

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

LEXICAL INNOVATION IN INUKTITUT

BY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Lexical Innovation in Inuktitut", submitted by Elizabeth R. Harnum in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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ABSTRACT

As with all languages of the world, in the face of major cultural and technological change, the language of contemporary Inuit (Eskimos) of the Canadian Arctic is confronted with pressure to adapt to modern realities. The Inuit have historically encountered many different cultures with new material items, ideas and concepts requiring expression in their language, but the present situation is more intense than at any other time.

This study examines the processes by which Inuit, particularly in the Eastern Arctic and Keewatin regions of the Northwest Territories, Canada, develop nomenclature for these new lexical items, and demonstrates that these methods are the same as those reportedly used in other languages and other dialects of Inuktitut.

The effects of this intensive lexical change on the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of Inuktitut are found to be far-reaching. Dialect differences are found to be partly due to contact with a number of different languages. The development of new designations for the plethora of new referents that Inuit are encountering, is found to be another contributor to dialectal variation.

The study examines some of the effects of lexical innovation due to contact with English, the current status of Inuktitut, and the implications of the present trend.

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 Objectives of the Study

This study examines data from the Eskimo-Aleut language family, especially from *Inuktitut* in the Canadian Eastern Arctic, to gain insight into historical and contemporary patterns of lexical change. Methods of designating new referents are examined and compared to methods used in other languages. Concomitant effects of lexical change on the phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and dialect differences of the Inuit (Eskimo) language, are investigated. Many apparent and subtle changes in the Inuit language, which are due to contacts Inuit have had with other linguistic and cultural groups, particularly English, are made evident.

By documenting and examining new words which have been developed by Inuit to refer to items and ideas that are new to their culture, the study will, hopefully, contribute to the understanding of the process of lexical change, and its effects on the language as a whole. It will also indicate the flexibility which Inuit have continuously demonstrated in dealing with the numerous influences resulting from intensive and extensive contact with other groups. Some conclusions about the current status of *Inuktitut* are drawn, and areas for further research suggested.

1.1 Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 describes the objectives, organization, scope and research methodology of the study. Abbreviations and definitions of terminology used in this thesis are then listed.

Chapter 2 examines some of the literature on lexical expansion and describes modes of designation for new referents which have been identified by other authors. Methods used by Inuit to create nomenclature for unfamiliar items are compared with those used by speakers of other languages. The categories by which the present data will be analyzed are then determined, and the terms are defined.

Chapter 3 includes a brief overview of the relevant structural characteristics of the Inuit language - phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic. Dialect differences are also exemplified.

In Chapter 4, a sketch of the Eskimo-Aleut language family indicates relationships of Eskimo-Aleut to other languages, relationships within the Eskimo-Aleut language family, a few inter-dialectal influences, and a brief mention of the current distribution of dialects and their respective names.

In Chapter 5, an overview of the numerous and varied historical interactions that Eskimo-Aleut people have had with other linguistic groups depending on their location, provides the reader with an insight into the diversity of factors which have contributed to the present regional variations in this

language family. Influences of these linguistic and cultural contacts are examined. Some linguistic influence of Eskimo-Aleut on English is also cited.

Chapter 6 exemplifies the current process of linguistic change in Inuktitut. A number of new lexical items from contemporary Inuktitut, which are the result of contact primarily with English, are classified by mode of designation.

A number of effects of this lexical change on the phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and dialect variation of Inuktitut are then discussed in Chapter 7. It is shown that the process of borrowing results in obvious effects, while lexicalization and semantic shift result in changes that are not as easily detected, since they make use of morphemes and words native to Inuktitut.

In Chapter 8, the current status of Inuktitut is considered along with variables that are apparently affecting the process of lexical innovation. Implications of this current lexical change are assessed, conclusions are drawn and suggestions for further research are offered.

1.2 Scope of the Study

Dorais (1983) examined the contemporary process of lexical change in the Inuit language of Arctic Quebec and Labrador. The work in the following

study focuses on the eastern Northwest Territories, especially the Keewatin and Baffin regions, although vocabulary from other communities and other regions is also included for comparison.

Dorais's lexicon deals with material objects imported from another culture rather than implements invented by the Inuit. The present study deals with these subject areas, as well as with law, government, politics, finance, medicine, art, science and other fields involving abstract concepts.

1.3 Research Methodology

The first part of the project entailed gathering a large sample of lexical items which Inuit currently use to refer to objects and ideas which are known to have been introduced from another culture or language.

Interviews with male and female native speakers of Inuktitut representing various dialects, occupations, educational levels, age groups, and levels of bilingualism were conducted by the author in June 1987 in the Baffin region (Cape Dorset, Lake Harbour, Iqaluit, Igloolik), and in the Keewatin region (Rankin Inlet, Eskimo Point).

Members of the Inuit Section, Language Bureau, Government of N.W.T. in Yellowknife, Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit were also interviewed. These respondents represent the communities of Pangnirtung, Broughton Island,

Pond Inlet, Resolute Bay, Gjoa Haven, Baker Lake, and Coral Harbour, aside from the communities already mentioned above.

Examples were also drawn from numerous Inuktitut magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, reports, and wordlists. The wordlists represent over ten years' work by the Inuit interpreter-translators of the Language Bureau, Government of the Northwest Territories (formerly the Interpreter Corps), which has included many individuals from other communities not mentioned above. Some of these wordlists were also compiled by Inuit elders and interpreters from all over Canada, who have attended eleven annual Inuktitut terminology workshops.¹

Interpreting sessions, (especially in the Legislative Assembly of the NWT), radio and television programs, and casual conversations have provided further data. Many examples come from Inuit of numerous dialect areas who have given me immeasurable assistance in learning Inuktitut during the past thirteen years. My literacy and considerable fluency in the language, and my work as an interpreter and linguist with Inuit interpreter/translators for over ten years, have given me invaluable insight into the less obvious aspects of lexical change.

After gathering all of the examples, the next part of the project involved comparing methods used by Inuit in developing new lexical items with methods described by other authors who have investigated the same

phenomenon in other languages. The sample of Inuktitut words was then categorized according to these previously established criteria.

Finally, the diachronic effects of contact were determined by comparing the present Inuit language with the language as it has been described historically in grammars, dictionaries, wordlists, accounts of explorers, whalers, missionaries, and government workers, and in the reminiscences of Inuit elders. Many native speakers were consulted in the comparison of numerous dialects of the *Inuit-Inŭupiaq* chain, the many dialects of which have a common origin.²

1.4 Definitions and Abbreviations

The following is a list of terms and abbreviations used in this study. The terms used to designate new referents are defined in Chapter 2.

Eskimo-Aleut - the language family; or the people belonging to this family;

Yup'ik - a sub-group of *Eskimo-Aleut*; a group of Eskimo languages spoken in western and southwestern Alaska, including Bering Strait, the Aleutian Islands, and also in the Siberian Peninsula;

Inuit-Inŭupiaq - a sub-group of *Eskimo-Aleut*; includes all the dialects of Canadian Eskimo people, and of Greenland, and of one group in Siberia;

Inŭupiaq - a sub-group of *Inuit-Inŭupiaq*, including the dialects of northwestern Alaska and the North Slope, and *Uummarmiutun* of northwestern Canada; a person of this dialect area (pl *Inŭupiat*);

Inuit - a sub-group of *Inuit-Inupiaq* , referring to all Canadian and Greenlandic dialects;

- literally 'people', 'Eskimo people' (sg *inuk* dl *inuuk*); used generically for Canadian Eskimos, (except a few groups in Western Canada who often prefer their regional names);

- may also be used to designate Eskimo people from Greenland as well, especially Polar Eskimo, (see also *Kalaaᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ*);

Inuvialuit - 'real people', (sg *inuvialuk*) Eskimo people in the Mackenzie Delta, Victoria Island and Banks Island area (includes *Kangiryuarmit*, *Siglirmiut*, *Uummarmiut*, in the communities of Sachs Harbour, Tuktoyaktuk, Paulatuk, Inuvik, Holman Island, Aklavik);

Inuinnaït - 'real people', (sg *inuinnaq*) Eskimo people in the Copper dialect region, (Coppermine, Cambridge Bay, Bay Chimo, Bathurst Inlet, and some Holman Island people);

Inummariit /Inutuinnait - 'real people' (sg *inummarik/ inutuinnaq*) sometimes used in the Keewatin and Baffin regions to differentiate Eskimo people from other people;

Kalaaᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ - Eskimo people of Greenland, (but not usually used by Polar Eskimos in Thule region for themselves);

Inuktitut - 'like the people' / 'like Inuit', the language of the Eskimo people in the Canadian Eastern Arctic (Baffin and Keewatin regions), Northern Quebec, Arctic Coast; (may be used interchangeably with *Inuktit* / *Inuttut*);

Inuktit/Inuttut - 'like a person' / 'like an Eskimo person', the language of the Eskimo people in Labrador, (may be called *Inuktitut* as well, but more commonly referred to as *Inuttut*);

Inuvialuktun - 'like a real person' / 'like an Eskimo', the language of the *Inuvialuit*;

Inuinnaqtun - 'like a real person' / 'like an Eskimo', the language of the *Inuinnaait*;

Kalaaᑭᑭisut / *Kalaaᑭᑭitun* - the language of Greenlandic Eskimo people; (although it is not usually used by Polar Eskimos to refer to their dialect).

The following is a list of abbreviations that are used.

C - consonant	V - vowel
vd - voiced	vl - voiceless
infl - inflection(al)	SOV - subject, object, verb
sg - singular	dl - dual
plur - plural	1 - first person: I, we
2 - second person : you	3 - third person: he, she, it, they
4 - fourth person: he, she, it, they (when switch reference is required; i.e. when the subject of a clause is a third person, different from the third person subject in the other clause)	
subj - subject	obj - object
obl - oblique object	dir obj - direct object
ind obj - indirect object	
erg - ergative	abs - absolutive
nom - nominative	acc - accusative
gen - genitive	abl - ablative
all - allative	loc - locative
via - vialis	sim - similis
voc - vocative	inst - instrumental

Vtr - transitive verb	Vintr - intransitive verb
intr - intransitive	pass- passive
ind - indicative	interr - interrogative
caus - causative	neg - negative
N ⁺ - nominalizer	V ⁺ - verbalizer
Tr ⁻ - de-transitivizer/half transitivizer	
adj - adjectival	past - past tense
fut - future tense	
* - ungrammatical/unacceptable form	
# - reconstructed form	
s.th. - something	s.o. - someone
Sch - Schneider	Jen - Jenness
SLor - Schultz Lorentzen	Thib - Thibert
Birk - Birket Smith	Pet - Petersen
Berg - Bergsland	Fort - Fortescue
NQ - Northern Quebec	CDor - Cape Dorset
Ig - Igloolik	Tar - Tarramiut
Ung - Ungava	NWT - Northwest Territories
C.O.P.E. Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (political organization that, until recently, represented the Inuvialuit)	

CHAPTER 2

2.0 Methods of Lexical Innovation

The purpose of this thesis is to identify diachronic and synchronic processes in the Inuit language vis-à-vis lexical change due to contact with other linguistic and cultural groups, and the effects of these processes on Inuktitut. In order to establish criteria for identifying the processes of lexical change in Inuktitut, the same phenomenon was studied in other languages, as reported by a number of other authors.

2.1 Review of the Literature

Looking at the work of authors who have studied lexical innovation in very diverse languages reveals that the same basic methods are used in every language to achieve the same end, although some processes are more active in some languages than in others. The same processes have, however, been labelled and categorized differently by various authors. The categories identified by a few authors will now be briefly summarized in order to establish the criteria for categorizing new lexical items found in Inuktitut.

2.1.1 Bloomfield

Leonard Bloomfield (1933) speaks of three methods: analogical change, cultural borrowing and semantic change. Analogical change involves

creating nomenclature based on an analogy to something already familiar to the speaker. Cultural borrowing involves adopting an item from the source language intact. Very transparent borrowings occur in this way. There are two types of borrowing: "dialect borrowing, where the borrowed features come from within the same speech area", and "cultural borrowing, where the borrowed features come from a different language" (1933: 444). "Intimate borrowings" occur when the speakers of the target language become more familiar with the source language. The last category, semantic change, occurs when speakers "change the lexical meaning rather than the grammatical function of a form" (1933: 425).

2.1.2 Haugen

In "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing" (1950), Einar Haugen presents a detailed study of methods used to develop new lexical items. His three main categories of borrowing are: "loanwords, without morphemic substitution; loanblends, with partial morphemic substitution; and, loanshifts, with complete morphemic substitution." He also has a category called "creations", which are descriptive terms or phrases created in the target language itself, without any "borrowing", other than the cultural or semantic element.

2.1.3 Weinreich

Uriel Weinreich, in Languages in Contact (1963), describes a number of processes of lexical change. He identifies "simple words" involving the

"outright transfer of the phonemic sequence" in loanwords, or the extension of the meaning of an indigenous word based on the foreign model. His other category, "compound words and phrases", includes: "loan translations" (or "calques"), in which every element of the foreign model is transferred; loan renditions, in which part of the foreign model is reproduced in the target language and "loan creations", which are newly coined terms that represent designations available in the foreign language but not previously in the target language.

2.1.4 Casagrande

Joseph Casagrande, in "Comanche Linguistic Acculturation" (1951, 1954, 1955), described four methods of creating "neologisms": the extension of meaning of words already in use in the language; the coining of new words by using native language morphemes in a new combination; the borrowing of loanwords from the source language, and translation borrowing.

He claims that the first two methods rely on principles from the native language and do not require any knowledge of the second, or source language, but that the last two categories do require at least some knowledge of the source language and impinging culture. The first process is called "primary accommodation", the first step in linguistic adjustment to culture contact. The next is "secondary accommodation", which would be called "intimate borrowing" by Bloomfield.

2.1.5 Smeaton

B. Hunter Smeaton (1971), in his work with Arabic, challenges Casagrande's use of primary and secondary accommodation, but does agree for the most part, with the categories established by Casagrande for designation of new referents. Smeaton's categories comprise: transparent borrowings from other languages; the extension of meanings of existing words (including neologisms or coining); the creation of new lexemes (including circumlocutions and compound designations); and introduced words (including words borrowed from another dialect or a standard form of the language). His neologisms are further grouped according to designation by appearance only, designation by function only, and designation by general identification of the innovation with a previously known referent.

2.1.6 Dorais

Dorais (1983) distinguishes three modes of designation for new referents used by Inuit in Northern Quebec and Labrador. They are as follows: borrowing from another language or another dialect; lexicalization, in which a group of morphemes describing a new referent becomes a new lexical item or syntagm (including onomatopoeic words); and, change in meaning of words native to the adopting language.

2.2.0 Modes of Designation Used in this Study

It would be difficult to align all of the categories identified by so many authors into strict correspondences, but it is apparent from analysing all the above-mentioned methods, that, although different nomenclature has been used, the actual processes are the same. Of course, some processes are more active in some languages than others, but quantification of the role of each type of process does not concern us in this study.

Since Dorais's analysis of modes of designation for new referents in the Inuit language in Arctic Quebec and Labrador (1983:86-90) is the work that most closely relates to the language and dialects being considered in this study, and since his three classifications are all validated in the descriptions of other authors as cited above, I have chosen to present my own material according to his categories.

Dorais has provided quantification of the role of each type of process for each dialect he studied. Although this aspect of his investigation will not be duplicated here, it is noteworthy that in his analysis, borrowings account for the fewest items, while lexicalization accounts for the majority. He has included in his lexicalization category, items of a "hybrid" nature, which employ both borrowing and lexicalization together. If these were, instead, considered borrowings, then the percentages he suggests for each category would change correspondingly. In the data presented in Chapter 6, these "loan blends" are listed separately.

2.2.1 Definitions of Terms Used for this Thesis:

borrowed word - a word borrowed from the source language into the target language with little or no phonological adaptation;

loan blend - a word borrowed from the source language into the target language and combined with other morpheme(s) of the target language;

loan shift - a word borrowed from the source language whose meaning has shifted in the target language;

calque (loan translation) - a word borrowed from the source language by translating it into its equivalent term in the target language; this results in a loan meaning, and, usually, in semantic expansion for the native term;

semantic shift - a complete or partial change in the meaning of a word;

semantic expansion - an expansion in the meaning of a word;

semantic narrowing - a narrowing in the meaning of a word;

semantic replacement - a complete replacement of the meaning of a word;

lexicalization - (the process of creating) a descriptive term/phrase which designates a referent by one of its characteristics (appearance, function, resemblance to another object/idea, etc.).

CHAPTER 3

3.0 Structural Characteristics of the Inuit Language

In order to understand some of the changes that have occurred and are occurring in the Inuit language, some of the salient structural features of the language must be examined. The following is a brief structural sketch based primarily on Dorais (1977, 1986a, 1988), Fortescue (1980, 1983), Johnson (1980), Harper (1974), and Woodbury (1977, 1984). For further information, the reader is referred to texts, listed in the bibliography, which focus primarily on the grammar of a specific dialect of the language, and to Etudes/ Inuit/ Studies 1981, Vol. 5 (suppl. issue), The Language of the Inuit: Historical, Phonological and Grammatical Issues.

3.1 Phonological Characteristics

3.1.1 Phonemes:

The following is the phonemic inventory for Inuktitut. There are three vowels and fifteen consonants.

Vowels:

	front	mid	back
high closed	i		u
low opened		a	

Consonants:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
plosives vl	p	t		k	q	
fricatives vd	v			ɣ	ʁ	
fricatives vl		s /ʈ				h
lateral vd		l				
glide			j			
nasals	m	n		ŋ		

3.1.2 Orthography:

The standard orthography proposed for Canadian Inuit by the Inuit Cultural Institute Language Commission in 1976 will be used in this study, but alternate symbols used in the C.O.P.E. orthography are also listed in the table below. The table of the standard Roman and Syllabic characters can be found in Appendix 1.

Orthographic Symbols and Corresponding Phonemes and Allophones:

- i /i/ [i] but > [e] _C(uvular)
u /u/ [u] but > [o] _C (uvular)
a /a/ [a]
p /p/ [p] but > [b] _ {l,j} eg. *ubluriaq* 'star'; *iblungajuq* 'has bandy legs'
and > [ɸ] _h eg. *pif(f)i* 'dry fish' (the orthographic symbol for [p][h] sequences is f(f)) (this would be *pipsi/pitsi* in other dialects)

- t /t/ [t] but sometimes >[č] t_ eg. *qainngitchuq* '(s)he is not coming'
and sometimes > [ʔ] _C eg. *itna* > *i'na* 'that one' (orthographic
symbol ')
- k /k/ [k]
- g /ɣ/ [ɣ]
- m /m/ [m]
- n /n/ [n]
- s /s/ [s] used in free variation with /h/ in some dialects, and corresponds
systematically with /h/ in some other dialects eg. *hila/sila* 'weather',
isuma- ihuma- 'think') (except in a few words in which /s/ and /h/
do not alternate)
- h /h/ [h] occurs in free variation with /s/ in some dialects, and corresponds
systematically with /s/ in some other dialects (except a few words that
occur only with /h/ eg. *iihailaq* 'yes, for sure'; *ahaluuna* 'yes, for sure'
but **iisailaq* **asaluuna*)
- l /l/ [l] but sometimes > [d] _l eg. *illu* [ɪdlu] ~ [ɪllu] 'house', ...
- j /j/ [j] but >[čʃ] C_ eg. *ugjuk* [ugčʃuk] ~ *ujjuk* [učʃ:uk] 'bearded seal',
or > [čʃ] _C eg. *atji* ~ *ajji* [ačʃ:i] 'the same', 'photo',...;
y (C.O.P.E. symbol for glide [j]);
dj (C.O.P.E. symbol for affricate [čʃ]);
ŕ (C.O.P.E. symbol for retroflex r) generally corresponds systema-
tically with [j] or [s] in other dialects eg. *iji* ~ *irî* 'eye');
z (sometimes used in Copper dialect area for -jj- [z:]
eg. *tajjagu* ~ *tazzagu* [taz:aɣu] 'wait a moment');

v /v/ [v] but sometimes >[b] _{l,v} eg. *uvlumi* [uvlumi] ~ [ublumi] 'today';
 also in some dialects /vv/ > [bb] eg. *ivvit* [iv:it] ~ [ib:it] 'you';
 r /ʁ/ [ʁ] voiced uvular fricative (orthographic symbol **r**)
 but > [ŋ] uvular nasal _C(nasal) eg. *arnaq* [aŋnaq] 'woman';
 (orthographic symbol **rng** or **r** before nasal);
 q /q/ [q] (sometimes written as **K** or **ᑭ** / **ᑭ**, but not recommended);
 ng /ŋ/ [ŋ] (orthographic symbol **nng** represents geminate velar nasal);
 ɬ /ɬ/ [ɬ] (sometimes written **&** or **ɬ**).

3.1.3 Phonotactics and Morphophonemics:

Vowels:

There are only three vowel phonemes. With few exceptions, no more than two vowels can occur in sequence. Deletion and epenthesis are used to prevent surface structure violations of this phonotactic constraint, as demonstrated by this example:

umiaq + *u* + *vuq* > *umia* + *u* + *vuq* > *umianguvuq* 'it is a boat'
 boat be 3sg (deletion of C > VVV) (epenthesis of **ng**)

(Note: The deletion above is morphologically governed, as discussed later.)

Sequences of two identical vowels result in vocalic length (eg. *inuk* 'one person', *inuuk* 'two people'). There are a few constraints on pronouncing a sequence of two different vowels as a diphthong (Dorais 1986a; Harnum 1987),

but generally, all possible vowel sequences can be diphthongized on the surface. The sequences of /a/ plus /i/ and /a/ plus /u/ are most often surface diphthongs, but no diphthong is phonemic (that is, [a_i] never contrasts with [ai] etc.). High vowels are lowered before uvulars, so /i/ > [e], /u/ > [o].

Consonants:

There are fifteen consonant phonemes, but in Caribou, Natsilik and Copper dialects, /h/ corresponds systematically with /s/ in other dialects (eg. *sunahuna* 'what', *isuma-/ihuma-* 'think'). In some dialects, /s/ and /h/ occur in free variation. In the dialects in which /s/ predominates, however, there are a few words, (besides borrowed words), in which /h/ occurs, and in these words /h/ never corresponds with /s/ (eg. *ahali* 'is that right?' **asali*; *haa* 'heh' **saa*; *ahaluuna* 'for sure' **asaluuna*; *iihailaq* 'that's for sure' **iisailaq*).

In Labrador, North Baffin and part of the Keewatin, /ɬ/ has been retained, but in some dialects, (Kinngarmiut, Northern Quebec), /ɬ/ has merged with /s/, and in Southeast Baffin, with /t/ (Dorais 1977:49). In perhaps all dialects, /ɬ/ is retained in a few words such as *akɬaq* 'brown bear'. In the Rankin Inlet dialect, it appears in *Kangiqɬiniq* - the name for Rankin Inlet, although this dialect generally uses /s/, indicating partial merger. /ɬ/ is sometimes still used by people who have relocated to areas where /ɬ/ is not common, and/or in words borrowed from other dialects containing /ɬ/, such as *Kalaaɬiit* 'Greenlandic people', borrowed from Greenland, (although the Baffin Inuit

often refer to Greenlandic people as *Akukitturmiut*, 'ones with short parka tails').

No more than two consonants can occur in sequence. Deletion, and occasionally epenthesis, usually resolve any possible surface violation. Sequences of two identical consonants result in gemination (eg. *pana* 'snow knife', *panna* 'that one above'; *ilu* 'the inside', *illu* 'house'; *tipi* 'smell of something', *tippi* 'kayak rib'). Sequences of velar plus uvular are not permitted.

All morphemes, hence, all words, end in a vowel, (except in Labrador), or voiceless stop, /k/, /q/, /t/, but rarely /p/. Thus all morpheme boundaries have a vowel or voiceless stop, underlying or on the surface. Stems that end in [t] alternate with [ti]. Nasalization of final consonants on the surface is optional, and is often not recognized as a hiatus in these instances (eg. *takuginuna* < *takugit una* 'look at this one'), although phonological processes do not usually apply at word boundaries.

At morpheme boundaries in polymorphemic forms, the consonants may be retained in a cluster, or one of several processes may occur: deletion, assimilation (partial or complete), or fusion. These processes are morphologically governed, and not predictable by phonological rule, as the following examples illustrate. Even though the same consonants occur at morpheme boundaries, the first in each set shows assimilation, (partial or complete); the second shows deletion.

A. *tusaq + lugu* > *tusarlugu* '(s/he) hearing him/her/it ...'
 'hear' + '3 sg. part'

tusaq + lauq + tuq > *tusarlauqtuq* 's/he heard ...'
 'hear' + 'past' + '3 sg ind'

B. *natsiq + mik* > *natsirmik* / *natsimmik* 'seal'
 'seal' + 'obl'

natsiq + miniq = *natsiminiq* 'former seal, seal meat'
 'seal' + 'former/dead'.

When deletion occurs, usually the first consonant in the sequence is deleted. When assimilation occurs, manner of articulation is subject to regressive assimilation, partial (XZ>YZ, *inuk + mik* > *inungmik* 'person' + obl) or complete (XZ>ZZ, *inummik*), or occasionally to complete progressive assimilation (XZ>XX, *tusaq + pit?* > *tusaaq*q*it?* 'do you hear?' 'hear' + 2 sg interr). Degree of assimilation is one distinguishing characteristic between dialects, the more conservative dialects employing partial assimilation, and thereby preserving older forms. The older forms seem to be preserved more in the Keewatin than in Baffin.

At least one dialect, that of Pangnirtung, employs partial regressive, followed by total progressive assimilation, (in alternation with partial regressive assimilation alone). This occurs only after morphemes ending in uvulars, before some morphemes beginning with a nasal (Harnum, Nashalik, Mike 1988). This example demonstrates the process:

uqaq- + *-mat* > *uqaNmat* or *uqaNNat* (*NN* geminate uvular nasal)

'speak' + 'caus 3 sg' > '...because s/he speaks'.

In what has been called "fusion" by Rischel (1974: 200), a sequence of /ɣ/ + /q/ becomes /ʁ/. It is the only sequence of two consonants that results in a single consonant, (except where a morphological rule dictates consonant deletion). The consonant formed by fusion bears some of the features of each of the original consonants.

Assimilation and fusion at morpheme boundaries result in the increase of allomorphs. Consider this example of verb stem types, followed by the causative inflection:

V stem	<i>taku-</i>	<i>takugama</i>	'because I see'
k stem	<i>sinik-</i>	<i>sinikkama</i>	'because I sleep'
t stem	<i>tikit-</i>	<i>tikinnama</i>	'because I arrive'
q stem	<i>tusaq-</i>	<i>tusarama</i>	'because I hear'.

There are other morphophonemic processes. Interrogative and indicative verb inflections begin with /j/ or /v/ after morphemes ending in vowels, and with /t/ or /p/ after morphemes ending in consonants (eg. *ani-* 'go out' > *anijunga/anivunga* 'I go out'; *anivit?* 'are you going out?'; *sinik-* 'sleep' > *siniktunga/sinikpunga* 'I sleep'; *sinikpit?* 'are you sleeping?'). (In some dialects, the semantic distinction between forms in /j/~t/ and forms in

/v/~/p/ is evident - the /j/~/t/ forms are either participial or nominalized; in other dialects the distinction is unclear).

In all dialects, /q/ would appear to be the strongest voiceless stop (Vennemann 1987), since it is often the only consonant that does not undergo complete assimilation in clusters.

Syllable Structure

The possible syllable types are: (C)(V)V(C). There are no syllable-initial or syllable-final (therefore no word-initial or word-final) consonant clusters. In northern Quebec only, every second consecutive consonant cluster after the first in a word must be reduced to a single consonant (eg. *iglunniivvit* > *igluniivvit* 'in your house'). This is referred to as Schneider's Law (Dorais, 1977: 51-52). Again, it is a process which increases allomorphs.

Distribution of Phonemes within Syllables

The following distribution does not include exceptions due to borrowing, which will be discussed in Chapter 7. Vowels and voiceless stops /p/ /t/ /k/ /q/ can occur in all positions. The phonemes /m/ /n/ /s/ /h/ may also occur in word initial position. The phoneme /j/ is found very rarely in word initial position, and is always realized as [ɕ] in consonant clusters. The phoneme /l/ occurs word initially only in onomatopoeic words (*livilivilaaq* 'sandpiper'). Any phoneme can occur in syllable initial position, (subject to

word initial constraints), and all but /h/ can occur in syllable final position (subject to word final constraints).

3.2 Morphological Characteristics

(The main reference for this section is Dorais 1988.)

The major form classes in Inuktitut are nouns, verbs and particles, this last group including conjunctions, localizers, and other forms. What usually represent adjectives and adverbs in English are derived from noun and verb forms in Inuktitut, or are bound morphemes. What we know as pronouns in English (personal, demonstrative, interrogative) are nouns in Inuktitut. English relative pronouns are nominalized verb forms in Inuktitut. Numerals are noun or nominalized verb forms, as are colour terms.³

3.2.1 Nouns:

Nouns inflect for case, person and number. With regard to the case system used with nouns (or nominalized forms), several points should be mentioned. The case system is basically the same in all dialects, although minor phonological differences have been recorded, as has the gradual loss of distinction between *-mi*, *-mik*, and *-mit*, (locative, accusative, ablative), due to loss or nasalization of final consonant. For vowel stem nouns in the singular, not inflected for person, the case system is as follows. Many case names that appear in the literature are included here simply to permit comparison with other works, especially those that will be mentioned herein.

In this thesis, the terms will be used interchangeably, depending on the context of the discussion.

nominative/absolutive/agent/basic	<i>nuna</i> 'land'
relative/genitive/ergative	<i>nunau_p</i>
dir obj/accusative/oblique/patient/secondary/modalis	<i>nunam_ik</i>
locative	<i>nunam_i</i>
ablative/instrumental ⁴ /partitive ⁵ /dir obj ⁶	<i>nunam_it</i>
terminalis/allative/ind obj/instrumental ⁴	<i>nunam_ut</i>
vialis/ translative	<i>nunak_kut</i>
similaris/ simulative	<i>nunat_ut</i>
vocative	<i>nuna_ak.</i>

Nouns inflect also for person. The following illustrates the noun *nuna* 'land', in the singular, inflected for case and person - first, second, third (one's own) and fourth (someone else's). Slight dialect variations do exist. Those given below are for Kinngarmiut (Cape Dorset) dialect (Dorais 1975).

	first 'my...'	second 'your...'	third (own) 'his/her/its.'	fourth(s.o.else's) 'his/her/its.'
nom	<i>nunaga</i>	<i>nunait</i>	<i>nunani</i>	<i>nunanga</i>
gen	<i>nunam_a</i>	<i>nunak_pit</i>	<i>nunam_i</i>	<i>nunangata</i>
acc	<i>nunam_nik</i>	<i>nunang_nik</i>	<i>nunaminik</i>	<i>nunanganik</i>
loc	<i>nunam_ni</i>	<i>nunang_ni</i>	<i>nunamini</i>	<i>nunangani</i>
abl	<i>nunam_nit</i>	<i>nunang_nit</i>	<i>nunaminit</i>	<i>nunanganit</i>
all	<i>nunam_nut</i>	<i>nunang_nut</i>	<i>nunaminut</i>	<i>nunanganut</i>
via	<i>nunap_kut</i>	<i>nunak_kut</i>	<i>nunamigut</i>	<i>nunangagut</i>
sim	<i>nunap_ttut</i>	<i>nunak_ttut</i>	<i>nunamitut</i>	<i>nunangagut</i>
(voc - omitted).				

Nouns also inflect for number. The examples in A below show the noun *nuna* 'land', inflected for number - singular, dual and plural, as well as two of the nine possible cases - nominative and genitive. The set in B is inflected for number and person - the first person singular 'my...', dual 'our...' (belonging to two of us), and plural 'our...' (belonging to more than two of us), (the possessed item being in the singular only), and for case - nominative and genitive. They are in the Kinngarmiut dialect.

A. inflected for number and case:

	sg	dl	plur
nom	<i>nuna</i> 'land'	<i>nunaak</i> '2 lands'	<i>nunait</i> '>2 lands'
gen	<i>nunaup</i> 'of the land'	<i>nunaak</i> 'of 2 lands'	<i>nunait</i> 'of >2 lands'

B. inflected for number (of possessor), person and case:

nom	<i>nunaga</i> 'my land'	<i>nunavuk/kput</i> 'our (of 2) land'	<i>nunavut/kput</i> 'our (of >2) land'
gen	<i>nunama</i> 'of my land'	<i>nunamnuk</i> 'of our land'	<i>nunapta</i> 'of our land'.

3.2.2 Verbs:

Generally speaking, the verb is composed of three parts from left to right (Cornillac 1987: 22):

- i) the lexical base: a verb stem/radical, sometimes formed by incorporation⁷ of a noun (underlined) preceding a verbal suffix:

eg.: *niri-* 'eat'; *pisuk-* 'walk'; *tusaq-* 'hear'; *tikit-* 'arrive';

-tuq- 'eat' > *tuktutuq-* 'eat caribou'; *-liuq-* 'build' > *igluliuq-* 'house build';

- ii) lexical morphology~derivational suffixes:

eg.: *-guma-* 'want' + *-lauq-* 'past' + *-nngit-* 'not'

niriguma/lau/nngit - 'did not want to eat'

- iii) grammatical morphology~inflectional suffixes:

indicating subject only: *-tuq* '(s)he, it; *-tugut* 'we';

or indicating subject and object: *-tara* 'I ... him/her/it'

nirigumalaunngittuq '(s)he did not want to eat'

nirigumalaunngittugut 'we did not want to eat'

nirigumalaunngitara 'I did not want to eat it'.

Enclitics, post-syntactic devices, are sometimes added to these word forms.

-guuq '(s)he/ they said'; *-luunniit* 'either, or, even (idiomatic)'

nirigumalaunnitturuuq '(s)he/they said (s)he does not want to eat'

nirigumalaunngittuluunniit '(s)he did not **even** want to eat'.

The verbs will now be explained by each of their constituent parts as outlined above.

i) The Lexical Base/Stem:

Verb stems are transitive (*anigi-* 'have him as a brother') or intransitive (*sinik-* 'sleep'). A few verbs are reflexive unless there is an overt object marker after the stem (*patiktuq* '(s)he slaps herself/himself'; *patiksijuq* '(s)he slaps someone else'). This suffix has sometimes been called a half-transitivizing suffix, or a de-transitivizing suffix (Miyaoka 1984). The (in)transitivity of the verb base determines the type of inflection required - indicating subject only (intransitive), or indicating subject and direct object (transitive), although this is affected in some verbs by the de-transitivizing suffix mentioned above.

Consider the following forms of the verb *tuqu-* V_{intr} 'die' *tuqut-* V_{tr} 'kill', which is reflexive without the overt object marker *-si-* 'someone/something'. The *-si-* suffix de-transitivizes the V_{tr} *tuqut-*, permitting intransitive inflection. (Although an object is specified, it is not considered a direct object, so the verb is considered intransitive. This is explained in Syntactic section.)

tuquvuq '(s)he/it dies' **-intransitive-**
tuqu- 'die' *-vuq* 3 sg ind infl

tuqutsivuq '(s)he/it kills someone/-thing' **-de-transitivized-**
tuqut- 'kill' *-si-* Tr- 'someone/something' *-vuq* 3 sg ind infl

tuqutaa '(s)he kills him/her/it' **-transitive**
tuqut- 'kill' *-taa* 3 sg subj + 3 sg obj "(s)he/it him/her/it'.

(Inflection is discussed later in this section on verbs and (in)transitivity is discussed further in Syntactic Characteristics.)

As described above, the verb base may be a word-initial form (*niri*- 'eat'; *taku*- 'see'; *sinik*- 'sleep') or a verb suffix, which incorporates a noun or nominal into word-initial position (*-tuq*- 'eat' > *tuktutuq*- 'eat caribou meat'; *-qaq*- 'have' > *igluqaq*- 'have a house').

ii) Lexical Morphology - Derivational Affixes:

Since Eskimo is a highly agglutinating language, (bordering on polysynthetic), the number of suffixes which can be added to a root/stem is theoretically infinite, but in practice most words do not exceed "six affixes between stem and inflection" (Fortescue 1980: 261). Aside from the obligatory inflectional affixes to be discussed shortly, Inuktitut has many derivational affixes which can follow the stem, but which are not obligatory. These include affixes for tense, aspect, mode, negation, (in)transitivity, voice, nominalization, verbalization, etc. Even tense, which is usually considered obligatory, is optionally indicated in Inuktitut (Dorais 1988: 122).

The infinitive form of verbs is created by suffixing the nominalizing derivational form *-niq* 'to ...' to the verb stem, (*pisungniq* 'to walk'; *isirniq* 'to enter'). Since it is then a nominalized form, it can be inflected for person, number and case, and translated as 'my/your/his/etc. ...ing' (*pisungnira* 'my walking').

The following examples illustrate the word-building process, using numerous derivational affixes:

nirijunga 'I eat'
niri- 'eat' *-junga/-tunga* '1 sg ind infl'

nirilauqtunga 'I did eat'
-lauq- 'past tense'

nirilaunngittunga 'I did not eat'
-nngit- 'not'

nirigumalaunngittunga 'I did not want to eat'
-guma- 'want to'

nirigumalaunngikkaluaqtunga 'even though I did not want to eat'
-kaluaq- 'even though'.

There are strict rules of word-internal syntax, described by Fortescue (1980 and 1983: 97) as "affix-ordering." He suggests that each successive affix modifies the derived compound stem to the left (the root morpheme is always the leftmost element). A change in position will result in a change in meaning for the specific affix in question, or for the overall meaning of the construction. Consider the relative positions of affixes below and the differences in meaning.

A. *aullaqsimalauqtuq* '(s)he/it was away (out of town)'
aullaq- 'leave' *-sima-* 'state' *-lauq-* 'past' *-tuq* '3 sg ind'

aullalauqsimajuq '(s)he/it (once) left' (in the distant past)
aullaq- 'leave' *-lauq-* 'past' *-sima-* 'state' *-juq* '3 sg ind'

B. *pitsiaqtuqanngimmat* 'no one is doing well'

pi- 'do s.th.' *-tsiaq-* 'well/right' *-tuq* N⁺ *-qaq-* 'have'

-nngit- 'not' *-mat* '3 sg caus'

pitsianngittuqarmat 'someone is doing (something) wrong'

pi- 'do s.th.' *-tsiaq-* 'well/right' *-nngit-* 'not' *-tuq* N⁺ *-qaq-* 'have'

-mat '3 sg caus'.

Affixes are subject to constraint as to whether they follow verbal or nominal stems. Some affixes will convert an otherwise verbal construction to a nominal one (nominalizing affix - N⁺) or vice-versa (verbalizing affix - V⁺).

**pisuk-* + *-ga* > *pisuga*

'walk' + 'my'

Vintr + 1 sg poss infl

(noun inflection cannot be suffixed to verb stem)

pisuk- + *-niq* + *-ga* > *pisungnira* 'my walking'

'walk' 'ing/to' 'my'

Vintr + N⁺ + 1 sg infl

anuri- + *-juq* + *-aluk* + *-u-* + *-lauq-* + *-mat*

'be windy' 'one' 'a lot' 'be' 'past' '3 sg caus.'

Vintr + N⁺ + adj. + Vintr* + tense + infl.

anurijualuulaurmat ' (because) it was (a) very windy (one)...'

(*The verb *-u-* 'be' can only follow, or "incorporate", a noun or nominalized form *tuktuujuq* 'it is a caribou' **siniujuq* 'it is sleep' < *sinik-* 'sleep').

In this way, a nominal form, for example, may be verbalized, and then inflected for number, person, mood and so on, or a verbal form may be nominalized and inflected for number, person and case. Since this is a cyclic process, the nature of many constructions in the language must be determined by syntactic criteria.

In verbs, only the forms with inflections beginning in /j/ and /t/ (-juq/-tuq/-jara/-tara/...) can enter into this recursive process, and thereby have the status of a nominal or verbal construction. Those forms using /v/ or /p/ (-vuq/-puq/-vara/para/...) are always verb forms. Consider the next three sentences - there are two possible ways of translating each word, as a nominal or as a verbal form. This is explained further below.

Nirijuq.

'eat' + N⁺ 'the one eating'

or 'eat' + 3 sg ind infl '(s)he/it eats/is eating'

Nirijuq takujara.

'eat' + N⁺ 'see' + {1 sg subj + 3 sg obj infl} 'I see the one who is eating.'

or 'eat' + 3 sg ind infl 'see' + {N⁺ + 1 sg infl} 'The one I see is eating'

Nirijuq takujara qaujimajara.

'eat' + N⁺ 'see' + {N⁺ + 1 sg infl} 'know' + {1 sg subj + 3 sg obj infl}

'I know the one I see, who is eating'.

or 'eat' + 3 sg ind infl 'see' + {N⁺ + 1sg infl} 'know' + {N⁺ + 1 sg infl}

'The one I see, whom I know, is eating.'

or 'eat' + N⁺ 'see' + {1 sg subj + 3 sg obj infl} 'know' + {N⁺ + 1 sg infl}

'I see the one who is eating, whom I know.'

In these examples, the forms *-juq* and *-jara* may be either verb inflections or nominalizing affixes. It may be said that there are actually homophonous forms, *-juq*, third person singular indicative inflection '(s)he/it', and *-juq*, a derivational nominalizing suffix 'the one who ...'. For *-jara*, the two possible homomorphs would be *-jara*, verbal inflection indicative for first person singular subject and third person singular object ('I ... him/her/it'), or *-jara*, a nominalizing and passivizing suffix in the singular *-jaq*, inflected for first person (-*ga*) 'my', giving 'my seen one', 'my known one', etc. When any of these forms stands on its own, it is not possible to know whether the verbal or nominal sense is meant.

Furthermore, since the noun inflections for person and number are almost the same as the transitive verb inflections for person and number, the relationship between nouns and verbs becomes more complex. (See Fortescue 1981:9.) These few examples will illustrate the point.

- 1st person: *anaanaga* 'my mother'; *tupiq* > *tupira* 'my tent';
 takujara 'I see him/her/it' or 'my seen one';
- 2nd person: *anaanait* 'your mother'; *tupiit* 'your tent' ;
 takujait 'you see him/her/it' or 'your seen one';
- 3rd person: *anaananga* 'his/her mother'; *tupinga* 'his/her tent'
 takujanga '(s)he/it sees him/her/it' or 'his/her seen one'.

iii) Grammatical Morphology - Inflection

We discussed a bit about inflection above particularly because of the possible homomorphic forms - one derivational, the other inflectional. There are two different systems of inflection in Inuktitut verb forms. If only the subject pronoun is indicated in the inflection, the verb and inflection are considered to be "intransitive" (*takujunga* 'I see'); if both subject and object are indicated (*takujara* 'I see him/her/it'), the verb and inflection are considered transitive. (This will be discussed further in Syntactic Characteristics.)

Whether intransitive or transitive, all verbs inflect for mood. These three inflections - mood, number and person are combined into one affix. This creates an extremely large number of different inflections. These can usually be found in paradigms, for specific dialects, in many of the references listed in the bibliography. The following examples will illustrate only some of these inflections. The first set indicates inflection for subject only; the second set inflects for subject and object.

A. Inflected for subject only:

Indicative mood: (*niri-* 'eat')

	1	2	3
sg	<i>nirijunga</i>	<i>nirijutit</i>	<i>nirijuq</i>
dl	<i>nirijuguk</i>	<i>nirijutik</i>	<i>nirijuuk</i>
plur	<i>nirijugut</i>	<i>nirijusi</i>	<i>nirijut</i>

Interrogative mood:

	1	2	3
sg	<i>nirivunga?</i>	<i>nirivit?</i>	<i>niriva?</i>
dl	<i>nirivinuk?</i>	<i>nirivitik?</i>	<i>nirivaak?</i>
plur	<i>nirivita?</i>	<i>nirivisi?</i>	<i>nirivat?</i>

B. Inflected for 1 sg, 2 sg and 3 sg subj and 1 sg, 2 sg, 3 sg, 3dl, 3 plur objects:
Indicative mood: (*taku-* 'see')

	1 sg obj	2 sg obj	3 sg obj ([†] non-reflexive)	3 dl obj	3 plur obj
1 sg subj	-	<i>takuvagit</i>	<i>takuvara</i>	<i>takuvaakkak</i>	<i>takuvakka</i>
2 sg subj	<i>takuvannga</i>	-	<i>takuvait</i>	<i>takuvaakkik</i>	<i>takuvatit</i>
3 sg subj	<i>takuvaannga</i>	<i>takuvaatit</i>	<i>takuvaa[†]</i>	<i>takuvaak</i>	<i>takuvait</i>

Interrogative mood:

Most of the indicative forms above are used for the interrogative as well. Here are some exceptions:

<i>takuvinnaga?</i>	'do you sg see me?'
<i>takuvisinnga?</i>	'do you plur see me?'
<i>takuviuk?</i>	'do you sg see him/her/it?'
<i>takuvigit?</i>	'do you sg see them?'

Aside from indicative and interrogative mood inflections, there are also conditional (if...), dubitative (whether..), imperative (command), propositive (let's...), causative (because...), and four types of participial (while...) endings.⁸ Some of these moods have different sets of inflections for negative forms as well. When these moods are fused with the possible variations in number and person of subject, and sometimes of those of the object as well, the number of possible different inflections becomes enormous.

3.3 Syntactic Characteristics

Basically four sentence types exist, as exemplified below:

A. Intransitive

Jaani siniktuq. 'Johnny is sleeping.'

'John' *sinik-* + *-tuq*

John abs 'sleep' + 3 sg ind

B. Nominative/Accusative (or Intransitive/Antipassive as explained below.)

Jaani qimmirmik takuvuq. 'Johnny sees a dog.'

'John' *qimmiq* + *-mik* *taku-* + *-vuq*

abs 'dog' + acc/obl 'see' + 3 sg ind

C. Passive

Qimmiq Jaanimut takujauvuq. 'The dog is seen by Johnny.'

'dog' John + *-mut* *taku-* + *-jaq* + *-u-* + *-vuq*

abs John + inst 'see' + N⁺ pass + 'be' + 3 sg ind

D. Ergative/Absolutive or Transitive

Jaaniup qimmiq takujaa. 'Johnny sees the dog.' /

'John'+erg 'dog'abs 'see'+3 sg+3 sg 'Johnny's seen thing, the dog'.

obj subj

There is an ongoing debate about whether or not Inuktitut is an ergative language (Dorais 1978, Lowe 1978, Woodbury, 1975,1977). If the forms in D above are nominal rather than verbal, then there is no ergative verbal construction, but rather a noun phrase construction with one noun in the absolutive, the other in the genitive (or relative) case. However, this type of construction is often used as a complete sentence, and is therefore usually considered to be a verb form.

There is also some debate about whether or not there is an accusative case. If

we assume that a transitive form exists, as in D, then why would there be another transitive construction as in B? However, if the verb in B is intransitive, then it cannot take a direct object in the accusative case, as many authors have suggested, based on languages like Latin. In Relational Grammar, the object in B would be called "oblique", rather than "direct", and the construction would be called the "antipassive". In this analysis, there is only one transitive sentence type - the ergative-absolutive construction, and there is no longer a nominative-accusative construction (Woodbury 1977, Johnson 1980).

One other point that bears upon our discussion is that of word order in Inuktitut. Although it has often been suggested that Inuktitut has "free word order", permitted by the overt case marking system indicating the theme of each nominal in a sentence, certain constraints do exist. Despite underlying SOV word order, many movements are permitted on the surface. Since most of the constructions we will deal with here are composed of a single phrase, we need not concern ourselves further with this issue.

3.4 Some Dialect Differences

3.4.1 Phonological Differences

Some phonological differences between dialects have already been discussed: Schneider's Law of double consonants, distribution of /ɬ/, /s/, /h/ and their correspondences, degree of consonant assimilation, and so on. In other

dialects outside of Canada, as in Greenland for instance, some other phonological processes can be noted. Intervocalic continuants are omitted (*uvanga* > *ua* 'I'), and monophthongization of diphthongs occurs (*qaumajuq* > *qaamajuq* 'it shines'). Two detailed descriptions exist if the reader would like further information (Fortescue 1983, Dorais 1986).

Occasionally, a phonological difference will block borrowing across dialects, or will create different forms in different dialects when the same word is borrowed interlingually.

3.4.2 Morphological Differences

The dialect divergence across the Inuit continuum is still very minimal, but morphological aspects of the language are the area of greatest divergence (Fortescue 1983:3). The differences are greater between Western and Eastern dialects than between any dialects within the same region. A few examples will illustrate these morphological differences.

- A. *niriniaqtuq* 's/he/it will eat' (Eastern dialects)
niri- 'eat' *-niaq-* 'will' *-tuq* 3sg ind

nirihungujuq 's/he/it will eat' (Copper dialect - West)
niri- 'eat' *-hungu-* 'will' *-juq* 3sg ind (allomorph of *-tuq*)

- B. *tukisivit?* 'do you understand?' (Eastern dialects)
tukisi- 'understand' *-vit* 2 sg interr infl

kangiqhivit? 'do you understand?' (Copper dialect)
kangiqli- 'understand' *-vit* 2 sg interr infl.

3.4.3 Syntactic Differences

The syntax of all Canadian dialects is predominantly uniform, but there are some differences. Marantz (1981 and 1984) posited two different typologies, one nominative/accusative, the other ergative/absolutive, for Greenlandic and Central Arctic Eskimo respectively, but this has been debated by Johns (1984), and will not be discussed further here.

One example of the syntactic differences is due to the loss of a critical morphological distinction, caused by complete assimilation of consonants in a cluster. At least one dialect has reverted to a new syntactic construction to resolve the resulting ambiguity. The morphological leveling is shown below:

illumni 'in my house' > *illunni* after total assimilation
illu 'house' -*m*- 'my' -*ni* 'in'

illungni 'in your house' > *illunni* after total assimilation
illu 'house' -*ng*- 'your' -*ni* 'in'.

Due to total assimilation, the distinction between the first and second person inflections is leveled. The syntactic measure used to resolve this ambiguity is as follows:

<i>uvanga illumni</i>	'in my house'
'of me' 'in my/your house'	
<i>ivvit illumni</i>	'in your house'
'of you' 'in my/your house'	

In Northern Quebec Itivimiut dialect, where simplification of every second consonant cluster (Schneider's Law) eliminates the person distinction in these examples, cliticization has been used to resolve the ambiguity (Dorais 1988:7).

iglu_niuvanga 'in my house'
iglu 'house' (-*m-* 'my') -*ni* 'in' -*uvanga* 'of me'

iglu_niivvit 'in your house'
iglu 'house' (-*ng-* 'your') -*ni* 'in' -*ivvit* 'of you'

(Syncope of the first consonant in the cluster eliminates the possessive marker.)

The interesting thing to note here is that the case marker -*ni* 'in' is no longer the last morpheme in the word. The noun forms *uvanga* 'I' and *ivvit* 'you' have become bound morphemes that are used after the case inflection, almost as enclitics. This appears to be an innovation specific to this dialect, but it is reminiscent of Bergsland's comment (1951:62) that Eskimo cognates of Aleut independent pronouns have become fused historically into inflectional endings in Eskimo.

One other dialect, Tarramiutitut on Eastern Hudson Bay, employs yet another different inflectional pattern for possession and case on nouns (Dorais 1988:7). In this dialect, the absolutive form (*iglu* 'house') inflected for first person singular (-*ga* 'my') is used as a stem for all case inflections, except the genitive, as follows. Only some of the possible glosses are provided.

<i>igluga</i>	'my house'
<i>igluma</i>	'of my house'
<i>igluganik</i>	'my house' (object)
<i>iglugani</i>	'in my house'
<i>igluganut</i>	'to my house'
<i>igluganit</i>	'from my house'
<i>iglugagut</i>	'through my house'
<i>iglugatut</i>	'like my house'.

I was told in my interviews that some other speakers in Baffin and Keewatin are beginning to use this form, but are retaining the form with total assimilation in the consonant cluster for the second person (*iglugani* 'in my house' but *iglunni* 'in your house'). All of these processes affect the syntactic structure of a sentence.

Another dialect difference is that in Greenland, apparently the *-juq* and *-tuq* forms, which we examined earlier, are always participial forms, not nominalized forms, so this would create differences in syntactic analysis between these dialects and others where the forms may be nominal or verbal.

3.4.4 Semantic Differences

Often, the same morpheme or word exists in different dialects of the Eskimo language family, but the meaning is different. Some of these differences may be the result of various phonological processes which have obscured morphological differences which existed in the past. Some may have resulted from semantic narrowing, or taboo, or other such influences. Many of these forms have become lexicalized - their meaning cannot be inferred from the sum of their parts. Only a few examples of semantic differences will be given here, but many more are readily found, especially among the newly created terminology that will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

In Northern Quebec and apparently in Pangnirtung, the word *tujurminak* means 'make yourself at home', while in closely neighbouring Cape Dorset, the rest of south Baffin, Igloolik and Eskimo Point the word means 'you are not welcome here'. Schneider (1985) has *tujurmivuuq* 'bored while visiting strangers', 'refused hospitality', while in Baffin it means 'is staying at someone's home'.

Another example of the same type is the word *aliasuktuq*, which in Baffin and Eskimo Point means 'is scared, as if by a ghost', but which, in Sigliq, in the Western Arctic means '(s)he is lonely' (Gruben, pers. comm.). Schneider (1985) has *aliasuppuq* 'is timid, evasive' for West Hudson Bay, and *aliasuttuq* 'is happy or joyful' for Ungava.

Mamiattuq, or *mamiasuktuq* in Rankin Inlet means '(s)he is angry', while in Baffin, it means '(s)he is sorry'. In the Sigliq dialect it reportedly means 'wants to get back at someone', and for parts of Keewatin it means 'regrets'.

Another morpheme, *-vigaq*, has come to mean somewhat different things in different communities. *Igluvigaq* in Baffin usually means a 'snowhouse', in Rankin it means 'an abandoned snowhouse', and in Igloolik it means 'an abandoned snowhouse that is still habitable'.

The affix *-viniq* (or *-miniq* in some Baffin communities), when added to *igluvigaq* in Igloolik, means 'an abandoned snowhouse no longer fit for habitation'. In Igloolik then, the affix *-viniq* has the connotation of 'in poor condition'. This same meaning is found in Eskimo Point, where applied to caribou, *tuktuvinig* the meaning is 'a rotting carcass of caribou'. In Baffin, the same word is used simply to mean 'a former caribou' i.e. simply a dead one, or the meat from it, which is fit for eating. In Rankin, this same word means that the caribou is 'former', in the sense that it is no longer visible or no longer exists.

In two different dialect, *suqutaunngittuq* may be understood as either 'it doesn't matter' or 'it/(s)he is worthless, is nothing'.

Many further examples of this type could be cited, but the point here is simply to provide a general idea of dialect differences. Many common processes of

language change are responsible for the type of divergence we have just discussed. Another contributing factor is the creation of designations for new referents, which are being developed very quickly and spontaneously in each dialect, often in isolation of other dialects. Also, since each community or region has responded independently to the various cultures and languages it has encountered, further dialect differences have arisen.

Notes for Chapter 3

1. The Inuit interpreter/translators in Canada have been holding annual terminology workshops since 1978. The terminology developed at these sessions is collected in the ICI Inuktitut Glossary, 1987. This terminology is constantly undergoing revision by users, but these meetings represent the first efforts at standardization.
2. See Krauss 1979.
3. In contrast with this explanation of parts of speech, Lowe (1985: 1-28) has discussed the possibility of the absence of form classes in Inuktitut, given that every "word" can be considered a noun stem or a verb stem, depending on how it is used by the speaker in any given construction. This is based on the theory of Gustave Guillaume, which is explained in Lowe's introduction.
4. The instrumental case differs between dialects, generally *-mut* in Baffin, *-mit* in Keewatin.
5. I have not seen this in current grammars, but I have seen an old form *-mit* meaning 'some of...', 'part of', hence partitive.
eg. *tuktumit nirilauqtunga*. 'I ate part of the caribou meat'/'I ate from the caribou (meat)'.
6. In Pangnirtung, and perhaps elsewhere, *-mit* is used as the direct object/oblique case marker, as well as for the ablative.
7. Comrie (1981:257) says Eskimo is not incorporating, but by incorporating he means that "two or more root morphemes are combined into a single word". Certainly, two verb roots cannot be combined (**sinikpisuk-* 'sleep'+ 'walk'), nor can two nouns (**igluumiaq* 'houseboat'), but the verb

suffixes do incorporate a noun or nominal in word initial position (*igluliuq*- 'house'+ 'build'; *tuktutuq*- 'caribou'+ 'eat').

8. Dorais (1988) mentions two others - the distributive *-liranngat* 'whenever he', and the repetitive *-llama* 'I always'.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 Eskimo-Aleut Language Family

Today, there are several languages and many dialects within the Eskimo-Aleut language family, with significant differences between them. Some of these differences are the result of natural language change, while others can be attributed to external influences. This chapter will examine proposed genetic relationships between the Eskimo-Aleut language family and other language families, and the present relationships within the Eskimo-Aleut language family itself.

4.1 Relationships to Other Languages

The Eskimo-Aleut language family has never been proven conclusively to be genetically related to any other language, so resemblances that can be detected between Eskimo-Aleut and other languages are generally believed to be due to some inter-lingual influences. Some of the proposed genetic relationships that have been investigated are described below.

It has been suggested that Eskimo-Aleut is related to the Luoravetlan group of languages, Chukotan-Kamchatkan (Swadesh 1962; Hamp 1970, 1976:81-92; Thalbitzer 1941:575- 580). Krauss (1979: 39) says that:

the proposal of a genetic relationship between
Eskimo-Aleut and Chukotan in Asia (Chukchi-Koryak

-Kamchadal) is worthy of more research... It is the only proposal of connections between New World and Old World languages which at present appears to be worthy of attention.

Woodbury (1984:62) notes that there is less controversy about the possibility of a genetic link between Eskimo-Aleut and Uralic and Altaic language families than about other proposed relationships, but reminds us that the proposed relationships are not necessarily mutually exclusive. A connection with Uralic has been suggested by Uhlenbeck (1905), Bergsland (1959), Menovshchikov (1974) and many others, while only some agree on the possible connections to Altaic and Yukaghir. Fortescue (1981) examines similarities between Eskimo-Aleut, Tungus and Korean. Bonnerjea (1978:41) discusses similarities between Eskimo-Aleut and Uralic and Altaic demonstrative elements, numerals, and other forms. Birket-Smith (1959:67-69) has also discussed the subject of these relationships.

A few authors have investigated an Indo-European relationship with Eskimo-Aleut. Hammerich (1951:217) discusses among other things, "sixty cases of verbal similarities showing relations of some kind or another". He credits Uhlenbeck with being the first, as early as 1907, to question whether Eskimo might be related to Indo-European, even though it had been conceived as an originally Asiatic language. Uhlenbeck did not think that the relationship is based strictly on loans or a genetic relation. Hammerich explains further that Thalbitzer makes reference to the idea of "acculturation", meaning that old cultural influences may have pervaded a

large part of Ancient Asia and affected Fenno-Ugrian, Eskimo and Indo-European, accounting in some way for the similarities. Hammerich discusses the issue further in another article (1976:71-75).

None of these connections has been proven to be genetic, and yet evidence would seem to suggest that perhaps some borrowing or diffusion of linguistic forms has taken place among these languages at some point in history.

4.2.0 Relationships within the Language Family

The Eskimo-Aleut language family currently extends from Siberia, across the Alaskan coastal mainland and islands, including the Aleutian Islands, across the Canadian Arctic islands and northern mainland from the Mackenzie Delta to Labrador and Baffin Island, and to all but the north shores of Greenland. The ancestors of today's Eskimo people are believed to have migrated east from the areas now known as Siberia and Alaska.

4.2.1 Relationship between Eskimo and Aleut

The genetic relationship between Eskimo and Aleut was suggested as early as 1819 by Rasmus Rask, and proven conclusively by Swadesh and Marsh (1951) and Bergsland (1951, 1958). The Eskimo branch is only distantly related to Aleut. Archaeological, ethnohistorical and linguistic evidence supports Sapir's idea that Alaska is the original American home of the common

ancestral languages (Krauss 1979: 804). Comrie (1981:254) also supports this view.

Eskimo and Aleut apparently developed independently from a remote common ancestor, Proto-Eskimo-Aleut (Woodbury 1984:49). In describing the differences between Eskimo and Aleut, Bergsland (in Woodbury 1984:62) tells us that the large paradigms of inflectional endings found in Eskimo are the result of the Eskimo cognates of Aleut independent pronouns becoming fused into Eskimo verbs. He describes the similarities and differences between Eskimo and Aleut in much more detail in another article (1986).

4.2.2 Relationship within the Eskimo Branch:

4.2.2.1 Yup'ik sub-group

The Eskimo branch of this language family has two distinct sub-groups, *Yup'ik* and *Iñupiaq-Inuit*. *Yup'ik*, which is spoken in Siberia, and south and west Alaska, is recognized as a separate language family. Compared to the *Iñupiaq-Inuit* dialect chain, *Yup'ik* is "much less homogeneous, with at least four mutually unintelligible varieties" (Krauss 1979:813). Linguists, like Hammerich, have suggested that an *Iñupiaq-Inuit* wedge entered the *Yup'ik* area and divided it (Woodbury 1984: 53). There is very limited mutual intelligibility between the *Yup'ik* branch and the *Iñupiaq-Inuit* branch.

4.2.2.2 Iñupiaq -Inuit Branch

Iñupiaq is spoken in the northwest and north coastal region of Alaska, and by one group, the *Uummarmiut* of the Aklavik area, in Canada. All other Canadian and Greenlandic dialects comprise the *Inuit* branch. (There is also one Inuit dialect in Siberia.) The term "Inuit branch" is not meant to disguise the very significant regional differences, but simply indicates a common, fairly recent, heritage.

Today's Inuit are direct descendants of the bearers of the prehistoric, maritime-oriented Thule culture, which originated in Alaska around A.D. 900 (McGhee 1984b). As the Thule people migrated eastward, they displaced the bearers of the Dorset culture, who inhabited the Canadian Arctic from approximately 800 B.C. to possibly as late as A.D. 1400 in the Hudson Bay region (Maxwell 1984). Memories of the Dorset people survive today in the *Tuniit* legends of the present-day Inuit¹. However, "there are no Dorset loanwords in any *Inuit-Iñupiaq* dialect." (Woodbury, 1984: 62).

The Thule people moved across including present-day Labrador and Baffin Island, and as far as Greenland, developing into local Inuit groups (Cf. McGhee 1984b). These groups settled in their new territories, creating a new culture, and dialect differences began to emerge in each area. The relative uniformity of dialects is an indication of the recent movement of these people to their respective regions in Alaska, Canada and Greenland. If the dialects had been separated for a longer period of time, more divergence would be expected (Anderson 1973: 82, 88).

4.3 Cross-Dialectal Influences

During migration, and since the time of settling in their new territories, each local group of Inuit has had linguistic effects on other Inuit with whom they have had contact. However, the evidence relating to the historical migration routes of Inuit and, thus, direct linguistic influence between languages or even between dialects, is often not clear enough for us to draw firm conclusions about the details, direction or date of these influences. Dorais (1977: 49) says:

On ne peut donc pas rejeter l'hypothèse de mouvements migratoires complexes, à l'époque préhistorique, dans l'Arctique orientale Canadien, ... mais tout ceci est pure spéculation et avant d'aller plus loin, il faudrait consulter les données archéologiques et anthropologiques.

Susan Rowley (1985), discusses the migration routes of Inuit according to archaeological evidence, and points out how the understanding of these migrations is necessary for an understanding of Inuit cultural development. With regard to migration and attempts to reconstruct patterns of linguistic lineage between dialects we must also remember that:

...when an isolated linguistic innovation is found in two separate regions, it is not sufficient evidence for migration, because it is very common for closely related languages or dialects to develop the same innovation independently (Woodbury 1984: 58).

Some groups of Inuit remained for a long time quite isolated in their own regions. Polar Eskimos in northwest Greenland thought they were the only people until 1818 when John Ross arrived with a West Greenlandic interpreter (Kleivan 1979). Indeed, there was often enmity and fear between tribes, or little or no knowledge at all of the existence of neighbouring tribes. In this milieu, dialects developed independently of each other. In addition, each local group came into contact with representatives of different languages and cultures, so that the resulting inter-lingual effects were sometimes limited to that dialect. All of this contributed to dialect divergence.

Gradually, Inuit began to re-establish or increase the extent of contact between isolated groups, so that the Inuit dialects have remained to a large degree mutually intelligible. Certainly, in more recent times, one contributing factor to the mutual intelligibility between dialects in the Canadian Arctic has been the perpetual movement and relocation of Inuit between regions.

Probably the last great migration of Inuit was the visionary journey of Qitdlasuaq and his followers across Smith Sound from Pond Inlet to Thule, Greenland in the 1860's (Crowe 1974: 135-137; Wissink 1987). The Fifth Thule Expedition in the 1920's, and other such epic journeys, also brought Inuit from many regions into contact. Now, travel and communications between communities and regions are everyday occurrences.

Another movement that contributed to the intermingling of Inuit dialects occurred in the early 1900's, when the Canadian Government decided to

people the Arctic Islands and Coast, in order to exert sovereignty there. Many Inuit were moved, by boat, to strategic places. Some of the people at Port Harrison (Inujjuaq) in northern Quebec, were moved to Grise Fiord on Ellesmere Island (Harper 1979: 2), and some Kinngarmiut of Cape Dorset were moved to Spence Bay on the Arctic Coast (Fortescue 1983:12).

4.4 Dialects and Corresponding Geographic Areas

With all of these factors, drawing a map of existing Eskimo dialects becomes a complex task. Several sources provide lengthy lists of names of Inuit dialects (Woodbury 1984:49-63; Boas 1964:62; Powell 1966:150; Crowe 1974:54-62; Fortescue 1983:4&6; Birket-Smith 1959:233-234; Dorais 1986:a20-21; 1977:49). These names are sometimes used by groups or communities to refer to themselves, and sometimes used only by outsiders to refer to specific groups. The exact group referred to by these terms is often difficult to define, especially when we consider that each group can be defined by geographic, political, biological, linguistic, social, emotional (allegiance) or other criteria.

Often, the designation ends in *-miut* meaning simply 'people of ...'. The word 'tribe' is often used in English when referring to these individual groups, but in fact, Inuit did not have 'tribes' with 'chiefs', nor 'clans', in the sense that many other native people are known to have had, so the term is somewhat misleading.

Today, Eskimo people represent a large group with many differences. Due to dialect variations of the word for 'person', *chuk, yuk, suk, iñuk, inuk, iik*, they do not have a common ethnonym for themselves in their own language (Comrie 1981: 253), so they are most often referred to collectively as "Eskimos". This word itself is borrowed, probably from the Cree *askipaw* 'eaters of raw meat' (cf. Cree in Chapter 5). In Canada, however, where the present study focuses, most Eskimos prefer to be called *Inuit*. Nevertheless, some still prefer the designation "Eskimo", perhaps because the word "Eskimo" is understood internationally. It is still a matter of personal choice.

In Canada, various regions modify the root word *Inuk* meaning 'person', (plural *Inuit*) thereby creating preferred "regionyms." For example:

<i>Inuvialuit</i>	is used in the Mackenzie Delta area (in the COPE claim area);
<i>Inuinait</i>	is used in the Copper dialect area (Coronation Gulf);
<i>Iñupiat</i>	is used from northwestern Alaska to the Aklavik area in NWT;
<i>Inummariit</i>	is used by various people in the Keewatin and Baffin regions.

In each case, the modifying affix expresses the idea of 'real' or 'complete', and is used to mean 'Eskimo' people as opposed to the general term *Inuit*, which means 'people' in a generic sense. The word *Inuit*, however, can also be used without a suffix to mean 'Eskimo people' specifically. In writing, this distinction can be made (*Inuit* 'Eskimo people', *inuit* 'people'), but not in speaking, at least not without some other explanation.

In the same way that the people of certain dialects or regions are referred to by specific names, so too is the language of each area often referred to by the designation preferred in that area. The term *Inuktitut* 'like Inuit' is often used to refer to all Canadian dialects collectively. Regional or dialect names for the language include the following (corresponding to the above list): *Inuvialuktun*, *Inuinnaqtun*, *Iñupiat*, *Inummariktut*. In Labrador, the language is usually referred to as *Inuttut* 'like an Inuk', and in West Greenland it is called *Kalaaᑭᑭisut* 'like the Kalaaᑭᑭit'. (See section on Old Norse below for origin of this word). Many people in the Canadian Eastern Arctic refer to Greenlanders as *Akukitturmiut* 'the ones with short parka tails', and their language as *Akukitturmiutitut* 'like the ones with short parka tails'.

When Inuit say that they speak *Inuktitut*, or any regional variation of it, they are saying they speak 'like Eskimo(s)'. The term is not limited to reference to the language, however, since a person could "eat Inuktitut", for example, meaning 'eat in an Inuit way'.

Notes on Chapter 4

1. Thanks to Mike Robinson and Karen McCullough for advice on this section.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 Inter-Lingual Influences

The dialects that exist today in the Eskimo-Aleut language family are the result of many different linguistic changes, often due to contacts with other languages. These contacts have resulted from migration, whaling, sealing, fishing, trade, evangelism, exploration, settlement, and increased travel and communication in the north in recent years. In order to illustrate some of the borrowings from languages other than English, a brief history of contact with some of these groups will be examined, including, in order of appearance: Chukchi, Russian, Athapaskan, Koyukon, Montagnais-Naskapi, Cree, Old Norse, Portuguese, Basque, French, Danish, Norwegian, German, Hawaiian, Filipino, and English. At the end of the chapter, a few points about the history of contact with English speakers are mentioned, including American, British, Canadian, and Scottish, and then the effects of English are discussed in the next chapters.

This is not meant to be a complete list of languages, cultures and individuals that have influenced Eskimo-Aleut people. Its purpose is to demonstrate that the process of borrowing is not a new phenomenon in the Eskimo-Aleut language family, but that it has been a productive process in the development of divergence across this language continuum. It is also meant to show how quickly the intensity of these contacts grew, and in which regions.

Some contacts were more friendly, intensive and/or extensive than others, hence, the effects of these linguistic contacts on various branches of the Eskimo-Aleut language family vary. Some influences were limited to a small geographical area, or a short period of time. Many of these contacts are recorded in history, but not all of them. For example, not all boats returned home to report their adventures in the New World, while other travellers were not concerned with recording such information, so we may never know of some contacts established in early times.

The main sources for this information are: Neatby 1984; McGhee 1984; Comrie 1981; Schledermann 1980; Krauss 1979 & 1973; Cooke and Holland 1978; Petersen 1976; Crowe 1974; Mowat 1967, 1965; and Birket-Smith 1959.

The last section outlines some of the words that have been borrowed into English from Eskimo-Aleut, and highlights a few of the concomitant effects. The main references here are: Gillet & Lurquin 1988; Young 1989; Dahl 1987; Bates & Jackson 1987; Webster 1983; Campbell & Cecile 1981; Bailey et al. 1981; Arem 1977; Mitchell 1979, 1976; Escher & Watt 1976.

5.1. Chukchi

In discussing the similarities and differences between Chukchi and the Eskimo language, Comrie (1981:243) points out that Chukchi was used as a lingua-franca in Chukotka by Eskimos and other groups before Indo-European contact, and that this may account for some of the similarities

between these two language groups. For example, Siberian Yup'ik has Chukchi loans, and vice-versa.

As well, the Chukchi conjunction *ama* 'and', appears to have been borrowed, with the same meaning, into the Eskimo language as *amma*.. Comrie (1981:257) reports that it is used in Yup'ik. My research indicates that it is used widely in the Canadian Arctic, although apparently less frequently in the Western Arctic than in the more Eastern dialects. Another conjunction in Inuktitut, the suffix *-lu* 'and', appears to be used everywhere, and the suffix *-ttauq* 'and' is used widely.

The conjunction *amma*, if it originates in Chukchi, must have been borrowed before migration of Inuit to the East, or have diffused across the Canadian Arctic after migration. Comrie points out that it had significant syntactic effects, since, due to its introduction, the Eskimo language appears to have begun employing finite constructions as in type B below, which previously would have been non-finite, as in type A. (He does not mention *-lu* and *-ttauq*.)

A: Going to the island, caribou hunting.

B: He went to the island and went caribou hunting.

Comrie (1981:243) mentions that Siberian Yup'ik has borrowed a number of these separate word particles and conjunctions from Chukchi. Another example is *inqun* 'in order to...', which I have not found in Canadian

dialects. All have had some syntactic effect. Today, most Soviet Inuit elders can speak Chukchi (Gurvich 1988), so there must be continued inter-lingual influence.

The word *Aleut* itself may be derived from the Chukchi *aliat* 'islands', *aliuit* 'islanders', borrowed by early Russian explorers to Kamchatka, but mistakenly applied by them to the people found on the (now) Aleutian Islands, instead of to the Diomed Islands, to whom the Chukchi speakers were referring (Hodge 1907:36).

Okladnikov (1970:216-222) discusses some of the cultural influences that Old World peoples, such as the Chukchi, had on the Eskimo tribes.

5.2 Russian

Russian whalers and fur traders visited Bering Strait in the 18th century, often aided by the Danish, such as Vitus Bering himself from 1728-41 (Birket-Smith 1959:21), and by the Dutch and Germans. These initial contacts with Eskimo-Aleut people in that area were very destructive; many native people died.

A small Aleut dictionary by Charles Lee in 1896 includes some obvious Russian loan words - *Clapahk* 'bread', *mukak* 'flour', *blatka* 'tent', all confirmed by Barnum (1901) below. Lee also shows the word *Skoonik* 'sloop, vessel, Schooner', but since the origin of this word is still unknown, we

cannot assume it was a Russian loan word.

It is interesting to note, though, that there are alternative lexical items for two specific types of Schooner, *Cayakbak* 'a two-masted Schooner', literally 'big kayak', demonstrating a semantic expansion of the word *Cayak* 'kayak' due to the lexicalization of *Cayakpak*, and *Bydarkey* 'three-masted Schooner', another loan word from Russian *baidarka*. This indicates that the processes of borrowing, lexicalization and semantic expansion were active at that time. It also indicates that people sometimes developed more than one designation for the same referent, although the development of *Cayakbak*, for example, for 'two-masted schooner', may have resulted in semantic narrowing of the term *Skoonik*.

In the last decade of the 1800's, Barnum (1901:xxv) recorded a number of words borrowed from Russian by "Innuits along the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers" in Alaska. He says that because these words have been adapted so well to the phonotactics of the "Innuits" language, they almost represent "newly coined terms". A few examples follow. (Barnum's diacritics are omitted from the Innuits words.)

<u>Innuits</u>		<u>Russian</u>	
balkasak	<	barka	'foreign boat'
kapkanak	<	kapkan	'steel trap'
kpun	<	kapun	'adz'
kalapenak	<	karabin	'musket'
karmanak	<	karman	'pouch'
kristak	<	krest	'crucifix'

melomuk	<	milo	'soap'
mukamuk	<	muka	'flour'
palatkak	<	palatka	'tent'
palahutak	<	parakhod	'steamer'
sakar	<	sakhara	'sugar'
hlebak	<	khlib	'bread'.

The word *beluga* 'white whale', which has been borrowed into English from the Russian *biluga*, bears a striking resemblance to the Eastern Arctic Inuit word *qilalugaq* 'white whale'. Certainly there is a phonological resemblance to the Russian word, but I have not been able to verify whether the word was borrowed and adapted, nor the date or direction of borrowing if it is.

In recent times, Yup'ik has been affected by the alternating Russian and American ownership of Alaska. Until 1947, there were visits between St. Lawrence Island and the Soviet mainland, but this relationship had still been cut off as recently as 1979 (Krauss 1979:822). This has resulted in English loanwords in Siberian Yup'ik, and Russian loanwords in American Yup'ik (Comrie 1981:258). For example, Siberian Yup'ik borrowed the word 'cow' from English > *kaaBa*, and Central Alaskan Yup'ik has inherited the Russian word *Korova* 'cow', which became *Kuluvak*.

In 1954, Hammerich wrote about this Russian stratum in Eskimo. Menovshchikov (1978) examined Russian loans in Aleut and Eskimo, revealing a considerable influence. These loans in Aleut are further

discussed by Bergsland (1979:23), as are some of the effects of English on Aleut, including the development of a new phoneme.

More recently, in Alaska, Aleut has diverged in another direction, further obscuring signs of a common origin with Eskimo. Comrie (1981:253) tells us that in the Copper Island dialect of Aleut, the original conjugational suffixes have been replaced by Russian suffixes for verb inflections, which "are not always immediately and obviously segmentable", since Russian is a "fusional language". As well, "other ways of constructing verb forms, such as the negative prefix *ne-*, the compound future with the auxiliary *bud-*, and the infinitive in *-t*", have been borrowed from Russian.

It is obvious, then, that the contact Eskimo and Aleut people have had with the Russian language has caused these languages and dialects to diverge in directions which are different from those followed by other members of the same language family.

5.3. Athapaskan

Although the Athapaskan language family has been a long-time geographic neighbour of the Eskimo in Alaska and the Canadian Western Arctic, it appears that historically little contact occurred that was conducive to inter-lingual influences, and therefore:

there are no detectible forms that might be originally loan words from Eskimo-Aleut in, say, Navaho, nor are there

any forms detectible as loan words from Athapaskans, in, say, Greenlandic Eskimo... If there had been a significant number of Athapaskan loans in Proto-Eskimo, or Eskimo loans in Proto-Athapaskan, we would expect to see evidence of them in the spread (Krauss 1979: 804-5).

Birket-Smith (1928:32) says that /ɬ/ may be adopted into Eskimo language in Alaska from Athapaskans, Tlingit, Nootka or Nahua. This phoneme is also present in some Eastern Arctic dialects of Inuktitut.

In my research, I have discovered one apparent loan word - the name for the 'Oldsquaw Duck' (*Clangula hyemalis*), which commonly breeds north of the treeline. In Slavey, an Athapaskan or Dene language, in the Northwest Territories, the 'Oldsquaw Duck' is called *ʔəʔəlé*. In Inuktitut it is *a'aaliq* / *a'aangiq* / *ahaaliq* in various dialects. It is possible that this is just a coincidental co-occurrence of onomatopoeic forms in the two languages. I have not been able to ascertain whether it is a loan, nor the direction or date of borrowing if it is.

The species referred to is an Arctic rather than a sub-Arctic species, so it might seem likely that Inuit would have been more familiar with this bird than Dene people, and the word might therefore have originated in the Inuit language, and been borrowed into Athapaskan.¹ However, the use of the glottal stop is not characteristic of most Inuit dialects, while it is a common feature of the Athapaskan languages in the Mackenzie Valley. However, because we do not know the time at which this word might have been

borrowed, it is difficult to say whether or not the phonological features just described were typical at the historical time in question.

I have heard reports of some Dene (Athapaskan) elders who speak the Eskimo language, and vice-versa, but I have not pursued this area of research. It indicates that there were some incidents of conducive interaction in more recent times, and more inter-lingual influence in these individuals might be evident. Currently, Eskimo and Athapaskan peoples live in close, hospitable contact, and some borrowings have begun to arise.

However, in some cases, it is through English, the common second language of these native people in the Canadian north, that borrowings are occurring. The English tribe names for the Dene people, (some borrowed from the Dene language), for example *Slavey*, *Dogrib*, *Chipewyan*, *Gwich'in* have begun to replace the older Inuktitut words for Indian people *allait* 'others', *unaliit* 'warriors'², and *iqqiliit* 'ones with nits'. Even the word *Dene*, 'people', the Athapaskans' word for themselves, has begun to be used by Inuit, (*Dene-nguniraqtauju* 'the ones called Dene'), especially when they wish to distinguish *Dene* people from other Indian nations.

5.4 Koyukon

In Yup'ik, the word *pap'a*, 'eat!', is probably borrowed from Koyukon *baaba*, [pa.pe] 'food' (Jacobson 1984:688). This word may have also entered the Inuit language in more easterly regions, since in some communities in the area of

this study, the word *apaapagit*, 'eat!', is used in speaking to small children. The Inuit word is *nirigit* 'eat!', and in Yup'ik the verb 'eat' is *nere-*. If the word does originate from Koyukon, the second person singular imperative suffix *-git* is added to the Koyukon stem *baaba*, there is prothesis of the vowel [a], and the [b]'s are changed to [p]'s to adapt the word to Inuktitut phonotactic rules. It would thus be a loan blend.

5.5 Montagnais-Naskapi

Dorais (1979:78) also mentions a few words borrowed from the neighbouring Montagnais by Inuit in Quebec. One such word is *kuukusi*, 'pig', (in Ojibway, another Algonquian language, *gooshgoosh*, and in Oneida and Mohawk, Iroquian languages, *koskos*)³. This word has made its way to the Northwest Territories and is used in the same sense, in at least some of the communities there. This may be originally borrowed from the French *cochon* 'pig'. Another Montagnais loan in Quebec Inuktitut is *pakaakuani*, 'chicken', but this word does not seem to be used in the NWT.

5.6 Cree

The ethnonym 'Eskimo' is probably adapted from the Cree word *askipaw* 'eaters of raw meat',⁴ and is used internationally to designate 'Eskimo people'. One other Inuit word, *kivalliq* 'Keewatin' may also be borrowed from Cree. The meaning of this word is not readily obvious to most Inuit I have asked. The word is used to indicate the 'Keewatin Region', an

administrative region of the N.W.T., comprising roughly the area to the west of Hudson Bay, and east of Great Slave Lake, from north of the Manitoba border almost to the Arctic Coast. The word *Keewatin* itself is a Cree word *kihwātin* 'north wind'. The Inuktitut word could possibly be a borrowing with phonological adaptation of *kihwātin*, by which Cree may have referred to the area from which their north wind would come, the Keewatin area of the N.W.T. It may be a loan blend, using the Cree word, but suffixing the Inuit morpheme *-lliq* 'most, greatest', instead of the final Cree syllable *-tin*.⁵

Relations between Indian and Inuit people in East Hudson Bay 1700-1840 is discussed by Francis (1979), who indicates the same record of enmity between these peoples until the mid-1800's at least. Even if there was little friendly interaction between these groups, captors and captives who lived together for some period of time may have learned each other's language, and may have been the locus of some yet undetected influences.

5.7 Old Norse

Probably the first record of contact with Eskimos is contained in the old Norse sagas (McGhee 1984; Mowat 1965; Birket-Smith 1959:13-18). As early as the 10th or 11th centuries A.D., Norsemen ventured to Greenland, reported seeing a land resembling the east coast of Baffin Island (Helluland?) and reached what is now Labrador (Markland?), and Newfoundland (Vinland?) (Cooke 1978:13-16). Mowat reports that, in 982 A.D., Erik the Red crossed Davis Strait and explored part of Cumberland Sound and the east Baffin Island coast.

Some linguistic influence did result from the Norse encounters with Eskimos. Four borrowed Norse words in Greenlandic, recorded in the Saga of Erik the Red (Birket-Smith 1959:13), have been discussed by Hans Egede:

kona ('wife', < Old Norse *kona*), *sava* or *savak* ('sheep' < Old Norse *sauðer*, gen. *sauða*), *nisa* or *nisak* ('porpoise' < Old Norse *hnisa*), *kuanek* ('angelica', < O.N. *hvonn*, plur. *hvannir*).

These words are also found in Labrador Inuttut. They must have been brought to Labrador by the contact of bearers of Dorset or Thule culture with Vikings themselves, through diffusion from Greenlandic or Baffin Inuit, or, in the 18th century by Moravian missionaries, whose brethren had worked in Greenland and learned the language there, passing it on to fellow missionaries who went to other parts of the New World. The Labrador Inuit claim to have been familiar with these words before the arrival of the Moravians (Nansen 1911:105-106).

In fact, two of the words are used today by Canadian Arctic Inuit as well: *saugaq* 'sheep' and *kuaniq* 'Angelica' (botanical), the latter reported by Schneider to be used in Labrador. I am not sure of its distribution in the rest of Canada, but another similar word, *kuanniit* 'a kelp-like seaweed eaten by Inuit', is also reported by Schneider for Ungava, and is used in the Eastern Arctic. I am not aware that the other two words *kona* and *nisak* are known to Canadian Inuit. Schuhmacher (1977) suggests a Danish or German origin for *kona* 'wife', and discusses its early distribution in the Canadian Arctic.

Another borrowing into the Inuit language is the Norse name for Eskimos, *Skraelings*, which has become the common name by which many Greenlandic Eskimos refer to themselves today - *Kalaa⁺tiit*. Nansen (1911) tells us that:

the name the Eskimo of Southern Greenland apply to themselves, 'karalek' or 'kalalek' , ...may come from the word Skraeling (which in Eskimo would become 'sakalalek'. This, as the Eskimo told Egede, was the name the ancient Norsemen called them by...

This word, reportedly means 'small people' (Hodge 1907:436; Birket-Smith 1959:14), which would be an appropriate description of the people of the Dorset culture, according to other accounts. Mary-Rousseliere (1984:590) says the Thule probably arrived in Labrador at the end of the 11th century, and that, until at least 1347, the timber needed in Greenland for building was brought from Markland (Labrador).

It has been claimed (Section 4.2.2.2) that there was no linguistic borrowing between the Thule and the Dorset people. In order for these words to have been borrowed into the modern Inuit language then, the Vikings must have been in contact with the Thule people, or else these words must have come into the Thule language from the Dorset, or from some other source. A small wooden carving, which was found in the floor of the remains of a Thule house in south Baffin, as well as other archaeological finds on Ellesmere Island, may be evidence of contact between the Norse and the Thule people (Cf. McGhee 1984a; Schledermann 1980; Sabo & Sabo 1978:33).

(Birket-Smith 1959:15-17) also tells us that two names of Norse Chieftains are recalled in the East Greenlandic names *Ungortoq* < *Yngvar* and *Ulavik* < *Olaf*, and that beginning in the 13th or 15th century, there was definitely adoption by Greenlandic Eskimos of "Norse goods, objects and ideas".

5.8 Portuguese

In the 15th century, the Portuguese, who were skilful sailors, were aiding the Danish in their expeditions to Greenland. One of the Corte-Real brothers, for example, went with one Danish expedition in about 1474 to Greenland, and probably to the North American coast, perhaps establishing contact then with Eskimo people (Birket-Smith 1959:18).

Some of the earliest reported activity in the South Baffin - Hudson Strait - Labrador area was due to fishing and whaling, attempts to find precious metals or gems, attempts to trade with native people, and the search for a Northwest Passage and/or sovereignty in the New World. The Portuguese are known to have been in or around Labrador in 1501 (Cooke 1978:18), and Inuit are known to have inhabited the north shore of the St. Lawrence River and even the north tip of Newfoundland, as late as the 17th or 18th century (Auger 1987). There is one report that they returned to Lisbon "with about 50 captive Eskimos" in the early 16th century.

Cooke and Holland (1978:22) also suggest that:

What appears to be Ungava Bay is represented on a map by

Gerhardus Mercator, published in 1569; Hudson Strait and Ungava Bay may, therefore, have already been discovered by Europeans. Portuguese fishermen, from whom Mercator obtained much of his information, may have made these discoveries, but the first known visit to Hudson Strait was Frobisher's voyage in 1578.

At some point in time, the word *Puatagi* 'a black person', entered the Inuit dialect of Cape Dorset, (and other adjacent communities), in South Baffin. This is a loan shift, since the word is borrowed, but the meaning has shifted. Dorais (per.comm.) suggests that this borrowing is probably due to Portuguese-speaking blacks, who were taken to Baffin as crew members on whaling ships from the Portuguese colony, the Cape Verde Islands. It is not possible to determine exactly when the word entered the Inuit dialect. Interestingly, the word *Portug(u)ee* is found in the Oxford English dictionary as the singular form of Portuguese, in vulgar modern usage, especially among sailors. The Portuguese word is *Português* singular, *Portugueses* plural (Kjeld Lings pers. comm.).

5.9 Basques

The French Basques followed the Bretons who were in Labrador in 1536 (Barkham 1984:515). From the 1560's to 1580's, Biscayans were whaling off the coast of Labrador, Iceland and Greenland. Most accounts, however, of Basque encounters with Inuit do not suggest amicable relations (Barkham 1980; 1984:518), and therefore little, if any, influence would be anticipated.⁶ Arrival of English and Dutch traders and pirates probably caused Basques to

leave this area after that. In the 18th Century, Spanish and French Basques again sent whaling ventures to Labrador. At least one article (Bakker 1986) suggests Basque loan words in Eskimo as well as in Indian languages of the east coast. Dorais does not agree with these suggested borrowings (pers. comm.).

5.10 Danish

In the 15th century, there were often ships travelling from Greenland to Labrador for timber, and various Scandinavians may have had contact with Inuit as early as this. The Danes sent an expedition to search for the Northwest Passage in 1619-20, under Jens Munk. They entered Frobisher Bay, later crossed Hudson Bay and wintered near the mouth of the Churchill River. Some materials from his trip were later found among Inuit. In the west, Vitus Bering "discovered" the Aleutians while on a Russian expedition in 1728-41.

In Greenland, Danish colonization began in 1721 and their influence on the language and culture of Greenlandic Inuit has steadily increased since these first encounters. Schuhmacher (1977) discusses the possibility of Danish (or German) origin for some Inuit trade jargon. Certainly today in Greenlandic, *Kalaaŋititut*, a very strong Danish influence is obvious. Some examples of borrowed words are given below from Bergsland (1955:159)⁷, and there are many more in other references:

tupaq	< tobak 'tobacco'
palasi	< praest 'priest'
Kuuti	< Gud 'God'
iivvangkiiliyu	< evangeliet 'the Gospel'
karturwili	< kartoffel 'potato'.

In the 1920's, the Danes tried to claim Ellesmere Island, so the Canadians set up a base for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (hereafter RCMP) there to maintain sovereignty. Also at this time, Knud Rasmussen⁸ and the members of the Fifth Thule Expedition travelled from Greenland, across the Arctic Coast of Canada and into Alaska, bringing Inuit from many different dialects together.

In 1979, Kleivan (1979) reported that Greenlandic Inuit use their own language to create lexical items more often than borrowing words from Danish. Petersen (1979, 1976) mentions a number of syntactic influences of Danish on Greenlandic and lists many new lexicalized items coined as designations for items and ideas imported by the Danes. A few of these are mentioned in Chapter 7 for comparisons with the effects of English on Inuktitut.

Since the early 1980's, travel by Inuit to and from Greenland and the Eastern Canadian Arctic, has increased considerably, and the people are beginning to understand each other's dialects more. In the area of newly coined terms, great differences are attested. If Canadian Inuit begin to adopt some

Greenlandic lexical items, an indirect influence from Danish may result in Canadian dialects. The influence of Danish language and culture in Greenland is not to be underestimated by this very brief discussion. There is a pervasive influence on the language, culture, and lifestyle of Greenlanders, many of whom now travel to and live for certain periods of time in Denmark.

5.11 Norwegian

A Norwegian Arctic expedition led by Sverdrup in 1898-1902, in Smith Sound, Ellesmere Island, Jones Sound area, claimed that area for Norway, but does not mention any encounters with Inuit. It was the first of many visits to that area by Norwegians. In 1903, Amundsen successfully navigated the Northwest Passage, and the remainder of his boat, the *Gjoa*, still lies at Gjoa Haven. Norwegians were on the west coast of Hudson Bay in 1913-16 near Rankin Inlet, Chesterfield Inlet and Ferguson River. No Norwegian loan words have come to my attention in the Canadian dialects of Inuktitut, but one borrowed word in Greenlandic is *puuluki* < *purke* 'pig' (Bergsland 1955:159).

5.12 French

In the mid 1600's the French were trying to reach Hudson Bay overland from the St. Lawrence. In one of their attempts by sea to reach Hudson Bay, their "Huron guides had been killed by Eskimos" on the Labrador Coast. In fact, it

has been suggested that the word "Eskimo" may have originated in the early 1600's, when they were referred to by French Jesuits as "Excomminguois", since "relations were not particularly cordial" between the two groups. Several attempts to preach to the Inuit were successful in the late 1600's in Labrador, and peaceful exchanges occurred (Mary-Rousseliere:595).

In 1702, the French settlement of Labrador began, and the French

captured two Eskimo girls in a skirmish. They lived for two years with Mme. de Courtemanche and Brouague, and they began to learn each other's language. Brouague's account of their conversations must therefore be the first detailed description of Eskimos culture in North America (Cooke:48).

A few French words used by the Inuit in Southern Labrador in the 18th Century, but Dorais (1983:91) says that these "have long since disappeared." Dorais (1979:77) also tells us however, that

the first continuous contacts between Eskimos and Europeans occurred in Southern Labrador, at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. That period witnessed the development of a more or less regular trade between the Inuit and some French explorers and merchants, mainly from Quebec City. To communicate, they used a French-Eskimo pidgin...

In 1764, Jens Haven, a Moravian from England, visited Labrador where "he greeted them [the Inuit] in Inuktitut (a language he had learned in

Greenland), but was answered 'in broken French'" (Dorais 1979:77).⁹ Contacts in Northern Quebec and Labrador are discussed by Trudel (1980) and Dorais has a number of publications on the subject.

Many French speakers in the 19th century influenced the orthography used in the Western Arctic by Inuit. In the Eastern Arctic at this time, Inuit were beginning to use syllabics, while the western Inuit were being taught Roman orthography. In 1911, Bishop Breynat sent Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux to the Coronation Gulf, where they were murdered two years later. This resulted in one of the first criminal trials involving Inuit, and marks a turning point in their concept of the law.

Dorais (1979:80) says that there is very little linguistic influence of French on Inuktitut. He mentions these few words:

<i>uiguit</i>	< oui oui (literally the 'oui oui ones', a loan blend of French and the Inuktitut plural suffix <i>-it</i> ; name used by Inuit for 'French'; in NWT it is <i>isuiviit</i> , or <i>uiuiit</i>)
<i>haluutiit</i>	< salut 'hello, greetings'
<i>tapirnaq</i>	< tabernacle 'tabernacle' (blasphemous)
<i>usiti</i>	< hostie 'host' (blasphemous).

5.13 German

Moravians in Labrador in 1765 met successfully with Eskimos at Chateau Bay,

and recorded information on their mode of living, dwelling places, numbers, trading activities, and preferences in trade goods (Cooke:80). The Moravians had previously worked among Greenlandic Inuit, and they brought with them to Labrador, not only German linguistic influence, but Greenlandic Eskimo influence and their preconceived ideas about the language.

The earliest detailed grammar of Labrador Inuttut, written in German by Bourquin, relied heavily on Kleinshmidt's analysis of Greenlandic and its presumed similarity to Labrador Inuttut (Harper1983:5).

German influence on the Inuit language is recorded in several sources. These loans, a few of which are given below, are limited mostly to time, hours, days and a few other terms (Dorais 1983:97). Heinrich (1971) has also written about this.

kaattuupalak	< Katoffel 'potato'
jaari	< Jahre 'year'
muntaak	< Montag 'Monday'
viara	< vier 'four'
vinivi	< fünf 'five'
vuugi	< Woche 'week'.

By 1774, the new Moravian mission in Nain was drawing people from long distances, so a second mission in Okak opened in 1775, indicating an increased influence of German in that area. In 1827, a Labrador Inuk took Moravian explorers to Fort Chimo. A Moravian missionary spent the winter of 1857 preaching to Inuit at Cumberland Sound and, according to Cooke and

Holland, was the first missionary to visit Baffin Island. The next was Peck in 1894.

In 1882-83, the first International Polar Year, the Germans established a post at Cumberland Sound (Barr:46-59), and employed two Eskimo families. Franz Boas in 1883-84, on an expedition from Hamburg, compiled a great deal of information about Inuit in the Davis Strait and Cumberland Sound area. The surname Boas is still used in the Cumberland area. A number of German loan words have been attested in Inuktitut, as already mentioned, but for the Cumberland area, I do not think they have been studied. In 1911 a German explorer, Hantzsch, travelled across Baffin Island beyond Nettle Lake to the river which bears his name, guided by Inuit who, despite bitter hardship, would not leave him (Crowe:131) (Hantzsch 1977).

Some German influence occurred in the Western Canadian Arctic due to Moravians who worked in nearby Alaska.

5.14 Hawaiian

On the west coast of Alaska and in the Herschel Island area, American and Russian ships were frequent visitors in the 1800's. Some took along crewmen from Hawaii. The word *Tanik* 'white man' in the Uummarmiut dialect of the Mackenzie Delta might originate from the Hawaiian word *Paritanik* 'British person' (Dorais per.comm.)¹⁰. In the rest of the Canadian Arctic the common word is *Qallunaaq* 'white person'.¹¹

Stefansson, in 1909, recorded ten words of possibly Kanaka (Hawaiian) origin in the Eskimo trade jargon of Herschel Island. Schuhmacher (1977:227) gives this example: *mukki* 'dead, broken' < *make* 'to die, defeat'. (He says in this article that he plans to publish these words in another article, but I have not obtained it.)

5.15 Filippino

Yup'ik has a few loan words from the Philippines (Jacobson 1984 :689).

5.16 English

There are a number of English-speaking nations who have been in contact with Inuit for many years: Americans, British, Canadian, Irish and Scottish, among others. A few significant contacts will be mentioned below. The analysis of the effects of English on Inuktitut forms the basis of the next two chapters, and will not be discussed here. The chronology below is provided simply as historical background.

5.16.1 British

The influence of the British on the Inuit language can be said to have begun about the end of the 15th century. Even if the languages of these groups were not always in contact at this time, sightings by Inuit of the boats used by these adventurers, as well as trade goods, and materials left behind by the

newcomers, would certainly have established new referents for the Inuit. This is true of all the early visitors to the Arctic.

In 1576, Frobisher did record a few words of the Inuit language in south Baffin, as did John Davis in 1586 (Markham 1880:21). The year 1670 saw the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company, and an ever-increasing presence of Europeans in the Labrador, South Baffin, Hudson Bay area. Inuit were becoming much more interested in trade with Europeans, and contacts that would foster more influence, including linguistic influence, were on the increase.

In 1773, Cartwright took some Labrador Eskimos with him on a visit to England. Alexander Mackenzie reached the Arctic Ocean via the Mackenzie River in 1789. By the 1800's, the Europeans were regularly visiting Baffin Island. Parry, in 1819 and 1820, travelled through Lancaster Sound to Melville Island, as well as along the south coast of Baffin, and the east coast of Fury and Hecla Strait, (named after his ships). He and Lyon, described the language of the Iglulik and Aivilik Inuit, and recorded quite a bit of information about customs of the Inuit in that area.

Ross travelled to the north of Greenland in 1818, where he met Polar Eskimos who thought they were the only people until then (Søby 1979). Penny, in 1839, took an Eskimo guide, Eenoolooapik, with him to Aberdeen (Cooke:169), returning with him the next year to Hogarth's Sound in Cumberland Sound. This type of travel by Inuit was beginning to increase

considerably, and they were not always taken against their will as they had been previously. In 1840, Rev. James Evans went to Norway House, and devised a syllabic script for the Ojibway and Cree in that area, that now forms the basis of the Inuit syllabary (Harper 1983).

The British Arctic Land Expedition, 1819-22, was led by Franklin, whose tragic trip of 1845-48 to north Baffin Bay was the last of the British expeditions sent out in search of a Northwest Passage. Many attempts have been made to find traces of, and determine the fate of, the lost Franklin expedition.¹² Intensive contact with the Inuit people in the King William Island, Boothia Peninsula, Back River area was established for this purpose.

Shortly after the 1860's, steam vessels were first used in the Eastern Arctic, for which the Inuit coined the name *ikumalik* 'one with a fire'. It was estimated at this time that there were about 8,000 to 10,000 men engaged in whaling and sealing in the north (Lindsay 1911:38). Reverend Peck arrived at Blacklead Island in 1894, establishing the first Christian mission on Baffin Island. He was responsible for bringing syllabics to the Inuit.

Inuit have seen drastic changes in their lifetimes due to contact with Europeans. One of the elders I interviewed said he had visited the ship *Arctic* in Arctic Bay in 1910 or 1911, where he first saw chinaware (discussed under borrowed words later). Many of today's Inuit people in their thirties or older met whites for the first time when they were children, although almost all members of the younger generations are now born and raised in quite modern communities with significant Euro-Canadian populations.

5.16.2 Americans

Reports of American trade voyages from New England place them in Inuit territory about the middle of the 1700's (Cooke:75). The United States carried out whaling in 1860-1915 in Hudson Bay, controlling the northwestern part of the Bay, and many ships over-wintered and employed Inuit.

Hall in 1862 sailed home to New England from Baffin Island with two Inuit, Ebierbing (Ipiirvik) and his wife Tookoolito (Tukulittuq?), who established a home in Connecticut, but accompanied Hall on the rest of his expeditions (Cooke:219). They had previously been to England on a whaling ship. Hall voyaged to Melville Peninsula and King William Island in search of Franklin, spent time around Repulse Bay and Igloolik, and almost reached the North Pole. Due to the friendship of these two Inuit and other Inuit who lived in the areas he visited, Hall was successful in solving the Franklin mystery. On Hall's last, fatal voyage, some of the crew, including his two Inuit friends, drifted on an ice floe from Baffin Bay to Labrador.

Americans established a whaling station at Cumberland Sound prior to 1882 (Barr:6-34). In the first International Polar Year 1882-1883, numerous posts were established in the Arctic and Antarctic. In Canada, the Americans established a station at Lady Franklin Bay, Ellesmere Island (Barr:46-59) and controlled much of the Baffin Coast. Americans were also at Herschel Island by 1888, and had a strong presence from Alaska to Victoria Island. In 1898, the Yukon Gold Rush occurred and the U.S. tried to annex the Yukon.

A U.S. expedition of 1899-1901, which travelled some distance with Peary, was guided by Eskimos from Ellesmere Island to Cape York, Greenland (Cooke:284). Peary, and his Black assistant, Henson, both fathered sons by Eskimo women in Greenland on this voyage¹³, a fact which was not revealed until much later. Peary and Cook both claimed to have reached the North Pole in 1908-9, but made these voyages only with the help of Inuit.

5.16.3 Scottish

Scottish whalers visited the Polar Eskimos in Greenland in the 19th century (Søby 1979:145), and established a whaling station at Kikkerton Harbour, Cumberland Sound, which had been manned for seventeen years by the time Boas did his research there in 1883-84. He was assisted in his research by the manager of that station, James Mutch, who spoke Inuktitut and helped him interview Inuit.

A person from the Cumberland Sound area suggested that *panika(k)* <pannikin, 'a small pan or cup'¹⁴, used in that dialect (only?) but no longer common in English, was borrowed from the Scottish. It came to my attention in Rankin Inlet, but the woman there did not know its origin. When she first heard it she thought that the speaker meant *panik* 'daughter'.

5.16.4 Canadian

Canadian Confederation occurred in 1867, and three years later Canada

bought Rupert's Land from the Hudson Bay Company. This included most of the land occupied by Inuit. In 1880, Canada received the Arctic Islands from Britain. The Royal North West Mounted Police arrived in Hudson Bay and Herschel Island in the 1890's.

Captain Low was sent on the Canadian Arctic Expedition to claim Hudson Bay and Ellesmere Island in 1903. The Canadian Arctic Expedition operated in the Western Arctic in the early 1900's, during which Stefansson travelled in the Mackenzie Delta, and to the arctic islands in the Copper area. Diamond Jenness, 1913-16, also part of this expedition, produced a comparative vocabulary of the dialects in that region. In the 1920's, effective claim to the Arctic Islands was achieved by the establishment of RCMP stations on some of the islands. Many Inuit were moved from their home communities to Arctic Islands and the Arctic Coast for this same reason.

The Distant Early Warning Line (DEW Line), Mid-Canada Early Warning Line, Canol Road and pipeline, Alaska Highway, and other installations were developed in the north due to the war in the early 1940's. Development moved rapidly from that time on. The need for communication with native people in their own languages and about many subject areas was dramatically increased.

The Council of the Northwest Territories was composed mostly of appointed members until 1975, when all members were elected. The first Inuktitut-speaking member of this legislature was elected in 1966. The

Council moved its operations to Yellowknife in 1967, (previously having been operated from Ottawa and by Federal employees in Fort Smith NWT). Thus arose the need for interpretation and translation in the Council, (now called the Legislative Assembly of the NWT). Full simultaneous interpretation of debates and translation of most documents is now provided in the Legislative Assembly for a number of Inuit who rely on Inuktitut as their language of communication. (Interpretation and some translation is also provided for the other official languages).

In the NWT, Inuit are negotiating for a land claim and a home region they call *Nunavut* 'our land', where Inuktitut would be the language of the government. In Northern Quebec, an election was held in 1989 for the new political entity of *Nunavik*, roughly 'homeland' (Cf. *Le Devoir*, April 1, 1989). The Official Languages Act of the NWT in 1984 declared all native languages in the NWT "official aboriginal languages", thereby giving Inuktitut and the Dene (Athapaskan) languages legislative support for their use, preservation and development in this region.

It is because of this demand for communication between English and native peoples in the NWT, and because of the commitment of its government to meet that need, that the influence of English on Inuktitut has begun to increase. It will be the object of study in the next chapters. Before we examine these effects, however, it will be interesting to note a few influences which the Eskimo-Aleut language has had on English.

5.17 Effects of Eskimo-Aleut on English

The following is a list of words which have been borrowed from the Eskimo-Aleut language family into English. Obviously, the number of loan words in this category is significantly smaller than the number of words borrowed from English into Inuktitut, since the emphasis on information transfer tends to be from English to Inuktitut. It is worthy of note, though, that some of these borrowings into English have resulted in minor superstratum effects. In the area of phonological changes, some Inuit have begun to adopt the English pronunciation of these words. Semantic changes have also occurred, since some Inuit now understand and use these words to refer to the items for which they were borrowed in Euro-Canadian society.

Some of the terms are scientific terms used in ice classification and geology.¹⁶ In each case, the Eskimo/Aleut referent is given first, then the English referent, where it is different. The respective effect(s) of the borrowing is/are provided after the gloss(es).

Borrowed Words:

inuk/inuit < *inuk* 'person', *inuit* '>2 people'; *inuit* is usually used in English as the singular form (an *inuit* man) as well as dual and plural, and sometimes the English plural inflection -s is suffixed to the already plural form *inuit* > *inuits*; ;

- inuktitut* < *inuktitut* 'like the people (Inuit)'; a final -k is often substituted for the final -t;
- umiaq* / *umiak* < *umiaq* 'large skin boat', 'women's boat', traditionally used for transporting groups of people; final C uvular > velar;
- igloo* < *iglu/illu* 'snow house'; preserves the unassimilated consonant cluster which some dialects have lost; also employs digraph 'oo' for /u/, encouraging some Western Arctic writers to retain it in Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun; there is also a semantic shift for speakers of some dialects, in which there is a different lexical item for 'snow house' eg. *igluvigaq* ;
- kayak* < *qajaq* 'kayak'; uvular C > velar C; encouraging the use of 'y' in the Western Arctic instead of 'j' for the glide [j];
- mukluk* < *maklak?* Aleut 'tanned sealskin' (Lee 1896); not used in Inuktitut in Eastern Arctic; perceived to be an English word meaning 'Dene-style, mid-calf or knee-length hide/hide and canvas moccasins'; used by English speakers to mean variously 'soft Eskimo boot made of sealskin or reindeer skin', 'any type of hide boots', 'Dene-style boot as above' (the last of these being used especially in the NWT);
- kamik* < *kamik* traditionally 'sealskin/caribou hide boot'; now means 'all boots but not boot-liners or ordinary shoes' (Sch); now used as a brand name for synthetic winter boots;
- kulitak* < *qulittaq* 'Inuit-style caribou skin overcoat with fur on the outside'; now used in some dialects for any heavy coat; attested as a loan word into English by a person from Fogo, Newfoundland, but not recognized as a loan word;

ulu < *ulu* 'semi-circular (woman's) knife'; no apparent phonological change; minor semantic shift since non-Inuit tend to use these knives as cheese knives or for similar purposes, but not for flensing skins or eating meat, as they were traditionally used and still are used by Inuit;

muktuk < *maktaa*q 'skin of white whales or narwhal'; most non-Inuit believe this denotes 'whale blubber', which is not *maktaa*q but *uqsuq* ;

anorak < *annuraa*q 'garment, clothing, dress with sleeves' (Sch.) (Jen. - excluding 'dress'); 'fur overall, blouse, dress' (SLor.); usually used by non-Inuit to refer to '(Greenlandic style) pullover windbreaker'; (probably from root *anuri* 'wind'); not usually recognized by Inuit as a word from their own language;

komatik < *qamutiik* 'Eskimo style sled' literally a dual form 'two runners'; uvular C > velar C, and sometimes velar C > uvular (or an English speaker's approximation) eg. Komatiq Inn in Iqaluit; referent has changed somewhat due to introduction of new building materials and models;

sikkousak < *sikurraaq?* 'new ice (thick enough to carry weight)' (Sch); or < *sikorssuit?* pl., (*sikorssuk* sg.?) 'pack ice' (SLor); "'very old ice', an Eskimo word passed into all languages. Imprisoned in fjords, it resembles glacial ice" (translation) (Gillet & Lurquin); loss of uvular phoneme; change in referent?;

nilas pl. < *nilak* 'clear ice from fresh water,...' 'glazed frost' (Sch) (Jen) (SLor); "English, French and Russian term to designate 'a thin elastic layer of ice ...'" (Gillet & Lurquin) (Young); loss or substitution of final C;

pukak < *pukak/pukaq* 'crystalline snow that breaks down and separates like rough salt, found on the ground under other levels' (Sch); 'depth hoar; long, fine candlelike crystals in the lower layers of snow' (Young); no change;

pingo < *pingu(k)* 'a frost mound', 'conical mound of soil-covered ice'; *pinguq* 'pimple' and *pingujaq* 'who has been pushed in the back or made to fall' (Sch); [ŋ] > [ŋ g]; [u] > [o]; most Inuit do not recognize this as a word from their language anymore, but one elder from Iqaluit confirmed its existence in that dialect;

nunataq/nunatak/nunatag < *nunataq* 'peak projecting from the inland ice; land on the inland ice' (SLor); "'isolated peak' ... means 'eating land' - the mountains seem to be being engulfed" (Young); 'isolated hill, knob, ridge or peak of bedrock ... projects above glacier' (Bates & Jackson); (also used now to refer to the theory that unglaciated refugia in the far north harboured organisms that reformulated the northern environment (Young, Dahl); not understood by Inuit in Canada that I interviewed; uvular C > velar C; reference to the theory involves semantic expansion in the borrowed term, making it a partial loan shift;

nunakol < ? not in older sources consulted; 'a nunatak rounded by glacial erosion' (Bates & Jackson).

Aside from these words, many minerals and rock formations have taken their names from the Eskimo language. They usually involve an element of the Inuit word being combined with a morpheme of English, thus forming loan blends. These are listed below, without technical definitions, but with probable etymologies.

Rocks and Minerals:

pinguite	< <i>pingu(k)</i> 'pingo'
alaskaite	< <i>alaska</i> Aleut 'continent' (Chevigny 1965:242);
alaskite	< as above;
kaliaaskaite	< as above;
eskimoite	< <i>Eskimo</i> (origin as discussed in section on Cree above);
ilimaussite	< <i>ilimaussaq</i> 'peg on front part of a harpoon shaft' (SLor); named after a site in Greenland;
kaersutite	< <i>qursutaq</i> 'yellow' (Sch);
kakortokite	< <i>qaqorpoq</i> 'is white' (SLor); <i>qakuqtaq</i> 'white' (Sch);
narsarsukite	< <i>narsaq</i> 'mountain pass, dale, valley without a river' (Sch); 'plain, field, (frequently occurring place-name)' (SLor); < <i>Narsarsuk</i> , Greenland;
naujaite	< <i>naujaq</i> 'gull' (various types), 'arctic tern' (Sch); <i>nauja</i> 'seagull' (SLor); < <i>Naujakasik</i> , <i>Ilimaussaq</i> complex, Greenland;
naujakasite	< as above;

tugtupite	< <i>tuktu</i> 'caribou, reindeer'; "named after a promontory in Greenland" (Webster); " <i>tugtup</i> means reindeer" (Webster) (Arem) - < <i>tuktu(u)p</i> (which is actually genitive case 'of the caribou');
tungusite	< <i>tungujuqtuq?</i> 'blue, bluish green' (SLor) (Sch);
ivigtite	< <i>ivik</i> 'tall plants at the shore line and along river banks' (Sch); 'grass, straw' <i>Iviglut</i> 'place name' (SLor);
igdloite	< <i>igdlo</i> 'house' (SLor); <i>iglu</i> 'dwelling, snow house, tent, home' (Sch);
nanorluk	< <i>nanuq</i> 'polar bear';
inugpasagsuk	< <i>inugpaq</i> ? 'unmixed Eskimo' (SLor);

Rock Formations:

Ilimaussaq	< <i>ilimaussaq</i> as above; a geological complex in Greenland ;
Tunraq	< <i>tornaq</i> 'spirit, assistant spirit (of angakoq)' (SLor);
Amayersuk	< <i>amersoq</i> ? 'pachyderm (elephant, rhinoceros, ...) (SLor);
Arlu	< <i>aarluk</i> 'killer whale' (Sch);
Kilohigok	< ?; (at Bathurst Inlet, NWT)
Amagok	< <i>amaruq</i> 'wolf';
Omingmaktook	< <i>umingmak</i> 'musk-ox' (SLor);

Kuuvik	< <i>kuuk</i> 'river', <i>-vik</i> 'place';
Quadjuk	< <i>quagjuk</i> ? 'a sharpened needle' (RQ);
Naujat	< <i>naujat</i> 'seagulls';
Kangeq	< <i>kangiq</i> 'a bay';
Qanguartoq	< ?.

Words are also being borrowed from Eskimo-Aleut for many toponyms, mines, gas fields, businesses, and so on. A few of these are given below. Many of these are pronounced even by Inuit according to the English pronunciation.

Arvik Mine	< <i>arvik</i> 'Bowhead whale' (the mine is defunct);
Nanisivik Mine	< <i>nanisivik</i> 'place where one finds something';
Amaoligak	< <i>amauligaq</i> 'looks like it's wearing an <i>amauti</i> ', name for 'snow bunting';
Kiggavik	< <i>kiggavik</i> 'peregrine falcon' or 'gyrfalcon';
Marmorilik	< <i>marmori</i> 'marble' <i>-lik</i> 'it has ...'; in Greenland;
Tuktoyaktuk	< <i>tuktuyaaqtuq</i> 'has many caribou?', 'acts/looks like caribou?'; usually shortened even by Inuit to "Tuk" [tʌk];
Iqaluit	< <i>iqaluit</i> '(place of) fishes'; many English speakers try to correct the spelling of this name by inserting a 'u' after the 'q', in accordance with the orthography of English. This creates a different meaning in Inuktitut - roughly 'many with things on the anus' < <i>iqquq</i> - 'wipe the anus',

-aluk 'disagreeable, many... (intensifier)', *-it* plural noun inflection. This has become a local joke in Iqaluit.

Many communities and landforms are now being officially registered by their Inuit name, and in most cases, an attempt is made to use the standardized orthography. Judging from these adopted terms, the effects of Inuktitut on English seem to be increasing. However, because of the changes inherent in this borrowing, there is also often an effect on Inuktitut. We will now begin to examine some of the Inuit lexical "innovations" and the effects these are having on Inuktitut.

Notes on Chapter 5

1. Thanks to Jacques Sirois of the Canadian Wildlife Service, Yellowknife, for the information on Oldsquaw ducks.
2. David Owingayak of Eskimo Point suggested that this may be derived from the Eskimo word *unaaq* 'harpoon', since the people would have been carrying weapons in early encounters.
3. Thanks to Mary Pepper, Yellowknife, for Cree, Oneida, Mohawk and Ojibway examples. Also, it is interesting to note that the Greenlandic Inuit have coined an onomatopoeic word for 'hen house' *kukkukuusivik*, literally 'a place of kukkukuu' (Petersen 1976:174), which resembles this word for 'pig', but is obviously not related.
4. Hodge (1907:434-436) reports that Biard in 1611 called the Eskimos "Excomminguois", suggesting this as the origin of the word 'Eskimo'. He also reports Chippewa *Ashkimieq* and Abnaki *Esquimantsic* as possible sources. Mailhot et alia (1980) tell us that historically the term 'Eskimo' was used to refer variously to Inuit, Micmac or Montagnais.
5. Fortescue (1988:10) says this word is "itself an anglicized form of *kivallin* 'southerners' from the directional stem *kivat-* ['south'] ...". Another possible etymology is the stem *kig-* 'south' (Kleinschmidt 1851:21) plus the suffix *-valli* 'a bit more' reported for the Tarramiut dialect of Northern Quebec (Fortescue 1983:42), which may also be used in the Keewatin region.
6. Barkham is researching in detail the history of the Basques in Canada.
7. I would like to thank Birgitte Ballantyne of Yellowknife and Kjeld Lings for assistance with the Danish.
8. One of the elders I interviewed, Rosie Ukumaaluk, worked with Knud

Rasmussen in Chesterfield Inlet.

9. He preached to them (Cooke:79), and apparently persuaded the Indians and Eskimos of the region to make peace (Mary-Rousseliere:596).

10. Other possible sources of the word might be *taaniktuq*, 'that stands out' (Schneider 1985), since whites obviously would be more noticeable among darker-skinned natives, or *taaniqivuq* 'he asks for something', since Whites certainly asked for many things (food, clothing, other trade goods) from natives in their dealings with them. I am not sure at this time, however, whether these words are or were used in the Western Arctic, since Schneider's book does not cover that dialect area.

11. See the section on Folk Etymology about this word in Chapter 7. In Greenland, there are two terms: *Qallunaaq* 'Dane', *Tuluk* 'English person'. (I asked several Greenlanders but I could not identify the origin of the latter.)

12. For more information the reader is referred to two books: Frozen in Time and Overland to Starvation Cove.

13. New York Times, July 12, 1987.

14. Thanks to Becky Mike and Philip G. Howard for bringing this old English word to my attention.

15. One native speaker told me he thought the idea of revising the Inuvialuktun orthography was to make use of as many letters in the English alphabet as possible. The older Western Arctic scripts use 'i' and 'e' interchangeably and 'u' and 'o' interchangeably, which is unnecessary due to a three phonemic vowel system. Greenland has chosen to use 'e' and 'o' for the lowered 'i' and 'u' respectively before uvulars.

16. Thanks to Walter Gibbins of DINA Yellowknife for all the geological terms and to Louise Engelmayer, Gov't. of NWT Yellowknife, for the ice terms.

CHAPTER 6

6.0 Linguistic Change Due to Contact with English

With reference to the three main methods used for lexical innovation in other languages, as identified in Chapter 2 and validated by Dorais (1983) for Inuktitut in Northern Quebec and Labrador, a number of examples will now be given. This list is only a small sample of the existing items. For a more complete list see Dorais (1983) for Quebec and Labrador, and Petersen (1976) for West Greenlandic. Niels Grann (1988) has also gathered some of these words for East Greenlandic.

Comments accompanying each item are brief, as the specific effects of these processes will be considered collectively in the next Chapter. The categories used below are: borrowed words, loan blends (considered borrowed or lexicalized items depending on the writer's viewpoint), lexicalizations, and semantic shifts.

6.1 Samples of Lexical Items by Mode of Designation

6.1.1 Borrowed Words:

Borrowed words are those which are absorbed into the target language, with or without phonological adaptation. Some are more "nativized" than others, and hence, are more opaque, while others are perfectly transparent, and even

bear features of the source language which are not in keeping with the phonological rules of the target language. In some ways, this process of borrowing words resembles the Inuit traditional custom adoption practice, still very much in use today. A newcomer is accepted into the Inuit structure (familial, social, cultural, linguistic etc.) and undergoes some change. Most often, the adoption process remains discernible, but occasionally, almost every trace of the "outsiderness" of the *tiguaq* 'adopted one' disappears.¹

Because these words are often adopted very spontaneously by individuals, each speaker may attribute different features to the same word. The words listed below are given in the form(s) in which I heard them or encountered them in written materials. Other sources or speakers might give different forms for these same words. (A final consonant *-q* may be interpreted as a nominalizing suffix, thus giving loan blends, or as a morphophonemic adaptation, in which case these words could be considered strictly borrowed words.)

<i>tii</i>	'tea'
<i>kaapi</i>	'coffee'
<i>sukaq</i>	'sugar' (see also Lexicalization) (-q nominalizing suffix?)
<i>piinat</i>	'peanut'
<i>siisi</i>	'cheese'
<i>jaam</i>	'jam'
<i>pinisii</i>	'beans'
<i>kiik</i>	'cake'
<i>aisikali(m)/aisikilim</i>	'ice cream'
<i>kuuku/kukuk</i>	'cocoa' which now means 'chocolate'

<i>aapu</i>	'apple'
<i>patiiti</i>	'potato, potato chip'
<i>alaasi</i>	'rice'
<i>mulaasi</i>	'molasses'
<i>juus</i>	'juice' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>vaini</i>	'wine'
<i>bija</i>	'beer' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>jaika(q/k)/jappa</i>	'jacket' (- <i>q</i> nominalizing suffix?) (also 'parka' in some dialects, which constitutes a loan shift)
<i>uasikua</i>	'vest' <waistcoat?
<i>alipa</i>	'elephant'
<i>puusi</i>	'pussy, cat'
<i>kala</i>	'colour'
<i>puupu</i>	'purple' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>gaasaliiq~gaasi</i>	'gas(oline)' (- <i>q</i> nominalizing suffix?) (Dorais 1979 has <i>kaasali</i>)
<i>baatali(i)</i>	'battery'
<i>guulu / guulati</i>	'gold'
<i>nikal</i>	'nickel'
<i>aluminam</i>	'aluminum' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>uaja</i>	'wire' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>puasa</i>	'pressure'
<i>haanta</i>	'Honda (three/four-wheeled trail bike, all-terrain vehicle, or motorcycle)'
<i>jamaha</i>	'Yamaha (motorcycle or skidoo)'
<i>paisikal~baisiku</i>	'bicycle'
<i>sikituuq</i>	'skidoo' (snowmobile) (- <i>uq</i> nominalizing suffix?) (see also Lexicalization)
<i>kika</i>	'kicker, outboard motor' (used mostly in Western Arctic) (see also Lexicalization)
<i>paippaaq</i>	'paper' (see also Lexicalization and Semantic Shift) (- <i>q</i> nominalizing suffix?)
<i>baibaik</i>	'Bay bag, plastic bag' (only in Igloodik?)

<i>kii</i>	'key'
<i>tapaaki</i>	'tobacco'
<i>taala</i>	'dollar'
<i>uasa(n)</i>	'one cent'
<i>sikki</i>	'cheque'
<i>pusaa(n)</i>	'percent'
<i>namma</i>	'number'
<i>fuunnama</i>	'phone number' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>talii</i>	'three'
<i>pua</i>	'four'
<i>taja</i>	'ten'
<i>ii(t)</i>	'eight'
<i>tuajalu/tualav</i>	'twelve'
<i>hantalat</i>	'hundred'
<i>milian</i>	'million'
<i>miita</i>	'metre'
<i>kilumiita</i>	'kilometre'
<i>amiila/amaila</i>	' (just) a minute' (not very common)
<i>kuaram</i>	'quorum' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>laisans(i)</i>	'licence' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>kaanturaak</i>	'contract' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>ta(a)ksi</i>	'taxi' (see also 'taxes' in Loan Blends)
<i>kampani</i>	'company'
<i>tiulain</i>	'DEW Line'
<i>hamlat</i>	'Hamlet (type of community gov't.)'
<i>Kanata</i>	'Canada'
<i>gavamat</i>	'government' (see also <i>gavamakut</i> ~ <i>gavamait</i> in Loan Blends)
<i>kaakas</i>	'caucus' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>mija</i>	'Mayor'
<i>kapitana/kapitain</i>	'captain'
<i>paliisi</i>	'police(man)' (see also Lexicalization) (<i>politi</i> in Greenlandic)

<i>luukta(a)q</i>	'doctor' (see also Lexicalization) (-q nominalizing suffix?)
<i>mista</i>	'Mister'
<i>minista</i>	'minister (in government not church)'
<i>kasa(n)</i>	'cousin'
<i>puatagi</i>	'Portuguese' 'black person' (See discussion under <u>Portuguese</u> in last chapter)
<i>sainiisi</i>	'Chinese person'
<i>jaapaniisi</i>	'Japanese person'
<i>sikaati</i>	'Scot'
<i>Jalunaiv</i>	'Yellowknife'
<i>Vuat Simit</i>	'Fort Smith'
<i>Jiisusi</i>	'Jesus'
<i>Sataanasi</i>	'Satan'
<i>Guuti</i>	'God' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>aimain</i>	'amen'
<i>Januari</i>	'January'
<i>kammunian</i>	'communion'
<i>Vivuari/Vippuari</i>	'February'
<i>Maatsi</i>	'March'
<i>Airili/Aiparil</i>	'April'
<i>Juni</i>	'June'
<i>Julai</i>	'July'
<i>kuraisima</i>	'Christmas' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>aitsi</i>	'AIDS' (see also Lexicalization)
<i>u'a</i>	'or' (only in Lake Harbour?).

The following is a list of some names that have been borrowed. Many Biblical names have been borrowed. I have followed the standard orthography here, but in actuality, these names are spelt in many different ways by the individuals who use them.

<i>Daila</i>	'Taylor'
<i>Simiuni</i>	'Simon'
<i>Riipika/Uliipika</i>	'Rebecca'
<i>Jaimasi</i>	'James'
<i>Pitaruusi/Pitaluusi</i>	'Peter' (probably from Danish 'Petrus')
<i>Pauluusi</i>	'Paul'
<i>Ilaija</i>	'Elaijah'
<i>Janasa</i>	'Jonathan'
<i>Uluuta</i>	'Rhoda'
<i>Ilisapi</i>	'Elizabeth'
<i>Uluusi</i>	'Rosie'
<i>Kuniliusi</i>	'Cornelius'
<i>Tunili</i>	'Turner?'
<i>Nanisi</i>	'Nancy?' (or from Inuktitut <i>nanisi</i> - 'find s.th.').

6.1.2 Loan Blends

This group involves words in which a borrowed word is used as a stem and some other recognizable morpheme, native to Inuktitut, is added. For this reason, they may be considered borrowed words or lexicalizations.

<i>taanisiqtuq</i>	'(s)he dances' ('dance' + 3sg ind infl)
<i>haakiqtuq</i>	'(s)he plays hockey' ('hockey' + 3sg ind infl)
<i>skuuqtuq</i>	'(s)he scores' ('score' + 3sg ind infl)
<i>sikuuqtuq</i>	'(going to) school' ('school' + 3sg ind infl) (used in Western Arctic and Arctic Coast)
<i>pikساسuuqtuq</i>	'(going to) picture show' ('picture show' + 3sg ind infl) (used in Western Arctic and Arctic Coast)
<i>haalataiqtuq</i>	'(s)he is holidaying' ('holiday' + 3sg ind infl)

<i>tiiviqtuq</i>	'(s)he is watching T.V.' ('T.V.' + 3sg ind infl)
<i>uatsijuq</i>	'(s)he watches over someone or something' ('watch' + 3sg ind infl)
<i>uasaqtuq</i>	'(s)he washes ('wash' + 3sg ind infl)
<i>kummuniuniq</i>	'take communion' ('communion' + infinitival suffix)
<i>baaqtitaq</i>	'baptized one' ('baptize' + (-tit- 'cause') + <i>-taq</i> 'one who is ...ed')
<i>uuvaarialik</i>	'one has to "over"', 'CB radio') < 'over' + <i>-giaqaq</i> - 'have to' + <i>-lik</i> 'one that'
<i>palaugaq</i>	'flour, bannock' ('flour' + <i>-gaq</i> nominalizing suffix)
<i>si(g)galiaq</i>	'cigarette' ('cigare-' + <i>-aq</i> nominalizing suffix)
<i>ulainisiq/auraitsiq</i>	'orange (fruit)' ('orange' + <i>-siq</i> nominalizing suffix) (see also Lexicalization and Semantic Shift)
<i>buutiik</i>	'southern-style boots' ('boot(i)' + <i>-ik</i> 'dual noun inflection') (see also Semantic Shift)
<i>aasisit</i>	'ashes' ('ashes' + <i>-it</i> plural noun inflection)
<i>uasaut</i>	'soap or detergent' ('wash' + <i>-ut(i)</i> 'what is used for ...')
<i>sipuut</i>	'spoon' ('spoon + <i>-ut(i)</i> 'instrument for', as in <i>alut</i> - 'laps water or liquid food' (Sch) + <i>-ut(i)</i> 'what is used for ...' ?) (see also Semantic Shift <i>aluut/ qallut</i> and Lexicalization <i>urviujaq</i> (Sch));
<i>Sanataili</i>	'Sunday' ('Sunday' + <i>-li(k)</i> ? 'that has a ...', or a Lexicalization 'don't work?')
<i>jaamanimiut</i>	'German person~people' ('Germany' + <i>-miut</i> 'person/people of ...') (see also Semantic Shift)

<i>ulaas(i)amiut</i>	'Russian person or people' ('Russia' + <i>-miut</i> 'person/people of ...')
<i>amiulikkamiut</i>	'American person/people' ('America' + <i>-miut</i> 'person/people of ...')
<i>kupaimiut/kuipiakmiut</i>	'Quebecer(s)' ('Quebec' + <i>-miut</i> 'person/people of ...')
<i>uiviit</i>	'oui oui ones' (French 'yes yes' + <i>-it</i> plural)
<i>tuuli(it)</i>	'Thule (people or culture)' ('Thule' + <i>-it</i> plural)
<i>tuasat</i>	'Dorset (people or culture)' ('Dorset' + <i>-it</i> plural);
<i>gavamakkut/gavamait</i>	'government' ('government' + <i>-kkut</i> 'the ones associated with...' or + <i>-it</i> plural)
<i>kuapakkut</i>	'Co-op store' ('Co-op' + <i>-kkut</i> 'the ones associated with...')
<i>aitisii(kkut)</i>	'I.T.C.' (I.T.C. + <i>-kkut</i> 'the ones associated with...' (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada; also <i>Tapiriiksakkut</i> 'brotherhood, those who help each other')
<i>aipisii(kkut)</i>	'I.B.C.' ('I.B.C.' + <i>-kkut</i> 'the ones associated with...') (Inuit Broadcasting Corp.)
<i>sipisii/sivisi(kkut)</i>	'C.B.C.' ('C.B.C. + <i>-kkut</i> 'the ones associated with...' (Canadian Broadcasting Corp.)
<i>tiipitavaju(kkut)</i>	'D.P.W.' ('D.P.W.' + <i>-kkut</i> 'those associated with...') (Dept. of Public Works)
<i>taaksi(jaijaaruti)</i>	'taxes' ('tax' + <i>-jaijaaq</i> ''to take s.th. off' + <i>-ut(i)</i> 'what is used for...').

6.1.3 Lexicalization:

This category involves new lexical items which have been "coined" by combining morphemes native to Inuktitut into wordforms or phrases that

describe the new referent by its appearance, its function, some other characteristic or its resemblance to a familiar item. It is difficult to determine when and where these terms originated, and certainly this differs from one region to another, indeed even from one community or individual to another. Unless otherwise indicated, they are all used in Baffin or Keewatin dialects. The items will be presented in the same topical order as those in the Semantic Shift section. Glosses are approximations - it is almost impossible to give exact translations for some items.

Time:

watch	<i>siqi(r)nguqaq</i> 'what is like the sun' <i>siqiniquti</i> 'sun which belongs to someone' <i>aggaumiut(aq)</i> 'what dwells on the hand' ('watch') (Sch) <i>paffimmiu</i> 'that which resides on your wrist' (Pet76) <i>taliaq</i> 'what is on the arm'
watch/clock	<i>ulluqsiuti</i> 'what is used for the day' <i>nalunaiqqutaq</i> 'what is used to clarify' (Berg55) <i>qaujisaut</i> 'what is used to find out something'
week	<i>pinasuarusiq</i> 'what is used to strive for something' 'the week minus Sunday, work-week' (Sch)
weekend	<i>pinasuarusiup nunngua</i> 'at the end of what is used to strive for something' <i>natsingujaup akunninga</i> 'time between Sundays'
Sunday	<i>natsingujaq</i> 'waiting for a long time for something to be over'
Monday	<i>naggajjau</i> '?
Tuesday	<i>aipiq</i> 'the other of two'
Wednesday	<i>pingatsiq</i> 'the third one'
Thursday	<i>sitamiq / tisamiq</i> 'fourth one'
Friday	<i>tallimiq</i> 'fifth one' <i>iqalukturvik</i> 'time to eat fish'

Saturday	<i>sivataarvik</i> 'time for receiving biscuits'
	<i>natsingujalaarniaq</i> 'it will (soon) be Sunday'
calendar	<i>ulluqsiuti</i> 'what is used for the day(s)'
	<i>taqqiqsiuti</i> 'what is used for the moon/month(s)'
almanac	<i>qaammatisiyutit</i> 'what is used to look after the shining thing i.e. moon' (Berg55)
Directions/Space:	
ruler	<i>uuktuuti</i> 'what is used to try something, to measure something'
arctic	<i>ukiuqtaqtuq</i> 'place that (repeatedly) gets winter'
arctic circle	<i>qausuittuup kiglinga</i> 'boundary of one that loses recurring dawn'
treeline	<i>napaaqtuliup kiglinga</i> 'the boundary of place with ones standing up (trees)'
overseas	<i>tariup ungataani</i> 'in the ocean's beyondness'
map	<i>nunannguaq</i> 'small or imitation land'
Numbers:	
ten	<i>aggait marruuk</i> 'two hands' (but <i>aggait</i> plur, not dl)
Colours:	
purple	<i>itsingujaq</i> 'what is like berry juice'
orange	<i>ursuangajuq</i> 'what is like oil' (Sch)
	<i>aukpajangajuq</i> 'what is like red (blood)'
pink	<i>aupallaingajuq</i> 'what is like red (blood)' (Sch)
	<i>kutsuujaq</i> 'what is like the gum of some trees/gum for chewing' (Sch)
green	<i>ujaujaq</i> < 'what is like <i>uja-</i> ' (CDor) (meaning and origin unknown; (see Folk Etymology)
Art:	
carving	<i>sananguagaq</i> 'what is made from imitating work'
	<i>sanaugaq</i> 'what is made'
handicrafts	<i>aggamut sanajaujut</i> 'things made by hand' or
arts & crafts	<i>sanaugait miqsugaitlu</i> 'things made (from work) and things that are sewn' 'carvings and sewn goods'
drama	<i>takuguminaqtut</i> 'what makes someone want to watch'
print/drawing	<i>titigtugaq</i> 'what is made with marks'

Music:

song	<i>inngiuti</i> 'what is used for singing'
sing	<i>nijjaajuq</i> 'sings, speaks in a loud voice'
record	<i>nijjauti</i> 'what is used to make a loud noise/to speak in a loud voice' (CDor) (< <i>nibjaq</i> - (Sch)) <i>nitjaaruti</i> (Ungava (Sch) - same as <i>nijjauti</i>)
tape recorder	<i>nipiliurut</i> 'what is used to make a voice'
tape	<i>nipitsajaq</i> 'what may be used for a voice'
guitar	<i>kukiktapaut</i> 'what is used for playing by finger nails'
accordion	<i>nitjauti</i> 'what is used to make a loud noise, speak in a loud voice' (Tar) <i>tasijuaq</i> 'what stretches' (Tar) (see Clothing) <i>inngirut</i> 'what is used for singing' (CDor)
harmonica	<i>nitjauti</i> 'what is used to make a loud noise, speak in a loud voice' (Tar) <i>supuurtuapik</i> 'blow nicely with one's mouth'
harmonium	<i>nitjaaruti</i> (West Hudson Bay (Sch))
Religion:	
God	<i>naalagaq</i> 'one to be listened to'
hymn	<i>inngiuti</i> 'what is used for singing' (see Semantic Shift - <i>psiq</i>)
Bible	<i>ijjujuq</i> 'what is thick'
priest (Cath)	<i>iksirarjuaq/itsigarjuaq</i> 'who writes a lot?', 'important one who writes'? (see Folk Etymology under Effects of Designations, following section)
Bishop	<i>iksirarjuaraaluk</i> 'very important one who writes?'
Pope	<i>iksirarjuaraapik</i> 'very nice one who writes?'
minister (Angl)	<i>ajuriqsuiji</i> 'one who removes inabilities'
church	<i>tutsiarvik/tuksiarvik</i> 'place to ask for something, supplicate' (< <i>tuksiraaq</i> - 'make a submission' <i>oqaluffik</i> 'place for speaking (a lot)' (Pet76) <i>angaajjurvik</i> 'place to wail, as an angaqquq'

pray	<i>tuksiarniq/tutsiarniq</i> (< <i>tuksirarniq</i>) 'to ask for something'
Catholics	<i>uppiqatigiitsiaqtut</i> 'those who believe exactly the same things'
Pentecostals	<i>tammaqsaiji</i> 'who make people err' (i.e. lead them away from the other Church) <i>qiajuktut</i> 'ones who cry'
angel	<i>anirnitsiaq</i> 'good spirit, good breath' (also <i>aingili</i> <'angel')
Christmas	<i>quviasugvik</i> 'time for happiness' <i>anivvia</i> 'his time of exiting (i.e. time of birth)'
Law:	
policeman	<i>pukiqtalik</i> 'who has (a stripe on pants of) white fur from caribou stomach'
judge	<i>iqqaqtuiji</i> 'one who makes someone recall'
Court	<i>iqqaqtuivik</i> 'place where someone recalls'
lawyer	<i>maligaliriji</i> 'one who deals with things to be followed (laws)' <i>ikajuqti</i> (<i>maligait miksaanut</i>) 'helper (about things to be followed - laws)'
-Crown	<i>iqqaqtuiviup akiraqtinga</i> 'the rival, competitor, arguer, prosecutor in the place where someone is made to recall (court)'
-defence	<i>sapujjiji</i> 'one who defends someone' <i>pasijaujuup ikajuqtinga</i> 'helper of the one who is blamed'
accused	<i>pasijaujuq</i> 'one who is blamed, suspected'
witness	<i>unikkaaruaqtuqujaujuq</i> 'one who is told to come and relate a story'
-expert	<i>qaujima jummarik</i> 'one who knows a great deal'
offence	<i>pirajarniq</i> 'to do wrong' / 'a wrong-doing' <i>pinirlungniq</i> 'to do wrong' / 'a wrong-doing'
-summary	<i>pirajaluanninniq</i> 'do(ing) something not too bad'
-indictable	<i>pirajammaringniq</i> 'do(ing) something very wrong'

summons	<i>iqqaqtuivingmuaqujijjut</i> 'what is used to tell someone to come to the place where someone is made to recall (court)'
charge	<i>pasijaujjut</i> 'what is used for someone to be blamed' <i>iqqaqtuqtaujjuti</i> 'what is used to be made to recall (to be brought to court)'
arraignment	<i>iqqaqtuqtaujjutingata uqalimaaqtauninga</i> 'reading of the charge'
guilty plea	<i>pasijaksaunnirarniq</i> 'to claim to be potentially to blame'
not guilty plea	<i>pasijaksaunnnginnirarniq</i> 'to claim to not be potentially to blame'
acquitted	<i>iqqaqtuqtaujjutinga qujanaqtaujuq</i> 'his/her thing that is used to be made to recall is disregarded'
jail	<i>anullatsiivik</i> 'place where one is deterred from wanting to repeat a behaviour'
law/legislation	<i>maligaq</i> 'what is to be followed' <i>piqujaq</i> 'what tells someone what to do'
legislator	<i>maligaliuqti</i> 'who makes things to be followed'
Constitution	<i>piqujarjuaq</i> 'important thing that tells someone what to do' <i>tunnga(v)vik</i> 'foundation'
by-law	<i>ilainnanginnut maligalianguqsimajuq</i> 'for only some of them, what has been made to be followed'
Government and Politics:	
politics	<i>sannnginiqtaarasuarniq</i> 'trying to get strength/power'
department	<i>piliri(v)vik</i> 'place to do something' <i>iqqanaijarvik</i> 'place where it stops making someone recall something' (i.e. where things get done so you don't have to keep remembering to do them) <i>gavamaup aviktuqsimananga</i> 'a division of government'

world	<i>nunarjuaq</i> 'big land' <i>silarjuaq</i> 'big outside'
country	<i>nunaqutigijaujuq</i> 'land that is had as one's own'
nation	<i>ilaqatigiit</i> 'those who have each other as a part (of a whole)'
province (Cdn)	(<i>Kanataup</i>) <i>aviktuqsimaninga</i> 'a division (of Canada)'
territory	same as province?
NWT	<i>nunatsiaq</i> 'beautiful land' (not usually used in Western Arctic)
Parliament	<i>katimavigjuaq</i> 'important/big meeting place' <i>maligaliurvigjuaq</i> 'big/important place to make things to be followed (laws)'
caucus	<i>katimajiinait katimatillugit</i> 'all the meeters meeting'
committee	<i>katimajiralaat</i> 'small/less important meeters'
quorum	<i>katimajiit unurningit naammaliqtut</i> 'number of those who meet is enough'
Federal Gov't.	<i>inulirijitugait</i> 'ones who have dealt with/taken care of people for a long time (in the past)' <i>Kanataup gavamanga</i> 'government of Canada'
aboriginal rights	<i>nunaqaqqaqsima jut pijunnautingit</i> 'the things that those who had land first can do'
land claims	<i>nunataarasuarniq</i> 'trying to get land'
Economy and Professions:	
economy	<i>makitainnarasuarniq</i> 'trying to be always upright (i.e. on one's own feet)' <i>kiinaujaliurviksat</i> 'opportunities that may be used to make things like faces - money'
inflation	<i>sunatuinnait akittuqpalliarningit</i> 'the rising cost of everything' (see <i>aki</i> in Semantic Shift)
money	<i>kiinaujaq</i> 'what is like a face'
coin	<i>savirajaq</i> 'what is made of metal' <i>kikiak</i> 'iron'
work	<i>iqqanaijarniq</i> 'to try to stop recalling something?' (not usually used for manual labour)

debt	<i>akiliksaq</i> 'what is to be paid'
credit card	<i>auttajuuq</i> 'what has a habit of melting' (also 'plastic') <i>akiliksataarunnarut</i> 'what enables one to get something to be paid (debt)'
interest	<i>qiturrngiurutiit</i> 'what is used to proliferate, to make children'
bank	<i>kiinaujakkuvik</i> 'place for keeping things like faces (money)'
licence	<i>pijunnarut</i> 'what enables (someone) to do something'
contract	<i>angirut</i> 'agreement'
bond	<i>tatigijaujunnarnirarut</i> 'what says that (someone) can be relied on'
insurance	<i>nalliukumaaq</i> 'what is used either way (no matter what happens)'
Medicine:	
nurse	<i>najannguaq</i> 'like a sister' (from the calque 'sister, Nun')
nurse/doctor	<i>aanniaqsuqti</i> 'one who looks for sickness' <i>i+uaqsaiji</i> 'one who causes to be well'
pill	<i>ijigaaq</i> 'what is to be swallowed'
AIDS	<i>annaumajjutiqarunniqtuq</i> 'has no more of what is used for protection' <i>a sa pi</i> (NQ) (adapted from long compound designation ..)
mental health	<i>isumaqatsiarniq</i> 'to think properly'
disabled	<i>iliqqusirluktuq/ilusirluktuq</i> 'who has an unusual/bad way of behaving'
tampon	<i>simitsaq</i> 'what is used as a stopper'
Rocks and Minerals:	
aluminum	<i>uqinniqpaaq</i> 'the lightest one'
lead	<i>titirarutiksaq</i> 'what may potentially be used for writing instrument'
coal	<i>aumaaluk</i> 'what has been melted' 'big ember'

diamond	<i>sitiniqpaaq</i> 'the hardest one'
iron	<i>kikiak manngiruaqtuq</i> 'metal (iron) that can rust'
silver	<i>qukulliq</i> 'what has been frostbitten'?
mica	<i>qillaqiaq</i> 'brilliant (stone)'
uranium	<i>nungujuittuq</i> 'what does not run out'
Materials, Chemicals, Other Substances:	
paper	<i>sikutsajaaq</i> 'what is like thin ice'
	<i>alilajuq</i> 'what tears easily'
	<i>titirarvitsaq</i> 'something to write on'
glass	<i>sikuujaq</i> 'what is like ice'
	<i>sikutsajaaq</i> 'what is like thin ice'
	<i>aliguq</i> 'what can be torn'? (see Semantic Shift and Folk Etymology)
fibreglass	<i>aliguujaq</i> 'what is like glass'
enamel	<i>mamaaraujaq</i> 'what resembles a new coat of fur'
	<i>miliruaqtuq /milattuq</i> 'what chips easily'
chinaware	<i>jarraaq</i> 'what is fragile'? (< <i>ariuq</i> - be fragile, feeble (Fortescue: pers. comm.)) (see also Folk Etymology)
wire	<i>savigaujaq</i> 'what looks like metal'
	<i>kikiakutaaq</i> 'long metal/long iron/long nail'
plastic	<i>qillajukkiaq</i> 'something that is (really) shiny/like mica'
chemical	<i>asirurunnarut</i> 'what can change/destroy something'
paint	<i>amiaq</i> 'what resembles a fur hide'
energy	<i>uumaqut</i> 'what gives life'
Communications:	
book	<i>uqalimaagaq</i> 'what is used for talking'
	<i>atuagaq</i> 'what can be used (for a period of time)?',
	'what is to be read'
newspaper	<i>tusagaksat</i> 'what is to be heard'
magazine	<i>qimirruagaksaq</i> 'what can be looked over'
radio	<i>naalaut</i> 'what is listened to'
	<i>tusaut</i> 'what is used for hearing'
report	<i>unikkaalianguqsimajuq</i> 'what is made into an account, story'

page	<i>makpiraaq</i> 'what can be stood up on its side, or flipped over'
telephone	<i>uqaalaut</i> 'what is used for talking (for a period of time)'
	<i>uqaluut</i> 'what is used for talking'
phone number	<i>uqaalautiup nasautaa</i> 'number of that which is used for talking' (or just <i>uqaalaut</i>)
interpreter	<i>tusaaqi</i> 'one who listens'
	<i>mumiktiriji</i> 'one who turns things over'
	<i>uqaqti</i> 'speaker'
computer	<i>qaritaujaq</i> 'what is like a brain'
	<i>qaritannguaq</i> 'imitation brain'
	<i>ingminik titiraqtuq</i> 'what writes by itself'
fax	<i>ungasittumut titirarunnaqtuq</i> 'what is able to write to one far away'
	<i>ungasittumuurunnarut</i> 'what is used to be able to go far away'
satellite	<i>qangattaqtitausimajuq</i> 'something that is caused to fly through the air/hover in the air'
postage stamp	<i>qangatautiksaq</i> 'what may be used for the purpose of being suspended in the air'
Transportation:	
airplane	<i>qangatasuuq/qangatajuuq</i> 'what always hovers in the air'
	<i>tingmisuuq/timmijuq</i> 'what always flies'
helicopter	<i>qulimiguulik/qulaagulik</i> 'what has something on its top'
plane ticket	<i>qangatautiksaq</i> 'what may be used for the purpose of being suspended in the air'
vehicle	<i>nunakkuurut</i> 'what is used to go through the land'
	<i>nunasiut</i> 'what is used for the land'
car	<i>nunakkuurutituinnaq</i> 'something plain that is used to go through the land'

pick-up truck	<i>usittautilik</i> 'what has something for carrying things'
bus	<i>nunakkuurutikutaaq</i> 'long thing for going through the land'
train	<i>qamutialuk</i> 'big komatik'
skidoo	<i>qamutaujaq</i> 'what is like a komatik'
skidoo track	<i>kukiliralaaq</i> 'what has small fingernails' / 'small thing with fingernails'
motor	<i>aulauti</i> 'what is used for movement'

Implements and Tools:

glass	<i>aliguq</i> 'what can tear' ? (see Semantic Shift and Folk Etymology)
	<i>pullaujaq</i> 'what resembles a bubble'

Animals:

cow	<i>tuktuvak</i> 'big caribou'
chicken (domestic)	<i>aqiggir(juaq)</i> '(big) ptarmigan'
	<i>qallunaat aqiggingat</i> 'white persons ptarmigan'
turkey	<i>aqiggirjuar(juaq)</i> 'big (big) ptarmigan'

Clothing:

sweater	<i>tasijuaq</i> 'what stretches'
	<i>qalipaaq</i> 'what is in topmost position'
	<i>qulittaujaq</i> 'what is like a caribou skin coat' (Ig)
shirt	<i>uviniruaq</i> 'like a human skin' NQ
	<i>silalliq</i> 'what is in outermost position' (CDor)
undershirt	<i>uviniruaq</i> 'like a human skin'
	<i>ilulliq</i> 'what is in innermost position'
longjohns	<i>ilulliq</i> 'what is in innermost position'
	<i>ilupaaq</i> 'what is in innermost position'
socks	<i>tasijuak</i> 'what stretches (dl)'
windpants	<i>silapaaq</i> 'what is in outermost position'
	<i>qarlialuuk</i> 'big pants (dl)' (CDor)
	<i>qarlikajaak</i> '...pants'? (NQ)

Food and Other Comestibles:

juice	<i>imigaaq</i> 'what is to be drunk'
soft drink	<i>imigaaq</i> 'what is to be drunk'
alcoholic beverage	<i>imialuk</i> 'bad water'

onion	<i>uaniujaaq</i> 'what smells like armpits' < <i>uaniarniq</i> ? 'strong smell of human beings' armpits' (Sch) (see also Folk Etymology)
carrot	<i>usuujaaq</i> 'what resembles a penis'
cucumber	"
sausage/weiner	"
chocolate bar	<i>anaujaaq</i> 'what resembles excrement'
peanut butter	"
sugar	<i>siuraujaaq</i> 'what resembles sand' <i>mammaksaut</i> 'what is used to make something taste good' <i>pitatsaq</i> 'something to put on/in something' <i>auksiriaq</i> 'what melts easily' <i>avu</i> 'thing to stir'?
bread	<i>niaquujaaq</i> 'what resembles a head'
orange	<i>milluagaaq</i> 'what is to be sucked' (see also Borrowed Words and Semantic Expansion)
Homes and Buildings:	
house	<i>iglurjuaq</i> 'big igloo/house'
museum	<i>takugaksaqarvik</i> 'place that has things to be seen'
library	<i>uqalimaagaqarvik</i> 'place that has things to be read'
office	<i>allav(v)ik</i> 'place to write' <i>titirarvik</i> 'place to write'
hospital/ nusing station	<i>aanniaqsiurvik</i> 'place to look for illness'
hotel	<i>siniktaarvik</i> 'place to get sleep' <i>tujurmivik</i> 'place to feel welcome'
Social Relations:	
boy/girlfriend	<i>piqati</i> 'companion for doing something' <i>piqannaaq</i> '?'
boyfriend	<i>uisuk</i> 'future husband'

live-in partner	<i>illuqati(gi)</i> 'house companion' <i>inuqati(gi)</i> 'life companion'
racism	<i>qanuittuuningit pijjutigillugit akiraqtuiniq</i> 'to persecute/rival because of how they are'
native people	<i>qallunaangunngittut</i> 'those who are not whites'
white person	<i>qallunaaq</i> 'has a large brow'? (see Folk Etymology) (in Greenland <i>qaᖅᖅᖅunaaq</i> 'Dane', <i>Tuluk</i> 'English person' - origin unknown).

6.1.4 Semantic Shift:

The next category is made up of designations that involve a semantic shift of an already existing word in the target language. Some authors have used "semantic shift" to refer to a change in meaning that completely supplants the existing meaning. In this discussion, it is used generically to mean any type of semantic adjustment. Expansion (**exp**), narrowing (**nar**), replacement (**repl**), loss (**loss**) will be used to qualify the nature of the shift. In the list below, some discussion is provided where appropriate, but cumulative effects are summarized in the next chapter.

Calques, or loan translations, are included in this group because they are words that already exist in the adopting language that are given a loan meaning, by analogy with the corresponding lexical item in the source language (eg. *timi* 'body' now also 'a group of individuals considered to be an entity' < English).

Many lexicalizations have contributed to semantic shift as well, since older morphemes have been combined into novel expressions to refer to new ideas, concepts and material items, and thereby, new analogies have arisen.

The meanings of these items cannot be determined from an analysis of their constituent parts, and so new semantemes as well as lexemes have been created. Borrowings have also caused semantic shift, since in many cases they result in semantic narrowing of an existing lexeme, part of whose meaning is taken over by the newly adopted term.

The items below are presented in the same topical order as the Lexicalizations. The headings refer to the new meaning of the lexeme. Again, only a small sample of the extant items is included.

Time:

hour	<i>ikarraq</i> 'a strait between two islands' exp > 'an hour' (the space traversed by the hour hand)
minute	<i>ikarraq</i> exp > 'five minutes' (the space traversed by the minute hand between two numbers on a clock)
month(s) (names of...)	<i>siqinngilaq</i> 'the sun is not shining' loss > <i>Januari</i> , <i>Vivuari</i> , etc. <i>natsiat</i> 'seal pups' loss > <i>Maatsi</i> 'March'
day(s) (names of ...)	designations regarding the age of the moon (Boas 1964:240) - no specific items given loss > <i>Sanataili</i> 'Sunday', <i>Aipiq</i> 'Tuesday', etc. based on a seven-day week

Directions and Space:

north	<i>uangnaq</i> 'northwest wind ² ' exp > 'magnetic north, north compass point'
south	<i>nigiq</i> '2' exp > 'south compass point'
west	<i>pingannaq</i> '2' exp > 'west compass point'
east	<i>kanangnaq</i> '2' exp > 'east compass point'

Eastern Arctic	<i>uqquq</i> 'on the lee side, sheltered from the wind' ² nar > 'Baffin Island/ Eastern Arctic (communities)'
Baffin	<i>qikiqtaaluk</i> 'big island' nar > 'Baffin Island'
Keewatin	<i>kivalliq</i> 'southmost' ² nar > 'Keewatin (communities)'
Western Arctic	<i>ualiniq</i> '2' nar > 'Western Arctic (communities)'
Arctic Coast	<i>qitirmiut</i> 'those in the middle' nar > 'Arctic Coast communities'
world, earth	<i>silarssuaq</i> 'Great Spirit of Justice' (Freuchen 1961:126) repl > 'world'
Music:	
hymn	<i>pisiq</i> 'personal song used to tell about oneself' exp > 'hymn'
Religion:	
Father	<i>ataata</i> 'biological father' exp > 'Catholic Priest' (calque)
Sister	<i>najak</i> 'sister of a male' exp > 'Nun, Sister' (calque)
spirit	<i>anirniq</i> 'breath' exp > 'spirit'
evil spirit	<i>turnnngaq</i> 'guardian spirit' (in some regions) repl > 'evil spirit, ghost'
Government and Politics:	
chairperson	<i>iksivautaq</i> 'chair, what is used for sitting' exp > 'chairperson, the Chair' (calque)
speaker	<i>uqaqti</i> 'one who speaks' exp > 'Speaker, chairperson' (calque)
Economy:	
price	<i>aki</i> 'counterpart - other side of bay, rival, either side of an entranceway, recompense, answer ...' exp/(repl?) > 'price' (what is given back in return for goods) (this new meaning has almost replaced all other meanings in the minds of younger speakers)
trade	<i>tauqsiniq</i> 'exchange items of sentimental value' exp/(repl?) > 'trade, as in buying' (this item has been replaced in many places by

niuvirniq 'buy, purchase' because the custom of exchanging is disappearing; Freuchen (1961: 49) has *qooyanasat* (*qujannaksaq*) 'something to say thank you with', which retains its meaning today cf. *qujannamiik* 'thank you')

Medicine:

- drug *ujarak* 'stone' **exp** > 'mind-altering drug, that is used to get "stoned" (marijuana, hashish, ...)' (calque)
- nurse *najannguaq* 'imitation sister of a male'
exp > 'nurse' (a Loan Blend involving the calque *najak* 'sister/ Sister, Nun' + *-nnguaq* 'imitation')
- tampon *sakuuti* 'bullet' **exp** > 'tampon'

Animals:

- seal *natsiq* 'ringed seal' **exp** > 'seal of any type'
- polar bear *nanuq* 'polar bear' **exp** > 'any type of polar bear, any age, sex, ...'

Clothing:

- parka *qulittaq* 'outer caribou skin coat' **exp** > 'parka of man-made material'
jaika(q /k) < 'jacket' **exp** > 'parka' (a Loan Shift - borrowed word with partial/complete shift in meaning)
- boot(s) *kamik* 'sealskin boot' **exp** > 'any boot'
nar > *kammaaluk* 'rubber boots'

Food:

- food *niqi* 'meat' **exp** > 'any kind of food'
- drink alcohol *imirniq* 'drink (water)'
nar > 'drink alcoholic beverage'
imiqsimajuq 'who has drunk something'
nar > 'has drunk alcoholic beverage'
- alcohol *imiq* 'water' **nar** > *imialuk* 'bad water, alcohol'
- orange/grape/ *paunngaq* 'a black-blue berry' (scientific name
 raisin unknown) **exp** > orange/raisin/grape'

Homes and Buildings:

- house *iglu/illu* 'snowhouse' **exp** > 'house of wood, bricks, ...'
iglurjuaq 'big house' **nar** > 'house of wood, bricks, ...'

Relations and Social Interactions:

cousin	<i>illuq</i> 'cross cousin' exp > 'cross or parallel cousin' ³
body	<i>timi</i> 'body of a living creature' exp > 'organization, group of individuals recognized as an entity' (calque)
good morning	<i>ullaakkut</i> 'during the morning' exp > 'good morning' (greeting in this fashion is a new custom)
good day	<i>ulluqatsiarniaqqutit</i> 'you will have a good day' exp > 'have a good day' (new greeting) (calque)

Others:

shit!	<i>anaq</i> 'excrement' exp > 'shit (swear word)' (calque)
asshole!	<i>itig</i> 'anus' exp > 'asshole (swear word)' (calque).

Notes for Chapter 6

1. For this reason, it might be appropriate in Inuktitut to call these words *tiguarijaujut* 'those which are adopted'. Since semantic extension of words is a common method of developing new terminology, as we will see in the next section, this process could be applied in the present example.
2. For a complete discussion of the various meanings of these directional words, see Fortescue (1988). The variations are too complex to indicate here by one word equivalents.
3. Cross cousins are those who are related by two parents of opposite sex (i.e. the mother of one and the father of the other cousin are siblings); parallel cousins are related by parents who are siblings of the same sex. Inuktitut has different terms for these.

CHAPTER 7

7.0 Effects of Lexical Change on Inuktitut

It is obvious from all of the previous examples that English is affecting Inuktitut in numerous ways. The following is a summary of some of the main effects.

7.1 Phonological Effects:

7.1.1 Processes Not Attributable to Contact

Not all processes of language change are due to external factors. As in any living language, there are a number of processes of natural language change that have occurred and are occurring in the Eskimo-Aleut language family. A few of these will be mentioned so that they can be compared to those that are generated by contact.

Marsh and Swadesh (1951:214) point out that some dialects of Eskimo used "affective reduplication of vowel or second syllable." Proto-Eskimo-Aleut *#ana* 'mother' became *anaR* in Aleut, *aana* 'mother or grandmother' in some Eskimo dialects, and *anaana* in the Eastern Arctic.

Reduplication of consonants was used for creating duals or plurals. For

example, *malik*, 'a wave', became *mallik* 'two waves', or *mallit*, 'more than two waves'. In the Eastern Arctic today, however, this reduplication of consonants is not widely used, although some older forms still exist. Instead the dual would be *maliik*, the plural *maliit*. The reduplication of consonants is still used in some Western Arctic dialects, however, (Lowe 1985:37) which contributes to contemporary dialect differences between West and East. This process involves the effects of the historic "fourth vowel", or, in other words, the effects of "weak i and strong i".

Marsh and Swadesh (1951:212) refer to "rythmic loss of initial vowel in unanalyzable trisyllabic stems in Eskimo." Loss of an initial vowel seems to have occurred at several stages. In Yup'ik, there are numerous examples of these words (Jacobson 1984:23-28). One example from Barnum (1901:176 and 229) indicates that the same process has occurred somewhere in time or place between Western Alaska 1901 and the Copper dialect 1982. Barnum reports *Ataata* 'by and by' or 'presently' in West Coast Alaskan Eskimo in 1901. This may correspond in Cambridge Bay to the expression *tajjagu/tazzagu* [tazzagu] 'just a minute', the suffix *-gu* 'during' or 'at a specific time' being added.

Another example similar to the latter phenomenon may be the Pallirmiut stem *itsiraq-* 'to write' (Dorais 1983:90). This word may be the root in 'catholic priests', or 'the Bishop', *itsirarjuaq*, 'who writes a lot'. In other dialects, of the Eastern Arctic this stem is *titiraq-*, and although *itsirarjuaq* is still used in some cases to refer to Catholic priests, such as the name for the old Catholic mission valley *Itsiraarjuaq* in Cape Dorset, people are not able to identify the

etymology of this word. If they are cognates, the initial *t* has dropped and affrication of the medial *t* has occurred. Other possible examples are *aalagit* < *naalagit* 'listen!' and *aukka/aagga* < *nauk/naagga* 'no'.

Eskimo language has a dual, as well as a plural, and at least one change in the language seems attributable to this fact. It was stated earlier, that all nouns end in a vowel or voiceless stop. The dual has usually been indicated by the use of a final *k*, the plural by a final *t*. In nouns which represent natural pairs, like legs, hands, eyes, and so on, the dual form of the word was quite common. This has led to dialectal, and idiolectal differences with regard to the singular form of these words. The singular appears sometimes with a final *k*, sometimes with a vowel ending.

1 leg	niu or niuk	2 legs	niuk
1 arm	talik	2 arms	taliik
1 eye	iji(k)	2 eyes	ijiik.

Marsh and Swadesh (1951:214) indicate *paRutik* 'a two-bladed paddle', such as that used in a kayak. In modern Eastern Arctic Inuktitut, the word *pautaq* 'single-bladed paddle' shows a different formation again for the singular. It is difficult to know what the historic singular for these words was, since they were so often recorded in the dual. It is significant, however, that there are current idiolectal differences in the singular form of some words due to this historical process. Some new lexical designations may also exhibit these idiolectal or dialectal differences when designations refer to natural pairs, such as pants, etc.

Another process which is demonstrated by this last example, and by many others, is the loss of voiced continuants, nasals or liquids between vowels *paRutik* > *pautaq*. In Greenland, for example, *uvanga* 'I' has become *ua*, a change which has not affected the Canadian Arctic as far as I know. In the Western Arctic, *nauna* 'I don't know' corresponds in the Eastern Arctic, with *nalunaq* 'it is difficult to know', or 'it makes one not know (what to do, or say, or think)'. In the Western example, syncope and apocope have occurred.

On the surface, word-final nasalization of voiceless stops occurs regularly, and more frequently in the West than in the East. It may not seem unnatural, then, for English words ending in nasal consonants to be pronounced as such in Inuktitut, since this is an existing surface phenomenon already widespread in the language.

7.1.2 Phonological Effects of Lexical Change Due to Contact

Borrowing is responsible for almost all of the phonological changes in Inuktitut which are due to contact with English. A number of consonants appear in borrowed words that are not part of the phonemic inventory of Inuktitut, although some do appear as allophones in Inuktitut, but not in the same environments as they appear in these borrowed words:

New Phones:

[w] *Wiliam* 'William' (alternately *Uiliam* which is completely adapted);

[f] *fuunamma* 'phone number' (now in dialects that did not have it as an allophone of /p/ previously;

[g] *Guuti* 'God', *gavama* 'government' (Inuktitut has [ɣ]);

[r] *Riipika* 'Rebecca' (alternately *Uliipika* which is completely adapted); *Ruusi* 'Rose' (alternately *Uluusi*);

New Environments:

initial [b] *buutiik* 'boots', *baibaik* 'Bay bag, plastic bag';

initial [f] *fuunnama* 'phone number';

initial [g] *Guuti* 'God' (did exist in older names like *Goo* - origin unknown);

initial [ɕ] *juus* 'juice', *Jiisusi* 'Jesus'

initial [v] *Vipuari* 'February'.

It would not appear that any new phonemes have been introduced, but /p/ /b/ opposition may occur in the not too distant future: (*paippaaq* 'paper' *baibaik* 'Bay bag, plastic bag'; *baatali* 'battery' *paatalik* 'what has a doorway', etc.) (See Bergsland 1979:23-32 for the effects of English on Aleut, including the creation of a new phoneme).

Consonant clusters that do not normally occur in Inuktitut are also permitted due to borrowing. There are also clusters word initially and finally, which violates another phonotactic rule. Borrowed names are particularly responsible for many of these violations (*Uipsta* 'Webster', *Jaansan* 'Johnson', *Smit* 'Smith', also *laisans* 'licence').

The morphophonemic constraint that all morphemes must end in a vowel or voiceless stop is regularly violated (*juus* 'juice', *aisikalim* 'ice cream', *nikal* 'nickel', *pursaan* 'percent'). In some of these words, a nasal feature of vowels

is detectible, as if this were used to avoid violating the constraint against final nasal phonemes, (although nasalization of voiceless stops in final position is a common surface phenomenon).

Surface diphthongization in some borrowed words does not occur where it normally would in Inuktitut - *tuasat* 'Dorset' is [tuaset] not [t^Waset] as in *tui(k)* [t^Wik] 'shoulder'; also *kuapakkut* 'Co-op' is [kuapakut] not [k^Wapakut], as in *kuaniq* [k^Waneq] 'angelica'.

Orthographic constraints of the syllabic system have also influenced the phonological changes which have occurred due to contact. Since the syllabic orthography was revised in 1976, the English sound [ɛ^Y] as in Abraham, Isaiah, previously written with one character $\overset{o}{\Delta}$, has been re-analyzed as [a_i], $\triangleleft \Delta$, which no longer preserves the peculiar English pronunciation of these words, which was originally adopted concomitantly. This is somewhat unusual, since the more common process is for nativization of sounds to occur first, with adoption of non-native sounds later. (See Conclusions). Speakers of Western dialects seem to adopt non-nativized pronunciations, and borrowed words, more often than speakers in the East.

Another effect of syllabic orthography has been the constraint against using acronyms or initials. Since each character in this system is syllabic, rather than alphabetic, as in English, syllabics did not permit the short forms created by using only a first segment of each word. The practice of adopting English acronyms as unanalyzed chunks has occurred in such items as *IBC-kkut*,

CBC-kkut, *ITC-kkut* (-*kkut* 'and associated ones'). This last item was actually borrowed from Inuktitut into English, *Inuit Tapiriitsaq Kanatami* 'Inuit brotherhood in Canada', given the English acronym ITC, and in turn, was borrowed back by Inuit as an unanalyzed syntagm. The first instance, I believe, of an acronym in Inuktitut, which is created by the first syllable of each word in a compound designation, occurred in Northern Quebec, with their coined term for AIDS. The designation was obviously considered to be too long and cumbersome, and so, by analogy with the English practice, an innovation occurred - *a.pa.si* 'A.I.D.S.', an inuktitut acronym. (The original phrase is not available to me at this time. It is something like 'in the blood, the things for protecting are taken away'. The acronym could be *asapi*).

7.2 Morphological Effects of Contact with English

The creation of so many new lexemes increases the extent of morphological difference between dialects. This is the area where the greatest effect is being felt. Despite the fact that Inuit of different regions are more in contact now than they ever have been before, the onslaught of new designations due to cultural change has begun to create new difficulties for mutual intelligibility. Unfortunately, what happens in this case is that many speakers revert to borrowing an English word that they know will be understood, instead of using a lexicalization or semantic shift, employing Inuktitut morphemes.

The existence of one or more designations for a referent does not seem to impede the creation of another designation ('sugar' *sukaaq*, *siuraujaq*,

auksiriaq, pitatsaq, mammaksaut, avu; 'orange' ulainisiq, milluagaq, paunngaq; 'watch' qaujisaq-, uatsi- ; 'wash' irmik- uasaq-.) Since in many cases the lexicalization or semantic shift of a native word still leaves some ambiguity as to the referent, a term is often borrowed from English, even when a term is created by one of these other methods. Sometimes too, speakers felt that the English referent was different enough to require a designation completely different from anything already existing in Inuktitut.

There are a few examples of words changing form class when they are borrowed. *Haakiqtuq* '(s)he plays hockey' reduces an English verb phrase 'play hockey', involving the noun 'hockey', to a verb stem *haakiq-* 'to hockey'. On this same model is the example *haalitaiqtuq* '(s)he holidays', although this is sometimes used as a verb in English as well. Both are verbalized by the same suffix *-iq*. The other items *uasaq-* 'wash' and *taanisiq-* 'dance, are verbs transferred as verbs, employing the same *-(i)q* verbalizing suffix. The example *uatsi-* 'watch' also conforms to the morphophonemic constraint of vowel or voiceless stop in morpheme-final position. In some ways, it resembles a de-transitivized verb - *uat-* 'watch' + *-si-* the de-transitivizing suffix. It may be significant that Inuit have not felt the same type of constraints as English speakers in using nouns as verbs, (although examples do exist in English too), perhaps due to the dual possibilities for many stems in Inuktitut.

Aside from the borrowing back into Inuktitut of ITC, the English acronym for 'Inuit Tapiriitsat of Canada', at least two other items have followed this

process. One is the name for the new Inuit land claim territory, *Nunavut* 'our land', a noun inflected for plural person. This inflected form has re-entered Inuktitut, but is treated as a foreign word. It does not trigger epenthesis of /i/ when it precedes a nasal, such as with *-mik* acc/obl case - *Nunavutmik*, but *angutimik* **angutmik* 'man' + acc/obl; *aputimik* **aputmik* 'snow', (but *-tm-* is an acceptable cluster in Natsilingmiut).

The etymology of names is often discussed, since most Inuktitut names still have very obvious meaning. The name *Tapatai* in the Rankin area seemed to be unanalyzable to all the people I asked, except that one woman said it was borrowed from English 'starboard eye' (the one on a ship who keeps watch on the starboard side?).¹ Sometimes names that are borrowed are re-analyzed in terms of Inuktitut morphology, which gives rise to some folk etymology. Aside from the morphological aspect of influence here, the trend away from naming individuals after relatives should be noted. As well, Inuit names often have curious meanings (*Usuittuq* 'has no penis', *Usutsiaq* 'nice penis', *Putuguuq* 'big toe', *Mikkigaq* 'raw meat', *Nakasuk* 'bladder', etc.) , which are a source of humour. New names, borrowed from English, do not provide the same connotations.

Some speakers do not recognize borrowed words after they have been nativized, and consequently begin to re-analyze borrowed words according to morphemes of Inuktitut. One representative lexeme is *palaugaq* < 'flour', which was not recognized as a borrowed word by any of the people I interviewed. Sometimes, this gives rise to an interesting folk etymology. The designation for 'onion', *uaniujaq*, has been analyzed as a loan blend, the

borrowing 'onion' + *ujaq* 'what resembles'. It has also been considered a lexicalization derived from *uaniarniq* 'strong smell of human armpits' + *ujaq* 'what resembles'.

Qallunaaq is another source of folk etymology, considered to be a calque involving two nouns *qallu* 'eyebrow' and *naaq* 'stomach', since, apparently, these are two characteristics that distinguish Inuit from Whites. The thing that discourages this analysis is that Inuktitut does not create compounds involving two noun stems or two verb stems. It may, instead, be analyzed as a lexicalization 'large brow area'. Either way, eyebrows are a significant factor!

The word *jarraaq* 'chinaware' is peculiar in that it has an initial [j]², which occurs in only perhaps ten lexical items (apparently) native to Inuktitut. Because of this unusual phonological feature, I tried to determine whether the word might be borrowed, especially since it signifies a material that is foreign to Inuit. Two suggestions were made about the etymology. It may derive from *ariuq*- 'be feeble or fragile' - with metathesis in the first syllable (Fortescue pers. comm.), *yaraq*- in North Baffin (Dorais pers.comm.) and in Sigliq (Lowe pers.comm.), or it may be a semantic shift of the word *jarraaq* that designates 'mother of pearl', but only one speaker knew this other meaning. Could it be a loan shift from the French *jarre* 'earthenware jar', or a borrowing of the English *jug*, with phonological adaptation and synecdoche, a part (chinaware jug?) that stands for the whole (all chinaware)? One other possibility is that it is derived from a cognate with a Yup'ik word *yaaruin* 'a

story knife made of ivory' (Jacobson 1984). No matter what the true etymology is, it is obscure enough to have caused many of the people I interviewed to create a folk etymology, especially since the referent was introduced through contact (with English?).

In response to my questions about words in Inuktitut that would be the equivalent of the English word 'green', some speakers in South Baffin, especially Cape Dorset, supplied the word *ujaujaq*. This word does not seem to be known outside of South Baffin. In trying to determine the etymology, one speaker said it might be the word *uqaujaq* 'like a tongue', which is used for 'leaf', and hence, it has come to mean 'green < leaf green', but with a sound change. I was told that this type of change has occurred in other words *tingaujat* 'like pubic hairs' > *tiraujat* '?', meaning a black lichen composed of hair-like branches. The speakers I interviewed seemed a bit perplexed about not being able to find a suitable equivalent for 'green', since they were so familiar with the English referent and designation.

Dual forms have disappeared or are disappearing for many of the speakers interviewed. In some dialects, duals have completely disappeared. This is a change that could be a result of contact with English, which only preserves a few historical dual forms - pair, couple, etc. Loss of dual forms is a very common occurrence in many languages, however, so no definite conclusion can be drawn on this matter. It is interesting to note, though, that many Inuit perceive this loss of dual to be due to the influence of English.

A lot of young people are beginning to shorten wordforms, so that they omit either the inflectional ending of a verb, or omit the verb stem where it is understood in context. This could also be a result of contact with English - which is an isolating language and therefore does not require repetition of all morphemes that agglutinating languages require to produce grammatically correct forms. Consider these examples:

Long form:

qainngittuq '(s)he is not coming

qanuinngettunga 'I'm fine'

nirijjaanngittuq '(s)he won't eat'

qainiaqpit? 'will you come?'

aninngilatit? 'aren't you going out?'

Abbreviated form:

qainngi- not coming

qanuinnngi- fine

nirijjaanngi- won't eat

-niaqpit? 'will you...?'

-nngilatit? 'aren't you ...?'

7.3 Syntactic Effects:

Probably, this is the area of least effect. There are only a few examples that come to mind. The first is the development of new methods for noun inflection for person, as discussed in the dialect differences in Chapter 3. It is, in fact, not entirely possible to claim that these developments are a result of contact with English (or French in Northern Quebec). The changes here may simply be internally motivated by morphological leveling, by consonant assimilation, of the differences in noun inflections for person.

It could be argued however, that at least one, or more of these changes is

based on an analogy with English. The forms that most closely resemble English are those built by using the noun inflected for first person, in the absolutive case, as a stem for all other case inflections except the genitive - *iglugani*, *igluganut*, ..., revealing a regularity in the morpheme for 1 sg, such as 'my' in English; and the use of a separate adjectival form preceding the noun - *uvanga iglunni* 'of me in my/your house', reflecting the same word order as English. The form *iglu(n)niuvanga* 'in my/your house of me', employing an enclitic, is probably not based on an analogy with English.

Dorais (1979b:80), Gagné (1960:21) and Petersen (1979) report sentences modeled on an isolating typology, with English word order in Dorais' examples, and Danish word order in Gagné's and Petersen's examples. Their respective examples follow:

Dorais:

uvanga taku ivvit < *takuvagit* 'I see you'

uvanga najak nipi amisut < *najaga uqaqtualuk* 'my sister talks alot'

ivvit sinik auka ten o'clock Satanasi aliasuk < *sininngikkuvit tajamuulauqtinnagu Satanasi aliasungniaqtuq*. 'if you don't sleep by ten o'clock, Satan will be happy'

Gagné:

ivdlit anivoq nâmik < *aningilatit* 'you do not go out'.

Petersen's example is almost identical. He also mentions that this type of

construction is especially used in Nuuk, and rarely elsewhere, as it is perceived to be a foreign element. He illustrates other minor syntactic effects of contact with Danish, such as more fixed word order, noun compounding (*ullup qeqqa* 'of the day, its middle' > *ulloqeqqa* 'midday'), collective nouns being treated as singulars, and changes in affix ordering. He suggests that some of this influence is due to materials being translated from Danish into Greenlandic. I do not think this phenomenon has been studied for documents translated from English, but I think similar effects would be found.

Another phenomenon that is common in Eastern Arctic Inuktitut is the substitution of a number of English morphemes in an otherwise Inuktitut construction, or vice-versa. For example, you might hear:

I *sinik*-ed too much. 'I slept too much.'

toomuch-*ittuq*. 'it's too much!

My *najakuluk* visit-*ilauqtuq* last year. 'My young sister visited last year.'

What is especially fascinating about these examples is that the English syntax is usually followed for the most part, and that there is a correct morpheme by morpheme analysis of the Inuktitut polymorphemic wordform and of the English wordform, which is not easily done by many of these same individuals if you ask them to, say, identify (the meaning of) a specific morpheme in a wordform. They seem to unconsciously break the words into their appropriate morphemes and substitute the correct equivalent from the other language. Aside from this, they usually combine Inuktitut and English

phonotactics in these combinations - notice the epenthetic vowel [i] after 'visit' before another consonant (although the particular morpheme involved, *-lauq-* past tense, dictates consonant deletion in native structures).

7.4 Semantic Effects:

Adoption of new words and their referents has caused a great deal of re-organization in the previously established semantic domains of Inuktitut. It is difficult to know, for example, if the adoption of such words as *kala* 'colour', and the lexicalization of words like *aukpajangajuq* 'what is like red' > 'orange'³, *ujaujaq* 'what resembles *uja/uqaq?*' > 'green', *itsingujaq* 'what resembles berry juice' > 'purple', and the semantic expansion of *inugait* 'what resemble people' 'toes' 'seal flipper bones (used as dolls)' > 'fingers', represent new concepts in Inuktitut. If there was no obvious lexical item in Inuktitut previously, precipitating the creation of a new lexical item due to contact with English, can we assume that the concept did not previously exist? This question brings the old Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to bear, which is an argument that I do not wish to tackle at this point (Cf. Carroll 1956).

Despite the creation of many new lexical items to represent new referents, some lexical gaps still exist in Inuktitut - from the English semantic point of view. For example, although many words for time have been developed, I have not encountered a word for 'seconds'; designations for 'green', 'pink', 'orange' and other secondary colours are still not entirely satisfactory - even to the Inuit who use them; and there are many other examples. A lexical gap is often a motivation for the creation of a new designation, but there are so many of these gaps at present because of the tangential nature of the

correspondence between the cultures involved, that it is not possible to deal with them all at once.

Many new terms are being created by the semantic expansion of existing vocabulary, in order to create generic categories such as those in English. 'Seal' in a generic sense is now *natsiq*, although this term specifically designates 'ringed seal', with other terms traditionally used for other types of seal: *ujjuk* 'bearded seal', *qairulik* 'Greenland seal, sea lion', *tiggaq* 'male rutting seal whose meat stinks', etc. Many young people are not aware of all these specific lexical items, and are beginning to follow the English model of using the same generic lexical item with a separate adjectival form - for example, *natsiq angutialuk* 'big male seal'. It could be likened to the process in English involving loss of such lexical specialities as 'pod' of whales, 'gaggle' of geese, and so on.

For 'fingers', the term *inugait* was given by some speakers, but many others smiled as they suggested it, since it means 'what resemble people' and has been used more commonly to refer to 'seal flipper bones', which were (and sometimes still are) used as tiny dolls. The semantic expansion of the word *aggait* 'hands' was more acceptable to most, but was unsatisfactory for a clear distinction between 'hands' and 'fingers'. Because such terms exist in English, many speakers feel the necessity of creating semantic equivalent categories in their language.

It is often necessary to borrow a word to fill a semantically generic role, such

as *kala* 'colour', for which no term seemed to exist, at least not one that more than a few people agreed on. This causes semantic narrowing, for example, of the word *taksaq* which was reported to mean 'pattern'.

The word *aliguq* 'glass' has come to mean the imported type of 'drinking glass'. It used to mean, in some areas at least 'translucent quartz', but it seems to have taken on a new semantic role due to the new referent. This appeared to be a case of semantic replacement, at least for those I interviewed, since no one I talked to mentioned this older meaning. In fact, most people thought the word derived from *alik-* 'to rip, tear', and could not figure out why a 'glass' would be called 'something that rips'.

The word *imiq-* 'drink' has come, by semantic narrowing, to mean specifically 'drink alcoholic beverage', especially when it is used as *imiqsimajuq* '(s)he has had something to drink'. This is probably as a result of a calque based on the English expression.

Kinship has begun to be reorganized in many young people's minds based on the English nomenclature. Inuit do have words to distinguish cross cousins from parallel cousins. However, these, and other specific kinship terms, are becoming confused by younger speakers. In English, we say 'my cousin', no matter whether the cousin is a relative because our two parents are the same sex or different sexes. The more specific Inuit terms *arnaqatiga* 'my cousin, (since our mothers are sisters)', and *angutiqati* 'my cousin (since our fathers are brothers)', are falling together under the category of *illura* 'my cousin

(since one male parent and one female parent are siblings)'. In English, we do not determine the nomenclature based on the sex of the relating relative - i.e. of our parents. Any children of any siblings of either parent are 'cousins'. The loss of some Inuktitut vocabulary can be directly related to the confusion between the two systems, and to the fact that, until recently, lessons such as those on family units would be taught from an English organizational point of view, rather than from an Inuit one.

The concept of 'teenager' is considered by Condon (1987) to be a new concept for Inuit. So too is there a new connotation for some words, such as 'mother-in-law', which has now taken on some of the derogatory connotation from English "mother-in-law jokes", although this relationship used to be a very respected one. The word *uvattinni* 'at our house' has now come to be used by single people who live alone to mean 'at my house'. An individual living in his/her own private unit was not a common occurrence for Inuit previously.

The introduction of many different items has caused existing terminology to undergo certain semantic changes. Many fruits and vegetables, for example, were unfamiliar items until quite recently, and have begun to require designations in Inuktitut. The word *paunngaq* 'a blue-black berry' has come to include such other items as 'raisins, grapes and oranges'. *Kikiak* 'iron' has come to mean a 'nail' or 'coin'. There are innumerable other examples. Whenever these new meanings arise, there is some re-adjustment of the whole semantic domain to include the new referent, or to exclude it if it is now designated by a new lexical item.

Footnotes

1. Mikle Langenhan told me about this item, and said that Dorothy Eber found a photograph and some reference to this in archival material. I have not been able to contact Dorothy to confirm this.
2. "Initial i was lost in Aleut before z and j" (Marsh & Swadesh 212)
3. Heinrich (1977:54) reports that there are no orange or purple named domains in Inuktitut, based on research at Rankin Inlet 1972.

CHAPTER 8

8.0 Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

According to the categories discussed in Chapter 2, it would appear that most Inuit are in the second phase of language adaptation - they have begun to become "intimate" enough with English, that they no longer adapt borrowed words completely to the phonotactic and morphophonemic constraints of Inuktitut. They more readily accept "foreign" words without adapting them. They have begun to re-organize some semantic domains to correspond more closely to the English framework. They have developed a skill at intermingling the different morphological systems of the two languages, and regularly combine the two languages into the same conversations, sentences and even into the same word.

The exact nature of the speech of different age groups has yet to be studied, I believe, and would contribute a great deal to our understanding of the process of change occurring in Inuktitut today. It is true that we do not know, for most individuals, which is their dominant language, or whether, indeed, either language is dominant. We do not know the normal patterns of child language learning among Inuit, so that it is difficult to develop appropriate school curriculum and materials. Generally, this is based on the English model.

Inuktitut is a living language, but it is up against great odds for survival. Foster (1984) predicts that Inuktitut has the best chance of all Canadian native languages for survival. There are approximately 24,000 Inuit in Canada, 20,000 of whom are speakers of Inuktitut (Woodbury 1984:52), and in the Keewatin and Baffin regions, Inuktitut is commonly used as the language of transactions in almost all aspects of life. However, Dorais et alia (1987) suggest that Inuktitut does not have any guarantees of survival if current trends in usage are not reversed. Very few young people are teaching Inuktitut to their children, and even when they do, many children interact among themselves in English.

The effects described in this thesis indicate that Inuktitut is being changed dramatically - in apparent ways, (eg. sounds, syllable structure, transparent borrowed words, etc.) and in more subtle ways. Even for many new designations, when a term or phrase is developed using morphemes native to Inuktitut, the underlying meaning is so often a foreign concept or item, that older Inuit do not have the same cultural frame of reference to decode these terms. The daily lives of Inuit have changed so quickly that, even though many people still use their language, they talk about things that are foreign to their culture.

Certainly one fact is true - if Inuit do not find a mechanism for standardizing terminology and encouraging the use of these standard terms by a majority of speakers, then there will be increasing difficulties of mutual intelligibility between dialects and even between speakers in the same community. Many

examples in the lists provided indicate that the same word is used for a different referent in different dialects, and that the same referent has many different designations, sometimes even in the same dialect. This will probably result, as has already been discussed, in speakers opting for an English (or Danish, or Russian, etc.) loan word, leaving designations of native origin aside, or they will rely on English (or Danish, or Russian etc.) for communication.

Inuktitut is a strong Native language. There is a pride among its speakers and even considerable interest on behalf of non-Inuit to learn the language. The analysis above has indicated a great deal of flexibility and adaptability, so it is obvious that the language can survive change. Some recent developments are in its favour. The amount and quality of literature in Inuktitut has dramatically increased in the last few years (Roberts 1988). Radio and television programmes in Inuktitut, with northern content and talent have developed, including children's programmes, documentaries and even a serial soap opera and Inuit Superman - Super Shamou!

Recent increases in travel to and from Greenland have spurred a new interest in fellow Inuit, and a new perspective on dialect variations has arisen. Some Inuit also recently visited Soviet Inuit in their homes and others met Soviet Inuit at the Inuit Circumpolar Conference this summer. There is a strong will to communicate with these neighbours, and to renew the bonds of common heritage. One recommendation of the 1989 Inuit Circumpolar Conference was to investigate the possibility of a unified writing system for all Inuit.

It may be that one "standard" dialect will have to emerge as a universal mode of communication, but this need not impede the preservation, development and use of regional dialects. People must, however, become tolerant of and even excited about reading material or viewing or hearing programmes from other dialect areas. But in order to make all of this work, Inuit need a firm commitment from government, legislators, leaders and fellow Inuit. Most of all, each individual has to want Inuktitut to survive and has to do what is possible to contribute to its enhancement.

INUKTITUT SYLLABARY

			finals/diacritics (consonant only)			
i	△	u	▷	a	◁	
pi	∧	pu	>	pa	<	< p
ti	∩	tu	⌋	ta	⌈	c t
ki	ρ	ku	d	ka	b	b k
gi	ρ	gu	⌋	ga	⌈	u g
mi	┐	mu	└	ma	└	└ m
ni	σ	nu	⌋	na	⌈	a n
si	┐	su	┐	sa	┐	┐ s
li	┐	lu	⌋	la	┐	c l
ji	┐	ju	┐	ja	┐	┐ j
vi	∧	vu	◁	va	◁	◁ v
ri	└	ru	ρ	ra	┐	┐ r
qi	ρ	qu	◁d	qa	◁b	◁b q
ngi	◁ρ	ngu	◁⌋	nga	◁⌈	◁ ng
ti	┐	tu	┐	ta	┐	┐ t

H - used with Δ,▷,◁ to create hi,hu,ha (i.e. HΔ, H▷, H◁)

(intended for borrowed words eg. Hamlet H◁└┐)

- - used over syllabic character to show vowel length
- - used over the i, pi, ti syllabic characters to show that the vowel is a| rather than i (i.e. ai, pai, tai,...) (not recommended by the ICI Language Commission 1976, therefore diphthong now written ◁Δ, <Δ, ⌈Δ, ...)
- ' - a glottal stop, used in some dialects

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