LET'S LEARN ESKIMO
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by

Donald H. Webster

illustrated

by

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LET'S LEARN

ESKIMO

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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 nikainami, iltchisuuruk.  
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 II 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 III 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter II Grammar System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Fungible-Inflective Words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Suffixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Verb Suffixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Noun Suffixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Complex Sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Word Expansion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Prepositional Phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Noun and Verb Suffixes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter III Grammar Review Charts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Inflective Words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Non-Inflective Words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Prepositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Learning Aide: Pretests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Essential Reference Pages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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."

\[ \text{ch} \]

\[ \text{g} \] (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: piga mine.

\[ \text{g} \]

\[ \text{g} \] (voiced uvular spirant) is like the 'g' above in its relative degrees of softness, but is pronounced much farther back in the throat. (Compare face diagrams below). This sound occurs very frequently and must be mastered. agnak woman aggiin dance annugaat clothes.

\[ \text{g} \]

\[ \text{g} \]

Note where the tongue contacts the throat for 'g' vs 'g' (This same contrast obtains for 'k' vs 'k')
h (voiceless glottal spirant) as in "hot."

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

k (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)

kimmik dog
kimmik heel

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

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

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

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

l (voiceless alveolar lateral) is a voiceless 'l', something like that in "click." Kamikhruk trousers

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

siklàk pick axe

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

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

n (voiced alveopalatal nasal) like 'n' in Spanish "mañana." (cf. face diagram above) iŋuk person iŋŋiŋk son
ŋ (voiced velar nasal) is the same as the 'ng' in "singing."
   aŋun man piŋ 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 irraitčuk It (weather) is warmer.

sr (voiceless retroflexed alveolar sibilant) is like 'r' above only voiceless. It occurs only after 'k' or 'ʃ'.
   iʃsrak cheek siksrık ground squirrel

s (voiceless alveolar sibilant) similar to 's' in "sip," though sometimes sounding almost like 'ʃ' in "ship."
   siku ice sialuktuk 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.
   The 'f' pronunciation is heard only when 'v' immediately precedes 's'.
   avu sugar Ɂavsiñik 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 & k kimmik heel kaaktuk he is hungry.
   kimmik dog kaaktuk it explodes.
   g & g aggiin go home! tagiuktuk he sneezed.
   aggiin dance! tagiuktuk it is salted.
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. 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.
Symbol /i/ has 3 vowel qualities: -i-, -e-, and -l- which are realized thus:
- -i- as in "beet," when next to front voiced consonants, and when lengthened:
  uniat  sled  kiňâk  face
- -e- as in "bait," when next to back consonants.
  kia  whose  kiruk  wood
- -l- as in "bit" in other environments.
  ikuun  skin-scraper  tipi  odor

Symbol /u/ has 3 vowel qualities: -u-, -o-, -u-, which are realized thus:
- -u- as in "boot" when next to front consonants, and when lengthened.
  uniat  sled  atum  song
- -o- as in "boat" when next to back consonants.
  aluk  sole  kauk  forehead
- -u- 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-, -d-, and -a-, which are realized thus:
- -a- as in "bought" when next to back consonants (except 'k'), and when lengthened.
  pikâktuŋa  I have  autaaŋtuŋa  I share
- -d- as in "bat" when next to front consonants.
  apun  (soft) snow  anut  harness
- -a- 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.

\[ \text{anayuta vs. anayuta let's pray! vs. let's dance!} \]
\[ \text{nakuuruk vs. nakuruk he is good vs. he is cross-eyed.} \]
\[ \text{ajun vs. ajuun vs. ajuun man vs. animal vs. paddle} \]

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.

\[ \text{anayuta vs. ańayuta vs. tautukkaa} \]
\[ \text{let's dance! vs. let's pray! vs. he sees it.} \]

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. 4

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 'igblu.'"

"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, \(^5\) 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 III.

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.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kai</td>
<td>ru + (\eta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(mood person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Come (Indic.) I

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

e. g. iglu-ga my house
    house-my

inglu-mun to (the) house
    house-to

inglu--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, i.e., 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-tuña**\(^8\), 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-tuk**, 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
- **aullat**- depart
- **siŋik**- sleep
- **tauŋsik**- buy
- **pilaŋik**- be tired
- **annik**- hurt
- **ainit**- not go home
- **kaŋait**- did not come
- **isilgit**- enter again
- **nakuu**- good
- **niği**- eat
- **išisima**- 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)\(^9\)
- **tautuk-kikpin**, 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 that 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 | B
---|---
tautuk-kiga | I see him | tautuk-kikput | We(pl) see him
tautuk-kitka | I see them | tautuk-kivut | We see them
tautuk-kikpín | I see you(s) | tautuk-kiptigim | We see you(s)
tautuk-kivsi | I see you(pl) | tautuk-kivsi | We see you(pl)
tautuk-kaaña | He sees me | tautuk-kaatigut | He sees us(pl)
tautuk-kaatin | He sees you(s) | 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. Tautuk-tuña, tautuk-kaaña).

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atuk-</td>
<td>use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taiguak-</td>
<td>read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navik-</td>
<td>break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakit-</td>
<td>find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ili-</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nigí-</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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-tuña *I see*  
Tautuk-kiga *I see it.*
S BASES

S bases may take subject suffixes only.

aullﺎـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔ~

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.

aullﺎـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔـٔ~

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kiimmik</td>
<td>kiimmik</td>
<td>kiimmich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>anun</td>
<td>anutik</td>
<td>anutit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iglu</td>
<td>igluk</td>
<td>iglut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>inuk</td>
<td>inñuk</td>
<td>inñich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>atik</td>
<td>atñik</td>
<td>atñich</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

- níki  meat
- punnik bread
- umiak  skin boat
- aluutak spoon
- kallun cup
- savik  knife
- ulu  knife (woman's)
- tuttu caribou
- nanuk polar bear
- uluun saw
- tinñun 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.\(^\text{12}\)

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.")

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>my</th>
<th>your</th>
<th>his, her, its(^\text{12})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kimmi-(\text{(\text{\text{-}}))})</td>
<td>kimmi-(\text{(\text{n})})</td>
<td>kimmi-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})}) dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})ut-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})i-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})</td>
<td>a(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})ut-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})i-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})}) man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iglu-(\text{(\text{-}}))a</td>
<td>iglu-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})i-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})</td>
<td>iglu-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})}) house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>iflu-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})k-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})a</td>
<td>iflu-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})i-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})})</td>
<td>iflu-(\text{(\text{\text{-}})}) person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ati-(\text{(\text{-}}))k-(\text{(\text{-}}))a</td>
<td>ati-(\text{(\text{-}}))k-(\text{(\text{-}}))i-(\text{(\text{-}}))</td>
<td>ati-(\text{(\text{-}})) name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -\(\text{\(\text{-}}\)\)m, (less frequently -\(\text{\(\text{-}}\)\)n or -\(\text{\(\text{-}}\)\)ta), which is added to nouns thus:

- Class 1 \(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)kimmi-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)m dog's
- Class 2 \(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)a\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)ut-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)i-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)m man's
- Class 3 iglu-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)m house's
- Class 4 iflu-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)um person's
- Class 5 ati-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)ka-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)ta name's

E.g. 1) kimmi-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)m sauni-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)n dog's bone (his)
2) a\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)ut-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)i-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)m iglu-\(\text{\(\text{\text{-}}\)}\)n 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.

\[ \text{iglu-mi in (the) house} \quad \text{iglu-ni in (the) houses} \]

\[ \text{aŋun pisuak-tuk iglu-mi} \quad \text{(the) man walks in (the) house.} \]

-tuni as a verb suffix seems to convey the locative concept, e.g. ikstitchak-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.

\[ \text{iglu-mun to (the) house} \quad \text{iglu-nun to (the) houses} \]

\[ \text{aŋun pisuak-tuk iglu-mun.} \quad \text{(The) man walks to (the) house.} \]

2.2.4.3 Ablative

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

\[ \text{iglu-min from (the) house} \quad \text{iglu-nin from (the) houses} \]

\[ \text{aŋun pisuak-tuk iglu-min.} \quad \text{(The) man walks from (the) house.} \]
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

Ağun pisuaŋ-tuŋ nuna-kun.
The man walks by (way of) land.

Ağun kai-ruŋ 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

Ağun ani-ruŋ iglu-tun.
The man is big like (a) house.

Aqutit inŋaitchut isaguliktitun.
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, and answers the question: With what?

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?

what are you eating? | 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 (tautuktunŋa) 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 niği-giga | aluuta-ptignik niği-gikput
with my spoon I eat it. | with our spoons we eat it.

-mni (1st p, s. Locative) -ptgni (1st p.pl. Locative)
in my house I sleep. | in our house we sleep.

-gni (2ndp.s. Locative) -miŋi (3rd p.s. Locative)
Iglu-gni siŋik-tutin. | Iglu-miŋi siŋiktuŋ.
in your house you sleep. | 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 kernal of an enlarged sentence. As a complete sentence, its suffix signals pronominal reference to a subject ( 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 tautuk-kaa tuttu, The dog saw the
dog saw-it/it caribou caribou.
SUBJECT UNMARKED; OBJECT MARKED
With an S verb, the subject is unmarked and the object is marked with the Modalis case.

\[
\text{kimmiik tautuk-tuk tuttu-mik} \quad \text{The dog saw a caribou.}
\]

\[
dog \quad \text{saw-it} \quad \text{caribou} \quad (it \text{ saw})
\]

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.

\[
\text{Inuk iglau-ruq tautuk-tuk tuttu-mik.} \quad \text{The man who is traveling sees the caribou.}
\]

\[
\text{Inuk iglau-ruq Barrow-mi\text{\textsf{\textregistered}} Wainwright-mun tautuk-tuk tuttu-mik.} \quad \text{The man who is traveling from Barrow to Wainwright sees the caribou.}
\]

\[
\text{Inuk iglau-ruq Barrow-mi\text{\textsf{\textregistered}} Wainwright-mun nuna-kun tautuk-tuk tuttu-mik.} \quad \text{The man who is traveling from Barrow to Wainwright by land sees the caribou.}
\]

(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. Some examples are:

\[
\text{base-pb1-suffix}
\]

\[
\text{iglu-\text{\textsf{\textregistered}}-tuna.} \quad \text{I have a house.}
\]

\[
\text{si\text{\textsf{\textregistered}}-gik-su\text{\textsf{\textregistered}}} \quad \text{The weather is good.}
\]

\[
\text{tuttu-liak-tuk} \quad \text{He hunts caribou.}
\]

\[
\text{atigi-liuk-tuk} \quad \text{She makes a parka.}
\]

\[
\text{tuttu-tuk-tuk} \quad \text{He eats caribou. (may also mean "use")}
\]
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-tuŋa 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S-Suffixes</th>
<th>S-O Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tautuk-piŋ or tautuk-piŋ?</td>
<td>do you see?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tautuk-pisi?</td>
<td>do you (pl) see?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tautuk-pa?</td>
<td>does he see?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tautuk-pat?</td>
<td>do they see?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tautuk-piŋ?</td>
<td>do you see it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tautuk-pisiŋ?</td>
<td>do you (pl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tautuk-pisigich?</td>
<td>do you (pl) see it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tautuk-paŋ?</td>
<td>does he see it?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions and Answers

Ilišima-viŋa?
*do you know me?*

Ili, ilišima-gikpiŋ.
*yes, I know you.*
Ijisima-vaña?
Does he know me?
Ijisima-viun?
Do you 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)
Suliçi-vich? What are you doing?
Sumuakši-vich? Where are you going?
Sumiňañk-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 Nigiň Eat! (sing)  Nigi-ńų Eat (sing) it!
per. Nigi-sitchi Eat! (pl)  Nigi-siųn Eat (pl) it!

Negative commands are expressed thus:

Nigi-nák Don't eat! (s)  Nigi-nągu Don't eat it! (s)
Nigi-nagitchi! Don't (pl) eat!
Katag-nák! Don't fall (sg) Katak-tin-nągu! Don't drop it!

3rd Nigi-liš! Let him eat!  Nigi-liųn! Let him eat it!
per. Nigi-ličh! Let them eat!  Nigi-liųgųn! Let them eat it!

1st Nigi-ńaña Let me eat!  Nigi-ńągu Let me eat it!
per. Nigi-sa Let's eat (pl)  Nigi-ńąkput Let's eat it! (pl)
Aňaayú-ta Let's pray!  Atug-ńąkput 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 nigi-ŋa-ruk. when he got hungry, he ate.

Subjunctive: Kaak-kumi nigi-ŋiak-tuk. If he gets hungry, he will eat.

(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 nigi-ŋa-ruk. when he (Bill) got hungry, he (John) ate.

Subjunctive: Kaak-pan nigi-ŋiak-tuk. If he (Bill) gets hungry, he (John) will eat.

Infinitive: Kaak-ľugu nigi-ruk. (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. The independent verb to which the Conjunctive is subordinated is either in present or past tense.

1st kaak-ama nigi-ŋa-ruga when I got hungry, I ate.
per. kaak-apta nigi-ŋa-rugut when we got hungry, we ate.
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.

1st Kaak-kumí niği-ña-tuŋa. If I get hungry, I will eat.
per. Kaak-kupta niği-ña-tugut. If we get hungry, we will eat.

2nd Kaak-kuvich niği-ña-tutin If you get hungry, you will eat.
per. Kaak-kuvsi niği-ña-tusi. If you(pl) get hungry, you (pl) will eat.

3rd Kaak-kumí niği-ña-tuk. If he gets hungry, he will eat.
same Kaak-kumín niği-ña-tut. If they get hungry, they will eat.

3rd Kaak-pan niği-ña-tuk. If he(Bill) gets hungry, he (John) will eat.
diff. Kaak-pata niği-ña-tut. If they get hungry, they will eat.
Tautuk-kupku ḱuviasug-niaḵ-tuŋa.
If I see it, I will be happy.

Tautuk-kupkiŋ ḱuviasug-niaḵ-tuŋa.
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.

Inuk niği-ruk atkunak-fugu.
The man eats much.

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

Uniagaḵ-土豪 ai-gitka.
While sledding, I fetch them.

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

Nigi-lutin niṅ𝑖nguṅ-niaḵ-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. 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.

  Sledding (I) I will fetch them.

- with present or past tense -lu- Uniagaḵ-土豪 ai-gitka.
  Sledding (I) I fetch them. or I fetched them.
**Present-Past Tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>Uniagak-łuña ai-gitka. per. Sledding, I fetch them.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uniagak-łuta ai-givut per. Sledding, we fetch them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagak-lutin ai-gitin per. Sledding, you fetch them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagak-lusi ai-gisi. Sledding, you (pl) fetch them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagak-łuni ait-kai. same Sledding, he fetches them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagak-lutin ait-kaich. Sledding, they fetch them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagak-lugu ait-kai. diff. Sledding, he fetches them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagak-lugich ait-kaich. Sledding, they fetch them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future Tense**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uniagag-łuña ai-ńia-gitka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uniagag-łuta ai-ńia-givut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagag-lutin ai-ńia-gitin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagag-lusi ai-ńia-gisi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagag-luni ai-ńia-gai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagag-lutin ai-ńia-gaich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagag-lugu ait-gai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniagag-lugich ait-kaich.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'-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")

**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.

Inuk nuna-kun kãi-vjun, tuttu-tuk 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 ( BASE ) and terminated by a SUFFIX ( SUFFIX ). Between the base and suffix are coupled modifiers of various kinds called POST-BASES ( POST-BASEs ). 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-BASE1 have been outlined in section 2.3, "Simple Sentences." The following discussion deals with those of type POST-BASE2 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. 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 (Compleitive)

-anik- already, having (like a perfect past tense).
Nigi-anik-tuŋa niŋunguk-tunja.
(I) having eaten I am satisfied.
-ŋa- completed action; also functions for past tense.
  etc. Nigi-ŋa-tunja. I ate.

2.6.1.2 Tense-Aspect (Continuative)

-(s)uu- constantly, always, (state of)
  Savag-uu-tunja. I am constantly working.
  Nigi-suu-tunja I am constantly eating.
-si- (used with continuatives to intensify unfinished action.)
   Agli-si-sainнак-tuk. It keeps continuing to enlarge.
-niaк- Incomplete action which may continue on into the future etc. (and future tense). Savag-niaк-tuŋa. I will work.

2.6.1.3 Special Aspect
-gaк- beginning action (inceptive)
   Tuttulia-gaк-si-ruk. He is beginning to go caribou hunting.
-sainнак- progressive action
   Agli-sainнак-tuk. He continues to enlarge.
-kattак- repetitive action
   Isi-kattак-tuŋ He visits. (or "enters again and again")
-kaluак- 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-ŋiıt-kaluак-tuŋ, taınnaunnii. Possibly its not very good, it will be o.k.
   Kaa-ŋiıt-kaluак-tuŋa, niği-niaк-tuŋa. 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
   Kuя-тчак-tuŋ. He is moved to express thanks.
   Kama-tchak-tuŋ. He marvels. (He is moved to marvel).

-saак- Expressed Action.
   Kama-saак-tuŋ. He boasts. (He expresses the marvel of himself).

-naк- Evoked Action
   Kuя-naк-tuŋ. He is to be thanked.
   Kama-naк-tuŋ. He is great. (He is to be marvelled).

-suk- Reflexive Action
   Kuvia-suk-tuŋ. He is happy.
   Kama-suk-tuŋ. 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-) changes active to passive voice.  
Tautuk-tau-ruŋa. I was seen vs. Tautuk-tuŋa I see  
Pi-rau-li. Let it be! (happen)

-pkaŋ-Causal  
Kai-pkaŋ-iga. I cause it to come. (I bring it).  
Kama-naŋ-sipkaŋ-tau-ruŋ. 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.
-kumiŋaŋ- able: Tautuk-kumiŋaŋ-tuŋa. I am able to see.  
-kumiŋaŋt- unable: Tautuk-kumiŋaŋt-chuŋa. I am unable to see.  
-tuksruŋ- must: Tautuk-tuksruŋ-ruŋa. I must see.  
-iaŋ- going for the purpose of: Tautug-iaŋ-tuŋ. He's going (for the purpose of) to see.  
Tuttuliag-iaŋ-tuŋa. I'm going (for the purpose of) hunting caribou.  
-sisugnaŋ- think: Tautuk-sisugnaŋ-tuŋ. He thinks it's 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  
-piaŋ- really: Sava-piaŋ-tuŋ. He really works.  
-piagataŋ- extremely: Sava-piagataŋ-tuŋ. He works extremely  
-paŋaŋ- ineffectively; queerly: Sava-paŋaŋ-tuŋ. He works ineffectively.  
-pait- very: Savak-pait-chuŋ. He works too much.  
-lhaŋaŋ- comparative: Nakuu-lhaŋaŋ-tuŋ. It is better. (vs. etc. Nakuu-ruŋ. It is good).
b) Others

- ḷaiyaŋ- almost: Tikit-lname-čuk. *He almost arrived.*
- ḷatigiiŋ- together: Tikit-lname-čuk. *They arrived together.*
- mi- also: Tikin-mi-uk. *He also arrived.*
- niŋ- obviously: (most frequently used, so learn it!)
  etc.

2.6.5 NEGATIVES

The most common negatives are:

- niŋ- do not: Tautu-niŋ-kiga. *I do not see it.*
  Tautug-niŋ-kiga. *I will not see it.*

- naiŋ- did not: Tautu-naiŋ-kiga. *I did not see it.*

- laiŋ- never: Tautu-laiŋ-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-tuŋa. *I eat heartily.*
Nigi-palug-lname-tuŋa. *I will eat heartily.*
Nigi-palug-lname-niŋ-chuŋa. *I will not eat heartily.*

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

Nigi-palug-lname-niŋ-kaluaŋ-tuŋa. *Though I will not eat heartily,...*

Nigi-palug-lname-niŋ-niŋ-suŋa. *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-yumiňaŋ-ługuna vs. Nigi-yumiňaŋ-tuŋa.*
- *I eat (I) being able. I am able to eat.*

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

- *Pi-ňiňaŋ-tuŋa. I will.*
- *Pi-yumiňaŋ-tuŋa I can.*
- *Pi-suk-kiŋa. I want it.*
- *Pi-ga. Mine. (In answer to: Whose is it?)*
- *Pi-gi-kiŋa. 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.
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. 21

-\( k \) becomes -\( g \) when \( m, n, n, \eta, l, \) or a vowel is coupled thereto.

\[
\begin{align*}
tautug-niag-nik-suja & \quad \text{from} \quad I \ \text{obviously see} \\
tautuk-niak-nik-suja &
\end{align*}
\]

-\( t \) becomes -\( n \), when \( m, n, \) or \( \eta \) is coupled thereto.

\[
\begin{align*}
tautu-\etain-nik-suja & \quad \text{from} \quad I \ \text{obviously don't see} \\
tautuk-\etait-nik-suja &
\end{align*}
\]

-\( t \) becomes -\( l \), when \( l \) is coupled thereto.

\[
\begin{align*}
tautuk-tul-lu & \quad \text{from} \quad \text{And they saw} \\
tautuk-tut-lu &
\end{align*}
\]

-\( t \) becomes -\( t \), when \( l \) is coupled thereto.

(Note: Memory Aid: The voiceless sounds (\( k, k, t \)) are changed to voiced sounds made at the same point in the mouth (\( g, g, n, \) 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, viz., REPLACEMENT type coupling.
Whereas the additive method of coupling may be diagrammed thus: \[ \text{A} \text{B} \], the replacive method may be diagrammed as: \[ \text{A} \text{B} \]. The final consonant of "A" is replaced by the initial consonant of "B." Replacive Coupling: Tautu-pia-llak-tuŋa from Tautuk-piaŋ-llak-tuŋa.

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 added:

1) kipigniugun desire
    Kipigniugu-ti-gi-giga.
    I desire it.

2) kuviasuun happiness
    Kuviasuu-ti-ŋaŋ-tuŋa.
    I have happiness

NOUN PHRASE VERBALIZED:

iglu-mi in house
    Iglu-mi-it-tuŋa.
    I am in the house.

iglu-miŋ from house
    Iglu-mi-iŋaŋ-tuŋa.
    I come from the house.

iglu-mun to house
    Iglu-muk-tuŋa.
    I go to the house.

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

Iglu-muk-kuminag-niag-aluŋ-tuŋa,...
Though I will be able to come to the house,...
VERB TO NOUN

A verb is nominalized by adding -n or -un to the base, (A frequent concomitance of this process is the lengthening of the last medial consonant).

1) Ḵuviasuk-tuŋa  I am happy
   Ḵuviasu-un  happiness

2) Isuma-ruŋa. I am wise
   Isumma-n  wisdom

3) Tuku-ruŋ  He is dead
   Tukku-n  death

Verb Phrase to Noun Phrase

1) Savaktuk  He works:
   becomes Savaktuŋ  he who works

   Tuku-ruŋ  It is dead:
   becomes Tuku-tauŋa-rua-tun,  as though it had been slain

   Niqirugut  We eat:
   becomes Niqiruaguŋ  we who are eating

2) Atuk-tuŋa  I sing:
   becomes Atu-kkaŋa. my singing
   (song

(cf. page 38, Nominal Clause)

This completes our sketch of EXPANDABLE-INFLECTIVE WORDS, which comprises the vast bulk and complexity of Eskimo. However, our description would not be complete without a brief description of INFLECTIVE and NON-INFLECTIVE WORDS.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>uvaŋja</td>
<td>uvaŋuk</td>
<td>uvaŋut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>ilivich</td>
<td>ilivsi</td>
<td>ilivsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>ila</td>
<td>iliŋik</td>
<td>iliŋich</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Ukaktuk uvanun. *He spoke to me*
Ilisimarusi ilivsi-ñni. *You-know in-yourself*
Aglak-tau-ruk ilaagun. *It-was-written by-him.*

Pronouns also take a few enclitics.

uvanja-lu *me-and (me too)*
uvanja-ñhaŋk *me-only*
ilivsi-ñsauk *you-also*

Pronouns may also be verbalized as:

Uvanja-u-ruŋ. *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)
ukuua these (pl)

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

This demonstrative has specialized case endings:
taamna that (free form)
taaavruma that (relative form)

Loc. taavrumani in that
Term. taavrumuŋa to that
Ablat. taavrumaŋŋa 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.
tai-pkuathose (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)
Ka avi 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-ŋŋa *from there, from that place*

kənuŋk *because, for* - may be verbalized.
  kənuŋk-ũuni *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-ittuk *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.

agłaan* *but*
aasii* *and*
suli* *and (sometimes these are used together: suli asii or aasii suli)*
tavra *then (tavra asii 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. 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.24

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

-\textit{aglaan up to} e.g. Taiguaigntyaquinuqa verse-ramik one-min ten-mun-aglaan. \textit{I will read verses from one to ten.}

-\textit{aasii }\textit{still} Taiguaaktuq-suli. \textit{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.

-\textit{lu} Kaituqa-lu isivluqa-lu, nı̨quirrela tuntumig-lu punnig-lu. \textit{And coming and entering, I eat caribou and bread.}

-\textit{ptauk also} Uvaga-\textit{ptauk Me also (too)}

-\textit{unnii even} Tautu-\textit{ruqa tuttu-mik kulinig-luunnii. I saw caribou, maybe even ten.}

3.2.3 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are single word utterances such as:

\textit{ii} \textit{yes} \hspace{1cm} \textit{naumi no}
\textit{aaŋ} \textit{yes} \hspace{1cm} \textit{naagga no (more emphatic)}
\textit{uvva} \textit{here (passing an object to someone)}
\textit{kii} \textit{okay!} \hspace{1cm} \textit{tavra okay! That's right!}
\textit{kiita} \textit{ready}

(for more cf. appendix: Useful Phrases).
Three commonly used clauses are: Nominal, Objective and Purpose.

**NOMINAL CLAUSE**

A nominal clause usually translates as: "which.." or "that which.." or a possessed clause (e.g. "those who were his followers").

A nominal clause is signaled by post-base '-kka-' plus person suffixes or possession-position suffixes.

- `pigi-kka-vsiñnik` which you have
- `tautuŋa-kka-ŋput` that which we have seen
- `maliguaŋtigi-kka-ŋi` who followed him (his followers)

**OBJECTIVE CLAUSE**

An objective clause generally follows a verb and completes a thought, being initiated by "that.." or "what.." or "where.." as in: "Do you know where we live?"

An objective clause is signaled by post-base '-tilaa-' plus either set of noun suffixes (possession, position, or position-position).

- `Inuum ukautigigaa nakuu-tilaa-ŋa, the man said that-he-was-alright.
- `Naluruk su-tilaa-mik. he doesn't know what-happened.
- `Ilišimavich sumii-tilaa-ŋtignik? do you know where-we-live?`

**PURPOSE CLAUSE**

Purpose clauses translate as "in order to" or "so that."

When the subject of the purpose clause is different from that of the main clause, the purpose clause is signalled by post-base '-ku-' plus Infinitive Mood suffixes.

- `Suniaŋpisaa niŋit-ku-lugich inuich? what-will-we-do to-feed the-people.
- `Kuliaŋtuaŋkput ńuviatchaktit-ku-vlusi. we-told-it in-order-to-make-you-happy.

When -ku- is used in an independent verb complex, it signals "wish" or "command" or "told".

- `Aulla-ku-visigut? Do-you-want-us-to-depart?`
- `Kait-ku-ŋgai, He-called-them (told them to come)`
- `Nuŋut-ku-ŋaa uvamnun. He-commanded-it-finished to-me. (He wants me to finish it.)`
FOOTNOTES

1 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 ӿ'. 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 ӿ will be perceptible as sounds which are formed in the throat.

that which sounds like twokatiga is actually twokatigamy wife.
that which sounds like kawak is actually kuga duck
that which sounds like anuwe is actually anugi wind

2 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.

3 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.

4 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.

5 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: ukavigaagutigivaiarallakaluaagupkuunnii Even though I may have to boast a little too much.

6 Eskimo has no article. The article is inserted in the English translations for readability.
Whereas English distinguishes between singular and plural, Eskimo distinguishes between singular, dual (two/pair) and plural.

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 -k or -t, then -t- occurs (-tuŋa)
  " " " " a vowel, then -r- " (-ruŋa)
  " " " " -ait, or -it, then -ch- " normally (-chuŋa)
  " " " " -ik, or -iŋ 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-unŋa I also see. (see--also I)

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

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-
  " " " " -k, then -k becomes -g and suffix added.

  e.g. base suffix
  .v -giga
  .k/t -kiga
  .k -giga

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.
There are two sets of possessive forms for 3rd person, those ending in '-ŋa' and those ending in '-a'. (kimmiŋa & kimmia; atŋa & atŋa). They seem to be mutually usable in the same context, though the '-a' form may be more intimate, reflexive-like.

Relative Possessive Forms will be better understood after reading the section entitled "Simple Sentences" on page 17. When a possessed noun is the subject of an S-O verb, it has a dual relationship, being related to its verb as well as its possessor. This dual relationship is indicated by connecting arrows.

e.g. Inu-un kimmi-a-ta tautuk-kaa tuttu.
(The) man's dog (he) saw (it) (The) caribou.

The following steps will help you see these relationships:
1) Inu-un kimmi-ä
   man's dog (his)
2) Inu-un tautuk-kaa tuttu.
   (The) man saw (the) caribou.
3) Inu-un kimmi-ä-ta tautuk-kaa tuttu.
   (The) man's dog saw (the) caribou.

The -ta suffix (kimmi-a-ta) appears as -sa when following -i
   e.g. Inuum aniŋatinisa nakuagigaasi.
   The man's brothers like you.

-n is coupled to -ŋa to show the same Relative Possession.
   Agna-m baby-ra-ŋa-n tautuk-kaa tuttu.
   (The) woman's baby saw (a) caribou.

First and second persons also have Relative Possessive forms.
   Ulu-ma avik-kaa niki.
   My knife cut (the) meat.
   Ulu-vich avik-kaa niki.
   Your knife cut (the) meat.

A less frequent but still very functional use of Modalis with S-O Suffixes is signalling Indirect Object, or answering the question "about what?"

Ukallauti-giga tuttu-mik. I told him about caribou.
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 kai-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'.

  nigilj-kama... When I eat...
  Nigiljit-kama... When I don't eat...

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

  Kaak-ama... When I eat...
  Aullak-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'.

  Nigiljit-kuma... If I do not eat...
  Kaak-kuma... If I am hungry...

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

  Aullag-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:


20 Following is a schematic showing the normal pattern for post-base_2 collocation.

\[(2.6.1)(2.6.2)(2.6.3)(2.6.4)(2.6.5)\]

+BASE+Action+Voice+Auxil.+Adverb+Tense+Neg.+kaluknik+SUFX

Mod. Mod. Verb Mod. \(\text{niak}\) \&/or \(\text{mi}\)

caus pass or -ŋa-

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

\(+\) means "optional occurrence"

\(\dagger\) 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_2 collocation if first they possess post-base_1. The resultant pattern is: Noun Base, p-b_1, p-b_2, Suffix.

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

Kai-\(\text{niak}\)-tuŋa  \(\text{Kai-lait-chuŋa}\)
from \(\text{I will come}\) from \(\text{I never come}\)

Kai-\(\text{niak}\)-tuŋa  \(\text{Kai-lait-chuŋa}\)

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-chuŋa.
from \(\text{I eat too much}\).

Nigi-pait-chuŋa.
That is, one more phonological factor. Some morphemes have different "shapes" due to factors other than phonological.

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.

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) **Sub. Items**
   - you
   - he

b) **Frame**
   - I walk to
   - I walk to
   - I walk to

- **Sub. Items**
  - my house
  - your house
  - 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"  
- **-t-** 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 "poe" 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 -nɪk-) Savak-tutin. You are working.
(verb with -nɪk-) Savag-nɪk-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.
Niği-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-kiŋ. You see it.

2. VISITING

1 P. is'غن! Come in!
suvich? (or suviŋ?) What do you want? (not normally used with adults)
2 P. suŋitchuŋa I want nothing.
1 P. akov(tτŋ! Sit down! (to 1 person)
akovit科技创新 Sit down! (to 3 or more)
kaenagoitpich? (or kaenagoitpin?) How are you?
2 P. nækuuruŋa. I am fine.
aasii ilivich? And you?
1 P. nækuummiŋaŋa. I am also fine.
2 P. æptævich? (or æptæviriŋ?) Are you busy?
1 P. æptævitchuŋa. I'm not busy.
koviat-chak-τuŋa kairutn. I am happy when you come.
2 P. (glu-gi-κŋτ-κ-sutn. You have a nice house.

3. LEAVING

Visitor: aiŋe ksiμaaŋa. It's time for me to go home.
aiŋe ksiμaaŋa atiguk It's time for we(2) to go home.
Visited: kai kavich, nækuuruŋk. When you come, it is good.
kai kavisi, nækuuruŋk. When you(2) come, it is good.
kai kavisi, nækuuruŋk. When you(pl) come, it is good.
kai tʊŋk-ŋeag-ŋeag-μìutin! Come again! (to 1 person)
kkugulikaa! Anytime!
kai kattagμ-μutin! Come and visit!
Visitor: iļaanilu. Some time again (I'll do this).
is-taτta-γiŋmą iļaan. Visit me sometime!
or
takugiŋmą iļaan.
tautut-κŋ-ŋeag-ŋikpiŋ. I'll see you again.
tautut-κŋ-ŋeag-ŋivsi. I'll see you(2) again.
tautut-κŋ-ŋeag-ŋivsi. I'll see you(pl) again.
4. EATING

*tktotek* breakfast (*tktot-čugnak-siruk*). It's breakfast time.

*ktri*kotek lunch (*ktri*kot-čugnak-siruk*). It's time for lunch.

nullaotek supper *nullau-taŋnak-siruk*. It's supper time.

kaa-ltk-pich? (or kaa-ltk-pin?) Are you hungry?

kaa-ltk-suŋə. I am hungry.

kaa-lŋiit-chuŋa. I am not hungry.

niok-kaŋok-pich? (or niok-kaŋok-pin?) Do you want refreshment?


naomi, niok-kaŋo-ŋiit-chuŋa. No, I don't want refreshment.

tea naagga coffee, nallignik. Tea or coffee, which

pisukpich (or pisukpin)? do you want?

tea-mk. Tea!

coffee-mk. Coffee!

avulla-vich (-viŋ)? Do you use sugar?

ii, avulla-ruŋa. Yes, I use sugar.

naomi, avulait-chuŋa. No, I never use sugar.

immu-gukpich (-pin)? Do you want milk?

ii, immu-guk-tuŋa. Yes, I want milk.

naomi, immu-laŋit-chuŋa. No, I never use milk.

coffee-tuaŋ-sirugut. We're going to drink coffee.

AT TABLE

uurok kairrun! Pass the boiled meat!

uvva! Here!

tuttu-tok-tugut. We are eating caribou.

tuttu-tullatu-vich (vin)? Do you like caribou?

ii, tuttu-tullatu-ruŋa. Yes, I like caribou.

tuttuv-saamik? (Do you want) more caribou?

COMMON FOODS

punnik bread

mokpaorik bread roll

oksrokoaktik do-nut

koak frozen raw food

kaluk koak frozen fish

pænktik dried meat

UTENSILS

sævik knife

ulu woman’s knife

kallun cup

æluutek spoon

kæliiræt fork

puggutauræk plate, dish
kaflugaor ekm Wash the dishes!
tilæktogniægítka I will dry them.

FOOD - GENERAL PHRASES

niglæntuk It is cold (of food, body parts, anything but weather.)
uunâk-sima-rûk It is hot.

utækksiântuk It burns (so hot).
tvæ-râ-gik-suk It smells good.

nækuuruk It is good.
akkaa It stinks.

kiiikævsàamik? (Will you have) more?
epai or naamaruk enough!

núns-n-gôkkipic? Are you satisfied?
ii, núns-n-goktu xe. I am satisfied.

kuyänek or taikkuu. Thank you.
kuyànaa-gâkipin. I thank you.

5. COMMANDS TO CHILDREN
to one child to many children

atta Be quiet! (to 1 or many)
isigîin Come in! isigîitchi Come in!
piigîin Go away! piigîitchi Go away!
kaîn Come! kaisitchi Come!
suluktoîgin Wipe your feet! suluktoîgitchi Wipe your feet!
maêttagîin Take off parka! maêttagîsitchi Take off parka!
ættagîin Put on parka! ættagîsitchi Put on parka!
pêkægnæk Don't touch! pêkægnæsitchi Don't touch(snoop!)

nætægavainæk Don't run around! naætægavainàsitchi Don't run about!

naalâgnisînæ Listen to me! naalâgnisîmja Listen to me!

anîktisuagîin Play out-doors! anîktisuagîtsîchî Play out-doors!

kakkigîin Blow your nose! kakkigîtsîchî Blow your nose!

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

6. TRANSIT

su-mog-niæk-pîch? Where are you(sing) going? (-pîch & or -vîch often replaced with -piñ & -viñ)
su-muk-sak-pîch? or
su-muaß-si-vîch? (in answering, use same frame as questioner uses)

store-mog-niæktunæ. I'm going to the store.
post-office-muk-sak-tunæ. I'm going to the Post Office.
I'm going to (the) school.
I'm going to work.
I'm going to church.
I will visit James' house.
Why don't you ever visit me?
Visit me sometime!

Where are you going?
I'm going caribou hunting.
I'm going seal hunting.
Where are you coming from?
I'm coming from church.
I live in Barrow.
Where is James' house?
It is seaward.
It is northward (or NE).
It is inland
It is westward (or SW).
It is on the other side (of stated object).
It is on this side (of stated object).

When did you come?
A little while ago.
Until Wednesday.
For a little while.
When will you leave?
in a little while
tonight
tomorrow
two days hence
8. WEATHER

aelæppaa (aelæppuu)  It's cold.
irrín ñ-gaa
irrait-chuk  It has moderated.
kiyanâk-tuk  It is cold.
uunnâk-tuk  It is warm.
sîlâ nakuâ-rûk or sîlâ-gik-suâ  The weather is good.
sîlâ nakuâ-ñît-chuk or sîlâ-giit-chuk  The weather is bad.
nuvuyê-lûk-suâ  It is cloudy (overcast).
nuvuyê-laâk-tûk  It is cloudy (broken).
niptâ-ruâk or nipta-gaa  It is clear, bright weather.
sîkînâa-gek-suâ  The sun is shining.
niptait-chuk  Hazy, dull weather.
taktuk-tûk or taktugu-ûâ  It is foggy.
mînîk-suâ  Misty weather.
seâluk-tûk or sealugu-ûâ  It is raining.
kanûk-suâ  It is snowing (no wind)
êngûk-suâ or pîksûk-suâ  It is stormy (snow).
naètûgûk-suâ  It is ground-drifting.
kovyuagûk-suâ  It is a white-out condition.

9. BUYING

taoksûgûk  store
su-mik pisuk-pich?  What do you want?
immuk-êlêla  I want to buy milk.
tuugaâk pisuk-êlêla  I want to buy ivory carvings.
tuugaâk-êlêla  I want to buy ivory.
nunuraua-êlêlë  I want to buy candy.
kaênêtokpa une?  How much is this?
kaênêtokpat ukoa?  How much are these?
akisuurrûk  It's expensive. akisuvalaâktûk  It costs too much.
taoksûg-nâ-e-gîgê  I will buy it.
taoksûg-nâ-e-gitka  I will buy them.

10. MOODS & COMMON SICKNESSES

koviêseuk-tûnê  I am happy.
koviêseuk-pèk-tûnê  I am very happy.
îpîtusuk-tûnê  I am sad.
æliæniit-chuk  He's a lot of fun. (or enjoyable atmosphere.)
æliæniok-tûk  He's lonely.
inulâloâktûk  He's a good man.
She's a good woman.
I'm sleepy.
I'm tired.
My nose is frozen.
I have a cold.
I had the flu.
bone ache.
I have stomach cramps.
He vomited.
I'm stiff.
He has a headache.
He has a tooth ache.
He has an ear ache.

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

Repeat it!
I don't understand.
Did I make a mistake.
I don't know it.
I know it.
I don't know (very common expression).
I don't know (or care). It's up to you.
(These 2 phrases often accompanied by a shrug of the shoulders and a blinking of the eyes)

Where is that?
I wonder what happened to it? (misplaced object)
It's not here.
Over there.
In there.
Down there, (or down under)
Where are those?
I don't have them.
Who is this? (trying to recall a name)
What is this?
How did this happen?
I wonder?
Temporals

sikun-gorun su-muili-va?  What time is it?
or
sikun-gorun su-muksak-pa?
or
kavsinukelakpa?
sivisunaq-niae-nit-chunə  I will not be long.

Exclamations

ii or aan  Yes! (often indicated by slight raising of the
tævə̈  That's right!  eyebrows)
næomi or naagga  No!
aerigaa  That's good!
aeəkkəa  That's bad!
aea  Exclamation of wonderment (alt. arahaa)
aettai or aettai-yune  What a cutie! (used mainly for small
otokkoo  It's too small. children or things)
yahii or yahii-kəloak  Registration of sorrow, teasing amuse-
ment at one's misfortune.
aklaa  Registration of impatience with self for making a
sæmə  Let's see!  or hæmə  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. sunitchuk-ai! It makes no
difference, does it?)

aannagü  Wait! (Wait a minute!)
aåkən
kiita?  Are you ready?
ikeii or irikii  registration of instilled fear.
kaləmik  Hurry up!
kaləmisroktunə.  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.
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 accompanies kiisaimmaa "finally". It is noted most frequently in stories and this combination seems to signal a climax.

Some of these forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>-puja</td>
<td>-putin</td>
<td>-puk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-puguk</td>
<td>-pigik</td>
<td>-puk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-pugut</td>
<td>-pisi</td>
<td>-put</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Kiisaimmaa tautuk-puk. "Finally he saw."
Kiisaimmaa tautuk-patka. "Finally I saw them."
### Indicative Subject - Object Verb Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I see you</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-ikk</td>
<td>-ikku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You see</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td>-ikpu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td>-ikpu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**How to reconstruct:**

1. At left, find subject referent (1st person sing.).
2. At top, find object referent (2nd person sing.).
3. Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination.

**Indicative-3 O Verb Suffixes are coupled to Verb Bases thus:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Verb</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-ikku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ikk</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-ikku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ikku</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>-ikku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indicative-3 O Verb Suffixes:**

1. If verb base terminates with -k, add -ikk.
2. If verb base terminates with a vowel, add -e- to suffix.
3. If verb base terminates with -k or -l, add -k to suffix.

**References:**

- PARTICLES: I = person, H = verb root, T = tense, S = subject, O = object.
To reconstruct the same Subjunctive form, follow same procedure. Tautuk-kupkipi, "If I see you..." using base: tautuk-

### HOW TO RECONSTRUCT

1. **S. D. P.** stands for 1st, 2nd, 3rd singular, dual, plural.
2. **First. Second. Third.** stands for persons.
3. **Subject C. O. V.** stands for persons.

Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination. Common theme vowel is 'a'.

**SUBJUNCTIVE AND CONJUNCTIVE SUBJECT-OBJECT VERB SUFFIXES**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Verb Object</th>
<th>Subject Verb Object</th>
<th>Subject Verb Object</th>
<th>Subject Verb Object</th>
<th>Subject Verb Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Singular</td>
<td>2nd Person Singular</td>
<td>3rd Person Singular</td>
<td>1st Person Singular</td>
<td>2nd Person Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did</td>
<td>did</td>
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<td>eat</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. If a verb ends in a vowel, 'd' becomes 't'.
2. At top, find object referent (3rd person sing).
3. At left, find subject referent (2nd person sing).
4. Second and third stands for persons.
5. S.D. stands for sing., dual, and plural.

**CONJOINTIVE 3rd different person also utilizes these suffixes, but 'p' is replaced with 'm'**.

These suffixes also show 3rd different person endings (with exception of 'p' and 'm').
### How to Reconstruct

**Arrows indicate those forms which signal more than one combination.**

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

**Positive - nu**, may also be used for imperatives.

(For use of -jüñ, cf. explanation on page 24)

1. Locate -jüñ in the table and trace the arrow(s) to its subject-verb form.
2. At top, find object referent (and person shift).
3. At left, find subject referent (and person shift).

**Notes:**
- [Infinitive Subject-Object Verb Suffixes](#)
S. D. p. stands for sing., dual, and plural. First, second, and third stands for persons.

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</tbody>
</table>

**HOW TO RECONSTRUCT:** Each reconstructed form has the same combination of arrows indicating those forms which signal more than one combination.

**Reconstructed**

1. First or Second person.
2. First or Second person.
3. First or Second person.
4. First or Second person.

**Reconstructed**

1. First or Second person.
2. First or Second person.
3. First or Second person.
4. First or Second person.

**Reconstructed**

1. First or Second person.
2. First or Second person.
3. First or Second person.
4. First or Second person.

**Reconstructed**

1. First or Second person.
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**Reconstructed**

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2. First or Second person.
3. First or Second person.
4. First or Second person.
# Subject (S) Verb Suffixes

## (Intransitive)

### Indicative

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>-tunja</td>
<td>-tutin</td>
<td>-tuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-tuguk</td>
<td>{ -tutik</td>
<td>{ -tusik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-tugut</td>
<td>-tusi</td>
<td>-tut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Imperative

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<td>-in</td>
<td>-li</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-luk</td>
<td>-itchik</td>
<td>-lik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>-itchi</td>
<td>-lich</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Infinitive (positive)

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<tr>
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<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-lutin</td>
<td>-luni</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-lusik</td>
<td>-lutik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-luta</td>
<td>-lusi</td>
<td>-lutiq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Infinitive (negative)

(used for imperative also)

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<tr>
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<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
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<td>-nak</td>
<td>-nani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
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<td>{ -nasik</td>
<td>{ -natik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-nata</td>
<td>-nasi</td>
<td>-natiq</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### INTERROGATIVE

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
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<td>-pich</td>
<td>-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-piñ</td>
<td>-piñ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-piñuk</td>
<td>-pisik</td>
<td>-pak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-pisa</td>
<td>-pisi</td>
<td>-pat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### SUBJUNCTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>-kuvich</td>
<td>-kumi</td>
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<td>Dual</td>
<td>-kumnuk</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-kupta</td>
<td>-kuvsi</td>
<td>-kumiiq</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

### CONJUNCTIVE

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
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<td>-kavich</td>
<td>-kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-kamnuk</td>
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<td>-kamik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-kapta</td>
<td>-kavsi</td>
<td>-kamiiq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*Same/different 3rd person explained on page 21.
ABSOLUTIVE NOUN POSSESSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor Person</th>
<th>Possessor 1st Person</th>
<th>Possessor 2nd Person</th>
<th>Possessor 3rd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person Reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
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<td>-ga</td>
<td>-kpu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-vuk</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-ga</td>
<td>-kka</td>
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<td>-vut</td>
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<td>-kpu</td>
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<td>-vuk</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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-"my dog" (iglu-"my house").
kimmi-"your dog" (but iglu-"your house").
umia-"his own umiak" (umian-"his umiak").

(cf. page 13 for noun classes.)
**RELATIVE NOUN POSSESSION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessed Noun</th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>-(ŋ)ma</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-mșuk</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>-vša</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>-pta</td>
<td>-vša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-pich</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-všik</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-vši</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
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<td>→</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>→</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>→</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-mŋ</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

- igniŋ-ma kimmi-ŋa "my son's (or sons') dog."
- igniŋpich kimmi-ŋi aŋirut "your son's dogs are big."
First Person Possession-Position Noun Suffixes

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-mníñ "from my dog" or "from my dogs" or "from our dog"
- umia-ptigun "by our umiak" or "by our umiaks"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-vsiňni</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminalis</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-vsiňňun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
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<td>-vsiņniņ</td>
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<td>Vialis</td>
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<td>-vsigun</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-vsiņņik</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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-gniņ "from your house" or "from your houses"
umia-pkun "by your umiak"

(cf. same suffix in first person)
THIRD PERSON POSSESSION-POSITION NOUN SUFFIXES

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-miñi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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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:
- kimmi-g-miñun "to his own dog" (but kimmi-miñun "to his own dogs")
- kimmi-anun "to his (another's) dog"
- iglu-miñun "from his own house" or "from his own houses"
- iglu-anun "from his (another's) house" or "from his (another's) houses" (but kimmi-ηíñun; note that the suffix is initiated differently according to final sound of noun base).