

# SOUTH GREENLANDIC (ESKIMO)

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THE language of the aboriginal population of Greenland is of the Eskimo stock, which is spoken by about forty thousand individuals in Greenland, Labrador, along the northern coast and islands of Canada, in Alaska, and at the easternmost point of Asia.<sup>1</sup> Numerous dialectic differences, which are phonological and lexical rather than structural, are to be found especially between the easternmost and westernmost dialects; in Greenland, Thalbitzer distinguishes five slightly differing dialects. The stock as a whole seems to be related to Aleutian of the region of Bering Strait.<sup>2</sup>

The present sketch is of South Greenlandic (of the second half of the 19th century) as reported by Kleinschmidt.<sup>3</sup> This material is remarkably complete and accurate—a surprising fact considering that it was compiled about eighty-five years ago. There are a few points that Kleinschmidt did not work out or which he states ambiguously, but for the most part he does give the pertinent facts. Only because of this has it been possible to give the present sketch of the language.

In structure, Eskimo is unique among languages of North America in that it employs suffixation as its only morphologic process.<sup>4</sup> There is a certain amount of fusional phonetic change (elision, contraction, apocope), but it is always in connection with suffixation and has no independent significance. Suffixes are used in three ways: in internal syntax, in inflection, in enclisis. The language is profusely polysynthetic in its use of derivational suffixes, and is at the same time highly inflected; enclisis (addition of derivational and connective suffixes to inflected forms) is relatively unimportant.

## PHONETICS

Vowel Phonemes:

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Low	a	

Semiconsonant phoneme: y

<sup>1</sup> William Thalbitzer, *Eskimo* (Bureau of American Ethnology, bull. 40, pt. 1, 1911, pp. 967–1069).

<sup>2</sup> William Thalbitzer, *The Aleutian Language Compared with Greenlandic* (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, 1921, pp. 40 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> S. Kleinschmidt, *Grammatik der Groenlaendischen Sprache* (G. Reimer, Berlin, 1851); *Den Groenlandske Ordbog* (Louis Kleins Bogtrykkeri, Copenhagen, 1871). Material on other Greenlandic dialects is given by Thalbitzer, *A Phonetical Study of North Greenlandic* (Meddelelser om Grønland, vol. 34, 1904, pp. 1–406).

<sup>4</sup> Nootka and Yana are also profusely suffixing, and Nootka even has considerably more suffixes in number, but these languages employ other processes (reduplication and vowel mutation) in addition to suffixation.

## Consonant Phonemes:

	Bilabial	Midpalatal	Velar	Interdental		Alveolar	
				Point	Lateral	Blade	Point
Stops (voiceless-fortis)	p	k	q	t			
Normal spirants (voiced and voiceless)	$\beta$	$\gamma$	$\gamma$				
Nasals (voiced)	m	$\eta$	$\eta$	n			
Lateral spirant (voiced)					l		
Sibilants (voiceless)						s	$\zeta$

Vowels occur initially, medially, and finally in the word, and they occur both singly and in clusters. Clusters of two and three vowels are common, of four and five (e.g., auai $\beta$ uq "he removes blood") relatively rarer. Clusters never have more than two like vowels (aa, ii, uu) together, but two like vowels do not occur together between other vowels.

The palatal semiconsonant y occurs only between vowels and never before or after i. y is distinct from intervocalic i, as may be seen from the comparison of such near homonyms as puyak "oxydized blubber" and puiaq "bird's crop";  $\cdot i$  has the quality described below, y is always close.<sup>5</sup>

Consonants occur initially, medially, and finally in the word, but not more than one consonant may stand initially and finally and not more than two consonants may stand together medially. Only stops, s, m, and n occur initially. Only stops occur in final position, but in the speech of some, especially women, the stop is replaced by the corresponding nasal. Medial clusters may be 1) any geminate cluster (pp,  $\beta\beta$ , mm, etc.); 2) tl and ts; 3) the normal-spirant clusters  $\gamma\beta$  and  $\gamma\beta$ ; 4) the following nongeminate clusters with continuant as first member:

	$\beta q$	$\beta k$	$\beta t$		$\beta n$	$\beta s$	$\beta \zeta$	$\beta l$
$\gamma p$		$\gamma k$	$\gamma t$	$\eta m$	$\eta n$	$\gamma s$	$\gamma \zeta$	$\gamma l$
$\gamma p$	$\gamma q$		$\gamma t$	$\gamma m$	$\gamma n$	$\gamma s$	$\gamma \zeta$	$\gamma l$

$\eta$  does not occur freely but is limited to word final position in the speech of those who make the substitution of nasals for final stops; it also occurs in general usage in a few phrases, e.g., qanu $\eta$  ippa (also qanu $\gamma$  ippa) "how is it?"

Each vowel has a range of qualities according to phonetic surroundings. The most important differences are conditioned by the following consonant. The highest timbres occur before following dental or mid-palatal consonants; middle qualities occur before labial consonants, before vowels, and in final position; low timbres, including velarized a, occur before velar consonants and before  $\beta q$ . Between a and a following ss, ts,  $\beta s$ , there tends to be a front glide. u is fronted between s and y and is partly fronted whenever unrounded vowels (a or i) occur in both the preceding and following syllables. In clusters of two vowels the first tends to be pronounced with more stress and with greater time value than the second; in longer clusters the same tendency holds.

<sup>5</sup> William Thalbitzer, *A Phonetical Study of North Greenlandic* (1904).

The phonetic values of the consonants are for the most part sufficiently indicated in the table, but a few additional remarks are necessary. The normal spirants are voiced lenis except as the second consonant of a cluster ( $\beta\beta$ ,  $\gamma\gamma$ ,  $\gamma\gamma$ ,  $\gamma\beta$ , or  $\gamma\beta$ ), in which case they are voiceless fortis.  $l$  is always voiced; it is lenis except as the second consonant of a cluster ( $ll$ ,  $\beta l$ ,  $\gamma l$ ,  $\gamma l$ ,  $tl$ ) where it is strongly spirantal. The stops tend to be aspirated before the high vowels, especially  $i$ , but unaspirated before  $a$ . Clusters of like stops ( $pp$ ,  $tt$ ,  $kk$ ,  $qq$ ) are pronounced with a single closure.  $s$  is produced with the blade and point of the tongue,  $\$$  more with the point, so that it sounds something like an untrilled tongue-tip  $r$ .<sup>6</sup>

Syllabic division is such that a single consonant or the second consonant of a cluster is always taken with the following syllable; the first consonant of a cluster or the final consonant of the word goes with the preceding syllable. The treatment of vowel clusters in syllabication is not clear (perhaps each vowel makes its own syllable, perhaps certain clusters tend to be unified into one syllable while others are separated). Closed syllables are more heavily stressed than open ones.

#### PHONOLOGY

Suffixation is accompanied by certain phonological changes, some of them fairly complex, but all essentially regular in principle. It is not attempted to treat the phonology exhaustively here. The following symbols indicating morphological classification and inflection are used: . .  $i$  . intransitive verb; . .  $t$  . transitive verb; . . verb which may be either transitive or intransitive; . .  $p$  . noun used only with pronominal suffixes.

The stem or theme to which suffixes are normally added is either capable of being used without suffix or at least has a phonetic form like such words; that is, it ends in a vowel or in a stop consonant. The initial of suffixes is not comparably limited, but may begin in a vowel, a consonant, or two consonants. According to their way of uniting with the underlying theme, suffixes fall into three phonological classes. Class one, symbolized by a simple hyphen, spirantizes  $p$ ,  $k$ ,  $q$  to  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\gamma$  except that  $k > n$  before nasals,  $k + \gamma > kk$ ,  $q + \gamma > \gamma$ ;  $t$  spirantizes to  $\$$  before vowels, undergoes complete assimilation before consonants (i.e.,  $t + p > pp$ ,  $t + n > nn$ , etc.) other than  $t$ ,  $s$ ,  $l$ , before which it remains. Example,  $\cdot n\dot{i}q'$  in:  $aun\dot{i}q$  "rotten stuff"  $< au . . i .$  "to rot,"  $katinn\dot{i}q$  "a joint,"  $< katit . . t .$  "joins it,"  $u\beta i\gamma la\gamma n\dot{i}q$  "widow"  $< u\beta i\gamma laq . . i .$  "to lose one's husband." Class two, symbolized by wavy hyphen, elides any preceding consonant except that  $q + \gamma > \gamma$ ;  $q$  or  $k + \$ > \gamma$ ;  $a$ ,  $u + \gamma u > ayu$ ,  $uyu$ ;  $a$ ,  $u + \gamma i > ai$ ,  $ui$ . Example:  $sa\beta iqaq . . i .$  "to have a knife"  $< sa\beta ik$  "knife"  $+ \sim qaq . . i .$  Class three, symbolized by  $r$ , is added to a modified form of the theme, which may for convenience be called the plural base. A variant of class three, symbolized  $q$  requires the plural base only in some

<sup>6</sup> S. Kleinschmidt, *Grammatik der Groenlaendischen Sprache* (1851), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>  $i$  is explained below.

cases: suffixes beginning in vowels are added to the plural base of themes ending in  $\cdot ik$ ,  $\cdot iq$ ;  $q$ - suffixes beginning in consonants are added to the plural base of themes other than those in  $\cdot ik$  and  $\cdot iq$ .

The plural base is formed in various ways, which have to be determined for the particular themes. Common formations are:

- 1) No change; thus, always when the theme ends in a vowel, also when it ends in  $\cdot ik$  or  $\cdot iq$  preceded by two consonants, and in a few themes in which only one consonant precedes  $\cdot ik$  or  $\cdot iq$ . Examples:  $iylu$  "house," pl.  $iylut$ ;  $u\gamma pik$  "tree," pl.  $u\gamma pi\gamma it$ ;  $tikiq$  "index finger," pl.  $tiki\gamma it$ .
- 2) With loss of final  $q$  or  $k$ , e.g.,  $amiq$  "skin," pl.  $ami\cdot t$ .
- 3) By syncope of  $i$  of final  $\cdot ik$  or  $\cdot iq$ , with phonologic modification of the consonant cluster resulting; limited to themes in which a single (noninitial) consonant precedes  $\cdot ik$  or  $\cdot iq$ . Example:  $aliq$  "harpoon-line," pl.  $a\gamma l\cdot it$ , relative  $a\gamma l\cdot up$ .
- 4) By transposition of final  $k$  or  $q$  and the vowel preceding it, and alteration of the resulting consonant cluster; the vowel must be other than  $i$  and it must be preceded by only one (noninitial) consonant. Example:  $ukaliq$  "rabbit," pl.  $ukatli\cdot t$ , relative  $ukatli\cdot p$ .

Modifications of consonant clusters are not necessarily the same for the last two formations, as shown in the examples given, but within each formation there is regularity. There are in addition several irregular formations of the plural base, e.g.,  $qayaq$  "kayak," pl.  $qainat$ .<sup>8</sup>

It is necessary to recognize, a unique morphophoneme  $i$ , having certain peculiarities of phonological behavior.  $i$  is replaced by  $a$  before vowels, e.g.,  $nipi\cdot\gamma a$  "my voice,"  $nipa\cdot a$  "his voice" (contrast  $aki\cdot\gamma a$  "my coat,"  $aki\cdot a$  "his, its coat"). Prevoalcalic  $t > s$  after  $i$  but not after  $i$ , e.g.,  $aki\cdot sik$  "the coat of you two" but  $nipi\cdot tik$  "the voice of you two"; this applies even when a stem final consonant precedes the  $t$ , as  $a\gamma\gamma i\gamma suq$  "he who comes"  $< a\gamma\gamma iq . . i .$  but  $qanittuq$  "he who is close"  $< qanit . . i .$  No vowel but  $i$  is subject to syncope in the formation of the plural base.

In certain cases vowels are inserted before suffixes. All nouns ending in  $t$  take  $i$  before the initial suffix of a consonant. All  $q$ - suffixes beginning in a consonant take an insert vowel when they are added to a consonant final; the insert is  $i$  in all cases except with relative  $p\cdot p$ , which takes  $u$ , as in  $a\gamma lup$  given above. A certain few plural bases take the vowel insert before pl.  $q\cdot t$ , even though they end in vowels, thus  $inu\cdot it$  plural of  $inuk$  "man" (plural-base formation 2).

Spirantizing suffixes beginning in two consonants drop the first of them

<sup>8</sup> S. Kleinschmidt, *Grammatik der Groenlaendischen Sprache* (1851), pp. 25–29, has fuller data on the plural base. The present treatment differs in plan from Kleinschmidt's, notably in using the concept of the  $i$  morphophoneme to help systematize the formations.

when added to a consonant-final theme, uya $\gamma$ ak "stone" +  $\gamma$ su $\gamma$ aq "large, evil" > uya $\gamma$ ay $\gamma$ su $\gamma$ aq (cf., after vowel, nuna "land," nuna $\gamma$ su $\gamma$ aq "evil land").

Certain suffixes have alternate forms,  $\mathfrak{s}$  and  $\mathfrak{t}$ ,  $\mathfrak{r}$  and  $\mathfrak{s}$ , according to whether they occur after vowels or consonants, thus  $\mathfrak{t}$ / $\mathfrak{s}$ uq "one who . . . -s,"  $\mathfrak{s}$ / $\mathfrak{r}$ aq "what has been . . . -ed." The paradigmatic formatives for the indicative and interrogative modes begin in  $\mathfrak{p}/\mathfrak{b}$  that is, have  $\mathfrak{b}$  after vowels,  $\mathfrak{p}$  after consonants.

#### WORD CLASSES

Words may be classified into two inflectional classes, verbs and substantives, and different kinds of uninflected words, or particles. Verbs are inflected for mood and for person and number of subject and object. Substantives are inflected for case, but the class includes a number of subclasses: nouns, including normal type, pronoun-modifying type, and numerals; demonstrative-directionals; and interrogatives. Particles may be classed as modifying, relational, predicational, expressive, imitative.

The verb has independent moods and subordinate moods, the former expressing predications, the latter relations. The notion expressed may be of state (e.g., miki . . . i. "to be small," aputait . . . i. "to be without snow") as well as of action (e.g., pisuk . . . i. "to go," tuqut . . . t. "to kill," sana . . . "to work, to work at"). The inflectional endings indicate the mood and include one or two pronominal references. If there are two pronominal references, one is to the subject, the other to the object; if there is one pronominal reference, it may be either to the subject or the object, depending on the inherent voice of the verb. In this connection, there are the following voice types:

- 1) Inherently intransitive verbs, e.g., pisuk . . . i. "to go," i $\beta$ i $\gamma$ si . . . i. "to have bread." Note in the second example that the action may involve an object, if the object is only part of the definition of the verb, and therefore not subject to pronominal expression. Verbs of this type normally occur with one pronominal reference, namely, to the subject, e.g., pisuypuq "he went," but are sometimes also used with double pronominal reference, e.g. pisuyppaa "he went to it." The second pronominal reference, when present, is to an object somehow connected with the action.
- 2) Inherently transitive verbs, e.g., tuqut . . . t. "to kill," mattaq . . . t. "to remove the clothes of." A double pronominal reference refers to the subject and the object, e.g., tuquppaa "he kills him." A single pronominal reference is to the object with the subject indefinite or identical with the object: tuquppuq "he gets killed, he kills himself."
- 3) Doubly transitive verbs, e.g., nupuyqu . . . t. "to want one to make an end of." Such verbs, all of which are derived by means of suffixes from transitive verbs, are like transitives except that they involve an intermediary entity which is subject of the underlying transitive; if expressed, the intermediary term is in the allative case, e.g., nupuyqu $\beta$ aa "he wants someone to end it, he wants it to be ended": u $\beta$ a $\beta$ nut nupuyqu $\beta$ aa "he wants me to end it."

There are some verbs which are equally transitive and intransitive, e.g., sana . . .

"to work, to work at" in: sanaβuq "he works," sanaβaa "he works at it."

Normal nouns refer to entities, concrete and abstract, including names as well as generic terms; examples: nanu "bear," inuk "person," iylu "house," sisi "fox's den," iβik "grass," kayumiɲniq "desire," annuγaaγsaq "material for a garment," unnuk "evening," uummanaq place name, piili man's name. Nouns commonly have a singular, dual, and plural, but there are some nouns that are limited as to their number inflection. Thus nouns referring to substances and qualities (e.g., uγsuq "blubber," mikiniq "smallness") and names ordinarily are limited to the singular. Some nouns occur only in the plural, and in some cases there is a plural which differs in meaning from the singular; examples: nuγlut (stem nuγluq-) "ligature." umiat "boat with people in it" (sg. umiaq "boat"), aγsat (stem aγsaq-) "ashes," nuγβit "bird dart having three auxiliary points" (sg. nuβik "single-pointed dart").

Certain nouns, called dependent nouns, do not occur except with pronominal suffixes; these include 1) location words, 2) words expressing the parts of a whole, 3) relationship terms, 4) transitive agentives. Examples: 1) at . . p . "under part, space beneath" (e.g. ataa "its under part, the space beneath it"; ataani "in its under part, under it"); quli . . p . "upper part, space above"; suyu . . p . "front end, space before the front end"; sanni . . p . "neighboring thing, proximity"; aki . . p . "space opposite"; 2) isi . . p . "eye" (e.g., iṣaa "his eye"); uqaq . . p . "tongue"; natiq . . p . "bottom"; 3) aɲut . . p . "father" (e.g., aɲutiya "my father"); panik . . p . "daughter"; nukaq . . p . "younger sibling of same sex"; nuliaq . . p . "wife, female mate"; 4) asaṣi . . p . "he who loves . . ." (e.g., asaṣiya "he who loves me"); ayuqiγsuγti . . p . "he who teaches . . ."; tuqutsiṣi . . p . "he who killed . . ." All dependent nouns of the first group have one usage without pronominal suffix, namely, in the allative case, in the sense of "in . . . direction," e.g., ammut "off, down," qummut "upwards," kiɲumut "back, returning," suyumut "forward," akimut "over, across," etc. Some nouns of the second and third groups have a homonymous independent noun in a slightly different meaning; thus; inuk "person" (. . p . "possessor"), naaq "belly skin" (. . p . "belly").

Pronoun-modifying nouns do not ordinarily occur without pronominal suffixes, and have the peculiarity that they modify or are semantically appositional to the pronominal element. Two stems of this class are those referring to first and second person: uβa-ɲa "I," uβa-γut "we"; iβli-t "thou," iliβ-si "you" (stem iliβ- or ilip-), with metathesis in the singular form. Other stems of this class are kisi . . p . "alone" (e.g., kisi-ma "I alone"), tamaq . . p . "all together, all of," iluiɲnaq . . p . "complete, whole," nalɲinaq . . p . "each" naɲminiq . . p . "self; . . .'s own," ik . . p . "self," katiɲnaq . . p . "together, in collected piles." The words of this class show various peculiarities and limitations of inflection and usage. uβa- and iliβ- do not formally distinguish the absolute and relative cases; the remaining stems distinguish nominative and accusative cases instead of the normal absolute and relative. nalɲinaq is used without suffix with the meaning "all sorts of things, any-

thing at all." *naḡminiḡ* is used without pronouns in apposition to other nouns, e.g., *uḡaḡa naḡminiḡ* "I myself." *ik . . p .* is used in the third person only and ordinarily only in adverbial cases, e.g., *iḡmini* "with himself."

The numerals form a special class of nouns; their meanings are then "one thing," "two things," etc. The first numeral is always singular, the second numeral always dual, and the remaining always plural: *atausiḡ* "one," *maḡluk* "two" (stem *maḡluḡ*), *piḡasut* "three" (*piḡasuḡ*), *sisamat* "four" (*sisamaḡ*), *tatlimat* "five" (*tatlimaḡ*), *qulit* "ten" (*quliḡ*). These six forms comprise the whole system of simple numerals; the remaining numbers are expressed by derivatives (*aḡḡiniḡlit* "six" <"having on the other hand," *aḡqaniḡlit* "eleven" <"having on the first foot," *aḡḡaḡsaniḡlit* "sixteen" <"having on the other foot") and by constructions with the particles *aḡḡiniḡ* "on the other hand," *aḡqaniḡ* "on the first foot," *aḡḡaḡsaniḡ* "on the other foot" and case forms of nouns meaning "on a person's intended second," "on a person's intended third"; "twenty" may be expressed by *inuk naaḡluḡu* "ending a person" or *aḡḡaḡsaniḡ tatlimat* "on the other foot five." The entire system is based on the notion of counting on the fingers and toes of persons, taking first the fingers and then the toes.

The dual and plural of "one" and a special form of the dual and plural of the other numbers, express the notion of "so and so many groups," e.g., *aataat sisamait* "four troops of seals," *inuiait atautsit* "one people"; the duals express the notion of "so and so many groups of two," e.g., *ayaḡḡautik atautsik* "one (two-pronged) fork."

Ordinals are *suyuḡliḡ* "the first," *aipaa* "the second" (literally "his companion"), and above two, the cardinals with third person plural possessive (i.e., *piḡayuat* "their three" = "the third," *sisamaat* "their four" = "the fourth").

The demonstrative-directionals consist of a limited number of stems with peculiarities of inflection and inflectional formation. Their most striking peculiarity is that they may occur affixed to an element *tak*, which has an emphasizing force. or indicates greater distance; this is the only case of stems used in suffix position. The stems are: (*~*)*ma* "here" (speaker's position); *taḡḡ* "there" (anaphoric reference, also hearer's position)—not used with *tak*; (*~*)*uḡ* "here, there" (demonstrative); (*~*)*ik*, also (*~*)*iḡ* "there, yonder"; (*~*)*aḡ* "north, up-coast"; (*-*)*aḡḡ* "south, down-coast"; (*-*)*kiḡ* "south"; (*-*)*paḡ* "east, landward, above"; (*~*)*sam* "west, seaward, below"; (*-*)*piḡ* "there above, east, landward"; (*~*)*kan* "here below, west, seaward"; (*-*)*kam* "inside, outside"; *na*, only in *naa* "where is it?" and *naḡa* "let's see it! where do you have it?" Each of these stems and their *tak*-forms has two inflectional bases: a simple base expressing locational notions and limited to the absolute, locative, ablative, allative, and perlocative cases; an extended base (in *-nna*, *-ḡum* for the singular; in *-ku*, *-kun* for the plural) expressing a pronominal reference ("the one who is there, here, in the south, etc."), which is inflected in all the cases of the noun, except that there is no dual and that the plural differentiates nominative and accusative instead of absolute and subordi-

nate. The absolutive of the simple base is used as an exclamatory predicative to give the location of something unexpressed, e.g.,  $u\beta\beta a$  "here! here it is!" Not all the simple bases make such an absolutive, the form being limited to  $u\beta\beta a$  and most of the  $tak$ -derivatives.  $ta\beta\beta a$  (< $ta\beta\beta$ >) and a related form  $tama\beta\beta a$  are absolutives used in nonexclamatory sentences expressing an equivalence of one term to another, e.g.,

$na\gamma tu\gammaalik$ ,  $ta\beta\beta a$   $tijmi\beta\beta at$   $nuna\beta\beta tiniittut$   $a\eta ni\gamma\beta aat$  "the eagle, that (is) of the birds in our land the largest."

$nautsii\beta\beta ik$ ,  $ta\beta\beta a$   $sil a\gamma suaq$  "the soil, that (is) the world."

The interrogatives are  $suk$ - "what?" and  $kik$ - "who?" They are inflected like nouns, except that they have no dual and that they do not take pronominal affixes.  $suk$  has, in addition to its interrogative use, the function of an ordinary noun with the meaning of "a something."

Particles include all words that are not inflected, comprising several different types of words from the viewpoint of their syntactic function; we may recognize modifying, relational, predicational, expressive, and imitative particles. Many modifying particles are related to substantives, or have formal resemblance to substantives; for example, there are instances of case-forms of substantives used in a specialized sense as modifying particles, e.g.  $taimaittumik$  ("in this way") "accordingly, therefore."

Modifying particles express degree and amount, as  $a\gamma\beta ut$  "very much,"  $i\eta ma$ ,  $i\eta ma\eta\eta uaq$ ,  $i\eta mamik$  "somewhat,"  $imannat$ ,  $taimannat$  "thus many"; emphasis, as  $ila$ ,  $ilami$ ,  $ila\beta ik$  "certainly, I should think, is it not so?" (e.g.,  $ila$   $niku\beta i\gamma lutit$  "now stay away from it!"); reason, cause, circumstance, as  $suuq$  "why?"  $suu\gamma mi$  "but why?"  $taimaittumik$  "accordingly, therefore"; manner, as  $qanuq$  "how?"  $ima$ ,  $imaa$ ,  $imaaq$ ,  $imanna$ ,  $imannak$  "thus,"  $taima$ ,  $taimannak$  "thus"; temporal location as  $qana$  "when (in the past)?"  $qana\gamma u$ ,  $qaqu\gamma u$  "when (future)?"  $maana$  "now,"  $tamani$  "then,"  $u\beta atsiaq$  "earlier today,"  $tau\beta a$  "then,"  $u\beta atsia\gamma u$ ,  $u\beta atsia\gamma ami$  "later today,"  $ta\beta\beta a$ ,  $tau\beta a$  "just before,"  $i\gamma pa\gamma\beta aq$  "yesterday,"  $ta\beta\beta a\eta\eta a$  ( $inaq$ ) "suddenly, in a moment,"  $itsaq$  "years ago,"  $aama$  "again,"  $imannili\gamma ami$ ,  $itsali\gamma ami$  "bye and bye, several days hence,"  $qaquti\gamma ut$  "from time to time,"  $aitsait$  "just now, just before,"  $aipaa\gamma ut$  ("through its companion") "coming year,"  $ki\eta u\gamma na$  ("what it has ahead") "hereafter," etc. Certain temporal particles referring to past time have in addition to their customary form an ablative (irregular in formation, in that it has the plural form) used in the sense "as compared with . . . time," e.g.,  $itsa\gamma nit$   $tu\gamma tuqaqauq$  "as compared with years ago, there are plenty of reindeer."

Relational particles include:  $nauk$ ,  $u\beta nit$  "although," used with relative or, occasionally, conjunctive mood, e.g.,  $nauk$   $qai\gamma qu\eta\eta nikki\gamma a$ ,  $u\gamma ni\gamma pa\eta a$  "although I had not called him, he came to me";  $suu\gamma lu$  "like, as" used with substantive or with relative or conjunctive mood of verb, e.g.,  $suu\gamma lu$   $una$  "like this one (it is),"



suuγlu uqaγtutit "as you said." suuγlu is also used with the indicative in the sense of "apparently (but not really)," e.g., suγlu nakkassaβuq "to appearances, it will fall (but it won't really)."

Under predicational particles may be included sentence-words as aak, aap, suu, suuγ(n)una "yes," naaγγa "no," quyanaq "thanks"; and predication-forming particles as imaqa "imagine! how would it be?," ussiuββa "I thought (mistakenly) it was . . ." sunauββa "see here, it was . . . ; so it was . . ." imaqa is used ordinarily with the relative mood of the verb or with a substantive, occasionally also with the indicative or optative of the verb; examples: imaqa, tipatsusṣaqaut "imagine (their situation)—they will be very unhappy," imaqa ilua "imagine its interior," imaqa samuṣa "how about (going) westward," ussiuββa is used with substantives or with the relative mood of verbs, e.g., usiuββa inuit "I thought it was people," usiuββa aipaγissayaatit "I thought he being your companion" = "I thought he would have gone with you." sunauββa is used with substantive or with the relative mood, e.g., sunauββa ayuγtuq "see here, its being bad" = "now, it was bad."

Expressives are, for example, a (amazement), aya "oh!" (sighing), iiq, tiiq (scorn or irony). Imitatives are, for example, qutsiiq (gulls), qau qau (ravens). Such imitatives are used as hunters' calls.<sup>9</sup>

#### ENCLITICS

Enclitics are a class of suffixes which are semantically like independent words, in that they express notions similar to those of particles, but phonetically dependent in that they are attached to the end of other words and require phonetic modifications similar to those which apply within the word. They do not form a part of the inflectional system, nor are they a part of the normal internal syntax, being appended after all formative suffixes, including verb endings. They include: 1) conjunctive enclitics, as -lu "and, also," tauq (also -tsauq) "also, likewise," -luuniit "or, or also, even," -luuniit . . . -luuniit "either . . . or," -li "but"; 2) emphatic -mi "certainly, indeed"; 3) predication-forming enclitics, as -lusuuq (pl. used with plural noun, -lusuut) "it is as though it were," γuuq (after vowels), ṣnuuq (after consonants) "he says, they say, they tell me," -tuq (equivalent to the particle qanuγtuq, formed with this enclitic, which is more common) "if only." Examples: iβlittauq "you also," takuṣṣṣilatauq "I also did not see it," iβlitluuniit uβaṣaluuniit "either you or I"; 2) ayuγpuγmi "it is certainly worthless," tikippumi "they came indeed"; 3) qiṣuγlusuuq "it is as though it were wood," paβaṣṣalusuuq "it seems to be (coming) from above," ayuγmaṣṣnuuq "he said (it was) because it was bad," unaluγuuq "this one also, he said" (<una "this one"

<sup>9</sup> Examples of imitatives and expressives are taken from Thalbitzer, *Eskimo* (1911), pp. 1051-1052, and are northwest Greenlandic, but at least some are common to south Greenlandic, for they are included in Kleinschmidt's dictionary.

+lu "and, also" +γuuq), nilaŋnuamiγtuq "if only (one were provided) with a piece of ice."

### INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

The inflectional categories are of pronominal reference, of person, of number, of case, and of mood.<sup>10</sup> These of course apply only to the inflective word types (the verb and the substantive), and are indicated by means of paradigmatic suffixes. There is a considerable amount of formal fusion in the paradigmatic suffixes, so that it is not always possible to isolate particular portions of the paradigmatic increment as expressing given inflectional categories, but the meaning of the paradigmatic form does lend itself to analysis.

There is never more than a double pronominal reference. Substantives have either no pronominal reference or a single pronominal reference, which expresses either the "possessor" or a direct pronominal reference to which the noun stem is appositional, e.g., iylu-γa "my house"; kisima "I alone." The "possessor" reference can be of various kinds depending on the meaning of the substantive; it may indicate 1) actual possession (e.g., iylu-γa "my house"), 2) whole-part relation (e.g., iši-γa "my eye"), 3) kinship (aŋuti-γa "my father"), 4) point of reference of location (suyu-γa "my space in front" = "the space in front of me"), 5) basis of comparison (aŋiqi-γa "my larger" = "what, he who is larger than I"), 6) the object of one's action (kalitta-γa "my towed thing" = "what I towed"), 7) actor whose action affects one (ayuqiγsuγti-γa "my teacher" = "he who teaches, taught me").

The verb may have a single or double pronominal reference. In case of double pronominal reference, one reference is to the subject, one to the object. In case of single pronominal reference, the reference is to the subject if the verb is inherently intransitive, to the object if the verb is inherently transitive; in the latter case, the subject remains indefinite or it is implied that the subject is the same as the object. Examples: pisuγpaγa "I go to it," pisuγpuŋa "I go," tuquppaγa "I kill him," tuquppuna "(someone) kills me, I am killed; (I) kill myself."

The number categories of singular, plural, and dual are distinguished in substantives, except that demonstratives and interrogatives have no dual, and in pronominal references. Thus

iylu "house": iylut "houses": iyluk "two houses"  
 iylua "his house": iylui "his houses": iyluk "his two houses"  
 iylua "his house": iyluat "their house": iyluak "the house of them (two)"  
 tuquppa "he kills him": tuquppaat "they kill him": tuquppaak "they two kill him"

<sup>10</sup> Paradigmatic formations are not indicated in this paper for want of space. See S. Kleinschmidt, *Grammatik der Groenlaendischen Sprache* (1851), particularly pp. 19-20. Terminological equivalences: recurrent person = Kleinschmidt's "third person e-suffixes," absolute = Kleinschmidt's "objective," relative = Kleinschmidt's "subjective."

tuquppaá "he kills him": tuquppai "he kills them": tuquppak "he kills them (two)"

The singular expresses a single entity (e.g., *iylu* "a house") or a continuous entity (e.g., *uγšuuq* "blubber") not subject to being counted. The plural expresses more than one (e.g., *iylut* "houses"), except that it may refer to two only when duality is immaterial or when it is self-evident; thus reference to a natural pair of things (e.g., *išai* "his eyes," *talii* "his arms") is in the plural, and likewise any set of entities when the numeral for two is actually in the context (e.g., inuit *maγluk* "two men" <"men-pl." + "two-du.>"). The dual refers to two and is used whenever the duality is essential and when it is not otherwise clear in the context. As shown above, certain entities are always treated as plural regardless of any specific relation to a corresponding singular. Pronominal references always agree in number with the substantives expressed or implied, to which they refer.

Four persons, first, second, third, and recurrent, are distinguished in pronominal references. The first two refer to speaker and addressed person respectively. The third person is used for others than the speaker and the person addressed except in certain cases where the recurrent is used instead.

Within a clause, if a third person subject is also referred to as the possessor of another entity in the context, it is in the recurrent person in the latter reference, e.g.,

*aγqi taiβaa* "he mentioned his own<sup>11</sup> name"—contrast *aγqa taiβaa* "he mentioned his (i.e., another's) name"  
*iylumi qaγmaa uppittippaa* "he destroyed his own house's wall"  
*qituγnaminut tuniuppaa* "he gave it to his own child"

In a clause subordinate to another, the subject is in the recurrent person if it is the same as that of the superordinate clause; and possessive pronominal references are in the recurrent person if they are the same as the subject of the superordinate. Examples:

*takuyamiuk ilisaγaa* "when he himself saw him, he recognized him"  
*niγiřaγřaiγukkunik aγiγlaγumaaγput* "when they themselves are without means of livelihood, they will go home"  
*uqautiγiγniilaa piγiγni* "he did not speak of it, that he himself possessed it"  
*uqautiγaa aγuni qimakkaa* "he said of him, that he left his own father"  
*uqautiγaa nunaminut autlaγtuq* "he said of him, that he had gone to his own (home) land"

Cases like the last two are ambiguous since the recurrent reference applies either to the subject of the same clause or to the subject of the superordinate clause. In

<sup>11</sup> "His own," "he himself" are used to translate the recurrent. The Eskimo does not have the emphatic force that the English translation seems to imply.

a series of successive subordinations, the recurrent may have reference to the subject of any of the superordinate clauses; thus,

isumaqaγpuq, qataḡḡutaisa maluγissaγaani annautiyiumaaγitik, kuutip an-naukkumaḡmatik "he had the thought, that his brothers would notice him, whom they themselves would have as means of rescue, since God wanted to save them themselves"

The object can be in the recurrent person only in the case of a subordinate verb, and then only when the subject of the same verb is identical with the object of the immediately superordinate one; thus,

kiβbaata uḡḡiḡmani isiḡkuḡḡnilaa "when his servant came to him himself, he ordered him not to come in"  
 tuniyuḡḡni iluaγissaβaatit "if you give it to him himself, he will approve of you"  
 tusassaβsi uqautiyiγiβtik "they will hear of you that you spoke of them themselves"

The recurrent is used even when its reference is to part of a plural involved in the subject of the main verb, e.g.,

tikikkamik tuquβuq "when they arrived, he himself (one of their number) died"

The recurrent is sometimes used in cases other than those covered by the rules given but this is not regular. Examples:

tuquβuq aḡunila "he died, and also his own father"  
 pinni tuḡuḡpai tiḡliḡtup uḡḡniliḡmani "he locked his things, because a thief was approaching him himself"

The third person is often substituted for the recurrent person object of a subordinate verb, when the subject of the subordinate verb is first or second person, e.g., ilisimaβaḡa uḡḡnissaγiγa "he knows of me that I will come to him" (instead of uḡḡnissaγiβni "that I will come to him himself").

If the subject of the main verb is not indicated in its pronominal references, as happens in a transitive verb with single pronominal reference, it cannot serve as the basis of a recurrent; thus: saβianik tuniḡauβuq "someone presented him with his knife" (possessor of the knife, ambiguous).

The verb has three independent moods, indicative, interrogative, and optative; and four subordinate moods, conjunctive, subjective, subject participial, and object participial. Of the independent moods, the indicative expresses statement; the interrogative, question; the optative, wish or command. A subordinate mood occurs in a clause subordinated to another clause, which may in turn be subordinate to still another. A subordinate verb may be dependent on a noun, if the latter

involves a verbal meaning, e.g., *işinnayu nappaγtaliaq* "without looking at it, a made barrel" = "a barrel made without looking."

The conjunctive mood expresses in terms of an actual event of the present or past 1) temporal location ("when . . ."), 2) cause, 3) noncondition (i.e., circumstance in spite of which an occurrence takes place). Examples:

*tuniγaβku nipaniγpuq* "when I gave to him, he became silent"  
*qaiγquγaγma uγniγpaβkit* "because you called me, I come to you"

The expression of noncondition requires the use of a verb in *aluq* "although . . ." or of the particle *kiγnumut* "contrariwise," e.g.,

*iγluγput ayuγnikkaluaγami ayuliγpuq* "although our house was not bad (before), it is (now) bad"  
*kamiγlaaγama kiγnumut kamiγpuγa* "if I took my boots off (before), I am (now) contrariwise putting them on"

The subjunctive mood expresses in terms of a future or a hypothetical event 1) temporal location, or 2) condition; examples:

*tiniγnaγpat kiβluiaγtuγumaaγpuγut* "when the water is low, we will go out to cut (sea-weed)"  
*takuyuβku nalusaγniγa* "when I see him, I will know him"  
*qaiγqaγpatiγut uγnikumaaγpaγput* "if, when he calls us, we will go to him"

The participial moods express, roughly speaking, concomitant or connected occurrences, the subject participial when the subject of the concomitant occurrence is the same as that of the superordinate verb, the object participial when the subordinate verb involves either as subject or object, the object of the superordinate verb. The subject participial never has another verb subordinate to it, and the object participial does not ordinarily have a verb subordinate to it.

The semantic relation of a subject participial verb to its superordinate verb may be various, indicating cause, means, concomitant or prior event or circumstance. Examples:

*nakkaiβluγu asiγuγpaa* "he letting it fall, he broke it"  
*qiβiaγluγa takuβaγa* "I turning about, saw him"  
*tikitluγu qimiγluuγsiuk* "going up to it, examine it"

Verbs made with given suffixes are used to express certain relations more specifically; examples:

*mianiγsuγitsi nakkaγqunnasi* "he is careful, not wishing (=in order not) to fall"  
*nunaγput takuyumaβluγu tamaupnaγpuq* "wishing (=in order) to see our land, he has come"  
*aputiqaγtinnaγu paβupnaγta* "letting it not have snowed (=before it has snowed), let's go up"

iñiulik piβluyu uniγpaγut “bearing in mind (=because of) the tide, we remained there”

uβaɲa piβluɲa “I bearing me in mind: for my part”

suβluni qiaβa “lacking what (=why) is he crying?”

If the superordinate verb has an object but no subject, the subject participial may still be used and must then be parallel to the main verb in having an object but no expressed subject, e.g.,

tuniniqaγpuq piqanaaγquβluyu “(someone) gave to him, wishing him to have much” = “it was given him that he have much”

tukkiγluyu natuiiγpuq “kicking it, (someone) opened it” = “it was opened by kicking”

The chief use of the object participial is in connection with superordinate verbs expressing communication, mental process, or perception and its logical function is to give the event or circumstance that is communicated, thought of, or perceived. Thus:

aɲnaa tuquβuq uqautiγaat “his mother dying, they tell of her” = “they tell that his mother died”

nalaɲnilaaɲa qiɲmia tuqukkiɲa “he is not unaware of me, I killing his dog” = “he is not unaware that I killed his dog”

qayaq iʃiγaaɲa uɲnikkaatit “I saw a kayak, it coming to you” = “I saw that a kayak came to you”

But the object participial is also used to indicate a concomitant action or circumstance of the object of the superordinate verb, e.g.,

aɲumiγaaɲa tuγquγaa “I caught him, he stealing it” = “I caught him as he stole it”

umiat autlaliγsut tikippai “the boat (pl.) going away, he reached it” = “he reached the boat (just) as it was going away”

aataaɲtaɲa tikippaɲa iqaluγʃuup niγiliγaa “I reached my killed seal, a shark beginning to eat it” = “I reached the seal I had killed, which a shark had begun to eat”

When the superordinate verb has no subject and the subordinate is intransitive, the subordinate may be expressed as a subject participial, or an intransitive-agentive, formally related to the object participial, may be used. In the latter case, the agentive noun has the peculiarity of being in the relative case if it is singular, in the instrumental case if it is dual or plural. “He (they) said (he) they would come” may thus be expressed with the subject participial:

aγγissaβluyu uqaγpuq “he wishing to come, (he) said of himself”

aγγissaβlutik uqa-γput “they wishing to come, (they) said of themselves”  
or with the intransitive agentive noun:

aγγissaşup uqa-γpuq “comer-rel., (he) said of himself”

aγγissaşumik uqa-γput “by a comer, (they) said of themselves”

Certain substitutions of one mood for another are made to modify the tone of the utterance, to add emphasis or liveliness. Thus:

- 1) interrogative for indicative, e.g., amiγlapat “are there many?” = “I certainly should say there were many”
- 2) second person optative (in imperative sense) for the indicative, e.g., amuaγpit “pull up!” = “now, I pulled all my strength” or “there was no end to the pulling”; aşşakaaηuaγit “roll a bit!” = “it rolled and rolled”
- 3) subject participial for optative, e.g., nikuβiγlutit “you standing up” = “stand up!”; kipiβluγu “cutting it off” = “let’s cut it off!”
- 4) the object participial of a form with ~ssa . . . “he will or should . . .” for optative, e.g., takuiaγtussaγit “you who should come to see it” = “come see it!”; saβtissaγiya “I who am to feel it” = “let me feel it”
- 5) the object participial for indicative or interrogative; this substitution gives an emotional overtone of pity, wonder, sympathy, friendliness, disapproval, etc., e.g., uγluşuηa “I falling” = “I fell!”; qunasiaγut iγquγiya “I striking him on his throat” = “(imagine it!) I struck him on his throat”; sumut pissaşuq “one who wants to go where?” = “where does he want to go?”; ainiassaηnikkiya “I who will not get him” = “should I not get him?”
- 6) indicative of a form with ~umaaq “he will . . .” for imperative, e.g., tuγquγmaaγpaγsi “you will lift it” = “lift it!”; mianiγşuγumaaγputit “you will be careful” = “be careful (word of farewell to one departing on a trip)”
- 7) indicative used paratactically instead of object participial, e.g., tusaγpuηa qiηmip kiiβaatit “I hear a dog bit you”; isumaqaγpuηa uβlumi sisamaη-ηuγpuq “I think it is Thursday today”

In the substantive are distinguished two purely syntactic cases, absolutive and relative; and six adverbial cases, locative, ablative, allative, perlativ, instrumental, and simulative. Pronoun-appositive substantives and the plural of the pronominal demonstratives distinguish nominative and accusative instead of absolutive and relative. In these words, the nominative expresses the subject of the verb; the accusative, the object of a transitive verb.

The syntactic cases apply to substantives in apposition with the pronominal reference attached to nouns and verbs. The relative is used when the substantive is in apposition to a “possessor” pronominal reference attached to another noun, or to the subject in a double pronominal reference of a verb. Examples:

tiγianiap iylua "the fox-rel., his house" = "the fox's house"

tiγianiap takuβaa "the fox-rel., he saw him" = "the fox saw him"

tiγianiap iylu takuβaa "the fox-rel., the house, he saw it" = "the fox saw the house"

aγβiγup saγpata umiap suyua aγtuγpaa "the whale-rel. its tail-rel. (subj. of verb), the boat-rel., its front, it struck it" = "the whale's tail struck the boat's forward part"

The absolutive is used in all other cases, namely, in verbless sentences, in apposition to a single pronominal reference in a verb, and in apposition to the object reference in a double pronominal reference of a verb. Examples:

tiγianiaq "a fox!"

tiγianiaq iyllumut pisuγpuq "the fox, to the house, he went" = "the fox went to the house"

tiγianiaq tukuβaa "the fox, he saw him" = "he saw the fox"

tiγianiaq takuβuq "the fox, (someone) saw him" = "(someone) saw the fox, the fox was seen"

inuk tuquppuq "the man, (someone) killed him" = "the man was killed," or "the man killed himself"

In addition the absolutive of nouns referring to a temporal period is used in an adverbial sense to express location in time (but the locative and medial are also used with this force), e.g.,

auṣaq aβalaγpuq "the summer, he left the country" = "he left the country last summer"

unnuaq sinipilaṇa "the night, I did not sleep" = "I didn't sleep at night"

uβluq tammannaγpiaq tuqussaβutit "the day, the same one, you will die" = "you will die the same day"

The superordinate has an irrational use in the singular only of intransitive agent nouns referring to the object and the logical subject of a subjectless verb, e.g.,

nappaγsimasup misiyiliγpuq "the sick one-rel., (he) observes himself" = "(he) observes of himself that he is sick"

This usage does not extend to the plural and dual, where (also irrationally) the instrumental singular is used, e.g.,

aγγissaṣumik uqaγput "by the one to come, (they) say of themselves" = "they said of themselves that they would come"

But this construction is not common, the participle being normal in such cases, e.g.,

aγγissaβlutik uqaγput "they wishing to come, (they) say of themselves: they said they would come"



The adverbial cases are normally used as modifiers of verbs, but also occur with nouns having a verbal meaning, including:

- 1) nouns derived from verbs, e.g., qaβuna iɲiɲlaniɲani "to the south, on his trip" = "on his trip to the south"; aɲmaɲsanik qaluut "with herrings, a raking instrument" = "a herring rake"
- 2) possessor nouns in ~lik "one having . . .," e.g., puɲtuβunik qaqqalik "with high ones, one having mountains" = "a place with high mountains"
- 3) nouns in ~liaq "a produced, home-made . . ."
- 4) nouns in ~siaq "an obtained, bought . . .," e.g., niuβiɲumit saβiɲisiaa "from the merchant, his obtained knife" = "his knife obtained from the merchant"

The locative case expresses:

- 1) the spatial location of an occurrence, e.g., qaβani tuquβuq "in the south he died"
- 2) the temporal location of an action when the location is with reference to another occurrence expressed by a -niq derivative of a verb stem, and sometimes when the temporal location is given in terms of a noun referring to a temporal period (but in this case, the medial or absolutive is more usual), e.g., qatsuɲniɲani autlayit "in its calmness, start out" = "start out while it is calm"; auβami ayuɲsaɲnaɲɲilaq "in the summer one does not suffer want"

The ablative case expresses:

- 1) the starting point of a movement, explicit or implicit, including the starting point of a measurement and the original source of an article, e.g., qaqqamit atiɲput "from the mountain they came down"; nunaβtinit qanippuq "from our land it is near"; tauβumaɲɲa piβaɲa "from that one I received it"
- 2) temporal starting point (time of beginning), but only when there is also an allative in the context, e.g., uβlaamit unnuɲmut "from morning till evening"
- 3) basis of comparison, e.g., nanu tuɲtumit aɲiβuq "the bear, from the reindeer, he is large" = "the bear is large beside the reindeer, is larger than the reindeer"
- 4) cause, e.g., mikiniɲmit tammaɲpuq "from smallness, it got lost" = "it got lost because of its small size"

The allative case expresses:

- 1) the ending point of a movement, e.g., qaβuna iɲiɲlaβuq "to, toward the west he traveled"; iɲluminut isiɲpuq "to his house, he went in" = "he went into his house"
- 2) temporal ending point, in rare cases, e.g., isuanut inuuβuq "to its end, he lived" = "he lived to the end of (the normal life span)"
- 3) that toward which an action is directed, e.g., inuɲnut piɲsauβuq "for the people, it is intended"; nalipinaɲnut atuɲpuq "for all sorts of things, it is used"
- 4) the logical subject of an impersonal verb in -naq . . . i, e.g., tamannut takunaɲpuq "to all, one saw it" = "it was seen by all"
- 5) the intermediary subject of a doubly transitive verb, e.g., pini inuɲnut takuɲquβai "his possessions, to people, he wants one to see them" = "he wants people to see his things"

- 6) the less directly affected object of an action, e.g., anijauṣat inuṣnut tuniuppai “the money (pl.) to the people, he gave them” = “he gave the money to the people”
- 7) various other uses dependent on the verb employed, e.g., siqiniḡmut ikitsiḡuq “to the sun, he made a light” = “he lit it by the sun (i.e., with a sun glass)”
- 8) the quantity desired, in terms of price, of something to be bought (the article itself is in the instrumental), e.g., aataaḡṣuaḡmut tuamik “twelve shillings worth of tobacco”

#### The perlative case expresses:

- 1) the course of a movement, e.g., nunakkut uḡṣiḡpas “he went by land”; maauna pissaḡuḡut “we must go this way”
- 2) intermediary basis, indicating the way in which a fact applies, e.g., aḡnaḡkut iḡḡaḡliḡaaḡa “I am related to him through my mother”; taḡniḡkut naḡuḡpaḡa “I am with him in spirit”
- 3) the part of a whole affected by an action, e.g., aḡṣaisiḡut tiḡuḡḡaa “through the hand, I took him” = “I took his hand”
- 4) temporal location indicating a temporal period within which an action takes place, e.g., uḡlaakut autlaḡput “we departed in the morning”; qaḡutiḡut tikiḡaaḡtaḡput “in the meantime, they visited”
- 5) agent (the logical subject) of a transitive verb used with single pronominal reference, e.g., iliḡkut siḡniḡiṣauḡḡuḡa “through you, (someone) protected me” = “I was protected through (or by) you”

#### The instrumental case expresses:

- 1) the thing used in effecting an action, e.g., aḡṣaminik tiḡuḡḡaa “with his hand he took it”; uḡaḡḡamik miluuḡḡaa “he threw at it with a stone”; piuainniḡnik piḡḡai “he treated them with pleasantness”
- 2) apposition to the contained or implied object of an internally transitive intransitive verb, e.g., maḡluḡnik iḡalaaḡaḡpuḡ “with two, it has windows” = “it has two windows”; qituḡtumik puuḡluḡu “with soft thing, putting it in a wrapper” = “wrapping it in something soft”; uḡaḡḡamik tiḡusiḡuq “with a stone, he took something” = “he took a stone”—this usage has the force of indicating the object as indefinite (“a stone”) in contrast with the normal transitive construction uḡaḡaḡ tiḡuḡḡaa “he took the stone” which implies a definite object (“the stone”)
- 3) that which is referred to in communication or thought, e.g., aataanik uḡalaḡput “they talk of seals”
- 4) the name or expression by which a thing is referred to, e.g., naalaḡkaḡnik taiḡaḡa “by my master, I call him” = “I call him my master”; tauku taiḡaḡaaḡut uḡkannik “these, we call them, by codfish” = “we call these (fish) codfish”
- 5) with agentive nouns or words of similar meaning, manner or concomitant action, e.g., kiḡaitsumik aḡḡiḡpuḡ “with slow one, he comes” = “he comes slowly”; tuniḡaḡna uuḡtuḡniḡaḡṣiḡsumik “he gave it to me, with a not measured thing” = “he gave it to me without measuring it.” In the case of the passive agentive, the meaning may be “in accordance with,” e.g., piḡḡuṣaanik “at his command”; naamaḡiṣaanik “to his satisfaction”

- 6) with numerals, the number of times an action takes place, e.g., atautsimik takuβakka "I saw them once"  
 7) with ordinals, the ordinally defined place of an occurrence, e.g., aipaγsaanik tusassaβat "you are to hear it for the second time"

The simulative case expresses similarity, e.g., kiββatut "like servant"; iγlyutut "like your house"

The simulative has the peculiarity that it may be combined with the locative, e.g., paβanisuṭ "as though above"; nunamisut "as in the country."

#### EXTERNAL SYNTAX

Syntactic relations of words are indicated by the inflectional forms of the words, word order serving only to indicate what words belong together. The relation of words in a sentence is either a modifier relation, in which a verb or semantically verb-like substantive is modified by an adverbial particle or a substantive in an adverbial case or a verb in a subordinate mood, or an appositional relation. An appositional relation may apply between two substantives, in which case they agree in number and case, e.g.,

- uqautsit makkua tusaγkatit "words, these, your heard ones" = "these words which you heard"  
 uqautsit makkua tusaγkaβit "words-rel., these-rel., your heard ones-rel." = "these words which you heard (relative)."  
 uqautsinnik makkuniṭṭa tusaγkaṭnik "by words, by these, by your heard ones" = "by these words which you heard"

Apposition also applies between a substantive and the pronominal reference attached to another substantive or to a verb; in this case, there is agreement as to number between the noun and the pronominal reference but the case of the noun depends on the rules already given as to the use of the absolutive and superordinate cases. Finally, the apposition may apply between a noun and a part of the verb theme; in this case, the noun is either in the instrumental or in the allative, according to rules given in the discussion of these cases, or, in one type of derived verb, in the absolutive. The last mentioned type of case is that of apposition to the noun stem of a verb derived by means of a predicative suffix, e.g.,

- manna qiṣuγsauβuq ayuṭṭitsuq "that, it is firewood, a good one" = "that is good firewood"

Aside from elliptical sentences and sentences consisting of a single sentence-word ("yes," "no," "thanks") or an interjection, one may distinguish three types of sentences:

- 1) copulative sentences, consisting of two members, a primary member which is a substantive in the absolutive or an equivalent expression and a predicate member which may be either a substantive in the absolutive (or an equivalent expression)

or an adverbial element (an adverbial particle or a substantive in an adverbial case). Examples:

nunaḡput qaqqaliḡsuaq "our land (is) one of many mountains"

siḡḡua suuḡlu tiḡmiḡap siḡḡua "his snout (is) like a bird's beak"

maḡḡaḡ una "clay, this" = "is this clay?"

qaḡa una amuḡaq "when this, a pulled up thing" = "when was this pulled up?"

Anaphoric taḡḡa or tamaḡḡa "that, it" may be used in copulative sentences (see examples, p. 11)

- 2) particle sentences, made by means of a sentence-forming particle, e.g., imaqa ilua "imagine its interior!"
- 3) normal, verbal sentences, consisting of a verb in an independent mood with or without appositional elements for its subject and object pronominal references (and for the stem in the cases mentioned), with or without adverbial modifiers, and with or without adverbial and participial clauses (examples are to be found through the discussion).

In copulative sentences, the order of the elements is generally speaking that the primary member precedes in a statement, but follows in a question, but this order is not necessarily adhered to. In particle sentences, the particle generally comes first in the sentence. In the verbal sentence, the normal order for the clause is: 1) subject substantive, 2) object substantive, 3) adverbial elements, 4) verb. The possessing nouns always stands before the possessed, an appositional substantive always after its primary. In a sentence containing a subordinate clause the latter may stand either before or after the main clause, ordinarily before; if the subordinate clause in turn has a subordinate, the subordinate precedes its superordinate if the latter precedes it superordinate, follows its superordinate if the latter follows its superordinate; thus, either of the following may be used: autlassaḡuq tusaḡaḡamiuk tuniḡḡiḡmaḡu iluaḡiḡḡilaat "he being about to go away, when he himself heard of him, he not giving anything to him, they did not approve of him" = "they did not approve that he did not give anything to him when he himself heard he was going away"; iluaḡiḡḡilaat tuniḡḡiḡmaḡu tusaḡaḡamiuk autlassaḡuq (clauses in reverse order). When the sentence is particularly complex, the tendency is to use the order of main clause first with subordinate clauses following in their order of subordination.

Elliptical sentences consist of one member only of an implied copulative sentence, of the elements of an implied particle or verbal sentence without the sentence forming particle or verb (subordinate verbs may be present). Common types of elliptical sentences are:

- 1) attention-calling and identification sentences, consisting of one member of an implied copulative sentence, e.g., naiat "gulls!" = "there are gulls"; naḡḡaaḡa "my found things" = "(that is) the thing I found"
- 2) allative, perlativ, instrumental, or adverbial particle implying optative of move-

ment, transference from one place to another, or other action, e.g., ikuṅa "thither!"; uḡuuna "this way!"; puumik "with a sack" = "take a sack to him, bring me a sack, let's take a sack! etc."; iḡsuatsiaamik "moss!"; aḡsut "bravely, energetically!"; iḡmatsiaq "gently!"

- 3) any independent word given in answer to a question, e.g., sumut pissaḡit "where do you want to go?": kitliḡnut "to the western people"; kia takuḡauk "who saw it?": uma "this one (rel.)"; qanuḡ ilḡmat tuquḡa "when it was how, did he die?": unnuḡmat "when it was evening"

In addition, certain of the uses of the object participial mentioned above may be regarded as elliptical uses involving an implied verb or sentence-forming particle.

### INTERNAL SYNTAX

The inflectional base of a word may be made up of a stem solely, or of a stem with one or more suffix glossemes.<sup>12</sup> There are almost two hundred suffix glossemes, which are added both to stems and to themes made by suffixation. The process applies primarily to noun and verb stems and themes, but there is also a limited amount of suffixation on case forms of substantives, and on modifying particles. Suffixes are for the most part limited as to the type of them to which they can be added so that we may distinguish subnominal suffixes, added to noun themes, subverbal suffixes, added to verb themes, and postformative suffixes, added to case forms and particles; some suffixes are used with more than one type of theme. Postformative suffixes, are quite different from enclitics, with which they partly coincide as to position of occurrence, in that the formations they make are normal nouns and verbs; they are also different in never being added to paradigmatic forms of verbs.

On the basis of their semantic relationship with the underlying theme, suffixes are to be classed into restrictive and governing suffixes. Restrictive suffixes modify or limit the meaning of the underlying theme (e.g., uyaḡaḡsuaq "large stone" < uyaḡak "stone" + ḡsuaq "large"); governing suffixes bring about an essential change of meaning so that they refer to something different from the underlying theme, though defined in terms of the latter (e.g., akiliniḡmiut "inhabitants of Labrador" < akiliniḡ "what is on the other side; Labrador" + miut "inhabitants of . . ."). The class (whether noun, verb, etc.) of a word made with a restrictive suffix is the same as that of the underlying theme. The class of a word made with a governing suffix is determined by the suffix; thus, there are, of governing suffixes, governing verb suffixes and governing noun suffixes.

Governing verb suffixes must further be classed according to their peculiarities as to voice. Some governing subverbal verb-suffixes make a verb of the same in-

<sup>12</sup> The term glosseme is used here to mean a morpheme having an independent unitary meaning. A glossemic morpheme contrasts with an inflectional morpheme, one which indicates the place of an element in its paradigm.

herent voice as the underlying theme; these may be called neutral as to voice. Certain governing verb suffixes, transitive suffixes, make a transitive verb regardless of the underlying theme (if the theme is itself transitive, a doubly transitive verb results); there are also intransitive governing verb suffixes which make intransitive derivatives, either from nouns (e.g., *iylu-qaq . . i*, "to have a house" <*iylu* "house" + *~qaq . .* "to have a . . .") or from transitive verbs (but suffixes that make intransitives from transitive verbs do so by indefinitizing the object, e.g., *tuqut . . t*. "kills": *tuqutsi . . i*. "to kill things"). It is to be noted that intransitive verbs may involve the notion of an object, but such an object is combined in the theme itself and cannot give rise to the use of transitive paradigmatic usage; thus, a verb of the type of *tuqutsiβuq* "he kills-things" contrasts with one of the type of *tuqupaa* "he kills him." A peculiar subverbal restrictive suffix from the standpoint of voice is *-naq . .* " (there is . . .ing) by someone," which, when added to a transitive theme makes a transitive verb in which the subject may not be expressed, e.g., *maluγaatit* "he notices you": *malupnaγputit* "there is noticing of you by someone" (= one notices you").

The only limitations as to the number of glossemic suffixes that may be added to one stem are the limitations imposed by the semantic and combinatory nature of the suffixes. Rather complex formations may thus result, for example:

*qasuiiγsaγβiγsaγsiɲpitluinaγnaγpuq* "one failed entirely to find a resting place" <<sup>13</sup>*-naq . .* " (there is . . .ing) by someone" + *-luinaq . .* "entirely" + *qasuiiγsaγβiγsaγsiɲpit . . i*. "not to find a resting place" <*~ɲpit . .* + "not to . . ." + *qasuiiγβiγsi . . i*. "to find a resting place" <*-si . . i*. "to find . . ." + *qasuiiγsaγβik* "resting place" <*-ββik* "place of, for . . .ing" + *qasuiiγsaq . . t*. "to cause to rest" <*-saq . . t*. "cause one to . . ." + *qasuiiq . . i*. "to be not tired, to rest" <*~iiq . .* "not to be . . ." (also *~iiq . . i*. "to be without . . .") + *qasu . . i*. "to be tired"

The order in which the suffixes occur is, on the whole, fixed with reference to a sequence of restrictive suffixes, but with governing suffixes different orders are possible with different meanings. However, in the formation of a verb, governing suffixes expressing notions of time, aspect, and modality tend to be used last. A verb temporally, aspectually, or modally defined may take a noun-forming suffix, in which case the suffixes of time, and so on, no longer stand last; and the noun thus formed may then again be verbalized by a further addition of a suffix.

In the following outline summary, are given the kinds of derivational suffixes (expanding the classification already sketched out) with examples:

#### I. Restrictive suffixes

1. Subverbal, expressing manner, degree, temporal notions, Examples: *~qi . .*

<sup>13</sup> The analysis precedes from the last suffix.

- “very much, very badly”; *-niγluk* . . . “badly”; *-βluaq* . . . “properly”; *-luinaq* . . . “thoroughly”; *-tuinnaq* . . . “steadily, without interruption”; *~pnaaq* . . . “very much”; *~tlaq* . . . “with energy, more than ordinarily”; *-t/şaq* . . . “repeatedly”; *-γumaaq* . . . “in the future”; *-sima* . . . “in the past”; *-t/şaγi* . . . “customarily”
2. Subnominal, expressing certain notions of size, age, state, provenience, etc.; many of these are used with the absolute of pronominal demonstratives as well as with noun stems; examples: *-γşuaq* “large” (e.g., *uyaγaγşuaq* “a large stone”); *-pnaaq* “small”; *-taaγ* “new”; *~tuqaq* “old”; *~γpait* (pl.) “several”; *~liaq* “made, home-made”; *-siaq* “purchased, obtained”; *~kuq* “ruined, remnant of . . .”
  3. Subverbal and subnominal, including mainly the following: *~inaq*(.) “only” (e.g., *iγluinaq* “only a house”; *uqainaγpuq* “he just talked”); *~kasik*(.) “empty, hated; unfortunately, badly”; *~payaq*(.) “nearly”; *~kuluk*(.) “lonely, pitiful; pitifully, unfortunately”

## II. Governing suffixes

### 1. Noun-forming

- a. Subnominal; examples: *~lik* “something having a . . .” (e.g., *pilik* “one having goods”); *-miu* “inhabitant of . . .”; *~kanniγ* “place near to . . .” (used with location nouns, e.g., *isukannianut* “toward the end” and post-formative with adverbial cases); *~qat* . . . p. “one’s fellow . . .”; *~γşaq* “that which is destined to be a . . .”
- b. Subverbal, including various agentives, instrumentals, abstracts, etc.; the most important: *-t/suq* (intrans. agentative) “one who has . . . ed” (e.g., *autlaγtuq* “one who has gone away”); *~γsaq*, *-taq* (passive agent) “what is, has been . . . ed”; *-t/si* . . . p. (active agent) “one’s . . . er” (usually formed from the indefinite object intransitive, e.g., *tuqutsişaa* “his killer, the one who killed him”); *-niq* “result of . . . ing, act of . . . ing”; *~ut* “instrument of . . . ing”; *-ββik* “location of . . . ing”; *~γlaaq* “one who . . . s for the first time”

### 2. Verb-forming

#### a) Subverbal

- 1) neutral (the voice of the derivative is the same as that of the underlying theme) including suffixes expressing notions of aspect, of negation and probability, and of attitude toward or relation to an action; examples: *~γiaq* . . . “to be . . . ing”; *~liq* . . . “to begin to . . .”; *~pniit* . . . “not to . . .”; *~kanniγ* . . . “to almost . . .”; *-upnaq* . . . “to presumably . . .”; *~γquuq* . . . “to probably . . .”; *-t/şuuşaaq* . . . “to seem to . . .”; *~ssa* . . . “should . . .; in the future”; *~liγşaaq* . . . “to intend to . . .”; *-niaq* . . . “to seek to . . .”; *-umau* . . . “to like to . . .”; *-iaγtuq* . . . “to go in order to . . .”
- 2) intransitivizing, including five semantically equivalent suffixes which, added to a transitive verb theme, make the object reference indefinite, the choice of one or the other of these suffixes is in part optional, in part dependent on the particular transitive involved. The suffixes: *~i*, *~γi* . . ., *~şi*, *-pniik*, *-si*, *-γliq* . . . i. (For examples, see above)

- 3) transitive; added to intransitives, the logical subject of the underlying transitive is the object (e.g., *pisuḡsaḡpaa* "he causes him to go"); added to transitives the object of the underlying transitive is the object of the derivative (e.g., *tuqtsaḡpaa* "he causes someone to kill him"). Examples: *-saq . . t.* "to cause (him) to . . ."; *-t/ṣaili . . t.* "to prevent (him) from . . .ing"; *-niḡaq . . t.* "to say (he) . . .s"; *it/ṣuḡi . . t.* "to think mistakenly (he) . . .s"; *~ḡqu . . t.* "to tell, want (him) to . . ."; *-tit . . t.* "to let (him) . . ."; *-tsiq . . t.* "to expect (him) to . . ."

b. Subnominal

- 1) forming copulative verbs: *~u . . i.* "to be a . . ." (e.g., *uḡpiuḡuq* "it is a tree"), also used with pronouns and pron. demonstratives (e.g., *kinauḡit* "who are you?"); *~ḡḡuq . . i.* "to become a . . ."; *-ḡpaluk . . i.* "to appear, sound like a . . ."
- 2) forming transitive verbs: *~ḡi . . t.* "to have as . . ." (e.g., *nunaḡaa* "he has it as country: that is, his native land"); *ḡ~iq, ~liq . . t.* "to provide with . . ." (e.g., *quuḡḡiḡpaa* "he puts furrows in it"); *ḡ~iaq . . t.* "to deprive of . . ."
- 3) forming internally transitive intransitives; examples: *~qaq . . i.* "to have . . ." (e.g., *nunaḡaḡpuq* "he has land"); added to pronouns and pronominal demonstratives in the sense of "...exists, is there" (e.g., *taunaḡaḡmat* "because that one was there"); *-k, -q* (after vowels), *zero . . i.* "to handle, use, act (in customary fashion) with . . ."; *-si . . i* "to receive . . ."; *-siuq . . i.* "to seek, be after . . ."; *ḡ-iaq, -liaq . . i.* "to go to . . ."; *-tuq . . i.* "to use . . ."; *~luk . . i.* "to have bad . . ."; *~it . . i.* "to be without . . ."; *~kit . . i.* "to have small . . ."; *~tuu . . i.* "to have large . . ."; *~ḡnit . . i.* "to smell of . . ." *-k, -q, zero . . i.* ("to handle, use, act, in customary fashion with . . .") has different meanings according to the noun with which it is used, thus, with animal names "to capture . . ."; with garments, "to dress in . . ."; with interjections "to say . . ."; with instrumentals of body parts, (either trans. or intrans.) "to use . . ., to use . . . on" (e.g., *nanuḡpuq* "he captures a bear," *nasaḡpuq* "he puts on a hat," *kakakaḡpuq* "he says 'kakakaa' like a fox," *ikusipmiḡpaa* "he strikes it with his elbow")

As has been seen, a number of subnominal and subverbal suffixes also have postformative uses. The rather few purely postformative suffixes are substantially as follows:

- ḡpasik . . i.* "to lie in the direction of," used with location nouns and with the ablative of pure demonstratives (*aḡaḡnaḡpasiḡpuq* "it is somewhat to the north"; *kiḡaḡnaḡpasiḡpuq* "it comes from a southerly direction")
- ḡqut . . t.* "to go past, around . . ." used with location words and with the allative of pure demonstratives (e.g., *aḡaḡquppaa* "he goes past on the outer side," *paḡuunaḡquppaa* "he passes it on the landward side")



- ~uṛnaq . . i . (cf. ~uṛna abl. of demonstratives) “to go toward . . .” (e.g., samuṛnaḡpuq “he goes down, seawards”)
- ~uq . . used with perrelative of numerals, “to do . . . (number) of times (to)” (e.g., atautsikkuuḡpai “he handles them [all] at once”)
- ~kaaq . . i . used with allative of location nouns “goes toward . . .” (e.g., kuyammukaaḡpuq “he goes southward”).