore her to pieces' the latent subject of the contemporative is the dependent referee of the superordinate subject (qinmiisa). - In att. II 10 taawa uwan̄a apirilirpara umiyatsiyarput qanuq issuralugu 'then / I / asked (74.1.) her / our boat / how / thinking (64.6.) it to be' the latent subject seems to be the object of the superordinate verb.

31.5. In some cases the subject of the contemporative may be said to be the suppressed subject of a passive verb, e.g. att. II 14 taSSannaaniillu kanaarSuk awaqqullugu qiqirtarSuwatsiyaat pulayarturwigiSariyaqarlutik 'and from there / K. / going outside it / Q. (pl.) / they must be moved into' (pula - 'move into' plus 74.3., 59.2., 76.1., 59.1., 50.1.).

In other cases the superordinate verb may hardly be said to have any subject at all - if the contemporative itself is not regarded as such, e.g. att. I 33 kisiyanni miyanirSurluni ayun̄ginniruwuq 'however / one (4.p.) being cautious / it is the best (56.3.)', cp. att. I 51 niwiyarsiyaraalluni suna nuwannirnirSaawa? 'one (4.p.) being (48.1.) a little (84.5.) girl / what / is (48.1.) the most (56., 80.2.) pleasant?'

31.6. The superordinate term may also be nominal (mostly deverbal nouns), the subject of the contemporative being the same as a dependent referee or unspecified, e.g. att. II 80 qiSuSSuwillu maanna pilattuusirluta ulimaasirlutalu kisiyanni suliyaSSaraluwawut 'and big (87.1.) pieces of wood / now / we providing (50.4.) ourselves with saw / and we providing ourselves with ax / only / our eventual (82.1., 72.1.) tasks, i.e. which we now would work on with ~~saw~~ and ax only'; koo. I 54 upirnaakkut aallalirluni sawiruwalaagaSSat 'in spring / one (4.p.) beginning (74.1.) to move / the different (76.8.) things to be (58.1., 82.1.) polished'; att. II 13 silarSuwarmi nuwannirnirpaat ilaat taSSa inuusulluni piqqillunilu aaSariSSuwarmi analaarniq 'in the world / of the most (56., 80.3.) pleasant things / one of them / that's / one (4.p.) being young / and one being healthy / in high (53.2., 87.1.) summer / travelling (56.)'.

In cases like att. II 80 suqqarnik amitsuᅇᅇuwanᅇᅇurlugit qullukkanik (instr.) 'baleens / making (48.1.) them quite (87.2.) slender / split (58.1.)' the object of the contemporative is the head of the apposition. In cases like att. II 114 igalaaqartarput igalaartalirlugu inalummik 'they (the houses) usually (76.1.) have (50.1.) a window (igalaaq) / providing (50.4.) it (i.e. provided) with glass (igalaartaq 80.2.) / of gut (instr., 39.4.)' the object is the stem of the verbalizing derivation suffix (-qar- 'have'). But in the following old and very peculiar case the contemporative has no connection at all: ko. IV 26 (att. III 68) kisiyannili takiSSusiya akSait iqillugit nuwisaᅇᅇnilaq 'but / its length (60.2.) / a hand (pl.: fingers) / clenching it (them) / it did not (70.) project (intr.), i.e. its length did not exceed that of a clenched hand'.

32. The semantic relation between a subordinate clause (causative, conditional, contemporative) and the superordinate term may, so to speak, be turned around by a fourth person subject suffix which, although quite definite, does not refer to the subject of the otherwise superordinate term. E.g. ko. I 116 (koo. II 14) taunnarSuwaq kiᅇᅇumut qiwiyarami agligarnigtuq taawa qaniᅇᅇnilaq 'the boss (104.1.a.1; 87.1.) / back / when he (4.p.) turned round / [he saw that] the harpooner (67.1., 57.1.) / over there / we was far away (not, 70., near)'; koo.

I 30 siniyallariyaramiyuk kitturarpug 'when he (4.) squeezed it (scil. the wet line) a bit (76.13., 74.4.) / it tore to pieces'; ko. I 98 (koo. II 7) taima piSSartarigunikku aawirSuwaq imailiqqainnarlugu amurallarumaarppaa 'thus / if they (4.p.) have him as their (80.2., 49.1.) strong man / the walrus / hardly (72.3., 89.1.) doing this to it/ he will (73.2.) pull (77.2.) it up, i.e. with such one as their strong man they will hardly get the walrus pulled up'; ko. II 10 (ko. I 108) siyaniginñitsuriniyarluni iluminit (ko. ilumini) uqaratarmiyuN -una 'thinking (64.6., 73.3.) himself not (70.) to be noticed / from within himself (i.e. he, the other one, from within his tent) / fancy (69.6.), he all the same (72.4.) said, that one'.

33. A subordinate mood form or a nominal form may be the head term of a period, although a superordinate term may, in some of the cases, be interpolated by catalysis.

33.1. One, very frequent, type - with a participial or a nominal form as the apparent head - is analogous to the cases in 32. but here also the participial occurs as a subordinate term (examples for 3.p. subject only) and a 4.p. suffix in the superordinate clause may refer to the subject of the subordinate clause. E.g. koo I 64 anigami atirluni isiriyallartuq utaqqiinnaraanni 'when he (4.p.) went out / he (4.p.) going down / he who (i.e. when he) entered (74.4., 77.2.) / he (4.p.) whom they were just (89.1.) waiting for, i.e. he found that they were just waiting for him'; ko. IV 54 anutisiyaata qiniñnaksartannikkuniyuk nakuwarSuussannikkaluwarturuuq 'his foster-father / if he (4.p.) had not (70.) constantly (76.1.) irritated him / he (scil. the foster-son) who would hardly (73.1., 70., 72.1.) have been (48.1.) strong, they say, i.e. he (the foster-father) would hardly have made him become that strong'; ko. I 41 taSSuqa tunñaSumik takuyumallarluni, arnarsiyaminit piSaatitaaSup.nukaa 'over there / closely / he (4.p.) wanting (73.2., 77.1.) to see / by his (4.p.) foster-mother / of the one who (57.1.) was (48.1.) supposed (64.1., 58.1.) to have been (58.1., 48.1.) killed / his younger brother (scil. he saw)'; ko. I 124 (koo. II 16) qaanirmit kaaturami qilauSSuwaq 'from under the sleeping platform / when he (4.p.) had felt with his hand / a drum (scil. he pulled it out, amuwaa, as ibid. 128-17)'.

33.2. The causative is very common in questions (and following answers), especially in questions referring to a remoter past than questions with the interrogative, e.g. att. I 17 aalisarassi? - aap, puyurtuliiqqamik samuᅁa aalisariyaratta. 'have you been out fishing? - yes, with the motor boat / out west / we have been out (74.4.) fishing'; koo. II 25 sumiikkassi? - inuunᅁitsurSuwarmut tikiraaratta. 'where have you been? - to who (57.1., 87.1.) is not (48.1., 70.) a human / we have been visiting'; koo. I 63 tikiraartuqarassi? 'because you have (50.1.) visitors' (57.1.) [is that why there are kayaks on the beach] ?'. Cp. also Rasmussen p. 185 conditional asiruruni? 'if it breaks?', instrumental umiyamik? 'with an umiak?', etc., where catalysis seems possible.

33.3. The contemporative is frequent with the force of an optative or imperative, e.g. ko. I 108 (koo. II 10) isirlutit. 'come in.' (cp. 31.), but also occurs in question like sentences, e.g. koo. I 43 taSSani taamaaginnaraluwarami isumaliyuᅁirallarᅁuni: - aᅁutirpaat paaSurSuugaanna uwana ilaginnartuwassanirlugit. 'there / when he (4.p.) had only (89.1., 72.1.) been thus (i.e. doing nothing against them) / he (4.p.) first (75.6.) beginning (74.1.) to reflect: - the brothers / I whom they are attacking (57.4., 87.1., 48.1.) / I / perhaps (69.7.) going to (73.1.) continue (75.1.) to let them do as they like'.

33.4. The causative (in case 4.p. subject), the participial and nominal forms also occur as the head term in sentences with more or less exclamative force (cp. 35.). E.g. att. I 12 takuwat aput, qaqunaarami. 'you see it / the snow / how it is white (92.1.)!'; koo. I 23 taamaᅁaasiit kaaSSaSSuk kigutitaarami, takuriyassagissi. 'well, as usual / K. / he must have got (50.6.) a tooth, / which you shall (73.1.) go and (74.4.) look at!'; koo. I 46 imminnut tikikkamik kina uqartuSSaq 'to each other / when they (4.p.) had come / who / the one to (57.1., 82.1.) say something' (cp. koo. I 13 in 29.9.2.); ko. III 93 imaᅁnuwami agparpagSuwakasiit 'right (87.2.) out on the sea / a large number (83.2., 86.) of guillemots'; ko. II 28 uwana tigligtuq 'I / the one who stole' (cp. 34.).

Simple statements of this form seem to be rare, cp. koo. I 33 uyaraannitsuruuq alliyumaartuq 'who is (48.1.) not (70.) stone, they say, / who will (73.2.) grow (i.e. is one who will become useful, dangerous, etc.)' and, with -u- 'be', att. I 76 kaanniq igaSuuwuq pitsaanirpaaq 'hunger / is cook / the very (80.3.) best'.

34. Demonstrative pronouns (absolute case) in enclitic position constitute sentence types intermediate between the nominal sentences above and sentences with special interjectional forms (35.).

34.1. To the cases in 33.1 and 4. correspond, e.g., ko. I 130 (koo. II 18) pigsinnyariarluni tunuminit iqippallallarmani qiwiyariyallaraa nuliyamiyuna kamiglaannarmi iqikkaanni 'he (4.p.) trying (73.3., 74.4.) to jump / from behind him (4.p.) / when somebody was felt (54.7., 77.2.) to take hold of him (4.p.) / he who (when he) looked round (74.4., 77.2.) at the one / his (4.p.) wife that / bare-footed / who had taken hold of him (4.p.)'; koo. I 63 .. isiriyallartuq sakiyatsiyarSuwaniyuna 'he who (when he) came in (74.4., 77.2.) / his (4.p.) brother-in-law (87.1.) that'; koo. I 62 ilaanni itiriyallaramik mannamana silarSuwaq 'once / when they (4.p.) woke up (74.4., 77.2.) / this this / great (87.1.) weather, i.e. the weather was as fine as it could be'; att. I 151 see 29.2.

34.2. Together with a non-verbal interrogative form the enclitic demonstrative pronouns constitute a very common type of question (or exclamation), e.g. att. III 143 suunuku allunaaSat qaSSusiyar-gitit? 'which those / the ropes / that you use for making (50.3., 48.1.) nets?'; att. I 28 suumuku manni? 'which one's those / its eggs?'; ko. II 64 sunannuwaqqawna? 'what little (87.2.) that out there, i.e. what do you have out there?'; att. II 116 - suSannuwillimakkuwa. 'but (-li) small (87.2.) future (82.1.) which ones those, i.e. they will be nothing'; koo. I 17 qanuqqanna tikiraartitsisuwalirsartukasik. 'how the one out there / who, the nasty one (86.), is always (89.2., 74.1., 76.1.) treating guests (64.1., 67.1.)!'.
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34.3. Clauses of this type may, so to speak, be intertwined with a superordinate clause to the effect that the latter is comparable

to a term in apposition (cp. 29.3.), e.g. koo. II 30 annaṅṅuuyun-
ṅuwaruṅṅuna aṅutaa nakuuqaaq. 'Ángáṅṅúṅuaq, it is told, that / his
(3.p.) father was very (77.1.) strong'; koo. I 40 kiyaana kiya
ayattarpaṅa? 'who (rel.) that / who (rel.) / pushed me?, i.e. who was
it who etc.>'; att. II 9 arnaṅṅuna taanna uqaa aalassarissuq 'woman
that / that one / her tongue / that was quick, i.e. that was a woman
with a quick tongue'; koo. I 95 uwanimipṅanna tulugaṅṅuwaq sikursiyur-
migami. 'but (-mi) there that in the east / raven (87.2.) / fancy
(69.6.), it flies along (52.1. causat) the ice, i.e. what is coming
there from east may just be a raven flying along the ice'. In koo.
I 51 irnisriyaq ulluq qayarturniyaraluarpuq nuliyarniSSaṅṅuna kismi
'the foster-son / the [whole] day / otherwise (72.1.) tried (73.3.) to
go out in (52.3.) kayak / the future (82.1.) marriage (56.) that / it
(4.p.) only (scil. was in his head)' the demonstrative clause is rather
coordinate (cp. koo. II 47 in 45.3. with kisiyat 3.p.) and demonstra-
tive pronouns also frequently occur in apposition etc. like other
nominal forms, but then perhaps not in enclitic position.

35. There is a large number of positively or negatively
characterized 'interjectional' forms which may constitute periods with
more or less exclamative force but also, to a considerable extent,
occur as subordinate terms. Dealing with these forms it is especially
difficult to distinguish subordination and coordination.

35.1. Verb stems, usually with some derivation suffix (65.
-naq 'be -able, etc.', 89.1. +innaq 'only, just', 76.13. +(y)allak
'suddenly', 87.1. -(r)Suwaq 'with violence, etc.', 87.2. +ṅṅuwaq 'a
little, etc.', 53.2. -gik 'have or be a good' and others), occur as
exclamations without any inflective suffix or, in combination with
qana 'when' (with or without -li or -mi, cp. 43.), with a special suffix
-Si. E.g. att. I 6 niqaa mamarunaq. 'its meat / how it looks tasty';
att. II 114 isiraanni qaammaallak. 'when one comes in (cp. 37.3.) /
how suddenly light.>'; att. II 12 aa, taamaatturmi. nusukkaluwaq,
nusukkaluwaq 'oh, / well. / pull (72.1.), pull (scil. the cars)'; att.
I 77 iwwiyaminikasik taqannaq. 'the poor (86.) piece (83.4.) of
bread / splash in the water [with it].'; koo. II 22 ata, inuscunni.
'fancy / smell of (54.6.) people.>'; koo. I 41 ullaakkut itirnasuwarami

qana ikanniSSaat irininan̄nuwarSi 'in the morning / when he (4.p.) woke up in a hurry (77.5.) / how / their future (82.1.) playing (56.) / to be (65.) waited for with impatience'; koo. I 59 .. attunayanaaramiyuk qana suwiyallaSSi 'when it (4.p.) just about (93.1., 92.1.) touched him / how / there was suddenly a draught.'. - Verb stems (with +innaq) may also be subordinate, e.g. att. III, 146 itsuwariyannaq kiinaa nuwannaarpalulluni .. uqarpuq 'peeping (74.4.) down / his face / looking (54.7.) pleased ... he said'.

There may also be a referential number suffix, the verbal stem being then comparable to deverbal nouns with the derivation suffix -SSusiq (60.2.), very frequent in exclamations. E.g. att. II 21 .. itsuwariyallaramiyuk, qirnirSuwa: 'when he (4.p.) peeped in (74.4., 77.2.), its being black.'; - att. I 17 aakaanna takuriyaruk, an̄iSSusiya: 'see the one down there / go and (74.4.) look at it / its bigness'; att. III 144 ila qaatturniSSaq ilimanaSSusiya 'true / future (82.1.) net-hunting (56.) / its expectedness, i.e. is something to be looked forward to'. Cp. also the type suna -niSSaa 'what its future -ing' exemplified by koo. I 15 in 31.2.2.

35.2. Nominal forms with or without vowel lengthening, in the latter case with or without the interjection aa in enclitic position, may have exclamative or vocative force, e.g. ko. IV 82 uqarpuq: qayaaq: 'he said: a kayak.'; koo. I 30 tikiraakasiik, alira inigallaak 'poor (86.) visitor, / my harpoon line / hang it first (75.6.) up to dry'; att. I 11 taqqama silagik, allaaqqik! ullaaralaan̄nuwaq, qaammatigik, nuna apirlaaq: 'see out there (35.3.) / fine (53.2.) weather, quite (56.6.) clear (verb stems): very early (95.1., 87.2.) morning, bright (53.2.) moonlight (verb stem), the ground / covered by newly (57.2.) fallen snow.'; att. I 19 qaammatin̄nuwaNaa, quyanarSuwaq ikiyurattigut: 'dear (87.2.) moon, / many (87.1.) thanks (verb stem) / because you helped us'.

Demonstrative pronouns have in the singular the relative form with enclitic aa or aak, in the plural and dual dependent person suffixes for 2.p. pl. and du. with vowel lengthening, with or without enclitic aa, e.g. ko. II 12 namaa akiqqarniyarputit 'you there / you have tried (73.3.) to get (50.4.) enemies, i.e. you have yourself etc.'; koo. I 13 qaSSumaak, an̄illutit paaluk: 'you in there, / you

coming out / let's fight'; att. I 30 ukursiinñuwinaa, qiyakisaritsi: 'you little dear (87.2.) ones, stop (69.2.) crying.'

35.3. Interjectional demonstrative forms consist of the root plus -a and either the suffix -(CV) (i.e. gemination, see 11.1.) or the prefixed anaphoric ta(C)- (see below 5.). Some forms are irregular: taSSa (western tawja, taj-wa) 'voilà (that's), that's enough, etc.', cp. regular uwwa 'voilà (there it is), etc.'; tamaSSa 'voici (here it is), etc.' with gemination like maSSa 'voici, to be sure, etc.'; ima 'thus, as follows' without gemination like taama 'thus, as mentioned' (cp. immaqa 43.2.), etc., cp. 104. A comparable interrogative form is naak (old nauk) 'where (is it), although', cp. also suuq 'why' (and suurlu 43.1.).

35.3.1. Such forms may in many cases be regarded as some sort of head term, e.g. att. I 125 aniriyallarami siqinirSuwaq pawwa: 'when he (4.p.) came out (74.4., 72.2. / the sun (87.1.) / see up there: (i.e. it was already high up on the sky)'; att. I 22 nuna unasiqaarami sammasamma 'the ground / it (4.p.) was far (92.1.) away (causat.) / see down there:'; ko. I 41 ikkasiriyallarnata piliriqigami taaka 'when they began (60.1. +50.4., 74.4., 77.2.) to play / because he (4.p.) was very (77.1.) desirous / over there'. So also in non-final position, e.g. att. II 10 naak-naak umiyatsiyarput? 'where where / our boat?'; ko. II 68 maSSa arnat tikiraat inaat 'see here / of women / visitors / their place'; koo. I 17 taqqamaqanna nalikkaaSSuwani illarsaarutigirpalukkai 'out there the one outside / his (4.p.) crutch (87.1., pl.) / he who was heard (54.7.) to try to make (64.3.) people laugh at (60.1., 49.1.) them'; koo. II 25 qarSunñuwatta aappaasa taSSa akii 'of our arrows (87.2.) / of the ones of them / that's / their payment'; koo. II 16 aamma aputirpaSSuwit takuwatit, tamaSSa irniSSai 'also / all (83.2.) the men / you see them /, that's / his step-sons', cp. below 2.

Similarly sunawwa (sunaw 'what' with enclitic uwwa), e.g. koo. I 24 maSSa innarsimaliriyannuwallartuq taamak kisimi qanñurSuwaq, sunawwa uppillartuq 'voici / who had just (74.5., 1., 4., 87.2., 77.2.) come to rest / gone with it / it (4.p.) alone / it (87.1.) boom (verb stem), / what voilà / that fell down (77.2.), i.e. he had

just come to rest when he heard a big boom outside, the log having indeed fallen down'; ko. IV 8 sunauwwauku ipirallarniramigik irqirlugik iSirSuwak qaallarlugik 'indeed them / when he (4.p.) whipped them (77.2., 69.7.?) / at once them / their eyes (87.1.) / making them burst (77.2.)'; att. I 23, see 31.2.2.

35.3.2. taSSa constitutes equational sentences with a nominal or a subordinate verb form as the first term, e.g. Nunal. 33 nunatta inuwi taSSa kalaallit 'of our country / its inhabitants / that's / the Greenlanders'; Proverbs 14.27. naalagaq miyaniralugu taSSa puwilaSuq inuunartuq 'the Lord / fearing him (contemp.) / that's / a fountain / that is to live with'.

35.3.3. Not very different are participial (and other) clauses introduced by uwwa, maSSa or naak with concessive force, e.g. ko. I 122 (koo. II 15) kunuup pikigami awalagwigai uwwa sakirSuwarmi inirtiraani 'K. / when he got ready / he headed out for (59.2.) them / voilà / his (4.p.) father-in-law (87.1.) / he (4.p.) whom he dissuaded, i.e. although his father-in-law dissuaded him'; ko. II 2 (att. II 100) .. aullaarput, maSSa (att. naak) qawlunaat asagaatik 'they left (76.9.) / voici (where) / the Norsemen / they (4.p.) whom they appreciated, i.e. although the Norsemen appreciated them'. Cp. att. II 9 irniinnaq isumaqatigiippugut suurunami tiriyanneyaqqat piSariSariyaqartut 'at once / we agreed (61., 49.2.) / why that indeed / the fox puppets (84.5.) / that had to be (59.1., 50.1.) caught, i.e. that, of course, the fox puppets had to be caught' and 44.2.

35.3.4. In other cases the forms must be considered subordinate, or superordinate at most in the sense of 34.3., e.g. ko. III 14 ikka puyuuq nauwuq 'see over there / mist / it comes up'; koo. I 88 kiisa taqqama nunap qaawa qiriSalillarpuq 'finally / in there / of the ground / its surface / it started to (76.1., 74.1., 77.2.) freeze'; koo. I 29 immaqa irnirma qayaa takusariyassagissi, sunami taamak qayaa aturpaa 'perhaps ('head term') / of my son / his kayak / which you should (73.1.) go and (74.4.) see after (i.e. perhaps you should etc.), / which then / now it's gone / kayak / he uses it, i.e. which kayak he has taken for use'; koo. I 14 .. ikka aqanuit .. 'over there / from opposite me'.

35.4. Interjectional and similar particles are very numerous and occur as the only term or the head term of a sentence or in other ways similar to the cases indicated above, cp., e.g., att. I 37 tinñallakkaanatta kakkaak. 'whenewer (69.8.) we drive (on the skin) over a hump / oh: (surprising)', above 33.2. aap (att. I 17), 35.1. aa (att. II 12), ata (koo. II 22), ila (att. III 144), 35.2. (-aa, -aak) and below 43.3.

Some of them frequently occur with an enclitic demonstrative pronoun (cp. 34.), e.g. att. II 10 .. alakkariyallariga tinissimagami imaq aasanna 'I who (when I) caught sight (74.4., 77.2.) of it (the cove) / because it had become (74.5.) low tide / the sea / see that out there'; koo. I 124 aayuku ilissi pilaaSSasi. 'see those / you (your) / your (future, 82.1.) flensing parts'; koo. I 39 atamanna nuyaarturaana. 'now (attention) this / I whom he pulls by the hair, i.e. now he is going to pull me by the hair again'; koo. I 59 takussasuriniyarluni asuuna qaanikasillaraani 'thinking (64.6., 73.3.) himself to be (73.1.) seen / at last that / who passed (86., 77.2.) by him (4.p.)'; att. I 6 arraa, ataata aasanna kalippuq 'look: / father / look he out there / he is towing'.

35.5. ta(C)- (for details see 104.) selects an immediately following demonstrative form - pronominal, interjectional (35.3.) or local (36.2.) - but is more naturally classified as a restricted particle than as a unique prefix and may perhaps (with Kleinschmidt) be regarded as a variant of the interjection ta, e.g. att. I 18 ta: qiluppuluk: 'listen: sound of (54.7.) barking (verb stem):', with aasiit 'as usual': taasiit 'there he goes:', 'off he goes again' or the like (J.P.: 'ãmâsît pigalugtuarpoq'). Apart from this possibility it may hardly ever be considered as the head term of a period and very frequently connects periods or even paragraphs (cp. 14.) but may also refer directly to an extra-linguistic situation, e.g. koo. I 26 kaaSSaSSuuyuunnuwaaNaa, tamanna suwirsukasiyuwuq maana kanuyarlutit 'oh, dear little Kâgssagssuk, / that there (the place where you are) / it is so (57.1., 86., 48.1.) draughty / over here / move farther in (contemp.)'.

Local Case.

36. Local case, very much like annexed person, combines with but does not presuppose number and dependent person (cp. 36.2. and contemporative). Apart from the participial (29.) and 1.p. uwa- (102.1.) the stems are all different from those with annexed person suffixes.

Local case forms, like subordinate verb forms, usually combine with verbal forms but also occur with nominal forms and without a superordinate term (cp. 33.2. and 39.5.). They are never referred to by a suffix in the superordinate term but some local cases may to a certain extent be regarded as selected by certain derivation suffixes (39.3-4., 40.5., 41.5-6., 42.2.).

36.1. All local cases combine with number and dependent person suffixes - generally in their relative form - of nouns (including numerals etc., partly also quasi-nouns) and pronouns (demonstrative pronouns having special alternants):

Locative	<u>-ni</u>	(-ani)	Allative	<u>-nut</u>	(-uṇṇa)
Prosecutive	<u>-Kut</u>	(-uuna)	Ablative	<u>-nit, -niit</u>	(-aṇṇa)
Instrumental	<u>-nīk</u>	(-iṇṇa)	Equative	<u>-tut</u>	(-atut)

Relative sg. -p fuses with initial nasal to -mi etc., with -Kut to +kkut. Plural -t fuses with initial nasal to -ni etc. (except kikkut 'who' and +kkut 'the - 's, - and the others': kikkunni etc.) but with -Kut appears as -tigut; the plural alternants also combined with the dual suffix: +nni (+ṇni) etc. and +ttigut (+gtigut).

Equative has -tut for both singular and plural (dual probably -gtut.)- The demonstrative alternants combine with relative sg. - (S)um- and pl. -kun- (cp. 19.1.): -(S)umani, -kunani etc. (pl. equat. also -ku-atut or -ku-tut).

The dependent person suffixes in most cases have relative alternants (cp. 19.3.) of the same general shape as before annexed person suffixes (cp. 22.3.). With -Kut, however, 3.p. sg-sg. is usually -agut, rarely -atigut like 3.p.sg-pl. (cp. 22.3.2.) and before the other local case suffixes the 3.p. forms have absolutive alternants (19.2.), except the irregular locative form of kisiyati 'at alone' (cp. 21.) kisiyanni 'but, on the other hand; but only -; unless'.

36.2. Four of the cases combine directly with demonstrative roots, e.g. Locative aw-ani 'in the north', uw-ani 'there, over there', Prosecutive aw-uuna, ugg-uuna (irregular), Allative (special alternant) aw-uᅇa, uᅇa (cp. 4.1.), Ablative aw-aᅇa, uw-aᅇa.

36.3. Among the stems of local case forms (except instrumental forms) are also locative, prosecutive and instrumental forms - mostly temporal adverbs -, and other temporal forms like maanna 'now', ippaSSaq etc. (29.9.2. end), forms in -ligami (30.9.) and -gu (30.10.). Some forms, e.g. loc. ullumi 'today' (different from ullurmi 'on that or that day') and maanna, combine with a full set of different local cases (i.e. pros., all., abl., equat.), other forms with a reduced set, e.g. pros. maannakut 'nowadays', all. mannakkumut, abl. -mit, equat. -tut; pros. siyurnagut 'formerly', abl. siyurnagurnit, equat. siyurnagutut; instr. siyullirmik 'the first time', abl. siyullirmirnit (koo. II 19) - the last two with the ablative alternant -rnit as in qaᅇaligamirnit (ko. III 16) 'from old', etc. Equative combines rather freely with any kind of locative forms, e.g. immamisut 'as in the sea', matumanisut 'as in this one', qawanisut 'as in the south'. Locative seems to occur only after case forms etc. with a referential number suffix like att. II 82 aaSap unukku-a-ni 'in the summer evening' (pros. unukkut), aqagu-a-ni 'on the following day', aqaguwagu-a-ni 'two days afterwards' (aqagu 30.10.).

There are also combinations of two alternants of the same case, e.g. pros. tamatumuunakut 'this time'; abl. taSSaᅇnarnit or taSSaᅇᅇaanniit 'from there', - with the latter combination added to -nit e.g. koo. I 41 qulaaniᅇᅇaanniit 'from above him', koo. III 10 napparummiᅇᅇaanniit 'from the mast', koo. I 89 iluliSSaniᅇᅇaanniit 'from Jacobshavn (pl.)', according to Kr. Lynge with the same meaning as the simple forms qulaanit etc.

37. L o c a t i v e (-ni etc.) indicates, in general, the location of an event within the limits of a sphere and the event may imply rest, movement or some less visual relation.

37.1. The sphere may be spatial in a more or less proper sense. E.g. att. I 28 pikani uyaqqap quppaani ullunnuwit ipput 'up there / of the rock / in its crack / a little (87.2.) nest (pl.) / there is'; att. I 46 tatsillu naaSuwisa akurnanni qayartulirlutik 'and of the lake / (of) its flowers / among (in between) them / they began (74.1.) to paddle' (cp. with object: tasiḡḡuwaq qayarturpaa 'the little lake / he paddles on it'); att. I 38 sikumi aḡalaarsinnaalirsarput 'on the ice / they can begin' (89.1., 74.1., 76.1.) to move (76.9.)'; att. I 54 taSSa sikumi putu puwiSip anirsaarturtarwiya 'that's / in the ice / the hole / the seal's / its breathing place (76.1., 59.2.)'; koo. I 19 igalirmiyurSuwarmi-ilirpuq 'by the one in (48.2., 87.1.) the kitchen he began to (74.1.) live'; koo. I 22 taSSa inuwinarni piSSaayunnaarputit 'that's it / among people (89.1.) / you no longer (71.2.) are (48.1.) one to be (82.1.) done to, i.e. nobody can do anything to you any longer'.

37.2. In the temporal sphere locative forms - inter alia of action nouns in -nīq (56.) - indicate time limit or definite point of time (cp. 29.9.2. and 38.3.). E.g. att. I 105 nalunaaquttap akunnirini marlunni katirSursinnaagukkit 'of the watch / in its intervals / in two (i.e. in two hours) / if you can (89.1.) gather them'; att. II 81 ukiyumi piniyarwiuyunnaarnirani kaassaḡḡikkunik 'in the winter / in 'its' being no longer (48.1., 71.2.) time for (59.2.) hunting (i.e. when hunting is no longer possible) / if they are not (70.) going to (73.1.) be hungry'; St. John 3.2. taaSSuma unnuwami yiisusi urnippaa 'the same / by night / Jesus / he came to him'; koo. III 42 ullut sisamaSSaanni siḡayik itirami 'of days / on their fourth (82.1.) / S. / when he woke up'.

37.2. The locative of the transitive participial 3.p.pl-pl. - of transitive as well as of intransitive verbs and irrespective of person - is used with immaqa 'perhaps' and, with temporal or conditional force, as a subordinate term to intransitive verb forms, mostly verbs with the subject suppressing suffixes -giyaqar- 'be necessary that -, ought to be done, one must' (59.1., 50.1.) and -nar- 'be -able (65.)'. E.g. ko. I 130 (koo. II 19) immaqauna qasunḡḡinniwni kiwiḡniyaraluwara-inni 'perhaps him / in my being not (70., 56.) tired (cp. above 2.) /

when otherwise (72.1.) trying (73.3.) to lift, i.e. what if I tried to lift him before I get tired'; - att. II 14 nuummit aallaraanni qiqirtat kuyammut uwigulukusuttut timaattariyaqarput 'from Godt-haab / when one had left / the islands / to the south / that lie in a row (?) / they had to be gone (47.8.) outside of'; att. II 113 upirnaami uuttunik piSaqarluwarsimagaanni taarsinⁿⁱSSarSuwa qununar-pallaassanⁿⁱilaq 'in the spring / basking seals (instr. 39.4.) / when one has (74.5.) caught (58.1., 50.1.) plenty (77.18.) / the ('its') long (87.1.) darkness (74.2., 56.) / will (73.1.) not (70.) too much (77.3.) make one (65.) feel powerless'; ko. IV 114 piniyartituwar-Suwarpullinna utaqppiniyarainni irininaraluwaqauq 'but (-li) our only (89.2., 87.1.) hunter (58.2.) that one (inna) / when one waits for (73.3.) / it lasts very long (makes one, 65., very, 72.1., 77.1., impatient)'

In the old texts the locative plural of the intransitive participial is used in a similar way, e.g. ko. IV 15 takiguna isirtuni ayunⁿⁱisaarnirtuqaut putunaqalutiglu 'in there / when one comes in / they are very (77.1.) apt to (56.5.) be kind / and make one (65.) very (77.1.) confused'. Cp. also with +qqaar- 'first, who first' (75.7.) koo. I 48 piniyaliqqaanⁿⁱnuwaniguuq awannaarSuwa taawa kisimi nunaSSaawuq 'when one (87.2.) first begins (74.1.) to hunt (for a novice in hunting), it is told, / the ('its') north (87.1.) / there north it alone / is (48.1.) the future (82.1.) country'; and +nⁿⁱilaatsiyaani, +nⁿⁱilaatsaani 'before' (70., 92.2., 88.1.), e.g. koo. I 46 uqaⁿⁱilaatsiyaani uqarwigaa 'before he (A.) could say anything / he said to him (A.)'; koo. II 29 ilaanni arlalinnik ikiliⁿⁱnⁿⁱlaatsaani .. silamut pissiinnakasiqaⁿⁱqa 'once / with several / before I got (50.4.) wounds (i.e. before I got still more wounds) / outside / I jumped (89.1., 86., 77.1.)'

38. P r o s e c u t i v e (-Kut etc.) may be characterized as the converse of the locative, with which it has important formal features in common (36.2-3.): a prosecutive form indicates, in general, the particular part of a sphere at which an event is connected with the sphere.

38.1. The sphere, of which the prosecutive form indicates a part, may be spatial in a more or less proper sense and may be indicated by some explicit term or suffix as

the subject, e.g. ko. III 74 kiwiglugu irSukpaa tuwwinmigut 'lifting him / he carried him / on his (4.p.) shoulders (du.)'; koo. I 12 qilalugarSuwaq saniqqamigut qirnariSSuwarmik, miylaliSSuwaq 'a big (87.1.) white whale (narwhale) / on its (4.p.) side / with a pitch (53.2., 87.1.) black one / provided with (79.1., 87.1.) spot'; att. I 110 uummammigut kamappuq 'in her (4.p.) heart / she was angry'; att. II 20 pikkurissunnuuwuq atuwarnirmigut piniyalunnirmigullu 'he was capable (57.1., 87.2., 48.1.) / in his reading (56.) / and in his small-game (77.17.) hunting (56.)'; att. II 107 .. matumuuna tamarmik aSSigiipput .. 'in this / they all / they are alike';

the object, e.g. koo. I 24 qiSuSSuwaq isuwatigut tiguriyarlugu 'the big (87.1.) piece of wood / by its end / taking (74.4.) it'; ko. I 96 (koo. II 6) nuwinnuwaraluwaraat imarSuwaq, kanirluwatsiyarSuup qiqtuwagut nuwillugu 'when they came out in sight of it (87.2., 72.1.) / the ocean, / of a deep (88.1., 87.1.) fixed / at its bottom / coming out in sight of it'; koo. I 113 nukinisigulli quwilirtaginikkikka 'but because of their strength / I who don't (70.) fear to suffer damage by them';

or a locative term, e.g. ko. IV 78 upirnawiyup awataani qiqirtat ilaatigut iglutaarpuq 'of Upernavik / at (loc.) its outside / of the islands / on (pros.) one of them / he settled'.

38.2. The sphere may also just be the space implied by a verb indicating a directed motion, in which case the prosecutive form indicates the particular passing line of the motion. E.g. att. I 54 nanurSuwaq qaqurtuq sikukkut injirlawuq 'a big (87.1.) polar-bear / white / along the ice / is advancing' (note the difference between injirila- 'advance' and anala- 'be in motion' att. I 38 in 37.1.); koo. I 21 qulimikkut mayuwarami 'by above themselves (i.e. by the hill above their houses) / when he had ascended' (he came out of view); att. I 23 innarSuwakkut niqilirpai 'along the big cliff / she let (74.1.) them down'; att. II 109 nunap umiyarSuullu akurnanniittukkut ilulis-Sakkut nappaqqusiiwuq aappalaarturtalirlugu 'of the land / and of the ship / on one being between them / on an iceberg / he put up (50.4., 67.1.) a pillar / providing it with (80.2., 50.4.) a flag'; koo. II 20

igalaSSakkut itsuwaannarluni 'through the window / peeping in (89.1.)';
koo. I 45 siqinirSuup ataatigut takuliriyallaramiyuk 'of the sun
(87.1.) / under it (i.e. in the light of the sun) / when he began to
(74.1., 4., 77.2.) see him'.

38.3. In the temporal sphere, quite similarly, the prosecutive indicates either limitation to some particular part of a definite span of time or limitation to some general subdivision of time. E.g. koo. I 20 aqaguwani ullaakkut itirami pikilirpuq 'the following day (loc.) / in the morning (pros.) / when he woke up / he made himself ready'; koo. I 10 ullaakkut siqirnup nuwilirniragut siniSSaaruttaan-naliqaaq 'in the morning / of the sun / at its rising (74.1., 56.) / he began to (74.1., 77.1.) constantly (76.1.) get sleepless (82.1., 51.3.)'; att. I 99 ukiyukkut sikuSarpuq 'in the winter / it (the river) is frozen (76.1.)'; att. II 114 ukiyakkut tupirmiit illumut isirtirnirminni nuṇullugit amirnik .. iikkat aalitsirsurtarpaat 'in the fall (pros.) / from the tent / into the house / at (loc.) their moving in (54.2., 56.) / every time / with skins ... the wainscots / they cover (50.4., 76.9., 1.) them with wall skins' (cp. att. II 113 upirnaami 'in the course of the spring' in 37.3.).

Cp. also koo. I 129 innuwit marluk ataatsikkut tuqukkakkit 'people / two / at one time / when I had killed them'.

39. I n s t r u m e n t a l (-nīk etc.) does not combine immediately with demonstrative roots and indicates, not a relation of delimited inclusion like the locative and the prosecutive, but a less definite connexion of an event with a sphere and also corresponds more closely to the absolute case (cp. 37.2., 38.3. and below 3-4.).

39.1. Depending on the particular meaning of the stem and of the superordinate term an instrumental form may indicate the means or other concomitant of an event, e.g. att. II 80 puwiSit unaaminnik naalittarpaat 'the seals / with their harpoons / they used to (76.1.) harpoon them'; ko. IV 2 inunnik ulikkaarlugu 'with people / filling it'; ko. IV 54 aglaktuumik tikippuq 'with a young saddleback / he came home'.

The instrumental may also imply cause (cp. 41.3.), e.g. ko. I 106 (koo. II 9) agligaata niyaqurtaa kinmarnirnik suuyunnairsuq 'of his bladder dart / its head (80.2.) / with bitings (56.) / that was no more (48.1., 71.2.) anything (i.e. spoiled)'; att. II 14 ullut siyulliit aSSawut qaannirSuwarnik suSSaayunnaararaat, talliwut sannirnirmit annirnartuwinnaᅇnurlutik 'days / the first ones / our hands / with big (87.1.) blisters (56.) / were good for nothing (82.1., 48.1., 71.2., 69.8.) / our arms / from (abl.) being (56.) strained / becoming (48.1.) painful (65., 57.1., 89.1.)'.

39.2. In other contexts the instrumental, inter alia of the intransitive participial, indicates manner or the like, e.g. att. II 82 nipaatumik piniyakkat urnissinnaawai 'noiselessly (51.1.) / the games / he could (89.1.) come close to them'; koo. I 23 qanurlu ayurtigiSumik piniqaraluarpat 'and how / being so (68.) bad / although (72.1.) it was (56.4.) done, i.e. however badly it was done'; ko. I 76 akSatik irrurtulirpait tuwawiyurnirmik 'their hands / they began (74.1.) to wash them / in a hurry (action noun)'; ko. III 14 iwlit isumaᅇnik tunuᅇmukarniyarit 'you / according to your mind (i.e. at will) / please (73.3.) go (47.2.) back'.

The instrumental of numerals and other serial words may indicate so and so many times or for that or that time, e.g. St. Mark 14.30. marlunnik qarlunginnagu 'twice / before (64.1., 70. contemp.) it crow'; koo. I 10 aappaSSaanik irnirSuwani uqaannallarmat 'the second time (82.1.) / his son (87.1.) / when he spoke (89.1., 77.2.)'; att. I 54 siyullirmik urSuwa niriwaa nuᅇullugu kinurnagullu niqaa niriwaa 'first (instr.) / its blubber / it ate it / finishing it / and afterwards (pros.) / its meat / it ate it'.

39.3. An instrumental form may have the force of a more or less indefinite object or a remoter object,

in combination with certain intransitive or intransitively used verbs, especially verbs with an intransitivizing (medializing) derivation suffix (see 67.1.), e.g. att. II 81 niᅇnik mayuSSillutik qatanᅇutininnilluunniit manᅇrusunik paarSillutik '(two girls helped their mothers) meat (pl.) / carrying up / or their brothers and sisters/

who were smaller (56.3.) / nursing'; ko. III 95 inuᅇᅇuwanik piᅇasuᅇ-
nuwanik takuᅇᅇilatit 'small (87.2.) persons / three (87.2.) / have'nt
(70.) you seen?; koo. I 58 taakkuniᅇᅇa niriniyariirami 'of those /
when he had (73.3., 74.4.) eaten'; ko. III 86 aamma uqarpuq allamik
niriSaSSaminik 'again / he talked / about, something else / about
future (82.1.) food (58.1.) for himself'; koo. I 12 allamillu uqarani
'and anything else / he did not say'; Fabricius p, 75 unataraannik
takuᅇᅇilaᅇa 'that they beat him (tr.part. 3.p.sg-pl. instr.) / I did
not (70.) see'; cp. 22.5., 31.2.2. (ko. II 62), 40.5.;

in combination with certain transitive verbs, inter alia verbs
with an transitivizing derivation suffix (the instrumental form
corresponding to the object of the underlying verb, see 64.), e.g.
att. III 142 qaSSusirniyarnirmik ilinniyartikkumaarpakkit 'to set out
(50.4., 73.3.) nets (action noun instr.) / I'll (73.2.) teach you'
(ilinniyar-tit- 'let (64.1.) try (73.3.) to learn', cp. ilinniyarᅇa
'tries to learn it'); koo. I 34 paarmanik panirtunillu urSumillu
tuniᅇaaramiyuk 'berries / and dried ones (i.e. dried meat) / and
blubber / when she gave him (3.p. object) plenty (92.1.)'; ko. III 89
arnarsiyami pigSanᅇuwanik irliguutiinnarmani 'her (4.p.) step-mother /
(4.p.) little (87.2.) share / because (89.1.) she withheld from (66.) her
(4.p. object)'; att. I 98 allarmik taaSartaᅇaᅇa 'land-bear / what (58.1.)
is called (76.1, twice) by them'; koo. II 9 (ko. I 102) sumut pinigSaanic
alapirnaarSurᅇaᅇa 'where / his future (82.1.) going (56.) / they kept an
eye on him (object), i.e. watched where he would be going'.

39.4. As a complement to forms with the derivation suffix
+lik 'provided with' (79.1.) or certain verbalizing suffixes (50.,
51.3.) an instrumental form corresponds to an apposition to the under-
lying noun, e.g. koo. II 19 tuᅇuᅇaSunik uppatalik 'dead ones / provided
with thigh(s)' (cp. ko. II 78 in 29.5.2.); att. II 80 saanirmik
miᅇᅇutiqarput 'bone / they had (50.1.) needle' (cp. koo. II 39 in
29.5.2.); att. I 61 piᅇasuᅇnik ukiyuᅇalirami 'three / when he began to
(74.1.) have (59.1.) winter(s), i.e. when he became three years old';
att. I 34 uqurtunik ulluliyursimawuᅇ 'that is warm (pl.) / has (74.5.)
made (50.3.) a nest (pl.)'; so also with an ambivalent stem like
tupiᅇ 'tent; set up a tent', att. II 81 taSSani tupirtaraᅇaᅇa amiyu-
Sunik 'there / they used to (76.1., 69.3.) set up tent(s) / that (57.1.)
were (48.1.) skin, i.e. to set up skin tents'.

39.5. Instrumental forms without a superordinate term are common in sentences with imperative force, e.g. koo. II 37 tikira-artikka qulaqqiirpakka, iSiSSakka, allunaSSamik: 'my visitors (58.2.) / I am no more in doubt about them (scil. that they will not escape), / my future (82.1.) eyes (absol., i.e. the eyes are for me to eat), / a seal-thong (scil. bring me)'; att. II 12 qaa, akulikitsunik: 'all right, / with [strokes] that (57.1.) have small (51.2.) intervals (scil. let's row)'.

40. A l l a t i v e (-nut etc.), together with ablative (41.) and equative (42.), differs from the three foregoing cases by the order in combinations of two local cases (36.3.) as well as by establishing relations of direction rather than relations of inclusion, allative and ablative also by corresponding to the relative rather than to the absolute case. An allative form, in general, indicates the goal.

40.1. The goal may be more or less spatial or something less visual, and the superordinate term in its relation to the allative form may indicate some sort of motion, position, attitude, aim, etc. E.g. koo. I 20 pisuttuwarniyarna pawuna talurSuwarmut 'try (73.3.) to walk on / up there / to T.'; koo. I 36 uwannut isiriyartuwinnarniyarit 'to me / please (73.3.) come on (74.2., 89.1.) in'; att. III 144 sikuminirmut sikumut kapuSSamut qilirlugu 'to a piece (83.4.) of ice / to the ice / that is firmly attached / tying it'; att. I 33 ilaa niyuwirtarwimmu tuniniyarpaa 'part of it / to the store / he wishes (73.3.) to sell it'; koo. III 34 awannamut kimmu qinḡulik (a fiord) 'towards north / to the west / having (79.1.) bottom'; koo. I 62 sumu arlaannu aturumaarpatit 'for something / for other / you will (73.2.) have use for them'; att. I 80 qaannamut suniyusayaartarput 'to kayak / they used to (76.1.) train themselves early (76.13.)'; ko. II 8 kalaallit iliwsinnu niḡaliqaut 'the Greenlanders / at you / are getting (74.1.) very (77.1.) angry'; koo. II 7 (ko. I 100) naalakkaniḡ-nu taSSuna irsiwlutik 'to (i.e. of) their chief / there (i.e. of that one) / being afraid'; att. I 78 umiyanu qallunniyanu anuwartaalluni 'for an umiak / going to (80.3.) the white / being (48.1.) a rower (58.2.)'; att. I 80 anutillu piniyarnirmu pikkurluttu 'and the men /

for hunting (56.) / who were incapable'; koo. II 33 siku misissurtarlugu qayannaalliyarturniranut 'the ice / examining (76.1.) it / to its going to (74.3., 56.) get (74.2.) solid (i.e. whether it was etc.)'. - With allaat (aglaat) 'even', e.g. ko. III 16 kiisalu ilai tamakkirlugit nuṅṅai arnartainut qiturnainut aglaat 'and finally / his relatives / taking them all / he finished them off (77.1.) / to his women (80.2.) / to his children / even'; koo. I 46 naalillaatigalugu qayaannut allaat amurraširamiyuk 'at the same time that (60.1., 49.1.) he harpooned (77.2.) him / to his kayak / even (i.e. including his kayak) / he began to (60.1. + 50.4.) haul him towards himself'.

An allative form may also indicate the purchase money, e.g. kisits. 44 paarnarSuwit 5 örimut pisiyarai 'plums / for 5 öre / she bought them', cp. instrumental Acts 1.18. nunaat iluwaatsumik akiSSarsiyaminik pisiyaraa 'a field / with that was unjust / with his reward (82.1., 52.1.) / he purchased it'.

40.2. In the case of motion the difference from the locative consists in the passing of a limit or the like, cp. att. I 43 kuup sinaanut tupirput 'of the river / at its shore / they set up the tent' and att. II 81 in 39.4. (taSSani 'there, i.e. on the summer hunting grounds'); koo. II 6 taSSuṅa qaqqap saniyanut iliwaat 'there / of the mountain / at its side / they burried her' and II Chronicles 24.16. iliwirpaat taawip illuqarwiyani 'they burried him in the city of David'.

The motion may be relative only, so at least in the old language, e.g. ko. IV 120 ilartik tasamuṅa qimakkittik 'their partner / out there / they who had left him'; ko. III 96 igilirwiyuSara puwiyurpara sukkap tunuwanut 'my box / I forgot it / (of) the post / behind it'.

Note also cases like att. II 80 itiququmut irmittarput 'in stale urine / they used to (76.1.) wash'; ko. III 94 tatsimut uwwartut 'in a lake / who were bathing', cp. Leviticus 14.8. imirmillu uwwarluni 'and with water (instr.) / wash himself'.

40.3. In NG - corresponding to 30 ablative (41.3.) - the allative, especially of action nouns, may indicate cause (inescapable cause only?): Rasmussen § 85 tipaatsunnirmut qulliliwuq 'for happi-

ness / he shed (50.3.) tears' (cp. Psalm 119.28. tarniga qulliliwug aliyasunnirmit 'my soul / melteth / for (abl.) heaviness'), uwirnarnirmut sapilirpuqa 'for sleepiness / I am no more able', cp. ko. III 80 anurimut sapirniq ayurput 'against the wind / be unable / they could not, i.e. the wind was never such as to hinder them'.

40.4. The temporal relations are quite similar to the spatial ones, e.g. koo. III 32 kiisa taSSa ukiyaSSamut aallarpuq 'finally / then / towards future (82.1.) fall / it went, i.e. fall approached'; koo. I 44 ullurmut iiSaqañitsug 'for the day (i.e. all day) / who had not swallowed anything (58.1., 50.1., 70., 57.1.)'; att. I 104 ullurmut piņasuriyarluni taSSunnartarpuq 'for the day / she doing (55.2.) three times (i.e. three times a day) / she used to (76.1.) go (47.3.) there'; cp. 41.4.

40.5. As a complement to transitive verbs with a transitivizing suffix (64.) an allative form may indicate a remoter subject, corresponding to the dependent subject of the underlying verb, e.g. koo. II 20 anumminut .. tuqutikkumawlugu 'by his (4.p.) father ... wanting (73.2.) to let (64.1.) him be killed'; ko. III 12 iqqarliinut akissasuraluni 'by his relatives / thinking (64.6.) himself to be (73.1.) taken revenge on'.

In NG and in the old language also with reflexively used transitive verbs (cp. 22.4.), e.g. Rasmussen § 87 imminut tuquppuq 'himself / he killed' (SG instr. imminik tuquppuq or, cp. 67.1., i. tuqutsiwuq), Egede 1744 St. Matthew 27.5. qimitsarturluni inminut (modern imminik niwiñnarluni qimippuq) 'hanged himself'; cp. 39.3. In ko. IV 42 (NG before 1830) akiqqawnut aamma tuqutaunasugalutit 'by your enemies / also / [I] thinking (64.6.) you to be (48.1.) killed (58.1.)' the allative corresponds to the usual ablative by passive verbs (41.5.).

41. Ablative (-nit etc.), the inverse of allative (40.), indicates the starting point of the respective relations.

41.1. Spatial relations etc., e.g. att. II 109 nunaniñ sikumut awalassaarñuwallaaraat 'from land / out on the ice / they put

out one after another (87.2., 77.2., 69.8.)'; ko. II 14 f. (koo. III 131) igluSuwarmit qawlunaat aniyartut 'out of the big (87.1.) house / Norsemen / who were constantly coming out'; ko. I 108 (koo. II 10) uwaqattaug arpagtukasiqnit tasamaqna qimaaSuuwuqa 'I too / from the nasty (86.) runners / from there in the west / I am a fugitive (57.1., 48.1.)'; ko. III 95 suwnit tikippina? 'from my which (i.e. from which direction) / did you come to me?'; att. I 14 sumit qamaanna ataqqarpug 'from where / from here / she hardly (72.3.) held together, i.e. she was close to falling to pieces'; att. I 103 nuliyartaawa uwiminit siyullirmit marlunnik qiturnaqqarpug 'his new (50.6.) wife / from her husband / from the first one / two / she had (50.1.) children'; koo. I 43 maanaaluunniit tuqirlirnit tigusiqqilaq, unallirnit aallarullugit ilaat tiguwaa 'hither even / from the next ones (i.e. from the nearest to him) / he did not take (67.1.) / from the outermost ones / taking them away with him (66.) / one of them / he took him'; kisits. III 96 qanuq attigiSumik piSaminit akiSSarsiwa? 'how / (so, 68.) big (instr.) / for what he had caught / did he get (52.1.) payment (82.1.)?'

41.2. Examples illustrating the difference from locative:

ko. IV 12 kuyatiwtinni urpikSuwit napaarturSuwit ipput, taqqawanna napparutikSarsiniyariyarturtarpugut 'to the south of us (loc.) / trees/ straight / there are, / from there in the south / we go to (74.3., 76.1.) get (52.1., 73.3.) material for (82.1.) masts'; Job 28.12-13. ilisimaSSulli sumimmi taawa naSSaariSaSSaawa, ... inuuSut nunaanni naniSaSSaannimmat 'but wisdom (60.2.) / from where indeed (-mi) / then / shall (82.1., 48.1.) it be found (58.1.)? .. of the living / in (loc.) their land / it is not (82.1., 48.1., 70.) found (causat.)'.

41.3. Relations of cause and the like, e.g. ko. II 18

qarSunit qirattarluni 'from arrows (scil. that he got into himself) / getting stiff'; koo. I 10 nipaani itilirpuq 'by his voice / he woke up (74.1.)'; ko. III 86 tawluminit kusilirpuq kiyaqmit 'from his (4.p.) chin / he was (74.1.) dripping / from heat'; koo. I 31 puwiyuqqilaa unammiyarturumanirmit 'he could not (70.) forget him / for wanting (73.2., 56.) to go to (74.3.) challenge'; koo. III 11 panimainik arsaartinnirSuwan qiyasuntigirirmit napparsimaSug 'of (instr.) his (4.p.) daughter / his (4.p.) being (64.1., 56., 87.1.)

robbed / from being (56.) sorry for (60.1., 49.1.) / who had (74.5.) got sick'; ko. I 74 aawiq aṅinirmit umiyanut amiyuguni naammagun-narasugalugu 'the walrus / by being big / for an umiak / if it is (48.1.) a skin / thinking (64.6.) it probably (71.2.) to be sufficient'; cp. also ko. III 87 in 20.2., koo. I 65 in 23.2.

41.4. Temporal relations, e.g. koo. I 34 taSSanna innarput 'then (abl.) / they went to bed'; koo. I 23 aqagu killiṅanit suliyarissawarput 'tomorrow / from its limit (i.e. from the very beginning) / we shall (73.1.) work on it'; att. II 81 aṅutitaat miiraanirminnit suniyusarlumar-tuwartut 'their (80.2.) men / from their being (48.1., 56.) children / who continuously (75.1.) trained themselves well (77.18.)'; att. II 113 maayimit yuulimut 'from May to July'.

41.5. In combination with a passive verb (56.4., 58.1.) an ablative form may indicate the remoter subject, corresponding to the dependent subject of the underlying verb, e.g. koo. III 133 (ko. II 18) kalaallinit tuqutauwuq 'by the Greenlanders / he was killed'; koo. I 19 allanit pigiyumaniirukkami 'by others / when he no more was wanted (73.2.) to be had'.

41.6. In combination with forms implying a difference of degree, inter alia forms with the derivation suffixes -nir-u- (56.3.), an ablative form may indicate the starting point of the comparison, e.g. ūm.il. 9 amaruq qimmimit anniruwuq 'the wolf / than the dog / is bigger'; koo. I 37 ippaSSarnit siniyaarnirunṅaarami 'than the day before / when he had fallen asleep much (92.1.) earlier (76.13., 56.3.)'; att. II 21 aqiSSiliyartarnirminnit qiniṅṅinnirunṅaluni 'than at his going for (50.3., 76.1., 56.) ptarmigan / looking much (77.1.) less about (70., 56.3.)'; ūm.il. 65 qimminilluunniit paṅalittumit uqilani-ruwuq 'than a dog even / that runs / it runs faster, i.e. it runs even faster than a dog'; ko. II 10 (koo. III 130) ilaminitt kamagpal-larpuq 'than his companions / he was extremely (77.3.) angry'; koo. II 4 (ko. I 94) qatanṅumminitt aṅayugliyugami 'than his brother / because he was (48.1.) the older (81.1.)'.

Enclitic Suffixes and Juxtaposition.

43.1. Enclitic suffixes, like all other suffixes, select a stem and, like certain derivation suffixes (85.ff.), are class free but, unlike all other suffixes, have only wordforms as stems (insignificant exceptions below). On the basis of their mutual combinations they may be divided into four subclasses (from the innermost to the outermost layer):

1) -tuq 'wish', now let -';
-(t)taaq, old -(w)tauq, 'also, (not) either'.

2) -lu 'and, also', with enclitic unniit (umniit) 'let be that, never mind (J.P.: súsa)': -luunniit 'or, even', with enclitic suuq 'why': -lusuuq 'like -, as if -';

-li 'but, now let.', with word forms indicating past time: 'very (remote in time)'.

3) -mi 'nay, still' (intensifying or confirming).

4) -guuq, after preligual and labial -nuuq, 'it is said that -, he says that -, etc.'.

In combinations with certain particles, however, the order may in part be different. Besides aamma-ttaar-li 'but also further' (att. I 140 connecting two indicative forms) one finds amma-li-ssaaq, probably with intensifying rather than sentence connecting -li (J.P. aa. puuqiitsuq 'who is slow of learning') and -(t)taaq may also follow other particles with -li. suurlu 'like, as' (suuq 'why' plus -lu) may be followed by -li and even by -lusuuq: Dict. 285 suurlulusuuq anut 'just as if it were a man (who stood there or the like)'. - In suli 'still, yet' -li exceptionally does not follow a wordform but what seems to be the root su- 'what, do what'.

43.2. -qa (cp. 103.) would belong to class 1) but seems to occur only in taannaqa 'I thought so.' (taanna 'that one'), taSSaqa 'i don't think so.' and, with the regular but otherwise not occurring stem imma- (cp. ina 35.3.), immaqa 'perhaps, what if -, suppose we -' (examples in 35.3.4., 37.3.).

The enclitic kiyaq (cp. kiya, 1st.sg. of kina 'who?'), which usually follows -li, would belong to class 3) but seems

to be restricted to interrogative stems and a couple of particles, e.g. Dict. kinalikiyaq 'whoever can that be?', suukiyaa taSSa 'what does that matter? never mind.', asukiyaa (and asuk) 'I do not know' (cp. asu 'enough, at last:').

43.3. aat (old ait) 'what?, please' is recorded in Dict. as a separate wordform, not hyphenated to the preceding wordform (e.g. isirniyarit aat? 'please, come in'); but in the other sources it is recorded as enclitic only (cp. ko. III 94 in 27.1.) and is possibly a border case between root particles and suffixes (cp. 7.).

Also other root particles, e.g. unniit above and allaat (cp. 40.1.), come close to the enclitic suffixes, most of which, however, are characterized by an initial consonant or consonant cluster that does not, or at least not normally, occur in stretch initial position.

44.1. -tuq seems to select (with the proviso of catalysis) optative mood or the optative derivation suffix -na- (69.1.), but not necessarily in its own stem, e.g. Dict. 299 aallarniyarlituq 'wish he would (73.3.) go:', sumittuuna qiyurnaara 'wish I had something to cut it up with', uwanatuq 'oh, let me:'. koo. II 26 kinaturluunniimiyuna isirli, niriqatiSSannuugaluwaq 'wish now (-mi) who ever (-luunniit) he / may he come in, / one who could be (82.1., 87.2., 48.1., 72.1.) an eating partner (61.)'.

44.2. The other enclitic suffixes do not seem to be selecting and occur, in general, as modifiers or connectives of entire sentences or as modifiers - modal and the like - of clauses or other terms of a sentence, e.g.

-(t)taaqa: ko. I 108 (koo. II 10) atalissaanuku (probably = ata-li-ssaaN-uku), uwanattauq arpagtukasinnit tasamanqa qimaaSuuwuna 'oh, those, of course, / I also / from the nasty (86.) runners / from there in the west / I am a fugitive';

-lu and -li: att. I 18 laasili qimussirsinnaawuq, ipirarturnirlu ilikkarluwarsimawuq 'but I. / is an able (82.1.) driver. / ... the whip / he has (74.3.) learned well (82.1.)'; irSiganuursurlu matuwaq 'the earth (87.1.) / that also no more (87.2.)

became visible (i.e. so that it became quite invisible) / it covered it';

-luunniit: ko. IV 16 uwatsi anigallarlanaluunniit 'wait a little / let me even first (75.6.) go out'; koo. I 36 uqaatsimilluunniit ataatsimik uqaŋŋilaq 'with word even / with one / he did not speak'; att. II 83 tamatta sumiluunniit nunaqartugut nunaqarwitta iqqaani nunat ... kiŋurnuSSaraawut 'all of us / wherever / we (who) live / of our dwelling / in its neighborhood / the places etc. / we have them as inheritance' (cp. 29.7.2.);

-lusuuq: att. II 110 uniganilusuuq inuuniq aturtuwariyaqarlugu 'as if not stopping / a life / being bound to (59.1.) constantly (75.1.) leading it';

-mi: ko. I 104 (koo. II 9) tamarŋmi qayartuŋŋillat (he told them not to go out;) 'all of them indeed / they did not go out in kayak'; koo. I 33 anikasikkami sumummi aallassawa 'when he, the poor boy (86.), had gone out / where indeed / should (73.1.) he go';

-guuq: koo. I 51 arnarsiyawit uqaqquwaana, nuliyanriyanŋuuq, kisimiguuq ulapinnarpallaaliqaaq. 'your foster-mother / she told (64.2.) me to say / try (73.3.) to get a wife, she said, / she alone, she said, / is getting (74.1., 77.1.) too much (73.3.) busy';

various combinations: koo. III 4 pukkitsuliguuq nillitsiyaannarpuq suurluguuq piniqaŋŋitsuq, kisiyannguq arnami uqaasii sunaawwa puwiyuwikkiyutiwillarlugit, taSSalimiguuq qanarSuwarli pilirisuutigi-wissurtarsimagamiyuk qallunaat aallaaSSuwinik piqarumagaluarluni. 'but P., it is told, / uttered just a little (88.1., 89.1.) / like, it is told, / who it did not happen to (56.4., 70.) i.e. concern, / however (36.1.), it is told, / his mother's / her words / indeed / perfectly (90.1., 77.2.) not forgetting them, / that's indeed, it is told, / for a very long time (87.1.) / because he had (76.1., 74.5.) been particularly (90.1.) eager after (60.1., 49.1.) it / of white men / one their gun (instr.) / he (4.p.) wanting (would like: 73.2., 72.1.) to have (50.1.)'; koo. III 5 aqaguwani suli itirtuqariyanŋitsuq illut akurnanni pisurataartuwanŋuwarpuq, suurluliguuKuna isumarSuwi imminnut paaSurSuwit. 'on the next day / yet / there being nobody (57.1., 50.1., 70.) awake / the houses / between them / he walked back and forth (77.7., 75.1., 87.2.), / as if, they say, he / his thoughts (87.1.) / against themselves / fighting (87.1., 87.1.)'.

44.3. Through -lu and -li a contemporative form (if intransitive in case 4.p. subject) may be semantically coordinated with (i.e. separated from) a superordinate verb form, e.g. att. I 8 illutta iluwa piitsuuwuq kiyallunilu 'of our house / its interior / it is clean / and it being warm'; Nunal. 19 siniriyak pukkinnirusuq sirmiruppuq, timaanili sirmirSuwa qatsippallaarami aanitsuurluni 'the coast / that was lowest (56.3.) / became free of (51.3.) glacier, / but in its (3.p.) interior / the big (87.1.) glacier / because it was much (77.3.) higher / it (4.p.) not (70.) happening (67.3.) to melt'. Similarly with suli, e.g. koo. I 48 kiisa tamaSSa ukiyamut allariyallarpuq suli awammukarlutik 'finally / voic / towards fall / it was going (74.4., 77.2.) / still / they (4.p.) going (47.2.) north'.

Through -lu and -luunniit apparently any kind of terms may be coordinated, cp. ko. IV 58 tiriyanniyap puwisiwlu amikik (= -kkik?) 'of the fox / and of the seal / their (du.) skins'; att. II 114 qulliit ukusiSSamit sanaat marluk pinasulluunniit 'lamps / of soap-stone / made / two / or three'. In connection with the subject, however, the term with -lu in case has a 4.p. dependent person suffix (cp. 29.3.) and, at least in the old language, is in the absolutive case also when the subject is dependent, e.g. ko. I 30 inuwit tamaasa parpaap nukkilu asaqaanuuq 'people (object) / all of them / Parpaq (rel.sg.) / and his (4.p.) younger brother (absol.) / they loved them much (77.1.), it is told'. A 4.p. term with -lu may also refer to a subject term which semantically includes it but does not select a subject term, and there may also be just two 4.p. terms with -lu in cross reference, e.g. ko. I 94 (koo. II 4) kunukkut nukkilu 'the Kunuk's (83.1.) / and (i.e. including) his (4.p.) younger brother'; koo. I 26 uwinilu imminnut uqaluutiliraraat 'and her (4.p.) husband / to themselves (to each other) / they used to say (66., 74.1., 69.8.)'; koo. II 60 anunnilu irnilu tamarmik uningaannaqaat 'and his (4.p.) father / and his (4.p.) son / both of them / they just (89.1., 77.1.) remained'. In the modern language the 4.p. type seems to be limited to the absolutive case, cp. 13.36-37 qimmirSuup piyaraasalu with 3.p. in the second relative term.

45. Thus, suffix established coordination, in the strict sense of the term, is a rather limited type of construction. On the other hand simple juxtaposition of structurally equal terms is rather common.

45.1. Repetition of verb forms may indicate gradual development, that of interrogative forms indecisiveness or the like. E.g. koo. III 53 uwaliyarturpuq, uwaliyarturpuq 'little by little the day was declining (74.3.)'; koo. I 52 naartugami naartugami irriniyaan-naliqaarmi 'when she had been pregnant some time / at last (-mi) she began to (73.3., 89.1., 74.4., 77.1.) give birth'; - att. II 13 suna suna inuṅṅuwaSSaa 'what what its future (82.1.) little (87.2.) human being, i.e. nowhere a living soul'; att. II 10 naak-naak, see 35.3.1.

45.2. Juxtaposition of two different superordinate verbal terms may imply various semantic relations, e.g. att. I 37 itsuwarniq sapirpuṅa igalaat ilusimapput 'to look out / I am unable / the windows / they are covered with ice'; koo. I 27 aappaṅṅuwa qaariyarli aqassuk-kallarara 'the other one (87.2.) / may she come (74.4.) / let me pet her a bit (75.6.)'; koo. I 14 tikiraarit aapparissawakkit 'come visiting / I'll (73.1.) go with you'; koo. I 47 ilisimawarsi irrirsiiyaq saaqqumilluunniit killiSSaanṅilaq 'you know him / the foster-son / even with weapon / he can not be influenced'; att. I 18 takuuk, laasi qimussirluni aggirpuq 'look at him (or: it), / L. / going by sledge / he is approaching'. Cp. 25. and 29.

45.3. One more case of parallel terms deserves special mentioning: alla 'another' subordinate to a term with a negation suffix and followed by a parallel term with or without kisiyat 'it/him alone', e.g. att. II 79 inuwiṣa tamarmik alla piSSarsiyutigiṅṅilaat piniyarniq kisiyat 'their people / all of them / another / they did not (70.) have for (49.1.) means of existence (82.1., 52.1., 60.1.) / hunting / it alone'; koo. I 35 allamat patsikkunnaarpaat irrirsiiyap arnarsiyaanut 'on another / they no more (71.2.) cast the blame for (60.) it / of the foster-son / on his foster-mother'. The terms, however, are not necessarily strictly parallel, cp. koo. I 28 allamat iSiṅṅakunnaarput, kaSSaSSuk kisiyat iSiṅṅulirpaat 'at another / they no more (71.2.) stared / K. / him alone / they began to (74.1.) stare at him'; koo. II

47 taSSa allamut qiwiyassaarpuq, miiraNuna kisiyat 'voilà / elsewhere / he ceased to (73.1.) look around / the child it / alone' (cp. koo. I 51 in 34.3.); att. II 8 alla iqqarsaatiginñilaat maanna qaarsillarunik 'another / they did not think of it / now / if they (4.p.) eat themselves full'; ko. I 92 (koo. II 3) allamik ikiyuunniq sapiramik kisiyanni ima piSaraat .. 'with another (with anything else) / to assist / because they were unable / but only (cp. 36.1. and ko. III 4 in 44.2.) / thus / they used to (76.1., 69.8.) do ..'.

Cp. also cases with the negative contemporative of pi- 'do, etc.' like ko. I 134 (koo. II 20) tamauna pinnagu nunainnarmut naluqaa 'over there / not doing to him / just (89.1.) on the ground / he threw him (77.1.)'.

In such cases the relation may be said to be established by roots - as in cases with the anaphoric ta(C)- (35.5.) and certain other particles. Cp. also koo. I 37 tamanna in 29.4.

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GRAMMAR III: DERIVATION

46. The following treatment of the derivation suffixes is very incomplete and unsatisfactory, both because of lack of space and because of lack of information. The number of suffixes may, by the most radical identification process, be brought down to some two hundred but as listed in the dictionaries there are about seven hundred suffixes, morphemes and clusters, and their mutual combinations (containing from one to more than a dozen morphemes) certainly run in the thousands if not in the millions. From illu 'house' H.J. Rink (The Eskimo Tribes, part I, 1887, p. 47) found it possible to derive 80 stems of the second degree (counting illu itself as the first), from one of these 61 of the third degree, from one of these 70 of the fourth degree, from one of these 8 of the fifth degree, from one of these 10 of the sixth degree, and from one of these 10 of the seventh degree.

46.1. The major stem classes (verbs, nouns and particles) yield a relatively simple but not wholly adequate classification of

the derivation suffixes into 1) class bound, viz. a) class converting (denominal verbal and deverbal nominal) and b) class elaborating (deverbal verbal and denominal nominal), and 2) class free suffixes (both deverbal verbal and denominal nominal, partly also combinable with particles). Many stems (roots and derived stems), however, are ambivalent (both verbal and nominal) and many suffixes are only partly class bound (both deverbal and denominal verbal, etc.). A mechanical classification seems impracticable but may, by generalization and a more or less arbitrary discount of rare cases, be modified as follows: verbalizing (denominal, or denominal and deverbal, verbal); nominalizing (deverbal, or deverbal and denominal, nominal); verb elaborating (deverbal verbal), noun elaborating (denominal nominal); class free (both deverbal verbal and denominal nominal).

These classes may, of course - but not without difficulties -, be subdivided further in terms of stem classes (pronouns etc., particles) and according to whether or not the derivation suffixes may follow inflective suffixes. Theoretically the derivation suffixes could also be further classified in terms of mutual compatibility and order, and of course also in terms of possible combinations with particular stems (yielding a further classification of the stems), but as indicated above this is not feasible without an enormous material. As will appear from examples and statements below a large number of suffixes and suffix combinations may both precede and follow units belonging to the same major class and also occur more than once within a word form.

More important, perhaps, is a classification in syntactical terms (relations of the derived stem as compared to the relations of the underlying stem or form), i.e. a further classification in terms of inflective categories. This too, however, needs much more material than that used for this paper and to a large extent nothing better than a vague and highly questionable semantic subgrouping can be offered.

46.2. A large number of suffixes (of suffixal morphemes about ninety) are restricted beyond the limits of the rough classification indicated above, i.e. are combinable only with a small number of particular members of a class definable in general terms. The degree of restriction varies from case to case (from one or two stems upwards) and can hardly be stated in formal terms. Accordingly the inclusion or non-inclusion of suffixes below is rather arbitrary.

'Unrestricted' suffix combinations which contain at least one 'restricted' member should, theoretically, be treated as clusters on a par with 'unrestricted' suffixal morphemes but since the degree of restriction is not storable and the rules of combination to a large extent are unknown to the author the distinction of the levels of analysis can not be properly carried through. In most cases the clusters and other combinations are listed together with the first component, even if the latter is much more restricted than the former. Some clusters, however, which belong to (or seem to belong to) different classes than their components have - more or less arbitrarily - been singled out.

46.3. If the mutual relations of the derivation suffixes are very hard to state the difference between derivation suffixes and roots is very neat. The only border case is it- (i-t-) 'be' which, without a following derivation suffix (and also with some), selects a preceding locative, equative or equivalent form (cp. 42.2.) but with some derivation suffixes does not, e.g. ittuwinnarpuq 'is always, is everlasting'.

Semantically the difference is somewhat less clearcut, it- and several other roots having meanings comparable to those of suffixes (cp., e.g., 48.), but against the great majority of roots the derivation suffixes have in common to indicate relations, modalities, emotional appraisal and the like and not 'immediate objects of perception'. Thus, there are no suffixes semantically comparable to, say, the field-suffixes of Kalispel (Hans Vogt, *The Kalispel Language*, pp. 51 ff.) and other American Indian languages.

Verbalizing Suffixes.

47. Several verbalizing suffixes have wordforms, mostly local case forms, as stems - exclusively (1-3.) or partly, a couple of the latter being also deverbal.

47.1. +Vr- 'do, say, pronounce' may verbalize short sentences, e.g. palasi aggirpuurpata 'when they cry 'the clergyman is coming'', naaggaliirpuq 'he said 'to be sure, no!'; particles, e.g. aammaarppaa 'does it over again (aamma)'; and local cases: Equative -tuur- 'behave (especially talk) like', e.g. tuluttuurpuq 'speaks English

(tuluk)'; Instrumental (also ablative) -niir- etc., e.g. att. II 18 innirniirlutaluunniit 'or we played with matches (innir-nik)'; siyullirmiirpuq 'does it for the first time'; Allative -muur- (also -puur-), e.g. kiñumuurpuq 'goes back (kiñumut)', cp. below 2-4.; Prosecutive -Kuur- (mostly +kkuur-), e.g. att. II 17 nunap iluwatigu-uliraañata 'of land / when we begin (74.1.) to go inside it (iluwatigut)', - with +taar- (76.6.), e.g. pinasukkuutaarpai 'treats (takes etc.) them three at a time', marlukkuutaarput 'they are in pairs' (marluk 'two'), cp. 49.2.

47.2. +kar- selects allative, e.g. att. I 93 sikukkuurlutik qiqirtamut awallirmukarput 'going on the ice (above 1.) / to the island / to the outmost they went'; 13.31; qummukaapput 'they all (-a- 76.8.) go up (qummut)'; ammukaarpuq (cp. 85.2.) 'is striped downwards (ammut)'.

47.3. -nar- selects pronominal allative, e.g. taSSunnarpuq (J.P. also taSSunakarpuq) 'goes there', sumunnarpa 'where has he gone?'.

47.4. +r- is highly restricted, e.g. siyumurpaa 'meets it in front (siyumut) of him on the road', nunarpuq 'touches land (nuna)'; likewise +rur- 'develop' or the like, e.g. qummurSurpuq (-muj-rur-) 'rises, stands up', inururpuq 'grows up' (inuk 'human being'), but the clusters +ruur-, +rruur- (cp. 76.9.) are less restricted, e.g. qummuruurpuq 'rises; throws a stone straight into the air', inuruurpuq 'looks like a human being but is not; is hospitable', inurruurpuq 'is conceited'.

47.5. -Par-, -rpar- 'move -wards' combines mostly with location words, e.g. siyuwarpaa 'moves it forwards', apparpuq 'moves downwards'. The cluster -rpañig-, -Pañig- is freer and also nominal, e.g. umiyarSuwarpasippuq 'looks like a ship', J.P. nutarwasippuq 'is rather new', J.P. kigaññarpasik 'wind from southwest (kigañña ablative)'; cp.:

47.6. +sig- 'be rather far in the direction of', e.g. qaqqasippuq 'is rather high up in the mountain (qaqqaq)', NG awaññasippuq 'it blows from northeast (ablative)', awaññasik 'northeast wind'; with -si- (74.2.), e.g. atsissiwuq 'has got lower down (at(i)-)'.

47.7. -sarnir- 'blow, wind from -', e.g. kuussarnirpuq, kuussarniq 'it blows / wind from the river (kuuk)'.

47.8. +qqut- (also -ut-) 'pass to the - of', e.g. J.P. sugguppaa? - awaqquppaa 'where did he pass it? - he passed outside of it', kiguunaqquppuq 'he passed south (prosecutive)'; with -a- (76.8.), e.g. Kr.L. timmiSSat ikaartarwik ataaquwawaat, 'the flock of birds / the bridge / they flew under it (ata-a)'.

48.1. -u- 'be' and +nnur- (cp. 74.2.) 'become' may verbalize ordinary nominal stems; apposition phrases, e.g. att. I 76 in 33.4. end, att. I 24 saanikuwinnarSuwaŋŋurpuq qarsurniq 'it became just (89.1.) a big (87.1.) refuse (82.2.) bone / bleached (skeleton)'; temporal forms like ippaSSaq (29. end), qana (30.10.), mostly in relative moods; -u- also pronouns, e.g. illiyuwit 'is it you?', and taSSa, e.g. att. II 14 aŋuniyagaq siyulliq taSSaaSarpuq qiqirtarSuwatsiyaat 'the goal / the first one / that used to (76.1.) be / Fiskeŋset' (the inverse semantic subject-predicate relation of sentences with taSSa alone, cp. 35.3.2.). +nnur- may also be transitive, especially in the contemporative, e.g. (Kleinschmidt) marraq sanawaa puugutaŋŋurlugu 'the clay / he worked it / making it a dish'; cp. 87.

48.2. The locative cluster -miyu- 'live at' is also nominal, -miyu(q) 'inhabitant of', and may be verbalized by -u-, -gĩ- (49.1.) etc., e.g. qilammiyuSut 'those who live in heaven', nuummiyu(q) 'inhabitant of Godthaab', ūm.il. 76 nataarnaq immap natirmiyuuwuq 'the halibut / of the sea / it is an inhabitant of [its] bottom' (cp. locative immap naqq-a-ni).

49.1. -gĩ- (indicative tr. -gaar-) 'have (him/it) for' may verbalize a dependence phrase (dependent subject corresponding to dependent referee of the underlying noun), but is also deverbal: 'find, think that -'; e.g. nuliyaraa 'he has her for wife (nuliyaq), she is his wife', uqaluwwiyup siyaniSSaraa 'the church has it for future (82.1.) bell (siyanĩq), it is a bell to the church', aŋigaa 'finds it (too) large (aŋi-)'. Deverbal clusters, inter alia J.P. aŋi-giilig-puq 'has something (e.g. a jacket) that is too large for him'.

49.2. The cluster -giig- 'have each other for, mutually be' is also nominal (plural or dual), e.g. nuliyariipput 'they are husband and wife', nuliyariit (old -k) 'married couple', koo. II 16 aawirSuwit nukalluriit 'big walruses / being in relation of yearling (nukalluq), i.e. a big walrus and its yearling', qatannutigiit 'siblings (sisters and brothers)'. Plurality in and of the mutual relation is specified by the clusters J.P. (Kr.L.) -giiyaar- '(be) several in mutual relation', e.g. illugiiyaarput 'they (several) are (stand) opposite each other, in rows' (illugiipput 'they are a pair, illugaa 'has him as partner'), and -giikkuutaar- (cp. 47.1.) '(be) several pairs or sets of objects in mutual relation', e.g. illugiikkuutaarput 'they (e.g. several married couples) are opposite each other', qatannutigiikkuutaat 'flocks of siblings'.

50. Several suffixes may change an apposition into an instrumental term (cp. 39.4.), so also 51.3. and 79.1. However, examples have not been found for all clusters listed below and 7. has been added for semantic reasons. Some of the suffixes have also been found with a dependence phrase as a stem.

50.1. +qar- 'have' (also about place or time: 'there is'), e.g. att. II 20 inuunḡuuq tumiqarpallaaliraḡata 'of human being, he said, / when there begins (74.1.) to be too much (77.3.) tracks (tumi-)', 39.4.

50.2. -tu- 'have a large, have many' (partly deverbal), intr. part. usually -tuuq (-suuq, also after a, u); with 48.1. -tuu-; with 49.1. -tugi- 'think that it is too -'; with 74.2. -ttur- (-tsur-), -tusi- 'increase in'; etc. E.g. akisuuuq, akisuuuq 'is expensive' (aki- 'payment'), akitsurpuq 'has become more expensive'; ūm.il. 28 suḡaartuuuq qirnirtunik milattuq 'is yellow (suḡaartuq, intr. part.) / with black ones / having many spots'.

Alternant cluster especially about extent: +qurtu- etc., e.g. ūm.il. kigutiqqurtuullunilu inḡissunik 'and it has large teeth / that are sharp', illuqqurtusiuuq 'has got a larger, more spacious house'.

50.3. (+l)i- (cp. 10.1.2.) 'make, produce, etc. (tr.: for)', e.g. koo. I 22 nunaqqatitit qiSuruyuSSuwarnik qiSSisikkumaarpakka 'your fellow (61.) villagers / with a huge (95.2.) piece of wood / I will (73.2.) let (64.1.) them find wood', itsiwuq 'gets smoke (isiq) into his eyes', qimmiliwuq 'places his dogs', qaanniwuq 'leaves his kayak (qayaq)', ulliwuq 'spends a day, days (ulluq)', qaqaligami (see 30.9.); - and (+l)it- (cp. 63.1.) 'have arrived in, etc.', e.g. qaqqippuq 'ascends a mountain (qaqqaq)', inaalippaa 'puts it into its place (ina-a)' (inaanut iliwaa). Both are rather restricted, but there are several less restricted and semantically more specialized clusters, e.g.

(+l)iyaa (58.1.) 'made, manufactured'; (+l)iyur- (76.9.) 'make, manufacture (tr.: for, in)', e.g. att. I 34 uqartunik ulluliyursimawuq 'with warm (pl.) / it has (74.5.) made nest (pl. tantum)', qaanniyurpaa 'makes a kayak for him'; (+l)iyut(i)- (66.) 'make into'; (+l)iwik (59.2.) 'receptacle', and

(+l)iyar- 'travel, go to or for', also nominal, e.g. qalluna-at nunaaliyat 'travellers to Denmark (q. nuna-a-t)', to allative: uwattinnuliyaritsi 'come to see us'; J.P. (+l)iyaa- (76.8.) idem about several.

50.4. Related suffixes (cp. also 74.1-2.) are (+l)ir- 'provide with, etc.', examples in 10.1.2. and 31.6. (att. II 80, 114); (+l)iSar- 'take along, resemble his -', e.g. att. II 110 qaqurtumik irwaluSuliSartillugu aallartippuq 'with white / letting (64.1.) him take flag along / he sent him away', arniSarpuq 'resembles his mother (arnar-)'; (+l)iSaar- (94.6.) 'have rather plenty of, etc.', e.g. J.P. sikkiSaarpuq (sikuliSaarpuq) 'is hindered by the ice'.

Further (+l)iri- (? cp. 49.1.) 'concern himself with, have to do with, have pain in (bodypart)' (also deverbal), e.g. uyaqqiriwuq 'works with stone (uyarak)', arniriwuq 'is made after women (arnaq)', niyaqqiriwuq, niyaqqiraaq 'has a headache' (niyaquq 'head'); (+l)iritu- (50.2.) 'be eager of, to'; +lirut, +liriSSut (60.1.) 'instrument for dealing with', e.g. uqaasiliriSSutit (pl.) 'grammar' (uqaasiq 'word', pl. also 'language'); (+l)irSaar- 'tell of', +lirSaarut 'account of', e.g. awaṅṅarnisalirSaarutit 'accounts from Cape York' (awaṅṅarnisaq 'man from northern parts').

50.5. -(t)-, -(g)- (12.2., cp. 10.1.1.) 'have got (mostly game)', e.g. koo. III 3 marlunnik aataarluni 'two (instr.) / having killed saddlebacks'.

50.6. -taar- 'have got a new', -taaq 'a new' (cp. 52.2.), e.g. ko. IV 44 illuutitaarpuq ilaminnik qaqitalinnik 'he had got a sling (dual) / with part of itself / provided with middle piece, i.e. with middle piece of the same piece of skin' (first instrumental to +lik, 79.1., second to -taar-).

50.7. (+nī)g- (cp. 10.1.2.) 'get, get as a share, there has come', e.g. aataanippuq 'there has come saddlebacks', and the cluster +nnag- 'get much, get as a share' have not been found with the instrumental construction.

51. Negative counterparts are:

51.1. -it- 'be without', also deverbal (opposite meaning of the underlying stem), e.g. puwiSaappuq 'there are no seals (puwiSī)', akinippuq (cp. 9.2.) 'has no barb (akik)', maniippuq 'is uneven' (manig- 'be smooth'). Some of the clusters: -ilaaq 'which is without' (restricted), e.g. inuwilaaq 'desert' (inuk 'human being'), maniilaaq 'unevenness', pl. maniillat 'hummocky ice'; -ilatsi- 'lack, want'; -iliqi- 'be in need of, lack', e.g. 13.12.; -isag- 'have hardly any, almost lack'; -isur- 'have gone or come to fetch', -isuwa- 'be in need of', e.g. koo. I 15 anniwiSSaasuwayuarsinnaq 'just (89.1.) continuously (75.1.) being in need of a future (82.1.) place (59.2.) for going out (ani-), i.e. all the time trying to come out'.

51.2. +kit- 'have only little of', +killi- (74.2.) 'have got a smaller', +kigi- (49.1.) 'think that it has (too) little'; e.g. akikippuq 'is cheap', akikilliwuq 'becomes cheaper', akigaara 'I think it cheap'.

51.3. +ir- 'take away from, sell, feel cold in (a limb, mostly with 74.1.)', alternant +iir mostly with location words: 'occupy his -', e.g. amiirpaa 'takes off his skin', sikkuwirpuq '(the sea) has lost its ice', iqaluSSuup tiḡwirniyarpuq 'shark's / wants to sell liver', (Kleinschmidt) aSSaalirpaana 'it begins to (74.1.) deprive me

of my hands, i.e. my hands are cold', qulanirpaa 'keeps above (qulī-) it'. Clusters: -iyar-, +niyar- idem about several; -irut(ī)- (66.) 'deprive of (by doing something), (reflexive:) have no more', nominal '(his) lost or sold', e.g. att. II 187 asaSattinnik ataataarup-pugut 'our beloved (instr.) / we have lost dad', - but (qula-)niyut(ī)- (paa) 'keep(s above) with (it)'; -irsi- (67.1.) especially 'feel cold in (body part)'; -irluwir- (cp. 53.3.) 'sulky with (blood, soot and the like, as by contagion)'.

Some apparently related clusters are: (nuna-)niyag- 'be dissatisfied with (his dwelling place)', (nuna-)niyagī- 'think (it) an unpleasant (abode)'. arniniyappuq 'is a hater of women, is tired of girls', etc. seems to contain the first part of (+l)irī- 50.4.

51.4. +llar- 'remove, loose' (very restricted), e.g. uwillarpuq 'looses her husband' (opposite uwinippuq).

52. Some denominal verbs may have an object corresponding to the dependent referee in a phrase with the underlying noun as the referent.

52.1. -si- 'get, meet (his -)', e.g. tumisiwuq (-waa) 'comes across (his) footprints (tumī-)', koo. I 25 qipiSSarsiqiinna: 'get a cover for me' (cp. qipiSSara 'my future cover, a cover for me'). Clusters: -siyaq (58.1.) 'acquired, met (by him)'; -siyur (76.9.) 'go for, look after, follow, move about in, etc.', e.g. koo. I 36 anutisiyarSuwani qayarsiyurlugu 'his (4.p.) foster (-siyar-) father / looking for his (-gu) kayak'; -siyut(ī) 'means to look after or to move in', e.g. qaammatisiyutit 'means to look after the moon, i.e. an almanac', att. II 111 qayaqarput anurisiyusiyaannitsunik 'they have (50.1.) kayaks / that are (48.1.) not (70.) made (50.3.) for going out in wind (anurī)'.

52.2. -tar- 'gather, fetch (its -)', e.g. att. II 112 appat mannissartarpaat 'the auks / they usually (76.1.) collect their eggs (mannik)'; with -aq (58.1.) -taaq 'fetched, (newly) acquired, new', e.g. nuliyartaawa 'his new wife' (may be his first wife), cp. 50.6.

52.3. -tur-, -(r)Sur- 'use', e.g. nigiturpuq (-paa) 'eats meat (the meat of it)', aSSaSSurpuq 'uses his hands (aSSa(g)-it pl., sg. 'finger')', -paa 'has it in hand'.

52.4. +rur- 'hits, wounds in the -', e.g. puwiSi sururpiyuk? - uummatirurpara 'the seal / where did you hit it? - I hit it in its heart'.

53. The following suffixes have been found only with simple nominal stems.

53.1. -gasag-, -gasaar- 'look, how many (much):', bare stem frequently as exclamation (35.1.), e.g. inugasaarpuq, inugasaaq 'look, how many people there are'.

53.2. -gig- 'have or be a good, fine', also nominal, e.g. annuraarippuq 'has pretty, good clothes'; -gissi- (74.2.) 'have got or become etc.'; -gissaar- (64.3.) 'take care to have etc.', e.g. iliqqurissaarpuq 'takes care to lead a blameless life'.

53.3. -(r)lug-, +lug- (cp. 77.17.) 'have a bad', also nominal, e.g. silarluk 'bad weather (sila)', siyulluppuq 'has bad ears (siyuti-)'. Clusters: (nuna)-luwar-, -luwari- 'be dissatisfied with (his dwelling place)'; -(r)li- (50.3.) 'produce a bad'; -(r/l)liyur- 'be worried by'; -(l)lir- (50.4.) 'do something wrong to'.

53.4. +maar- (J.P.) 'behave or treat as a good', e.g. utuqqa-qatimaarpuq 'he shows friendliness towards someone whom he finds is as old (utuqqaq) as (61.) he is himself' (Kr.L.), iqqarlimaarpaa 'gives him something for the sake of relationship' (iqqarliq 'relative').

53.5. +mig-, -(m)mig- 'do with his -', e.g. ikusimmippaa 'pushes him with his elbow (ikusik)', siyumippuq 'has something in front (siyu-) of him on the kayak'; +migar- idem.

53.6. -gug- 'be longing for, suffer from', e.g. tupaguppuq 'is longing for tobacco', imiruppuq 'is thirsty' (imiq 'water'); cp. 76.14.

54. Also deverbal:

54.1. -(l)lir- (old -(k)lir-) 'supply with, serve, etc.', e.g. kawwillirpuq 'serves coffee', apiqqutillirpaa 'sets forth a question (apiqqut) for him', naallirpaa 'makes him stumble (naag-)'.

54.2. -tīr- 'coat with, etc.; gradually', e.g. aattirpaa 'coats it over with blood (aak)', isirtirpaa 'brings it in gradually', -puq 'goes in (isīr-) slowly, moves in'. Cp. 64.1.

54.3. +ḡḡu- 'have pain in, be sorry for', e.g. niyaqḡḡuwuq 'have pain in his head', tusaḡḡuwuq 'is tired of listening (tusar-) to something'.

54.4. +katag- 'be tired of', e.g. tupakatappuq 'is tired of tobacco', takukatappara 'now I am tired of seeing it'.

54.5. +ḡa- 'resemble; be in state of', e.g. inunawuq 'behaves or looks like a Greenlander (inuk)', innanuwuq 'lies down, has gone to bed' (innar- 'lie down to rest, go to bed'). Clusters: (kawwi)+ḡḡir- (50.4.) 'be addicted to (coffee)'; +ḡḡirSaar- 'be on the point of', deverbal.

54.6. -nit- 'smell, taste of', +nni- (deverbal) 'look', mostly in the clusters (cp. 76.15.) -sunnit-, -sunni- (also denominal) and -suwarnit- 'smell good of', e.g. mikiyarnippuq 'smells fermented, rotten (mikiyaq)', qiSussunnippuq 'tastes of wood', qiyanniwuq 'looks as if he had cried (qiya-)', itirursunniwuq 'smells of stale urine'.

54.7. -(r)palug-, -(r)pala-, -(r)palaar- 'sound or look like' (also nominal), -(r)pallag- 'it is heard or felt like, behaves like', and varieties in -(r)pi--; examples in 29.9.2., 34.1., 35.1.

55. With numerals only:

55.1. +raar- 'have got', e.g. tallimaraarpuq 'has got four'.

55.2. +riyar- 'do -times (at him/it)', e.g. att. I 104 in 40.4.; with 60.1.: J.P. +riyaat 'fold', e.g. Kr.L. marluriyaammak aka-lissawakkit 'twofold (instr.) / I will pay you'.

Nominalizing Suffixes.

56. -nīq, action noun, like other verbal nouns, may constitute an ordinary nominal term of a sentence and combines in numerous clusters with verbalizing suffixes but it also constitutes the unique kind of annexment mentioned in 23.3.

56.1. Action nouns, in general, occur with all local cases (37.2., 38-40.3., 41.3-4., 42.2.), as annexment (23.3. end, att. II 79 in 54.3.; 33.4. kaanniq), and as dependent subject, e.g. att. II 116 taama piSSarsiyurlutik iluwaqutiSSarsiyurlutillu analaniyarnirata maattusarlugillu misiriSaarutittarpai 'thus / looking for (52.1.) something for (82.1.) themselves / and looking for benefit for themselves / their travelling / makes (64.3.) them hardy and / lets (64.1.) them have no more (51.3.) what to (82.1.) not dare to tackle, i.e. makes them fearless'. As in this example there is usually a dependent person suffix (cp. 20.4.), except in the ablative case where, on the other hand, transitive verbs may keep their dependent subject (20.2.) or annexment (23.2.).

Some are general verbal nouns and occur freely without person suffix, e.g. piSSaaniq 'being (48.1.) strong (piSSak), strength, power' (cp. koo. I 21 piSSaap inuwa 'the lord of strength'). Usually, however, such action nouns indicate the effect or result of the action, e.g. uwillarniq 'the result of loosing (51.4.) her husband, i.e. a widow', ko. I 106 in 39.1.; or, in the case of intransitive verbs indicating some dimension, a higher or the highest degree, e.g. piSSaaniq 'the strongest', anniq 'greater, greatest' (ani-), att. II 81 in 29.6., att. I 76 in 33.4.

56.2. The old variety -(nī)q is restricted to words like takkunni loc. 'in my presence' (taku- 'have seen'), qippaq (qippaa) 'coil (in it, a rope etc.)' besides qinniq (10.1.1.) 'winding' and J.P. qipiniq (qipinira) id.id., - and, mostly with +na- (54.5.), quasi-nouns (21., 30.4-5, 8.).

56.3. -niru- (48.1.) 'more, most' combines with both intransitive and transitive verbs, e.g. asaniruwaa 'loves him more', att. II 9 in 29.6., ko. IV 58 in 31.3., att. I 33 in 31.5.; cp. 41.6. Further cluster: -nirumaar- 'a little more', e.g. ūm.il. 60 timmiyaawuq

mitirmit annirumaartuq 'it (the goose) is a bird / than the eiderduck / that is a little larger'.

56.4. -niqar- (50.1.) with transitive verbs has the force of passive, e.g. koo. I 44 in 29.2.2. Cp. -nirut(i)- (51.3.) koo. I 19 in 41.5.

56.5. -(ni)rtu- (50.2.) 'continue to, be apt to' and -(ni)kit- (51.2.) 'little, etc.' combined with intransitive verbs only (Rasmussen), e.g. inuunirtuwaq 'lives long', nirrisuwaq 'is a gross feeder'; nirinikipuq, nirrikippuq 'eats little', sinnakilaarpuq (cp. 92.1.) 'gets too little sleep (sinik)'.

56.6. -(ni)rig-, +qqig- (53.2.) 'be clever at', be particularly' etc. and -(ni)rlug- (53.3.) 'badly' etc. also combine with transitive verbs; examples in 10.1.2. +qqig- with person suffixes may have the force of a nominal comparative (J.P.: = -nirusuq), e.g. makuwa amirlaqqinik takyyumaarputit 'more than these you will see'. Cp. 91.2.

57.1. -Tuq (after 50.2., 76.3. alternant -uq), intransitive participial, see 29.; rarely with dependent person suffix (cp. 58.2.), e.g. att. II 9 ilaaSutta (rel.) 'the one who was with us' (ila-u- 'be companion'). With 48.1., with or without an intervening class free suffix (cp. especially 87.), it seems to have generalizing, durative or resultative force, e.g. att. II 115 in 42.1., att. I 19 nuwannaqigamil-lu nilliyaSuruyuSSuupput 'and because they had great fun / they were shouting awfully (95.2.)', tikitsuwaq 'is the one (the only one) who has come home'. With +nqur- also from transitive verbs, e.g. koo. I 26 asaSuwatsiyannurpaat 'they were quite (88.1.) loving to him'.

Also with 50.1., especially in impersonal statements with negation, e.g. att. I 18 tusaaSuqaqnilaq 'there was nobody who listened', att. II 114 maannalu inuuSumik nunaminni umimmattuqarsimananik iqqaama-Suqaqnilaq 'and now / who lives (instr.) / in their (4.p.) country / it (-a-) having (74.5.) been who hunted muskox / there is nobody who remembers', koo. II 37 in 23.2.; cp. koo. I 25 pallittuSSaarukkaat 'whom they deprived of (51.3.) a future (82.1.) who approaches, i.e. kept everybody from approaching'. Cp. 67.3.

57.2. +rlaaq 'who lately', with intransitive verbs only, e.g. inuurlaq 'new-born', att. I 11 in 35.2.

58.1. -Taq, +gaaq, -aq, passive participle - usually -Saaq after vowel, +gaaq after uvular and velar, but after some roots and suffixes (50.3., 52.1. etc.) -aq and with prelingual -t-aq (cp. also 51.1. -ilaq), e.g. koo. II 18 kunuup pulaaqqaagaafa (rel.) 'Kunuk (rel.) / the one he first (75.7.) had gone to visit', 20.4., 29.2., 31.6. (att. II 80); -taq after uvular and velar in kanayurtai 'his caught sea-scorpions' etc. (cp. 50.5.) and some isolated cases like irruurtat (or irrukkat) pl. 'washing', tugqurtaq 'put by (for provision)' cp. tugqugaaq 'kept'.

With 48.1. it forms a passive (cp. 56.4.), e.g. koo. I 41 33.1. (twice: pi-Sa-u-tit-a-u-Su-p), ko. II 18 in 41.5. Also with other verbalizing suffixes, e.g. att. II 83 aqqinik'ilisimaSaqaḡḡilagut 'their names (instr.) / we do not have (any) known, i.e. do not know them', J.P. iisakilaarpuq 'has eaten too little' (ii- 'swallow'), koo. I 48 nutaartugaSSaarukkaḡḡamik ... nutaartugaSSarsiniyararaaq 'when they did not have any more (51.3.) fresh (nutaag) to eat (52.3.) .. he used to (69.8.) try to (73.3.) get (52.1.) something fresh to (82.1.) eat'.

58.2. -Ti, agent noun, selects transitive or (in the case of prelingual stems always) medialized (67.1.) verb stems and usually has a dependent person suffix, e.g. asaSit in 20.4., ayuqirsurtaa 'the one who teaches (ayuqirsur-) him, his teacher' (cp. ayuqirsugaaq 'pupil'), tuqutsiSaa 'his murderer' (tuqut-si- 'kill somebody'). With verbalizing suffixes, e.g., att. I 78 umiyanut qallunniyanut anuwarta-alluni 'for a boat / going to the white / being (48.1.) a rower', ayuqirsurtigaa 'has (49.1.) him as teacher, is taught by him', koo. I 52 nuliyarallaruni miḡḡiriSiSSaqalirallaruni 'having first (75.6.) taken a wife / (and thus) first (75.6.) beginning (74.1.) to have (50.1.) one to (82.1.) work with (50.4.) the dirt (miḡḡuk, i.e. flensing etc.)', piniyartaaruppuq 'has no more (51.3.) a provider'.

59.1. -giyaaq 'which ought to or must be -ed', mostly with 50.1. and preceding 76.1., e.g. att. II 114 turSuuttuSarput paarḡḡuttariS. Sanik katakkut illumut ammaannartukkut isiriyaqarlutik 'they (the houses

usually (76.1.) have long (50.2.) passages / which must be crept into / by an end passage / into the house / that only (89.1.) is open / having to be entered', att. II 14 in 31.5.

59.2. -(CV)wīk, -(w)wīk (10.1.2.) 'place or time of', e.g. koo. I 48 taamalu nunaqarwik piniyarniyarwiSSartik nalullugu 'and thus / the dwelling place (nuna-qar- 'have land', 50.1.) / their future (82.1.) place for trying (73.3.) to hunt / (they) not knowing', koo. III 40 pulaarwiya 'the one he (-a) had gone to visit', att. I 30 ulluq unammiwiSSaat 'the day / their future time for competing, i.e. when they were to compete'. With verbalizing suffixes, e.g. 48.1.: koo. II 18 (ko. I 130) tusarwiuyunairput quyanaarturtullu qiyaSullu 'they no more (71.2.) were a place of hearing / and saying (47.1.) thanks / and crying, i.e. one could hear nothing for people saying thanks and crying'; 49.1. (very common): koo. I 13 anniwiginiyaruk 'please (73.3.) go out (ani-) to him', att. II 14 in 31.5., uqaluwwigaa 'speaks to him', uqaluwwigiSigaa 'has him for one (58.2.) having (him) for place of talking, i.e. is addressed by him'; 50.1.: arayutsiwigan-ñilaq 'does not (70.) have place for escaping attention, i.e. notices everything'; 51.3.: koo. I 30 sapirwiiruppuq 'was deprived of place (time) for being unable, i.e. became expert'.

60.1. (-u)t(ī)- (cp. 10.2.2.) 'means, cause, time, etc.' (also verbal, see 66.), e.g. sannat 'tool' (sana- 'make, work in wood or bone'), qilirut 'tie' (qilīr-), anniyaataa 'the cause of his suffering (anniyar-)', aggiyutaa 'the time of his arrival (aggir-)', inaSSut 'order' (inat- 'command'), koo. I 21 tamaSSa alliniq ayuutitit 'voici / to grow / your causes to be unable (ayur-), i.e. that's the ones that prevented you from growing'. Combines with verbal suffixes in a large number of clusters, e.g. 50.4. +lirut etc., 52.1. -siyut; - with 63.1. +SSut 'cause, means to', e.g. tuquSSut 'cause of death' (tuqu-t- 'make die, kill'), inuusSut (and inuut) 'source of life, provision, patron', annaasSut 'cause of salvation (annag-)'.

With following 48.1., e.g. att. II 116 ilisimawaat iqiyasut-tuuniq a ummi kimiluunniit narrunaatitut iSiginigaataassaSuq "they know it / being lazy (56.) / in a hunter / or in anybody / as a reason

for being despicable / which is to (73.1.) be a reason for being (56.4.) seen (iSi 'eye' plus 49.1.), i.e. they know that laziness, by a hunter or anybody, is certain to be considered a source of being despised'. With 49.1.: 'have as a means, reason or time for, i.e. with, over, for that reason, at the same time' (very common), e.g. allaatigaa 'writes (allag-) with or about it', aayutigalugu pulaas-saana 'at the same time that I fetch (ai-) it / I shal pay a call', aallaSSutigaa 'goes (aallar-) for that reason'. With 50.4.: (-u)sir- 'provide himself with a reason for, i.e. begin, set about', e.g. att. I 89 pañallusirpuq 'set about galloping (pañalig-)', nirrisirpuq 'begins to eat (niri-)'.

(-u)taq 'means', in nammaataq (and nammaat) 'carrying strap' (nammag- 'carry'), añallataq 'something which one carries about with him' (añala- 'travel'), etc., seems to contain 80.2. Other related suffixes are:

60.2. (-u)siq 'manner, that with which', i.e. issiwwasiq 'manner of sitting (issiya-, iksi(w)a-)', qayartuusiga 'my kayak costume' (qayartur- 'be out in kayak') - note the alternant (-u)si- before the person suffix.

+SSusiq, abstract verbal noun (mostly with person suffix), e.g. piSSusiq 'quality, nature' (pi- 'do, etc. '), att. II 115 aputaa-SSusiya iqqarsaatiSSaanñilaq 'its (the hut's) being (48.1.) of snow / is (48.1.) not (70.) a future (82.1.) reason for reflecting (iqqar-sar-), i.e. is not thought of', miitirit marluk siliSSusirai 'meters / two / it has them as (49.1.) breadth, i.e. is two meters broad', att. III 143 qaSSusiyatit nigartanik qassinik takiSSusiqartillugillu iti-SSusiqartittarpigit 'the net (pl.) you make (50.3.) / with meshes / how many / do you let (64.1.) them have (50.1.) length (taki- 'be long') and / do you usually (76.1.) let them have depth (iti- 'be deep')?'. Cp. 35.1.

60.3. +qut (+rut, +qqut), +qutaq (+qqutaq) 'means, way to' are also denominal: 'appertaining' (cp. 80.1-2.), e.g. naammaqut (and naammaat) 'supplementing, compensation' (naammag- 'be sufficient'), nalunaaqut 'mark', nalunaaqutaq 'clock, watch' (nalunaar- 'communicate, explain'), nuuqut 'that which is farthest out on the point (nuuk)'.

With 50.4., e.g. naammaqusirpaa 'adds what is lacking', naammaqusiyup-paa 'uses it as a supplement' (cp. 10.1.1. end).

61. +qatĩ- 'partner in respect of -' is also denominal, e.g. att. I 17 in 29.6., att. I 27 appaqatinilu tinĩSarput 'and its (4.p.) fellow guillemots (appa) / they fly, i.e. it and the other etc.' (cp. 44.3.), nunaqataa, nunaqqataa 'belonging to the same dwelling place (nuna) as he' (cp. nuna-gĩ- 'have, as dwelling place'), ũm.il. 23 suqqaat kukiit piSSusiqataat 'baleins / of nails / their partners in respect to nature (60.2.), i.e. of the same nature as nails'. With 49.1-2., e.g. uqaluqatigaa 'has him as speaking partner, i.e. talks with him', aggiqatigiipput 'had each other as partners in coming (aggir-), i.e. came together'; also with 50.4.

62. From several of the examples above it appears that a word stem may contain several class converting suffixes but at the same level of analysis (cp. 46.2.) there may hardly be more than three - as in the exceptionally long word quoted in 5.: naluna-ir-asuwar-ta(r)-utĩ- 'a means (60.1.) for habitually (76.1.) hurry to (77.5.) communicate (deprive of, 51.3., being as to be ignore-d, 65.), i.e. a telegraph', -liyu(r)-qati-giig- 'to build (50.3.) together (61.)', -(w)wig-(r)Suwa(q)- 'a big (87.1.) place (59.2.)', -liyu(r)-lirSaa(r)-- 'to intend to (74.1.) make (50.3.)...'.
Verb elaborating suffixes.

63. Some suffixes add the possibility of a dependent subject, turning the annexed subject of the underlying intransitive verb into an object.

63.1. -t- occurs in several suffix clusters (e.g. 50.3., 54.6., 60.1., 64.1-2.) and combines with a number of roots in vowel or velar, e.g. tuquppaa 'kills it' (tuqu- 'die'), anippaa 'brings it out' (ani- 'go out'), kalippaa 'tows it' (kalig- 'tow', intr. and tr.).

63.2. -nirar- 'say of, call', e.g. nunartik pitsaanirarpaat 'their country / they said that it was (48.1.) excellent'.

63.3. +naar- 'find or make beyond expectation', e.g. sili-naarpaa 'finds or makes it too broad (siliġ-)', J.P. aputikinaarpaa 'finds it to have unexpectedly little (51.2.) snow'.

64. Other, more important, suffixes also combine with transitive verbs, turning their dependent subject into an allative term (40.5.) and thereby giving the underlying verb a certain passive force. Like most other transitive verbs they may also be used reflexively (22.4.).

64.1. -tīt- (with stems in t : -t-īt-) 'let (make or allow), get to', in the contemporative often 'while' (with negation 'before'), e.g. koo. I 38 natsirsaartillugu aallartinniyaraanamiyuk tikittaraaq aariyaSSuwa aṅuSSurtillugu 'letting him have a new (50.6.) sealskin jacket / every time (69.8.) she tried to (73.3.) let him go out / he used to (69.8.) come back / its back piece / having let it go to pieces', att. II 111 aqqutiSSartik nanisinnaayunnaarsillugu 'their (NB. 4.p.) (future, 82.1.) way / [you] making it no more (71.2.) possible (89.1.) to be found (by them)', att. I 38 ataatannut tunisippuṅa qamutiṅṅuwamik 'by my father / I had myself gifted / with a little sledge', att. I 25 inuuSartilluni uqarpuq 'letting herself play, i.e. while she was playing / she said', att. II 82 unnukkullu illut ilaannut uqaluttuwariyarturtinniqartarlutik 'and in the evening / of the houses / to some of them / they used (76.1.) to be (56.4.) made to go to (74.3.) tell stories', att. II 108 in 29.5.1. (-tīt- after -niqar-). With the related suffix 54.2.: -titīr- 'let (them) in several turns'.

64.2. +qqu- 'ask, order, permit, wish', in the contemporative often 'in order to', e.g. palasip uwannut paariqquwaa 'the clergyman / by me / he asked it to be taken care of', koo. I 21 qaqquniqarama 'when I was (56.4.) asked to come, i.e. called upon', ko. II 62 in 31.2.2., koo. I 20 iSiginiqaṅṅiqquniyarluni 'endeavoring (73.3.) to permit himself not (70.) to be (56.4.) seen, i.e. in order not to be seen'. The second part of the cluster (cp. 63.1.) in Kr.L. tiguquwuq 'wants to be taken (tigu-)', koo. III 7 aniriyallarami uqaasiq ataasiq kisimi tusaquSug 'when he went out / word / one / it only / that made itself heard (tusar-)', etc.

64.3. -sar- 'endeavor to make (by positive action)', -saar- ' -- with special care' (the latter more common as reflexive), e.g. tuqusarpaa 'tries to kill it (the animal one is hunting)', kayumis-sarpaa 'encourages him' (kayumig- 'be ready, willing'), mayurassaarpuaq 'paddles his kayak towards the beach in order to run up upon it (mayurag-)', after 64.2. e.g. nirsuqqusaarpuaq 'likes to be praised, does something in order to be praised (nirsur-)'. With 60.1. common in terms for medicins and the like, e.g. naarissaat 'means for making to have a good (53.2.) stomach (naaq), i.e. stomach essence'.

64.4. -t(s)aali- 'prevent from', in the contentative 'so that (he) can not', e.g. siyanigigiyuk qimminut nirittaalillugu 'take care of it / by the dogs / preventing it from being eaten, i.e. that the dogs do not eat it'.

64.5. -(t)sir- 'wait until', e.g. koo. I 18 tuqutsirniyar-lugu kiisa piSuwatsiyaŋnuwanŋurpuq '[they] waiting for him to die / finally / he became (48.1.) one who lived on pretty well (88.1., 87.2.)'. Cp. 67.1.

64.6. -suri- (after prelingual also -nasuri-) SG, -sugi-, -nasugi- (after vowel and prelingual), -Kasugi- (after consonant) 'think, suppose', e.g. koo. I 56 apirilirpaat umiyamik takusuralugit 'they asked them / an umiak (instr.) / thinking them to have (i.e. whether they had) seen'; other examples in 31.2.1., 31.4., 32., 40.5.

65. -nar- 'be as to be -ed, be -able' may, like the preceding, turn the dependent subject of a transitive verb into an allative term but usually the subject is entirely suppressed and intransitive verbs are made impersonal although, semantically, a first person subject is frequently implied, e.g. koo. I 31 asuliyunŋitsuaq tamaannarnaruyuaq, ... ususaarmiyarSunŋuwaq tusaamaSara ... unammiyar-turlugu tamaannaatiginaruyuaq 'it being not for fun / one (i.e. I) has come (47.3.) here also (69.5.), ... U. / whom I have heard about (58.1.) ... going to (74.3.) challenge him / one (i.e. I) has also (69.5.) come here for (60.1.)', att. II 109 makkulu inuwi ... inuurpiyaŋnitsuatinnaraluwarlutik 'and those / people there ... otherwise (72.1.) were as to be let (64.1.) to be (48.1.) who (57.1.) not

(70.) really (90.2.) were (48.1.) people, i.e. would not be considered real people'. The suppressed subject may be referred to by a fourth person suffix in a subordinate verb form (cp. ko. I 98 in 30.7.) but when also the latter (being a relative verb form) contains -nar- the third and not the fourth person seems to be regular, e.g. Egede 208, 214 (also 1857) takuniyarnarmat takunaruyuq 'when one has tried (73.3.) to see / one also sees, i.e. it is nice to see you again'. (on this point Kleinschmidt § 90 is not contradicted by the examples in Rasmussen § 97, cp. 20.4. end). Cp. also 35.1.

With 49.1.: -narī- 'find -able', with 51.1.: -naat- 'be un-able', with 51.3. e.g. nalunaar- in 62.

66. (-u)t(ī)- 'with, for, with regard to' (cp. 60.1.) adds an object, i.e. turns an annexed subject into a dependent subject and an annexed object into an instrumental or allative term, but to a transitive verb it may also simply add the possibility of an allative term, and the derived verb may also be used reflexively: 'with himself, himself, pl. with each other'. E.g. annippaa 'takes it out with him' (ani- 'go out'), aniSSuppa, aSSuppa (an(i)-t-) 'throws it out together with something' (cp. 63.1.), koo. II 8 alligaanik irSutiqisigu 'his bladder dart (instr.) / let's hide (iSīr-) for him', att. II 11 uqurutiwut puunut immiyullugit 'our bed clothes / into (all.) bags / putting (filling: immir-) them', cp. ibid. illirwiwut pisataruyun-ḡuwattinnik immiriyarlugit 'our chests / with (instr.) our petty (95.2.1.) belongings / filling (74.4.) them', ko. I 104 in 22.4., att. 146 qaSSutinut maḡḡirtiyullutik ilagussimapput 'into the net / making (64.1.) themselves hard at it, i.e. tightly / they have (74.5.) got entangled (ilag-) into', koo. I 18 qaammaSSuwarmut saammaatitiḡḡuwaruyuq 'by (all.) the moon man / he also (69.5.) got (64.1., 87.2.) himself to become kind (saammar-) with, i.e. he got the moon man to be gracious towards himself'. - As the last component of numerous clusters, cp. 50.3., 51.3., etc.

67.1. Most transitive verbs, including verbs transitivized by the suffixes mentioned in 63-64. and 66., may have their object turned into an instrumental term (cp. 39.3.) - and, consequently, their dependent subject turned into an annexed one - through a medializing

suffix: -Si- after vowel (so 64.2. +qqu-Si-, 64.4. -t(s)aali-Si-, 66. (-u)S-Si-, cp. 10.1.1., etc.), +i- after uvular (so 50.4. (+l)i-i-, 51.3. -i-i-, 52.4. -ru-i-, 63.2. -nira-i-, 63.3. +naar-i-, 64.3. -sa-i-, saar-i-, 64.5. -(t)si-i-, etc.), less frequently after velar; -si- (cp. 52.1.) after prelingual (e.g. 63.1. -t-si-, 64.1. -tit-si-) and also after velar but less frequently after uvular and rarely after vowel (e.g. tigu-si- 'take'); -(n)nig- (cp. 50.7. - first component 56.?) in several cases after vowel, notably i (so 49.1., 64.6.), and after some few other stems; or, rarely, -(l)lir- (cp. 54.1.). Some transitive verbs are also intransitive ('active', not reflexive) without a medializing suffix, and to several transitive verbs correspond two or three different intransitive verbs, e.g. tuqurpaa 'keeps it', med. tuquwiwuq, 'puts it by for provision', med. tuqursiwuq; pilag-paa 'flenses it', med. pilag-puq, 'cuts it to pieces', med. pilaawuq and pilassiwuq 'cuts off a piece' (also tr.: '--- for him', cp. 52.1. and below); tusarpaa 'hears it or him', med. tusarpuq, 'obeys him', med. tusaawuq, 'grants his prayer', med. tusarnippuq.

Such medialized verbs, like other intransitive verbs, may in turn be transitivized, e.g. koo. I 44 tiqummik aalliyunniyaruk 'som liver (instr. according to 39.3.) / please (73.3.) fetch (ai-llir-) for (66.) him', (Kleinschmidt) aalisakkani ilinnut nuwisitsiqquwai 'fish (instr. pl.) / to you / he asked (64.2.) them to let (64.1. -tit-si-) appear (nuwi-), i.e. to offer for sale'.

67.2. -Si-/i-, however, may also, conversely, transitivize intransitive verbs: '(unwillingly) get it to - for himself, etc.', e.g. att. II 86 utuqqaat aliikkutaSSaraluwatik taSSannaannaq aniSigamikkik 'the old couple / those who should have been (82.1., 72.1.) an entertainment for them (4.p.) / suddenly / when they (4.p.) had them go out for them, i.e. when they had the bad luck that those etc. went out', koo. I 16 nayaga kisiyat arnanpuwawara 'my younger sister / her only / I had her become (48.1.) a woman for me, i.e. she was the only woman appealing to me'. The underlying verb may also be a reflexively used transitive verb, e.g. asiruwawaa 'it (the object) was spoiled, came to naught for him (the subject)' - asirurpuq 'it is broken', asirurpaa 'he destroys it, breaks it' - asiruwiwuq 'he destroys, breaks something (instr.)'; so also -(t)siwaa 'waits until he' (64.5.), e.g. koo. I 49

nunallit aallaatsiiqqaarlugit aallararaat 'the people of the place (the hosts) / first (75.7.) waiting (with going out) until they (-git) went out / they used to go out'.

67.3. -Tuur- (cp. 57.1. and 47.1.) 'it happened so for him that -', which indicates some sort of passive relation between the subject (annexed or dependent) and the action indicated by the underlying verb, may transitivize an intransitive verb but does not seem to change the voice of a transitive verb (which, however, may be reflexively used), e.g. uumaSuurpaa 'it (obj., the animal he thought he had killed) comes to life (uuma-) again for him', J.P. uumaSuurlugu annaawaa 'it (-gu) coming to life again / he had it (62.2. +i-) escape (annag-) from him', koo. I 9 anuSSuwani uqarsiigaluwaremiyuk uqaŋnitsu-urpuq 'his (4.p.) father / although (72.1.) he (4.p.) waited for him to (see 67.2.) say something (uqar-) / it happened so to him that [he, the father] did not say anything', att. III 145 puwiSit qaSSutit takuŋnitsuurayunniruSarsimagaat '(perhaps when it is dark) the seals / the net (pl.) / they seem (74.5.) usually (76.1.) to be most (56.3.) apt to (76.3.) happen not (70.) to see it', koo. I 27 ukuSartukasimmut ukkuwigitittuuqinaaq 'by (all.) the poor (86.) folding knife / if he only not (69.4.) happen to let himself (64.1.) be had as a place (59.2., 49.1.) for folding (uku-), i.e. if he only not happens to let the poor folding knife fold (bend) into himself'.

68. -tigi- 'so' adds the possibility of an equative or similar term, see 42.2. Cp. also koo. I 10 aatsaallu ... misigilirluni, nunani taama siwisutigisumik qimassimatigilirlugu 'and now ... he noticed / his (4.p.) country / thus (so) / having so long duration (instr., 39.2.) / that (contemporative) he began (74.1.) so to have (74.5.) left (qimag-) it, i.e. that he had for so long time been away from his country'.

69. Some suffixes restrict the combination with moods of the underlying verb and/or may not be followed by other derivation suffixes.

69.1. -na- 'wish (I), may (I), let (me)' occurs only in the indicative (-u-, -ar-), with first person subject (but cp. 27.2.),

e.g. ko. I 134 (koo. II 21) aqagu piniyartarwiwtinnut ilaginaawtigit 'tomorrow / to our hunting place / may we take you with us'. Cp. 44.1.

69.2. +kisar- 'let be, stop' occurs only in the imperative (or contemporative) second person, e.g. att. I 30 ukursiinṅṅuwinaa, qiyakisaritsi: 'you little dear ones (87.2.) / stop crying'.

69.3. +llariya(r)u- (first part is 77.2.) 'take care, by all means' seems to occur only in the negative contemporative, e.g. koo. II 25 in 31.1., koo. I 133 tikiraanṅṅitsuullariyaanak tikiraar-niyarna 'by all means don't let it happen (67.3.) that you don't (70.) come visiting / please (73.3.) come visiting'.

69.4. +qina- 'take care or I wish that - not, if only not' occurs in the indicative (-uq or -wuq, -war-) and in the causative, e.g. koo. I 27 in 67.3., att. I 33 qinilirsarpuq aggirsuqaqinammat '(the seal) looks around and around / if there should not be (50.1.) somebody approaching (aggir-, 57.1.)'; but it also occurs as a negative contemporative (cp. 77.1.), examples in 30.1.

69.5. -Ki-, after prelingual (mostly 70.) also -ni- 'also (confirming)' occurs in the superordinate moods (indicative with or without w, cp. 10.1.) and in the contemporative, e.g. ko. I 126 (koo. II 17) katakkut pigsigsallaruwta iniyallurniyarisigut 'by the entrance passage / when we in a hurry (77.2.) jump in one after the other (76.1.) / try (73.3.) you also to do like we do', takuṅṅinniyakkattaaq 'I have not (70.) seen them either (43.1.)', cp. 65. and 66.

69.6. -(m)mi- 'fancy: then:' occurs in the indicative (-uq) and optative - in both moods also before 69.5. - and in subordinate moods (no examples for conditional), e.g. koo. I 18 aqaguwani ilimaginagu ayunṅṅitsuq tikitissinnarmiguyaa 'the next day / not expecting him / being well / fancy, he also just (89.1.) had him (64.1.) come back', koo. II 10 in 32., koo. I 95 in 34.3.

69.7. -nir- 'I wonder, perhaps' occurs also in the interrogative, where it may precede 69.5., but not in the optative; e.g. koo. I 52 taannaanirpuḷuna aṅutirpaat tuqutaat: 'perhaps she (the baby to be named) is (48.1.) that one (the old woman) / by the brothers /

killed by them', ko. I 108 (koo. II 10) kinaaniriwimmi? 'who then (43.1.3.) may you also be?', att. I 113 in 29.5.1., koo. I 43. in 33.3.

69.8. -Ka(r)ī- (cp. 10.1.3.) 'be in the habit of, every time', occurs mostly (according to Rasmussen) in the indicative and in the causative ('as often as, whenever'), in the latter case with special mood alternants (30.1.) and selecting, in the superordinate verbal term, 76.1. -Tar- and/or another -Ka(r)ī-, e.g. 13.26-31., att. II 16 in 42.2., koo. I 48. in 58.1., koo. I 38. in 64.1., (cp. att. I 37 in 35.4. with superordinate interjection). In the indicative it occurs mostly (in the modern language only?) after uvular, notably 65., 76.1., 77.3., and may precede 69.5. and, in cluster with 76.1., precede or follow at least 70. and 74.1., cp. koo. I 15 in 31.2.

70. +ḡḡit- 'not' (from 56. plus 51.1.) has special mood alternants (see 25. ff.) but does not occur in the imperative, and in the optative (3.p.) only when followed by 69.5. In many cases it indicates the opposite rather than the negation of the underlying verb, and it may be doubled with the force of an intensified assertion, e.g. from ayurpuq 'it is bad' - ayunḡḡilaq 'it is good', ayunḡḡinḡḡilaq 'it is not good, far from good', koo. I 47 taSSa tulakkaluwaruma tuqunḡḡissaḡḡ-ḡḡilaanna, tuqussawaanna 'well / if I (otherwise, 72.1.) go ashore / they are not to (73.1.) not kill me, /they will (73.1.) kill me'. Except as indicated in 69. it may follow most derivation suffixes but may also precede several of them, e.g. urnḡḡḡilirpara 'I begin (74.1.) not to, i.e. I fail, ought to, go to him', takunḡḡisaannarpara 'I have never seen him' (cp. 89.1.). More examples in 52.1., 59.2., 60.2., 64.2., 65., 67.3., 69.3., 5. and passim.

71. Suffixes indicating - at least in some combinations - degrees of probability or the like (cp. also e.g. 74.5.):

71.1. +ḡḡuur- 'presumably', frequently with 77.1. +ḡī- but apparently not before other verbal suffixes, e.g. tusarsimannḡḡoquuḡḡaat 'presumably they have (74.5.) not heard it'.

71.2. -y/Kunnar- (cp. 12.2.) 'probably' (cp. 94.8. and 65.), e.g. ayurunnarpuq 'it is probably no good'; with 74.2. -si- 'presumably', e.g. takuyunnarsiwat 'you have surely seen it'; with 51.3.: -y/Kunnaar- 'no longer, no more' (cp. 73.1.), e.g. 13.10., ko. I 74 in 41.3., 59.2., 64.1.

71.3. -nawiyar- 'most probably' (cp. 65., 99.1.), frequently with 77.1., e.g. asirurnawiyaqaaq 'there is a great risk that it will break'; with 70. 'most decidedly not', e.g. suraarnawiyannilaq 'it most decidedly never ceases'; with 51.3.: -nawiir- 'never more', e.g. koo. I 89 in 30.7., plus 64.3. -sar- 'work to prevent from', -saar- 'make an effort not to', e.g. koo. I 20 urnikkaluwallarpatit irsinawiirsaarniyallarumaarputit 'when he comes to you, however (72.1.) terrifyingly (77.2.), / you shall (73.2.) greatly (77.2.) try (73.3.) to make an effort not to be afraid'.

71.4. -gunar- 'undoubtedly, look as if' (also with 77.1.), e.g. nunal. 32 inuqannilaq kalaallinillu nunaginiqannisaannarsimagunar-luni 'it (the country) has no people / and by Greenlanders / it undoubtedly has (74.5.) never (70. end) been (56.4.) had as (49.1.) a country (nuna)'.

72. Suffixes indicating subjectively evaluated condition, limitation or the like:

72.1. -Kaluwar- 'otherwise, certainly, it is true (scil.: but ...)', e.g. ko. I 94 (koo. II 3) tamanut qiniraluwarpuq takuSa-qaranilu 'everywhere / he looked around / and (i.e. but) there was (50.1.) not anybody seen (58.1.)'; before and after 70., e.g. uqaraluwannilaq 'not that he otherwise said something, i.e. he did not say a word', uqannikkaluwarpuq 'it is true he said nothing'; more examples in 65., 67.2-3., 71.3. and passim. It is also nominal (-Kaluwaq, before vowel -Kalu(g)-), after verbal stems - after 48.1. and 49.1. 'former, late' - and after nominal stems with 58.1. and 82.1., e.g. koo. II 10 (ko. I 108) aṇayuqqarSuwatik siniliraluwit itarsaqait 'their old parents / who (otherwise) had begun (74.1.) to sleep / they woke them up', nunaqarwiyugaluwit 'formerly inhabited places', aṇutigigaluwa 'the one he otherwise had as a father, i.e. his deceased

father', att. I 14 inwwiSSaraluwatilli inuramikkik 'but the places where (59.2.) they (4.p.) should have been sitting / because they did not reach them', att. II 80 in 31.6. Cp. also att. II 12 in 35.1.

With 75.1. instead of -ar- (85.2.): -Kaluttuwar- 'beware: it appears as if, it looks like' (frequently with 77.1. or 89.1.), e.g. koo. I 25 kaaSSaSSuup tikikkaluttuwalirmatik inuppaSSuwit suurlu ammaSSat qupillartut 'K. / when he was about to (74.1.) appear to come to them / the crowd (pl.) / like / capelin / scattered', koo. II 35 qattaarlignuq ilisimaqaaq, imaannarSuwarmitikkaluttuwaqiniruyaaticut: 'Q., they say, though (-li) / he is very (77.1.) wise (ironical), / he may (69.7.) also (69.5.) apparently let (64.1.) us stay (i.e. perish) [out here] on the big (87.1.) sheer (89.1.) sea (i.e. on the ocean)', koo. I 43 marluk tuquriirsimaSut taawaana pinayussaanic tigusalut-tuwag (verb stem) 'two / having (74.5.) already (74.4.) been killed / already / a (future, 82.1.) third / beware: he takes hold of:'; two more examples in 25.

72.2. +qqayar- 'almost (on the point of), would have (but it did not happen)', e.g. koo. I 12 in 30.4.; with 76.8. e.g. iqqaa-qqayaawara 'I had it on the tip of my tongue' (iqqai- 'remember'); with 74.1. +lir-: 'be on the point of'; with 76.11. +la- or 89.1. -ginnar-: 'constantly be on the point of'. It seems to be related to:

72.3. +qqar- 'narrowly, hardly', e.g. koo. I 24 uppikkarlut-tuwalillarmat kisiyannimi patiqqaruyaa 'when it (the big log) was greatly (77.2.) about to (74.1.) seem to (72.1.) turn over / all the same / he also (69.5.) just (in the last moment) held it in place', itiqqannitsug 'that is not hardly deep, i.e. that is very deep', ko. I 98 in 32., att. I 14 in 41.1.

72.4. +ratar- 'but still, all the same', frequently with 87.2. +npuwar-, e.g. koo. I 62 in 31.4., att. I 46 in 31.2.1., ko. I 98 in 32.; with 77.1. +qi-: 'then at last, finally' (cp. +rataaqi- ko. I 134 in 30.8.); with 89.1. -sinnau-, -sinnaannur-: 'be just to be -ed, at last be ready to'; etc.

72.5. +nuSar- (? cp. 94.2.) 'thank goodness', for goodness sake', e.g. koo. I 27 anirsaluqnuwinuku, nutaatsiyarSuwarmik imirtin-

Sarpaanna 'how nice they are (87.2.), / nice (88.1., 87.1.) fresh / thank goodness, they let (64.1.) me drink water', ibid. tupinūSallariyaanak: 'take for goodness sake care not (69.3.) to get it stick in your throat'.

73. Prospects of Realization:

73.1. +ssa- (indic. intr. mostly with 1. and 2.p. subject always - -uq, -u-; NG +ssu-uq, -u-) indicates imminence, obligation or potentiality (cp. 30.2.); examples in 25., 26., 29.4., 5.2., 9.1., 30.8., 31.3., 33.1., 3., 4., 35.3.-4., 37.3., 42.1., 44.2., 45.2.; koo. II 9 uwaṇa sussawara, uwaṇa piṇṇilara 'I / what (why, how) should I have done to it, / I / did not do it'. Before and after the negation, cp. 70. and att. I 19 kiṇurna taama uṇasittigiSumik aallasaṇṇilasi 'later / so / far / you should not go away'; before and after 72.1., e.g. koo. I 33 piyumuḡuwit uwanṇut isissagaluwarpṇutit 'if you want to / to me / you should come in', piṇṇikkaluwassaqaṇa 'I very much (77.1.) am about to otherwise jump, i.e. now I jump, I'll chance it'.

Important clusters: +ssaar- (51.3.) 'have ceased to, no more be in the habit of', e.g. att. I 47 in 42.1., koo. II 47 in 45.3., - also with +ssa-, e.g. asassaassaṇṇilakkṇit 'I shall never cease loving you'; cp. 71.2. +ssaṇa- (54.5.) 'think that he must, etc.', e.g. koo. I 50 akunnattuussaṇalirallarluḡu 'for the time being (75.6.) beginning (74.1.) to think that he would happen to (67.3.) not come in quite right position for it'; with 65. -nar-: 'presumably'.

73.2. -y/Kuma- (12.2.) 'want to', in the contemporative often 'in order to', e.g. ko. IV 70 in 29.8., koo. I 35 and koo. I 48 in 31.3., koo. I 41 in 33.1., koo. I 31 in 41.3.; with 72.1. 'would like to', e.g. koo. III 4 in 44.2.; with 76.11. +llir-, e.g. piyumuḡallirpaa 'wants it absolutely'.

The cluster -y/Kumaar- indicates future, especially non-immediate future (cp. 30.2.), e.g. koo. II 39 in 29.5.2., att. I 18 in 30.5., ko. I 98 in 32., koo. I 33 in 33.4., att. III 142 in 39.3., koo. I 62 in 40.1., cp. also 50.3., 71.3. With 56.5.: 'hesitate, delay, etc.', e.g. aggirumaarnirtuqaṇq 'it lasts long before he comes'; with

76.6., e.g. J.P. isirumaataarpuq 'takes long time to come in (hesitates outside)'.
(hesitates outside)'.
Alternant in the cluster -y/Kuminar- (cp. 65.) 'is to be wished that, is easily -ed', e.g. aallarwigiyuminaqaaq 'it is fine travelling weather' (aallar- 'go out' with 59.2.); with 64.3. takuyuminarsarpaa 'makes it worthy of seing (taku-)'.

73.3. -niyar- (-ni(r)ar-, cp. 10.1.2.) 'endeavor, intend, etc.' (frequently with very weak force), in the imperative usually 'please', examples in 27.2., 29.5.2., 29.9.2., 30.5., 7., 31.1-2., 4., 32., 34-35., 40.1., 58.1., 59.2., 64.1-2., 67.1., 69.5., 71.3. It may be reduplicated, e.g. att. I 53 kisiyanni inirlaniyarniyaraluwaramik nikinniq ayulirput 'but / although (72.1.) they tried and tried to move / to come loose / they were unable (with 74.1.)', - with different semantic variants koo. I 74 akiniyarniyarniyarit 'please go ahead trying to pay back (aki-), i.e. taking revenge'. Also nominal (with force of intr. part.), especially after 50.5., e.g. mitirniyaq 'who is out hunting eiderducks'.

In several clusters, e.g. J.P. anuniyarSaraa (cp. 76.1.) 'tries to reach (anu-) it', J.P. ilikkarniyarSuwaarpuq (cp. 87.1.) 'does all his best to learn (ilikkar-) it', allarniinnarpuq (cp. 89.1.) 'wants absolutely to leave (aallar-)', ilinniyut (cp. 60.1.) 'means to strive to learn (ilit-), i.e. vehicle of instruction', sukkaniyupput (cp. 66.) 'strive with each other to have full speed (sukka-), i.e. drive a race'; ayunniqqisaapput (cp. 90.2.?, and 66.) 'they rival as to who is to be the better (ayu(r)-nrit-)', but different vocalisme in att. II 81 nuwiriarnirtuniquusaallutillu 'and rivaled about being apt to (56.5.) throw bird darts'.

74. Phases of Realization:

74.1. +lir- 'begin, have started', often with the force of a simple present when the underlying verb would imply past, examples in 29-31., 50.1., 58.2., 70., 72.1-3., 73.1., 3.; koo. I 20 allamillu tigusiniyaliraluwaraanat 'and another (piece) / every time (69.8.) when he would (72.1.) begin to try to (73.3.) take', koo. I 19 narrisilil-laraanata 'every time when they (greatly, 772.) were about starting to

(60.1. towards end) eat'. +lirSaar- 'intend to', examples in 20.2. and, with following +lir-, in 5. - Cp. 50.4.

74.2. To verbs indicating quality, quantity, state, position and the like: +li-, rarely -li- (to some stems in vowel and several in prelingual) - cp. 50.3. -; -si- (to some stems in vowel, i.a. 50.2., to several in uvular and velar, i.a. 47.6., 53.2., 65., and to a couple in prelingual) - cp. 52.1. -; -(V)r- (to stems in a and u, i.a. 48.1., 50.2., cp. 10.2.2.) 'become, get, have got (into the state etc.)', e.g. alliwuq (cp. 10.1.1.) 'becomes greater (aŋi-)', itisiwuq 'has become deeper (iti-)', ayursiwuq 'becomes bad (ayur-)', ayunŋissiwuq 'becomes good, gets better, recovers', J.P. nutaanniliwuq 'becomes as to not be (48.1.) new (nutaaq), i.e. gets older', uummarpuq 'becomes alive (uuma-)', allarpuq 'leaves' (aala- 'move, be in motion'). -ttit- (cp. 64.1.) in J.P. iSSuttippuq 'becomes thick (iSSu-)' (but Kr.L. iSSütitippaa 'lets it get thick'), sukkattippuq (and sukkaliwuq) 'makes more rapid progress' (but Kr.L. sukkatitippaa 'lets it run quickly'), etc.

74.3. -yartur- etc. (12.2.) 'go or come in order to, be on the point of, more and more', e.g. koo. I 10 kigaatsumillu irnirSuwata awannarpariyarturlutik nuna nuwannirsiyarturtillugu 'and little by little / the son / they (4.pl.) moving (47.5.) more and more towards north / the country / [he] thought that (64.1.) it more and more became pleasant', koo. I 44 isiriyarturniyariyassalluni 'being on the point of (73.1.) going ahead (73.3. plus 74.4.) to go on entering (isir-), i.e. just as she was about to go in', ko. I 96 (koo. II 4) ayuliriyartulirpuq 'she began (74.1.) to more and more become (74.1.) feeble (ayur-)'; more examples in 18.3., 30.3., 31.5., 40.1., 41.2-3., 64.1., 65. With -aar- (cp. 85.2.) taarsiyartuwaarpuq 'it gets (74.2.) more and more dark (taar-)', att. II 12 aannariyartuwaannuwersinnararaaq '(as we were roing the place) used to (69.8.) little by little (87.2., 89.1.) gradually become (74.2.) indistinct (aana-)'.

A similar suffix is -giyar-, e.g. J.P. innigiyarpuq 'goes to meat (50.3.) people (inuk)', annagiyarpuq 'goes to be saved (anna-, to where there is not starvation'.

74.4. +riyar- 'be -ing', very frequent and often without appreciable meaning, in the imperative often 'come and, go and', e.g. tiguriyaruk 'go and take it'; examples in 27.1-2., 29.5., 30.4., 31.2.2., 31.4., 32., 33.1., 33.4., 34.1., 35.1. Occurs before and after 74.1. and in many other combinations.

With 51.3.: +riir- 'have finished, already', e.g. koo. I 20 kigutitaariirsimagamiyaasiit 'yes, as usual, he has (74.5.) already got a new (50.6.) tooth.', koo. I 16 atiSaasigut nalunaarSuriiriyaṅ-nuwallariga 'by her clothes / when as best (+riyar- plus 87.2., 77.2.) I had taken close notice of her', koo. I 43. in 72.1.

74.5. -sima- (cp. above 2. and below 6.) indicates completed action or an assumed presumption and occurs, inter alia, before and after 71.2. -Kunnaar-, 73.1., 74.1., e.g. ko. II 68 isiramik aṅutitaqaṅṅitsut takuwait, aṅutitaat piniyariyarsimaSuq 'when they came in / who (i.e. that they) had (50.1.) no (70.) man (aṅut with 80.2.) / they saw them, / their (appertaining, 80.2.) man / who (that he) apparently was out (74.4.) hunting', aqagu tikissimassawaa 'tomorrow / he will (73.1.) have arrived there', aqagu tikissasimawaa 'tomorrow / he apparently will (73.1.) arrive there', koo. I 40 sinilirsimawuq 'he had begun (74.1.) to sleep', att. II 20 qaṅṅiriir-simalirlugit tiriyanniyaq isumaliyutigilirpaa 'being about (74.1.) to have already (74.4.) passed them (the tracks) / the fox / he began to (74.1.) think of it'; more examples in 29.7.2., 35.3.1., 35.4., 37.3., 44.2., 50.3., 66., 67.3., 70., 71.4., 72.1.

The cluster -simaar- implies longer duration, e.g. koo. I 22 piSSassariyartursimaakasiqaaq 'the poor guy (86.) has for some time been out to (74.3.) exercise his strength'.

74.6. +ma-, -uma- 'be in a state of', e.g. naamawaa 'has got the scent of (nai-) it', qaamawuq 'is bright' (qau- 'be day'), aqqaamawuq 'is below the water, is submerged, holds his breath' (aqgar- 'descend, dive'), iqqumawuq 'is awake, lies wide awake' (itir- 'awake'). In several clusters and combinations, e.g. ikummarluppuaq 'burns well', ikummarluppuaq 'burns badly' (cp. 56.6.), ni-amak 'bracketed'.

Op. 54.5. ff.

75. Time limitation:

75.1. -y/Tuwar- 'continue', examples in 30.9., 33.3., 44.2., 51.1. With 89.1.: a) koo. I 11 uṅalliyutittuwaannaramiyuk 'when he just continually had it as the outermost', b) -y/Tuwarsinnar- 'incessantly continue', e.g. koo. I 41 qulaṅirsimaawarsinnaraa 'that he all the time was above him (holding him under him)', c) -(t)tuwinnar- 'constantly, always', e.g. aturtuwinnarpaa 'uses it constantly', naalattuwinnarpuq 'is always obedient'.

75.2. -(m)mirsur- 'for a long time, lengthy', e.g. ko. I 98 (koo. II 6) inirlammirsullarlutik 'going on for quite (77.2.) a long time'.

75.3. +lirtur- 'for or within a short time, quickly', e.g. koo. I 35 qiwyaṅṅilirturlugu qiwiyatsiyariyaramiyuk ... 'for a while not (70.) having looked at him / when he did (74.4.) look at him a moment (88.1.)', tikilirturpusi 'you come quickly'.

75.4. -ummi-, -ummir- (cp. 74.6. and 50.3-4.) 'all at once, at the moment', e.g. tupigiyummirpaa 'got suprised at it at the moment' (tupugī- 'be suprised at'), ko. I 134 in 30.8.

75.5. J.P. -atur- 'suddenly (for a moment)', e.g. issaṅṅu-waturpuq 'gets suddenly (transiently) difficulties in breathing', tupaaturpuq 'is suddenly rosed from his sleep' (tupag- 'start'). Cp. 76.13.

75.6. -Kallar- 'for the time being, a little as yet', e.g. tamaaniilirturallassaṅa 'I am going (73.1.), for the time being, to stay here for a while (75.3.)', koo. III 3 suli qallunaat tamaani nunasisimaṅṅikkallarmata 'yet / Europeans / here / when they not (70.) yet had (74.5.) taken (52.1.) land', 30.6., 33.3., 45.2., 73.1.; in the imperative without final r, e.g. koo. I 30 in 35.2.

75.7. +qqaar- 'first, at first, in the beginning' (also nominal 'who ...'), e.g. att. II 188 nuuk qallunaaqaliqqaarmat 'Godt-haab / when in the beginning there began (74.1.) to be (50.1.) Europeans there', att. I 51 pukuqqaarallarput 'first as yet they pick (berries) for eating'; 37.3., 58.1., 58.2., 67.2.

Related clusters: +qqaanniyuut(ī)- 'rival at', e.g. koo. I 42 ikiliqqaanniyuutiqisigu 'let's see which of us can wound him first'. +qqammir- 'lately, a short time ago' (also nominal), e.g. tikiqqammir-puq 'came a short time ago', tikiqqammiq 'a new comer'; +qqammiir- (51.3.) 'long ago'.

75.8. +rnar- 'for the first time' (also nominal) in pirnar-(luṅa allawwigaara) 'do(ing) for the first time (I wrote to him)', tusarnarpaa 'sees him or it for the first time' and a few other words.

75.9. +qqig- (cp. 56.6.) 'again, furthermore', e.g. koo. I 41 arnarsiyani iqqaqqikkallarluḡu 'his foster mother / as yet (75.6.) thinking at her again', koo. I 59 iṅammik sukasaqqiliruyuḡ 'in particular (still more) / he also (69.5.) began to (74.1.) practice further'.

76. Repetition, propensity and the like:

76.1. -Tar- 'several times (every time), be in the habit of', examples in 18.2., 29.4., 30.5., 8., 31.6., 33.1., 34.2., 37.1., 38.3., 40.1., 4., 42.2., 48.1., 52.2., 60.2., 62., 64.1., 69.5. It may be reduplicated, e.g. takuSartarakku 'because I have seen him regularly', and it occurs in many clusters and combinations, cp. 59.1., 69.8., -Taannar- (89.1.) 'very often, constantly', -Tayaar-, -Takayaar- (cp. below 13.) 'several times'. Varieties: -ttar- 'constantly be', -ttaat- (51.1.) 'be without, never' to stems in ī, e.g. misigittarpuḡ 'is sensitive' (cp. misigi-nnig-tar- idem, with 67.1.), misigittaappuḡ 'is insensitive'; -rSar- in kiwirSarpaa 'ducks it time after time', ayurSarpuḡ 'suffers want', etc.; +rSari- (69.8.) 'continue', e.g. malirSaraa 'continues to follow (malig-) him', J.P. ikiyuunniyarSaraaḡ 'does his best to try (73.3.) to assist'.

76.2. +llu- 'be used to', e.g. koo. II 32 itiriyallunirmit 'for being always up in the morning' (itir- 'be awake' with 74.4.).

76.3. -Kayug- 'be apt to, frequently', -Kayuuḡ 'who etc.', e.g. tillikkayuppuḡ 'is thievish' (tillig- steel'), att. II 15 mannissarwigiqqaarayuppawut 'we frequently first (75.7.) gathered (52.2.) eggs (mannik) on (59.2.) them (the islands)', 31.4., 67.3.

76.4. +kula- 'frequently' (cp. 95.3.), e.g. nirikulawug 'eats frequently', isikulannilaq 'he rarely enters'. +kulaar- 'constantly repeat', e.g. anukulaarpuq 'kills seals frequently', sayukulaarpuq 'trembles all the time'.

76.5. +qattaar- 'several times, one time after the other', frequently after 76.1., e.g. urnittaqattaarpai 'visits them frequently, at intervals', ikaaqattaarut 'means (60.1.) for crossing back and forth, i.e. a ferry', pasillirsaqattaapput 'they directed (54.1.) several accusations (pasi-) against each other (66.)'.

76.6. -taar- 'repeatedly', e.g. koo. I 9 siqinirSuwaq imaannarSuwakkut nuwiliraangat kitturartaarturSuulluni 'the sun / by the ocean / when it was rising / being all the time (57.1., 87.1., 48.1.) repeatedly splintered (i.e. reflected at the icebergs)'; after 64.1. in J.P. qaqurtitaarpuq 'has white (qaqur-) spots here and there', etc. - Cp. clusters with +taar- in 47.1., 73.2., 76.8., 76.12. and (?) 95.2.

76.7. +rar-, +gar- 'repeatedly, one after the other', e.g. tikirarput 'they come pouring', aallagarput 'they went (aallar-) in several parties, one after the other', cp. also iqqarpai 'shoots (igit-) them, one after the other'. With 66. e.g. koo. I 49 pularratilirput 'they (the visitors) began (74.1.) to pour in' (pula- 'move in').

76.8. -a- has similar meaning and occurs with several roots, e.g. aniyapput 'they pour out, come out in crowds (as from a divine service)', qawwiyawuq 'moves up and down' (qawwir- 'let rise'), and in numerous clusters, as final component, cp. 47.2., 47.8., 50.3., and as initial component (difficult to distinguish from -ar- 85.2.), e.g. J.P. -ala- (cp. below 11.) 'in small vibrations', alanniyalawuq 'has changing light reflexe' (alannir- 'be in the shade'), nakkaalawuq (and nakkalawuq) 'falls down (nakkar-) gradually, in particles'; J.P. puyuwalaarpuq (cp. 92.2.) 'emits smoke (puwur-) all the time', koo. I 54 in 31.6.; J.P. -ataar- (76.6.) 'by piecemeal repetition or continuation', e.g. killuwataarpaa 'cuts pieces of it all the time', koo. I 46 aappani siyuwarsiillugu kiqwuarsaataannuwarsinnarpuq 'his (4.p.) companion / by waiting (64.5., 67.2.) having him in front / he (the

kayaker) all the time endeavored (64.3.) to keep behind just (89.1.) a little (87.2.) (with the intention to harpoon him)'.

76.9. -Tur- 'several times, piecemeal, carefully', e.g. siSSurpuq 'breaks, bursts' (sipī-), apirSurpaa 'questions him, hears him in his lesson' (apirī- 'ask'), ko. II 28 in 31.4. In clusters after 50.4.: (+l)irsur- 'supply with several', 66.: (-u)SSur- ' - - piece by piece', etc., medialized (67.1.) --Tuwi-; also before 66., e.g. Kr.L. ukaliq apummut ilaSSuuppuq 'the hare / with (all.) the snow / falls together (can not be distinguished)' (ilagī- 'have as part'). Variety -rSur-, e.g. nuwirSurpuq '(the sun) throws its rays through the clouds' (nuwi- 'appear'). Cp. 52.3.

Other, more or less restricted, varieties are -ur-, -gur-, -yur-, -lur-, e.g. matuurpaa 'covers (matu-) it several times or with several layers', nallurpaa 'breaks (napī-) it into several pieces'; tuniyurarpai (cp. 76.7.) 'spends them gradually'; koo. I 47 sugiSatik tamaasa qaaquyurturlugit (with -Tur-) 'their relations / all of them / bidding (64.2.) them to come (qai-) from several parts, i.e. calling them together'; saniyuraarpuq, saniyuqisaarpuq, saniyuqilaarpuq (cp. below 10.) 'meanders' (saṇu- 'turn to the side'). Cp. also 50.3., 52.1.

76.10. +qi- in J.P. +qila- (cp. below 11.) 'shakingly', e.g. quuqilawuq 'has shaking legs, the knees moving shakingly against each other' (quug-, quut- 'make narrower, etc. '); J.P. -liqisag- 'in waves', e.g. niyuṇaliqisappuq 'is curved (niyuṇa-) several times, in waves'; etc. - mostly denominal: -aqi- (cp. 76.8. and/or 85.2.), e.g. J.P. maliyaqiwuq 'there is a chop of sea (by recess of big waves)' (malik 'wave'), sawiminaaqiwuq 'there is clinking of iron (sawiminīq, cp. 83.4.)'.

76.11. +la- in ammalawuq 'is loosely woven' (amma- 'be open'), nakkalawuq (see 76.8.), etc. and in many clusters, cp. 72.2., above 8. and 10., timmiralawuq (76.7.) (the little bird or the butterfly) flutters about or away' (timmi- 'fly'); +laar- (76.9. -ur-) in illalaarpuq 'roars with laughter (illar-)', etc., +latsi- in nirutulat-siwuq 'goes limply, with too wide (niru-tu-) clothes', etc.; +llir- (50.4.) in uumillirpuq 'becomes displeased, etc.' (uumila- 'is --'),

cp. 73.2.; +llag- (cp. 50.7.?) in anillappuq 'slips down (a stone in the wall), travels out of the fiord, breaks out, escapes' (ani- 'go, come out'), etc. - with 88.1.: 'a short time', e.g. nayullatsiyarpai 'he stayed a short time by them', with 76.6.: 'now and then', e.g. añullattaarpuq 'catches now and then', with 89.2.: 'at last', e.g. anillatuwarpuq 'gets out at last'. Cp. 54.7., 76.12-13.; relation to 92.2. unclear.

76.12. +kar- in pissikarpuq 'leaps (pissig-) up or aside (an object by thrust or blow)', aSSakarpuq 'turns over', aSSakaawuq (76.8.) 'rolls, runs round' (aSSag- 'dig, turn over'), uppikarpuq 'falls (uppit-) gradually, falls more', etc. and in many clusters and combinations, e.g. uniyakalaarparaa (92.2.) 'trails (uniyar-) it gently after him'; silagissikaallappuq (76.13.) 'the weather (sila) will be quite fine (53.2.)'; allukaarpuq (85.2.) 'walks with regular strides' (allur- 'step'); J.P. utirtakayaarpuq (94.7.) 'runs repeatedly (76.1.) back and forth' (utir- 'return'); +kattar- 'time after time'; +kataar- (76.6.) 'incompletely, untidely', e.g. arpakataarpuq 'runs (arpag-) in a clymsy manner', pilakataarparaa 'tears bits off it' (pilag- 'cut in, cut to pieces').

76.13. +ya- 'be apt to', e.g. kinñuyawuq 'capsizes (kinñu-) easily, is cranky', asiruyawuq 'is apt to break (asirur-)', cp. -sa- in nuwisawuq 'projects' (nuwi- 'appear'), etc. With 51.1.: 'be disinclined to', e.g. asiruyaappuq 'is lasting, solid'. With 76.11. +llag-: +(y)allag- 'suddenly', examples in 31.4., 35.1., cp. J.P. aallasallappuq 'finally he got to leaving (aallar-)'. With 50.7. (?): +tsag- 'in great (mental) agitation', e.g. irinitsappuq 'longs (irini-) violently, is impatient'.

+yaar- (85.2.) 'early', e.g. aallayaarpuq 'leaves, has left early' J.P. makiyaalluwuq 'is used to (76.2.) rise (makit-) early'. Relation to 94.7. unclear.

76.14. -rusug-, -Kusug- (cp. 53.6. and below 15.) 'need to, long for -ing, feel inclined to, can not help -ing', e.g. koo. I 35 aniriyarluni silagippallaaqimmat pisuttuwarusuliqaaq 'going out / because it was very (77.3.) fine (53.2.) weather / he very much (77.1.) began (74.1.) to feel inclined to take a walk (pisug- with 75.1.)'.

76.15. -sug- in irnissuppug 'is to give birth, is in travail' (irn(iq +l)i- 'give birth'), kamassuppug 'is half angry (kamag-)', etc.; qiyasunnuwug (54.3.) 'feels inclined to cry (qiya-)'.

With 51.1. and 3. in the less restricted clusters +y/suwit-, +y/suwir- 'never', e.g. koo. I 9 ilitsuraaq aluk qimannuwayuwillugu 'he realized/A. / that (contemporative) he had never left it', kamayuwinaarpara 'I am surprised (63.3.) that he did not get angry'.

Relation to 94.8. unclear.

76.16. -(t)siriyar- 'be willing to, be easy to', -(t)siriit- (51.1.) 'be unwilling to, be difficult to'.

77. Intensity, degree and the like:

77.1. +qī- (indicative +ga-ug, -ar-) 'very much, strongly', very common and frequently without appreciable force; examples in 13. (7-8, 35), 20.2., 29.8., 30.7-8., 31.2.1., 34.3., 35.3.1., 37.3., 71.1., 3-4., 72.1., 4., 73.1., 76.14. It may precede only 65. -nar-, 69.7. -nir-, 70. +nnit- and 89.1. -innar-; cp. 69.4.

77.2. +llar- (cp. 76.11. and 74.2.) 'greatly, at full speed, in a hurry', very much used in lively talk, with a sweeping effect; examples in 18.2., 20-21., 23.2., 25., 29.7.1., 31.-35., 41.1., 44.1., 69.5., 71.3., 72.3., 75.2. It usually follows other suffixes, 74.1., 74.4. and many others, but may also precede some, e.g. 69.8. (cp. 10.1.3.), e.g. kayumillaaraaq 'is generally extremely willing', 56.6.: +llaggig- 'be extremely good at -ing', 87.2., especially in contemporative negative, e.g. takullannuwarnagu aallarpuna 'without as much as having seen him / I went from there' (cp. the inverse order in koo. I 24 in 35.3.1.).

77.3. -Pallaar- 'largely (NG.), too', examples in 20.3., 37.3., 41.6., 44.2-3., 50.1., 76.14.; also nominal, e.g. att. III 143 qaSSutit mikiwallaat ikkappallaallu 'a net (pl.) / that is too small (miki-) / and too shallow (ikkat-)'.

77.4. +ssaar- (+wsaar-) 'in a particularly high degree', mostly after 56.3. -niru- and, with 70., after 50.1. +qar-, e.g. annirusaarpuq 'is the very greatest', silaqassaannilaq 'has no very

great understanding (sila), behaves in a particularly stupid manner'.

77.5. -n/Kasuwar- 'make haste to', examples in 35.1. and 62.

77.6. -nasaar- (contains 51.3. -ir-) 'hesitate to, be slow to'.

77.7. -(r)ataar- indicates speed, boasting manner (Kr.L.) or surprise, e.g. aallarataarpuq 'goes a long stretch at a quick pace', ayurataartuq 'well, that is bad'. Cp. 76.6. and -rag-, -rrag- in amurappaa 'pulls (amu-) it (the boat) half ashore', pirrappuq 'goes smoothly, runs easily' (pi- 'do, etc. '), etc.

77.8. +kkisir- 'with all his might and main', e.g. ulimakkisirpuq 'hews with etc.'. Perhaps related to +kkar-, +kkaar- in napakkarpuq 'falls (nappar-) forward and down from something', uyakkaarpuq 'hurries' (uyag- 'stretch himself'), etc.

77.9. +ruttur- (+rugtur-) 'well, a good deal, much', e.g. koo. I 40 sukaruttursimaliriyallartuq 'who had advanced far (74.4., 77.2.) in having (74.5.) well developed his force', ko. I 92 in 18.1.

77.10. J.P. +kusuur- '(finally) quite', e.g. arpakusuurpuq 'puts on a last spurt' (arpag- 'run'), sapirnakusuurpuq 'is quite difficult (but not impossible - sapirnar-)'. +kutsuur-, +kuttuur- 'greatly', e.g. nirikuttuurpuq 'has a square meal' (niri- 'eat-'), uqalukuttuurami 'he managed to say (uqalug-) a lot' (J.P.: like +ruluur-, 95.2.2.). Cp. 95.3.

77.11. J.P. -arSaar- 'about, but not quite', e.g. utuqqaliyar-Saarpuq 'he has become (50.3.) about old (utuqqaq)'.

77.12. +likaar- 'half way', after 51.1., e.g. pinniilikaarpuq 'is half way ugly (see below 19.)', siyaniilikaarpuq 'is half foolish'. Cp. +lig- in nirilippuq 'swallows something the wrong way' (niri- 'eat'), issulippuq 'trembles, shakes' (issug- 'tremble').

77.13. +qqa- 'half way', e.g. kiwiqqawuq 'is half sunk'.

77.14. +miSaar- 'a little, gently', e.g. tusarniyariSaara-luwarpakkit 'I had (72.1.) rather thought to (73.3.) ask your opinion' (tusar- 'hear'), assuruumiSaaritsi 'put a little strength into it.' (assuruur-). Cp. 94.6. and +mi- in piqimiwuq '(the seal) dives up a little and then goes down at once' (piqit- 'bend'), etc. and:

77.15. -umi- 'a little', e.g. appaamiwuq 'has got a little deeper down' (appar-), koo. I 25 kigaallaaminanilu 'and without slowing off (kigaallag-) the least', qawwiymiSaarpuq 'rises (qawwir-) and subsides regularly (the swell of the sea, etc.)'.

77.16. J.P. +pag- 'partly', e.g. ayurSapappuq 'suffers partly want'. +pallag- (76.11.) 'in the turn of the hand (Bugge), carelessly', e.g. Bugge tigupallariyaruk 'snatch it quickly.' (tigu- 'take').

Similarly +pig-, +pillag-, e.g. ko. I 112 (koo. II 12) irsainnaagut agtupillariyainnarlugu 'just (89.1.) by his cheek / just (89.1.) touching (agtur-; 74.4.) him a bit (with the whip)'. J.P. +pillaa- (76.8.) 'only superficially' (Kr.Lynge), e.g. tusiyapillaanwuq 'walks quickly and a bit limping' (tusiyag- 'limp'). Cp. 95.4-5.

77.17. +lug- 'in small', e.g. 13.23., att. II 20 in 38.1. +luwar- (85.2.) 'almost, a little', with 70. 'hardly', e.g. miqqat qiimawallaaluwatsiyarput 'the children / are (rather, 88.1.) a little too (77.3.) lively'; J.P. naaluwallak (76.11.) 'imagine that it is so short (nait-)'. +luur- (76.9.) 'still a little'. +luuSaar- (94.2.) 'slowly, longer than calculated'. +lussinnar- (89.1.) 'in vain', e.g. qinulussinnarpuq 'begs in vain'. Cp. 53.3. and 95.

77.18. -(l)luwar- 'well, correctly, a good deal', e.g. 13.38., koo. I 18 in 20.4., att. II 113 in 37.3., att. I 18 in 44.2. Cp. 91.1.

77.19. -(n)nir- 'be good to' in tusarnirpuq 'is pleasant to hear', pinnirpuq 'is beautiful' (pi- 'do, etc. '), etc.; with 51.1. in tusarnippuq 'is unpleasant to hear', pinniippuq 'is ugly', etc. -(n)nari- (cp. 49.1.) 'like' in tusarnaraa 'finds him or it pleasant or nice to hear', etc.; -(n)naar- 'enjoy, continue' in tusarnaarpuq 'listens attentively', etc.; cp. 84.4.

Cp. also 54.3-4.

Noun Elaborating Suffixes.

78. To this class belong, in addition to those listed below, several of the suffixes and suffix clusters listed above as verbal or together with their verbal components, cp. 48.2., 50.3., 52.1., 53.2-3., etc. and the references below. Most of the suffixes correspond, formally and/or semantically, to verbal or class free suffixes.

79.1. +lik 'provided with, having' has the meaning and, roughly, the distribution of the intransitive participial of 50.1. +gar-, examples in 20.2., 39.4., 50.6.; att. II 82 tamakkulinnukartar-lutik 'usually (76.1.) going to (47.2.) places having those (tamakku pl.)', koo. I 57 ullut arlallit 'days / having others, i.e. several days'. - Cp. 51.1. -ilaq.

79.2. +kkaa 'with big, large', e.g. kigutikkaaq 'with big teeth', siggukkaaq '(bird) with a large beak'. - Cp. 50.2. -tu-uq.

80.1. -ut(i-) 'possessed', e.g. niqiyutaa (niqaataa) 'the meat he has as a store', cp. niqaa 'the meat of it (the seal, etc.)'; nunaataa 'his plot of ground', cp. nunaa 'his home, his dwelling, his native country'; qaarusuutaa 'his cave (where he lives)', cp. qaarusuwa 'the cave there'; sawaatai 'his sheep (sawa)' (cp. att. I 5 in 22.2.); - but, without this suffix, qimmii 'his dogs'.

80.2. -taq 'appertaining', e.g. niqitaa 'its (the fish hook's) appertaining meat, i.e. the bait on it'; ko. II 68 anutitaat in 74.5., cp. anutaat 'their father'; koo. I 24 anuritagaranilu nuwiya-taqannitsuq 'there being (50.1.) no wind (anuri) and / there being no clouds (nuwiya)', att. II 11 isurlirsannuwawut 'the (little, 87.2.) outermost (farthest to the end, 82.1.) of us'; more examples in 31.9., 32., 39.1. After 56. - niq usually alternant -Saq, e.g. koo. I 18 in 20.4., att. I 51 in 31.5. - Cp. 60.3. and 61.

80.3. -paaq 'the very', mostly after 56. and 81.1., e.g. minnirpaaq 'the very smallest', isurlirpaaq 'the very outermost'; kamippaaq, kamippak 'pull-over boot (kamik)' (verbal in sinippaarpuq 'has passed away, is dead', Fabricius sinikpakpuq 'has his sleep (sinik-) out', cp. 87.2.). Perhaps related to 83.2.

81. Mainly or exclusively to location words and the like:

81.1. -(l)liq (-(k)liq), -(r)liq 'the -most', without person suffix (cp. 80.2.), e.g. siyulliq 'the first, former', siyurliq 'front part (of a vessel), foremost rower, foremast'; awalliq 'outermost' (awati- 'outer side, surrounding, limb'); anayulliq 'the oldest' (anayuyq 'older sibling of same sex'), surliq 'which one?' (su- 'what'), uwanirliq 'the one farthest over there (uwani locative)'. Cluster, also with person suffix, in siyulliq 'foreleg' (cp. att. I 54 in 20.4.), kiqulliq 'hind leg'.

81.2. -liq 'the next to the -', with person suffix, e.g. siyuliya 'his predecessor', koo. I 24 taqqama illup ilulii 'in there / of the house / those within it', nunap awalii 'of the country / that (pl.) which lies outside it', koo. I 55 ukiiwiit awannarlitik 'the wintering places / situated to the north of them (4.p.)' (after consonant, as in the last example, like 81.1.). Some clusters: saniliyaa 'his (her) wife (husband)' (sani- 'side'), etc.: kiquliyaqut (60.3.) 'family name, surname'. awaliraq 'fin (of a flat fish)', mikilirag 'ring finger' (miki- 'be small' - thus: 'the next to the small one'), cp.:

81.3. -raq in siyuraq 'front', kiquraq 'behind, hinder part' (kiqurarpa 'comes behind him or it, etc.') and a few others (-qaq in sagqaq 'front, sunny side', cp. saa- 'front', all. sammut; qaqqaq 'mountain', cp. qaa- 'surface', all. qammut 'upwards').

81.4. +niq in siyuniq 'front, the space in front', siyurna 'the space in front of him, etc.; the time before him or it', opposite kiquniq, kiqurna; after 81.2. in alliniq, allirna 'the under or lower side of it, etc.', opposite qalliniq, qallirna; irregular akunniq, akurnat 'interval, among them' (aku- 'mouth (of river), etc.').

81.5. -nisaq, -rnisaq seems to be a cluster of locative and 80.2. and combines with temporal and local stems and forms, e.g. qaqanisaq 'obsolete, old fashioned', siyurnanisaq (or -lisaq) 'something from last year', taawaqarnisaq 'one from there in the north (abl.)'.

82.1. +SSaq (+kSaq) 'future, destined for' corresponds to 73.1. +ssa- and is used very consistently, cp. att. I 18 aqqutiSSaanit nigurniyarta 'out of his way (where he is to come) / let's get out' and aqqutiga ayursimawuq 'my ways (sg.) / have been evil'; more examples in 30.10., 33-35., 37-40., 50.1., 52.1., 56-60., 64.1., 67.2., 72.1. With prosecutive in koo. I 37 ullaakkuSSaq isumalluwa-atigiqaa 'the next morning / he felt very confident about it'. It occurs before as well as after 79.1. +lik, and in clusters with 50.3., e.g. J.P. utuqqaSSiwuq 'behaves like an old one (utuqqaq)', suliyas-Sippaa 'sets him to do some work (su-li-aq)'.

With 48.1. also to some verb stems, e.g. takuSSaawuq 'is visible, to be seen (taku-)'. The cluster +SSamaar- 'intend, resolve, will undoubtedly' seems to be deverbal only, e.g. tamaani uninqaSSamaar-puna 'here / I intend to settle down', but the further cluster +SSamaat (60.1.) 'in readiness' is also denominal, e.g. niriSaSSamaat 'store of food (niri-Saq 58.1.)'.

82.2. +ku(q) 'a former, discarded'. e.g. palasikuq 'a former clergyman', illuku 'a deserted house, a ruin', qayakuwa 'his discarded kayak', 13.17. With preceding 56. - nīq (cp. 10.1.2.) 'remainder, refuse', e.g. qapiyarnikut, qapirrakut 'shavings' (qapi(r)ar- 'scrape'), katannikut, kattakut 'shed hairs or horns' (katag- 'have or be lost, shed'). Cluster +kuur- 'take away the remainder' with 59.2., e.g. nuwakuurwik 'spitton' (nuwak 'saliva'). Cp. 95.3.

82.3. -tugaq 'old, who / which for long' (cp. 52.3.), e.g. illutugaq 'an old house', iluliSSani-ittutugaq 'someone or something who/which has been in Jacobshavn for a very long time'. - Cp. 52.2. -taaq.

83.1. +kkut pl. (cp. 36.1.) '- and companion(s)', e.g. pala-sikkut 'the clergyman and his family or rowers', NG ataatakullu anaanakullu 'father and mother', ko. I 94 in 44.3.

83.2. -(r)pag- 'lot, lots of', usually with a class free suffix (87.1., 2., 94.5., 95.2.1.) and in the plural, e.g. inuppaat 'a lot of people, town', koo. I 56 qayarpaallutik 'there being (48.1.) a large party of kayakmen', ūm.il. 11 inuwit tuusintilippaSSuwit

'thousands of people', att. II 79 ukiyut untritilippaaluwit 'some hundred years', ukurpaSSuwit 'all these (uku pl.)'; more examples in 13.(15), 20.2., 22.5.2., 31.4., 33.4.

83.3. -(g)iyak 'collection of' is rare (and partly also verbal), e.g. inuwiyak 'crowd, people (nation)' ('is filled with human beings'), aawiyak '(is full of) clotted blood (aak)'.

83.4. +miniq 'a piece, a bit, a kind', examples in 20.2., 35.1., 40.1. With 88.1. e.g. nanuraminaatsiyaq 'a nice little piece of young (84.5.) bear (nanuq) meat'.

84.1. +SSaaq 'great, splendid, glorious' mostly with 87.1., e.g. nunaSSaaq 'a splendid country', iluSSaarSuwaq 'castle, palace', arnaSSaarSuwaq 'a strong woman, an old woman'. To allative imuᅇa and with 88.1.: J.P. imuᅇaSSaatsiyarSuwaq 'for a very long time' = imuᅇa-raallak.

84.2. +raallak occurs only after demonstrative allative and locative, e.g. pawuᅇaraallak 'high upwards', pawaniraallak 'high up'.

84.3. +kkataar- with 87.1.: 'well developed', with 87.2.: 'medium-sized, slender, neat', e.g. iqalukkataarSuwaq 'a pretty big salmon', inukkataaᅇuwaq 'a neat little person'. - Cp. also J.P. (timmiyaq) alla-kayaaq (94.7.) 'a peculiarly different (alla) or strange (bird)', itsakkayaaq 'which belongs to olden times (itsaq), old-fashioned'.

84.4. +nnaaq 'favorite, best', e.g. asaSannaara 'my sweat-heart' (asa-Saq 'beloved'), tammaarwinnaaminnut tamarput 'at their favorite camping place (59.2.) / they have camped', ikinᅇutinnaaq 'best friend, bosom friend' - cp. ikinᅇutinnirpuq 'shows friendship' (77.19.?).

84.5. +araq, +Vraq (12.3.) 'small', with 87.2.: 'tiny', e.g. qimmiyaraq 'puppy' (qimmiq 'dog'), sikaawaraq 'cheroot' (sikaaq 'cigar'), ukuniᅇaaraᅇuwaq allawwigaakkitt 'these (pl.instr.) little bits (these few words) / I write to you'. Seems to be a reduplication

of -aq, cp. naayaaq 'young of seagull', natturalaaq 'young of eagle (natturalik)', nanuraaq 'bear cub', etc. and 85.2.

Class Free Suffixes.

85.1. Class free suffixes all indicate degree or similarity and/or emotional attitude and combine both with verbal and with nominal stems and/or forms, many of them (cp. 86-92., 95.) also with interjections or other particles. Several of them (at least 87.1., 89.1., 90.2., 91.2., 93., 95.3.2., cp. 84.2.) may follow local case forms of demonstrative roots (36.2.), and several (at least 86-87., 88.2., 89.1., 90.2., 91.2., some of 95.) may combine with demonstrative and/or personal pronouns so that both the pronoun and the derivation suffix have inflective suffixes for number, dependence and (except 89.1.) local case, e.g. taanna-rSuwaq 'this big (87.1.) one', rel. taaSSuma-rSu-up, pl. taakku-rSuw-it, pl. instr. taakkuniŋa-rSuwar-nik; uwagu(t)-inna-it 'only (89.1.) we/us', all. uwattinnu(t)-innaq. One of them (86.) may even combine with the person suffix of a verb form.

These suffixes, in general, combine very freely with other derivation suffixes, and to a large extent they also combine mutually, in more or less fixed order. This yields a basis of classification but what is offered below must be taken with all possible reservations.

85.2. Most of the more common class free suffixes are clusters but in many cases their components belong to other classes (e.g. +lug- in 94.5. and 95., cp. 77.17. and 53.3.) or are otherwise restricted. The most common of the latter is -aq, -ar- which occurs in a very large number of suffix clusters of all major classes (cp. above passim) with more or less appreciable diminutive, continuative or frequentative force, partly alternating with zero (cp. 75.1., 91.1., 87.), but alone only in a relatively small number of cases, nominal as in 84.5. and iwigaq (pl. -kkat) 'grass, fine grass' (iwik 'grass straw', pl. iwwit 'grass'), unnuwaq (pl. unuSSat or unnuwat) 'night' (unnuk 'evening'), etc., verbal in isuwarpuq 'is a little dim, obscure (isur-)', qalaarpuq 'is on the point of boiling (qalag-)', nusuwarpaa 'pulls (nusug-) it towards him with small jerks, tows it', tiguwarpaa 'conquers it' (tigu- 'take'), etc. Cp. 94.4-5.

86. +kasik (+kasak, +kassak, +kattaq), which usually comes last in combinations with other class free suffixes, indicates disparagement or the like, the degree and the specific character varying according to the context and situation from angry indignation to sympathy and affection (as when talking about one's own things) - or about to zero. E.g. pissanḡilarakasik 'I won't have it, trash as it is', koo. I 19 maSSakkulli nunakasiga qimakkumaarpara 'but now / my poor country / I will leave it (I am tired of staying just here)', koo. I 27 hii, aatsaakasik, qaarpuq 'oh, / now, the poor one, / she burst', irnikasiga 'my little bit of a son'; more examples in 20.4., 23.2., 27.1., 29.5.2., 29.8.2., 31.2.2., 33.4., 34.2., 35., 37.3., 41.1., 74.5.

87. The following, as well as 86., may, as the middle term, make possible the transitive use of the combination of 57.1. and 48.1., e.g. qunuyuwigi-Su-ḡu-u-waatit 'the little one is smiling (qunuyug-) softly to (59.2.) you'. Before 48.1. and before vowel initial inflective suffixes the component -ar- is subtracted. Both are more frequent in nominal than in verbal forms.

87.1. -(r)Su(g)-aq indicates large size etc. and/or expresses surprise, delight or annoyance, e.g. koo. I 24 uumarSuup mayuussimawaa, taannarSuwaq nirinnarpallaaqaaq 'the large one over there / he must have (74.5.) taken it up / he, the large one / he is extremely (77.3.1.) stocky', ko. III 14 tasamanirSuwaq qamawlutik allarturSuugaa .. 'far out there / they being seal hunting / there being very clear sky'; more examples in 13. (22, 27, 36), 18., 20., 23., 29., 34.1., 38-39., 41., 44., 62., 72.1., 76.6. - -(r)Sug- in some few verbs, e.g. pirSuppaa 'treats him with violence, abuses him, beats him' (pi- 'do, etc. '), qiyarSuppuq 'cries (qiya-) violently'.

87.2. +ḡu(g)ar-, the opposite of 1., indicates small size etc. and/or expresses tenderness or the like, also flatteringly (about the addressee's things, opposite 86.) or ironically; it may follow 1. E.g. ko. I 128 (koo. II 17) (waiting for his huge adversary to come and seeing large, but not dangerous looking, men coming in, he asks his friend:) taSSarSuwakasik? 'is it the poor (86.) big (87.1.) one there? - naagga, irnigSaḡuwauna 'no, that's his little stepson'. -

(seing the real one coming:) taSSarSuwaq? 'is it the big one there? ...'; att. I 23 siSSap quliṅṅuwaniipuaq illuṅṅuwaq 'of the beach / a little up from it there was / a little house'; koo. I 39 tinur-Suwaliriyannuwallartuq 'he who (when he) at his very (77.2.) best was on the way (74.4.) swelling (making effort) greatly (87.1.)'; koo. I 13 iiq, aṅutiṅṅuwaq taSSa: 'oh, my: / a little man / voilà, i.e. that was quite a man:.'; qiturnarSuwaṅṅuwarput 'our dear, bad child'; more examples passim. With 80.3. -pag-, e.g. ko. IV 122 inuṅṅuwar-pakkipput 'they also (69.5.) continued to live well and comfortably' (end of story); with +ra-- (cp. 95.1.) and 94.4. koo. I 58 anirsaluṅ-nuwaraarSuṅ-una 'poor little nice one, that one' (anirsa 'splendid:').

88.1. +tsiyaaq (before rel. and pl. +tsiya(g)-, before local case in m, n +tsiyaa-) - after 57.1. and some other stems and suffixes (50.2., 56., 79.1., etc.) with preceding -a(r)- (85.2.) - 'rather, a little, a moment', e.g. utuqqatsiyaaq 'rather old', aṅisuwatsiyaaq 'a rather large', illutsiyaat 'medium-sized houses', anitsiyarpuq 'he goes outside a little'; more examples in 20.4., 29.5.2., 30.9., 57.1., 72.5., 75.3., 76.11., 77.17. It may follow 87.1., e.g. qiqirtarSuwat-siyaaq 'a rather big island', and, in verbs, 87.2.: 'presumably, so fairly, etc.', e.g. uqarwiginṅuwatsiyarpara 'I rather hinted it to him', but it may also precede them, e.g. ko. III 78 kakkaatsiyarSuwaq ilaiwna 'oh, certainly big / indeed that one', ko. I 96 in 38.1., koo. I 18 in 64.5.

88.2. +tsiyalak (J.P.; Dict. -laq) 'neat, pretty', e.g. niwiyarsiyatsiyalak 'pretty girl', unatsiyalak 'that neat one'.

89.1. +innaq, +ginnaq (mostly after vowel clusters), -sinnaq (after uvular), in the imperative without final -r-, 'only (always or without further ceremony)' combines with all kinds of stems and occurs - at least - before 86., 87.1., before and after 87.2. (cp. 74.3., 76.8.) and 90.1., and may be doubled (e.g. koo. I 42). E.g. koo. I 21 kaṅimuwinnarSuwaq suwaartuwatsiyannurpuq 'just (greatly) towards east (landwards) / he started to call out quite a bit (i.e. as strongly as he could, 88.1.)', aatsaaginnaq 'just now'; more examples in 20.4., 25., 27-33., 35.1., 37-39., 44.2., 45., 51.1., 59.1., 69.6., 72.1-2., 75.1., 76.1., 77.16.

Nominalizing cluster: -ginnaaq, -sinnaaq 'ready to', e.g. irniginnaaq 'ready to give birth'; further clusters with 48.1. -u-: 'can, be able to', examples in 20.8., 29.6. and 9.2., 30.5., 37.2., 44., 64.1., 72.4., and +ḡḡur-: 'can now, have become able to'.

89.2. +tuwaq 'only (exclusively), single, alone' likewise occurs before 87.1. and before and after 87.2. but seems to combine with ordinary verbal and nominal stems only; examples in 34.2., 37.3., 76.11.

90. The following combine with ordinary stems, quasi-nouns and particles, 2. also with pronouns and local case forms.

90.1. +wik 'proper, real(ly), true, certainly', e.g. atiwik 'proper, real name', kisiwimmi 'he quite alone', att. I 24 aḡuliwimma-tik 'when it really was about to (74.1.) reach them (4.p.)' (closer than ibid. aḡuliqimmatik with 77.1.); more examples in 13. (19), 44.2. - Cluster +wissur- 'particularly', e.g. koo. III 4 in 44.2. Rare alternant -Pik in imarpiq (or imawik) 'the real sea (imaq), the ocean', talirpiq 'right arm or foreleg (taliq)', cp.:

90.2. -rpiyaq (-rpi(g)-, -rpiya(g)-), verbal -(r)piyar- 'just, proper, really, particularly', e.g. nunarpiya 'his proper home', uwaḡarpiyaq 'just me', ayurpiyaḡḡilaq 'is not particularly bad; i.e. is quite good', 13.19.

91. The following combine with verbal stems, particles, quasi-nouns, 2. also with pronouns and local case forms, but not with other nouns.

91.1. -(l)luwinnar- (77.18. plus 89.1.), -(r)luwinnaq 'entirely, completely, quite', e.g. ayunḡilluwinnaḡḡuq 'it is quite not bad, i.e. quite splendid', ayurluwinnaḡḡilaq 'it is not half bad, it will do', kisirluwinnaḡḡa 'we quite alone'.

91.2. +ḡḡissaar- (56.6. plus 64.3.), NG +ḡḡinnaar- 'exactly, without exception; carefully, diligently', e.g. taḡḡaniḡḡissaaq 'exactly there', misiliḡḡissaarḡḡaa 'tries it carefully'. In non-verbal

forms the first component may be tripled (cp. 95.1-2.), e.g. tamaqqi-qiqqissaasa tiguwakka 'I took them all (tamar-) without exception'.

92. Mainly deverbal but also with particles (and before 88.1.):

92.1. +naar- 'very, greatly, strongly', e.g. asaṇaarpaa 'loves him dearly', asaSiṇaara 'he who (58.1.) likes me so much', koo. I 33 illit aallarusunṇiṇaarawit? 'you / do you definitely not feel inclined (76.14.) to go out?', takiṇaannilaq 'is not particularly long'; more examples in 33.4., 35., 39.3. - Cp. 54.5. (?) and 93.1.

92.2. +laar- 'a little', e.g. koo. I 28 siSSaq qimalaar-taliriyanṇuwallaraa 'the shore / when he at best (87.2., 77.2.) was beginning (74.1., 4.) to [be as experienced in kayaking as to, cp. 76.1.,] leave it a little', upirnalaaq 'early spring'; 37.3. end; 76.8. Cp. 76.11. or +lak in 88.2., 95. and nirilappuq 'has gorged himself' (niri- 'eat').

93. With verbal and nominal (2. mostly location words) stems and local case forms:

93.1. +ṇayak 'almost', e.g. att. II 12 nunap isunayaani 'of the country / almost at its end', ūm.il. 7 pilattuutitunayak iSikku-qarput 'almost like (equative) a saw / they look', att. III 143 siniṇṇiṇayappuq 'he almost did not sleep'; occurs before 90.1., 91.1., 92.1. (e.g. koo. I 19 in 35.1.). Verbal cluster with 82.1. and 48.1., e.g. J.P. kiṇṇunayaSSaawuq 'may capsize any time, is on the point of capsizing all the time'.

93.2. +kanniq 'nearly, almost', e.g. sanimukanniq 'slightly to the side', naammakannirput 'there is very nearly enough of them'; occurs before 88.1.

94. The following seem to combine with ordinary stems only.

94.1. +wwaarik 'really, uncommonly, extremely', e.g. asaSa-wwaariga 'my hearts beloved (asa-Saq 58.1.)', pinniwwaarippuq 'is extremely beautiful (77.19.)' - also nominal pinniwwaarik (so in several

cases) -, koo. I 22 inuqaqqunniwwaarillugu 'by all his heart not (70.) wishing (64.2.) it (the place) to have (50.1.) people'. Cp. 77.3. and 56.6., 53.2.

94.2. -uSar- (-ruSar-) 'which resembles, approximately', e.g. inuuSaq 'doll' (inuk 'human being'), iSSuuSaq 'potato' (iSSuk 'testicle'), aputaarutiyuSarpuq 'the snow (aput) is almost entirely gone (51.3.)', koo. I 28 qayarturuSarniyartuq 'trying (73.3.) to approximately paddle, i.e. practicing paddling'; 77.17. - Mostly verbal (but also denominal) cluster: -uSaar-, -ruSaar- 'make as if, play at'.

94.3. -rusir- 'not really', uncommon, e.g. ayuqirusiq 'under-catechist', uqarusirpuq 'says something in jest'. -uqqusir- 'be false', e.g. pruwitituyuqqusirsuq 'who is a false prophet'.

94.4. -arSuk, verbal also +yarSug- (cp. 87.1.) 'incomplete, indistinct(ly), inconsiderably', e.g. tupaarSuk 'rag tent (tupiq), incomplete, primitive, toy tent', piyarSunquwit (87.2.) 'trifles', tusayarSuppuq 'hears it indistinctly'; 87.2.

94.5. -aluk 'rather, not much', also before 87.1-2.; e.g. piyaluwit, piyalunquwit 'trifles', maliyaluppuq 'there is rather a rough sea'; 83.2.

94.6. +Saaq 'rather', e.g. att. III 142 utuqqaSaaq 'elderly' - also with following 87.1-2., piqaSaarpuq 'there are (50.1.) rather many'; 50.4., 77.14.

94.7. +yag- is rare and predominantly deverbal, e.g. aappaluyappuq 'is pink' (aappalug- 'be reddish, red'), aappalayappuq 'is reddish' (cp. aappalaar- 'be blood red'); cp. 93.1. Likewise +yaar-, -ayaar-, e.g. aappaluyaarpuq 'has a reddish tinge', J.P. pur-tuyaaq 'somewhat, pretty tall', J.P. pukkitsuwayaaq 'moderately low'; 76.12.

94.8. -yuk, -sug- is rare but occurs in several clusters; e.g. marlussuwit 'only a few' (marluk 'two'); J.P. qiqirtasuSSuk (cp. 87.1.) 'medium-sized island (situated besides a large one)'; J.P.

qaqqayunnaq 'medium-sized hillock' (qaqqaq 'mountain'); J.P. uniyusunarpaa 'missed (uniyur-) it just by a little'. Cp. 76.3.

95. All the following clusters with +lag- (+laar-), +yaar-, +lug-, +yug- as the second component have a more or less emotional character (like 86-87.), and two of them (1., 2.1.) may be tripled. Most of them may be followed by 87.1. and/or 87.2., and by other class free suffixes, and some (1., 2.1., 3.1., 5.) combine also with particles and demonstrative pronouns.

95.1. +ralak, nominal also +ralaaq 'poor, small, a little, gently', e.g. inirlaralappuq 'moves gently forward', mikiSuralaralaralaanḡuwaq 'a tiny, tiny -' (miki-Suq 'small').

95.2. Clusters with +ru-- (possibly +ruq in papiruq 'fish tail' - papik 'bird's tail', etc.; ? cp. 95.3.):

95.2.1. +ruyuk, verbal also +ruyuur- 'poor, humble, inconsiderable', e.g. illuruyuk 'a himble cottage', qaammaruyuppuq, -ruyuurpuq 'there is a faint light'. With 87.2., e.g. umiyatsiyaruyunḡuwara 'my poor, dear little boat.', 66. With 87.1.; 'huge, immense; tremendously, quite terribly', e.g. iqaluSSuwaruyuruyuruyūSSuwaq 'a huge monster of a shark (iqaluSSuwaq)', naaggaliruyūSSuwaq 'no and no once more.' (naagali 'to be sure, no.'), 50.3., 57.1. Other clusters in, e.g., J.P. illuruyutak 'a half way bad (or large) house', nirisuyutaarpuq 'eats pretty well'.

95.2.2. +ruluk 'unusually', e.g. mikiSuruluk 'unusually small', tiguruluppaa 'handles him roughly' (tigu- 'take'). Verbal also (J.P.) +ruluur-, +rullir- and with -taar-.

95.2.3. +ruuSaq (94.1.) 'mean, inconsiderable; rather, moderately', e.g. piniyarturuuSaq 'a poor hunter', sanaruuSarpuq 'bungles his work. Verbal: -ruuSaar- 'slowly, hesitatingly'.

95.3. Clusters with +ku-- (cp. 82.2.):

95.3.1. +kujak (cp. 4.1.), +kulak, +kullak 'clumsy, ugly, in a clumsy manner', e.g. J.P. arnakujak 'large-limbed, biggish woman', isikullappuq 'he entered in a clumsy manner'.

95.3.2. +kuyuk, +kuyuug 'rather' (J.P. also like 95.2.1.), e.g. aappalukuyuppuq 'is dark red', att. II 20 qalipaataayakuyuwis-simaSuq '(the boat) which had (74.5.) lost (51.3.) almost all (90.1.) its paint'. Cp. 77.10.

95.3.3. +kuluk 'poor, mean; rather', e.g. anikuluppuq 'is rather large (could well have been smaller)'. Before 87.2. with caressing sense, e.g. miirakulunnuwaq 'the sweet little thing' (miiraq 'child'), after it alternant +kkuluk with pitying tone, e.g. inunnuwak-kuluk 'poor chap' (verbal also with 77.1.).

95.4. Clusters with +pag- (77.16.):

95.4.1. +palaag 'bad, inefficient, miserable', e.g. illupalaa 'a tumble-down house', koo. I 43 tigugamiyuk suurlu nunamut ilissaᅇᅇikkaa, ilipalaaginnarpaa 'having taken him / like / to the ground / not going to (73.1.) put him / he only (89.1.) miserably put him (i.e. quite against his will - at his foster father's order - let him go without killing him)'.
95.4.2. +payaar- and 95.4.3. +payug-, +payuur-, +passug-, +passig- 'about, somewhat', e.g. J.P. nawiipassuppa 'castigates him (e.g. a child) somewhat (not quite earnestly and without insisting)' (Kr.L.).

95.4.4. NG +paluk 'dear, nice'.

95.5. +piluk (cp. 77.16.) 'bad(ly), wicked(ly), abominable', +piluur- 'violently, brutally', - about the strongest depreciatory term of the language (Kleinschmidt) -, e.g. inupiluk 'a bad, wicked person, a brute', uqalupiluppuq 'indulges in abusive terms' (uqalug- 'speak'), inuulluwapiluppuq 'leads a wicked, luxurious (cp. 77.18.) life'; tigupiluurpaa 'takes brutally hold of him'. It may be attenuated by 87.2., e.g. illupilunnuwara 'my poor little cottage', and followed by 95.2.1. plus 87.1. it does not seem to necessarily imply depreciation, e.g. att. II 112 appaliyarSuppapiluruyusSuwit 'enormous masses (cp. 83.2.) of little auks' (emotionally quite neutral context).

GRAMMAR IV: ROOTS

96.1. The number of roots is relatively small but difficult to determine exactly. W. Thalbitzer (Actes du IVme Congrès International de Linguistes, Copenhagen 1936, p. 256) reckons "that the number of independent initial bases (stems) of the Greenland language amounts to about 1000 (or 1100)" but here 'base' must have been taken in a historical sense. Kleinschmidt, in his dictionary, arranged the then known lexical material under a little less than 1400 roots (word families) but, at least from a synchronic point of view, many of his identifications were rather violent, as when he found the root "qak-" [better "qat-"], qaa- 'surface' (cp. 101.1.) in qallu (old qawlu, by Kl. qagdlo) 'eyebrow', qalu- 'bale, scope', qagi- 'ascend' etc. - without otherwise accounting for the suffixes thereby postulated. The analysis necessarily remains somewhat arbitrary (cp. 46.2.) but a rough inspection of the more recent lexical sources, containing more than 12.000 word articles, seems to indicate that the number of synchronically determinable roots - recent loanwords not included (cp. 106.) - may run about 1800, i.e. not more than ten times as many as the derivational morphemes.

96.2. Most - if not all - roots may combine with one or more derivation suffixes and some roots (perhaps some 50-100) occur only with derivation suffixes. Thus, theoretically, the classification in terms of derivation would be the only exhaustive one but in practice it would be exceedingly laborious.

It may here suffice to give a couple of examples for the more common derivation paradigmes of bound roots: 49.1., 65., 76.15., often also 64.3., e.g. aliya-gaa 'mourns him', aliya-narpuq 'is a pity, is sad', aliya-suppuq 'mourns, is sad', aliya-saarpaa 'makes him sad'; 50.2., 51.2. (and various others), e.g. siwi-suwuq 'is of long duration', siwi-kippuq 'is of short duration'. The former series of suffixes is predominantly deverbial, the latter denominal, and most bound roots may thus, indirectly, be made accessible to the simpler classification in terms of inflective categories.

96.3. This simpler classification roughly yields the following major classes:

I. Roots combinable with all kinds of inflective suffixes:

1. Roots combinable with both verbal (22.-35.) and nominal (36.-42.) suffixes: ambivalent roots (perhaps some 100-200 in number).
2. Roots combinable only with suffixes of either one of the major classes:
 - a) Verbal roots (perhaps about 700).
 - b) Nominal roots (perhaps about 600).

II. Roots combinable only with enclitic (and derivation) suffixes: particles (probably more than 100).

The great majority of the loanwords (not included in the figures) are nominal.

97. The ambivalent roots may, like the verbal and nominal ones, be further classified in terms of inflective suffixes.

97.1. On the one hand some (perhaps about half of them) combine with all verbal suffixes, i.e. may be used both transitively and intransitively (reflexively), while others are intransitive only (cp. 98.).

Many - if not most - of the former indicate 'provide (cover, etc.) with' or 'treat with' what is indicated nominally by the root, e.g. qagu 'gore (in garment)' - qaguwaa 'puts a gore into it, etc.', isiq 'steam, smoke' - isirpaa 'dims it (the house) with smoke', isirpuq 'it steams, smokes', matu 'door, lid, cover' - matuwaa 'closes it (the door), locks it, covers it', pana 'long knife, sword' - panawaa (or panarpaa) 'strikes him with a sword'. Other semantic relations may be illustrated by awaag 'back of head' - awaarpaa 'hits him hard at the back of the head, etc.', ikusik 'elbow' - ikusippaa 'ties up its fore-leg', imiq '(fresh) water' - imirpaa 'drinks it', imirpuq 'drinks'.

Most of the intransitive ambivalent roots seem to indicate 'be, have' or 'become, produce' what is indicated nominally by the root, e.g. masak 'moisture' - masappuq 'is wet', usi 'load' - usiwuq 'is loaded with something (instrumental)', isuma 'mind, thought, meaning,

sense, judgement, will' - isumawuq 'is of opinion, thinks, intends', aak 'blood' - aappuq 'becomes fluid, melts, thaws, bleeds at the nose', sallu 'lie' - salluwuq 'tells a falsehood', tuqu 'death' - tuquwuq 'dies'. A different example is arSaq 'ball' - arSarpuq 'plays ball'.

97.2. On the other hand some ambivalent roots (probably the great majority) combine with all nominal suffixes, while others are restricted, e.g. pluralia tantum like anu-t 'harness, dog's traces' - anuwaa 'harnesses it', singularia tantum (cp. 101.) like nuwak 'saliva, cold (in his head)' - nuwappaa 'moistens it with saliva', nuwappuq 'has a cold (in his head)'.

Some few seem to combine only with one local case, e.g. with allative: anirlarpuq 'goes home, travels back' - anirlamut 'homewards', utirpuq 'turns back', utirpaa 'repeats it, etc.' - utimut 'on the way back'; with instrumental: inappuq 'goes too far' - inammik 'in particular', pisuppuq 'walks', pisuppaa 'walks there or that distance' - att. II 49 pisummik aallarmat 'by foot / when she went'.

97.3. Two ambivalent roots deserve special mentioning: pi-wuq 'does, gets, happens, comes', pi-waa 'does something to him or it, gets it, means it' - pi-a 'his, his property, his concern' etc., nunap pii 'what belongs to the earth', piit naliqinnaat 'everything possible' (cp. 102.2.).

su-wa? 'what does he do?' (indicative suwuq = sunnitsuunnilaq 'does something', J.P.), suwiyuk? 'what did you do to him?' - su-na 'what, which; something, anything', rel. suup, pl. suut, loc. sg. sumi, pl. suni, etc. (also with dependent person suffix, cp. ko. III 95 in 41.1.); cp. 103.

Both, in particular pi-, combine with an extremely large number of derivation suffixes.

98. V e r b a l roots - according to the indications of the lexical sources - are 1) both transitive and intransitive, 2) transitive only, 3) intransitive only.

98.1. In the case of some of the transitive-intransitive roots the annexed subject of the intransitive forms corresponds regularly to the dependent subject of the transitive forms, e.g. aṅalawuq 'is in motion, walks about, is travelling' - aṅalawaa 'wanders through it', aawarpuq 'is reindeer-hunting' - aawarppaa 'is reindeer-hunting in it (the region), searches it for reindeer', aarpuq 'creeps after the seal on the ice' - aarppaa 'creeps after it', anuwuq 'catches seal' - anuwaa 'catches it, reaches him', sanawuq 'makes something, works in wood or bone, carves' - sanawaa 'makes it, repairs it, shapes it', etc.

In other cases the annexed subject corresponds rather, or also, to the annexed object of the transitive forms (cp. 20.), e.g. inuwuq 'is rolled up, rolls up, etc.' - inuwaa 'rolls it up (skin, etc.), winds it into a ball or into coils (thread, etc.)', alippuq 'has been torn' - alippaa 'tears it to pieces', inirpuq 'is finished' - inirppaa 'has finished it', apiwuq 'there is snow on it, it is covered with snow' - apiwaa 'snow has fallen on it', ikiwuq 'has come in, has been placed in, goes on board, sits up' - ikiwaa 'puts it into', aturpuq 'is or can be used, borrows' - aturppaa 'uses it, spends it, lends it', kapiwuq 'stings himself' - kapiwaa 'stings him, harpoons it (the whale)'. - Cp. 67.1.

98.2. Exclusively transitive roots are, apparently, e.g. aawaa (ai-) 'fetches it, goes after it', tiguwaa 'takes him or it', amarppaa 'takes or carries him on his back', iniwaa 'hangs it up, spreads it out, etc.', iiwaa 'swallows it, sucks it in'. Cp. 67.1.

98.3. The exclusively intransitive roots (as numerous, it seems, as the other verbal roots) indicate different kinds of movements and states - psychic as well as physical -, positions, shapes, etc. etc. Here belong, inter alia, terms for size, dimensions and the like, e.g. anuwuq 'is great, large' - mikiwuq 'is small', takiwuq 'is long' - naappuq 'is short' (probably contains 51.1.), silippuq 'is broad, thick (stick, rope, etc.)' - amippuq 'is narrow, thin slender', iSSuwuq 'is thick (ice, etc.)' - saappuq 'is thin', itiwuq 'is deep' - ikkappuq 'is shallow', amirlapput 'are many' - ikipput 'are few'; but, some are bound roots with 50.2., 51.2., e.g. pur-tuwuq 'is tall, eleva-

ted' - pukkippuq 'is low, of small elevation', niru-tuwuq 'is wide, capacious' - nirukippuq 'is narrow, has little width'.

Further qaqurpuq 'is white', qirnirpuq 'is black', qaSirpuq 'is dusty, dust-colored, grey', but kayurpuq 'is brown (like mould etc.)' is ambivalent: kayuq 'brown dog, brown animal, phalarope' (cp. also siḡarnaq 'yellowish grey dog', iqaluSSuwaq 'big fish, i.e. shark; also: bluish grey') and the other color terms are nominal or derived from nouns; from aak 'blood': aappalaarpuq 'is blood red', aappaluppuq 'is reddish, red', aappilappuq 'is reddish', etc. (cp. 54.7.) with numerous derived forms indicating different shades (cp. 94.7.); from suḡaq 'gall, gall bladder': suḡaarpuq 'is yellowish' (att. I 29 about phosphorescent of the sea), suḡarpaluppuq (54.7.) idem, suḡaaqqippuq (56.6.) 'is pure yellow'; qursuk 'green, yellowish green' (att. I 29 about grass in summer), qursuppaluppuq, qursurpaluppuq idem, qursuuqqippuq (48.1., 56.6.) 'is green, pure green' (cp. 94.8. and qur- with 59.2. in qurwik 'urine tub', quwi- 'make water', quuq 'urine', and quSSiniq 'frozen urine' on the ground', SG quSSiḡaarpuq 'is yellowish'); from tunḡu 'juice of berries': tunḡuyurpuq 'is blue, bluish green' (att. I 29 about the clear sky, J.P. also tunḡurpuq) with numerous derived stems, Kr.L. tunḡawuq (54.5.) 'is purple'.

99. Nominal roots do not all combine with all inflective suffixes other than mood and annexed person suffixes - unless, of course, followed by some derivation suffix.

99.1. Some roots are - more or less - number defective, pluralia tantum like ullu-t 'down, bird's nest', dualia tantum like J.P. quttuuk, name of two stars, and probably also singularia tantum (not, however, urSuq and the like, nor ataasiq 'one', cp. 18.4.). On the numerals see 100.

99.2. Some roots, at least in contexts of everyday speech, seem to occur mostly or only with referential and dependent person suffixes - location words (see 101.), terms for parts of the body, kinship terms etc.

The kinship terms, whether or not belonging strictly to this class, may be semantically classified as follows (cp. Kay Birket-Smith

in Geografisk Tidsskrift (Danish) 30., 1927, pp. 96-111; some terms are now obsolete):

I. Consanguine,

A. same generation,

a. indifferent sex and age: qatannut 'sibling', illuq 'cousin' (with 94.2. illuuSaq 'second cousin, relation of more remote degree').

b. specific sex and age:

1. same sex: anayug (anayuwa) 'older brother/sister' - nukaq (nukaa) 'younger brother/sister'.

2. different sex: ani(k) (anaa, aniya) 'older brother' - nayak (nayaa) 'younger sister'; aliqa(q) (aliqaa) 'older sister' - agqaluwaq (agqaluwa) 'younger brother'.

B. distance of one generation,

a. immediate relationship:

1. general terms: anayuqqaat pl. 'parents' (from anayug above) - qiturnaq 'child'.

2. specific terms: anutaa 'his/her father' (without suffix anut 'man, male'), arnaa 'his/her mother' (arnaq 'woman, female') - irniq (irnira) 'son', panik (paniya) 'daughter' (all combinable with 82.1.: 'step-' and 52.1. -siyaq: 'foster-').

3. hypocoristic terms: ataata 'dad', anaana 'mam' (also used by adults).

b. mediate relationship:

1. through male: akka(k) (akkaa) 'father's brother' - qanīyaq (qanīya) 'brother's child'; atsak (atsaa) 'father's sister' - annak (annaa) 'brother's child'.

2. through female: anak (anaa) 'mother's brother' - uyuruk (uyuruwa) 'sister's child'; aya (ayaa) 'mother's sister' - nuwaraluwaq (nuwaraluwa) 'sister's child'.

(The younger in each pair possibly also includes cousin's child, the corresponding older being specified by 94.2.).

C. distance of more than one generation: aataq, aatak (aataa) 'grandfather', anaaq, anak (anaa) 'grandmother' (both also grandparents' siblings) - irnutaq 'grandchild' (from irniq 'son',

cp. 80.1-2.); hence aataqqiyut, aanaqqiyut - irnutaqqiyut for the distance of one more generation.

II. Affinal,

A. immediate:

1. general term: saniliyaq (saniliyaa) 'spouse' (81.2.), saniliqut idem (obsolete, now used in a mocking sense).
2. specific terms: uwi(q) (uwiya) 'husband' - nuliyaq (nuliya) 'wife' (both also about animals).

B. mediate,

a. generation inclusive: saki (sakiya) 'spouse's parent', with 88.1.: sakiyatsiyaq (sakiyatsiyaa) 'spouse's sibling' - ninaaq, ninaak (ninaawa) 'daughter's or sister's husband', ukuwaq (ukuwaa) 'son's or brother's wife', both also used by the spouse about the same persons (secondarily, cp. below).

b. generation specific:

1. nulig (nurla) 'child's spouse's parent'.
2. anayurnuq - nukaarnuq 'spouse's older - younger sibling's (of same sex) spouse', derived from I.A.b.l. which, with 81.1., are general terms for age: anayullig 'the oldest' - nukarlig 'the youngest'.

100. Numerals are a) interrogative-indefinite: qassi-t (qapsit) 'how many', instr. qassinik 'how many times', qassiit (qapsiit) 'several' (cp. 103.), and b) definite, viz. 1. counting terms (with close affinity to the ordinals), 2. cardinal numerals (pure number suffixes, simple and double), 3. ordinal numerals (referential and dependent person suffixes), with various derived forms (cp. 48.1., 50.1., 55. etc.).

The definite numerals, however, are not all exclusively numerals, and the native system of numeration, which is essentially quinary-vigesimal and very clearly based on finger counting, has, since the XVIII century, undergone very important changes under Danish influence.

100.1. The counting terms, as listed by Fabricius, clearly reflect the type of finger counting reported by W. Thalbitzer from the

half pagan East Greenland of about year 1900 (The Ammassalik Eskimo II.3., 1923, p. 148).

It started on the left hand (palm downwards, fingers bent) with the lifting of the little finger: 1. atausiq (cp. ata- 'be connected with something' and 60.2.), and proceeded to the thumb: 2. arlaak (100.3.2., with sg-du. suffix as in the following), 3. piṅayuwak (cp. piṅu 'gull's hummock', western piṅuq 'hill, peak'), 4. sisamaak (Egede sisamat cardinal; Aleut siciṅ, cp. sit-- 'indent deeply'), 5. tallimaak (Egede tallimat cardinal, cp. taliq 'arm').

Then over to the little finger of the right hand: 6. arwiniq (F. arwaniq; cp. arwaq 'the outer edge of the hand'), in other dialects igluwani 'on the other one' (100.3.2.), and proceeded (by pointing with the left thumb) to the thumb as above: 7. arlaak, etc.

Then down to the feet (by pointing with the fingers): 11. aqqaniq (cp. aqqar- 'descend') or isikkani 'on the feet', NG isikkaniq, and 12. arlaak etc.; 16. arwirsaniq (F. arwarsaniq, cp. 6.) and 17. arlaak etc. to 20. tallimaak or inuk (naawlugu) 'a person (taking him to an end)' (Kleinschmidt also inuup awatai naallugit 'taking the limbs of a person to an end').

In the XVIII century followed 21. uṅna (cp. uṅat(i) - 101.2.) and 22. arlaak etc. to 40. tallimaak or inuuk marluk 'two people', and so forth. 'In East Greenland followed the correspondent of VG sinnira 'his/its surplus' but "anything beyond 20 is no doubt a hazy notion for the plain, uneducated Eskimo" (Thalbitzer).

100.2. The cardinal numerals (used in apposition 29.2. ff., in the instrumental case 39.2., etc.), although based on this procedure, are somewhat different. Apart from certain alternative expressions (cp. below 2.3. end) ataasiq (atausiq) 'one' does not enter into the system.

100.2.1. The basic cardinals are marluk 'two' (western malruk, dual, cp. malīg- 'follow'), piṅasu-t 'three', sisama-t 'four', tallima-t 'five', - in reference to pluralia (or dualia) tantum and plural (dual) forms indicating composite objects (18.4.) with a second plural (dual) suffix, or +wik (90.1.?) in the plural, e.g. ko. IV 44 umiyat piṅasuwit 'three boats', sisamaat, sisamawit 'four flocks'.

For 'five', however, an old text (ko. III 93, about 1860, southern dialect) also has the plural of agSak 'finger': agSait naat-sirniyarallarsigik kiisa ullut tallimat naanmata ... 'the fingers / first (75.6.) try to (73.3.) wait until (64.5.) they have come to an end finally / days / five / when they had come to an end'.

1002.2. The "transitional" cardinals, alone, have the suffix 79.1. ≠lik in the plural: arwinillit 'six' (e.g. 13.29), aqqanillit, NG isikkanillit 'eleven', arwirsanillit 'sixteen' (in reference to pluralia tantum etc. Fabricius has simple plurals: arwinirit etc.), but as pentade indicators the counting term simply precedes the basic numerals: arwiniq marluk 'seven' etc.

For 'ten' - instead of arwiniq tallimat (noted as an alternative by Rasmussen) - the usual term is quli-t (qulī- 'upper part', opposite atī- in 11. aqqaniq etc.), in reference to pluralia tantum etc. (Fabricius, Kleinschmidt) quliñit. Hence, besides arwiniq sisamat, quliñiluwat, NG qulaaluwat 'just by a little (77.17.) lacking (51.1.) ten, i.e. nine'.

For 'twenty', besides or instead of arwirsaniq tallimat (Fabricius, Rasmussen), the native system had uñiSut 'twenty (Egede), twenty one (Egede, Fabricius)', intr.part. of the derived verb uñi- (50.3.) 'be a score, be the twenty first; (pl.) be twenty one' (Fabricius), - or (later sources) inuk naallugu (see above 1.); e.g. Egede 218 tuqqit uñiSut, 1857 tuqqit inuk naawlugu 'twenty tents'.

100.2.3. Hence, with uñi- or inuk as a base, the native system worked up to the following score (note the suffix 82.1. in the examples), e.g. F. uñiSut marluk, Kl. inuup aippagSaani marluk 'on the second person two': 'twenty two'; F. uñiSut qulit, Kl. inuup aipagSaani qulit 'thirty'; F. uñiSut piñayuwakSaani arwirsaniq tallimat 'of the third (sic.) score twenty' or sisamanik uñiSaqattaartut 'four times / being a score several times (76.5.)', Kl. inuup sisamagSaani arwirsaniq tallimat 'on the fourth person twenty' or inuup sisamagSaa naawlugu 'taking the fourth person to an end': 'eighty'; F. uñiSut tallimakSaannik 'with (instr.) the fifth score': 'hundred and one' (also uñiSut tallimakSaani atausiq, and analogous alternative expressions for the first of the lower scores). "It may perhaps be possible to count further but this is very difficult" (Fabricius.)

Kleinschmidt also gives, as an alternative expression, inuwit piņasut nawlugit, atausiq inurlugu 'taking three persons to an end, not reaching one': 'fifty nine'; and, apparently just as a theoretical possibility, inuwit qulit tallimanik quliriyartut naawlugit 'persons / ten / five times / taken ten times (55.2.) / taking them to an end': 'ten thousand'.

100.2.4. In the course of the XIX century the native system, from twenty on, was transformed into a decimal system, based on qulit 'ten' and the Danish loanwords untriti 'hundred' and tuusinti 'thousand' - with +lik in the plural like the native lower transitional numerals and with preceding multipliers in the instrumental case as in the one of the native types for even scores, intermediate decades and digits being added with -lu 'and' (very much as in Danish); e.g. (Rasmussen) piņasunik qulilinnik sisamanillu tuusintillit arwiniq-piņasunik untritillit sisamanillu qulillit marlullu 'three times / ten times / and four times / thousand / eight times / hundred / and four times / ten / and two': 34842.

This calque system, however, does not seem to belong to the everyday speech; "the Greenlanders are very reluctant to operate with higher numbers" (Schultz-Lorentzen). In the 1880's they almost always used Danish numerals for numbers higher than 20 (Rasmussen), and nowadays they usually use Danish numerals from above 12 (Bugge). In the teaching of arithmetic the use of Danish numerals apparently goes still farther down, cp. the arithmetic table for the primary school p. 5 (Danish numerals here in capitals) piņasut marluriyarlugit aSSigaa arwinillit. imaluunniit: TRE TOMik amirlisarlugit (GANGERlugu) aSSigaa SEKS 'three / doing twice to them (55.2.) / equals (has as a picture - aSSik) / six. / or thus: three / with two / increasing (multiplying) them / equals six'.

100.3.1. Ordinals corresponding to cardinals are forms with referential suffixes: aappaa (aipaa) 'its (his) other one, i.e. the second' (in relation to plurals F. aippaat or marluwat), piņayuwat 'the (their) third', sisamaat 'the fourth', tallimaat 'the fifth', arwirnat (NG arwirnat) 'the sixth', arwiniq (F. arwirnan) aappaat 'the seventh', arwiniq piņayuwat 'the eighth', quliniluwaat, qulaaluwaat or arwiniq. sisamaat 'the ninth', qulinat 'the tenth', aqqarnat, NG isikkarnat 'the

eleventh', Rasmussen arwirsaniq tallimaat 'the twentieth' - Fabricius also inuup naggataa 'the end of a person' and similarly for the following scores -, marlunnik qulillit sisamaannit 'to the twenty-fourth'. - Also with dependent suffixes for other persons, e.g. ko. IV 114 piņasuuwluta qataṅṅutigiippugut, una sisamarput kisiyat allanirtaraarput 'we being three / we are brothers (siblings, 49.2.), / that one / the fourth of us / only him / we have him as a stranger (i.e. companion)'.

100.3.2. To ataasiq 'one' corresponds (F. also in composite ordinals) siyulliq 'the first' (siyulliyat 'the first of them'), instr. siyullirmik 'the first time, firstly', cp. kiṅulliq 'the hindmost, the last, the next', kiṅullirmik 'next time, another time, for the last time!'; see 81.1. and 101.

Other terms having affinities to the native numeration system are: arlar- 'one of', seems to select a non-singular referee, cp. 100.1. arlaak and kina arlaat aallassawa? 'who / one of them, i.e. which of them / is going?', ko. II 19 (att. II 101) arlarput tuqutaas-saṅṅilaq 'one of us / he should not be killed, i.e. neither of us etc.', koo. I 48 irnirsiyaq ullut arlaanni umiyamiikkaṅat ullut arlaanni aṅutisiyaa umiyamiittaraaq 'the foster-son / of days / on one of them / when he was in the umiak / of days / on one (another) of them / his foster-father / used to be in the umiak'; with 79.1. +lik : arlallit 'several, rather many' (Canada alraq also 'second'; cognate of alla 'another', 45.3., and Aleut alag, alg- 'two'). - illu- (iglu-) 'match (of the other)' seems to select a singular referee, cp. 100.2. igluwani and att. I 54 in 20.4., koo. I 25 kamiSSuwarmik illuwanik 'with big shoe / with one (of the pair)', illuwata tuṅaanut 'to the one side' (cp. 101.4.); with 89.1., however, illuwinnarmik (or illuwaanik) iSiqarpuq 'only one / he has (50.1.) eye', etc., and illuttut 'on, at or from both sides' seems to be a dual equative.

100.4. The only fraction term of the old language seems to have been awwar-, awwaa 'the half of it', from awig- 'separate (intr.)', awī-t- 'halve (tr.)', - hence aggurniq (76.9., 56.) 'part, fraction', Kleinschmidt aggurnirisa piṅayuwat 'of its fractions the third, i.e. one third of it'.

Modern fractional numerals (apart from the Danish ones) are piṅayurartirut 'third', sisamarartirutaat piṅasut 'three-fourth of it', tallimarartirut 'fifth part', - apparently coined (with 54.2., 60.1.) on the basis of the old derived stems piṅayurar- (81.3.?), pl. piṅayuqqat (koo. I 22 nanurSuwit p.) 'she bear with two cubs', with 79.1.: piṅayuralik 'man with three wives'; sisamaralik 'man with four wives'.

Fractions are also expressed with qitiqqut- (47.8.) 'reach half way with' (qitīr- 'middle, center'), e.g. aappaSSaa qitiqqullugu 'its second / reaching half way with it, i.e. one and a half', - hence (puwiyaaSaq) qutiqqut 'half (bottle)'.

100.5. In connection with the numerals it may finally be worth mentioning that the indication of hour is bound to the physical figures of the dial, e.g. (Bugge) nalunaaqqutaq marlunut tanniḡ piṅasunḡurpuq 'the clock (watch) / towards two / the longer (scil. hand) / has become (48.1.) three, i.e. a quarter past one', piṅasunut tanniḡ ataasiḡḡulirpuq 'towards three / the longer / begins (74.1.) to become one, i.e. three or four minutes past two', five minutes being the smallest exact unit.

101. Location words are singularia tantum and select a referee, except in the allative case, e.g. umiyap qulaa 'the upper part of the umiak', qulirput 'that which is above us', loc. qulaani 'above him or it', etc., qummut (old qunmut from qul-mut) 'upwards'.

They also combine more or less uniquely with characteristic sets of derivation suffixes, see 47. and 81., but some are themselves derived stems and the difference from ordinary nominal (and ambivalent) roots is not clear-cut.

101.1. Roots with the indicated characteristics are: siyu- 'forepart (of kayak etc.), for(wards)', kiṅu- 'hinder part, back(wards)' (cp. 81.3-4.); saa- 'front (side), the space in front, west side' (all. sammut 'towards the west', about clouds), tunu- (all. tunumut or tunummud) 'back, east side (also East Greenland)'; kitī- (all. kimmud) 'west, seaside', kaṅi- 'east, land side, the place where

a smaler part is joined to the larger'; qulī- (all. qummut) 'upper part, the space above', atī- (all. ammut) 'lower part, the space below'; qaa- 'surface, outer side, top' (all. qammut 'upwards' rare); ilu- 'interior', all. ilummut 'inwards, to the left' (opposite silatī- below); sani- 'space beside'; nalī-, nalīg- 'equal, (lateral) level', e.g. umiyarSuwit iluliyarSuup nalaaniipput 'the vessel is right off the large iceberg', ippaSSaq tamatuma nalaagut 'yesterday at this time'. - aki- 'the other side, opposite, front platform' occurs also as an ordinary noun: 'payment, return, etc.' (cp. pl. akii koo. III 25 in 35.3.1.).

101.2. Stems with the suffix -t(ī)- (also in tunummut, ilummut above): silatī- 'the space outside, the external side', all. silammut 'outwards, to the right' (sila 'that which is outside, the air, the weather, the world, consciousness'), unatī- 'sidewall (of a house or tent), the space on the other side' (cp. unawaq 'region beyond', unasippuq 'is far away, remote', etc. and 100.1. unna - probably an obsolete demonstrative root), kuyatī- (all. kuyammut) 'south part or side' (cp. 104.2.a.2.). - awatī- 'outer side, surrounding' also pl.: 'limb', all. awammut 'outwards, off from the land'; awannaq 'north wind, north (space or part)', all. awannamut 'towards north' (cp. 104.2.b.1.).

uqqur- 'lee, lee side', all. uqqumut, uqqummut 'before the wind, to leeward' (uqur- 'be warm'), opposite aSSur-, all. aSSumut, which is also verbal: aSSurpuq 'rows, drives against the wind, etc.'.

101.3. tukī(g)- 'longitudinal direction', apart from all. tukimut 'lengthwise', selects ablative: tukiṇanit 'from the end and lengthwise through it', etc. Similarly asi- : asiyanit 'at some distance', all. asimut 'out to the dwelling places outside the settlement', but also locative: asimi 'in the dwelling places'.

101.4. tunī- 'direction' selects a referee, which may be a location word, e.g. kuup tunaanut 'towards the river', koo. I 60 awannaatigut kuyataa-tunaatigullu 'on (pros.) the north side / and on the south side' (cp. 19.3. note 1). So perhaps also (apart from the last point) miSSī(g)- 'line of direction', e.g. umiyarSuwit qiqirtar-

Suup miSSaaniipput 'the boat is on a level with the large island'; killīg- 'limit'; iqqar- 'neighborhood, vicinity' (with 81.1. iqqarliq 'relative'). iki(ar)- 'interval, the space below the surface', e.g. immap ikiyaniippuq 'it is below the surface of the sea (but not at the bottom)', may perhaps belong here too, but is also verbal: ikiyarpaa 'splits it'.

101.5. Also qitīr- 'middle, center' seems to select a referee but also occurs in the plural, e.g. ūm.il. 56 isigaasa qiqqisa saarnat 'of their legs / of their middle parts / their bone'. So also aku- 'mouth (of a river), thighbone (of a seal), rib (of an umiak), flap (of a jacket)', cp. 81.4., but akuni (NG), akunit (SG) 'long, for a long time' may be pure number forms (loc., abl.) hereof, and the root is also verbal: akuwaa 'mixes it'.

102. Some nominal roots (and stems) are dependence neutral, i.e. do not distinguish an absolute and a relative case.

102.1. The 1.p. p r o n o u n has, apart from the local cases, annexed person suffixes: uwaŋa 'I/me', uwagut 'we/us', dual uwaguk, but locative uwanni, uwattinni (also uwaguttinni), etc. Cp. 104.1.a.1.

The 2.p. pronoun has relative forms: illit (old iwlit, western īlwit) 'you', pl. ilissi (ilipsi), du. ilittik (iliptik), loc. ilinni, ilissinni, etc. - This root (īlī-) is also contained in the 4.p. pronoun immi- (iŋmi-, cp. 10.1.1.), pl. immig- '-self' which, however, may also have a further suffix for 1. and 2. person and selects local case, e.g. imminut 'to himself' (Nunam. īlīminun), imminnit 'from myself', etc. (Alaska also 3.p. īlaa 'he, she', īlīŋit 'they').

Similarly namminiq (naŋminiq), pl. also namminniq, '-self, own', which apparently contains the locative suffix but also combines with person and local case suffixes, e.g. uwaŋa namminiq 'I myself', namminirmigut 'by himself', namminittinnit 'on our own accord, or from ourselves'. Dict., however, also has ilakka namminikka 'my own family', where it is used as an ordinary noun - so also Fabricius but obsolete according to Kleinschmidt (Ordbog). Cp. 101.1. nalī-.

102.2. The q u a s i - n o u n s kisi- 'alone' and tamar- 'whole, all, both' are not person restricted (cp. 21.) and the latter also occurs without person suffix in plural local cases: tamani 'with, in all', tamatigut 'everywhere', etc.

naliḡinnaq (101.1. naliḡ- plus 89.1.) 'anybody, anything, never mind who or what, one of the usual kind' also occurs - or occurred - with person suffixes in the relative (only 1. and 2.p. according to Rasmussen), e.g. naliḡinnatta 'any of us', but usually it occurs without person suffix, in the absolute, relative and local cases (sg. only prosecutive according to Rasmussen), e.g. inuwit naliḡinnaat 'all sorts of people, people generally'; naliḡinnarnut 'for anybody, anything'; cp. also ko. IV 112 sumut naliḡinnaq qiwiyarluni 'where / any, i.e. everywhere / looking around'.

103. The i n t e r r o g a t i v e - i n d e f i n i t e pronoun ki-na 'who', rel. kiya, loc. kimi, etc., pl. kikkut, loc. kikkunni, etc., du. kikkuk (Fabricius, who for the southern dialect also gives sg. kisu, rel. kisua, pl. kisut, du. kisuk), is incompatible with person suffixes (cp. 100.3.2.) - unlike the ambivalent root su- (97.3.). Cp. also att. I 38 kikkut tamarmik in 30.5.

The root qa- (cp. 43.2. -qa) has a unique distribution: qanuq 'how'; qana, qagugu (see 30.10.) - pl. pros. qaqutigut (also qaqutigu) 'sometimes, now and then'; qassit etc. (100.).

A third interrogative root is contained in 35.3. naak (nauk) - and, at least historically, in naami (Dict. also naamik) 'he/it is not there, I do not know where it is, no' (western loc. 'where', besides nani and pros. naukun, all. namun, natmun, abl. nakin).

Taken together these roots correspond to the demonstratives.

104. The d e m o n s t r a t i v e s combine uniquely with the anaphoric morpheme ta(C)- (35.5.) and have, on the one hand, pronominal forms with special alternants for pure number (sg. and pl. only, 18.1.), relative (19.1.) and local cases (36.1.) as well as vocative forms (35.2.) and, on the other hand, number indifferent forms, interjectional (35.3.) and four local cases (36.2.).

The roots, twelve in number (in Alaska twice as many), have the shape (C)VC- (Alaska also (C)VCC-), with half systematic similarities

corresponding partly to their mutual semantic oppositions. Six roots, five of which have a close vowel, may be characterized as having relatively limited (narrow) scope of reference, the six others, all with the open vowel a, as having unlimited (wide) scope. In terms of the field of reference they may be roughly classified as general, horizontal and vertical, this classification corresponding partly to the initial consonants (including zero).

104.1. The four general demonstratives may perhaps be said to be in an opposition of presence - absence (by ta(C)- projected back from the actual situation):

a.1. uw-, u- : una, rel. uuma, pl. uku 'he, she, it; they (which you see, which is pointed at, which now is going to be mentioned)', examples in 34., 35.4. and passin, - with ta(C)- irregular and in the modern language not different from 2.: taanna (taunna), taaSSuma, taakku 'he, etc. (which is talked about)', e.g. ko. I 116 in 32, att. II 9 in 34.3. uwwa (or ugga) 'there it is; although', cp. 35.3.1., 3. etc. - irregular taSSa (western tawja, tajwa, etc.) 'there it is, that's enough, stop; it is, it means', cp. 35.3.1-2., 43.2. and passim. Loc. uwani 'there', etc. - taSSani 'there (where you are, etc.)', etc., e.g. koo. I 41 in 33.7., koo. I 43 in 33.3., koo. II 7 in 40.1., koo. I 34 in 41.1. (temporal abl.), etc.

2. im- : inna (iwna), iSSuma, ikku 'that (remote, absent - past or future, but known to the addressee)', e.g. ko. IV 35 nauk iwna? 'where is she (his favorite wife which he found absent at his return)', ko. IV 114 in 37.2. - taanna (taiwna), etc. 'that (at the mentioned time or place, etc.)'. ima 'thus (as follows)', e.g. ima uqarpuq 'he said thus:', cp. also koo. I 12 imaannaana (ima-iwna-una) piniyagaq qaammatip piniyagarSuwa piSarisimaqaat 'thus that it / game / the moon man's / his game / you have killed, i.e. the game you have killed there (in my absence and against my advice), that's the moon man's game'. - taana 'thus (as mentioned, shown, etc.)', e.g. ko. I 98 in 32., cp. 42.2. imani 'some time ago', imuna 'for a long time', imanna 'far away from' - taamani 'at that time (past)', e.g. 13.32., taamanikkut 'at that time (also future)', etc. Other forms are immaga 'perhaps' (cp. 37.3., 43.2.), taamak 'now it is gone, etc.' (e.g. koo.

I 29 in 35.3.4., koo. I 23 in 33.4.), imanna, taamannak 'thus, in that way', pl. imannat 'as many (as shown on the fingers)', taamannat 'as many (as mentioned)'.

b.1. mat-, ma(S)- : manna, matuma, makku 'this, these', rarely about persons, e.g. koo. I 62 in 34.1., koo. I 39 in 35.4., matumani 'in this, in this world', - tamanna, e.g. koo. I 37 in 29.4., koo. I 26 in 35.5., cp. also 36.3. maSSa 'voici (obsolete?); to be sure, for, although', e.g. ko. II 68 and koo. I 24 in 35.3.1.; 35.3.3. - tamaSSa 'here it is, it is the one (you mentioned, in question), it is or was -', e.g. koo. II 16 in 35.3.1., koo. I 48 in 44.3. maani 'here', etc., e.g. koo. I 43 in 41.1., - tamaani, etc.; note sumit tamaanna att. I 14 in 41.1. maanna 'now' etc., see 36.3.

2. qan- : qanna (qamna), qaSSuma, qakku 'he in/out there' (speaker outside/inside), e.g. koo. I 115 ... qamaññaqanna suriyallartuq : qaSSumaa, .. 'from outside he out there / who cried out : you in there ..', koo. I 58 in 29.7.2., 34.2., 35.2., - taqqanna, e.g. ko. IV 114 taqqaSSumali qaummatip siyuliya 'of that out there - of the moon / its predecessor, i.e. in the month before this month'. qamma - taqqama, examples in 30.6., 35.1-2., 3.4. qamani, etc. - taqqamani, etc., e.g. att. II 108 in 29.5.1.

104.2. The four "horizontal" demonstratives may, basically, be characterized in terms of the opposition 'out (yonder), to the right' - 'in, to the left' (cp. 101.1-2. silammut - illummut) and thus have a close affinity to qam- above, but they refer, especially in the modern language, mostly to the orientation in relation to the sea, i.e. north - south (on the east coast vice versa); cp. 3. below.

a.1. ik- : iñña, iSSuma (ikSuma), ikku 'he etc. over there (yonder, in the north)', e.g. att. I 33 aarimni aayinña qirnirtuq aggirpuq 'yes, indeed / that over there / something black / approaches', - taañña etc. ikka 'over there', e.g. ko. III 14 in 35.3.4. - taaka, e.g. koo. I 41 in 35.3.1., koo. I 14 in 35.3.4. ikani etc., e.g. koo. I 42 in 20.1., - taakani etc.

2. kig- : kiñña, kiSSuma, kikku 'he in the south or (old) in(F. also out) there, here' - takkiñña. kigga (J.P.) - takkiga, e.g. ko. I 72 takkiga igalaamut itsuwarluni 'in there / into the window /

peeping in'. kigani 'over there in the south' etc. - takkigani etc., e.g. ko. IV 16 in 37.3. kiw- in ko. I 2 (Julianehaab) takkiwa iglurSuup ataani '(paddling in from the sea he saw a man) in there (on the beach) below the big house' (hence 101.2. kuyatī-, cp. Point Barrow kiwan 'the left wall of a house when inside facing the door', kiwataa 'its east side', etc.).

b.1. aw- : anna (awna), aSSuma, akku 'that in the north or (obsolete?) far yonder', e.g. koo. I 23 qiSuSSuwaq kalillugu, aayanna isuwa 'a big piece of wood / towing it / see that out there / its end (i.e. an extremely long log)', koo. I 35 naammanna, anna? 'where (nauk) this one, that one (out of sight), i.e. what has become of her (my sister, who should have come down to flense for me)', - taayanna etc., e.g. att. II 108 in 29.5.1. awwa 'there in the north (is he or it)' - taawa 'there north, there yonder; then (later, from now)' (in the last sense usually analyzed ta-uwa, but cp. above taSSa), e.g. koo. I 48 in 37.3., ko. I 116 in 32., taawa takussaarpa 'then I did not see him any more', taawaaku (uku) nuṇuttut 'now suddenly they are no more', taawaana (una) 'already'. awani 'in the north' etc. - taawani 'there in the north' etc. (Hence 101.2. awatī- etc.).

2. qaw- : qanna (qawna), qaSSuma, qakku 'that in the south' - taqqanna etc. qawwa - taqqawa. qawani etc. - taqqawani etc., e.g. ko. IV 12 in 41.2.

104.3. The four "vertical" demonstratives are opposed as 'high' - 'low' but through reference to the shape of the country also indicate the east-west direction (on the east coast vice versa). The a. pair is defective as regards interjectional forms.

a.1. pik- : piṇṇa, piSSuma, pikku 'he up there, he in the east', e.g. koo. I 22 aapiṇṇa nuwiwug 'see up there (on the hill) he appears', - tappiṇṇa etc., e.g. ko. I 103 (koo. II 11) tagpigSumar-Suwaṇṇuup rel. 'that rascal (87.1-2.) up there (living in the house above us)'. tappika 'up there', e.g. koo. I 59 tappika urnillugu 'up there (from the beach) coming to it (the house)', koo. I 82 tappika uṇaarturpaluwinnagaq 'up there (on the sleeping platform) infant's whimpering was heard'. pikani etc., e.g. att. I 23 in 37.1., - tappikani etc.

2. kan/t- : kanna, katuma, kakku 'he down there, here or to the west', e.g. att. I 17 in 35.1., - takanna etc., the latter also as interjectional (J.P. also takaSSa), e.g. koo. I 44 takanna issipittug 'down there (on the lamp platform, ippat) miserably sitting down', koo. I 23 takanna siSSamut atirluni 'down to the beach going down'. kanani 'below here, west of here' etc. - takanani etc., e.g. koo. I 109 aatsaanuna taawuna takanuna pilirsug 'just:that (the sun) / away there / down there, i.e. to the north west / that was on the way'.

b.1. paw- : panna (pawna), paSSuma, pakku 'that up there, that in the east', e.g. koo. I 95 in 34.3., - tappanna etc. pawwa, e.g. att. I 125 in 35.3.1., - tappawa. pawani etc., e.g. koo. I 20 in 40.1.- - tappawani etc. (ko. II 75 referring to the sleeping platform).

2. sam- : sanna (samna), saSSuma, sakku 'that down there, that out there on the sea, that in the west', e.g. koo. I 129 taawa-sanna appallartug 'then down there (into the sea) he dropped', 35.4., - tasanna etc. samma, e.g. att. I 22 in 35.3.1., - tasama. samani etc., e.g. att. I 17 in 33.2., - tasamani etc., e.g. ko. I 108 in 41.1. (Cp. 101.1. saa- etc.).

105. P a r t i c l e s are defined as roots combinable only with enclitic suffixes (43-44.) and derivation suffixes (47.1., 85. ff.), but the difference from the other root classes is not quite clear-cut, cp. issaq etc. (29.9.2.) which are directly combinable only with ablative and equative (cp. 36.3.) and aga-gu etc. (30.10.). Some particles together with certain class free suffixes are nominal stems, e.g. koo. I 27 anirsa-lu-ηηuwit-uku pl. in 72.5.

Many particles have a phonemically abnormal shape (cp. 4.2-3.). Decoy calls, used at hunting etc., surpass the phonetic limits of usual speech (cp. Thalbitzer 1904 pp. 323 ff.).

105.1. The majority of the particles may by themselves constitute a sentence: ejaculations expressing surprise, satisfaction, frustration, joy, fear, tenderness, scorn and the like, particles expressing call for attention, invitation, challenge and the like and interrogative particles, e.g. iiq in 87.2., kakkaak in 35.4. and 88.1., aarit in 23.1., 25., 29.5.2., waa etc. in 4.2-3., aa in 35.1., arraa in 35.4., uwatsi in 44.2., ta in 35.5., qaa in 28., 39.5., qaqaa 'come

on.', ak, aak, NG akki 'there.' take that.'; to dogs: ili-ilili 'to the right.', iyuu (iyuw, iyuyu) 'to the left.'; ha 'eh?', ai 'well?', eh?, what?'

aap 'yes' and naagga 'no' express confirmation, resp. negation, irrespective of the form of the question, cp. att. I 17 in 33.2., ko. I 28 in 87.2., 95.2.1. and aallassannilatit? - aap (scil. aallassannilana) 'are'nt you going? - no (I am not going)', tikiññila? - naagga (scil. tikippuq) 'has'nt he come? - yes (he has come)'. .

105.2. Some particles seem to occur only before some other term of the sentence, e.g. anirsa (anirsa-lu) 'how lucky.' splendid.' I hope -' (cp. 72.5., 87.2.); silat 'oh, sure .; oh, would.' (obsolete?); ila 'well yes, that is true.' e.g. ila naagga 'by no means', att. I 17 in 29.6., att. III 144 in 35.1. - but ilaala (ila-ila) 'it is quite true' and ilaa? 'is'nt it?' are free; usi 'oh, I almost forgot that.', usiyuwwa (or usiiwwa) 'I thought that - (and then it was not true)', etc.; unniya 'it is said that -' (but cp. 43.1.2. unniit); ata 'attention.', e.g. koo. II 22 in 35.1., 35.4., atagu (cp. 30.10.) 'now take care.' now let's see.' - but ataa 'now then.' (to children); cp. 35.5. ta(C)-. But also free particles occur in the same positions, see 35.4. aa- (cp. above 1.); asu-, free 'enough, at last', asuli 'aimlessly' (cp. koo. I 31 in 65.), cp. 43.2. asuk, asukiyaa.

105.3. Some particles occur after some other term, only: (-) aat (43.3.), or mostly, e.g. allaat (examples in 40.1.), aasiit (examples in 20.2., 29.5.1., 30.8., 33.4., 74.5. - cp. koo. II 12 in 29.6.), the latter also after another particle, e.g. koo. I 11 iikasiñaasiit (with 86.) 'oh, darn it again', ko. I 122 (koo. II 16) silanaasiit ... 'alas.' again'; cp. also iya-silat 'oh, that looks bad.'.

105.4. Particles expressing degree and temporal and similar relations are: assut (aksut) 'quickly.' go on.; very much', imma (iñma) 'little'; aatsaat 'only now, just now' (examples in 30.5., 30.8., 31.4., 68., 86., 89.1.), kiisa 'finally, at last' (examples in 18.2., 20.2., 20.4., 29.9.2., etc.); aamma 'again, once more, further' (examples in 18.2., 29.4., 29.5.2., etc.).

106. From the beginning of the Danish colonization (1721) until quite recently only a relatively small number of loan-words seem to have passed into the language, on the one hand terms like tupa(q) 'tobacco', puuluki 'pig' (Norw. purke), palasi 'clergyman' (prest), apparently adopted more or less spontaneously by the natives, and, on the other hand, terms like kuuti 'God', iiwankii-liyu 'Gospel', introduced by the missionaries. To meet the requirements of the European civilization, superposed upon and gradually replacing the native stone age the missionaries and teachers, as well as the natives themselves, have coined a large number of terms, cp., for example, uqaasiliriSSutit 'grammar' in 50.4., qaammatisiyutit 'almanac' in 52.1., nalunaaqqutaq 'clock, watch' in 60.3., nalunaarasuwartaat 'telegraph' in 62. and iSSuuSaq 'potato' in 94.2. - besides naatsiiyaq 'what (58.1.) one waits for (64.5., 67.1.) to grow' and (J.P.) katurwili (Danish kartoffel).

As indicated in 46. the number of "terms" that may be coined with native elements is astronomical but in later years Danish words seem to have been adopted in steadily increasing number, partly supplanting earlier coined terms. This process has, incidentally, created a new stylistic situation, native expressions being preferred at more solemn occasions (cp. 100.2.4.). The opinions about Eskimo as a medium of modern instruction may be illustrated by the following statements made by two Greenlanders at a recent discussion about the subject, as summarized in the minutes (Kal. IV-V 1954 p. 11, phonemicized; free translation from the Danish version):

A... O.. isumaqarpuq kalaallit taamatut iluwaqutaatigiSumik ayurnaanniruSumillu europamiyut kulturiyannik pigiliyuSSaqarsinnaaSasagaluwartut atuwakkat pitsaaSut nuttirniqarlutillu naqitirtinniqtarniSSaat iluqirsuutiginiiruliinnaraanni. ilinniyutiSSaqquuq danskisut saqqumillutik kalaallinit iliqqumittut danskisut ilinniyarsimaSunit kayumittunillu atuwarniqarsinnaaSassapput. 'A.O. had (50.1.) the opinion / the Greenlanders / like that / in the way of (39.2.) so (68.) being (48.1., 57.1.) advantage / and in the way of more (56.3.) being without (51.1.) impossibility (ayur-nar- 65.) / of the Europeans (48.2.) / their culture (instr. 39.4.) / who (i.e. that they) would (72.1.) become able (89.1., 76.1., 73.1.) to have (50.1.) [it] begun for [themselves] (74.1., 66., 58.1.) to possess (pi-, 49.1.) / of

books / that are (48.1.) excellent / and they being (56.4) translated / their future (82.1.) being (56.4., 76.1., 56.) made (64.1.) to be printed / when one (37.3.) only (89.1.) begins (74.1.) more (56.3.) to take pains with (60.1., 49.1.). Future (82.1.) mediums (73.3., 60.1.) of instruction, he said, / in Danish / coming forth / by Greenlanders / according to their habit / Danish / who may have (74.5.) studied / and who are willing / could (89.1., 76.1., 73.1.) be (56.4.) read'. - A.O. in his discourse thought that the Greenlanders would get as good and easier access to the European culture if one were more studious to translate and print good works in Greenlandic. Professional literature and the like could be issued in Danish and presumably be read by those Greenlanders who have the inclination and the need for it on the basis of the normal teaching of Danish.

K... H... uqarpuq atuwakkat qassiit kalaallisuunqurtikkumi-naassaSut europamiyut kulturiyanni uqaatsit kalaallisut piginiaqanitsut aturniqartarmata uqaatsilluguuq taamaattut nuttigaSSaanqimmata. 'K.H. said / books / several / that (that they) would (73.1.) not easily (73.2. -Kuminar-, 51.1.) let themselves (64.1.) become (48.1.) as Greenlandic / of the Europeans / in their culture / words / in Greenlandic / that not (70.) are (56.4.) had / because they are (56.4., 76.1.) used / and words, he said, / that are thus / because they not (70.) are (48.1.) to be (58.1., 82.1.) translated'. - K.H. in his discourse said that one would get into difficulties translating many works into Greenlandic, because the European culture operates with turns of expression and concepts which do not exist in Greenlandic and which therefore can not be translated.