

THE PROCESS OF AFFIXATION IN INUTTITUT
AND ITS CONNECTION WITH ASPECTS
OF INUIT CULTURE

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Linguistics,
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July, 1981.



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ABSTRACT

Inuttitut is an agglutinative language and as a result, its process of affixation is highly developed. This thesis surveys the various affixes extracted from a corpus of material elicited from Kuujuuaq (Fort Chimo) and Salluit (Sugluk) informants, speakers of the Ungava dialect of Inuttitut. It attempts to examine how affixation functions to generate the construction of the Inuit word, i. e. how affixes enlarge upon or transform nominal and verbal stems. These affixes are further divided into groups according to their syntactic function and semantic category. Wherever possible they are treated in light of their connection to the specific socio-cultural experience of the Inuit speaker and discussed in respect to their productivity and capacity for adapting the native linguistic material to the needs of modern society.

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Title of Thesis: The Process of Affixation in Inuttitut and Its
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RESUME

L'inuttitut est une langue agglutinative; c'est pourquoi le procédé de l'affixation y joue un rôle très important. Cette thèse passe en revue les différents affixes à partir d'un corpus dont la source se situe à Kuujjuag (Fort Chimo) et à Salluit (Sugluk) auprès d'informateurs parlant le dialecte inuit ungava. Elle s'efforce d'établir comment l'affixation fonctionne pour générer la construction du mot inuit, c'est à dire comment les affixes peuvent développer ou transformer les radicaux nominaux ou verbaux. Ces affixes sont ensuite répartis en groupes selon leur fonction syntactique et leur catégorie sémantique. Le cas échéant, cette thèse considère les affixes en rapport avec l'expérience socio-culturelle propre au locuteur inuit. Elle les examine en fonction de leur productivité et de leur capacité d'adapter le matériel linguistique inuit aux besoins de la société moderne.

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Titre de la thèse: Le processus d'attachement des affixes et son rapport avec les aspects de la culture inuit.

Département: Linguistique,

Degré: Maîtrise ès arts.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank certain persons for the help they have lent in the conception and preparation of this thesis.

Stimulating courses in Inuktitut (Ranklin Inlet Version) given by S.T. (Mick) Mallon in Frobisher Bay and in Inuttitut (Ungava Dialect) given by Professor Douglas C. Ellis at McGill University provided me with the initial inspiration to undertake this project. I am grateful to the Centre for Northern Studies for awarding me a Max Bell Foundation Fellowship in 1978 as well as additional funding to cover the cost of informant fees. Special thanks are due to Alice Gutkind, Head Librarian of the Northern Studies Library, who took a keen interest in this work and constantly alerted me to any newly received material relevant to this thesis. Andrew Peter Steinmann, O.M.I., former official translator for the Kativik School Board, spent a number of hours reviewing the elicited corpus and provided me with appropriate comments and criticisms, many of which I have incorporated into the footnotes of this paper.

Ani Kuperqualuk of Sugluk, who was my main informant, deserves much credit for her responsiveness and sensitivity to the many questions I posed during our lengthy sessions of elicitations. Mary Aitchison of Kuujuuaq, who collaborated with C.D. Ellis in the preparation of the Ungava Adaptation of S.T. Mallon's Inuktitut was very helpful in furnishing and verifying certain terms.

Above all, I consider myself extremely fortunate in being supervised by Professor Nicole Domingue who spent many hours painstakingly reviewing this work. Her invaluable criticisms and encouragement were indispensable to the completion of this thesis.

INTRODUCTION

Inuttitut is generally considered an agglutinative language.

This means that its words and phrases are the result of combining affixes with one another and attaching them to the base stem which represents the fundamental meaning. All of the related elements are joined together according to very precise rules and conditions.

The purpose of this study is to organize and examine the various affixes of Inuttitut and to classify them into categories. Both syntactic and semantic aspects of these 'word building elements'¹ are discussed in this thesis.

In addition to being a morphological study, i.e., an attempt to understand the mechanism of affixation, this thesis will also consider the connection between the use of these affixes and their relevance to the reality of the specific socio-cultural experience of the Inuit speaker: visual attentiveness in the use of certain affixes; the relationship between certain semantic categories and the traditional culture and life-style as created in particular by the verbal transformative affix; cultural orientations and their impact upon affixes related to the notion of time, etc.; a strong resistance to borrowing terms from outside the culture and the role of affixes in maintaining such self-containment in adapting the language to the needs of a modern or technological society.

Though there are several affix glossaries and articles that include a description of the process of affixation in the Eskimo

language, to the best of my knowledge, no other work has attempted to integrate the various affix groupings into semantic categories and relate them, wherever possible, to socio-cultural factors.

This analysis intends to provide greater insight into the grammar of Kuujuamiutitut and Sallumiutitut, the dialects of Inuttitut used in Kuujuuag (Fort Chimo) and Salluit (Sugluk) respectively. It is largely based upon a corpus of material elicited from Sugluk and Fort Chimo informants.² Any material culled from the publications of other dialects have been incorporated only when they have been verified by native speakers of these two communities. For the purpose of cross reference and verification I have utilized relevant published material on the subject of affixation, namely, glossaries of affixes included in Thalbitzer (1911), Schultz-Lorentzen (1945), Trinel (1970) and Dorais (1975). Two relatively recent surveys of affixes (Smith, 1978 and Harper, 1979) have been very useful in providing me with an additional corpus from which I was able to gather more data necessary to organize semantic categories. However, the most important source of recorded information for this undertaking are the works of Schneider. Without having access to his Dictionnaire esquimau-français du parler de l'Ungava and Dictionnaire des infixes de l'esquimau de l'Ungava, this project would not have been possible.

The orthography used in this thesis is generally based upon the Ungava adaptation of S. T. Mallon's Inuktitut materials prepared by C. D. Ellis,³ for a language course in Inuttitut (Fort Chimo

dialect) at McGill University. The only difference between my system (and that of the above is the representation of /ng/ for /ŋ/ and /nng/ for /ŋŋ/. Elsewhere represented as (/qr/, /rq/ or /rr/) is here /qq/).

The terminology used in the specialized literature to describe the agglutinative process of word forming in Eskimo is quite varied. While Thalbitzer (1911) refers to the agglutinative morphemes as 'derivational suffixes', Schultz-Lorentzen (1945) and Dorais (1977a) use the term 'affix'. Spalding (1969) employs the term 'morpheme', while Schneider (1968) and Trinel (1970) call them 'infixes'. In the most current publications, Smith (1978) designates them as 'derivational postbases', while Harper (1979) calls them 'suffixes'. I have chosen to use the term 'affix' for the following reasons: The use of the word 'infix' is inaccurate as it is normally defined as 'an element inserted within a root'. In Inuttitut the root, or base stem, of the word is not disturbed. Rather additional elements are inserted between the base stem and the terminating marker. The use of the term 'suffix' is reserved here for the final affix which is namely the nominal or verbal 'inflectional' ending.⁴ The term 'base stem' means here the first element or morpheme of the word, while the term 'stem' means a sequence of base stem plus at least one affix to which additional affixes, clitics (see note 2 of Chapter II) and suffix can be added.

It was my original intention to include an analysis of the ordering of these affixes as an essential part of this paper. However, while certain predictable patterns emerged from my attempt

to establish a clearly defined sequence of these elements, I soon discovered that such an undertaking would require a lengthy investigation of elaborate word phrases which is beyond the scope of this present work. Apparently, as Smith (1978: 24) suggests, 'ordering depends on meaning in complex and idiosyncratic ways'. Generally speaking, however, it is suggested that the order of words (base stem-plus affixes-plus suffix) in Inuttitut is approximately inverse of the syntactic order in the English language.

Chapter I examines the mechanics of affixation involved in forming the Inuit word. It describes types of affixes and their two basic functions: a) the formative which expands upon the fundamental meaning of the base stem, and b) the transformative which changes the initial concept. Chapter II divides nominal formative affixes into five classes according to their relationship to the base stem and provides major categories of meaning for each class. Chapter III looks at how nominal transformative affixes generate new terms and facilitate the expansion of the lexicon, with particular reference to the highly productive affix -uti which expresses function. Chapter IV surveys the various categories of verbal formative affixes that shape and elaborate upon the verbal base stem. Finally, Chapter V considers the verbal transformative affixes which are highly used in the language. The first part of the chapter deals with the affixes -tuq and -tuqtuq which give a nominal stem a verbal meaning. The

second part of the chapter concentrates upon verbal transformative affixes that constitute a set of categories related to the existence and survival of the Inuit: 'orientation', 'acquisition', 'activity' and 'privation'.

Notes — Introduction

¹See Smith (1978: 1).

²The informant from Sugluk was Ani Kuperqualuk. The Centre for Northern Studies provided the funding for many hours of elicitations. The informant from Fort Chimo was Mary Aitcheson who collaborated with Professor C.D. Ellis in the preparation of his Ungava Adaptation of S.T. Mallon's Inuktitut. Martha Gordon, a native of Fort Chimo verified whether terms and expressions I had culled from other dialects corresponded with her own.

³See the introductory note to Phase I of the above publication.

⁴See 'A Brief Introduction to Inflectional Suffixes' in Smith (1978: 9). See also Smith (1977).

CHAPTER I

TYPES AND FUNCTIONS OF AFFIXES

1.0 Affixation in Inuttitut functions to expand the fundamental meaning of a base stem so that a complexity of ideas can be conveyed in a single word. These affixes have nominal or verbal notions. Unlike the European languages which have independent words to express grammatical and syntactic ideas, Inuttitut employs the process of inserting one or more affixes between the initial stem and the terminating element of the word.

The use of affixation which is highly developed in this language enables the speaker to create new combinations to meet the need of any situation he wishes to describe. The process of linking the affixes not only to the base stem, but to each other, heightens the level of flexibility of the language and provides for new shades of meaning to be expressed easily and rapidly. Accordingly, concepts can be enlarged within a single word or word phrase.

In order to convey meaning, the speaker of Inuttitut has the task of constructing words by fitting them into the syntactic unit of the word sentence. The construction of such a string of particles into a meaningful whole is accomplished by adding or attaching partial or incomplete units to the main stem, which are in effect, additions to the fundamental idea. Though these additions or affixes can be defined as isolated units and are in fact listed in dictionaries.

separately from independent words, they have no meaning in isolation.

1.1 Thalbitzer (1911: 1054-5) in his analysis of the Eskimo language classifies derivative "suffixes" (called here affixes) into four groups according to their nominalizing and verbalizing functions:

- "1) $N + v = V$; i.e., a noun transformed by a verbal suffix, and so forming a verb: . . .
- 2) $V + n = N$; i.e., a verb transformed by a noun suffix and so making a noun: . . .
- 3) $V + v = V$; i.e., a verb developed more fully by verb suffix, the whole constituting a more complex verbal notion: . . .
- 4) $N + n = N$; i.e., a noun more fully developed by a noun suffix, the whole constituting a more fully developed noun: . . ."

Schultz-Lorentzen (1927 and 1945) bases his arrangement of affixes upon the work of Thalbitzer and elaborates upon the character and use of affixes in his treatment of the West Greenland dialect. In his dictionary, he designates all affixes with (nn), (nv), (vv) or (vn) markers, with some affixes belonging to more than one category.¹ Finally, a restricted number of affixes, called 'particles' referred to here as 'clitics'² can be added to both classes of words but have no independent morphological status of their own.

In more recent works on the subject, Schneider (1968) provides a comprehensive description of "infixes" specific to the Ungava dialect with appropriate markers. Smith (1978) has prepared a "postbase" dictionary for the Labrador Inuit dialect and Harper (1979) treats

"suffixes" of the North Baffin Island and Cumberland Peninsula dialect. These marked affix surveys and dictionaries are invaluable as they provide the language learner and the linguist with important clues concerning the manner in which these affixes function and how words and word sentences are constructed.

1.2 Among the various functions of affixes there appear to be two basic ones: formative and transformative.

The formative function is to develop the meaning of the principal stem by expanding or elaborating on the initial concept. While these affixes provide additional nuances, they do not change the fundamental meaning of the base stem (at least not on a literal level). The purpose of these formative affixes in some cases is to describe the meanings of the base stem, in other cases to expand upon them, but they never transform the underlying nominal or verbal character of the base stem. However, the transformative function is to change the nature of the initial concept. The combination of function and type produces four main categories of affixes: (nn) nominal affixes which expand upon the noun-like base stem; (vv) verbal affixes which expand upon the verb-like base stem; (nv) verbal affixes which transform the noun-like quality of the base stem to verb-like words; and (vn) nominal affixes which change the verb-like quality of the base stem to noun-like words.

Two main types of affixes are considered here: nominal affixes which produce a nominal stem and verbal affixes which produce

a verbal stem.

1.2.1 Let us first consider how formative affixes (nn) expand upon the quality of the base stem where (N) is a noun-like word.

(N) + (nn) > (N)

a) base stem: umiag (N) 'boat'

nominal affix: -jjuag (nn) 'large' 'important'

umiag/jjuag > umiaqjuag³ (N) 'ship' (lit., large boat)

b) base stem: nuna (N) 'land' 'earth' 'country'
'village' 'place where one lives'

nominal affix: -lik (nn) 'provided with' 'having' 'there is'

nuna/lik > nunalik (N) 'resident' 'person who lives in a place'

In the above examples only one operation of affixation has occurred, but more than one operation can be applied to the same base stem.

In the following example a nominal suffix has been added.

(N) + (nn) + suffix > (N)

base stem: napaaqtuq (N) 'tree'

nominal affix: -lik (nn) 'provided with' 'having' 'there is'

napaaqtuq/lik > napaaqtulik (N) 'woods' 'forest' 'there are trees'

nominal suffix: -mi 'in' 'at' (place or time - locative case)

napaaqtulik/mi, napaaqtulimmi (N) 'in the forest'
'where there are trees'

1.2.2 Consider now how verbal-formatives (vv) expand upon the verbal quality of the base stem where (V) is a verb-like word.

(V) + (vy) + suffix > (V)

a) base stem: niu- (V) 'disembarks'

verbal affix: -rátaaq- (vv) 'just'

verbal suffix: -quq⁴ '3rd person singular intransitive indicative inflectional form' (henceforth '3rd PERS. INTRANS.')

niu/rataaq/quq > niurataaqquq (V) 'he⁵ has just disembarked'

b) base stem: aullag- (V) 'goes away' 'departs'

verbal affix: -sima- (vv) 'in a state of' (perfect)

verbal affix: -nginnaq-⁶ (vv) 'still', 'always'

verbal suffix: -tuq '3rd PERS. INTRANS.'

aullag/sima/nginnaq/tuq > aullasimanginnatuq (V)
'he is still away'

1.2.3 The difference between a nominal base stem and a verbal base stem is that the nominal base stems can be independent words which, according to their use, are comparable to our nouns:

umiag (N) 'boat' | nuna (N) 'land' | napaagtug (N) 'tree'

The base stems of verbal notions, however, must end with the suffix in order to form independent words and be comparable to our verbs:

niuvuq (V) 'disembarks' | aullaquq (V) 'leaves' 'departs'

1.2.4. * Each affix can be described in terms of its own quality as well as its capacity to modify the stem to which it is affixed. Each affix affects only those parts of the word preceding it and is particularly sensitive to the immediately preceding one: i.e., (nn) affixes are in themselves of nominal quality and are "affixable" only to preceding stems that have nominal character; (vv) affixes are of verbal quality and "affixable" only to preceding stems that have verbal character; with transformative affixes, however, though the (nv) affixes are of verbal quality, they are "affixable" only to preceding stems that have nominal character, while (vn) affixes which are of nominal quality are "affixable" only to preceding stems that have verbal character.

1.3 Consider the second basic function of affixes which is as previously stated to transform the nature of the initial concept: verbal transformative (nv) affixes change the nominal quality of words to verb-like words, while nominal transformative (vn) affixes transform the verbal quality of words to noun-like words.

1.3.1 The (nv) verbal transformative affix verbalizes nominal stems:

(N) + (nv) + suffix > (V)

a) base stem: inuk (N) 'man' 'person'

verbal affix: -u- (nv) 'be' 'exists'

verbal suffix: -juq '3rd PERS. INTRANS.'

inuk/u/juq > ihuujuk (V) 'he is living' 'he is alive'

(N) + (nv) + suffix > (V)

b) base stem: inuk (N) 'man' 'person'

* verbal affix: -iliqi- (nv) 'longs for' 'misses' 'needs'

verbal suffix: -jug '3rd PERS. INTRANS.'

inuk/iliqi/jug > inuiliqijug (V) 'he longs for company'
'he needs someone'

Similarly a nominal base stem which has been verbalized by a (nv) affix, can be further transformed into an (N) by a (vn) affix:

(N) + (nv) + (vn) > (N)

c) base stem: inuk (N) 'man' 'person'

verbal affix: -liri- (nv) 'to be occupied with'

nominal affix: -jik (vn) 'agent' 'one who does it habitually'

inuk/liri/jik > inulirijik (N) 'welfare officer'
(lit., one who looks after people)

The combination of formative and transformative affixes allows for complex elaborations on an original (N) base stem:

(N) + (nn) + (nv) + suffix + clitic > (V)

base stem: itigait (N)⁷ 'foot':

nominal affix: -guti-⁸ (nn) 'something that serves for'

verbal affix: -qaq- (nv) 'has'

verbal suffix: -nngilag- '3rd PERS. INTRANS. negative form'

clitic in post. suffix position: -luuniit⁹ 'even' 'or'

itiga/guti/qaq/nngilag/luuniit > itigagutiqannngilaqluuniit (V)

'there is not even one' shoe'

1.3.2 Likewise verb-like base stems can be transformed into noun-like words:

(V) + (vn) > (N)

base stem: ingula- (V) 'to mix'

nominal affix: -guti- (vn) 'something that serves to:

ingulaguti > ingulaguti (N) 'a mixer'

A verbal affix can elaborate upon the preceding verb-like concept and then be transformed to a noun-like notion only to be finally changed into a verb-like one:

(V) + (vv) + (vn) + (nv) + suffix > (V)

base stem: niuviq- (V) 'to buy'

verbal affix: -niaq- (vv) 'to be occupied with'

nominal affix: -vik- (vn) 'place'

verbal affix: -liaq- (nv) 'going to'

verbal suffix: -quq '3rd PERS. INTRANS.'

niuviq/niaq/vik/liaq/quq > niuvirniaviliaqquq

'he is going to the buying place'

Additional verbal affixes can be added to the above word:

(V) + (vv) + (vn) + (nv) + (vv) + (vv) + suffix > (V)

-ruma- (vv) 'to want'

-qqau- (vv) 'immediate past' 'recent past'

-quq '3rd PERS. INTRANS.'

niuvirniaviliaq/ruma/qqau/vuq > niuvirniaviliarumaqqauvuq

'he wanted to go shopping'

The word sentence niuvirniaviliarumaqqauvuq is the sum of one base stem plus five affixes and a suffix. It undergoes an elaboration of the initial concept, (V), extended to a (v) stem, by the (vv) -niag- followed by a nominal transformative -vik- reversed by the verbal transformative affix -liag- and further modified by verbal formative affixes. The idea contained in the base stem (in this case 'to buy') is the dominating factor throughout the operations.

For an additional example one can consider the one-word phrase which needs 16 words to be rendered into English. It consists of a verbal base stem plus thirteen elements: 10 affixes, one suffix and two clitics.

uqalimasitirurpaliatuinnagiagatsalilauraluagmijungali

'It is evident that I could not but become more and more capable of speaking fluently'

1. Verb base stem: uqag- (V) 'speak'
2. Affix₁: -limag- (vv) 'fluent' 'continuously'
3. Affix₂: -siti- (vn) 'good at' 'capable'
4. Affix₃: -rur- (nv) 'becomes'
5. Affix₄: -pallia- (vv) 'more and more'
6. Affix₅: -tuinna- (vv) 'only' 'not but'
7. Affix₆: -giagag- (vv) 'be able' 'can'
8. Affix₇: -tsa- (vv) 'it is so' (affirmation)
9. Affix₈ (clitic) -li- 'but'
10. Affix₉: -laug- (vv) 'past time marker'

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 11. Affix ₁₀ : | - <u>raluaq</u> - (vv) 'it is evident' 'well understood' |
| 12. Affix ₁₁ : | - <u>mi</u> - (vv). 'progressive state' |
| 13. Suffix: | - <u>junga</u> - (vv) '1st PERS. INTRANS.' |
| 14. Clitic in post-suffix position | - <u>li</u> 'but' 'as for' |

As can be seen from the above elicitation, the Inuit word phrase reveals a systematic set of operations made according to a prescribed set of syntactic rules. What results is an integrated whole or combination of ideas 'covering a certain situation, intention or experience, where the components, as expressed through the language, can not be isolated (Holtved, 1956: 618).

1.4 It is interesting to verify how this system of affixes functions in a real life situation. Prior to having any real notion concerning nominal or verbal transformative affixes and the role they play in the language, I elicited a corpus of terms (see Chapter III) relating to the domestic setting: household articles and gadgets; furniture; rooms; etc. from my Sugluk informant. The original purpose of the exercise was twofold: a) to examine the morphological patterning of affixation in the language and b) to find out how much borrowing was necessary to describe terms related to modern living accommodations. The results were interesting. Upon analysing the isolatable segments or morphemes of the elicited terms it became apparent that the nominal transformative affix was by far the key factor in facilitating the generation of these words. Eighteen of

the elicited terms have nominal stems (N), followed by a verbal transformative affix (nv) and then nominalized by a (vn) affix. The remaining stems are verbal and followed by a nominal transformative affix. The corpus can be divided into five groups according to morphological breakdown.

1.4.1 The morphological pattern of the first group of elicitations (examples 1-11, Chapter III) is: nominal base stem followed by a verbal transformative affix followed by a nominal transformative affix to produce a nominal phrase or word.

(N) + (nv) + (vn) > (N)

ammaiguti (N) 'can opener' (ex. 1)

base stem: ammag- (N) 'box'

affixes: -iq- (nv) 'remove' 'open'

-guti (vn) 'something that serves to'

1.4.2 The morphological pattern of the second group of elicitations (examples 12-29) is: verbal base stem followed by a nominal transformative affix to produce a nominal phrase or word.

(V) + (vn) > (N)

sinivik (N) 'bedroom' (ex. 15)

base stem: sinik- (V) 'to sleep'

affix: -vik (vn) 'place'

1.4.3 In one elicitation the verbal base is transformed into a nominative notion by a (vn) affix and then further expanded upon by an additional nominal affix.

(V) + (vn) + (nn) > (N)

itsivautaaluk (N) 'chesterfield' (lit., a large thing that serves to sit on' (ex. 30)

base stem: itsiva- (V) 'to sit'

affixes: -utag (vn) 'that which serves to'

-aluk (nn) 'large'

1.4.4 The morphological pattern of the next group of elicitations (examples 31-5) is: verbal base stem expanded upon by one or more verbal affixes and then transformed into a nominal notion by a transformative nominal affix.

(V) + (vv)₁ + (vn) > (N)

ajatsauti (N) 'fork' (ex. 31)

base stem: ajak- (V) 'to push back from self with hand'

affixes: -saq- (vv) 'to try to'

-uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

1.4.5 Two other elicitations natiṛniuti (N) (ex. 36) 'mop' (lit., something to tend the floor with) and quliruaq (N) (ex. 37) 'shelves' (lit., a large (thing) that is above something) have nominal base stems which are expanded upon by nominal affixes:

(N) + (nn) > (N)

1.5 In conclusion the process of affixation in the Ungava dialect can be formulated in the following manner:

Nominals

Base stem + (Affix), + . . . + (Clitic) + (Affix)_n + (Suffix) + (Clitic)_n

Verbals,

Base stem + (Affix), + . . . + (Clitic) + (Affix)_n + Suffix + (Clitic)_n

Notes — Chapter I

¹Examples of such (nn)/(vv) affixes are: -nnguag (nn) 'image of' 'imitation of'; -nnguag (vv) 'he pretends to' 'he feigns', -innag- (nn) 'still' 'always'; -innag- (vv) 'still' 'always'. Such affixes can be nominal or verbal notions with or without any change in meaning. Some affixes can also be (nn) and (nv), (vn) and (vv) having both formative and transformative properties.

²Schultz-Lorentzen calls these affixes 'particles'. However, this term appears to have taken on different designations during the last decade or so. Schneider (1968) in his sign chart at the end of his dictionary of infixes labels these kinds of affixes as 'm', indicating that the affix can be attached to either a nominal or verbal stem. Spalding (1969:28-29) assigns these affixes as 'marker affixes' that provide 'for additive constructions', i.e., signalling something that is added to the original construction. Smith (1978:9) refers to them as 'clitics'. Clitics can be defined as affixes that have no independent morphological status and therefore take on the status of the preceding stem to which it is attached, i.e., uvanga (N) 'me' 'I' -lu (nn) 'and' 'also' 'too' uvangalu 'me too' (N)+(nn) > (N); tikittug (V) -lu (vv) tikittulu 'he arrives also' (V)+(vv) > (V). Such affixes can be likened for the most part to our conjunctions, exclamations, denoting among other ideas, affirmation, questioning etc. These affixes will not be treated as a separate section in this thesis, though they appear in a number of elicited constructions.

³In this thesis morphophonemic rules will not be discussed. Note that the first form is the underlying one and the surface form is the one following the arrow. For an explanation of the 'Double Consonant Law' see Ellis and Partridge (1978:6-7) or Schneider (1974:208-9). See also Smith (1977:6-8) for his discussion on 'Consonant Cluster Simplification' in the Labrador dialect which in principle is applicable to the Ungava dialect.

⁴The Kuujuaq and Sugluk dialect reveal a fair amount of internal phonemic variability. From my conversations with Father Steinmann and various Inuit informants, I have gathered that the older speakers who have had little or no contact with English use the more 'appropriate' forms, i.e., -puq in place of -quq; -tuq and -juq only as substantifiers. With the younger speakers a new dialect appears to have emerged and the old forms of verbal endings are often interchanged. See Smith (1978:16) for a discussion of a similar pattern of linguistic development in Labrador and the differences between the 'Religious-Archaic Dialect' and the 'Contemporary Dialect'. See also

Schneider (1974:208-209) on the question of regional dialectal differences. This is an area that requires more investigation and my own findings are very limited. The forms used in this thesis are the ones that have been elicited from informants and have not been changed to accord with the supposed 'correct' forms.

⁵Note that where the suffix is glossed as 'he...' it could also mean 'she...' or 'it...' as there is no gender distinction in Inuttitut.

⁶-nginnag- ~ -innag-, see note 1.

⁷itigait 'foot' and aggait 'hand'. Both these words have a plural or collective form. See Schneider (1970:1 & 92).

⁸The affix -guti and -ruti are variants of -uti. It can be (nn) or (vn), see Schneider (1968:127-8), though its use as a (nn) affix is much more restricted.

⁹My informant from Sugluk produced the form -luuniik and not -luuniit, but since none of the affix dictionaries indicate the former variety, I have used the more established form.

CHAPTER II

NOMINAL FORMATIVE AFFIXES

2.0 Nominal affixes (nn) are attached to nominal stems. They can be categorized into five classes according to their relationship to the base stem:

- 1) subordinate affixes
- 2) subordinating affixes
- 3) affixes indicating 'belonging'
- 4) affixes designating 'group' or 'collective characteristic'
- 5) affixes denoting 'resemblance'

2.1 Subordinate affixes describe the nominal base without changing the original notion of that stem. From my analysis of the corpus, it appears that the major categories of meaning of this class are the following:

DIMENSION: -apik (nn) 'small' tàsiq (N)* 'lake'

tasiapik 'a small lake'

-aluk (nn) 'large' (in this context) illu (N) 'house'

illualuk 'a large house'

These are but two examples of what seems to be the most productive category of subordinate affixes.

EXCLUSIVENESS: -tuag (nn) 'only'

inutuag 'only man' 'only person'

ORDINARINESS: -tuinnag (nn) 'just' piaraq (N) 'baby' 'child'
'nothing but'

piaratuinnag 'just a child'

DIMINUTIVENESS: -araq (nn) 'quite small' qimmiq (N) 'dog'

qimmiarag 'pup'

GENUINENESS: -mmarik ~ -llarik (nn) 'true' 'real' anguti(k) 'man'
'male'

angutimmarik 'a real man'

INTENSITY OR
DEGREE:

-aluk (nn) 'very' akitujuq (N) 'expensive'
(lit., that which is expensive)

akitjuualuk 'very expensive'

The (nn) affix -aluk is also glossed as 'very' when following verbal adjectives such as akitujuq as above or mikijuq 'little one', etc.

Such verbal adjectives can be declined as noun-like words (Trinel, 1970: 34) and I have treated them as nominal stems.

COMPARISON: -lliq (nn) 'the most in a particular direction'

sivu (N) 'the front part' (locative)

sivulliq 'the first' 'the most forward'

Note that sivu, a locative form (a word denoting position or place) is also treated here as a nominal stem.

The glosses of the subordinate (nn) affixes correspond quite closely to adjectival notions in English as can be seen from the above examples. The (nn) affix -aluk, however, can also correspond in certain positions to an adverbial notion.

2.2 Subordinating (nn) affixes function quite differently from subordinate affixes in that they expand upon the original stem, i.e., the meaning of that stem becomes less prominent semantically speaking. It is only from the literal English translation of the Inuttitut word that one can discern the original concept of the base stem, as the expansion of the initial notion changes its meaning extensively. Consider the following subordinating (nn) affixes and the way they develop the meaning of the stem:

-lik (nn) 'provided with' 'having'

qukiuti(k) 'a gun'

qukiutilik 'one who has a gun' (lit., provided with or having a gun)

-ksaq (nn)¹ 'a potential thing'
 'something that may be used for'
 'which can replace or be added'

ani (N) 'brother' (of a sister only)

aniksaq 'adopted brother' (of sister only), 'cousin'
 (lit., that which serves as a brother)

pita (N) 'something' (lit., pi- thing / -taq possession)

pitaksaq 'sugar' (lit., something you add)

nuliaq (N) 'wife'

nuliaksaq 'fiancée' 'bride-to-be' (lit., a potential wife)

-siut(i) (nn) 'something for' 'material' for'

niaquq (N) 'head'

niaquqsiuti 'aspirin' (lit., something for the head)

aanniaq (N) 'pain' 'illness'

aanniasiuti 'medication' (lit., something for pain or illness)

ullug (N) 'day'

ullusiuti 'calendar' (lit., something for the day)

-niuti (nn) 'something to care for or tend with'

natiq (N) 'floor'

natiqniuti 'mop' (lit., something with which to care for
 the floor)

This kind of affix is very productive for adapting the language to the needs of modern society, as can be seen from the above examples, the affix -ilitaq (nn) glossed as 'protection for or from',

illustrates the power of such affixes to expand the lexicon without having to resort to borrowing:

amaama (N) 'breast' amaamailitaq 'brassière'

kitturiaq (N) 'mosquito' kitturilitaq 'mosquito net'

manu (N) 'under chin part' manuilitaq 'bib'

killiq (N) 'cut' killiilitaq 'gauze' 'bandage', (D)

kiinaq (N) 'face' kiinailitaq 'face lotion'

aggu (N) 'opposite the wind' agguilitaq 'wind protector'

2.3 Another group of (nn) affixes when conjoined with the base stem form the equivalent of compound words in our languages. Such affixes are neither subordinate nor subordinating: they serve to coin expressions related to the notions of 'belonging to', 'addition to', 'place':

-miuq (nn) 'resident of' 'belonging to'

Salluit (N) 'Sugluk'

Sallumiug 'Sugluk-resident'

-miutag (nn) 'contents of' 'appendage to'

siuti (N) 'ear'

siutimiutag 'earflap' 'radio earphone' 'earring'

qauti(k) (nn) 'container'

papaqauti 'pepper shaker' 'pepper container'

-kkuvik (nn) 'container'

sanik (N) 'dust' 'debris' 'garbage'

sanikkuvik 'garbage can' 'dust bin'

-talik (nn) 'the place where there are'

uqsuq (N) 'blubber' (fat or oil extracted from sea animals and bears)²

uqsutalik 'blubber-shed'

-tuuq (nn) 'a place abounding in' (attached to animal names)

aiviq (N) 'walrus'

aiviqtuuq 'walrus place' (lit., a place with many walrus)

appaq (N) 'sea bird' (sea bird resembling a penguin)

appatuuq 'sea bird place' (lit., where there are lots of sea birds)

natsiq (N) 'seal'

natsituuq 'seal place' (lit., a place abounding in seals)

Many places take their names from the animal or wildlife that may be found on the site.³

2.4 Another category of (nn) affixes designate 'group' or 'collective characteristics'. It might be suggested that in a society where people live in very small groups, preciseness is required to describe persons and things. Numerical modifiers such as 'two', 'three', 'couple', 'several', etc. appear to be visual markers encoded in the affix. In the following examples, the affix form is different according to the size of the group:

-giik ~ -riik (nn) 'a group of two' (general idea of mutuality)

ilik (N) 'partner'

iligiik 'two partners'

-giit ~ -riit (nn) 'a group of three or more'

nunaqatik (N) 'one from the same country'

nunaqatigiit 'compatriots' 'fellow countrymen'

-kkut (nn) 'collective term' (those of the family, of friends and of society)

ataata (N) 'father'

ataatakkut 'father's family'

Piita (N) 'Peter'

Piitakkut 'Peter's friends'

kavamakkut 'government'

kuapakkut 'co-op'

kampanikkut 'company'

-gasait (nn) 'several in a group'

illugasait 'a group of houses' 'a village'

-gasaqjuat (nn) 'a large group'

illugasaqjuat 'a large group of houses' 'a city'

-giijurtut (nn)⁴ 'group of persons related to one another through common origin, language, workplace, etc.'

pinasuqatik (N) 'work companion'

pinasuqatigiijurtut 'a group of workers working on a team'

-giattut (nn) 'numerous'

inuk (N) 'man' 'person'

inugiattut 'a crowd'

2.5 The fifth group of (nn) affixes denote 'resemblance' or 'similarity'. This type of affix is highly productive⁵ and would tend to reinforce the attitude that 'the Eskimo language may also increase the speaker's attentiveness to and memory for visual forms and patterns' (Kleinfeld, 1970:236. Because of the flat and monotonous tundra and lack of clear visual markers, it has been concluded by Kleinfeld and others that the successful Inuit hunter requires a high level of visual memory. Affixes such as -ujag (nn) 'looks like' 'resembles' and -nnguag (nn)⁶ 'image' 'copy of' 'portrait of something' 'an imitation of' reveal the visual resources required to express certain ideas. While these affixes can also be viewed as subordinating affixes, I prefer to treat them here as a specific category with the general meaning of resemblance.

-ujag (nn) 'looks like' 'resembles'

niaquq (N) 'head'

niaquujag 'bread' (lit., it looks like a head)

kiinaq (N) 'face'

kiinaujag 'money' (lit., it resembles a face)

usuk (N) 'penis'

usuujag 'carrot' 'wiener' (lit., that which resembles a penis)

-nnguag (nn) 'image' 'copy of', etc.

inuk (N) 'person'

inunnguag 'doll' (lit., image of a person)

nuna (N) 'land'

nunannguag 'map' (lit., copy of a land)

umiaq (N) 'boat'

umianguag 'toy boat' (lit., copy of a boat)

Collis (1969/70: 313) paraphrases a statement made by an Inuit from St. Lawrence Island:

White men play with words, as though words were something to themselves, we can not do this, we must first see the picture and then describe it in words. . . .

These are but a few examples of how (nn) affixes function to expand and develop the original notion of the nominal stem. Defining (nn) affixes merely as adjectival notions as is sometimes done in the literature indeed limits our understanding of the role of these affixes. The subordinate affix described in the first part of this chapter does seem to correspond to our adjectives in meaning but in the remaining classes, the affix takes on a more complex character.

Many of the examples provided in this section reveal how such affixes aid the Inuit speaker in assimilating innovations. It is not difficult to discern the extraordinary regularity of the process of affixation which equips the speaker with a real capacity to deal with new notions. Thalbitzer (1911: 1055) in the early part of the

twentieth century wrote:

... In quite another sense than in our languages, the words of the Eskimo are born on the tongue on the spur of the moment. Where we possess finished, fully developed words or phrases, the Eskimo create new combinations specially formed to meet the claim of every situation. In regard to word-formations, the language is incessantly in statu nascendi.

My own experience with one of my Inuit informants is worth mentioning as being directly relevant to Thalbitzer's statement. This informant was rarely daunted when asked to coin phrases for objects she had never seen or heard before such as:

juugu (N) 'yogurt'

-liug- (nv) 'makes'

-uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

juuguliuruti 'yogurt maker'

The reader will no doubt have noticed that unlike the examples dealt with in this chapter, different kinds of affix markers have been used in forming the above word. These transformative affixes will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters.

Notes — Chapter II

¹Alternate forms for -ksaq (nn), -ssaq and -tsaq are also heard.

²uqsualuk (lit., big or heavy oil) is generally used to denote fuel such as kerosene and gasoline.

³Examples of such places are Appatuq which is an island in the Ungava Bay and Qukjutuq, which is the Inuit name for Charles Island. Qukjutuq is glossed as "a place where there are many whistling swans". It is interesting to note that the Quebec government has decided to print the Inuit names of places on all new maps in order to respect aboriginal toponymy.

⁴See Trinel (1970:116) and Schneider (1968:12).

⁵Dorais (1978:28) reports, 'Les syntagmes qui décrivent l'apparence sont au nombre de 595, soit 36.09% des lexies et 27.73% du corpus' in his lexical analysis of modern Inuit vocabulary in Quebec and Labrador.

⁶-nnguaq can be either (nn) or (vv) depending upon the context. See Chapter I, note 1.

CHAPTER III

NOMINAL TRANSFORMATIVE AFFIXES

3.0 While an analysis of verbal transformative affixes will provide some understanding of the interplay of culture, environment and linguistic processes in Inuttitut, an examination of nominal transformative affixes (vn) and the terms they generate is revealing of the self-contained character of the language. By self-contained I mean the utilization of native linguistic material to expand the lexicon. My own field work in a very restricted lexical domain has provided me with evidence of this tendency. I will show this by looking again at the corpus elicited from my informant from Sugluk (see end of Chapter I).

3.1 In particular the (vn) affix -uti and its variants (-guti- and -ruti-) glossed as 'that which serves to' 'which is used to' is very productive. Out of the forty-two terms elicited, twenty-eight or 66.6% of the corpus¹ were formed with this affix. The remaining affixes in order of frequency were: (vn) -vik 'place' (four terms); (vn) -utag 'that which serves to' (two terms); (vn) -giikkuti² 'means of preventing something' (one term). Two affixes also used are (nn) affixes: (nn) -niuti³ 'something to tend with' and (nn) -ruag 'large'. Four of the elicited terms required no affixation: ikuma 'lamp'; illiq 'bed'; saa(k) 'table' (also 'front'); tugsuuk 'porch'. These four terms are traditional ones used in relation to the igloo.

Finally one term, talaviisa 'television' was borrowed.

Consider the following elicitations:

1. ammaiguti (N) 'can opener' (see 1.4.1)
 base stem: ammaq- (N) 'box'
 affixes: -iq- (nv) 'remove' 'open'
-guti (vn) 'something that serves to'

2. imaijauti (N) 'water pitcher'
 base stem: imaq- (N) 'water'
 affixes: -ijaq- (nv) 'remove' 'take from it'
-uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

3. immuliiguti (N) 'milk pitcher'
 base stem: impuk- (N) 'milk'
 affixes: -llii- (nv) 'to pour'
-guti (vn) 'something that serves to'

4. juuguliuruti (N)⁴ 'yogurt maker'
 base stem: juugu- (N) loan word 'yogurt'
 affixes: -liug- (nv) 'make'
-uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

5. kilaiguti (N) 'bottle opener'
 base stem: killak- (N) 'hole'
 affixes: -iq- (nv) 'remove' 'open'
uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

6. magaliriuti (N) 'dish washer'base stem: мага- (N) 'clay' 'pottery' 'dishes'affixes: -liri- (nv) 'to be occupied with'-uti (vn) 'that which serves to'7. matuiruti (N) 'lid opener'base stem: matu (N) 'lid'affixes: -iq- (nv) 'remove' 'open'-uti (vn) 'that which serves to'8. tariullituti (N) 'salt shaker'base stem: tariug (N) 'salt'affixes: -llit- (nv) 'to sprinkle'-uti (vn) 'that which serves to'9. papaqauti (N) 'pepper shaker'base stem: papa (N) 'pepper'affixes: -qaq- (nv) 'to have'-uti (vn) 'that which serves to'10. quaqauti (N) 'frigidaire'base stem: quaq (N) 'something frozen hard'affixes: -qaq- (nv) 'to have'-uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

11. sanigauti (N) 'garbage can'
 base stem: sanik- (N) 'garbage' 'dirt'
 affixes: -qaq- (nv) 'to have'
 -uti (vn) 'that which serves to'
12. anagvik⁵ (N) 'toilet'
 base stem: anaq- (V) 'to defecate'
 affix: -vik (vn) 'place'
13. pulaaqvik⁶ (N) 'living room'
 base stem: pulaaq- (V) 'to visit'
 affix: -vik (vn) 'place'
14. quqvik⁷ (N) 'toilet'
 base stem: quq- (V) 'to urinate'
 affix: -vik (vn) 'place'
15. sinivik (N) 'bedroom' (see 1.4.2)
 base stem: sinik- (V) 'to sleep'
 affix: -vik (vn) 'place'
16. ikiguti (N) 'switch'
 base stem: iki- (V) 'to light'
 affix: -guti (vn) 'something that serves to'

17. ingulauti (N) 'mixer'

base stem: ingula- (V) 'to mix'

affix: -uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

18. kamauti⁹ (N) 'thermometer' (also kammauti)

base stem: kama- (V) 'to evaluate' 'to pay attention to'

affix: -uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

19. kiatsauti (N) 'stove' (also kiassauti)

base stem: kiatsa- (V) 'to keep warm'

affix: -uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

20. kijjauti (N) 'scissors'

base stem: kijja- (V) 'to cut'

affix: -uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

21. naalauti (N) 'radio'

base stem: naalak- (V) 'to listen'

affix: -uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

22. nilligiikkuti¹⁰ (N) 'tea cozy'

base stem: nilli- (V) 'to get cold'

affix: -giikkuti (vn) 'means of preventing something'

23. qamitiruti (N) 'fire extinguisher'

base stem: qamitiq (V) 'to extinguish'

affix: -ruti (vn) 'something that serves to'

24. qisupauti¹¹ (N) 'scouring pad'

base stem: qisupa- (V) 'to scrub'

affix: -uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

25. saniṛuti (N) 'broom' (also saniuti is heard—this is possibly derived from sanik (N) 'dirt'?)

base stem: saniq- (V) 'to sweep'

affix: -ruti (vn) 'something that serves to'

26. siqalliiguti (N) 'chopper' 'masher'

base stem: siqallii- (v) 'to chop'

affix: -guti (vn) 'something that serves to'

27. uvvaruti (N) 'washing machine'

base stem: uvvaq (V) 'to wash clothes, linens, etc.'

affix: -ruti (vn) 'something that serves to'

28. qaluuti (N) 'ladle'

base stem: qalu- (V) 'to scoop out'

affix: -uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

29. itsivautaq (N) 'chair'

base stem: itsiva- (V) 'to sit'

affix: -utaq (vn) 'that which serves to'

30. itsivautaaluk (N) 'chesterfield' (lit., a large thing that serves to sit on) (see 1.4.3)

base stem: itsiva- (V) 'to sit'

affixes: -utaq (vn) 'that which serves to'

-aluk (nn) 'large'

31. ajatsauti (N) 'fork' (see 1.4.4)

base stem: ajak- (V) 'to push back from self with hand'

affixes: -saq- (vv) 'to try to'

-uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

32. paniqtsiuti (N) 'frying pan'

base stem: paniq- (V) 'to dry'

affixes: -ti- (vv) 'make' 'cause to'

-siuti (vn) 'that which serves to'

33. uqaalauti (N) 'telephone'

base stem: uqaa- (V) 'talks'

affixes: -la- (vv) 'easily'

-uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

34. ikittauti (N) 'lighter'

base stem: iki- (V) 'to light'

affixes: -ttag- (vv) frequentive

-uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

35. piruqsiaga~~u~~uti (N) 'planting pot'

base stem: piruq- (V) 'to grow'

affixes: -siaq- (vv) 'to wait' (for something to happen)

-qaq- (vv) 'to have'

-uti (vn) 'something that serves to'

36. natirniuti (N) 'mop' (see 1.4.5)

base stem: natiq (N) 'floor'

affix: -niuti (nn) 'something to tend with'

37. quliruaq (N) 'shelf' 'shelves' (see 1.4.5)

base stem: quli (N) 'that which is above something'

affix: -ruaq (nn) 'large'

3.2 The gloss of the (vn) affix -uti 'that which functions to' 'that which serves' is of special interest as it conveys very vividly the practical concerns of the Inuit. Here again a particular way of thinking seems to be reflected in the structure of the language, i. e., the notion that 'all items for communication were associated with experience' in the traditional Inuit society (Holtved, 1956: 619). Survival of the lone hunter often depended upon mechanical aptitude when he was out on the land far from any settlement or facility. Observers of the Inuit have often pointed out the ingenious manner in which native people of the Arctic are able to strip and reassemble engines and instruments of all sorts. In light of the above it is not

difficult to comprehend how the concept of how an object functions is sustained in the creation of new terms related to modern technological society. 12

As Dorais (1978:28) points out, culling his sources from Saladin d'Anglure:

... Cette tendance à l'utilisation d'un vocabulaire exprimant la fonction du désigné n'est pas propre au lexique moderne. En effet, beaucoup de termes techniques désignent des éléments de la culture traditionnelle, en exprimant aussi la fonction.
(Saladin d'Anglure, 1971:242, n. 2)

3.3 As to the question of borrowing, it has been previously noted that of the forty-two terms elicited, only one term, talaviisa 'television' was borrowed. In light of the widespread erosion and sometimes extinction of languages which is partly due to the growing functional demands related to acculturation of modern society, this tendency towards self-containment and resistance to foreign language interference is quite remarkable. However, while the lexical resources of Inuttitut have enabled a continuous expansion of its lexical repertoire, perhaps the factor of the attitude of the Inuit towards the non-native culture and language should be taken into consideration as well. Nelson (1973:288), in discussing acculturative patterns of the Inuit and their receptiveness to change, points out:

If Eskimos do accept something from white culture, they generally reintegrate it so that it fits into the Eskimo world, rather than molding their world to fit into that of the white man. Eskimos operate

from the position that their culture is superior; thus, newly accepted items are likely to be given Eskimo names. . . . This characteristic of reworking terms is one of the clearest manifestations of their desire to fit the outside world into an Eskimo framework. These people seem so closely bound to their own conceptual framework that it is very difficult for them to develop great flexibility in dealing with frameworks which are completely different.

Chapter III — Notes

¹Dorais (1978:28) in a much more comprehensive analysis encompassing three dialects found similar results. Out of 998 terms, lexical items expressing function were the most numerous constituting 60.34% of the terms formed by lexicalization.

²-giikkuti is a compound of the (vn) -uti.

³-niuti is a compound of the (nn) -uti 'something for'.

⁴Similarly 'coffeemaker' kaapiliuruti, 'teamaker' tiiliuruti, etc. can be generated.

⁵Any room in the house can be created in this manner: qujaqtuvik 'washroom' (lit., place to wash); igavik 'kitchen' (lit., place to cook).

⁶pularvik—alternate form for pulaaqvik 'living room'.

⁷Possibly stems from quijug 'to urinate'?? This, however, has a verbal base stem. Another possibility is that it stems from quqtaq (N) 'hole made by urinating in the snow'.

⁸ikiguti is also a traditional word for any instrument for igniting.

⁹Steinmann has informed me that kamauti is very local and the more widely used term is silasiuti 'weather instrument', (lit., that which serves for the weather).

¹⁰nilligiikkuti can be used to describe anything that keeps things from getting cold.

¹¹qisupauti also means a 'toothbrush' or 'hairbrush'.

¹²In conjunction with this kind of observation, Steinmann produced the term for 'pressure cooker' without ever having heard or seen the Inuit term: nirijaksaliukallaguti (lit., something or an instrument for rapidly making anything to be eaten). niri (V) 'to eat' -jaksaq (vn) 'something to be' -liug (nv) 'to make' -kallag- (vv) 'rapidly' -guti (vn) 'something that serves'.

CHAPTER IV

VERBAL FORMATIVE AFFIXES

4.0 In this chapter, the verbal formative affixes (vv) are categorized as follows: temporal markers, modals, verboids, adverbial markers, negation, as well as those (vv) affixes that enable a transition from the intransitive form to the transitive one and vice versa in certain specific instances.

4.1 It has been suggested that there is substance to the notion that concepts of 'time' 'space' and 'matter' (i. e., see Hoijer, 1964: 143) do not stem from the same form of experience in all cultures and this is reflected in the structure of the particular languages. The expression of time in Inuttitut illustrates this point. The notion of time in traditional Eskimo culture expresses cultural orientations which are quite different from our own. In an article entitled 'The Timeless Present in the Mythology of the Aivilik Eskimos', Edmund Carpenter (1956: 1) writes:

The beginning of the Aivilik world is, strictly, at a point out of time. Aivilik cosmogony contains no doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, no philosophical conception of creation from nothingness. No supreme power ever acted as creator, maker, or artificer. Nothing came first and of itself. For there had already been forms of existence which looked upon the transformer in admiration and amaze. Nor is mention made of a mythological age when all animals lived a human life. With the exception of stories of metamorphosis, which involve neither "change" nor "origin" in our sense of

these words, no attempt is made to account for the beginning of anything. . . . It follows that the Aivilik experience no desire to set a beginning to the chain of events to which they belong. . . .

In a more contemporary vein, Gagné (1968:32) points out that the concept of time as denoted by such terms 'to save time', 'to kill time', 'to gain time', etc., are absent in Inuttitut because they do not have the same relevance as they do in our culture. He argues that while the present, immediate past and immediate future are widely used to express time, the distant future is hardly ever used. He attributes this phenomenon to a society which is not future oriented and further maintains that 'planning beyond the immediate future is not common among the Eskimos.' Such reflections appear to have substance when examining (vv) affixes denoting temporal discrimination, since events seem to be reported as a continuous process without reference to a beginning or an end. While verbs in Inuttitut have no tenses in the strict sense of the term, there are what one might call time categories. A careful reviewing of these categories reveal that they provide the speaker with a whole continuum of precise terms for each point in time—a kind of scale of time ranging from that which is near to that which is remote.

Following Schneider (1972:33) I have arranged the past temporal markers (vv) according to whether they are more or less recent. In the recent past, the speaker is aware of the time that an action has taken place and the affix denotes that information,

while in the more remote past, the speaker does not exactly know when an action has occurred. Hence the term 'past perceived' or 'indeterminate past'.

a) recent or perceived past

-rataaq- (vv) 'short time ago' 'little while ago'

-kainna- (vv) 'a few minutes ago'

-gammig- (vv) 'recently'

-qgau- (vv) 'recent past' 'during the day'

-lauq- (vv) 'past time marker referring to something that occurred yesterday, last week, last month, etc.'

b) remote and unperceived (or indeterminate) past

* -nniq- (vv) 'general past'

-lauju- (vv) 'some time ago' 'long time ago'
(only used in narrating)

-juviniq- (vv) used to express the notion that something has occurred in the past without the speaker having been present (see -vineq- in Schneider, 1968: 136-7)

Harper (1979:88-96) provides a well-organized description of the above in a section called 'Verb Tense'. He sketches a careful breakdown of the points in time along a continuum similar to the above. Among other interesting observations re: perceived and unperceived actions he notes that in reported speech, the speaker may indicate past actions which are not directly perceived by himself, but which have been reported to him, by using the perceived past

time marker. However, he must add the post-suffix clitic -guug~
-ruug 'reported discourse' to the word phrase. Harper provides
 the following example which I have adapted to the Ungava dialect:

qimussit pingasut tikilauqtuguug ippasaq

'someone said that three dog teams arrived yesterday'

The notion of the perceived past as opposed to the unperceived past moving along a temporal scale of near to far suggests a parallel to a spacial scale of near to far. In a semantic analysis of independent words (not affixes) indicating spacial concepts, Dorais (1971:91-5), maintains that investigators of 'localizers' in Inuttitut such as Bourquin, Schneider, Gagné and Mususi Ittuq despite their 'seemingly different concepts [of localizers] have something in common'. They all point to a 'continuum of 'easily perceived objects and less easily perceived' on a scale of near to far. While this refers to 'visible perceptibility' and not temporal perceptibility, the similarity in the pattern of dealing with two aspects of the language is striking as in both temporal and spacial scales of perception there appear to be no definite demarcations (see also Lowe, 1980:135-155 and Paillet, 1980:215-229).

The future also moves over a similar scale of near to far, although there appears to be some overlapping of meaning in some of the glosses:

a) immediate future

-si- (vv) 'is about to' 'begins'

-giaq- (vv) 'is about to' 'planning to'

The above two affixes refer to a commencement of action or readiness to perform an action.

-langa- (vv) 'is going to' 'in a moment' 'presently'

-niujaq- (vv) 'is going to' 'in a moment' 'presently'

Affixes such as these can be compounded to provide nuance as in -niujakasaliq 'is going to . . . immediately' (Note that the above compounded affix consists of three affixes: -niujaq-, -kasak- 'almost' and -liq- 'at this instant')

-niaq- (vv) 'refers to an action that is taking place soon, today'

-laaq- (vv) 'refers to an action that will take place tomorrow, next week, next month'

b) distant future

-gumaaq- (vv) 'refers to an action that will take place in the distant future, some day'

The concept of 'state' 'action already completed' is expressed by several affixes though the most frequent appears to be -sima- as in aullasimajuq 'he is away', nirisimajuq 'he has eaten' (he has finished eating). Even though the concept of 'state' is not strictly speaking a temporal one, it is treated in this section as it can be compounded with temporal affixes as in tikilauqsimajuq 'he had arrived' (-lauq- 'past time' / -sima- 'perfect marker') denoting a kind of past perfect or tikisimalaaqtuq 'he will have arrived' (-sima- / -laaq- 'immediate future') expressing an equivalent to

future past.

There is no affix to express present time as such: tikittuq 'he arrives'. However, there are affixes which express ongoing action such as -liq- 'at this instant' 'is in the process of' as in siniliqtuq¹ 'he is falling asleep' denoting an equivalent to the present progressive tense.

The above description of temporal determiners is by no means exhaustive but are reasonably representative of the most frequently used markers. As elsewhere in the language the usage of certain affixes vary from community to community.

4.2 Some verbal affixes also function as what I have chosen to call modality markers. Modal affixes are equivalent in meaning to English modal verbs, i.e., expressing volition or desire; ability; necessity; etc. Some examples are:

VOLITION OR
DESIRE:

-guma- ~ -suma- (vv) 'want'

umiaqturumavunga 'I want to go by boat'

ABILITY:

-gunnaq- ~ -runnaq (vv) 'can' 'be able to'

nirigunnaqunga 'I can eat'

NECESSITY:

-giagaq- ~ -riagaq- (vv) 'must' (have need)

miqsuriagaqquq 'she has to sew'

Schneider (1972:118 and 1976b:101-2) provides a detailed description of these affixes. He refers to them as 'sortes de verbes auxiliaires' which are added to the verb base without affecting the terminal ending.

4:3 Another group of (vv) affixes one might call verboids² as they fulfil the function of verbs. When translated into English or French they appear as independent verb forms, but in Inuttitut they have no meaning when used in isolation. Though they are restricted in number, they are highly used and express what would be equivalent to: reported speech, belief or opinion, command, causative action, action signifying effort, action expressing intention (positive or negative), the idea of 'waiting for an action to be performed' (Harper, 1979: 70), etc.

Here are some examples:

REPORTED
SPEECH:

-niraq- (vv) 'says that'

gainiarniraqtug 'he says that he is going to come'

BELIEF OR
OPINION:

-juri- ~ -turi- (vv) 'thinks that' 'believes that'

aullaniaqturivara 'I think that he is going to
leave'

COMMAND OR
REQUEST:

-qu³ (vv) 'tells' 'orders' 'permits'
(someone to do something)

aniquvauk 'he tells him to go out'

CAUSATIVE:

-ti(k)- (vv) 'let' 'make' 'cause'

atugtigunnagagit 'I can let you use it'ninngatikkauk 'he makes him angry'.
'he causes him to be angry'

EFFORT:

-saq-² -saag- (vv) 'tries to' 'attempts to'
'working at something to
achieve a desired state,
usually through prolonged
action' (Harper, 1979: 68)qillasagqauk 'he makes it shine'ninngasagqauq 'he tries to make him angry'

INTENTION:

-ttaili²- (vv) 'refuses to' 'abstains from'
'prevents him from'sinittailivug 'he avoids sleeping'malittailijug 'he abstains from following'puiguqtailigit 'don't forget' (lit., 'prevent
yourself from forgetting')WAITING FOR
AN ACTION TO
BE PERFORMED:

-siaq- (vv)

paniqsiara 'the thing I have set to dry' (lit.,
'the thing I am waiting for to dry')

In Inuttitut there are verbs which have meanings somewhat similar to these verboids, but they appear in totally different constructions as they are independent verbs and are therefore used in different

contexts. In translation one should be aware of the nuances between the two. Note from the examples below that the verboid, unlike the independent verb, provides a link between the two actions:

<u>Affixed Form</u>	<u>Verb</u>
<u>-niraq-</u> (vv) 'says that'	<u>uqaq-</u> (V) 'says'
<u>qainiarniraqtug</u> 'he says that he is coming'	<u>uqalauqtug imailitsuni</u> 'he said like this' (followed by a long quotation) ⁴
<u>-juri-~ -turi-</u> (vv) 'thinks that'	<u>isuma-</u> (V) 'thinks' 'thinks about'
<u>aullaniaqturivara</u> 'I think that he is going to leave'	<u>isumagiqattaqagit</u> 'I often think about you'
<u>-saq-~ -saag-</u> (vv) 'tries to'	<u>uk-</u> (V) 'tastes' 'tries'
<u>uppisaagtug</u> 'he tries to deceive him'	<u>kamik uktuqauk</u> 'he tries the boot'
<u>-siaq-</u> (vv) 'waits for' (as above)	<u>utaqqi-</u> (V) 'waits for someone'
<u>paniqsiara</u> 'the thing that I am waiting for to dry'	<u>utaqqivauk</u> 'he awaits him'

Schultz-Lorentzen (1945: 95) maintains that these affixes are often used in the appositionalis in such a way that they correspond to what would in English be expressed by a subordinate clause.

4.4 Certain affixes function to provide adverbial notions to the verb stem. These notions can be broken down into various semantic categories such as 'duration' 'degree' 'manner' 'probability' 'habitual action' 'mutuality' or 'group action', etc. Here are but a few

examples of a long list of such affixes:

DURATION: -kainnaq- (vv) 'a very short while' 'brief action'

takukainnapara 'I saw him for a brief time'

-laukak- (vv) 'for a while' 'before doing something else' 'first'

anilaukalanga 'let me go out for a while'

-a- (vv) 'prolongation of action'

aanniajuq 'he is ill' 'he is in continuous pain'

DEGREE: -vallia-~-pallia- (vv) 'does it more and more'

gannipalliajuq 'it is snowing more and more'

-luag- (vv) 'much' 'excessive' 'high degree'

pigsiluagtuq 'it is "powdering" heavily'
(it is a heavy snowstorm)

MANNER: -llurik- (vv) 'ease' 'simplicity of action'

uqallurittuq 'he speaks easily'

-sarait- (vv) 'easily' 'by habit'

qiasaraittuq 'he cries easily'

-kallag- (vv) 'suddenly' 'quickly'

tigusikallatuq 'he grabs it suddenly'

PROBABILITY:

-qquuq- (vv) 'probably' 'seems'

tikiqquutug 'he has probably arrived'kataqquutug 'it seems to be falling'

HABITUAL ACTION:

-juuq- ~ -suuq- (vv) 'it has the habit of' 'usually'
'often' 'always'ugasuuq 'he usually talks'tikisuuq 'he comes often'

This affix can occur at the end of the word without the inflectional marker—only to express third person singular, however.

tuttunik nirisuunguviit? 'do you eat caribou meat?'

-qattaq- (vv) 'often' 'regularly'

takuqattaqara 'I often see him'

-vak- (vv) 'often'

illink isumavaktunga 'I often think of you'

MUTUALITY:

-qatau⁵- (vv) 'accompanying action'aullaqatauvunga 'I am going along'

-qatauti- (vv) 'accompanying action'

ikajuqatautijut 'they help each other'

-aa- (vv) 'as a group'

isaajut 'they enter (as a group)'

Harper (1979:8) indicates that this last affix is of limited usage. It was unheard of by my informant.

I have not treated in this section other examples of such affixes provided by Harper (1979) and defined by him as markers of 'frequency', 'certainty', 'inclination', 'sequence', 'readiness', 'similarity', etc.

4.5 Negation is generally expressed by the (vv) affix -nngit- as in takunngitug 'he doesn't see' (where the negative marker follows the verb base or stem). The same affix can also negate a word or word phrase with a nominal base provided there is a (nv) affix (for instance, -u- 'be') to which it can be added as in natsiunngitug (natsig/u/nngit/tug) 'it is not a seal'.

The negative concept with verb phrases that include affixes signifying 'ability' -qajag- or -gunnaq- 'to be able', is expressed by the expansion of the original negative marker -nngit- to -nngiuma- 'not for a long time' as in the phrase allagunnangiumagama 'because I was not able to write for a long time' (see Schneider, 1968:25) In the same reference Schneider points out that while the (vv) affix -nngit- is generally (with some exceptions) placed at the end of the sequence of affixes before the terminating marker, it can occur in other positions under specific conditions. With certain (vv) affixes, i.e., -mmarik- 'totally' 'completely', -kasak- 'almost', etc., the

meaning changes depending upon whether the negative marker precedes or follows it:⁶

-mmarinngit- 'not completely'

sapimmarinngitug 'he is not completely discouraged'

-nngimarik- 'not at all'

sapinngimarittug 'he is not at all discouraged'

-kasanngit- 'not at all'

aggitaukasanngitug 'he is not at all cured'

-nngikacak- 'not quite'

aggitau~~nngikacak~~sattug 'he is not quite cured'

Another interesting aspect about this affix is the process of doubling: namely, the placing of the affix before and after another affix thereby creating an affirmation as in: -nnginiujakasannngit- 'there is no doubt that' 'it is absolutely certain'. Note that when -niuja- (vv) is used in isolation it functions as a strong affirmation 'it is evident' 'it is certain'. When it is affixed to -kasannngit- (-kacak-nngit-) it means 'almost not' 'not even almost'—therefore 'not at all' as in -niujakasannngitug 'it is certain that it isn't' 'not at all'. However, when an additional -nngit- precedes this compounded affix, it becomes a positive statement (see Schneider, 1968:74 -niuja- and 33 -kacak-).

Spalding (1969: 32) remarks that unlike affirmative answers which are similar to those in English, answers to negative questions

are different. Schneider (1976a: 139) conveys the same observation:

Un français répondrait s'il ne le désire pas: Non, merci! sous-entendu: je ne veux pas. La négation réfère à lui-même: sa non-volonté. En esquimaute: Non, aoka, [aukka], voudrait dire: oui car la négation esquimaute réfère à la proposition négative de la question et la nie. . . . Non, il n'est pas vrai que je ne veux pas prendre le thé . . . veut dire: je le veux.

In fact in Inuttitut, like other languages such as Swahili and Japanese, the words for yes and no express agreement or disagreement with the statement underlying the question.

Consider the phrase tiitutumngilatit? 'don't you want the tea?' and note the different terminating marker. Unlike other affixes the negative affix -nngit- can be adjoined to an alternate set of suffixes:

<u>nirinngitunga</u>	o	<u>nirinngilanga</u>	'I don't eat'
<u>nirinngitutit</u>	o	<u>nirinngilatit</u>	'you don't eat' (sg.)
<u>nirinngitug</u>		<u>nirinngilaq</u>	'he/she/it doesn't eat'

When the third person singular form is used -nngilaq- it is generally used to express a more emphatic statement as in tikinngilaq 'he has not arrived' or an exclamation as in silaggingilaq 'how beautiful it is!' (referring to the weather). The latter ironically expresses the opposite of a negative concept (Schneider: 1968:25).

There are several more affixes which can be adjoined to -nngit- to provide additional nuances of the negative notion which I have not dealt with in this section. Nevertheless, it is quite apparent from that which has been culled from the sources (none of the above material has been elicited) that the (vv) affix -nngit- is a unique one:

a wealth of ideas can be expressed by its juxtaposition (preceding or following another affix), doubling, and the result of the various combinations.

4.6 Certain (vv) affixes function to convert verbs from one form to another, i. e., intransitive verbs to transitive ones and vice versa.

The intransitive and transitive character of verbs is particularly well developed in Inuttitut. Ellis and Partridge (1978:1-2, 25) in their adaptation of S. T. Mallon's Inuktitut refer to intransitive verbs as 'the "simple" verb system' which contain within the ending only the subject of the verb as in: takuvunga 'I see'. In this system the object is indicated by the modalis -mik which is suffixed to the noun as in tuttumik takuvunga 'I see a caribou'. The object of such verbs is generally (as Mallon refers to it) 'non-specific'. On the other hand, in the transitive system, referred to as 'the "complex" system', the verb ending contains the subject and a reference to the object, and therefore requires no marking of the noun: tuttu(k) takuvara 'I see the caribou'. The verb suffix -vara incorporates the subject (in this case: 1st person singular) and the object (3rd person singular); and the latter is usually specific.

While the above examples relate to verbs which do not require transitional affixation from one system to another, there are many cases where this is necessary. A discussion of these (vv) affixes requires an in depth analysis of verb classifications in Inuttitut which

is beyond the intended scope of this thesis. What is presented here is a brief sketch of these verbal categories and their respective (vv) markers based largely upon the works of Schneider and Schultz-Lorentzen!

Schneider (1972: 90-92; 1976b: 95-109) makes the following divisions:

a) Neuter Verbs

Certain verbs cannot take the transitive marker. They are 'incompatibles avec la forme transitive' (Schneider: 1976b: 100):

sinikkug 'he sleeps' *sinikkauk⁷ 'he sleeps it'

paallagug 'he stumbles' *paallakauk 'he stumbles it'

b) Primarily Intransitive Verbs

i) Suffix-marked transitivity:

These verbs all have a corresponding transitive form which does not require an affix. Their transitivity is marked in the suffix as discussed above. Verbs in this category are according to Schneider (1976b: 96) verbs of perception, i.e., 'to see', 'to hear', 'to feel', etc.; verbs depicting vital actions, i.e., 'eating', 'drinking', etc.; and action verbs, i.e., 'to work', 'to sew', 'to construct', etc.:

takuvug (intrans.) 'he sees'

takuvauk (trans.) 'he sees it'

nirivug (intrans.) 'he eats'

nirivauk (trans.) 'he eats it'

sanavug (intrans.) 'he builds' 'he constructs'

sanavauk (trans.) 'he builds it'

ii) ~~Affixed~~-marked transitivity

Such verbs take on the transitive by means of the (vv) affix

-gi-⁸ Verbs in this category express thought or feeling:

niriuttuq (intrans.) 'he waits with hope'

niriugivauk (trans.) 'he waits with hope for someone'

iqsivug (intrans.) 'he is afraid'

iqsigivauk (trans.) 'he is afraid of it'

isumavug (intrans.) 'he thinks'

isumagivauk (trans.) 'he thinks about it'

iii) Verbs that require a specific affix for both the intransitive and transitive forms:

While the transitive affix is -gi- as above, the intransitive form has different affixes: -suk-, -gusuk-, -ssa- ~ -saq-, etc.

Verbs in this category express feeling, impression and judgement:

aliasuktug (intrans.) 'he is happy' 'he feels happy'

aliagivauk (trans.) 'he is happy about it'

nalligusuktug (intrans.) 'he loves' 'he feels love for'

nalligivauk (trans.) 'he loves her, etc.'

nakuqsatuq (intrans.) 'he thanks'

nakugivauk (trans.) 'he thanks him, etc.'

c) Primarily Transitive Verbs

Schultz-Lorentzen (1945: 93-94) explains that 'every transitive verb—and transitive affix—has its special semi-transitive form, preferring one of the semi-transitive affixes'. These 'semi-transitive' affixes are used when one wishes to retain the transitive notion of the verb, but to create a simpler construction, an intransitive form is used. Semi-transitive affixes when adjoined to transitive verbs give them an intransitive form without changing their meaning. In the following examples i) is a decidedly transitive verb, ii) is the intransitive version of a i) type verb. Note that when a primarily transitive verb is used in the intransitive it acquires a reflexive meaning and is restricted to that context, iii) is also a i) type verb and only formally intransitive as a result of the affixation of the semi-transitive marker -i-. Like primarily intransitive verbs, the object receives the modalis marker and a non-specific character is imparted to the phrase.

kapi- (V) 'stab' 'primarily transitive base stem'

i) nanug kapivauk (transitive form) 'he stabs the bear'

ii) imminik kapivug (intransitive form) 'he stabs himself'

This has a reflexive meaning. Using it differently

creates an unacceptable construction: *nanurmik kapivug.

iii) nanurmik kapiivug (formally intransitive) 'he stabs a bear'

There are a number of semi-transitive affixes, but the most frequent are the following: -i-, -si-, -tsi- and -ni- which appear to be phonologically conditional. The examples below show how they are attached to different kinds of stems:

<u>Transitive Stem</u>	<u>Semi-transitive Stem</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>tillug-</u>	<u>tillui-</u>	'to punch'
<u>tigu-</u>	<u>tigusi-</u>	'to pick up'
<u>ilinniatik-</u>	<u>ilinniatitsi-</u>	'to teach'
<u>anau-</u>	<u>anauni-</u>	'to club'

Though this survey of (vv) affixes is by no means comprehensive it has been presented to capture in very general terms the individual components that shape and amplify the verbal concept. The polysynthetic use of affixes expressing notions of modality, time, negation, adverbality, etc. enables the speaker to express a whole complexity of ideas with a regularity and predictability that is remarkable.

Juggling with a long list of affixes 'seems to presuppose a high gift of 'abstraction' (Hammerich, 1976: 70). This Eskimologist further points out in the same reference that fewer affixes are employed with children and foreigners. For the Eskimo child it precludes a certain natural mental development and linguistic readiness to be able to manipulate these affixes. For the non-native speaker it necessitates a total immersion into the Inuit-speaking community where the Eskimo's unique linguistic expression prevails.

Notes — Chapter IV

¹siniliqtug can also be glossed as 'he is sleeping' 'in the process of sleeping'. Other affixes can also convey the idea of 'falling asleep', i.e., sinisijuq 'he is about to fall asleep' or sinikasapuq 'he is almost asleep'.

²All of the following verboids possess an intransitive counterpart to their transitive verbal endings.

³This affix is glossed as 'desire' 'wish'; so that, in order that a desire may be filled for the dialect of Cumberland Peninsula and North Baffin Island (Harper, 1979:60). Steinmann contends that this is applicable to the Ungava dialect as well. Affixes such as -guluag- 'even though' 'indeed' can be inserted to soften the firmness of the statement as in natsigugaluagqagit 'I want you to catch a seal' (Schneider, 1968:88).

⁴When the statement is short, -niraq- (vv) is used, but for long sentences and quotations the independent verb uqagtug or uqalauqtug is used.

⁵This affix is a combination of the (vn) affix -gati- 'partner' 'companion' and the verbalizing affix -u-. Note that au is preferred to iu due to euphony in Inuttitut.

⁶The following examples vividly display how the affix qualifies only the preceding element.

⁷This is an unacceptable form.

⁸See Schneider (1968: 16 re: v. /givâ).

CHAPTER V

VERBAL TRANSFORMATIVE AFFIXES

5.0 Thalbitzer (1911:1059), in his analysis of the verb in Inuttitut, conveys the notion that the 'nominal concept of the phenomenon of life is predominant' in the Inuit language. He maintains that verbal ideas are not conceived as activities or things in themselves as they are in many other languages, but rather as a description of a kind of observation.

While this conception of the Inuit verb is not always obvious when examining most independent verb-like words, i. e., aullaquq¹ 'leaves' 'departs' (though it is sometimes striking with independent verbs like aggakug 'he digs' derived from aggait (N) 'hand' (collective term) or malikkug 'follows' from malik (N) 'wave') it appears to come into focus when looking at verbal transformative markers which are heavily used in the language. The composite word that is formed is illustrative and often visual in meaning, once again corroborating the many references in the literature re: the visual image or picture which is retained in the Inuit word.

5.1 Verbal transformative (nv) affixes incorporate a number of categories which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. It is worth beginning with an examination of how the (nv) affixes, -tug and -tuqtug which give nominal stems a verbal meaning,² function to

transform the nominal base stem:

a) With noun-like words related to animal game, the (nv) affix -tug is glossed as 'get' 'catch' 'kill' 'hunt' 'trap', etc., and can be affixed to any number of words for animal game.

natsiq (N) 'seal'

natsitug 'he kills a seal'³

tuttu(k) (N) 'caribou'

tuttutug 'he catches a caribou'

qilalugaq (N) 'whale'

qilalugagtug 'he hunts a whale'

tiriganniaq (N) 'fox'

tiriganniattug 'he gets or traps a fox'

b) With noun-like words related to clothing, the (nv) affix -tug is glossed as: 'has put on' (a completed action) as in:

ulikattaq (N) 'coat'

ulikattatug 'he has put on a coat'

itigaguti (N) 'shoe' (lit., something that serves for the foot)

itigagutitug 'he has put on shoes'

ulik (N) 'dress'

uliktug (ulittug) 'she has put on a dress'

c) With noun-like words related to games it is glossed as 'plays'
'skips' 'spins', etc.

ajuttag (N) 'ball (that one kicks)'

ajuttatug 'he plays soccer'

ivvaguti(k) (N) 'skipping rope'

ivvagutitug 'he skips rope'

kaittag (N) 'spinning top'

kaittatug 'he spins top'

pattak (N) 'playing ball'

pattatug 'he plays ball'

d) With certain noun-like words related to vehicles it is glossed
as 'go by' as in:

qangattajuug (N) 'airplane' (lit., something that habitually goes
up in the air)

qangattajuugtug 'he goes by plane'

nunakkuujuug (N) 'car' 'automobile' (lit., something that moves
over land habitually)⁴

nunakkuujuugtug 'he goes by car'

sikiitu (N) also sikituug 'skidoo'

sikiitutug or sikituutug 'he goes by skidoo'

e) With infant-related noun-like words as:

amaq (N) 'any load carried on the back'

amaqtuq 'she puts baby on the back' 'she carries something
on the back'

amaama(k) (N) 'breast'

amaamattuq 'he suckles' or nurses the breast'
'drinks from the baby bottle'

anaq (N) 'excrement'

anaqtuq 'defecates'

aqqaa(q) 'exclamation of disgust so as to prevent a child
from touching or doing something'

aqqaatuq 'he makes in his pants' (children's language)

apaapa (N) 'food' (baby language)

apaapatuq 'baby eats food'

f) With noun-like words related to certain instruments or gadgets
as in:

iputi(k) (N) 'oar'

iputtuq 'he rows' (lit., he uses the oar)

pauti(k) (N) 'paddle' (traditional name of the double paddle
of the kayak; see Dorais, 1978: 85)

pauttuq 'he paddles'

aulasaut(i) (N) 'ice fishing rod'

aulasagtug 'he goes ice fishing'⁵

iqqasaut(i) (N) 'rod and reel fishing line'

iqqasagtug 'he goes rod and reel fishing'

tagqatuutik (N) 'mirror'

tagqatuttug 'he looks in the mirror'

In the above examples all the nominal notions are directly verbified.

The (nv) affix -tug is not specific in meaning but rather takes on a verbal reflection of certain noun-like words that it operates on:

animal > catch, etc.; article of clothing > has put on; game > play, etc.; land vehicle > go by; object > related action as with e) and f) above.

Though Schneider (1976a: 48) states that the affix -tug is used with certain terms for food and beverages, I have not found anything to substantiate the claim, other than the two following examples of beverages which he cites and which I have verified with my informant:

imiq (N) 'drinking water'⁶

imiqtug 'he drinks water'

imialuk (N) 'whiskey' (lit., awful water)

imialuktug 'he drinks whiskey'

None of the other sources I have used makes mention of this affix being used with food items and all attempts to elicit the use of -tug

with my informant in this reference have been unsuccessful. Instead the affix glossed 'eats food' (i.e., bread, cheese, meat, etc.) or 'drinks beverages' was always found in the literature and produced in my elicitations as -tuqtug (see below).

5.1.2 While certain terms as described in the previous section are verbified directly, other similar terms are given a verbal notion by affixing the frequentative form: -tuqtug. Schultz-Lorentzen (1945: 83) glosses this affix (-rissorpoq or -torpoq in the West Greenland dialect) as 'makes use of', while Harper (1979: 80) defines -tug- (equivalent of -tuqtug) as 'usage of an object in the manner in which it was intended to be used', a meaning similar to the one I have given for -tug in the previous section.

In another source, Schneider (1968: 122) maintains that this affix is used for terms relating to food and beverages or anything that can be consumed,⁷ i.e., oil, tobacco, etc. This is consistent with my corpus as in:

-tuqtug

natsiviniq (N) 'seal meat'

natsivinituqtug 'he eats seal meat'

appaviniq (N) 'duck meat'

appavinituqtug 'he eats duck meat'

aqikkiviniq (N) 'ptarmigan meat'

aqikkivinituqtug 'he eats ptarmigan meat'

Compare the above elicitations (affixing -tuqtug plus animal meat) to affixing -tug to the name of the animal. Here the affix is specifically 'eat' 'consume' as opposed to the various ways in which animals are caught, killed, trapped, etc. Indeed, consuming or eating is by far the dominant gloss of this affix as shown by the examples above and the additional ones below.

quaq (N) 'frozen meat'

quaqtutug 'he eats frozen meat'

salavuuq (N) 'specific kind of chopped bannock boiled
in grease'

salavuuqtutug 'he eats bannock'

uqsug (N) 'oil' 'fat'

uqsututug 'it consumes oil or fat (motor or stove)'

imiraq (N) 'fruit juice' 'soft drink'

imiratutug 'he drinks juice, etc.'

It is also productive for incorporating borrowed terms related to consuming:

tii (N) 'tea'

tiitugtuq 'he drinks tea'

kaapi (N) 'coffee'

kaapitugtuq 'he drinks coffee'

tupaaki (N) 'tobacco'

tupaakitugtug 'he smokes tobacco'

vaini (N) 'wine'

vainitugtug 'he drinks wine'

kiiki (N) 'cake'

kiikitugtug 'he eats cake'

Schneider (1968:122) maintains also that two affixes distinguish between land and sea vehicles: land (non-sea vehicles as the list also includes airplane) vehicles are verbified directly with the affix -tug while sea vehicles, receive the affix -tugtug. My own elicitations confirm the first part of this claim, but tend to qualify or restrict the second part. Consider the following elicitations:

land vehicles: -tug paisiku(g) (N) 'bicycle'

paisikutug 'he rides a bicycle'

qimmijuaq (N) 'horse' (lit., 'big dog')

qimmijuatug 'he rides a horse'

mutusaiku(g) 'motorcycle'

mutusaikutug 'he rides a motorcycle'

sea vehicles: -tuqtuq umiag (N) 'boat'

umiagtutug 'boating' 'he travels by boat'

qajaq (N) 'kayak'

qajaqtutug 'he paddles a kayak' 'he travels by kayak'

qajariaq (N) 'canoe'

qajariaqtutug 'he canoes' 'he goes by canoe'

tiqtitulik (N) 'motor boat'. (lit., 'something that chugs')

tiqtitulatutug 'he goes by motorboat' (children's language)⁸

natarnag (N) 'flat boat'

natarnatutug 'he travels on a flat boat' (children's language)

Schneider lists the first three of the above list of sea vehicles (which have been confirmed by one of my informants from Kuujuag as belonging to her dialect) and then adds, 'y a-t-il d'autres mots? . . . (are there any other words?). He chooses to place these lexical items under the heading of Sea Vehicles and glosses them as 'to go by sea' suggesting that qangattajuqtug 'he goes by plane' and nunakkuujuqtug 'he goes by land' are verbified directly because they are non-sea vehicles. Using a list of sea vehicles taken from Lexique analytique du vocabulaire inuit moderne au Québec-Labrador by Louis Jacques Dorais, I attempted to elicit further examples of

sea vehicles using the affix -tuqtug, but was unsuccessful. Instead, except for the above examples, the response inevitably produced the (nv) affix -kkuutug 'to go by' (derived from the vialis case marker -kkut (nn) 'by means of'). There was no other indication of -tuqtug, although it was suggested that it might be heard in the speech of children as in tigtitulitutuq and natarnatutuq above. This leads one to assume that -tuqtug can be used with certain sea vehicles (I can account for only five on p. 73) but it appears to me from my research that it is misleading to make a generalization similar to that of Schneider's about them in the dialect of Kuujuaq.

Outside of the two dialects of Ungava, which I have been dealing with, however, it is interesting to note that there are different usages for the -tuqtug affixes. In Coral Harbour, for example, where A. E. Spalding researched for Salliq, An Eskimo Grammar, there are examples of -tuqtug (he refers to this as the verbal morpheme -tur- 'to travel in') being used for both land and sea vehicles. See Spalding (1969: 43) as in:

timmisuug 'airplane'

timmisuurturtug 'he is flying'

nunakkuurut 'car; truck'

nunakkuurutiturtug 'he is driving or riding
a vehicle'

gimmirjuag 'horse'

gimmirjuarturtug 'he is riding'

Harper (1979:80) also provides the example of pisuutituqtut 'they travel by motorcycle' for the dialects of Cumberland Peninsula and North Baffin Island.

5.1.4 Another usage of the affix -tuqtug is to express on-going action of certain noun-like words related to clothing.⁹ Compare the usage of -tug with clothing-related terms as discussed in section 5.1(b).

qaqlik (N) 'pants' 'trousers'

qaqliitutug 'he is putting on pants'

ulik (N) 'dress'

uliktutug 'he is putting on a dress'

kamik (N) 'boot'

kamittutug 'he is putting on boots'

5.2 In this section we shall consider transformative verbal markers that express a less generalized action. Transformative verbal affixes (nv) which have a specific meaning constitute a strikingly interesting set of categories for the sociolinguist. The outstanding notions that I have chosen are, amongst others: 'orientation', 'acquisition', 'activity' and 'privation'.

Erik Holtved (1956:619) suggests that in Inuttitut there is an 'apparent tendency to perceive and describe in terms of experience'. This tendency, he claims, is a throwback to the ancient society where 'all items' for communication were associated with experience, thus

a priori conveying a quality of definiteness'. The above set of semantic groupings illustrate the attention and preoccupation with the essential aspects of their existence and survival. Dermot Collis (1969/70:309) suggests that a 'thoroughgoing morphological and semantic analysis, particularly of stems would probably reveal a great deal about the Eskimo mentality'. In the same vein of thought, Raymond Gagné (1968:38) states in his article, 'Spacial Concepts in the Eskimo Language', that one can acquire insights into how 'the very categories of thought and perception are structured and how these categories are congruent with traditional Eskimo culture and habitat' by studying Inuttitut.

5.2.1 The (nv) affixes that fall into the category of 'orientation' encompass notions that relate to location, movement and direction.

LOCATION: -ittug (nv) 'existence in location with terms denoting place'

illu (N) 'house'

illumu 'in the house'

illumiittug 'he is in the house'

Kuujjuaq (N) 'Fort Chimo'

Kuujjuami 'at or in Fort Chimo'

Kuujjuamiittug 'he is at Fort Chimo'

aanniavik (N) 'hospital'

aanniavimi 'in the hospital'

aanniavimiittug 'he is in the hospital'

Note that this affix is attached to the locative case marker -mi.

-mittug (nv) 'he has it in a place'

ippiajuk (N) 'pocket'

ippiajumittug 'he has it in his pocket'

amaut(i) (N) 'the pouch in the woman's parka for carrying the baby'

amaummitug 'she has it in her amaut'

umiag (N) 'boat'

umiarmittug 'he has it in his boat'

ilu (N) 'interior' 'inside'

ilumittug 'she is pregnant' 'she has a full stomach' (lit., it has something inside)

The above affix is used in reference to containers, recipients and vehicles.¹⁰ It is a blending of the marker -mi and the above previously-mentioned affix. Contrast illumiittug 'he is in the house' with ilumittug 'she is pregnant':

-niittug (nv) 'possessive sense of location'

niuga (N) 'my leg'

niuganiittug 'it is on my leg'

ippiajunga (N) 'his pocket'

ippiajunganiittug 'it is in his pocket'

This affix is attached to the possessive marker of the base nominal stem. See Smith (1978:78).

-vasiktug ~ -pasiktug 'situated more towards a place'
'situated in the direction of'

tunu (locative) 'back of something'

tunuyasiktug 'it is situated more towards
the back'

siqiniq (N) 'sun' 'south'

siqiniqpasiktug 'it is in the direction of
the south'

illu (N) 'one of a pair' (illu also means
house but not in this context)

illuvasiktug 'it is located on one of two
edges of a thing; not in the
middle but closer to one edge'

Hammerich (1976:66) in an article about the Eskimo language contends that the concern with 'indication of place' is not incidental:

Such meticulousness in the indication of place seems to be characteristic of land and sea hunters, to whose collaboration precise orientation of the place may be vital. The Eskimo orientates him-

self with regard to the coast where he wanders or settles. The result may be that what is 'north' in West Greenland, is 'south' in East Greenland. What is 'west' in Greenland is 'east in Labrador': the common denominator being 'out in the sea'...

The affixes related to 'direction' in a latter part of this section further corroborate this supposition.

MOVEMENT: -liagtug (nv) 'he/she leaves' 'he goes to a place or to someone'

Kuujjuag (N) 'Fort Chimo'

Kuujjualiagtug 'he goes to Fort Chimo'

allavik (N) 'office'

allaviliagtug 'he goes to the office'

Maata (N) 'Martha'

Maataliagtug 'she goes to Martha'

The (nv) affix -liagtug is also glossed 'he/she has gone to get' 'has gone + (name of animal) hunting' in the dialect of Sugluk as well as in a number of other dialects. According to my informant from Kuujjuag (Fort Chimo), however, it is not commonly used among the younger speakers, but can be heard among the elders of the community. Harper (1979:38) who deals with dialects of the Cumberland Peninsula and North Baffin Island states that -liagtug in this context means 'goes hunting' when the hunter knows where the game is and therefore knows where to go.

igaluk (N) 'fish'

igalliatuq 'he/she has gone fishing'

uviluq (N) 'mussels'

uvilliatuq 'he/she has gone to collect mussels'

aivik (N) 'walrus'

aivviatuq 'he has gone walrus hunting'

qilalugaq (N) 'whale'

qilaluggiatuq 'he has gone whaling'

The following two elicitations, however, appear to suggest that any process related to the acquisition of the game would also utilize this affix:

nuluq (N) 'net'

nulujjiatuq¹¹ 'he has gone to check the nets'
'he has gone to prepare the nets'

mikigiaq (N) 'trap'

mikigijjiatuq 'he has gone to set up traps'

-ituqtug (nv) 'he has gone to get something that is available'
(does not require hunting)

Schneider (1968:30) states that this affix is used to denote going to get something that is prepared such as fish, meat that has been hidden or stored, collected wood, etc. Consider the following examples:

umiāq (N) 'boat'

umiangituqtug 'he has gone to get a boat'

immuk (N) 'milk'

immuituqtug 'he has gone to get milk'

gamutiik (N) 'sleds'

gamutiituqtug 'he has gone to get sleds'

tupik (N) 'tent'

tupiituqtug 'he has gone to get tents'

illiq (N) 'bed'

illiituqtug 'he has gone to get beds'

tariug (N) 'he has gone to get salt'

tariungituqtug 'he has gone to get salt'

iqaluk (N) 'fish'

iqaluituqtug 'he has gone to get fish'

In the last example the implication is that the fish has already been caught and simply needs fetching as opposed to iqalliatug 'he has gone fishing'. Both the above affixes -liqtug 'goes hunting' and -ituqtug 'goes to get' could also fall under the category of 'acquisition' which will be discussed later on in this section.

-kkuutug¹² (nv) 'goes through, by, on, across'
'goes by means of'

nuna (N) 'land'

nunakkuutug 'he goes by land'

aput(ik) (N) 'snow' (snow that covers the
countryside)

aputikkuutug 'he goes through snow'

siku (N) 'ice' (ice of the sea, river or lake)

sikukkuutug 'he is travelling across ice'

imag(tik) (N) 'water' (body of water, sea)

imakkuutug 'he goes by sea'

tiqtitulik (N) 'motor boat' (lit., something
that bubbles while it boils)

tiqtitulikkuutug 'he goes by motor boat'

supuugtulik (N) 'jet plane' (lit., something
with blowers)

supuugtulikkuutug 'he travels by jet plane'

kukilik (N) 'tractor' (lit., something with claws)

kukilikkuutug 'he goes by tractor'

kukilialuk (N) 'bulldozer' (lit., large tractor)

kukilialukkuutug 'he goes by bulldozer'

sikkitualuk (N) 'barge' (lit., a large square)

sikkitualukkuutug 'he goes by barge'

umiaqjuaq (N) 'ship' (lit., 'large boat')

umiaquakkuutug 'he goes by ship'

It is interesting to note that while the word umiaq 'boat' receives the affix -tuqtug to express the idea of going by boat (see p. 73), most words relating to sea vehicles that stem from the base form umiaq are affixed with -kkuutug to express the same concept: umiaraakkuutug 'he goes by small boat',¹³ umiammarikkuutug 'he goes by schooner', etc. The affix -kkuutug is by far the most productive affix for expressing means of travel as the examples indicate. The list of vehicles mentioned provides further evidence of the capacity of the language to adapt to modern technology without having to resort to borrowing. An examination of the literal translations of these terms reveal how powerful visual imagery is in creating new words. Hugh Brody (1977: 587-589) in a discussion of the 'flexibility' and 'regularity' of the Eskimo language states:

It has popularly been supposed that the Eskimo language cannot really cope with things that are essentially new and therefore lie far outside the concerns and assumptions built into its structure. This amounts to saying that Eskimo is of not much use for the modern world, for southern things or for the future. It is worth indicating the degree to which such a view is mistaken, if only because it tends to arise in diluted and disguised forms in many discussions and employment needs in the north. . . . Perhaps the most important point is that the process whereby the Eskimo language accommodates innovations is a continuing one: even the newest of changes can be understood and discussed in Eskimo.

-siuqtug (nv) 'travelling through, in, by, etc.' (with terms relating to atmospheric conditions and time period)

pigtug (N) 'blizzard'

pigtusiugtug 'he is travelling through a blizzard'

anuri(q) (N) 'wind'

anurisiugtug 'he is moving through the wind'

unnuag (N) 'night'

unnuagsiugtug 'he is travelling by night'

DIRECTION: -muqtug¹⁴ (nv) 'goes towards'

pularvik (N) 'parlor' 'visiting room'

pularvimuqtug 'he goes towards the parlor'

nuna (N) 'land' 'village'

nunamuqtug 'he goes towards the land' (village)

This affix is derived from the verbification of the terminal case marker -mut.

-muaqtug¹⁵ (nv) 'goes towards' 'walks in a direction' (used with locatives or terms of direction)

sani (locative) 'the side of something or someone'

sanimuaqtug 'he moves sideways' (known as the name of a ladies' dance 'jig' in Chimo)

sivu (locative) 'the front part'

sivumuagtug 'he goes forwards' 'he goes ahead'

kingu (locative) 'the back part' 'that which is
situated behind'

kingumuagtug 'he goes backwards'

-paqtug ~ -vaqtug¹⁶ (nv) 'moves in the direction of' (used
with locatives or terms of direction)

tunu (locative) 'back of something'

tunuvaqtug 'he moves back' 'he moves towards
the back'

kangi (locative) 'the part situated towards the
earth, land or ground of a place'

kangivaqtug 'he goes towards the land'
(being on the sea or river)

-nngaatuq¹⁷ (nv) 'it is blowing from x direction'
(reference to the wind)

avani (demonstrative) 'down there'

avanngaatuq 'it is blowing down there'
'it is blowing from the side
of the river'

kanna (demonstrative) 'this down here'

kananngaatuq 'it is coming from below—in
the direction of the sea'
'the wind is blowing from the
north-east'

panna (demonstrative) 'that one up there'

panngaatuq 'it is blowing from the west'

unna (demonstrative) 'that down there—
towards the sea'

unanngaatuq 'blowing from down there—from
the mouth of the river'

Boas (1964: 171) in his discussion of the geographical terminology of the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia, provides evidence that such terminology is characteristic 'of a sea-faring people to whom the forms of land and water and the dangers of the sea are all important' and whose very existence depends upon what they can obtain from the land and sea:

Instead of the points of the compass they orient themselves according to the direction of the coastline and rivers. Down river and down along the coast (in the sense of northward or westward); up river and up the coast (in the sense of southward or eastward); . . . etc.

All the affixes discussed under the overall heading of 'orientation' have either been elicited from or verified by my informants with the exception of -muagtuq, -vaqtuq and -vasiktuq. Though both Trinel (1970) and Schneider (1968) list them as affixes used in the Ungava dialect, they are apparently not part of the speech-repertoire of the Kuujuaq (Fort Chimo) community of speakers according to two young informants. Perhaps further investigation might disclose that these affixes used to exist in Inuttitut but they may have disappeared from a changing community whose existence no longer depends upon hunting. (Fort Chimo has been a trading post for many years and unlike most other northern Quebec Inuit communities it is not ethnically homogenous as it has a

strong minority of Euro-Americans and Amerindians.¹⁸ Nevertheless, I have chosen to incorporate these affixes into the corpus as they help to demonstrate how precisely Inuit speakers are able to convey messages about orientation when, as Gagné (1968:38) suggests, it is inter-related with their survival:

It is obviously vital to Eskimos whose very lives depend on success in locating game and on travel over vast uninhabited and untrailed reaches to develop cognitive maps adequate for these purposes. Their language is the underpinning of these cognitive maps (my underlining).

5.2.2 Affixes denoting acquisition:

-taqtuq (nv) 'gathers' 'fetches' (generally something that is a load or a quantity)

qijuk (N) 'wood'

qijuktatuq 'he gathers wood'

nilak (N) 'ice' (chopped ice, fresh ice from sweet water)

nilaktatuq 'he goes to get ice for water'

allag (N) 'mail'

allataqtuq 'he goes and brings the mail'

-taaqtuq (nv) 'has acquired' 'has received' 'has a new'

nauliutik (N) 'harpoon'

nauliutiktaatuq 'he has acquired a harpoon'

savik (N) 'knife'

saviktaatug 'he has a new-knife'

pilautik (N) 'meat-slitting knife'

pilautiktaatug 'he has received a meat-slitting
knife'

-niktug (nv) 'obtains' 'gets' 'gains'

qajak (N) 'kayak'

qajaniktug 'he obtains a kayak'

ugviujag (N) 'spoon'

ugviujaniktug 'he gets a spoon'

qajariaq (N) 'canoe'

qajarianiktug 'he gains a canoe'

This affix is heard in Kuujjuag and understood but not commonly used. From the literature it appears to be limited.

-sivug ~ -sijug (nv) 'gets' 'buys'

taliaq (N) 'wristwatch'

taliagsivug 'he buys a wristwatch'

qukiutik (N) 'gun'

qukiutisivug 'he gets a gun'

puugutaq (N) 'plate' 'dish'

puugutaqsivug 'he buys a plate'

ACQUISITION OF
GAME (HUNTING):

-niaqtug 'approaches' 'goes after' 'tries to get' 'hunts'
(with terms relating to game)

uumajuq (N) 'animal'

uumajuqniatug 'he tries to get an animal'

ujjuk (N) 'bearded seal'

ujjuniagtug 'he hunts a bearded seal'

iqaluk (N) 'fish'

iqalungniatug 'he tries to get a fish'

-siuqtug (nv) 'hunts' 'looking for' (with words denoting
animal game)

ukaliq (N) 'arctic hare'

ukaliqsiutug 'he hunts hares'

kanguq (N) 'snow goose'

kanguqsiutug 'he hunts geese'

ammumajuq (N) 'clams'

ammumajuqsiutug 'he is looking for clams'

timmiag (N) 'bird' (all sizes but especially
large ones)

timmiasiuqtug 'he is hunting birds'

-ajuq¹⁹ (nv) 'kills some' 'catches several'
(with words denoting game)

kanajuq (N) 'sculpin'

kanajuajuq 'he catches several sculpin'

aqikkig (N) 'ptarmigan'

aqikkiajuq 'he kills some ptarmigan'

tuttu (N) 'caribou'

tuttuajuq 'he kills some caribou'

-liguqtuq (nv) 'catches' 'wins' (in hunting or in a game)
'gets a particular animal in an acquisition'

qiqnitaq (N) 'black fox'

qiqnitaliguqtuq 'he catches a black fox'

kajuqtuq (N) 'red fox'

kajuqtuliguqtuq 'he gets a red fox'

amaruq (N) 'grey or black wolf'

amaruliguqtuq 'he catches a wolf'

The reader will recall that there were two other affixes which were discussed under the heading of orientation/movement as their gloss designates movement for the purpose of acquisition: -liaguqtuq (nv) meaning 'goes hunting' (when the hunter knows where the game is and therefore knows where to head) as opposed to -ituqtuq (nv) 'goes to get' (which does not imply hunting). One can see from all the above

examples that the affixes related to 'acquisition' of game provide the speaker with a whole continuum of situations. Brown (1958) maintains that different languages code particular domains of experience with more precision than others. If one accepts that position, it would follow that hunting, which is so essential and vital a part of the Inuit-speaker's lifestyle, would necessitate a very precise reference to the specific nature of the activity.

5.2.3 Affixes denoting activity:

-liuqtug²⁰ (nv) 'constructs' 'cooks' 'makes' etc.

qajuq (N) 'soup' 'meat soup'

qajuliuqtug, 'he is making (cooking) soup'

iksivik (N) 'box' 'crate' 'coffin'

iksiviliuqtug 'he is constructing a box, etc.'

tumi (N) 'footprints'

tumiliuqtug 'he is making footprints'
(by walking in the snow or on
the floor)

nuluq²¹ (N) 'net'

nulualiqtug 'he is making a net'

ulikattaq (N) 'coat'

ulikattaliuqtug 'he is sewing a coat'

illu (N) 'house'

illuliugtuq 'he is building a house'

-lirivug (nv) 'occupied with' 'working on' 'operating'
(also -lirijug 'attending to' 'washing' etc.
and -sirijug)

aput(i) (N) 'snow'

aputilirivug 'he is putting snow around it'
'he is working with snow'
'he is playing with snow'
(in reference to children)

naalautik (N) 'radio' (lit., something that
one listens to)

naalausirijug 'he operates the radio'

qijuk (N) 'wood'

qijulirijug 'he is doing carpentry'
'he is preparing the wood'

aula (N) 'engine'

aulasirijug 'he is working on an engine'

mikigiaq (N) 'trap'

mikigialirivug 'he is attending to his traps'

siuraq (N) 'sand'

siuralirivug 'he is playing with sand'

maqqaq (N) 'clay' 'baked clay' 'dishes'

maqqalirijug 'he is washing dishes'

5
qisik (N) 'skin' (of men and animals except
 for caribou)

qisilirijug 'he is cleaning, scraping, skinning
 the animal'

ikuma (N) 'light'

ikumalirijug 'he is repairing, fixing the light'

-niagtug (nv) 'occupied with'

piaraq (N) 'child'

piaraniatug 'he does things with a child'
 'he is occupied with a child'

mikigiaq (N) 'trap'

mikigiarniatug 'he is trapping'

nuluag (N) 'net'

nuluarniatug 'he is netting' (fish)

umiaq (N) 'boat'

umiarniatug 'he is working on a boat'

kiinaq (N) 'face'

kiinarniatug 'he washes his face'

natiq (N) 'floor'

natirniatug 'he is mopping the floor'

timmiaq (N) 'bird'

timmianiaqtug 'he studies birds' 'he hunts birds' (depending upon the context)

arnaq (N) 'woman'

arnaniaqtug 'he courts women'

allaq (N) 'letter'

allaniaqtug 'he reads' (lit., he is involved with letters)

These affixes appear to have a greater range of meaning than most of the affixes dealt with thus far. While 'occupied with' is the underlying notion, the gloss given to each word is very dependent upon the nominal concept to which it is attached. Not unlike the direct verbification marker -tug (nv), it varies according to the object it operates upon, though in this case there is a specific frame of reference, namely, 'activity'. While the overall meaning implies 'involved with' the more exact interpretation is linked to the definite subject of the activity. An analysis of these affixes suggests that certain concepts are expressed as synthesized entities in Inuttitut. Perhaps this might explain (among other factors) the great difficulties that arise in trying to translate the Inuit language into our own.

5.2.4 Affixes denoting privation:²³

-ittuq²⁴ (nv) 'less' 'is without'

angiggaq (N) 'home'

angigqaituq 'he is homeless'

anaana (N) 'mother'

anaanaittuq 'he is motherless'

nasag (N) 'hat'

nasaittuq 'he is hatless'

ati (N) 'name'

atiittuq 'he is nameless'

taliq (N) 'arm'

taliittuq 'he is armless'

-igtuq²⁵ (nv) 'strips' 'unclogs' 'removes' 'runs out of',
etc.

nasag (N) 'hat'

nasaiqtuq 'he takes off (his) hat'

ulikattaq (N) 'coat'

ulikattaituq 'he takes off (his) coat'

uqsuq (N) 'oil'

uqsuituq 'he runs out of oil'

annuraaq (N) 'clothes'

annuraiqtuq 'he undresses' 'he removes (his) clothes'

matu (N) 'lid' (of a small box, tin container, etc.)

matuigtuq 'he removes the lid' 'it's opened'

simik (N) 'plug' (of a bottle or a hole)

simiigtuq 'he unclogs' 'it's unclogged' 'unplugged'
(reference to drainage or a hole in the wall)

-igtuq (nv) 'to sell' 'to get rid of'

igaluk (N) 'fish'

igaluiqtuq 'he sells fish'

ujaraq (N) 'carving'

ujaraiqtuq 'he sells carvings'

atigi (N) 'parka'

atigiigtuq 'he sells parkas'

pualuk (N) 'mitten'

pualuiqtuq 'he sells mittens'

igtuq (nv) 'feels cold in' (when used with parts of the body)

niaguq (N) 'head'

niaguiqtuq 'his head is cold'

aggait (N) 'hands' (collective plural)

aggaituq 'his hands are cold'

itigait (N) 'feet' (collective plural)

itigaiqtuq 'his feet are cold'

The (nv) affix -igtuq as can be seen from the above examples can be used to express three general meanings when used with certain words. In the instances where the meaning is 'selling' and 'feeling cold', the underlying concept is deprivation or privation, i.e., to be without or to get rid of the object one has; to be deprived of feeling in the sense of becoming stiff and numb with cold. In the first set of examples given for this affix, the gloss is rather general but can be often equated to the English prefix un- as in 'unclogs' 'undresses' as well as extensions of such words as 'removes' or 'runs out', etc. The reader will note that the (nv) affix -igtuq expresses the opposite notion of certain words formed with the (nv) affix -tuq, i.e., ulikattag 'coat' ulikattatuq 'he puts on a coat' ulikattaituq 'he removes or takes off a coat' amaq 'any load carried on the back' amaqtuq 'puts baby (load) on the back' amaiqtuq 'removes baby from the back', etc.

-ijaq²⁶ (nv) 'losing' 'in the process of losing'
'is being deprived of it'

nujaq (N) 'hair'

nujaijagtuq 'he's losing his hair'

miqquq (N) 'fur'

miqquijagtuq 'he's shedding fur'

amik (N) 'skin'

amijjaqtug 'he's shedding skin'

kiinaujaq (N) 'money' (lit., that which resembles
a face.)

kiinaujaijaqtug 'he's gambling with money'

-ijaq (nv) 'breaks' (with inanimate objects)

tingiggautaq (N) 'sail'

tingiggautaijaqtug 'he broke a sail'

igalaaq (N) 'window'

igalaijaqtug 'he broke a window'

aulauti (N) 'motor'

aulautaijaqtug²⁷ 'he broke a motor'

-ijaqtug (nv) 'is cold' (only with parts of the body)

niu(k) (N) 'leg'

niungijaqtug 'his legs are cold'

putugug (N) 'toe'

putuguijaqtug 'his toes are cold'

uluag (N) 'cheek'

uluangijaqtug 'his cheeks are cold'

Trinel (1970: 420) gives the literal translation of aggaijaqtug 'il se fait sans mains' 'il ne les sent plus'. In English: 'he is without hands' 'he doesn't feel them any longer'. Indeed the meaning of this affix appears to be equivalent to that of -iqtuq (when used with parts of the body). The affix -ijaqtug seems to be widely used and there are additional glosses as Schneider (1968: 31) provides us with, amongst others: 'to tear' (with clothing terms) as in garliijaqtug 'he tears his trousers'. With parts of the body -ijaqtug can also be glossed as 'to cut off' as in niaquijaqqaug (transitive form) 'he cuts off his head' (someone else's). When the act is performed several times it can mean 'to sell' as in kamijjaqtug 'he sells shoes' (expressing the idea that he has sold shoes a number of times as opposed to kamiiqtug 'he sells a pair of shoes'. This affix can vary according to the context as can be seen from the above examples. I have not been able to verify whether Schneider's analysis of -ijaqtug is applicable to the Sugluk dialect as my informant is no longer available, but whatever the additions, the underlying notion of removal or privation is ever present.

-inniqtug (nv) 'it lacks' 'has little or hardly anything'
 (-inniaq-) 'is short of'

imaq (N) 'water'

imainniqtug 'it lacks water'

manniq (N) 'eggs'

manniiniqtug 'lacks eggs'

niqliq (N) 'Canada goose'

niqliiniaqtug 'it lacks Canada geese'

imirqutailaq (N) 'tern'

imirqutailainniatug 'it is lacking in terns'

kiinaujaq (N) 'money'

kiinaujainniatug 'he has little money'

niqi (N) 'food'

niqiinniatus 'he is short of food' 'he has almost run out of food'

-iruttug (nv) 'runs out of' 'lost' 'has no more'

itsivautait (N) 'seats'

itsivautairuttug 'he has run out of seats'

aggasiuti (N) 'hand lotion' (lit., 'that which serves for hands')

aggasiutiiruttug 'he runs out of hand lotion'

nivigsaasaja (N) 'wool' (Sugluk dialect)
(Schneider (1970: 186) gives nuvigsaag)

nuvigsaasajairuttug 'she has run out of wool'

niaguq (N) 'head'

niaguiruttug 'he has lost his head'

isuma (N) 'mind'

isumairuttug 'he has lost his mind'

-irnitug (nv) 'takes away' 'deprives' 'snatches' 'kidnaps'

qitiqsimik (N) 'ring'

qitiqsimiirnitug 'he snatches his/her ring'

piaraq (N) 'child'

piarairnitug 'he takes a child away' 'he kidnaps a child'

kiinaujaqauti (N) 'wallet' (lit., a holder for money)

kiinaujaqautiirnitug 'he snatches his wallet'

arnaq (N) 'woman' 'wife'

arnairnitug 'he takes a man's wife away from him'

-iqsijug (nv) 'to lose an object' (one's own)²⁸

qukiuti (N) 'gun'

qukiutiiqsijug 'he lost his gun'

allauti (N) 'pen'

allautiiqsijug 'he lost his pen'

matu (N) 'cover'

matuiqsijug 'he lost his cover'

taqajuq (N) 'one who has fatigue' 'one who is tired'

taqaiqsijug 'loses fatigue' 'he is resting'

imirusutuq (N) 'thirst' 'one who has thirst'

imirusuiqsijug 'he loses thirst' 'he is re-
freshed'

aggaumiutaq (N) 'watch' (lit., situated on the
forearm)

aggaumiutaigsijug 'he has lost his watch'
(pronounced akkaumiutaigsijug in Sugluk)

The following are compound affixes consisting of -qag-(nv)
'to have', 'there is', -nngilaq (vv) 'negative marker' and -luuniit (nn/vv)
'even'. The compound whole, however, is an (nv) affix:

-qanngilaq (nv) 'there are none' 'devoid of' (lit., it has not)

inuk (N) 'man'

inuqanngilaq 'there are no men'

illiq (N) 'bed'

illiqanngilaq 'there are no beds'

sigirngujaq (N) 'clock' (lit., it resembles
the sun)

sigirngujaganngilaq 'there are no clocks'

-qanngilaqluuniit (nv) 'not even one'

itsivautaq (N) 'chair'

itsivautaganngilaqluuniit 'there is not even
one chair'

imiruti (N) 'drinking glass' (lit., something
that serves for drinking water)

imirutiganngilaqluuniit 'there is not even one
glass'

allauti 'pen' 'writing instrument'

allautiqanngilaqluuniit 'there is not even one
pen'

That affixes related to the overall concept of 'privation' should occupy such a prominent position amongst the (nv) affixes is, one might suppose, not difficult to comprehend. The ever present awareness of immense distance and what appears to be nothingness across the monotonous plain together with the pre-occupation with hunting on the one hand, and the constant underlying fear of lack of game on the other, suggests that much of the conversation would or could revolve around such notions as 'lacking in' 'devoid of' 'runs out of' 'has lost' 'deprives of', etc. As Dorais (1977b: 40) writes:

La signification globale d'un terme quelconque pourra être définie comme le rapport dialectique traduction/définition liant ce terme à une manifestation précise de l'expérience de la réalité telle qu'elle est vécue et appréhendée par un groupe homogène d'individus.

Chapter V — Notes

¹The dictionary of Schneider and various glossaries list aullapug and mallipug as entries.

²Schneider (1976a: 46) refers to -pug/-vug as direct verbifiers of substantives: 'la verbification dont il s'agit ici est la simple verbification de substantifs comme on en rencontre dans toutes les langues: jardin, jardiner. . . Ceci existe aussi en esquimau. . . .'

³(lit., one who kills a seal). The literal meaning retains the nominal character.

⁴Schneider (1970: 183) defines this word as 'any land vehicle on wheels from wheelbarrow to railway. Steinmann contends that nunakkuujug can refer to any vehicle that moves over land, not necessarily on wheels, i.e., sled.

⁵The modern gloss is an extended meaning of the underlying idea of jiggling the line (to attract fish).

⁶imiq generally referred to as 'drinking water' by my informants as opposed to imag 'a body of water, i.e., sea, etc.' See Schneider (1970: 73 and 74).

⁷Steinmann suggests that this might be extended to include words like arnatugtug 'he has intercourse with a woman' arnag (N) 'woman' / -tuqtug 'uses' (lit., he uses a woman).

⁸Though my informant maintained that only children used tiqtitulitutuq and natarnatutuq, Steinmann claims he has heard these constructions used as appropriate forms in other communities. Perhaps it might be suggested that what might be considered children's language or uneducated language in one community, is quite acceptable in another place.

⁹See Schneider (1976a: 47).

¹⁰See Schneider (1968: 62 re: n: /mikpoq)

¹¹Note that the affixation process here is not according to the morphophonemic pattern found with most affixes, as there is a contraction here. See Schneider (1968: 47 re: n. / liarpog (xiarpog)).

¹²The affix -kkuutug is derived from the verbification of the vialis case marker -kkut.

¹³umiaraakkuutug can refer to different kinds of small boats depending upon the community, i.e., 'rowboat', 'pneumatic canoe', etc. See Ddrais (1978: 125).

¹⁴This affix is derived from the verbification of the terminal case marker -mut. See Schneider (1968: 62 re: n. / morpog).

¹⁵Schneider (1968: 63) gives this affix the same meaning as for -muqtug (see -n. / muarpog), but points out that -muqtug is used uniquely with terms of direction. Steinmann maintains that -muqtug ~ -muuqtug is local to the Ungava dialect as in his experience in the North, the majority of Inuit speakers outside of Ungava use only -muuqtug. At least, he maintains that he has not heard -muqtug used in the N.W.T. On the other hand, my informant from Fort Chimo had never heard -muuqtug used.

¹⁶This affix was not heard or used by my informant from Fort Chimo, though it is heard in other parts of Ungava according to the glossaries of Schneider (1968: 79 re: r. / parpog) and Trinel (1970: 141, see -parpug). While neither Smith (1978) nor Harper (1979) list this affix (though Smith: 28 provides -a(g) 'to go' (place)), Schultz-Lorentzen (1945: 81) does. See -parpog*, -varpog, -arpog (nv), moves in the direction of -. The asterisk indicates that this is a limited affix. See also Schultz-Lorentzen (1927: 291).

¹⁷Schneider (1968: 22 re: n / ngak) lists this affix as 'inconnue W.B. [Wakeham Bay] et incertain ou du moins non contrôlé dans le dialecte indiqué.' See his Tableau des signes at the end of the book. However, he notes that Bourquin 'a bien des chances cependant d'avoir été sûr et usité de son temps et sans doute encore maintenant au Labrador'. Trinel (1970: 137), however, who lists affixes of the dialect of Inujivik, Nouveau Québec provides -nngaak 'venant de telle direction (s'applique au vent)'. Smith (1978: 81) who treats the Labrador dialect produces Xnngaa with the same gloss. This affix like -muuqtug and -paqtug is used with localizers and terms of direction.

¹⁸Steinmann has pointed out to me that it is very likely that older speakers in Fort Chimo know these forms, but because this community no longer emphasizes the importance of the first language and often boycotts it, older people are hesitant to correct younger speakers and thus, he believes, the language is being rapidly eroded. It is to be noted that this community is the only Inuit community in New Quebec that does not teach the native language as the first language of instruction in the schools. See also Dorais (1978:6) concerning the demographic makeup of Fort Chimo.

¹⁹See Schneider (1968:5 re: n./ayog).

²⁰See Schneider (1968:48 re: n./liorpoq. This affix can be contracted as in qamutiugtug for qamutiliugtug 'he constructs a sled'.

²¹This word is generally used in its plural form -nuluat. See Schneider (1970:182).

²²According to my informants from Fort Chimo, this is not commonly used in that community. It is, however, used in Sugluk.

²³The underlying affix in all of the affixes pertaining to privation and negation is -i-. See Trinel (1970:120).

²⁴-ittug refers to being without something when it is not known whether one had the thing previously or not.

²⁵-igtug refers to something that one had initially but no longer has.

²⁶This affix is a compound of the negative -i- plus the frequentive -jaq- which indicates a repeated or continuing action. See Trinel (1970:120 & 122). See also Schneider (1968:30 re: n./ijarpaa):

²⁷Though there appears to be some irregularity in aulataijaqtug (aulauti-ijaqtug) it has been transcribed accurately according to the dialect of the Sugluk informant. The difference is due to euphonic adjustments.

²⁸See Schneider (1968:7 re: n./erksivog) 'il a perdu son . . . (lui même) . . . il s'agit de la perte de toute sorte de propriété, non la perte par la mort.'

CONCLUSION

In the present thesis I have attempted to treat the various affixes of Inuttitut by examining and classifying them according to their syntactic function and semantic category. Such a study has entailed two levels of investigation:

1) Firstly, I inquired into the interaction of these word-building components with their formative and transformative qualities in order to observe how they extend or change the initial nominal or verbal character of the stem to which they are attached. While the formative affix functions to develop the meaning of the base stem, by expanding upon it, the transformative affix functions to change the nature of the initial concept. The combination of function and type produces four main categories of affixes: nominal formative (nn), nominal transformative (vn), verbal formative (vv) and verbal transformative (nv). Such an analysis of the internal structures of the word helps to elucidate the process of affixation and reveals that a number of operations can be applied to the same stem allowing for a complex elaboration of the original notion through innumerable lexical derivations. Thus, as a highly productive linguistic device, affixation engenders a lexical flexibility by affording the speaker a facility for spontaneous or novel expression. For the native person, as can be expected, controlling the use of these affixes entails no problem as he is naturally adept at manipulating them. It is this

flexibility provided by the system of affixation that explains the Inuit tendency towards self-containment and resistance to foreign language interference: it is easy for new concepts to be incorporated into the language without recourse to transfer of lexical items—resulting in relatively few loan words in Inuttitut.

2) Secondly, I organized these affixes into semantic categories and tried to establish a connection between them and socio-cultural aspects of Inuit life. A number of interesting categories have emerged from this research: amongst others, divisions such as 'group' or 'collective characteristic' discussed under the heading of Nominative Formative Affixes, suggest a preciseness for describing persons and things in a society where people live in small groups; the notion of time as a continuum without reference to a beginning or end in a society which is not future-oriented is treated in Chapter IV under Verbal Formative Affixes. However, most striking are the numerous examples cited in the section of Verbal Transformative Affixes which code the diverse facets of Inuit perception and experience with great accuracy. The results of this research comment on how human life and specific modes of existence are inextricably linked with the structures of language.

In this thesis, affixation has been shown to be of great importance in the process of word formation both in the traditional and newly emerging modern lexicon. Curiously, despite these unique lexical resources for adapting the language to the needs of a changing

society while still maintaining its identity, the threat of extinction remains. Such an unfortunate development would not be the result of erosion of the language through excessive borrowing due to an inadequacy in the linguistic adaptive mechanism. Rather, it would occur because of a wholesale shift from one language to another—a surrender to the dominant language, particularly on the part of many of the younger generation who are in the process of forsaking the mother tongue for the use of the acquired language. The attitude of the authorities of northern communities towards the linguistic rights of their inhabitants will have great impact upon the future of this language, for where the native language is respected and its wealth of creativity and inventiveness valued, linguistic survival can be assured. Inuittitut, it appears, has all the self-perpetuating qualities to promise its linguistic endurance and cultural continuity.

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