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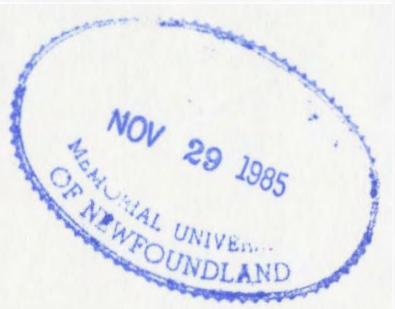

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ASPECTS OF CERTAIN INTRANSITIVIZING POSTBASES AND OF A TRANSITIVIZING POSTBASE IN LABRADOR INUTTUT

by

© Christa Beaudoin-Lietz, B.A.

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

This study concerns itself with certain intransitivizing postbases and a transitivizing postbase in Labrador Inuttut, a dialect of Inuktitut currently spoken mostly in five settlements of the Labrador coast. A verb classification is provided, according to the possible combinations of the postbases under investigation with verbal stems. The verbs are selected from a dictionary of the Labrador dialect produced by Inuit: "Labrador Inuit Uqausingit"; all forms of the classification are elicited by consulting five native speakers.

Aspects of intransitivizers and issues related to transitivity in some grammars of other Eastern Dialects of Inuktitut are presented.

For Labrador Inuttut, the intransitivizing postbases and the transitivizing one are distinguished from other homonymous postbases, and their phonological form is established. The postbase analysis is followed by the verbal stem classification. This classification provides distributional patterns with respect to the co-occurrence of the postbases with verbal stems. It is observed that morphological categories show a tendency to coincide with major semantic categories of verbal stems.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
NOTE CONCERNING TRANSLATIONS	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
PREFACE	xiii
CHAPTER ONE	
1:0 INTRODUCTION TO SOME ASPECTS OF LABRADOR INUTTUT	1
1:1 Initial Remarks	1
1:2 Sound Inventory of LI	3
1:3 Word Formation	5
1:3.1 Base, Derivational Postbase, Inflectional Suffix, Clitic, Stem	5
1:3.2 Grammatical Categories of Stems	6
1:3.3 Derivational Postbases; Class Maintaining, Class Converting	9
1:4 Morphophonemic Properties	11
1:4.1 Neutralization and Assimilation of Morpheme Final Segments	11
1:4.2 "Schneider's Law"	15
1:4.3 Affixes: Adjoining, Deleting	16
1:4.4 Variability	17
1:5 Ergativity and Transitivity	20

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.)

	Page
1:5.1 Terminology: vu-type and va-type ISs	20
1:5.2 Ergative-type Case Marking in LI	20
1:5.3 Definiteness and Indefiniteness	23
1:5.4 Derivational Postbases; Morphological Marking on Derived Forms Compared to Bases or Stems	23
1:5.5 Verbal Bases: Morphological Marking	27
NOTES	29
CHAPTER TWO	
2:0 ASPECTS OF INTRANSITIVIZERS AND RELATED ISSUES OF TRANSITIVITY IN SOME GRAMMARS OF EASTERN DIALECTS OF INUKTITUT	32
2:1 Initial Remarks	32
2:2 Kleinschmidt	34
2:2.1 Terminology	34
2:2.2 Transitivity	36
2:2.2.1 Distinctions between Transitive and Intransitive Verbs	36
2:2.2.2 Derivation of Intransitive from Transitive Forms	38
2:2.2.3 Change in Morphological Marking on Transitive Stems: Intransitivizers	39
2:2.3 Phonological Aspects of Cooccurrence of Intransitivizers with Verb Stems	40
2:2.4 Definiteness; Indefiniteness	43
2:3 Bourquin	45
2:3.1 Terminology	45
2:3.2 Verb Distinctions	46
2:3.3 Intransitivizers and Verbal Stem Classes	47

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.)

	Page
2:3.3.1 'i'; 'ji', ('tji', 'tsi'); 'si'; 'ng-nik' or 'nik'; 'rdler', 'kler'	47
2:3.3.2 Other Formations	49
2:3.4 Definiteness; Indefiniteness	49
2:3.5 Reflexive Meaning of vu-type Suffixes on Transitive Stems	50
2:3.6 Passive Meaning with vu-type Suffixes on Transitive Stems	51
2:4 Schneider	53
2:4.1 Terminology	53
2:4.2 Distinction between Intransitive and Transitive Verbs	54
2:4.3 Distinction between Verbal Stems Concerning Morphological Marking and Related Groups of Verbs	55
2:4.4 Reflexivity and "hidden passive"	58
2:4.5 Explanation of the "hidden passive"	59
2:5 Bergsland	61
2:5.1 Distinctions in Verbal Bases	61
2:5.2 Intransitivizers and Verbal Stems	63
NOTES	65
CHAPTER THREE	
3:0 DIFFERENTIATION OF 'INTRANSITIVIZERS' AND THE 'TRANSITIVIZER' -gi- FROM OTHER HOMONYMOUS DPs	68
3:1 Initial Remarks	68
3:1.1 Forms of 'intransitivizers' and -gi-	68
3:1.2 Elicitation Procedure	69
3:1.3 Interaction of Schneider's Law, Deleting and Adjoining DPs, and Phonological Neutralization	71

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.)

	Page
3:2 Differentiation of 'intransitivizers' and 'gi' from other DPs	73
3:2.1 -tsi-/-si-: Initial Remarks	73
3:2.1.1 -tsi-/-si-: to buy, to see	73
3:2.1.2 Xsi: 'now', 'in the process of', 'starting to'	75
3:2.1.3 -si: 'become, turn'	77
3:2.1.4 -tsi-/-si-: 'wait for'	79
3:2.1.5 -tsi-/-si-: "Intransitivizing" Properties	81
3:2.1.6 -tsi-/-si-: Concluding Remarks	83
3:2.2 (n)ni(k): Initial Remarks	83
3:2.2.1 XnniQ: 'had xed'	84
3:2.2.2 (n)ni(k): "intransitivizer" versus -nik: Nominalizer	85
3:2.2.3 (n)nik: 'be pleasant to'	87
3:2.2.4 -(n)ni(k): Concluding Remarks	88
3:2.3 -i(k)-/-ji(k): Initial Remarks	88
3:2.3.1 -i(k): 'lose, become without'	89
3:2.3.2 -i-/-ji-: 'Involuntary' versus "Intransitivizer"	89
3:2.4 (t)ɬi: "Intransitivizer"	94
3:2.5 -gi-: Initial Remarks	94
3:2.5.1 -gi-: 'again, also, surprisingly, accidently'	95
3:2.5.2 -gi-: "transitivizer"	96
3:2.5.3 gi: "intransitivizer"	97
3:2.6 Summary	99
NOTES	100

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.) Page

CHAPTER FOUR

4:0 DISTRIBUTION OF THE "INTRANSITIVIZERS" AND THE "TRANSITIVIZER" 105

4:1 Initial Remarks 105

4:2 Analysis into Verb Classes 106

4:2.1 General Pattern Description: Class I 107

4:2.1.1 Class I: siaqqivuk 107

4:2.2 General Pattern Description: Class II 109

4:2.2.1 Class II: non occurring 110

4:2.3 General Pattern Description: Class III 110

4:2.3.1 Class III: takuvuk, takuvaga 110

4:2.4 General Pattern Description: Class IV - Class XIV 115

4:2.4.1 Class IV: atuavaga, atuatsivuk 116

4:2.4.2 Class V: iivaga, iisivuk 116

4:2.4.3 Class VI: atsaavaga, atsaanivuk 117

4:2.4.4 Class VII: uppisaavaga, uppisaagivuk 117

4:2.4.5 Class VIII: pikquvaga, pikqujivuk 118

4:2.4.6 Class IX: tilivaga, tilittivuk 118

4:2.4.7 Class X: kivivaga, kivitsivuk, kivisivuk 119

4:2.4.8 Class XI: miluvaga, milutsivuk, milunnivuk 119

4:2.4.9 Class XII: nittuvaga, nittusivuk, nittutivuk 120

4:2.4.10 Class XIII: tunivaga, tunisivuk, tuninnivuk 120

4:2.4.11 Class XIV: tiliuvaga, tiliugivuk, tfliunnivuk 121

4:2.5 General Pattern Description: Class XV - Class XXIII 121

4:2.5.1 Class XV: matuvuk, matuvaga, matutsivuk 122

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd.)

		Page
4:2,5.2	Class XVI: kiivuk, kiivaga, kiisivuk	125
4:2.5.3	Class XVII: apuvuk, apuvaga, apunnivuk	126
4:2.5.4	Class XVIII: katavuk, katavaga, kataivuk	127
4:2.5.5	Class XIX: paffisaavuk, paffisaavaga, paffisaatsivuk, paffisaannivuk	127
4:2.5.6	Class XX: kilavuk, kilavaga, kilaivuk, kilatsivuk	128
4:2.5.7	Class XXI: ammavuk, ammavaga, ammasivuk, ammaivuk	129
4:2.5.8	Class XXII: piulivuk, piulivaga, piulitsivuk, piulitaivuk	130
4:2.5.9	Class XXIII: attuvuk, attuvaga, attunivuk, attuivuk	130
4:2.6	General Pattern Description: Class XXIV	131
4:2.6.1	Class XXIV: nigiuvuk, nigiugivaga	131
4:2.7	General Pattern Description: Class XXV	132
4:2.7.1	Class XXV: naqquvuk, naqqugivaga, naqquginnivuk	132
4:3	Discussion of Groups A, B, C, D, E and F	134
4:3.1	Comparison of Morphological Patterns	134
4:3.2	"Middle Voice" in 'V + vu' Type Forms of Verbs Belonging to Group D	135
4:3.3	Comparison of Groups with Respect to Notional Properties	137
4:4	Major Semantic Categories	140
4:5	Conclusion	141
	NOTES	142
	REFERENCES	145
	APPENDIX A: SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE	149
	APPENDIX B: CASE TERMINOLOGY (on nouns)	153

NOTE CONCERNING TRANSLATIONS

All quotations from Kleinschmidt and Bourquin are provided in German and then translated into English. The translations are by the writer whose native language is German. The translations from French, where occurring, are also provided by the writer.

The abbreviation '(tr.)' is used to indicate a translation from German.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

'A_o'	only argument showing verbal agreement in sentences with vu-type inflectional marking on verb
'A_1'	more agentive argument in sentence with va-type inflectional marking on verb
'A_2'	more patientive argument in sentence with va-type inflectional marking on verb
abs.	absolutive
abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
C	consonant
cont	contemporative
DPs	derivational postbases
dl	dual
erg	ergative
f.p.	far past
imp-opt	imperative-optative
ind	indicative
INTRVR	intransitivizer
ISs	inflectional suffixes
LI	Labrador Inuttut
loc	localis
mas	masculine
mod	modalis
N	noun

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (cont'd.)

neg	negative
n.f.	near future
nom	nominalizer
p	person
PASS	passive
pl	plural
plupf.	pluperfect
p.n. pred. nom.	predicative nominal
poss.	possession
possr	possessor
pres	present
sg	singular
sim	similaris
term	terminalis
TRVR	transitivizer
V	verb (and also vowel)
va-type	indicates any inflectional suffix that shows in its morphological marking pronominal reference to two elements
via	vialis
vu-type	indicates inflectional suffixes showing in verbal morphology agreement with one argument only
'='	adjoining
'X'	deleting
( )	indicates that what is bracketed may or may not occur, depending on Schneider's Law

PREFACE

This study revolves around the general theme of transitivity. Since the topic of "transitivity" is such a vast and complex one, the author has restricted herself to discussing limited aspects: i.e. certain intransitivizing postbases and a transitivizing postbase in Labrador Inuttut (LI).

The attempt was made to shed light on the morphological interaction of these postbases with verbal stems in LI and to group the verbal stems into classes accordingly.

The analysis comprises two major components which are closely interrelated, a) the postbases under investigation, and b) the classification of verbal stems.

The analysis of the postbases had to precede the verbal stem classification. The latter is based on the possible combinations of the postbases with the verbal stems.

A high degree of neutralization in LI made it necessary to differentiate the postbases under study from other postbases in terms of their phonological form and their function. Sorting out the postbases was not in itself the goal of the study, but a necessary step towards the classification of verbal stems. The verbal stem classes are based purely on morphological evidence. Major semantic categories could be distinguished. These emerged as coinciding with major categories of the morphological verb stem classification. The semantic categories have to be considered

the outcome of a classification which was based on morphological properties.

As becomes clear from what has been said above, no claim is made to present highly theoretical results and conclusions. It is felt that, since only a limited amount is known about the grammatical and semantic implications of LI, descriptive work is valuable as a basis for further investigation concerning more theoretical aspects of grammar. The theoretical implications appear to be very broad in scope, and, consequently, are outside the range of the present study.

The author is aware of her limitations concerning LI. Native speakers have provided information and data. They have been consulted in order to clarify questions and, thereby, to keep the level of error and misunderstanding as low as possible. Some errors no doubt remain, however, and not all difficulties could be solved completely.

The study comprises four parts:

Chapter One provides an introduction to relevant aspects of LI phonology and morphology.

Chapter Two contains summaries of some grammars, dealing (except for Bergsland's grammar) in full or in part with the Labrador dialect.

Chapter Three differentiates the postbases discussed from other postbases with similar form.

Chapter Four provides distributional patterns which describe the co-occurrence of the discussed postbases with respect to verbal stems. Verb stems are categorized into classes based on morphological grounds. Major semantic categories which correspond to these verb classes are discussed.

Background of Consultants

Data and information which made this study possible were provided by five native speakers of Labrador Inuttut. The consultants were all from different communities of the Labrador coast. None of them was originally from Nain*, although some of them have moved there, due to resettlement from communities further north, i.e. Hebron. Some of the consultants still have families in Nain.

The data was collected while the consultants were in St. John's, Nfld., and most of the work was conducted at Memorial University. For various reasons, the writer had the opportunity to work on the project more with some of the consultants than with others. The native speakers were consulted during a period of time ranging from two weeks to over two months. Since some native speakers could be consulted over a longer period of time than others, not all native consultants are represented in the data presented to the same extent. Joel Tullak and Bertha Holeiter provided most of the data presented, whereby the analysis of the data is the author's responsibility. Conversations with the consultants represented in the data presented revealed that they are familiar with and grew up in a 'native Inuit setting'. All of them had, besides Labrador Inuttut, a good command of the English language. Most of them were or still are involved in teaching Labrador Inuttut. All of them were familiar with the phonemic orthography which was used in the elicitations.

Strictly speaking, the data collected has to be taken as ideolects of the native speakers consulted, since a representative sample of dialects within Labrador was not undertaken.

*A great deal of previous work on LI was based on speakers of the Nain dialect or on speakers who have moved to Nain.

CHAPTER ONE

1:0 INTRODUCTION TO SOME ASPECTS OF LABRADOR INUTTUT

1:1 Initial Remarks

A selective introduction to contemporary Labrador Inuttut (henceforth LI) is presented in this chapter.[1] Since a long exposition would involve an undesirable duplication of effort, only those aspects of phonology and grammar are dealt with which bear directly on the topic of the paper and are relevant in terms of background information for its presentation in later chapters.

Belonging to the Eastern group of dialects of the Inuktitut (Eskimo) language, Labrador Inuttut can be described in itself as:

> "... a complex of mutually understood dialects spoken by the Inuit (and sometimes Settler) inhabitants of the Labrador coast. Resettlement and generally increased mobility have brought distinct dialects into contact in the five major centers where Inuttut is actively used: Nain, Makkovik, Hopedale, Happy Valley, and North West River." (Smith: 1977a, 1)

It is not surprising to find that LI shares phonological and grammatical properties with other Eastern Canadian dialects of Inuktitut. Certain historical processes appear on occasion to have been carried further in LI, however, than in the other Eastern Canadian dialects. LI has been described among the Eastern Canadian dialects as being the most advanced phonologically (see Fortescue: n.d., 11).

A historical analysis of the LI dialect and of changes that took place within the last century will not be dealt with. Although it would

be considered an asset, it is felt to be too extensive a topic to be covered in a short introduction while other sources are available (e.g. Clase: 1974; Smith: 1979).

1.2 Sound inventory of LI.[2]

The sound inventory of LI includes phonemic distinctions among 18 phonemes, i.e. 3 vowels and 15 consonants (though 2 consonants /r/ and /h/ occur marginally)[3].

The surface phonemic distinctions of Labrador Inuttut are:

Vowels:

	Front (Unrounded)	Back (Rounded)
High	i[i]	u[u]
Low	a[a,ɑ]	

The vowels can occur as short vowels, long vowels (indicated by doubling in the orthography) and as mixed clusters (each of them can be combined with one other). There are no three vowel clusters in LI, except at times in the interrogative.

Consonants:

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar/Uvular
Stop voiceless	p[p=]	t[t=]		k[k=,q=]
voiced				
Fricative voiceless			s[s]	q[χ]
voiced	v[β,v]			g[ɣ,ʁ]
Nasal voiceless				
voiced	m[m]		n[n]	ng[ŋ,N]
Lateral voiceless		ɬ[ɬ]		
voiced		l[l]		
Glide voiceless				
voiced			j[j]	

"=" in the IPA symbols refers to "unaspirated".

No three consonant clusters occur in LI. Most of the consonants can occur in geminate clusters, or in mixed clusters; j[j] and s[s] cannot occur in geminate clusters.

Consonant Clusters:

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar/Uvular
Stop voiceless	pp[pp]	tt[tt]		kk[kk,qq]
voiced				
Fricative voiceless	pv[ff] or fv[4] or ff			qq[xx,XX] or qg[4] or gg
voiced				
Affricate voiceless		ts[ts]		kq[kx,qX]
voiced			tj[dʒ]	
Nasal voiceless				
voiced	mm[mm]	nn[nn]		nng[ŋŋ,NN] or ngg[4]
Lateral voiceless		tɬ[tɬ] or ɬɬ[4][ɬɬ]		
voiced		ll[ll]		

1:3 Word Formation

1:3.1 Base, Derivational Postbase, Inflectional Suffix, Clitic, Stem

LI has been described as a polysynthetic language. In LI a word can consist of one or several morphemes. If a word includes several morphemes, the base is the leftmost one (except for prefixation which occurs marginally in LI involving only one or two prefixes). Bases may or may not occur as free morphemes (depending on their grammatical category, see section 1:3.2). In the following example the base can function as a free morpheme.

ex:1) Illuk 'house'

Inflectional suffixes (henceforth ISs) occur as the rightmost element except when clitics are added or ISs function as DPs (see below). Clitics are a set of elements including, for example, conjunctions like =lu 'and, too', =li 'but also, too', and Xlluumniit '(either)...or'. Clitics may be added in post suffix position. Normally only one clitic per word may be affixed. For the discussion in this paper clitics are not of relevance and they will not be further examined.

Between the base and the IS, derivational postbases (DPs) can occur. The number of DPs is (theoretically) unlimited. Bases and ISs are generally restricted to one per word. DPs and ISs are bound morphemes and cannot occur by themselves.

ex:2)

base	- IS	
taku	- vuk	'he sees'[5]
see	3 psg ind	

ex:3) base - DP - IS[6]
taku - niak - quk 'he will see'
see n.f. 3 psg ind

The differentiation of DPs and ISs from bases appears to be clearer than the distinction between DPs and ISs, since some ISs can function as DPs. For example the ISs of lexical cases (Terminalis, Ablative, Localis, Vialis and Similaris) can function as DPs.

ex:4) a. nunak 'land'

b. nuna-mut 'to the land'
land term sg

c. nuna-mu -u -juk 'he goes to the land'
land term sg be 3 psg p.n.

In 4)b. -mut, term sg ('to'), functions as IS. In 4)c. the "term sg" form functions as a DP, and not as an IS (since -juk is the IS).

A base with any number of DPs adjoined to which further DPs can be added is called a stem.

ex:5) a. sini-vuk 'he sleeps'
base 3 psg ind

b. sini-si-vuk 'he is now sleeping', 'he fell asleep'
sini-si- is the stem, since other DPs (eg. -ti in 5)c.) can be added.

c. sini-si-ti-vaga 'I make him fall asleep'

1:3.2 Grammatical Categories of Stems

In LI one can distinguish between words that cannot carry inflections (particles) and those that are inflected. The latter type, which can be differentiated into nominal stems and verbal stems, will be concentrated

upon. "Nerbal" stems occur in this type as well.

Nominal stems can be distinguished from verbal stems, for instance, by the inflective categories that are possible on the stems. Certain inflective categories can be affixed to nominal stems, while they cannot occur on verbal stems and vice versa.

On nominal stems information may, for example, be indicated concerning number (singular (sg), dual (dl), or plural (pl), case (absolutive (abs), ergative (erg), modalis (mod), terminalis (term), ablative (abl), localis (loc), vialis or similaris), possession (poss) (possessor (possr) of noun, and person and number of possessor) and reflexivity.

On verbal stems ISs may indicate mood, person, number of subjects (and of objects), reflexivity of the subject, past or non-past (for some moods), and others.

There are seven moods in LI: indicative, interrogative, imperative-optative, causative, conditional, dubative, and contemporative. Of these only forms in the indicative mood occur frequently in the study. The indicative mood is an independent mood, and can occur on the main verb of the sentence. It is used for informative statements. Besides forms in the indicative mood, forms in the predicative nominal, an active participle, occur frequently in the data. Indicative mood forms often alternate with the forms in the predicative nominal. This will be discussed further later on.

"Nerbal" stems can take either of the ISs, those that can be attached to nominal stems, or the ones affixed to verbal stems.

ex:6) a. nominal base + nominal IS

numa-nga	'his land'
land poss	
3 p	
Abs sg	
sg,dl,pl	
possr	
*numavuk	

b. verbal base + verbal IS

taku-vuk	'he sees'
see 3 psg	
ind	
*takunga	

c. "nerbal" base + nominal IS

tuttu -nga	'his caribou'
caribou poss	
3 p	
Abs sg	
sg,dl,pl	
possr	

"nerbal" base + verbal IS

tuttu -vuk	'he gets a caribou'
caribou 3 psg	
ind	

While the verbal IS -vuk can occur on verbal bases and stems, it cannot occur on nominal bases or stems (ex:6)a.). Nominal ISs cannot occur on verbal bases or stems (ex:6)b.). Either nominal ISs or verbal ISs can occur on "nerbal" stems (ex:6)c).

This raises the issue whether "nerbs" can be treated as one lexical entry or require two lexical entries in the lexicon. The issue and its theoretical implications will not be discussed. In this study the emphasis lies on aspects of verbal stems. "Nerbs" have been excluded from the study when they appeared to function more in a nominal sense than a

verbal one, (both may be united on some deeper level).

1:3.3 Derivational Postbases; Class Maintaining, Class Converting.

DPs fall into different categories depending on whether their attachment to a stem results in a change of grammatical class or not.

Four basic types emerge[7]:

1) A nominal stem takes a DP, deriving a nominal form.

N → N

ex:7) Xaguk 'small':
a. sakku-aguk 'small bullet'
b. sakkuk 'bullet'

2) A DP is adjoined to a nominal stem and the derived form has undergone a change in grammatical category; a verbal form results.

N → V

ex:8) Xqa(k) 'to have x (all persons)',
there is x (with 3rd person IS)'
a. illu -qa -vuk 'he has a house, there is a house'
house have x 3psg
there ind
is x
b. illuk 'house'

3) A DP attaches to a verbal stem and the derived form is again a verb.

V → V

ex:9) =nia(Q) 'in the near future (today)'
a. taku-niak-quk 'he will see'
see n.f. 3 psg
ind
b. taku-vuk 'he sees'
see 3 psg
ind
c. takuk- 'to see'[8]
see

4) Attaching a DP to a verbal stem, a noun is derived.

V → N

ex:10) Xtak 'object of x, feeling, action'
(also =tak)

a. tuqu-tak 'the one killed, who dies'
tuqut-tak
b. tuqu-vuk 'he dies'
c. tuqük- 'to kill, die'

DPs in categories 2 and 4, involving a change in grammatical class, are called class converting DPs, while DPs in categories 1 and 3, which do not have this effect, are called class maintaining.

The above describes the basic types. There are DPs which combine functions. This will not be discussed in detail here.

1:4 Morphophonemic Properties

1:4.1 Neutralization and Assimilation of Morpheme Final Segments

Kleinschmidt and Bourquin postulated for the Labrador dialect four different stem classes for nouns and verbs:

A. Stems ending in 'q'.

B. Stems ending in 'k'.

C. Stems ending in 't'.

D. Stems ending in a vowel.

Even during the 19th century a certain amount of mixing of stem classes and assimilation of stem final consonants to following morpheme initial consonants took place.[9]

> "Der Esk.[imo] vermischt oft die versch.[iedenen] Klassen. Vornehmlich bildet er oft Wörter der ersten und bes.[onders] der zweiten nach der dritten.... Ganz barbarisch sind aber Bildungen (vierte Kl. statt der ersten) wie pitaKavoK, pêvoK für pitaKarpoK, pêrpoK!!" (Bourquin:1891,107)[10]
>
> The Eskimo often mixes the classes. He often forms words of the first and especially the second class according to the third one.... Totally barbaric are formations (fourth class instead of first) as pitaqavoq, pêvoq instead of pitaqarpoq, pêrpoq. (tr.)

In contemporary LI a surface and (often underlying) somewhat general pattern of neutralization to 'k' in regards to final segments of nominal and verbal stems (see Footnote 8) can be observed.

The stem final segment 'k' assimilates to a geminate or in place, if a consonant initial morpheme which is of the adjoining type (see 1:4.3) is attached to the stem.

ex:1) inuk + =mit → inummit

The following is of importance, particularly for Chapter 3.

k + =s → ts
q + =p → kq

Concerning the neutralization of stem final segments, certain general tendencies can be noted. Due to the degree of variability among native speakers (see 1:4.4), details of the neutralization pattern remain to be considered.

The process of stem final segment surface neutralization to "k" appears to be more complete concerning bases (nominal and verbal) than concerning postbases. A distinction has also to be made between nominal stems and verbal stems (which do not occur as free forms).

As for verbal bases, bases historically ending in 'q', 'k', 't' and 'V' have been generally neutralized on the surface to bases ending in 'k'.

In regards to nominal stems this process of surface neutralization of the stem final segment to 'k' has generally also occurred. With nominal stems, due to the affixation of case-endings, this process can still be traced in some cases. For instance, with the historically vowel final stem nuna 'land', one may find nunamit or nunammit 'from the land' (=mit, abl.sg).

The following example illustrates a nominal base, which is listed as 'imeq' with a 'q'-final segment in Peacock and in Schultz-Lorentzen.

"imeq, water; fresh water; drinking water..."
(Schultz-Lorentzen:1927,63)

For LI Jeddore lists:

"IMIK. 1. to drink (v.) 2. drinking water (n.)...
... Imimmik. Water, please." (Jeddore:1976,40)

A nominal stem historically ending in 't' as final segment is illustrated in the following example.

"merKut: a needle" (Peacock:n.d.,c,229)

For LI Jeddore lists:

"MIKQUTIK. needle (n.) Tutijuk mikqutimmut. He stepped on a needle." (Jeddore:1976,70)

For the above example, as for the following, it can be said that with what appears to be historically nominal stems ending in '-t', t →tik in contemporary LI. This does not apply to historically t-final verbal stems.

Schultz-Lorentzen lists:

"akit, pillow; head (of bed)...". (Schultz-Lorentzen:1927,11)

For LI Jeddore lists:

"AKITIK. a pillow (n.)..." (Jeddore:1976,11)

Concerning postbases, the morpheme final segment neutralization to 'k' seems to be incomplete, and one can still establish 'q' as morpheme final element for certain frequently used DPs when followed by another affix (mostly ISs).

ex:2) takuniakquk 'he will see'

The morphophonemic alteration of q + =p → kq results in a different paradigm in the indicative mood for stems ending in 'q', compared to vowel or 'k' final stems, and provides some transparency for stems ending in 'q'. Where a 'q' - final morpheme can still be established, it is marked with "Q" as final segment to indicate the underlying form, for example: -niaQ-, -lauQ-. Not all historically 'q'- final morphemes can still be observed as such in contemporary LI.

'V' as morpheme final element can still be traced for some DPs as

well.

Concerning verbal bases, the allomorphs of the predicative nominal and of the indicative mood need to be mentioned.

The predicative nominal exhibits two sets of allomorphs:

1) on vowel final stems: juk, (3psg) and other forms of that paradigm occur, (but see below) and

2) on consonant final stems: tuk (3psg) and other forms of that paradigm occur.

The indicative mood at one time also exhibited two forms:

1) on vowel final stems: vuk and other forms of that paradigm, and

2) on consonant final stems : =puk and other forms of that paradigm.

Concerning the indicative mood, it can be said (for younger speakers) that the ISs for vowel final stems have been extended to forms which were historically consonant final stems.

ie.: Stem final $\begin{Bmatrix} V \\ k \end{Bmatrix}$ + =puk → vuk

Forms belonging to the same paradigm as puk may be heard from older speakers, or in a religious or formal context.

kquk (3 p sg indicative (ind) on Q-final stems) and other forms of that paradigm are observed for Q-final stems where these are still perceived by native speakers.

Verbal bases or stems which were historically consonant final ones, today often take forms of the predicative nominal paradigm which were affixed historically to vowel final bases or stems.[11] However, certain DPs (V+V) which frequently occur show their final consonants and

are followed by the predicative nominal allomorph for consonant final stems (i.e. tuk (3psg) and other forms of the paradigm).

> "...frequently occurring verbal postbases are not losing their final consonants. The negative morpheme -nngik, for example, still shows its final consonant in the following: Modern Labrador
> kipinngituk 'he is not homesick'
> tusanngituk 'he does not hear'"
>
> (Smith:1979,104)

1:4:2 "Schneider's Law"

LI does not allow three consonant clusters (ngg or nng are orthographic alternations representing two consonant clusters: /ŋŋ/). With other dialects of the Labrador Peninsula (see Fortescue:n.d.,9) LI shares "Schneider's Law". Two-consonant clusters cannot occur successively, only being separated by a short vowel (V) or a vowel cluster (VV). In cases where the combination of morphemes would result in two consonant clusters appearing in a sequence just being separated by a vowel (V) or a vowel cluster (VV) (i.e....CCV(V)CC), Schneider's Law applies. The first consonant of that cluster which is preceded by a vowel which is itself preceded by a consonant cluster, is deleted.

$$CCV(V)C_1C_2 \rightarrow CC(V)C_2$$

ex:3) tuttu(k) + kkut → tuttukut 'through the caribou'
caribou through

*tuttukkut

(adapted from Smith:1977a,6)

The simplification occurs in alternating clusters starting from the left. (For detailed argumentation for this being the only possible direction and for further examples see Smith:1977).

Strings of consonant-clusters just separated by a vowel (V or VV) simplify in the following way[12]:

...CVCCVC$_1$C$_2$V... → ...CVCCVC$_2$V...

...CCVC$_1$C$_2$VCCV... → ...CCVC$_2$VCCV...

ex: nanuk + nnguaq(k) + kqaa +lluni →
bear toy do first by

nanunnguaqaalluni 'by first killing a toy bear'
(Smith:1977a,7)[13]

1:4.3 Affixes: Adjoining, Deleting.

Affixes can be of the a) adjoining type or b) deleting type. There are also other types of affixes, the two types mentioned above being of special interest here. The difference between a) and b) becomes clear in connection with stems having a consonant as their final segment ((...VC); consonant clusters do not occur in a stem final position).

Type a), DPs or ISs can be added to the stem final consonant, whereby it may assimilate in place or completely to the first consonant of the affix. Those are called adjoining affixes. (All affixes of the adjoining type are consonant initial.)

Type b) affixes are called deleting affixes; the stem final consonant is dropped before an affix is adjoined.

For members of type a) "=", and for members of type b) "X", in front of the affix will indicate their respective properties.

ex:4) =tau 'to be xed by'

a. sanak- 'to make'
b. sanavuk 'he makes'
c. sanattaujuk 'it has been made, it is (being) made'

ex:5) Xqa(k) 'to have x (all persons)'
'there is x (with 3rd p. IS)'

a. illuk 'house'
b. illuqavuk 'he has a house, there is a house'

1:4.4 Variability

A high degree of variability can be observed in LI. With particular reference to Chapter Three, morphophonemic variability at the morpheme boundaries between the verbal base and DP, and between verbal base or stems and IS, is of special interest.

Morpheme final segments of verbal bases may be perceived differently by several native speakers. While one speaker may perceive a base as being a vowel final one, another may regard the same base as consonant final. The difference in the base final segment may, with DPs which are not deleting, reflect on the DP initial element. This means that different speakers may use different allomorphs of a DP.

Whether a DP is considered to be deleting or adjoining may vary among different native speakers as well. While one speaker may perceive a DP as being of the adjoining type, for instance, another may regard the same DP as being of the deleting type.

ex:6) Xtak (also =tak) 'object of x, feeling, action'

a. tuqu-tak 'the one killed, who dies'
tuqut-tak
b. tuqu-vuk 'he dies'

For the discussion presented in Chapter Three, morphophonemic properties attributed to the type of postbase will be of critical importance. Sets of data have been provided by a single consultant in these

cases, unless otherwise indicated. This was necessary in order to make sure that the argumentation for differentiation of DPs was not based on variation among speakers.

The data presentation in Chapter Three is based on the assumption that any one speaker shows consistency in the treatment of a base or stem or DP.

Concerning forms of the predicative nominal, it has been observed that (at least for some speakers of contemporary LI) the distribution of forms ending in -juk and forms ending in =tuk appears not to be totally based on the base or stem final segment. Some speakers have a tendency to use both -juk and =tuk on the same base or stem. For others, one or the other form seems to be acceptable. The acceptance of both -juk and =tuk or just one of the two forms may also vary within one ideolect.

In some cases where forms in -juk and =tuk were accepted on the same verbal base or stem, native speakers tended to explain the difference in form by semantic differences.

ex:7) a. qakivuk 'it went ashore'
b. qakijuk 'it is gone ashore'
c. qakittuk 'it did go ashore'

ex:8) a. qimivuk 'it choked'
b. qimijuk 'the thing that chokes'
c. qimittuk 'the particular thing that chokes'

As becomes clear from what has been said above, the predicative nominal forms -juk and =tuk could not be used alone as an indicator for the base or stem final segment. Where only one form was possible, -tuk clearly pointed to a consonant final stem. On verbal stems where -juk could only be used, it possibly pointed to a vowel final stem. However, another possibility also had to be taken into consideration, namely, that

the usage of -juk had been extended to include consonant final stems (similarly to the usage of -vuk).

1:5 Ergativity and Transitivity.

Inuktitut (including LI) has been described as an ergative language. This section will consider first the morphology of 'ergative case marking'. It will go on to highlight certain aspects of derivational postbases and interrelate these with those properties of verbal bases which are reflected in inflectional marking.

1:5.1 Terminology: vu-type and va-type IS.

With respect to inflectional marking in verbal morphology, two abbreviations are used throughout this study: vu-type IS and va-type IS.

A vu-type IS refers to an IS that shows in its verbal morphology agreement with one argument only. A va-type IS represents any IS that, attached to a verbal stem, shows in its morphology pronominal reference to two arguments. The distinction is made in order to be able to differentiate morphological properties from notional properties. "Intransitive" and "transitive", which are often used to describe both, are reserved to describe notional qualities.

1:5.2 Ergative-type Case Marking in LI.

In LI a verb with a vu-type suffix agrees in marking with the noun in the morphologically unmarked case: absolutive.

ex:1) angutik sini-vuk 'the man sleeps'
man abs sg sleep 3 psg ind

A verbal stem to which a va-type suffix is adjoined shows a pronominal reference to two arguments. If the arguments are present, one takes

ergative case marking and one absolutive case marking (see ex:2)). In all examples with va-type suffixation in this paper, the morphological analysis below the IS, when given, refers to what translates into subject and object of the English gloss. The part left of the hyphen refers to the subject, and the part right of the hyphen, to the object. This is not the order of reference in the LI forms, where it is in most cases the other way around, and where a high degree of fusion between these elements occurs.

ex:2) anguti-up qimmik taku-vauk 'the man sees the dog'
man erg sg dog abs sg see 3 psg – 3 psg

angutik in ex:1) and qimmik in ex:2) exemplify the same marking, the unmarked absolutive case.

A) angutik taku-vuk
man abs sg see 3 psg ind

B) anguti-up qimmik taku-vauk
man erg sg dog abs see 3 psg – 3 psg

The above illustrates what has been referred to as 'ergative marking' and is distinguished from 'accusative marking', of which the following German sentences are an example.

C) Der Mann sieh-t
the man sees
nom 3 psg pres
mas sg

D) Der Mann sieh-t den Hund.
the man sees the dog.
nom 3 psg acc
mas sg pres mas sg

In C) and D) the verb agrees with the noun in the nominative case, der Mann, while den Hund is marked in the accusative case, and the verbal morphology does not show any agreement with the noun in the accusative case.

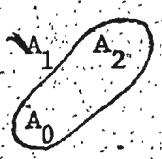
Der Mann is normally considered the subject, while den Hund would be the object. The terms are readily definable as far as accusative type languages are concerned.

> "...the important point is that these two relations [subject and object] can be distinguished and are fundamental to the structure of the sentence. This structure we can take as typologically characteristic of accusative languages"
>
> (Anderson: 1976,6)

While case marking refers to the morphological level, terms such as "subject" and "object" refer to the syntactic level. Since the definition of 'subject' and 'object' for ergative languages may differ along the theoretical approach taken, the following abbreviations are used in this thesis as a heuristic device for the purpose of description and explanation.

'A_0' is used for sentences with vu-type IS only. It refers to the only argument showing verbal agreement (see ex:1.). 'A_1' and 'A_2' are used in sentences with va-type verbal agreement. 'A_1' and 'A_2' serve to designate the arguments to which the pronominal reference of the verbal IS refers. While 'A_1' is assigned to the more agentive one, 'A_2' is assigned to the more patientive one. Translating ex:2) from LI into English, 'A_1' translates into the subject (the man), while 'A_2' translates into the direct object (the dog). 'A_0', 'A_1', and 'A_2' are meant to serve as labels only.[14] As shown below A_0 and A_2 take the same case marking.

Ergative-type marking:



On the semantic level the symbols 'A' and 'P' (reminiscent of

Agent and Patient) are used.

1:5.3 Definiteness and Indefiniteness

ex:3) qimmik taku-vaga 'I see the dog'
dog abs see 1 psg – 3 psg

ex:4) qimmimik taku-vunga 'I see a dog'
dog mod sg see 1 psg ind

These two sentences of LI translate into two similar English sentences, in English expressing the notion of 'I see dog'. In LI the case marking and verbal agreement in ex:3) is different from ex:4). Ex:3) has va-type verbal agreement and qimmik (A_2) is in the absolutive. Ex:4) shows vu-type verbal agreement and qimmimik has modalis case marking.

Traditionally the difference between ex:3) and ex:4) has been explained by a distinction in definiteness. While ex:3) is definite with reference to 'dog', ex:4) is indefinite.

> "...und zwar entspricht dann die transitive form mit dem Objectiv meist unserm bestimmten artikel (beim object), und die halbtransitive form mit dem Modalis immer dem unbestimmten...Eben so bei redewörtern, die sowohl ohne als mit suffixen gebraucht werden..." (Kleinschmidt:1851;85).

> ...the transitive form with the "objectiv" [Absolutive] corresponds mostly to our [German] definite article (with the object), and the half-transitive form with the Modalis always to the indefinite one... likewise with verbs which can be used with and without [transitive] suffixes. (tr.)

'Half-transitive' forms are dealt with in section 1:5.4.

1:5.4 Derivational Postbases; Morphological Marking on Derived Forms Compared to Bases or Stems.

Concerning the morphological marking on derived forms, several

aspects come into play. Bases can be grouped in categories according to whether they allow either one of vu-type ISs or va-type IS's, or just one of the two types of ISs to be affixed (see 1:5.5).

Similarly, it can be part of the properties of the DP attached to the base to restrict the type of IS to be affixed. That is, to the DP either just one of the two types of ISs can be adjoined, or both (one at a time). What follows are some examples to illustrate this.

There are class maintaining verbal DPs (V → V) which, when added to the base (or stem) will restrict the derived forms to va-type ISs.

ex:5) Xti 'to cause, allow x'
(also tti(k))

qauji-vuk 'he realizes'
qauji-ti-vauk 'he lets him, makes him know'

Class converting DPs can also involve this type of restriction. The following class converting DP (N → V) requires a va-type suffix on the derived form.

ex:6) Xgi 'to have x as one's, to be in x relationship to'

panik 'daughter'
pani-gi-vaga 'I have her as my (adopted) daughter

In other cases the ISs are restricted to vu-type suffixes on the derived forms. This applies for both class converting (N → V) and class maintaining (V → V) DPs.

The following example is one of a class converting DP (N → V), restricting the IS to vu-type suffixes.

ex:7) Xqa(k) 'to have x (all persons), there is (with 3rd p IS)'

a. illu-qa-vuk 'he has a house, there is a house'
b. *illu-qa-vaga

Example 8 illustrates a class maintaining DP (V → V), the derived

form can only take vu-type suffixes,

ex:8) jau[15] 'to have done to, to be xed by'
(=tau)

a. nigi-juk 'he eats'
b. nigi-vaga 'I eat it'
c. nigi-jau-juk 'it is being eaten'
d. *nigijaujaga

There are other DPs which are 'neutral' in this respect. The ISs on the derived forms coincide with the inflectional suffixation that can be attached to the verbal forms without those DPs, ie. Xguma, 'want to'.

ex:9) a. sinivuk 'he sleeps'
b. *sinivaga
c. sinigumavuk 'he wants to sleep'
d. *sinigumavaga

e. *iivuk
f. iivaga 'I swallow it'
g. *iigumavuk
h. iigumavaga 'I want to swallow it'

i. takuvuk 'he sees'
j. takuvaga 'I see it'
k. takugumavuk 'he wants to see'
l. takugumavaga 'I want to see it'

In this last group not the DP, but the base or stem is crucial for the morphological marking on the derived form. As example 9) illustrates Xguma can be attached to bases which can take only vu-type IS or as well to bases which can take only va-type IS, as well as to bases which can take either. DPs differ in this regard, for instance, jau can only be attached to bases or stems which take va-type ISs. In example 10) Xgi is attached to a base which takes only vu-type ISs.

ex:10) nigiu-vuk 'he is hopeful, expectant'
*nigiu-vaga
nigiu-gi-vaga 'I expect him'

The focus of the study is on DPs belonging to a particular set. The DPs are often called 'intransitivizers', and will be referred to as

such here. The set of 'intransitivizers' dealt with in detail includes: tsi, si, i, ji, (n)ni(k), (t)ti.[16] These are class maintaining DPs (V → V). They restrict the derived form of the stem in that only vu-type suffixes can be attached. The base (or stem) to which one of these DPs has not been attached can take either 1) only va-type suffixes, or 2) va-type suffixes and also vu-type suffixes, whereby, with the latter ones a reflexive or middle voice meaning results.

Unlike many other DPs, traditionally no independent semantic functions have been attributed to these DPs. Their distribution seems to be at least partially determined by the phonological properties of the verbal stems.[17]

The DP Xgi 'transitivizer' has been included in the investigation since the process seems to be reversed in the following way: gi requires va-type ISs on the derived forms (with a reflexive or middle voice meaning vu-type ISs may occur), while the verbal base (or stem) to which gi is attached can usually not take va-type forms (see example 10). Xgi has been included where it appears to function as a class maintaining DP (V → V). Xgi can also function as a class converting DP (N → V) (as for example in ex:6). Where it clearly functions as such, it has not been included in the study.

Stems can be recursively expanded by the addition of further DPs affecting in some cases the transitivity of the word form. Example 11 illustrates the process.

ex:11) a. taku-ti-tsi-vuk 'he made (him) see it, shows it'
b. taku-vuk 'he sees'

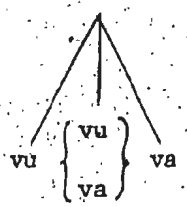
11 b. illustrates a base which is followed in this case by vu-

type ISs. The affixation of ti would restrict the IS to be adjoined to a va-type IS, (ex:5), the addition of tsi, an 'intransitivizer', means that a vu-type IS has to be adjoined.

1:5.5 Verbal Bases: Morphological Marking

Chapter 4 deals with a classification in regards to transitivity of some verbal bases. The purpose of this section is to introduce basic distinctions (reflecting the morphological marking) that can be made between verbal bases.

To verbal bases either vu-type ISs or va-type ISs, or one or the other can be adjoined.



I III II

For ease of reference the different categories are numbered 'I', 'II', and 'III'. These distinctions, however, do not suffice. Further differentiation seems necessary.

I: These bases take vu-type, but cannot take va-type ISs: in order to be able to derive va-type ISs, transitivizing DPs have to be added to the base. Some of the verbal bases can derive va-type suffixes by adding Xgi. For others this is not acceptable. The DP Xgi defines a subset of this class (see chapter 4).

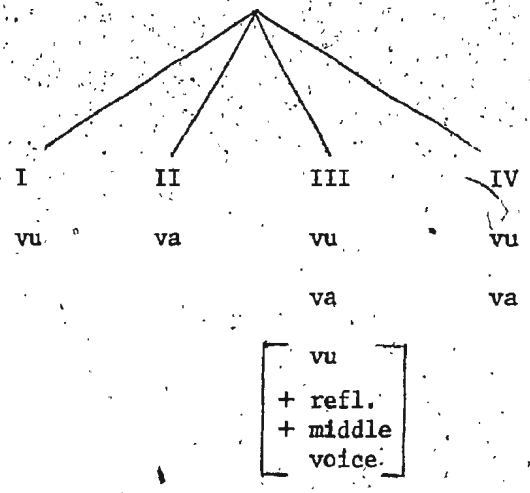
II: These bases can take va-type ISs, but no vu-type ISs. To derive vu-type ISs, DPs which derive vu-type ISs have to be added (DPs described in 1:5.4 belong to these).

III: This group has to be differentiated further. To some of the bases va-type or vu-type suffixes can be affixed without overtly resulting in the change of verbal meaning in terms of the agent of the action.

ex:12) a. taku-vunga 'I see'
b. taku-vaga 'I see him'

Other bases can take vu-type and va-type ISs, whereby traditionally forms with vu-type ISs are described as having a reflexive or middle voice meaning (sometimes an active meaning may also occur). To derive forms with vu-type suffixes without change in meaning, a DP which derives vu-type ISs has to be added to the base, ie. DPs of 1:5.4.

It seems necessary to separate the two groups of III. A four way distinction appears to be more appropriate.



Since the aim of this paper is the classification of verbal bases in terms of transitivity and its reflection in morphology, necessary qualifications and revisions of the distinction will be discussed later and no more will be said here about it.

NOTES

1 It was decided to give a basic introduction to relevant aspects of LI in the first chapter, so that the later chapters can deal solely with the subject matter at hand.

Most of what will be said here for the LI dialect is based on publications by Larry Smith, i.e. 1975, 1977, 1977a, 1978, 1978b, 1979, 1980, etc. Most of the examples in this chapter were also taken or adapted from these sources.

2 This is adapted from Smith: 1978.

3 For discussion of the marginal status of these two phonemes see (Smith: 1975). Smith (personal communication) now recognizes the existence of a third one /ʔ/.

4 The different forms outside the square brackets refer to alternations in orthography necessitated by considerations of native interest.

5 Since there is no gender distinction specified for 3rd person, takuvuk could be glossed as 'he' or 'she' or 'it',... In this gloss and for most other glosses 'he' has been used. For takuvuk the English gloss could also have been 'he saw', since the distinction between present and past tense is not indicated.

6 Morpheme boundaries are indicated for presentation only, they are not theoretically motivated.

7 For explanation of "X" and "=" see 1:4.3.

8 Verbal bases or stems cannot occur as free morphemes. Consultants do however, sometimes, provide verbal bases without affixes added, for instance, when explaining the structure of a word. These forms are presented with base final surface segment "k". It does not necessarily imply an underlying consonant final base. The dictionary (Jeddore: 1976) also lists as headings the verbal bases without any inflectional endings. In these cases the base final surface segment consist of "k". In the thesis verbal bases or stems which are cited without IS are followed by a hyphen (e.g. takuk-) in order to distinguish them from free morphemes, (e.g. illuk "house").

9 For more details concerning the historical development see (Smith: 1979).

10 In order to provide some consistency throughout the study, "K" as in pêrpoK, is rendered as "q" in the translation. This applies to all translations from Bourquin and Kleinschmidt.

11 The forms of predicative nominal paradigm on vowel final stems (e.g. -juk 3psg) may now also be attached to consonant final stems. See the discussion of "variability".

12 The symbols for consonants and vowels (C and V respectively) are only numbered in order to be able to demonstrate the deletion process. It is not implied that the vowels or consonants have to be different from each other. C_1C_2 can indicate geminates as well as mixed clusters.

13 Since the publication of Smith: 1977a, 1978, Inuit have informed L. Smith that these examples are not culturally acceptable.

14 In these labels "A" is reminiscent of "actant".

14 cont'd "Les actants sont les êtres ou les choses qui, a un titre quelconque et de quelque façon que ce soit,....participent au procès." (Tesnière:1969, 102)

"A" is not meant to convey all the attributes that 'actant' has in Tesnière, for instance A_0, A_1 and A_2 do not refer to different types of valency in the sense of Tesnière.

15 The passivizer jau, =tau can be analyzed further into two morphemes. jak, =tak passive participle and Xu 'be'. This is not of relevance here and will not be considered further.

16 Bourquin, as well as Schneider, state that for certain verbs gusu(k), su(k), tsa(k), and liu(k) are used as 'intransitivizers'. Most of these verbs require also the 'transitivizer' Xgi, in order for a va-type IS to be adjoined to the base. gusu(k), su(k), tsa(k), and liu(k) have not been included in the study.

17 Massenet has demonstrated for the Ungava dialect that in the distribution of the different intransitivizers more than phonological considerations are involved. (Massenet:1972).

CHAPTER 2

2:0 ASPECTS OF INTRANSITIVIZERS AND RELATED ISSUES OF TRANSITIVITY IN SOME GRAMMARS OF EASTERN DIALECTS OF INUKTITUT.

2:1 Initial Remarks.

Chapter two examines several grammars and articles which (except for one) were written mainly for other Eastern dialects of Inuktitut. Most of them deal also in part with the Labrador dialect. Aspects of transitivity and intransitivizers pertaining to the thesis topic are investigated. The grammars and articles include Kleinschmidt (for Greenlandic, (Kleinschmidt:1851), also supplementary remarks from Bergsland for West Greenlandic, (Bergsland:1956)), Bourquin (for Labrador (Bourquin:1891) and Schneider (for Ungava (Schneider:1967;1979)).

More than a century has elapsed since the first of these grammars was written; Kleinschmidt's grammar of Greenlandic is dated from the middle of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless it stands as a classic, being still widely referred to and has influenced subsequent grammars.

In the introduction of Bourquin's grammar for the Labrador dialect, it is pointed out that Kleinschmidt had a great influence on Bourquin's work. "Ohne seine [Kleinschmidts] Grammatik hätte ich die vorliegende gar nicht schreiben können." (Bourquin:1891,V)

Without his [Kleinschmidt's]grammar I would not have been able to write the one on hand. (tr.)

In turn, later grammars include information from Bourquin concerning the Labrador dialect. The above provides some justification for

first considering Kleinschmidt's grammar. Where information provided under Kleinschmidt is the same for the other authors, it will not be repeated, but supplementary material from the other grammars will be presented.

The case terminology varies from grammar to grammar. In Appendix B, a chart of case terms used by the different authors, as well as those used in this thesis, is provided. Further remarks concerning terminology will be, where necessary, provided under the heading of the author.

The examples cited in this chapter are taken from the various grammars and will be presented as found in the grammars, without morphological analysis. In order to provide some consistency with the rest of the chapters, 'K' as used by Kleinschmidt and Bourquin has been replaced by 'q' in the translations. Kleinschmidt and Bourquin use diacritics:

$\hat{V}$ = VV

$\acute{V}C$ = VCC

$\tilde{V}C$ = VVCC (Rischel:1974,27)

These have been left as such in the examples.

2:2 Kleinschmidt

Kleinschmidt states in the preface to his book, "Grammatik der Grönländischen Sprache", that his grammar is concerned primarily with Greenlandic, but that it can also be regarded (at least in part I and part II) as a grammar for the Labrador dialect, since to him Labrador Eskimo differed, in regard to grammar, very little from Greenlandic.

The differences between Greenlandic and Labrador Eskimo do not appear to Kleinschmidt to be very extensive, considering the timespan for which the two have been separated.

> "Die Eskimos in Labrador sind seit wenigstens 1000 jahren von den grönländern völlig getrennt, und doch sind die sprachen beider weniger verschieden, als z.b. dänisch u. schwedisch, od. holländisch u. Hamburger plattdeutsch."
>
> (Kleinschmidt:1851, V)

> The Labrador Eskimos have been completely separated for at least 1000 years from the Greenlandic ones, nevertheless their languages are less different from each other than, for example, Danish from Swedish, or Dutch from Low German spoken in Hamburg. (tr.)

2:2.1 Terminology.

A few initial remarks on Kleinschmidt's terminology seem to be called for. His case terminology and its equivalence in other grammars (and in this thesis) is provided in Appendix B. Kleinschmidt's usage of the terms 'subject', 'object' and 'suffix' differs from the conventional usage and will be discussed here.

Kleinschmidt's usage of 'subject' and 'object' is restricted. He describes 'subject' as denoting the Agent (in the transitive sentences)

or Possessor, and 'object' as denoting the Goal (in the transitive sentences) or Possession. Due to that restrictive usage, he feels the necessity to introduce another term: 'project'. His usage of 'subject' is not the "usual" one, as he points out while explaining the term 'project'.

> "Da man unter der benennung „subject" gewöhnlich im allgemeinen denjenigen gegenstand versteht, von welchem - auf die frage: wer? - im satz die rede ist, gleichviel ob derselbe ein object hat oder nicht, so ist hier ein - für allemal zu bemerken, dass im grönl. ein subject ohne object undenkbar ist. Darum, und weil die benennung „subject" hier ausserdem auch für den besitzer in anspruch genommen ist, so ist im folgenden überall, wo der (auf die frage: wer? stehende) gegenstand der rede im allgemeinen und ohne rücksicht auf ein etwaniges object gemeint ist dafür die benennung „project" angewendet..."
>
> (Kleinschmidt:1851,15)[1]
>
> Since usually under the term 'subject' one generally understands that entity which - answering to the question "who" - is talked about in the sentence, no matter if it has an object or not, it has to be noted here once and for all that in Greenlandic a subject is unthinkable without an object. Because of that, and since 'subject' has here also been used for the possessor, the term 'project' is, therefore, used everywhere in the following where it refers to the 'subject' of speech in general regardless of any object. (tr.)

In quotations from Kleinschmidt, 'subject', 'object', and 'project' will be preserved in their senses as provided by the author. Aside from these instances the necessity to use 'project' did not arise.

Kleinschmidt also uses 'suffix' in a more restricted sense than it is "normally" found in contemporary literature. 'Suffixes' in Kleinschmidt are not used in the general sense of "...'affixes' which follow the root with which they are most closely associated" (Gleason:1961,59). His usage of 'suffix' seems to express the relationship between possessive noun endings and va-type verbal endings, since he uses it in

connection with both. 'Suffix' on nouns refers to possessive nominal endings, while on verbal stems it refers to va-type verbal endings.

In this paper the normal sense of 'suffix' applies and it does not only refer to possessive endings or va-type verbal endings except when used in quotations from Kleinschmidt (and also Bourquin).

2:2.2 Transitivity.

Statements concerning transitivity in one way or another can be found almost throughout the whole of Kleinschmidt's grammar, perhaps with the exception of the introduction.

2:2.2.1 Distinctions between Transitive and Intransitive Verbs.

Kleinschmidt distinguishes between notionally transitive and notionally intransitive verbs.

1) Notionally transitive verbs take va-type suffixes when 'A_1' and 'A_2' are different from each other; and take vu-type suffixes when 'A_1' and 'A_2' refer to the same entity, and a reflexive meaning results.

ex:1) a. toqúpâ. 'he kills him'
b. avigpâ. 'he divides it up'
c. toqúpoq. 'he kills himself'
d. avigpoq. 'he divides himself up'

(adapted and tr. from Kleinschmidt:1851,54)

2) Notionally intransitive verbs indicate

"...einen auf sich beschränkten zustand des projects, ohne dass dabei an den urheber dieses zustandes gedacht wird..."

(Kleinschmidt:1851,54)

...a state of the 'project' which is restricted to itself, whereby the initiator of this state is not thought of...(tr.)

They take vu-type endings.

ex:2) a. pisugpoq 'he walks (around)'
b. sinigpoq 'he sleeps'

(adapted and tr. from Kleinschmidt:1851,55)

The distinction between notionally transitive and notionally intransitive verbs is not absolute. Kleinschmidt points out that the types overlap. Many notionally transitive verbs can take, when used with vu-type suffixes, besides the reflexive meaning, a merely passive meaning.

ex:3) toqúpoq 'he is dead (killed)'
avigpoq 'It has been divided'

(The agent is not taken into account)
(ibid:55)

Some notionally intransitive verbs can take va-type suffixes when something that is closely related to the action (for example, the place of the action) is regarded as its goal.

ex:4) pisugpâ 'he walks on it (land, ice)'

(ibid:55)

Furthermore, some verbs are both transitive and intransitive, and can be used with vu-type suffixes as well as with va-type suffixes.

ex:5) a. sanavuq 'he works'
b. sanavâ 'he works on it'

(ibid:55)

Kleinschmidt states that;

> "Die ursprüngliche natur eines redeworts zeigt sich immer am deutlichsten im Nominal particip desselben: bei transitiven redewörtern hat es immer reflexive od. deutlich passive bedeutung... bei intransitiven dagegen fällt jeder gedanke an ein object weg..."
>
> (Kleinschmidt:1851,55)

> The original character of a verb becomes apparent most clearly in its nominal participle: with transitive verbs it always has a reflexive or clearly passive meaning....with intransitive ones no notion of an object is thought of..(tr.)

For a transitive verb, Kleinschmidt gives the example of

ex:6) toqútoq 'the one who kills himself' or 'who has been killed'

For intransitive ones, he cites

ex:7) a. pisugtoq 'the one who walks'
b. sanossoq 'the one who works, a worker'

(adapted and tr. from Kleinschmidt:1851,55)

2:2.2.2 Derivation of Intransitive from Transitive Forms.

Kleinschmidt hypothesizes a derivation of intransitive from transitive forms. The ergative type case marking of Greenlandic, as well as the reflexive meanings of vu-type suffixes on transitive stems, appear to Kleinschmidt to support the assumption that the concept of an actual (transitive) action, is basic for all verbs. According to Kleinschmidt one can find evidence of this in other languages as well.

He describes the process as:

> "...deren [der redewörter] object grammatisches project wird, wenn der thäter in den hintergrund tritt, und zwar in der weise, dass aus der neben der transitiven bedeutung bestehenden reflexiven zuerst die passive, und aus dieser durch weitere schwächung die einfach intransitive sich entwickelt..." (Kleinschmidt:1851,172)

> ... [the verbs'] object becomes grammatical 'project' [subject] when the agent recedes to the background, namely, in such a way that out of a reflexive meaning, which exists besides the transitive one, develops first a passive one, which then weakens further to a simply intransitive one.... (tr.)

He also gives the following examples from German to illustrate the process.

Er macht es.	transitive
'He does (makes) it'.	
Es macht sich.	reflexive
Lit: 'It does (makes) itself'. 'It becomes better'.	
Es ist gemacht worden.	passive
'It has been done (made)'.	
Es ist geworden.	intransitive
Lit: 'It has become' 'It is (made) done'.	

(Kleinschmidt:1851,172)

The English translation obscures the process that Kleinschmidt illustrates. Here is an example from English which shows the same process.

He opens the door.	transitive
The door opens (itself).	reflexive
The door has been opened.	passive
The door is open.	intransitive

2:2.2.3 Change in Morphological Marking on Transitive Stems: Intransitivizers.

Forms to which vu-type ISs can be added without being accompanied by changes in meaning (i.e. to a middle voice or reflexive meaning) can be derived from transitive stems. These verbal forms are called "half-transitive" in Kleinschmidt's terminology. "Half-transitive" verbs are described as transitive stems to which intransitive DPs are

added which do not affect the meaning of the transitive stem (besides obviating the va-type suffix).

> "...halbtransitive redewörter: trtvs. stammwort u. intrtvr. anhang der die bedeutung des stammworts nicht weiter verändert, als dass er es der suffixe entledigt..."
>
> (Kleinschmidt:1851,55)
>
> ...half-transitive verbs: transitive stems and intransitive affix, which does not change the meaning of the stem in any other way than to get rid of the [va-type] suffixes. (tr.)

These DPs, which are called 'intransitivizers', are connected to the phonological shape of the final segment of verbal stems in Greenlandic.

2:2.3 Phonological Aspects of Cooccurrence of Intransitivizers with Verb Stems.

Five different stem classes are established by Kleinschmidt for Greenlandic. They are established on the basis of stem final segments.

Class	Stem Final Segment	With Indicative Interrogative Mood
I	q (K)	rp
II	k	gp
III	t	-p
IV	V	-v
V	é [ə]	á

For the Labrador dialect Kleinschmidt mentions four stem classes. The verbs which belong to class V in Greenlandic behave like vowel-final stems in Labrador and are, therefore, placed in class IV. Some verbs which belong to class III in Greenlandic belong also to class IV in

Labrador, since, between the stems ending in 't' and the suffix, an 'i' is inserted (Kleinschmidt:1851,49)[2].

The intransitivizers can occur with the different verbal stem classes. For Kleinschmidt, phonological aspects seem to partially govern the co-occurrence of stems and intransitivizers. The following chart illustrates for Greenlandic the possible combination of intransitivizers with verbal stem classes.

Classes / INTRVR	I	II	III	IV	V
i (with eq and âq$_3$ more often -ri)	*	*			
-ssi			*	*	
-si	*	*	*	*	
ng-nigpoq (more rarely nigpoq)	*	*		*	*
r-dlerpoq	*				*

(see Kleinschmidt:1851,156)

Besides the possibilities stated in the chart, verbs of class V in Greenlandic can be intransitivized by changing 'é'[ə]to 'e' and, thereby, making them members of class IV (see Kleinschmidt:1851,156).

Concerning "-ssi" it has to be noted that:

"The digraph 'ss' represents the phoneme now generally transcribed /š/ or /S/ (not to be confused with geminate ordinary s)" (Rischel:1974,21)

/š/ or /S/ corresponds to /j/ in Labrador Inuktitut.

"Canadian Eskimo has a voiced palatal where central WG has /š/..." (Rischel:1974,175)

The above chart shows the possible cooccurrences of intransitivizers with verbal stem classes only. It does not imply that every verb belonging to a stem class can be combined with any one of the possible intransitivizers. The intransitivizers cannot be used randomly within the classes they apply to. For example, it is not possible to attach to a verb of class I either of 'i', 'si', 'ng-nigpoq', or 'r-dlerpoq' at random.

Kleinschmidt notes that each transitive verb normally has its peculiar and only usable intransitivizer (in some cases there are two possible forms) which has, therefore, to be specified for each verb.

ng-nigpoq is an exception in that it can apply to all forms of class V, even to those which can take another intransitivizer.

Although these derived verbal forms cannot take va-type suffixes, as was mentioned earlier, they are nevertheless notionally transitive. The idea of an object is included, which takes the modalis case if expressed.

"Dass die halbtransitiven redewörter, obgleich sie kein suffix haben können, dennoch ihrer inneren natur nach nichts destoweniger transitiv sind, und namentlich immer den gedanken an ein object...in sich schliessen..."

(Kleinschmidt:1851,156)

That the half-transitive verbs, although they cannot take a [va-type] suffix, nevertheless, are all the same in their internal character transitive, and especially always include the idea of an object...(tr.)

2:2.4 Definiteness; Indefiniteness.

ex:8) a. ujarqamik tigusivoq 'he took a rock'
b. ujarak tiguvâ 'he took the rock'

(adopted and tr. from Kleinschmidt:1851,85)

In a sentence with a va-type suffix on the verbal form, the 'A_2' has, in most cases, to be translated as definite. In the sentence with the intransitivized verbal form, the form in the modalis, as ujarqamik in ex:8) a., is always indefinite (see Kleinschmidt:1851,85). The same applies to verbs which can take va-type or vu-type ISs directly on the stem.

Kleinschmidt states that, when verbs of this latter type do not occur with va-type ISs and when the object expresses a place, the modalis is, in most cases, replaced by the localis or vialis.

Some intransitivized verbs (using intransitivizers) take the terminalis for the object rather than the modalis.

ex:9) merdlertúnut asangnigpoq 'he is loving toward children'

This may occur when the object is the goal of thought, and applies to:

> "...besonders aber gegenstände, die einerseits objectähnlich bezielt werden, und andrerseits bei der handlung irgendwie als subjectähnlich betheiligt erscheinen (od. gedacht werden)....
>
> (Kleinschmidt:1851,83)
>
> ...especially entities, which on one hand are goal directed, object-like, and on the other hand appear to participate in the action subject-like (or are thought of as such.) (tr.)

ex:10) nalinginarnut atorpoq 'it is used for a lot of things'

ex:11) inungnut pigssauvoq 'it is meant for the people'
(the people shall have it)

(adapted and tr. Kleinschmidt:1851,83)

The above applies to Greenlandic. In Kleinschmidt's time in the Labrador dialect the terminalis was used sometimes instead of the ablative or modalis. However, it was impossible for Kleinschmidt to state a regular rule as to when this change occurred. At that time Greenlandic also showed the beginning of this tendency.

2:3 Bourquin.

Bourquin's grammar is meant for the beginner in the Inuktitut language of Labrador, as well as for the more advanced student. His grammar, therefore, includes a lot of examples in order to illustrate the rules of the language.

Bourquin's grammar has been influenced by Kleinschmidt's work. This becomes obvious from what Bourquin says in the preface and from the quotes and paraphrases taken from Kleinschmidt's grammar.

In this section differences from Kleinschmidt's grammar and any additional information pertaining to the Labrador dialect (especially examples) will be stressed, since it seems pointless to repeat what has been said before.

2:3.1 Terminology.

"Suffix", as used by Bourquin, is used in the same sense, and with the same restricted meaning, as in Kleinschmidt.

The term cum suffixo (c.s.) applies to possessive endings on nouns and va-type ISson verbs.

The term sine suffixo (s.s.) applies to unpossessed endings on nouns and vu-type ISson verbs.

Bourquin states that nouns with possessive endings and verbs with va-type ISscan only occur in connection with a form in the ergative case, whereby that form has to be imagined to be present, if it is not overtly expressed. (see Bourquin:1891,13)

2.3.2 Verb Distinctions

Bourquin starts with a three way distinction concerning verbal forms. Verbs are divided into the following categories.

1) Verbs with only vu-type suffixes (Verba sine suffixo).

ex:1) a. nâvoq 'it is ended'
b. quviasukpotit 'you are happy'

(adapted (adp) and tr. from Bourquin:1891,102)

2) Verbs with only va-type suffixes on the base (Verba cum suffixo).

ex:2) a. annauvâ 'he beats him'
b. annauvânga 'he beats me'

(ibid.)

3) Verbs which can take on the same verbal stem without change in meaning a vu-type, as well as a va-type suffix (Verba sine suffixo and cum suffixo).

ex:3) a. naglikpoq 'he loves'
b. naglikpâ 'he loves him'

ex:4) a. sennavoq 'he works'
b. sennavâ 'he works on him'

ex:5) a. tussarpoq 'he hears'
b. tussarpâ 'he hears him'

ex:6) a. takovoq 'he sees'
b. takovâ 'he sees him'

(ibid.)

He goes on to say that for many verbs the same stem cannot be used to add vu-type as well as va-type suffixes. He especially mentions that set of DPs (i.e. intransitivizers) whose function is to derive verbs with vu-type suffixes from verbs with va-type suffixes, without causing a change in meaning of the verb.

2:3.3 Intransitivizers and Verbal Stem Classes.

2:3.3.1 '-i-'; '-ji-', ('-tji-', '-tsi-'); '-si-'; '-ng-nik-' or '-nik-'; '-rdler-', '-kler-'.

Bourquin mentions basically the same DPs as belonging to this set as Kleinschmidt and illustrates each DP by several examples.

The DPs are: '-i-'; '-ji-', ('-tji-', '-tsi-'); '-si-', '-ng-nik- or -nik-', '-rdler-', '-kler-' and others.[4]

The examples in Bourquin show for most intransitivizers, the stem classes Kleinschmidt mentioned. The stem classes in Bourquin are numbered similarly to Kleinschmidt.

Class I: Stems ending in 'q'.

Class II: Stems ending in 'k'.

Class III: Stems ending in 't'.

Class IV: Stems ending in 'vowels'.

In the examples in Bourquin the intransitivizers apply mostly to the same stem classes as in Kleinschmidt.

The intransitivizer '-rdler-' applies to class I as in:

ex:7) a. nertorpâ 'he praises him'
b. nertordlerpoq 'he praises'

and as '-kler-' to class IV:

ex:8) a. uivêrivâ 'he tricked (enticed) him'
b. uivêriklerpoq 'he tricked (enticed)

(ibid;103)

The examples for '-nik-' or '-ng-nik-' belong to class I or II. In most of those examples another form is also possible.

ex:9) a. tessiorpâ 'he leads him'
b. tessiorpoq } 'he leads'
c. tessiornikpoq }

ex:10) a. mallikpâ 'he follows him'
b. mallikpoq } 'he follows'
c. mallingnikpoq }

ex:11) a. pattikpâ 'he puts his flat hand (shortly) on him'
b. pattiksivoq } 'he puts his flat hand (shortly) on'
c. pattingnikpoq }

(ibid.)

The examples for '-si-' belong to all four classes.

ex:12) a. attuarpâ 'he goes toward it, reads it'
b. attuarsivoq 'he goes toward, reads'

ex:13) a. sêmikpâ 'he squeezes him'
b. sêmiksivoq 'he squeezes'

ex:14) a. nakkappâ 'he cuts (chops) him off'
b. nakkatsivoq 'he cuts (chops) off'

ex:15) a. kippivâ 'he cuts him'
b. kippisivoq 'he cuts'

(ibid.)

For '-ji-' (('-tji-', '-tsi-') given in brackets by Bourquin) the examples belong to class IV.

ex:16) a. perqovâ 'he commands him (or it)'
b. perqojivoq 'he commands'

ex:17) a. tunnivâ 'he gives it'
b. tunnijivoq 'he gives'
(-tsivoq)

ex:18) a. annerutivâ 'he envies him'
b. annerutjivoq 'he envies'

(ibid.)

For '-i-' (the allomorph gi (ri, see note 3) also occurs) most examples belong to class I.

ex:19) a. qaumaksarpâ 'he enlightens him'
b. qaumaksaivoq 'he enlightens'

ex:20) a. asserorpâ 'he spoils him'
b. asseroivoq 'he spoils' (ibid.)

One example for '-i-' seems to belong to class IV. Kleinschmidt only mentions class I, II for '-i-'.

ex:21) a. tunganilivâ 'he gives him reason'
b. tunganilêvoq 'he gives reason'

(ibid.)

2:3.3.2 Other Formations.

Among the examples, Bourquin also mentions other DPs which derive forms with vu-type endings. In these cases va-type forms are derived by adding -gi- to the base.

ex:22) a. annerivâ 'he chooses (elects) him'
b. annerosukpoq[5] 'he chooses (elects)'

ex:23) a. oqumaigivâ 'he has it (something heavy)'
b. oqumaiksarpoq 'he has (something heavy)'

Bourquin mentions that the DP -gosuk- (-rosuk-), sometimes -suk-, which means 'he feels like -ing, is in the mood for, would like to...' is sometimes the only DP used to derive vu-type suffixes, where -givâ is used for va-type suffixes. In these cases the basic meaning of -gosuk- almost disappears.

With verbs that express a state, or a condition of something (Beschaffenheit), -ksaq- derives vu-type ISs where forms with va-type ISs are derived by -gi-. Forms with gusuk and tsak (in contemporary LI) have not been treated.

2:3.4 Definiteness; Indefiniteness

Bourquin notes that in many cases (when specifiers are used) it does not matter, if one uses the form with va-type suffixes or the form with an intransitivizer and vu-type suffixes.

ex:24) a. napârtoq una nakkappara
b. napârtômik ômînga nakkatsivunga

Both sentences mean 'I cut down this tree.'

ex:25) a. oqautivâtit
b. illingnut oqarpoq

Both sentences mean 'he says to you.' (ibid:104)

However, in cases where no specifiers are found in a sentence, the 'A_2' in the sentence with va-type IS on the verbal stem is, in most cases, translated as definite, while in sentences where intransitivized verbal stems with vu-type ISs occur, the noun with the modalis case ending is translated as indefinite.

ex:26) a. napârtoq nakkappara (mostly)
'I cut down the tree'

b. napârtomik nakkatsivunga (always)
'I cut down a tree'
(ibid.)

2:3.5 Reflexive Meaning of vu-type Suffixes on Transitive Stems.

Bourquin notes, as did Kleinschmidt, that a reflexive meaning results if vu-type suffixes are affixed to transitive stems. By the addition of ingminik or nangminerminik, or illingnik[6], reflexivity can be stressed.

ex:27) a. toqqopâ — 'he kills him'
b. toqqopoq — 'he kills himself' (with or without ingminik or namgminerminik) (Er tötet sich selbst.)

ex:28) a. passivâ — 'he accuses him'
b. passivunga — 'I accuse myself' (with or without uvammik) (Ich beschuldige mich.)
c. passivogut — 'we accuse ourselves.' (with or without uvaptingnik or nangminiptingnik) (Wir beschuldigen uns selbst.)

etc...

ex:29) a. kamillarpa — 'he takes off his boots'
b. kamillarpoq — 'he takes off his (own) boots'

(ibid:105)

Bourquin also observed the use of the intransitivized verbal forms with forms of ingminik and uvammik.

ex:30) a. passiklerpunga uvammik
b. passiklerput ingmingnik (No gloss given)

(ibid.)

The above process (i.e. example 27, 28, 29) can also be observed in cases where the German gloss does not overtly show a reflexive meaning.

ex:31) a. pêrpâ — 'he has made it loose'
b. pêrpoq — 'it is loose (literally, it has loosened itself)'

ex:32) a. qangattarpâ — 'he lifts it up, picks it up'
b. qangattarpoq — 'it rises (in the air), rises from the ground (literally, it lifts itself up)'

ex:33) a. manigorpâ — 'he has comforted him'
b. manigorpoq — 'he is consoled (he has comforted himself)'

ex:34) a. qamippâ — 'he extinguishes it, puts it out'
b. qamippoq — 'it is extinguished, it goes out'

(ibid.)

2:3.6 Passive Meaning with vu-type Suffixes on Transitive Stems.

Many transitive stems acquire a passive meaning with vu-type suffixes. To distinguish this passive meaning from the morphologically marked passive, Bourquin uses the term "hidden passive".

ex:35) a. avikpâ — 'he divides it'
b. avikpoq — 'it divides itself, is divided, has been divided'

ex:36) a. attorpâ — 'he uses it'
b. attorpoq — 'it uses itself, as in use, is used'

ex:37) a.	neksarpâ	'he takes him along'
b.	neksarniarpoq	'it will be taken along'
ex:38) a.	âpâ	'he takes it to'
b.	âpoq	'it is taken to (literally, it takes itself to, has taken itself to)'
ex:39) a.	qemakpâ	'he leaves him'
b.	qemangniarput	'they will be left behind, (literally, will leave themselves behind)'
ex:40) a.	mattuvâ	'covers it, puts a cover on'
b.	mattulârpoq	'it will be covered, (literally, will cover itself)'

(ibid:105)

Attorpoq and neksarpoq are also the usual intransitive forms with active meaning corresponding to attorpâ 'he uses' and neksarpâ 'takes something along'. Whether the passive reading or the active one has to be chosen is decided by the context.

The usage of the "hidden passive" is frequent in colloquial speech and can be found in other languages as well. Besides Kleinschmidt's example from German, Bourquin also cites an example from French: il se vend.

For all verbs given above with the "hidden passive", there are also forms with the morphological passive: aviktauvoq, attortauvoq, neksartaumiarpoq, âtauvoq, qemaktauniarput, mattujaulârpoq.

No further information is provided concerning a meaning difference, or a difference in context used, between the forms with "hidden passive" and the forms with morphologically expressed passive.

2:4 Schneider

The "Grammaire Esquimaude du Sous-Dialecte de l'Ungava" (1967?) by Lucien Schneider incorporates, revises, and supplements information for the Ungava dialect from Bourquin's grammar for Labrador and from Mgr. Turquetil's grammar for the west of Hudson Bay.

2:4.1 Terminology

Schneider uses "neutres" in connection with verbal forms. Verbes neutres are verbal forms which cannot take va-type suffixes on the stems. They are intransitive.

> "1. Verbes neutres: Certains verbes sont absolument neutres et ne prennent pas directement le transitif: shinikpoq: dormir; shinikpâ: il le dort ne se dit pas et n'a pas de sens."
>
> (Schneider:1967?,69)

"Neutres" is also used in connection with categorization of DPs. "Exclusivement neutres" are DPs which do not allow va-type suffixes. "Neutres", referring to DPs, indicates also DPs which are not in themselves transitive, but can take vu-type or va-type suffixes determined by the base or stem to which they are attached.

> "Semblablement on trouvera des infixes-verbes:
> 1. neutres:a/ exclusivement neutres: qui ne peuvent comporter le transitif...
> b/ qui de soi ne comportent pas le transitif, mais reçoivent la terminaison (transitive ou intransitive) du radical qu'ils déterminent..."
>
> (Schneider:1967?,84)

It is Schneider's category b/ only which was termed 'neutral' in Chapter 1.

2:4.2 Distinction between Intransitive and Transitive Verbs

Schneider defines for verbal forms "intransitive" and "transitive" as in the following:

> "...la conjugaison est INTRANSITIVE parce que la terminaison du verbe n'exprime pas d'elle-même une transition à quelque object. Dans le deuxième cas, elle est dite TRANSITIVE pour la raison contraire. La première est "primaire" et a donc sa place logique ici même."
>
> (Schneider:1967?,22)

Generally, Schneider seems to consider the intransitive forms as the primary ones. For some verbs, however, he considers the transitive forms as basic (see 2:4.3).

Schneider describes the intransitive form as having an indefinite and sometimes partitive meaning which translates into the indefinite article, while the transitive form has a determined meaning and often expresses totality (Schneider:1967 and 1976b).

ex:1) a.	inungmik takuvunga	'je vois un homme'
b.	inungnik [takuvunga]	'[je vois] des hommes'
ex:2) a.	niaqouyaq nerilangavara	'je vais manger le pain (dont il a été question) (tout entier)
b.	niaqouyamik nerilangavunga	'je vais manger du pain (un morceau de n'importe quel pain)

(adp. from Schneider:1967?,69)

The French gloss in example 1) illustrates the indefinite meaning which Schneider attributes to the intransitive form. In example 2)a. the "determined meaning" and "totality" is illustrated which Schneider regards as a characteristic of the transitive form. Example 2)b. contrasts with 2)a. in illustrating the partitive meaning of the intransitive form.[7]

2:4.3 Distinction Between Verbal Stems Concerning Morphological Marking and Related Groups of Verbs.

Five types of verbal stems are distinguished.

1) Verbal stems which cannot take directly va-type suffixes. DPs which carry a transitive notion have to be added in order to be able to derive va-type suffixes.

ex:3) a. shinikpoq 'dormir'
b. *shinikpâ
c. shiniktipâ 'il l'a endormi, l'a fait dormir'

(ibid,69)

2) Verbal stems that can take directly vu-type as well as va-type endings. Different semantic groups of verbs are noted to fall in this group.

a) Verbs of perception;

to see: takuvoq takuvâ
tautukpoq tautukpâ

to hear: tusarpoq tusarpâ
tusâvoq tusâvâ

b) Verbs expressing a vital action;

to eat: nerivoq nerivâ

to drink: imerpoq imerpâ

c) Verbs of action;

to make: sanavoq sanavâ

to work: pinashupoq pinashupâ

to sew: merksupoq merksupâ

(ibid,70)

3) Verbs that take a DP (always -gi-) in order to derive va-type suffixes. The DP is for some obligatory, for others optional.

This group includes verbs of;

a) spiritual and intellectual actions;

to believe:	okpepoq	okpegivâ
to desire:	tushuvoq	tûshugivâ
to hope, to wait with hope:	nereukpoq	nereugivâ
to ignore: (ignorer)	naluvoq	nalugivâ or nalurâ

b) feelings;

to fear: (craindre)	erqsivoq	erqsigivâ

(ibid,70)

However, not all verbs of spiritual action are included:

to want (vouloir): piyomavoo [sic] piyomavâ

For 2) and 3) Schneider conceives the intransitive forms as the primary ones.

> "...alors que la formeintransitive est de soi et dans les verbes des groupes 2 et 3 première: -voq qui devient vâ."
>
> (Schneider:1967,70)

4) For this type of verbal stems the transitive form is the primary one. 'Intransitivizers' have to be added in order to be able to add vu-type suffixes to the base or stem without a change in meaning.

Schneider gives the following examples:

"I: ayoqertupâ ayoqertuiyoq -mik: il l'enseigne
YI (DYI, DZI): ilivâ iliyiyoq -mik: il le met, place....
SI: tunivâ tunisivoq -mik: il lui donne
KSI: erqaomavâ erqaomaksivoq -mik:
il se le rappelle...
TSI: toqoppâ toqotsivoq -mik: il le tue
NIK: (NNI): ogguapâ ogguanikpoq -mik:
il le regrette."

(Schneider:1967?,70)

The above list gives the most frequently used 'intransitivizers'. Since the 'intransitivizers' are numerous and various, and since each verb can take only certain ones, the 'intransitivizers' have to be specified for each verb.

5) For verbal stems of this type, the DP -gi- is required to derive va-type suffixes and other DPs are required to derive vu-type suffixes. In order to derive vu-type suffixes, one of the following forms has to be added: shuk, goshuk, ksa (rqsa on q-final stems), lior (dliu on t-final stems), and nne.

"SHUK: aliashukpoq -mik, aliagivâ: il l'a pour agréable.
GOSHUK: nagligoshukpoq -mik, nagligivâ: il l'aime, KSA...
nakorqsatoq -mik, nakogivâ: il le remercie....LIOR...
akaidliupoq -mik, akaigiva: il le trouve mauvais...NNE:
oggorivâ, oggorinnetoq -mik: il le regrette."

(Schneider:1967?,70)

According to Schneider, most of these verbal stems are verbs of feeling, impression and judgement. Most of them are formed from bases which can exist as independent words. The first two, shuk and goshuk, are attached to bases which are not used by themselves or to bases which are only found with DPs attached to them.

2:4.4 Reflexivity and "hidden passive".

Schneider notes that transitive stems to which 'intransitivizers' have been added cannot take va-type ISs. But intransitive verbal stems to which -gi- has been added can carry vu-type ISs, in which case a reflexive meaning results.

ex:4) a. nagligivâ 'il l'aime'
b. nagligivoq 'il s'aime'

ex:5) a. pioyorivâ 'il le trouve bon'
b. pioyorivoq 'il se trouve bon'

(adp., ibid,73)

Schneider adds that a reflexive meaning, as above illustrated, is only possible if the meaning allows for it.

Transitive stems with vu-type suffixes have a reflexive and (besides or instead) a passive meaning. As was already mentioned, Bourquin called this form of passive meaning "the hidden passive". The examples cited are the same ones Bourquin has used to explain the "hidden passive".

Schneider adds that forms with the "hidden passive" seem also to occur with toq and yoq, rather than with poq and voq.[8] He states that it can also occur with verbal stems that can take vu-type as well as va-type suffixes, for which he gives the following examples:

ex:6) a. atorpâ atorpoq 'il s'en sert, l'utilise'
b. atorpoq atortoq 'il sert, il est utilisé'

(ibid,74)

Where the "hidden passive" can occur, the passive, which is expressed by morphological marking, can also occur: atortoq or atortaoyoq.

With an agent, the passive has to be expressed by means of

passivizing DPs: jau, tau (yao, tao in Schneider's orthography). A set of sentences illustrates this.

> "Pitamut atortoq: dirait (l'outil, la chose) est utilisé pour Pierre (par un autre), mais par Pierre: Pitamut atortaoyoq."
>
> (Schneider:1967,74)

In order to indicate the agent in the passive sentence (i.e. Pierre) the passive has to be expressed morphologically. Without a passivizing DP attached to the verbal stem, the agent is not specified.

2:4.5 Explanation of the "hidden passive".

In the grammar (Schneider:1967?) the explanation of the "hidden passive" presented as the most likely one is that it indicates a 'state', a result of an endured action.

> "...qu'il indique un état le résultat d'une action subie, plus que cette action subié, cette "passion" elle-même."
>
> (Schneider:1967?,74)

The "hidden passive" has a perfective meaning (sens parfait) like the transitive forms from which it is derived.

Most of the transitive verbal stems have a perfective meaning, expressing a completed action which lasts at least in its results. Referring the present tense, to an action in progress, still incompleted, a DP which expresses this seems often necessary. (see Schneider,1967)

The issue of transitivity and perfective action is taken up again and discussed at length in the "Grammaire Purement Esquimande ou Grammaire Proprement Dite, Troisieme Cycle".[9]

It does not seem appropriate here to reiterate the argumentation, therefore only the conclusion will be repeated. It seems to Schneider that a general rule cannot be deduced which would state that the intransitive expresses the present and the transitive the past.

> "Bref, il semble qu'il n'y ait pas de clef possible, pas de généralisation et de règle possibles. C'est question d'espèce propre, presque de mot. Et infiniment complexe."
>
> (Schneider:1976b,34)

Certain tendencies seem to emerge, although, according to Schneider, nothing can be said decisively. It appears that the immediate effect (effet immédiat) tends toward an expression in the perfect; multiplicity and length of time (effect...repetition) tend toward an expression in the present.

The transitive seems to show a tendency toward being expressed in the perfect, while the intransitive shows a tendency toward being expressed in the present.

The verbal forms with indicative forms tend toward an expression in the perfect, while the participle forms show a tendency toward being expressed in the present. (see Schneider:1976b,34)

Schneider concludes:

> "Mais rien n'est décisif. Et il faudra (pour tous) s'en tenir à ce que disait Bq. des termes de vêtements verbifiés: "Il semble que la signification du parfait soit lieé a ces differents mots": question d'usage à noter et retenir pour chacun d'eux."
>
> (Schneider:1976b,34)

2:5 Bergsland.

Bergsland's grammar "A Grammatical Outline of the ESKIMO LANGUAGE of West Greenland" focuses, as the title implies, on West Greenlandic. In order not to become repetitive, only a few additional remarks from Bergsland will be noted here; these concern especially verbal bases and their differentiation.

2:5.1 Distinctions in Verbal Bases

Bergsland distinguishes three different types of verbal bases:

a) exclusively intransitive bases,

b) exclusively transitive bases,

c) intransitive and transitive bases.

Exclusively intransitive bases indicate "different kinds of movements and states - psychic as well as physical -, position, shapes, etc". (Bergsland:1956,142).

ex:1) mikiwuq[10] 'is small'

ex:2) takiwuq 'is long'

ex:3) naappuq 'is short'

ex:4) silippuq 'is broad, thick (stick, rope, etc.)'

ex:5) amippuq 'is narrow, thin slender'

ex:6) qaqurpuq 'is white'

ex:7) qimirpuq 'is black'

(adp. ibid, 142-143)

Concerning exclusively transitive bases, Bergsland mentions the following:

ex:8) aawaa (ai-) 'fetches it, goes after it'

ex:9) tiguwaa 'takes him or it'

ex:10) amarpaa 'takes or carries him on his back'

ex:11) iniwaa 'hangs it up, spreads it out'

ex:12) iiwaa 'swallows it, sucks it in'

(adp. ibid, 142)

Concerning intransitive and transitive verbal bases a further two-way distinction is made.[11]

For some verbs of this type it can be said that:

> "...the annexed subject of the intransitive forms corresponds regularly to the dependent subject of the transitive forms..."
>
> (Bergsland:1956,142)

ex:13) a. aŋalawuq 'is in motion, walks about, is travelling'
b. aŋalawaa 'wanders through it'

ex:14) a. aawarpuq 'is reindeer-hunting'
b. aawarpaa 'is reindeer-hunting in it (the region), searches it for reindeer'

(ibid, 142)

Bergsland's description identifies these verbal bases as corresponding to verbal stems of category IV (in 1:5.5). 'A_0' of the sentence with vu-type ISs, relates to 'A_1' of the sentence with va-type ISs.

With other verbs of the third type 'A_0' does not relate to 'A_1', but to 'A_2', and to them the following applies:

> "...the annexed subject corresponds rather, or also to the annexed object of the transitive forms..."
>
> (ibid,142)

ex:15) a. alippuq 'has been torn'
b. alippaa 'tears it to pieces'

ex:16) a. inirpuq 'is finished'
b. inirpaa 'has finished it'

ex:17) a. kapiwuq 'stings himself'
b. kapiwaa 'stings him, harpoons it' (the whale)

(ibid,142)

These distinctions correspond to major classes of verbal stems in Chapter 4 and will be discussed again.

2:5.2 Intransitivizers and Verbal Stems

Most transitive verbs can be intransitivized. Bergsland calls the 'intransitivizers' "medializing suffixes". The set of 'intransitivizers' mentioned corresponds to the 'intransitivizers' under study.

Their distribution is represented according to phonological criteria in Bergsland:

-Si- (i.e. -ji- in LI) after vowel

+i- after uvular, less frequent after velar

-si- after prelingual and also after velar but less frequently after uvular and rarely after vowel

-(n)n'ig- in several cases after vowel, notably i[12] and after some few other stems

-(l)lir- rarely

(adp. ibid,109)

The first two forms (-ji-, -i-) can, according to Bergsland also function as transitivizers on intransitive verbal stems (for details and discussion see Chapter 3).

Transitive verbal stems are followed by vu-type ISs when a reflexive or reciprocal meaning occurs, because 'A_1' and 'A_2' are overlapping

or united.

For some transitive verbs Bergsland notes that they:

> "...are also intransitive ('active', not reflexive) without a medialising suffix, and to several transitive verbs correspond two or three different intransitive verbs...
> ...tusarpaa 'hears it or him', med. tusarpuq, 'obeys him', med. tusaawuq, 'grants his prayer', med. tusannippuq."

(Bergsland:1956,109)

NOTES

1 Kalmár describes the term "project" as used by Kleinschmidt as agent, whether nominative or ergative. (Kalmár:1979,40).

2 For contemporary LI, the t-final stem class has fallen together with the k-final one. For nominal stems t→ tik, some variability among speakers may exist.(Smith:1979).

3 'with eq and âq more often -ri' points to the fact that with q-final stems where the q-final segment was preceded by 'i' or 'aa' the allomorph -ri (at Kleinschmidt's time) could occur.

Kleinschmidt's -ri is the equivalent to -gi in contemporary LI, since the g/r phonemic distinction has been lost in contemporary LI. (see Smith:1979). In Chapter 3 examples will be discussed.

4 As mentioned before, 'ji' appears to correspond to Kleinschmidt's 'ssi' (see 2:2.3).

5 Bourquin does not supply any unacceptable forms. For contemporary LI, it can be said that *annivuk and *annivaga are unacceptable to native speakers.

6 ingminik and nangminerminik are forms of two different reflexive pronouns. While their morphology is defective in modern LI (Clase:1974, 31), there is a difference in meaning.

Bourquin's gloss for ingme, ingmik is "er selbst, sie selbst" (he himself, she herself) for nangmineq it is"selbst, eigen" (self, own). The meaning difference in contemporary LI is described as:

6 cont'd. "...namminik ... expresses first and foremost the reflexive object. It can also emphasize the subject... imminik means "by oneself" or "of oneself" in the sense "without any help from others, of one's own free will, of one's own accord"." (Clase:1974,33)

illingnik is a form of the personal pronoun (2nd person;modalis sg.). (Clase:1974,19)

7 The distinction between "partitive" and "totality" was also noted for Ungava by Massenet, (Massenet:1972).

8 Schneider describes the distribution of the two allomorphs of the active participle, indicating a more stable distribution than for contemporary LI.

"Ils [the participles] sont comme déjà vu en Y avec les radicaux en voyelle, et en T avec les radicaux en consonne.." (Schneider:1967?,32)

9 Aspect is not treated in this study. What has been mentioned here is meant as background information.

10 Bergsland uses /w/ and /y/ for "v" and "j" (see Rischel:1974,22).

11 Concerning Bergland's intransitive/transitive bases, Woodbury (Woodbury:1975) distinguishes between "nominative" and "absolutive" stems, which are called "agent-binding" and "object-binding" stems (Woodbury: 1977a).

Nominative stems: "relate S_i's and S_t's", while absolutive stems: "relate S_i's and O_t's". (Woodbury:1975,n.p.)

12 Bergsland differentiates i into i and ɪ.

"As for the vowels it is convenient to split up i into two morphophonemes, i and ɪ... Although there is considerable dialectal and free variation, particularly it seems in the modern language, ɪ differs from i by not assibilating a following prevocalic t to s and by alternating with zero and with a in cases where the other vowels

12 cont'd. are invariable... any synchronic importance beyond the last vowel...,but unlike other morphophonemes *I* has a zero alternant in word final position as well, viz. when *t* precedes..."

(Bergsland:1956,7-8)

CHAPTER THREE

3:0 DIFFERENTIATION OF 'INTRANSITIVIZERS' AND THE 'TRANSITIVIZER' -gi- FROM OTHER HOMONYMOUS DPs

3:1 Initial Remarks

3:1.1 Forms of 'intransitivizers' and -gi-

This chapter deals with the forms of the "intransitivizers" and of -gi- in contemporary LI, and their differentiation from other homonymous DPs.

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the distribution of 'intransitivizers' seemed to be governed by phonological tendencies as well as the necessity to refer to the lexicon.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, contemporary LI distinguishes itself from other Eastern Canadian dialects by being more advanced phonologically, in that a surface neutralization of stem final segments to "k" occurs. This raises questions concerning the form and distribution of 'intransitivizers' and -gi- (a preliminary test established that different intransitivizers occur in contemporary LI).

This chapter deals with the form of the 'intransitivizers' (henceforth INTRVRs) and -gi-. To establish, as far as possible, the forms of the INTRVRs and -gi-, was a necessary first step towards being able to classify verbal stems according to the INTRVRs', and the TRVR's, distribution.

The extent of phonological neutralization has led to the creation of homonyms. Since verbs have been classified according to their com-

binatory aspects with INTRVRs and -gi-, the different forms of the INTRVRs and -gi- had to be separated from occurrences of other DPs which appeared on the surface (for some in certain contexts only) to have the same phonological shape, but differed in meaning and/or function. Forms and their meanings which surfaced during the elicitation process had to be analyzed. It had to be established as to whether a particular form could be considered as an INTRVR (or TRVR), or as belonging to a different DP. The INTRVRs and -gi- emerged from this analysis.

Phonological evidence by itself was not always sufficient to provide a satisfactory answer in regards to the differentiation of INTRVRs and -gi- from other DPs. Other aspects, as for example, combinatory possibilities with other DPs, position of DPs within the word, semantic evidence, etc., had to be taken into consideration. Subsequently, the verbal stems have been classified according to the distribution of the INTRVRs and -gi- which will be presented in Chapter Four.

Chapter Three and Four extend and refine in detail and depth the broad and descriptive survey in A Survey of the Derivational Postbases of Labrador Inuttut (Eskimo), (Smith:1978), which was necessarily and intentionally superficial.

3:1.2 Elicitation Procedure

A questionnaire (see Appendix A) was designed in order to elicit the INTRVRs and the TRVR -gi- for each verbal stem. The verbs were taken from the dictionary of LI which was compiled by Inuit from Labrador,

"Labrador Inuit Uqausingit" (Jeddore:1976).

For some verbs the examples in the dictionary provided initial information as to the occurrence of INTRVRs and -gi-. This information was used as a guide for the initial selection of verbs to be used in the elicitation procedure. Other verbs were added on the basis of information provided by the consultants. All forms given for the verbs were elicited from native speakers, unless otherwise indicated.

The questionnaire included the following attached to each verbal stem:

1) vu-type IS (-vuk 3 psg ind)

2) va-type IS (-vaga 1 psg -3 psg ind)[1]

3) forms of the INTRVRs; -tsi-, -si-, -(n)ni-[2], -i-, -ji-, -(t)ɬi-, and the TRVR -gi-, followed by the vu-type IS and va-type IS mentioned in 1 and 2.

4) the passivizing DP -jau, -(t)tau, again followed by the vu-type IS. An earlier version of the questionnaire also included va-type ISs following the passivizing DP. These were deleted, because they were rated by the consultants consistently as being unacceptable.

Besides -vuk, the corresponding predicative nominal forms were also sought; ie. -juk, -jaga, -(t)tuk, -(t)taga.

More information than just the forms on the questionnaire was gathered. The consultants were asked to provide full sentences whenever it was felt it would be revealing as to any aspect of the forms concerned. In some cases, full paragraphs and the discourse context helped to shed light on the elicited forms. The English glosses provided by the consul-

tants were left unchanged.

Due to variability (see 1:4.4) all the data was elicited more than once from the same consultant and was, where possible, cross-checked with other consultants.

3:1.3 Interaction of Schneider's Law, Deleting and Adjoining DPs, and Phonological Neutralization.

Because of the interaction of adjoining and deleting DPs, Schneider's Law, and a high degree of phonological neutralization, the form of the DP initial segments are not always obvious (ie. this applies also to DP final segments).

This can be illustrated by the following. Three different DPs, Xsi(k), =si(k) and (X)tsi, are added to different possible stem final sequences: (C)CV(C).

Xsi:

...CV + Xsi → ...CVsi...

...VCVC + Xsi → ...VCVsi...

...VCCVC + Xsi → ...VCCVsi...

=si:

...CV + =si → ...CVsi...

...VCVC + =si → ...VCVtsi...(k + s → ts)

...VCCVC + =si → ...VCCVsi...(Schneider's Law)

Xtsi:

...CV + tsi → ...CVtsi...

...VCVC + tsi → ...VCVtsi...

...VCCVC + tsi → ...VCCVsi...(Schneider's Law)

Patterns as above are found in other dialects of Inuktitut of the Labrador Peninsula as well.

In the above given schemata, the stem final segment to which the three DPs are added is distinguished into 'C' or 'V'. In LI this can be further complicated by the fact that, if certain ISs are added (eg: forms of the indicative mood or the predicate nominal) some speakers will use vuk, juk and =tuk or other forms of all of these paradigms; so that the stem final segment may not be distinguishable into 'C' or 'V'.

3:2 Differentiation of "intransitivizers" and "gi" from other DPs.

3:2.1 -tsi-/-si-: Initial Remarks.

The forms -tsi- and -si- occur in the questionnaire data. -tsi- and -si- can be manifestations of the same postbase, (depending on consonant sequence) due to Schneider's Law, or they can also be manifestations of different DPs, or both. A range of translations were given for these forms: 'to buy something', 'to see something', 'waiting to do something', 'to turn', 'to become', 'now', 'in the process of', 'starting', etc. The different possibilities had to be scrutinized.

3:2.1.1 -tsi-/-si-: to buy, to see.

-tsi- or -si- occurred on nominal forms or "nerbal forms", with the English glosses given as 'buy, see'.

1) Nominal forms:

ex:1) a. nuvuk 'point'

b. *nuvuvuk —

c. *nuvuvaga

d. nuvu -si -vuk 'he saw a point'
point see 3 psg
ind

e. nuvu -si -vaga 'that particular point I saw'[3]
point see 1 psg - 3 psg
ind

2) Nerbal forms:

ex:2) a. tuttu -si -vuk 'he saw some caribou'
caribou see-3 psg
ind

b. tuttu -si -vaga 'I did see that deer'
caribou see 1 psg-3 psg
ind

c. tuttu -vuk 'he gets a caribou'
caribou 3 psg
ind

d. tuttu -nga 'his caribou'
caribou Abs sg poss
3p, sg dl pl
possr

The meaning of 'see' seemed to apply mainly to animals, while 'buy' was given with purchasable items.

ex:3) a. tupi-tsi-vunga 'I bought a tent'
tent buy 1 psg ind
b. tupi-tsi-jaga 'I bought a tent for him'
tent buy 1 psg -3 psg
pred nom

In some cases both 'see' and 'buy' would occur for the same item. It was, therefore, not possible to distinguish two different DPs, one meaning 'to see', the other one meaning 'to buy'.[4]

ex:4) a. puijisivuk 'he saw a seal, or bought a seal'
b. puijisivaga 'I bought him a seal, or that particular seal I did see'

ex:5) a. qallunaatsivuk 'he saw that qallunaak'
b. qallunaatsivaga 'that qallunaak I did see'
c. *qallunaasivuk
c. *qallunaasivaga

ex:6) a. iqalutsivuk 'he bought some trout'
b. iqalutsivaga 'that trout I did buy'
c. *iqalusivuk
c. *iqalusivaga

-tsi- and -si- can occur with vu-type as well as va-type suffixes.

It was not possible to conclude with certainty the form of the DP. In some cases, as in nuvuk, it seems to appear as -si- on a stem that occurs in Jeddore as consonant final; Nuvummut pisujuk, 'He is walking to the point.' (Jeddore:1976,89), in others (as in ex:5) and 6)) as -tsi-. However, this is not crucial for the following.

In none of the above examples do -tsi- or -si- ('buy, see') occur on stems which are qualified as $\begin{bmatrix} -N \\ +V \end{bmatrix}$ only, but on stems being specified as $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -V \end{bmatrix}$ or $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +V \end{bmatrix}$. The latter description designates "nerbs".

As mentioned earlier (Section 1:3.2), the theoretical issue of "nerbs" cannot be addressed, and the emphasis lies on verbal aspects. The DP 'see, buy' occurs on stems which exhibit in these cases a nominal sense, and not with a verbal one. The DP has, therefore, been excluded from the investigation.

3:2.1.2 Xsi: 'now', 'in the process of', 'starting to'.

ex:7)	a.	anivuk	'he went out'
	b.	anivaga	'I put it outside'
	c.	anisivuk	'that person is now going to the outside'
	d.	anisivaga	'I am now going to put it outside'
ex:8)	a.	itivuk	'he came in' 'he comes in'
	b.	itivaga	'I did bring it in'
	c.	itisivuk	'he will start to go in'
	d.	itisivaga	'I am starting to bring it in'

In examples 7) and 8) -si- is found on stems which can take vu-type and va-type ISs, while in examples 9) and 10), -si- occurs only with vu-type ISs, as do the respective stems.

ex:9)	a.	palivuk	'he tanned'
	b.	*palivaga	
	c.	palisivuk	'he starts to tan'
	d.	*palisivaga	
ex:10)	a.	auvuk	'it melts, thaws'
	b.	*aujaga	
	c.	ausivuk	'it started to melt'
	d.	*ausivaga	

For examples 7), 8), 9), and 10) a correspondence between a. and c. can be found, whereby c. carries the additional meaning of 'now, starting to'. For examples 7) and 8) this is also true for b. and d.

ex:11)	a.	Pisu-gunna -si -vuk	'He is now able to walk.'
		walk be able now 3 psg ind	

In example 11, -si- is preceded by the DP "gumna(Q)", 'be able, be permitted to' (Smith:1978,41); which suggests that -si- is a deleting DP. The consultant who provided ex:11), gives gumnaQ as a consonant-final DP, as in uqillititsigumnaquk 'it can enlighten' [enables it to become lighter].

-si- corresponds to "Xsi 'to be now in the process of X', 'he has begun to X'"(Smith:1978,92)[5].

Xsi can be distinguished from an INTRVR. To the examples: 7) and 8) the following can be added by way of contrast.

ex:12) a. anitsivuk 'that person put something outside'
b. *anitsivaga

ex:13) a. ititsivuk 'he is bringing it in'
b. *ititsivaga

In examples: 7), 12) and 8), 13) forms with -si- as well as with surface -tsi- can occur. To forms with -si-, vu-type, as well as va-type suffixes can be attached. To forms with surface -tsi-, only vu-type ISs can follow. -tsi-, as in 12)a. and 13)a., seems to behave like an INTRVR. Compared to 7)a. and 8)a., 12)a. and 13)a. show a change of meaning, i.e. 7)a. 'he went out'; 12)a. 'that person put something outside'. Between 7)b., 8)b. and 12)a., 13)a. the corresponding meaning change does not occur, i.e. 7)b. 'I put it outside'; 12)a. 'that person put something outside'.

A similar distinction can be observed in the following example, which consists of full sentences.

ex:14) a. ititsivuk siqqulimmik ititsivuk
'she brings in the kettle'
b. itisivuk illumut itisivuk
'He begins to go into the house'

Example 15) again illustrates the difference in meaning and function between Xsi 'now, starting to' as in 15)c. and d., and the INTRVR in 15)e.[6]

ex:15) a. qakivuk 'it went ashore'
b. qakivaga 'I did haul it ashore'
c. qakisivuk 'it is starting to go ashore'
d. qakisivaga 'I am starting to haul it ashore'
e. qakitsivuk 'he hauled it ashore'
f. *qakitsivaga

In example 16) -tsi- and -si- co-occur. 16)a. differs from 15)e. by the addition of 'now, ...' in its English gloss. 16)b. is not acceptable, since 15)f. is not acceptable.

ex:16) a. qaki-tsi -si -vuk 'he is now going to haul it ashore'
haul INTRVR now 3psg ind
b. *qakitsisivaga

In summary, it can be said that Xsi 'now, in the process of x, starting to' is distinct from an INTRVR.[7]

3:2.1.3 =si: 'become, turn'

The meaning 'become, turn' surfaced in examples sometimes with -tsi-; other times with -si-:

ex:17) a. qaquvuk 'it is white'
b. qaqutsivuk 'it did turn white'

("qaquttak 'white'" (Jeddore:1976,110))

ex:18) a. taattuk 'it is dark'
b. taatsivuk 'it becomes dark'

ex:19) a. sitijuk 'it is hard'
b. sitisijuk 'it becomes hard'

(also siti-ju -gu -vuk)
hard pred want 3 psg
nom ind

ex:20) a. piuvuk 'that's good, it is good'
b. *piuttuk
c. piusivuk 'it becomes nice'

The stems of example 17) and 18) are consonant final, while 20) b. suggests a vowel-final stem for example 20).

The DP discussed in the previous section (Xsi 'now, in the process of, starting to') did not occur in any of the given examples with the surface form -tsi-. The DP of this section occurs as -tsi-, or as -si-. If the postbase belongs to the adjoining type and consists of =si, it would provide an explanation for the alternants.

...VC + si + tsi

...V + si + si

For the consultant who provided the examples, the DP seems to have the form =si. -tsi- occurs, where the stem ends in a final consonant (e.g. example 18); -si- occurs where the stem ends (possibly) in a final vowel (e.g. example 19).

Before coming to a final conclusion, it may be helpful to examine another possibility, i.e. that the DP has the form Xtsi, in which case the form of the stem-final segment, (C or V), is irrelevant for this argument. Example 17) and 18) would support this, but for example 19) and 20), one would also have to expect a form with -tsi-, rather than -si-.

In ex:19) and 20) -si- is found, rather than -tsi' in sitisijuk and piusivuk, while sititsijuk and piutsivuk are unacceptable. This, in addition to the fact that the DP occurs as -tsi- on consonant final stems, leads to the conclusion that the form of the DP (at least for this speaker)[8] is =si.

It can also be pointed out that, in postbase dictionaries of other Eastern dialects, the DP under question has been described as having adjoining properties (see Schneider:1979,157-158, Schultz-Lorentzen:1927,296).

=si is distinct from Xsi, both of them can occur together in the same word.

ex:21) a. taat-si -si -vuk 'it is now going to start to get dark'
dark turn start 3 psg ind

b. *taasitsivuk

c. qaquf-si -si -vuk 'it started to turn white'
white turn start 3 psg ind

d. qutsu -si -si -vuk 'it begins to turn yellow'
yellow turn start 3 psg ind

=si does not function as an INTRVR. For most examples, as the forms below indicate, va-type ISs occurred neither on the base nor on the derived forms.[9]

ex:22) a. *qaquvaga
b. *qaqutsivaga

c. *sitivaga

d. *piuvaga
e. *piusivaga

3:2.2.4 -tsi-/-si-: 'wait for'

Further forms with -tsi- or -si- occurred in the data.

ex:23) a. auvuk 'it melts, thaws'
b. *aujaga
c. autsivuk 'it is being waited on to melt'
d. autsivaga 'I am waiting for it to thaw or melt'

ex:24) a. qiuvuk 'he did freeze, he gets cold'
b. *qiuvaga
c. qiutsivuk 'he or she is waiting to get cold'
d. qiutsivaga 'I am waiting for him to get cold'

ex:25) a. nigumit-si -si -vakka 'I warm them up'
warm be- come wait 1 psg 3 ppl

ex:25) (cont'd)

b. nigumit-tuk 'it is warm'
warm 3 psg
pred nom (Jeddore:1976,81)

Concerning the initial segments of -tsi-/-si-, it seems most likely that the DP has the phonological structure of -tsi-, rather than -si-. Forms like qiujak[10] 'to be cold' (Jeddore:1976,117) point to a vowel final stem in this case. This means, if the DP consisted of -si-, one would not expect -tsi- after qiuk-, as in qiutsivuk.

The forms with -si- are more easily explained by Schneider's Law. qiusivuk does exist with a gloss of 'he started to get cold', which illustrates the involvement of another DP: Xsi 'now, starting to'.

As the above examples illustrate, -tsi- occurs with vu-type, as well as va-type suffixes, even if the bases cannot. With vu-type suffixes a reflexive or middle voice meaning surfaces. Since reflexive or middle voice meanings may occur when vu-type suffixes are attached to notionally transitive forms, and since the stems without the DP are not transitive, it can be concluded that the DP -tsi- is transitive in itself, having been considered as containing different properties than the INTRVRs.[11]

Xsi and =si can be distinguished from tsi.

ex:26) a. qiusivuk 'he started to get cold'
b. *qiusivaga
c. ausivuk 'it begins to thaw'
d. *ausivaga

ex:26) includes forms with Xsi. The difference of meaning of the forms with respect to 24)c, d. and 23)c, d., which include -tsi-, is evident, ie. Xsi 'now, starting to'; -tsi- 'wait for'.

ex:27) a. qutsutak 'yellow'

ex:27) (cont'd)

b. qutsu -si -vuk — 'it becomes yellow'
yellow be- 3 psg
come ind

c. qutsu -si -tsii-lauk-quk — 'he waits for him to turn yellow'
yellow be- wait f.p. 3 psg
come for ind

In example 27)c. the DP tsi 'wait for' and the DP =si 'turn, become' occur in the same word, (tsii consisting of tsi and i INTRVR.).

3:2.1.5 -tsi-/-si-: "Intransitivizing" Properties

In the following, more examples are given where the -tsi-/-si- forms exhibit "intransitivizing" properties.

ex:28)
a. qakivuk — 'it went ashore'
b. qakijuk — 'it is gone ashore'
c. qakittuk — 'it did go ashore'
d. qakivaga — 'I did haul it ashore'
e. qakijaga — 'that thing I hauled ashore'
f. qakittaga — 'that particular thing I hauled ashore'
g. qakitsivuk — 'he hauled it ashore'[12]
h. qakitsijuk — 'he is hauling it ashore'
i. *qakitsivaga
j. *qakitsijaga
k. *qakitsitaga

ex:29)
a. qimivuk — 'it choked'
b. qimijuk — 'the thing that chokes'
c. qimittuk — 'the particular thing that chokes'
d. qimivaga — 'I choked him/it'
e. qimijaga — 'the person or thing that I choked'
f. qimittaga — 'that particular person or thing that I choked'
g. qimitsivuk — 'he chokes someone'
h. qimitsijuk — 'the one who chokes someone or something'
i. qimitsituk — 'that particular person who chokes someone or something'
j. *qimitsivaga
k. *qimitsijaga
l. *qimitsitaga

In these examples 28) and 29) -tsi- occurs: in example 30) si occurs.

ex:30) a. kiivuk[13] — 'it closes together'

ex:30) (cont'd)

b.	kiijuk	'the thing that closes together'
c.	kiittuk	'that particular thing that closes together'
d.	kiivaga	'I bit him'
e.	kiijaga	'the thing I bit'
f.	kiittaga	'that thing I bit'
g.	kiisivuk	'the person that bit him'
h.	kiisijuk	'the person that bites him'
i.	kiisittut	'that particular person that bit him'
j.	kiisivaga	'I will now bite him' (This is a manifestation of another DP: Xsi).

As the above examples demonstrate, forms ending in -vuk, juk and -ttuk were acceptable for some verbs to one consultant. Other speakers may not find all three forms acceptable. This raises problems in some cases as to the stem final segment.

The corresponding forms in Greenlandic, qaqipâ 'pulls it up, takes it up from the deep' (Schultz-Lorentzen:1927,83) and qimipâ 'strangles him' (Schultz-Lorentzen:1927,97) both belong to consonant final stems, while kiik- is vowel final in Greenlandic. "Kîvâ 'press together', round something, ... bites him or it ..." (Schultz-Lorentzen:1927,125).

The conclusion that -tsi- and -si- are occurrences of the same INTRVR, i.e. - one form for what are felt to be consonant-final stems, the other for vowel-final stems - cannot be necessarily deduced for LI on the basis of the Greenlandic data.

Although the Greenlandic verbs corresponding to examples 28) and 29) belong to consonant final stem classes in Greenlandic, this may or may not be true for the corresponding stems in contemporary LI. Besides, even if it is true for these stems, it may not be so for others. Here is an example of a stem that is vowel final in Greenlandic, but, nevertheless, has -tsi- as a possible INTRVR in LI.

Greenlandic: matuvâ 'close it' (Schultz-Lorentzen:1927,137) LI:

ex:31) a. matuvuk 'it closed'
b. matuvaga 'I closed it'
c. matutsivuk 'that person closed it'

-si- and -tsi- have been entered separately in the postbase distributional patterns in Chapter Four.

A comparative study and a diachronic analysis would provide answers concerning the phonological status of -tsi- and -si-. Both exceed the scope of this paper.

3:2.1.6 -tsi-/-si-: Concluding Remarks

From the analysis in the previous sections, it can be concluded that, concerning the range of meanings given in section 3:2.1, several different DPs, besides INTRVRs, occurred.

They are:

(t)si(k) 'buy, see'

Xsi 'now, in the process of, starting to'

=si(k) 'turn, become'

tsi 'wait for'

Those DPs have been excluded from the classification in Chapter Four.

3:2.2 (n)ni(k): Initial Remarks

A range of different forms also surfaced in connection with (n)ni(k). These included XnniQ 'had xed', =nik nominalizer and (n)ni(k) 'be pleasant to'. Besides these, the INTRVR also occurred.

3:2.2.1 XnniQ: 'had xed'

One DP could be established as XnniQ. The Q-final segment for this postbase exhibits itself when adding inflections to it. An indicative form (-quk) has been affixed to the stem in ex:32). This points to a Q-final element for the DP.

ex:32) a. takunniquk 'he had seen'
b. *takunnivuk
c. takunniqait 'he had seen them'
d. *takunnivãga

In the data it was often translated by the pluperfect,[14] as in the following examples:

ex:33) taku-kqu -nagu taku-nni -quk
see tell 1 psg - 3 psg see plupf 3 psg
imp-opt neg ind

'He had seen it what I did not want him to see'.

ex:34) tusa-kqu -nagu tusa-nni -quk
hear tell 1 psg-3 psg hear plupf 3 psg
imp-opt neg ind

'He had heard what I did not want him to hear.'

This DP cannot occur for these speakers with indicative forms for vowel-final or k-final stems:

ie: *tusannivuk
*tusannivaga

To this DP vu-type, as well as va-type suffixes can be added. It can be distinguished from the INTRVRs by its different phonological form, as well as from a nominalizing -nik, and corresponds basically to "-niQ unnoticed" (Smith:1978,80). According to forms elicited, this DP may be deleting.

ex:35) a. kipi-nni -qait 'he had cut them'
cut plupf 3 psg- 3 ppl
ind

ex:35) (cont'd)
b. kipi-guma-nni -qait 'he had wanted to cut them off'
cut want plupf 3 psg - 3 ppl
to ind

The consultant considered Xguma 'want to' a vowel final DP. (ex: piusigigumajAnnik 'the things I want to do' [Wanting to have as a way of life]). Ex:34) exhibits XnniQ as a deleting DP. The following example supplies support for this observation.

ex:36) ...aanni-tau -nni -mat 'when he had gotten hurt...'
hurt to be plupf 3 psg
xed caus

"=tau, to be xed by" (Smith:1978,98) is a vowel final DP:

=tauvuk
=taujuk
*=tau(t)tuk

If nniQ were adjoining, one would expect aannitaunimmat, rather than aannitaunnimat, which corresponds to the acceptable form.

However, because of variability, the possibility of it being treated sporadically as adjoining cannot be ruled out[15] and its properties may vary from speaker to speaker.

3:2.2.2 (n)ni(k): "intransitivizer" versus =nik: Nominalizer.

The INTRVR and another DP could be distinguished. The phonological form seemed similar, but usages of the two DPs are different in LI. One of them exhibits nominalizing properties (V → N), while the other belongs to the class maintaining type (V → V).

ex:37) a. mikijuk 'it is small'
b. mikinik 'smallness' (Smith:1978,79)

ex:38) a. anaunnivuk 'he hit it with a club'
b. *anaunnivaga

In order to nominalize the stem anaunnik in ex:38)a. -nik- has to be added.

ex:39) anaumninik — 'the act of hitting with a club; or to hit with a club'

Here is another example similar to examples 38) and 39) as far as -nnik is concerned.

ex:40) a. pitivaga — 'I hit it with an arrow'
b. *pitivuk
c. pitinnivuk — 'he hit something with an arrow'
d. pitinninik — 'to hit with an arrow'

The bases anauk- 'hit with a club' and pitik- 'hit with an arrow' with just -nik- or -(n)nik- affixed to them were not acceptable to native speakers.

ex:41) a. *anaunnik
b. *anaunik

ex:42) a. *pitinnik
b. *pitinik

Forms with -nnik-, however, did occur on these bases when followed by ISs (ex: 38)a., 40)c.) and have intransitivizing properties. The nominalization of the intransitivized forms is illustrated in 39) and 40)d.

In other cases, where forms of verbal stems followed by -(n)nivuk were unacceptable, just -nik could be added having a nominalizing property.

ex:43) a. takuvuk — 'he sees'
b. *takunnivuk
c. *takunnivaga
d. takunnik — 'the act of seeing, to see'

ex:44) a. pinnivuk — 'he hits'
b. *pinninivuk
c. *pinninivaga
d. pinninik — 'to hit someone or something'

Evidence, as in the example, anaunniti; 'the hitter', points in the direction of a k-final form concerning the INTRVR nnik for some cases. Whether it is deleting or adjoining could not be established with certainty from the data collected.

The nominalizing DP seems to be of the adjoining type; "=nik: the result, state, quality of" (Smith:1978,79). The following example from the data collected supports this analysis.

ex:45) anau-nni -guma-nik 'wanting to hit someone or something'
hit INTRVR want nom
to

Example 45) also shows =nik, the nominalizer, occurring with the INTRVR (n)ni(k).

Phonological evidence was not sufficient by itself to distinguish the nominalizing =nik from the INTRVR. However, other evidence such as the co-occurrence of both DPs in a word, the different restrictions on the affixation of ISs, positional evidence and semantic evidence, led to the conclusion that =nik "nominalizer" had to be considered to be distinct from the INTRVR. It nevertheless may be that on a deeper level these DPs could be united.

3:2.2.3 (n)nik: 'be pleasant to'

(n)nik also occurred in examples as in the following:

ex:46) a. tusannituk 'it sounds good, the thing that is nice to listen to'
b. *tusannivuk
c. *tusannijuk

Tusak- exhibits consonant final properties in the following example.

ex:47) tusat-tau -vunga
hear pass I psg
ind

' they 've heard me' [I have been heard (by them)]

The phonological shape in this case may be nnik or =nik. The occurrence was too restricted to enable the writer to establish its form more precisely. It was, therefore, not possible to establish with certainty if this entity belongs to either of the above DPs or is a different one altogether.

The (n)nik occurred basically with tusak-. Attempts to elicit other verbal bases, especially other verbs of perception, with it were not successful.

3:2.2.4 -(n)ni(k): Concluding Remarks

For the range of forms mentioned in 3:2.2 the following DPs could be distinguished:

Xnni0 =ni0	'had...xed'
=nik	nominalizer
nnik =nik	intransitivizer
nnik =nik	'be pleasant to'

The information concerning the last form was too scarce to establish its relation or independence from the nominalizer and the INTRVR.

3:2.3 -i(k)-/-ji(k)-: Initial Remarks

Again, several meanings surfaced in connection with forms of

-i(k)-/-ji(k)-. They had to be investigated with respect to INTRVRs.

3:2.3.1 -i(k): 'lose, become without'

-i(k)- occurred, for example, in the following:

ex:48) a. matuvuk 'it closed (ie. covered)'
b. matuivuk 'it opened (ie. uncovered)'
c. matuvaga 'I closed it (ie. covered it)'
d. matuivaga 'I opened it (ie. uncovered it)'

ex:49) a. ukkuak ukkuavauk 'he closes the door'
b. ukkuak ukkuivauk 'he opens the door'

In some cases, as in ukkuitauvuk, this DP exhibits properties that may be associated with a DP final consonant -ik-.

The phonological evidence by itself may not be sufficient to distinguish this DP from an INTRVR. However, other aspects led to the conclusion that this DP is distinct. In cases such as matuitsivuk 'he opens (a can, bottle, etc.)' and ukkuisivuk, 'he opens (the door)', -i(k)- is followed by an intransitivizing DP, which indicates its ability to co-occur with an INTRVR. The meaning of the DP seems to be constant and corresponds to "Xi(k), 'lose, become without, no longer, have no more, not x, opposite x, the absence'" (Smith:1978,46)[16].

3:2.3.2 -i-/-ji-: 'Involuntarily' versus "Intransitivizer"

-i-/-ji- were two possible alternatives for intransitivizing DPs in LI. During the investigation, it was found that -i-/-ji- also surfaced along with a gloss of 'involuntarily', and was often given by the consultant as 'he had ... on him' (the writer would gloss it as 'without having (voluntary) influence') as in the following example.

ex:50) a. kivivuk 'it sank'
b. kivivaga 'I lifted it'
c. kivijivuk 'he had it sink on him'
d. kivijijaga 'I had it sink on me'

kivik- was glossed as: 1) to sink (v.), 2) to heft (v.) (Jeddore:1976,62). In Schultz-Lorentzen, two different bases are indicated: one consonant final, the other vowel final.

ex:51) a. "kivigpâ, kivipâ 'lifts it up'"
b. "kivivâ, 'sinks it'"

(Schultz-Lorentzen:1927,126)

Since stem-final segments have become largely neutralized in LI, those two different verb bases may have fallen together on the surface. That is, they have become homonymous, and are listed under one entry. In general, the dictionary reveals that there are quite a few cases where what appears to be a number of unrelated glosses are listed for one entry (see Jeddore:1976).

In LI, kivik- 'to sink', seems to take only vu-type ISs, since va-type suffixes will only result in a gloss concerned with 'to lift'.

ex:52) a. kivivuk 'it sank'
b. kivivaga 'I lift it'

The stem kivittauk- of kivik-, glossed as 'to lift' only, points to a consonant-final segment of that base.

On kivik- 'sink', -ji- occurs with vu-type, as well as va-type suffixes.[17] Here are more examples of -ji-.

ex:53) a. situjivaga 'it slid away on me'
b. *situjivuk
c. situjuk 'it did slide (down)'
d. situvaga 'I did slide down it'

ex:54) a. katajivuk 'he had it drop off on him'
(not acceptable to some consultants)
b. katajivaga 'I had it drop off on me'

ex:55) a. asiuvuk 'It is lost'
b. asiujivunga 'I lost it'
c. asiujivaga 'I lost it'

The question has to be contemplated whether these forms of -i-/-ji- have to be considered part of the INTRVRs or not. If one opts for the former, -i/ji- have to be described as "intransitivizing" and "transitivizing" at the same time, since it can be followed by vu-type, as well as va-type ISs. Bergsland follows this route when he states: "-Si/-i- however, may be conversely, transitivize intransitive verbs: '(unwillingly) get it to - for himself', etc." (Bergsland:1955,109).

Schneider considered -i-/-ji- different from an "intransitivizing" suffix:

> "v. /IVÂ voq mik V. il le fait....involontairement (comme yiyoq, yearivâ) ad libitum, semble-t-il) [sic]..." (Schneider:1979,45)

> "-Certains verbes (cf. Dict.) ont outre yearivâ, yearqarpoq qui traduisent le parfait, une forme en yivoq ou ivoq yivâ, ivâ (yi et i n'etant pas ici des infixes de transition pour forme intransitive comme vus supra yi, tsi ...), et ..." (Schneider:1979,208).

> "v. /YIVOQ .... (différent de yivoq, yivâ de yeaq); infixe de transition pour forme verbale intransitive comme i, si, tsi ...) ..." (Schneider: 1979,209)

Schultz-Lorentzen has an entry of:

> "-ivâ, -sivâ, -ssivâ, -livâ vv gets it, -. aseruivâ, he got it broken. ánaivâ, it got away from him. kivissivâ, it sank before him. tingissivara, it flew away from me." (Schultz-Lorentzen:1927,280).

The examples given in Schultz-Lorentzen correspond to examples in Schneider (who does not give a translation for all of them).

> "...situyiyoq, vâ, kiviyivoq, vâ, katayiyoq, vâ, padlayiyoq, vâ.... qeayivâ, annaivâ, annaivoq: il la laissé échapper involontairement, il lui á échappé,..." (Schneider:1979,208)

For LI it was not possible to distinguish on phonological grounds

-i-/-ji- INTRVR from -i-/-ji- 'involuntarily, ...on him, etc.

Here are examples for the INTRVR with both allomorphs.

ex:56)	a.	*pikquvuk	
	b.	pikquvaga	'I tell him'
	c.	pikqujivuk	'he tells him'
	d.	*pikqujivaga	
ex:57)	a.	akilivuk	'(the thing) is paid for'
	b.	akilivaga	'I paid it'
	c.	akiliivuk	'he paid for it'
	d.	*akiliivaga	
ex:58)	a.	katavuk	'it did fall'
	b.	katavaga	'I dropped it'
	c.	kataivuk	'he dropped it'
	d.	*kataivaga	

(Note the difference of 58)c. and 58)d. compared to 54).)

In neither of these examples did the English gloss convey '...on him, involuntarily, unintentionally' as it did in examples 53) to 55).

Semantic evidence, i.e. the English glosses and further explanation by the consultant, the difference in terms of possible ISs, and examples like ex:59) contributed to considering -i-/-ji- 'on him, involuntarily, etc.' as a different DP from intransitivizing DPs, with respect to the classification of verbal stems.

ex:59)	a.	tusaajivuk	'unintentionally, he had her hear him'
	b.	tusaajivaga	'I had him hear me unintentionally'

It does not seem impossible to interpret Bergsland's examples in that sense as well, as the following illustrates.

> "...II 86 utuqqaat aliikkutaSSaraluwatik taSSannaannaq aniSigamikkik 'the old couple/ those who should have been...an entertainment for them/ suddenly/ when they had them go out for them, i.e. when they had the bad luck that those etc. went out'...." (Bergsland:1956,109)

'...when they had them go out for them...' and especially Bergsland's explanation seems to go along with a translation often given for -i-/-ji- above: ...on him, that is in this case, '...when they had them go out on them'.

> "...I 16 nayaga kisiyat arnaŋŋuwiwara 'my younger sister/ her only/ I had her become... a woman for me, i.e. she was the only woman appealing to me'... ...asiruwiwaa 'it (the object) was spoiled, came to naught for him (the subject)' - asirurpuq 'it is broken', asirurpaa 'he destroys it, breaks it' - asiruwiwuq 'he destroys, breaks something...'"[18]
> (Bergsland:1956,109)

> "...-(t)siiwaa 'waits until he'...I 49 numallit aallaatsiqqaarlugit aallararaat 'the people of the place (the hosts)/ first...waiting (with going out) until they (-git) went out/ they used to go out'."
> (Bergsland:1956,109-110)

The last two cases cited from Bergsland do not seem to be an obstruction to what has been said above either. It is not inconceivable that one DP is involved in one form, while another is involved in the other. This observation is true for the LI dialect, as examples given earlier illustrate.

In any case, the issue of -i-/-ji- emerged with respect to the classification of verbal stems. A pragmatic decision as to whether or not to include those occurrences of -i-/-ji- where a meaning of 'involuntarily, etc.' appeared, among the INTRVRs (and in that case, also as TRVR) had to be made. The writer, for the above mentioned reasons, was not fully convinced that, for contemporary LI, occurrences of -i-/-ji- with a meaning of 'involuntarily, ...got on him, etc.' had "intransitivizing", as well as "transitivizing" properties in the sense of the INTRVRs and the TRVR.[19] Those occurrences were not entered as INTRVRs

and TRVR into the list.

3:2.4 (t)ɬi: "Intransitivizer".

The manifestation of forms with -(t)ɬi- was very restricted.

ex:60) a. pasivuk 'he blames himself.' (sometimes)
b. pasijuk 'he is singing in bass' (a different lexical entry)
c. pasivaga 'I am blaming him'
d. pasitɬivuk 'he blames someone'
e. *pasitsivuk
f. *pasitsivaga

ex:61) a. tilivaga 'I tell him'
b. tilitɬivuk 'he tells someone'
c. *tilivuk

One consultant used to give -tɬi- along with -tsi- and a similar meaning, but would add that -tsi- was "better" and -tɬi- used when speaking faster. That usage of -tɬi- could not be substantiated by any of the other consultants. Concerning the two examples above, -tsi- was rejected in favor of -tɬi-.

3:2.5 -gi-: Initial Remarks

The questionnaire included -gi- being followed by vu-type, as well as va-type suffixes. -gi- can be adjoined to nouns, whereby it is then followed by va-type suffixes. Since, however, the interest in this study was concentrated on verbal bases (which includes also some "nerbal" bases to which verbal morphology is adjoined), -gi- was added only to those and not to cases, where clearly a nominal stem was at stake.

Again, the data exhibits forms pointing to more than one DP.

3:2.5.1 -gi-: 'again, also, surprisingly, accidently'.

-gi- which was rendered by glosses such as 'again, also, surprisingly, accidently', could be established as a different DP, but homonymous with -gi- to which va-type suffixes had to be adjoined (except in cases of a reflexive meaning and a form which surfaced as -gi- to which only vu-type ISs could be affixed).

ex:62) a. ijuvuk 'he laughs'
b. ijugivuk 'he also laughs'
c. *ijugivaga

ex:63) a. takuvuk 'he sees'
b. takuvaga 'I see it'
c. taku-lau -gi -vuk 'he also saw'
see f.p. also 3 psg ind

As 63) c. also illustrates, -gi- 'again, etc.' since preceded by lauQ, could be established as having deleting properties. If it had adjoining properties, the form of 64)a. might be speculated to be something like anaulauqqivaga due to morphophonemic alterations. However, anaulauqqivaga was unacceptable to native speakers. It could, therefore, be concluded that -gi- is a deleting DP.

ex:64) a. anau-lau -gi -vaga 'I also hit him with a club'
hit f.p. also 1 psg - 3 psg ind
b. *anaulauqqivaga
c. *anaulaugijaga
d. *anaulaugittaga

All consultants consistently agreed with respect to the suffix possible on this DP: while indicative forms were possible, predicative nominal forms were unacceptable.

ex:65) a. ....givuk
b. ....givaga
c. *....gijuk

ex:65) (cont'd)
d. *...gittuk
e. *...gijaga
f. *...gittaga

The phonological form of this DP is -Xgi-. Concerning position, -Xgi- 'also, again, unexpectedly, surprisingly, accidently', occurred close to the inflectional suffix, being preceded by DPs which indicated "time", like -lauQ-.

The above mentioned -Xgi- can also occur together with a transitivizing -Xgi-.

ex:66) a. nigiuvuk 'he is expecting'
b. *nigiuvaga
c. nigiu -gi -vaga 'I am expecting him'
expect TRVR 1 psg - 3 psg
ind
d. nigiu -gi -lau -gi -vaga 'I also expected him'
expect TRVR f.p. also 1 psg - 3 psg
ind

Based on the above mentioned reasons, Xgi 'also, again, accidently, surprisingly' was regarded as a different DP from a transitivizing, as well as an intransitivizing -gi-.

3:2.5.2 -gi-: "transitivizer".

-gi- occurred on stems followed by va-type suffixes, where vu-type suffixes only could be added directly to the stem.

ex:67) a. naqquvuk 'he or she does not like it'
b. naqqujuk 'the person who dislikes'
c. naqqutuk 'that particular person who dislikes'

d. *naqquvaga
e. *naqqujaga
f. *naqqutaga
g. naqqugivaga 'I dislike it'
h. naqqugijaga 'that thing that I dislike'

(see also example 66))

This DP could be established as vowel final as well.

ex:68) a. *naqqugittauvuk[20]
b. naqqugijauvuk 'people dislike that or something'

This DP does not have the same restriction as -Xgi- of 3:2.5.1 which could not occur with predicative nominal forms. It is positionally closer to the base of the word than -Xgi- 'again, also, surprisingly, etc.'. For certain verbs of "feeling" or "emotion" -gi- seems to be a transitivizing suffix. (see Schneider:1967?, Mallon:1976).

3:2.5.3 gi: "intransitivizer"

The data exhibited a few examples of -gi- being followed by a vu-type ending, not coinciding with -Xgi- of 3:2.5.1.

ex:69) a. *tiliuvuk
b. tiliuvaga 'I am telling him to do my chores'
c. tiliugivuk 'he is telling someone else to do his chores'
d. *tiliugivaga

This INTRVR, -gi-, can occur with -Xgi- of 3:2.5.1.

ex:70) a. tiliugilaugivuk 'he also kept telling him'
b. *tiliugilaugivaga
c. tiliulaugivaga 'I also kept telling him to do something'

ex:71) a. minguagivuk 'he is painting something'
b. minguavaga 'I painted it'
c. minguagilaugivuk 'he also did some painting'
d. *minguagilaugivaga

The question had to be raised, whether this form, occurring on the surface as -gi-, can be considered to belong to Xgi 'again, also, etc.', Xgi 'TRVR', or if it has to be considered different from both of the above. Concerning -Xgi- 'also, again, surprisingly, accidently' the same argumentation used to distinguish it from the transitivizing -gi- can apply here, and it cannot be concluded that -gi- 'INTRVR' is

the same as gi 'again; also, etc.'. Does that mean that -gi- intransitivizes and transitivizes alternatively?

Before turning to that question, it is worthwhile noting that tiliuk- or minguak- could not be established as nouns either. tilik- 'to tell someone to do something' also exists. This verb cannot be followed by vu-type suffixes.

ex:72) a. *tilivunga
b. tilivaga 'I told another person to do something'
c. tilitiivuk 'he tells someone to do something'
d. tiligivaga 'I also tell him to do something'

'Command' as noun, has been translated tilijaugusik (Jeddore: 1976,147) or from the data: tiliugiusinga 'his command'. It was not possible to conclude that tiliuk- is a nominal stem.

The possibility that -gi- 'TRVR' and -gi- 'INTRVR' involve the same DP cannot be ruled out altogether just on the bases of available data from the contemporary LI dialect alone. However, the more likely explanation seems to lie elsewhere: -Xgi- being an alternative form of the intransitivizing -i-/-ji-.

Rischel notes for West Greenlandic the existence of "half-transitive" forms in -ri- (corresponding regularly to -gi- in LI) and explains their occurrence by the retention of stem-final segments.

> "In the case of...the half-transitive forms in -ri-, there is not much to be gained by positing latent segments rather than irregular retention of stem final consonants. There are, however, indisputable though sporadic occurrences of the later phenomenon in noun inflection. The forms in question are obviously all lexicalized, and the really interesting question is how to explain these forms diachronically." (Rischel:1974,448)

Furthermore, for the Ungava dialect Massenet established -gi-

occurring as an alternate of -i- after VVC. (See Massenet:1972).

The occurrences within the data collection all exhibit a VV sequence to which -gi- is adjoined.

ex:73) a. minguagivuk
b. tiliugivuk
c. uppisaagivuk

What has been said for West Greenlandic seems to suggest itself also for LI. There are few of these forms and they seem to be lexicalized. An irregular retention of a stem final consonant may be the explanation. A diachronic study would certainly shed light on the problem, but is beyond the scope of this paper.[21] These forms have been listed under -i-.

3:2.6 Summary

Based on the preceding analysis the following forms cannot be considered as INTRVRs or TRVRs, and, therefore, have been excluded from the verbal base classification in Chapter Four.

-(t)si(k)-	'buy, see'
-Xsi-	'now, in the process of, starting to'
-=si-	'to turn, to become'
-tsi-	'wait for'
-Xnniq- (or -=niq-)	'had xed'
-=nik-	'nominalizer'
-(n)ni(k)-	'be pleasant to'
-i(k)-	'lose, become without, have no more, not x, etc.'
-i-/-ji-	'involuntarily'
-Xgi-	'also, again, surprisingly, accidently'

NOTES

1 -vaga was used for va-type IS, rather than -vauk (3 psg - 3 psg ind), to maintain a consistency in form of the ISs. The predicative nominal forms 3 psg - 3 psg are: jangit, =tangit. Consultants were aware that they could change the forms given on the questionnaire to other forms of the same paradigm if the ones given were not acceptable, but others were.

2 Consultants were informed that the letter in the brackets may or may not occur. The consultants would indicate which of the forms, if either, was acceptable.

3 The English gloss given by the native speaker has not been changed. The speaker had, in some cases, the tendency to stress the object and move it to beginning (i.e. instead of 'I saw that particular point').

4 L. Smith (Smith:1978) has listed 2 entries.

"si(k) perceive, see
N → V; Possible variant of above
puiji(k) seal
puijisivuk, he sees a seal..."
(ibid,92)

"tsi to get, buy
N → V; Possible variant of tsi(k)
qamutik sled
qamutitsivuk he gets, buys, a sled..." (ibid.,102)

Other grammars (Schneider:1979, Bourquin:1891, Peacock n.d.) list the two different meanings mentioned above separately, but under the same entry. Others (i.e. Peacock, b, n.d.) list both meanings together.

5 Xsi 'now, in the process of, starting' can be also found in postbase dictionaries for other Eastern dialects, for instance:

"v./SIVOQ sivâ; WB. Bq; mob.;
Avec V. d'action...
il se met à...spontanément, d'un coup..tout de suite..."
(Schneider:1979,157-158)

6 L. Smith observed that this exchange shows the incorrect classification of some of his examples of the intransitivizer tsi glossed as ..now..in Smith's Postbase Dictionary (1978), pp 103-104.

7 With respect to the postbase dictionary (Smith:1978), the following is of interest.

- Aspect marker si 'now, in the process of': s- initial (Xsi), generally not tsi, INTRVR si could vary from ideolect to ideolect: either Xtsi(?) or =si(?) with some verbal stems reanalysed as consonant-final (Smith: personal communication).

L. Smith also noted that the treatment of postbases on pp 92, 103-4 is basically correct as far as it goes; but that a few examples are misclassified. Readers should take special note that considerable variation is possible among speakers. (Smith: personal communication).

8 Individual variation among speakers may extend to =si/Xtsi alternation. (Smith: personal communication)

9 =si 'become, turn' seems to attach predominantly to stems indicating colours, temperature (weather), light and space.

However, some stems belonging to these sets do not take =si, but (1)li,

ex: a. amillivuk 'it becomes narrow'
(amittuk 'narrow'; Jeddore:1976,15)
b. aqillivuk 'it becomes soft'
(aqittuk 'soft'; Jeddore:1976,15)

10 It has been observed that the allomorphs of the passive jau, =tau and, thereby, the allomorphs of the passive participle: jak, =tak were a better guide to the stem final segment to which they were affixed, than the predicative nominal forms.

11 Smith lists

tsii 'waiting for x'
V → V (see Smith:1978).

None of the examples in Smith:1978 exhibits va-type ISs, the example tikitsiijuk 'he waits (for him) (to arrive)', does not show a reflexive reading.

In the light of what has been said about -tsi-, it may be possible to break up -tsii- further into -tsi- 'wait for' followed by -i- INTRVR. The issue is mentioned again under -i-.

12 Although forms with INTRVRs are often considered to translate as indefinite, the consultants provided personal pronouns in the English glosses in some cases.

13 Some speakers considered kiivuk as unacceptable.

14 For further discussion of this postbase see Harper (Harper:1979).

15 There may be a historical tendency that =CV... becomes XCCV... for younger speakers (sometimes). This has not yet been studied specifically. (L. Smith: personal communication)

16 L. Smith distinguishes two DPs, whereby one, however, is a possible variant of the other. The distinguished forms are Xik 'not x, the opposite of x, the absence of x', V → V.

Xi(k) 'lose, become without, no longer, have no more'. N → V Transitive (Smith:1978,45-46).

17 Concerning -i-/-ji- of 3:2.3.2 Fortescue notes for Yupik what can also be noted for contemporary LI:

> "In Central Yupik the situation is a little more complicated as verb forms containing this morpheme (added to transitive or intransitive bases) can be either transitively or intransitively whilst maintaining the adversative sense."

18 For asiguk- attempts to elicit forms with va-type ISs and with INTRVR failed for contemporary LI. asiguvuk 'it becomes wrecked (of ships)' could only be elicited.

19 Fortescue considers -i-/-ji- '...on him, involuntarily, etc.' and -i-/=ji- INTRVR, which have been considered separate in Chapter Three, to come diachronically from the same source. Further study would seem to be needed to establish whether they can be synchronically regarded as united.

20. The consultant did use =tau for consonant-final stems.

21 One could speculate on the make-up of these words. Rischel mentions an iterative suffix uCq for Greenlandic with verb stems ending in u. Just judging from semantic relations, one could speculate for tiliugik-:

tili +uQ +i..... → tiliugi..., especially since tiliuttauvuk
command again, INTRVR
over and over

exists.

For minguagivuk a similar explanation can be provided. "mingovok or mingorpok 'the snow drifts in mild weather and makes things wet'." (Peacock, c:n.d.,236).

A DP -aq- (in the writer's orthography) is listed in Peacock (Peacock, b:n.d.) for LI, it is also listed in Schneider (Schneider:1979). Its meaning 'frequently' in Ungava suggests an iterative DP. Minguagivuk

21 (cont'd)

could be broken up as mingu + aq + i → minguagi.... In contemporary LI the form minguattauvuk 'it got painted' indicates a final consonant on minguak-. minguarpok is also listed in Peacock.

CHAPTER FOUR

4:0 DISTRIBUTION OF THE "INTRANSITIVIZER" AND THE "TRANSITIVIZER".

4:1 Initial Remarks.

This chapter presents results with regard to the distribution of the INTRVRs and the TRVR -gi- on verbal bases. The verbal bases are grouped according to surface morphological patterns, ie.

a) whether they take vu-type and/or va-type suffixes;

b) whether they take forms of the passive (jau or ttau);

c) whether they allow INTRVRs and if they do, which;

d) whether they allow the transitivizing DP -gi-.

Base classification is based entirely on morphological properties of the bases. The INTRVRs considered are -i-, -ji-, -tsi-, -si-, -(n)ni(k)-, and -(t)ti-. The TRVR -gi- is also included. When similarities of meaning within the groups can be found, it has to be taken as the outcome of the classification rather than the input.

Although variability is a factor in LI which cannot be ignored, consultants agree for most part on the verbal base classification. However, it cannot be ruled out that intransitivizers other than those listed here are found with some verbs of a particular pattern.

4:2 Analysis into Verb Classes

In the description of the different classes an abbreviation code was used which requires some explanation.

Each class presented is provided with a pattern description and an example. The pattern descriptions provide information concerning the combinatory aspects of the verbal bases or stems with vu-type and va-type ISs, INTRVRs, -gi-, and the passive.

The example below illustrates a general class pattern.

V + va

V + vu

V + PASS + vu

*V + INTRVR + vu

*V + TRVR + va

This describes verbs which can take va-type ISs on the base, as well as vu-type ISs and the passivizing DP (jau or ttau)... 'V' represents verbal bases[1], not vowels. INTRVR stands for any of the intransitivizers under investigation, (ie. -tsi-, -si-, -(n)ni(k)-, -i-, -ji-, -(t)ti-); 'TRVR' stands for the TRVR -gi-, and PASS for passive (ie. -jau- or -(t)tau-).

Besides stating what can be affixed to the verbal base, the patterns also include a negative statement. This is indicated by '*'. For instance in the above example the base cannot take any of the INTRVRs or the TRVR. When '*' is used in the pattern and the examples in conjunction with INTRVR or TRVR (eg. *V + INTRVR + vu, *takutsivuk) it in-

dicates that an existing form has been established as not containing an INTRVR or TRVR. The form may or may not exist with other meanings. When '*' is used elsewhere in the patterns and examples (eg. *V + vu, *iivuk) it indicates the form is unacceptable, that is, "unacceptable" in the same sense as used in previous chapters.

The negative information is included only in the general pattern descriptions.

4:2.1. General Pattern Description: Class I

V + vu

*V + va

*V + INTRVR + vu

*V + TRVR + va

*V + PASS + vu

4:2.1.1 Class I: siaqqivuk

V + vu

ex:1) siaqqivuk 'he slipped (on ice)'

For verbs belonging to this class, forms as below, here with sinik-

*Jaani-up qimmik sini-vauk
John Erg dog Abs sleep 3 psg - 3 psg

*Jaani qimmi-mik sini -vuk
John dog Mod sleep 3 psg
Sg

are unacceptable to native speakers. This, however, does not mean that a form with modalis case ending cannot precede sinivuk.

ex:2) itijumik sinisivuk 'he sleeps deeply'
(note: -si- here is the DP 'now, in the process of, etc.')

Some verbs which belong to class I may appear to be similar in meaning to verbs of some other class or classes.

ex:3) a. tupik- 'to choke' (on food)
b. qimik- 'to choke (to strangle)'

tupik- belongs to class I, while qimik- belongs to a class of which the description includes vu-type ISs, va-type ISs, as well as an INTRVR followed by vu-type ISs. The English glosses given and further explanation provided by the consultant, established the difference in meaning between the two verbal bases. tupik- is intransitive, it is used in the context of choking on food, while qimik- is used in the sense of 'to strangle'.

In some cases verbs in English are used with a direct object as in 'He boils the kettle.' and 'Fritz sinks the boat.'. Forms like 'boil', 'sink', etc., belong in LI to class I and do not allow va-type ISs on the base. A causative DP -=ti- or -(t)ti- is added in order to achieve a va-type suffix in example 4).

ex:4) a. tittitivaga 'I let (made) it boil'
b. kivittivaga 'I made it sink'

List of verbs belonging to class I:

agaguk-	'to expect to leave'
atak-	'to be joined'
atsuguk-	'to strain'
asiguk-	'to become wrecked'
aullak-	'to go away'
ijuk-	'to laugh'
kivik-	'to sink'
minnguik-	'to rest'
nakkak-	'to fall into water'

palik- 'to become suntanned'

pillik- 'to starve'

paallak- 'to fall down'

pullakitaak- 'to bubble'

paammak- 'to lie on one's stomach'

quittuk- 'to cough'

qummuak- 'to lift (of fog)'

quuk- 'to become mad'

saimmak- 'to become happy'

sajuk- 'to tremble'

salluk- 'to tell a lie'

siaqqik- 'to slip (on ice)'

sinik- 'to sleep'

tittik- 'to boil'

tuavik- 'to hurry'

tupik- 'to choke (on food)'

tupak- 'to wake up'

4:2.2 General Pattern Description: Class II

*V + vu

V + va

V + PASS + vu

*V + INTRVR + vu

*V + TRVR + va

4:2.2.1 Class II: non occurring

No members of this class could be found in the data, but it was felt that this negative statement should be included. While there are verbal bases which belong to class I (V + vu), there are no verbal bases, as far as the data is concerned, that belong to class II (V + va).

4:2.3 General Pattern Description : Class III

V + vu

V + va

V + PASS + vu

*V + INTRVR + vu

*V + TRVR + va

4:2.3.1 Class III: takuvuk, takuvaga

V + vu

V + va

V + PASS + vu

ex:5) a. takuvuk 'he sees'
b. takuvaga 'I see it'
c. qimmi-mik taku-vunga 'I see a dog'
dog Mod sg see 1 psg ind
d. qimmik taku-vaga 'I see the dog'
dog Abs see 1 psg
3 psg
ind

List of verbs belonging to class III:

ajuk- 'to be able to'

angik- 'to say yes'

aukak- 'to say no'

ikajuk-	'to help'
ikqaumak-	'to remember'
ilik-	'to learn'
imik-	'to drink'
kiatsak-	'to make a fire'
malik-	'to follow'
mitsuk-	'to sew'
naalak-	'to listen'
naffaak-	'to find'
nillik-	'to make a sound'
nigik-	'to eat'
paak-	'to meet and pass by (going in opposite directions)'
paangguk-	'to crawl'
pisuk-	'to walk'
pigumak-	'to want'
pikiuk-	'to find eggs' (at)
pinnguak-	'to play (instrument)'
puitjuk-	'to swim'
qaujimak-	'to know'
qaujik-	'to find out'
qitjuik-	'to chop firewood'
qimiqquk-	'to inspect'
qiviak-	'to turn head to look towards'
ququak-	'to shout'
quik-	'to urinate' (on)
qungak-	'to smile' (at)

List of verbs belonging to class III (cont'd)

qaffik-	'to climb' (up, ashore)
sanak-	'to make'
situk-	'to slide'
takuk-	'to see'
tikik-	'to arrive'
tillik-	'to steal'
tukisik-	'to understand'
tullik-	'to stamp something done'
tusak-	'to hear'
tutsiagalak-	'to sing'
ullak-	'to chase'
uqak-	'to say'

Most of these verbs are, as Schneider noted, verbs of perception, verbs of motion, verbs of "vital action", and one might add, verbs of vocal expression.

Verbs of perception (information processing)

ikqaumak-	'to remember'
ilik-	'to learn'
naalak-	'to listen'
naffaak-	'to find'
pigumak-	'to want'
qaujik-	'to find out'
qaujimak-	'to know'
qimiqquk-	'to inspect'
takuk-	'to see'

Verbs of perception (cont'd)

tukisik-	'to understand'
tusak-	'to hear'

Verbs of vocal expression:

angik-	'to say yes'
aukak-	'to say no'
nillik-	'to make a sound'
ququak-	'to shout'
tutsiagalak-	'to sing'
uqak-	'to say'

Verbs of motion with goal orientation:

malik-	'to follow'
paak-	'to meet and pass by'
paangguk-	'to crawl'
pikiuk-	'to find eggs'
pisuk-	'to walk'
puitjuk-	'to swim'
qitjiuk-	'to chop firewood'
qiviak-	'to turn head to look toward'
quik-	'to urinate (on something)'
qungak-	'to smile (at)'
qaffik-	'to climb' (up), 'to climb ashore'
situk-	'to slide (down)'
tikik-	'to arrive'
tullik-	'to stamp something down'
kiatsak-	'to make a fire (in something)'

Verbs of motion with goal orientation: (cont'd)

sanak- 'to make'

ullak- 'to chase'

Others (goal orientated?):

imik- 'to drink'

mitsuk- 'to sew'

nigik- 'to eat'

pinnguak- 'to play'

tillik- 'to steal'

Proper names can also occur with sentences with va-type, as well as vu-type ISs.[2]

ex:6) a. Jaani taku-vaga 'I see John'
John Abs, see 1 psg.-
3 psg.
ind.

b. Jaani-mik taku-vunga 'I saw John'
John Mod see 1 psg
sg ind

The verbs of class III all follow the same pattern as takuk- in terms of the verbal suffixation, but do not necessarily require the same case assignment in the sentences with vu-type ISs as well. The following example illustrates how case marking in the sentence with vu-type ISs can differ from the ex:6).

ex:7) a. illuk tiki-vaga 'I get to the house'
house Abs arrive (I arrive at the house)
1 psg -
3 psg
ind

b. illu-mut tiki-vunga 'I get to a house'
house term arrive (I arrive at a house)
1 psg
ind

Goal orientation is expressed in the terminalis case in the

sentence with vu-type ISs. The goal can be also expressed in the sentence with a va-type suffix and occurs as 'A_2' in the absolutive case. The possibility of variations in case marking (especially for goal orientated verbs) in the sentences with vu-type suffixes has been described by Kleinschmidt (see 2:2.2.1 and 2:2.4).

Goal orientation verbs which take, for example, terminalis case inflections in the sentence with vu-type ISs rather than modalis case inflection have not been, although it may have been desirable, singled out as a separate group, since their verbal morphology does not distinguish itself from any of the other verbs in this pattern.

Passivization by means of affixation of -jau- or -(t)tau, respectively, to the base is possible for all verbs of this class.

For all of these verbs, it can be said that they are what Woodbury designated as nominative or "agent-binding" stems.

ex:8) a. anguti-up qimmik tusa-vauk 'the man heard the dog'
man Erg dog Abs hear
3 psg -
3 psg
ind

b. angutik qimmi-mik tusa-vuk 'the man hears the dog'[3]
man Abs dog Mod hear
sg 3 psg
ind

4:2.4 General Pattern Description: Class IV - Class XIV

*V + vu

V + va

V + INTRVR + vu

V + PASS + vu

*V + TRVR + vu

The following verb classes distinguish themselves from verbal bases of classes I, II and III in that INTRVRs come into play.[4] All of these verbs can take va-type ISs, as well as INTRVRs. Some verbs can take, in addition, also vu-type ISs directly on the base. The verbs are broken up into classes according to possible inflectional suffixation, as well as INTRVRs.

4:2.4:1 Class IV: atuavaga, atuatsivuk

Class IV: -tsi-

V + va

V + -tsi- + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:9) a. atuak 'to read'
b. *atuavuk
c. atuavaga 'I read it'
d. atuatsivuk 'he is reading it'
e. *atuatsivaga

Other verbs belonging to class IV:

aak- 'to give'[5]

inuk- 'to undershoot'[5]

igik- 'to throw away'

salluqik- 'to tell a lie'

ulik- 'to cover'

4:2.4.2 Class V: iivaga, iisivuk

Class V: -si-

V + va

V + -si- + vu

Class V: -si- (cont'd)

V + PASS + vu

ex:10) a. iik- 'to swallow'
b. *iivuk
c. iivaga 'I swallowed it'
d. iisivuk 'he swallows it'
e. *iisivaga

Other verbs of class V:

tiguk- 'to take'

4:2.4.3 Class VI: atsaavaga, atsaánivuk

Class VI: -(n)ni(k)-

V + va

V + -(n)ni(k)- + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:11) a. atsaak- 'to take away with force from someone, to snatch away'
b. *atsaavuk
c. atsaavaga 'I took it away from him'
d. atsaánivuk 'that person took something from someone'
e. *atsaánivaga

Other verbs of class VI:

kaqqaik- 'to frighten'

pitik- 'to shoot with an arrow'

patik- 'to slap (people)'

kunik- 'to kiss'

4:2.4.4 Class VII: uppisaavaga, uppisaagivuk

Class VII: -i-

V + va

V + -i- + vu

Class VII: -i- (cont'd)

V + PASS + vu

ex:12) a. uppisaak- 'to make someone believe something that is not true'

b. *uppisaavuk

c. uppisaavaga 'I told him something that is not true'

d. uppisaagivuk 'he is telling someone something that is not true'

e. *uppisaagivaga

Other verbs of class VII:

qimak- 'to leave behind'

4:2:4.5 Class VIII: pikquvaga, pikqujivuk

Class VIII: -ji-

V + va

V + -ji- + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:13) a. *pikquvuk

b. pikquvaga 'I tell (told) him to do something'

c. pikqujivuk 'he tells (told) him to do something'

d. *pikqujivaga

"PIKQUJIK. 1. to dare (v.). 2. to command (v.). to request (v.). 4. to want someone to do something (v.). Taimaak pikqujitsuavunga. I would really like to see that done. Pikquvagit. I want you to do it. I dare you. I command you. I request you to do it".

(Jeddore:1976,96,100)

4:2.4.6 Class IX: tilivaga, tilittivuk.

Class IX: -(t)ɬi-

V + va

V + -(t)ɬi- + vu

Class IX: -(t)li- (cont'd)

V + PASS + vu

ex:14) a. *tilivuk
b. tilivaga 'I told another person to do something'
c. tilitlivuk 'he tells someone to do something'
d. *tilitlivaga

"TILIK. to command (v.) Tilivagit. I command you."

(Jeddore:1976,148)

Other verbs in class IX:

pasik- 'to blame (sometimes also pasivunga)
'I blame myself'

In classes IV to IX one INTRVR was mentioned. In classes X to XIV more than one INTRVR is possible. As in classes IV to IX bases of the following classes cannot take vu-type ISs directly on the base either.

4:2.4.7 Class X: kivivaga, kivitsivuk, kivisivuk

Class X: -tsi-, -si-

V + va

V + {-tsi- / -si-} + vu

V + PASS + vu

kivik- 'to lift' was specified to be able to take -tsi- and -si-. The meaning of both forms is the same, although -si- was considered "better".

ex:15) a. kivivaga 'I lift it'
b. kivitsivuk 'he lifts it up'
c. kivisivuk 'he lifts it up'
d. *kivitsivaga
e. *kivisivaga

4:2.4.8 Class XI: miluvaga, milutsivuk, milunnivuk

Class XI: -tsi-, -(n)ni(k)-

V + va

V + {-tsi- / -(n)ni(k)} + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:16) a. miluk- 'to hit something by throwing at it'
b. *miluvuk
c. miluvaga 'I have hit it'
d. milutsivuk 'That person threw and hit something'
e. *milutsivaga
f. milunnivuk 'That person threw and hit something'
g. *milunnivaga

Other verbs in class XI:

uniuk- 'to miss (to go to one side of target)'

suangak- 'to tell someone off'

4:2.4.9 Class XII: nittuvaga, nittusivuk, nittuɬivuk

Class XII: -si-, -ɬi-[6]

V + va

V + {-si- / -ɬi-} + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:17) a. nittuk- 'to trust'
b. *nittuvuk
c. nittuvaga 'I praises it'
d. nittusivuk 'he praises someone'
e. *nittusivaga
f. nittuɬivuk 'he really praises someone'
g. *nittuɬivaga

4:2.4.10 Class XIII: tunivaga, tunisivuk, tuninnivuk

Class XIII: -si-, -(n)ni(k)-

V + va

V + {-si- / -(h)ni(k)-} + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:18) a. tuŋik- 'to give'
b. *tuŋivuk
c. tuŋivaga 'I gave that to him'
d. tuŋisivuk 'he gave him something'
e. *tuŋisivaga
f. tuŋinnivuk 'he did give it to him'
g. *tuŋinnivaga

4:2.4.11 Class XIV: tiliuvaga, tiliugivuk, tiliumnivuk

Class XIV: -(n)ni(k)-, -i-

V + va

V + {-(n)ni(k)-, -i-} + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:19) a. tiliugik- 'to persuade, to nag, to command' (Jeddore:1976,148)
b. *tiliuvuk
c. tiliuvaga 'I am telling him to do my chores'
d. tiliugivuk 'he is telling someone else to do his chores'
e. *tiliugivaga
f. tiliumnivuk 'he is telling another person to do his chores'
g. *tiliumnivaga

4:2.5 General Pattern Description: Class XV – Class XXIII

V + vu

V + va

V + INTRVR + vu

V + PASS + vu

*V + TRVR + va

The following classes XV - XXIII distinguish themselves from the classes IV – XIV by having four instead of three possible forms.

Besides occurring on INTRVRs affixed to bases, vu-type ISs can also occur directly on the base.

Mostly, a causative relation between bases with va-type ISs and bases with vu-type ISs is shown.

Bergsland describes these as:

> "In other cases the annexed subject corresponds rather or also, to the annexed object of the transitive forms."
>
> (Bergsland:1956,142)

4:2.5.1 Class XV: matuvuk, matuvaga, matutsivuk

Class XV: -tsi-

V + vu

V + va

V + -tsi- + vu

V + PASS + vu

(Verbs which have -si- due to a preceding 'CCV' sequence are listed under classes with -si-.)

ex:20) a. matuvuk 'It is closed'
b. matuvaga 'I close it'
c. matutsivuk 'he closes something'
d. *matutsivaga

Other verbs in class XV:

aik-	'to go over to get, to fetch'
anik-	'to go out of'
aulak-	'to move'
avik-	'to cut off, separate'
ikik-	'to burn (of forest)' (to light; (Jeddore:1976,33))
itik-	'to go into'
katik-	'to gather, join'

Other verbs in class XV: (cont'd)

kitik-	'to count'
kuvik-	'to pour'
matuik-	'to open', 'to take lid of'
naavik-	'to spill'[8]
niinik-	'to press'
piik-	'to remove, take off'
puvik-	'to inflate'
qaik-	'to come'
qasuk-	'to loosen'
qimik-	'to choke (to strangle)'
qupik-	'to split, crack'
siimik-	'to jam'[9]
siqumik-	'to break'
tuquk-	'to kill'
tuuk-	'to poke'[9]

Except for certain verbs of motion (ie. anik-, itik-, qaik-), the 'V + vu' forms of these verbs exhibit what Bourquin called a "hidden passive" meaning.

anik-, itik- and qaik-, belonging to the verbs of motion, represent a causative relationship between the 'V + vu' form, and the 'V +va' and 'V + INTRVR + vu' forms of the same verb base, while in English the relationship is lexicalized by different verbs, for example 'go in' versus 'bring in':

ex:21) a.	itivuk	'he goes into'
b.	itivaga	'I bring it into' (ie. cause it to go into)
c.	ititsivuk	'he brings something into it'
d.	*itit sivaga	

'go out' versus 'put out':

ex:22) a. anivuk 'he goes outside'
b. anivaga 'I put it out'
c. anitsivuk 'he puts it out'
d. *anitsivaga

'come' versus 'give':

ex:23) a. qaivuk 'he comes'
b. qaivaga 'I gives it to you' (ie. I caused it to come)
c. qaitsivuk 'he gives me something'
d. *qaitsivaga

tuquk- 'to kill' also involves two verbs in English.

ex:24) a. tuquvuk 'he died'
b. tuquvaga 'I kill him'
c. tuqutsivuk 'he kills someone'
d. *tuqutsivaga

Other verbs are glossed reflexively for 'V + vu' forms.

ex:25) a. kilivuk 'he cut himself'
b. kilivaga 'I cut him'
c. kilitsivuk 'he cut someone'
d. *kilitsivaga

Others:

uuk- 'to burn oneself' (used for people)

Here are verbs which do not have a reflexive notion.

ex:26) a. nuuvuk 'he moves away'
b. nuuvaga 'I moved it somewhere else'
c. nuutsivuk 'he moves it (something) away'
d. *nuutsivaga

Others:

puiguk- 'to forget'

4:2.5.2 Class XVI: kiivuk, kiivaga, kiisivuk

Class XVIc -si-

V + vu

V + va

V + -si- + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:27) a. kiivuk 'something goes together and catches something in between, it closes together'
b. kiivaga 'I bit him'
c. kiisivuk 'the person or thing that bit him'[10]
d. *kiisivaga

Others:

imuk- 'to fold, roll up'

qangattak- 'to lift something off something, to hang'

ukkuak- 'to close (door)'

ukkuik- 'to open (door)'

aakqik- 'to fix'

Some of the verbs are glossed with a reflexive meaning, while others were glossed without a reflexive notion for the 'V + vu' forms.

ex:28) a. kapivuk 'he stabbed himself'
b. kapivaga 'I stab him'
c. kapisivuk 'he stabs someone'

(For kapik- 'to stab, to prick' some consultants also used -(n)ni(k)-.)

Others:

salumaillik- 'to become dirty'

pannaik- 'to get ready'

annaik- 'to miss (a shot, an opportunity)'

4:2.5.3 Class XVII: apuvuk, apuvaga, apumnivuk

Class XVII: -(n)ni(k)-

V + vu

V + va

V + -(n)ni(k)- + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:29) a. apuvuk 'it bumped'
b. apuvaga 'I bumped it'
c. apumnivuk 'he did bump it'
d. *apumnivaga

In the above example the 'V + vu' form is glossed as "hidden passive". For more verbs the 'V + vu' form is glossed reflexively.

ex:30) a. tillujuk 'the person who punches himself'
b. tilluvaga 'I have punched him'
c. tillunivuk 'he punches someone'
d. *tillunivaga

Others:

kauk- 'to hammer'

anauk- 'to hit with a club'[11]

aannik- 'to hurt'

Some glosses do not indicate a reflexive meaning.

ex:31) a. qukivuk 'he shoots with a gun'
(also 'it exploded', Jeddore:1976,118)
b. qukivaga 'I shoot it with a gun'
c. qukinnivuk 'he shoots something with a gun'
d. *qukinnivaga

Others:

pitsiak- 'to treat someone good'

4:2.5.4. Class XVIII: katavuk, katavaga, kataivuk.

Class XVIII: -i-

V + vu

V + va

V + -i- + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:32) a. katavuk 'it did fall'
b. katavaga 'I dropped it'
c. kataivuk 'he dropped it'
d. *kataivaga

Others:

aulitjak- 'to move'

uuttik- 'to cut up meat for cooking'

akilik- 'to pay'

siqulluk- 'to break up'

minguagik- 'to paint'

Other verbs have 'V + vu' forms being glossed as reflexive, others with no reflexive notion.

salummasak- 'to clean oneself up'

annugaattuk- 'to put on clothes'

ajattuk- 'to push something aside'

4:2.5.5 Class XIX: paffisaavuk, paffisaavaga, paffisaatsivuk, paffisaannivuk

Class XIX: -tsi-, -(n)ni(k)-

V + vu

V + va

V + {-tsi- / -(n)ni(k)-} + vu

Class XIX: -tsi-, -(n)ni(k)- (cont'd)

V + PASS + vu

ex:33) a. paffisaavuk — 'he is now disturbing someone'[12] 'he becomes a nuisance'
b. paffisaavaga — 'I am disturbing that person'
c. paffisaatsivuk — 'that person is now disturbing someone'
d. *paffisaatsivaga
e. paffisaannivuk — 'that person is now disturbing someone'
f. *paffisaannivaga

Others:

atuk- — 'to use'[13]

tukik- — 'to kick'

tutik- — 'to step on something'

ulimak- — 'to chop'

inuak- — 'to murder'[14]

The above do not have a "hidden passive" reading for the 'V + vu' forms; the following do.

palangaik- — 'to lock'

kipik- — 'to cut'

4:2.5.6. Class XX: kilavuk, kilavaga, kilaivuk, kilatsivuk

Class XX: -tsi-, -i-

V + vu

V + va

V + {-tsi-, -i-} + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:34) a. kilak- — 'to make a hole, become punctured'
b. kilavuk — 'it became punctured'
c. kilavaga — 'I put a hole through it'
d. kilatsivuk — 'he puts a hole through it'
e. *kilatsivaga
f. kilaivuk — 'he puts a hole into it'
g. *kilaivaga

Others:

sujuk-	'to spoil'
putuk-	'to drill a hole'
kittugak-	'to break, to snap under strain'
nakak-	'to break'

Again, others have a reflexive (ex:35) or "active" (ex:36) gloss for the 'V + vu' form.

ex:35) a.	annugaijavuk	'he undresses himself'
b.	annugaijavauk[15]	'she undresses him'
c.	annugaijatsivuk	'he takes the clothes off of him'
d.	*annugaijatsivaga	
e.	annugaijaivuk	'he is taking the clothes off of him'
f.	*annugaijaivaga	
ex:36) a.	qaangik-	'to pass while going in the same direction'
b.	qaangivuk	'he passed it'
c.	qaangivaga	'he passed by it'
d.	qaangitsivuk	'he passes by someone or something'
e.	*qaangitsivaga	
f.	qaangiivuk	'he passes by someone or something'
g.	*qaangiivaga	

Others:

pilak-	'to skin' (also: 'to operate')
qipiluk-	'to say no to a request'

4:2.5.7 Class XXI: ammavuk, ammavaga, ammasivuk, ammaivuk-

Class XXI: -si-, -i-

V + vu

V + va

$$V + \begin{Bmatrix} -si- \\ -i- \end{Bmatrix} + vu$$

V + PASS + vu

ex:37) a.	ammak-	'to open, to come open'
b.	ammavuk	'it opened, it came open'
c.	ammavaga	'he opened it'

ex:37) (cont'd)

d.	ammasivuk	'he opened a place or thing'
e.	*ammasivaga	
f.	ammaivuk	'he opened the place or thing'
g.	*ammaivaga	

4:2.5.8 Class XXII: piulivuk, piulivaga, piulitsivuk, piulitɬivuk.

Class XXII: -tsi-, -tɬi-

V + vu

V + va

V + {-tsi- / -tɬi-} + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:38)

a.	piulivuk	'it did get saved' / 'he saves himself'
b.	piulivaga	'I saved it'
c.	piulitsivuk	'he did save someone'
d.	*piulitsivaga	
e.	piulitɬivuk	'he did save someone'
f.	*piulitɬivaga	

4:2.5.9 Class XXIII: attuvuk, attuvaga, attunivuk, attuivuk

Class XXIII: -(n)ni(k)-, -i-

V + vu

V + va

V + {-(n)ni(k)- / -i-} + vu

V + PASS + vu

ex:39)

a.	attuvuk	'it touches'
b.	attuvaga	'I touch something'
c.	attunivuk	'he touches something'
d.	*attunivaga	
e.	attuivuk	'he did touch it'
f.	*attuivaga	

4:2.6 General Pattern Description: Class XXIV

V + vu

*V + va

V + TRVR + va

V + TRVR + PASS + vu

*V + TRVR + INTRVR + vu

In class XXIV the vu-type IS can be directly added to the verbal base, while the va-type IS cannot be added to the verbal base, unless a TRVR, -gi-, intervenes.

4:2.6.1 Class XXIV: nigiuvuk; nigiugivaga

Class XXIV: -gi-

V + vu

V + -gi- + va

V + -gi- + PASS + vu

ex:40) a. nigiuk 'to expect'
b. nigiuvuk 'he is hopeful'
c. *nigiuvaga
d. nigiugivaga 'I expect him'

Others:

itsik- 'to be afraid of'

pisquuk- 'to be made happy'

uppik- 'to believe'

uqquak- 'to lament' (Jeddore:1976,176)
(also 'to not want someone to leave')

As Schneider noted, all these verbs are verbs of spiritual action or emotion.

The attempt to use these stems as nouns was rated as unacceptable

by native consultants.

ex:41) a. uppi -ni -nga 'his belief in...'
belief nom poss
3p Abs sg
sg dl pl
possr

b. *uppinga

ex:42) a. nigiun-ni -nga 'his expectation'
expect nom poss
3p Abs sg
sg dl pl
possr

b. *nigiunga

For the above, INTRVRs were not acceptable after -gi- (for exception see class XXV).

4:2.7 General Pattern Description: Class XXV

V + vu

*V + va

V + TRVR + va

V + TRVR + INTRVR + vu

V + TRVR + PASS + vu

This class is similar to class XXIV in that vu-type ISs can be affixed to the base, while a TRVR has to be added to the base in order to derive va-type ISs.

Class XXV differs from class XXIV in that in class XXV an INTRVR can be added to the stem consisting of verbal base and -gi-.

4:2.7.1 Class XXV: naqquvuk, naqqugivaga, naqquginnivuk

In the case of naqquk 'to dislike' -(n)ni(k)- could be attached to the derived form.

Class XXV: -gi-, -(n)ni(k)-

V + vu

*V + va

V + -gi- + va

V + -gi- + -(n)ni(k)- + vu

V + gi + PASS + vu

ex:43) a. naqquvuk 'he dislikes'
b. *naqquvaga
c. naqqugivaga 'I dislike him'
d. naqquginnivuk 'he dislikes that person'
e. *naqquginnivaga
f. naqqugijauvuk 'he/she is disliked'

4:3 Discussion of Groups A, B, C, D, E and F

4:3.1 Comparison of Morphological Patterns

The verbs fall in different groups with respect to the morphological patterns they exhibit. The following table summarizes these patterns. All the different INTRVRs are listed under 'INTRVR'.

Table 1: Summary of Morphological Class Patterns into Groups

GROUP	Base				
	+vu	+va	+INTRVR	+TRVR	+TRVR +INTRVR +vu
A: Class I	*				
B: Class III	*	*			
C: Classes IV to XIV		*	*		
D: Classes XV to XXIII	*	*	*		
E: Class XXIV	*		*	*	
F: Class XXV	*		*	*	*

A comparison of the different groups reveals that A, E and F are different from B, C and D. Verbal bases of A, E and F cannot take

va-type ISs directly on the base, but do take vu-type ISs in that position (as do B, and D). Group E and F are distinct from group A in that for E and F by the addition of the TRVR -gi-, forms with va-type ISs can be derived. For group A it is not possible to derive va-type ISs by the addition of the TRVR -gi- to the base. However, this does not mean that it is not possible at all to derive va-type ISs, since va-type ISs can be derived by means of other DPs (see examples under class I).

Group B distinguishes itself from A in that for verbal bases of B va-type ISs can be directly affixed to the base, which is not possible for verbal bases of A. B distinguishes itself also from C and D, by the fact that INTRVRs cannot be affixed to verbal bases in B, while it is possible to do so for C and D.

B differs from E and F (as mentioned earlier, verbs of E and F cannot take va-type ISs on the base) in that the TRVR -gi- cannot be affixed to verbal bases of B. This also implies that the TRVR, which is again followed by an INTRVR, cannot be affixed to verbal bases of B.

Group C and D are distinct from any of the other groups in that to verbal bases of those groups, INTRVRs can be affixed to the base. Verbal bases of C are different from D by not allowing vu-type ISs on the base, while verbal bases of D do.

The relationship between C and D will be further examined in section 4:3.2.

4:3.2 "Middle Voice" in 'V + vu' Type Forms of Verbs Belonging to Group D

Verbs of Group D (classes XV - XXIII) are similar in certain re-

spects. To the verbal bases, vu-type ISs, va-type ISs, or INTRVRs followed by vu-type ISs, can be added. One class of verbs is distinguished from another by the INTRVR(s) which can be added to the base. Clear patterns of distinctions in meaning associated with any of the different INTRVRs could not be satisfactorily established for LI under the scope of this work.

For the 'V + vu' forms of these verbs the English glosses would exhibit a reflexive meaning, a "hidden passive" meaning, or an "active" meaning. Most of the classes provide instances of all three interpretations. For the 'V + INTRVR + vu' forms a reflexive or "hidden passive" interpretation was not possible.[16]

As Bourquin and Schneider noted, whether to interpret 'V + vu' forms of verbs in these classes as reflexive, as "hidden passive" (or active) depends on the context in which the verb is used. That the 'V + vu' forms of verbs in classes XV to XXIII range in their interpretation from agentive to non-agentive was shown by the examples and comments made when dealing with these classes.

To further distinguish the verbs of classes XV to XXIII according to whether the English gloss of the 'V + vu' form shows an active, reflexive or "hidden passive" interpretation does not seem appropriate. All of these verbs exhibit the same morphological behaviour. "Middle voice" will incorporate the different possible interpretations.

In the following, "middle voice" will be used in a sense, which has been described (with respect to Greek) as:

> "middle was thought of as an intermediate between the primary opposition of active and passive (signifying either an 'action', like the active or a 'state' like the passive, according to the circumstances or the inherent meaning of the verb in question)." (Lyons:1968,373)

It could also be said that "middle voice" represents an indeterminate state of affairs between active voice and passive voice (see Hewson:n.d.,133). "Middle voice" in this wider sense can have an agentive, as well as a non-agentive meaning.

> "...the subject of the 'middle' can be interpreted as 'non-agentive' or 'agentive', according to the context or meaning of the verb,..." (Lyons:1968,374)

The differences in the English glosses of the 'V + vu' forms for verbs of classes XV to XXIII can be unified by describing them as instances of "middle voice".

That verbal meaning can be active, reflexive or passive can be illustrated by the following "middle voice" forms from French:

a. Je me souviens

b. Je me lave

c. Le poulet se mange froid.

All three sentences exhibit "middle voice"; the range of meanings with respect to "agency", ranges from active (a.,) over reflexive (b.) to passive (c.) (John Hewson: personal communication).

4:3.3 Comparison of Groups with Respect to Notional Properties

Morphologically, groups A, E and F are different from B, C and D in that they cannot take va-type ISs on the base. A, E and F are considered notionally intransitive.

Kleinschmidt defines notionally intransitve verbs as verbs which

express

> "...einen auf sich beschränkten zustand des projects.."
>
> (Kleinschmidt:1851,54)
>
> ...a state of the 'project' which is restricted to itself....
> (tr.)

Kleinschmidt's definition of transitive verbs refers to "actions the effects of which 'pass over' from an 'actor' to a 'goal'" (Lyons,1968, 351). They express

> "...eine auf irgend einen gegenstand gerichtete that des projects, daher der begriff eines thäters und thatziels unzertrennlich mit ihnen verbunden ist ..." (Kleinschmidt:1851,54)
>
> an action of the 'project', directed towards any kind of object, hence the concept of 'actor' and 'goal of action' are linked to these [verbs] inseparably. (tr.)

Whether groups B, C and D are notionally transitive or intransitive will be considered.

Kleinschmidt considers verbs like for example tuquk- 'to kill', avik- 'to divide', which correspond to verbs of Group D in LI as transitive, (see Kleinschmidt:1851,55). Schneider, likewise, considers verbs which take INTRVRs as transitive as well. (Schneider:1967?)

The data revealed forms with INTRVRs only in connection with forms which could also take va-type ISs on the base. There were no verbs belonging to the following pattern description found in the data:

V + vu

V + INTRVR + vu

*V + va

*V + PASS + vu

*V + TRVR + va

Moreover, for verbs of Group C, forms described as 'V +vu' did not occur. Both of the above mentioned reasons do not seem to favor the conclusion that intransitive forms are the basic ones for C and D.

Concerning Group B, Kleinschmidt's statements concerning verbal bases as pisuk- 'to walk' sanak- 'to make' which belong in LI to Group B comes across as describing them as being intransitive. Although he describes some of these verbs as both transitive and intransitive, he concludes that the nominal participle reveals the basic form.

His examples indicate the intransitive character of verbs of B.

ex: pisugtoq 'the one who walks'

sanassoq 'the one, who works, a worker'

(adp. and tr. from Kleinschmidt:1851,55)

Verbs in the Ungava dialect which correspond to verbs of group B in LI, are considered by Schneider as intransitive.[17]

The question whether, for verbs of C and D, the forms containing INTRVRs and vu-type ISs are derived from transitive forms, or not (as Kalmár[18] suggests) cannot be answered here. Likewise, the question of whether, for Group B, a derivation between the verbal forms with vu-type ISs and forms with va-type ISs can be established, and if so, what the direction of such a derivation would be, has to be left unanswered.

This study has a descriptive orientation; a highly theoretical outlook can therefore not be its purpose.

4:4 Major Semantic Categories

Semantic categories seem to correspond to the morphologically based categories which were established. A detailed semantic analysis requires further research into the connotations and cultural aspects of these verbs. However, some general tendencies can be noted.

Group A includes some stative verbs and verbs of external agency.

Group B includes, among others, verbs of perception and information processing, verbs which show goal orientation (among them verbs of motion) and optional agency.

Group C and Group D include verbs where the action of the agent results in a change of state of the patient (for instance verbs of "hitting and breaking").

Group E and Group F include verbs of emotion.

4.5 Conclusion

The attempt was made to shed some light on INTRVRs and the TRVR -gi- in contemporary LI. After establishing, as far as possible, the INTRVRs' and TRVR's phonological forms, verbal base classes were presented with respect to the distribution of the INTRVRs and -gi-. Five major groups resulted (since the data for Group F was limited).

Summary of Morphological Class Patterns

Group	Base				
	+vu	+va	+INTRVR +vu	+TRVR +va	+TRVR +INTRVR +vu
A: Class I	*				
B: Class III	*	*			
C: Class IV to XIV		*	*		
D: Class XV to XXIII	*	*	*		
E: Class XXIV	*			*	
F: Class XXV	*			*	*

It was observed that morphological classes corresponded to semantic categories of verbs.

NOTES

1 This chapter classifies basically verbal bases. It may be possible that some forms regarded as bases could be analysed further and are stems.

2 Kalmár observed the occurrence of names with va-type, as well as vu-type ISs, and concluded that, since names are considered definite, the difference between both type sentences cannot be regarded, as was traditionally done, as a difference of definiteness, but rather as a distinction between "new" and "given". (Kalmár:1979a,1979)

3 Although sentences with vu-type ISs and Modalis case marking are traditionally analysed as indefinite, consultants, at times, translate the object as definite,here 'the dog'.

4 For Class III, the zero INTRVR (Ø) has been used in some of the literature (see Woodbury:1975). Under the term INTRVRs, Ø is not included in this thesis.

5 aavuk exists, but involves a different base. It has been glossed as 'he laughs really hard'. Inuvuk also exists, its meaning dealing with being an Inuk.

6 This example may possibly involve phonological alternation i~s.

7 The English gloss in Jeddore is:

> "AULAK to be moving (v.)...Sunakiak aulajuk'taumani.
> Something is moving around down there." (Jeddore:1976,27)

The consultant also provided 'I am in charge of it' for aulavaga, i.e. making it move.

8 Jeddore lists naavik- 'to spill' and naavitsik- 'to spill intentionally' (Jeddore:1976,74).

9 One consultant also used -nni- with siimik- and tuuk-.

10 As mentioned before, the consultant had in some cases the tendency to translate forms with -vuk in a way that one would expect for forms with -juk.

11 The INTRVR -tsi- may also be possible for anauk-.

12 The following examples are listed under paffisaak- 'to annoy' in Jeddore: Paffisaajuk. He is annoying (me)

Paffisaagijuk. He is annoying them. (Jeddore:1976,90)

13 The consultant used to give 'he is using (it)' for atuvuk.

14 The 'V + vu' form has also been glossed as 'he commits suicide'.

15 -vauk 3 psg - 3 psg ind was given by the consultant. As mentioned earlier, there is no gender distinction expressed in that IS. The distinction 'she...him' was presumably made for cultural reasons or in order to indicate clearly that two different persons were involved.

16 Kalmar suggests that the prevention of a reflexive interpretation is the function of the INTRVRs.

> "...-si, -tsi, -ti, -i and others,...This series has not been sufficiently studied. However, there is reason to doubt that they are antipassive markers. More likely, they function to prevent a reflexive interpretation that may attach to semantically transitive verbs without an overt object..." (Kalmar:1979a,142)

Fortescue describes verbs with INTRVRs as in the following:

> "...verbs with the "half-transitivizer" indicate an action type directed only in a vague sense, if at all, towards a non-specific or thematically de-emphasized object...(Fortescue:1982,7)

17 The "agent-binding" stems in Woodbury are also considered as having the intransitive form as their basic form. (see Woodbury:1977a)

18 Kalmár states:

> "Both the ergative and the antipassive clause are independent agnates, neither generated from any structure underlying the other." (Kalmár:1979a,40).

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APPENDIX A: SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Date:

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Consultant:

VERB:

VUK

JUK

(T)TUK

VAGA

JAGA

(T)TAGA

SIVUK

JUK

(T)TUK

SIVAGA

JAGA

(T)TAGA

(T)SIVUK

JUK

(T)TUK

VERB:

(T)SIVAGA

JAGA

(T)TAGA

IVUK

JUK

(T)TUK

IVAGA

JAGA

(T)TAGA

JIVUK

JUK

(T)TUK

JIVAGA

JAGA

(T)TAGA

(N)NIVUK

JUK

(T)TUK

(N)NIVAGA

JAGA

(T)TAGA

VERB:

(T)&IVUK

JUK

(T)TUK

(T)&IVAGA

JAGA

(T)TAGA

GIVUK

JUK

(T)TUK

GIVAGA

JAGA

(T)TAGA

(T)TAUVUK

JUK

(T)TUK

JAUVUK

JUK

(T)TUK

APPENDIX B: CASE TERMINOLOGY (on nouns)

CASE TERMINOLOGY (on nouns)

Kleinschmidt	Bourquin	Schneider	Bergsland	Woodbury	Smith	Thesis
Objectiv	Intransitiv	Absolu (Intransitif)	Absolutive	Absolutive	Nominative	Absolutive
Subjectiv	Transitiv	Transitif	Relative	Ergative	Relative	Ergative
Modalis	Modalis	Modalis	Instrumental	Instrumental	Accusative	Modalis
Terminalis	Terminalis	Terminalis	Allative	Allative	Terminalis	Terminalis
Ablativ	Ablativ	Ablatif	Ablative	Ablative	Ablative	Ablative
Localis	Localis	Localis	Locative	Locative	Localis	Localis
Vialis	Vialis	Vialis	Prosecutive	Perlative (Vialis)	Vialis	Vialis
"tut"	"tut"	Aequalis	Equative	?	Similaris	Similaris
	Vocativ					