PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINALS IN
EASTERN LABRADOR ESKIMO

A Thesis
Presented to,
The Department of Linguistics
Memorial University of Newfoundland

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
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May 1974
ABSTRACT

The object of this study is the pronominal system of the Eskimo dialect of Eastern Labrador. The study includes not only pronouns but also those pronominal adverbs which have inflection. The emphasis is throughout on the present day usage, which has been studied with the help of two native speakers from Nain, Labrador, but a diachronic dimension is added by comparing modern usage with that of earlier times in order to find out what changes, if any, have taken place within the last hundred years or so. Bourquin's grammar of 1891 Grammatik der Eskimo-Sprache, wie sie im Bereich der Missions-Niederlassungen der Brüdergemeine an der Labradorküste gesprochen wird has been the main source of information of the earlier stage of Eastern Labrador Eskimo.

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter I consists of phonological and morphological introduction. The next three chapters are devoted to the morphology and semantics of the pronouns. The pronouns are divided into three groups according to their form. Chapter II deals with those pronouns which end in a personal suffix, Chapter III with demonstratives, which have a morphology peculiar to themselves, and Chapter IV with interrogative pronouns kina and suna and a pronominal adverb nani. These three do not fall morphologically into either of the previous categories. All three morphological categories are examined together from a syntactic viewpoint in Chapter V. In Chapter VI findings are summarized and conclusions drawn.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. John Hewson, my supervisor, for his guidance in the preparation of the thesis, Mr. L. R. Smith for many a fruitful conversation and for putting his collection of literature on eskimology at my disposal, and my two informants, Mr. Sam Metcalfe and Miss Rose Pamack, without whose co-operation this study could not have been undertaken.

I am also grateful to the Linguistics Department for covering the cost of the informant sessions, and the Provincial Government of Newfoundland for a graduate fellowship.
PREFACE

Eastern Labrador Eskimo dialect (henceforth EL) belongs to the Eastern group of Eskimo languages. It has been thought closely related to Greenlandic, but in reality is closer to those dialects spoken on both sides of the Hudson Bay, as can be concluded on reading descriptions of these dialects, for instance those by Turquetil, Trinel, and Mallon and Kusugak. No doubt EL itself is split into dialects and can be regarded as relatively unified only when compared to some other dialect complex. Conditions were formerly more conducive to dialectal diversity when the population was scattered among greater number of settlements. Only half a dozen Eskimo communities exist in Eastern Labrador now, with a total population about 1200, compared to twice the number of communities at the turn of the century. Today, however, the Eskimos of Eastern Labrador are subjected to much stronger foreign linguistic influence from English than they were ever before from German, for even if the missionaries, who were mostly German speaking, wielded authority (in the early days of white man's presence in Labrador their business was trading as well as converting Eskimos into Christianity) they were few in numbers. Besides, their linguistic policies were comparatively enlightened, at least in principle. For instance, Eskimo was used for teaching in missionary schools. Now, however, English is the official language of instruction, and has been since 1950. Eskimos of today, particularly the younger generation are fast becoming bilingual. It is very much to be hoped that they will vigorously resist the next step in the process, that of becoming
monolingually English-speaking.

This study aims at a synchronic description of EL pronoun system. While the emphasis is on modern usage it has been thought useful to add the diachronic dimension. Every language has a past from which the present has evolved. Comparing the old and the modern reveals the possible changes that have taken place. If we can see the reasons behind the changes we are in a better position to understand and appreciate the present phenomena. This has been deemed all the more important in the individual case of the present writer, whose knowledge of Eskimo does not even begin to approach the competence of a native speaker.

Practically all linguistic treatises of EL up until the very present time have been the work of Moravian missionaries. The first two reported grammars existed only as manuscripts and were written by Königseer about 1780 and Freitag in 1839. Neither of these has been available in researching this study. The main source of information of the earlier stage of EL (henceforth EEL) has been Bourquin's grammar of 1891 Grammatik der Eskimo-Sprache wie sie im Bereich der Missions-Niederlassungen der Brüdergemeine an der Labradorküste gesprochen wird. There are a few other sources, but they are mostly abridged versions of Bourquin's original (Perrett, Peacock), and therefore do not add anything to it. Erdmann's Eskimoisches Wörterbuch of 1864 is another original source.

Modern usage has been studied with the help of two native speakers from Nain, Labrador. They represent the younger generation of speakers, being a few years under and over thirty years of age. One
informant is originally from the former northern community of Hebron, but moved down to Nain in his childhood during the resettlement period. The other comes from Nain, where her family has always lived. In the ensuing work it will be understood that statements of modern EL (henceforth MEL) should, strictly, read as statements of the idiolects of the two informants, but it is assumed that their idiolects are reasonably representative of MEL.

For the description of their morphology the pronouns are divided into three groups according to their form. This description comprises Chapters II, III and IV. The meanings of the pronouns are also discussed in these chapters where relevant, but in many cases only a simple translation is given. Chapter V concentrates on examining the function of a pronoun in a sentence. Syntactic problems have been isolated in a chapter of their own rather than presented with each morphological group in order to avoid repetition. The rather lengthy survey of noun inflection in the introductory chapter is a necessary background for understanding pronoun morphology because pronouns are a sub-group of nouns.
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</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Phonological

MEL material will be spelled phonemically according to the system outlined below. EEL material will be cited in its original written form. Because the orthography used for it was not phonemic some elaboration on it is necessary to enable the reader to interpret the spelling.

There are 18 autonomous phonemes in MEL: 15 consonants and 3 vowels. The consonant chart is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voicing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/r/ and /h/ appear in brackets because they only have a marginal position in the phonological system of MEL. /r/ occurs in German loanwords, e.g., jaarik "year", januari "January", and as a variant of /g/. /h/ occurs in exclamatory expressions and the like, e.g., hvit (a command to dogs), qakqaamulaulluk "let's both go to the mountain, eh" instead of the straightforward qakqaamulaulluk.
Of the other consonants /t/ and /j/ do not occur geminated. /vv/ is realized phonetically as [ff]. /gg/ apparently does not occur as a regular sound either.

The vowel chart is:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

All three vowels occur short and long and combine in diphthongs in the six possible ways.

The orthography which has been used for EL since the time it was first committed to writing, and, indeed, which still continues to be used, almost unaltered, does not represent reliably the sounds of that dialect. Its fundamental flaw is that a sound is represented by more than one symbol and, conversely, a symbol can represent more than one sound. Bourquin was well aware of this (Bourquin 1891:1) though he did not consider it possible to carry out a spelling reform in Labrador, as his much admired fellow grammarian and linguistic mentor Samuel Kleinschmidt had done in Greenland. In the opening paragraphs of his grammar Bourquin describes the Labrador sounds mainly through quotes from Kleinschmidt, but in most cases he fortunately elaborates with a few words of his own which have a direct bearing on the Labrador dialect and enable us, to a large degree, to interpret the inconsistent spelling.

We will present Bourquin's consonant chart first, then give the various ways of spelling the sounds as indicated by Bourquin and,
finally, comment upon the sounds themselves.

Bourquin places the consonants in a chart as follows

(Bourquin 1891: 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops²</th>
<th>Velars²</th>
<th>Labials</th>
<th>Palatals²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s, ts, l, j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rng)</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the purposes of the discussion we assume initially that
the above sounds were phonemes of EEL except the sound represented by
the grapheme cluster "rng", which Bourquin placed in brackets and did not
comment on. Presumably this sound was included because it is in
Kleinschmidt's consonant inventory (Kleinschmidt 1851: 1) and possibly
was a Greenlandic phoneme in his day. We will use n for the velar
nasal.

The following spellings of the phonemes existed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. /k/</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. /k/</td>
<td>k, g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. /p/</td>
<td>p, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. /t/</td>
<td>t, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. /r/</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. /g/</td>
<td>g, ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. /v/</td>
<td>v, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. /s/</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. /ts/</td>
<td>ts, ds, t, dj, j, s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. /l/</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. /j/</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. /n/</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. /m/</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. /n/</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The three vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ were also spelled in various ways.

15. /i/  i, e
16. /u/  u, o
17. /a/  a, æ, e

/h/ is not included in the chart. Bourquin says that "it occurs only in some particles, particularly in exclamations, otherwise not" (Bourquin 1891: 3). Translation L.C.

Geminated and mixed consonant clusters present further complications.

| /rr/ | --- | ch : machuk / marruk /, machaK / marraK / |
|      | --- | gg : magguk / marruk / |
|      | --- | rg : Kemergovâ / Kimirruvaă / |
| /gg/ | --- | ch : kachimiovik / kaggimiuvik / |
| /mm/ | --- | mg : imgerpoK / immirpuK / |
| /rC/ | --- | rC : illitarsivoK / illitarsivuK / |
|      | --- | rKC : illitarSaivoK / illitarSuivuK / |
|      | --- | KC : taKtoK / taartuK / |

Comments.

1. The chart would show that there were four stops in EEL, but in the light of Bourquin's description of /K/ (Bourquin 1891: 1, 365) it has to be concluded that, at least in some positions, it was not a uvular stop, but a fricative even in his time, the one transcribed as /q/ in MEL. The symbol K has been retained, however, to avoid making a final judgement as to the actual phonetic quality.
2. The above fact has a bearing on the status of /r/. It could have been a voiced uvular fricative in EEL, although the description of the geminate /r/ points more to a voiceless variety (Bourquin 1891: 2). It is possible, however, that lengthening devoiced /r/.

3. It is difficult to determine whether /ts/ was an autonomous phoneme, a sibilant pronounced further back than /s/, corresponding to the Greenlandic /ss/, or simply a consonant cluster, tj, as it is in MEL. In any case there were several allophonic pronunciations of this sound unit (Bourquin 1891: 2-3).

4. We may conclude from Bourquin’s comments (Bourquin 1891: 3) that [±] existed as an allophone of /l/ in EEL. -dl was sometimes used as an allophonic spelling for post-consonantal /l/. The rise of [±] to an autonomous phoneme in MEL has probably come about through falling away of the conditioning consonant so that [±] has become the meaning bearer. In this context we will not go in detail into the reason which causes the consonant preceding the /±/ to fall away, but it is connected with the alternation of open and closed syllables. (See I,2). Let the following word pairs illustrate how it can happen.

**allaqaatłuni** "having first written"

alla - qa - t - łuni

write first past he doing tense

**allaqaalluni** "writing first"

alla - qa - lluni

write first he doing (non-past)

**tikikqaaluni** "having first arrived" (past)

**tikikqáaluni** "arriving first" (non-past).
5. e and o are written for /i/ and /u/ before and after uvulars, at the end of the word and sometimes for a long vowel, showing the obvious distribution of allophones. The allophonic spellings of /a/, which indicate raising, are not very common in Bourquin's grammar, but abound in Erdmann's dictionary.

In accordance with German orthographic conventions consonant doubling is very widely used to indicate that the preceding vowel is short, e.g. assia [asia] "another than he", illa [illa] "relative, companion".

Diacritics are also used to mark vowel and consonant length. 
 indicates a short vowel followed by a double consonant, e.g. mámma [mann] "this".
 indicates a long vowel followed by a double consonant, e.g. illununne [lluunnani] "all of him".
 indicates a long vowel followed by a single consonant, e.g. tamât [tamaat] "each time".
 indicates a short vowel, but used only if special attention is called to the length of the vowel.

2. Morphological

Eskimo words can be divided into two groups, inflected and uninflected. The uninflected words are particles, the inflected ones nouns and verbs. These share some inflectional endings, e.g. number and dependence marker, while others are specific to each category of words. Only nouns have local-case endings. Only verbs have transitive/intransitive endings or mood signs.
The category of nouns may be subdivided further on notional grounds, and by using minor morphological differences as a criterion. Pronouns are one such subdivision. Therefore, in order to appreciate pronoun morphology we have to see it against the background of noun morphology in general.

Theoretically a noun can have 3 numbers, 8 cases and be inflected as an unpossessed noun or with a possessive suffix attached. Remembering that the 3. person has two kinds of suffixes in Eskimo, ordinary and reflexive; each with 3 numbers we get the following formula for calculating the theoretically possible inflectional forms of an Eskimo noun:

\[3 \times 8 + (3 \times 4) \times 8.\]

The answer is 120, but in practice there are not quite so many different forms because some forms have merged and some are notionally so absurd that an informant is reluctant to say them even for the sake of completing a neat paradigm, let alone use them in a real life situation. From a researcher's point of view it cannot be said, however, that practice is simpler than theory because there is a great deal of uncertainty about the dual forms. Some say they are no longer used in MEK, yet they occur here and there. In no case have the informants been able to supply all the dual forms of any one noun, and in several cases they have expressed uncertainty of the forms they have given. It seems that the dual still occurs more consistently in verbal endings, where the informants always made the distinction between dual and plural, e.g. takuvuguk/takuvugut inunnik "the two of us/we (all) saw people". Dual forms will be left out of consideration
except in a few special cases among the pronouns. The dual morphology of these individual cases will be discussed in that context.

We take the word nunak (EEL nuna) "land" to illustrate MEL noun inflection and its differences from EEL. Complete paradigms will be presented only for an unpossessed noun and a noun attached with the 1.sg. possessive suffixes. The other paradigms will be represented by the absolutive, relative and modalis cases, which give enough information to predict the rest of the forms. The endings (in their allomorph form) will be hyphenated.

(a) Unpossessed noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MEL</th>
<th>EEL</th>
<th>MEL</th>
<th>EEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>nunak⁵</td>
<td>nuna-ita</td>
<td>nuna-it/t</td>
<td>nuna-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>nuna-up</td>
<td>nuna-b</td>
<td>nuna-it</td>
<td>nuna-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>nuna-mmik</td>
<td>nuna-mik</td>
<td>nuna-nnik</td>
<td>nuna-nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>nuna-mmi</td>
<td>nuna-me</td>
<td>nuna-nmi</td>
<td>nuna-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>nuna-mmít</td>
<td>nuna-mmít</td>
<td>nuna-nnit</td>
<td>nuna-nit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>nuna-mmút</td>
<td>nuna-mmút</td>
<td>nuna-nnut</td>
<td>nuna-nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>nuna-kkút</td>
<td>nuna-kkút</td>
<td>nuna-kkút</td>
<td>nuna-tígút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tígút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeq.</td>
<td>nuna-ttút</td>
<td>nuna-tút</td>
<td>nuna-ttút</td>
<td>nuna-títút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-títút</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) 1. Sg. possessor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg. possessum</th>
<th>Pl. possessum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>nuna-ga</td>
<td>nuna-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>nuna-mma</td>
<td>nuna-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>nuna-ganik</td>
<td>nuna-mnik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>nuna-gani</td>
<td>nuna-mne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>nuna-ganit</td>
<td>nuna-mnit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>nuna-ganut</td>
<td>nuna-mmut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>nuna-gakut/</td>
<td>nuna-pkut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kkut'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeq.</td>
<td>nuna-gatut</td>
<td>nuna-ptut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) 1. pl. possessor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg. possessum</th>
<th>Pl. possessum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>nuna-vut</td>
<td>nuna-vut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>nuna-tta</td>
<td>nuna-pita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>nuna-ttinik</td>
<td>nuna-ptingnik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) 2. sg. possessbr

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>nuna-it</td>
<td>nuna-t/tit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>nuna-ppita</td>
<td>nuna-vit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>nuna-ñnik</td>
<td>nuna-ngnik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(e) **2. pl. possessor**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Pl. possessum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEL</strong></td>
<td><strong>EEL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs. nuna-si</td>
<td>nuna-se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. nuna-tsi</td>
<td>nuna-pse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. nuna-tsinik</td>
<td>nuna-psingnik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) **3. sg. possessor**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Pl. possessum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEL</strong></td>
<td><strong>EEL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs. nuna-ŋa</td>
<td>nuna-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. nuna-nata</td>
<td>nuna-ngata/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. nuna-napiŋik</td>
<td>nuna-nganik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) **3 pl. possessor**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. possessum</th>
<th>Pl. possessum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEL</strong></td>
<td><strong>EEL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs. nuna-ŋa</td>
<td>nuna-ngat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. nuna-nata</td>
<td>nuna-ngata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. nuna-nanik</td>
<td>nuna-nganik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(h) **Reflexive 3. sg. possessor**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. possessum</th>
<th>Pl. possessum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEL</strong></td>
<td><strong>EEL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs. nuna-ŋ(?)</td>
<td>nuna-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. nuna-ŋ(?)</td>
<td>nuna-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod. nuna-mmiminik</td>
<td>nuna-minik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(i) Reflexive 3. pl. possessor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg. possessum</th>
<th>Pl. possessum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
<td>MEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>nuna-(?)</td>
<td>nuna-tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>nuna-(?)</td>
<td>nuna-mik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>nuna-mminik</td>
<td>nuna-mingnik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are four general factors which go a long way in explaining the differences between MEL and EEL noun inflection. First, throughout the inflection we see the effects of retrogressive assimilation, which is either partial as in EEL nunapse > MEL nunatsi "of your (pl.) land/lands", or complete as in EEL nunangnik > MEL nunannik "your (sg.) land/lands (mod.)". Other examples from the preceding paradigms: EEL nunapktu > MEL nunakkut "through my land"; EEL nunapta > MEL nunatta "of our land/lands". Also the forms of the unpossessed noun paradigm where the ending begins with a consonant show assimilation, nunak+mut > nunammut "to the land".

Secondly, /q/ and /k/ have been neutralized word finally. The preceding paradigms do not contain any instances of this, but elsewhere we can see its consequences, for instance in the 1. sg. abs., where the ending is now -ga universally. Formerly it was -ga or, after uvulars -ra. E.g. EEL okausera (< okauseK) > MEL ugausiga "my word". In the 2. sg. rel. EEL had two allomorphic endings: okauserpit "of your word", nunavit "of your land/lands"; MEL ugausipit, nunappit.

A third factor is that modern speakers have generalized /k/ as an almost universal noun ending (abs. sg.). The old division of nouns ending in /q/; /k/, /t/ or /v/ has disappeared, and we have e.g.
MEL innik "son", anutik "man", ilak "relative", illuk "house", nunak "land" for EEL ernek, angut, illa, iglo, nuna. Thus, through assimilation, we get forms like nunammi "in the land", nunamma "of my land/lands" in MEL for EEL nunamé and nunama. It is reported that there are still speakers who do not end all their nouns in /k/ and who would use forms like ilama "my relative's/relatives'", anutima "my husband's" and so on.

The fourth factor is one with the most far reaching consequences. It has to do with the alternation of open and closed syllables in a word form. The rule states that two closed syllables cannot follow each other in immediate succession excepting the final syllable. The count begins at the junction of the stem and the first suffix, be it grammatical or lexical. Thus if the stem is bisyllabic and has a consonant cluster or a geminate consonant in the middle the possible cluster resulting from adding a suffix will be simplified. This rule was first discovered by Father Lucien Schneider for Ungáva dialects and it has been called "la Loi Schneider d'allitération" (Collis 1970: 276-7). It will be referred to as Schneider's Rule in this study. If one relies on Bourquin's orthography one has to conclude that Schneider's Rule did not operate in EL in the 19th century, but now its effects are everywhere to be observed.

In the preceding paradigms we have only three instances which exhibit the effects of Schneider's Rule directly. In the 1. pl. possessor mod. EEL has nunaptinning "our land/lands". It becomes nunattinnik through assimilation, and MEL nunattinik through Schneider's Rule. A parallel process is to be seen in the 2. pl. possessor mod.: EEL.
nunapsingnik > MEL nunatsinik "your land/lands". The third instance
is the mod. (pl. possessor) of the reflexive 3. person: EEL nunamingnik
> MEL nunamminik (< nunamminik < nunak-mik-nik) "their (own) land/
lands". To illustrate further we take another example word illuk
"house". The mod. sg. of an unpossessed noun is nunamik "land", but
illumik "house"; vial. sg. nunakkut "through the land", but illukut
"through the house"; 1. sg: possessor rel. nunamma "of my land/lands",
but illuma "of my house/houses"; 1. pl. possessor mod. nunattinik
"our land/lands", but illusinnik "our house/houses". In the 2. pl.
possessor we get the following kind of alternation: rel. nunatsi "of
your land/lands", illusi "of your house/houses" (identical to the abs.
form "your house/houses") mod. nunatsinik "your land/lands", but
illusinik "your house/houses".

The changes in the paradigms discussed so far are due to
changes in the phonological structure of the language. There are
other changes in the noun inflection where the marking system of
certain grammatical categories has been changed. These changes are
not phonological in nature though they might have been triggered off
by phonological changes. We comment on them paradigm by paradigm.

(a) The rel. sg. marker in MEL is -up, in EEL generally -p,
although -up was used for words ending in /k/. In MEL -it is
preferred to -t as an abs. and rel. pl. marker. In EEL both were used
equally, except that -it ending always came with words ending in /k/.
The usual ending for vial. in MEL is -kkut in both sg. and pl., -tut
for aeq. sg. and pl., but the longer endings -tigut and -titut for
pl. also occur in careful speech.
(b) Here we see the most radical changes of all. In EEL in both sg. and pl. the adverbial cases were based on the dependence marker, the -m- of the rel. case, and the number of the possessum was only marked in the abs. Now, however, the combined person and number marker forms the base for the adverbial cases, and the number of the possessum is marked. One may look for the reason in the effects of assimilation which would have rendered the adverbial cases of a noun with the 1. sg. possessive suffixes identical with those of a noun with the 2. sg. possessive suffixes. E.g. EEL nunamne "in my land" and nunangne "in your land" would both become nunannya. The older form of the vial. sg. still occurs alongside the innovative form.

(c) and (e) In these paradigms we observe only the expected phonological changes. The number of the possessum remains unmarked in all cases.

(d) With the 2. sg. possessor the number of the possessum is only marked in the abs., as was the case earlier with the 1. sg. possessor. The -p- in MEL for EEL -v- in the rel. case ending is probably due to the assimilating effect (progressive) of the stem final /k/, which is different from the -k- which marks the 2. sg. possessor in the adverbial cases in EEL and appears as -ng- in part of the paradigm, e.g. EEL nunangnik "your land (mod.)", and as -k- in the vial. and aeq., nunakkut "through your land", nunaktut "like your land".

(f), (g) The 3. person marks the number of the possessor and the possessum along different lines from the 1., 2. and reflexive 3. person. EEL distinguished between sg. possessor and pl. possessor only when the possessum is in the sg., but with the pl. possessum the number of the
possessor is not marked. Thus nunanga "his land" (sg. -sg.);
nunangat "their land" (pl. -sg.); but nunangit "his/their lands".

In the rel. case the distinction is only partially maintained, for the ending -ngata was the more common one even in the sg., -ngat being an older form. MEL does not differentiate between a sg. and a pl. possessor, only between a sg. and a pl. possessum.

E.g. nunana "his/their land", nunanit "his/their lands". The pl. possessum is doubly marked in all cases except the rel.: (1) by the change of the suffix vowel and (2) by the pl. sign -t, assimilated to -n- in the adverbial cases. E.g. mod. nunananik "his/their land", nunaninnik "his/their lands"; rel. nunanata "of his/their land", nunanitata "of his/their lands".

(h), (1) The reflexive 3. person suffixes in the abs. and rel. cases apparently do not occur any more with ordinary nouns, but they are still used as pronoun-forming morphemes. (See Extended Personal Pronouns, II, 2). With nouns they are replaced by 3. person suffixes. E.g. MEL illuna takuvaa "he sees his house", where "he" and "his" can either refer to the same person or to two different persons. Similarly in the pl.: illuna takuvat "they see their house". In the adverbial cases the reflexive 3. person suffixes continue to be used. The combined suffix and case endings show the dependence marker -m-. As with the 1. and 2. pl. suffixes only the number of the possessor is marked, not that of the possessum. Our example paradigm obscures this fact, but we can see it in e.g. illuminik "his (own) house/houses (mod.)", but illuminnik (< illuk-mik-nik) "their (own) house/houses (mod.)".
Like ordinary nouns pronouns are combined with derivational suffixes, though presumably not with as wide a selection of them because of semantic restrictions. This aspect has not been investigated, but numerous instances of it will appear in the examples.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 For a more detailed description of MEL phonology see Smith, L.
"Labrador Institute Surface Phonology", forthcoming.

2 We have changed some terms, but not altered the format of the chart. Bourquin's heading for the velar row is "palatal sounds" (German "Gaumenlauten"), but we may safely attribute this discrepancy to the 19th century use of phonological terminology, for all descriptions prove that the sounds were, in fact, what the modern terms imply. What we call "palatals" he calls "linguals" (German "Zungenlauten"). The terms "stops" and fricatives are not used either. The former are called "hard" sounds, the latter "soft" sounds.

3 Numerous entries on pages 179-181 in an old handwritten Labrador dictionary are typical of the confusion /tʃ/ caused to writers. In these entries the sound has been first written with s or ss, then these crossed over and t or tʃ written above. E.g., isik corrected to ʔik, ʔise to ʔiʃe. This Eskimo-German dictionary is in the Rare Books Collection in the Memorial University Library, St. John's. It does not bear any date or the author's name, but it has been claimed to be from 1813.

4 See Appendix F for the names of the cases and their abbreviations.

5 Some speakers distinguish between vowel final and consonant final bases in the inflection of unpossessed nouns. Thus a vowel final base; nunak (abs.) would give, e.g., nunamik (mod.).

6 Smith, personal communication, and own observation.

7 It has to be borne in mind that some suffixes delete the stem final consonant, others do not.
CHAPTER II

PRONOUNS WITH A PERSONAL SUFFIX

The factor which unites the pronouns to be discussed in this chapter is that they are composed of a stem and a personal suffix. The stem can be a word in the language, but generally it is not used by itself. These pronouns can be notionally divided into five categories: 1. personal, 2. extended personal, 3. reflexive, 4. interrogative and 5. indefinite pronouns. It follows from their formation that their inflectional patterns are the same in principle, but only one stem group, asik, has the full range of paradigmatic forms. The others are defective in various ways.

1. Personal Pronouns

There are two personal pronouns proper in EL, as in all Eastern Eskimo dialects. They are uvana/uvaguk/uvagut "I/we two/we (all)" and ivvit/illiitik/illiitse "you/you two/you (all)". The corresponding EEL forms were uvanga/uvaguk/uvagut and igvit/illiitik/illipse. The stem for the 1. person pronoun is uva. The 2. person pronoun has two stem alternants iv (< ig) and ili. It is both semantically and morphologically probable that these stems are related to the demonstrative stems uv "here" and ik "there" (Kleinschmidt 1851: 42).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradigms</th>
<th>1. person</th>
<th>2. person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>uvana/</td>
<td>uvanga/(uvaK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>uvak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>uvannik</td>
<td>uvamnik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>uvanni</td>
<td>uvanne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>uvannit</td>
<td>uvanmit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>uvannut</td>
<td>uvanmut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>uvakkut</td>
<td>uvapkut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeq.</td>
<td>uvattut</td>
<td>uvaptut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>uvaguk</td>
<td>uvaguk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>uvaguk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>uvattiinik</td>
<td>uvaptingnik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>uvattiini</td>
<td>uvaptingne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>uvattiinit</td>
<td>uvaptingnit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>uvattiinut</td>
<td>uvaptingnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>uvattiikut</td>
<td>uvaptingut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeq.</td>
<td>uvattiitut</td>
<td>uvaptingtitut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>uvagut</td>
<td>uvagut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>uvagut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>uvattinik</td>
<td>uvaptingnik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A characteristic feature of personal pronouns is that they have syncretized the abs. and rel. cases. The endings of the 1. person pronoun in this case are -na, -guk and -gut. They are of different origin, at least from a synchronic point of view, from those of ivvit, ilittik and ilitsi. The 1. person endings are like those of an intransitive verb, e.g. gaivuna "I come", gaivuguk "we two come", gaivugut "we come". The endings of ivvit, ilittik and ilitsi, however, go back to the older rel. case endings of a noun attached with the 2. sg., dl. or pl. possessive suffixes, e.g. EEL nunavit "of your land", nunaptik "of the land of you two", nunapse "of your (pl.) land". The modern forms show the usual effects of assimilation.

The dl. forms of these pronouns have the two distinguishing marks of dl. morphology: k-ending in the abs.-rel. case and lengthening of the vowel preceding the case ending. In EEL the 1. dl. pronoun sometimes had a long vowel, sometimes short, in which latter case the adverbial cases were identical with the forms of the 1. pl. pronoun. In the 2. dl. the lengthening was not necessary to mark the dl. from the pl. in EEL. Neither is it now, but the vowel lengthening still occurs on a regular basis. It is perhaps an indication of levelling or regularization of inflective patterns, which seems to be typical of MEL.
As the paradigms show some of the pronouns have alternate forms. The 1. sg. abs.-rel. form uvak appears to be equally common with uvana in MEL. uvak looks like a back formation of uvana. The 2. sg. pronoun exhibits a complete paradigm based on the stem ik, but only the vial. ivvikut "through you" and aeq. ivvitut "like you" are said to be commonly used. Even the dl. and pl. have alternants in the vial. ivvitiikkut "through you two" and ivvisikkut "through you" for the more common forms ilittiikkut and ilitsikkt.

In the adverbial cases the inflection of the personal pronouns in all three numbers is like that of a noun attached with the 1. or 2. person possessive suffixes. In the 1. sg. it is to be noted that they are the suffixes of the older form of the language. The ordinary alternants are directly derivable from EEL forms through assimilation and Schneider's Rule. E.g. assimilation: EEL uvanne > MEL uvanni "in me", EEL ilitse > MEL ilitsi "you (pl.)"; assimilation and Schneider's Rule: EEL uvaptingnut > MEL uvattinut "to us", EEL illiptingne > MEL ilittiini "in you two". In the last example the MEL form also shows vowel lengthening of the dl.

Examples

kina aullagumajuun? uvana/uvak "Who wants to go? I (do)";
kikkut aullagumajuun? uvagut "Who want to go? We (do)"; kiap takukgauvaun? uvana/uvak "Who saw it? I (did)"; kiap illuna unaa?

ivviin? aa. uvana "Whose house is this? Yours? Yes, it is mine";

uvannik kisiani ikajuvuk "He helps only me"; ilitsinik gaijujivuna "I invite you (pl.)"; uvattini taimaak tajiunnituk "It is not called that among us"; saviatsuk uvanniljuk "The pocket knife is in my
possession" (lit. "on me"); tiguvaa ilinnit  "He took it from you"; ilittiniit umiak saattajuk  "The boat is floating away from you two"; qaluvut uvattinut ilitsinuuunitut  "They come to us, not to you"; allalittauvutit uvakkit  "You receive a letter through me"; aullagumajuk uvaatitut  "He wants to go away like we two"; ilitsitut suunuujult  "They are strong like you (pl.)".

2. Extended Personal Pronouns

The pronouns of this category consist of one of the stems kisi, iluunnak or tamak and possessive suffixes. The stems, which do not occur without suffixes, signify the following notions: kisi "onliness, soleness", iluunnak "allness, wholeness", tamak "allness".

The pronouns based on these stems refer to one of the three persons, but the stem gives them an additional meaning. Hence the name "extended personal pronouns".

We will first give the MEL and EEL paradigms, which will be represented by the abs., rel., mod., and loc. cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MEL</th>
<th>EEL</th>
<th>MEL</th>
<th>EEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. sg.</td>
<td>kisima</td>
<td>kissima</td>
<td>kisitna</td>
<td>kisiptana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>kisi</td>
<td>kissi</td>
<td>kisit</td>
<td>kisipt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>kisinnik</td>
<td>kissimnik</td>
<td>kisittinik</td>
<td>kisippiingnik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>kisinni</td>
<td>kisinne</td>
<td>kisittini</td>
<td>kisippiingne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. sg.  3. sg.  2. pl.  3. pl.

Abs. kisivit  kisivit  kisitsi  kissippi
Rel.  
Mod. kisinâk  kissingnik  kisitsinik  kissipsingnik
Loc. kisinni  kissingne  kisitsini  kissipsingne

iluunnak

1. sg.  1. pl.

Abs. iluunnama  illûnarma  iluunnata  illûnata
Rel.  
Mod. iluunnanik  illûnamnik  iluunnatinik  illûnaptingnik
Loc. iluunnani  illûnamne  iluunnatini  illûnaptingne

2. sg.  2. pl.

Abs. iluunnapit  illûnappit  iluunnasi  illûnase
Rel.  
Mod. iluunnanik  illûnarnik  iluunnasink  illûnapsingnik
Loc. iluunnani  illûnarne  iluunnasini  illûnapsingne
Of the third stem, tamak, there were only two forms in the sg. in EEL: tamat, 3 sg. abs.-rel. and tamanut, 3. sg. term. The form tamaat still exists in MEL though with a derived meaning "each time". In the pl. tamak derivatives had a complete paradigm being synonymous to the pl. forms in iluunnak. However, Bourquin implies that they were not in as common a use as the latter in his day though they might have been earlier. They are not used in the pl. at all in MEL, but they do occur in the 'dl., as they did in EEL. Curiously enough the pronouns in iluunnak did not have a dl. paradigm then.

tamak

MEL EEL

1. 'dl.
Abs. tamannuk Abs. tamamniuk
Rel. 
Rel. 
Mod. tamattinik tamapingnik
Loc. tamattini tamapingne

2. dl.
Abs. tamattik Abs. tamaptik
Rel. 
Rel. 

Parallels for all the above dl. endings are to be found in EEL
dl. noun inflection.

1. dl. MEL -nnuk (abs.), EEL -nük (abs.-rel.)
   1. dl. possessor—sg. possessum, rel.
     EEL nuna-nük "of the land of us two"
2. dl. MEL -ttik (abs.), EEL -ptik (abs.-rel.)
   2. dl. possessor—sg. possessum, rel.
     EEL nuna-p-tik "of the land of you two"
3. dl. MEL -gik (abs.), -gita (rel.), EEL -mik (abs.-rel.)
   The 3. dl. endings go back to different suffixes in EEL and MEL. EEL
   -mik is the ending of the reflexive 3. dl. possessor—sg. possessum, rel.
   (incidentally, identical with the reflexive 3. pl. possessor—sg.
   possessum, rel.), e.g. nunamik "of the land of them two". The r in
   tamarmik comes from the final uvular which the stem had in EEL: tamak.
   The MEL -gik and -gita go back to the abs. and rel. forms respectively
   of the 3. sg./dl./pl. possessor—dl. possessum, e.g. EEL nunâgik "his
   two lands/the two lands of them two/their two lands", nunâkita "of his
   two lands/of the two lands of them two/of their two lands". If the k
in the rel. form in EEL indeed represented a voiceless velar stop, and was not a mistake in transcription the only explanation for the MEL
-rita would seem to be that /k/ has become voiced intervocalically and fricativized to /g/.

It can be said as a general observation about the extended personal pronouns that on the one hand, the MEL forms show several morphologically archaic features, but on the other hand the pronominal system has undergone several changes.

As far as morphology is concerned the differences between MEL and EEL forms are those caused by assimilation and Schneider's Rule.

E.g. assimilation: EEL kissimnik > MEL Risinnik "only me", EEL kissipta > MEL kisitta "only we", EEL kissipse > MEL kisiti "only you (pl.)", EEL tamannuk > MEL tamannuk "both of us"; assimilation and Schneider's Rule: EEL kissiptingne > MEL kisittini "in only us", EEL illünarpit > MEL iluunnapit "all of you (sg.)", EEL illünarne/illünangne / MEL illuunnáni "in all of you (sg.)". The /r/ or /n/ in the EEL forms in the last two examples are a reflex of the final uvular of the EEL stem illunaK.

The single /m/ in the l. sg. kisimá "only I" and the ending -vit in the 2. sg. kisivit "only you" show that the stem is still kisi, without the final /k/, which is a sign of noun stems in MEL. In several instances Schneider's Rule has not been carried right through, e.g. MEL iluunnatínik "us all", where the Rule would have allowed for a second /nn/ from EEL illünptingnik in the manner of MEL illutínik "our house/houses" (mod.) from EEL illuptingnik. There is no obvious reason for these "irregular" forms. They can perhaps be attributed to the conservative character of prounoun morphology.
EEL used contracted forms in the 3. person, in which the intervocalic /n/ of the suffix dropped, e.g. kisiat from kissingat "only him", kisäta from kisängita "only them", illünät from illünangat "all of him", illünâne from illünangane "in all of him". kisiat and illünät have the older 3. sg. rel. ending -at. The normal ending, even in EEL, was -ata. The contracted forms occur in MEL, too, mostly in the adverbial cases of iluunnana "all of him", but on the whole they are not as common as in EEL except kisiani in the sense "only", which is always in this form.

We have already mentioned that pronouns in tamak have fallen out of use in the sg. and pl. Other systemic changes concern the 3. person pronouns of each stem. Before we discuss the 3. person forms specifically we need to examine the suffixes in general. Excepting some 3. person forms the extended personal pronouns do not formally distinguish between an abs. and a rel. case. We found this to be true also of the personal pronouns. The case can only be deduced from the context, e.g. (1) kisima maaniivuna "Only I am here", (2) kisima takuvaga "Only I see it". In the first example kisima is an abs. form as a subject of an intransitive verb, in the second a rel. form as a subject of a transitive verb.

The suffixes of the abs.-rel. are generally those of a rel. case of a noun with a possessive suffix attached, but there are some instances where the abs. ending is used. These are all to be found among the 3. person forms. From the point of view of EEL it may have seemed that the 1. and 2. pl. forms illünata and illünase were also exceptions, and that, in fact, was Bourquin's interpretation, but we are inclined to see


an early instance of Schneider's rule working in these forms. In any case -ta of illūnata cannot be termed an abs. ending, which is -vut for the 1. pl. possessor as in nunavut "our land". However, the 3. person pronouns in stems iluunnak and tamaak clearly have abs. forms: MEL iluunnani (reflexive 3. sg. abs.), iluunnana (3. sg. abs.), iluunnatik (reflexive 3. pl. abs.), iluunnanit (3. pl. abs.) and tamaagik (3. dl. abs.). In EEL there were only illūnane and illūnatik with abs. endings, the rest had equivalents with a rel. case ending; for MEL iluunnana EEL had illūnāt (< illūnangat), for iluunnanit EEL had illūnaita (< illūnangita). For MEL tamaagik EEL had tamarmik, which has a rel. case ending though not of the same suffix as -gik, as we explained earlier (p. 25). It is here, in the extended personal pronouns, that the abs. and rel. case endings of the reflexive 3. person are still to be found in MEL. Abs. sg. -mi in iluunnani, abs. pl. -tik in iluunnatik, rel. sg. -mi in kisimi and rel. pl. -mik in kisimik.

In EEL the two forms for the 3. abs.-rel. had a differentiated use. The reflexive 3. person forms kissime, kissimik, illūnane, illūnatik and tamarmik were used for the actor, the 3. person forms kissiät, kissēta, illūnät and illūnaita for the non-actor or patient. The dl. tamarmik lacks the corresponding non-actor form in EEL. As the forms with the reflexive 3. person suffixes appeared mostly as "he/they" in a translation into Indo-European languages, and the others as "him/them" the former were termed nominative, the latter accusative forms by the 19th century grammarians. E.g. EEL kissimik aivigivat "they alone go to him", EEL kissēta pijomavakka "they only are my wanted things" or, more in accordance with Indo-European structure, "only them do I want".
The differentiated usage of the reflexive and non-reflexive 3.
person forms was not fully maintained any more in Bourquin's time
(Bourquin 1891: 77), for the reflexive 3. forms were encroaching upon
the domain of the non-reflexive forms. This trend continues in MEL.
From the kisi stem the non-reflexive 3. abs.-rel. is no longer used.
kisimi and kisimik continue to represent both abs. and rel. cases, e.g.
kisimi qaivuk "Only he comes" (abs.), kisimi takuvaa "Only he sees it"
(rel.). In both these examples kisimi is the actor. It is used for
the non-actor in the following examples. una kisimi pigumajaga "I
want only this", kisimik takuvaagit "He sees only them".

While the system has become impoverished as far as kisi
derivatives are concerned it has become more elaborate for iluunnak
and tamak derivatives. The two abs. forms of iluunnak stem, iluunnani
and iluunnana in the sg., iluunnatik and iluunnanit in the pl. have
quite synonymous abs. case usage, e.g. iluunnatik/luunnanit piugijakka
"I like them all". There is now a regular rel. case with the 3. person
suffix for rel. case usage, iluunnanata in the sg. and iluunnanita in
the pl. E.g. iluunnanita takuvaana "They all see me". The corresponding
dl. forms are tamaagik and tamaagita, e.g. tamaagik piugijaakka "I like
them both", tamaagita takuvaana "They both see me".

The adverbial cases of the 3. person pronouns are based on the
non-reflexive 3. person suffixes. Those of the stem kisi are not
commonly used any more except kisiani, which is originally a loc. form
kisiani "in it only", but is now used exclusively as an adverb "only".
It does occur very frequently in MEL because the combination of kisiani
plus the appropriate case of the noun replaces the adverbial case forms
kisinanik, kisinanut, kisininnik etc. which are avoided in MEL. E.g. 
taatsumuna kisiana uqaalavuna "I talked to him only". To say kisinanut. 
uqaalavunā is not judged completely unacceptable by modern speakers, but 
they do not like to use it.

The stem ilûnâk was obviously felt to be more of an independent 
word than the other two stems in EEL because it was possible to say 
ilûnâra Kuviasukpok more or less synonymously with ilûnama 
Kuviasukpunga "All of me is happy". Though these particular sentences 
were judged idiomatically suspect by our informants the fact about the 
ambivalent character of the iluunnak stem remains. One can say 
iluunnaga "my whole being", iluunnavit "your whole being" etc., but 
ever does iluunnak occur without a suffix.

There is a difference in the notional meaning between the sg. 
and the pl. pronouns of the iluunnak stem. The sg. pronoun express 
wholeness, i.e. qualitative allness, whereas the pl. pronouns express 
number, i.e. quantitative allness. This being the case it is easy to 
understand why the sg. pronouns, especially the 1. and 2. persons, are 
not often used. Instead iluunnak is treated like an ordinary noun. 
E.g. noun: iluunnaga aputimut saujausimajuk "My whole being was 
covered in snow"; pronoun: iluunnama aputimut saujausimavuna "All of 
me was covered in snow". The nominal usage of iluunnak occurs in the 
pl. too, but then it can bring about a deeper distinction in meaning 
than in the sg. E.g. noun: iluunnavit aputimut saujausimajut "Our 
whole beings were covered in snow", i.e. "we were completely covered 
in snow"; pronoun: iluunnata aputimut saujausimavugut "We were all 
covered in snow".
In the dl. the quantitative and qualitative distinction can be made by using different stems. The tamak forms express numerical quantity, e.g. tamannuk "both of us". Should it be necessary to express the wholeness of the two objects dl. forms in iluunnak may be used: 1. dl. iluunnavuk "all of us two", 2. dl. iluunnatik "all of you two", 3. dl. iluunnaagik "all of them two".

Examples

kisimik qaujimajut "Only they know"; kisitsinik takujuk "He sees only you (pl.)"; kisivit uppigivagit "I believe only you (sg.)"; uvannut kisiini qalivut "They come to us only"; pigutikkanik kisiini kamajuk "He guards my things only"; iluunnama takuaana "He sees all of me"; iluunnapit saujausimavutit "You (sg.) are all covered";

iluunnata maaniivugut "We are all here"; iluunnana/iluunnani sakqilaajuk "All of it is in sight"; taamina iluunnana/iluunnani pigumajaga "I want it all"; taakkunina iluunnaninnik pigumavuna "I want them all"; tamannuk iluqavuguk "Both of us have a house"; tamattinik plutsavuna "I like both of you"; tamaagik iluunnaagik sauwaakka "I bury them both completely"; tamaaginnut uqaalavugut "We talked to them both".

3. Reflexive Pronouns

There are two reflexive pronouns in EL imminik (EEL ingminik) and namminik (EEL nangminik). Their morphology is so defective in MEL that having mentioned the pronouns we have almost presented their inflection. There is only one other form immiqut belonging to the same stem as imminik.
Imminik is composed of the stem ik + the reflexive 3. mod. ending -minik. This word was inflected in all six adverbial cases, sg. and pl., in EEL; but as stated above only mod. imminik and vial. immigut are used today. It is no more acceptable to say, as in EEL, ingmine issumakarpok "He thinks in his own mind:"

The analysis into the stem nak + the reflexive 3. mod. ending -minik for namminik is not corroborated by EEL nangminek, but to us it still seems a likely one, though admittedly speculative. namminik may go back to an earlier stage of the language than imminik so that it has become fossilized in that one form losing the identity of its parts. The corresponding word in Western Eskimo is uninflected

nakmin (Hinz 1944: 36), which perhaps incorporates the Western reflexive 3. sg. rel. ending -me: nak-me-in. With the identity of the endings of namminik gone the final /k/ could easily have been confused with the word final /K/, especially if this was still felt to be a stop in that position, giving rise to the form /naminik/. A further sign of fossilization is that namminik can be used as an ordinary noun with possessive suffixes of any person attached.

Not only namminik but also imminik has lost its reference to the reflexive 3. person. Both words can now refer to any person or number.

When namminik has possessive suffixes attached it has only nominal (adjectival) usage in MEL meaning "own", but in EEL it could also be used as a reflexive pronoun just like unpossessed nangminek. E.g. EEL nangminipsingnik pijumavok "He wants you yourselves". In MEL namminitsinik pigumavuk can only mean "He wants the things that are your own".
While there is no number or person restriction in the use of namminik and namminik there is a difference in meaning, namminik "myself, yourself" etc. expresses first and foremost the reflexive object. It can also emphasize the subject.

Examples

(1) namminik piutsajuk "He likes himself"; namminik piutsavugut "We like ourselves"; namminik takuvutit "You see yourself"; kamatsianinama namminik kapivuna "Because I am careless I stab myself"; (2) namminik taimaak uqalauqutit "You yourself said so"; qiniakgqvugut namminik "We will come ourselves"; taikkua namminik pulaagiattunik takuvut "They themselves saw the visitors"; namminik isumagaquna "having thought about it myself";

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". This meaning is related to the basic meaning of the mod. case. The difference between imminik and the use of namminik to emphasize the subject is sometimes very subtle.

Examples

imminik ikiniattuk "It will light by itself"; imminik ukuajut "They close by themselves"; namminiga imminik pisujuk "My own little one walks by himself"; suunujuugama imminik piivaga "Because I am strong I take it off by myself"; imminik isumattaaluna "having thought about it myself (without anybody putting the thought in my head)"; imminik tuquvuk "He died through his own hand".

The ending -gut in immigut is an allomorph of the vial. ending
which occurs with certain suffixes and in the traditional plural ending -\text{tigut}. It is not, however, used with the reflexive 3.
suffixes in the ordinary noun inflection in MEL, e.g. nunammikut
"through his land", qatanutimmikut "through his cousins". EEL had both
\text{immigut} and \text{immikut}. \text{immigut} means "by oneself" in the sense "alone, separately".

Examples

\text{appaniniakqutit} \text{immigut} "You will run alone"; \text{gamutiqavugut}
\text{immigut} "We had a sledge just for us"; \text{tujulaakqagit} \text{immigut} "I will
send you something separately"; \text{illugusiqalaukquvuguk} \text{immigutjuta} "We
two had a room each".

4. Interrogative Pronouns

The stem \text{nallik} is a base for the following pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MEL</th>
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<th>EEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nallivut</td>
<td>nallita</td>
<td>nallivut</td>
<td>nellipta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;which one of us&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;which of us&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nallisi</td>
<td>nallisi</td>
<td>nellise</td>
<td>nelliipse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;which one of you&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;which of you&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nalli(\eta)a</td>
<td>nalli(\eta)ata</td>
<td>nelliat/</td>
<td>nelli/</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(nellingat)</td>
<td>(nellingita)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;which one of them&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The relationship here between the possessive suffix and the stem is not so much a possessive relation as some kind of partitive relation. The possessive suffixes express the group which the entity specified by the stem is part of. Therefore we prefer to use the terms referee rather than possessor and referent rather than possessum when discussing the pronouns in nallik, and also those in asik and ilak in the next subdivision of this chapter. The relationship presupposes a pl. referee in the case of the pronouns in nallik.

The MEL and EEL forms look rather different at first sight, but the difference is more orthographical than real. Here we have an instance where a raised allophone of /a/ has given rise to its spelling with e in EEL. This allophonic spelling is found in many other words in EEL, contiguously to palatal sounds, e.g. tæsek (Bourquin)/tessek (Erdmann) "lake" (MEL tasik), senniane "by his side" (MEL saniani), tellimat "five" (MEL tallimat). The length of /l/ is more problematic. To follow Bourquin's own orthographic rules one would have to interpret the /l/ short, for nowhere is there a spelling with the diacritic above e, which would make /l/ definitely long. Besides all Erdmann's entries of this stem group are spelled with a single l, e.g. heliet and nelit. On the other hand we know that the use of diacritics was not completely consistent. An unconditioned sound change EEL/l/ > MEL/ll/ seems rather unlikely. Therefore it would appear reasonable to assume that even EEL had /ll/ in this stem.
Otherwise the MEL forms of these pronouns follow directly from, their EEL forms, affected by the same changes as ordinary nouns with corresponding suffixes. We observe the effects of assimilation and Schneider's Rule in the rel. case forms nallita "which one/which of us" (1. pl. referee) and nallisi "which one/which of you" (2. pl. referee). The loc. of these two pronouns would be nallitinni (EEL nelliptingne) "in which one of us/in which of us" and nallisini (EEL nellipsingne) "in which one of you/in which of you".

In nallia "which one of them" and nalliniit "which of them" and their other case forms there is an additional difference between MEL and EEL: the marking of the number of the referee and referent is different. We give below the complete paradigms of nallia and nalliniit with their EEL equivalents to show the differences in detail. The shorter forms with the intervocalic /η/ omitted are as common as the longer forms in MEL in the sg., but not as readily used in the pl. In EEL the shorter forms were perhaps more common altogether.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. pl. referee</th>
<th>Sg. referent</th>
<th>Pl. referent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>nalli(ŋ)a</td>
<td>nelliat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>nalli(ŋ)ata</td>
<td>nellita</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>nalli(ŋ)anik</td>
<td>nellianik</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>nalli(ŋ)ani</td>
<td>nellianne</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>nalli(ŋ)anit</td>
<td>nelliannit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>nalli(ŋ)anut</td>
<td>nelliannut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vial. nalli(ŋ)agut nelliatigut nalliŋnikut nellitigut
Aeq. nalli(ŋ)atut nelliatitut nalliŋittut nellititut

The /t/ at the end of the EEL nelliat marks the pl. referee. It is in evidence in all the adverbial cases, too, either assimilated to /n/ or in the vial. and aeq. pl. endings tigut and -titut. MEL does not mark the number of the referee. Therefore we have nalli(ŋ)a. To make further conclusions we would need to have a paradigm with the 3. sg. referee, which of course is semantically incompatible in this case. By comparing the above forms with those of nunanja and nunanit (Chapter I, 2) we can conclude that nalliŋa and nalliŋit follow the same pattern of marking the number of the referee (possessor) and referent (possessum): only the number of the referent is marked in MEL, and it is doubly marked in most of the case forms. E.g. sg. referent: nalliŋanit "from which one of them", pl. referent nalliŋinnit "from which of them", where the suffix vowel is /i/ as opposed to /a/ in the sg. and the pl. marker /t/ assimilated to /n/ before the case ending -nit.

There are not only morphological but also semantic differences between MEL and EEL usage. Whereas nalli, nalliŋit and so on now are interrogative pronouns first and foremost they had a generalizing meaning in Bourquin's time "whichever one of them", "whichever of them", and by derivation "any one of them" "every one of them", "all of them". Only secondarily were they used as interrogatives. In fact, Erdmann does not give interrogative meanings for these pronouns at all. In MEL they can have generalizing meaning only when extended with a generalizing affix -taminat. They can also add an enclitic suffix -luumnit and then have a negative meaning in a sentence which contains a negative.
Examples

nallia qaijuun? "Which one of them is coming?"; nallianik pigumaviin? "Which one of them do you want?"; nallininnik pigumaviin? "Which of them do you want?"; nallitinnik ilaqagumaviin? "Which one of us/which of us do you want to go with you?"; nallisinni gaijuqagasuavaa? "Is/are any of you coming?" (lit. "among which of you are there any intending to come?"); nallianit muutakaak tillitauusimajuun? "From which one of them was the car stolen?"

With tuinnak

nallianituinnak tigusigit "Take any of them"; nallituinnavut qaisuuk "Any one of us can come". We can see from these examples that -tuinnak can go before or after the suffix.

With -luuniit/-luuniit

nallinilluuniit tikinnituk "None of them came"; nallialuuniit tikinnituk "Not one of them came".

5. Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronouns have the stems asik and ilak as their base. The former means "another", but it is not used without possessive suffixes. The latter can also be an ordinary noun meaning "companion, relative, member, part", but even as a noun it is normally used with possessive suffixes. The morphology of the indefinite pronouns is exactly like that of an ordinary noun with a possessive suffix attached. The pronouns in asik can have the whole range of paradigmatic forms, in other words the referee can be any number or person and the referential number can be sg. or pl. The pronouns in ilak are more
limited in number since certain suffixes are excluded for semantic reasons. We will return to this point after listing the pronouns first.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>asiga</td>
<td>asimma</td>
<td>assiga</td>
<td>assima</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. sg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>asikka</td>
<td>asimma</td>
<td>assikka</td>
<td>assima</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. pl.</td>
<td>sg./</td>
<td>asivut</td>
<td>asitta</td>
<td>assivut</td>
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<td>sg.</td>
<td>asiit</td>
<td>asippit</td>
<td>assit</td>
<td>assivit</td>
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<td>2. sg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>asitit</td>
<td>asippit</td>
<td>assitit</td>
<td>assivit</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. pl.</td>
<td>sg./</td>
<td>asisi</td>
<td>asitsi</td>
<td>assise</td>
<td>assipse</td>
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<td>pl.</td>
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<td>sg.</td>
<td>asi(n)a</td>
<td>asi(n)ata</td>
<td>assia</td>
<td>assiata</td>
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<td>3. sg.</td>
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<td>pl.</td>
<td>asinit</td>
<td>asinita</td>
<td>assingit</td>
<td>assingita</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. pl.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The pronouns are as follows:

- **MEL**: "another than me"
- **EEL**: "others than me"

- **MEL**: "another/others than us"
- **EEL**: "another/others than you"

- **MEL**: "another than he"
- **EEL**: "others than he"

- **MEL**: "another than they"
- **EEL**: "others than they"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>(1). sg.</th>
<th>(1). pl.</th>
<th>(2). sg.</th>
<th>(2). pl.</th>
<th>(3). sg.</th>
<th>(3). pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>(i)layut</td>
<td>(ilatta)</td>
<td>(illavut)</td>
<td>(ilatsi)</td>
<td>(illase)</td>
<td>(ilan)</td>
<td>(ilanitu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>&quot;one/some of us&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;one/some of you&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;some of them&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of semantic restrictions \(ilak\) derivatives are not formed with the \(1\). and \(2\). sg. suffixes, and even \(ilana\), with the \(3\). sg. suffix, can only refer to a thing, not to a person. Theoretically \(ilana\) could also mean "one of them" in \(MEL\), but it is not used in that meaning. The numeral atausi"one" is resorted to to express that, e.g. \(alani\) atausimik \(pigung\) \(\text{I want one of the books}\). In \(EEL\) \(illangat\) was used in the sense "one of them". Only the pronouns with the \(1\). and \(2\). pl. suffixes, \(ilayut\) and \(ilasi\) have both sg. and pl. referential meaning, exactly like nouns with \(1\). and \(2\). pl. possessive suffixes: \(nunavut\) "our land/lands", \(nunasi\) "your land/lands". To overcome the ambiguity in the number of these two pronouns \(EEL\) used, optionally, the following paraphrases: \(illapta\) \(illangat\) "one of us", \(illapta\) \(illangit\) "some of us", \(illase\) \(illangat\) "one of you", \(illase\) \(illangit\) "some of you". Their modern equivalents would be \(ilatta\) \(ilana\) and \(ilatta\) \(ilanit\), \(ilatsi\) \(ilana\) and \(ilatsi\) \(ilanit\), but they are felt to be unnecessary circumlocutions. It is questionable whether they can be regarded as pronominal expressions because the basic meaning of \(ilak\) asserts itself, e.g. \(ilatta\) \(ilana\) "a companion of our companions".
*Ilatta* and *ilanit* "companions of our companions".

As the rel. case forms *asimma* and *asippit* prove the stem for these and related pronouns has to be construed in MEL as *asik* with the final /k/. The inflection of *asik* with the 1. sg. suffixes generally follows the innovative pattern in the adverbial cases, e.g. loc. *asigan* "in somebody else but me", term. *asiganu* "from somebody else but me", but forms based on the traditional inflection also occur. According to that the two preceding forms would be *asinni* (EEL *assimme*) and *asinnut* (EEL *assimmnit*). However, *asinni* and *asinnut* are now regarded primarily as forms of *asitit* "another than you", corresponding to EEL *assignmne* and *assignmnut*.

*Asitit* "another than you", *asitit* "other than you" and *ilasi* "one/some of you" will serve as examples of indefinite pronoun inflection in MEL.

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asit</td>
<td>asippit</td>
<td>asippit</td>
<td>asinnik</td>
<td>asinnit</td>
<td>asinnut</td>
<td>asikkut</td>
<td>asittet</td>
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<td>asinni</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In general, indefinite pronouns exhibit the same morphological changes as other pronouns with possessive suffixes, and indeed the same as nouns with possesive suffixes. Retrogressive assimilation and
Schneider's Rule are again the factors which are behind most changes.
Changes of other type are the replacement of -t by -it as an abs.
ending in asit "another than you" (EEL assit), -pit as the rel. ending
in asippit "somebody else's (than yours)/some other people's (than yours)"
(EEL assivit), and a change concerning the marking of number of the
referee and referent in the pronouns with the 3. person suffixes.
Here we make the same observations as about nallia and nallinit (II.4),
namely that the plurality of the referee does not show in the form, only
that of the referent. The mod. case of the six indefinite pronouns with
the 3. person suffixes will illustrate the point.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{asınänik} & \quad \text{"another than him"} & \text{ilanänik} & \quad \text{"some of it"} \\
\text{asıninnik} & \quad \text{"others than him"} & \text{ilaninnik} & \quad \text{"some of them"}
\end{align*}
\]

A reflexive 3. person referee is also possible among the
indefinite pronouns, but as has been said before, apart from kisimi,
kisimik, iluunnni and iluunnatik, the reflexive 3. person endings
occur only in the adverbial cases. We have attested the mod. forms
asimminik "another than he himself", it could also mean "others than
he himself/somebody else but they themselves/others than they themselves",
and ilamminik "some of them themselves", theoretically also "some of it
itself".

Examples

\[
\begin{align*}
asigausinajuk & \quad \text{"It was somebody else but me"}; \quad asiganut \\
ilinniatitauniakqusi & \quad \text{"You will be taught by somebody else but me"}.
\end{align*}
\]
illuk taanna asippit pina "That house belongs to somebody else but you";
tusasimavugut asitsinut "We heard it from some other people than you";
uma titigutik piumnituk, asianik pitaaligut "This pen is no good, get another one"; inutsiat asimminik nalligusujut "Good people love their neighbours" (lit. "their others"); allana asinit aniqqamijut "His other books are at home"; allana ilanit aniqqamijut "His other books are at home"; or "Some of his books are at home". The difference between the last two sentences in Eskimo is that the first one implies that there are two sets of books; one of which is here and the other one at home while the second one says that the complement of the books here is at home.

niaquujaup ilananiq pigumaviin? "Do you want some of the bread?";
ilasi qaujimavus! "Some of you know"; ilamma ilanita natsaniakqaa "Some of my relatives will take him along"; gupannuat ilanit nasauligaanuvut "Some of the birds were geese"; pij aagitutik ilamminik tigusiqautitsijut "They allowed some of themselves to be caught".

Ilananiq, the loc. case of ilana, has acquired a special meaning "sometimes, now and then", E.g. ilanani kitsaqtattavuna "Sometimes I am troubled". Earlier the contracted form illane was used, but the full form is preferred in NEI.
NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1Western Eskimo has a personal pronoun also for the 3rd person. In one dialect it is tle/tlínkë/tlit (Barnum 1901: 68-69), in another itle/itluk/l̓tlait (Hinz 1944: 31-32).

2In MEL questions, the utterance final syllable is lengthened and final stops are converted to corresponding nasals.

3Kleinschmidt called them "uneigentliche personwörter" as opposed to the "eigentliche" uvanga and ivdlit, but in "uneigentliche personwörter" he also included what we have termed reflexive and interrogative pronouns (Kleinschmidt 1851: 42-43).
CHAPTER III

DEMONSTRATIVES

1. General

As pronouns demonstratives are a very prolific class of words in Eskimo languages. In an article concerning Eskimo-Aleut relationship Bergsland has listed some 25 demonstrative stems which these languages share (Bergsland 1951: 173-175). Though no Eskimo dialect uses all of them it is still indicative of their great number. Western Eskimo is richer in demonstratives than Eastern Eskimo (Bergsland 1956: 153). Kleinschmidt mentions 12 stems for Greenlandic (Kleinschmidt 1851: 21).

MEL has reflexes of the following 11 EEL stems: mat "here", uv "here", ḳagv "there", ḳm "there (out of sight)", ay "there in the north", ak "there in the south", ḳak "up there", ḳuk "down there", ḳk "over there", ḳik "up there", ḳam "down there". (The exact senses of these are discussed later). This is four less than Bourquin mentions. The four not recognized by our informants are ḳing "there (in the north)", ḳam "there inside", ḳa "there outside" and ḳig "there outside". The notions of the last three are expressed in MEL by intransitive participles, e.g. iluaniittuk "the one inside" or illumituk "the one indoors" (lit. "the one in the house"). ḳilimittuk "the one outside". ḳing "there (in the north)" may have merged with other demonstrative stems, semantically with ay and morphologically with ḳk. This question
will be taken up later when derivation of the demonstrative pronouns is discussed.

The demonstrative stems form the base for three sets of words.

1. Uninflected words composed of the stem plus /a/. These words have an exclamatory force, and therefore will be called demonstrative exclamations.

2. A set whose members are composed of the stem plus one of the four local case endings. They have an adverbial meaning. We shall call these demonstrative adverbs.

3. Words with complete number and case inflection. The abs. sg. consists of the stem plus -na, the abs. pl. of the stem plus -kua. These words are demonstrative pronouns.

With the exception of tagv all the demonstrative stems, and only them, can have an anaphoric prefix ta(k) added. The demonstrative exclamations mostly occur with the prefix ta(k).

The Table on page 47 gives a survey of all three sets of demonstratives in MEL and EEL. Column 1 contains the stems and their alternants as deduced from an analysis of the EEL forms. ta(k) forms are not included in the table except in column 2 because most of the demonstrative exclamations only occur in this form. The basic meaning, also given in column 1, does not, of course, apply as a translation of all three sets of words (i.e. exclamations, adverbs, and pronouns).

Column 3 gives demonstrative adverbs in the loc. case. Column 4 gives abs. sg. column 5 abs. pl. (also rel. pl.) of the demonstrative pronouns. The numbering of the stems has no material significance. It only serves to facilitate discussion.
### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
<td>MEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
<td>MEL</td>
<td>EEL</td>
<td>MEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>mat/ma &quot;here&quot;</td>
<td>tamatja</td>
<td>tamadja</td>
<td>maani</td>
<td>mâne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>uv/u &quot;here&quot;</td>
<td>uvvalu</td>
<td>ubva</td>
<td>uvani</td>
<td>ovane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>tagv &quot;there&quot;</td>
<td>tagga</td>
<td>tagva</td>
<td>tavnani</td>
<td>tagvane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>im &quot;there out of sight&quot;</td>
<td>tâim</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>(taiman n)</td>
<td>imane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>av &quot;there in the north&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>tava</td>
<td>avani</td>
<td>avane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>ak/â &quot;there in the south&quot;</td>
<td>akka(?)</td>
<td>akka(?)</td>
<td>aani</td>
<td>âne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>pak/pa &quot;up there&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>takpaga</td>
<td>paani</td>
<td>pâne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>uk/un &quot;down there&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>taunna</td>
<td>unani</td>
<td>unane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>ik &quot;over there&quot;</td>
<td>taik</td>
<td>taik</td>
<td>ikani</td>
<td>ikane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>pik/&quot;up there&quot;</td>
<td>tappika</td>
<td>takpika</td>
<td>pikani</td>
<td>pikane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>kan &quot;down there&quot;</td>
<td>takanna</td>
<td>kanani</td>
<td>kanane</td>
<td>kanna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on the Table

A. General

1. Demonstrative exclamations are apparently not formed of all stems any more in MEL.

2. There are other gaps in the Table than those in column 2. tagv does not form demonstrative pronouns (3). Of im there is only a remnant of a demonstrative adverb in the abl. form taimannat "since that time". EEL had imani "recently (4)".

3. The anaphoric prefix has the form tak before the stems pak (7) and pik (10), and perhaps it is also part of the stem tagv (3). With all other stems it is ta.

4. For several of the demonstratives two stem alternants have to be postulated in order to account for the various forms. E.g. maani and makua are based on the alternant ma, tamatja and manna or mat (1). paani is derived from pa, but panna and pakkua from pak (7).

5. Assimilation plays a role in shaping the forms of the demonstratives in both EEL and MEL. As examples we may mention mat+na > manna (1), im+na > inna (4), pik+na > pinna > pëna (10), im+kua > ipkua > ikkua (4).

6. The alternation panna - tappana "that one up there" and pinna - tappina "that one up there" are instances of the effects of Schneider's Rule. E.g. the morpheme string tak-pak-na assimilates to tap-pan-na and reduces to tappana.
B. Stem Specific

Stems (2), (3). In the Table we have followed the traditional listing of the demonstrative stems by Kleinschmidt, Bourquin and others, but stems (2) and (3) should perhaps be regarded as alternants of one basic stem. What was said above in Note 3 supports this view. The discrepancy in meaning is only apparent, caused by the prefix tak. Moreover, their defective paradigms complement each other. As was pointed out earlier the tagy stem lacks pronoun forms. Likewise there is no ta form for the demonstrative adverbs uvani "here", uvannat "from here" and so on. The pronoun forms are una "this", ukua "these", taanna "that" and taakkua "those". These must be derived from different stem alternants: una, ukua from u and taanna, taakkua from uv. The derivation of the first two forms is obvious. The steps of the latter derivations can be reconstructed as ta+uv+Oa > taavna > EEL tāma > MEL taanna and ta+uv+kua > taavkua > EEL tāpkua > MEL taakkua.

Assimilation of the vowels /a/ and /u/ is unique to this pronoun amongst the demonstratives, and probably triggered off by the labial /v/ in the stem. Assimilation of /a/ and /u/ is also to be observed in the exclamatory taava (EEL tāva). The EEL form ubva is another form derived from uv. Its modern equivalent occurs only in the combination uvvalu, where -lu is an enclitic suffix meaning "and". The meaning of uvvalu is "or", which has no obvious connection with the original meaning of the parts.

Stems (5), (9). The demonstrative stems are all monosyllabic resulting generally in a bisyllabic pronoun (abs. sg.). However, two
pronouns, avanna "that one in the north" and ikinna "that one over there" have an extra syllable, which has come about through reduplication. In EEL ikingna and ikikkoa were reduplicated. anna (avna) and apkoa were non-reduplicated formations of av, but their ta forms did show reduplication: tāvamma (MEL taavanna) and tāvapkoa (MEL taavakkua). (One of our informants used even pikinna on an occasion though he normally said pinna).

The lost stem ing was perhaps another variant of ik. The derivatives of ing in EEL were īngane, īngna and the little used pl. ikkna. The basic meaning of both īng and ik was quite generally "there" (Bourquin 1891: 89), but secondarily they could mean "there in the north" and "there in the south" respectively. The latter meanings were claimed to be applicable only at relatively short distances while av and ak derivatives for "there in the north" and "there in the south" could be used without any restriction. MEL ikani and related words have certainly lost any reference they may have had to any specific point of compass. The same could have happened to īng derivatives, paving way to the merger of the stems īng and ik in MEL.¹

Stem (6). The ta form of aani "there in the south" is taagani, that of anna "the one in the south" is taaganna. In both of them the /k/ of the stem ak has become voiced and merged with the velar fricative between two a's. In addition taaganna shows reduplication: ta-ak-ak-na > ta-ag-an-na > taaganna.
2. Demonstrative Exclamations

As mentioned already demonstrative exclamations are uninflected particles consisting of the demonstrative stem plus the ending /a/. There is only one form which shows irregularity in adding the /a/: tamatja "look, these here". The /j/ probably reflects yet another, older stem alternate. tamatja has an archaic sound to it in MEL as, indeed, have some of the other forms of the same stem. It appears that only the demonstrative adverbs maani, maannat, mauna and mauna and the abs. sg. manna are in common use.

/gg/ in tagga is most likely to be an assimilation of -gy- in the stem tagya. tagga is often pronounced [taxxa] or even [taxxa].

Demonstrative exclamations have meanings such as "here (it is)", "see up there", "over there" etc. according to the basic notion of the stem. Some of them have acquired special idiomatic usages, more or less removed from the original meaning. uvalu "or" has been mentioned already (III, 1). Others will be illustrated by the examples below.

The inclusion of the word akka in the demonstrative exclamations is somewhat doubtful. Formally it could be derived from the stem ak "there in the south", but notionally there is no connection, for akka is an expression used when giving something "here you are", "please have it". Like tamatja akka is also archaic in MEL.

Examples With Original Meaning.

tagga Taami "Here's Tom!"; tagga pigumajaga "There it is what I want!"; taika napaattuaaluit "Look over there, big trees!"; tappika kitjautik "Up there they are, scissors!"; tamatja pigumajakka "There
they are, "all the things that I want!". tamatja in MEL, as far as it is used; presupposes plurality of the object referred to. So did tamadja in EEL, but only notional plurality, not formal, e.g. EEL tamadja pijomajara "There it is all I want".

Examples With Derived Meaning.

A taima "That's enough"./"That's all"; taavali (taava + enclitic -li "but") "That's it"./"I give in"./"No more". (Used in a mood of resignation in an adverse situation). taava qiatualimmimat anigiigivuk "There now, as soon as it starts crying out he goes again"; tagga "There now"./"I told you so"; tagga ajagannit siqumivuk "Look now, when you pushed it off it broke".

3. Demonstrative Adverbs

These words are only inflected in the four local cases with no number inflection. They have special endings which correspond in meaning to the ordinary noun case endings. They are added directly to the stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Demonstrative Adverb</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>-mit</td>
<td>-annat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>-mut</td>
<td>-una</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>-kkut</td>
<td>-uuna</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Examples of Demonstrative Adverb Paradigms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loc.</th>
<th>Mel</th>
<th>Eel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tavvani</td>
<td>tagvane</td>
<td>(in) there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>tavvannat</td>
<td>tagvangat</td>
<td>from there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>tavvuña</td>
<td>tagvunga</td>
<td>(to) there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>tavvuuna</td>
<td>tagvuña</td>
<td>through there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>mašni</td>
<td>måne</td>
<td>(in) here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>maannat</td>
<td>māngat</td>
<td>from here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>mauna</td>
<td>maunga</td>
<td>(to) here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>mauna</td>
<td>mauna</td>
<td>through here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>ikani</td>
<td>ikane</td>
<td>(in) over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>ikannat</td>
<td>ikāngat</td>
<td>from over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>ikuna</td>
<td>ikunga</td>
<td>(to) over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>ikuuna</td>
<td>ikūna</td>
<td>through over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>avani</td>
<td>avane</td>
<td>there in the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>avannat</td>
<td>avāngat</td>
<td>from there in the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>avuna</td>
<td>avunga</td>
<td>(to) there in the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>avuuna</td>
<td>avūna</td>
<td>through there in the north</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formation and inflection of the demonstrative adverbs is very regular. *tavvani* and related forms have assimilated the EEL consonant cluster `-py-`. Phonetically, the lengthened consonant has become devoiced
in MEL so that *tavvani* for instance is pronounced [tăffăni]. There is
one inconsistency in the preceding paradigms, the vial. form *mauna*,
where the /u/ is short. That must be due to the fact that it is
preceded by a vowel. The only other stems where the same conditions
apply are *pa(k)* and *a(k)*. Their loc. forms are *paani* and *aani*, vial.
forms *pauna* and *auna*.

Examples.

*maannat aullalaakqugut* "We shall go away from here"; *maani*
illuqavuk unuttunik qikittami "There are many houses here on the
island"; *allak uvanittuk* "The book is here"; *aujak aunalaakqiqin*
"Are you going to the south in summer?"; *taikuuna pisuluuttut* "They
walked through there"; *itlivik qallauquguk paanna* "Hand me the box from
up there"; *tavvanitanak* "Don't be there".

It was pointed out earlier that the stem *im* "there out of
sight" does not form regular demonstrative adverbs any more in MEL.
The abl. form *taimannat* still exists in the temporal meaning "from
that time on", e.g. *taimannat inuulilaugam* *avannat nuulautsimannituk*
"From the time he was born he has not moved away from the north". An
addition of the nominal abl. ending -nit makes the time referred to
even more removed, e.g. *taimannanit avanimiuk* "a northerner from time
immemorial".

4. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have all the paradigmatic forms of an
ordinary unpossessed noun, but their case endings are different from
those of a noun.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Demonstrative Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>-mik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>-mit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>-mut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>-kkut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeq.</td>
<td>-tut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An ordinary noun does not have a special case marker in abs.
The number marker /k/ in the sg. and /t/ in the pl. serve as such.
/t/ marks also the rel. pl. The abs. sg. of a demonstrative pronoun ends in -na, the abs. pl. in -kua. The -ku- element is perhaps related to the affix -kut "the family, company of", and thus is the number marker of the pl. The /a/ following it is the case marker proper, which falls off before other case endings. Both ordinary nouns and demonstratives have syncretized the abs. and rel. pl. Dependence marker /p/ manifests itself as /m/ in the sg., /n/ in the pl. in both nominal and demonstrative inflection in most of the adverbal cases, and even in the rel. sg. of the demonstrative inflection.

Apart from the different endings there is another difference between nominal and demonstrative paradigms. While nouns have only
one stem form to which the endings are attached demonstratives have
one stem for the abs. sg. and the whole pl. paradigm, and another,
morphophonemically modified stem for the rest of the sg. forms. We
call the latter a relative stem. E.g. the stem im has a relative stem
itsu (EEL ipso).

Abs. sg. im+na > inna
Abs. pl. im+kua > ikkua
Loc. sg. itsu+mani > itsumani

The demonstratives can be divided into three groups according
to the type of relative stem they have. We shall illustrate the
relative stem with the rel. sg. form, with the ending hyphenated, in
the list below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEL</th>
<th>EEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>una</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>manna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>irina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>panná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ikinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pinná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kanna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In one case the ta form belongs to a different relative stem group than the simple form. That is *taenna* (ta-uv-na), which belongs to the third group, with the rel. sg. *taatsuma*. *Kanna* has a relative stem according to group 3 in MEL: *katsuma*, whereas in EEL it belonged to group 2 like *manna*.

Example Paradigms of the Three Stem Types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MEL</th>
<th>EEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>una</td>
<td>ukuua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>uuma</td>
<td>ukuua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>uumina</td>
<td>ukinuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>uumani</td>
<td>uknunani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>uumannañat</td>
<td>uknunannañat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>uumuna</td>
<td>ukununa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>uumununa</td>
<td>ukutiguuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeq.</td>
<td>uutunak</td>
<td>ukutitunak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>manna</td>
<td>makuam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>matuma</td>
<td>makuam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>matumina</td>
<td>makunina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>matumani</td>
<td>makunání</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>matumannañat</td>
<td>makunannañat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>matumuna</td>
<td>makununa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>matumununa</td>
<td>makutiguuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeq.</td>
<td>matumatut</td>
<td>makutitut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above paradigms contain only the forms which follow the traditional inflective pattern. The differences caused by assimilation concern only the stems; e.g. EEL *imna* > MEL *imna* "that one (out of sight)", EEL *ipsomane* > MEL *itsumani* "in that one", EEL *ipkua* > MEL *ikkua* "those".

The final /K/ has become /k/ in those aeq. endings which still retain the traditional ending, e.g. *uutunaK* "like this one" (EEL *otunaK*). *manna* and *inna* have lost the older form in aeq. Their innovative forms in the sg. are *matumatut* "like this" and *itsumatut* "like that". The pl. forms are only shortened versions of the traditional form.

Even in other cases there are a great many innovative forms as alternants for the traditional forms. We have not included them in the above paradigms because it has been impossible for us to determine their status in the language. We will simply list the ones attested. (The traditional form in brackets).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>inna</th>
<th>ikkua</th>
<th>imna</th>
<th>ipkoa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>itsuma</td>
<td>ikkua</td>
<td>ipsoma</td>
<td>ipkoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>itsumana</td>
<td>ikkunana</td>
<td>ipsominga</td>
<td>ipkunininga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>itsumani</td>
<td>ikkunani</td>
<td>ipsomane</td>
<td>ipkunahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>itsumanat</td>
<td>ikkunanat</td>
<td>ipsomangat</td>
<td>ipkunangat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>itsumuna</td>
<td>ikkununa</td>
<td>ipsomunga</td>
<td>ipkununga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>itsumuuna</td>
<td>ikkutimuuna</td>
<td>ipsomuna</td>
<td>ipkutiguna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeq.</td>
<td>itsumatut</td>
<td>ikkutilut</td>
<td>ipsotunak</td>
<td>ipkutitunak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Relative

(uuma) unñaup, uumaup
(matuma) mannaup
(itsuma) inñaup
(avituma) avannaup
(atuma) anñaup

(patsuma) pannaup
(utsuma) unñaup
(ikitsuma) ikinñaup
(pitsuma) pinñaup
(katsuma) kanñaup

All stems have innovative forms in the rel. sg., the formation of which is abs. sg. plus nominal rel. ending -up, except uumaup, which is a double relative.

Modalis

Sg. (matunina) mannamik
Pl. { (makunina) makanik
      (ikkunina) ikkanik

The same system of forming the innovative forms holds here as in the rel. case: abs. sg. or pl. plus nominal mod. ending -nik or -nik.

Vitalis

(ukutiguuna) ukutigut
(makutiguuna) makutigut
(ikkutiguuna) ikkutigut
(pikkutiguuna) pikkunuuna

In vital. alternants occur only in the pl. Most of them have the traditional nominal ending of vital. pl. -tigut instead of the
demonstrative ending -tiguuna. pikkunuña has an ending which is like
the demonstrative ending of vial. sg. -muuna with /m/ changed to /n/
in the pl. This kind of vial. pl. formation is mentioned also by
Bourquin as a rarer alternant, e.g. EEL ukkununa for ukkutiguna.

Aequalis

(uutunak) uumatut, unatut
   matumatut
   itsumatut
(pitsumatunak) pitsumatut, pinnatut
   ikitsumatut, ikinnatut

(ukutitunak) ukutitut, ukuatut
   makutitut
   ikkutitut

(pikkutitunak) pikkutitut, pikkutatut
   ikikkuatut

In aeq. there is the greatest variety of alternants. In the
sg. the innovative forms are composed of (1) the abs. form plus nominal
aeq. ending -tut or (2) the rel. form plus nominal aeq. ending -tut.
In the pl. the composition is (1) abs. pl. plus nominal aeq. ending
-tut or (2) the pl. stem plus nominal aeq. pl. ending -titut, which in
effect is a shortened version of the traditional demonstrative ending
of aeq. pl. -titunak.

Examples:

atuagamik uumña piñtaavuna "I like this book"; ukua allait
numutausimajut "These books are not available"; taakkua pikutinit
asiusimajut "Those people's belongings got lost"; taatsuma illuna
ganittuk "His house is near"; manna aanniajuk "This part is aching";
taitunuuna allaitsivuna "I sent the letter through him"; tainna
takqajaak pigikgaujaga "I liked that film"; pakkua aputigapput "Those
(places, people, hills etc.) up there have snow"; gakgakut ikitsumuuna
atitsaaqauvuguk "We two went through that hill over there".

5. Meaning of Demonstratives

All demonstratives mean basically "this here" or "that there",
but with a great deal of precision as to "here" and "there". The
relative positions of the speaker, the addressee and the subject talked
about, its physical presence or absence, whether it is a delimited
object or something amorphous, concrete or abstract, human or non-human
are all factors which determine the choice of a demonstrative.

The demonstratives can be divided into three groups according
to their meaning.

(1) Those meaning simply "this" or "that".
(2) Those meaning "that one in the north" or "that one in the south".
(3) Those meaning "that one up there" or "that one down there".

As was said earlier the ta(k) prefix can be attached to all
demonstratives except tavvani "there" and its related forms. The use
of ta(k) presupposes prior knowledge of the subject on the part of the
addressee. Either the subject has been mentioned before or it is
physically closer to the addressee than the speaker. From the speaker's
point of view it can be said that the ta(k) form has a distancing effect,
in either physical or figurative sense. We will illustrate these points when discussing the meanings of the individual pronouns.

1. una, manna, inna, ikina

Both *una* and *manna* mean "this here", i.e. where the speaker is, but *una* refers to an object with a definite shape and boundaries whereas *manna* refers to something with undefined dimensions. E.g. *una* titigutik piunnituk "This pen is no good"; *manna* imak salumaittuk "This water is polluted". The pl. *makua*, of course, refers to itemized objects, but even that differs from *ukua* in that it gives a feeling of things scattered about, e.g. *makua* taikkua piquinit "These things here are those people's belongings". Besides, *makua* can never refer to people in MEL, except in a pejorative use, which is contrary to EEL usage. *Manna* never could refer to a person. This is the only demonstrative pronoun that has this restriction, though some of the others may only rarely be used of people. *Manna* can refer to abstract things, *una* cannot. In MEL *manna* occurs in this usage mainly in fixed expressions, e.g. *matuma* sivunani "before this (time)". Otherwise it is beginning to be replaced by *taanna*, ta-form of *una*, e.g. *taanna* isumaga "this thought of mine" for *manna* isumaga. In *taanna* isumaga we see the distancing effect of *ta(k)*, as also in *taakkua allait numutasimajut* "Those books are not available". The use of *taakkua* implies that the titles were only mentioned whereas *ukua allait numutasimajut* "These books are not available" implies that the titles are written down and at hand. A distancing effect of *ta(k)* is felt in this sentence, too, *taanna* tasik salumaittuk "This lake is
polluted", which can be said to somebody standing at an equal distance from the lake as the speaker. Basically the contrast between \textit{una} and \textit{taanna} is "this which I can touch" and "that which you can touch".

\textit{Inna} and \textit{ikinna} both mean "that one", but with an important difference: \textit{inna} is "that one out of sight", \textit{ikinna} "that one over there in sight". \textit{Ikinna} and \textit{taanna} differ from each other in that the former refers to objects at a greater distance than \textit{taanna}, as the translation "over there" of \textit{ikinna} conveys.

When a person or thing that is not in sight is mentioned in the conversation for the first time the identity of the referee of \textit{inna} has to be somehow defined in the sentence. Otherwise \textit{inna} has an indefinite meaning "someone". E.g. \textit{inna} \textit{ippasak maniilauttuk ilinnikqinjikqajuk} "The one who was here yesterday was looking for you".

\textit{qatautivut ikkua aqqaani aqqaani nuqtaani \textit{puiguttaunianni}}tut} "Those brethren of ours who went home last year will not be forgotten". Compare to this \textit{una} \textit{kiap ilinnik} \textit{itsuma/innuup} "Whose house is this? Somebody's". To answer \textit{taitsuma} would mean "That one's (who is not here now, but whom you know)".

The words \textit{una}, \textit{inna} and \textit{ikinna} and their \textit{ta} forms are the three demonstratives most commonly used to refer to persons, in which usage they often translate "he", "she", "they".

\textbf{2. avanna, anna}

The original meaning of \textit{avanna} is "that which is there in the north" and of \textit{anna} "that which is there in the south", but in MEL these pronouns do not normally refer to an individual thing or person or even place, but to a general area in the northerly or southerly direction.
E.g. anna gasungjuk manna anugittilugu "That land in the south is calm while here it is windy"; or simply "South is calm etc."; avannaup silana "the weather of the north". They come close to an ordinary noun in meaning. avanna and anna can refer to an individual thing more readily in the sg. than in the pl. E.g. gakqaaluk anna "that mountain in the south" is idiomatic Eskimo, but gakqaaluit akkua "those mountains in the south" is not because pluralizing implies seeing, and if something is close enough to be seen ikinna is the normal expression, gakqaaluit ikikkua "those mountains over there".

When one wants to refer to individual things in the north or south derivatives of the demonstrative adverbs avani "there in the north" and anni "there in the south" are used, such as the intransitive participle avaniittuk "the one in the north" or one with the affix -miuk "inhabitant of", aanimiuk "a southerner". E.g. gupannuait avaniittut "northern birds", ilakka aanimiut "my southern relatives".

The local cases of the pronouns anna and avanna are generally replaced by the corresponding demonstrative adverbs, e.g. avani silanniluvuk "In the north the weather is bad"; aannat nuulautsimannituk "He has not moved from the south". The reason is that an adverb in general is less specific than a noun (a pronoun) as an expression of place.

3. panna, pinna, unna, kanna —

panna and pinna mean "that up there", unna and kanna "that down there". However, we do not have two pairs of exact synonyms. panna and unna are the same kind of expressions as anna, avanna and manna; in other words they refer to a general area in upward or downward
direction. *pinna* and *kanna* are specifying. They are semantically akin to *una*. The following expressions will illustrate the difference between *panna* (in this case *paani* specifically) and *pinna*. *gaknaup gaanani paani* "on top of the hill up there (generally)", *pitsuma gaknaup gaanani* "on top of that (individual) hill up there".

*panna* and *unna* have derived meanings "that in the west" and "that in the east" or simply "west" and "east". These meanings are related to the original meanings in an obvious way. On the east coast of Labrador higher ground is towards the west, lower ground towards the east. The EEL forms of *pinna* and *kanna* could also be used in the meanings "that in the west" and "that in the east" respectively. It appears that there were two sets of words for north, south, east and west. One was *amna*, *angna*, *ungna* and *pangna*, the other *ingna*, *ikingna*, *kanna* and *pingna* (See III, 1). The former series could be used without any restriction, the latter only at relatively short distances. Of the latter series *ingna* has been lost altogether and the other three have lost their reference to any point of compass. MEL *unna* and *panna* have the meanings "that in the east" and "that in the west" only secondarily.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1Related dialects have only one stem to be identified with ing or ik such as Greenlandic ik giving the pronoun inga or ingna (Kleinschmidt 1851: 22). Some dialects to the west of our area of concern have only ingna (Turquetii 1928: 26) and (Mallon and Kusugak 1972: 56).

2Bourquin does not have the diacritic ~ in the ablative forms in his sample paradigms, but in the text he gives the abl. ending as angat (Bourquin 1891: 88).

3Bourquin uses both spellings makkoa and makkua. The same discrepancy occurs with other pl. forms, too.

4For more stem assimilations see II, 1.

5Even rel. pl. forms like ukuaq "of these" occurred sporadically in the course of our investigation.

6Alternative forms may have been more common in EEL than is implied by Bourquin. There is some evidence of this in Erdmann's dictionary. The word for "that one in the east" is given as takkanna. Its rel. forms are takkatoma and takkaksoma (compare the MEL relative stem of kanna, III, 4), loc. forms takkattomane and takkaksomane (Erdmann 1864: 316). Some alternants were perhaps regarded as "ungrammatical". Bourquin had a prescriptive tendency. The sentence "Doch ist dies nicht nachzuahmen" ("But this is not to be imitated". Translation L.C.) is repeated more than once in his grammar.

7Only the pronouns are listed in the headings, but mutatis mutandis the same observations about meaning apply to demonstrative adverbs as well.
CHAPTER IV

INTERROGATIVES KINA, SUNA AND NANI

Two pronouns kina "who" and suna "what" and an interrogative
propositional adverb nani "where" will be discussed in this chapter.

1. kina and suna

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEL</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sg.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pl.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs.</td>
<td>kina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.</td>
<td>kiap/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kinaup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mod.</td>
<td>kinamik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>kinami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>kinamit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>kinamut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>kinakkut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeq.</td>
<td>kinatut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The pronouns kina and suna have mixed morphology sharing features with demonstrative pronoun and noun inflection. kina is made up of the stem ki and the ending -na, suna of the stem su and the ending -na, which is also the demonstrative pronoun ending in the abs. sg. kikkut, abs. (and rel.) pl. of kina ends in -kut "family or company of", an affix which is also an element in the abs. (and rel.) pl. of demonstratives. Otherwise the inflection of kina and suna in MEL is like that of an unpossessed noun.

In the case of kina and suna the differences between MEL and EEL forms are not caused by phonological changes. EEL had contracted forms in the sg. in most cases. In these the case ending was added directly to the stem without the intermediary syllable -na. The
forms which are bracketed in the above paradigms were used only rarely. Modern native speakers do not generally use the contracted forms. They are regarded as "foreign".

In MEL the rel. sg. of kina is either kiap or kinaup. EEL had only kia. kia and kiap are also contracted forms though different from those which occurred in the adverbial cases. If the rel. of kina had originally the same ending as the demonstratives it would have been *kima, from which kia through the elimination of the rel. marker /m/. MEL has added the nominal rel. case marker -(u)p.

The ending -(u)p is added even to the rel. pl., traditionally no different from the abs. pl. We have mentioned this phenomenon before in passing (Notes to Chapter III). As far as we can judge -(u)p ending in the rel. pl. has a firmer footing amongst the interrogatives than amongst the demonstrative pronouns or ordinary nouns, where it is also heard occasionally. kikkup is contracted from kikku-up, no doubt because kikkuup would indicate dl.

MEL has eliminated the endings -tigut and -titut for the vial. and aeq. pl. and uses the originally sg. endings -kkut and -tut for both numbers, e.g. kinakkut "through whom", i.e. "through what person" or "through what persons".

In MEL kina and suna are interrogatives only. In EEL they could also have an indefinite meaning: kina "someone, anyone", suna "something, anything". In MEL they can have an indefinite meaning only when modified by the generalizing affix -tuinnak "only; no matter what". They can also add the enclitic suffix -luunniit "even" and then have a negative meaning in an otherwise negative sentence,
**Examples.**

- **KINAUVINN†** "Who are you?" (Answer: Taamiuvuna "I am Tom");
- **KIKKUVISII†** "Who are you (pl.)?" (Answer: Taamikkuvugut "We are Tom's family members.");
- **SUNAUVA†** "What is it?" (Answer: Inuuvik "It's a human being.");
- **KINA TAKUKQAVAA†** "Who saw?"; **KIAAP/KINAP TAKUKQAVAAUN†** "Who saw it?"; **KINANIK TAKUKQAVIIN†** "Whom (pl.) did you see?";
- **SUNAMIK SULIAQAVIIN†** "What do you do (for a living)?" (Answer: Ilinniatitaijuvuna "I am a teacher");
- **SUNAMUT ANNITASIMAA†** "What has he been hurt with?";
- **KINATUUNN†** PIGUMAJJK AULLASUUK "Whoever wants to can go.";
- **KINATUUNNAMUT TUKISIJAUSUUK†** "Anybody can understand it.";
- **SUNATUUNNAMIK SANASUUK†** "He can make anything.";
- **KINALLUUNIIT/-LLUUNIIT** "Nobody at all came.";
- **KINAMILLUUNIIT TAKUNNILANNA†** "I did not see anybody.";
- **SUNAMILLUUNIIT TAISINNITUK†** "He did not mention anything.";
- **SUNAMULLUUNIIT SANUTITAUINNITUK†** "He will not be changed by anything."
2. **nani**

*nani* "where" is the interrogative equivalent to the demonstrative adverbs. Like them it is inflected in the four local cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MEL</th>
<th>EEL</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>nani</td>
<td>nane</td>
<td>(in) where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>nakit</td>
<td><em>nkit</em></td>
<td>from where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term.</td>
<td>namut</td>
<td>namut</td>
<td>(to) where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vial.</td>
<td>naukkut</td>
<td>naukut</td>
<td>through where</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The endings of *nani* are nominal endings with some irregularities. The loc. form has the loc. pl. ending *-ni*. The abl. ending is *-kit* instead of the nominal abl. ending *-kit*. In the vial. there is an extra vowel /u/. Could it be of the same origin as */u/ or */uu/ in the vial. of demonstrative adverbs, e.g. *mauna* "through here"?

Examples:

*nakit piviin?* "Where are you coming from?"; *nanimiuuniuviiin?* "Where are you from?"; *naukkut tikiviin?* "Through where did you come (through what route)?" / "By what (means of transport) did you come?"
with -tuinnak

namutsuatuinnak aigaluagvit kliinaujamik pigumqattalaakquqit

"Wherever you go you will need money."
CHAPTER V

FUNCTIONS OF THE PRONOUN IN A SENTENCE

The subject matter of this chapter is divided into two related but distinct parts. The first and major part will survey the syntactic functions of the pronoun in general. The second, shorter part will elucidate a peculiar usage of some demonstratives when in enclitic position in certain kinds of questions and corresponding answers.

1. Syntactic Functions of the Pronoun

In an Eskimo sentence a verb is the all important element. It can constitute the whole sentence without any other elements and, conversely, only if the finite verb is missing is the sentence regarded as elliptical. The finite verb contains all the information as to the number and person of the actor in the case of an intransitive verb, and the number and person of the actor and goal in the case of a transitive verb. This statement needs to be qualified slightly, for in some instances there is syncretism of number, e.g. takuvaitit "He sees you/They two see you/They see you". However, the information given by the verbal suffixes can be, and mostly is, amplified by independent words, nouns or their equivalents, pronouns. These independent words correspond to the verbal suffixes in number and person. Nouns can thus be viewed as having various kinds of relations to the verb. A noun can also have relations to another noun. We will illustrate the various relations with ordinary nouns first and then
see how pronouns fit into these relationships. We indicate the
relations with symbolic letters for shortness of reference.

A. Relations between a Noun and a Verb

SIV    A noun in the abs. case as a subject of an intransitive verb.

   E.g. anutiik takuvuk "The man sees".

STV    A noun in the rel. case as a subject of a transitive verb.

   E.g. anutiip takuvaa "The man sees it".

OTV    A noun in the absolutive case as an object of a transitive verb.

   E.g. tinijuuk takuvaa "He sees the aeroplane".

STV and OTV combined: anutiip tinijuuk takuvaa "The man sees
the aeroplane".

AAV    A noun, usually in an adverbial case, as an adverbial adjunct
to the verb. This is a looser relationship between a noun and
a verb than the other three. There are no binding suffixes in
the verb.

   E.g. uqaalavuna niuvittimut "I talked to the trader". AAV
   can, of course, be incorporated in any of the other sentences.

   E.g. anutiik niuvittimut uqaalajuk "The man talked to the
   trader". (SIV + AAV). anutiip tinijuuk qilami takuvaa "The
   man sees the aeroplane in the sky". (STV + OTV + AAV).

Occasionally a pronoun in the abs. case can occur in this relation-
ship, e.g. aujak avunalaakqiin? "Will you go to the north in
summer?"
B. Relations Between Two Nouns

DN A dependence relation where a noun in a rel. case qualifies another noun, which must bear the corresponding possessive suffix, mostly that of a 3. person. Dependence relationship is typically a possessor-possessum relation, but it can also be a whole-part relation, a familial relation or some other kind of relationship implying appurtenance.

E.g. anutiup illuna "the man's house"; qakgaup qaana ᓂ "on top of the hill".

AN An appositional relation where the two terms agree in number and case, but not in possessor relationship.

E.g. illuk qakuttak "a white house"; illunanik qaguttamik "his white house (mod.)".

QN Under this symbol we will consider a relationship where a noun is qualified by another noun in an adverbial case. It seems to occur only in exceptional circumstances in EL. Usually the qualifying expression is turned into an intransitive participle, and the whole relationship becomes AN. E.g. illuk qakgaup gaanantituk "the house (being) on the hill"; akqsinik kuugukkuutuk "the road (going) through the valley". A sentence like anugi imappimit tagiugalak "Wind from the sea is salty." is possible, but it is better expressed by anugi imappimit pijuk tagiugalak "Wind coming from the sea is salty.", where imappimit qualifies pijuk, a verbal form.

In connection with certain derivational endings which are nominal in form, but verbal in nature, an adverbial qualifier occurs,
e.g. anutik piujunnik qamutilik "a man owning a good sledge" (lit. "a man—with a good one (modi. dl.)—provided with a sledge").

We have attested only one instance where there is a genuine adverbial qualifier of a noun: allanit atutsimik pigumavuna "I want one of the books". The abl. allanit is perhaps conditioned by the numeral atutsik, for a whole-part relation is usually expressed by DN, e.g. inuit ilanit "some of the people".

In the following we will first give examples of the occurrence of the various morphological categories in the preceding syntagmas, and comment on them afterwards. In investigating syntactic matters the student's lack of knowledge of the target language is a more serious handicap than it is in the investigation of morphology because a relationship which exists may not come to his notice. Let the reader of the following pages be aware of this fact.

The numbers after each example refer to the chapter and its subdivision where the morphology and the meaning of the pronoun or pronominal in question is discussed.

SIV

uvana qaivuna "I come". (II, 1).
kisitta maaniivugut "Only we are here". (II, 2)
tamannuk qaujimavuguk "We both know". (II, 2)
namninik taimaak ugalaukguit "You yourself said so". (II, 3)
nallia qajuju? "Which one of them is coming?" (II, 4)
nallis uiuvnik maligasaujuun? "Which of you are intending to come with me?" (II, 4)
asivit tamaaniittut "Some other people (than you) were there". (II, 5)
Ilanit Taaminik ikajuvut: "Some of them helped Tom". (II, 5)
ukua uqumaittut "These are heavy". (III, 4)
tainna ilinnik ikajulaattuk "He will help you". (III, 4)
panna aputigappuk "The western region has snow". (III, 4)
takakkua kaajut "Those people down there are hungry". (III, 4)
kina takukqauvaa? "Who saw?". (IV, 1)
una katavaa? "What fell down?". (IV, 1).

All pronouns can occur in the SIV syntagma except imminik, which retains its modal case meaning and therefore cannot occur as a subject. Personal pronouns are generally avoided as a subject of an intransitive verb since no further specification of the person with 1. and 2. person suffixes is necessary. Uvana qaivuna "I come" is therefore grammatically correct, but stylistically poor, even as an emphatic expression. Personal pronouns occur in SIV more readily in elliptical sentences such as a one-word answer to a question, e.g.
kina aullaniakqaa? Uvana "Who will go? I (will)".

The personal and extended personal pronouns together represent all three persons, which means that the full range of personal suffixes occur with them, not only in SIV but also in STV and OTV. The other pronouns belong to the 3. person with two exceptions: The reflexive pronoun namminik, though it synchronically has no person marker, can represent any person, e.g. Namminik aullagumavusi "You yourselves wanted to go.", 2. pl.; Illuminik namminik sanajut "They built their house themselves.", 3. pl. The other exception concerns the indefinite pronouns ilavut and ilasi. Ilavut "some of us" and ilasi "some of you" correspond to either 1. and 2. pl. endings respectively or 3. pl. ending
according to whether the speaker/addressee is included or not in the statement. E.g. ilavut nigivugut "Some of us ate.", the speaker included; ilavut nigivut "Some of us ate.", the speaker excluded.

The iluunnak derivatives have two alternate forms in the 3. person in MEL without any difference in meaning. E.g. iluunnani/iluunnana quasimajuk "All of it is frozen."; iluunnatik/iluunnanit apimut saujausimavut "All of them are covered in snow." When iluunnak stem with 1. or 2. person possessive suffixes is used with the 3. person verbal suffixes its nominal character asserts itself. E.g. iluunnait apimut saujausimavuk "Your whole being is covered in snow." (noun), but iluunnapit apimut saujausimavutit "You are all covered in snow." (pronoun).

STV kinaup takukgaavuun? (IV, 1) ilviin? (II, 1) aa, uvana (II, 1) "Who saw it? You? Yes, me."

kisima takuvaga "Only I see it." (II, 2)
iluunnanita takuvanga "Only they see me." (II, 2)
nalliatu una pigumivaauu? "Which one of them wants this?" (II, 4)

asitta ikajuvaa "Others (than us) helped him." (II, 5)
ilanita natsanitkaa "Some of them took him along." (II, 5)
taatsuma ikajulaakqaatit "He will help you." (III, 4)
taikkusa takuvaagut "They saw us." (III, 4)
kikkut takukgaavuen? "Who (pl.) saw it?" (IV, 1)
sunaup sigumivaauu? "What broke it?" (IV, 1).

Basically the same categories of pronouns occur here as in the SIV syntagma, but there are a couple of more restrictions. Firstly,
neither reflexive pronoun occurs here. Secondly, the 1. and 2. dl. forms tamannuk "we both" and tamattik "you both" are only abs. forms with abs. usage and therefore they do not occur as a subject of a transitive verb. Some other construction is resorted to when these two dl. pronouns express the actor, e.g. pigumajavut tamattinut "We both want them", where we have a passive verb form with the agent expressed by the term case. The 3. dl. has a regular rel. case tamaagita for use in STV. A further remark about the extended personal pronouns is that those in the kisi paradigm and the 1. and 2. person pronouns in iluunnak do not have a separate form for the SIV and STV 'syntagmas.'

The same observation can be made about the occurrence of personal pronouns in this as in the SIV syntagma.

OTV
ivvit takujatuagivaatit "He sees only you." (II, 1)
kisivit uppigivagit "I believe only you." (II, 2)
tamattik takuvaatik "He sees both of you." (II, 2)
iluunnatik/iluunnanit piugivakka "I like all of them." (II, 2)
nallina ikajukqanviuun? "Which one of them did you (sg.) help?" (II, 4)
asivut takuvait "They saw others than us." (II, 5)
ilana pigumavaga "I want some of it." (II, 5)
ilasi uppigivait "He trusts some of you." (II, 5)
ukua uppigivakka "I trust these people." (III, 4)
manna tusagamiuk aullalauttuk "When he heard this he left." (III, 4)
kina sitjami takukqauvisiun? "Whom did you (pl.) see on the beach?" (IV, 1)
suna sitjami takukqauvisiun? "What did you (sg.) see on the beach?" (IV, 1).

All pronouns occur in this relationship except the reflexives. In this syntactic context it is fitting to mention again (See II, 2) the realignment of functions and forms which has taken place since EEL among some of the extended personal pronouns. We will consider kisi and iluunnak derivatives first. In both EEL and MEL the 1. and 2. person pronouns have one and the same form, externally a rel. case form, for use in all three syntagmas SIV, STV and OTV. In EEL the 3. person pronouns had forms with the reflexive 3. person endings, kisime, kisimik (rel.) and ilūnane, ilūnatik (abs.) for SIV and STV, and forms with the non-reflexive 3. person endings kisiat, kisaiïa (rel.) and ilūnat, ilūnaita (rel.) for use in OTV. In MEL the forms kisiat and kisaiïa have fallen into disuse and kisimi, kisimik are used for all syntagmas. ilūnnani and ilūnaitik are used undifferentiated in SIV and OTV, and rel. case forms ilūnnanata, ilūnnaïita have arisen for use in STV. As regards the dual pronouns in tamak the change has been somewhat different. EEL form tamannuk (1. dl.), tamaptik (2. dl.) and tamarmik (3. dl.) were rel. case forms, but used also as abs. forms, in other words in the three syntagmas SIV, STV and OTV. In MEL tamannuk (1. dl.) and tamattik (2. dl.) are still morphologically the same as the EEL forms, but they have an abs. case usage only, i.e. in SIV and OTV. In the 3. dl. there is a change similar to that which has taken place in iluunnak pronouns in the 3.
person. There is a pure abs. form tamaagik (which is not a morphological offspring of tamarmik) for use in the SIV and OTV syntagmas, and a new rel. case form tamaagita for use in STV.

AAV  tiguvaa uvattinit "He took it from us."  (II, 1)  
    uvattini taimaak taijaunnituk "It is not called that among us."  (II, 1)  
    ilitsitut suunujut "They are strong like you."  (II, 1)  
    kisinnik takujuk "He sees only you."  (II, 2)  
    iluunnakut aanjiqvuna "I have pain all over."  (lit. "through all of me.")  (II, 2)  
    namminik takuvuna "I see myself."  (II, 3)  
    imminik qakitsijuk "He hauls it by himself."  (II, 3)  
    appaniniakqutit immigut. "You will run alone."  (II, 3)  
    nallinanit muutakaak tillitausimajun? "From which one of them was the car stolen?"  (II, 4)  
    tussimavugut asinnit "We heard it from some other people than you."  (II, 5)  
    ilattinut ikajuttauniakqutit "You will be helped by some of us."  (II, 5)  
    uummaat aninitauvin? "Are you bigger than him?"  (III, 3)  
    ikitsumuuna pisulauttuk "He walked through there."  (III, 4)  
    inunnuugit ikikkununa "Go to those people over there."  (III, 4)  
    avannat nuulautsimannituk "He has not moved from the north."  (III, 3)  
    pauna qimutsillauttuk "He travels from the west with a dog team."  (III, 3)
maani illuluviqavuk "There are many houses here." (III, 3)

kinamut pilgutik aakqauviuun? "Whom did you give the key to?" 

(IV, 1)

naukkut tikiyin "Through where did you come?" (IV, 2)

All pronouns, in an adverbial case, and all pronominal adverbs occur in this relationship. Demonstrative exclamations in their original meaning have to be regarded as being adverbial adjuncts though they typically occur in an elliptical sentence. E.g. tagga Saami "Here's Sam", tappika kitjaultik "There they are, scissors.", When they are used in a derived meaning they correspond to our sentence adverbs. E.g. taava kįnajuuttaatuagami imialutsigigivuk "There now, as soon as he gets some money he buys beer again."

The 3. sg. loc. of kisi, kisiani, is also used as a sentence adverb in e.g. kisiani silakqipat aullaniakqua "Only if the weather is good am I going."

The word tamaat is diachronically the rel. case of a 3. person pronoun, but in MEL it has an adverbial use only. E.g. tamaat maunagama siniqattatuk "Every time when I come here he sleeps."

DN

kiap illuna unaa? "Whose house is this?" (IV, 1)

uvana "Mine." (II, 1)

iluunnata piputivut saamiittut "The possessions of all of us are on the table." (II, 2)

iluunnanita piputinnrik takuvuna "I see the possessions of all of them." (II, 2)

tamaagita illuna ikisimajuk. "The house of them both burnt down." (II, 2)
nallinata tumunani taqqaqavaa? "Behind which one of them is there shade?" (II, 4)

illuk taanna asimma piŋa "That house is somebody else's possession than mine." (II, 5)

ilatta allanit asiusimajut "The books of some of us got lost." (II, 5)

uuma tauttuna qinnitak "The colour of this is black." (III, 4)

makua taikkua piqunuŋit "These things are those people's belongings." (III, 4)

matuma sivunani "before this" (III, 4)

taakkua sunaup tuminiin? "To what do these tracks belong?" (IV, 1)

Obviously pronominal adverbs are excluded from this relationship, and there are some restrictions on the occurrence of pronouns, too. Reflexive pronouns do not occur here. Of the extended personal pronouns only the pl. forms iluunnata, iluunnaŋi and iluunnanaŋita, and the 3. dl. form tamaagita occur here. The personal pronouns do not readily occur in this relationship for the same reason as in the SIV, STV and OTV syntagmas. An interesting observation about MEL usage is that in some instances a personal pronoun in DN relationship is required to mark the possessor because suffixal endings are ambiguous, either originally or because phonological changes have made them so, E.g. the vial. of the word mutak "motor boat" is muutakkut but it is also the vial. of mutak with the 2. sg. suffix. Thus it is sometimes necessary to say ivvit muutakkut for "by your boat". The 1. sg. possessor is mostly expressed with the suffix -ga/-kka by modern speakers, but
sometimes the old forms are used, particularly when idiomatic expressions such as localizers (expressions meaning "in front of", "behind", "by the side of", "underneath" etc.) are involved. The adverbial cases of the old forms are identical in MEL with corresponding case forms with the 2. sg. suffixes. E.g. the location word tunuk "the space behind somebody" has the forms tununni (< EEL tunumme) and tunugani "behind me", and tununni (< EEL tunungne) "behind you". The form tununni by itself is obviously felt to have a more legitimate claim to the 2. sg. possessor, and therefore uvak/uvana tununni is used for "behind me" as well as tunugani.

AN

uvana kisima takuvamna "You see only me." (II, 1, 2)

uvagut namminik takuvugut "We ourselves saw." (II, 1, 3)

uma kisimi pigumajaga "Only this one I want." (III, 4; II, 2)

pujik kisimik taimittumik ilusiqavut "Only seals have such habits." (II, 2)

pigutininnik iluunnaninnik takuvugut "We saw all their possessions." (II, 2)

illuminik iluunnananik takuvuk "He sees his whole house." (II, 2)

ukua allait numutausimajut "These books are not available." (III, 4)

'allaganik yumaña piutsavuna "I like this book of mine." (III, 4)

taatsuma tasiup isana salumaattuk "The water of this lake is polluted." (III, 4)

inunnit ikikkunan nat aullavugut "We went away from those people." (III, 4).
Pronominal adverbs are excluded from this relationship. The most frequently occurring pronouns here are the demonstrative pronouns. Extended personal pronouns are also used, but mostly the 3. person forms of them. The dual form tamaagik is possible, but not probable in a sentence like inniigik tamaagik suunujuuk "His two sons are both strong." because the form inniigik expresses duality sufficiently. The 1. and 2. person pronouns occur in apposition with personal pronouns only, though again it is unusual to say uvana kisima takuvamma because kisima takuvamma "You see only me." is sufficient. nanminik can occur with personal pronouns, demonstratives or nouns. Indefinite pronouns are excluded from AN relationship. So are interrogatives kina and suna. nallia and related forms do not normally occur in this relationship either. E.g. a sentence like allamik nallianik pigumaviin? "Which book do you want?" (lit. "that which is a book—which one of them—do you want?") is apparently possible, but not likely because to use nallia presupposes that the group it refers to is known and therefore the noun allamik becomes superfluous. If "which/what kind" is implied by the question the word ganuittuk is used, e.g. allamik ganuittumik pigumaviin? "What kind of book do you want?"

When pronouns are in apposition to each other they agree in person, but this agreement is not required when two possessed elements are in apposition, i.e. only one will be marked for possession, as in illunani gquttamit. "in his white house", where the first term has a 3. sg. possessive suffix, the second does not.

The order of the terms in apposition is completely free. E.g. ukua allait numutausimajut/allait ukua numutausimajut. "These books are
not available." (According to our informants all six permutations of this three-word sentence are identical in basic meaning).

In the case of iluunnak pronouns in the 3. person the appositional structure is often replaced by a DN structure, whereby the iluunnak pronoun is the head term and a noun or another pronoun the term in the rel. case.

E.g.  
AN tasik iluunmapi iluunnana  "the whole lake/ the whole
DN tasitup iluunnana  of the lake"

AN nunamut iluunnananut  "to the whole land/to the
DN nunap iluunnananut  whole of the land"

AN taakkunannat iluunnaninnit  "from all those/from all
DN taakkua iluunnaninit  of those"

These expressions are apparently quite synonymous.

The word tamaat was claimed to have pronominal meaning in EEL in exceptional cases such as omnunamut tamanun "wholeheartedly" (lit. "by all heart") (Bourquin 1891: 75). In Mel it only has an adverbial meaning "each time". An expression ullut tamaat though translated as "every day" cannot be regarded as an example of appositional relationship, for ullut is abs. pl., tamaat an uninflected word synchronically (diachronically 3. rel. sg.) ullut tamaat means literally "on days each time".

QN
pujirik kisian takuvuna  "I see only seals." (II, 2)

uvattinut kisian qaijut  "To us only they come." (II, 2)

kinainnna umina illuillinn? "Whose house is this?" (lit.
"who is that—with this—provided with a house") (III, 4)

The crop of examples of QN relationship is very meagre as could
be expected in view of what was said of this relationship in the introductory part to this chapter. It is debatable whether kisiant, which literally means "in its onliness", can be regarded as an adverbial adjunct to a noun/pronoun or simply a sentence adverb. Even in the third example uminna qualifies a noun formed with the derivational suffix -lik, which has a verb-like meaning "provided with".

2. Demonstratives in an Enclitic Position

Three demonstratives, una, inna and manna have been attested in an enclitic position after the interrogatives kina and suna in verbless questions of the type "Who is this?", "What is this?", "Whose possession is this?" They have also been attested in corresponding elliptical answers, where they are attached to a noun or a pronoun.

Examples.

(1) kinaunaa "Who is this?" Samiunaa "This (is) Sam."; (2) kiamuna illuna? "Whose house (is) this?" Samiununa "This (is) Sam's (house)."; (3) kiamukua qimminl? "Whose dogs (are) these?" uvanukua "These (are) mine."; (4) kinaanu umina illunin? "Whose house is this?" (lit: who that--with this--provided with a house?) Samiinna "Sam's." (lit. "Sam that"); (5) sunaunaa? "What (is) this?" titigitununa "This (is) a pen."; (6) sunanukua? "What (are) these?" puusinuka "These (are) cats."; (7) sunamannaa? "What (is) this?" (referring for instance to liquid spilled on the floor) utsualumnana "This (is) kerosene."

All the above questions can have another kind of elliptical form without enclisis by permuting the order of the elements. E.g: (2) kiap illuna una? or una kiap illuna?; (5) una sunaa?; (6) ukuu sunaan?
In connected speech word final stops are frequently deleted utterance medially, but in enclisis they are converted to corresponding nasals before a vowel, e.g. kia+ukua > kiamukua, sunat+ukua > sunanukua, titigutik+una > titigutinuna. Before a consonant the final stop drops, e.g. utsualuk+manna > utsualumanna.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1 In EL, participles, both transitive and intransitive, are frequently used with finite force.

2 Likewise, only tentative statements can be made about the status of the various constructions in the present day EL. It is our strong impression that the STV and OTV syntagmas are but little used in modern colloquial speech. It is conceivable, however, that in a corpus consisting of Eskimo legends and folk tales, for instance, these constructions would be quite natural. See also Appendix, p. 95.

3 Our two informants differed in this. One deleted word final stops always utterance medially, the other only before consonants.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

We have aimed at elucidating the pronominal system of Eastern Labrador Eskimo by describing it as it is today and by comparing the modern usage with that of earlier times. Because of the duality of approach our conclusions are also of two kinds: firstly, concerning the amount of change and secondly, concerning the EL pronominal system in general.

Change. A large part of the change in the forms of pronouns is due to change in the phonological structure of EL in general. These changes are not exclusive to pronouns, but affect the whole language. Assimilation and Schneider's Rule have been found to be the most consequential causes of change. Their effects have been observed in every morphological category of pronouns except in the interrogatives of Chapter IV. Far fewer changes are attributable to the reshaping of the canonical form, whereby /k/ has become an almost universal ending of nouns or, more generally, of stems.

Another kind of change, also affecting the form, is a change in the marking of grammatical categories, i.e. number, person and case. The changes in the marking system are partly exclusive to pronouns, partly belonging to the whole word class of nominals.

Most changes in the marking system are to be found among the pronouns with personal suffixes. The more salient changes are the clear-cut differentiation between the abs. and the rel. cases in the 3.
person pronouns of the stems *iluunnak* and *tamaq*, the loss of reference to any particular number and person by the reflexive pronouns, and the change in the way of marking the number of the possessor-referee and possessum-referent by pronouns *nallia*, *nallina*, *ilana*, *ilanita* and *asita*, *asinita*. The most radically innovative feature of noun morphology, marking the 1. person possessor with suffixes -*ga* and -*kka* throughout the paradigm (except in the rel.) has not generally extended to the pronouns. It is found only in *asiga* and its inflected forms.

The innovative forms which occur as alternants to the traditional forms in demonstrative inflection have this in common: they have nominal case endings replacing the special demonstrative endings.

Amongst the interrogatives the most striking innovation is the occurrence of the rel. sg. ending -*up* also in the rel. pl.

As far as meaning is concerned there is very little change. Interrogative pronouns, not only *kina* and *suna*, but also *nallia* and related forms have become established as pure interrogatives in MEL. Only through affixation can they acquire generalizing or negative meaning. Demonstratives are the most expressive of all pronouns as regards notional meaning. Some change has happened in denoting the four points of compass. Four demonstratives have fallen into disuse altogether.

It is very difficult to say anything general about syntactic changes among the pronouns, for Bourquin did not give a systematic syntactic description of the pronouns and the corpus of EEL material is too small for us to be sure of all the syntactic relations which pronouns may have had in EEL. In one case, however, we can be sure of
change, but it is a change which began already in EEL. That is the
undifferentiated use of the forms kisimik, kisimik, iluunnani/lluunhna
and iluunnatik/iluunnanit for both the actor and the non-actor while
earlier the forms with the reflexive 3. person suffixes only were used
for the actor and those with the non-reflexive 3. person suffixes for
the non-actor.

Role of Pronouns in EEL. It appears that pronouns with personal
suffixes are not used very extensively. When we were eliciting examples
of these pronouns our informants would very often come forth with a
completely different structure where these pronouns had no place. E.g.
"I see only seals" is puijir kisimik takuvakka with a pronoun, but
puijituinnanik takuvuna or puijir takujatuagivakka would often be
offered first. In the latter two expressions the notion "only" is
expressed with affixes -tuinnak and -tuak. The comment usually was:
"Why use so many words when there are easier ways of saying it?"
"Easier ways" obviously meant ways more natural to the structure of
Eskimo language. Likewise our question "Did you talk to yourself?"
would not contain a reflexive in EEL, but would be asked "Whom did
you talk to?" "Do you ever talk to yourself?" would become "Do you
talk when you are alone?" We could cite more examples of different
ways of formalizing ideation in Eskimo and in an Indo-European language
such as English. Our impression is that pronouns with personal
suffixes belong to a rather peripheral sphere of Eskimo vocabulary.
This, however, remains only an impression until a further study can be
made based on a larger corpus of natural conversation or indigenous
literature.
Demonstratives, on the other hand, belong to the central core of Eskimo language. They are more than mere function words being far more strongly identifying than demonstrative pronouns in, for instance, Indo-European languages. A question has often been asked why such an elaborate system of demonstratives evolved in Eskimo. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that in an arctic environment where landmarks are few and far between, especially in winter, a system of localizing which relies completely on relative spatial concepts was the most applicable one in all circumstances.

Interrogatives kina, guna and nani are true function words. As such they have a vital role to play in Eskimo expression system.
APPENDIX

There are eight cases in Eskimo. They are called by a great variety of names. Those which are used in the preceding thesis are listed below on the left with their abbreviations. Other names to be found in the literature are on the right, but the list does not make any claim of being exhaustive.

absolutive = abs. intransitive, objective
relative = rel. transitive, subjective
modalis = mod. instrumental, accusative, sociative
localis = loc. locative
ablative = abl. distantialis
terminalis = term. terminative, allative
vialis = vial. perulative, prosecutive
eaqualis = aeq. equative, simulative, conformative, apposition

The terms "intransitive" for absolutive and "transitive" for relative refer to the use of these cases as subject to intransitive and transitive verbs. Kleinschmidt and some others after him called the absolutive case objective, i.e. object of a transitive verb, and the relative case subjective, i.e. subject of a transitive verb. These two cases together are referred to as syntactic cases as opposed to the adverbal cases, which comprise all the others. The division is handy, but it has to be remembered that even adverbal cases have their syntactical relations and that absolutive can occasionally have an
adverbial usage.

The modalis has the role of an object in the intransitive construction, at least from an Indo-European point of view. The modalis also expresses an instrument, a manner in which something is done or what something is equipped with. The various names reflect all these functions. It seems that modalis is acquiring a status of a syntactic case with the ascendancy of the intransitive construction at the expense of the transitive construction, which is observable in MEL and reported from elsewhere (Hansen 1968: 14).

The next four cases are called the local cases since their basic function is the expression of local relations. They are, briefly stated with English prepositions: localis "in", ablative "from", terminalis "to", yialis "through".

Aequalis expresses likeness to something.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


