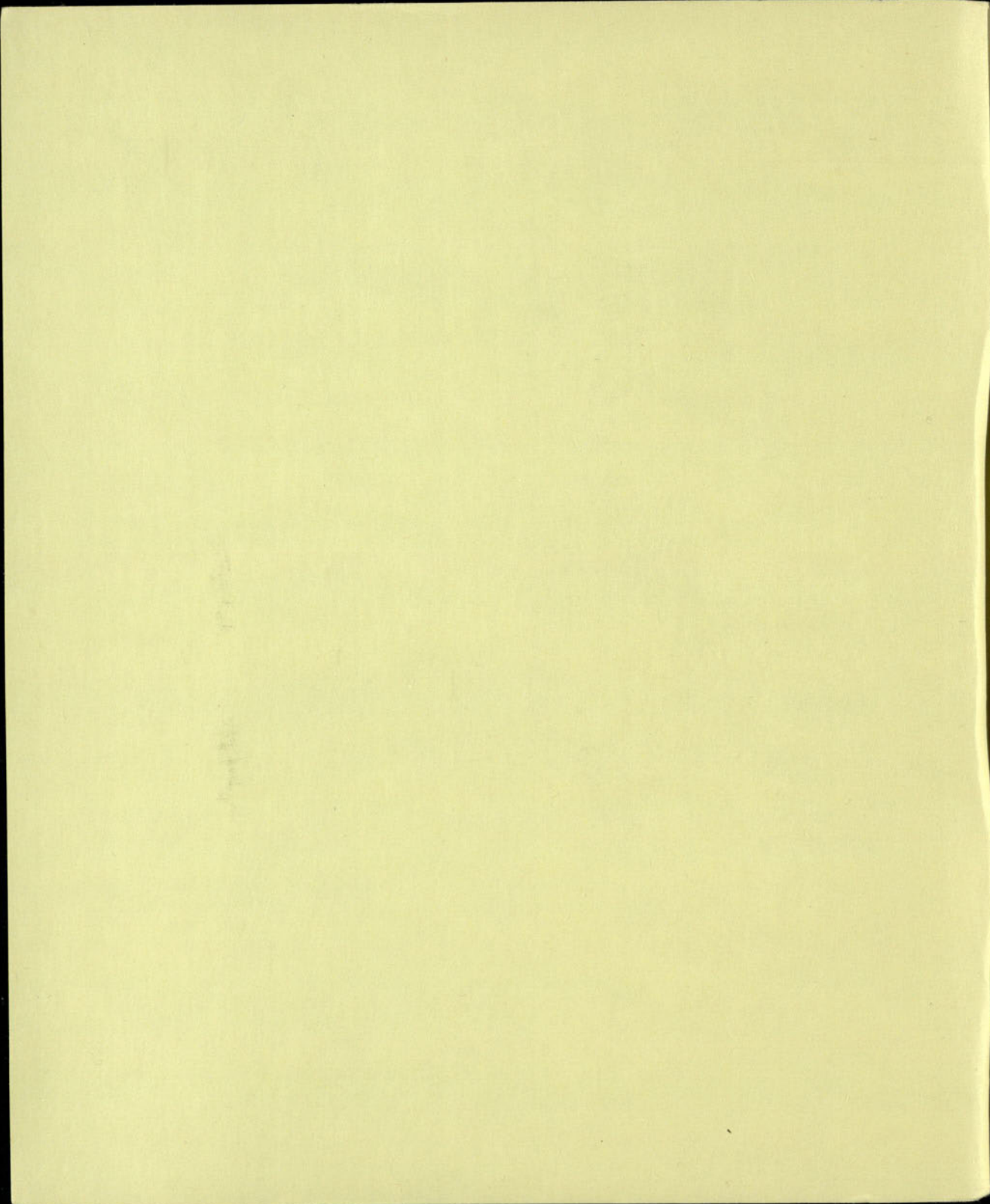


# LET'S LEARN ESKIMO





## PREFACE

Let's Learn Eskimo! It's really not too difficult. The way to a people's heart is through their language. A little effort to master a few words will help you to understand the people in whose village you live.

# LET'S LEARN

This book is a guide to help you begin learning Eskimo, a "Do It Yourself" teacher. It is a brief description of the Eskimo spoken in all villages north of the Brooks Range, Alaska. But it will be of benefit to all Eskimo villages too, because the sounds described are common to all Eskimo dialects. Furthermore, the grammar described here is universal. The same, the grammar described herein will help one to recognize the grammatical patterns of any dialect.

# ESKIMO

No attempt has been made to exhaustively describe Eskimo grammar. Its formidability would frighten you from any attempt to learn. But one need not know all of the intricacies of a language to speak it. This book, therefore, is an attempt to guide a student through the principal features of Eskimo. It is a set of "pages" hopefully designed to help you recognize and understand.

by  
Donald H. Webster  
illustrated  
by  
Thelma A. Webster

Here is a suggested plan of attack.

- 1) Read chapter 1, noticing particularly the sounds which are foreign to English.
- 2) Have an Eskimo help you repeat after him the exercises on page 3.
- 3) Using some of the phrases in the "On Phrases" section, mimic an Eskimo to improve your pronunciation, and begin memorizing the phrases. The best way to memorize is to try them out on your Eskimo friends. (Helpful learning aids are provided on page 43.)
- 4) Read chapters 2 and 3, noticing the main grammatical patterns, not getting bogged down in any one area.
- 5) Elicit phrases from your friends, referring to the grammatical outline, and related exercises where necessary, to help you analyze what you have. Exercises and memory aids are interspersed to help.

Summer Institute of Linguistics  
Box 1028, Fairbanks, Alaska



LET'S LEARN

ESKIMO

by  
Donald H. Webster  
illustrated  
by  
Theodore A. Webster

2nd Edition

© 1968 by Donald H. Webster

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 68-7023

4th Printing February 1970

Summer Institute of Linguistics  
Box 1025, Fairbanks, Alaska



## PREFACE

Let's Learn Eskimo! It's really not too difficult. The way to a peoples' heart is through their language. A little effort to master a few Eskimo phrases will endear you to the people in whose village you are living.

This book is a guide to help you begin learning Eskimo, a "Do It Yourself" teacher. It is a brief description of the Eskimo spoken in all villages north of the Brook's Range, Alaska. But it will be of benefit to folk who live in other villages too, because the sounds described herein are shared by most dialects of Eskimo. Furthermore, since Eskimo structure is universally the same, the grammar described herein will help one to recognize the grammatical patterns of any dialect.

No attempt has been made to exhaustively describe Eskimo grammar. Its formidability would frighten you from any attempt to learn. But one need not know all of the intricacies of a language to speak it. This presentation, therefore, is an attempt to guide a student through the principal features of Eskimo. It is a set of "pigeon holes," hopefully designed to help you recognize and classify what you record.

Here is a suggested plan of attack:

- 1) Read chapter 1, noticing particularly the sounds which are foreign to English.
- 2) Have an Eskimo help you "tune-up" by repeating after him the exercises on page 3.
- 3) Using some of the phrases in the "Useful Eskimo Phrases" section, mimic an Eskimo to improve your pronunciation, and begin memorizing them. The best way to memorize is to "try them out" on your Eskimo friends. (Helpful learning aids are provided on page 45.)
- 4) Read chapters 2 and 3, noticing the main grammatical patterns, not getting bogged down in any one area.
- 5) Elicit phrases from your friends, referring to the grammatical outline, and related footnotes where necessary, to help you analyze what you have. Exercises and memory aids are interspersed to help your language assimilation.

Be advised! One Cannot learn to speak a foreign language by reading a book!

So elicit forms, mimic a native speaker, and practice.

**Inuk nikaiñami, ilitchisuuruk.**

***The person who perseveres continues to learn.***



# CONTENTS

## Chapter 1 Sound System

1.1	Consonants . . . . .	1
1.2	"Tune-Up" Exercises . . . . .	3
1.3	Vowels . . . . .	4
1.4	Eskimo Musicality . . . . .	5

## Chapter 11 Grammar System

2	Expandable-Inflective Words . . . . .	7
2.1	Verb . . . . .	8
2.1.1	Verb Suffixes . . . . .	8
2.1.2	Verb Bases . . . . .	10
2.2	Noun . . . . .	11
2.2.1	Noun Number . . . . .	12
2.2.2	Noun Possession . . . . .	12
2.2.3	Noun Possessor . . . . .	13
2.2.4	Noun Suffixes: "Prepositional" . . . . .	14
2.2.5	Noun Suffixes: "Possession-Position" . . . . .	16
2.3	Simple Sentences . . . . .	17
2.4	Verb Moods . . . . .	19
2.4.1	Verb Moods-Independent . . . . .	19
2.4.2	Verb Moods-Dependent . . . . .	21
2.5	Complex Sentences . . . . .	25
2.6	Word Expansion . . . . .	26
2.7	Post Bases as Free Form . . . . .	30
2.8	Coupling Patterns . . . . .	31
2.9	Noun to Verb to Noun to Verb etc . . . . .	32

## Chapter 111 Grammar System Cont'd

3.1	Inflective Words . . . . .	34
3.2	Non-Inflected Words . . . . .	36
	Addenda . . . . .	38
	Footnotes . . . . .	39
	Learning Aids . . . . .	45
	Useful Eskimo Phrases . . . . .	46
	Noun and Verb Suffixes . . . . .	54



Chapter I Sound System	
1.1	Consonants
1.2	"Turn-Up" Exercises
1.3	Vowels
1.4	Esimo Musically

## Chapter II Grammar System

2	Expandable-Inflective Words
2.1	Verb
2.1.1	Verb Suffixes
2.1.2	Verb Bases
2.2	Noun
2.2.1	Noun Number
2.2.2	Noun Possession
2.2.3	Noun Possessor
2.2.4	Noun Suffixes: "Prepositional"
2.2.5	Noun Suffixes: "Possession-Position"
2.3	Simple Sentences
2.4	Verb Moods
2.4.1	Verb Moods-Independent
2.4.2	Verb Moods-Dependent
2.5	Complex Sentences
2.6	Word Expansion
2.7	Post Bases as Free Form
2.8	Coupling Patterns
2.9	Noun to Verb to Noun to Verb etc.

## Chapter III Grammar System Cont'd

3.1	Inflective Words
3.2	Non-Inflective Words
3.3	Addenda
3.4	Footnotes
3.5	Learning Aids
3.6	Useful Esimo Phrases
3.7	Noun and Verb Suffixes

## CHAPTER 1

### SOUND SYSTEM

The alphabet of this Eskimo dialect has 24 symbols, made up of 3 vowels and 21 consonants. Following is a list of these symbols and a comparison with English, where this is possible. Those sounds foreign to English are described in more detail and illustrated. The technical names in parentheses are for those readers who may have a linguistic background. You must keep this in mind: ONE CANNOT LEARN A LANGUAGE FROM A BOOK.

You must hear the sounds in their natural settings, and this is only possible by having a native speaker say the illustrative words for you. The following is a guide to lead you along the right path of Eskimo "tune-up."

#### 1.1 CONSONANTS

ch (voiceless alveopalatal affricate) as in "church."

g (voiced velar spirant) ranges from 'g' in "beggar" to a much softer sound that is sometimes almost imperceptible.

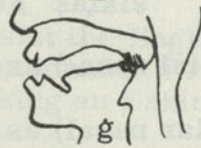
It has a hard 'g' sound before a consonant: iglu *house*

It has a softer sound following a consonant: argaich *hand*

It is still softer between vowels: <sup>1</sup>piga *mine*

ġ (voiced uvular spirant) is like the 'g' above in its relative degrees of softness, but is pronounced much farther back in the throat.<sup>1</sup> (Compare face diagrams below). This sound occurs very frequently and must be mastered.

agnak *woman*      agġiin *dance*      annugaat *clothes*



Note where the tongue contacts the throat for 'g' vs 'ġ' (This same contrast obtains for 'k' vs 'ġ')



h (voiceless glottal spirant) as in "hot."

k (voiceless velar stop) as in "skill" with no following puff of air as in "kill."

q̣ (voiceless uvular stop) is pronounced much farther back in the throat (cf. diagrams above). Like 'g' this sound is very frequent in its occurrence and must be mastered.

Compare the following words: (with the aid of a native speaker)

q̣immik *dog*

q̣auq̣ *forehead*

kimmik *heel*

kauk *walrus skin*

l (voiced alveolar lateral) as in "select." When 'l' is lengthened, it may sound like 'dl': *alla other one.*

l̥ (voiced alveopalatal lateral) somewhat similar to 'li' in "million." Observe by the diagrams below the tongue position for 'l' vs 'l̥'.



(This same contrast obtains for 'n' vs 'ñ')

Compare the following words, (with the aid of a native speaker): *iglua his house* vs *iglua the other*

t (voiceless alveolar lateral) is a voiceless 'l', something like that in "click." *Kamikluuk trousers*

q̣̥ (voiceless alveopalatal lateral) is also voiceless but formed like 'l̥' above. This sound is rather infrequent:

sikq̣̥ak *pick axe*

m (voiced bilabial nasal) as in "merry."

n (voiced alveolar nasal) as in "no."

ñ (voiced alveopalatal nasal) like 'ñ' in Spanish "mañana." (cf. face diagram above) *iñuk person igñik son*



- ŋ (voiced velar nasal) is the same as the 'ng' in "singing."  
 aŋun *man* piun *do it!*
- p (voiceless bilabial stop) as in English "spill" with no following puff of air as in "pill."
- r (voiced retroflexed alveolar sibilant) usually sounds somewhat like 'r' in "red" or "very" : arigaa *That's good.*  
 However, when following 'i' it sounds somewhat like 'z':  
 iri *eye* irraitчуk *It (weather) is warmer.*
- sr (voiceless retroflexed alveolar sibilant) is like 'r' above only voiceless. It occurs only after 'k' or 'k'.<sup>2</sup>  
 iksrak *cheek* siksrik *ground squirrel*
- s (voiceless alveolar sibilant) similar to 's' in "sip," though sometimes sounding almost like 'sh' in "ship."  
 siku *ice* sialuktuq *It is raining.*
- t (voiceless alveolar stop) as in "still," with no following puff of air as in "till."
- v (bilabial spirant) is similar to the 'v' in "shovel" or 'f' in "awful," except that it is pronounced between the lips rather than between the lower lip and upper teeth as in English.<sup>1</sup>  
 The 'f' pronunciation is heard only when 'v' immediately precedes 's'.  
 avu *sugar* qavsiñik *How many?*
- y (high front non-syllabic vocoid) as in English "you."

## 1.2 "TUNE-UP" EXERCISE

The following pairs of words will assist the English reader to "tune" his ear to the difficult Eskimo sounds. Practice hearing and repeating these words by mimicking an Eskimo. (Also available on tape, see page 46.)

k & q	kimmik	heel	kaaktuq	he is hungry.
	qimmik	dog	qaaktuq	it explodes.
g & g	aggiin	go home!	tagiuktuq	he sneezed.
	aggiin	dance!	tagiuktuq	it is salted.

n & ñ kinnak *fool*  
 kiiñak *face*

ignik *fire*  
 ignik *son*

l & l iglua *his house*  
 iglua *the other*

ilivich *you (sing.)*  
 ilisimaruna *I know.*

l & l savapalluktuq *He is working hard.*  
 savapañhuktuq *He is working (strangely).*

ł & ł kamikluuk *trousers*

sikłak *pick axe.*

### 1.3

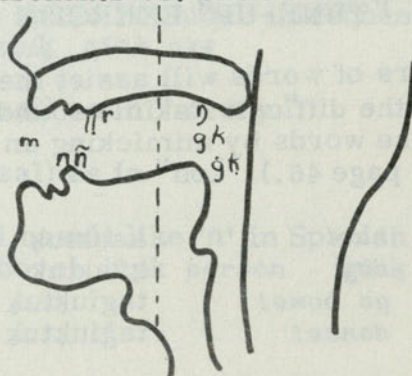
### VOWELS

Language sounds are like the people that use them: they are influenced by their neighbors. This is particularly true of vowels. Though the alphabet exhibits only 3 vowel symbols, each symbol represents a family of sounds comprised of 3 vowel qualities. Thus Eskimo actually has 9 vowel qualities.

The vowel sounds within a family are predictable in terms of phonetic environment, and thus the native speaker automatically uses the right vowel sound. A foreign speaker, however, has to learn the variant patterns.<sup>3</sup> So, as previously stated: YOU MUST MIMIC A NATIVE SPEAKER TO LEARN HIS LANGUAGE.

The following diagram illustrates the two classes of sounds that influence vowel quality. Each sound is formed in the area of the mouth where its respective symbol appears.

front voiced consonants vs. back consonants





Symbol /i/ has 3 vowel qualities: -i-, -e-, and -(- which are realized thus:

- i- as in "beet," when next to front voiced consonants, and when lengthened:  
 uniat *sled*                      kiifnak *face*
- e- as in "bait," when next to back consonants.  
 kia *whose*                      kiruk *wood*
- (- as in "bit" in other environments.  
 ikuun *skin-scraper*      tipi *odor*

Symbol /u/ has 3 vowel qualities: -u-, -o-, -(-, which are realized thus:

- u- as in "boot" when next to front consonants, and when lengthened.  
 uniat *sled*                      atuun *song*
- o- as in "boat" when next to back consonants.  
 aluk *sole*                      kauk *forehead*
- (- is something like the British English "top," and occurs in other environments.  
 isiktuk *He enters*      kairuk *He came*

Symbol /a/ has 3 vowel qualities: -a-, -(-, and -(-, which are realized thus:

- a- as in "bought" when next to back consonants (except 'k'), and when lengthened.  
 piqaktuja *I have*              autaaqtuja *I share*
- (- as in "bat" when next to front consonants.  
 apun (soft) *snow*              anut *harness*
- (- as in "but" in other environments.  
 tavra *that's right!*      taktuk *fog*

The 3 vowel families combine to form diphthongs: ia, iu, ai, au, ui, and ua.

This concludes the description of Eskimo consonants and vowels. But language is more than a mere collocation of sounds. It is dynamic, and one cannot speak Eskimo without some knowledge of:

#### 1.4 ESKIMO MUSICALITY

To speak a foreign language like a native, one must master the musical quality of the language. Timing, accent (beat), and



voice pitch are all involved. In Eskimo, these three factors co-function in the following way:

**TIMING:** Eskimo has long and short sounds. (English has something of the same phenomena. Compare the duration of "bought" and "but"). Any sound may be lengthened except 's' and 'h'. Any symbol which is written double represents a long sound, and should be held twice as long. In Eskimo, the distinction between long vs. short sounds is very important. Many word meanings are distinguished solely by this factor.

añaayuta vs. aṇayuta *let's pray* vs. *let's dance!*

nakuuruḡ vs. nakuruḡ *he is good* vs. *he is cross-eyed.*

aṇun vs. aṇṇun vs. aṇuun *man* vs. *animal* vs. *paddle*

**ACCENT:** Lengthened vowels are always accented (given a heavier beat). The heaviest beat or accent occurs on one of the last three syllables of a word, depending upon which syllable has a lengthened vowel. (A diphthong is accented like a lengthened vowel). When the last three syllables of a word are short, then the second last syllable is accented. This is the most frequent pattern.

aṇayúta vs. aṇaáyuta vs. taútukkaá

*let's dance!* vs. *let's pray!* vs. *he sees it.*

**PITCH:** Higher pitch accompanies heavier stress, so that normally, one of the last three syllables will receive highest pitch. This applies to declarative statements. For a question or a command, the highest pitch and heaviest accent is always on the last syllable.<sup>4</sup>

Thus pitch and accent are concomitants of timing.

Listen intently for these factors, mimic precisely, and use the above diacritics for your notations.

### THE VOWEL THAT IS - BUT ISN'T

"I know I heard a vowel in there. Why didn't you write it? You wrote 'iglu' but I know I heard 'ig<sup>h</sup>lu."

"Oh, that! It is called a transitional sound, a 'carry over' of voicing while the tongue is taking a new position."

"How can you determine when a vowel is only Transitional?"

1) By suspect spots. These mystery vowels only occur between voiced consonants.

2) By having a native speaker pronounce a word slowly.

In very slow speech, the transitional vowel will disappear."



## CHAPTER 11

## GRAMMAR SYSTEM

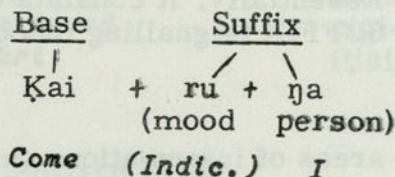
Eskimo has three types of words,<sup>5</sup> Expandable-inflective, Inflective, Non-inflective. The expandable-inflective class is much larger than the other classes, and constitutes the essential building blocks of Eskimo. The latter two classes will be described in Chapter 111.

## 2. EXPANDABLE-INFLECTIVE WORDS

The principal characteristics of inflected words are a base and a suffix. These must always occur.

The BASE initiates the word and signals the main thought. It may be compared to a noun or a verb.

The SUFFIX terminates the word, relating this thought to its context. That is, verb suffixes signal person and mood (the "who" and "how" of action resp.).



Noun suffixes signal possession and position (cf. English prepositions.)

e. g. iglu-ga    my house  
house-my

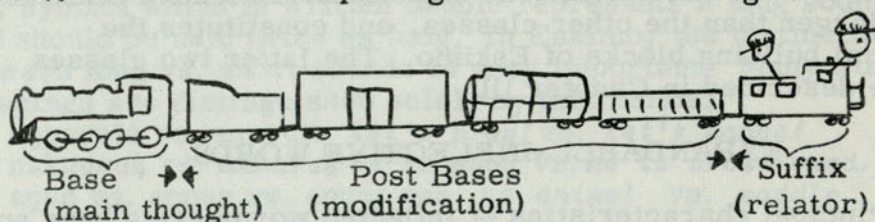
iglu-mun    to (the) house<sup>6</sup>  
house-to

iglu--m--nun    to my house  
house-my-to

One other factor characterizes Expandable-Inflective words: That of modification. Between the base and suffix may be added



various kinds of modifiers. This pattern is true of nouns as well as verbs. Expandable-Inflected word construction may be compared to a railway freight train. Just as a train has an engine, various freight cars, and a caboose, so the Eskimo inflected word has a base, various modifiers (often called post-bases), and a suffix completing the "train" of thought.



With these general remarks in mind, we shall now outline Expandable-Inflected words in more detail, ie., verb and noun bases, suffixes, modifiers, and the resultant construction of sentences.

## 2.1

## VERB

The Eskimo verb is a simple sentence in itself, or the kernel of an enlarged sentence. Essentially, it consists of a BASE (signalling action), and a SUFFIX (signalling mood and person).

### 2.1.1 VERB SUFFIXES

A verb suffix signals two areas of information: mood and person. Only the Indicative Mood is used here. (Other moods will be discussed later).

The person area of information in verb suffixes signals person (1st, 2nd, & 3rd) and number (singular, dual, plural). Eskimo has two classes of verb suffixes based upon person information. The one class refers to the verb subject, and hereafter is called Subject-Suffix, (S). The other class refers to both the verb subject and verb object, and hereafter is called Subject-Object-Suffix, (S-O).

(Note! the traditional terms for this dichotomy are Intransitive and Transitive resp. These terms are not used in this paper because they are unfamiliar terms to many).

Subject Suffixes (S)

Subject Suffixes signal the subject of the verb only. These are conjugated thus, (using tautuk- *see* as the verb base):

tautuk-tuŋa<sup>8</sup>  
*I see*

tautuk-tuguk  
*we (2) see*

tautuk-tugut  
*we (pl) see*

tautuk-tutin  
*you see*

tautuk-tusik  
*you (2) see*

tautuk-tusi  
*you (pl) see*

tautuk-tuŋ  
*he sees*

tautuk-tuk  
*they (2) see*

tautuk-tut  
*they (pl) see*

## EXERCISE

Elicit these same suffixes (above) with the following verb bases:

isiŋ- *enter*  
aullaŋ- *depart*  
siŋik- *sleep*  
tauŋsiŋ- *buy*  
pilaik- *be tired*  
anniŋ- *hurt*

aiŋit- *not go home*  
kaŋait- *did not come*  
isiŋit- *enter again*  
nakuu- *good*  
niŋi- *eat*  
iŋisima- *know*

Subject-Object Suffixes (S-O)

Subject-object suffixes signal both the subject and the object of the verb.

tautuk-kiga  
*I see him (her/it)*<sup>9</sup>

tautuk-kikpiŋ  
*I see you (sing)*

Considering that Eskimo distinguishes between singular, dual, and plural, and that the interaction of first, second, and third persons is involved, no less than 63 combinations are possible. Fortunately, the less functional suffixes may signal more than one combination, reducing the number of different forms to 37.

The following forms are most frequently used:



## A

tautuk-kiga *I see him*  
 tautuk-kitka *I see them*

tautuk-kikpiñ *I see you(s)*  
 tautuk-kivsi *I see you(pl)*

tautuk-kaaña *He sees me*  
 tautuk-kaatin *He sees you(s)*

## B

tautuk-kikput *We(pl) see him*  
 tautuk-kivut *We see them*

tautuk-kiptigin *We see you(s)*  
 tautuk-kivsi *We see you(pl)*

tautuk-kaatigut *He sees us(pl)*  
 tautuk-kaasi *He sees you(pl)*

(NOTE -Memory Aid: Forms with 1st and 2nd person as Subject begin with -ki-. Forms with 3rd person as Subject begin with -ka-; and objects added thereto appear much like the person markers of S Suffixes. e.g. Tautuktuna, tautukkaaña).

## EXERCISE

After reading footnote 10, elicit the suffixes of column A, using the following verb bases. On another occasion, elicit the suffixes of column B.

atuq- *use*  
 taiguak- *read*  
 navik- *break*

pakit- *find*  
 ili- *place*  
 nigi- *eat*

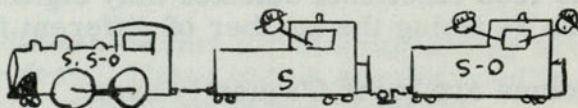
## 2.1.2 VERB BASES

Note that the same verb base has been used to illustrate both S and S-O suffixes. Not all verb bases are so diverse. Some bases may take S suffixes only. Thus we have two classes of Eskimo verb bases.

S, S-O BASES

S, S-O bases may take either Subject Suffixes or Subject-Object Suffixes.

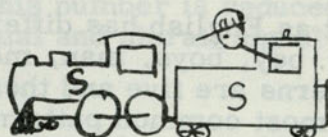
Tautuk-tuna *I see*  
 Tautuk-kiga *I see it.*



## S BASES<sup>11</sup>

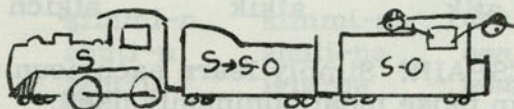
S bases may take subject suffixes only.

aullaḵ-tuṇa    *I depart*  
 pisuaḵ-tuṇa    *I walk*



## CHANGING S BASES TO S-O BASES

A class changer may be added to some S bases which will then permit the use of S-O suffixes. This may be accompanied by a change in meaning.



aullaḵ-tuṇa    vs.    aullaḵ-tit-kiga (aullaḵtitkiga)  
*I depart*                      *I send it away (lit. I depart it).*

## Summary of the Verb

The essential parts of a verb are BASE and SUFFIX: Verb Suffixes refer pronominally to: a) Subject, or b) Subject and Object. Verb Bases are of two classes: a) those that may take only S suffixes, and b) those that may take either S suffixes or S-O suffixes. The former class of verb bases may be changed to the latter by the insertion of a class changer.

We shall now leave discussion of the verb and consider the noun.

## 2.2

## NOUN

Noun bases are marked for number: singular, dual, or plural. They may also take 3 classes of suffixes: possession, position (similar to English prepositions), and a combined class of these.

e.g. -noun      iglu *house*  
 -possession    iglu-ga *my house*  
 -position      iglu-mi *in (the) house*  
 -possession-position    iglu-mni *in my house*



## 2.2.1 NOUN NUMBER

Just as English has different patterns for pluralizing nouns (e.g. boy, boys, man, men), so does Eskimo. The common patterns are five and these are listed in descending order, with the most common pattern as Class 1.

Class	Singular	Dual	Plural	
1	ḱimmik	ḱimmik	ḱimmich	dog
2	aḱun	aḱutik	aḱutit	man
3	iglu	igluk	iglut	house
4	iñuk	iññuk	iñuich	person
5	atik	atḱik	atḱich	name

**DON'T DESPAIR!** Simply learn each noun as it is given you, majoring in those most commonly used.

## EXERCISE

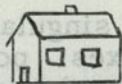
Elicit the dual and plural numbers of the following nouns.

niḱi	meat	savik	knife
punnik	bread	ulu	knife (woman's)
umiaḱ	skin boat	tuttu	caribou
aluutak	spoon	nanuk	polar bear
ḱallun	cup	uluun	saw
		tingun	airplane

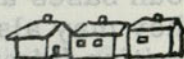
## 2.2.2 POSSESSION

Possessive Suffixes display a "two direction" reference, signalling the number of the possessor as well as the number of the possessed. (cf. S-O verb suffixes).

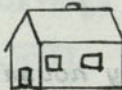
iglu-ga  
my house



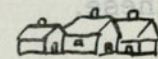
iglu-tka  
my houses



iglu-kput  
our house



iglu-vut  
our houses



This means that there are theoretically 27 forms possible in the Possessive declension. But cheer up! This number is reduced to 21 because some forms (particularly dual and plural) signal more than one combination.<sup>12</sup>

Only the singular Possessive Suffixes are listed here, and they are added to nouns as follows. (The classes are outlined in the previous section, "Noun Number.")

Class	<u>my</u>	<u>your</u>	<u>his, her, its</u> <sup>12</sup>	
1	kimmi-ga	kimmi-n	kimmi-ŋa	dog
2	aŋuti-ga	aŋuti-n	aŋuti-ŋa	man
3	iglu-ga	iglu-in	iglu-ŋa	house
4	iŋuk-ka	iŋu-in	iŋu-ŋa	person
5	ati-ga	at-kin	ati-ŋa	name

### 2.2.3 POSSESSOR

Not only is the possessed noun marked, but the possessor noun is also marked. (Like the 's' of "John's dog"). The possessor marker is -m, (less frequently -n or -ta), which is added to nouns thus:

Class 1	kimmi-m	dog's
Class 2	aŋuti-m	man's
Class 3	iglu-m	house's
Class 4	iŋu-um	person's
Class 5	atka-ta	name's

e.g. 1) kimmi-m sauni-ŋa  
dog's bone (his)

2) aŋu-tim iglu-ŋa  
man's house (his)

(Eskimo has two sets of Possessive Suffixes, the most important of which has been outlined above. The other set is outlined in footnote 13.)



## 2.2.4 PREPOSITIONAL SUFFIXES

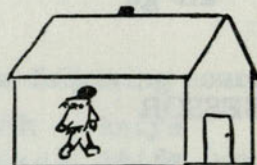
Whereas English has prepositions, (to, in, by, etc.), Eskimo has "prepositional" suffixes which terminate a noun base. There are six such suffixes, which in effect form a Case System. Each case has both a singular and a plural form. (BONUS! No dual in the case system).

## 2.2.4.1 Locative

The locative is used for location, and events in time. It equates to the English prepositions: in, at, on, during.

iglu-mi in (the) house      iglu-ni in (the) houses  
 aṇun pisuaḡ-tuḡ iglu-mi (the) man walks in (the) house.

-tuni as a verb suffix seems to convey the locative concept, e.g. iḡsitchak-tuni "afraid (in fear)" (-runi & -chuni, cf. footnote 8)

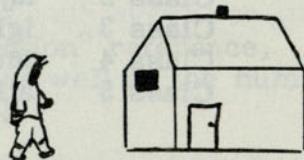


## 2.2.4.2 Terminalis

The terminalis case signals the end point of an action, and equates to English prepositions: to, into, unto, until.

iglu-mun to (the) house      iglu-nun to (the) houses

Aṇun pisuaḡ-tuḡ iglu-mun.  
 (The) man walks to (the) house.

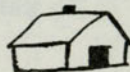


## 2.2.4.3 Ablative

The ablative case signals separation or the source of an action, and equates to English prepositions: from, whence.

iglu-miñ from (the) house      iglu-niñ from (the) houses

Aṇun pisuaḡ-tuḡ iglu-miñ.  
 (The) man walks from (the) house.



## 2.2.4.4 Vialis

The vialis case **signals** the course of an action, the means or method, and equates to English: by what way, by what means, through, by, over, about.

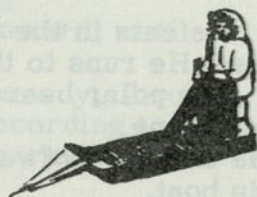
nuna-kun *by (way of) land* uniat-igun *by (means of) sled*

Aḡun pisuaḡ-tuḡ nuna-kun.

*The man walks by (way of) land.*

Aḡun ḡai-ruḡ uniat-igun.

*The man comes by (means of) sled.*



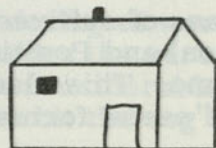
## 2.2.4.5 Similaris

The similaris case compares objects, equating to English prepositions: like, as, according to. (one form for sg. and pl.)

iglu-tun *like (a) house*

Aḡun aḡi-ruḡ iglu-tun.

*The man is big like (a) house.*



Aḡutit inḡaitchut isaḡuliktitun.

*Men are not like angels.*

## 2.2.4.6 Modalis

The modalis case signals two areas of meaning: Instrumental and Object. The concept in focus in any given occurrence depends upon the class of verb it occurs with: S-O verbs or S verbs.

iglu-mik (singular form)

iglu-nik (plural form)

When the Modalis Case occurs with an S-O verb, it conveys an INSTRUMENTAL sense,<sup>14</sup> and answers the question: With what?

Su-mik niḡi-viuḡ?

Aluuta-mik niḡi-giḡa.

*With what do you eat it? With a spoon I eat it.*



When the Modalis Case occurs with an S verb, it signals an OBJECT, and answers the question: What?

Su-mik nigi-vich?  
*What are you eating?*

Tuttu-mik nigi-runja.  
*Caribou I eat.*

### EXERCISE

Elicit Eskimo translations for the following sentences.

Locative: He eats in the tent. I pray in the church.

Terminalis: He runs to the church. The dog runs to the caribou.

Ablative: The polar bear swims from the ice. The man sleds from the airplane.

Vialis: He travels by (way of) the ice. They arrived by (means of) the skin boat.

Similaris: He eats like a dog. He is fat like a polar bear.

Modalis: I see (tautuktunja) the bread. I cut it with a knife.

### 2.2.5 COMBINED POSSESSION-POSITION SUFFIXES:

A class of suffixes combining both Possession (relation to a person) and Position (relation to an action) also occurs in Eskimo. This class is more useful in stories. A few of the more useful forms for conversation are:

-mnik (1st p. s. modalis)

-ptignik (1st p.pl. modalis)

aluuta-mnik nigi-giga  
*With my spoon I eat it.*

aluuta-ptignik nigi-gikput  
*With our spoons we eat it.*

-mni (1st p. s. Locative)

-ptigni (1st p.pl. Locative)

Iglu-mni siñik-tunja.  
*In my house I sleep.*

Iglu-ptigni siñik-tugut.  
*In our house we sleep.*

-gni (2ndp.s. Locative)

-miñi (3rd p.s. Locative)

Iglu-gni siñik-tutin.  
*In your house you sleep.*

Iglu-miñi siñiktuq.  
*In his house he sleeps.*

## SUMMARY:

A noun form indicates singular, dual, or plural. It may take 3 classes of suffixes; 1) possession, 2) position (preposition), and 3) possession-position. The word showing "possessor" is marked, commonly with -m. Possessed forms signal both the number of the possessed and the number of the possessor. The "preposition" suffixes number 6, and are:

Locative (location) --in, at, on, during

Terminalis (end) --to, into, unto, toward, until

Ablative (source) --from, whence

Vialis (by way of) --by what means or way, through, by, over

Similaris (comparative) --like, as, according to

Modalis (instrument, obj,) --with, marks obj. of S verb

Having briefly considered noun and verb bases, noun suffixes and some verb suffixes, let us see how these function in a simple sentence.

## 2.3

## SIMPLE SENTENCES

English displays word function by a precise ordering of words. In a simple English sentence, the subject precedes the verb and the object follows. (For instance, it makes considerable difference whether "the dog bit John," or "John bit the dog").

Eskimo displays word function by suffixes rather than word ordering. (Hence the "prepositional" suffixes).

The Eskimo verb is a sentence in itself, or the kernel of an enlarged sentence. As a complete sentence, its suffix signals pronominal reference to a subject (☞), and possibly also to an object (☞).

When the sentence is expanded to include subject and object words, their relationship to the verb is displayed as follows.

## SUBJECT MARKED; OBJECT UNMARKED

With an S-O verb, the subject is marked with the suffix -m, and the object is unmarked (has no suffix).

kimmi-m  
dog

tautuk-kaa  
saw-it/it

tuttu. The dog saw the  
caribou caribou.



## SUBJECT UNMARKED; OBJECT MARKED

With an S verb, the subject is unmarked and the object is marked with the Modalis case.

kimmik	tautuk-tuk	tuttu-mik	<i>The dog saw a caribou.</i>
dog	saw-it	caribou	
	(it saw)		

The first pattern causes the object to be more definitely in focus, hence the translation "...The caribou." The second pattern is used when the object is referred to in a more general sense, hence translated "...a caribou."

With this system of subject-object relationship to the verb, and the case system ("prepositional" suffixes), one may expand a simple sentence.

Iñuk iglau-ruak tautuk-tuk tuttu-mik.  
*The man who is traveling sees the caribou.*

Iñuk iglau-ruak Barrow-mifi Wainwright-mun tautuk-tuk tuttu-mik.  
*The man who is traveling from Barrow to Wainwright sees the caribou.*

Iñuk iglau-ruak Barrow-mifi Wainwright-mun nuna-kun tautuk-tuk tuttu-mik.  
*The man who is traveling from Barrow to Wainwright by land sees the caribou.*

(Word ordering in Eskimo is not nearly as rigid as in English. We have followed the English pattern to elucidate the illustrations).

## 2.3.1 VERBALIZED NOUN BASE

A noun base may be verbalized and thus become a simple sentence by the addition of certain post-bases and a verbal suffix. This class of post-bases signals noun possession, or noun description, or noun utilization, and is called Pose-Base<sub>1</sub>. Some examples are:

base-pb<sub>1</sub>-suffix  
iglu-kaḱ-tuṇa.  
siḷa-gik-suḱ  
tuttu-liak-tuḱ  
atigi-liuḱ-tuḱ  
tuttu-tuḱ-tuḱ

*I have a house.*  
*The weather is good.*  
*He hunts caribou.*  
*She makes a parka.*  
*He eats caribou. (may also mean "use")*



## 2.4

## VERB MOODS

So far, every verb illustration has been in the Simple Indicative Mood. (Verb mood indicates the attitude of mind on the part of the speaker). The Eskimo indicative mood is somewhat different from English indicative, in that its principal focus is simply action rather than time of action. (e.g. tautuk-tuja is better translated as "I see" rather than "I am seeing"). Thus, in relating folklore or past experiences, this simple form is used. In normal discourse, however, indicative may be used for present tense, or to refer to action of a few hours past.

Eskimo has six verb Moods, including the aforementioned Indicative. Three of these are independent, and three are dependent. The independent moods are: Indicative, Interrogative, and Imperative. The dependent moods are: Conjunctive, Subjunctive, and Infinitive. These moods (with the exception of the Indicative), will be presented in this order. (cf p.54 for another possible Mood)

## 2.4.1

## INDEPENDENT MOODS

## 2.4.1.1 Interrogative Mood

The Interrogative Mood poses a question. A few useful interrogative suffixes are:



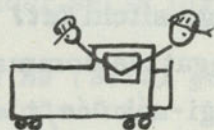
S-Suffixes

Tautuk-pich? or tautuk-piñ?  
do you see?

Tautuk-pisi?  
do you (pl) see?

Tautuk-pa?  
does he see?

Tautuk-pat?  
do they see?



S-O Suffixes

Tautuk-piung?  
do you see it?

Tautuk-pisiung?  
do you (pl) see them?

Tautuk-pisigich?  
do you (pl) see it?

Tautuk-paung?  
does he see it?

## Questions and Answers

Iļisima-viņa?  
do you know me?

Ii, iļisima-gikpiñ.  
yes, I know you.



İlisima-vaŋa?  
Does he know me?  
İlisima-viun?  
Do you know him?

İi, ilisima-gaatin.  
Yes, he knows you.  
İi, ilisima-giga.  
Yes, I know him.

(Note: The initial 'p' of the interrogative mood is replaced with a 'v' when following a vowel).

### Useful Questions

Su-vich? *What do you want?* (-vich often replaced by -viñ)  
Suliki-vich? *What are you doing?*  
Sumuakxi-vich? *Where are you going?*  
Sumiñnak-pich? *Where are you coming from?*

#### 2.4.1.2 Imperative Mood

This Mood expresses a command to second person, and third persons, and an entreaty or exhortation to first person. The last syllable receives heavy accent with an accompanying rise in voice pitch.



#### S-Suffixes

2nd Nigi-<sup>í</sup> Eat! (sing)  
per. Nigi-sitchi Eat! (pl)

#### S-O Suffixes

Nig-<sup>ú</sup> Eat (sing) it!  
Nigi-siun Eat (pl) it!

Negative commands are expressed thus:

Nigi-nák Don't eat! (s)      Nigi-nágu Don't eat it! (s)  
Nigi-nagitchi! Don't (pl) eat!

Katag-nak! Don't fall (sg)      Katak-tin-nágu! Don't drop it!

3rd Nigi-<sup>í</sup> Let him eat!      Nigi-<sup>í</sup>un! Let him eat it!  
per. Nigi-<sup>í</sup>ch! Let them eat!      Nigi-<sup>í</sup>un! Let them eat it!

1st Nigi-<sup>í</sup>ana Let me eat!      Nigi-<sup>í</sup>agu Let me eat it!  
per. Nigi-sa Let's eat (pl)      Nigi-lákput Let's eat it! (pl)  
Añaayú-ta Let's pray!      Atuğ-lákput Let's sing it!

(Note: Accent returns to second last syllable on First Person Commands. -ta becomes -sa when following 'i').

One more imperative form which is used as a strong suggestion to a respected person is '-lugu'. It is actually an Infinitive form, but is often used in this manner.

Kaunag-lugu! *Be careful!*

#### 2.4.2 DEPENDENT MOODS

The three Dependent Moods are: Conjunctive, Subjunctive, and Infinitive. With these moods, dependent clauses are formed.

Dependent Moods differ from Independent Moods in that they have two sets of suffixes for the third person;

a) If the SAME person is the subject of both the dependent and independent clauses, the first set of forms is used.

Conjunctive: Kaak-ami nigī-ŋa-ruḵ. *When he got hungry, he ate.*

Subjunctive: Kaak-kumi nigī-ñiaḵ-tuḵ. *If he gets hungry, he will eat.*

Infinitive: Kaak-huni nigī-ruḵ. *Being hungry, he eats.*  
(This is referred to as "Reflexive" or "Fourth Person" in the literature).

b) If a DIFFERENT person is signalled in the dependent clause from that of the main clause, the other set of forms is used.

Conjunctive: Kaag-man nigī-ŋa-ruḵ. *When he (Bill) got hungry, he (John) ate.*

Subjunctive: Kaak-pan nigī-ñiaḵ-tuḵ. *If he (Bill) gets hungry, he (John) will eat.*

Infinitive: Kaak-hugu nigī-ruḵ. *(Bill) being hungry, he (John) eats.*

##### 2.4.2.1 Conjunctive (Temporal) Mood

The Conjunctive Mood is used in temporal clauses, being used mostly of past time.<sup>15</sup> The independent verb to which the Conjunctive is subordinated is either in present or past tense.<sup>18</sup>

1st kaak-ama<sup>16</sup> nigī-ŋa-ruḵa *When I got hungry, I ate.*

per. kaak-apta nigī-ŋa-rugut *When we got hungry, we ate.*



2nd Kaak-avich nigī-ŋa-rutin. *When you got hungry, you ate.*  
 per. Kaak-avsi nigī-ŋa-rusi. *When you(pl) got hungry, you ate.*

3rd Kaak-ami nigī-ŋa-ruk. *When he got hungry, he ate.*  
 same Kaak-amīŋ nigī-ŋa-rūt. *When they got hungry, they ate.*  
 per.

3rd Kaag-mān nigī-ŋa-ruk. *When he(Bill) got hungry, he*  
 diff. *(John) ate.*  
 per. Kaag-māta nigī-ŋa-rūt. *When they got hungry, they*  
*ate.*

Tautuk-apku kuviasuk-tuŋa.  
*When I see it, I'm happy.*

Tautuk-apkiŋ kuviasuk-tuŋa.  
*When I see you, I am happy.*

(Note: Memory aid - The thematic vowel of the Conjunctive is 'a' (-ami).)

#### 2.4.2.2 Subjunctive (Conditional) Mood

The Subjunctive Mood is used in conditional clauses. A condition implies a future sense, or a non-realized sense. Therefore, since action in the MAIN clause is contingent upon action in the DEPENDENT clause, (e.g. If I am alive, I will go.), the verb in the independent clause is normally in the future tense.<sup>18</sup>

1st Kaak-kumi<sup>17</sup> nigī-ŋiaḱ-tuŋa. *If I get hungry, I will eat.*  
 per. Kaak-kupta nigī-ŋiaḱ-tugut. *If we get hungry, we will eat.*

2nd Kaak-kuvich nigī-ŋiaḱ-tutin *If you get hungry, you will*  
 per. *eat.*  
 Kaak-kuvsī nigī-ŋiaḱ-tusi. *If you(pl) get hungry, you (pl)*  
*will eat.*

3rd Kaak-kumi nigī-ŋiaḱ-tuḱ. *If he gets hungry, he will eat.*  
 same Kaak-kumīŋ nigī-ŋiaḱ-tūt. *If they get hungry, they will*  
 per. *eat.*

3rd Kaak-pān nigī-ŋiaḱ-tuḱ. *If he(Bill) gets hungry, he (John)*  
 diff. *will eat.*  
 per. Kaak-pāta nigī-ŋiaḱ-tūt. *If they get hungry, they will eat.*

Tautuk-kupku kuviasug-niaḡ-tuḡa.  
*If I see it, I will be happy.*

Tautuk-kupkiñ kuviasug-niaḡ-tuḡa.  
*If I see you, I will be happy.*

(Note: Memory aid-The thematic vowel of the Subjunctive is 'u' (-umi). Hence the only distinguishing feature between Conj. and Subj. is 'a' vs 'u' (-ama vs -uma). In the 3rd Person Different, 'm' vs 'p' (-man vs -pan).

### 2.4.2.3 Infinitive

The Infinitive is the most commonly used dependent mood, and conveys the widest range of meaning. One of three areas of meaning may be in focus.

- a) Simultaneous action, with adverbial relation in focus.

Iñuk niḡi-ruḡ atḡunak-ḡuḡ.  
*The man eats much.*

- b) Simultaneous action, with temporal relation in focus, hence translated with English word "while."

Uniaḡaḡ-ḡuḡ ai-gitḡa.  
*While sledding, I fetch them.*

- c) Simultaneous action showing a cause-effect relationship to the independent verb, hence translated by English "since" or "because."

Niḡi-lutin niḡingug-niaḡ-tutin.  
*Since you are eating, you will be satisfied.*

### INFINITIVE AND TENSE:

Whereas the Conjunctive Mood occurs with a present or a past tense and the Subjunctive Mood with a future tense, the Infinitive Mood may occur with an independent verb in any tense.<sup>18</sup> However, when subordinate to an independent verb in future tense, it has a different "shape" from that which it has when subordinate to a verb in present or past tense.<sup>19</sup>

-with future tense	-lu-	Uniaḡaḡ-ḡuḡ ai-ñia-gitḡa. <i>Sledding (I) I will fetch them.</i>
-with present or past tense	-ḡu-	Uniaḡaḡ-ḡuḡ ai-gitḡa. <i>Sledding (I) I fetch them. or I          fetched them.</i>



## Present-Past Tense

1st Uniagāk-lūṇa ai-gitka.  
per. *Sledding, I fetch them.*

Uniagāk-luta ai-givut  
*Sledding, we fetch them.*

2nd Uniagāk-lutin ai-gitin  
per. *Sledding, you fetch them.*

Uniagāk-lusi ai-gisi.  
*Sledding, you (pl) fetch them.*

3rd Uniagāk-luni ait-kai.  
same *Sledding, he fetches them.*  
per.

Uniagāk-lutin ait-kaich.  
*Sledding, they fetch them.*

3rd Uniagāk-lugu ait-kai.  
diff. *Sledding, he fetches them.*  
per.

Uniagāk-lugich ait-kaich.  
*Sledding, they fetch them.*

## Future Tense

Uniagag-lūṇa ai-ñia-gitka  
*Sledding I will fetch them.*

Uniagag-luta ai-ñia-givut.  
*Sledding, we will fetch them.*

Uniagag-lutin ai-ñia-gitin.  
*Sledding, you will fetch them.*

Uniagag-lusi ai-ñia-gisi.  
*Sledding, you (pl) will fetch them.*

Uniagag-luni ai-ñia-gai.  
*Sledding, he will fetch them.*

Uniagag-lutin ai-ñia-gaich.  
*Sledding, they will fetch them.*

Uniagag-lugu ai-ñia-gai.  
*Sledding, he will fetch them.*

Uniagag-lugich ai-ñia-gaich.  
*Sledding, they will fetch them.*

'-lugu' signals any infinitive action wherein there is an interaction between persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd), and all 3rd (different) person number combinations wherein a single object is signaled.

(For another use of '-lugu', see "Imperative Mood")

subj.	obj.
1st	3rd
2nd	2nd
3rd	1st

3	{	sing.	→	3	diff.
		dual	→		sing.
		pl.	→		

## SUMMARY OF VERB MOODS

Eskimo has six moods. (A mood represents a speaker's attitude of mind).

Independent Moods permit the formation of simple sentences or the main clause of a complex sentence, and are:

- 1) Indicative - states a fact.
- 2) Interrogative - poses a question.
- 3) Imperative - expresses a command or exhortation.



Dependent Moods permit the formation of subordinate clauses and are:

- 1) Conjunctive-"when"; relates verb in main clause to time; normally requires present or past tense in main verb.
- 2) Subjunctive-"if"; relates verb in main clause to a possibility; normally requires future tense in main verb.
- 3) Infinitive-"while"; "since"; "-ing"; relates verb in main clause to simultaneous action; and has two shapes, one when main verb is in present or past tense, and the other when main verb is in future tense.

Dependent Moods have two sets of suffixes in 3rd person. The set to be used depends upon whether the actor in the dependent clause is the same or different from the actor in the main clause.

## 2.5

## COMPLEX SENTENCES

The combination of a dependent verb with an independent verb is the nucleus of a complex sentence. A complex sentence may be expanded by nucleating nouns (with appropriate case suffixes) around the dependent verb as well as the independent verb.

Iñuk nuna-kun kai-vłuni, tuttu-tuḡ suppu-tignik.  
 (Man land-by coming (he) caribou-got-he rifle-his-with).  
 A man coming by the land shot a caribou with his rifle.

## WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

So far, we have briefly considered noun and verb bases, and the principal noun and verb suffixes. These are the functional building blocks for constructing sentences, both simple and complex.

But Eskimo may be expanded in another way too. One of the outstanding features of Eskimo is WORD EXPANSION.



## 2.6

## WORD EXPANSION

Again, the freight train illustration is useful. Remember? Most Eskimo words are initiated by a BASE (locomotive) and terminated by a SUFFIX (engine). Between the base and suffix are coupled modifiers of various kinds called POST-BASES (coupling cars). As many as five post-bases may occur in one word. (Don't despair! How about your own language and such a word as "disestablishmentarianism"?)

Both noun and verb bases may be expanded in this way. Nouns with post-bases of POST-BASE<sub>1</sub> have been outlined in section 2.3, "Simple Sentences." The following discussion deals with those of type POST-BASE<sub>2</sub> which are coupled to Verb Bases, signalling such modification as action, voice, auxiliary verb, adverbial, and negative.

## 2.6.1 ACTION MODIFICATION

The action of an Eskimo verb focuses primarily upon TYPE of action rather than time of action, hence Eskimo is said to have a Tense-Aspect System.<sup>18</sup> This means that the post-base which translates into English future action really denotes incomplete action, (and so is used for constructions equivalent to "I am going..." etc., as well as for the future). Likewise, the post-base used to connote past tense really denotes completed action.

The following are areas of verbal action modification: tense-aspect, special aspect, and action direction.

## 2.6.1.1 Tense-Aspect (Completive)

-anik- *already, having (like a perfect past tense).*

Nigi-anik-ruṇa niṅinguḡ-tuṇa.

(I) *having eaten I am satisfied.*

-ṇa- *completed action; also functions for past tense.*  
etc. Nigi-ṇa-ruṇa. *I ate.*

## 2.6.1.2 Tense-Aspect (Continuative)

-(s)uu- *constantly, always, (state of)*

Savag-uu-ruṇa. *I am constantly working.*

Nigi-suu-ruṇa *I am constantly eating.*

-si- (used with continuatives to intensify unfinished action.)

Agli-si-saiññaq-tuq. *It keeps continuing to enlarge.*

-niak- Incomplete action which may continue on into the future etc. (and future tense). Savag-niak-tuqa. *I will work.*

### 2.6.1.3 Special Aspect

-gaq- beginning action (inceptive)

Tuttulia-gaq-si-ruq. *He is beginning to go caribou hunting.*

-saiññaq- progressive action

Agli-saiññaq-tuq. *He continues to enlarge.*

-kattaq- repetitive action

Isi-kattaq-tuq. *He visits. (or "enters again and again")*

-kaluak- is a frequently used post-base and has a number of nuances. It seems to equate to "though" or "possibly," etc. and normally requires another verb to complete the thought.

Nakuu-pia-ñit-kaluak-tuq, tainnaunnii.

*Possibly its not very good, it will be o.k.*

Kaa-ñit-kaluak-tuqa, nigi-ñiak-tuqa.

*Though not being very hungry, I will eat.*

### 2.6.1.4 Action Direction

A number of action modifiers are difficult to fully analyze. These appear to alter the direction or effect of the action, (e.g. action expressed by the verb subject vs. action impressed upon the verb subject vs. reflexive action). As will be noted in the illustrations below, these post-bases drastically alter the meaning of a base.

-tchak- Impressed Action

Quya-tchak-tuq. *He is moved to express thanks.*

Kama-tchak-tuq. *He marvels. (He is moved to marvel).*

-saak- Expressed Action.

Kama-saak-tuq. *He boasts. (He expresses the marvel of himself).*

-naq- Evoked Action

Quya-naq-tuq. *He is to be thanked.*

Kama-naq-tuq. *He is great. (He is to be marvelled).*

-suk- Reflexive Action

Quvia-suk-tuq. *He is happy.*

etc. Kama-suk-tuq. *He marvels. (He marvels in himself).*



## 2.6.2 VOICE MODIFICATION

Voice Modification signals the relationship of the subject to the action expressed by the verb. All verbs are of ACTIVE VOICE; that is, subject is doing the action, unless one of the following occurs.

-tau-(or -sau- or -rau-)<sup>8</sup> changes active to passive voice.

Tautuk-tau-ruṅa. *I was seen* vs. Tautuk-tuṅa *I see*  
 Pi-rau-li. *Let it be! (happen)*

-pkag-Causal

Ḳai-pkaḡ-iga. *I cause it to come. (I bring it).*

Ḳama-naḡ-sipkaḡ-tau-ruḡ. *He is exalted.*

*marvelous caused-to be-he is. (He is caused to be marvelous).*

## 2.6.3 AUXILIARY VERB MODIFICATION

Many concepts handled by auxiliary verbs in English are handled by post-bases in Eskimo. Even some regular English verbs may be handled by post-bases.

-kumiṇaḡ- able: Tautuk-kumiṇaḡ-tuṅa. *I am able to see.*

-kumiṇait- unable: Tautuk-kumiṇait-chuṅa. *I am unable to see.*

-tuksrau- must: Tautuk-tuksrau-ruṅa. *I must see.*

-iaḡ- going for the purpose of: Tautug-iaḡ-tuḡ. *He's going (for the purpose of) to see.*  
 Tuttuliḡ-iaḡ-tuṅa. *I'm going (for the purpose of) hunting caribou.*

-sisugnaḡ- think: Tautuk-sisugnaḡ-tuḡ. *He thinks its time to see.*  
 etc.

## 2.6.4 ADVERBIAL MODIFICATION

The class of post-bases which add to the verb an adverbial-like modification is the largest single class of post-bases. Intensifiers are very common in occurrence.

## a) Intensifiers

-piaḡ- really: Sava-piaḡ-tuḡ. *He really works.*

-piaḡataḡ- extremely: Sava-piaḡataḡ-tuḡ. *He works extremely*

-paluk- much: Sava-paluk-tuḡ. *He works much.* *hard.*

-paḡhuk- ineffectively; queerly: Sava-paḡhuk-tuḡ. *He works ineffectively.*

-pait- very: Savak-pait-chuḡ. *He works too much.*

-lhaaḡ- comparative: Nakuu-lhaaḡ-tuḡ. *It is better. (vs. Nakuu-ruḡ. It is good).*  
 etc.



## b) Others

- kammik- just: Tikit-kammik-suk. *He just arrived.*
- kaiyak- almost: Tikit-kaiyak-tuk. *He almost arrived.*
- lgit- again: Tiki-lgit-chuk. *He arrived again.*
- katigiik- together: Tikit-katigiik-sut. *They arrived together.*
- kaak- first: Tikit-kaak-tuk. *He arrived first.*
- mi- also: Tikin-mi-uk. *He also arrived.*
- niḵ- obviously: (most frequently used, so learn it!)  
etc. Tikin-niḵ-suk. *He obviously arrived.*

## 2.6.5 NEGATIVES

The most common negatives are:

- ḡit- do not: Tautu-ḡit-kiga. *I do not see it.*  
Tautug-nia-ḡitkiga. *I will not see it.*
- ḡait- did not: Tautu-ḡait-kiga. *I did not see it.*
- lait- never: Tautu-lait-kiga. *I never see it.*  
etc.

## HOW DOES ALL THIS GO TOGETHER?

As previously stated, POST-BASES are optional in occurrence, and when present, are coupled between the BASE and the SUFFIX. The most common pattern of verbal POST-BASES is a combination of ADVERBIAL-MODIFIER, and TENSE-MARKER, plus or minus NEGATIVE. If all three occur, they occur in that order.

- Nigi-paluk-tuḡa. *I eat heartily.*
- Nigi-palug-niaḵ-tuḡa. *I will eat heartily.*
- Nigi-palug-nia-ḡit-chuḡa. *I will not eat heartily.*

One more extension is worthy of note here. When the two common post-bases "-kaluaḵ-" (probably) and "-niḵ-" (obviously) occur, they follow the negative.

- Nigi-palug-nia-ḡit-kaluaḵ-tuḡa, ... *Though I will not eat heartily,...*

- Nigi-palug-nia-ḡin-niḵ-suḡa. *I obviously will not eat heartily.*

(For further expansions, see footnote 20).



## SUMMARY OF VERB POST-BASES

A verb complex may have various categories of modification called Post-Bases. These modification categories occur between the Base and Suffix, and are:

Tense-Aspect: (focus on type rather than time of action)  
completive, continuative, special aspects.

Action Direction: suffixes which alter effect of action.

Voice Modification: active or passive or causal.

Auxiliary Verb-like Modification.

Adverbial-like Modification.

Negatives.

## 2.7

## POST BASES AS FREE FORMS

Any POST-BASE may function as a separate word, providing it is initiated with "pi-" and terminated with a suitable suffix. This is a handy "overload" device, allowing use of a post-base thought which wasn't included in the expanded verb. Also, it permits use of these post-base concepts in simple conversational sentences.

Nigi-runja pi-yumiñak-tuŋa vs. Nigi-yumiñak-tuŋa.  
*I eat (I) being able. I am able to eat.*

Some handy post-base free forms with "pi-" are:

Pi-ñiak-tuŋa. *I will.*

Pi-yumiñak-tuŋa *I can.*

Pi-suk-kiga. *I want it.*

Pi-ga. *Mine. (In answer to: Whose is it?)*

Pi-gi-giga. *It is mine.*

Pi-gaatin. *He (talking to) you. (used when a third person alerts one that he is being spoken to).*

Possibly by now you have noticed a perplexing aspect of Eskimo which has not yet been mentioned, -- the different phonetic "shapes" of the same meaningful unit. It's high time we explained.

## 2.8

## COUPLING PATTERNS

English has a feature disdainfully known as "slurring" or "sloppy speech." It is the tendency for words to fuse together in a speech continuum. For instance, "It is coming now." invariably is realized as "It's comin now, " or "Did you eat?" as "Di-jeet?"

Eskimo has a similar phenomenon which is not due to "sloppy speech" but is essential for smooth continuous discourse. This sound modification is predictable, following definite patterns.

As a BASE has POST-BASES and a SUFFIX coupled to it, each successive addition modifies its predecessor in the following way.<sup>21</sup>

-k becomes -g } when m, n, ŋ, l, or a vowel is coupled  
-k " -g } thereto.

tautug-niaḡ-niḡ-suḡa

from

*I obviously see*

tautuk-niaḡ-niḡ-suḡa

-t becomes -n, when m, n, or ŋ is coupled thereto.

Tautu-ŋin-niḡ-suḡa.

from

*I obviously don't see*

Tautuk-ŋit-niḡ-suḡa.

-t becomes -l, when l is coupled thereto.

Tautuk-tul-lu.

from

*And they saw.*

tautuk-tut-lu.

-t becomes -ṭ, when ṭ is coupled thereto.

(Note: Memory Aid: The voiceless sounds (k, ḡ, t) are changed to voiced sounds made at the same point in the mouth (g, ḡ, n, or l) except the last instance.)

These sound alterations are caused by one unit being ADDED to another. This is one way in which units are coupled. However, one more factor accounts for different shapes of the same unit,<sup>22</sup> viz., REPLACEMENT type coupling.



Whereas the additive method of coupling may be diagrammed thus: AB, the replacive method may be diagrammed as: AB. The final consonant of "A" is replaced by the initial consonant of "B." Replacive Coupling: Tautu-pia-llak-tuḡa  
from  
Tautuk-piaḡ-llak-tuḡa.

One more phenomenon should be mentioned before leaving the study of inflected words: that of changing nouns to verbs and vice versa.

## 2.9 NOUN TO VERB TO NOUN TO VERB TO...

Changing a noun form to a verb form and vice versa is a very common Eskimo phenomenon. In fact, grammatically speaking, Eskimo does not have a real noun-verb dichotomy as far as the BASES are concerned. It would appear that any base may be nominalized or verbalized as context demands.

Some of the more common patterns are listed.

### NOUN TO VERB:

A noun is verbalized by final -n becoming -ti, then post-base<sub>1</sub> added:

- |                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1) ḡipigniḡun <i>desire</i> | 2) ḡuviasuun <i>happiness</i> |
| ḡipigniḡu-ti-gi-giḡa.       | ḡuviasuu-ti-ḡaḡ-tuḡa.         |
| <i>I desire it.</i>         | <i>I have happiness</i>       |

### NOUN PHRASE VERBALIZED:

iglu-mi	Iglu-mi-it-tuḡa.
<i>in house</i>	<i>I am in the house.</i>

iglu-miñ	Iglu-mi-iñḡaḡ-tuḡa.
<i>from house</i>	<i>I come from the house.</i>

iglu-mun	Iglu-muk-tuḡa.
<i>to house</i>	<i>I go to the house.</i>

Once having made a noun into a verb, the resultant form may be expanded in a normal manner.

Iglu-muk-kumiñḡ-niḡ-aluḡ-tuḡa, ...  
*Though I will be able to come to the house,...*





## CHAPTER III

## GRAMMAR SYSTEM CONT'D

A few very restricted classes of words are left to discuss which have been termed Inflective and Non-Inflective.

## 3.1 INFLECTIVE WORDS

Inflective words differ from expandable-inflective words in that they are inflected only, not normally being expanded by the addition of post-bases. The classes of inflective words are: pronouns, demonstratives, some temporals, directionals, and some conjunctions.

## 3.1.1 PRONOUNS

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
1st person	uvaṇa	uvaguk	uvagut
2nd person	ilivich	ilivsik	ilivsi
3rd person	ilaa	ilinik	ilinich

Pronouns may be inflected with position suffixes, i.e. the case system.

Uḡaktuk uvamnun. *He spoke to me*  
 Ilisimarusi ilivsi-nṇi. *You-know in-yourselfes*  
 Aglak-tau-ruk ilaa-gun. *It-was-written by-him.*

Pronouns also take a few enclitics.

uvaṇa-lu *me-and (me too)*  
 uvaṇa-ḡhinak *me-only*  
 ilivsi-vsauḡ *you-also*

Pronouns may also be verbalized as:

Uvaṇa-u-runṇa. *I am I. (it is me)*

## 3.1.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives point out persons or things. Eskimo has quite a number of these depending upon the object's shape, whether it is near or far, recognizable or unrecognizable. Two handy demonstratives are: 1) una *this* (object/person within reach, or

"following" if in a story).

ukuak *these* (2)

ukua *these* (pl)

2) taamna *that* (object farther away or "preceding" if in a story). The dual and plural are:

taapkuak *those* (2)

taapkuu *those* (pl)

This demonstrative has specialized case endings:

taamna *that* (free form)

taavruma *that* (relative form)

Loc. taavrumani *in that*

Term. taavrumuŋa *to that*

Ablat. taavrumaŋga *from that*

Vialis taavrumuuna *through that*

Simil. taavrumatun *like that*

Mod. taavrumiŋa *with that*

taamna may also be verbalized; taamna-u-ruŋ *it is that one*.

### 3.1.3 TEMPORALS

A few time relating words are also inflected:

taimma- *past time*, may take locative case (ie. point in  
taimma-ni *at that (past) time*. time).

tai-pkua *those (former or future things/persons)*

taimma-nigu *general word for future time*.

### 3.1.4 DIRECTIONALS

Directionals give direction or location, and the whole system is oriented according to the coast line, the essential ones being:

Uvva *here*

Samma *down there (ocean-ward)*

Pamma *up there (land-ward)*

Avani *over there (W. or S.W. along the coast)*

Ųavani *over there (E. or N.E. along the coast)*

These take appropriate case endings and may be verbalized.

Uvva-ni *in/at here*

Uvva-ni-ittuŋ *it is here*



### 3.1.5 CONJUNCTIONS

Certain conjunctions also take limited inflection.

tavra *then (when in a story)*, - may take the locative case.

tavra-ni *There, in that place, at that time*

tavra-ŋga *from there, from that place*

kanuḵ *because, for* - may be verbalized.

kanuḵ-huni *being for*

tainna *thus, so*, may take certain case endings.

tainna-tun *like thus, in such a way*

tainna-mi *in the same way.*

tainna-mik *with the same.*

This conjunction may also be verbalized: Tainna-ittuḵ *It is so.*

## 3.2

### NON-INFLECTED WORDS

Non-inflected words are words which do not normally take suffixes. The following kinds of words are listed as non-inflected: conjunctions, enclitics, demonstratives, and locatives.

#### 3.2.1 CONJUNCTIONS

This list of conjunctions is comprised of those most frequently observed in stories.

aglaan\* *but*

aasii\* *and*

suli\* *and (sometimes these are used together: sulasii or aasiisuli).*

tavra *then (tavraasii and then)*

tainna *thus, like this (tavratainna then this)*

naagga *or*

#### 3.2.2 ENCLITICS

Enclitics are meaningful units which are added to the suffix of an inflected word.<sup>23</sup> There are two categories of these: Conjunctive Enclitics and Pure Enclitics.

### 3.2.2.1 Conjunctive Enclitics

Conjunctive Enclitics are those enclitics which function both as Conjunctions and Enclitics. As enclitics they have a meaning different from but related to that which they have as conjunctions.<sup>24</sup>

The first 3 conjunctions listed above (asterisked) function as enclitics.

- aglaan *up to* e.g. Taiguagniaḡtuḡa verse-ramik one-miñ  
 ten-mun-aglaan. *I will read verses*  
*from one to ten.*  
 -aasii } *still*  
 -suli } Taiguḡtuḡ-suli. *He is still reading.*

### 3.2.2.2 Pure Enclitics

As well as conjunctive enclitics, there are enclitics which occur only coupled to inflected words.

- lu Ḳaiḡluḡa-lu isivluḡa-lu, niḡiruḡa tuttumig-lu  
 punniḡ-lu. *And coming and entering, I eat caribou*  
*and bread.*  
 -ptauḡ *also* Uvaḡa-ptauḡ *Me also (too)*  
 -unnii *even* Tautu-ḡa-ruḡa tuttu-mik ḡulinig-luunnii.  
*I saw caribou, maybe even ten.*

## 3.2.3

## INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are single word utterances such as:

- |       |  |        |                            |
|-------|--|--------|----------------------------|
| ii    | <i>yes</i>                                 | naumi  | <i>no</i>                  |
| aḡ    | <i>yes</i>                                 | naagga | <i>no (more emphatic)</i>  |
| uvva  | <i>here (passing an object to someone)</i> | tavra  | <i>okay! That's right!</i> |
| kii   | <i>okay!</i>                               |        |                            |
| kiita | <i>ready</i>                               |        |                            |

(for more cf. appendix: Useful Phrases).







## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Eskimo has no consonant 'w', but it will be hard to convince a beginning student of this statement, for he will frequently hear it. However, what sounds like a 'w' to the ears of a speaker of English may in fact be one of three sounds: 'v, g, or ġ'. When these sounds occur between 'u-a' and 'u-i', an English speaker hears 'w'. In slow speech, the true sound will be more evident. That is, 'v' will possess more friction than 'w'; whereas 'g' and 'ġ' will be perceptible as sounds which are formed in the throat.

that which sounds like tuwakatiga is actually tuvakatiga *my wife*.  
 that which sounds like kauwak is actually kaugak *duck*  
 that which sounds like anuue is actually anugi *wind*

<sup>2</sup> On the basis of Descriptive Linguistic Techniques, 'sr' would be an allophone of 'r' and therefore need not be separately symbolized. Its inclusion is dictated by various social pressures.

<sup>3</sup> The English illustrations used to approximate the vowel qualities of Eskimo, are taken from the General American dialect of English. The Eskimo vowel patterns are not inflexible rules but rather statistical statements. There is the factor of overlap, where the vowel sound normally occurring in a given environment will be replaced by another member of the same family. The vowels of the illustrative words "beet", "bait", and "boat" are actually diphthongal in English, but "pure" in Eskimo.

<sup>4</sup> Barrow speakers differ at this point from the other villages, retaining heavy accent and high pitch on the next to the last syllable in a question.

<sup>5</sup> A "word" is defined as a segment of speech which may be bounded by silence, (and thus separated from the words in a sentence by space). It is in fact a complete form, and may be as short as, 'una' *this one* (nearby), or as long as:  
uḱavigaagutigivaiḱaurallakkaluagupkuunnii *Even though I may have to boast a little too much.*

<sup>6</sup> Eskimo has no article. The article is inserted in the English translations for readability.



<sup>7</sup> Whereas English distinguishes between singular and plural, Eskimo distinguishes between singular, dual (two/pair) and plural.

<sup>8</sup> The initial 't' (e.g. -tuŋa) of S Suffixes may be replaced by either 'r', 'ch', or 's'. The terminal sounds of the base determine which form will occur.

If base ends in -k or -ḱ or -t,	then -t- occurs (-tuŋa)
" " " " a vowel,	then -r- " (-ruŋa)
" " " " -ait, or -it,	then -ch- " normally (-chuŋa)
" " " " -ik, or -iḱ	then -s- " often (-suŋa)

-tau-, which changes a verb in active voice to passive voice, is changed in the same way. -tau- to -sau- or -rau-

The Indicative Mood may also occur with no initiating consonant. e.g. tautuŋ-mi-uŋa *I also see. (see--also I)*

<sup>9</sup> Eskimo does not distinguish gender in third person, therefore, the same form of third person may express "he", "she", or "it".

<sup>10</sup> Three "shapes" of S-O Suffixes occur, determined by the terminal sound of the base.

If base terminates with a vowel, g- initiates suffix.

" " " " -k or -t, k-	" "
" " " " -ḱ, then -ḱ becomes -ḡ and suffix added.	

e.g.	<u>base</u>	<u>suffix</u>
	..v	-giga
	..k/t	-kiga
	..ḱ	-ḡiga

<sup>11</sup> One would reason that there should also be a S-O Class of bases which would not take S-Suffixes. None has been discovered. The only possible candidate for this class is 'ai-'. If 'ai-' occurs with an S-O ending, the meaning is "fetch": ai-giga *I fetch it.* If 'ai-' occurs with S Suffixes, the meaning is: ai-ruŋa *I go home.*





15 In Eskimo, it is impossible to talk about "when" something happens in future time. One cannot use the Conjunctive Mood with a future verb. The conjunctive mood fuses with the subjunctive mood when future time is in focus. Thus: Jesus *ḵai-kpan*, means "If Jesus comes," or "When Jesus comes." To the Eskimo, this does not show doubt as to his coming, simply action which has not yet been realized.

16 The conjunctive forms are initiated by 'k' or 'a', depending upon what they are suffixed to. The coupling pattern is: If preceding terminates with a vowel or 't', the Conjunctive is initiated by 'k'.

*nigi-kama... When I eat...*

*Niginj-it-kama... When I don't eat...*

If preceding terminates with 'k' or 'ḵ', Conjunctive form is initiated by 'a'.

*Kaak-ama... When I eat...*

*Aullaḵ-ama... When I go...*

17 The Subjunctive forms are initiated by 'g', 'k', or 'u', depending upon what they are suffixed to. If preceding terminates with a vowel, the Subjunctive form is initiated by 'g'.

*Nigi-guma... If I eat...*

If preceding terminates with 't' or 'k', the Subjunctive form is initiated by 'k'.

*Niginj-it-kuma... If I do not eat...*

*Kaak-kuma... If I am hungry...*

If preceding terminates with 'ḵ', then 'ḵ' becomes 'ḡ' (its voiced counterpart), and the Conjunctive form is initiated by 'u'

*Aullaḡ-uma... If I go...*

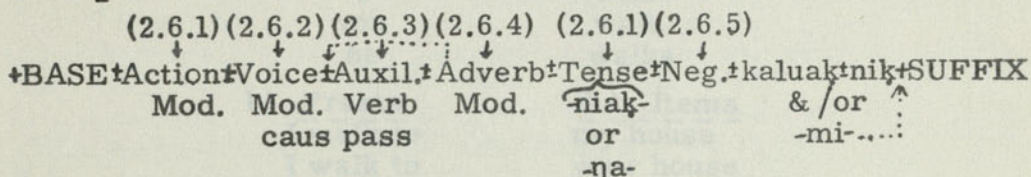
18 The conceptual dichotomy manifested by tense in dependent moods is based upon STATE OF ACTION, that is, action that is a reality versus action that is not yet reality. Both future action and conditional action has not yet been realized, has not occurred, and thus is distinguished as different from action which as occurred or is occurring. From this, one may deduce

that Eskimo is more interested in the type of action (such as realized action vs. unrealized, completive vs. continuative etc.), manifested by a verb than the time of action. This is called a Tense-Aspect system. The term "tense," however, is used in this part of the paper because it is a common term to English readers.

19 The present--past form of the Infinitive has another "shape" too. When coupled to bases ending with a vowel, its "shape" is:

-vlu- Nigi-vluṅa niṅinguk-tuṅa. *Eating, I'm satisfied.*

20 Following is a schematic showing the normal pattern for post-base<sub>2</sub> collocation.



-Any combination of these "slots" may occur, but they will always follow this ordering.

‡ -means "optional occurrence"

+ -means "obligatory occurrence"

-Alternate "slot" patterns are indicated by a dotted line.

-The number over each "slot" corresponds to the post-base classification in text, pages 26-29.

Noun BASES may receive this post-base<sub>2</sub> collocation if first they possess post-base<sub>1</sub>. The resultant pattern is: Noun Base, p-b<sub>1</sub>, p-b<sub>2</sub>, Suffix.

21 A less common sound change is that 'n' becomes 'ñ', and 'l' becomes 'l' following 'ai', and sometimes 'i'.

Kai-ñiak-tuṅa		Kai-lait-chuṅa
from	<i>I will come</i>	from <i>I never come</i>
Kai-niak-tuṅa		Kai-lait-chuṅa

For the Interrogative Mood, initial 'p' becomes 'v' when coupled to a vowel. A few post-bases also change like this, principally

-pai-	Nigi-vait-chuṅa.	
	from	<i>I eat too much.</i>
	Nigi-pait-chuṅa.	



22 That is, one more phonological factor. Some morphemes have different "shapes" due to factors other than phonological.

23 Enclitic addition to an inflected word is of a different order from that of the addition of post-bases and a suffix to a base. Whereas these latter components make up a grammatical word, (an essential structural building block), enclitic addition only makes a phonological word, having a looser, optional relationship to the grammatical word.

24 In conversation, "aasii" and "aglaan" may occur in enclitic position and still retain their conjunctive meaning. Context dictates which shade of meaning is implied.

## LEARNING AIDS

### FRAME AND SUBSTITUTION ITEMS

A very effective learning aid is a Frame with Substitution items. It is formed thus:

- 1) select a given phrase to act as a frame, i.e. a fixed pattern of words.
- 2) line up a list of items which are substitutable and may collocate with the frame.

Examples:

a) <u>Sub. Items</u>	<u>Frame</u>
I	walk
you	walk
he	walks
b) <u>Frame</u>	<u>Sub. Items</u>
I walk to	my house
I walk to	your house
I walk to	his house

The advantage of this system is to learn items in context rather than individual words in isolation. One's ability to speak the language will increase more rapidly in this way.

### TAPE LOOP

If one has access to a tape recorder, another method which facilitates language assimilation is a "tape loop." It is made in the following way:

- 1) Record a very few useful phrases, such as the frame and substitution items above, or a short conversational exchange. It is best to have a native speaker record the utterances with enough silence between each utterance to permit mimicking.
- 2) Cut the tape at the end of the desired recording, and join ends of the short recorded section, thus forming a loop.
- 3) When this is played through the tape recorder, the recorded language will be repeated indefinitely.

Note! To help prevent tape from snarling around Capstan roller, drape the free end over the back of a chair and weight it down with a small empty tape reel.



## USEFUL ESKIMO PHRASES

### North Alaskan Dialect

These phrases are available on Magnetic Recording Tape, 3 3/4 ips. Send \$1.25 to: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Box 1028, Fairbanks, Alaska, 99701.

#### PHONETIC KEY

To assist your pronunciation of the following phrases, each Eskimo word has been written phonetically. Throughout the rest of the book, words are written phonemically (cf. pages 4&5 for phonemic vowel patterning).

- Key:
- i- as in English word "beat"
  - e- as in English word "bait"
  - (- as in English word "bit"
  - a- as in English word "bought"
  - æ- as in English word "bat"
  - ə- as in English word "but"
  - u- as in English word "boot"
  - o- as in English word "boat"
  - u- like 'o' in "poke" but pronounced farther back.

#### 1. GREETING

There is no cultural greeting as "hello" so this has been adopted.

In English, a common way to "break the ice" is to ask the obvious question, "What are you doing?" In Eskimo the more common way of opening conversation is to state what the person is doing, including a post-base in the verb form which means "obviously." This post-base is added thus:

(verb without -niḵ-) Savak-tutin. *You are working.*

(verb with -niḵ- ) Savag-niḵ-sutin. *You are obviously working.*  
To which the response will probably be: "Ii!" or "Aa!" *ing.*

This same idea is conveyed more commonly in Barrow by adding "-(si)ma-" to a verb.

Savak-sima-rutin. *You are obviously working.*

Niḡi-ma-rutin. *You are obviously eating.*

Tikin-ma-rutin. *You obviously arrived.*

(Note that the post-base has two "shapes" depending upon the

terminating sound of the verb stem: -sima- when coupled to verbs ending with -k- or -k-; and -ma- when coupled to verbs ending with -t- or a vowel.)

Another common conversational pattern is to repeat what a person has just said, appropriately changing the person-suffixes.

e.g. 1st P. says: Tautuk-kiga. *I see it.*

2nd P. says: Tautuk-kiñ. *You see it.*

## 2. VISITING

- 1 P. is(ġ)ñ! *Come in!*  
 suvich? (or suviñ?) *What do you want? (not normally used with adults)*
- 2 P. sunitchuṇa *I want nothing.*
- 1 P. aḡov(tt)ñ! *Sit down! (to 1 person)*  
 aḡov(tt)tchi! *Sit down! (to 3 or more)*  
 kænəḡoitpiḡ? (or kænəḡoitpiñ?) *How are you?*
- 2 P. nækuuruṇa. *I am fine.*  
 aasii ilivich? *And you?*
- 1 P. nækuummiuṇa. *I am also fine.*
- 2 P. æptəvich? (or æptəviñ?) *Are you busy?*
- 1 P. æptəṇitchuṇa. *I'm not busy.*  
 kəviat-chak-tuṇa kairut(n). *I am happy when you come.*
- 2 P. (ġ)lu-gi-kəḡn(k-sut(n). *You have a nice house.*

## 3. LEAVING

- Visitor: aiñəksigaṇa. *It's time for me to go home.*  
 aiñəksigaatiguk *It's time for we(2) to go home.*
- Visited: kəikəvich, nækuuruḡ. *When you come, it is good.*  
 kəikəvsik, nækuuruḡ. *When you(2) come, it is good.*  
 kəikəvsi, nækuuruḡ. *When you(pl) come, it is good.*  
 kəit-k(ġ)niəḡ-miutin! *Come again! (to 1 person)*  
 kəkuguliḡaa! *Anytime!*  
 kəi-kattaḡu-mautin! *Come and visit!*
- Visitor: iḡaanniḡ. *Some time again (I'll do this).*  
 is(-katta-ḡiṇma iḡaanni. *Visit me sometime!*  
 or  
 takuḡiṇma iḡaanni.  
 tautut-k(ġ)niəḡikpiñ. *I'll see you again.*  
 tautut-k(ġ)niəḡivsiḡ. *I'll see you(2) again.*  
 tautut-k(ġ)niəḡivsi. *I'll see you(pl) again.*



## 4. EATING

(t̥k̥otək *breakfast* (t̥k̥ot-ch(ɣnək-siruk. *It's breakfast time.*  
 k̥it̥k̥k̥otək *lunch* k̥it̥k̥k̥ot-ch(ɣnək-siruk. *It's time for lunch.*  
 nullaotək *supper* nullau-tagnaḱ-siruk *It's supper time.*

kaa-l̥k̥-pich? (or kaa-l̥k̥-piñ?) *Are you hungry?*  
 kaa-l̥k̥-sunə. *I am hungry.*  
 kaa-l̥ɣit-chunə. *I am not hungry.*  
 nioḱ-kaḱok-pich? (or nioḱ-kaḱok-piñ?) *Do you want refreshment?*  
 ii, nioḱ-kaḱok-tunə. *Yes, I want refreshment.*  
 naomi, nioḱ-kaḱo-ɣit-chunə. *No, I don't want refreshment.*  
 tea naagga coffee, nallignik *Tea or coffee, which*  
 pisukpich (or pisukpiñ?) *do you want?*  
 tea-m̥(k. *Tea!*  
 coffee-m̥(k. *Coffee!*  
 avulla-vich (-viñ?) *Do you use sugar?*  
 ii, avulla-runə. *Yes, I use sugar.*  
 naomi, avulait-chunə. *No, I never use sugar.*  
 immu-gukpich (-piñ?) *Do you want milk?*  
 ii, immu-guk-tunə. *Yes, I want milk.*  
 naomi, immu-lait-chunə. *No, I never use milk.*  
 coffee-tuak-sirugut. *We're going to drink coffee.*

## AT TABLE

uurək ƙarrun! *Pass the boiled meat!*  
 uvva! *Here!*  
 tuttu-toḱ-tugut. *We are eating caribou.*  
 tuttu-tullatu-vich (viñ?) *Do you like caribou?*  
 ii, tuttu-tullatu-runə. *Yes, I like caribou.*  
 tuttuv-saamik? *(Do you want) more caribou?*

## COMMON FOODS

punn̥(k̥ <i>bread</i>	məktək <i>whale ski.</i>
mokpaorək. <i>bread roll</i>	kaogək <i>duck</i>
oksrokoaktək <i>do-nut</i>	suu <i>soup</i>
koak̥ <i>frozen raw food</i>	naetchium niḱaa <i>seal meat</i>
kaluk̥ koak̥ <i>frozen fish</i>	tuttum niḱaa <i>caribou meat</i>
pæn̥(ktək̥ <i>dried meat</i>	misigaak̥ <i>seal or other oil</i>
	dip

## UTENSILS

sæv̥(k̥ <i>knife</i>	æluutək̥ <i>spoon</i>
ulu <i>woman's knife</i>	kəkiirət <i>fork</i>
ƙəllun <i>cup</i>	puggutaurək̥ <i>plate, dish</i>



qallugaorək ʔ Wash the dishes!  
 tiləktoḡniægītka I will dry them.

# FOOD - GENERAL PHRASES

n(ḡl)nəktok It is cold (of food, body parts, anything but  
 uunaḡ-sima-roḡ It is hot. weather.

ut(ksiṇəktok It burns (so hot).

tivrə-ḡik-sok It smells good.

nəkuuroḡ It is good.

akkaa It stinks.

kiikəvsaaṁik? (Will you have) more?

əpai or naamarok enough!

n(ḡ)n-ḡokpich? Are you satisfied?

ii, n(ḡ)n-ḡoktuḡ. I am satisfied.

ḡuyənək or taikkuu. Thankyou.

ḡuyənəa-ḡ(kpiṇ. I thank you.

## 5. COMMANDS TO CHILDREN

to one child

atta Be quiet! (to 1 or many)

is(ḡiṇ Come in!

pi(ḡiṇ Go away!

ḡaiṇ Come!

suloktoḡiṇ Wipe your feet!

mættəḡiṇ Take off parka!

æt(ḡiṇ Put on parka!

pəkəḡnək Don't touch!

nəḡəvəiṇək Don't run around!

naalaḡn(sinḡ Listen to me!

əni(ḡsuəḡiṇ Play out-doors!

ḡakkig(iṇ Blow your nose!

(-k- added to plural form is dual command)

to many children

is(ḡitchi Come in!

pi(ḡitchi Go away!

ḡaisitchi Come!

suloktoḡitchi Wipe your feet!

mættəḡ(sitchi Take off parka!

æt(ḡ(sitchi Put on parka!

pəkəḡnəsitchi Don't touch(snoop)!

nəḡəvəiṇəsitchi Don't run about!

naalaḡn(sinḡ Listen to me!

əni(ḡsuəḡitchi Play out-doors!

ḡakkig(sitchi Blow your nose!

## 6. TRANSIT

su-mog-niək-pich? Where are you(sing) going? (-pich &  
 or -vich often replaced with -piṇ & -viṇ)

su-muk-saḡ-pich?

or

su-muaḡ-si-vich?

(in answering, use same frame as questioner uses)

store-mog-niək-tuḡ. I'm going to the store.

post-office-muk-saḡ-tuḡ. I'm going to the Post Office.



- school-muak-si-runə. *I'm going to (the) school.*  
 savak-sra-ka-k-tunə. *I'm going to work.*  
 əŋaayu-lia-ḡu-runə. *I'm going to church.*  
 James-kunnun is-kəttag-niæk-tunə. *I will visit James' house.*  
 summan kaisuitpich uvəpt(nun)? *Why don't you ever visit me?*  
 is-kətta-ḡinmə iləanni. *Visit me sometime!*
- su-mun aullak-sivich? *Where are you going?*  
 tuttu-liag-niæk-tunə. *I'm going caribou hunting.*  
 natchi-liag-niæk-tunə. *I'm going seal hunting.*  
 su-miñ kaivich? *Where are you coming from?*  
 or  
 su-miñ-ḡak-pich?  
 aḡaayuvij-miñ-ḡak-tunə. *I'm coming from church.*  
 su-miit-pich? *Where do you live?*  
 Barrow-miit-tunə. *I live in Barrow.*  
 nauḡ James-gum igloa? *Where is James' house?*  
 unənit-chiæp-tigni. *It is seaward.*  
 kəvenit-chiæp-tigni. *It is northward (or NE).*  
 k(lul)nəp-tigni. *It is inland*  
 or paniinəp-tigni.  
 ualiinap-tigni. *It is westward (or SW).*  
 ævenit-chiæni. *It is on the other side (of stated object).*  
 maanit-chiæni. *It is on this side (of stated object).*

## 7. TEMPORALS

- kaḡə kaivich? *When did you come?*  
 əkko *A little while ago.*  
 (kpəksrə yesterday unnumman -Barrow  
 (kpəksrətḡik 2 days ago unnummatḡik  
 (kpəksraakamik 3 days ago  
 (kpəksraaksugruk many days ago  
 uvlupak to-day  
 uvlaapak this morning  
 unoapak last night
- kaḡaaglaan maaniitpich? *How long will you remain here?*  
 Wednesday-munaglaan. *Until Wednesday.*  
 sivikitchuami. *For a little while.*
- kaḡsiñukpən aulləḡniækpich? *When will you leave?*  
 akḡḡu. *in a little while*  
 anakəpək tonight  
 uvlaakun tomorrow  
 uvlaakutḡik two days hence

## 8. WEATHER

ælaəppaa (ælaəppuu)	<i>It's cold.</i>
irriŋo-ġaa	" "
irrait-chuḵ	<i>It has moderated.</i>
kiyanak-tuḵ	<i>It is cold.</i>
uunnak-tuḵ	<i>It is warm.</i>
siḷa nakuu-ruḵ or siḷa-gik-suḵ	<i>The weather is good.</i>
siḷa nakuu-ŋit-chuḵ or siḷa-giit-chuḵ	<i>The weather is bad.</i>
nuvuyə-lḵ-suḵ	<i>It is cloudy (overcast).</i>
nuvuyə-laḵ-tuḵ	<i>It is cloudy (broken).</i>
nīpta-ruḵ or nīpta-gaa	<i>It is clear, bright weather.</i>
sikīnaa-ġek-suḵ	<i>The sun is shining.</i>
nīptait-chuḵ	<i>Hazy, dull weather.</i>
təktuk-tuḵ or təktugu-ġaa	<i>It is foggy.</i>
mniik-suḵ	<i>Misty weather.</i>
sealuk-tuḵ or sealugu-ġaa	<i>It is raining.</i>
ḵannik-suḵ	<i>It is snowing. (no wind)</i>
əgnḵ-suḵ or pḵsḵ-suḵ	<i>It is stormy (snow).</i>
nætḡvḵ-suḵ	<i>It is ground-drifting.</i>
ḵovyuaḡnḵ-suḵ	<i>It is a white-out condition.</i>

## 9. BUYING

taoḵsḡvik	store
su-mik pisuk-pich?	<i>What do you want?</i>
immuk-siləŋə	<i>I want to buy milk.</i>
tuugaanik piuraak-siləŋə	<i>I want to buy ivory carvings.</i>
tuugaak-siləŋə	<i>I want to buy ivory.</i>
nuḡuraak-siləŋə	<i>I want to buy candy.</i>
ḵænaetokpa une?	<i>How much is this?</i>
ḵænaetokpat ukoa?	<i>How much are these?</i>
akisuuruḵ	<i>It's expensive.</i>
akisuullaaktuḵ	<i>It costs too much.</i>
taoḵsḡ-niæ-ġigə	<i>I will buy it.</i>
taoḵsḡ-niæ-ġitkə	<i>I will buy them.</i>

## 10. MOODS &amp; COMMON SICKNESSES

ḵoviaesuk-tuŋə	<i>I am happy.</i>
ḵoviaesuk-pək-tuŋə	<i>I am very happy.</i>
ipḵtusuk-tuŋə	<i>I am sad.</i>
æliænait-chuḵ	<i>He's a lot of fun. (or enjoyable atmosphere.)</i>
æliæniok-tuḵ	<i>He's lonely.</i>
iḡulloatektuḵ	<i>He's a good man.</i>



agmelloatak-tuk	<i>She's a good woman.</i>
uiṇaglik-sunə	<i>I'm sleepy.</i>
pilaik-sunə	<i>I'm tired.</i>
kunəgə kikitkaa	<i>My nose is frozen.</i>
nuwak-tunə	<i>I have a cold.</i>
flu-kanə-runə	<i>I had the flue.</i>
saonin-nuroak	<i>bone ache.</i>
naraaget-chunə	<i>I have stomach cramps.</i>
migæk-tuk	<i>He vomited.</i>
glugaanə or kiggækkaanə	<i>I'm stiff.</i>
niæko-gət-chuk	<i>He has a headache.</i>
kigutin-nuruk	<i>He has a tooth ache.</i>
siutin-nuruk	<i>He has an ear ache.</i>

# 11. USEFUL PHRASES & INTERJECTIONS (cf. 3.3 Interjections)

taitkigon	<i>Repeat it!</i>
məkimək-tunə	<i>I don't understand.</i>
kallukoak-piṇə?	<i>Did I make a mistake.</i>
nælugiga	<i>I don't know it.</i>
ilisimagiga	<i>I know it.</i>
ætchuu	<i>I don't know (very common expression).</i>
ætchuu, ilvich	<i>I don't know (or care). It's up to you.</i>
(these 2 phrases often accompanied by a shrug of the shoulders and a blinking of the eyes)	

## Location

næun imñə	<i>Where is that?</i>
suvami taimma	<i>I wonder what happened to it? (misplaced object)</i>
piitchuk maani	<i>It's not here.</i>
ukun(ŋə	<i>Over there.</i>
əmmə	<i>In there.</i>
səmma	<i>Down there, (or down under)</i>
næun ipkoa?	<i>Where are those?</i>
piginn(-g)tkə	<i>I don't have them.</i>
kñaimñə?	<i>Who is this? (trying to recall a name)</i>
sunəonə?	<i>What is this?</i>
kənoḡimñə?	<i>How did this happen?</i>
akənoḡai	<i>I wonder?</i>

# Temporals

s(ɬ)ñ-ɡor(ɨn su-muili-va? *What time is it?*

or

s(ɬ)ñ-ɡor(ɨn su-muksaɬ-pa?

or

ɬavsiñukəlaɬpa?

siv(ɨ)sunaɬ-niæ-ɨit-chuŋə *I will not be long.*

## Exclamations

ii or aaŋ *Yes! (often indicated by slight raising of the eyebrows)*  
təvrə *That's right!*

næomi or naagga *No!*

ærigaa *That's good!*

æləkkaa *That's bad!*

æraa *Exclamation of wonderment (alt. arahaa)*

ættai or ættai-yunə *What a cutie! (used mainly for small*

otokkoo *It's too small. children or things)*

yahii or yahii-kəloaɬ *Registration of sorrow, teasing amusement at one's misfortune.*

aklaa *Registration of impatience with self for making a*

səmə or həmə *Let's see! mistake.*

haok *(I'm) exhausted (used also in sorrow)*

amee? *Isn't that* (eliciting assent from listeners. -ai on the  
so? *end of a statement accomplishes the same*

*result, that of nicely getting another's*

*assent. e.g. suŋitchuk-ai! It makes no*

*difference, does it?)*

aannəgu *Wait! (Wait a minute!)*

aakɬən *"*

kiita? *Are you ready?*

ikənii or irɨgii *registration of instilled fear.*

ɬləmik *Hurry up!*

ɬləmiksroktuŋə. *I'm in a hurry.*

These phrases are available on Magnetic Recording Tape, 3 3/4 ips. Send \$1.25 to: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Box 1028, Fairbanks, Alaska, 99701.



## NOUN AND VERB SUFFIXES

The following charts display the major noun and verb suffix patterns of Eskimo. They are organized so as to display similarities between patterns and overlap within patterns. (Overlap is indicated by arrows which show the different combinations signaled by any given form.)

In the compiling of these charts, I have received invaluable help from the pioneer work done by Dr. Diamond Jenness, as recorded in: Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, Vol.XV: Eskimo Language, part B.

"Kiisaimmaa" Mood.

Though hardly functioning as a bona-fide mood pattern, a special verb suffix set usually accompanys kiisaimmaa "finally". It is noted most frequently in stories and this combination seems to signal a climax.

Some of these forms are:

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sing.	-puṇa	-putin	-puḵ
Dual	-puguk	-pigik	-puk
Plural	-pugut	-pisi	-put

-patka "I - them", -pavut "We - them",  
-patkik "You - them".

Kiisaimmaa tautuk-puḵ. "Finally he saw."

Kiisaimmaa tautuk-patka. "Finally I saw them."

## INDICATIVE SUBJECT - OBJECT VERB SUFFIXES

SUBJECT REFERENT			OBJECT REFERENT					
			Third			Second		
			Third	Second	First	Third	Second	First
S	D	P	S	D	P	S	D	P
-iga	-ikka	-itka	-ikipin	-ivsik	-ivsi			
-ikpuk	-ivuk	-ivut	-iptigin	-ipik	↓			
-ikput	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓			
-in	-ikkin	-itin				-inma	-iptiguk	-iptigut
-itlik	-itik	-itik				-ivsiŋa	↓	↓
-iksi	-iksi	-isi				↓	↓	↓ •
-aa	-aik	-ai	-aatin	-aatik	-aasi	-aanga	-aatiguk	-aatigut
-aak	-aich	-aich	↓	↓	↓	-aanga	↓	↓
-aat	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓

S, D, P, stands for sing., dual, and plural. First, Second, and Third stands for persons.

Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination.

## HOW TO RECONSTRUCT: e.g. reconstruct "I see you.", using base: tautuk - see

- 1) at left, find subject referent (1st person sing.) e.g. tautuk-ikipin
- 2) at top, find object referent (2nd person sing.) I see you.
- 3) desired form is at intersection of these columns.

## Indicative S-O Verb Suffixes are coupled to Verb Bases thus:

If verb base terminates with -k or -t, add -k- to suffix.

pakit-ikipin I find you.

If verb base terminates with a vowel, add -g- to suffix.

ai-ikipin I fetch you.

If verb base terminates with -ŋ, -ŋ becomes -g, add suffix.

kakiŋ-ikipin I hit you (with fist)



## SUBJUNCTIVE AND CONJUNCTIVE SUBJECT-OBJECT VERB SUFFIXES

SUBJECT REFERENT			OBJECT REFERENT								
			Second			First					
Third	Second	First	Third			Second			First		
P	D	S	S	D	P	S	D	P	S	D	P
a <sub>u</sub> mirruṅ	a <sub>u</sub> mitku	a <sub>u</sub> miṅu	a <sub>u</sub> pkpu	a <sub>u</sub> pkik	a <sub>u</sub> pkich	a <sub>u</sub> pkpu	a <sub>u</sub> pkik	a <sub>u</sub> pkich	a <sub>u</sub> miṅpa	a <sub>u</sub> misiguk	a <sub>u</sub> misigut
a <sub>u</sub> misigik	a <sub>u</sub> mitkik	a <sub>u</sub> misigich	a <sub>u</sub> ptigu	a <sub>u</sub> ptigik	→	a <sub>u</sub> ptigu	a <sub>u</sub> ptigin	↓	a <sub>u</sub> miṅpa	a <sub>u</sub> misiguk	a <sub>u</sub> misigut
↓	↓	↘	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
											</

S, D, P stands for sing., dual, plural. First, Second, Third stands for persons.

Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination.

Conjunctive thematic vowel is 'a'. Subjunctive thematic vowel is 'u'.

HOW TO RECONSTRUCT: e.g. reconstruct Conjunctive form, "When I see you..." using base: tautuk-

1) at left, find subject referent (1st person sing.)

2) at top, find subject referent (2nd person sing.)

3) desired form is at intersection of these columns. Tautuk-kapkin. "When I see you..."

To reconstruct the same Subjunctive form, follow same procedure. Tautuk-kupkin. "If I see you..."

For coupling patterns, cf footnotes 16 and 17, page 42.

## INTERROGATIVE SUBJECT-OBJECT VERB SUFFIXES

			Third			Second			First		
			SUBJECT			REFERENT					
			Third	Second	First	Third	Second	First	Third	Second	First
S	D	P	S	D	P	S	D	P	S	D	P
-pigu	-pigik	-pigh	-pigin	-pisik	-pisi	-piya	-pisiguk	-pisigut			
-pisiguk	-pisigik	-pisigich	-pisigin	↓	↓	-pisiya					
-pisigu	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓						
-piung	-pisigik	-pisigich									
-pitku	↓	↓									
-pisiung	↓	↓									
-pauu	-pagik	-pagich	-patin	-patik	-pasi	-panya	-patiguk	-patigut			
-pagu											
-patku	-patik	-patigik	↓	↓	↓	-panya	↓	↓			
-parrung	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓			

These suffixes also signal SUBJECTIVE 3rd different person endings (with exception of -pagu).  
 CONJUNCTIVE 3rd different person also utilizes these suffixes, but 'p' is replaced with 'm'.  
 (e.g. '-pagu' becomes '-mangu').

S, D, P. stands for sing., dual, and plural. First, Second and Third stands for persons.  
 Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination.

HOW TO RECONSTRUCT: e.g. "Did you see it?" using base: tautuk- "see"

- 1) at left, find subject referent (2nd person sing.)
  - 2) at top, find object referent (3rd person sing.)
  - 3) desired form is at intersection of these columns. e.g. tautuk-ping? "Did you see it?"
- If verb ends in a vowel, 'p' becomes 'v'. e.g. nigi-viung? "Did you eat it?"



## INFINITIVE SUBJECT-OBJECT VERB SUFFIXES

SUBJECT REFERENT			OBJECT REFERENT		
Third	Second	First	Second	First	
S	D	P	S	D	P
s -naa ↖	↑	↗	↖	↑	↗
d -naguk ↖	-lugu	↗	↖	-lugu	↗
p -nagit ↖	↓	↗	↖	↓	↗
s -nagu ↖	↑	-nagich			↖
d ↓	-lugu	↗			↖
p ↓	↓	-nasigik			↖
s -lugu	-lugik	-lugich	↖	↑	↗
d -lugu	↓		↖	-lugu	↗
p -lugu	↓	↓	↖	↓	↗
p -nagu	↓	↓	↖		↗

Positive -lu- may also be used for Imperatives.

S, D, P, stands for sing., dual and plural. First, Second and Third stands for persons. Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination.

HOW TO RECONSTRUCT: e.g. reconstruct "See it!" using base tautuk- see

- 1) at left, find subject referent (2nd person sing.)
- 2) at top, find object referent (3rd person sing.)
- 3) desired form is at intersection of these columns.

Tautug-lugu! "See it!"  
Tautug-nagu! "Don't see it!"

(for use of '-lugu', cf. explanation on page 24)

## IMPERATIVE SUBJECT-OBJECT VERB SUFFIXES

			Third			Second			First		
			Third			Second			First		
			S	D	P	S	D	P	S	D	P
S	D	P	-lagu	-lagik	-lagich	-lakpin	-laptik	-lavsi			
			-lakpuk	-laptik	-laptigich	-laptigin	↓	↓			
			-lakput	-lavut	↓	↓	↓	↓			
D	P	S	-uq	-tkik	-kkich				-uqa	-tiguk	-tigut
			-tku	sigik	-sigich				-singa	↓	↓
			-siung	↓	↓				↓	↓	↓
P	S	D	-liung	-ligik	-ligich	-lisin	-lisik	-lisi	-liqa	-lisiguk	-lisigut
			-litku	-lisigik	→	↓	↓	↓	-liŋa	↓	↓
			-lirruŋ	↓	-lisigich	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓

S, D, P, stands for sing., dual, and plural. First, Second and Third stands for persons. Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination.

HOW TO RECONSTRUCT: e.g., reconstruct "See it!", using base tautuk- 'see',

- 1) at left, find subject referent (2nd person sing.)
- 2) at top, find object referent (3rd person sing.)
- 3) desired form is at intersection of these columns. Tautug-ung "See it!"

Reconstruct "Let me see it." (Subj. 1 sing.-Obj. 3 sing.) Tautug-lagu.

"I let him see it." (Subj. 3 sing.-Obj. 3 sing.) Tautug-liung.

Since 1st and 3rd forms all begin with 'l', they couple to the verb consistently. 2nd person forms vary. Suffixes initiated by double consonants replace verb final consonant (tautu-tkik). Suffixes initiated by 's' are initiated by 'ch' when coupled to verb ending in '-it' (kati-chigik). '-uŋ' coupled as illustrated above.



## SUBJECT (S) VERB SUFFIXES

(Intransitive)

## INDICATIVE

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sing.	-tuŋa	-tutin	-tuŋ
Dual	-tuguk	{-tutik -tusik	-tuk
Plural	-tugut	-tusi	-tut

(cf. footnote 8, page 40 for coupling rules)

## IMPERATIVE

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sing.	-laŋa	-in	-li
Dual	-luk	-itchik	-lik
Plural	-ta	-itchi	-lich

(-ta becomes -sa when coupled to verb ending in '-i').

## INFINITIVE(positive)

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sing.	-luŋa	-lutin	-luni
Dual	-lunuk	-lusik	-lutik
Plural	-luta	-lusi	-lutiŋ

## INFINITIVE (negative)

( used for imperative also)

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sing.	-naŋa	-nak	-nani
Dual	-natiguk	{-nasik -natik	-natik
Plural	-nata	-nasi	-natiŋ

## INTERROGATIVE

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sing.	-pik	{ -pich -piñ	-pa
Dual	-piñuk	-pisik	-pak
Plural	-pisa	-pisi	-pat

('p' becomes 'v' when coupled to verb ending with vowel)

## SUBJUNCTIVE

	1st	2nd	3rd	
			same*	different*
Sing.	-kuma	-kuvich	-kumi	-pan
Dual	-kumnuk	-kuvsik	-kumik	-pañnik
Plural	-kupta	-kuvsi	-kumiñ	-pata

(cf. footnote 17, page 42 for coupling rules)

## CONJUNCTIVE

	1st	2nd	3rd	
			same*	different*
Sing.	-kama	-kavich	-kami	-man
Dual	-kamnuk	-kavsik	-kamik	-mañnik
Plural	-kapta	-kavsi	-kamik -kamiñ	-mata

(cf. footnote 16, page 42 for coupling rules)

\*Same/different 3rd person explained on page 21.



## ABSOLUTIVE NOUN POSSESSION

		POSSESSED NOUN		
		Sing.	Dual	Plural
POSSESSOR	1st Person	s -ga		
		d -ga	-kka	-tka
		p -kpuk	→	-vuk
	2nd Person	s -kput	→	-vut
		d -(i)n	-kin	-tin
		p -ksik	-ksik	-sik
	3rd Person	s -ksi	→	-si
		d -a	-ak	-aich
		p -ŋa	-ŋik	-ŋi
Reflexive	3rd Person	d -ak	↓	→
		p -ŋik	↓	-ŋich
	Reflexive	s -ni	-gni	-ni
		d -tik	→	→
		p -tiŋ	→	-tiŋ

S, D, P stand for singular, dual, and plural resp.

Arrows indicate forms which signal more than one combination.

Absolutive means that the noun is not the subject of an S-O verb.

Suffix added directly to noun thus:

kimmi-ŋa "my dog" (iglu-ŋa "my house").  
 kimmi-n "your dog" (but iglu-in "your house").  
 umia-ni "his own umiak" (umiŋa "his umiak").

( cf. page 13 for noun classes.)

## RELATIVE NOUN POSSESSION

		POSSESSED NOUN		
		Sing.	Dual	Plural
POSSESSOR	1st Person	s -(ŋ)ma	→	→
		d -mñuk	→	→
		p -vsa	-pta	-vsa
	2nd Person	s -pich	→	→
		d -vsik	→	→
		p -vsi	→	→
	3rd Person	s -(ŋ)ata	-ksa	-ŋisa
		d -akta	-ŋikta	↓
		p -(ŋ)at	↓	↓
	Reflexive	s -mi	→	→
		d -mik	→	→
		p -miŋ	→	→

S, D, P stand for singular, dual, and plural resp.

Arrows indicate forms which signal more than one meaning.

Relative means that the noun is either overtly related to a verb (cf. footnote 13, page 41) or signals a possessing relationship while being possessed.

Suffix added to noun thus:

igñiŋ-ma kimmi-ŋa "my son's (or sons') dog."

igñikpich kimmi-ŋi aŋirut "your son's dogs are big."



		Singular	Plural
Locative	s	-mni	→
	p	-ptigni	-ptinni
Terminalis	s	-mñun	→
	p	-ptignun	-ptinnun
Ablative	s	-mniñ	→
	p	↓	-ptinniñ
Vialis	s	-pkun	→
	p	-ptigun	→
Similaris	s	-ptun	→
	p	-ptitun	→
Modalis	s	-mnik	→
	p	-ptignik	→

Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination Possession-Position suffixes simultaneously signal possession and case, e.g. iglu-mni "in my house". (cf. page 16 for further explanation).

These suffixes are added directly to the noun base thus:

kimmi-mñun "to my dog" or "to my dogs"

iglu-mniñ "from my dog" or "from my dogs" or "from our dog"

umia-ptigun "by our umiak" or "by our umiaks"

## SECOND PERSON POSSESSION-POSITION NOUN SUFFIXES

		Singular	Plural
Locative	s	-gni	→
	p	-vsiññi	→
Terminalis	s	-gnun	→
	p	-vsiññun	→
Ablative	s	-gniñ	→
	p	-vsiññiñ	→
Vialis	s	-pkun	↗
	p	-vsigun	→
Similaris	s	-ptun	→
	p	-vsisun	→
Modalis	s	-gnik	→
	p	-vsiññik	→

Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination. Possession-Position suffixes simultaneously signal possession and case, e.g. iglu-gni "in your house".

(cf. page 16 for further explanation.)

Suffix added directly to noun thus:

kimmi-gnun "to your dog", or "to your dogs"

iglu-gniñ "from your house" or "from your houses"

umia-pkun "by your umiak"

(cf. same suffix in first person)



		Third Person Possession-Position Noun Suffixes	
		Singular	Plural
Locative	s	-miñi	-miñi
	p	-ani -anni	-ñiñi -ñiñi
Terminalis	s	-anun	-miñun
	p	-(g)miñun -miñun	-ñiñun -ñiñun
Ablative	s	-miniñ {-aniñ}	-miñiñiñ -ñiñiñiñ
	p	-miñiñiñ	-miñiñiñiñ -ñiñiñiñiñ
Vialis	s	-migun	-nisigun
	p	-ñagun -mikkun -ñatigun	-miktigun -miktigun
Similaris	s	-misun	-ñisitun
	p	-atun -miktun	-ñisitun -ñisitun
Modalis	s	-nmiñik	-timñik
	p	-tignik -nmiñnik -taanik	-tigniñik -tigniñik -tigniñik

Third person possession differentiates between reflexive (his own) and another person's. The reflexive forms are initiated by -m- or -nm-, or -tim-.

Suffix added to noun thus:

kimmiḡ-miñun "to his own dog" (but kimmi-miñun "to his own dogs")

kimmi-anun "to his (another's) dog"

iglu-miniñ "from his own house" or "from his own houses"

iglu-aniñ "from his (another's) house" or "from his (another's) houses" (but kimmi-ñiñiñ; note that the suffix is initiated differently according to final sound of noun base).

